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THE SECOND GREAT WAR
A Standard History

INTRODUCTORY

The present work is designed as a contemporary history of the great conflict of nations forced upon Europe and the world by the aggressive action of the German Government and the "senseless ambition" of its Nazi dictator, the issue and extent of which, at the writing of this introductory note, cannot be foreseen with certitude.

Our plan is to examine and narrate, as briefly as may be consistent with adequate statement, all the factors that led up to the momentous declaration of war on September 3, 1939, so that anyone reading the successive chapters of The Second Great War should be able to form a proper appreciation of the basic principles at stake, to distinguish "beyond a peradventure" between those who had the will for peace and those whose hearts and minds were set upon war though peace was often on their lips. Furthermore, such one will possess herein an accurate outline of the vital matters that preceded the German onslaught upon Poland, as well as an authentic and sufficient account of the world-shaking events that happened after September 1, 1939, upon which to form his own judgement of the progress of the war.

EDITORIALLY, Sir Charles Gwinn, former military critic of The Daily Telegraph, and the present writer, whose name is associated with numerous historical and descriptive works on the World War of 1914-18—he edited in collaboration with Mr. H. W. Wilson, the eminent naval and military critic, the thirteen massive volumes of "The Great War"—may fairly claim certain qualifications for the joint task they have here assumed.

Their intention is to provide the first authoritative history of the Second Great War, which will derive its value less from its pictorial presentation than from the adequacy and considered nature of its literary content. This is the work of a group of able and well-informed contributors whose qualifications embrace extensive and peculiar knowledge of the full range of subjects involved: recent history, modern politics, especially "power politics" and military, naval, and aerial affairs. Of the Editors' success in this direction the pages of their work must be the first and final test. And they are content to leave it at that.

But it must not be supposed that in thus emphasizing the importance of the literary side of The Second Great War, any belittling of the pictorial is implied. Far from it. Great pains have been taken to associate with the literary chapters a selection of pictorial documents which particularly illustrate those chapters, as well as many hundreds of independent documentary plates, that may for generations constitute one of the finest graphic representations of the historic events with which our narrative is concerned. In post-war years these photographic records of actual episodes and personalities of "the killing time" will acquire a new and heightened value.

THE SHROUD OF GOLD
A New Poem
by HUMBERT WOLFE

Wield the sword, the weapon of the traitor,
That sheds the blood of innocence;
With a spirit of the proud and the strong
Didst thou fight in the field, and bleed?
Thou wast girded, and strong:
Thou wast girded with the naked sword.

Through the smoke of battle's fiery smell
Doth the spirit rise up from the deep;
And the daring spirit aspiring
Sheds its blood in the light of the sky;
Doth the spirit rise up from its throne
With the sword on its brow?

The spirit, whose name is Might,
Fell in battle amid the dreams,
And the dreams of him who fell
Lay among the lands of the brave;
Then the spirit, whose name is Might,
Lay among the lands of the brave.

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While in one sense The Second Great War might be regarded as "official" on its pictorial side, so much as most of its photographic documents have had the imprint of the Censor—its publication having begun when that official was very much alert—its Editors have not in any measure felt intimidated or overshadowed by him, either in the expression of opinion and criticism or in the selection of pictorial material for the illustration of their pages. It might also be added that the value of this history is considerably enhanced by the plentiful use of accurate and clearly printed maps.

J. A. H.
Chapter 1
THE FORCES AND FACTORS THAT MADE
FOR WAR

Dictatorship v. Democracy: The Age-long Contest—Post-War Liberalism—
Mussolini and the Rise of Fascism—The Weimar Republic—Bringing—Birth
of Nazism—Hitler Assumes Power—League Defied—RhineLand Occupied—
Germany Arms Again—Engulfment of Austria—The Rape of Czechoslovakia—Threat to Poland—Preparation for the Lightning Stroke

Turning the pages of newspapers, reading what "Our Correspondent" in Berlin has to say, and then his brother in Moscow, listening to the voices which come to us over the wireless, giving an ear now and again to the rumours whispered in the train or across the dinner-table, we may well be excused if we find the situation filled with confusion and altogether baffling in its complexity. Only when we rise above the babble of the moment and strive to breathe the purer air of calm reflection can we detect behind the shifting phantasmagoria the clear outlines of a principle which we may hold and cherish. Boundaries, acts, frontier incidents, speeches and pronouncements of every kind—these belong to the world of change, and change indeed from day to day, even from hour to hour. Not on these things do the most vital moves of the political chessboard depend for their origin and inspiration. If we seek that guiding principle we shall find it in the conflict which endures today as it has endured through all the centuries of human history, between the belief in dictatorship and the belief in democracy.

Neither the one nor the other is a newcomer to the field of political speculation. 2,500 years ago the Greeks submitted themselves to the rule of dictators, and then, tired of the yokes, changed over to democracy of the most advanced type. The Roman system was nominally a democracy with a dictatorial core. During the Middle Ages history records flourishing democratic

Democracy v. states, existing side by side with the dictatorship of Emperor and Pope. In the modern world we still have a conflict between the principles of the French Revolution of 1789 and those of the Fascist and Bolshevik Revolutions of our own day.

For thousands of years, then, the battle has been engaged. Now one system and now the other has won the mastery, but on every occasion complete victory has been denied. There seems to be something in the human spirit which revolts against the too long continued domination of one personality, however great; at the same time it must be admitted that history points to many occasions when men have gladly abandoned their most cherished individual rights in favour of the rule of a strong man who promised a way out from the menacing situation of the moment.

Autocracy, and with the coming of peace there was a rush on the part of the defeated to reproduce within their own borders those democratic institutions which apparently were the pre-requisites of victory. Germany kicked Kaiserism into the gutter, and at Weimar proclaimed a constitution of the most extraordinary liberalism. The Succession States which emerged from the debris of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, together with re-born Poland, enlarged Roumania, and the congeries of Baltic States, all hastened to provide themselves with parliaments, presidents, cabinets and parties on the approved lines of democratic parliamentarism.

If parliaments spell democracy, then democracy had never seemed so assured of its future as in 1919. Victors and vanquished alike paid tribute to its virtues in word and in deed.

Years passed, and the rhythmic alternation referred to above became once more in evidence. Parliamentarianism had reached the crest of its wave; ere long it was half engulfed in the trough. To change the metaphor, the first break in the democratic façade came in Italy, which, although nominally one of the victorious powers, was bitterly disappointed with her share of the material fruits of the struggle. For years past parliamentary government in Italy had been almost a synonym for corruption and inefficiency, and after the War its defects became too blatant to be endured. In 1922 a militant journalist, Benito Mussolini, at the head of a private army of black-shirted Fascists, gave a push to the rotting fabric which sent it toppling to the ground. As the savour of public order was granted the premiership, and in due course proceeded with a programme of complete regimentation of the Italian people. By skilful manipulation the Italian parliament became of less and less importance, until it emerged as the sounding-board of ministerial opinion. In the realm of economics the foundations were laid of a system in which masters and men were grouped in corporations. At the head of the "Corporate State" stood the
dictator, Il Duce, Mussolini himself, in whose hands were grasped all the reins of power. He was Caesar in all but name, and his interest in the imperial tradition was evidenced at once by his care for the recovery of relics of ancient Rome and for the creation of an empire. In retrospect it cannot but be admitted that those at the helm of the Republic did their best to make good in an increasingly difficult situation. When the Allied troops were withdrawn from the Rhineland, when the currency was rehabilitated, when Germany, under

make a living in the post-War years. Gradually he had overcome obstacle after obstacle; he had framed a programme, founded a party, taken part in an armed revolt, spent months in a prison-cell where he had penned a book which might well become the evangel of a reawakened people. And as the German public watched him grow from strength to strength, they felt that they, too, were growing with him. As he came to the fore in his own country they felt that he might well be the leader who would win back for Germany her place in the sun. In 1924 the party of which he was the head had 32 seats in the Reichstag; eight years later they captured 230 seats with thirteen million votes. On January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler—the Austrian who once had been a casual labourer, a house-painter—became Chancellor of the German Reich.

Looking back on the events of the six years that followed, it must be admitted that the Chancellor pursued a bold policy with the most striking success. First he prepared the way for Germany's revanche in secret; then, when his preparations had reached an

not unworthy to be compared with that of Augustus and the Antonines. Just as Fascism was born out of, or was at least fertilized by, the disappointment and disillusionment of the post-War period, so German Nazism may be traced back to the aftermath of the same great struggle. The prouder a nation, the greater her humiliation in the hour of defeat. It was a bitter cup which the Weimar Republic had to taste in those first years of its existence. The Rhineland was in the occupation of the Allies; an immense, indeed, an impossibly large, sum was demanded by way of reparations for the damage and loss inflicted in the course of the War; for six months after the Armistice the blockade was maintained with disastrous effects on the lives and health of the German people; the value of the mark dwindled into nothingness, and with the collapse of the currency there collapsed, too, the standard of life of the great majority of the people. Unemployment, moreover, was rampant; thousands of ex-servicemen were without jobs; in the political sphere men who only yesterday were insignificant nobodies now lorded it over those who by birth and prestige regarded themselves as belonging to the elect, the wise guidance of Stresemann, entered the League of Nations and added her signature to the Pact of Locarno—the clouds seemed to lift above the country's future; but in 1930 Germany, a financial satellite of the United States, was caught in the economic blizzard which had already devastated America. Deprived of the funds which had enabled her industrial system to function, the Republic staggered beneath the load of reparations and was rent asunder by the forces of internal faction. Gradually, by force of circumstance, the liberal system of government was surrendered and under the chancellorship of Brinling a dictatorship came as a matter of course.
advanced stage, he was able to throw off the disguise, and an astounded world found itself face to face with a Germany which refused any longer to be bound by the shackles of Versailles. The Saar was returned to the Reich with the consent of the democracies, but the occupation of the Rhineland by German armed forces was a distinct and direct challenge which many in later years regretted that the Allies had not instantly taken up. An air force, the foundations of which had been laid in conditions of the greatest secrecy, was openly expanded, and all the factories of the Reich were speeded up to produce planes and guns and war material of one kind and another. Conscription, which had been definitely forbidden by the treaty makers in 1919, was reintroduced, and Germany could once again boast an army.

As the months passed Germany presented an ever bolder face to the world, and when she allied herself with Italy, and later with Japan, it was seen that the democracies might soon be confronted with a definite challenge to their supremacy. The challenge came in 1938 when the Fuhrer staked a claim for the return of the Germans outside the borders of the Reich. In March Austria was overrun by German troops and constituted a province of Greater Germany. No greater affront to the complacency of the Allies could well be imagined, for the union of Austria and Germany had been definitely banned time after time.

Czechoslovakia was the next to experience the weight of his attack—an attack in which the first line was a vigorously directed campaign of propaganda of the most unscrupulous form. Hitler extended his protection to the Germans of the Sudetenland, and following his agitation Europe and the world were on the verge of war in September, 1938, when, as the result of the efforts of Mr. Chamberlain, supported by President Roosevelt and Signor Mussolini, the partial dismemberment of Czechoslovakia was agreed upon. With this bloodless victory the Fuhrer professed himself content; but early in 1939 the machinery of intimidation was once again set in motion, and a year after the engulfment of Austria, the bulk of what the "men of Munich" had left of Czechoslovakia followed suit. Though they still possessed nominal
independence, Moravia and Bohemia were in effect annexed to the Reich.

More months passed—months of tremendous military and economic preparations on all sides. Germany, it was seen, was girding up her loins for yet another onslaught—perchance on Rumania, or possibly it might be on Poland. By now, however, the democracies were awake, and under the firm leadership of Britain a new peace front was organized. Abandoning her traditional policy of isolation from the political affairs of the Continent, Great Britain threw the mantle of her protection over Poland, and entered into similar offensive and defensive alliances with Greece and Turkey.

At the same time efforts were made to conclude a pact with Soviet Russia—a pact which was prevented at the last moment by the most complete re-orientation of German policy. Having for years denounced the Bolshevists as enemies of civilization, having evolved an ideology for the Nazi party in which hostility to Bolshevism and Communism was the guiding principle, Herr Hitler now completed a volte-face almost without precedent in history. The execution of such a complete reversal of policy was at once a sign of German adaptability and of the growing strength of the democratic opposition to the German menace.

The conclusion of the German-Soviet Pact might be held to justify the view of those who maintain that Nazism and Bolshevism are not the incompatibles which they usually have been alleged to be, but are on the contrary systems with many essential resemblances. It is true that in the course of years—mainly under economic pressure—the Soviet system assumed many appendages of a democratic nature, but it might well be supposed that Stalin was no more hampered by democratic forms than the Fuehrer or the Duce. In Russia, as in Germany and Italy, there is one party and one party only in the State. It is true that it goes by a different name, but it is none the less a concrete expression of totalitarianism in action, and endows the leader or dictator or president with enormous powers over his subjects—unhampered by any of the checks or limits imposed by democracy. The Communist regimes urge that the ends envisaged in the Soviet theory are very different from those which are the inspiration of Nazism or Fascism, and it must not be forgotten that the source of power in the Soviet system is the will of the people as expressed by their delegates and translated into action by the ultimate governing committee. There is, of course, a concentration of authority in the hands of a few individuals—and at the head is one who is virtually a dictator.

Fascism, Nazism, and Communism are all expressions of twentieth-century
GERMANY'S LEGIONS ONCE MORE IN COLOGNE

On March 7, 1936, Hitler struck his first defiant blow at the Treaty of Versailles by marching his troops into the demilitarized zones of the Rhineland. Against the advice of many of his military chiefs, he determined to force the issue—and won. Above, German infantry are seen marching through the Domplatz in Cologne where, not many years before, British troops were the only soldiers.
VIENNA'S WELCOME TO NAZI TROOPS

Though the supporters of the Schuschnigg regime were bitterly opposed to the incorporation of their country with the German Reich, there is no doubt that many of the people were at that time genuinely pleased by the Annexation. At all events, the lookers in the photograph above are welcoming in no uncertain manner the first German troops to enter Vienna—an imperial city which, for twenty years, had been bereft of its empire.

dictatorship, but besides Italy, Germany, and Russia, there are many other countries now subject to totalitarian rule.

For some years, indeed, it might seem that dictatorship was gaining in the fight with democracy. In our own country, as in France and America, many have urged that there is something in a dictatorship, representing a greater or lesser degree of state control, which is much more suited to the conditions of the modern world than are the institutions of parliamentary democracy. Many who have knowledge of the working of the parliamentary machine complain of its cumbersome and creaky nature. How much easier it is for a dictator to effect a reform than it is for a reform bill to be passed through the House of Commons! It must be pointed out, however, that dictators, like doctors, bury their own mistakes. Human nature being what it is, we cannot but believe that in the dictator countries there are innumerable instances of inefficiency, of corruption, of maladjustment, that in a democratic state would give rise to a howl of condemnation and an outburst of public indignation on a huge scale.

The strongest argument, however, in favour of democracy as a system of government is that it has actually lasted for many centuries at a time and has weathered innumerable storms. As Walter Bagehot said of that extraordinary indefinable and non-existent something, the English Constitution, it works!

It should never be forgotten both by the partisans of dictatorship and by its critics, that it has never yet stood up against a test of the most serious and exhaustive kind. Parliamentary government in England has existed in one or less its present form for nearly seven hundred years, and it has successfully resisted war and civil war, revolution and counter-revolution. Today, it is true, the machine creaks, but there is not the slightest evidence of its breaking down. During its last great time of testing in the course of the Great War it functioned admirably, and no vital change was found to be necessary in its machinery. As the expression of public opinion, as the ventillator of grievances, as the controller of the public purse, the House of Commons is without an effective rival.

Dictatorships, on the other hand, in their modern shape are comparatively young. There have been many dictatorships in the past, but none has endured more than a few decades. Sooner or later the ordinary man resents his position as a mere cog in the state machine, and asserts the supreme importance of himself and his fellow individuals. Dictatorships are the fruit of disillusionment, defeat, and despair. They may dispel the disillusion, solace the defeated, give new hope to the despairing. But hitherto they have never proved themselves to be long-enduring features in the political scene. They are means, very effective means, to an end; when that end has been accomplished it has always been found that other ends require other means.

Until 1939 no modern dictator had had to face a war on a grand scale; no modern system of dictatorship had had to meet such a challenge as the Great War made to the democratic system of Western Europe in 1914. We cannot tell, though some may suspect, what will happen to a thoroughly regimented people when subjected to the devastating and nerve-destroying ordeal of modern war. In moments of crisis it is the individual who counts; and what if the individual has been so well controlled that he has lost all sense of his individual responsibility?
'Ein Fuehrer'—In Varied Moods

1. shows Hitler in contemplative pose in the prison at Landsberg-am-Lech, where he wrote part of Mein Kampf.
2. depicts him in pugnacious mood at the beginning of his political career.
3. a benign Hitler is seen in company with President Hindenburg and the latter's grandchildren, while
4. shows still another Hitler, the summit of power attained, at his most austere and disdainful.
In the Great War it was often remarked that the German troops fought with the utmost bravery and determination when they marched shoulder to shoulder and were sent over the top in mass formation. Their superiority, however, was by no means so manifest when it came to a question of open fighting in which little groups were left in the air, as it were, to fight their own battles, and to play a worthy part in a struggle which had quite escaped from the control of the gentlemen of the staff. It has been claimed that the well-regimented Germans would never have been able to withstand the shock of the great offensive of March 1918. But the British not only made a stand when their front was broken, but turned at the vital hour to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat.

It is just here in the varying emphasis laid upon the individual that we reach the heart of the difference between dictatorship and democracy. Under a dictatorship the individual man or woman exists for the State, whereas in democratic countries the State exists to advance the welfare, and to protect the interests, of the individual citizen.

At the very root of democracy is the belief that human beings, though not born equal, have an equal right to happiness; today, as when they were pronounced, the “Rights of Man” declared in 1776 and 1789 still ring true. To a dictator men are valuable, not man—unless he happens to be the Fuehrer or the Duce or one of their indispensable henchmen. There must be men, of course, to hold the rifles, to drive the tanks, to sit behind the machine-guns, to guide the aeroplanes and drop the bombs; but the activities of the military machine, as of the social and economic system, are set in motion not to promote the welfare of the common citizen, but for the greater glory of that new god of the twentieth century—the Totalitarian State.

When, therefore, we set out to weigh the respective chances of dictatorship and democracy, we must have regard to something more than the numbers enrolled in the armed forces, the quantity of war material, the planes and tanks and guns. We must remember those imponderables of which the human spirit is the most important. And what can nerve the human spirit to suffer, to endure, to press on through disappointment and defeat until victory is secure, better than the belief that however insignificant his status, however small and weak his contribution to the common purpose, the individual nevertheless counts?
Chapter 2

DANZIG: EXCUSE FOR AGGRESSION

Vicissitudes of Danzig—Re-establishment of the Free City—The Polish Corridor—Poles Create Port of Gdynia—Danzig Dissentients—Establishment of Danzig Nazi Party—Arnold Forster’s Campaign of Pin-pricks and Insults—Nazis Dominate the Free City—Propaganda for Incorporation in the Reich—Tension Grows—Germany Invades Corridor

In 1914 Europe and ultimately the world were plunged into war because of a terrorist’s bullet in the Balkans. In 1939 war came again to the world because the people of Danzig were resolved to rejoin the Reich. Perhaps the one statement is as true as the other, though of a certainty neither is the whole truth. Nevertheless, the murder of the Austrian Archduke was the spark that set fire to the powder-barrel in 1914, and in 1939 the proclamation that Danzig had “returned home” meant that Hitler’s Germany had decided to appeal to the arbitrament of the sword in its quarrel with Poland and with Poland’s allies.

Danzig has never been long absent from the pages of history. Situated at the mouth of the Vistula, it occupies a position of great economic importance, and apart from the fact that the Romans had a settlement in the neighbourhood, the place has been a centre of human intercourse for nearly a thousand years. Danes, Pomeranians, Prussians, Brandenburgers and Poles struggled for its possession, and from 1308 to 1454 it was the prosperous settlement of that famed medieval order the Teutonic Knights. When the power and discipline of the Knights declined, Danzig shook off their yoke and became part of Polish territory. Though nominally subject, however, it enjoyed the status and all the rights of a Free City; in fact, it was the head of a territory comprising some thirty townships. At this time it was also a member of the Hanseatic League, that combination of North European trading cities which for long constituted what was in fact a commercial empire. With the coming of the modern age it entered a period of troubled history, and in the wars between the Russians, the German states and Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries, it suffered severely. When in 1772 Russia, Austria and Prussia descended like imperial birds of prey on the body of Poland, then sorely stricken by internal feuds, Danzig was separated from Poland, and in 1923 during the Second Partition it was definitely allotted to Prussia. For a short time it was a dukedom, but in 1814 it was returned to Prussia, and it was the capital of West Prussia until 1919.

At Versailles Danzig’s future again came under review, and it was resolved that the ancient Free City should be re-established under the protection of the League of Nations, primarily with a view to providing the newly restored state of Poland with control of the mouth of the river on which its life chiefly depended.

By the end of 1920 the new order had been established. Politically, the Free City enjoyed complete self-government, but, economically, it was closely linked with its great neighbour; Poland and Danzig formed a single customs

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DRUMS BEAT IN DANZIG

Danzig was always a German city; so-called Polish suppression of hapless German minorities could never be true there, at least, where a Nazi senate has long governed a Nazi population, and the streets have re-sounded ever since 1933 to the beat of the Brownshirts’ drums, the stamp of interminably padding feet, and the strains of the monotonous Horst Wessel song.

Photo: Paul Popper
ON YOUR RIGHT POLAND—ON YOUR LEFT GERMANY

In Upper Silesia, where Germany and Poland met, the boundary line as drawn by the Versailles Treaty and the post-Plebiscite committee played some strange tricks with the population. Above, a boundary stone stands in the middle of the pavement in a working-class neighbourhood in a town in the midst of the Silesian coalfield.

Photo, Wide World

territory, Poland enjoying special privileges in the port and controlling the foreign relations of the little state.

Adjoining the free territory of Danzig is the province of Pomerze, the so-called Polish Corridor. History books talk of it as Pomerania, i.e. "along the sea"; it consists of Eastern Pomerania, which lies west of the Vistula, and the territory of Kulm, which lies on the eastern bank of the great river. Seized by Prussia in the First Partition of Poland in 1772, the region remained Polish even during those years of the 19th century when all the efforts of the Prussian governing machine were directed towards the eradication of everything that savoured of Polish national sentiment. Despite

THE REAL ROOT OF THE TROUBLE

It was not so much Danzig as Gdynia (below), Poland's own Corridor port, that worried the Germans, for the latter was taking trade that previously went through the former port. Another thorn in the Nazi side was Poland's fortified zone on the Westerplatte which dominated Danzig; a barbed wire entanglement there, used in its defence in 1939, is seen right.

Photos, Keystone and Wide World
SWASTIKA DOMINATES THE FREE CITY

The only freedom left in the Free City of Danzig was the freedom to be a Nazi. Everywhere swastikas flew: over the traffic policeman, over the magnificent Party Headquarters (top right), over the propaganda van that blared out day after day, the Nazi philosophy. Even the signposts point only to German towns. Poland being ignored, officially. And these pictures were not taken after the invasion of Poland, but years before—proof that Danzig always had been free—to Germans.

Photos, Keystone
trade, indeed, that there was room for both the old port and the new, and, despite the spectacular rise of Gdynia, Danzig's trade was soon far in excess of what it had been when it was part of the Kaiser's realm. Nevertheless, there was rivalry between Danzig and Gdynia; there was friction between the Poles and the Danzigers, and, of course, with the latter's German supporters, from the very commencement of the new order.

Germany regarded the loss of the Corridor and of Danzig as an unwelcome wound in her side, and, as the years passed there were innumerable clashes over economic and political issues. There was trouble, for instance, over the partial confiscation of the estates of German landowners in the Corridor—a measure carried out in accordance with the new Polish land laws aiming at the improvement of the status of the peasants—and there was resentment at Poland's decision to erect a munitions dump or naval base at Westerplatte, and at the claims put forward on behalf of Polish customs officers and postal officials in the territory. For years Danzig and the Corridor were permanent items in the agenda of the League of Nations at Geneva, and it became a matter of principle for the successive German governments to champion the "rights" of the allegedly suppressed Germans who had been cut off from the Fatherland by the Versailles "Diktat."

When Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933 there was a distinct improvement in the relations between the Reich and Poland, resulting from the Fuehrer's Ten-Year Treaty with Poland of January 26, 1934. In Danzig, however, the voice of the discontent with League rule became ever more loud. A Nazi party was established, and it was not long before it had completely captured the political machine and was working it on the totalitarian model.

However friendly he might wish to be with Poland, Hitler never disguised his sympathies with the Germans of Danzig, and to a lesser degree with those occupying the Corridor. The Danzig Nazis, under the leadership of Albert Forster, by a combination of pin-pricks and insults made the position of the High Commissioner unbearable, and as soon as they achieved a majority in the Diet they subjected all the non-Nazi elements to a system of organized repression. A stream of inspired Nazi propaganda was poured out in favour of the city's reunion with the Reich. All who favoured the democratic regime, or who advocated an understanding between the two peoples, were silenced by the brutal arguments usually employed by the Nazis—prison and the concentration camp, the cudgel and the assassin's bullet. The Jews—the merchants and bankers who had always played so large a part in the city's life and on whose talent its prosperity was so largely grounded—were driven out and plundered. Hitler's henchmen forced their way into every public office, and

NAZI GAULEITER

A name that became all too familiar during the Danzig agitation was that of Albert Forster, the Nazi district leader in that city. He stirred up anti-Polish feeling even among the most apathetic of Danzigers.

POLISH COMMISSIONER

The function of "protector-in-chief" seemed to be assigned to M. Chodacki, the Polish Danzig Commissioner (above), and more than once his intervention caused the withdrawal of anti-Polish measures.

Camera Talks

DANZIG'S SENATE IN SESSION

The third prominent figure in Danzig before the war broke out was Herr Greizer, President of the Senate. In this photograph he is seen addressing the Senate—an all-German, all-Nazi body, which certainly could not complain of "Polish domination."
LOOKING FOR THE NON-EXISTENT ENEMY

The holiness of the Danzig protest for war against Poland was apparent to everyone—except the Danzigers. All the panoply of Nandom was called into play there—Labour Corps parades (as at the top) and "lynx-eyed frontier guards watching over Danzig's liberty" (immediately above) to aid in the deception; though where their Labour Corps was to dig and whom the guards were watching for no one really knew.

Wide World / Keystone

when in 1936 Arthur Greiser, the Nazi President of the Danzig Senate, was summoned to account by the League of Nations, he made a defiant speech at Geneva demanding the end of the League control.

By the end of 1937 the Free City was completely in the hands of the Nazis, and early in the next year Förster declared that Berlin had resumed control of the city's foreign policy. Poland could do little to stem the Nazi tide. Daring 1938 it was understood that in return for certain economic concessions Poland was prepared to abandon her political claims, but in the autumn the position worsened following upon Förster's declaration that "the Germans in Danzig would soon be rewarded for their suffering just as the Germans in Austria and the Sudetenland had been rewarded." By the close of the year Danzig's reincorporation in the Reich had become a matter of immediate political interest.

Towards the end of July, 1939, it was announced that the Danzig police force had increased from 1,500 to nearly 4,000 men owing to the "necessity for protecting Danzig from the Polish army," and tension between Poland and Danzig was further aggravated by the dismissal of Polish workmen in the shipyards, interference with the rights and functions of Polish customs officials, and, finally, the shooting of one of the latter by Nazi storm troopers.

As the days passed the tension grew. From Warsaw there came a statement that if the Germans insisted on realizing their plan of incorporating Danzig in the Reich, then Poland would be forced to resort to arms, knowing that she was fighting for her own independence.

July passed into August, and it became increasingly apparent that Herr Hitler was contemplating yet another of his aggressive actions against neighboring states which in the past had proved so successful. Confronted by the possibility of a European, and possibly a world war, the statesmen of the powers strove uneasily for peace. It was not to be, however.

On September 1 Herr Hitler's troops entered the Corridor, and on that morning Förster announced to the Danzigers that "the hour for which you have been longing for twenty years has come. This day Danzig has returned to the great German Reich."
BRITAIN'S LAST EFFORTS TO AVOID WAR

In this, the first of a series comprising the most important speeches, communications, statements, and other documents relating to the Second Great War, are included extracts from the exchanges between London and Berlin during the ten days which ended with Germany's invasion of Poland.

FOLLOWING the publication of the news that Herr von Ribbentrop was proceeding to Moscow to sign a non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R., Mr. Chamberlain wrote to Herr Hitler (August 22, 1939):... Whatever may prove to be the nature of the German-Soviet Agreement, it will not alter Great Britain's obligation to Poland which his Majesty's Government have stated to the public repeatedly and plainly, and which they are determined to fulfil.

It has been alleged that, if his Majesty's Government had made their position more clear in 1931, the great catastrophe would have been avoided. Whether or not there is any force in that allegation, his Majesty's Government are resolved that on this occasion there shall be no such tragic misunderstanding.

If the case should arise, they are resolved, and prepared, to employ without delay all the forces at their command, and it is impossible to foresee the end of hostilities once engaged. It would be a dangerous illusion to think that, if war once starts, it will come to an end by Treaty, even if a success on any one of the several fronts on which it will be engaged should have been assured.

Having made our position perfectly clear, I wish to repeat to you that war between two peoples would be the greatest calamity that could occur. I am certain that it is desired neither by our people nor by yours, and I cannot see that there is anything in the questions arising between Germany and Poland which could not and should not be resolved without the use of force, if only a situation of confidence could be restored to enable discussions to be carried on in an atmosphere different from that which prevails today.

HERM HITLER TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN, AUGUST 23, 1939.

Germany has never sought conflict with England and has never interfered in English interests. On the contrary, she has for years endeavoured—although unfortunately in vain—to win England's friendship....

The German Reich, however, like every other State, possesses certain definite interests which it is impossible to renounce. To these questions belong the German City of Danzig and the connected problems of the Gurdzur. Your Excellency informs me in the name of the British Government that you will be obliged to render assistance to Poland in any such case of intervention on the part of Germany. I must note that it is a case of years and years that you assured me that it could make no change in the determination of the Reich Government to safeguard the interests of the Reich. Your assurance to the effect that in such an event you anticipate a long war to be fought by myself. Germany if attacked by England will be found prepared and deterred. I hope already more than once declared before the German people and the world that there can be no doubt concerning the determination of the new Reich rather to accept, for however long it might be, every sort of misery and tribulation than to sacrifice its national interests, let alone its honour.

H.M. GOVERNMENT TO THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR, AUGUST 28.

His Majesty's Government note the Chancellor's expression of his desire to make friendship the basis of the relations between Germany and the British Empire, and they fully share this desire. They believe with him that it is a complete and lasting understanding between the two countries could be established it would bring untold blessings to both peoples. Poland may open the way to world peace. Failure to reach it would ruin the hopes of better understanding between Germany and Great Britain, would bring the two countries into conflict and might well plunge the whole world into war. Such an outcome would be a calamity without parallel in history.

HERM HITLER TO H.M. GOVERNMENT, AUGUST 29, 1939.

... Though sceptical as to the prospects of a speedy outcome, the German Government are prepared to accept the English proposal and to enter into direct discussions with Poland. They do so... as his Majesty's Government have emphasized, solely as the result of the impression made up on them by the written statement received from the British Government that they too desire a pact of friendship in accordance with the general lines indicated to the British Ambassador. ... For the rest, in these circumstances, the German Government have never had any intention of touching Poland's vital interests or questioning the existence of an independent Polish State. The German Government, accordingly, in these circumstances agree to accept the British Government's offer of their good offices in securing the despatch to Berlin of a Polish Emissary with full powers. They count on the arrival of this Emissary on Wednesday, August 30, 1939.

H.M. GOVERNMENT TO THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR, AUGUST 30.

His Majesty's Government note that the German Government accept the British Government's offer to enter into direct discussions with the Polish Government. His Majesty's Government also note that the German Government accept the position of the British Government that Poland's vital interests and independence. His Majesty's Government are at present informing the Polish Government of the German Government's reply. ...

His Majesty's Government fully recognize the need for speed in the initiation of discussion, and they share the apprehensions of the Chancellor arising from the proximity of two mobilized armies standing face to face. They would accordingly most strongly urge that both parties should undertake that during the negotiations no aggressive military movements will take place. His Majesty's Government feel confident that they could obtain such an undertaking from the Polish Government if the German Government would give similar assurances.

HERM HITLER TO H.M. GOVERNMENT, AUGUST 31.

... On August 28 the German Government, in spite of being sceptical as to the desire of the Polish Government to come to an understanding, declared themselves ready in the interests of peace to accept the British mediation or suggestion. In this sense they declared themselves ready to receive a personage appointed by the Polish Government up to the evening of August 29, with the proviso that the latter was, in fact, empowered not only to discuss but to conduct and conclude negotiations. ... The German Government have waited in vain!

Instead of a statement regarding the arrival of an authorized Polish representative, the first answer the Government of the Reich received to their readiness for an understanding was the news of the Polish mobilization, and only towards 12 o'clock on the night of August 30, 1939, did they receive a somewhat general assurance of British readiness to help towards the commencement of negotiations. ... It has once more been made clear, as a result of a démarche which has meanwhile been made by the Polish Ambassador, that the latter himself has no plenary powers either to enter into any discussion or even to negotiate. ... The Führer and the German Government have thus waited two days in vain for the arrival of a Polish negotiator with plenary powers.

In these circumstances, the German Government regard their proposal as having this time, too, been to all intents and purposes rejected, and although they considered that these proposals, in the form in which they were known to the British Government also, were more than loyal, fair and practicable.

H.M. GOVERNMENT TO SIR NEVILLE RENDLESTON, 11 A.M., AUGUST 31.

Please inform Government that we understand that the Polish Government are taking steps to establish contact with them through Polish Ambassadors in Berlin. Please also ask them whether they accept the necessity for securing an immediate provisional modus vivendi as regards Danzig.
ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET SIR DUDLEY POUND, G.C.B.

In command of H.M.S. 'Colossus' at the Battle of Jutland, 1916, Sir Dudley Pound was Chief of Staff to Sir Roger Keyes in the Mediterranean, 1935-37, and was himself C.-in-C. Mediterranean, 1936-39. In May 1939 he was appointed First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, and in July was promoted Admiral of the Fleet. He held these posts through four difficult years of war until his death at the age of 66 on Trafalgar Day (October 21), 1945.

Direct colour portrait by Fox Photos
BRITISH WAR MEDALS OF THE SECOND GREAT WAR


Drawn by E. C. Marsden.
Chapter 3

THE FINAL CRISIS AND THE ONSLAUGHT ON POLAND

Dismissal of Polish Customs Inspectors—Von Weizsäcker and the "Persecution" of Poles—Invasion of Silesia—Hitler Sees British Ambassador—Baseless Charges Rebutted—Pact with Soviet—Hitler's "Peaceful Intentions"—Fuehrer and Sir Neville Henderson—Britain's Word—Von Ribbentrop's Fury—Britain and France Present their Ultimatums—Britain at War

The situation at Danzig had rapidly deteriorated at the beginning of August, and the high-handed action on August 4 of the Danzig Senate in dismissing the customs inspectors at four posts on the Danzig-East Prussian frontier led to the most vigorous protests. The Germans intervened denying that any such order had been given. Colonel Beck, however, had documentary proof to the contrary, and replied that any further attempt to compromise the rights and interests of Poland would be regarded as an act of aggression.

On August 16 Sir Neville Henderson, our Ambassador in Berlin, reported the result of a stormy interview of the evening before with State Secretary Baron von Weizsäcker. From this it became perfectly clear that all the chicanery of German diplomacy was to be employed to make out a case of violence and persecution against the Poles, so that the contemplated violation of their territory might be justified. Herr Hitler's patience, von Weizsäcker indicated, was now exhausted. Underlying our Ambassador's calm account one senses a highly unpleasant interview. "We disputed with acrimony about the rights and wrongs of the case without either apparently convincing the other."

By this time the full seriousness of the situation was realized and, as Sir Neville pointed out, events were drifting towards a situation in which neither side would be in a position to give way.

Again the point was made perfectly clear to the German statesmen that if Germany resorted to force Britain would resist with force. The State Secretary, who was clearly expressing the views of the German Government, flatly turned down the suggestion that they should make some conciliatory gesture, and said that he could not believe that the British obligations to Poland meant that it was necessary for her "to follow blindly every eccentric step on the part of a lunatic." During this historic discussion the number of persecutions by the Poles of innocent Germans grew to "thousands"—and at the end Sir Neville left the German minister apparently unmoved by his insistence on the inevitability of British intervention.

The "persecution" canard fostered by the Nazi propaganda deserves examination in the light of documents published in the British Blue Book. Sir Horace Kennard, British Ambassador in Warsaw, was at great pains to verify or refute the German accusations. On August 24 he declared himself perfectly satisfied that the campaign was a gross distortion and exaggeration of the facts. He described as "merely silly" the German accounts of Poles who had beaten Germans with chains, thrown them on barbed wire, or forced them to shout insults against Herr Hitler in chorus.

In one specific case of a German arrested in connexion with the murder of a Polish policeman on August 15 it was stated in the German press that he had been beaten to death and his wife and children thrown out of the window. A British newspaper correspondent had had an interview with the "victim" in prison, had found that he had never been beaten and was in excellent health, and that the story about his wife and children was a complete fabrication.

On the other hand, Sir H. Kennard spoke of the wholesale removal of Poles from frontier districts in Silesia and East Prussia, the smashing of property, and other forms of persecution by Germans.

Gradually the baiting and pin-prick incidents on the frontier increased. German hands not of irregulars but of fully equipped military detachments crossed the Silesian frontier, firing shots and attacking blockhouses and customs posts. The stories of persecutions of the German minority, though substantially the same as those fabricated against Czechoslovakia in the previous year, were made to appear many times worse in the case of Poland. The object of these ruses, was, in the case of the frontier incidents, to provoke retaliation which might easily be construed as Polish aggression: and in the persecution stories to arouse German indignation at the supposed ill-treatment of their fellow nationals, which would foster the war spirit in Germany. It was becoming clear that Hitler had planned the complete extinction of Poland and was employing what the Prime Minister called his sickeningly familiar technique.

Not till the last shred of hope was abandoned did Mr. Chamberlain cease to put the British case fairly and squarely to Herr Hitler. Never again should it be said that war was precipitated by the obscurity which surrounded the British attitude. The disquieting news of a German-Soviet agreement made no difference to the determination of Britain and France to uphold their pledges to Poland. Mr. Chamberlain reiterated this in a letter to the Fuehrer on August 22, adjuring him to pause before plunging Europe into war.
But the Fuehrer continued to rave and storm and to bring clattering down on the table the hand that had so often held the perjured pen. He received the British Ambassador on the night of August 23. Herr von Ribbentrop was still in Russia sealing his bargain with Stalin, and when that calm, dignified diplomat, Sir Neville Henderson, was ushered into the fastness of Berchtesgaden he found himself confronted not by a leader of a great nation remorselessly and silently pursuing a reasoned course, but by a man beside himself with passion, howling invective at those who were attempting to stay his hand in its pursuit of tyranny.

In the stream of abuse which fell on the surprised Ambassador’s ears, again remembering that at the time there was staying in Moscow a British military mission discussing problems of cooperation between Great Britain and Russia. Stalin’s main object, it seemed, was to safeguard the defences of the Soviet Union; he desired a free hand in the Baltic provinces which formerly had been part of Russia and now hedged him in from the sea. On this point, as was natural, the British Government did not see eye to eye with Stalin. Further, realizing that Britain could not prevent the Nazi conquest of Poland, the Soviet leader intended to regain territory that had been taken away in 1920. Failing to reach an agreement with Britain, he allowed the deliberations to continue while negotiating with Germany for a pact of non-aggression.

The text of this agreement ran as follows:

**Article 1.** The two Uniting Parties bind themselves to refrain from any act of force, any aggressive action and any attack on one another, both singly, and also jointly with other Powers.

**Art. 2.** In the event of one of the Contracting Parties becoming the object of warlike action on the part of a third Power, the other Contracting Party shall in no manner support this third Power.

**Art. 3.** The Governments of the two Contracting Parties shall in future remain continuously in touch with one another, by way of consultation, in order to inform one another on questions touching their joint interests.

**Art. 4.** Neither of the two Contracting Parties shall participate in any grouping of Powers which is directed directly or indirectly against the other Party.

**Art. 5.** In the event of disputes or disagreements arising between the Contracting Parties on questions of this or that kind, both Parties would clarify these disputes or
HITLER GIVES THE WORD FOR WAR

At a meeting on the Roehmstag in the Kroll Opera House in Berlin on Friday, September 1, 1939, the German leader gave the word that unleashed war upon Europe. His boasts to justify German aggression against Poland deceived no one—not even the thousand "yes-men" who listened to him. Goering, sitting behind Hitler, was nominated as the Fuehrer's successor in the same speech.
OBSTACLES OF MAN AND NATURE

Although the Poles hampered the German advance by blowing up bridges on their line of retreat, as shown in the upper photograph, such measures only afforded temporary relief. The Germans were fortunate in being able to make rapid progress before the rainy season, for Polish mud is notorious. Even so, some of the roads were almost impassable, and, above, German transport is seen in difficulties on the way to the front.

Photos: Heiné-Würff
A 'BRIDGE OF SIGHS' FOR THE GERMANS

As shown above and on the opposite page, the destruction of bridges is one of the first things carried out by a retreating army, for anything which will delay the enemy's advance is of the utmost value. Above is a bridge over the Kaminka blown up by the retreating Polish army. A narrow stream can, of course, be very easily bridged by material brought up by the advancing enemy.
NAZI GUNS IN A POLISH VILLAGE THEY HAD DESTROYED

After the way had been cleared by a relentless and long-continued artillery bombardment, German infantry and guns pushed on through the devastated town and village. The sight of German advance caused the Polish inhabitants considerable alarm.
surprise, to the Government, but even at this last hour he hoped that reason and sanity might still prevail. He refused absolutely the German idea that it was the British guarantee to Poland that led Poland to refuse negotiations over the return of Danzig and the Corridor to the Reich. That refusal had taken place before the British guarantee was made. In a noble peroration he said that if war should come we should not be fighting for the political future of a far-away city in a foreign land, but for the preservation of the principles of the observance of international agreements once they have been entered into and the renunciation of force in the settlement of international differences.

From this time onwards the grim progress of the warmongers is marked by more intrigue and more provocative incidents. Polish sentries were attacked and their bodies mutilated. In Berlin the Polish Ambassador had an interview with Field-Marshal Goering who was "most cordial." He talked platitudes, and then the real reason for his excessive cordiality became apparent. He had a suggestion to make. Danzig and so forth were small matters. The real stumbling block to friendly relations was Poland's alliance with Britain. If that could be removed, heaven knew what years of peace and prosperity lay before Poland. Had it succeeded this would have been a master stroke of chicanery, for Germany would have alienated Poland from France and Britain, and could have swallowed her prey at leisure, with no immediate threat on her Western border. But the Poles never even considered the suggestion.

On August 25 the Fuehrer made a further attempt to buy off the intervention of the Allies with soft words and fulsome protestations of his pacific intentions. Once this Polish question was decided he had no further claims on Europe. He would settle down to the peaceful reconstruction of his country as an artist rather than a soldier. Memory was not so short as to forget other protestations and pledges of this character broken and thrown aside as soon as some new tempting bait presented itself.

Still the efforts of the British Government to secure a peaceful solution never wavered. The Fuehrer was answered in temperate terms, offered every possible assistance in negotiation with the Poles, but assured again most firmly that an armed attack on that country would bring France and Britain in against Germany. In this connexion there was an illuminating conversation on the evening of August 28 between the Fuehrer and Sir Neville Henderson, who had said that Britain's word was her word and she never had and never would break it. He then quoted a passage from a German book about Marshal Blucher's exhortation to his troops when harrying to the support of Wellington at Waterloo, "Forward, my children: I have given my word to my brother Wellington, and you cannot wish me to break it." To this Hitler replied: "Things were different 125 years ago." Sir Neville then acutely observed, "not so far as England is concerned," and asked Hitler what value he would place on British friendship, which he said that he desired, if the first act was one of disloyalty to a friend! There is no recorded answer to this question.

One of the most inspiring features of all is the calm, straightforward attitude of Britain as exemplified by her Ambassador in dealing with Hitler and his politicians. To Hitler's reiterated plea that he would welcome British friendship there was always the answer that such friendship was his if he would agree to a settlement by direct negotiation with Poland. Britain was prepared to make concessions if an atmosphere of confidence were restored, but under no circumstances could they be exacted by a threat of force. Never was a great nation's attitude more unequivocally explained. And while the British Cabinet and their emissary were struggling to make Hitler see how easily he could avert the misery with which he threatened the world and the ruin which he was inviting for himself, his armies were already marching towards the Polish frontier.

On August 29, two days before the invasion of Poland, the Fuehrer made a proposal which was to lead to a signal perjury. He first demanded that Poland should send Colonel Beck or some other plenipotentiary to see him on the following day to receive his "terms." This was in itself an impossible proposition. As the British Ambassador in Warsaw wired: "I feel sure that it would be impossible to induce the Polish Government to send M. Beck or any other representative immediately to Berlin to discuss a settlement on terms proposed by Herr Hitler. They would sooner fight and perish rather than submit to such humiliation, especially after examples of Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and Austria." Poland, he felt, would not listen to a dictated settlement. The impudence of this proposal to repeat to a Polish statesman the studied insults of a ready-made conqueror met with a blank refusal. The normal diplomatic method of communication between the two countries was for Herr Hitler to hand to the Polish Ambassador in Berlin whatever terms of negotiation he proposed.

This point was stressed by Sir Neville Henderson in an interview with Ribbentrop. At the same time he told the German "Aping Hitler at His Worst" movement had constantly urged the Polish Government to avoid provocative action. "With damned little effect," replied that ex-commercial traveller. "I mildly retorted," said Sir Neville, "that I was surprised to hear such language from a Minister of Foreign Affairs." The precious "terms" the Germans proposed to hand to Poland were read by Ribbentrop in German and at top speed.

Sir Neville got the gist of them and asked for a copy. Ribbentrop replied that it was now too late, as no Polish representative had arrived by midnight. To Sir Neville's suggestion that he should send for the Polish Ambassador and communicate them to him, Ribbentrop replied in most violent language that he would never ask the Ambassador to visit him. "Here Ribbentrop's domineering," Sir Neville telegraphed Lord Halifax. "was aping Herr Hitler at his worst."

Under such impossible conditions efforts were still continued during August 31 to open direct negotiations between Poland and Germany. It was not until the evening of that day that von Ribbentrop received M. Lipaki, the Polish Ambassador in Berlin. It was after this interview that the German proposals were broadcast. The terms issued by wireless from Berlin that night took the following form:

1. The Free City of Danzig, by virtue of its undeniable German character and the unanimous wish of its population, shall immediately be attached to the Reich.

2. A corridor stretching from the Haltle to the line Masurener-Greudenz-Kulm-Bremberg (including these towns) and then turning to the west for an average stretch of 50 miles shall be allowed to speak for itself as to whether it wishes to be attached to Germany or Poland.

3. For this purpose a plebiscite will be organized in this territory in which will participate all Germans domiciled in the territory in January 1934, and Poles and Kashubians born in this territory after that date or domiciled in a permanent manner in this territory since that date, as well as Germans expelled from this territory. In order to ensure an impartial plebiscite and to make all necessary preparations, the territory in question will be immediately submitted, as was the case with the Saar Basin, to an international commission
HITLER'S PACT WITH RUSSIA

Ribbentrop, who stayed at the old Austrian embassy in Moscow (top left), negotiated and signed the Soviet-Nazi Pact with Molotov (above) in record time. Below, left, in his aeroplane, he studies the text during the return to Berlin. [The terms are printed on page 13.]

Photos: Mondiale

8. In order, after the plebiscite has taken place—quite apart from how it may result—to guarantee the safety of Germany's front traffic with its province of Danzig-East Prussia, and to guarantee Poland's connexion with the sea, Germany will receive, in the event of the plebiscite region falling to Poland, an extra-teritorial traffic zone in the direction of Bultow-Danzig or Dirschau, for the construction of a motor road and a four-track railway line. The road and the railway shall be constructed in such a manner that the Polish lines of communication will not be affected—that is to say, it will be crossed either by viaducts or by tunnels. The width of the territory shall be fixed at one kilometre and this zone will remain German sovereign territory. If the plebiscite is advantageous to Germany, Poland shall receive the same right to extra-teritorial roads and railways in order to ensure Polish traffic with the Port of Gdynia.

9. In the event of the return of the Corridor to the German Reich an exchange of peoples shall take place between Poland and Germany as far as is permitted in the Corridor.

10. Negotiations are to take place regarding the special rights desired by Poland in Danzig and similar rights desired by Germany in Gdynia.

11. In order to remove the feeling of a threat, both Danzig and Gdynia shall receive the character of trading cities pure and simple—that is to say, without any military establishments or fortifications.

12. The Helig peninsula will be completely demilitarized whether it falls to Germany or to Poland.

13. As the German Reich has strong complaints to make and Poland also believes...
she has grievances, both parties agree to submit those complaints to an international commission. Germany and Poland undertake to repair all economic and other damage that has occurred since 1918, or pay equivalent compensation, and to annul all expectations.

(14) In order to remove the feeling of loss of national rights on the part of Germans remaining in Poland and Poles remaining in Germany, and to guarantee that they are not employed for actions or services which are incompatible with their national feeling, both parties shall undertake to protect the rights of each other's minorities by agreement, in particular respecting freedom of organization of those minorities. Both parties undertake not to conscript members of those minorities for military service.

(15) After agreement in principle has been reached on these proposals Germany and Poland shall declare themselves prepared immediately to order the demobilization of their respective armed forces.

(16) Further measures that may be required to expedite the carrying out of the above agreement shall be the subject of mutual agreement between Germany and Poland.

The boundary or base of the suggested plebiscite area referred to in Point 2 of the proposals would run from Marienwerder, at the westernmost extremity of East Prussia, 20 miles south of Marienwerder, through Gradow (Gradow), a Polish border town on the river Viestula; then through Bromberg (Brieg), a town with a population of more than 17,000, and strike west to Schönbergen, a German town on the border of Pomerania, 16 miles W.S.W. of Schneidemühl.

M. Lipski at once tried to get in touch with Warsaw, but all means of communication had deliberately been cut.

The Polish Government never had an opportunity of considering Hitler's terms, which were never communicated to them before they were broadcast to the world. Nor were they communicated to the British Government in writing before this broadcast. The German troops were marching into Poland when Hitler, on September 1, issued his perjured proclamation to the German Army.

"The Polish State has refused the

THE BROKER CONGRATULATED
Here Ribbentrop is seen receiving the felicitations of Stalin (top) and Hitler (below) after the completion of the Soviet-Nazi Pact. An astute, forceful and not too scrupulous man of business, Ribbentrop enjoyed for long the confidence of his Führer.

Photos: Wide World and Press News
reborn Germany with hard determination. I expect that every soldier, mindful of the great traditions of eternal German soldierly, will ever remain conscious that he is a representative of the National-Socialist Greater Germany. Long live our people and our Reich."

"The Polish state has refused the peaceful settlement of relations which I desired." What the Polish state in reality refused was to send a plenipotentiary to Berlin to accept terms which they had never seen and we now know to be intolerable—proposed under the threat of war.

Messages between the British and German Governments passed until the early morning of September 3. At eleven o'clock on that day the Prime Minister declared Great Britain to be at war.

\textbf{War is Declared}

"The senseless ambition of one man" had plunged Europe into an armed conflict the end of which no man could foresee. France, too, had imposed a time limit, and after 5 p.m. was also at war, which could only end when Hitlerism had been destroyed and a liberated Europe re-established.

During these fateful weeks noble efforts were made by His Holiness the Pope and the heads of neutral nations to secure a settlement by negotiation. President Roosevelt addressed messages to the King of Italy, to Herr Hitler, and to President Moczicki of Poland. On August 23 the King of the Belgians, in the name of the Oslo group of states (represented by the King of Denmark, the President of Finland, the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, the King of Norway, the Queen of the Netherlands, and the King of Sweden), broadcast an appeal for peace—"a noble and generous appeal" as the French Government termed it in their reply. "Arms are gathering for a horrible struggle," he said, "which will know neither victor nor vanquished... the world is moving in such a period of tension that there is a risk that all international co-operation should become impossible... lack of confidence reigns everywhere. But there is no people which wants to send its children to their deaths. All the States have the same interest. Time is getting short. If we wait much longer it will become more difficult to make direct contacts."

Further, King Leopold and Queen Wilhelmina offered their personal mediation, a gesture welcomed by Britain, France and Italy. Then, on August 24, the Pope broadcast a most moving address to the world. "A grave hour is striking for the great human family," he said, "an hour of tremendous deliberation, in which our spiritual authority cannot disinterest itself from the task of inducing mankind to return to the path of justice and truth... It is with the force of reason and not with that of arms that justice advances. Conquests and empires not founded on justice are not blessed by God. The danger is vast, but there is still time. Nothing is lost by peace. Everything is lost by war."

Finally, Signor Mussolini, who by this time had decided to remain neutral, offered to convene an international conference. But no neutral good will, no appeal to humanity could budge for a moment the remoteless decision of one man.
THE PREMIER'S LAST WARNING TO GERMANY

On September 1, 1939, in the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain announced the determination of the British Government to fulfil its treaty obligations to Poland.

I do not propose to say many words tonight. The time has come when action rather than words is required. About the same time ago in this House I prayed that the responsibility of this country to ask that country to accept the awful settlement of war. I fear that I am not able to avoid that responsibility. But at any rate I could not wish for conditions under which such a burden should fall upon us more keenly than they are today, when there is no force in the world to save us.

No one, I think, can say that the Government could have done more to try to keep open the way for an honourable and equitable settlement of the dispute between Germany and Poland. No one has neglected any means of making it crystal clear to the German Government that if they insisted on using force again in the manner in which they had used it in the past, we were resolved to oppose them by force.

Now that all the relevant documents are being made public, we shall stand at this House of Commons knowing that the responsibility for this terrible catastrophe lies on the shoulders of one man. The Chancellor has not hesitated to plunge the world into misery in order to serve his own sickly ambition. We have no right to ignore the consequences of the German Government put into the form of a White Paper.

I do not think that it is necessary for me to refer in detail now to these documents, which are already past history.

There is just one passage from our most recent communication with the German Government which I should like to quote because it shows how easily the final crisis might have been avoided if there had been the least desire on the part of the German Government to arrive at a peaceable settlement.

In this document we said this: "His Majesty's Government fully recognize the need of speed in the initiation of discussion. They share the apprehensions of the Chancellor arising from the proximity of two mobilized armies standing face to face. They would, accordingly, strongly urge that both parties should undertake that during the negotiations no aggressive military operation would take place. His Majesty's Government feel confident that they could obtain such an undertaking from the Polish Government if the German Government would give a similar assurance."

Poland's Guarantee to Respect Frontiers

That telegram, which was repeated to Poland, brought an instantaneous reply from the Polish Government dated August 31, in which they say: "The Polish Government are also prepared to respect a reciprocal guarantee in the event of negotiations taking place, that Polish troops will not violate the frontiers of the German Reich, provided that a corresponding guarantee is given regarding any violation of the frontiers of Poland by troops of the Reich."

We never had any reply from the German Government to that suggestion. It was one which, if it had been followed, might have saved the catastrophe which took place this morning.

In the German broadcast last night—which recited the 10 points of the proposals which they had put forward—there occurred this sentence: "In these circumstances the British Government considers its proposals rejected."

I must say that statement that I must tell the House what are the circumstances. To begin with, let me say that these proposals have never been communicated to Germany by Poland at all. The history of the affair is this:

On Tuesday, August 29, in replying to a note which we had sent to them, the German Government said among other things that they would immediately draw up proposals for a solution acceptable to themselves and would, if possible, place these at the disposal of the British Government before the arrival of the Polish negotiations.

It will be seen by examination of the White Paper that the German Government had stated that they counted upon the arrival of a plenipotentiary from Poland in Berlin on August 30—that is to say, on the following day.

But the next thing was that when our Ambassador saw Herr von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Secretary, he urged upon him that when these proposals were ready—for we had heard no more about them—he should invite the Polish Ambassador to call and should hand him the proposals for transmission to him. Therefore, on August 30, which, according to the German statement of last night, is now claimed to be the final day on which negotiation with Poland was acceptable, Germany therefore claims to put Poland in the wrong because by Wednesday night they had not entered upon negotiations with Germany about a set of proposals about which they had never heard.

Now what of ourselves? Upon the Wednesday night, at the interview to which I have just referred, Herr von Ribbentrop produced a lengthy document, which he read out in German in a loud voice at top speed.

Proposals Drafted But Not Delivered

After that our Ambassador asked for a copy of the document. His reply was that it was too late, as the Polish representative had not arrived in Berlin by midnight. And so we never got a copy of those proposals, and the first time we know about them was when they burned to ashes.

I am not pronouncing any opinion upon the terms themselves, for I do not feel called upon to do so. The proper course, in our view, was that those proposals should have been put before the Poles, who should have been given time to consider them and to see whether, in their opinion, they did or did not infringe those vital interests of Poland which Germany had assured us on a previous occasion she intended to respect.

Only last night the Polish Ambassador saw the German Foreign Secretary. Here again his proposal was to say that the German Ambassador had already said publicly that they were willing to negotiate with Germany about their dispute on an equal basis.

What was the reply of the German Government? The reply was, without another word, that German troops crossed the Polish frontier this morning at dawn and have since been reported to be bombarding open towns.

In those circumstances there is only one course open to us. His Majesty's Ambassador in Berlin and the French Ambassador have been instructed to hand to the German Government the following documents:

Early this morning the German Chancellor issued a proclamation to the German people in a formal manner, in the event of negotiations taking place, that Polish troops will not violate the frontiers of the German Reich, provided that a corresponding guarantee is given regarding any violation of the frontiers of Poland by troops of the Reich.

In these circumstances it appears to the Governments of the United Kingdom and France that by their action the German Government have created conditions—namely, an aggressive act of force against Polish territory which threatens the independence of Poland—calling for the implementation by the Governments of the United Kingdom and France of the undertaking given to Poland to come to her assistance.

If the reply to this last warning is unfavourable—and I do not suggest it is likely to be otherwise—His Majesty's Ambassador is instructed to ask for his passports. In that case we are ready.

Now it only remains for us to set our teeth and to enter upon this struggle, which we so earnestly endeavoured to avoid, with determination to see it through to the end. We will do it, with a clear conscience, with the support of the Dominions and of the British Empire, and with the moral approval of the greater part of the world.
'BRITAIN IS AT WAR WITH GERMANY'

In a broadcast from the Cabinet Room at 10, Downing Street at 11.15 a.m. on September 3, 1939, the Prime Minister announced that the ultimatum to Germany had expired and that therefore Britain was again at war.

The situation in which no word given by Germany's note could be trusted and no people or country could feel themselves safe has become intolerable.

And now that we have resolved to finish it I know that you will all play your part with calmness and courage.

At such a moment as this the assurance of support that we have received from the Empire are a source of profound encouragement to us.

When I have finished speaking certain detailed announcements will be made on behalf of the Government. Give those your closest attention.

The Government have made plans under which it will be possible to carry on the work of the nation in the days of stress and strain that may be ahead. But these plans need your help.

Nation's Work Must Go On

You may be taking your part in the fighting services or as a volunteer in one of the branches of civil defence. If so, you will report for duty in accordance with the instructions you have received.

You may be engaged in work essential to the prosecution of war, for the maintenance of the life of the community—in factories, in transport, in public utility concerns, or in the supply of other necessities of life.

If so, it is of vital importance that you should carry on with your work.

Now may God bless you all. May He defend the right.

In all the things that we shall be fighting against—brute force, bad faith, injustice, oppression and persecution—and against the right I am certain that the right will prevail.

PARLIAMENT RECEIVES THE NEWS OF WAR

At noon on September 3 Mr. Chamberlain read to the House of Commons the terms of the British ultimatum which had been handed to the German Foreign Secretary by the British Ambassador in Berlin three hours earlier.

When I spoke last night in the House I could not but be aware that in some parts of the House there were doubts and some belligerents as to whether there had been any weakening, hesitation or vacillation on the part of the Government.

In the circumstances I make no reproaches, for if I had been in the same position as hon. members on both benches and not in the position of having the information which we have I might have felt the same.

The statement I have to make this morning will show that there is no ground for those doubts. We were in consultation all day yesterday with the French Government, and we felt that the intensified action which the Germans were taking against Poland allowed of no delay in making our position clear.

British Government's Ultimatum

Accordingly we decided to send to our Ambassador in Berlin instructions which he was to hand at nine o'clock this morning to the German Foreign Secretary, which read as follows:

"Sir,—In the communication which I had the honour to make to you on September 1, I informed you on the instructions of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that unless the German Government were prepared to give His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom satisfactory assurances that the German Government had suspended all aggressive action against Poland and were prepared to withdraw their forces from Polish territory His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would, without hesitation, fulfil their obligations to Poland.

Although it is now more than twenty-four hours ago no reply has been received, and German attacks on Poland have been continued and intensified.

I have, therefore, to inform you that unless not later than eleven a.m. British Summer Time today, September 3, satisfactory assurances to the above effect have been given by the German Government and have reached His Majesty's Government in London, a state of war would exist between the two countries as from that hour."

Sir, that was a final Note. No such undertaking was received by the time stipulated, and consequently this country is now at war with Germany.

I am in a position to inform this House that according to arrangements made between the British and French Governments the French Ambassador in Berlin is at this moment making a similar démarche also accompanied by a definite time-limit.

The House has already been made aware of our plans, and, as I said the other day, we are ready.

It is a sad day for all of us. For none is it sadder than for me. Everything that I worked for, everything that I hoped for, everything that I believed in during my public life has crashed into ruins this morning. There is only one thing left for me, and that is to devote what strength and power I have to forwarding the victory of the cause for which we have to sacrifice so much.

I cannot tell what part I may be allowed to play myself, but I trust that I may live to see the day when Hitler has been destroyed and a restored and liberated Europe has been re-established.
THE CHALLENGE ACCEPTED: BRITAIN AND FRANCE PREPARE

The Munich Settlement: Europe's Misgivings—The Plan in "Mein Kampf"
—Bohemia and Moravia Absorbed— Fate of Slovakia— Chamberlain's Speech
Marks Turn of the Tide—Daladier's Pronouncement—Britain Re-arms in
Earnest— Aid from the Dominions—"The Fleet is Ready"—Speedy Expan-
sion of the Army— Italy, Turkey, Egypt—The Challenge Accepted

On September 24, 1938, Mr. Chamberlain stepped out of a 'plane at
Croydon to face the crowd which represented to him the tense anxiety
of the nation. A wave of relief swept over the people when it was seen
that the Premier had an expression of pleasure and confidence, and it deepened
when he flourished a paper signed by Herr Hitler as well as by himself to
the effect that German desires were satisfied by the proposed settlement in
Czechoslovakia, and the foundations of a lasting peace had been laid.
A week later Hitler announced to the whole of Germany in a great speech in
the Sports Palace at Berlin that he had promised that after the settlement of
the question of the Sudeten provinces of Czechoslovakia "there would be
no more international problems."

There were, it is true, grave misgivings in many quarters. In the mind
of the twenty million genuine followers
and admirers of their Fuhrer was the
grim programme, learned from "Mein
Kampf," of years of warfare, even
a glorification of war as a national
Bose The sword was not to be sheathed until
every German-speaking population in
Europe was gathered under the Nazi
banner. Germany was hungry. The
£90,000,000 which had been wrong out
of shabby-genteel Austria was ex-
husted, and the mouths of the quarter-
million Nazi agents were again wide
open. Close students of European de-
velopments saw a more definite danger.
BIRTH OF BRITAIN’S BOMBERS

Above is seen a corner of the erecting shop in an aeroplane factory “somewhere in England.” Here Fairey Battle bombers are constructed by the latest methods. The fuselages, with Rolls-Royce Merlin supercharged engines installed, are in the process of completion. They will have a range of 1,000 miles and can travel with a full load at over 250 m.p.h.

bulwark of European civilization against Asiatic marauders, were declared Protectors of the German Reich.

A large part of Europe had now become disgusted at the pretenses which covered each of these aggressions. A determined, well-organized, richly-endowed propaganda such as the Germans pursued all over Europe and America might persuade many that, as Dr. Goebbels broadcast from Berlin, in Hitler’s name, at five in the morning of March 15, there had been in 1938 “an unbearable regime of terrorism in Czechoslovakia.” It was false, for the word of any traveller who visited Czechoslovakia before 1933 would show how amicably most of the Czechs and the Sudeten Germans had lived together until Nazi agents spread their poison.

But when Dr. Goebbels went on to say that the same Czech terrorism compelled Germany to annex Bohemia and Moravia in the spring of 1939, men felt that Proclamation was m o s t i m p o s e d .

The Gostapo and the German Storm Troops had held the Czechs by the throat since the previous October. The setting up of Czech puppet-statesmen, the pretense that German Kultur was not going violently to displace the fine humanitarian culture of the Czechs, could throw only the thinnest veil over the flagrant violation of the solemn engagement undertaken at Munich.

Hitler’s proclamation to the Czech people on March 16 will some day be cited in history as a supreme instance of the kind of openly cynical untruth with which Germany bluffed and affronted Europe. Hitler, in fact, afforded the scholarship of his own country when he claimed that Bohemia and Moravia had for a thousand years belonged to the legitimate sphere of the German people, and had been “torn from it by force and unreason.”

And history will probably take Mr. Chamberlain’s speech at Birmingham on March 12, 1939, as the first symptoms of the turn of the tide. Americans and the people of neutral countries felt something like a thrill when the message came that England, of whose ancient courage and faith they had begun to despair, was raising its flag once more.

The Times pronounced the virtual annexation of Czechoslovakia as “this crude and brutal act of oppression and suppression.” The Daily Telegraph said that “monstrous outrage is the mildest term that can be applied to it.”

Less Conservative papers could hardly improve upon this. Mr. Chamberlain was still measured and deliberate in his utterance, but he struck a new note. He recalled Hitler’s solemn and repeated assurances to him that the sovereignty of the Sudeten provinces was “the last territorial claim that I have to make in Europe,” and “I shall not be interested in the Czech State any further.” He disdainfully repudiated the Nazi pretext that this violation of a solemn promise was necessitated by new Czech outrages.

And he concluded, very gravely:

I feel bound to repeat that while I am not prepared to engage this country by new unspecified commitments operating under conditions which cannot now be foreseen, yet no greater mistake could be made than to suppose that because it believes war to be a senseless and cruel thing, this nation has lost its honor that it will not take part to the utmost of its power in resisting such a challenge if it ever were made.

He claimed that in saying this he had the support of England, of the Empire, and of “all nations who value peace indeed but who value freedom even more.” M. Daladier made an equally courageous pronouncement in the Senate on March 19. “We are,” he said, “going to show Europe that we are standing with our backs to the wall.”

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that until this date England and France had preserved an idle and foolish trust in the promises of the German Fuehrer. Mr. Chamberlain admitted in his Birmingham speech that “after Munich our defence programme was actually accelerated and expanded so as to remedy certain weaknesses which had become apparent during the crisis.” The French Premier concluded his speech with the promise:

“I will take without delay grave military and extremely important economic
UNDER TWO FLAGS—SYMBOLS OF THE WARRING NAVIES

The top photograph of British battleships steaming in line ahead, shows an impressive fraction of that naval might which now, as at all times, has been the dread of our enemies. Germany hoped to cripple it by her U-boats (lower photo), some of which are seen here at Kiel. But these craft grew fewer every week.

Photos, Central Press; Planet News
DENIZENS OF THE WARTIME SKY

The menace of a coming war cast its shadow upon Europe. In the background of both nations the foundations were laid of war industries of unprecedented magnitude, and France boldly and successfully set about the long-delayed and very difficult reform of its financial system.

One contrast between the German and the Allied procedure will be noted by the future historian. He may possibly reproach British and French statesmen with too great a confidence in human nature, even as it is embodied in Nazi leaders, during 1937 and 1938, but he will record that, while every step in the Nazi aggression was prepared by bribery and corruption and covered by pretexts of "necessity" and suppression of disorder, the British and French preparations for eventual conflict were not concealed from Germany, which had no real excuse for thinking, as it did think, that it might carry on indefinitely its career of "bloodless conquest." If it concealed from the German people, by its despotic control of the German Press, this rapidly increasing armament of the Western Powers and the plain determination to resist further aggression, the charge of deceit must fall entirely upon the German leaders.

The steady and formidable progress of Great Britain in the construction of warplanes (which would clearly provide, with the co-operation of the French air-fleet, a weapon that must give pause to any ambitious statesman by the autumn of 1939) was sufficiently known to the whole world. At the tenth Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, which was held at Copenhagen in June, 1939, the summary figures for expenditure on armaments were presented. It is enough to notice that the very responsible speaker showed these representatives of forty nations that in France the share of the national expenditure devoted to defence and armaments had risen from 25 per cent. in the whole ten years before to 50 per cent. (estimated) in 1939. In Great Britain it had risen from 14 per cent. to 47 per cent. He further submitted that while Germany's military expenditure in 1939 represented 90 per cent. of its entire national income, and that of France about the same percentage, England's expenditure in that year was only 12 per cent. of its total national income.

To the men of great ability who, so to say, ran the national machine in Germany while the millionaire leaders pranced in the limelight, these figures must have suggested a grave situation. They would know that the figure tentatively suggested for Germany in 1939—20 per cent. of the national income—was far below the truth. Distinguished economists have concluded, after careful inquiry, that during the preceding ten years the German expenditure on armaments, on the military expenditure generally, had risen to about 50 per cent. of the entire national income. In simple English, one half of the total wealth produced in a year by the hard-working and industrious population had gone into the jaws of the military idol, the Moosch of the modern world. The wealth-producing economy had been steadily weakened—the miners, for instance, had notoriously lost productive capacity from underfeeding—and there was a limit to what was in effect the slave-labour of transplanted Czechs and Poles. On the other hand England, with the second largest national income in the world and a productive machine that for years had not been employed to its full
MIGHT ON THE LEASH

The weird figure above is a British anti-aircraft gunner "at the ready" beside his weapon. On the right we see a procession of tanks "somewhere in England," while below, men of Britain's new Miltia are being given intensive gunnery training on the artillery ranges.

Photow, Topical; Fox, Planet News

capacity, only began in 1939 to put such serious strain upon its resources as Germany had suffered for three years.

The shrewd middle-class men who work behind the façade of the more prominent Nazi politicians must have marked with anxiety the rapid preparing of Britain and France. Britain's remarkable progress in the construction of planes, for instance, was sufficiently made known by the Press to the general public, and its menace must have been very clear to the expert. The loud boasts of Field-Marshal Goering gave the world to understand that in a future war Germany would more than offset the preponderance of the British fleet by an overwhelming superiority in
ALLIES IN CLOSE CO-OPERATION

For a long time before the war the allied Staffs of Britain and France were working in close touch. The photographs above, taken during French manoeuvres, show left, General Gamelin, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied land forces, and right, M. Daladier, France's Prime Minister, while between them, in optimistic mood, stands Mr. Horace-Belisha, Secretary of State for War.

Aircraft. So the vast economic strength of Britain—her national income, or total production and wealth every year, is more than twice that of Germany—was harnessed to the work of creating one of the greatest air-fleets of our time.

The phenomenal rate of expansion shows that for some years past Britain had not had such an innocent trust in Germany as the over-sanguine politicians and diplomats of that country imagined.

While Herr von Ribbentrop flattered himself that he was throwing dust in the eyes of the British Government and people, a formidable programme of expansion was quietly proceeding. The supremacy in the air which Britain had won in the last war had been completely forfeited by 1934. She had become then a poor seventh on the list of national air-strengths.

A plan of expansion was adopted which would add 71 squadrons to the Royal Air Force by 1937. The political development was closely watched, and in each successive year the programme was enlarged. In 1938, although much had been done, it was decided to build 2,370 first-class fighting planes by 1940. The regular forces of 30,000 men of the year 1934 had become about 100,000 early in 1939, with auxiliaries and reserves amounting to a further 100,000.

This was at a time when Field-Marshal Goering was still boasting that his gigantic air-force would enable Hitler to continue to win bloodless victories.

But the pace of Britain's expansion and the quality of the new pilots and mechanics were such after the annexation of Czechoslovakia that any normal-minded group of statesmen in the world would have been warned. By the early summer of 1939 Britain was spending £2,000,000 a week on aircraft-manufacture, or ten times as much as in the early days of the programme. Instead of the few hundred planes of 1935 Britain had—so much could be admitted—over 2,000 to meet the threat of an invasion of this country by Goering's vaunted fleet, and several hundred first-class machines for use abroad.

Different estimates are available of the quality of German aircraft and mechanical production generally, but it is no secret that Britain's more important machines are second to none in the world. The leading engineering firms, with their established repute for efficiency, concentrated their resources and inventiveness upon the task, and very large factories were built by the Government. Even the great shipbuilding firms like Harland and Wolff, and Denny's joined in the work. Britain, therefore, was ready at the beginning of September, 1939 with an enormous fleet which included many of the fastest and best aircraft for their particular jobs.

Lord Nuffield's genius and energy were engaged in the task of constructing a thousand Spitfire eight-gun fighters, reputed to be the fastest and most deadly in the world, reaching a speed of 382 miles per hour at a height of 17,500 feet. The Hawker Hurricane, of which hundreds were ready at the opening of the war, attained 330 miles per hour. The Hampden, with a speed of 285, had a range of 1,390 miles. The Wellington night-bomber, fully loaded, could fly to any capital in Europe at about five miles a minute. The Vickers Valiants could carry twenty-two infantrymen with packs and rifles beside its crew, the Bristol Bomber, twenty-four men.

These were no longer the speculations of designers and manufacturers. Non-stop flights and altitude flights had for some time past proved the capacity of the machines and the spirit of the men. Moreover, we must take into account the enormous advantage possessed by Britain in the unity and enthusiasm of the nation. It was estimated that something more than one half of the German people, and a very much higher proportion of the adults—for the twenty million or so genuine Nazis are, apart from paid officials, mostly the young folk—were opposed to Hitler and his policy. No man knew how many workers in the factory or even men in the forces were reluctant, and more eager to hinder than to help. The enthusiasm which drew a hundred thousand men voluntarily into the Royal Air Force and the unanimous support of the free workers of the Trade Unions constituted an asset which might count against a mechanical inferiority, if there were any. Add the ground defence force, the balloon barrages, and the countless batteries of anti-aircraft guns—second to none in the world—and we have some idea of the strength and the formidable potentials of further strength with which Britain took up the challenge on that historic Sunday.

This is not yet the whole story. The Dominions were already co-operating in the creation of a defensive machine; and they responded immediately when Britain was compelled to take up the challenge. Offers of men and machines, whole squadrons of them, promptly arrived. Behind the home-lay the splendid resources of our Empire. Britain was not merely prepared: it had vast untapped stores of strength, while Germany was bound to see her resources dwindle the longer the war lasted.

It need hardly be said that the Fleet was ready. Such is the tradition that that is somehow taken for granted. It is, in fact, an open secret that more than once in the year before war was declared sections of the Fleet cleared the decks for action in anticipation of a call which did not come until September 3.
No naval strategy even of the most trickly description could give the least hope to the German naval commanders. Britain's preponderance at sea was enormously greater than in 1914-18. She had thirteen capital ships to their five (two of which are pocket battleships), fifty-six cruisers to their eight, one hundred and seventy-nine destroyers—possibly in the present circumstances the most formidable item of all—to their twenty-one, and fifty-seven submarines to their seventy-one.

The Germans notoriously relied upon the latter, and upon a few ocean-going commerce-raiders which could not last long; but the first month of operations must have given them grave concern. In the fourth week only one small British ship fell victim to the submarines. The Fleet had taken up its stations before operations began, and the progress of scientific invention since 1914 gives a far greater advantage to detection than to the submarine. Readiness was seen, too, in the prompt adoption of the convoy system, a lesson learned so slowly and at so terrible a cost in the last war; trawlers, private yachts, etc., were quickly enlisted in the fight against the submarine and the unsuspicious and inhuman use made of that weapon by the German Admiralty.

It was quite obvious that from the first day of war the Nazis made full and ruthless use of their under-water weapon, and the puny result which followed this attack was a remarkable tribute to the preparedness of the British Fleet.

The Army was equally prepared, in the chief manner in which this was necessary, with schemes for smooth and rapid expansion and for the transport of regular forces to France. Here, however, the burden fell chiefly upon France, and France was prepared. Beginning in 1938 its statesmen carried out with a courage new in recent French history the financial reforms which must be the foundation of defence. At the required moment France found the statesman, M. Daladier, who could procure a working unity of its political forces and ensure peace in its industrial sphere.

Responding to his eloquent appeal, the country in the autumn accepted the financial measures of M. Reynaud, and the work of defence was accelerated.

The Maginot Line provided a screen behind which mobilization could be completed in safety, and enabled French armies to be concentrated on the more open frontiers; reforms in the army gave full effectiveness to the recognized fighting spirit and skill of the French soldier. The first month's operations on the Western Front were a triumph for French infantry and artillery.

The broader background of the situation was no less satisfactory. The long forbearance of Great Britain and France had its critics, but this was a weakness which was at once remedied when they took up the challenge on behalf of small and distant nations. Italy, after all the disquieting attitudes into which Germany had driven her, was won for neutrality, and France kept open its vital route to northern Africa. All the millions of marks and offers of trade-advantages which Hitler had showered upon neutrals alienated none from Britain. Turkey drew closer than ever, Egypt promptly announced its loyalty, Spain refused co-operation against France. It would seem, in fact, that Germany had not a genuine friend beyond her borders, her "alliance of friendship" with Russia being obviously an arrangement of convenience, valid only while it suited both parties.

So on September 3, after repeated and most solemn warnings, after a final appeal for peace, the challenge of Germany to civilization was accepted by France and Britain. There have been many documents and speeches on the eve of war which the historian must censure, but the announcement (given in page 28) broadcast to the British nation by Mr. Chamberlain will pass with honour.

TO THE MAGINOT LINE BY UNDERGROUND

France's great bulwark of frontier defence is the powerful Maginot Line, equipped with the most modern devices. It was conceived by André Maginot, himself an ex-serviceman, when he was France's War Minister. The line is permanently occupied by specialist troops, who can be transported rapidly from one sector to another in secrecy and in perfect safety by means of the underground trolley system seen below.

Photos, Sport and General.
Chapter 5

POLISH TRAGEDY: THE RETREAT TO THE RIVERS

The German Onslaught—Heroic Defence of Westerplatte—Retreat after Futile Bravery—German Mastery in the Air—Fall of Czestochowa, Grudziadz and Bydgoszcz—Katowice and Cracow Surrender—Breakdown of the Polish Defence Plans—Withdrawal to the San—Germans Close in on Warsaw—Fall of Brest-Litovsk—Government Flees to Rumania—Russia Invades Poland

(Jan analytical survey of the Polish Campaign is given in Chapter 142.)

Just as the dawn was breaking on September 1, a wave of German aeroplanes suddenly appeared above Katowice and discharged a hail of bombs on the half-wakeden city. They were the heralds of Herr Hitler, and the death and havoc they caused were the first fruits of his resolve "to put an end to this lunacy."

Before the day was much older many another of Poland's cities had received a similar savage visitation; the alarm bells rang in ancient Cracow just as centuries before they had sounded at the Tartars' approach, and the people of Warsaw, the capital, looked up from their breakfast-tables at the first of the innumerable raids that the exponents of Nazi culture were to launch against them. Then, after a short but fierce bombardment of the border towns, great masses of German troops, long held in readiness for the day and hour of invasion, poured into Poland. The frontier guards put up what resistance they could, but their efforts were unavailing against the grey-uniformed flood.

The onslaught came not from one direction only but from several. In the far north-west the invaders hastened to close the neck of the Polish Corridor, and many bodies of Polish troops were cut off. At Danzig, a handful of Polish officials held out for a few hours in the Post Office; and at Westerplatte, the Polish naval base, or munitions dump, as it was variously called, a company of Polish soldiers put up a heroic stand for a week against combined attacks from air, sea and land. In the Hel peninsula, too, there was a small force which refused to surrender.

A second thrust at the Polish defence came from the north, where for months past Germany had been massing an army just across the frontier in East Prussia. Yet a third attack had to be met in Silesia in the south-west, while in the south there was an invasion from Slovakian territory now in German occupation. By the end of that first day of war fierce fighting was in progress on all fronts. Everywhere there was resistance: but everywhere, too, there was retreat, for the Polish High Command had failed to allow for the weight of numbers and still more of motorized material ready to be launched against them.

Hundreds of armoured cars, regiments of heavily armoured tanks: apparently inexhaustible hosts of aeroplanes: cavalry, too, and hordes of infantry—on they came, trampling down resistance. The Poles fought as bravely as they had ever fought. But bravery is a poor defence against an armoured foe and one liberally provided with aircraft. Surprise attacks on Polish airfields destroyed many of the defenders' aeroplanes, and the sudden nature of the onslaught frustrated mobilization of the Polish armies. The latter were cut off from Headquarters, and generals had to fend for themselves.
since the swift German advance soon severed communications.

In the air the invaders were masters from the first. The German air force had been claimed to be the largest in the world, and relays of bombers in formations of fifty raided the Polish cities every half-hour or so; there would seem to have been no attempt at discrimination between military objectives and open towns. Gun emplacements, troop concentrations, lines of entrenchments—all were mercilessly assailed; but so, too, were numerous towns and villages where there were no troops or guns, not even anti-aircraft defences. Far behind the battle zone the bombers pursued their campaign of death, and within the first 24 hours it was officially announced by the Poles that the enemy had bombed a score and more of open cities, including Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin and Lodz, and also numerous smaller places. Villages, farms, and even farm-carts had been attacked from the air, and the total number of civilian casualties was already running into thousands.

Warsaw was visited time and again by the raiders—six times during the first day. Swooping down from the sky the sinister bombers strove to destroy the bridges across the Vistula, their progress watched by crowds of excited but apprehensive citizens who cheered madly as they saw Polish fighting planes engage the raiders and force them to retire. But they always came back again. On the Saturday there were nine raids; on subsequent days more still. The German air force quickly gained the supremacy, and the Polish planes, far fewer to begin with, were sent down in flames or bombed to pieces on the ground. Here again individual bravery proved a poor match for mechanized efficiency.

On Sunday, Sept. 3, the news that Britain and France had fulfilled their pledges and were at war with Germany was received in Warsaw with delirious enthusiasm. The waiting crowds cheered, sang, and waved flags; then marched to the British Embassy to give an ovation to Britain's envoy, who stood on the balcony side by side with Colonel Beck and acknowledged their greetings. But as hour followed hour the news from the front became ever less reassuring. The Polish armies wereretreating, it seemed, all along the line. Beyond a spectacular raid into East Prussia there was little to report of Polish successes. On the contrary,
WARSAW'S CHEERS FOR ENGLAND

When it was announced that Britain had "kept her pledged word" to go to Poland's assistance, Warsaw crowds paraded the streets with banners like the one above, which reads "Cheers for England!" while cheering crowds surrounded the British Embassy. A ruthless enemy soon carried out indiscriminate bombing of the city, and below a casualty is seen receiving attention.

Photo, Wide World, Piarini News

the weather. Sunny days and a dry wind made the roads of Poland first-rate for foot and wheeled traffic. The defenders, driven back and back, longed for the rains of autumn, which would quickly bring to their aid that mud which Napoleon learnt to dread. But no rains came. The sun continued to shine in blazing indifference to the tragedy that was working itself out on the mundane stage.

Despite the long chain of reverses the Polish spirit remained unbroken, and those who heard of the battle only from afar spoke confidently of ultimate success. They tried to see in the retreat a withdrawal according to plan. They thought of the ever-lengthening lines of communication, and surmised a trap laid by the wily Pole for the overbold invader. Then, as the armies drew nearer to Warsaw, they spoke of the country's traditional line of defence formed by the rivers Vistula and Bug. There, they argued, the Polish High Command must be intending to make a stand; there they will dig in for the winter and wait until the Allies in the West can render them some really effective assistance.

If this were indeed the Polish plan, it was rendered exceedingly difficult, if not impossible of execution, by the capture of Ciechow and the consequent opening up to the invader of the east bank of the Vistula and of the line of approach to Przemyśl, Lwow and the Galician oilfields. However, the withdrawal to the banks of the river San, which followed Ciechow's capture, had at least the advantage of shortening the line to be held by the Polish armies; but it was not long before the principal bridgeheads on the river were threatened by the German advance guard.

Such, then, was the position ten days after the war commenced. The Nazis had made vast conquests of Polish territory: the Corridor had been wiped out, practically the whole of Western Poland was in enemy occupation, as well as the Silesian coalfield and the industrial area of the southwest. Opposite Warsaw a considerable salient extended into the German lines, and at Odynea and one or two other isolated centres resistance was still continuing behind the German front. The pinners were closing in on Warsaw, but every day's delay meant a day nearer winter, with its probable slowing-up of the Nazi war-machine.

There was as yet no evidence that the Polish army was in any degree demoralized or even much disorganized. No army can fight a succession of rearguard actions without loss, but the small number of prisoners claimed by the Nazis suggested that no battle on a really large scale had yet been fought. Later it was revealed that this paucity of prisoners was very largely due to the fierceness of the actions in which the troops had been engaged: the Germans declared that the Poles fought with such obstinate bravery that they were obliged to slay them nearly all before they could seize the positions they occupied. It was a war to the knife, in which mercy was neither sought nor given.

Of disorderly retreat, still less of complete rout, there was not a word. No stream of deserters shuffled through Warsaw's streets or spread dismay in
RAIDERS PASSED—RUINS REMAINED

Both before and after the fall of Warsaw Hitler proclaimed that he had scrupulously respected non-combatant lives and property other than military objectives; but photographs issued by his own propaganda ministry gave him the lie time and again. Here, for instance, is a typical Warsaw scene: a block of flats in the suburbs razed to the ground by Nazi bombers.
HEAVY GOING FOR GERMAN ARTILLERY IN POLAND

Though this Polish river is crossed by a fine modern concrete bridge, the road is poor and far from equal to the burden imposed by the size and flow of war traffic. This gun team is finding it heavy going even in the fine dry weather conditions, and the drivers are having to use the whip.

Photo, Wafe World
NAZI BOMBERS PASSED THIS WAY

Above can be seen the havoc wrought in a suburb of Warsaw by incendiary bombs dropped from German warplanes. The destruction was thorough and systematic, and the fact that this district was undefended and contained no military objectives did not deter the Nazi armies from reducing it to ruins, regardless of the lives of women and children. The man on the right, helping to fight the flames, is a butcher whose little daughter perished.
the villages behind the line. The Poles seemed to be retreating according to plan and to be succeeding in keeping their main body intact ready for that counterstroke which should reverse the record of the fight. Later it transpired that there had never been any real opportunity for a counter-offensive, nor did the means exist of making one.

From very early in the struggle the Polish High Command, under Marshal Smigly Rydz Pileadzki, his successor upon whom so many hopes were centred, had ceased to function. Driven from place to place by the Nazi bombers—the way in which the successive retreats were discovered and demolished by the enemy suggested that spies were active—the High Command perforce had to abandon the direction of the fight to the local generals. Even their wireless was bombed out of action, and they were generals without an army who at length sought refuge in flight across the frontier into Rumania.

That was not yet, however. For the present the Polish armies were gathered about Warsaw with their backs on the line of the Vistula, Bug, and San. There they at least attempted a stand. The German drive on Warsaw was checked, and so, too, was an attempt at reaching Lwow with a motorized column. The situation was critical, however, and no one was surprised to learn that the Polish Government had resolved to shift the capital to Brest-Litovsk, some hundred miles to the east.

Taking advantage of the pause in the attack, the Poles did their best to consolidate their lines about Warsaw. The Pomorze army, almost surrounded in the Corridor, managed to fight its way through the investing lines and establish contact with the main body of the Polish army standing before the capital. A desperate battle was in progress on a front of some fifty miles between Lodz, the "Manchester of Poland," and Plock (on the right bank of the Vistula, 60 miles N.W. of Warsaw), and the Poles claimed to have re-captured the former city after it had fallen to the invaders.

Further south there was little to report, but here again the Polish High Command seemed to be taking an optimistic view of the situation. There had been, and still was, heavy fighting, but the line of the Vistula-San held fast.

But the breathing-space was but for a moment. Soon there came news of renewed German drives—towards Modlin, fifteen miles from the capital; to the north-east towards Bialystok; and in the south across the San.

"The northern and southern wings of the German army have continued the rapid pursuit of the enemy," said Berlin. "The Polish army group surrounded north of Radom has ceased to exist. German detachments pushing forward on both sides of Przemysl have taken Sambor and Jaworow, while advanced units have reached Lwow." This latter claim was denied by the Polish High Command, but there could be little doubt that the invaders were again sweeping ahead, and that the resistance offered to their advance was crumbling beneath the vigour and weight of the assault. Thus at Radom the Germans claimed to have taken 60,000 prisoners of war, including several generals, 143 big guns and 38 tanks. So far the tide of battle...
THUNDERING BY IN THE 'LIGHTNING WAR'

The numbers and efficiency of the German mechanized columns, an essential factor in the German policy of a "blitzkrieg," were instrumental in maintaining a rapid advance through Polish territory. Part of such a column is here seen on the move through a shattered Polish village.

moved that on September 13 the Fuehrer himself paid a visit to Lodz, and, continued the Nazi communiqué, "after the visit he continued his tour of inspection of troops on the eastern front, paying a special visit to the troops who have recently been engaged in victorious skirmishes against encircled Polish units who were making a desperate attempt to break through. The whole advance on Lodz was carried out so rapidly that the sacrifice of the civilian population was in many cases completely avoided. In the region visited by the Fuehrer not a house is destroyed. The peasant population is now more busy in the fields with harvest work."

On Wednesday, Sept. 13, the German High Command announced that in future open towns and villages would be bombed if there were the slightest show of resistance; the "obstinate civilian resistance" must be crushed. The announcement meant little change in actual practice, for from the first day of war undefended towns and villages had been ruthlessly bombed, but it was taken as an indication of the German resolve to bring the campaign to a speedy and triumphant close.

Swift progress was made in a great

encircling move about Warsaw, and renewed attacks were made on Lwow by motorized forces. On Friday, Sept. 15, just a fortnight after the war began, the Germans claimed to have surrounded Warsaw and to have captured Gdynia, and the next day their claims extended to Przemysl and Bialystok. At the same time their troops, so the communiqué ran, were not far from Brest-Litovsk.

It was the beginning of the débâcle: confirmation of the fall of Brest-Litovsk was convincing proof of the virtual collapse of the Polish front, for this important city lay far behind what was hoped would be the line of resistance during the winter. Bombed and shelled, sprayed with machine-gun bullets and dispersed by tanks, the Polish army was reduced to a collection of isolated forces, fighting desperately against overwhelming odds. None knew where the High Command was situated or whether it was still in existence; even the location of the front line was often a matter of conjecture, and the Poles were indebted to the Nazi wireless for information concerning the whereabouts of their commanders as well as of the enemy.

Soon demoralization followed in the wake of disorganization and dis- ruption. Travellers at the Rumanian frontier towns reported seeing in the Polish roads, leading to the rear innumerable motor-cars and taxicabs loaded with officers with their families and luggage. On Sunday afternoon the Polish Government, which had established itself at Kutai, close to the frontier, began to cross into Rumania. It was at this point that the Soviet Government, seeing that the Poles could not hope to fight off their adversary, entered into the contest in order, presumably, to regain some of its former territory which would, otherwise, have been seized by the Nazis.

WHAT FATE WILL BE THEIRS?

The photograph above shows how many of Polish workers who have been taken prisoner during the German advance. To what destination they are bound, or what fate awaits them, no one knows. They are, for the time being, mere without a country, herded together and carried off in trucks like cattle at the whim of the invaders.
THE FOURTH PARTITION IN POLAND'S HISTORY

Poland's history has been a series of vicissitudes—of invasions, revolts and partitions by force. For over a hundred years, after the Third Partition in 1795, Poland lay dismembered under the sovereignty of foreign powers. In 1919 the republic of Poland was formally recognized and her boundaries defined. In September, 1939, her territory was seized and divided by the brute force of her stronger neighbours. The map above shows the new Partition, the lightly shaded portion being the Nazi share and the darker portion that of Soviet Russia. The new frontier runs along three rivers and would seem to have put an end to the German hope of domination in the Ukraine.
TRIBUTES TO POLAND'S HEROIC STRUGGLE

On September 7, 1939, Mr. Chamberlain sent a message to the Polish nation through their Ambassador, Count Edward Raczynski, on the occasion of the inauguration of news in Polish by the B.B.C. Two days later Count Raczynski himself broadcast to the British people on the sufferings of his country.

W. E. G. in Great Britain are watching with profound admiration the heroic struggle of the Polish forces defending their country and their land. Great Britain and France have entered the war with the determination to aid with all their power the resistance of Poland to aggression.

They are strengthened by the knowledge that they are fighting for things that are greater than the interests of any one country—for honour, justice and the freedom of the world.

Those who have taken up arms in such a cause are assured, whatever sacrifices they may be called upon to make, of victory in the end.

COUNT EDWARD RACZYNSKI, broadcasting, September 9, 1939:

GERMANY attacked Poland suddenly and without any declaration of war on Friday, September 1, in the early hours of the morning. This date will go down in history as a day of shame for the aggressors and as the opening of a new chapter in the life of Europe.

Since that day my country has been incessantly battered by the whole weight of the German armies and continuously harassed by the secret, Air Forces. The losses suffered by Poland in territory and economic resources are certainly great, and owing to the crushing superiority of the enemy in equipment, the Polish armies have not had yet a chance of making full use of their spirit and capacity for resistance.

Why do men of many nations declare their support for the Polish cause? Because there was never a clearer case of unprovoked aggression than that of September 1. No complicated quarrels divided us from Germany. On the contrary, we had a solemn non-aggression pact with the Third Reich, valid until January, 1944. We had no need to establish a case, to compile documents and evidence in order to convince our own people and the world of the justice of our cause. There was no need for propaganda of any kind. Rather the reverse happened, for the Government felt it to be their duty to keep the country calm in the face of brutal provocation, to keep down incidents, and not to give Hess Hitler any excuse for starting a quarrel.

Hitler's Attempt to Justify Aggression

The one excuse invented by the furtive brain of the German Führer, was the alleged maltreatment of the German minority in Poland. The excuse is poor and the intoxication is tuneable, against the position of the German minority in Poland, small in numbers but enjoying an important status due to its money power and to the spirit of tolerance displayed by Poland, stand amazed at the impudence of German mendacity. And this impudence shows no signs of abating. Even today, when the excuse for brutality and aggression could, it seems, be dispensed with, when the real aims of Germany have been disclosed for everyone to see, the German propaganda machine does not stop hammering out the same, the most incredible lies about Polish atrocities....

May I take this opportunity to utter before the whole civilized world the solemn protest against the calamities with which armies are advancing on Poland in an unprovoked aggression. Polish nation will resist to the very last, for the sake of their country. We have not turned our backs on the road of liberty and justice.

But the day of aggression was fixed by the enemy beforehand, with ruthless precision. It was known to be planned for September 1. The day of September 1, and some excuse or other had to be found by that time. When Nazi Germany struck at Poland with all her might, Poland had no choice but to take up arms in defense of her independence. We had to defend our right to live as free men on our own soil and to save our homes and families from Nazi violence.

It is the most bitter thing that could be done to defend the homes of Poland against a cruel and unscrupulous aggressor. And yet, by doing it, Poland turned a new leaf in her recent European history. For Poland was the first nation which dared to defy Hitler's challenge and meet his attack with fire. This act of courage, which has already cost Poland the lives of many of her best sons, and the devastation of some of her provinces and towns, was a great service rendered to all the free nations of the world. The time was bound to come when the Nazi methods of action would meet with strong resistance. But the fact is that Poland was the first nation to do it and she accepted an unequal struggle rather than join the ranks of those who allowed themselves to be the victims of Nazi blackmail.

The daring step of Poland, who took up the German challenge and made a stand in the defense of freedom, had a world importance. It was a signal for all the free nations of the world to get together and fight the system of international slavery both for the German people itself and for all the nations within the reach of the Nazi power. Someone had to hit the German aggressor, and the sooner, the better. In spite of the untold suffering, Poland had to bear the consequences. In the case of Poland, no one in Poland regrets the painful decision made by the Government when it refused to submit to Hitler's tyranny....

Europe Supports the Fight for Freedom

The case of Poland is crystal clear, and that is why it has universal support throughout the world. President Roosevelt was among the first to declare that Poland was invaded and had become the victim of an unprovoked aggression. By refraining from offering any protection and by observing self-control, difficult under the circumstances, Poland presented the Allies with a priceless gift—an invaluable case of a perfectly clear conscience. They can now go into battle certain that no effort was spared by Poland, the immediate victim of aggression, to avoid the calamity the coming of which seemed to be Herr Hitler's particular desire and aim. The old friend of Poland, France, and her new ally, Great Britain, knew that by helping Poland they were defending liberty and they knew that no cause could be more popular among the nations of the world than that of freedom, which Poland symbolizes in her struggle against the Nazi invasion.

They also knew that Poland's spirit will not break down under the strain, and that she is going to remain faithful to her traditions and her Allies whatever happens and however the fortunes of war may vary. Poland is one of the limited number of great historic nations of Europe, and she would not be true to herself if she acted differently.

History has proved that a nation like Poland can be neither destroyed nor permanently oppressed. In the present situation it is to be noted that Poland is stronger today in body and in spirit than she ever was during the last two centuries at least....

The leading principle of Marshal Piłsudski's teaching was that every nation must rely on its own strength, both moral and material. He taught the Poles to believe in their own power and thus gain the confidence of the enemy. The future of only nations which are internally strong and capable of dealing with any situation can survive in the terrible struggle of which Europe is today a part. That is why Poland is a country which is aware of her situation, which is aware of the fact that her survival is a matter of life and death. The Polish people, therefore, will have to strive to achieve a victory which would be their own. The existence of a strong Poland is our goal. It has been our objective since the beginning of the war. We have been fighting, not to be an isolated country, but to make it possible for all the states of the world to join together in a common front against aggression. And the enemies of peace must have realized it, since they aimed at Poland their first and heaviest blow.}

We are all determined to carry the struggle on to the end until a complete and decisive victory. Poland was the first nation to defy the Nazi menace. She is still bearing the whole weight of the German forces, and she will not rest until the freedom of all the nations of Europe, including her own, has been made entirely secure against any danger of invasion or foreign domination.
Chapter 6

AMERICA LOOKS ON: THE CLASH OF SENTIMENT AND POLICY

Reactions to the European Crisis—The Move to Repeal Arms Embargo—Keeping U.S.A. out of the War—German-Soviet Pact and its Portent—Roosevelt's Moving Appeal to the Powers—President's Plea for Restriction of Air Bombing—Torpedoing of the "Athenia"—Congress Debates Neutrality Law

When yet another international crisis arose in August, 1939, to be followed so soon by the opening moves of the war, the reactions of the United States to European affairs naturally assumed a new importance to us. What was the effect in America of events in Europe after the middle of August? What part would the United States play? These were natural questions, prompted as much by the British sense of community with the wealthiest of the democracies as by the narrower considerations of self-interest.

The first step to an understanding of American reactions is the realization that, though Americans might be in the same boat as the British, we and our Allies planned the perilous voyage, and must make ourselves responsible for reaching its destination. A review of American expressions of opinion will show that they see and feel things much as we do, but it behooves us to understand that some of their difficulties are peculiar to the United States. The position of the United States in relation to Great Britain is not unlike Great Britain's in relation to Europe in peacetime. Ideals and material interests make it the friend of the non-aggressive and threatened nations and consequently the enemy of any dominant Power that threatens their integrity and flows the sanctions of international law. Only the necessity of intervening to stop the aggressor's career of ruinous conquest drove Great Britain into war again. The peoples of the British Empire desired peace and would have preferred to help the peaceful and threatened nations by trade agreements, loans, and the supply of arms. Indeed, this was Britain's policy in Europe until the recrudescence of pan-Germanic imperialism under the unscrupulous Nazi regime called urgently for direct intervention. And this was precisely the inevitable attitude and destiny of the United States.

Americans believed with their British cousins that the victory would be inevitably to the economically powerful and non-aggressive Allies: the haves are always bound to defeat the have-nots in the modern world, for even the armaments of war depend upon industrial and economic resources. Therefore British people should realize that the desire of the United States to help the Allies without departing from legal neutrality was not merely typical of normal British policy in Europe, but was based upon well-informed opinion that within the legal bounds of neutrality the United States could ensure the ultimate victory of the Allies simply by letting them buy from America what they require.

Granted the community of ideals and interests, there was nothing surprising in the crystallization of American opinion in favour of the Allies. A series of aggressive and illegal acts by Germany after the annexation of Austria in the spring of 1938 caused political feeling in the United States, until at last European affairs began to eclipse purely American politics, which up to the spring of 1939 raged around the New Deal legislation. The tale of Nazi aggression, reaching a climax in the treacherously prepared attack upon Poland, brought the American public to a fever pitch of interest as well as disguised partisanship, so that in the last week of August the National Broadcasting Company (only one of many in the States) broadcast more than 200 special news bulletins about the crisis and took 99 direct broadcasts from Europe. The press of America was flooded with European news. On August 29 an American commentator flew to England to "cover" the foreseen outbreak of war.

When, after a year of futile indignation and growing uncertainty, Britain found herself irrevocably at war, almost every one was relieved; paradoxically, in our minds we were at last peaceful; but our American friends were thrown into even fiercer political turmoil. All the muddled, arguments of the various types of pacifists as to the best way to defend the cause of peace, which with us in Britain had failed away into nothing with the terrible fact omnipresent of war, gained fresh strength and strung new platforms. A series of unofficial but scientifically conducted ballots had reflected the strong movement of public opinion against Germany

NEUTRALITY SIGNED AND SEALED

As soon as war broke out between Nazi Germany and Britain, France, and Poland, a Neutrality Proclamation was drawn up and signed in Washington by President Roosevelt and his Secretary of State, Cordell Hull. The seal and signatures on the last page of this document are shown above.

Photo: Keystone
THOSE IN FAVOUR OF HELPING DEMOCRACY

Among the followers of President Roosevelt who advocated the repeal of the existing Neutrality Law were Elbert D. Thomas (left), Democrat senator from Utah and an influential member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee; Rear-Admiral Yates Stirling (centre), who asserted that “American security depends on defeating the Dictators” ; and Hugh R. Wilson (right), former Asst. Secretary of State, who was appointed in 1938 American Ambassador to the German Reich. When war broke out in Europe many former opponents of revision swung round and favoured the policy advocated by the President, including many members of the Republican-Democratic bloc which had previously opposed him on this point.

and German propaganda, and revision of the Neutrality Law became the real issue.

As early as July, President Roosevelt had tried and failed to induce the legislature to remove the embargo on the export of arms and munitions to belligerents. Realizing that the repeal of the embargo could only be carried by linking it with the avoidance of war, Roosevelt and his followers took the line which was voiced on August 29 by Louis Johnson, the Assistant Secretary for War, who described the maintenance of the embargo as an encouragement to war. He was at once backed up by Senator Thomas of Utah, who predicted that Congress must repeal the embargo if a European war broke out. Before making this statement he had a talk with President Roosevelt, but the anxiety of the State Department was reflected in his denial of having discussed this vital issue with the President.

Reactions to Poland’s Defeat

Continued opposition from diehard Isolationists, and smaller groups of pro-Nazis, Communists, and the political riff-raff of “the radio priest,” Father Coughlin, was rightly anticipated, but there was a new fervour among the extremists on the other side, and this was expressed also on that anxious 29th of August by Rear-Admiral Yates Stirling, addressing the Veteran Foreign War Convention at Boston. American security, he asserted, “depends on defeating the Dictators when war starts, and one sure way to do that will be to go into the war at first. Framing the Neutrality Laws to keep us from war is like whistling in the dark or fiddling while Rome burns. There is only one way to keep us from war and that is for war not to happen. Therefore, instead of keeping out of foreign disputes that will affect our prosperity and security, we should go into them with both feet.”

The same Convention was rather significantly addressed also in favour of removing the arms embargo by Mr. Hugh Wilson, the American Ambassador who had been recalled from Berlin the previous autumn and ever since had been consulted by the President.

The ground was thus prepared for Roosevelt’s next move when war started. There had been ample indications of a change of heart among former powerful opponents of revision of the Neutrality Law, opponents who had in reality been previously expressing their political antagonism to the President and the New Deal. The Washington correspondent of “The New York Herald Tribune,” for example, asserted that leading members of the Republican-Democratic bloc, which had opposed President Roosevelt’s wishes in July, had decided to change their attitude if war started, and support the removal of “the legal necessity for an automatic embargo on all shipments of arms, munitions, and implements of war.” This was a reminder to the public that, as the law stood, even the orders for engines, aeroplanes, and parts, placed already with American manufacturers by the Allies, would have to be cancelled if the goods were not delivered before war started.

While the campaign for repeal of the arms embargo, and the institution of the “cash-and-carry” plan, was in full swing, the United States public were vividly impressed by the events of the first weeks of war, and also by the growth of the crisis which immediately preceded the invasion of Poland.

The main impressions that the crisis made upon the American public began with the ominous intensification of Nazi press and radio attacks on Poland all through the second half of August. A long conference on August 21 took place at Berchtesgaden between Hitler, von Ribbentrop, and von Papen, German Ambassador to Turkey (and in the first Great War the German Ambassador to the United States until he was expelled). The fruit of this secret conclave was the sensational announcement that Ribbentrop was about to fly to Moscow to complete a non-aggression pact with Stalin. On the 22nd the last of the staff talks took place between Britain, France, and Russia.

Immediate reaction in the United States was expressed by “The New
York Times"; "This is a heavy blow for the Poles if Germany moves. It creates a new problem and increases the risks to Poland's allies. The thought that the Nazis and Bolshevists are moving towards a natural alignment, and that they are a united threat, is of no comfort to the latter. And so, too, is no comfort for the danger such an alignment foreshadows for the Western Powers."

On August 23 the Soviet-Nazi pact was hurriedly signed. American press comment insisted that it affected the position of the United Nations. It was supporting Germany only with propaganda, which had lost its force.

In the United States the orientation of Italy in the last war was remembered. The opinion that Italy now with its ally plunged into war received a kind of confirmation from President Roosevelt's appeal to King Victor Emmanuel to use his influence for peace. This, and a radio appeal from the Pope, were issued in Rome on August 25.

The President, in his message, said:

"It is my belief that of the American people that your just and justly ai should greatly influence the eventual outcome of a war.

"Any general war would cause to suffer all the nations, whether belligerent or neutral, there being no nation too small to suffer. It would clearly bring devastation to the peoples and perhaps the Governments of some nations most directly concerned."

"We in America, having avoided a homogeneous nation out of many nationalities, are often it difficult to visualize the antipathies which so often have created a crisis among nations of Europe which are smaller than ours in population and territory, but we accept the fact that these nations have an absolute right to maintain their national independence if they so desire."

"If that be a sound doctrine, then it must apply to the weaker nations as well as the stronger. The acceptance of this means peace, because fear of aggression ends."

The President went on to recall his proposal made in April, that no armed forces should attack or invade the territory of any other independent nations, and, once this was agreed to, that there should be international conversations, in which the United States should take part, to solve the problems that barred the way to the peaceful economic life of each nation. If the Italian Government could formulate proposals for a peaceful solution, he promised the sympathetic support of the United States.

The President's appeal carried a powerful suggestion into Italy of America's abandonment of its detached attitude to European affairs, and though such appeals were doomed to fail on deaf ears in Germany, the Italians understood, as they understood also the appeal of the Pope: "We beseech these rulers to abandon the policy of threat and mutual suspicion and to endeavor to solve the present difficulties with more loyal and straightforward methods. There was no longer any occasion for surprise that the Italian Government refused to take any initiative in military operations.

Still more pointed, for every U.S. citizen, was the communication to Hitler from Roosevelt, which was published on August 25. This quoted the satisfactory reply of Mussolini to Roosevelt's appeal for negotiating the questions at issue. It then addressed Hitler in these terms:

"Your Excellency has repeatedly and publicly stated that the ends and objectives sought by the German Reich were just and reasonable. In his reply to my message the President of Poland has made it plain that..."
The course of the war thereafter merly confirmed the anti-Nazi sentiment of America, and while outrages such as the torpedoing of the “Athenia” infuriated American resentment against Britain’s enemies, the mendacity of Nazi propaganda was completely exposed by its fantastical incredible and contradictory accusations and excuses. On September 4, the day after the “Athenia” was sunk, occurred the dashing attack by the R.A.F. on Wilhelmshaven and Brunswick, providing an admirable contrast to the German warfare against civilians.

But the aim of most Americans was still to keep out of the war. But September 3 the “Christian Science Monitor” declared that America was more clearly sympathetic with the Allies than it was just before the U.S. entered the last great war, “but there is also in America a resolve not to enter this war.” That view was frequently repeated by politicians of all parties, from the President downward. He had proclaimed American neutrality as he was bound to, on September 5, by which enactment the embargo on shipments of war material to the Allies came into full force. This was a useful argument in the hands of his supporters, who saw in the existing Neutrality Law an unneutral and intolerable assistance to the aggressive land powers of Europe and a denial of Britain’s legal advantages in commanding the seas routes.

The President opened the joint extraordinary session of Congress in the House chamber on September 21 with a call for “the repeal of this neutrality legislation and the return to international law.” His speech certainly underlined one of the reasons why the way of the modern international transgressor is going to be hard. He proposed the fixing of war zones which American merchant vessels should not enter, broader authority to prevent American citizens travelling in ships of belligerents or entering danger areas (this would prevent Americans volunteering in belligerent forces), and what are known as the “cash-and-carry” provisions: (a) that belligerents purchasing commodities from the United States must buy such commodities before shipment, and (b) that war credits to belligerents for such purchases should be banned.

Without these provisions, whatever the President and some of his supporters might prefer, there was little chance of getting the embargo removed. Having described them, he continued: “These terrorist days demand co-operation
ROOSEVELT CHALLENGES THE DIEHARDS

Before Congress, convened in extraordinary session on September 21, 1939, President Roosevelt (shown above seated alone) urged the senators and representatives of the U.S.A. to repeal the arms embargo as being "most vitally dangerous to American neutrality, security and peace." Before a crowded chamber he stated that he could offer no hope that the "shadow over the world might swiftly pass."
between us without a trace of partisanship. Our acts must be guided by one single hard-headed thought—keeping America out of this war.”

Listeners to the American wireless commentator, Raymond Gram Swing, heard his talk relayed by the B.B.C. on September 30, summarizing the progress of the anti-embargo campaign.

Mr. Swing described how just as the forces of national unity seemed uppermost, an astonishingly powerful offensive set in, and expressed itself with such vigour that many Congressmen were intimidated for a time. The leaders of the opposition to revision were mainly the old Isolationists, and their principal argument was that lifting the embargo would lead to extending credit, and then to defending the debtors if they needed help in the war, because they owed so much. But Congressmen came to realize that the apparent force of the campaign by the “pressure groups” was largely “faked,” and due to wholesale organizing of telegrams and postcards in favour of the embargo. College students and even school children had been recruited to sign these messages. Congressmen began once more to remember the carefully organized polls of public opinion, reflecting the overwhelming support of the people for the removal of the arms embargo. Moreover, President Roosevelt had deliberately made the question a non-party one and had conciliated some of the conservative Democrats with whom he had been in conflict. Father Coughlin was more than counterbalanced by the conversion of Senators and Congressmen who had previously been opposed to removing the embargo. Among them, and especially influential, was Al Smith, former Democratic candidate for the Presidency and severe critic of Roosevelt, regarded as the leading Roman Catholic politician in the States.

As the first month of the war drew to a close it became reasonably certain that the United States would shortly revise its Neutrality legislation to enable the Allies to purchase war materials from them. The Bill permitting this was approved on Sept. 26 by the Foreign Relations Committee by 16 votes to 7.

The vote was a non-party one, and although the recalcitrant Isolationists still proclaimed their intention of fighting revision step by step, this legislative enactment became almost a certainty of the near future. And every one of the 137 million American citizens knew that lifting the embargo meant something more than an attempt to preserve their neutrality. It implied their conviction that the United States could not afford to see the Allies defeated.

**AMERICA ADVERTIZES HER NATIONALITY**

In order that belligerent aircraft should be in no doubt as to her nationality, the U.S. liner S.S. “Roosevelt,” before it sailed for the troubled waters of Europe, had painted on its decks, as shown below, a large American flag. With the memory of the “Lusitania” still lingering in American minds, the authorities were taking no chances, especially after the recent “Athenia” outrage.
HITLER STANDS DEFIANT BEFORE THE WORLD

Germany's reply to the British Note calling for the withdrawal of German troops from Poland, and to the Ultimatum which expired at 11 a.m. on September 3, 1939, was handed to our Ambassador later in the same day.

Here are extracts from this document.

The Reich Government and the German nation refuse to accept, or even to satisfy, demands in the form of an ultimatum from the British Government.

For many months there has been a virtual state of war on our Eastern frontier. After the German Government had torn up the Treaty of Versailles all friendly settlements were refused to the Government.

The National Socialist Government has endeavoured repeatedly since the year 1932 to remove the worst forms of coercion and violations of its rights contained in this Treaty.

It was always, in the first instance, the British Government that, by its unbending attitude, prevented any practical revision.

Germany has neither the intention nor has she put forward the demand to annihilate Poland.

The Reich only demanded the revision of those articles of the Treaty of Versailles which form the consequences of the dictations of 1919, at the time the dictate was being drafted, as intolerable, and therefore, impossible in the long run not only for a great nation but also for the whole political and economic interest of Eastern Europe.

British Blank Cheque to Poland

Britain statesmen also described the solution in the East at that time as the germ of war to come. It was the intention of all German Governments and of the new National Socialist Government in particular, to remove this danger.

The British Government is to be blamed for having prevented this peaceful revision. By an action, which is unique in history, the British Government gave the Polish State a blank cheque for any action against Germany which that State might intend to carry out.

The British Government promised military help to the Polish Government unreservedly in the event of Germany's defending herself against any provocation or attack. Therefore the Polish terror assumed intolerable dimensions against the Germans living in territories torn away from Germany.

The German Government, profoundly affected by the suffering of the German population, tortured and inhumanly maltreated by the Poles, watched patiently for five months without even once adopting a similar aggressive attitude towards Poland.

It merely warned Poland that these occurrences would become intolerable if they continued, and that it was determined to take the matter into its own hands if the German population got no help from elsewhere.

 Mussolini's Proposal Rebuffed

The British Government was fully aware of all these events. It should have been easy for the British Government to make use of its great influence in Warsaw to warn the rulers in that State they were not to justify their actions and humanity and to observe the existing regulations.

The British Government did not do this. On the contrary, while constantly pressing its pledge to assist Poland under all circumstances, it encouraged the Polish Government to continue its criminal attitude which endangered European peace.

In accordance with this spirit the British Government rebuffed Signor Mussolini's proposal which could still have saved the peace of Europe, though the German Government had declared itself willing to accept it.

The British Government, therefore, bears the responsibility for all the misfortune and suffering which has now come upon many nations and will come in the future.

The German Government and the German nation have given innumerable assurances to the British people that they want an understanding and earnest friendship. The British Government has rebuffed up to now all these offers, and has answered them now with an open threat of war.

THE FUEHRER TO THE GERMAN NATION

That same fateful Sunday three messages from Hitler were broadcast: one to the German nation, reproduced below, another to the German Army on the Western Front, and the third to the Nazi Party.

England has for centuries pursued the aim of rendering the peoples of Europe defenseless against the British policy of world conquest by proclaiming a balance of power, in which England claimed the right to attack on threadbare pretexts and destroy that European State which at theoright seemed most strong.

Thus at one time she bought the world power of Spain, later the Dutch, then the French, and, since the year 1871, the German.

We ourselves have been witnesses of the policy of encirclement which has been carried on by England against Germany since before the war.

Just as the German nation had begun, under its National Socialist leadership, to recover from the humiliating consequences of Versailles and threatened to survive the crisis, British encirclement immediately began once more.

The British war机器 were spread the lie before the war, that the battle was only against the House of Hohenzollern or Germans millennium, that they had no designs on German colonies, that they had no intention of taking the German merchant fleet.

They then oppressed the German people under the Versailles dictate. The faithful fulfilment of this dictate would have sooner or later exterminated 30,000,000 Germans.

I undertook to mobilize the masses of the German nation against this and to secure work and bread for these. I have many times offered England and the English people the understanding and friendship of the German people. I have always been repelled.

I had for years been aware that the aim of those war machines had for long been to take Germany by surprise at favourable opportunity.

I am more fully determined than ever to beat back this attack, Germany shall not again capitulate. There is no sense in sacrificing one life after another and submitting to an even worse Versailles dictate.

We have never been a nation of slaves, and will not be one in the future.

Great Sacrifices Demanded From All

Whatever Germans in the past had to sacrifice for the existence of our nation they shall not be greater than those which we are today prepared to make.

This resolve is an inexorable one. It necessitates the most thorough measures and imposes on us one law above all others:

If the soldier is fighting at the front, no one shall profit by the war. If the soldier falls at the front no one at home shall evade his duty.

As long as the German people were united it has never been conquered. It was the lack of unity in 1918 that led to collapse.

Whoever offends against this unity must expect nothing else than annihilation as an enemy of the nation.

If our people fulfills its highest duty in this sense then God will help us. Who has always bestowed His mercy on him who was determined to help himself.
STIRRING MESSAGES TO THREE GREAT NATIONS

From the many grave statements made and the inspiring messages broadcast on September 3rd, it may fairly be said that Britain and France declare war on Prussia; and four more: H.M. the King, speaking from Buckingham Palace; the Prime Minister in a message broadcast to the German people in their own language; M. Daladier in a broadcast to the French nation; and M. Lebrun's message to the French Senate.

Historic Documents. IX-XII

His Majesty The King

In this grave hour, perhaps the most critical in our history, I send to every household of my people, both at home and overseas, this message, spoken with the same depth of feeling for each one of you as if I were able to cross your threshold and speak to you myself.

For the second time in the history of the world, we are at war. Over and over again we have tried to find a peaceful way out of the differences between ourselves and those who are our present enemies. But it has been in vain.

We have been forced into this. We are called, with our allies, to meet the challenge of this principle which, if it were to prevail, would be fatal to any civilized order in the world.

It is the principle which permits a State, in the selfish pursuit of power, to disregard its treaties and its solemn pledges; which sanctions the use of force, or threat of force, against the sovereignty and independence of other States. Such a principle, stripped of all disguise, is surely not a more primitive doctrine than that which our own countrymen of the Commonwealth of the United States established in 1776.

But far more than this—the people of the world would be kept in the bond of fear, and all hopes of settled peace, and of the security of justice and liberty among nations, would be ended.

This is the final issue which confronts us. For the sake of all that we ourselves hold dear, and of the world's order and peace, it is unthinkable that we should refuse to meet the challenge.

It is this high purpose that I now call upon the people at home and my peoples across the seas, who will make our cause their own.

I ask you to stand calm, firm and united in this time of trial. The task will be hard. There may be dark days ahead, and war can no longer be confined to the battlefield. But we can do the right as we see the right, and severally commit our cause to God.

If one and all we keep resolutely faithful to it, ready for whatever sacrifice or sacrifice it may demand, then, with God's help, we shall prevail.

May He bless and keep us all.

Mr. Chamberlain's Broadcast

Germans people!

Your country and mine are now at war. Your Government has bombèd and invaded the free and independent State of Poland, which this country is in honour bound to defend.

You are told by your Government that you are fighting because Poland rejected your Leader's offer and resolved to resist. What are the facts? The so-called 'offer' was made to the Polish Ambassador in Berlin on Thursday evening, two hours before the announcement by your Government that it had been 'rejected.' So far from having been rejected, there had been no time even to consider it.

You may ask why Great Britain is concerned. We are concerned because we gave our word of honour to defend Poland against aggression. Why did we make it necessary to pledge ourselves to defend this Eastern Power when our interest is in the West, and when your Leader has said he has no interest in the West? The answer is that—and I regret to have to say it—that nobody in this country any longer places any trust in your Leader's word.

You have heard that he would respect the Locarno Treaty; he broke it. He gave his word that he would not withdraw his troops; he broke it. He declared that he would not incorporate the Gabona; he did so. He gave his word after Munich that he had no further territorial demands in Europe; he broke it. He gave his word that he would not attack Poland; he broke it. He has sworn to you for years that he was the moral enemy of Bolshevism; he is not now its ally.

Can you wonder his word is, for me, not worth the paper it is written on?

The German-Soviet Pact was a cynical act of treachery, designed to shatter the Peace Front against aggression. The gambit failed. The Peace Front stands firm. Your Leader is now sacrificing you, the German people, to the still more monstrous gamble of a war to extinguish himself from the impossible position into which he has led himself and you.

In this war we are not fighting against you, the German people, for whom we have no bitter feeling, but against a tyrant and aspiring nation which has betrayed not only its own people but the whole of Western civilization and all that you and we hold dear.

May God defend the right!

M. Daladier to the French Nation

Français and Frenchmen, since September 1st, at the dawn of day, Poland has been the victim of the most brutal and cynical of aggressions. Her army is heroically resisting the invaders.

The responsibility for the bloodshed rests wholly on the Hitlete Government. The fate of peace was in the hands of Hitler. He has willed war.

France and Great Britain have multiplied their efforts to save peace. Even this morning they made an urgent démarche in Berlin, addressing a last appeal to reason to the German Government, and asking that a halt should be called to hostilities and peaceful negotiations opened. Germany met us with a refusal.

She had already refused an answer to all the men whose voices have been raised in these last few days in favour of world peace.

She thus wishes for the destruction of Poland, so as to be able later to ensure the domination of the whole of Europe and the enslavement of France.

By standing up against the most horrible of all tyrannies and by making good our word, we are fighting to defend our land, our homes and our liberty.

I have worked without respite against war up to the last minute, and my conscience is clear.

I abhor with revolt and abhor our young soldiers who are now going to accomplish the sacred duty which we have yourselves carried out. They can have confidence in their leaders, worthy of those who have already led France to victory.

The cause of France is linked with that of justice. It is that of all peaceful and free nations. It will be victorious.

President of France to the Senate

You have met at a critical moment of our national life; we have broken out of the war, the last Europe, are killing each other, innocent victims full machine-gunned from the air.

Two peoples had differences to settle. They could have done that by free and loyal negotiations, as they were advised to do from all sides. At the moment when their plenipotentiaries were about to meet, France attacked Poland, thus creating a state of war which nothing could justify.

Britain and France, essentially attached to a policy of peace, wisdom and moderation, have done everything humanly possible to avert this crisis.

For some days past our young men have been mounting guard on the frontier, and today general mobilization summons all our forces to the defense of the country.

As spokesman of the nation, I address to our forces on land and sea, and to the whole affectionate country, and the expression of the unanimous confidence of this country...
Chapter 7

THE HOME FRONT: CIVIL DEFENCE AGAINST THE NEW WARFARE


Totalitarian war waged by a totalitarian state requires totalitarian defence: it is aimed at the civilian, the home, and the family, and these must be used to defend themselves to the utmost if defeat is to be prevented. In that spirit, and for that reason, the man in the street and his wife and children in Great Britain took up the arms of defence against Nazism; they became soldiers under discipline and in uniform—and accepted their fate philosophically.

It would be far from the truth to say that Britain's civilian population "rushed" to join the innumerable organizations which had to be formed to defend their homes against possible invasion from the air. Few of them were actually desirous of putting off the black coat and white collar, or the corduroy trousers and scarf, of their daily working life in order to don the khaki or navy blue, the steel helmet, the service respirator, the decontamination suit, of the voluntary or paid services on the home front. "Mädchen in Uniform" was to them a German ideal, not a British one: regimentation of the population was a Nazi method, not a democratic one; and they feared, perhaps with some justice, that in adopting a totalitarian defence against a totalitarian war Britain might take an irrecoverable step towards the abyss of a totalitarian state. They had laughed too often at uniformed Germany, with its brown and black shirts, its Labour Corps, its women's Home Army, its marching, drilling, booted bands of all kinds, to wish to imitate it in Britain.

Apart from these considerations there were three stages in the history of Britain's attitude towards Civil Defence. First, the apathetic: people could not believe that war would ever come, or, if they did realize it, preferred to transfer the burden of defending themselves to others. Second, the contemptuous: this strange attitude appeared after the introduction of conscription with the Militia Act; those who took up Civil Defence work about this time were despised as seeking "soft" jobs to avoid being called up, when the time came, for active service. Jews were particular victims of this unjust and stupid idea, but thousands of others suffered from the same misconstruction of their motives.

Third, the enthusiastic: this, the last, most successful yet most dangerous period, began only a month or two before war broke out. It had by then dawned on most people that the war of nerves could culminate only in a war of arms. Acts of Parliament had made it compulsory upon employers to provide some form of shelter and some trained personnel for the protection of their staffs; and the enthusiasm of the comparatively few who had by now completed their training had spread to the presumed remainder. Propaganda was by now going full blast; vast exhortatory posters appeared in Trafalgar Square and Piccadilly Circus; the constant repetition of the catch phrase "We've got to be prepared," seen wherever one went—on posters, handbills, hoardings, motor-car windows—at last bore fruit.

The danger in this period of enthusiasm was that folk of all ages and all states of health and mind flocked to join services to which many were not suited, light-heartedly undertook pledges which they would never be able to carry out, and almost overwhelmed the skeleton organization which had been prepared to receive them. It says much for a multitude of official officials that the organization did not entirely break down; hosts of unrecognized Town Clerks bore a national burden in these few short pre-war months.

The result was that by that fateful September 3 Britain had "muddled through" with an extraordinary measure of success. At 11.15 a.m. on that day the Home Front became perhaps the most important factor in the maintenance of war.

Compared with the state of its Civil Defence twelve months previously, Britain had accomplished a miracle. In September, 1938, when the Munich meeting stopped war, the Home Front was represented by a few trenches in public places; an assortment of ill-equipped and often out-of-date anti-aircraft guns; and an alarming lack of trained personnel. And this remarkable paucity of preparations was accomplished with a maximum of undirected or diffused effort. "Look on this picture, and on this." In September, 1939 the whole organization of Civil Defence came into force: with comparative absence of strain; it "took over" with the smoothness of a well-oiled and well-tended machine. Suddenly—almost before the non-service civilian could realize it—everyone was on duty; the cities were transformed, the country was one vast camp.

How was it done? In August, 1914 the whole Civil Defence of Britain consisted of Martello towers built to repel Napoleon, a little harrowed wire and a few trenches in our eastern coastal
and "Wrens" (Women's Royal Naval Service), and that was about the sum total of civilian effort. In September, 1938, the term "National Service" was heard for the first time, but the call brought little response, and even Government activity was, as mentioned above, limited and undirected. Our unpreparedness in those days of 1938 was more than distressing; after three years of "rearmament" and seven years of National government Britain was "wide open" to attack and barely able to offer any offence in return.

Twelve months passed, and those twelve months witnessed, in effect, the whole history of the Home Front as it appeared in September, 1939. The first three months of that year of effort were occupied in laying the plans. Then, on January 25, 1939, the campaign for National Service was launched in real earnest by the Prime Minister. The following day there was a great Rally at the Albert Hall, and on January 25 the first copies of the National Service Handbook—a compendium of all the forms of service then open to the public—were distributed. Local Committees were formed to direct operations in their own neighbourhood, and the Ministry of Labour had already added the words "and National Service" to its title.

It was in January, too, that there was issued the first Schedule of Reserved Occupations—subsequently many times revised. This was planned to avoid errors in recruitment. Certain workers, whose labours would always be essential in industry, were forbidden to offer themselves for any form of National Service; others were allowed to enlist in A.R.P. and kindred organizations only. The first Schedule was, as it turned out, an absurdity; almost the whole nation seemed to be "reserved" for essential work. But the idea was sound, and later revisions of the Schedule served a most valuable purpose—to avoid the mistakes of the last war, when patriotic miners and other key workers on the home front had to be taken back to their trades from the fighting line.

Another notable date in the pre-war history of National Service was the great march-past of 26,000 volunteers before the King and Queen in Hyde Park. This took place on July 2, 1939. With the storm-clouds gathering even then, this was a stirring and a heartening sight.

In the meantime there had been a general and widespread demand for a National Register, on which conscription and other necessary acts of Government could be based. After much delay the idea was accepted, and a compulsory census for general war purposes was taken on September 29. It was hoped that it would be found invaluable in filling the gaps in service and in issuing rationed foods to the people. But the fact that Britons

Everyman's Proof of Identity

On the night of Friday, September 29, 1939, the nation was registered, and during the following few days every man, woman and child in the country received an identity card like that above. The letters on the left at top are those of the district group; the number (15) following it that allotted to the household, and the next number (3) is that of the individual in the household, "William Brown."
TRAINED MEN AND EAGER ‘ROOKIES’

Regular Army, Territorials and Militia are now a single entity—the British Army. On the right is a Territorial unit well known to Londoners, the Queen’s Westminster, seen passing the Houses of Parliament on August 5, 1939, after their annual training. Below, smiling members of the second batch of Militiamen to be called up are reporting for duty.

Photos, Press Photo; Central Press

know that they were fighting on the side of freedom, despite these enforced Government measures, was clearly demonstrated by Mr. Horne-Bolisha’s statement that volunteers for the Army in the first month of war outnumbered the conscript Militiamen by two to one. Compulsion had come, but few waited to be compelled to serve their country in her time of need.

The Army is dealt with in detail in another chapter, but a few words must be said here concerning its Territorial and Militia arms. Long before Hitler came on the scene—in fact, immediately after the First Great War—the Territorial Army was founded on the basis of the old Territorial Force, and its first members (the nucleus of the great volunteer army of 1939) were the real torchbearers of the spirit of National Service. The value placed by the War Office on these “citizen soldiers” was shown years afterwards (actually in 1935) when virtually all the anti-aircraft and coastal defence—guns, searchlights, and so on—was placed in the hands of the T.A. By 1937 the original one A.A. Division had become two; in June, 1938 this had become five (forming a Corps), and finally, in March, 1939, the five Divisions became an A.A. Command of seven Divisions.

This month was an historic one in the annals of the T.A., for it was then that the War Minister launched the greatest peace-time recruiting drive ever known. His slogan was “Double Up and Double the Territorial Army”—and right well did the young men of Britain take his advice. This
WOMAN VOLUNTEERS FOR AIR PATROL

One of the earliest organizations to be founded as part of the Home Front was the Civil Air Guard, open to civilian pilots, men and women, who received instruction at flying clubs all over the country at reduced rates. Here is an instructor with a fair member of her corps.

The spirit of these conscripts was as keen as that of the volunteers, and nothing but praise was heard on all sides for their work. The first batch were called up in July, and a second (later known as the Army Class) after the outbreak of war, in September. They were to be reinforced by the 21 age group, the first to be called up under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, a wartime measure.

The Militia had its naval counterpart in the Royal Naval Special Reserve, but the Silent Service is also proud of its own highly trained volunteers in the R.N.V.R. (Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve) and its younger brother, the R.N.V. Special Reserve. Medical tests for these services are probably the most severe of all, and the waiting list has long been enormous. The R.N.V.R. also developed an Air Section, and there was a R.N.V. (Wireless) Reserve, both highly popular services.

A recruiting office estimate at the time was that at least one in three of the young men who volunteered wanted to join the Air Force—and what could
AS "SUPREME COMMANDER" ON THE EASTERN FRONT

Soon after Germany had invaded Poland, Hitler proceeded to the theatre of war to superintend operations. As Sir Nevil Henderson acutely remarked in his "Final Report," issued as a White Paper, the "corporal of the last war was anxious to prove what he could do as a conquering generalissimo in the next." Above is seen at a captured Polish air base studying a map with General von Rundstedt (right), who commanded the 8th Army Group.
TWO REASONS FOR GERMAN SUCCESS IN POLAND

Here are two phases of the war on the Polish front. Above, the German use of their aeroplanes for transport: bicycles and ammunition are being unloaded from a 'plane by German soldiers. Below is a German anti-aircraft gun mounted in a railway wagon at Kartuzy (Kartkaz), in the former Polish Corridor, shortly after its capture by German troops. Mechanization by air and ground contributed more than any other means to the speed of the German advance.
BEFORE RUSSIA INTERVENED IN POLAND

Until the collapse of Poland was hastened by the blow in the rear from the Soviet armies, it seemed that her forces would be able to make a stand along the line of the rivers east of Warsaw. Top, Polish troops going into advanced trenches outside Warsaw; below, Polish infantry relaxing after gas drill while waiting to go into action.

Photos: Planet News
BREST-LITOVSK REVISITED — OR THE TABLES TURNED

A Soviet representative is here seen arriving by armoured car at Brest-Litovsk to discuss with Nazi army leaders the division of Polish territory. It will be remembered that it was at Brest-Litovsk, in February, 1918, that Russia signed a peace treaty with the Central Powers which, territorially, put back the frontier of Russia 10 miles where it had stood in the 17th century and almost shut out the U.S.S.R. from the sea.
be more natural in an air-minded age, in a country whose aerial tradition bids fair to rival the age-old call of the sea. The Auxiliary Air Force, arranged like the regular force on a squadron basis, and like the T.A. on a Territorial basis, had long been famous for its efficiency; and its squadrons raised for the balloon barrage since early in 1938 carried on the tradition.

The R.A.F.V.R. (Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve) dated from 1936. Since the virtual closing of the A.A.F. (Auxiliary Air Force) flying squadrons to new volunteers it had borne the burden of the many thousands of aspiring "part-time" pilots, observers, gunners, airmen, and all the rest who wanted to get into the air or at least to help the R.A.F. on the ground. After the war began, the only "duration" enlistments allowed were in the R.A.F.V.R. (There was, of course, no T.A., no R.N.V.R., and no R.A.F.V.R. in the peacetime sense; all were merged into the regular Services as full-time fighting men.)

Another outlet for the airminded was the Civil Air Guard. This provided cheap flying instruction at the clubs for men and women who guaranteed in return to offer their services in time of emergency. It was formed in July, 1936. Also under the Air Ministry was the Observer Corps whose important task it was to be the front-line "ears" of Britain's air defence. They were civilians who normally served in their own neighbourhood, under conditions like those of special constables.

A service which should not be forgotten is the Air Defence Cadet Corps, for boys of 14 to 18. This was founded by the Air League, but the Air Cadets proved so useful that many squadrons were taken over by the R.A.F.

Thus, when war did come on September 3, 1939, the great influx of volunteers (as well as regulars) meant that the ranks were filled almost to overflowing. Enlistment for the Navy, Army, and Air Force had even to be strictly limited, and for some time few recruits could be taken in certain categories of service. What a contrast to those dark days of 1914, when appeal after appeal had to be made for every available man to fill the great gaps in the fighting services!

Let us now turn to Civil Defence proper—the A.R.P. services, which were the chief means of putting such vast numbers of citizens on a "wartime" footing, and which brought home to the man in the street the fact that this war would be a "home" war against English men as well as against England.

A.R.P. had first seen the light of day as long before as May, 1935, when an A.R.P. department was formed at the Home Office. Little definite was done for years after that, and the A.R.P. Act which became law on January 1, 1938, aroused little popular enthusiasm or even notice. Nevertheless, it was a far-reaching measure: it gave powers jointly to the Home Office and Local Government authorities to enforce the institution of a full system of A.R.P., including properly trained fire-fighting services. But it was only the September crisis of 1938 that brought home the urgency of the matter—what with the first fitting of gas-masks by the first voluntary wardens and helpers, the digging of trenches, the piling of sandbags, and the furnishing of gas "refuge rooms."

Thereafter voluntary recruitment to the A.R.P. services increased by leaps and bounds, and soon almost every family had some member who was a part-time worker, or trained in Civil Defence organizations.

No words can too highly praise the sacrifices made by thousands of already fully occupied men and women, who voluntarily gave up precious time to training for all kinds of war work. Respectable business men endured indignities as they puffed round improvised parade-grounds, in full war kit, to test their fitness for a wardenship; their wives, emerging from travelling "gas-vans," coughed, wept and spluttered their determination to do their bit in the suburb or village; their sons took up the truncheon of the Special Constabulary, or War Reserve Police; their daughters donned the overalls of the C.A.G. (Civil Air Guard), swotted the details of the internal combustion engine, and grew grubbier day by day with oil and carbon. Others drilled, climbed ladders and

WOMEN IN UNIFORM

At the Great Hyde-Park parade of the voluntary services on July 2, 1939, all the women's organizations were represented. Above, for example, are seen (left to right) members of the A.T.S., W.R.N.S., W.A.A.F., the Ambulance Corps, and the Women's Land Army, photographed together at that parade.

Associated Press
WHILE THE MEN ARE AWAY

Today, with the development of mechanization and the resources of science, and better organization than in 1914, agriculture is in a position to increase very considerably the country's supplies of home-grown food, and the Women's Land Army is making good any deficiency in the numbers of agricultural workers. Here, women tractor drivers are seen ploughing at the East Sussex Agricultural College, Flimpton, where they receive training.

Sport and Service

handled hoes, clad in the A.F.S. (Auxiliary Fire Service) boiler suit; still more became First Aid experts after attending courses of lectures at the office or factory.

Sir Samuel Hoare, who was at the time Home Secretary—but later replaced Sir John Anderson, Britain's first Minister of Civil Defence, as Lord Privy Seal—made a nation-wide appeal for 1,000,000 A.R.P. volunteers in March, 1938. By December the figure had already been surpassed! Nevertheless, the call for men and women for "passive defence" went on—and con-
tinued after war had been declared. An organization, practically non-existent up to 1938 had, by September of that year, nearly a million and a half volunteers in the various branches of A.R.P., ready day and night to "do their bit."

Firemen, wardens, ambulance workers, decontamination, rescue, and demolition squads, first-aid parties, clerks, messengers, motor-drivers, and a host of other categories were called for, and the call was answered. A complete "army," with branches if anything more miscellaneous than those of a fighting army, grew gradually into shape in these few short months. Training was difficult—"instructors were lacking in some branches for a considerable time—but somehow achieved; the spirit of "help one another" was seen in this connexion to be as strong in Britain as it had ever been. Money was, of course, poured out "like water" on the organisation, but, taken by and large, it was well spent. Complaints of waste and of profiteering at the State's expense were ventilated and action was, in most cases, quickly taken. The decision to pay an approximate all-round wage of £3 per week to the majority of full-time A.R.P. workers led to many abuses, but justified itself in most districts. Such abuses as were discovered early in the war—the taking of up paid A.R.P. service by four or five members of one family, which thus had the quite unnecessarily large incomes of £12 or £16 per week, is one example—were put right by action of local authorities; and ratespayers' associations were quick to point out other wasteful expenditure.

The Civil Defence Service was, of course, organized in the expectation of daily air raids from the moment war began. Had that expectation been justified by events, no complaint would have been raised on the grounds of expense. As it turned out, however, no air raids at all was experienced in the first period of the war; the vast organization provided was thus "unemployed," and the sight of hosts of mobilized wardens, fire-fighters, first-aid parties, etc., standing idle naturally aroused the wrath of rates and taxpayers. Reorganization was at once taken in hand, and a "waste-out" process began in October—whence it had fair to reduce to a minimum the expense of the mobilization of Home Front fighters.

Let us turn now to the magnificent efforts of women volunteers. With the foundation under Lady Reading in June, 1938, of the Women's Voluntary Service organization, a "voluntary employment exchange" unparalleled anywhere, the energies of a host of womenfolk were directed to A.R.P. work and other forms of service such as the A.T.S. (Auxiliary Territorial Service), W.R.N.S., W.A.A.F. (Women's Auxiliary Air Force), Women's Land Army, Civil Nursing Reserve, British Red Cross, Order of St. John, etc. Some organizations were soon "waste-out."

The Auxiliary Territorial Service, formed in September, 1938, existed to perform a variety of non-combatant duties by the side of its Army brothers. It had officers, N.C.O.s and "other ranks" in much the same way
London’s A.R.P. in realistic rehearsal.

London, as a vital centre, endeavoured by means of frequent rehearsals to maintain at a high pitch of efficiency the various branches of civil defence. Our photographs show: (top, left) Admiral Sir Edward Evans, one of London’s Regional A.R.P. Commissioners, bending over a "casualty" during an air-raid rehearsal at Islington; (top, right) entrance to a public air-raid shelter in Fleet Street; (above, left) an A.R.P. warden reporting after A.R.P. exercises in Piccadilly; (above, right) a decontamination squad at work in a Chelsea street.
WILLING HANDS FOR CASUALTIES

Above is seen a Casualty Evacuation Train during an air-raid rehearsal. Stretcher-bearers of the St. John Ambulance Brigade are lifting a "casualty" into the train prior to its departure for a place of safety. On the train a staff of nurses is in readiness to deal with the injured. Many such trains were in readiness as soon as war broke out.

Fox Photos

The Army, and included in its 20,000 "soldiers" the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry—the famous F.A.N.Y.s—and the Women's Legion. The Women's Royal Naval Service was re-born in March, 1939, and its members (the "Wrens") took up duty at our naval ports. The Women's Auxiliary Air Force, another important service, was formed four months later. Many members of the Women's Legion (Mechanized Transport) were drafted to the W.A.A.F.

The girls of the Land Army, soon 25,000 strong, helped the farmers in their vital task of garnering and preserving Britain's food supply. The Nursing Auxiliaries and other members of the Civil Nursing Reserve, whose members were three times as numerous as the Land Army, came into action in the hospitals at the outbreak of war. Many women, too, placed their names on the various registers of "specialists"—engineers, doctors, and so on—or on the valuable "life donor" or blood-transfusion service.

The men—and the women, who were mostly clerks and telephone operators—in the Auxiliary Fire Service became a presence with whom familiarity bred the opposite of contempt. By the side of the experienced "regular" firemen they displayed in emergency every sort of quality needed in such an important part of National Service. In London alone there were already 36,000 of them in July, 1939, and 200,000 throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Service had been founded in February, 1937.

The volunteer Police reserves, about 250,000 strong, were divided into the Special Constabulary (the so-called "Second Reserve") and the War Reserve (the "Third Reserve"). Many men in both services became full-time police, with full police uniforms.

The wardens, ambulance drivers and similar A.R.P. workers were in every case under the control of the local authority, and organization varied within wide limits. Some were paid full-time personnel, but the great majority gave up part of their leisure quite voluntarily and without recompense to long periods on duty at their posts, or on patrol, at training exercises, lectures, enforcing the lighting black-out, and so on.

While the workers willingly gave themselves to defend their homes and families, it was also made impossible for employers to shirk their responsibilities. Under the Civil Defence Act (July, 1939) every employer of more than 50 persons was forced to provide A.R.P. training and proper shelter for his staff. Many had anticipated this demand and had already perfected their schemes before that date, but the majority had left this provision to the last minute (the end of September, under the Act), and by no means all business houses and factories were supplied with shelter and trained personnel when war broke out. Employees, in general, lagged behind their employers in realization of the urgency of Civil Defence; but war forced action upon them, and within about six weeks most had complied with the regulations.

A word should be said here in tribute to the hundreds of employees who voluntarily remained on night duty (as enforced by the Home Office) for firefighting, gas-decontamination, and first-aid, at their employers' premises. Unpaid and sometimes unpraised, they kept watch by night over the property of employers who often had made little or no provision for their workers' safety by day. Dim figures moving about the deserted blocks of London's offices during the long hours of the night, they deserved more than the free meal or two which they received; most of all, they deserved public recognition.

Such was Britain's Home Front in September, 1939. This brief survey has only lightly sketched the vast picture of a country at war; the problem of evacuation, and the part which voluntary workers played in it, is dealt with in another chapter. But it gives some indication of the astonishingly strong spirit of sacrifice and willingness manifested. German propagandists were never tired of proclaiming that the "degenerate" democracies were so effete as to be incapable of fighting in their own defence against militant National Socialism. They overlooked the British character, which refuses compulsion but voluntarily accepts with good heart burdens that other, compulsions-tainted countries, would shirk if they could. For that reason unity, which is imposed on Germany, grows naturally in the free soil of democracy; and for that reason it will endure to the end and withstand all attacks more firmly. The Nazi may point proudly to the empty façade of an enslaved nation with one race, one realm and one leader: Britons rely on the firm foundation laid by a public spirit which, though it prides itself on having a mind of its own, is built up into a solid edifice by any call to sacrifice in the name of the freedom dearer than life itself.
HITLERISM - "IL FAUT EN FINIR"

Time and again it was emphasized by British spokesmen that it was not the German people we were fighting, but Hitlerism. Below are given three striking utterances on this distinction, first, extractions from a broadcast on September 11 by Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, Dominion Secretary; second, a statement issued, also on September 11, by the Ministry of Information in reply to a speech by Field-Marshal Goering; and third, a passage from Mr. Chamberlain’s address in the House of Commons on September 13.

Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden

A week has passed since this country found itself at war with Nazi rule in Germany, and today we are a united people, more closely knit one to another in our common resolve than at any time in our history. More united, if that were possible, and certainly no less determined than when some twenty-five years ago, we pledged ourselves to fight in a good cause. For such a cause we are fighting with one heart and mind today. How has this come about?

First, we have a good conscience. The White Paper which the Government recently made public and which disclosed the story of the ten days that preceded the outbreak of war has made it clear beyond a doubt that the Government not only strove to keep the peace but took great risks for peace.

Every inducement was offered Herr Hitler to enter the way of peaceful negotiation. The Polish Government had accepted this principle of negotiation. Herr Hitler deliberately and with calculated malice made negotiation impossible. Instead he chose to embark upon a war of naked aggression.

The German Chancellor carried cynical dissimulation so far as finally to invade Poland because Poland had failed to accept peace proposals which she had never even received from the Government. There has never been a more flagrant violation of international goodwill.

Poland was ready to negotiate, as Czechoslovakia was ready to negotiate a year ago. Herr Hitler has preferred force. He has met the challenge by force; he has sought to subdue and to destroy; he has violated treaties, and is violating the rights of the Polish people.

"Broken Vows and Discarded Pledges"

This is the lesson Herr Hitler — we are assured — with no alternative but to turn against Poland, with whom some five years ago he had solemnly signed a pact which was to run for ten years.

Faced with such a catalogue of broken vows and discarded pledges, how is it possible to escape the conclusion that the Treaty of Versailles was a grievance to redress, but a pretext for the use of force? Five times in the last eight years the rulers of Germany have embarked with only the slightest pretext upon a war of aggression. Against peaceful Denmark in 1934, against Austria in 1936, against Norway in 1939, against France in 1940, against the whole world in 1941 to 1945, and now against France, Poland and Great Britain in 1940.

With such a record, broadcast to the world by the world’s greatest nation, had they been honest and sincere, might we think that they would accept to negotiate with nations which wanted nothing more than to live at peace with Germany.

Herr Hitler and his Nazi associates would have none of it. Flooding all their propaganda with history, ignoring or deciding even the most serious issues of our own country’s experience of British character, they preferred yet once more the path of falsehood, the path of calumny, and of bloodshed, the path of anarchy and war.

Thirdly, our determination is unshaken. This nation has broken out in circumstances which have no parallel. Herr Hitler is invading Poland with the help of overwhelming numbers and marked air superiority, while he acts on the defensive in the West. The world, where he once led, is leading to strange illusions among the Nazi leaders, which last best be dispelled.

Let there be no mistake about this. Our determination to see this war through to the end is unshaken. We must make it clear to the Nazi leaders that this country, that the German people that this country, as the Prime Minister has said, has not gone to war about the fate of a far-away city in a foreign land. We have decided to fight to show that aggression does not pay, and the German people must realize that this country means, we shall go on fighting until this goal is reached.

Field-Marshal Goering

Extract from his address to German workmen on September 9, followed by the reply issued by the Ministry of Information.

"You (Mr. Chamberlain) cannot doubt the will for peace of the German people. It is great and deep, and the peace will of the Pangerl is very deep. It rests with you, Mr. Chamberlain. Will you give the word for life or death? Then give it and we will take the offer. But never again shall there be a Versailles."

We are prepared for an acceptable peace and equally equally do not expect to force the hands of the British Government. But it is equally equally certain that the war has raised up the German people. Shall we be parted from such a leader as the leader of Great Britain? It is too monstrous to speak of it. We want peace, but peace at the price of our leader is not to be thought of. To destroy our leader is to destroy the German nation.

The Ministry of Information

Britain has made many promises to foreign countries; none of them has been kept. It is therefore not surprising that no confidence is felt in any assurance he may give, and Great Britain is therefore justified in requiring that peace should be concluded with a German Government whose word may be trusted.

But the German Government have also misled the German people—who were promised "peace and honour.

They have not got peace because the German Government have deliberately pursued a policy of violence which has made war inevitable. They have not got honour because the world recognizes the cruelty and violence of the German Government’s charges against Poland.

"The sickening technique," as the Prime Minister called it, has become too familiar. There is no country in Europe which does not regard the present German Government as pursuing a policy which is a menace to the security and independence of all. Britain is seeking for a return to decency in international relations. Until this is achieved no country is safe.

Germany may say she has no sins in the west, but the tale of British territorial ambitions has been told too often to inspire the slightest confidence. Great Britain does not desire another Versailles, nor the collapse of Germany, but a just and enduring peace with any honourable German Government.

Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain

I am glad to be able to assure the House that it is evident that public opinion on the two sides of the Channel is completely in accord. The people of France and the people of Great Britain are alike determined not only to honour the full obligations and to Poland, but to put an end once for all to the intolerable strain of living under the perpetual threat of Nazi aggression. Our French Allies are, like ourselves, a peace-loving people, but they are more convinced than we that they can save us until the menace of Hitlerism is at last removed. "Il faut en finir."
PAMPHLETS INSTEAD OF BOMBS

The Nazis' reception of more than twenty million leaflets written in German and distributed over Germany by the R.A.F. was marked first by incredulity, and then by fear and fury. Below we give translations of four of these "bomblets," as they were wittily termed by Mr. A. P. Herbert, M.P., in "Punch."

TEXT OF FIRST LEAFLET
Warning: A Message from Great Britain

GERMANY MEN AND WOMEN: The Government of the Reich, with cold deliberation, forced war upon Great Britain. They have done so knowing that it must involve mankind in a calamity worse than that of 1914. The assurance of peaceful intentions the Fuehrer gave to you and to the world in April have proved as worthless as his words at the Sportpalast last September, when he said: "We have no more territorial claims to make in Europe."

Never has government ordered subjects to their death with less excuse. This war is utterly unnecessary. Germany was in no way threatened or deprived of justice. Was she not allowed to re-enter the Rhineland, to achieve the Anschluss, and to take back the Sudeten Germans in peace? Neither we nor any other nation would have sought to limit her advance so long as she did not violate independent non-German peoples.

Every German ambition—just to others—might have been satisfied through friendly negotiation.

President Roosevelt offered you both peace with honour and the prospect of prosperous trade. Instead, your rulers have condemned you to the massacre, miseries and privations of a war they cannot ever hope to win.

It is not us, but you they have deceived. For years their iron censorship has kept you from truths that even uncivilised peoples know. It has imprisoned your minds in, as it were, a concentration camp. Otherwise they would not have dared to imprison the combination of peaceful peoples to secure peace as hostiles encirclement.

We had no enmity against you, the German people. This censorship has also concealed from you that you have not the means to sustain protracted warfare. Despite crushing taxation, you are on the verge of bankruptcy.

Our resources and those of our Allies, in men, arms and supplies, are immense. We are too strong to break by blows and we could wear you down inexorably.

You, the German people, can, if you will, insist on peace at any time. We, who are responsible for your sufferings.

LEAFLET DROPPED IN THIRD R.A.F. RAID
We Shall Never Give Up

DESCRIBE the efforts of all men of good will to avert the catastrophe, the Nazi Government has plunged the world into war.

This is a crime. The Germans, who are a logical people, should make a clear distinction between the pretext on which their leaders started it and the principles that have compelled the British and French democracies to defend Poland's independence.

If Poland was not to go the way of Czechoslovakia, we had to insist that the peaceful methods of negotiation should not be paralysed by threats of violence, and that any settlement should safeguard the vital interests of Poland and should be honourably carried out.

If the Chancellor of the Reich imagined that fear of war would induce the British Government to betray the cause of Poland he made a fatal mistake.

It is not England's way to break a pledged word, and, more than this, the time has come to call a halt to the rule of brute force which the Nazi Government wishes to impose on the world...

You cannot win this war. You are confronted by far greater resources than your own. For years an iron censorship and a secret system of propaganda have prevented you from knowing the truth or speaking your minds about the crimes and injustices perpetrated in your name.

Against you, you have the united strength of free peoples, who, with their eyes wide open, will fight to the last for liberty—and as well as theirs.

We hate as much as we know you do. But remember, Britain never gives way. Her nerves are tougher, her strength of spirit stronger than yours. We shall never give up.

NOTE—A photograph of this leaflet appears in page 71.

LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED SEPTEMBER 24-25
To the German People

GERMANY, note that in spite of German blood which has been shed in this war:

1. Your Government's hope of successful lightning war has been destroyed by the British War Cabinet's decision to prepare for a three-years' war.

2. The French Army crossed the frontier into Germany on September 9, or four days before German official sources admitted it. In the west, British troops are already standing shoulder to shoulder with their French allies.

3. The British and French Fleets have swept German merchant shipping from the oceans. Therefore your supplies of a wide range of essential war materials, such as petrol, copper, nickel, rubber, cotton, wax and fats, are almost gone.

4. Night after night the British Air Force has demonstrated its power by flights far into German territory.

Details of Secret Nazi Fortunes in a Later Leaflet
These Are Your Leaders

GERMANY! You are going into this war with hunger and 
rationing. Your belts have already been tied enough for some years.

Now read what the American newspapers say about your leaders. For the first time, and for the first time.

The American Press first published on September 20, 1939, with all details, a factual report revealing that Goering, Goebbels, Ribbentrop, Hess, Himmler, Ley and Stretcher have invested cash and bonds, swelling their life insurances abroad to the monstrous total of £7,954,700 on their own behalf.

The well-known "Chicago Daily News" writes: "Whatever fate Nazi Germany's will be as the result of this war, Hitler's clique will not suffer need, and even if they fail to escape with their skins, at least their families will be well off."

New York's "Journal-American" confers that the Nazi fortunes are in banks in South America, Japan, Luxembourg, Holland, Egypt, Estonia, Latvia, Finland and Switzerland. They have also large cash accounts deposited with Nazi agents and German shipping companies.

Goering, whom Hitler has nominated his successor, has a fortune of not less than £1,501,000 already. Goebbels possesses in Buenos Aires, Luxembourg and Osaka, in Japan, the handsome sum of £1,790,000.

Ribbentrop is the richest of them all, since a sum of £3,148,000 is invested for him in Holland and Switzerland.

Hess, Hitler's deputy, has secret boards amounting to £801,500 at St. Paul's and London.

Ley (head of the German Labour Front) has derived handsome profits from the "Strength Through Joy" movement and possessors £296,300.

Himmler (head of the Gestapo), who watches like a lynx that no German takes more than ten marks across the frontier, has himself smuggled abroad a sum of £527,500.

Stretcher (the chief propagandist), well known as a defender of German honour, has savings abroad amounting to £150,000.

Such are the men who are your leaders.
Chapter 8

BRITAIN'S AIR FORCE AT WAR
BY LAND AND SEA

R.A.F. Attack on Kiel and Wilhelmshafen—"Leaflet Raids" on Germany
—The Air Arm in the Polish Struggle—Loss of "Courageous"—Anti-
Submarine Patrol and Convoy Duties—Reconnaissance Flights over Germany
—Absence of Independent Air Action in the West—Bomber versus Fighter—
Ground Defence—The First Weeks of Air War

A curious feature of the opening stages of the war of 1939 was that they were expected to throw sudden and vivid light upon the weight and value of the air arm, but that they entirely failed to do so. For ten or fifteen years before that the world had been discussing the possibilities inherent in the total use of air power, and the consensus of opinion was that it might be the decisive factor in a major war, and that it might strike with great suddenness.

Yet when the war came the aerial armies of the opposing countries did not strike. Only half an hour after Mr. Neville Chamberlain broadcast to the Empire on the morning of the 3rd of September, the air raid sirens were sounding in London. The immediate reaction of the instructed populace was that aerial bombardment, in accordance with the predictions of the experts, was imminent.

No such bombardment took place. It was the same again in the early morning of the 4th of September and in the morning of the 6th of September. The sirens sounded; the people, who had been fed with the predictions of the air experts, expected the totalitarian attack; but no attack came. Thereafter it appeared that independent air action against Britain was, for some as yet inexplicable reason, to be delayed.

Similarly, the people of Britain expected the Royal Air Force to make instant and extensive attack on military positions in Germany. Instead, there were reconnaissance raids and the dropping of leaflets, and there were co-operative flights for the Army and the Navy, but no independent bombing attacks on objectives in the heart of Germany.

So far as the first few days were concerned, then, the summing up must take notice of the unexplained lull in air action upon strategical objectives behind the lines. Cities, instead of being subject to incessant bombing, were completely free; and the citizens, who had previously been going about in the expectation of attack at any moment, gradually began to wonder if there would be an attack at all.

But although cities far from the main theatres of operation in Poland and on the Western Front were left alone, vigorous actions were being fought in other parts. In Poland itself the bombing by the German air forces was ceaseless. It grew in intensity as the move towards Warsaw gathered momentum. And finally Warsaw was subjected to intensive raiding and dive bombing.

So far as British action was concerned the first big event was the attack upon the German Fleet at Wilhelmshafen and in the Kiel district on September 4, 1939. It was a remarkable attack which, as is now being distinguished when the details are viewed in their true perspective, took heavy toll of the British machines and aircraft crews, but which also achieved success in disabling an important unit of the German Fleet.

Since this action is the first notable air action of the war of 1939, it is worth outlining it so far as it is possible to do so whilst the war continues. The points to be especially noticed about it are that the British pilots and aircraft crews showed courage and determination and that the German defences proved better, perhaps, than had been expected.

A number of aeroplanes set off for this raid. They ran into heavy rain storms which made their task harder, but which must also have made the task of the defences more difficult.

The first flight of three machines converged from London and ended upon a German 'pocket' battleship lying a few miles on the east of Schilling Roads. Gallant Kiel Raid

They flew most high and made direct hits with heavy bombs. The enemy was taken by surprise, but heavy anti-aircraft fire was opened and German defending fighter aeroplanes took off, probably from the aerodrome at Sylt. But the raid was continued, and at Brunsbittel another naval vessel was located and attacked.

The pilots engaged in this raid were drawn from Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Ireland. Naturally there was a proportion of casualties.

The leader of the first flight thus described his part in this, the first surprise aerial attack of the war:

"We reached Wilhelmshafen after two hours of flying... Breaking the flight formation we flew singly into the Schilling Roads.

"We could see a German warship taking on stores... We could even see some washing hanging on the line. Undaunted by the washing we proceeded to bomb the battleship.

"Flying at 100 feet above mast height all three aircraft in the flight converged on her. I flew straight ahead. The pilot of the second aircraft came across from one side, and the third crossed from the other side.

"When we flew on the top of the battleship we could see the crew running fast to their stations. We dropped our bombs.

THE FIRST RAID WARNING
Above a policeman is blowing his whistle and warning people to take cover after the sirens sounded on September 3, 1939. Policemen with similar notices patrolled the streets during air raids in the War of 1944-45.

Photo, Topham
BLACK SHADOWS OVER POLAND

Thousands of non-combatants were killed and wounded in the appalling air raids which Hitler ordered on open towns and villages in Poland. These pictures tell the story of the raid on the village of Kraszniany on September 25, 1939: the black bombs swept (top photograph), and (above) women victims are carried away in a farm cart.

Photo: Wide World; Planet News

As the pilot of the third aircraft skimmed in his turn towards the warship, he saw the first bomb drop from the second bomber. "To me," he said, "it appeared to drop dead amidships."

By now the battleship's crew were all at action stations, and the third pilot got, as he said, "some hot stuff." This pilot dropped his bombs and made a half circuit round the battleship, wheeling; he noticed three bursts of A.A. fire at the leader's machine.

By 7.30 p.m. the flight of R.A.F. machines were back at their station.

Acting Flight-Lieutenant Dorn, the officer responsible for the narrative quoted here, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. The "London Gazette" stated that he led an attack against an enemy cruiser. "In face of enemy gunfire and under extremely bad weather conditions he pressed home a successful low attack with great determination." His age was 26. A similar honour fell to Flying Officer McPherson, who said the "Gazette," was "forced by extremely bad weather conditions to fly close to the enemy coast at very low altitudes. These flights made possible a successful raid on enemy naval forces." McPherson was the 21-year-old son of a D.S.O.

The raid must be adjudged a success because it is fairly certain that one important unit of the German Fleet at least was put out of action for two or three months. The Royal Air Force had shown in its first major action great dash and determination and had indicated that, although the effects of bombing on battleships were still to be tested, a good deal of damage could at any rate be done by determined aircraft crews ready to come down into the mouth of the guns before launching their bombs.

On the same day that the announcement of the raid on the Kiel district was made, there was news of the first of the leaflet raids over Germany. British bombing aeroplanes flew very high and flung out bundles of leaflets printed in German and putting the British point of view. The aeroplanes were not actually attacked although, according to a subsequent statement by Mr. Neville Chamberlain in the House of Commons, the German defences were put into motion.

On September 9, Field-Marshal Goering referred to these raids and said that if the leaflets were changed to bombs there would be immediate reprisals. The Royal Air Force's response to the Field-Marshal's warning was a further series of raids. The German people were prohibited from reading the leaflets. On the first of these raids six million were dropped.

After this opening of the air war on the part of Britain there was a hill in the west, and the centre of aerial action shifted back to Poland. On Tuesday, September 5, Polish broadcasts claimed that 30 Polish aeroplanes had bombed Berlin and returned safely. German reconnaissance flights were reported to have been made over France, but there was no confirmation of the report. Paris, however, did have its first air raid warning.

Goering's Bluster
On this day, also, the beginning occurred of what may be called the Zeppelin mystery. An explosion at Friedrichshafen had been reported from Zurich, and this report was subsequently elaborated in the newspapers of various neutral countries. It suggested that Friedrichshafen had been raided by British and French machines. There were even claims that the Germans had shot down seven French aeroplanes. Actually, however, no raid took place at this time by any of the Allied air forces. Another statement about the Zeppelins was that the airships would be used for the conveyance of oil from the Russian wells to Germany.

The longest air raid warning of the first fortnight of the war occurred at 6:30 a.m. on Wednesday, September 8. The report was that enemy aircraft were approaching the east coast. British interceptor fighters took off in fairly large numbers, and gunfire was heard at various points. Fantastic rumours spread like wildfire after this raid warning. Some said that Chatham had been bombed; many reported British and German machines down in various parts of the country.

**WARNUNG!**

**England an das deutsche Volk.**

Die Großherrschaft hat richtig die Verursachung der Beschlagnahmung von Schiffen in einem Kriegszustand. Die deutsche Flotte mußte bisweilen aus dem Hafen der eigentlichen Flottenkonferenz aus manche Gefahr, die auf die deutsche Flotte zukommen könnte.


**WARNING TO GERMAN PEOPLE**

Above is a reproduction of one side of a leaflet dropped over German territory during reconnaissance flights by R.A.F. machines. A translation of this document is given in page 66.

Subsequent investigation of the circumstances showed that there had, in fact, been no engagement with the enemy, but that our own aeroplanes and our own guns had in a few instances made recognition mistakes and opened fire. At least one British machine was damaged in this way, but no one was hurt. Not one of the many rumours approached the truth.

Bombing by the German air force of positions in Poland continued, and a Warsaw wireless bulletin stated that fifteen raids had been made on the city by 70 bombers. The total losses of German machines to date was said to have been on Germany. While peace still prevailed Britain had sent a mission to Canada and had arranged to place large orders for aircraft with aeronautical constructors in that Dominion.

In general, Canada was from the first looked upon as one of the greatest sources of supply of aircraft and personnel, and her entry into the war at the side of Great Britain increased the potential strength of the Royal Air Force to an enormous degree.

During the days that followed Canada's declaration of war the bombing of Warsaw by the Germans intensified. Herr Hitler announced that he
would no longer limit his aerial operations, and that open towns would in future be looked on as legitimate marks by his airmen. Warsaw was daily and almost hourly visited by German bombers, and it was said that the German machines worked to a precise schedule. On the Warsaw wireless big German losses were frequently reported, but they had no effect on the frequency or the intensity of the raids.

On Sunday, September 17, Britain's air arm suffered its heaviest loss, when the aircraft carrier "Courageous" was sunk by a German submarine. "Courageous" could carry 48 aeroplanes of the Fleet Air Arm, though at the time she was sunk she bore a reduced complement. She was a very old ship, having been laid down in 1917 as a cruiser and subsequently converted to an aircraft carrier.

The sinking of "Courageous" brought into focus a side of air war which had not been very prominently in the public eye beforehand; this was the side dealing with such things as anti-submarine patrol and with convoy work and coastal reconnaissance. Every day the Coastal Command of the Royal Air Force had been performing long overseas flights, watching for enemy submarines and, when possible, attacking them. A great many such attacks were made, but the claims were kept down to a minimum because of difficulties in providing proof.

On some occasions submarines were attacked with bombs, and oil was seen to rise to the surface, but claims were not put in because no other evidence could be secured. One submarine, however, was positively sunk and seen to break up by members of the attacking aircraft's crew. The pilot on this occasion made two attacks, the first one causing the submarine to rise fairly high from the water, and the second disposing of it.

To sum up, the first fortnight of the air war, it must be said that the Royal Air Force was mainly concentrated on work in collaboration with the Navy and the Army. It was in attacks on German ports (including submarines) and in reconnaissance flights that the R.A.F. machines were chiefly engaged; and independent air action, such as attacks by bombs on munition factories and railheads behind the lines, was not yet begun.

In many essentials the beginning of the air war of 1939 resembled the end of the air war of 1918. There were the same reconnaissance patrols over German territory by French and British aeroplanes; the same incidental encounters between machines; the same photographic patrols; the same gunnery observations; and even the same observation balloons.

On the Western Front, indeed, the scene was very similar, so far as aerial action was concerned, to that of the earlier war. This state of affairs was totally at variance with the predictions of most of the experts who, almost to a man, had stated that immediate and heavy independent air action would take place after the outbreak of any major war. The British air staff, however, did not lose sight of the possibility of a sudden change in German methods.

In order to aid in the detection and recognition of enemy aeroplanes approaching England, all civil flying was stopped at the outbreak of war and a large prohibited area (extending right down from the north of Scotland to the south of England) was established.

In this area no flying of any kind by machines other than those of the Royal Air Force was allowed. In the other parts of the United Kingdom flying was permitted, but only by those aircraft which had obtained a special pass from the Air Ministry. The reason for these restrictions was to enable enemy aircraft to be instantly picked up and recognized, as already mentioned; and also to ensure that civil machines would not be attacked by the enemy.

After a fortnight of the war, however, it was found that the risks of attack seemed to be less than had originally been supposed, and an increase in the numbers of civil permits was contemplated. It was also planned to re-open some of the regular air lines between England and France and between England and certain neutral countries.

Lessons cannot be drawn from the unexpected opening stages of the war. Only a few cautious inferences are permissible. Where aeroplanes met aeroplanes, the combats were chiefly between large bombing machines and small fighters.

One interesting point (on which there has been much controversy), refers to the effectiveness of the defensive lines which ships can bring to bear against attacking aircraft, and to the effectiveness of anti-aircraft fire in general.

In the heat of the action it was difficult for those airmen who returned from the Kiel raid to notice exactly what was happening, and it is therefore difficult to estimate how much damage was done to British machines by anti-aircraft fire and how much by the defending fighters sent up probably from the big air base at Skye.

While many limitations apply to what may be said about the war on the Western Front (meaning thereby the war as it developed at first between France and Britain on the one hand and Germany on the other), no such limitations apply to the war in Poland. It is appropriate, therefore, to conclude this survey of the first two weeks of the war by noting the course of the air action in Poland.

Bombers by the German forces were directed mainly on Warsaw and Vilna, to the north-east. After these two there came Gdynia (on the Baltic, close to Danzig), Posen, Cracow, and Lvow. These were the places which received the fullest force of the German bombardment. The Poles, on the other hand, bombed Berlin and a few objectives beyond the German lines south of Cracow. The Polish bombing does not seem at any time to have reached any very great intensity, probably because the Poles were far less lavishly equipped with bombing machines than the Germans.

If these places and the ones which came next to them in intensity of bombing be marked out on the map, and if the dates at which the raids were reported be noted as well, it becomes clear that the Germans used their bombing
INS AND OUTS OF A BRITISH BOMBER

This series of photographs shows stages in the construction of a heavy bomber: (top, left) Painting the fuselage. In wartime all military aircraft are camouflaged, and the British Air Ministry favours "shadow shading"; (centre, left) one of the two Armstrong-Siddeley "Tiger" radial engines fitted to the "Whitley" bomber; (top, right) interior of the all-metal fuselage of the "Whitley"; (above) the completed "Whitley" bomber seen on a trial flight. It carries a heavy load of bombs, and five machine-guns, and its range is over a thousand miles and its speed about 215 m.p.h.
forces all the time as an aid to their ground troops. Even in the Polish campaign, then, independent bombing in the sense understood by most pre-war students of aerial operations was absent.

**No Independent Bombing**

Open towns were bombed mercilessly by the Germans, but the bombing was almost invariably directed at towns which had to be "prepared" for the advance of mechanized and then of motorized troops.

Very careful preparation by aerial attack seems to have been made at most of the key points. In this sense the Germans in their Polish campaign were using aircraft as long-range guns to aid their heavy artillery.

Looking now at the position at the end of the first fortnight, it is impossible to estimate with any accuracy the strengths of the opposing air forces. It was known that both sides had extensive stored reserves and immediate reserves, and therefore on the outbreak of war it must be assumed that the air forces of both sides were largely increased. Behind the air forces were the factories. Here again there was a big increase in output immediately on the outbreak of war. Figures are not available, but it is certain the Allies together were producing more aeroplanes each month than was Germany.

As for the future, the use of the Dominions as sources of supply both of men and materials makes it certain that the Allies will maintain their lead and gradually increase it until it becomes overwhelming. Training and manufacture can proceed in the Dominions free from the interruptions of aerial bombardment.

One other thing is to be borne in mind when the relative powers of the opposing forces are being estimated; it concerns technical merit.

It is always a mistake to underestimate the strength of an enemy, but the first fortnight of the war seemed to show that the technical supremacy attributed to Germany was a myth. It may be that in the future new and remarkable German aeroplanes will make their appearance and that they will show a net superiority in climb and speed and range. But the first two weeks of war tended to support the view that the technical eminence of the Germans had, during the peace, been grossly exaggerated; and that, in fact, the aeroplanes of Britain and of France were as good as those used in the German air force and in some instances better.

On the Western Front the Messerschmitt single-seat fighters came into conflict more than once with French Morane fighters and were worsted. The Germans also have the Heinkel 112 fighters and the new twin-engined Messerschmitt fighter, the 110. These were not reported as being in action on the Western Front during the first two weeks of the war. They may appear later, but it is not thought that Germany entered the war with many of them in service in the squadrons.

As for the proportions of fighters and bombers in the opposing air forces, the information gleaned during the first fortnight was meagre. The inference was that Germany had a larger proportion of bombers to fighters than the British and French. At any rate, the conclusion which most observers reached was that the opposing bombing forces were ranged well out of reach behind the lines on both sides, and that they were ready for use as independent striking forces or as forces co-operating with the Army and Navy.
Chapter 9

POLISH TRAGEDY: RUSSIA INTERVENES


Stalin's move was not entirely unexpected. The Soviet-German Pact, signed in Moscow on August 23, showed the trend of Soviet foreign policy; and when eight days later—Sept. 1—the German armies invaded Poland, the Kremlin refrained from any criticism. Shortly afterwards an increase in the Soviet standing army was foreshadowed by a new conscription bill, and it was stated that Russia had some two million men under arms.

The rapid advance of the Nazis was watched with the deepest interest in Soviet official circles, and one of the first reactions was a partial mobilization and the dispatch of large numbers of troops to the Minak and Kiev military districts on the Polish border.

Then, as the campaign progressed, the Soviet authorities began to show some concern for their own security, in face of the obvious inability of Poland to hold off the Germans. There was the newly signed Pact, of course, but it would seem that the Soviet intended to limit the Nazi occupation of Poland—by the forcible method of herself taking up a stance in former Russian territory.

Stalin made the first move a few hours after it was announced that the Soviet had settled its frontier difficulties with Japan in the Far East. On the Saturday evening, September 16, M. Molotov, Soviet Premier and Commissar for Foreign Affairs, summoned the Polish Ambassador in Moscow and handed him a Note which stated that Soviet Russia had decided to take military action against Poland. "The Polish-German war," it read, "has shown the internal bankruptcy of the Polish State."

"During the course of ten days' hostilities, Poland has lost all her industrial areas and cultural centres. Warsaw, as the capital of Poland, no longer exists. The Polish Government has disintegrated and no longer shows any sign of life."

"This means that the Polish State and its Government have, in point of fact, ceased to exist. In the same way, the agreements concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Poland have ceased to operate."

"Left to her own devices and bereft of leadership, Poland has become a suitable field for all manner of hazards and surprises, which may constitute a threat to the U.S.S.R. For these reasons the Soviet Government, which has hitherto been neutral, cannot any longer preserve a neutral attitude towards these facts."

"The Soviet Government also cannot view with indifference the fact that the kindred Ukrainian and White Russian people who live on Polish territory and who are at the mercy of fate should be left defenceless."

"In the circumstances, the Soviet Government has directed the High Command of the Red Army to order the troops to cross the frontier and take under their protection the life and property of the population of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia."

"At the same time the Soviet Government proposes to take all measures to extricate the Polish people from the unfortunate war into which it was dragged by its unwise leaders, and to enable it to live a peaceful life."

The Polish Ambassador in Moscow refused to accept the Note, but reported its contents to his Government, who approved his action. He asked for his passports.

In a broadcast to the Soviet people delivered at 9.30 a.m. the next morning, M. Molotov repeated his statements concerning Poland's alleged insolvency and virtual collapse. "In view of this state of affairs," he proceeded, "the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and Poland have ceased to operate. A situation has arisen in Poland which demands of the Soviet Government special concern for the security of its State. Poland has become a fertile field for any accidental and unexpected contingency which may create a menace to the Soviet Union. Nor can it be demanded of the Soviet Government that it should remain indifferent to the fate of its blood-brothers the Ukrainian and White Russians inhabiting Poland, who even formerly were nations without any rights, and who have now been entirely abandoned to their fate. The Soviet Government deems it its sacred duty to extend the hand of assistance to them."

By this time the Russian invasion of Poland had begun. At four o'clock on Sunday morning troops of the"Workers' and Peasants' Red Army" began to cross the whole frontier from Latvia to Rumania. Local forces of Poles who had not been drawn upon to meet the Nazis did their best to stem this new invasion; they were soon overborne, however, and pushed aside. The Red Army advanced in overwhelming numbers, supported by huge quantities of tanks and armoured cars, while their air force acted as the advance guard. By the evening the Russians had reached points more than thirty miles from the frontier, and at dawn the invading troops began their march again.

Soon what little resistance there was became sporadic and half-hearted. The defenders realized that now they
RED ARMY OVER THE BORDER

When the Russians crossed the frontier into Poland they began an immediate campaign for the Sovietizing of the Polish peasants, and the photograph on the right shows Soviet soldiers distributing Moscow newspapers to peasants near Vilna.

Above, Polish peasants are greeting Red Army tanks rumbling past them at Grodetski.

Photos, Planet Nova

were fighting on two fronts they could not possibly win, or even hope to hold out until the winter. With sullen resignation they threw down their arms; for them the war was over.

Propaganda was used with good effect to smooth the path of the invaders. There were reports of Soviet tanks whose crews shouted that they were come to Poland not as conquerors but as friends. "We have come to fight the Nazis," some are reported to have declared, and who can blame the simple soldiers and peasants for believing them? Others declared that they were come as liberators not from the Nazi yoke but from that of the Polish landed gentry. They recounted the advantages of the Soviet system. To the land-hungry peasants they held out the prospect of a share in the estates of the former landlords. There was much in such propaganda to attract the Poles, who saw on the other side of the country the relentless advance of the Nazis, from whom they could hope for little but exploitation and ruthless repression.

Hardly had the wave of armed forces passed over a village when what was in effect a second invasion began. Behind the Red Army came propagandists—actors, journalists, musicians, printers and cinema operators. This second army was armed not with rifles and machine-guns but with hundreds of thousands of photographs of Stalin and huge supplies of Moscow newspapers calculated to give a most favourable impression of the Soviet regime. As they followed in the wake of the Red Army, these propagandists of the intelligence distributed the photographs and newspapers, and then proceeded to open theatres, where Soviet plays were at once staged, to give concerts and shows of Soviet films, and to set up newspapers and pamphlets in the Polish language for free distribution.

For months past the Nazi radio stations had poured out invective against Poland for the alleged outrages against Germans, and the Poles knew what little mercy they could expect if and when their towns and villages were conquered by that enemy. In contrast, absorption by Soviet Russia must have seemed a much less evil. There is evidence, in any case, that Russia effected her occupation with comparatively little resistance.

While the Russians developed their attack on the Polish rear, the Germans intensified their assaults on Warsaw, and did their utmost to pinch out the salient lying to the west and to prevent the Polish divisions cut off in the advance from joining in the defence of the capital. This was, beyond a doubt, the most hotly contested struggle of the war, but the result was inevitable.
GREAT HAULS OF MEN AND MATERIAL IN THE NAZI NET

So swift and so carefully planned was the German advance into Poland that thousands of Polish troops were surrounded before they had a chance to get to grips with their enemies. Those seen above, waiting to be taken away to prisoners' camps, were captured in the Polish Corridor. Material was also captured in abundance by the rapidly-moving German army, as the photograph below of Polish wagons and horses testifies.

Photoc: Wide World: International Graphic Press
line the Germans had taken 165,000 prisoners, and many more were still being brought in. "To this must be added," went on the communiqué, "great sanguinary losses by the enemy. Enormous quantities of war material have been captured."

With the surrender of the Polish forces which had been holding out at Gdynia since the beginning of the war, Polish resistance was now being kept up in four places only—at Warsaw; Modlin, the great fortress built by Napoleon at the confluence of the Vistula and the Bug; some twenty miles north-west of Warsaw; on the peninsula of Helga, near Danzig; and round Lwow.

On Sept. 20 von Brauchitsch claimed in an order of the day that German war operations were concluded, and he congratulated all ranks on their quick victory over an enemy who "resisted bitterly, and was so often in numerical inferiority."

Successful indeed had been the German invasion. What of the Russians who in the timing of their intervention had shown such a nice sense of the appropriate moment?

In brief, they were proceeding steadily with their march to the west. First, they wiped out the pocket of Polish territory lying between East Prussia and Russia, driving over the frontier into Lithuania those remnants of the defenders who survived the battle, where these were speedily interned. On Sept. 19 the Russians captured Vilna after two hours' fighting, and they also took a number of towns in the Western Ukraine; and their cavalry and motorized units reached the outskirts of Lwow, which for some days past had been the goal of the German forces advancing from Przemysl. The rapid progress made by the Red Army across the East Polish plains was largely due to their employment of numbers of tankettes, medium and large tanks.

On September 20 the Soviet communiqué announced that the Russians had taken Grodno, in Western White Russia, and Kowel and Lwow in Western Ukraine. In the period of Sunday to Wednesday, they claimed, the Red Army had "disarmed three Polish infantry divisions, two cavalry brigades, and many small Polish Army units. According to data which is far from complete, over 60,000 officers and men have been taken prisoner. The fortified areas of Vilna, Baranowicze, Molodecze and Sarny were taken with all their armaments, artillery and ammunition. Of the large quantity of captured war material there has so far been registered 280 artillery guns and 120 aeroplanes. The registration of the material taken is still in progress."

A little later it was announced that German troops fighting round Lwow had been relieved by Russians, as this town was in the zone that was to be allotted to Soviet Russia. By September 21 the Russians had occupied the whole of the frontier with Rumana and looked across the border to Rumania.

Now it was that mention of the line of demarcation agreed upon by Russia and Germany became of daily occurrence. An intelligent anticipation of
The photograph above shows the enclosed and revolving gun-turret situated in the nose of the Roulton Paul "Overstrand" bomber. This ingenious device enables the gunner, by means of a power-operated mechanism, to swivel himself and his weapon around with a minimum of effort, and to maintain his accuracy of fire, unhampered by the force of the slipstream. The larger British bombers carry a heavy defensive armament.
10,000 HORSE-POWER IN A ‘HURRICANE’ SQUADRON

A Fighter Squadron of the R.A.F. has a normal peacetime establishment of 12 aircraft. These usually take the air in three flights of three machines, the remaining three being in reserve. Above is a squadron of ‘Hurricanes’ single-seater fighters in their war-paint. The top speed of the ‘Hurricane,’ which is driven by a Rolls-Royce Merlin engine of over 1,000 h.p., is officially given as 335 m.p.h., but there is little doubt that this figure can be exceeded. Even this amazing performance is surpassed by some other types of British aircraft.
WHEN THE 'SILENT SERVICE' SPEAKS

The decisive weapon in the Royal Navy is the gun, and this impressive photograph conveys vividly the sense of ruthless destruction which attends the firing of a salvo from the large guns of a battle cruiser. A gunnery officer, high up in the ship, above the smoke, is responsible for keeping the range-finders and gun-layers in co-ordination. The range records are transmitted mechanically to the fire-control room, down in the ship, well behind the armour, where the officers and staff plot the course, speed and movement of their own ship and the enemy ship.
ONE MILLION FLYING MILES IN ONE MONTH

In the first month of war, aircraft of the Coastal Command, R.A.F. flew over a million miles carrying out their vital task of patrolling the seas around our coasts. The main object of such patrols is the detection and sinking of hostile submarines, but a watch must also be kept for enemy surface craft and aeroplanes, and Allied shipping and convoys must be protected. The photograph above shows a flight of Avro "Ansas" of a general reconnaissance squadron acting in conjunction with a destroyer patrol.
where this line would be drawn was
given in the Moscow newspaper
"Izvestia" on September 22. Begin-
nig at Augustow on the East Prussian
border, it ran through Bialystok, Breit-
Litovsk, Lubomil, and Lwow to the
old Polish frontier with Ruthenia (since
the collapse of Czechoslovakia in the
spring of 1939, Hungarian territory)
near Rafajlova. This line was not
very different from that Caruso Line
suggested by the Allies in 1919 and
called after Britain's Foreign Secretary
at the time. In the course of a few days,
however, it became apparent that the
Russian troops had already passed the
line at many points, particularly in
the south, where the whole of Polish
Ukraine, with its oilfields, was shortly
in the occupation of the Soviet troops.

To the world at large there was present-
sed the spectacle of two great
armies pushing ahead as fast as their
mechanized units could

The Race for
the Carass
so much to meet each
other as to seize and
occupy as much of Poland as they could
before the other could stake out his claim.
By September 22 the Germans had made
contact with the Russians at Bialystok,
Brest-Litovsk and Lwow—practically
the whole of Poland was already in the
occupation of one or the other of the
partners in the act of invasion.

Following the seizure of all the
important centres, Germany and Russia
proceeded to divide the spoil; and so
successful had the Red Army been in
the race that the world was not sur-
pised to learn that the lion's share was
to go to Russia. On the night of
September 22 a joint communique
issued by the two governments read:
"The Governments of Germany and
the U.S.S.R. have established a demarca-
tion line between the German and
Soviet armies, which passes along the
River Pissa up to its confluence with the
River Narew, then along the Narew
up to its confluence with the River
Bug, then along the Bug up to its
confluence with the River Vistula, then
along the Vistula up to the mouth of the
River San, and then along the
San up to its source."

By this agreement Russia was to
receive Brest-Litovsk, Lwow, Lublin,
Bialystok, and Vilna; Germany for her
part was to receive Gdynia, Lodz,
Cracow, Katowice, and Poznan. War-
saw, the capital, was to be divided—the
main city going to Germany and the
suburb of Praga, on the opposite bank
of the Vistula, to Russia. In size of
territory Russia's share was far in excess
of Germany's, while the population in
the two areas was approximately the

same. But this was not all. The
disparity became still more marked
when it was realized that while Germany
was to receive the Silesian coalfields and
the heavy industrial and armaments-
producing area, she was relinquishing
to Russia the Galician oilfields and the
Polish Ukraine—in other words, the
areas producing those raw materials
of which she had most vital need. Still
more significant was the abandonment
by Germany of her much-advertised
and long cherished road to the east
through the Ukraine. By the agreement
now drawn up between the two govern-
ments, Germany was barred from the
Ukraine by a frontier of Soviet bayonets.

This division of the conquered country
must have been exceedingly galling to
the Nazi High Command, for if it were
to be implemented in full, the German

troops would have to be withdrawn
from territory beyond Warsaw which
they had won by the sword. "Why
should we give up to the Russians, who
entered the war when the fighting was
practically over, the vast areas whose
conquest involved the loss of many
thousands of German lives?" Such, we
may well suppose, was the question that
presented itself to the Nazi chiefs, and
in the final apportionment of the spoil
the fact that a much larger share went
to Germany than in the first division
was proof of the convincing arguments—
arguments made weighty with armed
men and masses of tanks and guns and
aeroplanes—adduced by the German
negotiators who agreed to the terms de-
cided upon in Moscow on September 29.

For the second time in a week Poland
was partitioned. Under the first division
VILNA IS RESTORED

On the right is a scene in the city of Vilna, seized by Poland in 1920, but regarded by the Lithuanians as their own capital. Below, Russian soldiers are seen advancing upon the city occupied by the Soviet Union on September 10, 1939. It was restored to Lithuania by Russia on October 11, 1939.

Considerably by the prevalent fear of the Nazis across the demarcation line, had already worked a transformation in the Polish scene—and only a week had elapsed since the Soviet entered the war, though circumstances the Nazis may well have congratulated themselves and having made a better bargain with Stalin than had seemed possible at first. So the two armies approached and at last met all along the line. On the German side, at least, the orders ran that there was to be no internecination. Red-shirts and brown-shirts must not mix.

And what of the Polish army and people as their enemies decided this fourth partition? The army had ceased to exist, at least as an army; only here and there guerrilla bands kept up some show of resistance. The High Command was in flight, in Rumania; officers and men were in hiding or had thrown away their military badges or uniforms and had dribbled back to their homes. As for the people, they watched the progress of the invaders with an amazed horror. As the German legions clattered by the peasants fled into their hovels, shuttered their windows and bolted the doors; or they stood on the footpath in stubborn bravery, making the sign of the cross or cursing the foe beneath their breath with the deepest, heaviest curses in their vocabulary.

But three weeks had elapsed since Poland, in a mood of resigned, if not cheerful, confidence, had gone out to meet the invader. Only three weeks had gone since the Warsaw crowds had acclaimed the representatives of Poland's Western allies who had honoured their word and had flung their swords beside Poland's in the scales of war. Thus the nation believed in its leaders, its army, in itself.

And now! Its leaders were exiles: its army crushed and dispersed; the sacred soil was befouled by the invaders' tread. Only in Warsaw did the spirit of Poland still endure—and Warsaw, bombed and battered through twenty days, was now on the very verge of surrender.

Russia received much more than half of the conquest: under the second, a little less than half. The new line ran through Grodno and Brest-Litovsk to Przemysl, and then to the Ruthenian frontier at Lublin. The chief division between the two divisions was the award to Germany of a large area to the east of Warsaw; the oilfields of Galicia went, as before, mainly to Russia, and, more important yet, Russia still held the whole of Poland's frontier with Rumania and Ruthenia. Hitler, frustrated in his dearest purpose, watched the Red Army put a full stop to the Drang nach Sud-Osten.

Some agreement between the two powers was becoming a most urgent necessity, for the troops of the Soviet armies were not allowed to forget that they were propagandists as well as warriors. In those parts of the land which they had occupied they had already done much by way of Sovietisation. Red propaganda, helped very

SHARING THE SPOILS

The demarcation of Poland under the partition which took place at the end of September, 1939, is clearly shown by the map on page 45. Above, German and Russian officers are seen at Bialystok discussing details relative to the partition. Bialystok, a large industrial centre, 45 miles S.W. of Grodno, had become part of Poland in 1919.
PROTESTS AGAINST SOVIET ACTION IN POLAND

Statement issued by the Polish Embassy in London. 
September 17, 1939

On September 17, at 4 a.m., Soviet troops crossed the frontier at many points and were met immediately with strong resistance on the part of the Polish National Army. A sharp encounter in particular is being fought near the frontier in the region of Molodezna.

The Polish Government, in order to justify this flagrant act of direct aggression is that the Polish Government has ceased to exist, and that it has abandoned the territory of Poland, thus leaving the Polish population on territories outside the zone of war with Germany with no protection.

The Polish Government cannot enter into any discussion of the protest which the Soviet Government has invented in order to justify the violation of the Polish frontier.

The Polish Government, responsible to the President of the Republic and to the duly elected National Parliament, is functioning on Polish territory and is carrying on the war against the German aggressors by all the means in its power.

By the act of direct aggression committed this morning the Soviet Government has flagrantly violated the Polish-Russian Pact of Non-Aggression concluded in Moscow on July 23, 1932, in which both parties mutually undertook to abstain from all aggressive action or from attack against each other. Moreover, on May 5, 1934, by the Protocol signed in Moscow, the above Pact of Non-Aggression was prolonged until December 31, 1939.

If the government concluded in London on July 3, 1939, Soviet Russia and Poland agreed on a definition of aggression, which clearly stamped as an act of aggression any encroachment of the territory of one Contracting Party by the armed forces of the other, so that an act of aggression could only be committed in one of two ways: either as a political, military, economic or any other act, or, in any circumstances serve as a pretext or excuse for committing an act of aggression.

Therefore, by the act of aggression committed this morning, the Soviet Government stands condemned as a violator of its international obligations, thus contravening all the moral principles upon which Soviet Russia pretends to base her foreign policy since her submittance into the League of Nations.

Committee Sent Out by the Polish Government at Kuty, September 18

The Polish Ambassador in Moscow declined to accept the Soviet Note sent to him yesterday. The Polish Government approved the action of its Ambassador, who asked for his passports.

The Polish Government protests strongly against the unilateral action of Russia in breaking her Non-Aggression Pact with Poland, and also against the invasion of Polish territory, which was undertaken when the whole Polish nation was struggling with all its strength against the German aggressor.

The Polish Government renews the reasons given in the Soviet Note with the statement that the Polish Government is carrying out its duties normally and the Polish Army is struggling with all its strength against the German aggressor.

If the Soviet Government complained that it lacked contact with the Polish Government, it failed to justify, as the Soviet Ambassador left Poland while the whole of the remainder of the diplomatic corps maintained contact with the Polish Government without interruption.

Dr. Moscinski, President of the Polish Republic, in a Proclamation to the Polish Nation. September 18

At a time when our army, with incomparable courage, is struggling, from the first day of war, against the overwhelming power of the enemy, withholding the massacre of almost the whole of the armed might of Germany, our eastern neighbour has invaded our land in violation of solemn covenants and of the unchanging laws of morality. For the first time in our history we are faced with an invasion menacing our country from the east and the west.

Poland, allied with France and Great Britain, is struggling for the rule of law against hordes, for faith and civilization against soulless barbarism, against the reign of evil in the world.

From this struggle, I have the firm faith that Poland must and shall emerge victorious.

Victory! From the passing debris we must safeguard the symbols of the Republic and the cause of the constitutional authority.

Therefore, with a heavy heart, I have resolved to transfer the seat of the President of the Republic and of the highest executive authority of the State to a place offering conditions that assure to them full sovereignty and enable them to watch over the interests of the Republic.

Citizens! Be aware that the severest ordeals you will preserve the same strength of spirit, the same dignity and lofty pride by which you have earned the admiration of the world.

On every one of you today rests the duty of guarding the honour of the nation, no matter what may happen.

Almighty Providence will render justice to our cause.

Mr. Chamberlain, in the House of Commons. September 18

On September 17 an event occurred which has inevitably had a decisive effect upon the war on the Eastern Front. On the morning of September 17 Russian troops crossed the Polish frontier at points along its whole length and advanced into Poland.

A Note was handed to the Polish Ambassador in Moscow to the effect that Warsaw would order the Polish Government to desist from further aggression against Russia. The Soviet Union could therefore no longer require a neutral attitude, and the Soviet Government had ordered their troops to cross the frontier and take under their protection the life and property of the population of the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia.

The effects of the Russian invasion upon the hard-pressed Poles have naturally been very serious. Caught between two vast armies, and with their communications to the south cut off, the Polish forces are still continuing their courageous resistance.

It is still too early to pronounce any final verdict on the motives or consequences of the Russian action.

For the unhappy victim of this cynical attack the result has been a tragedy of the gravest consequences. The world which has watched the vain struggle of the Polish nation against overwhelming odds with profound pity and sympathy admires their valour, which even now refuses to admit defeat. If Britain and France have been unable to avert the defeat of the armies of Poland, they have assured her that they have not forgotten their obligations to her, nor weakened in their determination to carry on the struggle.

Count Raczyński, Polish Ambassador, in a Note to the British Government. September 19

I base in the name of the Polish Government the most formal and most solemn protest against the plot hatched between Berlin and Moscow in disregard of all international obligations and of all principles of morality.

Poland shall never recognize this act of violence, and, fortified by the justice of her case, she shall never cease to struggle until her territories have been liberated from the invaders and her legitimate rights fully established.
One hundred and twelve people remained unaccounted for after the disaster. The remainder were rescued by British destroyers, the Norwegian "Konste Nelson," the Swedish "Southern Cross," and the American "City of Flint." Above and right are two photographs, taken by a survivor on the "Konste Nelson," showing the last moments of the doomed "Athena."

Photo: Fox, Keystone, "Daily Telegraph"

NAZI U-BOAT'S CALLOUS CRIME

Within a few hours of the outbreak of war between Britain and Germany a German U-boat had claimed its first victim, a homeward passenger liner, the "Athena," on route from Belfast to Montreal, with 1,791 persons on board. Of these over 500 were Americans. Top left is the ill-fated "Athena." A Donaghadee Atlantic Line vessel on the 15,581-ton "Athena." Above, an injured survivor, clad in blankets, is being assisted ashore at Galway.
Chapter 10

THE SEA AFFAIR: TACKLING THE U-BOATS

Britain's Navy was Ready—U-Boats Posted Beforehand on Trade Routes—Attack on Neutral Shipping—German Ships Driven off the High Seas—Torpedoing of the “Athenia”—Convoy System in Operation—Mastering the U-Boat Menace—Churchill's Justified Optimism—Murder on the High Seas—Examples of U-Boat Warfare

The outbreak of war found the British Navy as well prepared as, or better than, it had ever been in its history. Every ship was at its station and the auxiliaries and reserves were mobilized. At eleven o'clock on September 3, 1939, Britain had once more the virtual command of the seas.

German submarines, it is true, were at their appointed stations on the great trade routes, under orders which must have been issued at a time when Herr Hitler was still posing as the apostle of an immediate peace, upon his own terms. The door, he said, was still open to negotiation, but his submarines were lying in wait to destroy merchant shipping, the moment that the British ultimatum expired.

Seemingly eight hours afterwards, at 7:45 p.m. on Sunday, September 3, the Donaldson Atlantic liner "Athenia" (15,581 tons), outward bound to Canada, was sunk without warning 250 miles west of Donegal. She had on board passengers and crew numbering 1,104 persons. Those who were not killed by the explosion took to the boats, and all but 112 were picked up by ships which had hurried to their assistance.

In the meantime German shipping, which was on the high seas was escaping to German or neutral ports. A few days afterwards it was learned that 54 German merchant ships totalling 180,000 tons were sheltering in the Spanish port of Vigo, and that nine German ships totalling more than 40,000 tons were in Japanese ports. By a prearranged wireless signal every German captain headed his ship, where possible, for German waters, and if not, to the security of neutral harbours. This security was bought only at the price of internment during the period of the war.

So that within the space of a few hours it might truthfully be said that the high seas had been cleared of all merchant shipping belonging to Germany (estimated at 2,000,000 tons) which might in any way contribute to her supplies, and that stranded in an indefinite and disagreeable interment were many of her nationals who by reason of their expert seamanship might one day have been invaluable as naval reserves.

Although the grave danger persisted of attacks on French, British and neutral shipping by submarines and such armed raiders that the Germans might still have at large, the fact was that any hope of sea-borne trade was as effectively killed for the enemy in those first few hours of war as if every German ship had been sent to the bottom. There remained to such vessels only the use of their wireless in reporting the movements of allied shipping and their possible value as feeding ships to any German submarines that might happen to venture into their hiding-places.

A considerable amount of German shipping and of contraband goods destined for Germany fell into British hands during the first weeks of the war. There were several instances in which the Germans scuttled their ship and took to the boats rather than let ship and cargo be captured. For example, a Norddeutscher Lloyd steamer, the German vessel "In" of 2,897 tons, captured on Tuesday, September 5, had been brought by a German captain to a sinking condition before she could be boarded and 45 passengers and crew taken off. There is a touch of Captain Mervat, the novelist, in the official announcement that the rescue included "one lady and two cages of rare birds."

During the war of 1914-1918 the U-boat attacks on British shipping grew to an intensify which at one time seriously menaced Great Britain's food supplies, and it was not till the later stages of the sea campaign that this menace was satisfactorily checked. At the outbreak of the present war the Navy was far better prepared to deal with submarines, was well supplied with "hunting forces," and was ready to put into operation the effective convoy system.

At the end of the fourth week the First Lord announced a highly satisfactory state of affairs. The high proportion of losses in the first week was due to the element of surprise. The British mercantile marine (there are on the average 2,000 British ships at sea in any given week) were on their lawful occasions in all parts of the world. These ships were the immediate prey of U-boats carefully posted beforehand. Outgoing ships could at once be provided with convoys, but this was not possible immediately for those homeward bound. Large numbers of ships were, therefore, forced to take the risk of U-boat attack, with no escort and no defensive armament.

One of the first sufferers was the ill-fated "Athenia." Without warning of any kind, the German torpedo struck the ship abaft the engine-room on the port side, when she was 250 miles from the coast of Ireland. In a statement in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill said that soon after the torpedo hit the vessel the submarine came to the surface and fired a shell which exploded on the middle deck. The submarine cruised round the sinking ship and was seen by numerous persons, including American survivors who swore affidavits to that effect.

BACK AT HIS OLD JOB

At the outbreak of war Mr. Winston Churchill (above) took up again the office of First Lord of the Admiralty which he had so successfully held at the beginning of the war of 1914-18.

Photo: F.N.A.
In view of the fantastic repudiation of the crime made over the German wireless, in which it was stated that Mr. Churchill had ordered the destruction of the ship to inflame American opinion against Germany, it was very necessary that such evidence should be marshaled. Another German invention was that the "Athena" had struck a British mine. This was quickly disposed of by the categorical statement that there were no British mines in the neighbourhood at the time. But the Germans went on inventing fresh stories.

There cannot remain a vestige of doubt that the "Athena" was torpedoed, and that the torpedo was fired by a German submarine. For this we have the evidence of the captain of the ship who said: "The passengers were at dinner about 7.30 p.m. when the torpedo struck the ship and killed several of them. The torpedo went right through the ship to the engine room. It completely wrecked the galley." Afterwards the submarine rose to the surface and fired a shell which was aimed at the destruction of the wireless equipment but missed. Other responsible members of the crew, and passengers also testified to having seen the submarine and the wide wake of the torpedo. It was indeed merciful that the German gunner missed his mark of the "Athena"s" wireless, for she was able to summon help rapidly. Three British destroyers, the Norwegian steamer "Knute Nelson" and a yacht, the "Southern Cross," were soon on the scene, but not before the survivors had experienced great suffering. Many were wounded; others had had a long immersion, and when rescued were without clothes.

The "Knute Nelson" landed 430 survivors next day in Galway; the "Southern Cross" had rescued 200 unfortunates; other ships landed 400 survivors on the Clyde. At the complement of 1,100 passengers, officers and crew, 112 were finally posted as "missing." Amongst the passengers included in this number were 30 British subjects, 30 from the United States, seven Poles and four Germans. Nineteen members of the crew were also missing.

In subscribing to the London Naval Treaty of 1929, Germany had agreed that, except in cases of refusal to stop or of active resistance to visit or search, a submarine should not sink a merchant ship without having placed passengers, crew and ship's papers in a place of safety. To leave human beings abandoned in ship's boats 200 or more miles from land is not, as Mr. Churchill said, to leave them in a place of safety. Therefore in the grossest manner the German Navy had started the war with a flagrant and inhuman act of piracy. The "Athena" was never challenged; no request was made to search her; she had no armaments with which to resist. She had no cargo of munitions; 75 per cent of her passengers were women and children, for the most part helpless refugees from German tyranny.

U-boat sinkings during the first week of the war were 65,000 tons, a highly formidable figure. In the second week they were 46,000 tons, in the third they had dropped to 21,000 tons. On September 28 Mr. Churchill made his reassuring statement to the House of Commons.

After announcing that the convoy system was in full operation he stated that a second reply to the U-boat attack would be to arm all merchant vessels and fast liners with defensive armaments both against U-boat and the aeroplane. In a short time, he said, the immense Mercantile Marine of the British Empire would be armed. All the guns and equipment necessary for this vast operation were ready at the various arming stations, together with a proportion of trained gunners to man them and train the ordinary seamen. In passing he paid tribute to his predecessors in office who had provided so well for this contingency.

Mr. Churchill then went on to say that the British attack on the U-boats was being delivered with the utmost vigour and intensity, and stressed the far greater advantages which Britain possessed as compared with 25 years ago, when there were occasions when the U-boat problem had seemed well-nigh intractable. The First Lord, from his knowledge of circumstances as they were in 1914 and the succeeding years, recalled the fact that in those days it was often necessary to hunt down a U-boat with a flotilla of 15 to 20 vessels working for a whole day on the vaguest indications. Under modern conditions it was possible for two destroyers or even one to maintain a prolonged and relentless pursuit.

The First Lord made it clear that during the first weeks of the war a very large number of attacks had been made by British flotillas, and that the attacks on U-boats had been five or six times more numerous than in any equal period of the late war — "in which," he added, "after all, they did not beat us." He suggested that the Prime Minister's estimate of six or seven U-boats sunk in these first weeks might well be subject to additions.
Mr. Churchill, with the caution implicit in his high office and taking the six or seven U-boats mentioned by the Prime Minister as a basis, stated that Germany had in all probability lost 10 per cent. of her total strength; and suggested that these losses were probably one quarter or perhaps even one third of the U-boats which had been employed actively. He added: “All these vessels, those that have been sunk and those that have escaped, have subjected themselves to what is said to be the most trying ordeal which men can undergo in war time. A large proportion never return home, and those who do have grim tales to tell.”

It is interesting at this point to follow the adventures of one or two ships which were the subject of U-boat attack during these early days. On September 6 the “Royal Sceptre,” 1,853 tons, was sunk in a position about 500 miles to the westward of Ushant. The crew of this ship were cast adrift in their boats—and the submarine commander must have realized how slender was their chance of reaching land. In Britain the unfortunate officers and crew were given up as lost. Then, after three weeks, it was learnt that they had been picked up near Madeira by the British freighter “Browning.” for fear of giving away her own position to enemy under-water craft, the “Browning” had kept silence until her arrival at the Brazilian port of Bahia (São Salvador), on September 26, when at last she was able to tell the glad news of the rescue. It appeared that the “Browning” had been stopped by the same U-boat that had sunk the “Royal Sceptre,” and told to search for the latter’s boats. The master of

RAIDER AND CHASERS

Immediately above is a photograph, taken from the American freighter “Wacota,” of a U-boat which stopped and searched her. Enemy submarines when encountered are attacked with depth charges; these are seen, top, being made fast by English and French sailors. Left, an exploding depth charge throws up a mountain of water.

the “Royal Sceptre” had been killed, and the second officer and eight of the crew wounded, by the U-boat’s gunfire when abandoning ship. The injured men were landed at Bahia.

On the morning of September 11, the 9,456-ton motor vessel “Inverlochy,” flying the flag of the Irish Free State and registered in Dublin, was in a position about 270 miles south-west of Land’s End, steering for the entrance of the English Channel. The weather was misty, and shortly after noon the ship was running through patches of real fog.
A sharp look-out was being kept for submarines.

At about 11.15 p.m., those on the "Inverliffey's" bridge sighted an American tanker, the "R. G. Stewart," lying apparently stopped and headed in a north-easterly direction. At much the same moment the fog lifted and the "Inverliffey's" officers sighted a submarine about half a mile distant on the port beam.

The submarine immediately opened fire, whereupon the "Inverliffey's" master turned stern-on to the U-boat and rang down to his engine-room for all possible speed. The submarine continued to fire, discharging in all seven rounds. The "Inverliffey" had no alternative but to stop, and the U-boat hoisted a signal for the master to go on board with his papers. A boat was lowered, and the master obeyed, to be asked by the submarine's commander where he was bound. The answer was that the steamer was ordered to contact with Land's End for wireless orders.

The U-boat commander replied that the "Inverliffey's" carried a contraband cargo, and that he intended to sink her. The master protested, pointing out that his ship flew the flag of the Irish Free State and was registered in Dublin. The German officer took no notice of the protest.

The "Inverliffey's" crew of 40 were ordered to abandon ship in their boats. When they had got clear, the submarine fired a torpedo, which struck the merchantman amidships on the starboard side. Within a few seconds the ship was fiercely ablaze.

The submarine commander took the master and the boat's crew to the American tanker, "R. G. Stewart," near by, which then proceeded to pick up the occupants of the two other lifeboats. The "R. G. Stewart" was outward-bound across the Atlantic to the Dutch West Indies, and the master got into touch with a steamer-bound for Havre. By 8.30 that same evening the "Inverliffey's" officers and men were safely transferred, and on their way to France, where they landed on September 14.

A third example of U-boat warfare at this time may be quoted because it revealed the fact that a brave and resourceful captain, backed up, by efficient officers and crew, might still out-distance and elude the unwelcome

U-BOATS' DEADLY ENEMY

In time of war the convoying of merchant shipping is an unwinding and vital task of the Navy, and becomes one of the most important duties of the destroyer, a duty for which she is particularly fitted by reason of her speed and deadly armament of torpedoes and depth charges. Destroyers similar to the one seen above have put a sudden end to the career of many a U-boat.
FIELD-MARSHAL SIR ALAN BROOKE, K.C.B., D.S.O.

In September 1939, Gen. Brooke, G.O.C.-in-C. Southern Command, was given command of the 2nd Corps of the B.E.F. and went with them to France. On his return in June 1940 he resumed his old command for a month, being appointed C.-in-C. Home Forces in July. This post he held until December 1941, when he became Chief of the Imperial General Staff. An artilleryman, he began his military career in 1902; he was made a Field-Marshal in 1944.

Direct colour portrait by Fox Photos.
POSTERS PLAYED THEIR PART
This selection of 1943 continues that given in pages 538, 551, 828 and 1495. The outstanding A.T.S. design by Col. A. Garmis (second left above) caused controversy and was replaced by the first above. Bottom centre, two forceful subjects by Mr. Frank Newbould.
GIBRALTAR FROM THE QUARTER-DECK OF A BRITISH WARSHIP

Its cliffs rising 1,200 feet above the Mediterranean combine with an immense armament to make Gibraltar well-nigh impregnable against attack from sea or land. Even against a siege of years the Rock is well provisioned with vast subterranean store-rooms and huge water-tanks; in its miles of tunnels men could not merely shelter but live, and from them concealed guns and searchlights could be worked as effectively as if they were in the open. In the spring of 1939 a Gibraltar Defence Force was organized to concern itself more particularly with anti-aircraft duties and, under the direction of the Governor and C.-in-C., Lieut.-Gen. Sir Clive Liddell, every precaution was taken by way of adding to the elaborate fortifications.

Direct colour photograph by Fox Photos
The ship in question was a homeward-bound liner and the U-boat was sighted coming to the surface some 4,000 yards away. The alarm was given; two shots were fired by the U-boat, one of which landed within 100 yards of the liner.

The captain altered course to bring the submarine well on the quarter and did what he could to foil the attacker. Ordering his men to take cover and keeping his ship into the wind, which was from the north-north-west, he compelled the U-boat to give chase, and managed to draw ahead, increasing the range to about 6,000 yards or three miles.

The steamer's nominal speed was a fraction over 13 knots, but thanks to arrangements made beforehand, and the efforts of officers and men of the engineers' department, she was soon travelling at 15 knots. For some time the U-boat still managed to gain on her quarry. By three o'clock the steamer was going at a speed estimated at 16½ knots. She started to draw ahead, and at 4:10 p.m. the submarine, then about four miles astern, gave up the chase and disappeared.

This valuable vessel with hundreds of souls aboard was saved by the stout courage and presence of mind of her captain, officers and crew, and notably by the devotion to duty and persistence of those in her engine-room and stokehold. It was a remarkable achievement to drive such a vessel at three knots more than her rated speed.

In numerous instances the U-boat commanders are known to have behaved with humanity; in others, with a ruthless barbarism barely credible in those who follow the profession of the sea. Beside the barbarous treatment meted out to the helpless crew of the "Royal Sceptre" to be placed the attack on the merchant ship "Hazelinda," which occurred later in the month. Twelve of the crew were killed by surprise gunfire, and the gallant captain died going down with his ship.

TheRoyal Navy suffered one, but only one, serious loss in the first three weeks of the war. This was the sinking by submarine attack of the aircraft carrier H.M.S. "Courageous." She was originally a cruiser and had been converted into an aircraft carrier at a cost of £2,625,800. She had 16 4.7-inch guns, four three-pounder and 17 smaller guns. She had been commissioned with the Reserve Fleet in August, her task at the outbreak of war being to protect merchant shipping from U-boat attack.

On September 17 "Courageous" left Devonport on offensive patrol protected by four destroyers. During this period, when the Admiralty had not yet completed their defensive measures against submarine warfare, it had been decided, Mr. Churchill later explained, to use aircraft carriers with some freedom in order to bring in the unarmed, unorganized and unconvoyed traffic then approaching home ports in large numbers.

On the evening of Sept. 18 two of the destroyers protecting "Courageous" had to leave her to go and hunt a U-boat which was attacking a merchant ship. At dusk, when "Courageous" turned into the wind in order to let her own aircraft land on her flying deck, she met, by a hundred to one chance, as the First Lord said, a German submarine on her unpredictable course. The weather was good, with a moderate sea. The aircraft carrier had no warning of the attack. The submarine scored her hit amidships on the port side before the presence of the submarine had been detected. The survivors all testified to the fact that the ship rode under two terrific explosions, and within four or five minutes the Captain's order was rapidly passed round by word of mouth, "Abandon ship."

Those who were able jumped into the sea and swam for it. Many, however, were trapped below. Owing to the list of the ship others, who had run to the starboard side, were unable to jump into the sea. Those boats which were launched were quickly swamped. Rats were released which, with a great deal of floating timber, gave assistance...
to those swimming in the sea. The destroyers and other ships in the vicinity quickly came to the rescue, and altogether 657 lives out of a full complement of just over 1,200 were saved.

The stories told by survivors are stirring indeed. A sergeant of the Royal Marines swam from one group to another urging them to keep their heads and their spirits up. Songs were started, “Rolling Home,” “Show Me the Way to Go Home,” with shouts of “Are We Downhearted? No!” The destroyers were so manoeuvred that their swell helped those in the water to swim towards them.

Gave many evidences of their value in sea warfare both in attack and defence. The first active operation was the attack on September 4 on the German naval bases of Wilhelmshaven and Brunsbuttel (see page 69).

Apart from such spirited sallies, the air arm immediately began to do invaluable work in observing and attacking U-boats. The great speed of the reconnaissance flying-boats and land ‘planes, and their ability quickly to reach a spot where a submarine had been seen breaking surface, greatly added to the difficulties of a submarine commander. A direct hit from a bomb...

“For twenty minutes afterwards,” said the officer, “I remained over the spot watching the large whirlpools caused by escaping air coming to the surface of the water. By that time I assumed the submarine to be out of action on the bottom of the sea and returned to my base.”

These early offensive patrols of British seaplanes and aeroplanes did not in fact excite much retaliation by German aircraft, and, as will be seen in another chapter, the first German attempts to bomb units of the British fleet were supremely unsuccessful. On Sept. 13 the R.A.F. proved its usefulness in a new field.

The merchant vessel “Kensington Court” (4,863 tons), bound from the Argentine to Birkenhead, was attacked by a submarine without warning. After wirelessing his S.O.S. the captain ordered the crew to the boats. One boat was lost; two others started rowing away and soon sighted a ‘plane and shortly afterwards another. The crews started to cheer, but lit little thought that their rescue was at hand. One of the seaplanes taxied on to the sea and signalled the boats. The other landed and a third appeared. Between them, with the aid of collapsible boats, two or three men at a time were ferried over to the seaplanes until both crews, amounting to 34 men, were rescued and flown to safety. Two seaplanes had picked up the captain’s S.O.S. whilst patrolling independently, and the pilot of one of them, commenting on this magnificent example of a new method of saving lives at sea, is reported to have said: “It was very difficult.” But as Capt. Schofield of the “Kensington Court” added: “It was not difficult, because they were efficient. If all the officers and men of the R.A.F. are like those young fellows who rescued us, then England has nothing to fear.”

Certainly the first weeks of the war left Britain in a most justified mood of optimism, with regard to the conduct of the war at sea. The First Lord of the Admiralty was able to state that the whole vast business of Britain’s worldwide trade continued without appreciable diminution. The convoys of British troops, using various routes, had reached and were reaching their destination abroad without casualty or interruption. The system of contraband control had been at this date (during the first two weeks) resulted in the seizure and conversion to British use of 67,000 tons of German merchandise and had been sunk in British ships. During that first week there were lost in British vessels 60,000 tons of oil, but we had gained from the enemy...
reassuring statement that Britain had, in fact, got more supplies in the country than she would have possessed had no war been declared and no U-boats gone into action.

The first three weeks were characterized also by violent attacks on neutral shipping which might be supposed to be engaged in trade with British ports. Indeed, as the submarine campaign progressed and losses of U-boats became more pronounced, so the attacks on defenseless neutrals became more marked and those on the heavily defended and convoyed British ships less and less.

Undoubtedly the U-boat campaign early suffered a severe reverse. The Admiralty might know or virtually assume the fate of many of these craft, but their fate was left in deliberate obscurity for several reasons. It was important that the Germans should not know of the fate of a particular sub-

SUCCEDED BY SEAPLANES

On September 18, 1939, the S.S. "Kensington Court" was sunk by a U-boat when nearing the English coast. Her crew of 34, in the ship's boats, were sighted by two R.A.F. seaplanes and rescued. Above, seaplane hovering over the sinking vessel; right, the circle of foam which marked the last of the "Kensington Court"; below, the ship's captain with his rescuers.

50,000 tons, apart from enormous additional stores brought in in the ordinary way.

In this first statement at length before the House Mr. Churchill made also the

marine, so that no replacement should take place in particular waters. It was important that those ashore should be kept in suspense, so that the long waiting for the submarine's return should be one of deepening anxiety developing towards the sickening certainty of her loss. Nothing could be more depressing to those submarine crews waiting to leave harbour than this period of uncertainty darkening to despair.

And apart from the loss of the boats themselves there was the far more serious loss of the personnel—of the highly trained captains, so difficult of replacement, and of the crews, inured to all the hardships of the service. A division of infantry may be destroyed on the battlefield and speedily replaced. The destruction of a submarine means an almost irreparable loss in skill, experience, bravery and endurance.
THE FIRST LORD ON THE U-BOAT WAR

On September 26, 1939, Mr. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, described in the House of Commons the methods by which Great Britain was winning the U-boat war. We give below the greater part of his enlivening speech.

The war was opened with some suddenness. All our ships were going about the world in the ordinary way when they were set upon by lurking U-boats, carefully posted beforehand. In five hours our losses in tonnage were the same as in the whole of the previous seven months, and the U-boat attack was the peak hour of the U-boat attack in the late war. That was a very sore proportion.

We immediately replied in three ways. First, we set about closing the convoy system. This could be very quickly done for all the outgoing ships, but it took a fortnight to organize from the other side and a convoy of homeward-bound ships. This convoy system is now in full operation both ways.

Secondly, however, we had a large number of ships which had started independently under ordinary conditions of peace and which, after the day had, ran the gauntlet of the U-boats without being armed or escorted. In consequence a serious but still a diminishing toll was exacted.

Thirdly, there was a good and well-tried defense against the U-boat attack but no one pretended that it was a complete defense. Some degree of risk and a steady proportion of losses must be expected. There were other forms of attack to which the convoy system was subject, and attacks from the air, against which we must be upon our guard.

Our second reply to the U-boat attack is to arm all our merchant vessels and fast frigates with defensive armament, both against the U-boat and against the seamen. For a fortillia of paid armed ships have been continually appearing in the harbours of this island in large numbers. Some go in convoy, some go independently. This applies not only to the United Kingdom but to all ports all over the world. This is a short time from five to twenty merchant vessels of the British Empire will be armed. As we usually have 2,000 ships on salt water every day, this is a considerable proportion.

Our third reply is, of course, the British attack upon the U-boat. This is being delivered with the utmost vigour and intensity. A large number of attacks have been made by our submarines and hunting craft. There are, of course, many false alarms; some of them of a criminal character but it is an exaggeration to say that attacks upon German merchantmen have been swept from the seas. Over 2,000,000 tons of German shipping are being destroyed in German or neutral harbours. Our system of coordinated control is being perfected, and so far as the forces available the we are concerned we have actually arrested, sunk, and converted to our own use 97,000 tons more German merchantmen than have been sunk in ships of our own. Even in oil, where we were unharmed in losing some tankers, we have lost 60,000 tons in the first fortnight and have gained 20,000 tons from German ships.

Cargo intercepted greater than those lost.

Meanwhile the whole of our vast business of world-wide trade continues without appreciable diminution or interruption. Great convoys of troops are escorted to their various destinations. Logicals and shipping are swept from the seas. Over 2,000,000 tons of German shipping is being destroyed in German or neutral harbours. Our system of coordinated control is being perfected, and so far as the forces available the we are concerned we have actually arrested, sunk, and converted to our own use 97,000 tons more German merchantmen than have been sunk in ships of our own. Even in oil, where we were unharmed in losing some tankers, we have lost 60,000 tons in the first fortnight and have gained 20,000 tons from German ships.

Campaign Against U-Boats: Just beginning.

The Prime Minister mentioned the week-the figure of six new U-Boats. That was, as so often, probably an underestimate, and since then we have had some fruitful and hopeful days. Even the sinking of six or seven or even a dozen seems a safe figure, that is one tenth of the total enemy submarine fleet on the east coast of this war. It is probably a quarter of perhaps a third of all the U-boats, which are being actively employed. All these vessels, these sunk and these which have escaped, have subjected them to some of the most trying ordeal any man can undergo in war, and a large proportion of our merchant seamen have been saved and in order that these ships shall not sink, and urged that rescue should be sent.

But many vessels and ruthless acts have been done. There was the "Attaka"; there was the "Royal Crescent" whose crew of 23 were left in open boats hundreds of miles from land. There was the "Hindhead," twelve of whose crew were killed by surprise gunfire from an enemy ship, whose captain died in so gallant a fashion, going down with his vessel. We cannot at all recognize this type of warfare as other than contrary to all the long-accepted traditions of the sea, and to the laws of war to which the Germans have never subscribed.

In all the law-respecting countries that we ourselves are exercising upon the movements of contending navies, neutral ships have been put in danger, and we have recognized sending our armed vessels to the rescue of neutrals as a common law. Even when German ships have deliberately sunk themselves to avoid the hullabaloo of the Prize Court, we have had no scruples in rescuing their crews.

Such is the U-boat war—hard, widespread, and bitter—a war of guerilla and driving, a war of ambush and defense, a war of strategy and of strategy. All the more we must do the world in by which the merchantman who puts to sea with safety, sure that his role is discharging a duty indispensable to the life of their island home.
MR. CHURCHILL ON THE FIRST MONTH OF WAR

Five days after his speech in Parliament, reproduced in page 94, the First Lord of the Admiralty administered on October 1, 1939, another tonic to the nation in the shape of a broadcast review of Great Britain’s position after four weeks of war.

Therefore, to sum up the results of the first month, let us say that Poland has been overrun, but will rise again; that Russia has warned Hitler off his Eastern dreams; and that the U-boats may be safely left to the care and constant attention of the British Navy.

Now I wish to speak about what is happening in our own isle. When a peaceful democracy is suddenly made to fight for its life there must be a lot of trouble and hardship in turning over from peace to war. I feel very keenly the apprehensions of those who wish to throw themselves into the fight, but for whom we cannot find full scope at the present time. All this will clear as we get into our stride.

His Majesty’s Government is unitedly resolved to make the maximum effort of which the British nation is capable, and to persevere, whatever may happen, until decisive victory is gained. Meanwhile patriotic men and women, and those who understand the significance of time, are in the best of shape, for as long as we make, must not only rise above fear, they must also rise above inexperience and boredom.

Parliament will be kept in session and all grievances or moddles or scandals can be freely ventilated with effect. It must be the House of Commons that sees the Government and itself an instrument of national will power capable of waging stern war. Parliament is the shield and expression of democracy, and Ministers of the Crown base themselves upon the Parliamentary system.

A large army has already got in the field. A good armament upon the scale of the effort of the Great War are in preparation. The British people are determined to stand in the line with the splendid army of the French Republic and share with them, so far as is they can we, whatever may be coming towards us both.

Immense Resources at Britain’s Command

It may be that great odds are coming to us in this stand from the air. We shall do our best to give a good account of ourselves, and we must always remember that the command of the seas will enable us to bring the immense resources of Canada and the New World into play as a decisive ultimate air factor beyond the reach of what we have to give and take over here.

Directions have been given by the Government to prepare for a war of at least three years. That does not mean that victory may not be gained in a shorter time. How soon will have proved depends on good planning and much hard work, and the basis of every plan is the desire to break Hitler’s iron grip upon the world and to break the power of the dictators in that world.

The Prime Minister has stated our war aims in terms which cannot be bettered, and which cannot be too often repeated. "To redeem Europe from the perilous and recurring fear of German aggression, and enable the peoples of Europe to preserve their independence and their liberties." That is what the British and French nations are fighting for.

Whatever has been told us by the captive democracies whose day is done, and who must now be replaced by various forms of dictatorial and totalitarian despotism. No doubt at the beginning we shall have to suffer because of having too long wished to lead a peaceful life. Our resistance to war was mock at as cowardice. Our desire to see an armed world was proclaimed as the proof of our decay.

Now we have begun. Now we are going on, now, with the help of God, and with the conviction that we are the defenders of civilisation and freedom, we are going on, and we are going to go on to the end. I do not understate what lies before us, but I must say this: I cannot doubt we have the strength to carry on, to carry on to the end, to knock down the barriers which stand between the wage-earning masses of every land and a free and more abundant daily life.
FORTIFIED WESTERN FRONT WAR AREA

Owing to the strength of the Maginot and Siegfried Lines, the Western Front campaign did not develop into a war of movement like that of the early part of the war of 1914-18. The French took advantage of German preoccupation with Poland to establish artillery in dominating positions in the No-man's-land between the opposing defense systems. The map above shows the area over which the campaign was fought in the first months of the war.
Chapter II

CARRYING THE WAR INTO GERMANY:
'TWIXT MAGINOT AND SIEGFRIED LINES

When France and Germany went to war in the autumn of 1914, armies of millions of men rushed to meet the shock of deadly combat. Frontiers were crossed and re-crossed; neutrality was set at naught; cities were pulverized, towns and villages burned; rapine was rampant, the carnage terrible. But a few weeks, and the number of the dead was counted by the hundred thousand, and an incalculable number were lying wounded in the hospitals, rotting in the prison camps, or wandering, lost and homeless, in a world that was savage and strange.

Twenty-five years later the age-old rivalry of Frank and Teuton was once again expressed in the clash of arms, but now the circumstances were very different. No great armies charged through the passes and across the plain; no peaceful countryside was converted into a waste by the ever-moving front of war. The guns spoke as of yore, the machine-guns shattered, the aeroplanes buzzed and hummed. But this time the armies rushed into no furious activity; they were mobilized to garrison the vast systems of defence which on each side guarded the frontier from the plains of Flanders to the rocky foothills of the Alps.

For some days after the declaration of war on September 3 there was no news of fighting on the Western Front. While the German armies were clashing their way through the Polish defences and blasting a trail of destruction far behind the battle zone, in the west there was not sufficient to provide matter for even the most lurid communiqué. Not a gun was fired; not a bomb was dropped; not an aeroplane crossed the enemy lines. It was indeed "all quiet on the Western Front."

The first French communiqué was issued on the second day of the war, and merely stated that "Operations have been begun by the whole of the land, sea and air forces." Later in the same day came a second communiqué, which contained the news that "Contacts have been progressively made on the front. French naval forces have taken up positions assigned to them. Aerial forces are proceeding with the necessary reconnaissances." There is reason to recall," said the communiqué issued in Paris on September 5, "that on the Rhine the permanent fortifications run along both banks of the river."

In these words we have the key to the apparent inactivity. In 1914 the war began as a war of movement; in 1939 the struggle was necessarily static—at least at the commencement—for where France and Germany met was no collection of outposts and solitary forts as twenty-five years before, but vast fortified systems, immensely strong and tremendously deep, whose real nature was hardly suggested by the word "line."

There was a famous Hindenburg Line in 1917 and 1918 which cost the lives of many thousands of brave men before it was at length carried by assault. It was indeed a line, or rather series of lines, of trenches. But the Maginot Line, which runs down one side of the Franco-German frontier, and the Siegfried Line, which faces it across the river, are not lines but zones.

Of the two, the Maginot Line is beyond doubt the stronger, for it was the work of many years and of the most careful planning by the world's finest military engineers. Germany's Westwall, on the other hand, came into being only when, a year or so before the Munich Conference, Hitler realized that his aggressions might draw an attack from across the Rhine. No hurried scheming, not even the toil of hundreds of thousands of conscripted labourers, could hope to make a really effective counterpart of that tremendous creation of military defence which owed its origin to the calculating intelligence of André Maginot.

Running from Dunkirk to Basle, the main sector of the Maginot Line faces Germany across the Rhine. For hundreds of miles it forms a mighty barrier of steel and concrete worked most cunningly into the frame of Nature. Most of the fortifications are below ground, only a mound or a cupola reaching up from out of a tangled expanse of barbed wire. Guns by the thousand, great and small, moved and operated by electricity vast subterranean passages along which regiments can march in unseen security; soldiers' quarters that are as capacious as they are comfortable, situated 100 or 150 feet below the ground; first-rate sanatorium and hospital facilities; huge storehouses which a siege of many months would not empty—all these and much more mark the greatest and most powerful fortifications that the mind and labour of mankind have ever called into being.

Across the Rhine, following the French frontier and then, to the north, the frontiers of Luxemburg, Belgium and Holland, is the Siegfried Line. Hitler's answer to Maginot. Like its rival it is not a line but a zone, comprising numerous forts and strong-points connected by tunnels with under-ground assembly places, ammunition dumps and store-rooms. Above ground are immemorial pill-boxes, tank-traps, thousands of acres of barbed wire,
mines and land-traps of all kinds. Though bearing all the signs of haste in its construction, it yet far surpasses any of the defence systems which were the graveyards of gallant and devoted legions in the last war.

In between the two "lines" is a No-man's-land of varying width—in some places only three miles separate Maginot from Siegfried, in others as many as thirteen miles. Here again the phrase may be misleading, for the No-man's-land of 1939 is something very different from that which lives in the memories of those who experienced trench warfare on the Somme or in Flanders. Instead of vast stretches of shell-pocked waste, filled with the horrible garbage of long-drawn-out battle and burying in its stony houses and hamlets, roads and railways, rivers and woods—instead of this horrible, evil-smelling expanse, there is a picturesque countryside, hilly and well wooded, dotted with villages and farms. When war broke out, the in-

and the French patrols were already in touch with the outposts of the Siegfried Line. The French tanks had gone into action, and had carried all before them. Saarbruecken was under French fire and would soon be untenable. The French air force had gone far beyond what was claimed for it in the communiqué—"the activity of our Air Force is in liaison with the land operations"—and had bombed the vitally important industrial regions of the Ruhr and the Rhineland.

Against such a spate of exaggeration, of ill-informed attempts to fill in the bald outlines of the official story, the more responsible critics and commentators registered their protest. The Siegfried Line, they pointed out, was enormously strong, and it was not only ridiculous to suppose that it was threatened so early in the campaign, but such imaginations were definitely harmful to the Allied cause, as much as they would give rise to hopes which time and experience must falsify. What was really happening, they maintained, was that the French were feeling their way into enemy territory, testing the enemy's strength here and there with a view to discovering the weak points in the line of defence. The main fortified zone, they repeated, lay some distance beyond the frontier, and it was moreover of considerable depth. The French patrols were approaching it, but to assume that they had already broken into it was absurd.

But limited as was the French advance and slow its progress, it had its repercussions far behind the immediate zone of operations. Saarbruecken if not Saarbruecken if not the Saar. Civilians Flee the Saar. Immediately threatened was distinctly uncomfortable, and the civilian population was evacuated. The same precautions was taken in towns much more distant, even as far as Aachen. Neutral observers reported the utmost congestion and confusion in the frontier regions. The main roads were packed with transport going up the line and with the vehicles of the fleeing populace. Trains were packed to suffocation. Air raids were an ever-present fear, and agents of the Gestapo were finding plenty to do.

Twenty-four hours after the first report of the invasion of Germany there came another official statement in which it was reported that "there has been progressive occupation by French troops of the No-man's-land separating the Maginot and Siegfried Lines. This bolt (went on the statement) extends at various points beyond the French frontier. Our troops are

habitants of this smiling region were evacuated—those to Germany, those to France—but otherwise the face of the land saw little change.

Several days were spent in the preliminaries of the advance. Then on Wednesday, September 6, the first French troops crossed the frontier into German territory. "Our first elements," read the French communiqué No. 6, "progressing beyond the frontier with an advance varying according to the different parts of the front, everywhere encountered automatic arms and field organizations."

This typically cautious pronouncement was tantalizing in its brevity, and the newspapers soon gave prominence to a number of stories fostered by speculation out of rumour. The advance, it was suggested, had been not only considerable but really penetrating.

FRANCE'S FRONTIER FORTRESS

The upper photograph shows a massive stronghold in France's Maginot Line; in the lower one a "still" from the documentary film "The March of Time" is seen some of the guns, protected by squat cupolas almost flush with the ground and well hidden from sight.
NAVAL 'WASP' WITH A POWERFUL STING

The newest and smallest type of fighting craft in the Royal Navy is the M.T.B.—the motor torpedo boat. These craft average about 60-70 feet in length and can move through the water at well over forty knots (46 m.p.h.). They are equipped with torpedo tubes and armed with small guns. A small boat, such as this, travelling at high speed, is a difficult target to hit. The photograph above shows a motor torpedo boat firing her torpedoes while travelling at speed.
START OF A GREAT ADVENTURE

These photographs were taken as the R.A.F. bombing flight that raided the Kiel Canal naval bases on September 9 (see Chapter 8) left their home aerodromes. The aircraft shown are of the Vickers "Wellington" type. These heavy bombers can fly over 3,000 miles non-stop with a full load at 275 m.p.h. The upper photograph shows one of the bombers taking off, while that below shows the Wing Commander is waving goodbye and good luck to the Squadron Leader. These historic photographs were included in the officially approved film "The Lion Has Wings."
MORE SCENES FROM THE EPIC KIEL CANAL RAID

In the film "The Lion Has Wings" the reconstruction of the actual raids on Brunsbüttel and Wilhelmshaven (see Chapter 6) were made in the studio from reports of the men who took part in them, and the "shot" (top) showing two of the men at their stations in the bomber during the flight is one of these. But the film also shows the actual departure and return of the squadron, and above one of the pilots is seen smoking a welcome cigarette on landing.
HITLER INTERESTS HIMSELF IN HIS FLEET

Hitler, who until the war displayed little knowledge of German naval affairs, is here seen being shown over the German "pocket" battleship "Deutschland" by Grand Admiral of the Reich, Erich Raeder. Admiral Raeder, who is the Commander-in-Chief of the German naval forces, was Chief of Staff to Admiral Hipper during the 1914-18 war. The "Deutschland" is a vessel of 32,000 tons and well armed for her size, her armament including six 12-in. guns and eight torpedo tubes. The opening phases of the war at sea are discussed in Chapter 20.
mopping up machine-gun nests in the area and coming up against advanced field works. Meanwhile, along the Maginot Line, the placing of mobilized units has been carried out in perfect order."

So relentless was the French penetration of German territory that, late in the evening, Paris stated that on the front between the Rhine and the Moselle, the enemy had received large reinforcements. But still the progress was maintained. "We have been able to make local advances of varying importance," read the next French official communiqué, "appreciably improving the conditions of our advance at certain points."

Day after day the pressure was maintained and at last the German people at large were permitted to know that not only had hostilities on the Western Front begun, but that the Fatherland was actually invaded. A week after the war started, and four or five days after the French had begun their forward movement, the German High Command broadcast a bulletin from Berlin at 12 p.m. on Sunday, September 10, which read: "In the West, French armoured cars have, for the first time, crossed the German frontier and have been engaged by our outposts situated far in advance of the Western fortifications. The enemy left behind numerous dead and prisoners, among whom was one officer."

A few hours later the French communiqué reported further progress: "A series of methodical actions has enabled our forces to advance between the Saar and the Vosges. The enemy has delineated an offensive movement to the east of the Moselle in the region to the north-east of Sierck." Later came the news that the enemy defences in the Warndt Forest had been wiped out, and the week-end closed with the French line in the region of operations entirely in German territory.

Sierck, Warndt Forest, Saarbruecken—these names give the limits of the opening phase of the fighting. The first is a watering-place on the Moselle just before it leaves France to form the boundary between Luxembourg and Germany. Warndt Forest is a coal-mining area in a pocket of German territory south of Saarbruecken and to the west of Saarbruecken. The latter in peacetime had a population of some 125,000. It lies in the heart of one of the richest coalfields in Europe, but it was not its mineral wealth that brought it to within the sphere of military operations in 1939. Rather it was because it lies at one extreme of the valley of the Saar, a tributary of the Moselle which is a tributary of the Rhine—the valley which occupies a gap between the Ardennes and the Vosges and so constitutes a natural gateway between France and Germany. It is a bottleneck forming a highway for the caravans of commerce and the armies of war.

For hundreds of years its importance won it a place in history. During the Thirty Years' War and the wars of Louis XIV of the 17th century it was laid waste by the armies which marched time and again through the valley on their way to the battlefields in the plains to east or west. Two hundred years later it was the scene of the first fighting in the Franco-German War and
DOMINATED BY FRENCH GUNS

The Saar Basin, an extensive coal-mining district of Germany, lying just over the French frontier between the rivers Moselle and Lauter, was dominated by the French long-range guns as soon as war broke out, and the civil population of the large industrial town of Saarbrücken was evacuated by the German authorities. Above is a general view of the Saarbrücken mines.

Photo. Photosyon

Step by step the French advanced, gingerly feeling their way through a terrain left difficult by Nature, but made infinitely more difficult by the ingenuity of man, with his land mines and tank traps, machine-gun posts and "booby traps" in extraordinary and deadly variety. Gamelin, it was said in Paris, knew his business: he was planning every move so as to derive from it the maximum benefit with the very minimum of loss in man-power.

Following the complete occupation of the Wartburg Forest the French covered the approach to Saarbrücken and threatened Volkel, a highly important railway junction on the Saar just south of Saarlautern—Saarlouis as it is still sometimes named, recalling the French occupation of the 17th century.

A fortnight after the war began Saarbrücken was unofficially stated to be practically surrounded; its aerodrome was being bombarded by the French artillery, and so, too, were many of its environs. To the south of the town the French infantry and tanks had captured the heights above the little river Blies, and over a front of some twelve miles had made gains of an average depth of about a mile.

The Germans for their part maintained a reticence surpassing that of the French. "Only unimportant fighting between advanced posts," they declared; yet observers reported feverish activity in strengthening the defences of the Siegfried Line, and the German artillery heavily shelled the slopes on which the

it escaped the war of 1914-18 only because the frontier of Germany was then far to the west, in Lorraine. For sixteen years after the Armistice it was occupied by the French under the League of Nations, but in January, 1935, it reverted to the Reich as the result of a plebiscite.

Now the French were back again. From the west the guns of the Maginot Line commanded the valley; and every day the French patrols and outposts approached ever nearer to the historic stream and its burden of towns and hamlets. To that tangle of heavily wooded hills, with its orchards and vineyards, its meadows and cornfields, backed by a sombre multitude of factory chimneys, prairie wheels, and slag heaps—to this region where meet town and country, the sparseness of the Age of the Lion and the grim richness of the Age of Miracles and Machinery, war and its grim accompaniments drew near with relentless step.

Resistance was greatest near Sierck, where the Germans made desperate efforts to prevent the French from moving down the Moselle and so driving a wedge between the Luxembourg and the Siegfried defences south of Trier (Trier). Luxembourgers stationed in Remich had a grandstand view of the struggle, and there were reports of French bayonets charged across open farmland and of drivers

by the great 70-ton French tanks. Soon, too, the front widened, and the roar of battle extended from opposite Mersag to Pirmasens, twenty miles to the east of Saarbrücken. Day and night the struggle continued.

CHAR DE COMBAT, ON GERMAN SOIL

The French tanks, or "chars de combat," proved extremely effective during the French advance into German territory in September, 1939. In the photograph above a French tank is seen on the move through a captured German village. Heavy Tank units are used to break resistance and open the way for infantry, while the Light Tank units act in liaison with the attackers.
French had secured a foothold. Faced by the prospect of the imminent fall of Saarbruecken—which though evacuated was still vastly important from the point of view of morale—they hurried up large bodies of reinforcements, and brought under heavy artillery fire the roads leading to the French lines and the towns—Sarreguemines and the rest—in the immediate war zone.

Nevertheless, the French continued to make progress, which, considering all the circumstances, was highly satisfactory. They also extended their operations so that by the end of the second week of the war the entire ninety miles' front between the Meuse and the Rhine at Wiessembourg was now on German soil.

Saarbruecken was still in German hands, although there was little doubt that it could be seized at any moment by the troops who had virtually encircled it. The commentators were shrewd enough to realize, however, that the fall of the city would at once invite a counter-attack, the success of which would be loudly acclaimed in the Reich as a great victory. But better, then, to continue to dominate the town, to prevent its occupation by its busy folk and the working of the valuable mines in the district on whose production Germany's war effort was so largely dependent.

So, on September 15, Paris announced that "we have consolidated the positions taken during previous days and repelled a counter-attack inflicting losses on the enemy; there has been strong reaction by aircraft and artillery on part of the front," while Berlin rejoined with the report that "enemy artillery is active east of Saarbruecken." Such communiqués seemed to become part of the established order. Day after day they told of artillery duels, of heavy bombardments, of brief infantry raids, of hardly interrupted aerial activity by reconnaissance planes.

But what of the rest of the front—of that long stretch of a hundred miles and more where France looks at Germany across the waters of the Rhine? As in 1914, so in 1939, in the southern sector of the battle-line there was little to report of offensive operations. The great river constituted an almost impossibly obstacle to military movements, for the bridges could be—and many were—cut by the opposing engineers. Pontoon bridges could be easily destroyed by the batteries on the river banks, and the transport of tanks and other heavy machinery of war would present an almost insuperable problem.

Close to the river on either side run the great fortified zones of the Maginot and Siegfried Lines, and behind these both east and west are natural obstacles of the most forbidding description. On the French side are the Vosges Mountains. On the other side of the Rhine runs the German counterpart of the Vosges—the mass of hilly country known commonly as the Black Forest.

When the war began this great stretch of river and valley, mountain and forest, assumed its martial guise. From Strasbourg, Mulhouse and Colmar and many of the smaller towns departed trains of evacuees, moving to areas of greater safety in the heart of France: from Freiburg, Karlsruhe and their satellites a procession wended slowly in the opposite direction. On the river all traffic was stopped; the bridges were closed if not actually broken, and from each bridgehead peered the observers of rival armies, deeply embedded in acres of barbed wire. Some imperishable spirits amongst the local peasantry continued as long as possible at their normal tasks, and the gunners on either side, fingering their triggers, watched the harvesters.

As by an extinguisher dropped over a candle flame the everyday life of hundreds of thousands of highly cultured folk was suddenly eclipsed. For twenty years the peoples on opposite banks of the Rhine had done their best to adjust their existence to the new conditions introduced after the Armistice in 1918. Now in the twinkling of an eye they were back again in the terrible time of 1870 when Alsace had not yet been restored to Germany, and France and Germany were warring to the death.

Perhaps the best illustration of the great change wrought by war was afforded by Strasbourg. This great city of some 200,000 people, situated on the Rhine and directly connected by road and rail with Kehl and all the German and far-European world beyond—this pride of the French republic was reduced to a life of empty silence.

Most of its population had been evacuated behind the Vosges; only a thousand or so still continued to live in the city, and their homes were the cells which lay beneath the beautiful old houses. The trains from Paris no longer rattled across the bridge, and the stream of motors had been changed into a nocturnal trickle of army lorries. Not long did a cheerful crowd of Alsatian folk chatter and chaffer in the market-place, nor the shop-boys look up at the cathedral's world-famous clock. By day the streets were well-nigh deserted, and at night the silence was broken only by the steady tramp of the patrols going their rounds and the occasional discharge of a gun as they fired at a stray cat or dog left homeless in a world at war.
TO SAFETY BY RAIL, ROAD, AND SEA

Above are typical scenes during the great evacuation of children from the danger zones, showing how every form of transport was pressed into service. Top left, school children are seen boarding a train at Waterloo. Top right, parents are seeing their children off from the Lady Violet Melhurst Infant Welfare Centre at Chelsea, as they leave by "bus for their new homes in the country. Bottom, children boarding a steamer at Portsmouth en route for the Isle of Wight.
Chapter 12

TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS OF THE MASS EVACUATION


Even Government statistics can be thrilling. One of the most impressive episodes in the early days of the war was the transfer of over one million eight hundred thousand town-dwellers to safer places in the country. This unprecedented migration took place during the four days ending Monday, September 4, 1939. What it meant in successful organization and the adaptation of Britain's resources of rail, road and water can easily be imagined. But a deeply moving human story lies behind the bare historic record: a story of tears and smiles, of farewells and eager ventures; a story, it is safe to say, which will be found to have played no small part in the social evolution of the time.

Who were these emigrants, called upon by the impending peril of war to leave the known for the unknown? From the London area alone the exodus consisted of 376,652 school children accompanied by their teachers; 275,505 young children under the care of their mothers, 3,377 expectant mothers, and 3,003 adult blind. In the movement away from danger-zones in the Provinces were 757,583 school children; 445,580 young children with their mothers; 11,293 expectant mothers; 6,203 adult blind, and 872 cripples.

Never before had school playgrounds and railway stations seen so much waving and smiling. The children themselves were wonderful. An observer at one of the London railway terminals mingled with the crowd of happy youngsters. He began to question them as to where they came from. They could all answer that inquiry. But when it came to stating whither they were bound none of them seemed to know.

"What?" he said. "You don't know where the train is taking you?"

There was silence, until one youngster blurted out: "We don't know sir; but the King knows!"

Strictly, this was not true, but in a deeper sense it was. There was an organization that knew; for the whole evacuation had been carefully planned as far back as the crisis in 1938. There had even been a rehearsal. Before the summer holiday had actually ended, on Monday, August 28, London's thousands of school children went back to school to take part in a great evacuation rehearsal. Every L.C.C. school inspector was on duty. Teachers and voluntary helpers were in their places. Many of the children arrived at school by 6 a.m., with gas-masks and parcels of clothes, and food for the day. Each school had been given a number and had been told where and when they were to proceed to station or coach. While the teachers were inspecting gas-masks and kit, marshals at the stations were inspecting the arrangements there prior to reporting to their divisional headquarters. All through the day this went on, and thousands of mothers stood by the playgrounds watching their children go through their paces, each child bearing on a knapsack the school number, together with name and address. Nothing was left to chance.

Within a week from that Monday the rehearsal had become reality, and the first wave of the evacuation had almost spent itself, bearing thousands of tired but happy children on its crest to new shores. Opinion among competent...
LITTLE ONES TREK TO SAFETY

Long before war was declared plans for the evacuation of children from the urban danger zones had been carefully prepared; and in the last few days of August the evacuation scheme was put into effect with remarkable rapidity. Above, children from Benwell Road School, Holloway, with their gas-masks and spare clothing, are seen on route for their destination in the country.

Photo: Keystone

observers was unanimous that the tremendous undertaking had been completely successful. "I maintain," said one of the workers, "that it was a miracle of organisation and not a simple transmigration. For two days I was the humblest of workers in the thick of it, and I take off my hat successively to the L.C.C., the Board of Education, the Ministry of Health, the teachers, the railways, the transport companies, and the organized workers. And, finally, the biggest and longest hat-raising of all to the British mothers and to the children." Speaking of the London effort, Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., Leader of the L.C.C., bore testimony to the splendid behaviour of all concerned, a tribute echoed in all the Provincial areas.

It was with sighs of relief that the workers saw their companies off on coach, train or river-steamers; but what happened at the other end of the journey! The reception-areas had an even bigger part to play. Children and mothers had to be sorted out for their various billets. Thousands of postcards had to be written, so that anxious parents at home might know where their boys and girls were located. Children halls or school premises had to be prepared for the invasion of eager, expectant youth. At first it was not possible to arrange for the interrupted lessons to be resumed, and the spirit of the August holidays persisted well into September. But by degrees teachers and children got to work again, though with short periods for lessons and, in many cases, with double shifts. The shortage of school accommodation made it necessary in some districts for lessons to be given in fields, or on the beach. Often, the teachers carried their duties of supervision far beyond school-hours into the darkened nights.

The daily Press of that period did much to spread the story of the successful venture. Boys and girls who had never seen farm-life before provided good material for the Press photographer. He was able to snap groups of happy youngsters mowing down the village lane when lunch-bell rang, or setting out on a blackberrying expedition, or watching one of their number emulating Henry Cotton on a golf course, or playing ring-a-roses without a background of streets and chimneys. It was such pictures, and the descriptive writing which accompanied them, that found their way into millions of British homes and did something to reassure lonely fathers left behind. Those who still felt acutely the absence of their children began to grow with pride as they read the statements of teachers. Here is one: "In four days my charges have succeeded in doing something which, a week ago, I would not have believed possible. They have won their way into the hearts of phlegmatic English countrywomen; they have so endured themselves to the village people that I am afraid before long those who have billeted small groups will be rationed to one child each. Even then my crew of twenty-eight London kids won't be enough to go round."

So far all had been excitement and novelty. But before long problems began to arise. This was only to be expected. The experiment was on a large scale, and was without guiding precedent. Complaints began to find their way into the correspondence columns of the Press—many of them, it must be said, with real foundation. "The Times" of September 15, 1939, commenting on a debate in the House of Commons, declared:

"It is not surprising that the House of Commons was impelled last night to discuss the problems of evacuation. Certain troubles and grievances were bound to follow the dispersal of nearly a million and a half town-dwellers, mostly children and women, into the country and other areas of safety. None of the complaints, put forward in our correspondence columns has been trivial or unimportant. Collectively, however, they are serious, and are even more widespread than the published letters have indicated. The Ministries of Health and of Education have, in communications to local authorities, recognized the necessity for remedial measures, and are stirring up the authorities to helpful and sympathetic action, and assuring them of Treasury assistance."

The Minister of Health, Mr. Walter Elliot, admitted the ground for complaint, and urged that "tact, tolerance, and understanding, as well as administrative enterprise and ingenuity, will be required."
Well-attested incidents certainly gave strength to the Minister's plea. There were the difficulties experienced by the householders in the reception areas, suddenly confronted with the care of children of a class to which they were not accustomed. In some areas little attention had been paid to the suitability of the children for the districts to which they had been sent. Hundreds of children, for example, from a Roman Catholic area in a provincial city had been evacuated to an area where there was little if any provision for the spiritual needs of that Communion. In another case, children arriving in a densely-crowded industrial area had been billeted in large houses; while secondary school children, arriving later, had been housed in the poorest dwellings. It was open to anyone with a zeal for social levelling to argue that

such a policy had its advantages; but from the standpoint of the hosts in question the arrangement could be characterized as no less than thoughtless bungling.

More serious was the complaint of the insanitary condition of some of the evacuated children. "The Times" leader already referred to spoke with directness on this question.

"Some of the really bad features of this evacuation cannot, of course, be tolerated at all. The insanitary cases, verminous or diseased, must be treated at once as infringements of the public health requirements and be subjected to medical and juridical disciplinary treatment. The Ministry of Health acknowledges that the billeting of this type of person in respectable homes is unsanitary. As official language says on the side of moderation the word "unreasonable" should be construed by the local authorities as synonymous with unjustifiable and intolerable."

The "missits" in the evacuation scheme, problems though they were, occasionally provided amusement. To the home of a Methodist lay-preacher came two children to whom church-going was something of which they had heard but in which they had never indulged. It was reported that, one Sunday morning, when the head of the household had set off for church, his wife was astonished to hear the query: "Where's the guv'nor? Has he gone off to have one?" Probably the lady in question saw the humorous side of it, which could hardly be said, however, of another hostess who came down one morning to find two exuberant lads carving their initials on the front panel of a Chippendale bureau!
wards: just as when, in the second week of September, registration for a further evacuation movement was encouraged, it met with small response.

The children who had not taken part in the evacuation presented a special problem. For them no organized schools were open, and although efforts of various kinds were made, such as gathering groups of children for lessons in private houses, the problem remained.

The impact of the evacuation scheme came with full force on organizations like the Sunday School movement. In a few days hundreds of Sunday Schools were deprived of almost all their scholars, while in reception areas facilities for such necessary work were heavily strained. It was realized that the complete disorganization of the Sunday School system was fraught with real

But the problems were not all on the side of the reception areas. In many cases the evacuated children, and in one case the mothers who had accompanied them, found it difficult to adapt themselves to completely new surroundings. At first the prospect of changing crowded town for village or countryside was full of attraction, but it was soon discovered that evenings in the county, especially under the conditions of the black-out, were depressingly dull. The teachers, aided by willing workers in the areas, did their best to provide healthy recreation for the children, but that did not prevent many of the mothers from returning home. By the middle of September the Minister of Health thought it necessary to advise mothers not to return home. To those who argued that the absence of air raids up to that time made home as safe a place as any other, he said: "The fact that up to the present no air raids have taken place in the large towns does not affect the position."

To those who found it embarrassing to share a home with another mother and her family, he said: "The mother who has arrived with her child is not under any obligation to take part in domestic work, except so far as concerns the rooms she occupies herself. But it will clearly add to the comfort and unity of the household and to her own self-respect if she co-operates in those borderline functions which are inevitable when there are two families in one small house, and is scrupulously careful about the condition of the rooms in which she lives." It was found, however, that such advice was unable to stem the flow home-

SAFETY-ZONE WORK AND PLAY

Evacuated children soon adapted themselves to their new surroundings. Children at big towns do not have many opportunities for swimming in sea and river, and those in the top photograph enjoy themselves hugely while one of their number constitutes himself guardian of the gas-masks. Above: Liverpool children at Formby, on the Lancashire coast, are undertaking the important task of filling sandbags.
dangers for the moral and spiritual welfare of England's children.

Finally the evacuation raised serious financial difficulties. The upkeep of the evacuated children cost the government £100,000 a week. Early in October it was announced that, in future, their parents must help the Treasury. It had been worked out that the average cost of maintenance per child was 9s. a week. Henceforward parents would be expected to contribute 6s. towards that amount, and notice was given that after October 28 parents who could afford it would be asked to pay the full amount. These financial arrangements did not pass without criticism. Both parents of evacuated children and householders who received them saw difficulties in it. There was, for example, the case of the good-class house with a high standard of living. The government allowance to householders was 10s. 6d. for one child, and 8s. 6d. for more than one child was billeted. (Later, the rate was modified to 10s. 6d. per week in all cases for unaccompanied school children who had attained the age of 16.) The reception-home with a high standard of living was compelled either to lower its standard, or supplement the State allowance. On the other hand, the rate allowed to reception-homes was criticized on the ground that it was unfair to the unemployed and the soldiers, inasmuch as the allowance for food, rent, and clothing for the child of an unemployed person was 3s., and the soldier's allowance 5s. for the first child, 3s. for the second, 2s. for the third, and for subsequent children only 1s.

It was inevitable that in a scheme of this kind anomalies should appear. Yet it was agreed that the migration and settlement were carried through with typically British good humour. "In two days," declared one of the workers, "I saw more of the British milk of human kindness poured out than you would find in a lifetime of normality!"

It will be a task for the historian, as in calmer, happier days he looks back upon the events of this critical period of British life, to estimate the importance of this great trek from town to country. Its immediate purpose, of course, was safeguarding as far as was possible the lives of the coming generation in time of national peril. It was a wartime expedient, carried through with amazing skill and (all things considered) success. But its significance lay far deeper than the purpose which was its occasion. What the movement meant to the health of the nation cannot easily be estimated. It was doubtless a shock to those who prided themselves on the clinical excellence of the schools when they learned that children, in spite of all that educational authorities might do, could still be verminous. But that very fact gave an added value to the experiment. Life in the country, away from crowded streets and tenements, could not fail to bring a glow to faded cheeks and a new light to tired eyes. What of those thousands of children to whom the combination of this upheaval meant, for the first time in their lives, first-hand experience of cows and sheep and of the glorious countryside? How eloquent that passage from a Cotswold observer:

"The newcomers have gone into raptures over the stacked wheat and barley, not yet brought in from the fields; and when Harry Carter drove a cow and her day-old calf through the village he was obliged to take severe measures to prevent the calf from being injured by over-petting."

Historians have often laid stress on the significance of the movement from countryside to town in the far-off days of the Industrial Revolution. The question may be permitted whether wartime experiences have not done something to restore to British youth a love for the matchless rural scene.

Nor can it have been without value that two different sections of the population should have learned how the other lived. Children from the cities, crowded streets learned for the first time what it was like to live in a house with ample space, and that there were such things as table manners. On the other hand, boys and girls from more fortunate homes learned that not every child had their own advantages. In both cases the process of learning brought something of a shock; but when the shock was over, was not the result socially beneficial? If it be true that one-half the world doesn't know how the other half lives, the great evacuation surely did something to remedy that ignorance.

Most important of all, the rapid transfer of so large a section of population revealed what has always been a valuable trait in British character. We have become so accustomed to that one spirit of comradoship, under challenging conditions which is the mark of the British soldier that we have come to take it for granted. But the evacuation showed the same quality on the civilian front, revealing that, when danger looms ahead, courage and adaptability and a readiness to greet the unusual with a cheer are typical of the British people as a whole. Commenting on the wisdom of the evacuation and the success of its organization, one writer declared, "The future generation is as safe as it can be."

He was thinking of safety from the perils of war. But his words had a deeper interpretation. If the general spirit shown in the September evacuation is any guide, the future generation is safe to uphold the finest traditions of the British race.
On September 3, 1939, the day that Britain and France declared war on Germany, President Roosevelt broadcast an address to the people of the United States on the subject of neutrality. He followed this up on September 21 by a speech to Congress appealing for the lifting of the Arms Embargo contained in the Neutrality Statutes.

American neutrality is the subject of a special Chapter (see page 47).

As late as the end of July, I spoke to members of the Congress about the definite possibility of war—and I should have called it the probability of war. And last January also, I spoke to Congress of the need for further warning of new threats of conquest, military and economic, a challenge to religion, to democracy, and to the American people. And I said an ordering of society which relegates religion, democracy and good faith among nations to the background can find no place within for the ideals of the Prince of Peace. The United States rejects such an ordering and retains its ancient faith.

And I said we know what might happen to us of the United States if the philosophers of force were to encompass the other continents and invade our own. We, no more than other nations, can afford to be surrounded by the shadows of our faith and our humanity.

Last January I also said, "We have learned that when we deliberately try to legislate neutrality, our neutrality laws may operate unevenly; that they may actually get aid to an aggressor and deny it to the victim. The instinct of self-preservation should warn us that we ought not to let that happen any more."

Embargo Provisions Dangerous to Neutrality

This so-called Neutrality Act of 1935 was continued in force by the joint resolution of Mar. 1, 1937. Despite grave doubts expressed as to its wisdom by many senators and representatives and by officials charged with the conduct of our foreign relations, including myself. I regret that the Congress passed that Act. I regret equally that I signed that Act.

On July 14 of this year I asked the Congress in the cause of peace and in the interests of real American neutrality and security to take action to change that Act.

I now ask again that such action be taken in respect to that part of the Act which is wholly inconsistent with ancient precepts of the laws of nations—the embargo provisions. I ask it because they are, in my opinion, most vitally dangerous to American neutrality, American security, and above all, American peace.

These embargo provisions as they exist today prevent the sale of a belligerent by an American citizen of any completed implements of war. But they actually give aid to an aggressor and deny it to the victim. The instinct of self-preservation should warn us that we ought not to let that happen any more.

We seek a great consistency—a greater consistency through the repeal of the embargo provisions and a return to international law. I seek re-enactment of the historical and traditional American policy.

It has been erroneously said that a return to that policy means returning to no treaty at all. I give you my deep-seated and unalterable conviction, based on years of experience as a worker in the field of international peace, that by the repeal of the embargo the United States will more probably remain at peace than if the law remains as it stands today.
THE NEUTRAL COUNTRIES IN THE FIRST PHASE OF THE WAR

Reactions to British Blockade—Position of Sweden—Denmark’s Danger—Finland’s Export Trade Paralysed—The Åland Islands—Soviet Pressure on Baltic States—Precautions in Belgium and Holland—Switzerland’s Firm Measures—Anti-German Feeling in Hungary—Rumania’s Problems—Italy’s ‘Watchful Waiting’—Spain’s Attitude—Turkey and the Dardanelles.

The outbreak of war was greeted with declarations of neutrality by most of the non-belligerents in Europe. Nevertheless, the activities of the belligerents had far-reaching economic effects on neutrals, especially as regards their export and import trade.

Whatever their sympathies—and Germany’s wanton aggression against Poland did not fail to impress them with the justice of the Allies’ cause—all the neutral countries were intent on maintaining, as far as possible, their normal trade with the belligerents.

The British blockade, resulting in long delays for search purposes to neutral ships, caused irritation in maritime countries such as Holland, Sweden, and Norway. Germany’s indiscriminate mine-laying and U-boat action against neutral ships speedily sent freight rates soaring (largely owing to increased insurance premiums), resulting in a rise in the cost of living in neutral countries and scarcity of many commodities.

Sweden was one of the first to suffer. In normal times about one quarter of her exports went to Germany, and between one-quarter and one-fifth to Britain. Among her exports to Germany in 1938 were 9,000,000 tons of high-grade iron ore, an essential to war industries. From the outbreak of war Britain declared iron ore to be contraband, and the blockade of the Norwegian coast, via which the greater part of Swedish iron ore was shipped to Germany through the Norwegian port of Narvik, deprived Germany of two-thirds of her normal iron ore imports from Sweden.

Britain’s endeavours to prevent petrol reaching Germany via neutral countries also resulted in delay to Swedish tankers, and a petrol shortage in Sweden. In most Scandinavian countries restrictions were imposed on private car users, while efforts were made to substitute natural gas for petrol.

But these hardships, with resulting unemployment and dislocation of industry, were slight compared with Sweden’s sufferings at the hands of Germany. Unable, after a few initial successes, to interfere greatly with the shipping of Britain and France, Germany turned her attention to the neutrals. In the third week of the war there were sunk the Swedish ships “Silesia” (1,839 tons) and “Gertrud Bratt” (1,500 tons); while two Finnish ships, the “Walm” and “Marti Ragnar,” carrying wood pulp cargoes, met their doom by U-boat.

Sweden reinforced her coastal defences, ordered her ships to keep to territorial waters, and took steps with the German Government to regulate the position—without, however, receiving great satisfaction. Resentment was so widespread at the indiscriminate sinkings that there was some talk of banning altogether shipments of Swedish iron ore to Germany; but, largely owing to Sweden’s geographical situation and the fact that German mines-belts around the exits and entrances to the Baltic necessitated the employment of German pilots for navigation, the Swedish Government decided to hold its hand. Meanwhile the dispatch of trade commissions to Britain and Germany was under discussion.

Denmark’s dangerous situation was brought home to her with a shock on the evening of September 4, when a ‘plane, flying at a great height, dropped...
resulted in the sinking of Finnish ships and the paralysis of Finland's export trade. A still further worsening of her economic position came with a Soviet ban on the use of the River Neva by Finnish ships. Although Russia grounded her action on "defensive needs," its effect was to cut Finland's alternative route to Western Europe, via the River Neva and the Stalin Canal to the ice-free port of Murmansk.

Newly-laid Russian minefields in the eastern part of the Gulf of Finland further impeded Finnish shipping. Finland's President, Dr. Kallio, issued a decree prohibiting the warships of belligerents. Powers from entering the territorial waters of the Aland islands. This was in fulfillment of the 1931 International Convention, whereby Finland in the event of war in the Baltic was required to take preliminary steps to defend the neutrality of the islands until the League of Nations decided what measures to take.

Fortification of the chief of the 6,500 islands of the Aland group, lying between Finland and Sweden, had been opposed consistently by Soviet Russia, although Finland considered their fortification essential to her independence. The islands control not only the entrance to the Gulf of Finland, but also Finland's main railways along the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia and the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia itself.

When the Baltic States Trusted Germany

As late as June, 1939, a pact of non-aggression was signed at the ceremony pictured above, between von Ribbentrop, for Germany (centre), Wilhelm Mannheim, Latvian Foreign Minister (left), and Kaarel Seltzer, Estonian Foreign Minister (right). Three months later the balance of power in the Baltic shifted, and the small neutrals signed a similar agreement with the U.S.S.R.
The Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—also suffered severely through shipping hindrances as in each case Britain was one of their best customers. Estonia, the most exposed strategically, was involved in the added complication of a Polish submarine incident. The Polish submarine "Orez", which, with its crew in an exhausted condition, arrived and was interned in Tallinn harbour, made its escape, overpowering the two Estonian guards on board, who were released later near the Swedish coast.

Russia, who, by her march into Poland, would have good cause to fear the enmity of the Poles, sent her fleet steaming into the Baltic, ostensibly to search for the submarine and safeguard Russian shipping. The Soviet Press also reported the torpedoing of a Russian cargo ship off the Estonian coast, and a contemplated blockade of Estonia was rumoured. Neither of these reports was confirmed, however, and conjectures that Russia intended exerting pressure on Estonia for totally different reasons were substantiated when, on September 24, M. Kaarel Settlers arrived in Moscow in response to a hurried invitation from the Soviet Government, and within 24 hours left again, to consult with his Government.

Russia's march into Poland caused consternation in Lithuania, the most southerly of the Baltic States. Preparations for the evacuation of Kaunas, the capital, were pushed forward, but as Russian troops kept their distance from the Lithuanian frontier, and in some cases even interned with Lithuanian frontier guards, apprehension turned to hope that Russia's intervention in Poland would be a blessing in disguise and would result in the restoration of Vilna to Lithuania. The seizure of Vilna by the Poles in 1920 had embittered Lithuanian-Polish relations, and although Lithuania had latterly ceased to press actively for the return of Vilna, the question was not forgotten but had been relegated temporarily to the background.

Belgium, who, on the outbreak of war had declared her neutrality and banned the supply of arms and munitions to the belligerent nations, took steps to ensure that her independence would be respected. On the morning of Monday, September 4, King Leopold announced: "From today I have taken over command of the army. I am certain that in all circumstances the army will know how to show itself worthy of the confidence which the whole nation places in it." Certain additional clauses were mobilized; the frontier defences near Liege and key-points in the water-defence system between the Meuse and the Dutch and German borders were fully manned.

Brussels was the source of persistent rumours in the early days of the war that King Leopold with Queen Wilhelmina of Holland (possibly with the support of Signor Mussolini and the Pope) would seek to re-establish peace by an international conference. As Germany and France got to grips, however, these hopes faded and Belgium settled down to wartime conditions. By intensifying her anti-aircraft defences Belgium was determined to give Germany no excuse for alleging that she could not maintain effective neutrality. A British bomber flying over Belgian territory was chased by two Belgian fighter planes and forced to land, the crew of five being interned.

Some indignation was caused by the unfavourable action of another British plane which, mistaking the challenge, replied with machine-gun fire to a...
MURDERED PREMIER

As related on page 118, M. Armand Calmette, the Fanonian Prime Minister, was assassinated in Bucharest on September 24, 1938, by members of the Fascist Iron Guard. His body is seen (right) lying in state.

PHOTO: Associated Press

A Dutch minesweeper, "Willem van Ewijk," was sunk with the loss of several lives by what is believed to have been a German mine. The Dutch authorities announced that in order to protect their neutrality they were laying mines between their North Sea islands and the Dutch coast.

More anxious than the position of either Belgium or Holland was that of Luxemburg. This little country, about the size of Dorset, assumed growing importance as the difficulties of frontal assaults on the Siegfried Line by the French, or the Maginot Line by the Germans, became ever more apparent.

Luxemburg, with no defences and an army of 500 men, whose territory is flanked by the formidable French and German defence lines, would be in no position to resist an invader; but life went on as usual, and Luxemburg's delegate duly attended the Oslo Powers' conference.

Switzerland's determination to maintain her neutrality was emphasized by three measures: a ban on the export of arms and ammunition; prohibition of the organization of propaganda or any other service in favour of any belligerent; and the appointment of Colonel Guisan to be Commander-in-Chief of the Swiss Army for the period of the emergency. Colonel Guisan had started his career as a private and had served in every branch of the army.

Almost at the same time the Swiss Federal Council decided to mobilize the entire army; all officers, non-commissioned officers and other ranks were ordered to collect at their depots. Swiss subjects in the United Kingdom were among those affected by the order. Within two weeks of the outbreak of war arrangements had been made to enrol every able-bodied man and woman in Switzerland between the ages of 16 and 65 for compulsory A.R.P. and other defence work. The principal hotels along the frontier were converted into hospitals, while buses ceased to run.

The Swiss authorities were determined that their country should not become a base for belligerent espionage, as it was during the Great War, and a stringent round-up of suspects took place in the chief cities.

For the first fortnight the attitude of Italy to the conflict was watched with anxiety, but as she showed no signs of becoming involved, precautions on the Swiss-Italian frontier were somewhat relaxed; on the other hand, large bodies of troops were sent to Eastern Switzerland. Switzerland envisaged as her gravest danger the possibility of

FLEEING TO SAFETY IN A NEUTRAL LAND

As soon as the German armies began their invasion of Poland, thousands of Polish people fled across the border into Romania. Some of these refugees are here seen on a hastily constructed raft, which took them by river into the Moldavia district.

PHOTO: Argaman

summons by signals and rockets to land. A Belgian aeroplane was destroyed, although the crew escaped by parachute.

To afford no excuse to foreign airmen an order was given that all Belgian towns were to maintain usual street lighting throughout the night, while a big letter "B" in white canvas was ordered to be laid on the ground between Belgian and German frontier villages. Belgians generally were in sympathy with the Allies, and M. Max, the stalwart Brussels Burgomaster of Great War fame, was loudly cheered in the Belgian Parliament when he declared that history would condemn those who had provoked the war.

Similar frontier precautions were taken by Holland. Arrangements to flood certain parts of the country in time of emergency were overhauled, and the mined bridges and trees across frontier roads with Germany were replaced by three distinct lines of defensive works. All signal stations and direction indicators at cross-roads near the German frontier were removed. Dutch anti-aircraft guns were in action on more than one occasion against unidentified foreign aircraft. Dutch fighters hotly pursued a German aeroplane which was flying over Gelderland; and a German naval aircraft which landed near the island of Ameland was confiscated and its crew interned.
GERMANY'S NEIGHBOURS PREPARE

Despite their avowed neutrality, the countries bordering on Germany were forced to adopt defensive measures in face of the Nazi policy of ruthless aggression. Top left, a frontier bridge between Germany and Luxembourg; note the barricaded windows and the waterway blocked with timber. Top right, King Leopold of the Belgians reviewing his troops. Left, Holland prepares to flood her dikes in case of invasion.

Below, mobilized Swiss soldiers at Berns.

Photos: Wide World / Evening News / Associated Press
a German movement to turn the right wing of the French armies by an advance through Swiss territory via Basle and the valley of the Birs. She was not reassured by a speech made in Berlin by Dr. Goebbels, who failed to mention Switzerland when announcing that Germany was not to violate the territory of Belgium and Holland.

Swiss newspapers left no doubt as to their sympathies in the war. Almost unanimously the newspapers fastened the war guilt on one person, although in view of Government injunctions the name of that person was never mentioned. The German-Soviet Pact played a large part in determining the sympathy of the bankers and industrialists, who had looked upon Hitler as an anti-Bolshevik champion, for the Allied cause.

The attitude of the Hungarian people—as distinct from the Government—underwent considerable modification in the first weeks of the war. The Government affirmed on the outbreak that its attitude had not undergone the least change. The brutality accompanying the German invasion of Poland, however, worked a visible transformation in this attitude: Hungarian inhabitants of Huusz and other places in Ruthenia, which was occupied by Hungary at the time of the Munich settlement, demonstrated against Germany. Traditionally anti-Bolshevik, the people received with indignation news of the Russian invasion of neighboring Poland, and Polish soldiers who fled into Hungary were received with extraordinary sympathy, in some cases being allowed even to retain their arms.

The growing anti-German feeling could not be overcome by German propaganda, which put forth its best efforts to convince Hungarians that the Franco-British military and naval operations were only a form of "save-saying," and not meant to help Poland at all. However, in view of Hungary's exposed position with regard to Germany, the mass of the nation welcomed the announcement of Count Teleki, the Hungarian Premier, on Thursday, September 14, that Hungary could not indulge in adventures. Hungary's policy, he said, was one of peaceful work—an aim which was being pursued by Italy, Yugoslavia, and other countries.

In Rumania the outstanding event was the assassination at 1 p.m. on Thursday, September 21, of M. Calinescu, the Rumanian Prime Minister. Calinescu was one of the strongest men Rumania had produced. Although slightly built and handicapped by the loss of an eye in his youth—a defect which he concealed by always wearing a black monocle—Calinescu had earned the gratitude of King Carol and the enmity of the Nazi Iron Guard organization for his ruthless suppression of the latter's activities.

As the Premier's motor-car was travelling down the avenue from the Royal Palace of Cetatea, near Bucharest, the chauffeur saw his way obstructed by a cart on the side of the road. The car skidded, hit the kerb and swung across the road. At that moment ten or eleven Iron Guard partisans opened fire with automatic pistols from both sides of the road. The Premier was killed instantly.

The assassination of Calinescu was followed by a ruthless purge in Rumania. In many towns Iron Guards were rounded up and executed in public, and members of the party were outlawed. In some circles it was asserted that the murder had been planned by German Nazis months earlier, to coincide with a Nazi uprising in Rumania. If this were indeed the case, the presence of Soviet troops between Germany and the Rumanian frontier worked to Rumania's advantage.

In Bucharest the Soviet entry into Poland aroused the gravest fears for the integrity of Rumania—especially for her province of Bessarabia, first seized by the Russians in 1812 and taken over from Russia by Rumanian troops after the collapse of the Turkish Empire. These fears were not allayed even when the Soviet troops remained on the Polish side of the Rumanian frontier, and extensive Rumanian troop movements took place around Cernavoda. Three divisions were concentrated in the frontier area, while military pickets were established at the entrances and exits of all towns, and bridges were camouflaged.

In spite of Rumania's declaration that she would remain neutral and maintain peaceful relations with all her neighbors, she took no chances; many classes were called to the colours, and Rumanians abroad who were liable for military service were ordered to return.

Germany's ruthless conquest of Poland aroused fear and horror in the hearts of all Rumanians—horror which was reinforced by the influx of refugees in a pitiable condition from Poland into Rumania. On Wednesday and Thursday, September 20 and 21, upwards of 20,000 Polish Jews trekked from Poland into Rumania, and soon on the Rumanian-Polish frontier roads, there was an endless stream of women with their household belongings in knapsacks or on perambulators, homeless...
DEALING DEATH ACROSS THE RHINE

This is one of the French long-range guns which was in action near Strasbourg, hurling its heavy projectiles into German territory on the other side of the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Kelz. Note how the gun has been carefully camouflaged with branches and netting, making it very difficult to locate from the air. The land war between Germany and the Allies was confined, at the beginning, mainly to tremendous artillery duels between the opposing forces.
SMOKE OF WAR OVER RAVAGED WARSAW

Warsaw suffered heavily in air raids from the outbreak of the war until the entered capitulation of the Polish capital. The photograph above was taken just after an incendiary bomb had burst, and a clearly-defined smoke ring, such as nearly always occurs after the explosion of this type of bomb, is seen rising on the left. It will be noticed that as a precautionary measure several of the horses in the foreground have been turned round in their shafts to prevent the animals bolting.
POLES WENT INTO BATTLE BEARING A HEAVY BURDEN

The photograph above of Polish infantry attacking gives some idea of the heavy load these soldiers, in full war-kit, had to bear: in addition to carrying a rifle and equipment, gas mask and steel helmet, each man is wearing a greatcoat and has his pack on his back. Most of Poland's army was recruited from the peasant classes, men inured to fatigue and capable of great tests of endurance.

Photo, Reutel Zinke
EMPTY TRIUMPH IN EMPTY STREETS

On October 5, 1939, German troops made a "triumphal" entry into conquered Warsaw. But a triumphal march fails rather flat when there are no crowds to watch the martial progress and acclaim the victorious troops. As shown in the photograph above, troops lined the streets to keep back the crowds which failed to materialize.

Another photograph of the ceremony, showing Hitler taking the salute, is given on page 324.

Photo, Associated Press
children, footsore soldiers, and despairing Polish officers. These were soon followed by a large part of Poland’s Air Force (some estimates say as many as 500 aircraft) and the members of the Polish Government, including President Moczeki, Marshal Smigly Rydz, the Commander-in-Chief, and Colonel Beck, the Foreign Minister.

The feeding and housing of refugees faced Rumania with an economic problem of the first magnitude, while the presence of the refugee Polish President and Ministers caused complications with Germany. Yielding to German pressure, Rumania finally interned the members of the Polish Government, although these by the ordinary rules of international law should not have been regarded as belligerents.

If Rumania suffered by the influx of refugees and the cutting (temporarily at least) of her rail communications with Poland and north-western Europe, she gained in increased prices for her agricultural products. Large-scale offers by British, French and Dutch merchants drove up the price of wheat and barley.

Yugoslavia, who is allied with Rumania, Greece and Turkey in the Balkan Entente, maintained her strict neutrality, although the sympathies of the populace were evidenced by demonstrations against Germans in Dalmatian coastal resorts.

Generally speaking, the attitude of countries around the Mediterranean basin was favourable to the Allied cause. The Rome-Berlin Axis failed to withstand the strain of international events in the first weeks of the conflict. Hitler’s statement on the invasion of Poland that he would not call for military aid from Italy evoked a response on the part of the Italian Cabinet which was tantamount to a declaration of strict neutrality. Partial black-outs in Italian towns were suspended; train services with France were restored; and Italy as a neutral began to reap the benefits of increased trade, especially in transatlantic passenger traffic.

Castigation of the Allies in some Italian newspapers was offset by respect for the French effort against the Siegfried Line in others. Italians overwhelmingly expressed their desire for peace. The Soviet invasion of Poland aroused grave misgivings in Italian Fascist circles, and there was widespread relief that Mussolini abstained from drastic decisions in a speech he made on Saturday, September 23. The Duce said that the situation was full of unknown threats, and that

the spontaneous cry among the masses of authentic Italian peoples was: “Prepare in the military field in order to be ready for every eventuality; support every possible attempt for peace; work in watchful silence.”

Meanwhile Italian diplomacy was busy in the Balkans (notably in Yugoslavia and Hungary), ostensibly for the formation of a neutral bloc capable of presenting a united front to further German or Russian penetration. The British Cabinet’s declaration that Britain was preparing for a war of three years’ duration impressed the Italians, who appeals to localize the conflict; and expressions of indignation and disappointment that anti-Bolshevik Germany should ally herself with Bolshevik Russia were apparent on all sides. Some Spanish Fascist leaders declared that their cause had been betrayed, and that German aid in the Civil War had been given under false pretences. Restrictions began to be placed on German trading concerns.

On the outbreak of war the Turkish Cabinet sat in conference with Marshal Fevzi Chainmak, Chief of the Turkish General Staff. Their deliberations were followed by a personal message from President Inönü to King George, expressing the Turkey Stays President’s satisfaction, loyal at the bonds of friendship uniting Turkey and Britain. Turkey’s control of the vital Dardanelles and her proximity to Russia beheld her to be cautious, but the Prime Minister, M. Saydam, accurately reflected Turkish feeling when he announced on September 11: “While there are no direct political divergencies with Germany, we have with Britain and France a community of interests, backed by determined based, and our negotiations with them regarding agreements are being continued in the friendliest atmosphere.”

It was generally felt that Turkey would honour her obligations with Britain as regards the maintenance of the freedom of the Dardanelles to Allied warships, and military collaboration in the event of aggression in the Mediterranean. Some apprehensions were felt, however, in London and Paris, when M. Sarajolu, the Turkish Foreign Minister, left for Moscow on September 22 in response to an invitation from the Russian Government. In some quarters it was feared that Russia would endeavour to persuade Turkey to close the Dardanelles to Allied warships, thus depriving Britain of the opportunity to redeem her pledges to Rumania, by direct aid, and ensuring to Russia freedom of communications in the Black Sea, so vital to Germany for receiving Russian supplies.

Portugal reaffirmed her alliance with Britain which, the Government stated, did not compel Portugal to abandon neutrality.

Perhaps the greatest neutral sufferer from the war was the Vatican, which lost contact with 24,000,000 Catholics in Poland, owing to the Russo-German partition. It was estimated that this event, and the impossibility of receiving contributions from Roman Catholics in Germany, had reduced the Papal income by 40 per cent.
VICTORS AND VANQUISHED IN WARSAW

On October 5, little more than a month after the outbreak of war, Hitler made a ceremonial entry into Warsaw, and reviewed his troops at the Aleja Ujazdowskie, as shown below. While the Germans were marching into the city, remnants of Warsaw’s garrison, some of whom are seen above after the capitulation, were still marching out as prisoners of war under German guard.

Photo: Planet News; Wide World
Chapter 14

POLISH TRAGEDY: WARSAW'S HEROIC SIEGE AND FALL


It is the four hundred years that Warsaw has been the capital of Poland it has provided the historian with a subject for many a stirring page. In the seventeenth century it was besieged and captured and sacked by the Swedes, and in the eighteenth the Russians marched as conquerors through its streets. Then in the nineteenth it saw riot and insurrection and civil war, and its gutters ran red with the blood of its slaughtered sons. In the Great War it was captured by the Germans, and even when peace had come to the rest of Europe Warsaw was still in the battle-line, for in 1920 the Red Army came very near its gates. Such was the history that Poland's capital city could look back on when in the late summer of 1939 it heard once again the tones and undertones of war. But this time there was a new note in the martial cacophony—the wail of warning sirens.

Right up to the outbreak of war, on that fateful September 1, Warsaw's people went calmly about their everyday business. They knew from their newspapers and the wireless that the political situation was dangerous, that Nazi Germany was displaying an ever more hostile and treacherous mood; but they trusted in their government and more particularly in the triumvirate of Moscicki, Smigly Rydz-Beck—the men who had been trained by Plandski and were the inheritors of his prestige and power. Even on August 31, when the posters gave warning of a worsened situation, when through the radio came the message, "In case of war every man, whatever his age, and every woman will be soldiers," they retained their sang-froid. The cafés remained open and did good business; although all sales of alcohol were banned—and so too did most of the shops. When the order for mobilization was issued the men affected went quietly to their depots, and there were no demonstrations. Through the streets rumbled convoys of military transport, composed of every sort of vehicle from powerful motor lorries to peasants' carts just requisitioned for the army. As dark fell there were some who looked a trifle anxiously at the sky, for hope of a peace
gulf solution of the dispute with the Reich was rapidly growing dim. And so came the last peaceful night the people of Warsaw were to enjoy for a month.

At 5.30 the next morning the first German aeroplanes appeared above Katowice, and at 6.15 the air raid sirens in Warsaw sounded for the first time. Rubbing their eyes the early morning crowds looked up at the sky and gazed fascinated at the vanguard of the Nazi raiders as they darted and wheeled and dived. No bombs were dropped in that preliminary raid, but at 9 o'clock the second wave came over and this time their advent was accompanied by destruction and fires caused by the incendiary and explosive bombs they dropped. The Polish fighter-planes went up at once and tackled the raiders and eventually drove them off. They were soon back again, and that first day Warsaw was raided five or six times. The worst raid was in the afternoon, when the crowds rushed from their homes to watch the aerial combat, and there were reports of several Nazi planes brought down.

Saturday had much the same story to tell. From dawn onwards wave after wave of raiders appeared above the city and a number of explosive bombs were dropped in the suburbs. By the evening there were many casualties, and the air raid wardens had not so much difficulty as heretofore in persuading the people to take cover when the siren blew. By now all the places of amusement were closed, and at nightfall the trams and buses moved through streets lit only by a few blue lights. Still there was no panic, no disorder. The citizens criss-crossed their windows with strips of paper to lessen the danger from splintering glass.

Sunday was marked by several raids, directed at the main road junctions and railways, and the next day two hundred people were killed in the eastern suburbs. A factory was destroyed, and considerable damage was done in many places. Several warplanes were alleged to have been brought down, but still the raiders appeared, undeterred by their losses or by the hot reception given them by the Polish fighters and anti-aircraft defences.

Now there was discernible a marked change of mood in the populace. The war, they realized, was not going too well, for all the reports from the front had the same gist, telling of retreat and yet more retreat. Fists were shaken in impotent anger at the raiders, and hatred of the Nazis reached a fever pitch. And to the anxious listeners' ears there came an ominous sound—the mutter of the invaders' guns only fifty miles away.

So near indeed were the Germans that on the Monday, September 4, the Polish Government resolved to remove the central administration to a place of safety in the east. The evacuation was completed by the afternoon of the next day, and the control of the city was vested in the Mayor, M. Starzynski, and General Czum, commander of the
garrison. A message was broadcast from the Warsaw station asking all able-bodied citizens to report to the police headquarters and volunteer for digging trenches in the outskirts of the city, in readiness for the siege which by now was recognized as inevitable.

Now when the Nazi advanced troops were only thirty miles distant the capital was bombarded with still greater frequency and ruthlessness. Some of the warplanes bombed and machine-gunned the Vistula bridges. Explosions and fires were everywhere. One or two of the raiders were brought down by anti-aircraft fire, and the stunned citizens watched the aircraft descending by parachute into the city's parks.

Just a week after the war began the German troops were reported by the Berlin wireless to be outside Warsaw, and at 8:15 p.m. on Friday, September 8, it was jubilantly announced that German motorized troops had forced their way into the city. Following the announcement the German anthem "Deutschland Über Alles" and the Horst Wessel song were crashed into the microphone.

The claim was a decided one, however, for a few hours later the voice of the Warsaw radio was heard declaring that the city was still holding out. The bridges which the Germans had claimed were destroyed were all intact, as none of the bombs had reached its target; most of the shops had kept open, and the traffic in the streets was normal. On the outskirts of the city 120,000 citizens were working day and night digging trenches against the approach of the invaders.

At 10:30 in the evening General Czuma issued his first Order of the Day. "Soldiers of the Warsaw Garrison," it read, "the Commander-in-Chief has entrusted the defence of the capital to us. He demands that the enemy's advance shall break against the walls of Warsaw. We have occupied positions from which there is no retreat. At this post we must endure to the last soldier. The enemy must know that we shall meet him with the cry, 'Halt, thus far and no farther.' We shall fight to the last ditch." After he had read the Order the announcer proceeded, "I am speaking from the Polish wireless station, which may be struck by the enemy's blows at any moment. If our aerial suddenly becomes silent, it will be because it has been destroyed. In that case orders will be given by another means."

The situation was truly desperate. Actual fighting was going on only five miles from the city, and the citizens were left in no doubt that they were now in the battle-zone. Broadcasting on the Sunday afternoon, Colonel Lipinski, the Polish Military Observer, stated that the city had been bombarded fifteen times that day between 5 a.m. and 10 p.m. Seventy German bombers, he went on, had appeared above the city, and fifteen of these had been shot down by the city's defences. The resolute Mayor of Warsaw also came to the microphone and expressed his people's confidence in their final victory. Morale was excellent, he declared, and a few miles from the front line life was going on not much different from normal.

On the same evening the German repeated their trick of a couple of days before, and broadcast false news on the Warsaw wavelength. A programme was given out which purported to come from the besieged city. Fighting was going on all around him, said the announcer; and most impressive sound effects were employed to give verisimilitude to the deception. Soon after nightfall a news bulletin was broadcast by the same station, and this told of German troops entering Warsaw and occupying the waterworks, of the collapse of Polish resistance, and the collapse of Polish resistance, and other incidents equally untrue.

So far, indeed, was Warsaw from surrendering that the advance of the invaders had received a definite check before its barricades. On each side the Nazis had pushed far beyond the city to the east, but they fully realized the danger of leaving so powerful a centre of resistance behind the line of advance. On September 13 the air attacks were intensified—according to a German communiqué, "the civil population had been invited by radio, leaflets, and other proclamations to wage guerrilla war"—and many houses and tenements were destroyed, burying in their ruins a large number of civilians. At the same time fierce attacks were made on the Polish soldiers holding the trenches before the city. All were beaten off.

Much the same incidents of bloody war filled the hours of the next few days. Still the city held out; still its guns roared defiance and the same defiant spirit animated its soldiers and its citizens as shoulder to shoulder they met the German onslaught.

At length the attackers resolved to compel surrender by the threat of unrestrained bombardment. On Sept. 16 a German envoy was dispatched to Warsaw with an ultimatum, and although General Czuma refused to receive him, the terms of the document were broadcast in Polish from the German Deutschlandender station, and leaflets giving the same information were dropped on the city by Nazi planes. The text of the ultimatum required: (1) that the city should be surrendered without further fighting within two days to the German troops who had surrounded it; (2) in the same period the Polish troops must surrender to the German commanders; (3) in the event of the ultimatum being accepted, then the nearest German commander must be informed; (4) but if it were rejected, then the German army would be prepared to give the civilian population..."
twelve hours to leave the city by the road to Siedlce and Garwolin. After that Warsaw would be regarded as a theatre of war and must take all the consequences. "This," concluded the ultimatum, "is the last warning to the Polish military commander. He alone will bear the responsibility for the blood of innocent citizens which may flow, and for the destruction of the city."

Faced by the threat to lay waste their city, the Warsaw authorities might well have felt that the hour had come to negotiate surrender, particularly in view of the fact that the Russian intervention had just begun and the Polish armies in the field were rapidly disintegrating. Still Stanislawskyi and Czuma were obdurate, however. They saw Warsaw as the saviour of Poland’s honour, and it was resolved to hold out until the last man if necessary.

The twelve hours’ grace went by, and the bombardment of the city by German ‘planes and artillery proceeded. On the night of Tuesday, September 19, the Mayor broadcast an appeal for assistance to the peoples of the civilized world. “I have seen women and children being killed in the streets while waiting in queues to buy necessities,” he said: “I have seen the dead lying about unmolested.” Then he went on to give the most moving account of the destruction of “our beloved Warsaw.” “I saw the National Art Gallery of Warsaw, treasuring the most famous Polish works of art and of foreign masters, also in ruins. But I have beheld the immeasurable heroism of the citizens and soldiers of this town fighting for the freedom of our country and freedom of our souls. These Polish men, women and children are not dying in vain; they are dying not only for the freedom of their own country but for the freedom of Europe. We know that our friends want to help us. Our lives may be in danger now, but our souls are undisturbed. We shall fight to the last man if we have to go down fighting. We shall stand at our post imbued with holy faith in our ultimate victory even in this dark hour. The day will come...” Here the Mayor’s voice broke.

MAN'S HANDIWORK DESTROYED BY MAN

The devastating effect of high-explosive bombs is shown in this view of air-raid damage in Warsaw, taken through a hole made by such a bomb. The havoc wrought by the incessant Nazi air attacks on Warsaw was tragic, and an uncrowned host of civilians lost their lives.

Photo: Associated Press

THERE HELD WARSZAW

M. Stefan Starzyński (above), who served with the Polish Legions during the war of 1914-18, was elected Mayor of Warsaw in 1937. General Czuma (below) was in command of the garrison of Warsaw. After the departure of Marschal Smigly Rydza and the General Staff, he was personally responsible for the defence of the city.

Photo: Wide World

Day after day the city’s martyrdom continued. Yet another Sunday came round, and the agony was intensified. More than a hundred guns shelled the city incessantly for twenty-four hours, yet in spite of the bombardment the faithful made their way to the churches as usual. And yet not quite as usual, for the road to church was strewn with the bodies of the wounded and the dead.

A thousand civilians, so it was estimated, had died during the night and day, and the number of injured was beyond compute. The besiegers were doing their utmost to break the people’s morale, to paralyse the city’s transport system, to destroy its water supply and all the necessities of civilized existence.

Reports reached the outside world that the enemy was using incendiary bombs on the shopping and theatre districts, and that amongst the buildings hit were four churches and three hospitals filled with wounded Poles and Nazi prisoners of war. Fires sprang up everywhere, and the people were unable to fight them effectively owing to the destruction of the water system and the danger of splinters and flying debris. Late on Sunday night the Warsaw Defence communiqué read that there were no longer any buildings in which there had not been victims or which remained intact. Most of the houses, and especially the public buildings, were in ruins.

One of the most vivid pictures of the besieged city was presented by a Polish pilot, Colonel Izycki, who succeeded in flying through the barrage of
German anti-aircraft shells and in eventually making his way to Hungary. "From the air," he said, "the city is a horrible sight. Hardly a building remains standing. Big fires are left to burn themselves out. Between the Germans and the defending forces there is a 'No-man's-land' strewn with dead men, women, and horses. Food is scarce. There is some life in the streets, but old people and children never leave the cellars where they have taken refuge. No gas has been used during the siege, except occasional tear-gas charges against our artillery. We captured a number of German tanks by throwing hand-grenades tied to bottles of petrol. Sometimes there was some bitter hand-to-hand fighting. Some captured German soldiers had pamphlets predicting that Goebbels would address them by radio from London before Christmas."

Still there was no thought of yielding; people and garrison were solid behind their leaders in the resolve to fight to the bitter end. For three more days they suffered the agonies of the siege, but following the capture by the Germans of the first line of forts in the northern suburbs and the second line in the southern, the Poles could hold out no longer. The Heroes

And so from Warsaw on September 27 there came at last the message of surrender. "After twenty days of heroic defence," it read, "after practically the destruction of half of the city, and after the destruction of the waterworks, the electric plant and other public utility services, the military authorities have decided that these disasters, coupled with the lack of ammunition and the impossibility of obtaining early assistance from the Allies, makes it futile to defend the city further, involving as it would the risk of pestilential diseases as well as the entire destruction of the city, the heroic defence of which will certainly pass into history. An armistice has, therefore, been agreed upon since noon, and the conditions for the capitulation are being discussed at the present time. The most honourable terms are being demanded by the Warsaw military authorities." Shortly afterwards the German High Command stated that the offer to surrender was unconditional, and that the city would be handed over on the following Friday.

"The negotiations for the handing over of the city should be finished tomorrow," read a communiqué issued by the Warsaw Defence Command on Thursday, September 28; and the announcement was followed by a final review of the situation which had made surrender inevitable. "Fire having destroyed the food centres, the lack of food is being cruelly felt. Number of wounded 15,000 soldiers and 20,000 civilians... impossible to establish exact number of dead and wounded... several hospitals completely destroyed... on a number of occasions wounded had to be moved from one place to another... imminent threat of epidemics. Nevertheless, despite the weeks of agony, "the moral strength of the population remains unshakable. The soldiers defending the capital remain doggedly at their posts. They have shown themselves superior to the enemy whenever they have not been crushed by the superiority of technical means of fighting." One of the Mayor's last acts before the capitulation was the dispatch of a reply to the Mayor of Verdun, the French city which for so long, and in the end successfully, withstood in 1916 the..."
EVIDENCE OF NAZI RUTHLESSNESS

Some idea of the savage ruthlessness with which Warsaw was attacked may be gained from these photographs. Above is a ward in a Catholic Hospital in Praga, a suburb of Warsaw, after the building had received five direct hits by bombs. Right, a tramcar has been blown over by the force of an explosion. Below, a thick pall of smoke is seen hanging over Warsaw buildings following a German air raid.

*Photos, Julian Bryan; Planet News*
whole weight of the German military machine. "I confidently hope," said M. Staszynski, "that the defence of Warsaw has played a useful part in this inhuman war forced upon the peoples of Europe by the German spirit of domination and barbarism."

Although it was stated that the city was to be handed over on the Friday, the first German troops did not make their entrance until Sunday, October 1, when the suburb of Praga on the right bank of the Vistula was occupied. In the next day or two they systematically extended their control over the city, and as methodically received the submission of the Polish units and took their arms from them. There were no hostile demonstrations—at least, on any considerable scale. The people, still dazzled by their long and terrible ordeal, watched the conquerors goose-stepping through their streets—watched them in a deathlike calm. The Germans posted machine-guns and armoured cars at the most important points in case there was trouble, but they were not needed. The civilians kept their heads and refrained from any frenzied activity. The garrison, disarmed, marched out of the city to the prison camps prepared for their reception in Poland or to forced labour in the German fields.

As soon as they had left, gangs of scavengers and demolition squads worked furiously to make the city presentable before the Führer's coming. The roads were swept clean, debris piled up in heaps in the side streets, damaged buildings in danger of collapse were blown up. In this work many of the citizens were compelled to join, and it was they, too, who were made to erase the patriotic inscriptions scribbled on walls and pavements and substitute others more acceptable to the conquering hordes. Thus "Death to the invaders!" gave place to "Death to Poland!"

Even so, the smoke was still rising from the ruins when Herr Hitler made his triumphant entry on October 5. He travelled by air from Berlin, and he was met at the Warsaw airport by many of the officers of the Nazi High Command, including General von Brauchitsch, the Commander-in-Chief, General Keitel, and, not least, Himmler, the Gestapo chief, who for some days had been supervising a clean-up of all the dangerous and suspicious elements in the city.

After inspecting the guard of honour the Führer drove at speed to the Palace Wolnosi, situated in the diplomatic quarter near the new headquarters of the General Staff. There it had been arranged to hold the triumphal parade, no doubt because it was in a district which had escaped, more than most, devastation from the Nazi bombs and shells. It is hardly likely that anyone informed Hitler that he was holding his review in "Freedom Square."

Nothing was allowed to mar the pageantry of the occasion. Watched by a handful of citizens, the grey-green legions tramped through the square and the neighbouring streets, decorated and garlanded in honour of their triumph. A few hours later the Führer stepped into his plane and left the scarred and smoke-blackened shell of the city that had dared to resist the progress of his imperialistic march. He was in a hurry to issue his Order of the Day expatiating on the achievements of the armies of the Reich. He left behind him in Warsaw a population subdued but not cowed. However much Hitler might boast of "a combat in keeping with the best traditions of the German soldier," it was Warsaw that claimed and received the sympathy and admiration of the world.
WAR MINISTER DESCRIBES BRITAIN'S NEW ARMY

On October 11, 1939, Mr. Hort-Belisha, Secretary of State for War, made a statement in the House of Commons on the work of the British Expeditionary Force in France.

We give here the latter part of his speech, in which he outlined the expansion of our peace-time army into the giant fighting machine of today.

We now have a numerically large army. In that respect we are in a better position than we were in 1914. We had in peace-time a smaller population, from which we could now be bled much more readily, instituting a system of universal military training, and thus the even flow of recruits became as well assured to us as to the Continental countries.

We had the foundation on which, after the declaration of war, we could build up a well-planned, comprehensive system and we passed the National Service Act, placing under an obligation to serve all male British citizens resident in Great Britain between the ages of 18 and 41.

In peace-time we also doubled the Territorial Field Army. Altogether we had at the disposal of the Army in this country alone, including the Reservists and the Militia, the best part of 1,000,000 men, on whom we could call at the outbreak of war. Never had the total of our armed forces in the United Kingdom approached anywhere near such a total in population.

When I first introduced Army Estimates to the House in March, 1938, we were preparing out of our strategic reserve five divisions—none of them upon the scale of Continental strength. But the time of the next Army Estimates, in March this year, the Government had decided, in view of menacing developments, to prepare 10 divisions—all upon a Continental scale. Subsequently the European tension increased, and in April the plan for 10 divisions became a plan for 22. This will not be the limit of our effort.

It is plain that great calls will be made upon our manpower. How do we intend to proceed?

In the first place we have adopted the system of calling up classes. His Majesty has already proclaimed the classes between 19 and 22. Those within the class proclaimed are being called up in batches, and with each batch we are taking an additional quota of volunteers. Any man desirous of being a volunteer in the Army, and being above the age of the class called up, may register his name at either a recruiting station or a Ministry of Labour office and he will be treated in exactly the same way as the classes proclaimed.

The upper age limit for volunteers varies according to the purpose required. Trained men may be taken generally up to 45, non- trained men up to 36, and a limited number for certain employment up to the age of 55. We accept as volunteers, subject to the schedule of the Reserve, any British subjects in the United Kingdom, and non-British subjects resident here if approved by the Home Office. Once registered, volunteers receive a notice, as do the militiamen, bidding them to attend a medical examination.

Enthusiastic Volunteers of All Ages

I may say that since the beginning of the war we have taken into our service as many volunteers as militiamen. The enthusiasm which has manifested itself among the people of this country, and with which the Government have co-operated, is, we believe, due to the fact that a great majority of the people are physically able to contribute to the war effort, and the Government have not appeared to neglect this aspect of the war effort.

There is no greater inducement now than in previous wars to join the Army in the way described. Most of the specialist appointments, virtually all commissions will be filled from the ranks.

The backing for talent is continuous, and all commanding officers are instructed to search for it. In this army the star is within every private soldier's reach. No one, however humble or wasted his birth, need be afraid that his military virtues will remain unrecognized.

More important, no one who wishes to serve in the Army need consider his clerical obligations to be in any way unfavourable to his advancement. From this source, then—from the ranks—we shall mainly derive our junior officers.

For officers in the middle and upper ranks we have other sources open to us. We have the Regular Army. We have the Territorial Reserve of Officers, and we also have the Army Officers' Emergency Reserve, which is a register on which, if you were a man of military or special experience, you might put your hand. We have, in the last six weeks, taken 2,000 officers from this register.

It will be necessary to remember that it is of the essence of reserves that they are not all used up at once, and upon the assumption that this will be a three-years' war, many of those with suitable qualifications, who find a natural impatience, will in due course have their opportunity.

Foundations of New Home Units

Further openings for older men will be given in two ways:

1. Regular Reserves.

We propose to form Home Defence Battalions. Each of them will be a battalion of county regiments, and will be composed of officers and other ranks serving in the Territorial Reserve of Officers; and for the time being the officers and other ranks in the regular service will be on temporary active service.

We have temporarily released about 12,000 Territorial reservists, and will not release 12,000 Territorial officers temporarily or permanently. In so far as these releases are helping to accelerate and enlarge the output of our war industries, the loss will have been repaid to us.

2. In 1914 appeals were made for recruits who had either clothing, or equipment, or instructors, or accommodation, and men were taken regardless of their civilian occupations. The last of the first months of the last war we had already achieved in the month preceding this war, and experience had taught us to avoid many errors of the last occasion.

Thus at the beginning of September we had in being an army which was daily acquiring new strength, better cohesion, and greater efficiency. It has been a privilege to speak of it today, and to reveal that, while the world was reading of the German advance into Poland, British soldiers, resolved to rectify this wrong, were passing slowly and in an unending sequence across the Channel into France. There we may think of them in their positions along a country, side whose towns, whose villages, and whose rivers are as familiar to them, by memory or by tradition, as their own.

How strange it is that twice in a generation men should take this journey, and that it should be undertaken again upon a soil made sacred by their fathers.

We may rest assured that they will acquit themselves with the same tenacity, courage and endurance. However long the struggle and however great the hardships, the other soldiers did before, take our arms and our cause of freedom to victory.
C-IN-C AND HIS CHIEF OF STAFF

General Viscount Gort, V.C. (above), Commander-in-Chief of the BEF, was, in the early days of the war of 1914-18, A.D.C. to Sir Douglas Haig. In 1917 he commanded the 4th Grenadier Guards. Below is his Chief of Staff, Lt.-Gen. H. R. Powhall, previously Director of Military Operations at the War Office.

Photos: Russell; Hay Wrightson

O.C. FIRST CORPS

General Sir John Dill (above), who was appointed to command the 1st Corps of the BEF, was, in 1936, General Officer Commanding in Palestine.

Photo: French

C.I.G.S. AND DEPUTY

General Sir W. E. Ironside, D.S.O., Chief of the Imperial General Staff (above), served throughout the war of 1914-18, and afterwards commanded the British forces at Archangel. Below is Maj.-Gen. Philip Neame, V.C., Deputy C.I.G.S. He won his V.C. at Neuve Chapelle in December, 1914.

Photos: Keystone; Sport & General

2nd AND 3rd CORPS LEADERS

Lt.-Gen. Alan F. Brooke, C.B., D.S.O. (above), commanding the 2nd Corps, BEF, went to France in 1914. Sir Ronald Adam, D.S.O., 3rd Corps Commander, was formerly Deputy C.I.G.S. He served on the Western Front and in Italy, 1914-1918.

Photos: Magnum
Chapter 15

BRITAIN’S NEW ARMIES TAKE THE FIELD

The B.E.F. of 1914-18—The Unified Force of 1939—Territorial Army takes over Anti-Aircraft Defence—Mechanization and Motorization—The Militia—Training for New Weapons—Improved Conditions of Service—\* Battle Dress—\* Million Men Under Arms—Confidence in the Commanders—Gort’s Splendid Record—Ironsides, of the Imperial General Staff—Corps Leaders

Unlike the German people, the British are not “army conscious.” They have long since abandoned jingoism. They are proud of the Royal Navy, though the average landman knows singularly little about it. They have complete confidence in the Army, but it is not a subject of boasting, and, indeed, there are times when its very existence is hardly realized.

When, on September 1, 1939, general mobilization was proclaimed, those who remembered the fateful August of 1914 were quick to sense a great difference. Gone were the days when the streets resounded to the tramp of marching men, led by their band and followed by a crowd of the curious. Of the British army, now summoned to the defence of liberty, those who live in the towns saw little. There were rumours of big train movements during the nights, but, for the majority, the first information concerning the part that was being played by the army was given by Mr. Hore-Belisha, on October 11, when he announced to the House of Commons that a British Expeditionary Force of 158,000 men was already in France.

What of the British Army of today? In what way did this new army of Britain resemble the old B.E.F. of a quarter of a century ago, and in what way did it differ? It resembled its predecessor in its indomitable spirit. In most other ways it differed.

Prior to September 6, when the passing of the Armoured Forces (Conditions of Service) Act the various units of the British Army were welded into a whole, the British Army comprised several different parts. First, there was the Regular Army, differing in many respects from the armies of the Continent. Compared with these it was relatively small, since it depended on voluntary enlistment. Recruits joined for long service—seven years normally—and thus it was a highly trained force.

Complementary to this Regular Army in time of war was the Army Reserve, consisting of men who had returned to civilian life after completing their service with the colours, but who still remained for a further period liable to recall in the case of an emergency.

Behind the Regular Army stood our fine citizen-force, the Territorial Army, composed of civilians who had volunteered for military training on a four years’ engagement, with an option of extending it. These units were administered by County Associations, thus retaining the old yeoman spirit, but their training was organized, under the direction of the War Office, by the military commands of the areas in which they were situated. The training comprised an annual camp of a fortnight’s duration and a certain number of obligatory drills during the course of each year. In 1938 the Field Force units of the Territorial Army were reorganized on modern lines and provided with the latest equipment.

Then there was the Officers’ Training Corps, a self-explanatory term, made up of a Senior and Junior Division, whose units were formed by members of public schools and universities; also a Supplementary Reserve, composed mainly of technicians, formed to meet the emergency needs of the Regular Army.

These units of the service in themselves would have provided a formidable field force, but a further augmentation of man-power was brought about by the introduction of conscription in this country in April, 1939. This revolutionary break with British traditions, occasioned by the aggressive methods and menacing designs of the Totalitarian States of Europe, assured our allies abroad that Britain was ready to play her part to the last man in any war in defence of her liberties. Men conscripted under this scheme were allowed to state their preferences—Army, Navy, Air Force—and those who chose the first were drafted into what is called the Militia—a term which recalls the glories of the voluntary defence of England in days long past.

Such, then, are the component parts of the British Army, to which may be added the regular and volunteer forces, both white and native, that are raised in the overseas Dominions, Colonies and Protectorates.

During the last war, at the end of 1914, Britain had three separate armies in existence and in preparation, all with competing interests. They were the Regular Army, soon to be styled the “Old Contemptibles,” small in numbers, but well trained and led, the Territorials, a fine body of men, but ill-prepared for active service; and the so-called “Kitchener’s Army,” which suffered from a lack of trained N.C.O.s and was for a long while without equipment of any sort.

In less than a week from the outbreak of war in 1939 Britain had a

GENERAL MOBILIZATION ORDERED

On the outbreak of war the familiar figures of the mounted sentries with their shining breechplates and plumed helmets at Horse Guards Parade disappeared, being replaced, as seen above, by a sentry on foot in khaki service dress. The portico doors are seen closed and posted with notices calling out the Reserves and the Territorials.
BRITISH ARMY'S NEW BATTLE DRESS

Front and back views of the new battle dress worn by the British Army. The anklets are protected by web anklets. The patch pocket on the left trouser leg is for maps, while the pockets on each side are for Bren gun magazines, grenades or small-arm ammunition. In "battle order" the men also carry rifle, gas-mask, haversack, pack, anti-gas sheet, etc.

Official War Office Photos

MASKED WARRIORS

Just how inhuman the modern soldier, faced with inhuman methods of warfare, can look is shown by the photograph above of soldiers in gas-masks during their field training.

Photo, Fox

...single army, well-equipped, well-trained, and well-led.

Let us now try to assess the strength of this new army. In the House of Commons on April 27, 1939, Mr. Horatio Bottomley gave the establishment figures:

- Regular Army: 224,000
- Territorial Army: 225,000
- Anti-Aircraft Units (T.A.): 90,000

making a total of 445,000 men.

During the middle of July the first batch of Militiamen was called up, 34,000 in number, and additional recruiting for the Territorial Army between April and September brought in a further 36,000 men. To these must be added the Army Reserve and Supplementary Reserve, called up by proclamation on the outbreak of war, and numbering 150,000 men. Thus, on September 3, the British Army numbered about 865,000.

As Militiamen were called up for service by age groups, as and when required, the strength of the Army continued to grow, and it was estimated that by the middle of November, 1939, the British Army would be approximately a million strong, and would increase as further batches of Militiamen were added from time to time.

So far as numbers are concerned, this formidable force is very largely a recent creation. Following the Great War the Army was relegated to the background, and to all intents and purposes it reverted to its pre-war basis and strength. In 1922 its establishment was reduced as a measure of economy, and with the setting up of the Irish Free State five infantry regiments were disbanded. During the previous year sixteen cavalry regiments were merged, the new regiment being made up of two...
squadrons of the senior regiment and one of the junior. The Regular Army, which in 1914 had possessed six infantry divisions, now found itself reduced to five, and artillery batteries were reduced from six to four guns.

The Territorial Force, which had been created in 1907, was reconstituted as the Territorial Army in 1922. Most Yeomanry regiments were disbanded and turned into artillery or armoured car units. In 1935 it was decided that the Territorial Army should assume entire responsibility for Anti-Aircraft Defence at home. At that time the strength of air-defence formations in the Territorial Army was under 2,000. In January, 1936, the first Anti-Aircraft Division was formed, and by the end of April, 1939, the establishment of the A.A. units T.A. was 96,000.

From 1925 to 1935 recruiting was far from satisfactory. A remedy was sought by making the conditions of service more attractive. Special proficiency pay was granted on a graduated scale, in such a way that the more a man became involved with increasing length of service.

The experiment was also tried of making the army a life career for men in the ranks by offering them the chance to serve for twelve years' service with the colours, with the option of re-engaging to complete a total service of 21 years, when they should become eligible for a pension. Short-term soldiers were given vocational training during their last six months' service to fit them for civil life.

Much greater attention was also paid to the improvement of service conditions. Barracks were modernized, the soldiers' menu improved, and more opportunities were given for promotion.

Since the beginning of the century, tactical theories of warfare have been revolutionized by the introduction of many new factors. The evolution of the machine-gun, the use of much heavier artillery in the field, the replacement of the horse by motor transport, the invention of the tank, and the introduction of poison gas as an element of war—all these factors have led to considerable alterations in the structure of the fighting forces.

At the beginning of the century the infantryman, armed with rifle and bayonet, was taken as the unit of strength of an army. Artillery was merely an auxiliary arm, and fire-power was reckoned to be approximately the same as man-power. The introduction of the machine-gun and tank meant that the ratio of fire-power to man-power was greatly increased. But after the Great War there was doubt in all countries about the shape of the future would take. Many of the war inventions were inapplicable to mobile conditions and were in a primitive state of development. A long period of experiment was needed to develop them and to study their tactical implications.

After the war, with disarmament in prospect and a long period of peace, experiments were of course tentative; the immediate problem was the reorganization of Britain's army for its normal duties of policing the Empire, making use of new weapons suitable for the purpose. A time of acute financial stringency caused experimental work to be restricted, and the Army was barely sufficient to maintain the force in a state of efficiency for its police duties. Not until the Italian-Berberian war and German rearmament loosened the nation's purse strings could the still incomplete experiments begin to be applied to the reorganization of the army on a European basis, and by that time the types of weapons and machines developed by earlier experiment were already obsolete. Experiment had laid the foundations, however, and as funds became available progress in mechanization and reorganization began to be notable. Under Mr. Hunsdon-Belisha's vigorous régime and with a general realization of approaching danger the pace was greatly accelerated.

As a result of this reorganization, divisions, and also units, were reduced in size, while their ratio of fire-power to man-power was greatly increased. Divisions were split into two classes: motorized divisions, based on the light machine-gun, and mechanized armoured divisions, based on the tank. Motorized divisions were made up of nine battalions instead of twelve, and each battalion was provided with 50 Bren guns.

Apart from the Household Cavalry, the Scots Greys, and the 1st Royal Dragoons, all British Cavalry on the Home establishment was mechanized, light and fast tanks replacing horses. But the role of the "cavalry" still remains the same—namely, to provide the reconnaissance element for the Division.

The battalion of Infantry today consists of Headquarters, an H.Q. company.
and four other companies. Each company has three platoons of three sections. Thus it will be seen that a Battalion Commander has one platoon per company less than half-hoarts, but though he has fewer men to command, his fire-power is much greater. Probably his most useful acquisition under the new organization is the Carrier Platoon, with its armoured carriers. They are speedy and afford excellent protection to the flanks while they can act as links between the tanks and the infantry, or as out-lying parties, and provide mobile fire units for use in a counter-attack. The crew of these carriers are armed with Bren guns or anti-tank rifles.

Artillery, reduced from six to four guns per battery in 1922, has been re-organized in batteries of twelve guns, and has taken over from the infantry the 2-pounder anti-tank gun. The stock gun is now the 25-pounder, which has a far greater range than the old 18-pounder. No longer are the guns pulled by horses; they and their limbers are towed by motor-vehicles.

Was the question of dress forgotten in this reorganization. On the outbreak of war a War Office order decreed that:

"For the duration of war:
Full dress, undress and mess dress will not be worn on any occasion.
Service dress or battle dress will be worn."

One point about the new "battle dress" of the British Army which would appeal to the "old work" of 1914-15 is that it has no buttons. How many of the "old mem" goes back to the weary bouts with button-stick and "Soldier's Friend" must regret that the modern battle dress did not exist in their day.

In the field, battle dress is universal for man and officer alike. The only distinguishing mark of an officer is his shoulder badge of rank in_queryset. But the officer's equipment differs; for he carries revolver, binoculars, compas, and a haversack for maps, message pads, etc. The battle dress is a two-piece garment consisting of blouse and trousers of heavy khaki serge fastening at the wrists and elbows. There are no putters to come un wound, but the ankles are protected by web anklets. A large patch pocket on the front of the left trouser-leg holds maps or message pads. A haversack, fitted on to a belt at the left side, takes the mess-tin, water-bottle and emergency ration.

A word now as to training. When mobilization was ordered, the Regular Army and the majority of the Territorials were already trained men, but there remained the Militia, the first group of which had been called up only a month or two previously. Obviously, in the case of short-term soldiers, particularly when their services were required as speedily as possible, it was impossible to devote the same time in training as was considered necessary with the other units of the army. The time factor made intensive training imperative. The soldier was taught to be a sapper, or gunner, or infantryman from the first day; the technical side of his work predominated. Drilling was subordinated to producing specialists as quickly as possible, and there was little attempt to make the Militiaman a duplicate of the Regular, for the latter is the product of long and rigid disciplinary training.

As an example let us take the Militiamen who were in training at Colchester just prior to the outbreak of war. The 7th Field Co. R.E. finished all their drill in three weeks and by the end of the fourth had fired their musketry course. The 27th Field Regiment R.A., we are told, learned the fundamentals of map-reading, the use of their equipment and the whole of their gun-drill in the same space of time. A like period sufficed for the fundamental training of the 14th Anti-tank Regiment. In general, a seven-week programme was followed in training Militiamen, though this time limit, of course, was liable to some variation, according to the differing requirements of the many branches of the service.

The new Militiamen were very different from the old barracks, a word which we nowadays employ to connote a drab building entirely devoid of any comfort. The barracks erected for the Militiamen, though outwardly resembling the wooden army hut so familiar from 1914 to 1918, bore little resemblance inside to those draughty dwellings. They were built in groups of six huts, and each block contained a drying room; gone were the days when the men sat about sopping wet after a field-day in the pouring rain. In addition, each block contained a bathroom, lavatories, washrooms and showers with hot and cold water. All quarters had central heating, and despite every bad (and here old soldiers will receive a shock) were a radiator and an electric light. Nor could the kitchen be inspected without a pang of envy by army cooks of a bygone day. In addition to appliances for steam cooking, there were hot-air ovens, fryers and roasting apparatus, while for making tea there were special hot-water taps which allowed water to pass only when it was actually boiling. An unpleasant "fatigue" had also been abolished—that lane of the soldier's life, peeling potatoes. This was now done by machinery, and machinery was also employed for washing up the dishes.

Even the soldier's "kite" had changed for the better. Gone were the old "biscuits"; in their place was a bed with a one-piece mattress, and the greatest luxury of all, the clothes-chest had been replaced by a wardrobe with coat-hangers! Well, all this is undoubtedly to the good, for the Militiaman could now concentrate on his soldiering without having to spend so much of his time as a maid-of-all-work.

**SCOTS DEVISING TANGLES FOR NAZIS**

Beasts of wire entanglements form an important part of trench defences, for they can hold up an infantry attack until cut or demolished by gun-fire or tanks. Here, Scottish soldiers are seen erecting wire entanglements during their training. "somewhere in Hampshire."
MODERN TANK CORPS IN TRAINING

The tank, which made its first appearance in September, 1916, during the battle of the Somme, has since been developed by all the Great Powers. Above, an instructor is demonstrating to his pupils the essential differences in certain types of foreign tanks. On the left, a sergeant is showing a squad how to mount a Vickers tank machine-gun. Below, men of the Tank Corps are being instructed in engineering theory; a practical demonstration will afterwards be given on the tank itself.

Photo: Kingstone & Fox.
MECHANIZATION MAKES THE ARTILLERY MOBILE

The petrol engine has brought about many changes in the army, and among other things has almost eliminated horse transport. In 1914, to bring into action a six-gun battery of the R.H.A., no less than 200 horses were needed. Today, guns and limbers are hauled by motor transport in the manner shown above.

Photo: “Daily Mirror”

It was stated above that the new British Army was not only well trained and well equipped, but what is even more important, well led. A word about its leaders will be appropriate here.

An appointment which was greeted with unanimous approval, not only in the army, but by the nation at large, was that of General Viscount Gort, V.C., as Commander-in-Chief of the British Field Force. Previously he had been Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

Lord Gort joined the Grenadier Guards in 1905, at the age of nineteen. When war broke out in 1914 he was a captain. When it was over he had won the V.C., the D.S.O., with two bars, and the M.C., and had been mentioned nine times in despatches.

The command of the 1st Army Corps in France fell to General Sir John Greer Dill, who, when war broke out, was G.O.C. Aldershot Command. Aged 68, General Dill won the D.S.O. during the war of 1914–18, serving as Director of Military Operations and Intelligence at the War Office from 1914 to 1918. He distinguished himself as commander of the British Forces in Palestine during the stormy period of 1916.

General Alan Francis Brooke, G.O.C. Southern Command, was appointed to the command of the 2nd Army Corps in France. Aged 58, he went to France in 1914 with the Secunderabad Cavalry Brigade. Later he became Brigade-Major, 6th Divisional Artillery; G.S.O.2, R.A., Canadian Corps, and G.S.O.1, R.A. First Army. In the course of the war he won the D.S.O. and the M.C.
IRONCLAD OF THE WAR BY LAND

It is not surprising that tanks were at first called landships, for this striking photograph of a tank approaching certainly gives the impression of a battleship forcing aboard through a rough sea. Flags are borne by tanks for signalling purposes. Wireless communication is also made use of, and both officer and man above are wearing headphones.

Photo, Keystone
BRITAIN'S NEWEST ARMY IN TRAINING.

One of the main tactical considerations of a modern army is to maintain a high ratio of fire-power in proportion to the number of men in the field. For this reason the light machine-gun, capable of long and rapid bursts of fire, is used in increasing numbers. The top photograph shows men of the Scots Guards undergoing a course of instruction in the use of the Bren gun. In the lower picture, infantry are being trained in trench warfare.

Photos, Associated Press; Planet News
WEIGHTY ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE FOE

Modern warfare, which often involves siege operations against strongly fortified positions, has led to the increase and perfection of heavy artillery. The top photograph shows the gun crew of a heavy battery in training by the side of their powerful weapon. In the lower picture, men of the Royal Artillery are rolling up the enormous shells used by a 9.2 howitzer, during gunnery practice at an artillery school.

Photos, Central Press; Punch News

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TWO CENTRES OF HEROIC POLISH RESISTANCE

Modlin, the Polish fort to the north of Warsaw, held out to the last. On the left is seen the wreckage of some of the buildings; below, columns of smoke are seen rising after a German aerial attack. Above, the Polish Naval Delegate is seen surrounded by German officers after handing over the Peninsula of Hel, on the Baltic, the fortress of which offered fierce resistance.

Photo: Mondiale, Keystone; Wire World
Chapter 16

THE POLISH TRAGEDY: THE CURTAIN FALLS

After the Battle—Spoils of the Conquest—Poland's Essential Contribution
German Army's Real Losses—Warsaw under the Conqueror—Nazification
and Bolshevization—Leaders in Exile—New 'Government in Exile'—Polish
Legion—Hitler's Plans for Poland

WARSAW, after a siege which will be remembered as long as men
seek inspiration for the present
in the record of the past, had fallen.
So, too, had Hela and Modlin and the
other centres of resistance whose name
and fame had penetrated to the outside
world. Six weeks after the first shots
were exchanged on the frontier, Polish
troops were still holding out against
Germans or Russians at isolated points
in the Carpathian Mountains and in the
ravines of the Priep Marshes; but so
far as the chief antagonists were con-
cerned, the war was over. On October 16,
the German High Command issued what
was declared would be positively the
last communiqué from the Polish front.
The German troops, it said, had com-
pleted the occupation of the German
zone of interests in Poland.

The army which had mobilized with
such readiness and marched to war so
unquestioningly confident in its leaders
and in itself, was smashed into utter
ruin. Thousands had been slain; many
thousands were wounded; a huge host
had gone to the prison-camps of the
conquerors. The cavalry, so recently
the nation's pride, had dashed itself to
destruction against the armoured front
of tanks and cars. The statesmen on
whose words Europe had been wont to
wait were fugitives in a foreign land,
and their exile was shared by the mil-
tary chiefs who had led Poland's armies
to the battlefield. From the Baltic to
the Carpathians, from Silesia to Vilna,
the sacred soil of Poland was trampled
by the invader, and the Polish people
faced a future in which they were
doomed to remain for an indefinite and
indefeasible period under alien rule.

After the collapse there were many
criticisms of the way in which the
campaign had been prepared for and
conducted. It was said that, though the
Government had laid plans of a com-
prehensive description for the evacua-
tion of the civilian population, no
evacuation of any kind, whether of
children or their mothers, the old or
the sick, was carried into effect. For
the most part the civilians were left to
make their own arrangements, while
such trains and road transport as were
available were mobilized for the Govern-
ment and Army staffs.

No débâcle had been expected—never
for a moment had such a thing been
believed possible—with the result that
huge quantities of war material and
public and private wealth fell into the
hands of the invaders. True, most of
the coal mines in Silesia were flooded
by the miners as they came up for the
last time, and many factories were blown
up and others destroyed by the workers
in a passion of patriotic sabotage.
Petrol-tanks and oil-wells were similarly
fired. But even so, vast army stores
were captured, and the booty of one sort
and another was inestimable in quantity
and worth.

German propaganda contributed its
quota to the mood of general depression.
Amongst the Poles and in the neutral
world it strove to spread the belief that
the Polish army in its four weeks of
struggle had contributed nothing of any
real value to the cause of the Allies.
Britain and France, however, hastened
to express their appreciation of their
eastern ally's stand against impossibly
large odds. A British Government
statement effectively countered the Nazi
suggestion of unwavering sacrifice.

In the first place, it was pointed out,
the casualties inflicted by the Polish
army on their opponents were undoubt-
edly very much larger than those
admitted by Hitler in his Reichstag
speech on October 6. His figure of
44,000 killed and wounded was a
ludicrous underestimate. Much more
probable was it that the Nazi losses
were at least 150,000—a very consider-
able wastage at the outset of what might
well be a long war.

(A much larger figure was suggested
by the "Arbeiter Zeitung" of Zürich.
The real German losses in the campaign

WAR DAMAGE USED AS PROPAGANDA

The photograph above shows damage done to one of the main streets of Bresta (50 miles S.W. of
Krakow) during the fighting between Poles and Germans. According to the vicious propaganda
of the Nazis it was "blown up by the Poles when they were forced to retreat."
Eastern Front the Poles had enabled France to complete her mobilization without the slightest hitch or disturbance; and by compelling the Nazis to concentrate the bulk of their Air Force on Poland they had contributed greatly to the safe transportation of the British Field Force to France.

Again, the Polish campaign furnished the Allies with valuable information as to the tactics developed by Germany in the use of aircraft, tanks and mechanized units; and at the same time the confidence of the German war chiefs in their men and machines may well have been shaken by the demonstration that, even against quite weak defensive positions, the Nazi infantry were unable to advance without tank support, and by the effectiveness of even the limited antitank artillery possessed by the Poles.

Finally, the statement paid tribute to the heroic defence of Warsaw, Modlin and the rest, whose gallantry had given to the world an example of priceless value. That example, it was declared, would stimulate the Allied forces in the West—those forces on whose victorious efforts it had always been clear that the eventual independence of Poland would be established.

Whatever the effects of Poland's efforts, there was no doubt as to her present misery. In the space of a few weeks Warsaw was transformed from the capital of a free and happy people into a devastated and disease-threatened prize of war. Hitler did not stay long

in Poland, declared this Swiss newspaper, were 31,278 dead, 83,417 seriously wounded, and 84,998 slightly wounded. These figures were obtained, said the newspaper, from confidential statistics drawn up by the German War Ministry. And it is an historic fact that the official German History of the War of 1914-18 gives figures of losses totalling 33 per cent more than any admitted during hostilities.

Germany's losses in material, continued the official statement, must also have been on a large scale. In one attack alone they were reliably reported to have lost 33 tanks on a narrow front, and in a successful counter-attack delivered by General Sosnkowski near Lwow on September 15 they were said to have lost a further hundred. Losses of German warplanes were considered beyond a doubt, and the consumption of petrol—weakest point in Germany's supply system—was enormous. Then by holding some seventy German divisions (say 700,000 men) on the

**AFTERMATH OF CONQUEST**

After the rape of Poland, the Nazis strove to show themselves in the best possible light to the people of the country they had so brutally invaded, and above a Nazi welfare organization is seen distributing food to the poor at the Technical High School in Katowice.

Photo, Wide World.
CONQUERED POLAND IN THE NAZI GRIP

Here are some photographs of Poland under Nazi rule. Top left, men of the motorized Verkehrsdienst (Traffic Service) detailed to help police the newly acquired territory. Top right, Polish prisoners of war are seen working on a farm under Nazi supervision. Lower picture, traffic in Poznań regulated by a German policeman with a microphone.

Photos: Planet News, Wide World, Keystone
enough in the city to see the havoc that his successful essay in Blitzkrieg had wrought, but his lieutenants found themselves confronted by a problem of the greatest magnitude.

On a German estimate eighty per cent of the city was in ruins, and although this was probably an exaggeration the destruction had been truly vast. At least 16,000 people had been killed in the siege, and many of them still lay buried beneath the ruins of their homes. The emergency hospitals were crammed to the doors with 80,000 wounded. The water mains had been burst in the bombardment, with the result that the population were compelled to drink contaminated water. Trams, omnibuses, electric light—all had stopped. The economic system had broken down under the strain of war, and the victors found themselves obliged to provide free meals every day for 600,000 half-starving folk. Society itself was on the verge of dissolution. The dividing line between rich and poor had been wiped out in a destruction shared in common, and those who only yesterday were rich and well-to-do were reduced to the queue of suppliants for the bread and water doled out by the conquerors' commission. Everywhere the agents of the Nazi Gestapo were in action under the immediate control of Herr Himmler himself, and with unrelenting zeal the more obtrusively patriotic and more outspoken anti-Germans were hunted down and removed to the safe silence of the prison or concentration-camp. There were strange tales, too, of a kind of official encouragement of the members of the Warsaw underworld. Scoundrels and street-women were sought out, so it was reported, and fed and clothed with the good things snatched from those who before the war had been set high above them in the social scale. But such Robin Hood tactics found small response amongst the people.

In the country at large Nazification and Bolshevization were in full swing. Across the old frontier poured into Germany huge droves of Polish prisoners of war—labour conscripts condemned to toil in the German fields; and in the opposite direction came troops of Nazi organizers, technicians and Gestapo police and spies, ready to play their part in the new field so suddenly opened up to their activities. Gdynia, Poland's splendid creation on the Baltic, was emptied of its Polish citizens and of the Jews; the houses from which they were ejected were made ready for the reception of the Baltic Germans who were expected to be "returning home" from Latvia and Estonia.

On the Russian side of the line of demarcation the Soviet agents were proceeding most enthusiastically with their purge of undesirable elements. Order was quickly established in the occupied territory—many of whose inhabitants, it should be said, had been born Russian citizens—and everything possible was done to discredit the Polish regime that had just collapsed and to show the Soviet system in the most favourable and attractive light.

A month after the Russian occupation of Poland began a plebiscite was held in Western White Russia and the Western Ukraine on the question of joining the Soviet Union. It was announced that roughly 4,780,000 people in the latter, or 95 per cent of the electorate, went to the poll, and that of these 91 per cent supported the pro-Russian candidates for the national convention. In White Russia nearly 97 per cent of the electorate were said to have voted, and again about 91 per cent of the 2,700,000 voters gave their support to pro-Russian candidates. Following the election, conventions were held at Lwow and Bialystok, at which Western White
Russia and the Western Ukraine voted themselves into the Soviet Union.

Shortly afterwards came the report that the National Assembly of Western Ukraine, meeting at Lwow, had passed a resolution ordering and legalizing the confiscation of the estates of former landlords and Polish officials, as well as such Communist measures as the nationalization of all banks, important industries, mines, and railways. Similar measures were proposed at Biakystok and at once put into effect. Thus the transformation of Soviet Poland proceeded on the same lines as that of Russia as a whole twenty years before.

Received the jewels, the fur coats, and the like they had salvaged from the wreck. At night the wanderers huddled into doorways or slept in the straw of a kindly farmer's barn. And not only Rumania but Hungary also had its share of the refugee flood.

Even Poland's leaders had been forced to beg in Rumania a refuge from the storms and perils of war. President Mosicki, who had crossed the frontier on September 18, ultimately found refuge at the little town of Simia, looked down upon by the castle of the Rumanian royal family. Colonel Beck, the Foreign Minister who for so many years had played a prominent part in the councils of Europe, was there, too—in a sanatorium. Marshal Smigly-Rydz, having lost touch with the battle long before the fighting had died away, was in a palace at Czarnow with his wife. Other members of the Polish Government and High Command found a resting place at Herlance, near Turn Severin by the Iron Gate on the Danube.

The status of the Polish leaders was somewhat obscure; the Rumanian Government apparently demurred to their departure from the country save as private citizens, and of course they could not exercise any authority on Rumanian soil. Soon the situation was resolved by President Mosicki who, exercising his constitutional right to choose his successor, on September 30 resigned the presidency in favor of M. Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, then in Paris. The new President at once took the oath at the Polish Embassy, and proceeded to form a new Polish Government—a "Government in exile," General Wladyslaw Sikorski became Prime Minister and Minister of War, and other famous names in the list included M. August Zaleski, for many years Poland's Foreign Minister and spokesman at the League meetings in Geneva, and Colonel Adam Koc.

It was announced that the opposition parties would be represented in the Cabinet, so that the new Government was, in fact, a "Government of National Unity and National Defence."

But what was perhaps the most tragic act in the Polish drama was played not in Warsaw or anywhere in Poland, but across the frontier in the South. Before the Soviet invaders cut the lines of communication, tens of thousands of Poles of all classes had managed to cross into Rumania. There much of them as were soldiers were disarmed and rounded up into camps. As for the rest, the resources of the country were insufficient to cope with the flood of homeless, half-starving, ragged, and altogether wretched immigrants. In miserable processions in little groups or in ones and twos, they wandered through the land, meeting here and there with kindness and salutation, there the shut door and the empty hand. All their worldly goods were contained in their pitifully small bundles or in the handbags they pushed before them. Money they had little or none; the pawnshops soon

**UNWILLING RETURN TO THE *FATHERLAND***

After the U.S.S.R. had taken over the Latvian and Estonian ports of the Baltic, Hitler ordered many Baltic Germans to return at once to the Fatherland. The photograph above shows a group of German nationals coming ashore at Dantzig from the liner in which they had travelled from Latvia and Estonia. Below is depicted a pathetic scene on the quayside at Riga, showing Latvian relatives and friends bidding farewell to Baltic Germans returning to the Reich.

Photos: Associated Press; Kogutova

One of the first acts of the new Government was to dispatch a note through the Polish ambassadors in Paris and London to the British and French Governments protesting against
WHAT TWO-BOMBS DID

Here is shown what two bombs did during the German aerial bombardment of Warsaw. The first fell near the blocks of flats above, breaking the water main and, as seen in the foreground, making a crater about 30 feet across. A second bomb fell directly on one block of buildings, leaving only a fragment of one wall standing.

\[Photo,\ Associated\ Press\]

the Soviet-German Pact which had led to the overrunning and partitioning of their country. Poland will never recognize this act of iniquity and violence, read the note, and, fortified by the justice of her cause, she will not cease to fight for the day when her territory will be free from the invader and her legitimate rights will be completely re-established.

For the present, at least, the fight had finished in Poland itself, but a new Polish army was coming into being in France to carry on the traditions and work of that which had fought so gallantly on its native soil. The nucleus of the new army was a Polish Legion, recruited from émigrés, volunteers, and ex-soldiers who had made their escape from Poland. At its head stood the new Prime Minister, General Sikorski, who, as one of the chief organizers of the Polish forces in the Great War and the subsequent war with Russia, had experience and prestige second to none. Ultimately the Legion would take its place with the French armies on the Western Front. Until that day came Poland’s contribution to the fighting line took the shape of three destroyers, which managed to escape from the German fleet in the Baltic and went on patrol with the British Navy in the North Sea.

But Hitler and his chieftains cared for none of these things. Not yet did they fear that they might be called to account for what they had obtained by bloody violence. What more pleasant occupation for a morning council than the nice division of the rich spoils of war? So they schemed and planned, drew lines on the map and moved the peoples this way and that like pawns on a chess-board.

Some whisper of their conclusions escaped into the outside world. There was to be a Poland, it seemed, but nothing resembling the Poland which had dared to challenge the Nazi Reich. The German frontier was to be pushed far to the east, farther than it was in 1914, but Cracow and Lodz and Czestochowa would be included in a state which would have its centre in Warsaw. Whether this state was to be independent, a protectorate like Bohemia, or a vassal like Slovakia, was not known as yet. Then there was talk of a Jewish state round Lublin, in southeast Poland—a reserve to which would be bounded all the Jews that the Reich found superfluous, as well as the Jews from the other parts of Nazi Poland.

Ere long it became apparent that Hitler was toying with the idea of peopling the land he had conquered with hundreds of thousands of Germans whom he was "calling home" from the Baltic lands, from Russia and Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Hungary. Agriculturists, it was said, would be settled in western Poland, while the industrialists and artisans would be placed in the industrial areas.

There was never a word of sympathy for the conquered. Poland had stood in the way of Hitler’s ambitions; she had lost the war, and the Poles must pay the price of defeat.
HITLER'S 'PEACE' PROPOSALS AFTER WARSAW

At the conclusion of his Polish campaign, Herr Hitler, on October 6, 1939, addressed the Reichstag, and the world, on the subject of the European situation. The first part of his speech was a survey of past events: the second part, most of which we reprint below, contained proposals for a cessation of hostilities and for "setting" problems resulting from the war.

Why should there be any war in the West? For the restoration of Poland? The Poland of the Versailles Treaty will never rise again. Two of the greatest States in the world quarrelled over that. The final shaping of the territory, and the question of the restoration of a Polish State, are problems which cannot be settled by war in the West, but exclusively by Russia on the one side and Germany on the other. Moreover, the elimination of those two States from the sphere of German interests would not result in a new State coming into being in the territory in question, but only in constant chaos. The problems which have to be settled there is a conference table use in editorial columns, not by war spreading over decades.

The ability of the Western democracies to bring about orderly conditions has not been reasonably proved anywhere. Germany has not only restored peace and order in her protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, but, above all, prepared the ground for fresh economic prosperity. And for an even closer understanding between the two nations, England will have a great deal to do before she is able to point to similar results in her own protectorate of Palestine.

Moreover, it should be recognized how senseless it would be to destroy millions of human lives and hundreds of millions of property in order to re-establish a framework which was regarded as an abortion by all who were not Poles. What other war would be the reason for war? Has Germany made any demands to England which threaten the British Empire in any way or have placed its existence in danger?

No, but if this Government is really to be waged in order to give Germany a new regime to smash the present rule and create a new Versailles, then millions of human beings will be sacrificed again; nor will the German Reich be broken to pieces nor will a second Versailles be necessary. But at all events, leading three, four, or even eight years, this should be possible, then a second Versailles would be a source of new conflicts in the future. No, this war in the West will not settle any problems at all except, perhaps, the futility of conventional war problems.

Two questions are today at issue:

(1) The resolution of the problems arising from the dismemberment of Poland, and

(2) The problem of dealing with those international anxieties which make the political and economic life of nations so difficult.

Creation of "Living Space"

What are the aims of the German Government in regard to the resolution of the conditions in the space west of the German-Russian line of demarcation, which has now been recognized by all? They are:

(1) To create a Reich frontier which has already been emphasized, corresponds to the historical, ethnographic, and economic necessities.

(2) To regulate the whole living space according to nationalities. That means the solution of those national problems which do not affect this space alone, but extended into practically all countries in South-Eastern Europe.

(3) In this connection to try to solve the Jewish problem.

(4) To construct economic life and traffic to the benefit of all those living in that space.

(5) To guarantee the security of that empire space.

(6) To establish a new Polish State which, by its structure and leadership, will give a guarantee that neither a new centre of conflict directed against Germany will come into being nor that a focus of intrigues will be created against Germany and Poland.

If these aims are to be achieved, the consequences arising from the war, or at least to mitigate them.

If Europe wants safety and peace, then the European States ought to be grateful that Germany and Russia are prepared to transform this area of disturbance into a zone of peaceful development.

The second task, which I believe is far the most important, should lead to the establishment not only of the feeling, but also of the certainty of European security. For this it is necessary that:

(1) There should be absolute clarity with regard to the aims of the European States in the sphere of foreign policy.

Restoration of German Colonies

As far as Germany is concerned, it can be stated that the Reich Government is prepared to make its aims in the sphere of foreign policy perfectly clear without any reservations. First of all, we want to say that we consider the Versailles Treaty extinct, and that the German Government, and with it the entire German nation, sees no reason and no cause for any further revision except for the demand for such colonial possessions as are due to the Reich and correspond to it.

In this sense, in the first place, the restoration of the German Colonies. This request, let it be noted, is not dressed up in the form of an ultimatum backed by force.

(2) To facilitate the exchange of productions it is necessary to obtain a new ordering of markets and a definite regulation of surpluses, thus removing step by step the obstacles to free trade.

(3) The most important condition for the real prosperity of Europe and extra-European economies is the creation of an absolutely guaranteed peace and a feeling of security among all the peoples.

This requires not only a final sanctification of the status of Europe, but also the reduction of armaments to a reasonable and economically tolerable extent. It is also necessary to define clearly the applicability and the use of certain modern weapons capable of striking at any time into the heart of any nation and so causing a lasting feeling of insecurity.

It must be possible to define the use of gas, of submarines, and also the nature of contraband, in such a manner that the war will be deprived of its terrible character of a fight against women and children and non-resistants in general. It must be possible in connection with the Red Cross to reach a fundamentally valid international agreement. Only under such conditions can peace return to our thickly populated continent, which, freed from distrust and anxiety, can provide the necessary conditions for progress in economic life.

I do not believe there is a single responsible European statesman who does not desire at the bottom of his heart to see the prosperity of his people. The realization of this wish is only possible in the framework of the general collaboration of the nations of the Continent. The safeguarding of such collaboration must be the aim of every man who is really struggling for the benefit of his people.

To attain this aim one day the great nations of this Continent must come together and hammer out and guarantee a comprehensive agreement, which will give to all a feeling of security and quiet and peace. It is impossible for such a conference to meet with those mistrustful intentions to clear up isolated points. It is equally impossible for a conference, which must settle the fate of this Continent for centuries, to work amid the roar of guns or under the pressure of mobilized armies.

Let us hope that the peoples and their leaders who are of the same opinion will say the word of peace. Let those recall the words of Hitler, who regard war as the better solution. As Leader of the German people and Chancellor of the Reich, I can only thank God at this moment that He has so marvelously and wonderfully blessed us in our first hard struggle for our right, and pray to Him that He will guide us and all others on the right path along which not only the German people, but the whole of Europe will find a new happiness and peace.
THE ALLIES DEMAND ACTS—NOT WORDS

Repplies to Herr Hitler's suggestions for bringing about a lasting peace were alike in their refusal to place any reliance on his word. We give the most important passages from statements on the subject by the French and British Prime Ministers.

M. DALANDER, IN A BROADCAST, OCTOBER 10, 1938

Who will remain that has seen a question of Danzig and the Corridor or of the fate of German minorities? Germany has proved that she wanted either to subjugate Poland by trickery, or defeat her by iron and the sword. After the Czech-Slovakia, after Czechoslovakia, after Czechoslovakia, Poland.

All these conquests were but stages on the road which would have led France and Europe to the direct slavery. I know well that today you hear talk of peace—if a German peace—which would be like conscripting the victories of cunning or violence, and would not be like in the least the preparation of new conquests. Summed up, what does the latest Reichstag speech mean? It means this:

"I have annexed Poland. I am satisfied. Let us stop fighting; let us hold a conference to consecrate my conquests and organize peace."

Unfortunately, we have already heard this language before. After the annexation of Austria, Germany told the world: "I have taken Austria. I am not asking for anything in return."

A few months later she was demanding the Sudetenland, and again her leader told us at Munich that once the demand was satisfied Germany would ask for nothing more. Again, a few months later Germany seized the whole of Czechoslovakia. Then, before the Reichstag, he said Germany did not want anything more. After the crushing of Poland it is just the same assurance that we are offered today.

If peace really wanted—a lasting peace which would give to every home, to every woman and child the joy of living—it is necessary first of all to appease conscience in retribution, to relieve the abuses of war, to satisfy honestly the rights and interests of all peoples.

If peace is really wanted—a lasting peace—it is necessary also to understand that the security of nations can only rest on reciprocal guarantees excluding all possibility of surprise and raising a barrier against all attempts at domination.

If peace is really wanted—a lasting peace—it is necessary to understand, in short, that the time has passed when territorial conquests bring welfare to the conqueror.

M. CHAMBERLAIN, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, OCTOBER 12:

On September 1 Herr Hitler visited the Polish frontier and invaded Poland, beating down by force of arms and machinery the resistance of the Polish nation and army. As attested by neutral observers, Polish towns and villages were burned and shelled into ruins; and civilians were slaughtered wholesale, in cold blood, at any rate, at later stages, of all the undertakings of which Herr Hitler now speaks with pride as though he had fulfilled them.

If peace is the act of aggression, which has cost so many Polish and German lives, sacrificed to satisfy his own insistence on the use of force, that the German Chancellor now puts forward his proposals.

If there existed any expectation that in these proposals would be included some attempt to make amends for this grievous crime against humanity, following so soon upon the violation of the rights of the Czech-Slovak nation, it has been doomed to disappointment.

We must take it, then, that the proposals which the German Chancellor has put forward for the settlement of what he calls "the certainty of European security," are to be based on recognition of his conquests and his right to do what he pleases with the conquered.

It would be impossible for Great Britain to accept any such basis without forfeiting her honour and abandoning her claim that international disputes should be settled by discussion and not by force.

The proposals that are thus designed to give fresh assurance, to Herr Hitler's neighbours I pass over, since they will pass what value should be attached to them by reference to the similar assurances he has given in the past.

I propose to quote sentences from his speeches in 1935, 1936 and 1938 stating in the most definite terms the determination not to annex Austria or conclude an Anschluss with her, not to fall upon Czechoslovakia, and not to make any further territorial claims in Europe after the Sudetenland question had been settled in September, 1938.

Now can we pass over the recent departure from the long-proved principles of his policy and creed, as instanced by the inclusion in the German Reich of many millions of Poles and Czechs, despite his repeated professions to the contrary, and by the fact that the Soviet Union concluded treaties with Germany in violation of his repeated and violent denunciations of Bolshevikism?

This repeated disregard of his word and these sudden reversals of policy bring me to the fundamental difficulty in dealing with the wider proposals in the German Chancellor's speech. The plain truth is that, after our past experience, it is no longer possible to rely upon the unsupported word of the present German Government.

It is so much of our policy to exclude from our right to play in Europe a Germany which will live in anarchy and confidence with other nations.

Rights of All Countries to be Respected

On the contrary, we believe that no effective remedy can be found for the world's ill that does not take account of the just claims and needs of all countries, and whenever the time may come to draw the lines of a new peace settlement, his Majesty's Government would feel that the future would hold little hope unless such a settlement could be reached through the method of negotiation and agreement.

I am certain that all the peoples of Europe, including the people of Germany, long for peace, a peace which will enable them to live their lives without fear, and to devote their energies and their gifts to the development of their culture, the pursuit of their ideals, and the improvement of their material prosperity.

The peace we are determined to secure, however, must be a real and settled peace, not an uneasy truce interrupted, by constant alarms and repeated threats.

What stands in the way of such a peace? It is the German Government, and the German Government alone, for it is who by repeated acts of aggression have robbed all Europe of tranquillity and implanted in the hearts of all their neighbours an ever-present sense of insecurity and fear.

I would sum up the attitude of his Majesty's Government as follows:

Herr Hitler rejected all suggestions for peace until he had overwhelmed Poland, as he had previously overthrown Czechoslovakia. Peace conditions cannot be acceptable which began by condoning aggression.

The proposals in the German Chancellor's speech are vague and uncertain, and contain no suggestion for righting the wrongs done to Czechoslovakia and to Poland.

Even if Herr Hitler's proposals were more closely defined and contained suggestions to right these wrongs, it would still be necessary to ask by what practical means the German Government intend to convince the world that aggression will cease and that pledges will be kept.

Past experience has shown that no reliance can be placed upon the promises of the present German Government. Accordingly acts, not words alone, must be forthcoming before we, the British peoples, and France, our gallant and trusted ally, would be justified in ceasing to wage war to the utmost of our strength.

Only when world confidence is restored will it be possible to find, as we would wish to do with all the all of all who show good will, solutions of those questions which disturb the world, which stand in the way of disarmament, retard the restoration of trade, and prevent the improvement of the well-being of the peoples.

True peace is therefore plain. Either the German Government must give convincing proof of the sincerity of their desire for peace by definite acts and by the provision of effective guarantees of their intention to fulfill their undertakings, or we must pursue, in our duty to the end. It is for Germany to make her choice.
Chapter 17
HITLER'S GREAT PEACE OFFENSIVE FAILS
Opening of the Peace Offensive—Fuehrer's Inescapable Dilemma—Boast and Menace in Danzig—Neutral Reactions—The Reichstag Harangue—Spectacles and Plausible Proposals—Italy Holds Aloof—France's 'Unfailing Fidelity'—Chamberlain's Firm Rejoinder—Outspoken Comments of the United States—Ribbentrop's Bathetic Tirade—The Koenigswusterhausen Hoax

CONTAINING seeds of danger for the Allied cause, but in the long run futile, was the German "peace offensive" of September-October, 1939. Nazi propaganda was turned on through all possible channels for home as well as foreign consumption. It was a campaign of half-truths, lies, peaceful protestations and dark threats, the object of which was to get an armistice and some measure of demobilization for the discussion of peace terms, before the full force of the Allies' offensive should be exerted against Germany.

The danger lay less in any probability of Hitler's impudent terms being accepted than in a weakening of morale and even some division of counsels as between France and Britain. A review of the significant statements of Hitler and his satellites will show that such possibilities—faint though they seemed to the democratic peoples—were hopefully envisaged by the enemy.

Actually the peace offensive began in August, in a last-minute attempt to persuade the Allies (but especially Britain) that Poland was the war monger and not one more victim of German imperialism; and that it certainly was not worth their while to challenge the might of Germany over a purely local affair. The method resembled that of similar German propaganda before and after each fresh act of aggression against a neighbouring people, but this time there was much more in it, because Germany was now fully prepared for war, and had been definitely warned that the Allies would fight for Polish independence. The Allies realized, perhaps too late, that their forces could not save Poland from terrible destruction; and the German leaders persuaded themselves that this, combined with the threat of what Germany could do in a new war, would at least cause the Chamberlain and Daladier governments to be embarrassed by public opinion.

In those gloomy months just before Britain and France declared war occurred the interviews of the British Ambassador, Sir Neville Henderson, with Hitler, Goering and Ribbentrop, reported in the British White Paper (see Historic Documents, No. 30). These revealed not merely the familiar duplicity of Germany's belated pretence of offering Poland new negotiations, but clearly indicated the lines of the proposed attack upon Allied morale.

With his stupid and humourless brand of cunning, the Fuehrer had actually offered to guarantee the safety of the British Empire with all the might of Germany—in return for Britain's abandonment of France and a free hand in Central Europe. Hitler's vocal energy was now devoted mainly to arguments of Poland's guilt and the needlessness of any conflict between Britain and Germany. Field-Marshall Goering also tried to impress upon the British Ambassador that Germany was invincible, that Germany would soon break up in a prolonged war, and that Germany could do more damage to Britain than Britain could do to Germany.

Behind his words, and behind Hitler's ultimate stiffening against negotiation with the Poles, lay the secret scheme of an agreement with Soviet Russia, which, while depriving Britain and France of a potential ally in the East, held out the promise of essential supplies to counteract the effects of the inevitable British blockade. At least, this was the political purpose of the ill-considered pact which Ribbentrop signed in Moscow; and if the German leaders really believed that it meant important material help, as distinct from the negative effect of cancelling any possible agreement between the Allies and Russia, they were undeceived in the first few weeks of the war. Stalin gave away nothing to Germany, but took advantage of the situation to make Central Europe and the Soviet's western frontiers quite safe from German aggression. Since Germany was cast for the part of a powerful friend of Soviet Russia, the Nazi leaders had to look pleasant while all hopes of any incursions towards Rumania or the Ukraine failed away; and had even to submit to the expulsion of German power and influence from the eastern Baltic.

Germany suffered these set-backs—which could not have been worse had the Soviet been openly at war on the side of the Allies—because, once war was declared by Britain and France, the whole structure of Nazi power politics began to crumble. The last desperate hope of the Nazi gangsters was to cajole and threaten their way out of the impasse while still in possession of some of the booty.

At a Berlin arms factory, on September 9, Goering broadcast a characteristic speech (see Historic Documents, No. 14). He repeated that German policy had not injured Britain, and declared that Germany's Will for Peace was quite as ready for an acceptable peace as it was to fight under the Fuehrer for victory. Then he let out the next cat from the German bag of propaganda. Rather scornful of the effects of British military intervention, he announced that the British motto was: 'We shall fight to the last Frenchman.'

When the French armies began their advance towards the Siegfried Line outposts, they read notices on the forts: 'We won't shoot if you don't.' Some people in England believed that this was a genuine sign of impending revolt by the German troops. But, though the sentiment inspiring the notices may have been quite genuine, no inscriptions of such a nature would have been allowed if they had not been serving a purpose of German politics. Radio loudspeakers from the Rhine also blared at the French troops that Britain was Germany's only enemy, and not France. In retaliation, French radio stations blared into Germany records of Hitler's recent speeches which supplied dramatic texts for distrust of German promises.

Fortunately, German propaganda never seriously menaced the morale of the French army, though it could still reach the civilian populations of France and Britain—not to speak of powerful neutral countries—and exploit the submerged but still strong campaign of a muddled pacifism. The most effective means to this end was another exercise of Hitler's vocal chords. It was now urgently necessary to undermine the purpose of the Allies. The U-boat campaign had begun with the politically disastrous torpedoing of the 'Athenia'; by the third week of the war, however, it must already have become quite clear to the Nazis that this campaign would be a failure.
On September 21 Roosevelt made a historic speech appealing to the Washington Legislature to repeal the embargo clauses of the Neutrality Law (see Historic Documents, No. 25), and this was by far the most important neutral declaration of policy made in the last part of September. But an even more significant response to Hitler's Danzig speech was a rush of buying that immediately set in on Wall Street, the so-called "war-babies"—stocks affected by the armaments and war supplies industries—gaining one to eight dollars. It meant that business interests in the United States interpreted Hitler's attitude as making a long war certain.

The Danzig speech was ineffective. Perhaps neutral opinion was correct in construing it as mainly intended to stiffen German morale. Certainly it was soon seen as merely an opening gambit. The big move came at the end of the first week of October. Summoning the Reichstag to act as usual as his studio audience for a broadcast speech, on Friday, October 6, Hitler talked to his tame Nazis there assembled and at the same time spoke to the world (see Historic Documents, No. 27). It was an astonishing and at times an almost demented speech, which no sane statesman would make.

This time there was a much more explicit appeal to pariet sentiment abroad, as well as the usual mixture of glorification of German arms and renewed declarations of non-aggressive intentions. The most important German political demand (but not one that should be insisted on by any force) was the return of colonies, made necessary by present-day distribution of the world's raw materials. A Polish State was to be built up and guaranteed by Germany and Russia, and it would be a State that could not threaten Germany. A just and permanent German frontier was to be created, and a re-ordering of the peoples in territory under the German Reich and throughout South-Eastern Europe. There was to be rectification of the rules of warfare. War would have to be made less terrible, by new definitions of the functions of air forces and submarines, and of contraband control.

The belated emphasis upon the need to restrict the terrors of warfare—an attempt to "steal the thunder" of Germany's political opponents—went with the renewed promise of peaceful intentions and the impudent statement:

"If Europe wants calm and peace, then the European States ought to be grateful that Germany and Russia are prepared to transform the area of disturbances (i.e.,

PROPAGANDA TO FRENCH SOLDIERS AGAINST FIGHTING

The Nazi banner, displayed on the right bank of the Rhine to French troops on the opposite side, is typical of the naive German attempts to split the Allies. It announces: "We will only reply if you attack." Another method was to post loudspeaker vans which were set to broadcast passages from Hitler's "peace speech". The French replied with much the same nature that they could not possibly be printed here!

Photo, E.N.A.

So on September 19 the big battle of the peace offensive was opened by the Focher in a frenzied speech, made with typical German arrogance in Danzig, while Warsaw and Polish resistance were in their death throes. This speech was mainly boasts and menaces. There would have been no war, he said, but for Britain's support of Poland, which merely helped Poland; and Germany now had, with Russian backing, to carry on a long war. Once more we were told that Germany's political aims were strictly limited. "If England continued the war now, she would reveal as her real aim that she wanted war against the German Government," he felt honored to be regarded as the representative of that regime.

"Fundamentally, I have so trained the German people," he said, "that any government that is pressed by our enemies would be rejected by Germans. I am proud to be attacked by them. But if they believe that they can divide the German people from me, then they consider the German people to be as charlatans and stupid as themselves."

Then came the usual combination of a threat and an appeal to the pacifism of one of the allied nations:

"When England says that the war will last three years, then I can only say I am sorry for France. If it lasts three years the cordial relationship will not stay on our side, and in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh years, England has already started war against women and children. Her naval arm is there for that purpose, but do not deceive yourselves. The moment may come when we use a weapon which is not yet known and with which we would not ourselves be attacked. Let us hope that we will not be forced to use this means. It is to be hoped that no one will then complain in the name of humanity."

The British Government through the Ministry of Information immediately answered the speech by quoting Hitler's anti-Soviet declarations, and his statements in the Reichstag during 1938 that the Polish State could live in amity with Germany, and that Germany "recognizes the Polish State as the home of a great patriotic nation with the understanding and the cordial friendship of cantid nationalists." The special point of these references to Poland was that Hitler and Stalin were now carrying out their partition of Poland.

The effects abroad of Hitler's speech were negligible, and it was regarded in most neutral circles as a preparation of the unfortunate German people for worse privations and losses yet to come. In the United States the reaction was feebler than any so far registered to a speech by Hitler since the summer of 1938. Mr. Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, told his press conference the next day that he had been too busy to listen to it, and so was unable to make any comment; and the President himself said he had started listening, but had switched off because some visitors had arrived.
Poland) into a zone of peaceful development. For the German Government such a task will mean that Germany will have her hands full for the coming fifty years."

Going back (but only for a moment in this procession of disjointed arguments) to an earlier, pre-war attitude, Hitler reassured that Germany had no aggressive intentions towards England and the British Empire, as if he considered this quite sufficient reason for British non-interference, since he had agreed that the return of colonies was a question for negotiation. But the main appeal to pacifism was addressed to the French:

"It is impossible for any French statement to get up and say that I have ever made a claim on France which was incompatible with French honour or French interests. On the contrary, instead of demanding, I have always expressed to France the wish to bury the old enemy and to allow these two nations, with their great historic past, to find their way to one another."

Naturally the orator forgot (or at least refrained from recalling) that France's honour and interests as an ally of Poland and of Czecho-Slovakia were at stake in the ruthless invasion of these countries by Germany, in contempt of Hitler's own promises. But the whole speech was a barrage of such distorted values, which explains why the ignominous appeal to the Allies' separate interests and to dissident elements of pacifism sounding so flat without the confines of the excited Reichstag. It is enough to observe that Hitler concluded by blasphemously thanking God for blessing them in their first hard struggle for right.

What really stands out in the speech was bound up with the superficially reasonable proposals for re-ordering Europe and the rules of warfare. Hitler maintained that it was a necessary preliminary to the consideration of these proposals that the Powers should meet in conference, "but it is impossible to call such a conference under the pressure of war or even of mobilized armies."

In other words, the Nazi government wanted immediately an armistice and demobilization. There was every reason to suppose that the desire was sincere, for Germany no longer had any hope of the Blitzkrieg, or lightning war, the results of which in Poland had been so satisfactory to the Nazis. Confronted with the Maginot Line, the British and French navies, and the rapidly expanding air forces of the Allies, the Nazis realized that their "power politics" were in danger of being smashed by the staying power of their opponents. Hitler tried once more to reach the pacifists with the argument that "the present conditions on the Western Front cannot last. One day France will destroy Saarbrücken, and Germany will in return bomb Mulhouse. And so it will continue. More and more guns will be brought into the battle and destruction will increase. Whatever the guns do not destroy will be exterminated by bombers."

In the press of Italy, Germany's former partner in power politics, warm approval of the speech was expressed, but without any official confirmation and with renewed intimations that the Italian Government would take no initiative in sponsoring proposals that were so little likely to be seriously considered by Poland's allies. One point (made by the "Messaggero"), that the Versailles Treaty was dead and that any resurrected Poland of the

"DANZIG GREETS ITS LEADER"

So runs the wording of the banner hung across this Danzig street as Hitler makes his triumphal entry into the former Free City on September 19, 1939. Buildings were everywhere bedecked with Nazi emblems, and the Danzig Nazis thronged the streets to greet their Führer, who had by force incorporated the city into the German Reich.
future could not be the same as the old, had been realized in the democratic countries also. Hitler also obtained some results by opening afresh the arguments that the Allies must state their aims more definitely. But on the whole the reactions were again a defeat for Nazi propaganda.

The refusal of Italy to sponsor Hitler's pretended offer of peace was paralleled by the official attitude of the United States, where it was pointed out that the Government still recognized the Polish Ambassador, Count Potocki, and the Czecho-Slovak Minister, M. Hrubša, and had no intention of appearing to connnance the annexation of their countries by Germany.

Italy Stands Aloof

Not content with the usual firm and logical press comments, the French, on the other hand, with the speech published the text of messages exchanged between President Lebrun and M. Raczkiewicz, the newly appointed President of the Polish Republic, concerning the conclusion of the Polish Government that had been formed. The French Prime Minister, M. Daladier, counter signed the French President's assurance of France's unfeeling sentiments of fidelity and the faith of the French people in the future of justice, as well as France's determination to recoup from no sacrifices to ensure it.

In Holland a report appeared in the Telegraaf that German official quarters hoped for the contribution of influential foreign circles to the signing of an armistice, a hope inspired by recalling the earlier offer of Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold to mediate. But the war had been going on now for nearly seven weeks, and massive concentrations of German forces on the Western Front were held to indicate an imminent attack on a big scale. This, as subsequent developments in October showed, was the beginning of a German menace to the Belgian and Dutch frontiers also; and there was no satisfaction of the unofficially expressed German hopes that these small and dangerously situated neutral states would carry the baby.

Possibly the customary outspokenness of the United States press, which had closely reflected American opinion since the previous August, confirmed the cautious attitude of all Germany's neutral neighbours. And the general anti-Nazi sentiment of the States was reflected in the comment of two well-known Isolationist Senators—Nye, a Republican, said: "He has lied so often..."; King, a Democrat: "I do not believe in Hitler's sincerity." Or, as the "New York Daily Mirror" put it: "No man can disagree with much that Hitler has said—if you forget who is saying it..."; and, most categorically, the "New York Herald-Tribune": "It is incredible that any truce should be erected on this foundation."

Just as a large-scale military offensive which fails may secure a local gain, Hitler's peace offensive did once more stir up criticism of the vagueness of the Allies' plans, as distinct from the principles enunciated by the Prime Ministers of Britain and France. And there were some citizens of the Allied countries who certainly shared the view expressed for many Americans by the "New York Daily News": "It is foolish to fight a war of extermination to avoid a war of extermination. And at the end neither side will be able to obtain as good a peace as both could obtain now by negotiation. This assertion must have been greatly weakened in the minds of intelligent Americans by the knowledge that their own Government completely shared the attitude of the French and British
HITLER BEFORE THE LENS OF HISTORY

1. The Fuehrer in his study at his Berchtesgaden retreat, on the Oberalzbach. 2. Addressing an enthralled audience at Nazi youth. 3. A photograph taken in October, 1939 showing Hitler and Goering reviewing the situation in Poland. 4. Hitler meeting Goebbels on the latter’s birthday. 5. The Fuehrer with a group of officers in a Warsaw street shortly after the fall of the city. 6. In his private air liner flying over the Polish battlefield.
Governments. The truth, which was generally recognized, was that peace talk was a German war-weapon. The aptest comment would have been Hitler's remark in Berlin to Sir Neville Henderson just before the war started: "If you wish to obtain your objectives by force, you must be strong; if you wish to obtain them by negotiation, you must be stronger."

In the House of Commons, on October 12, Mr. Chamberlain reaffirmed the Allied policy of establishing a new order in Europe, and quoted Allied Policy from M. Daladier's Reaffirmed broadcast reply to Hitler, "We have taken up arms against aggression; we shall not lay them down until we have sure guarantees of security—a security which cannot be called in question every six months." Hitler's proposals, said Mr. Chamberlain, "were based on the recognition of his conquests and his right to do what he pleased with the conquered. Great Britain could not accept them without forfeiting honour and principle."

The Premier carried the House of Commons with him, except for Mr. Lansbury's sentimental pacifists and Mr. Maxton's group of two members. Another, more interesting and unexpected exception was Mr. Lloyd George, who aroused perhaps unmerited expressions of resentment by arguing that the Government should seriously consider whether a conference was possible, now that any capitulation to German threats on the Munich model was out of the question.

Mr. Arthur Henderson (Labour), on October 9, had asked a more pertinent question—whether the Government intended to publish jointly with the French Government a specific statement of war aims based on the principles they had proclaimed; and Mr. Chamberlain had answered cautiously that the Allied Governments were in accord on those principles, which had been "more than once stated by both Governments. No doubt as time goes on both Governments will consider whether their war aims shall be stated in more specific form." A supplementary question by Miss Eleanor Rathbone (Ind. Universities), unanswered except by ministerial shouts of "No," was whether the Prime Minister was aware of a strong and growing demand in the country for a more specific statement of war aims.

Mr. Lloyd George's plea for consideration of the possibility of a conference, but without any armistice or demobilization, met with no serious support either in the House or the country, although he subsequently repeated his argument and corrected various misrepresentations of it as a defeatist proposal. No sensible person suspected Mr. Lloyd George of any inclination to compromise with Nazi aggression, but he was impressed with the danger of trying to embarrass the Government which he had in the past severely criticized for its weak foreign policy. Moreover, as our War Premier in the 1914-18 war, Mr. Lloyd George had been the strongest individual driving force in politics for a decisive issue. It was recalled that in 1917, when prospect of a victorious end for them had faded, the Germans began similar tactics: von Kuhlmann, then Foreign Minister, put forward a suggestion for a conference which caused some heart-searching in England, and produced insufficient support. In his "War Memoirs," Mr. Lloyd George alluded to this incident and quoted with approval from a speech made by Mr. Bonar Law, who was his deputy while he was in France. Von Kuhlmann's proposal, and a "peace" resolution of the Reichstag were met by Bonar Law in these words:

"If a patched-up peace comes now, with the German military machine still unbroken, still in the hands of the people who directed it for the twenty years before the war, have we any security? I think we have the reverse. Have we any security that the same danger which has ruined this generation will not ruin our children when this war is over?"

Miss Rathbone, more conscious of support than Mr. Lloyd George, also returned to the attack, writing a letter from the House of Commons which appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" on October 23. While strongly supporting the demand for a specific statement of our war aims, she admitted that "all except absolute pacifists will agree that Hitler's preposterous terms had to be rejected. Acceptance would have meant for us and France complete loss of honour and the gain of future security. If we and France stated our terms, almost certainly Hitler would reject them, but they would have been worth stating if they convinced doubters at home and abroad that we had missed no chance, however small, of achieving peace with honour and security without prolonged war."

This argument, sometimes in more extreme forms, was stated by other knowledgeable people; but up to the latter part of October the only notable consequence of Hitler's "peace offensive" and the Allies' response was an added virulence in Nazi propaganda against Britain. In this Mr. Chamberlain was favoured with absurd and groundless abuse of the sort that had previously been reserved for Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden.

During the third week of October it was noticed also that, on the Western Front, German artillery refrained from shelling French gun emplacements, of tanks that were in the French frontier. And yet German concentrations went on obviously with no attempt to conceal them, increasing the expectancy of a huge offensive. Before the month expired, however, this seemed doomed to be held up by bad weather conditions. Probably the concentrations were both military and political in purpose—preparations for a military action when circumstances favored the Germans, and support meanwhile for the menace of German propaganda, culminating in a tirade by Herr von Ribbentrop on October 24.

The German Foreign Minister by this time was held in such contempt by neutral peoples as well as the Allies, that his lies and threats came as a pathetic tail-piece to the Funkhouser's hysterical confusion of right and wrong. After Chamberlain's firm speech on October 12, neutral journalists had already been told in Berlin that England's sole purpose was to destroy Germany and the German nation, and that only intervention by some neutral Power could now prevent unlimited carnage.

The German people heard nothing of Mr. Chamberlain's speech, either by radio or in the press, until the next day, when the results of a night's preparation of the propaganda machine took the following form. While the neutral world was told of British wickedness, the German papers told their readers that, in the words of the "Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung," "Chamberlain proved his responsibility for the war. He is forcing us to fight, and the future will show who will win."

More significant and definite than the Ribbentrop anteclimax was a statement by Otto Dietrich, head of the Nazi Press section, after the official propaganda by radio had promised Britain "war in its fiercest form henceforth," and had characterized Mr. Chamberlain's remarks as "impudent insults." Points that Dietrich gave to neutral journalists included the statement that war on an unprecedented scale could only be avoided if the neutrals, headed by the United States, persuaded Britain and France to meet Germany over the conference table, especially by making it clear to Britain that she could expect no support from the United States. Other points, to reinforce this main argument, were that Germany knew Russia would keep all her promises of help; and that Germany
POLISH LEADERS IN PARIS

After the flight into exile of the Polish Government, the President of Poland, President Mosciski, formally resigned in favour of M. Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, who was in Paris. In that city a new Polish Government was formed, with General Sikorski as Prime Minister and Minister for War. Above, M. Raczkiewicz (left) and General Sikorski are seen leaving the Church of the Assumption, in Paris, after Mass.
This was the work of two well-placed Nazi bombs.

The devastating effect of high explosive bombs dropped from the air is clearly shown in the striking photograph above of a Polish armoured train, derailed by the explosion of two 520 lb. bombs launched by the German Air Force. The tremendous size of the craters formed by the explosions can be judged by comparison with the figure of the man standing by the lip of that on the left. Apart from the damage done to material, a bomb of this kind, dropping on a railway line, would paralyse transport for a considerable time.

Photo: Mandelstam
ELEPHANTINE HUMOUR OF GERMANY'S SECOND IN COMMAND

Field-Marshal Goering is seen above speaking to munition workers on September 9, 1939. His remarks on the economic situation in Germany brought little comfort to his hearers, and when, with an attempt at humour as ponderous as the man himself, he stated "with less meat we shall all get thinner and as meat is a commodity for a stunt," there were probably many among his audience who wondered whether he was living on the same meagre rations as themselves.
REICHSTAG RALLY FOR HITLER'S PEACE OFFENSIVE

Here is the scene at the Reichstag in Berlin on October 6, 1939, when Hitler addressed the Reichstag and put forward principals for peace which were denounced by M. Daladier as a peace which would but accommodate the reluctant aggressor to violence, and would put an end to the present war in Hitler's name and that of the Nazi party. Opening a fifteen minute period of the assembly.
still did not wish war and at present would not declare war but merely defend herself. This, however, might take the form of a "defensive offensive."
The culmination of this Nazi fantasy was a promise to leave ample time for neutral states to take action.

Many pages might be filled with choice specimens of anti-British propaganda sent out after this first response to the rejection of Hitler's "peace offer." And they could all be fitted into the same framework of a method of conducting power-politics which began to fail from the moment that Germany was firmly opposed by the Allies. Much of the Nazi propaganda was necessary inside Germany, where the wish for peace and the absolute consternation at the previously unrealized consequences of Hitler's latest move were startlingly betrayed by the reception of peace rumors which swept through Germany on October 10, after Hitler's Reichstag speech. An amazing hoax led to the revelation of civilian Germany's nervous state of mind.

The rumors, joyfully accepted, were that an armistice was imminent; that Mr. Chamberlain had resigned and had been succeeded by Mr. Lloyd George; and that King George had abdicated in favor of the Duke of Windsor. These stories had been broadcast as ordinary news from the Koenigswusterhausen station by an unknown interloper. The station, according to the Berlin correspondent of the "Stockholms-Tidningen," was being used for programmes normally broadcast from the Deutschnederland station, which was undergoing repairs. The Wilhelmstrasse was angry and alarmed at the public demonstrations of enthusiasm.

Before the end of October it was clear that the Nazi peace offensive had failed, and the Koenigswusterhausen hoax betrayed the fact that by too much lying and suppression of truth the German home front had become far more vulnerable to Allied propaganda than were the Allies or the neutrals to German falsehoods.

The peace offensive, and its earlier successful practice by the irresponsible Fuehrer, is based upon old and universal principles of strategy: take your enemies by surprise, and, if possible, take them one at a time: by dividing them. Practised by all military commanders from Alexander of Macedon to the cunning Wallenstein, the strategy had never been thoroughly applied in times of nominal "peace," and Hitler's successes can be seen in retrospect to have depended upon this gangster method of holding a loaded gun and asking or taking what you want without fighting. So long as the threat was sufficient, all the advantage lay with the Power prepared to risk war. But once war began, and the antagonists could fight on at least equal terms, the political side of this strategy (which is unblushingly described in Hitler's testament, "Mein Kampf!") begins to act like a boomerang that hurls back to the thrower. Hitler bewildered and mentally ruined the majority of German citizens, and left the Nazi Government without a hope of any successes abroad by political propaganda. The one success that it claimed—the pact with Soviet Russia—failed to intimidate the democracies, and ended Germany's career of conquest to the East and South-East. After two months of war it could be said that the whole world distrusted the Nazi Government, and the whole world believed in the ultimate defeat of German power, not only because it would be unable to keep pace with the power of the armed and fighting democracies, but because it was completely immoral, and as Pope Pius XII stated in his first encyclical, the denial of universal morality had become a radical evil of today. In this letter, issued on October 27, the Pope wrote a satisfying postscript to the foregoing review of Germany's power-politics:

"It is quite true that power based on such weak and unsteady foundations can attain at times in fortuitous circumstances material successes that are apt to arouse wonder in superficial observers. But the moment comes when the inevitable law triumphs and strikes down everything constructed upon a hidden or open disproportion between the greatness of the material and outward success and the weakness of the inward value and of its moral foundation... The human race is bound together by reciprocal ties, moral and juridical, ordained for the welfare of all, and it is obvious that the claim to absolute autonomy for the State stands in open opposition to this natural law and leaves the stability of international relations at the mercy of the will of rulers, while it destroys the possibility of true union and fruitful collaboration. Thus it is indispensable that the peoples observe these principles of international law which demand respect for corresponding rights to independence, life, the possibility of civilized development and fidelity to compact, sanctioned in conformity with the principles of the law of nations."
SEPTEMBER 1939

September 1. Poland invaded by Germany. Britain and France deliver urgent warnings of possible war and withdraw. General Caldersham proclaims in Britain and France. Evacuation of British schoolchildren begins.

September 2. Bill for compulsory military service between ages 18 and 41 passed. Warsaw bombe d six times. British Government receives pledges of support from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and 40 Indian rulers.

September 3. Britain and France each present an ultimatum to Germany. At 11 a.m. Mr. Chamberlain broadcast that, as no favourable reply has been received, Britain is at war with Germany. Fierce fighting in Poland. British War Cabinet met, with M. Daladier as Prime Minister and Mr. Ceping for Foreign Affairs.

September 4. British reports of German advance are confirmed. Poland admits loss of Gostyń. Chamberlain broadcasts message to the German people.

September 5. Important towns south of Polish border captured. Over 60,000 wounded and killed dropped over Rive area. British troops "Bonnia" enter Rive. Three German ships, potential raiders, sunk.


September 8. Poland admits retreat from Lodz, Bialystok and Rzesaw, but demands that Germans have entered Warsaw. British carrier "Masurca" and two other ships and one French sunk. Fourth reconnaissance flight over Germany.


September 13. German announcement that open towns would be bombed. German advance east of Warsaw. British troops from Pruszków and Leobszów resume attacks.


September 15. German claims to have surrounded Warsaw. Battery of open towns begins. French troops reach comasts of Siegfried Line.

September 16. German claims to have neutralised both fronts. Polish forces under crushing German attacks. Polish Government leave Kutno. Germany presents terms for surrender. German attacks on Western Front resumed.

September 17. Soviet troops invade Poland. Polish forces collapse under crushing German attacks. Polish Government move to Kutno. Germany presents terms for surrender. German attacks on Western Front resumed.

September 18. Soviet and German troops meet near Brest-Litovsk and issue a joint communiqué. Polish troops engage on Warsaw. German attacks on Western Front resumed.

September 19. Soviet troops occupy Vilna. British planes over Birkenau and broadcast a speech demanding his policy towards Russia. German attacks on Western Front resumed.


September 22. Warsaw still holding out. General von Frellich killed outside the city. French detachments reach outskirts of Zhovanka. German trawler reported to have sunk a U-boat by accident.


September 25. Warsaw and Modlin still holding out. British troops begin first bombardment of Polish fortifications. Further reconnaissabes flights by R.A.F. over Western Germany. Swedish ship "Stauning." British ships "Husky" and sink "Kanada." British freighter "Freshford" reported sunk. Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr. Sarajbjeg, arrives in Moscow.

September 26. Attack on Warsaw intensified. Twenty German air attacks on British fleet in North Sea. But are driven off with two planes destroyed and one badly damaged. No British ship was damaged, but the Churchill reviewed the success of campaign against U-boats.


September 29. Molotov and Ribbentrop sign a treaty in Moscow, by which Poland is partitioned, and a declaration is made that the war should now stop. Estonia and Soviet Union sign a treaty of mutual assistance. R.A.F. carry out attacks on ships of German fleet in Hohland. British, Turkish, French, and Norwegian steamer "Tahkaste" sunk by U-boat.

Chapter 18
THE FRENCH THRUST INTO THE RHINELAND

The French Advance into German Territory to Relieve German Pressure upon Poland—Waiting for Nazi Offensive—Strength of the French Main Line of Defence—The Tempo Quicksens—Germans Attack on a Twenty-mile Front—French Troops Withdraw to their old Lines—Important Effect of the French Thrust into Germany—Position after Seven Weeks of War

At the end of the second week of war the French could claim that their troops had not only fully preserved the integrity of French soil, but had advanced beyond the frontier into Germany some 154 miles on a front of 124 miles. Saarbrücken and Saarbruecken were both dominated by the French guns, and with the fall of one or the other it would be possible for the invaders to cross the Saar and so overcome the river barrier to the use of their mighty tanks.

As the pressure continued, the German High Command rushed troops and warplanes to the west from Poland, and their arrival was marked by a number of counter-attacks and artillery action on a greater scale than heretofore. Nothing, however, could shake the French hold on the occupied territory, and in the air, too, their planes conducted extensive reconnaissances of the enemy positions and, as it was reported, bombed many of the German concentration-points and lines of communication.

While this small-scale warfare was in progress in No-man’s-land, the Germans pushed feverishly ahead with the further strengthening of the Siegfried Line. No better evidence of the Line’s importance could well be imagined than the reports which came in from observers in Luxembourg of the thousands of workmen digging trenches just beyond the frontier, erecting dozens of pill boxes, spreading still more acres of barbed wire. On the banks of the Sauer and Our work never ceased, for at night huge electric lamps illumined the scene of labour.

Even still farther north, from Duisburg, not far from the tip of Luxembourg, to Aachen at the junction of Germany, Holland and Belgium, the work on the Westwall went on without interruption. Here tens of thousands of civilians were employed in excavation work, and the lorries streamed by in endless procession. Opposite the former German territories of Eupen and Malmedy concrete fortifications of immense strength were in course of erection, and miles behind the front infantrymen were seen to be busy on lines and still more lines of trenches.

The Germans were obviously expecting offensive operations on a large scale, but it was difficult to believe that they seriously anticipated an onslaught from across Luxembourg or from Belgium, neutral states whose neutrality had been so recently and so categorically confirmed by France and Britain and by Germany herself. There seemed to be more justification for the evacuation of the Rhineland towns and villages which was now in full swing. Saarbrücken had been cleared of its civilians—30,000 in all—in the first days of war, and now there came reports from Switzerland to the effect that Karlsruhe, an important road and rail junction on the Rhine, with a population of 140,000 souls, had been evacuated. Other places similarly affected were Merzig (60,000), Pirnausen (47,000), Zweibruecken (21,000), Saarbrucken (10,000), and Bergaueben (3,000), facing Weselburg across the Lutzer.

POIUS RETURN FOR A REST

Here a party of French troops is seen returning to billets from the front line, having been released after posting well forward into German territory. The men are carrying full equipment, and will no doubt be glad when they reach their journey’s end.

Photo. Keystone
went up to engage the audacious enemy. Losses there were on both sides, but it was generally believed that the Allied superiority—Allied, for by now British warplanes were at the front—was still beyond question.

And now a month of war could be reviewed. On the whole there was satisfaction in Paris with the military situation on the West. It was pointed out that the French army had, from the Thirty Days very beginning, carried the war into the enemy's country. A cautious advance into the No-man's-land between the Maginot and the Siegfried Lines had cleared a large area of tank traps, machine-gun posts and battery emplacements. Saarbrücken was surrounded on three sides and, industrially, was cut off from action. If French pressure were maintained here, the results might well be serious for the Germans, who relied so largely on the coal of the Saar. Casualties had been kept to a minimum, but the Germans had lost a considerable number in futile attacks on the consolidated positions of the French outposts. Up to the present there had been nothing spectacular—a sudden onslaught on a large scale, no prolonged bombardments, no furious battles between the warning navies of the air. It was a very different war from that of 1914; some said it was a very curious war.

Curious—because it was so difficult to foresee the next development on either side. The French, it was generally agreed, would be exceedingly ill-advised to attack; why throw away the lives of thousands of brave men in a frontal assault on a fortified system which, however hurriedly built, must be far stronger than anything which was drowned in blood in the last war? But the Nazis—how long could they afford to play a waiting game? Winter was coming. The French army was now fully mobilized against them in lines of immense strength, and every day that went by saw more and more British troops in France coming up to the front to take their place in the battle-line. The blockade was becoming ever more stringent, and were long, failing help on a vast scale from Russia, would develop into a stranglehold. It seemed certain that a Nazi offensive must come, and come soon. But where?

All down the Western Front runs the believed-to-be impregnable wall of the Maginot Line. An attack on this mighty bastion must surely fail at immense cost to the assailants. The only alternative to a direct onslaught was a move through neutral territory with the object of turning the flanks of the French position. In those weeks of inactivity anxious eyes were turned to the map, and fingers traced out the directions from which the Nazi hosts might be expected to spring.

Far in the south is the Basle gap, but to reach it the Germans must bring Switzerland into the war, only to find themselves confronted by the great fortress of Belfort and the line of the Vosges. At the other end of the front, Luxemburg, Belgium and Holland fly the flag of neutrality.

An attack through Luxemburg seemed possible, even probable; perhaps the feverish strengthening of the Siegfried defences just beyond the frontier was with a view to making the line at that point a pivot on which the attack would hang. But Luxemburg is tiny and provides but a small and cramped field for manoeuvre; besides, it was expected that the French would

THE FRENCH ENTRENCHED IN GERMAN SOIL

In the photograph below (a "still" from the British Movietone News), French infantry are seen moving forward through a communication trench in German territory. In the background, on the extreme left, is a memorial to the German dead of the war of 1914-18.

Photo, Sport & General
BEHIND THE SCENES IN THE SIEGFRIED LINE

Above a scene a camouflaged gun detachment post (centre), constructed by the German army on ground overlooking the Luxembourg frontier. On the left, German machine-gunners in a concrete machine-gun nest built in Germany’s western fortifications. Right, excavation by mechanical shovels during the construction of Germany’s frontier defences. Below, German soldiers entering an armoured work of the Siegfried Line. Photos: Associated Press; Durick Leigh; International Graphic Press.
WAR IN THE AIR ON THE WESTERN FRONT

1. A French anti-aircraft balloon going up "somewhere in France." 2. A sergeant of the French Air Force standing beside his Morane, holding the black cross cut out of the Messerschmitt he had brought down. 3. Two French airmen about to set off on a mission. The quick-release mechanism for the parachute can be plainly seen on the chest of the man on the left. 4. A German aeroplane forced down behind the lines in France.

Photos, courtesy of the French Embassy, Pictorial, Keystone.
DAWN RETURN FROM RECONNAISSANCE

From the very outbreak of the war Allied 'planes carried out a number of successful reconnaissance flights over the Siegfried Line. The photograph above shows French aircraft returning to one of their secret bases after such a flight during the night.

Photo: Keystone

DAWN RETURN FROM RECONNAISSANCE

With no new features in the laconic war bulletins, "The night was on the whole quiet. Our advance posts were active."

"A quiet night. There have been patrols and ambushes at various points on the front."

"Day calm on the whole. Activity was shown by reconnaissance parties of both sides at different points on the front." These are typical of the official communiqués given out in Paris in those days of waiting.

As the month drew on there were indications of increased activity. The French troops were believed to be pressing forward beside the Moselle with a view to reaching the road from Remich in Luxembourg to Saarburg, on the main road to Trier (Tréves). Not for a moment were the enemy allowed to realize that they had already attained their quite limited objectives, and were now holding their advanced posts with a skeleton force. German patrols were reported to be "extremely cautious," and attacks by waves of infantry were mentioned.

The tempo was rising, and anticipation was further heightened by the news brought back by reconnaissance 'planes and through the agents of the French intelligence in Germany that strong concentrations of troops were in progress behind the Westwall. Divisions from the Polish front were identified in the West, more particularly in the region about Trier and behind the Saar valley. Convoys of tanks were spotted from the air, and there was a noticeable increase in the number of aeroplanes. Watchers in the line reported seeing twinkling flashlamps and the flashing of matches in the opposite trenches—indications of troops moving up into new positions and checking their whereabouts by hasty glances at the map—glances which in the war of twenty years before would have cost many a man his life as the snipers found a target so conveniently revealed in the gloom of night.

Airmen brought in stories of having seen, six or eight miles behind the main German line, the headlights of lorries flashed and dimmed, and flashed on again as they passed what were probably unlighted vehicles and companies of men on the march. The photographs which they brought back were similarly filled with tell-tale indications of a
SAFE FROM DESECRATION

At the beginning of the war all the villages and towns in Alsace lying along the banks of the Rhine were evacuated owing to the danger from German gunflashes from across the river. Here a statue of the Virgin is seen being removed from an Alsatian church by the military authorities so that it may be taken to a place of safety.

Photo, Keystone

coming change in the situation. New gun emplacements were clearly visible; fresh trenches had been dug and expanses of wire extended.

The French patrols increased their nocturnal perambulations and brought back many a prisoner. Rushed before the investigating officer, the Nazis could tell but little of what was going on in their lines. Indeed, hardly believable though it be, there were some who did not know that a war was in being.

Prisoners' Stories

Simple-minded peasants, they had swallowed without hesitation the story that the explosions they heard to right and left were practice shootings and quarry blastings. They were flabbergasted when they were given a very different tale by their captors. "What!" they said, "Germany at war with France and England, and the Bolsheviks our allies! Impossible!"

Like the Fuehrer, they had believed that Poland would be taken with the same ease and by the same bloodless method as had been so successful in Czecho-Slovakia and Austria. The French officers almost despair at convincing the prisoners of the truth, and as they passed them back to their headquarters they said to themselves: the Nazis talked like men who had lived for years amongst savages and had just resumed acquaintance with civilization.

He would have to be an innocent indeed, however, who could live through the martial bundle which now enveloped the Nazi lines and still believe that war was far away. The French observers estimated that between 700,000 and 800,000 men were now ranged against them in the Rhineland—a great host packed into the forward trenches, the pill-boxes, the casemates by the river, the machine-gun nests, and soon through the whole shell-pocked terrain back to the main defences of the Siegfried Line, where the bulk of the mustered thousands waited not too comfortably—at least, so it was rumoured—for the striking of zero hour.

On October 16 the attack was launched. "This morning," read the French War Communique No. 86, issued at 9:30 that night, "on a front of about four miles, the Germans launched an attack, supported by artillery fire, immediately to the east of the Moselle. They occupied the height of the Schneeberg on which we had a light line of observation posts supported by land mines. Caught under our fire, the enemy attack came to a halt, and they even had to retreat to the north of Aachen, into which village they had penetrated for the moment."

Later in the day the attack was renewed. "Towards the end of yesterday afternoon," read the communiqué issued the next morning, "the Germans launched a second attack, supported by heavy artillery fire, in the region east of the Saar over a front of about twenty miles. Our light advance troops fell back fighting in accordance with their instructions, but our fire held up the enemy on the prearranged line."

Then the communiqué proceeded to give an account of recent operations which must have come as a surprise to some of the amateur strategists. "In anticipation of this resumption of the offensive by the Germans, the French Command a fortnight ago decided to withdraw to other positions the French divisions which had taken the offensive on German territory indirectly to assist the Polish armies. The whole of the necessary movements were completed by October 3. Thereafter we had in contact with the enemy only light advance troops and a few supporting units."

This comparatively informative bulletin may be supplemented by that issued by the German High Command on the same day: "French troops yesterday evacuated the greater part of the German territory occupied by them in front of our fortifications. They retreated to and over the frontier."

Five or six German divisions were engaged in the major attack, in the afternoon of October 16. The huge reserves massed in readiness were not needed, for the Germans did not attempt anything more than the capture of the land from which the French had withdrawn nearly a fortnight before. As soon as they made contact with the French main line of defence the attack petered away; there was no attempt at carrying a really formidable obstacle.

At the same time their advance was no easy matter, unattended by loss. When they retired the French left behind them a quantity of mines of various descriptions, and in addition the terrain was held by numerous machine-gun posts who took heavy toll of the attackers before they themselves retired in good order. Then the guns in the rear, even as far back as the main defences of the Maginot Line, were brought into action and, assured of the range, subjected the ground over which the attack was being made to a
devastating fire. There were reports that the enemy used tanks in support of his infantry—some said that twenty Nazi tanks were among the casualties; in man-power the Germans were supposed to have lost between five hundred and a thousand, possibly many more.

In the light of what happened it was difficult to believe that the attack had been intended to be anything more than a preliminary excursus, or possibly it had the limited objective of forcing the French to abandon the German territory which they had occupied since the war opened. In support of this view may be quoted the "review" of operations on the Western Front issued by the German High Command on October 19. This opened with the claim that the French troops that still remained in German territory between the river Saar and the Hombach-Bitche road had been driven back over the frontier after some hard fighting. Then it went on to give a highly-coloured version of the fighting since the outbreak of hostilities. On September 9, it said, the French sent reconnaissance troops across the frontier between Luxembourg and the Rhine west of Karlsruhe. Since then no serious fighting has taken place anywhere on the Western Front. There has been purely local fighting on the terrain between the frontier and our Westwall. Except on one occasion both sides have conducted hostilities with only small forces, mostly under the strength of one company."

In September, went on the review, the French occupied a few German districts—near the French frontier between Luxembourg and Saarland, the salient south-west of Saarbrücken known as the Warndt Forest, and the salient south-east of Saarbrücken lying between the Saar and the Falsenl. "Only in the two last-named districts, which we evacuated according to plan, did the enemy advance to a depth of from 3 to 5 kilometres, and with heavy losses.

The rest of the territory in front of the Westwall was not occupied by the enemy." Nowhere did the French forces approach near to the Westwall except at Saarbrücken, where the line is almost on the frontier. "The enemy has now given up the territory, the occupation of which was claimed as a success and of tactical assistance to the Poles, and has now retired beyond the frontier energetically followed by our troops."

Much of the foregoing was obviously intended for home consumption, and

WAITING FOR
THE NAZIS

Two glimpses of the French army in action on the Western Front. Right, a sentry keeps watch over the valley. Below is seen a battery of the famous French 75's ready for action. Each gun covered with netting for camouflage.

Photos, Keystone.
so, too, were the exceedingly comforting tidings concerning the Nazi air force which followed. "Air operations on the Western Front have been up to now mainly for reconnaissance purposes. There have been no bomb attacks. German anti-aircraft has cost the enemy 60 planes." (Compare this with the French statement: "Between September 3 and October 20 France lost eight chasse planes as against 24 German machines brought down.")

The total German losses on the Western Front up to October 17 continued the review, were 169 dead, 256 wounded, and 114 missing. On the Rhine front from Karlsruhe to Basel, where "absolute quiet has reigned since the beginning of the war," only one German had been killed—and he by "falling shrapnel from our own anti-aircraft fire."

Although there are discrepancies in the rival accounts there is a measure of agreement on the main essentials. Never were great armies actively engaged in the operations; masses of men were present, it is true, but in effect they were in garrison, spectators of a struggle on quite a small scale, one between outposts and patrols, machine-gun nests and to some extent tanks, while the big guns bombarded the terrain at their leisure. Such fighting as there was took place entirely in the No-man's-land—three to thirteen miles wide—that separates the great fortified systems of the Maginot Line and its German counterpart, the Westwall or Siegfried Line. To the extent that it nailed a large number of German divisions to the Western Front while the Polish campaign was in progress, the French advance may be held to have been justified, and beyond a doubt the invaders obtained much valuable information concerning the quality and extent of the Siegfried defences. The advance troops and patrols acted as "feilers," who groped their way over the mine-strewn and fire-swept ground up to the very face of the main fortifications. Then, having attained their objectives, the Polish campaign being ended, they carefully and unobtrusively retired to their old lines, roughly on the frontier some way in advance of the Maginot Line.

Thus at the end of the first seven weeks of war the two opposing forces occupied practically the same positions as had been theirs at the commencement of hostilities. There had been a retreat—"according to plan," said the Germans—followed by a withdrawal to the old lines, again "according to plan," as the French declared.

The position was well summed up by the military commentator of the Paris newspaper, "Le Temps," when he described it as a "kind of half-truce," during which civilian life and railway and road traffic had been permitted to proceed almost normally on both sides of the frontier. "The French positions," he pointed out, "are now practically where they were at the opening of hostilities," while as for the Germans, nowhere had they crossed the French frontier. "As our High Command intends to remain on the defensive during the present phase the result is almost complete inaction."

This "inaction" was due, as far as the French eastern frontier was concerned, to the presence of the two opposing lines of concrete and steel— the Maginot Line and the Westwall—which, while providing a defence, also hampered the defenders considerably in any large-scale offensive action. Another factor which on the French side at least favoured watchful waiting was the universal dread of mass slaughter such as had characterized the war of 1914-18, when hundreds of thousands were mown down in unsuccessful offensives—or in advances which yielded often so gains worth the cost. French politicians and soldiers were at one in their determination to avoid such holocausts, and had not André Maginot's line been devised
STRASBOURG EMPTIED OF LIFE

The entire population of Strasbourg (200,000 persons) was evacuated early in September. Here are some scenes from the silent city:

1. The Cathedral being protected with boarding and sandbags.
2. A French sentry on guard over a bridge.
3. The Place Kléber, deserted save for a party of Garde Mobiles.
4. A station occupied by French troops.
5. A French soldier looking down the Kehl bridge towards the German bank of the Rhine.

Photos, courtesy of the French Embassy.

Sport et loisir: Central Press.
FLOODED OUTPOSTS ON THE SIEGFRIED LINE

The photograph above, taken from an Allied reconnaissance plane, indicates how some of the advanced posts of the Siegfried Line, constructed on the banks of a river, were flooded after heavy rains. The arrows show where the rising river penetrated between the fortifications. Below, a German anti-tank gun is being moved out from its place of concealment in the Rhine fortifications.

Photos, Keystone : Roi

...to substitute a bulwark of concrete for one of living men!

During this period the enemy had been compelled to keep a fairly large force permanently opposed to the French, for they might well have expected at any moment a serious attack in some strength. To this extent, therefore, even the limited activity on the French side of the line had a preventive value. People in Britain and America were surprised that the war did not flare up into big-scale battles, and various theories were put forward to explain the quiescence along the Rhine. There is little doubt that on Germany's side the slow tempo was a deliberate policy: she had tried out her arms in Poland and, despite the quick conquest of that country, there were certain losses in men and material to be made good: moreover, the brief campaign had shed a light on certain defects of organization and had pointed to improvements in tactics.

Over and above these factors there was the crucial one that Nazi Germany had probably been surprised by the backing given to Poland by Britain, and by the French stand against aggression. The Nazi war machine needed to be made bigger and to be improved before Hitler could engage in that great offensive which he hoped would give him speedy victory in the west. So Germany went slowly during the autumn and early winter months of 1939, knowing that her Westwall or Siegfried Line would effectively hold off a French invasion.

Heavy rains caused floods, and raised the level of the Rhine three feet in a few days. Trench lines of both sides were waterlogged. Soon after there was a spell of bitterly cold weather, with snow which whitened the upper heights of the Saarland slopes and those of the Vosges and Black Forest across the river. Against this background the Allies prepared for the Nazi offensive which all believed could not long be delayed. The enemy gave little indication of his plans, save by certain activities which might just as well have been feints.
GERMANY AND RUSSIA DIVIDE POLAND

On September 28, 1939, Molotov and von Ribbentrop signed, on behalf of their respective Governments, the "Germano-Soviet Treaty of Amity and of the Frontier between the U.S.S.R. and Germany." The articles of this document are set out here, accompanied by an accompanying Declaration and Molotov's letter on proposed economic agreements.

FOLLOWING the dissolution of the former Polish State, the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government regard it as their exclusive task to preserve peace and order in that territory and to secure for the peoples residing therea peaceful existence in conformity with their national characteristics.

With this aim in view they arrived at agreement on the following:

Article 1. The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government establish as the frontier between the interests of their respective States on the territory of the former Polish State, the line which is drawn on the appended map, which will be described in more detail in a supplementary protocol.

Article 2. Both parties recognize the frontier between the interests of their respective States established in Article 1 as final and will eliminate any interference by Third Powers with this decision.

Article 3. The necessary state reorganization of the territory west of the line indicated in Article 1 shall be effected by the German Government, and of the territory east of this line by the U.S.S.R.

Article 4. The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government regard the reorganization mentioned above as a reliable foundation for the further development of friendly relations between their peoples.

Article 5. This treaty is subject to ratification. The exchange of ratification instruments shall be effected in Berlin as early as possible. The treaty comes into force as soon as it is signed.

THE DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET AND GERMAN GOVERNMENTS OF SEPTEMBER 28, 1939:

The German Government and the Government of the U.S.S.R., by the treaty signed today, having finally settled questions that arose as a result of the dissolution of the Polish State, and having thereby created a firm foundation for a lasting peace in Eastern Europe, in mutual agreement express the opinion that the liquidation of the present war between Germany on the one hand and Great Britain on the other is in the interests of all nations.

Therefore both Governments will direct their common efforts, if necessary in accord with other friendly Powers, to attain this aim as early as possible.

If, however, these efforts of both Governments remain futile, it will be established thereby that Great Britain and France bear the responsibility for the continuation of war, and in the event of the continuation of the war the Governments of Germany and the U.S.S.R. will consult each other on the necessary measures.

LETTER FROM MOLOTOV TO VON RIBBENTROP, SEPTEMBER 28:

Herr Reichsminister, referring to our conversations we have the honour to confirm to you that, on the basis and in the spirit of the general political agreement reached by us, the Government of the U.S.S.R. is filled with the desire to do everything to develop economic relations and the trade turnover between the U.S.S.R. and Germany.

With this aim in view, both parties will draw up an economic programme in accordance with which the Soviet Union will supply Germany with raw materials, which Germany will, in her turn, compensate by delivery of industrial goods to be effected in the course of a lengthy period.

Both countries will carry out this economic programme in such a way that the volume of the German-Soviet trade turnover should again reach the highest level attained in the past.

Both Governments will immediately issue the necessary instructions for the realization of the above measures and will see to it that negotiations should be begun and brought to a conclusion as soon as possible.

(Signed) Molotov

IN ANSWER TO THE DICTATORS' CHALLENGE

To Hitler's surprise and annoyance, Britain flinched neither before the shock of the Treaty of Amity with Russia nor at the threat contained in the Declaration. We reproduce part of Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons on October 3, 1939, in which he comments upon the situation that had arisen.

The agreement between Germany and Russia and the subsequent partition of Poland between them has, of course, changed the position in Poland, but it is by no means follows that the arrangement will endure to the ultimate advantage of Germany and still less should it affect the aims of His Majesty's Government. There is nothing in that agreement that should cause us to do anything other than what we are doing now—mobilising all the resources and all the might of the British Empire for the effective prosecution of the war.

The reason for which this country entered the war has been frequently proclaimed. It was to put an end to the successive acts of German aggression which menaced the freedom and the very security of all the nations of Europe.

The immediate cause of the war was the deliberate invasion of Poland by Germany, the latest but by no means the only act of aggression planned and carried through by the German Government. But if Poland was the direct occasion of war, it was far from being the only cause. That cannot be overthrown even if the whole front of the Frontenau, which was the overwhelming scene in this country and in France of the intolerable nature of a state of affairs in which the nations of Europe were faced with the alternative of jeopardizing their freedom or of mobilizing their forces at regular intervals to defend it.

The passage in the Russo-German declaration about the liquidation of the war is obscure, but it seems to combine a suggestion of some proposal for peace with a scarcely veiled threat as to the consequences if the proposal should be refused. I cannot anticipate what the nature of any such proposal might be. But I can say at once that no threat would ever induce this country or France to abandon the purpose for which we have entered upon this struggle.

To attempt to mislead Germany is to sadden us with the responsibility for continuing the war because we are not prepared to abandon the struggle before this purpose is achieved in the form that was envisaged. The responsibility for the war rests upon those who have conceived and carried out this policy of successive aggression, and it can neither be evaded or excused.

And I would add one thing more. No more assurances from the present German Government could be accepted by us. For that Government have too often proved in the past that their undertakings are worthless when it suits them that they should be broken. If, therefore, proposals are made, we shall certainly examine them, and we shall test them in the light of how I have just said. Nobody desires the war to continue for an unnecessary day, but the overwhelming mass of opinion in this country, and I am satisfied also in France, is determined to assure that the rule of violence shall cease and that the word of Governments, once pledged, must henceforth be kept.
RUSSIA'S PACTS WITH THREE BALTIC STATES

In September, 1939, the Soviet Government started negotiations with the small countries bordering the Baltic to enter into "Treaties of Mutual Assistance." Within a few weeks Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in turn concluded with the Soviet pact the terms of which are given below.

TEXT OF THE SOVIET-ESTONIAN TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE, SIGNED SEPTEMBER 28, 1939

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties undertake to render to each other military assistance, including mutual aid in the event of direct aggression or the menace of aggression arising on the part of any foreign Power against the territory of the Estonian Republic, or against the territory or the sea borders of the Soviet Union in the Baltic Sea, as well as against bases indicated in Article 2.

ARTICLE 2. The Soviet Union undertakes to render to the Estonian Allied assistance in armaments and other military equipment on favourable terms.

ARTICLE 3. The Estonian Republic guarantees the Soviet Union the right to maintain naval bases and several aerodromes for aviation on lease terms at reasonable prices on the Estonian islands of Saared, and in the town of Tallinn on Hendem Island.

ARTICLE 4. The exact sites for the bases and aerodromes shall be allotted and their boundaries defined by mutual agreement.

ARTICLE 5. The mutual assistance envisaged in the present Treaty shall remain in force for a period of ten years, and shall not be extended or renewed without special agreement.

TEXT OF THE SOVIET-LITUANIAN TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE, SIGNED OCTOBER 16, 1939

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties undertake to render to each other military assistance, including mutual aid in the event of direct aggression or the menace of aggression against the territory of the Lithuanian Republic, or against the territory or the sea borders of the Soviet Union in the Baltic Sea, as well as against bases indicated in Article 2.

ARTICLE 2. The Soviet Union undertakes to render to the Lithuanian Allied assistance in armaments and other military equipment on favourable terms.

ARTICLE 3. The Lithuanian Republic guarantees the Soviet Union the right to maintain naval bases and several aerodromes for aviation on lease terms at reasonable prices on the Lithuanian islands of Klaipeda, and in the town of Klaipeda on the southern side of the Gauja River mouth.

ARTICLE 4. The exact sites for the bases and aerodromes shall be allotted and their boundaries defined by mutual agreement.

ARTICLE 5. The mutual assistance envisaged in the present Treaty shall remain in force for a period of ten years, and shall not be extended or renewed without special agreement.

Nothing in the Pact is to be allowed to impair the sovereign rights of the parties nor affect their internal regime, economic and social systems, or their other military measures. The naval bases or aerodromes granted to the Soviet Union remain the territory of the Lithuanian State.

The Pact will come into force with the exchange of the ratification Notes, which shall take place within the next six days in Riga. The validity of the Pact is ten years.

TEXT OF THE SOVIET-LATVIAN TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE, SIGNED OCTOBER 18, 1939

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties undertake to render to each other military assistance, including mutual aid in the event of direct aggression or the menace of aggression against the territory of the Latvian Republic, or against the territory or the sea borders of the Soviet Union in the Baltic Sea, as well as against bases indicated in Article 2.

ARTICLE 2. The Soviet Union undertakes to render to the Latvian Allied assistance in armaments and other military equipment on favourable terms.

ARTICLE 3. The Latvian Republic guarantees the Soviet Union the right to maintain naval bases and several aerodromes for aviation on lease terms at reasonable prices on the Latvian islands of Liepaja (Liepā), Ventspils (Windau), and in the town of Riga on the mouth of the Gauja River.

ARTICLE 4. The exact sites for the bases and aerodromes shall be allotted and their boundaries defined by mutual agreement.

ARTICLE 5. The mutual assistance envisaged in the present Treaty shall remain in force for a period of ten years, and shall not be extended or renewed without special agreement.

Nothing in the Pact is to be allowed to impair the sovereign rights of the parties nor affect their internal regime, economic and social systems, or their other military measures. The naval bases or aerodromes granted to the Soviet Union remain the territory of the Latvian State.

The Pact will come into force with the exchange of the ratification Notes, which shall take place within the next six days in Riga. The validity of the Pact is ten years.
Chapter 19

THE RUSSO-GERMAN PACT AND DOMINATION OF THE BALTIC

Soviet Proposes an Anti-Aggression Conference, and later Suggests a Triple Defensive Alliance—Inconclusive Conversations—Fall of Litvinov—Molotov and a New Orientation of Soviet Foreign Policy—British Military Mission to Moscow—Proposed Guarantee to Baltic States—Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact—Chamberlain’s Firm Words to Hitler—Russia Invades Poland—Her Pacts with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—Her Treaty of Amity with Germany

Throughout the tense months which preceded the outbreak of the Second Great War, one burning question was on the lips of everybody in every country of the world—"What would be the attitude of Soviet Russia to further aggression by Germany?" If Russia’s immense resources in man power and materials could be enlisted in the Anti-Aggression Front formed by Britain and France, or at least her friendly neutrality assured, even Herr Hitler, it was thought, would hesitate before plunging his country into such a hopeless combat. But in well-informed quarters there was a noticeable uneasiness and hesitation regarding Russia’s probable attitude. The history of Russian collaboration in League of Nations affairs had not been a happy one and had tended to divide the nations of Europe into two camps—those who discounted the danger of Communism and were anxious to secure the entry of Russia into the concert of peace-loving Powers, and those who considered Bolshevism a negation of all they held dear, and who wanted nothing to do with the arch-exponent of this doctrine.

Russia’s suspicion of the aims of the Democracies had not been lessened by the exclusion of her representative from the Munich Conference which settled the fate of Czechoslovakia. Even in those countries bordering on Soviet Russia, however, which might be claimed to know the mind of the Kremlin best, doubt was expressed whether, without previous consultation with Britain and France, Russia would have marched to honour her alliance with Czechoslovakia if Hitler had invaded that country.

Prominent in the minds of the directors of Soviet foreign policy was the suspicion that Britain and France desired to bargain with Hitler at her expense, and the Munich agreement and various ill-considered utterances by leading unofficial personalities in Britain and France had strengthened this view. The Kremlin noted that, although the aims of the Democracies were to fight aggression, not the slightest help had been tendered Russia in her fight against Japanese expansion in Mongolia—a war which had involved the use of forces on a large scale. It was during this atmosphere of mutual suspicion that Hitler’s invasion of Czechoslovakia precipitated the European crisis. The Soviet Government, apparently still bitterly anti-Nazi in sentiment, almost immediately proposed a conference between Britain, France, Russia, Romania and Turkey to devise means of resistance to further aggression.

Britain considered the proposal "premature," and made the counter-suggestion that Russia should join in a declaration with Great Britain, France and Poland against aggression, envisaging immediate consultation between the four Powers in the case of aggression. The Kremlin thought this a not very satisfactory alternative, but agreed to it on condition that a formal declaration be made against aggression by the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of all four States. But the proposal was rendered abortive by the strong objections of the Polish Government, which refused to sign any document side by side with the U.S.S.R. Meanwhile,
Russia watched with growing apprehension the extension of Germany's influence. With Czecho-Slovakia now thoroughly under her heel, Germany turned her attention to the Baltic and seized Memel from Lithuania; the German Press began a bitter campaign of invective and false allegations against Poland, similar to the propaganda which had preceded the capitulation of Czecho-Slovakia in September, 1938.

The march of lawlessness would brook no delay. Emulating her Axis partner, Mussolini had seized Albania. As an earnest of her intentions, Britain gave guarantees to Poland, Rumania, and Greece in March and April, 1939. An endeavour was made to get Russia to furnish her contribution to peace with a unilateral guarantee of Poland and Rumania. Russia, however, was apparently still fearful that any guarantee she might give unilaterally would leave her to fight Germany alone in the event of German aggression against Poland or Rumania, and she insisted on a triple defensive alliance between Britain, France and Russia, to be supplemented by a military convention and a guarantee of all the border states from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

The Russian proposal was made on April 17, 1939. Nearly a month elapsed before Britain replied, and, in the meantime, a different turn was given to Russian foreign policy by the resignation of M. Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet Foreign Commissar, and his replacement by Viacheslav Molotov. Litvinov had been closely identified with the Soviet policy of collaboration with the League of Nations and Britain and France against aggression. His successor was comparatively unknown. Did Russia intend to continue her policy of professed collaboration with Great Britain and France, or did she intend withdrawing into isolation, or perhaps even coming to agreement with Herr Hitler? That the latter possibility could not be excluded was hinted at in a statement by M. Molotov on May 31, when, for the first time in the Russo-British diplomatic exchanges, he spoke of the possibility of Russia resuming trade negotiations with Germany.

Germany's Press campaign on the Danzig and Corridor questions was now gaining momentum. The urgency of completing the Peace Front begun by Britain and France became ever more necessary. In the middle of June the British Foreign Office sent to Moscow an expert, in the person of Mr. W. Strang, to deal in detail with the Soviet proposals for a triple defensive alliance. Although, as the discussions dragged on, they seemed unnecessarily lengthy, a favourable outcome was regarded by most people as a foregone conclusion; this impression was heightened by the Russian Government's suggestion on July 23 that immediate staff talks between Great Britain, France and Russia should be initiated.

A number of British and French military, naval and air experts arrived in Moscow just over a fortnight later. But within a few days of their arrival it became apparent that serious difficulties had arisen. Russia was pressing, inter alia, for an Anglo-Soviet guarantee of her Baltic border States of Finland, Estonia and Latvia. These States had been a part of the Tsar's dominions, Two of them had large German minorities, while the third, Finland, had extensive cultural and commercial contacts with Germany. Russia professed that the possibility of Germany using these States as a starting point for aggression against her own territory could not be excluded. Britain, however, was not disposed to give a guarantee to these States against their will, and was, moreover, concerned with the difficulty of implementing such a guarantee in the event of war between Britain and Germany, when the Baltic might be closed to British surface vessels.

Russia also insisted that, in order to implement the guarantee to Poland which it was proposed she should give, it was necessary for Russian troops to pass over Polish territory; but this the Poles refused to allow, fearing the ideological and territorial consequences of a Russian march into their territory. While the Anglo-French-Russian talks were at a virtual standstill, and before the Anglo-French military missions had left Moscow, the whole world was startled by the announcement of the conclusion of a Commercial Agreement and a Non-Aggression Pact between Russia and Germany.

At midnight on Monday, August 21, the following announcement was issued by the Official German Agency in Berlin:

"Germany and Soviet Russia have agreed to conclude a Non-Aggression Pact. Herr von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, will travel to Moscow on Wednesday to complete negotiations for the Pact."

Confirmation of the arrangement came a few hours later from Moscow. On August 23 Herr von Ribbentrop, with a staff of some 30 experts, entered a plane and flew to Moscow. The world did not have to wait long for the accomplishment of the Pact. In contrast to the tediousness of the Anglo-French negotiations with Russia, the full terms of the Russo-German Pact were announced the same day. The text of the Agreement is printed in page 18; its chief provisions were:

(a) Both Powers bound themselves to refrain from aggressive action against each other;
(b) Both Powers to abstain from participation in any grouping of Powers aimed directly or indirectly at either of them;
(c) Both Powers to remain in future constantly in touch with each other by means of consultation;
(d) The Pact to run for ten years, with provision for extending it a further five years.
DEADLY TRAPS FOR THE UNWARY.

The queer objects resembling camemberts which are being examined with such interest by the French soldiers in the photograph above, are unexploded mines placed by the Germans to harass the Allies' advance into their territory just after the outbreak of war. Clearing the ground in No Man's Land of land mines and similar death-dealing devices was a task calling for great coolness and no small measure of courage.

Photo: Sport & General
Astounding though the news of this Pact was to the people at large, a hint of a possible re-orientation of Russian foreign policy had been contained in a statement made to Sir Neville Henderson by Baron von Weiszäcker, State Secretary at the German Ministry for Foreign Affairs, on August 15, four days before the conclusion of the Soviet-German Commercial Agreement. Reporting to Lord Halifax on his talks with von Weiszäcker, Sir Neville said:

"I was impressed by Baron von Weiszäcker's detachment and calm. He seemed very confident, and professed to believe that Russian assistance to the Poles would not only be entirely negligible, but that the U.S.S.R. would even in the end join in the Polish spoils."

Until the actual wording of the Russo-German Pact was revealed, it had been hoped in many quarters outside Germany that the Agreement would contain an escape clause, such as occurs in many of Russia's Non-Aggression Pacts with other countries, permitting Russia to denounce the Pact in case of Russian aggression by her other contracting party. But when it became known that the Pact, as worded and signed, contained no loophole of this sort, the attitude of the Allies towards possible German aggression against Poland did not change in the least. Soon after the Berlin announcement of the intended signature of the Pact, Mr. Chamberlain returned from Scotland to London. The British Cabinet met, and a communiqué was issued declaring that reports of a Pact to be concluded between Russia and Germany would in no way affect Britain's obligations to Poland.

On August 22, the day before Herr von Ribbentrop flew to Moscow, Mr. Chamberlain wrote personally to Herr Hitler (see Historic Documents, No. 1), referring to certain precautionary measures taken in Britain, and adding:

"These steps have been rendered necessary by the military movements which have been reported from Germany and by the fact that apparently the announcement of a German-Soviet agreement is in some quarters in Berlin to indicate that intervention by Great Britain on behalf of Poland is no longer a contingency that need be reckoned with. No greater mistake could be made."

Whatever may prove to be the nature of the German-Soviet Agreement, it cannot alter Great Britain's obligation to Poland which His Majesty's Government have stated in public repeatedly and plainly, and which they are determined to fulfill to the last degree.

In a speech in the House of Commons made on August 24, 1939, Mr. Chamberlain reviewed the rapidly worsening European situation. He again stated firmly that Britain would honour her obligations to Poland if that country were the victim of aggression by Germany. The firm attitude of the British Cabinet met with the undivided approval of British public opinion and the British Press. There was indignation that Russia should have been negotiating with Germany at the same time as the Anglo-French military mission, sent out at her instigation, was conducting confidential talks in Moscow. In some political circles, on the other hand, it was felt that Russia had not been treated with sufficient circumspection and courtesy by Britain in the past.

The Pact was a mortal blow to a comprehensive Anti-Aggression Front; it ended the Franco-Russian Alliance, and was interpreted by many as an invitation to Herr Hitler to invade Poland. With the prospects of peace now almost non-existent, Britain pushed forward her measures for defence. France, also badly shaken by news of the Pact, delayed no longer. Within two days of the signature of the Pact more than half a million young Frenchmen were sent to the Maginot Line, and the Government took over munitions factories. M. Daladier, after consultation with his Cabinet and France's military chiefs, recalled on leave M. Noguès, the French Ambassador in Moscow. France's preparations were indubitable evidence that France, like Britain, intended standing by her pledge to Poland.

Curiously enough, it was Poland which took the news of the Pact with the greatest imperturbability. German troops were now massing on Poland's western, southern and northern frontiers, but Poland maintained that she had never counted on Russian help to defeat invasion. Polish military experts pointed out that aid to Poland was not a question of more men — there were Poles enough able and willing to fight an invader. The difficulty was one of supplying large armies, in a country with communications so poor as those in many parts of Poland, with the many essentials of modern warfare. While they would have welcomed Russian aid in materials and planes, the Poles considered that the few railway lines between Poland and Russia would make but a small contribution to supply problems, especially if aggravated by the addition of Russians to the already numerous Polish troops. Confident of her ability to give a good account of herself, Poland manned her frontiers and awaited the now inevitable German onslaught (see Chapter 9).

In both Germany and Russia, the reaction to the Pact among the public was one of bewilderment, which gave way in Germany to tremendous enthusiasm and then to disappointment, as it became plain that, Pact or no Pact,
Hitler returned, tired and strained, to his Berlin Chancellery, the customary cheering crowds were absent.

In Russia itself the conclusion of a far-reaching agreement with a country which the masses had been taught for years to regard as a "Fascist agressor" called for some further explanation from the Kremlin. In the Moscow "Izvestia," Marshal Voroshilov, Soviet Commissioner for War, denied that negotiations with Britain and France were broken off because of the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact. Whether the Soviet forces could not participate in military collaboration if they were not allowed access to Polish territory.

A similar decleration was made by M. Molotov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, addressing the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union when the Russo-German Pact was formally ratified on August 31. The Poles, Molotov alleged, rejected assistance from the U.S.S.R. He further declared that Britain and France looked with disfavor on any Pact which might have tended to increase the strength and influence of the Soviet Union, and that the Polish attitude was supported by Britain and France. The Pact with Germany, Molotov added, was in the interests of both the Reich and the Soviet Union, and therefore in the interest of the U.S.S.R.

The firmness of Britain and France, together with Poland's calm and determined attitude, showed how groundless was Herr von Ribbentrop's assumption that the Pact would induce the Allies to abandon Poland, or the latter to make concessions regarding Danzig and the Corridor. Further, when the news of the Pact was announced, the Axis partners, Japan and Italy. Japan felt that Germany's conclusion of a pact with the arch-enemy of the Anti-Comintern group was a slight to her dignity. Baron Hiranuma, the Japanese Premier (who came to power in January largely because of his Fascist leanings), resigned with the whole of his Cabinet. He was replaced by the Conservative Nobuyuki Abe, who, it was stated, would take Japan out of the conflicting maze of Totalitarian morals, attempt a strong policy against China, and renounce would ambitions as far as Japan was concerned. The cooling of German-Japanese relations was welcome to Britain, as removing a possible cause of Anglo-Japanese conflict in the Far East.

Italy greeted the German-Soviet Pact with officially inspired enthusiasm, as meaning "death to the encirclers." Some Fascist editors went so far as to explain that Fascism was a proletarian doctrine, and that there was no reason why Italy should not march with Russia. Poland was warned to come to terms with Germany. But several factors came to damp this initial enthusiasm.

Roman Catholic Spain, in which Italy was so vitally interested, was distinctly antagonistic to collaboration with Russia. In many influential Spanish circles the dread had existed that Spain, in return for the help given against the Republicans by Germany and Italy, would be torched into a European war as an ally of these two countries. The Soviet-German Pact gave Spain a way out. Spain could not fight in the same ranks with that Communist which she had been trying for so long to stomp out. General Franco hastened demobilization and gave France assurances of his neutrality.

Another factor affecting Italy's attitude was the aversion of the Pope and Roman Catholics in Italy generally to Soviet Russia and her doctrines. When this was added the firmness of the Allies in spite of the Pact, Mussolini spoke to Herr Hitler in an endeavor to

AMBASSADOR RECALLED

After the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, M. Daladier recalled his ambassador at Moscow, M. Paul-Etienne Naggard above). M. Naggard was at one time France's ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Photo. Wide World
M. Kaarel Sitters (above), Estonia's Foreign Minister, was invited to Moscow on September 24, 1939, to discuss matters with the Soviet.

Photo, Wide World

RUSSIA OVERSHADOWS ESTONIA

1. Soviet destroyer "Minsk" firing a salute on entering the Tallinn Roads.
2. Typical landscape on Hiiumaa (Daghi) Island, leased to Russia as a naval base under the Soviet-Estonian Pact of September 23, 1939.
3. Castle of Haapsaari, capital of the island of Saaremaa (Oesel), on which the Soviet have also secured a naval base.
4. Soviet Army Commandant Menatshov (left) shaking hands with General Nikolai Rees, Chief of Staff of the Estonian Army.

Photos, B.N.A.; Planet News; (top) Bannam / Egyptians

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STORM CENTRE OF THE NORTH: SCANDINAVIA AND THE BALTIC STATES

After seizing her former lands in Poland, the Soviet Union turned towards the Baltic States and succeeded in gaining strategic control of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Next came the turn of Finland, which strongly resisted all Russian attempts to approach upon her independence. Thus Russia obtained from the Baltic States the very islands and harbours which, only a few months before, Germany was urging these States to fortify against the Soviet.
slow down the march of events; failing in this effect, the Danes remained neutral. While the Pact alienated Germany's Axis friends, it inspired the deepest apprehension in other neutral States, which felt themselves exposed to the powerful combination represented by Germany and Russia. Bulgaria was the only European country which well Apprehension combed the Pact; strong Leftist influences in that country regarded with some hope the prospect of intervention in Bulgaria by their brother Slave in Soviet Russia, especially as regards Bulgarian claims on Rumanian Dobrudja. Turkey remained faithful to her friendship with Britain, in spite of Germany's attempts to use the Pact for obtaining political and economic concessions from her. Other small Central European and Russian domination. They wondered whether the Pact meant the abandonment of German influence in the Baltic, which would thus place them politically and economically under the influence of Russia.

But even more perplexed were sympathizers with the Russian experiment throughout the world. The Pact between Nazism and Communism created a hopeless division of opinion in the ranks of Communists and Left Wing supporters, and it was an open question whether Russia had not lost in moral support of this nature more than she had gained by smashing the Anti-Comintern Front.

The aims of the U.S.S.R. were to secure its frontiers and to improve its strategic position, which had been worsened by the "encirclement" resulting from the Versailles reshaping of states. Poland was the first to be affected by the Pact between Russia and Germany, for within sixteen days of Germany's invasion Soviet troops also crossed the Polish frontiers and eventually occupied what were virtually her former territories of twenty-five years earlier. With this frontier safeguarded, Russia turned her attention to her former provinces in the Baltic, seeking to secure pacts with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and to obtain again bases for her forces on the Baltic coast. M. Kaarel Selters, the Estonian Foreign Minister, was invited to Moscow on September 24. On September 28 a Pact of Mutual Assistance and Trade was concluded between the U.S.S.R.

Balkan countries hastened to resolve both internal troubles and differences among themselves, in order to consolidate national unity and present a strong front to penetration from whichever direction it might come. Most affected of the Northern neutrals were Finland and the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. In Latvia and Estonia the Germans were disliked because it was largely the German Baltic barons who had owned their territories under pre-War Russia, and who had been instrumental in oppressing the peasantry. But fear of the U.S.S.R. was inspired in Finland, Estonia and Latvia by Russia's insistence on an Anglo-Soviet guarantee of their integrity. This, they suspected, was merely to afford Russia an excuse to intervene on any pretext, and would again bring their lands under

Soviet's footholds in Latvia.
The Latvian ports of Ventspils (Windstil), at top left, and Liepaja (Libau), above, were leased to the Soviet Union as naval and air bases under the Russ-Latvian Pact ratified on October 15, 1939.
The portrait is of M. Wilhelmi Munter, Foreign Minister of Latvia.
VILNA WELCOMES LITHUANIAN TROOPS AGAIN

On October 16, 1939, Russia ceded Vilna, taken from Poland during the previous month, to Lithuania. Six days later Lithuanian troops, above, entered the city. On the right is M. Juozas Urbonys, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister. Below, Lithuanian troops in the Vilna district.

On page 188:

and Estonia, whereby Russia secured the right to maintain naval bases and several aerodromes on lease on the Estonian islands of Saaremaa (Oesel), Hiiumaa (Dagö), and in the town of Paldiski (Baltiskiy Port). Estonia was granted certain transit rights along the railways and waterways of the U.S.S.R., to Murnansk, Sorokskaya and to Black Sea ports. The text of the Treaty is given in Historic Documents No. 32.

Russia, by this agreement, rendered abortive the Estonian-Latvian Mutual Assistance Treaty; she gained control of strategic points in Estonia, and thus foiled any such move by another Power;

and she assured to herself the command of the southern approaches to the Gulf of Finland, thus giving added security to her great naval base at Kronstadt; and she obtained permanently ice-free Baltic ports and a dominating position in the Gulf of Riga, since Saaremaa Island lies athwart the entrance to the Gulf.

Latvia's turn came next. Deprived of the possibility of joint resistance with Estonia to Russia's demands, M. Wilhelms Minters, the Latvian Foreign Minister, had no option but to submit. Latvia, like Estonia, entered into a mutual assistance pact with Russia (see Historic Documents No. 33), whereby both Powers pledged themselves to universal (including military) assistance in case of a direct attack or threat of attack by any other European Power. Latvia
granted Russia the right to establish naval bases at Liepaja (Libau) and Ventspils (Windau), and to build several aerodromes. Russia was further allowed to set up artillery bases along the coast.

Similar conditions were then secured with Lithuania who, now that Russia had entered Poland, had a common frontier with the U.S.S.R. But Lithuania obtained a very welcome compensation in the return, after nineteen years, of Vilna, her former capital. It had been seized by Poland in 1920 and, with great injustice so Lithuanians considered, had been allowed to remain in Polish hands by the Council of Ambassadors.

With the conquest of Poland, Germany had attained her immediate aims, but the Allies showed no desire to call a halt to the conflict just because aggression had again been temporarily successful. In his dilemma Hitler again looked to Russia. In return for the concessions made willingly or unwillingly by Germany in Poland and the Baltic, he hoped to obtain Russian aid in bringing pressure on the Allies to stop the war. Accordingly, on Sep-

RUSSIA'S COASTAL PROTECTION

This chart, from Estonian sources, shows the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Riga. Shaded patches denote Russian mine-fields; arcs show field of fire from the island and shore defences.

October 27, Herr von Ribbentrop again arrived in Moscow. His reception was even more cordial than on his visit of August 23.

On the Russian side the negotiations were conducted by M. Stalin and M. Shikvarciev, Soviet Ambassador to Germany; while Herr von Schulentz, German Ambassador in Moscow, assisted Herr von Ribbentrop. The outcome of the talks was a "Treaty of Amity and the Frontier between the U.S.S.R. and Germany." It defined the common Russian-German boundaries in conquered Poland, and rejected "interference" by Third Powers with the boundaries; the Treaty was supplemented by a remarkable joint declaration, purporting to throw the blame for continuance of the conflict on Britain and France.

In letters exchanged between the German and Russian Foreign Ministers simultaneously with the signing of the Treaty of Amity, extensive economic collaboration between the two countries was provided for. Diplomatic phrases could not, however, conceal the fact that, in the opening stages of the Second World War, the advantages of this Russo-German rapprochement had accrued mainly to Russia. The Baltic was no longer a German sea. Germany had conquered Poland, but it was Russia that reaped the greatest benefits, including the oilfields of Lwow and a common boundary with Rumania for expansion further south, if she chose. Russia had also smashed the Anti-Comintern front and had isolated from Germany a number of her potential allies against Britain. As far as outsiders could tell, cold self-interest would still seem to denote that Russia had little to gain by making still closer her relations with Germany, but her future policy seemed an enigma, as in the months preceding the war, and its course was unpredictable.
BRITISH DOMINIONS SUPPORT THE MOTHERLAND

All great nations of the British Commonwealth were consulted before the declaration of war, and that all were on the side of freedom and justice is shown by the following declarations made by spokesmen of the Dominions on and after September 3, 1939.

Ms. R. G. Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, in a broadcast, September 3, 1939:

It is my melancholy duty to announce officially that in consequence of Germany's persistence in her invasion of Poland, Great Britain has declared war, and that as a result Australia is also at war.

Great Britain and France, with the co-operation of the Dominions, have struggled to avoid this tragedy. They have patiently kept the door for negotiation open, and given no cause for aggression; but they have failed. We, therefore, as a great family of nations, are involved in the struggle; we must at all costs win, and we believe in our hearts that we will win.

Bitter as we all feel about this wanton crime, this moment is not for rhetoric but for quiet thinking—that calm forbearance which rests on the unconquerable spirit of men created by God in his image; truth is with us in the battle, and truth must win. In the bitter months ahead calamity, resolute resilience, confidence and hard work will be required as never before. Australia is ready to see it through. May God in His mercy and compassion grant that the world may soon be delivered of this agony.

Message from the Government of New Zealand, September 3, 1939:

With reference to the information just received that a state of war exists between the United Kingdom and Germany, His Majesty's Government in New Zealand desire immediately to associate themselves with His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in honouring their pledged word.

They entirely concur with the action taken, which they regard as inevitably enforced upon the British Commonwealth if the cause of justice, freedom and democracy is to endure in this world.

The existence of a state of war with Germany has accordingly been proclaimed in New Zealand, and H.M. New Zealand Government would be grateful if H.M. Government in the United Kingdom would take any steps that may be necessary to indicate to the German Government that H.M. Government in New Zealand associate themselves in this matter with the action taken by H.M. Government in the United Kingdom.

The New Zealand Government wish to offer to the British Government the fullest assurance of all possible support. They are convinced that the action taken will meet with the approval of the people of this Dominion, and they will give the fullest consideration in due course to any suggestion of the British Government as to the methods or methods by which the Dominion can best assist in the common cause.

General Smuts, in the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, September 4, 1939:

General Smuts has said that the matter of Danzig is a Polish affair with which South Africa has nothing to do. But I am profoundly convinced that, although Danzig and the Polish Corridor were the immediate occasion of war, the real issues go far beyond Danzig and Poland and touch South Africa.

General Hertzog has made a statement which I regard as resembling a complete justification of Herr Hitler. I do not think that the people of the Union, in their vital interest as South Africans, could hope to justify that view. Nothing could be more fatal for South Africa than if it were to display in any way or form an association with the German effort to secure the bases.

It is not only a question of loyalty and self-respect—which I am sure we feel deeply; it is a question of importance and of the deepest interest to the future of South Africa.

If we dissociated ourselves deliberately and consequently from the line of action taken by the other members of the Commonwealth, we are going to get what we deserve, and the day will come—and it will not be far off—when the same treatment will be applied to us. And when that day of trouble comes—when the German demand for the return of South-West Africa is made at the point of the bayonet, we shall stand alone.

General Smuts, September 8, after declaring that the Union of South Africa was at war with Germany:

The Union, which was free to have decided otherwise, takes a stand for the defence of freedom and the destruction of Hitlerism, and all it implies.

The interests of South Africa, however, are our primary concern. Participation must necessarily be limited by considerations of geography and the special conditions which attach to this country. Our primary duty is to place our own defences in the highest state of efficiency, and we can best serve the cause for which we stand by so strengthening our own defences and by so surveying our national resources as to render the Union safe against any inroads from the enemy.

Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor-General of Canada, in a speech to the Canadian Parliament, September 7, 1939:

We have been summoned to the earliest moment in order that the Government may seek authority for measures necessary for the defence of Canada and for co-operation in the determined effort which is being made to resist further aggression and prevent appeal to force instead of to peaceful means in the settlement of international disputes.

Already the militia, naval service, and Air Force have been placed on active service and certain other provisions have been made for the defence of our coast and our internal security under the War Measures Act and other authority.

I need not speak of the extreme gravity of the hour. There can have been few, if any, more critical in the history of the world. The people of Canada are facing the crisis with the same fortitude that today supports the peoples of the nations of the British Commonwealth.

My Ministers are convinced that Canada is prepared to unite in a national effort to defend the utmost the liberties and institutions which are our common heritage.

L. Lapointe, Canadian Minister of Justice, in a speech in the Canadian House of Commons, September 9, 1939:

I hate war with all my heart and conscience. But devoting peace to peace does not mean ignorance or blindness. England has worked for peace; I worked for peace. It is a base calumny to say that England is responsible for anything that has led to the present conflict. France has worked continually for peace, and it is a slander to say that France is responsible in any way for the conflict. These nations have gone so far in their efforts to preserve peace that they have been the subject of grave and bitter criticism on the part of many people in their respective countries because of what was called with donation from appeasement policy.

God give Canadians the light which will indicate to them where their duty lies in this hour of trial so that our children and our children's children may inherit a land where freedom and peace shall prevail and where our social and political and religious institutions may be secure and from which the tyrannical domination of Nazism and Communism are forever banished.

Proclamation announcing a state of war between Canada and Germany, September 10, 1939:

Whereas, by and with the advice of our Privy Council for Canada, we have signified our approval of the issuing of a Proclamation in the Canada Gazette declaring that a state of war exists with the German Reich and exists in our Dominion of Canada as from the 10th day of September, 1939.

Therefore, we do hereby declare and proclaim that a state of war with the German Reich exists and has existed in our Dominion of Canada as from the 10th day of September, 1939.
INDIA RALLIES ROUND THE IMPERIAL THRONE

In spite of the many problems that beset the people of India, the response to England's call for support at the outbreak of war was unanimous. Even Mahatma Gandhi said: "I am not thinking just now of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall?"

VICE-ROY OF INDIA in a Broadcast, September 3, 1939:

It is in no cause such as this I am certain that the whole hearted sympathy and support of all this great country, whether British India or the Indian States, will be forthcoming without distinction of class, creed, race or political party. I am confident that on a day on which all that is most precious and most significant in the civilizations of the modern world stands in peril, India will make a contribution on the side of human freedom as against the rule of force, and will play a part worthy of her place among the great nations and historic civilizations of the world.

MESSAGE TO INDIA FROM THE KING EMPEROR, September 11:

If these days when the whole of civilization is threatened, the widespread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arms has been the source of deep satisfaction to me. I also value most highly the many generous offers of assistance made to me by the Princes and peoples of India. I am confident that in the struggle upon which we are entering we can count on sympathy and support from every quarter of the Indian continent in the face of the common danger.

Britain is fighting for no selfish ends, but for the maintenance of a principle vital to the future of mankind — the principle that the relations between civilized States must be regulated, not by force, but by reason and law, so that men may live free from the terror of war, to pursue the happiness and the well-being which should be the destiny of mankind.

VICE-ROY OF INDIA IN THE UPPER HOUSE OF THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE OF INDIA, September 11, 1939:

Nothing could be more significant than the unanimity of approach of all in India — Princes, leaders, great political parties, the ordinary man and woman — or of their political contributions and the offers of personal service which have already reached me from the Princes and people of India.

There could be no more striking evidence of the depth of the appeal of the issues now before us. I am confident that India will speak and act as one, so that her contribution may be worthy of her ancient name.

SIR JANI GODEBHAI, LEADER OF THE UPPER HOUSE OF THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE OF INDIA, September 12, 1939:

India's ultimate fate will be decided on the battlefields of Europe. If the Nazi Fascist German Empire triumphs, there will be no place for those who value freedom, justice and the reign of the law. It will be in keeping with our spiritual traditions and harmony with the highest teaching of our saints and philosophers if we perform our duty without thought of reward or profit.

MARQUIS OF ZETLAND, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, September 20, 1939:

The Government have highly appreciated the support they have so far received from all classes in India. From the Princes of India have been received most generous offers of men, money and personal service, and from individuals in all parts of the country messages of sympathy, help and support have been pouring in. His Majesty's Government have noticed with especial gratification the statement which has recently been made by the Prime Ministers of the Punjab and of Bengal offering unconditional aid to them in the struggle, and they have also observed, with great satisfaction and joy, the aid which has been given to the Governments by the Missions in all provinces of British India in carrying through such measures as have been proved to be necessary as a result of the war.

The resort to force by the German Government, following as it did a series of broken pledges unpardoned merely in the history of mankind, has been unequivocally condemned by all the political parties in India, whose leaders have expressed their unqualified sympathy with the victims of aggression. It is abundantly clear that the triumph of the principle for which the Nazi Government stands would be regarded as a calamity of the utmost magnitude by all classes and communities in India.

MADHAVA OF BIRENAG, AT A REVIEW OF THE STATE ARMY, October 22, 1939:

War is not a time when any keen soldier desires to sit at home in ease and luxury; for him the only place is the field of battle. It is the dearest wish of my heart as a Rathore Rajput to take my place in the fighting line, and long ago I offered to place my own sword and that of my son at the disposal of my Imperial Majesty.

There are some who, out of their solicitude, say that I am not only not at 60 to fight and to face the rigours of a campaign. I admit I am neither young nor in such good health as I would have wished. I went to fight for the Indians and Egypt a quarter of a century ago, but now Rajput is too old to fight. Like every one of you, I am desperately keen to proceed to the front, and you may therefore be sure that I shall not leave you unturned to gratify my burning desire to fight once again for our Emperor.

Whatever the future lies in store for each and everyone of us, whatever units of our army may be privileged to fight under the British flag in this war, I am confident of one thing, that is the gallantry and loyalty of my army; and that every man from Bikaner will, when the time comes, give a good account of himself.

MADHAVA OF BIRENAG, AT A DURBAR IN HONOUR OF HIS 50th BIRTHDAY, October 24, 1939:

As was only to be expected, the Princes and the States of India have without exception rallied round the Imperial Throne and the Empire in this great hour of trial. And we of the Indian States thank God and can take pride in the fact that, despite the Princes having problems of their own which require a satisfactory solution, our loyal offers of service and cooperation in this war are unconditioned and unpatriotic, that we have made it clear to the world that our loyalty demands no price, and that no solicitude motives of bargain or promise have any place in our thoughts and acts.

As has been so aptly described by the Highness the son of Thronedarja Jang Saib of Nowrangapur, where the King Emperor leads the Princes follow, anxious to do all that they can in support of a righteous cause. Let me add that the Princes stand with their swords drawn round the King Emperor's throne, ready to risk their lives and to stake their all in conformity with the teachings of religion, their treaty obligations, and their magnificent tradition of loyalty, which is also the proudest heritage of their Motherland.

This would also not be an unsuitable opportunity of stating that the States must strongly repudiate the claim of any political party in British India, however influential and important, to speak or to act for or in any other way to represent the views and standpoint of the Indian States and their people.

We are fighting to resist aggression whether directed against ourselves or others, to break the bonds of fear daily encroaching upon the world. And we must not forget that should Hitler win this war all talk of freedom and democracy for India will vanish like this smoke, and brute force and the dictates of might is right will reign supreme.

It is my profound conviction that in these troublous times, when everything is so much subjected to revolutionary changes and upheavals, the great Empire under which our Imperial Majesty reigns offers the one stable element, the firm rock on which a peaceful world order could be based, the one institution in which under a beneficient spirit of peace human effort in every direction could find its fullest realization.
DOMINION PREMIERS WHO STOOD WITH BRITAIN

Top left, the Rt. Hon. R. G. Menzies, P.C., K.C., the Australian Prime Minister, who declared: "We stand with Britain." Top right, the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., the Canadian Premier, who told Britain that Canada "will stand by her side." Lower left, the Rt. Hon. M. J. Savage, P.C., Prime Minister of New Zealand, who said: "We range ourselves without fear beside Britain." Lower right, the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, P.C., South Africa's Premier and Defence Minister, who announced that South Africa "takes a stand for the defence of freedom."

Photos, Howard Coster; Photocopies, Vanlyck
THE EMPIRE MAKES COMMON CAUSE IN THE CRUSADE AGAINST AGGRESSION

The Empire Spurns Neutrality—The All-India Congress Party—Burma, Ceylon and Singapore—Loyalty of Fiji—Prompt Action by Rhodesia and Kenya—Canada as Empire Training Centre for the Royal Air Force—Australia and New Zealand Participate in Scheme—A Canadian Expeditionary Force—India's Potential Military Aid—The Empire's Economic Co-operation

In September, 1939, the least warlike and most extensive Empire in history found itself at war against the same common enemy for the second time within a quarter of a century. During an epoch unparalleled for extraordinary events, this may well be described by future historians as the most significant. Moreover, it can be coupled with the political and economic support of the United States for this vast Empire.

The aggressive nation that again united the British Empire in war for the sake of peaceful security challenged not merely the same forces as in 1914 but a greatly increased material and moral power. What was still obscure in 1914 was plainly defined in 1939, and Europe's attempts to establish a new form of collective security, though doomed to failure, had clarified the purposes of international politics. Apart from this clearer purpose, the Empire's immense resources had been greatly developed since the end of the first Great War, owing to world-wide economic processes rather than to any far-sighted planning by British politicians. The previous defeat of Germany also had much increased the territories of the Empire, especially in East and South-West Africa, and immensely strengthened it in a strategic sense.

The last of the international crises organized by Nazi machinations ended with the outbreak of the war, and the great Dominions, the Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories, and the immensely complicated Indian Empire declared their loyalty and made offers of material help. The succession of messages sent to the King and to the English Prime Minister told the world how all these countries promptly ranged themselves with varying degrees of support behind the people of a small island close to the north-west coast of the Continent which was threatened by the domination of Germany.

In Historic Documents Nos. 35 to 48 may be re-read some of the typical declarations by official spokesmen of the Empire, but the unofficial statements of public speakers and the press showed that unanimity in the common cause transcended party sentiments. Magnificent little New Zealand was at once in the front rank, her declaration of war on September 3 being followed the next day by a rush of volunteers for enlistment. The New Zealand Parliament's resolution approving the declaration of war was unanimous. Mr. R. G. Menzies, the

NEW ZEALANDERS ON THE MARCH

New Zealand's declaration of war on September 3, 1939, was followed by an immediate rush of volunteers. Below, some of New Zealand's Special Force are seen on the march through Wellington. "Where British goes, we go," stated the New Zealand Premier in a broadcast message to the people.

Photo, Sydney & General
CANADA'S PARLIAMENT IN SPECIAL WAR SESSION

Following Britain's entry into the war, a special session of the Canadian Parliament was convened on September 7, 1939, to decide Canada's policy. Above, Lord Tweedsmuir, the Governor-General of Canada, is seen reading the speech from the Throne in the Senate Chamber of Parliament at Ottawa.

Photo, Planet News

Australian Prime Minister, was assured by Mr. John Curtin, Leader of the Australian Federal Labour Party, that "the Australian Labour Party can be relied upon to do the right thing for the defence of Australia and the integrity of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Conservatives and Liberals in Canada were at one. The prompt calling of the Canadian Parliament by Mr. Mackenzie King was not needed to demonstrate Canada's attitude and the conviction expressed by Mr. King that "there is no man, woman or child whose life is not bound up with this struggle." The delay until September 10 of Canada's declaration of war was partly to gain time for the assembly of Parliament and also to put the final touches to various emergency measures which it had to approve.

A side-issue that also weighed with the politicians was the apathetic attitude of the French-Canadian Quebec people, an apathy that was soon undermined by Nazi atrocities in the opening stages of the war.

A more definite division occurred in South Africa, and German hopes of South African neutrality might have been realized but for the very bad impression created by Nazi policy and actions. General Hertzog, the Prime Minister and representative of the anti-British Dutch elements, actually intended to declare South Africa's neutrality. He was overruled by the Cabinet supporters of General Smuts. This far-sighted statesman dramatically opposed his chief at the last moment in order to maintain South Africa's status within the Commonwealth. All the indications of public opinion, even in South-West Africa, where a strong German element had turned at last against the Nazi policy, showed that General Smuts, when he succeeded General Hertzog as Prime Minister, had the support of the Dominion. Typical of the views expressed in the Press during the quarrelling of the politicians was the assertion of the Cape Town "Independent": "By proclaiming an attitude of neutrality we shall be defying the elementary fact that the liberty of South Africa is dependent upon the liberty of England."

In India, while using the opportunity for voicing the demand for independence, both Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Committee denounced Nazi aggression, and Mr. Gandhi acknowledged the moral strength of Britain. Some 220 Indian Princes during the first three weeks of the war declared their loyalty to the King-Emperor, many of them with tangible offers of help; and the Moslem leaders (representing more than 75,000,000 Moslems in India), while exposing the allied cause from the first, denounced the subsequent repudiation of that cause by Congress, which in October was disappointed by the decision of the Viceroy to postpone until after the conclusion of the war further measures towards giving Dominion status to India.

The Government's position was indeed difficult, for while the majority of the 6,000,000 members of the All-India Congress Party were Hindus, the Moslems and other important minorities were represented in this membership. While the extreme demands of Congress for complete independence were recognized to be quite impracticable, and repudiated by the bulk of native opinion in India, "Left-wing pro-Congress opinion in Britain was represented by some voices in the British Parliament's debate on India on October 19. Some adverse criticism was occasioned by the delay in constitutional reforms announced by the Viceroy, and a hint made by Sir Samuel Hoare that coercion might be the necessary reply to the resignation of Congress Provincial Ministries and the policy of non-co-operation decided on by Congress; this found subsequent echoes in the non-Conservative newspapers. The principal
THE EMPIRE ANSWERS
THE CALL OF FREEDOM

Above, thousands of gas masks in the making at a factory in Melbourne, Australia. Top right, a machine-gun section of the Maleca Volunteer Corps training on the shores of the Straits Settlements. Right, South African troops being inspected during their training. Below, an armed police guard on duty at a river bridge in Northern India.

Photos, etc.: Sports de General.
F. O. H. Keen: Wide World.
arguments against the India Government’s attitude were that Britain claimed to be fighting for the cause of democratic freedom, and also that a dissatisfied India could be, in Mr. Vernon Bartlett’s words in the "News Chronicle," "an infernal nuisance."

Such arguments as these, typical of the English intelligentsia, were not so much superficial as ill-informed. The Government of India had to consider the Importance of first how to maintain Minorities India’s defence and helpfulness to the common cause during the war. Although the well-meaning critics at home seemed not to know this, the populations whose co-operation was most important, and whose total numbers represented a majority in India, were not interested in self-government, and the majority of their leaders were strongly opposed to Congress policy. Since unity was of the first importance to India, attempts to continue discussions of reforms that might meet Congress ideas half-way could only interfere with concentration on problems arising out of the war, and check the co-operation of the loyal sections that were antagonistic to Congress. These powerful minorities, as we shall see when examining the military potentiality of India, contained the soldiers of India. While the dissidence of Congress must therefore not be ignored, India as a whole was overwhelmingly in favour of British war policy.

What all the declarations of loyalty from the various parts of the Empire meant in terms of practical assistance may be indicated by briefly describing some of their principal consequences. In the aggregate they signified a far greater potential accession to Britain’s strength in war than they did in 1914. Before examining details, however, the panoramic picture must be thought of as more varied even than so far has been indicated. It is necessary to refer to the diversity of peoples and of geographical situations belonging to the lands that combined so dramatically against the invaders of Poland.

India’s important neighbour, Burma, for instance, in passing a Senate resolution of support, was unanimous, and one of the speakers declared that

"the absolute lack of selfish interests on the part of Great Britain in this crisis and her constant and persistent endeavour to appeal to reason and discretion can mean only one thing: she is staking her all for the ideals of humanity, justice and freedom. In this attitude Burma is absolutely one with her."

In Ceylon the Sinhalese were wholeheartedly with the British behind the State Council’s resolution of loyalty,
and in taking practical steps for defence immediately upon the declaration of war. In Singapore, when the B.B.C. news of the expiration of the British ultimatum was announced, it was 5.30 p.m. on that fateful Sunday. A quarter of an hour later came the broadcast speech of Mr. Chamberlain announcing war. The news swept through Chinatown and the Indian and Malay districts, and soon was being telephoned and telegraphed all over Malaya. The Europeans and native labourers on plantations and in tin mines picked it up in the most unlikely spots. The Governor of Singapore was attending a seafarers' service in the Cathedral at the time, and the news was quickly announced from the pulpit there and in all the other churches.

The same excitement and enthusiasm were shown far eastward—in Borneo, and in Hong Kong, already advanced in warlike measures owing to local tension due to the Japanese invasion of China. Fiji and groups of other loyal islands far away in the Pacific joined in the chorus. As a picturesque example, the 32,000 people of Tonga, that romantic coral island, spoke through their matrarchal Queen, offering the island's resources. From the big and small islands of the West Indies, and the other islands and continental territories of Central and South America owning British allegiance, came the same prompt statements of loyalty, emergency measures, and offers.

In Africa—going north from Natal—Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland joined up with Rhodesia and Kenya. Two-thirds of the man-power of Rhodesia at once volunteered for service, and all the paramount chiefs of native tribes asked how they could serve. In Kenya, defensive measures included the prompt but humane internment of the big proportion of German settlers. The natives of the Gold Coast, already familiar with Hitler's scorn for negroes, expressed their sentiments through the paramount chief of Accra, who was reported as saying: "If the worst comes to the worst, I will take off my sandal and walk barefoot with the British soldiers right into the firing line"—a pleasantly naive and genuine statement that served its purpose quite as well as the parliamentary language of the democratic Dominions.

Messages of loyalty came also from the Sultan of Zanzibar, the Kabaka of Uganda, and the Imam of Oman (Muscat), which was in treaty relations with the Government of India, as was Bahrain, which had been so

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**PRO-BRITISH POTENTATES OF AFRICA AND THE EAST**


Photos, Central Press; Keystone.
connected with the British Empire since 1820. This small State of Bahrain is an interesting illustration of the ramifications of the Empire. It consists of a group of islands near the Arabian coast, in the Persian Gulf, of which the largest bears the same name as the State. From Manama, the capital, where reside an English financial adviser and a political agent, came a declaration by the ruler, H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Isa al Khalifa. Bahrain provided a stage in the Oriental route of Imperial Airways, and it has some petroleum wells and large pearl fisheries. Its position in the Persian Gulf was of strategic importance.

As disappointing to the Nazi Government as South Africa's abandonment of neutrality was the action of other countries not integral parts of the Empire. Some of these were strategically significant. Especially important was the offer of support from the Emir of Transjordan on September 5, followed in a few days by similar responses from the leaders of the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine. Coupled with the successful conclusion in October of the pact with Turkey, the attitude of these countries made serene the vast British-controlled oil supplies from Iraq.

"Now we have spanned the earth, and have listened to the voices of statesmen and citizens in many lands that make up the British Commonwealth," said Mr. Anthony Eden, in a broadcast address on October 6. The Dominions Secretary included the whole Empire in his survey as he continued:

"We have heard the response of a great Empire to a great crisis. . . We all share a determination that the rule of violence must cease. To achieve this, we of the British Empire are prepared to devote the whole of our strength. Sacrifices will be demanded of us. We are resolved in calmness and with fortitude to make them. Dark days may be ahead. But the rich and manifold resources of this Commonwealth of free peoples are being gathered powerfully and swiftly together for a cause to which we have dedicated ourselves."

Not more than a small proportion of the Empire's great stores of manpower were required or likely to be called upon for any military purposes, but it was soon realized that the increased manufacturing resources of the Dominions and their quotas of the best types of volunteers provided a most valuable accretion of striking power. This was especially true of air power, and all through September and October plans for contributing personnel and equipment to the Royal Air Force took precedence over purely military contributions, for it had been decided that strength in mechanized land forces and superiority in the air would be the primary requisites of victory so long as naval power kept command of the seas.

In the working out of this problem of air power Canada, by reason of her situation and resources, stood at the head of the Dominions and Colonies. Some months before the outbreak of the war it had been realized that heavy military aircraft could be flown safely across the Atlantic, so making of Canada a safe air force base and a convenient centre for training extra personnel. Not only was Canada within easy communication by sea and air with Europe, but also she was centrally situated in respect of the Empire as a whole, for air reinforcements could be dispatched more conveniently to many parts of the Empire from North America than they could from Britain during a European war.

A bold and striking scheme to use Canada as an Empire centre for the advanced training of the young volunteer pilots, observers and gunners of the Royal Air Force was described in Parliament by Sir Kingsley Wood on October 10. Lord Riverdale, at the head of a technical mission from the United Kingdom, had already left for Canada, to meet there similar missions from Australia and New Zealand. The Dominions, including South Africa, had agreed in September to a different scheme of decentralised production of aircraft, equipment and personnel in each Dominion, and the Canadian clearing-house scheme was in effect a means of unifying methods and ensuring, especially in training, a common standard of high efficiency. Personnel, explained Sir Kingsley, would go from the elementary training schools of Australia and New Zealand, and so would many from the R.A.F. schools in Britain. The Dominion trainees would ultimately join either Dominion or United Kingdom units. "Our object is to achieve by cooperative effort air forces of overwhelming strength," he stated. "This
"We stand with Britain," said Mr. R. G. Menzies, Premier of the Commonwealth of Australia, in a declaration made on Sept. 2, 1939, and in his broadcast message the following day added: "Australia is ready to see it through." Of the quality of Australia's fighting forces the war of 1914-18 bears eloquent testimony, and her economic resources were equally invaluable to the Allied cause. Above, members of an artillery brigade of the Australian Militia on their way to camp.
AUSTRALIA'S EVER EXPANDING AIR FORCE

Here is seen a formation of Australian-made Wirraway planes of the Royal Australian Air Force on a training flight. They are two-seater general-purpose craft and are an adaptation of an American make, built under licence by the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation. Sufficient machines to equip a squadron are built every week. To cope with the expansion of the R.A.A.F., the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation went into production about the middle of 1939.
RAW MATERIALS FOR THE MOTHERLAND'S WAR INDUSTRIES

Some idea of the economic advantages we reap from the cordial relations which exist between us and our Dominions overseas is shown by the fact that the Commonwealth of Australia sends some two-thirds of her exports to the United Kingdom. For the year 1937-38 they amounted to $60,000,000 out of a total of $106,000,000. Wool is the principal commodity exported. The bales of wool seen here are being loaded at Victoria Docks, Melbourne.

Photo: Janet Ness.
NEW ZEALAND TRAINS HER OWN PILOTS

In August, 1937, a New Zealand Council of Defence was set up to co-ordinate the work of Army, Navy and Air Force. Since then many improvements have been carried out, including an expansion of the New Zealand Air Force. A number of new aerodromes were built throughout the Dominion and advantage was taken of the latest developments in aircraft design. Above is a view from a hangar on a New Zealand aerodrome, showing Vickers "Wildebeest" aircraft used for bombing training.
arrangement illustrates how free and equal members of the British Commonwealth can bring the full weight and might of their individual resources to achieve success in a common cause."

Considering that the Royal Air Force at the end of the first Great War was enrolling pilots for training as pilots at the rate of 3,000 a month, the prospects of the far greater Empire co-operation of 1939 of achieving air forces of overwhelming strength promised to be quickly realised. Moreover, contributions of machines and trained personnel were among the first offers of the Dominions, although South Africa and subsequently Australia decided to reserve their strength for effective home defence as the best means of contributing to the general security. On October 31 the Commonwealth Prime Minister, after a Cabinet meeting, announced the revision of Australia’s original offer to send six squadrons to France. These squadrons would remain in Australia. The change of plan was related to a large-scale Australian participation in the Empire Air Force centred in Canada. This new policy, adopted after consultation with Britain, was in reality a triumph for the idea of the Empire pool of air power. Nine Sunderland flying-boats previously ordered by Australia were to remain at Britain’s disposal, for which purpose 17 officers and 166 airmen were to be sent to Britain.

The R.A.F. personnel at the outbreak of war already included large numbers of young men from the Dominion. From New Zealand alone in September there were four hundred, either serving as pilots or completing training in the United Kingdom, and the New Zealand Air Force itself was well prepared for home defence. Canada was stated to have at least 1,000 airmen already in the Royal Air Force, and Canadians were among the gallant crews of the bombers which raided the approaches of the Kiel Canal and damaged at least one battleship. As in Australia, flying for civil purposes had greatly developed since the previous war, catering to the growing necessity for transport between distant centres and sometimes lonely outposts of trade and industry. The aircraft industry in Canada was exceptionally well placed for expansion, both on account of Canada’s plentiful supplies of raw materials and her nearness to the United States. Besides being a useful business intermediary between Britain and the U.S.A. in the purchase of American machines and other supplies, Canada promised to make important contributions through her industries. Less decisive perhaps, but involving a far wider voluntary effort among the populations concerned, were the offers of military contributions. Only a small proportion of these could be accepted for prospective employment in Europe, and practically all such were from the Dominions. By the beginning of October a first draft of 40,000 militia for a wartime army had gone into camp training in Australia, and this was to be followed by a second draft of 40,000 in November. The Sixth Division, a special force of 20,000, commanded by Lieut.-General Sir Thomas-Blamey, was enlisted for service at home or abroad.

Counting auxiliary units also, Australia planned to have 200,000 well trained and equipped soldiers before the summer of 1940.

Many of the new militias had usefully been relieved of garrison duties in the first few weeks of the war by volunteers who had served in the Australian Imperial Force of 1914-18. These developments involved the extension of camp accommodation and a speeding up of the expansion (previously decided upon) of the governmental munitions output, as well as the construction of certain aircraft for which key-men had been training in United Kingdom aircraft factories since 1938. Naturally these developments, important though they were to Australian security, did not so directly bear upon the European conflict as Canada’s activities in the same directions, but a noteworthy side-issue, concerning the vital necessity of petrol, was an intensified study of Australian resources. The shale deposits of Newnes, New South Wales, were expected to produce some 10,000,000 gallons of shale petrol within the first twelve months of the war, and to increase this rate of production gradually to 20,000,000 gallons annually. Including benzol and power alcohol, the Commonwealth production of motor fuels was expected to amount to some 35,000,000 gallons in a year, a useful contribution towards her own needs.

Great as was New Zealand’s military contribution to British forces in the war of 1914-18, in proportion to her population—she had sent overseas one-half of her male population of military age—in September 1939 she showed an equal willingness and a far greater equipment and organization. Although the need for any expeditionary force to Europe was plainly doubtful from the beginning of the war, the New Zealand spirit was reflected in the enrolment in London during the first three weeks of some 600 New Zealanders, who registered for war service with the High Commissioner. A New Zealand unit was formed in England from New Zealand residents or visitors between 21 and 23, and they went into camp under a New Zealand Staff Lieut.-Colonel.
HOW THE EMPIRE'S AIR STRENGTH GREW

Britain's Dominions played an increasingly important part in the air effort of the Empire in the early months of the war. At the top of the page is a scene in a Melbourne factory, with Wirraway aircraft—an adaptation of an American design—in rapid production. Above left, a Canadian pilot and his observer, seen climbing aboard their machine during training, apply the youthful ardour of the modern Royal Canadian Air Force. Above right is the McGregor single-seater fighter, designed and built in Canada. On the left, young airmen of the Royal Australian Air Force are being instructed in the working of an aero engine.

Photos, Planet News; Fox; Report de France; International Graphic Press
to the New Zealand main forces. It was evident before the end of October, 1939, that the military contingents of Australia and New Zealand, should they be called up, would be able to contribute strong forces to the war in Europe by the late spring of 1940.

As far as Canada, besides doubling the naval personnel and expanding the air force, the Canadian Cabinet decided to raise an expeditionary force of 20,000 men, which should be ready to go overseas by February, 1940. The original cause of that Cabinet meeting was the news of the Soviet intervention in Poland. When the war started, Canada's armed forces (military, naval, and air) totalled about 50,000, and recruiting of volunteers had more than doubled this number by the middle of October. Mr. Norman Rogers, the former Minister of Labour, as the new Defence Minister, had then gained warm approval of all parties. Considerable though the combatant services of Canada were, these were much overshadowed in importance by economic resources made available for the conduct of the war. The first two months of hostilities brought about no development to alter the prospect that the Empire's military man-power would be a valuable reserve, unlikely to be extensively employed in Europe.

This aspect of the willing and prepared, or rapidly preparing, military forces overseas was especially prominent in the consideration of India's offers, as well as of the small ally of Britain and France, Nepal—the home of the Gurkhas—which entered the war within the first fortnight. Under its able Prime Minister, Sir Joedha Shumsher Jung, Nepal's real prospective value as an ally—and that was great—was her position on the frontiers of India and the possibility of reinforcement by Gurkha contingents of India's garrison forces. In India itself the political division between Congress and the Government and native States, which in a broadcast speech on November 5 Lord Linlithgow confessed he had been unable to compose, made actually little difference to the potential military contribution of the Indian Empire.

Mr. Michael O'Dwyer, in a letter to the Press, pointed out that the Government's declaration of war had been warmly welcomed by all the great minorities of India who were outside the Congress Party; four out of these five minorities had furnished 20 per cent of the 600,000 combatants raised by India in the first Great War—viz. Muslims 238,000, Sikhs 300,000, Rajputs 96,000, Maharattas 26,000, and other Hindus 96,000. Only a negligible proportion of those fighting classes was likely to be influenced by a continuation of the Congress Party's non-co-operation. The minorities mentioned accounted together for about two-thirds of India's population and a much higher proportion of the most vigorous elements.

India's potential military contribution in 1939, however, was far greater than in 1914, because of the modernized territorial battalions and cadet corps, bigger supplies of equipment, and an altogether incomparably greater effectiveness in manufacturing many necessities for the conduct of war. Indeed, within the preceding quarter-century, India had become one of the six greatest manufacturing countries in the world, which fast again shifts the emphasis away from the Empire's combative power to that of economic resourcefulness.

The first two months of the war had led to the conclusion—and with small prospect of that conclusion having to be modified—that the denial of contribution of the Empire in the war would be economic. In the economic field, moreover, progress had been most impressive since 1914. A graphic illustration of the general situation in this

THE CALL IS HEARD 5,000 MILES AWAY

Canadian troops, part of the first contingent to leave British Columbia for duty overseas, are here seen at Vancouver boarding a train bearing a banner warning a worried-looking Hitler what is in store for him when they arrive in Europe.
INDIA COMES INTO THE WAR

As soon as it was known that Britain had declared war upon Nazi Germany, all German males in Bombay were rounded up and taken, as seen in the bottom photograph, to the Cenotaph, Jehangir Hall, Bombay, prior to being sent to concentration camps. The top photographs show, left, Mahatma Gandhi, who acknowledged the rectitude of Britain’s attitude in opposing Nazism, and, right, the Marquess of Linlithgow, Viceroy of India.

Photos, Central Press; Keystone

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respect is afforded by the growth of Canadian wealth, since Canada from the start of the war promised to be the most important individual unit of the Empire in the struggle against Germany.

The following list of figures compiled by Mr. Floyd Chalmers, Editor of the Canadian "Financial Post," appeared in the "Sunday Times" (Nov. 5, 1939).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Steel, tons</th>
<th>Nickel, pounds</th>
<th>Copper, pounds</th>
<th>Lead, pounds</th>
<th>Petroleum, bbl.</th>
<th>Gold, oz.</th>
<th>Newspapers, tons</th>
<th>Electric power (installed h.p.)</th>
<th>Wages, acres</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>744,000</td>
<td>45,000,000</td>
<td>70,000,000</td>
<td>60,000,000</td>
<td>215,000</td>
<td>776,000</td>
<td>902,000</td>
<td>1,150,000</td>
<td>3,950,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1,160,000</td>
<td>215,000,000</td>
<td>170,000,000</td>
<td>110,000,000</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
<td>4,700,000</td>
<td>4,715,000</td>
<td>8,200,000</td>
<td>64,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although still little more than that of Greater London, Canada's population of ten and a half millions in 1939 had risen from under eight millions in 1914. Considering that the Dominion's industrial power had so greatly increased, the prospects of a very rapid development of her munitions industries during the war were assured by recalling that from 1914 to 1917 Canada's output of munitions rose from $5,000,000,000 to nearly $2,000,000,000, and that during the whole of the Great War she produced munitions worth more than $250,000,000 at the exchange rates prevailing in the autumn of 1939.

An interesting development of her economic co-operation accompanied the repeal of the United States embargo on war supplies in 1917 by the American "cash and carry" provisions of the neutrality law. Americans giving credit to the Allied purchasers of her war supplies, as well as prohibiting their transport in United States vessels. By placing Canadian dollars at the disposal of Britain, Canada was ready to help in balancing up the exchange between the two countries, if Britain's exports during the war should fall off while her imports from Canada increased. This involved, before the end of October, the offering of $20,000,000 of Canada's sterling stock for redemption. Britain's stocks of earmarked gold and foreign exchange had to be preserved as much as possible to finance purchases from the United States. It had become probable also that when Sir John Simon should reveal the British Government's plans for mobilising foreign investments privately held in the United Kingdom.

A ready market in Canada for the Canadian issues would enable Canadian investors to supply the British Government with large credit balances. The Bank of Canada agreed to do the marketing of such Canadian securities, £15,000,000 worth of which were held in Great Britain.

In the purely economic field, all the Dominions and Colonies were similarly mobilising their resources for the purpose of making the most effective contributions to victory, and that all this world-wide co-operative and enforced recruitment of resources meant was difficult for the unassuming British citizen at home to grasp. The full implications of the Empire being at war only reached their maximum scope and startling incautiness with this intensified organization of natural resources. Covering nearly 14,000,000 square miles, with populations totalling nearly 500,000,000, of whom some 48,000,000 only were in Europe, the combined resources of this loosely but firmly knit group of countries were prodigious, with highly industrialized and financially powerful Britain as the nucleus. And command of the sea, coupled with effective air defences, demonstrated in the first few weeks of the war that these resources would remain available to the Allies.

Only the greatest and most important resources can be mentioned, but they include the enormous supplies of cereals from Canada and Australia, the sugar and tea of India, the wool and mutton of Australia and New Zealand, and the dairy produce of these Dominions and of Canada. Mineral resources, without which modern war cannot be sustained by any Power, provided even more impressive facts. For not only were practically all the chief minerals largely produced within the Empire, but in many cases the Empire production was a big proportion of the world production.

One of the most important factors of economic strategy is gold. By far the greatest national stocks of gold were held by the United States when the war started, followed a long way after by France, and then by Britain, which held about £200,000,000. Right at the bottom of the list of gold-holding Powers were Italy, Japan, and Germany, in which contrast may be seen a reliable indication of the connexion between national politics and economics. But though these stocks of gold held by the various governments were important factors of purchasing power, the gold situation in September, 1939, is not fully depicted by comparing them; it must be remembered that at least 50 per cent of the world's total supplies of gold were being mined within the Empire, South Africa being the largest individual producer. According to the statistics of the Imperial Institute, greatly increased production of other important minerals had occurred within the Empire since 1918. A large proportion of the world's supplies of silver, copper, zinc, lead, mica, sulphur, phosphates, mica, and bauxite come from the Empire. Nickel and asbestos supplies, like that of gold, exceeded the rest of the world's output. Mica, as well as such vital ores as iron, lead, copper, zinc and manganese, had an Empire output exceeding 25 per cent of the world's total output. Such was the scope of the natural resources controlled by the peoples of the Empire whom the Nazi regime brought into the war against a Germany hopelessly deficient in foodstuffs and minerals.

How to organize our resources most effectively, not where to obtain necessary supplies, was the chief preoccupation of the War Cabinet during the opening months of war. The need resulted in a new demonstration of Empire unity in the form of an Imperial conference which was an important step forward in the co-ordination of the Empire's contributions.

**RATIONS FROM OVERSEAS**

With the Allied navies retaining the command of the seas, Britain had no need to fear a shortage of meat, especially as much of it came from her Dominions. Above is a cargo of beef from Australia being unloaded at a British port.

*Photo, Central Press*
Chapter 21

THE BRITISH ARMY CROSSES TO FRANCE:
158,000 MEN SAFELY TRANSPORTED

A Great Army Crosses the Channel in Secret—Comparison with the B.E.F. of 1914—Only Twenty per cent were Infantrymen—How the New Mechanized Force was Transported—March to the Front—Eye-witnesses' Stories of our Army in the War Zone—Twice in a Generation to Meet the Same Foe

As in 1914, so in 1939 a great British army slipped across to France in the silent watches of the night. The secret of its assembly and of its departure, as of its safe arrival beyond the Channel, was well kept. The curious friend of the spy were alike baffled by the official black-out. Fleet Street saw something of what was afoot and suspected more, but not an embarrassing line saw the light of day in the columns of the newspapers; and at Westminster even the most valuable of legislators and the most ardent seeker after Government secrets kept a firm control on their loquacity and their inquisitorial itch. Thousands were acquainted with a part of the story—the men who marched to the docks and were conveyed across, the railwaymen who ran the special trains, the dockers and the crews of the troopships, the wives and sweethearts of the departing soldiers left behind them. But none of these knew the whole tale, or endeavoured to discover and to reveal what those in authority wished to veil.

Only at the War Office did the great men of the Army—the Secretary for War and his circle of responsible advisers—take more in Whitehall they planned and ordered, and then, when their plans were laid and the orders issued, sat off through the night in their official quarters, waiting for the message which should send them to their beds with a happy heart. Yet another convoy had left the English ports, had run the gauntlet of the Channel crossing—who knew what U-boats lay in wait beneath the inky surface—and had arrived safely in France.

When the "Old Contemptibles" crossed the Channel twenty-five years before, the first news of their departure and arrival at the scene of war filtered through to the general public on August 17, when the vanguard was actually in touch with the German invaders in Belgium. In 1939 the official announce-

ment of the British Field Force's arrival in France was released to the press on September 12, though it had been given out in the Paris news bulletin several nights before that British troops were actually in France. The story of the Army's formation and dispatch was contained in a speech by Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha, the Secretary of State for War, in the House of Commons on October 11, when he was able to announce that an army of 158,000 men had been transported intact to France without a single casualty.

"I am able to inform the House," said Mr. Hore-Belisha, "that we have fulfilled—and more than fulfilled—our undertaking recently given to France to develop those that came in the event of war a British Expeditionary Force of a specified dimension within a specified time."

That undertaking, it may be said in parentheses, was given probably at one of the Staff conferences in the summer of 1938. Certainly the dispatch of a great expeditionary force was not contemplated at the time of the Munich crisis, only a year before. In those days it was thought that, if any British troops were sent across the Channel, they should form a mere token force—an earnest of Britain's co-operation in a war on land, while the full might of the Empire should be demonstrated on the sea and in the air.

But Munich changed all that. For the first time it was realized that a great military power had arisen on the Continent—that Germany had achieved a triumphal come-back as a militarist state, ready and eager to recover by the sword all and more than all that the Kaiser had lost a generation before. France could not be expected to bear the whole brunt of a sudden onslaught, particularly if she were obliged to keep great armies in readiness for emergencies on the Italian frontier and on that of Franco's Spain in the Pyrenees. Menaced on two fronts and attacked in force on a third, France must stagger beneath the shock, and in any event must suffer much more than a fair share of the initial casualties. So those in Britain who remembered only too vividly the slaughter, as colossal as it was needless.

BLOCKHOUSES IN THE MAKING

Here Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha, Britain's War Minister, is seen at the site watching an early stage in the building of a blockhouse. Around the steel skeleton which these men are assembling will be constructed the walls and roof of the stronghold.

British Official Photograph. Copyright.
on the Somme and at Passchendaele, were overborne at the council-table or somehow converted to another view.

Certainly when it was announced that Britain had sent to France not a mere token force but an army greater even than that which left our shores in 1914, there was none to cavil. Rather there was pride that Britain was able to spare for the foreign front so large and so splendidly equipped an army. "Within six weeks of the outbreak of war in 1914," said Mr. Hore-Belisha in the speech mentioned above, "we had transported to France 148,000 men. Within five weeks of the outbreak of this war we had transported to France 158,000 men. During this period we have also created our base and lines of communication organization so as to assure the regular flow of supplies and munitions of every kind and to receive further contingents as and when we may decide to send them."

During the period of embarkation, the Minister of War proceeded, the convoys averaged three a night. "It was a small body of specially selected officers in the War Office who with seven confidential clerks and typists secretly worked out every detail of this plan for moving the Army and the Royal Air Force to France. They foresaw and provided for every need: the selection of ports and docks, of roads and railways, of accommodation of all types, of rest camps and depots, of hospitals and repair shops, at every ...

**LORRIES BY THE THOUSAND FOR THE FRONT**

Thousands of motor vehicles were transported to France in the weeks following the outbreak of war, and Mr. Hore-Belisha stated on November 22 that it was "a question of vehicles, vehicles and more vehicles." Top photograph shows a convoy of British lorries prior to embarkation; and below, one of them is seen in the slings being hoisted aboard a transport.
BRITISH TRANSPORT LANDS IN FRANCE

A convoy of motor-lorries, waiting for embarkation, is shown in page 209. Here is more British transport—a line of R.A.S.C. wagons, drawn up for inspection in France, the men wearing their gas masks, is seen in the photograph below; and above, small supply tanks, just landed at a French port, are being run up on to railway trucks.

Photos: Sport & General
stage on both sides of the Channel. Those who belong to the military profession, having in their arrangements to adjust themselves always to the unexpected and unforeseen, have to show in the preparation and execution of complicated projects a resource and efficiency which can rarely be exacted from those engaged in civilian enterprises. The Expeditionary Force has been transported to France intact without a casualty to any of its personnel."

Comparison with 1914 is natural, but in many respects no real comparison is possible. Then the men were mostly infantry and they marched on to the ships; transport and guns were drawn by horses that were fed on board; the material of war that the soldier did not carry on his back or in his hand was so light that it could be hoisted by a small derrick. In those days there were only 800 mechanized vehicles with the Army, and rarely did a load exceed two tons.

How different a state of affairs existed in 1939! To quote from Mr. Horace-Belisha's speech again: "We have already on this occasion transported to France more than 25,000 vehicles, including tanks, some of them of enormous dimensions and weighing 15 tons apiece or more. Normal shore cranes could not raise them, special ships were required to carry them, and specially trained stevedores to manipulate them. Consequently, as contrasted with 1914, where ordinary vessels took men and material together from the usual ports, in this case the men travelled separately and the heavier mechanisms had to be transported from more distant ports, where special facilities were available. The arrangements for the reunion of the troops and their material on the other side made an additional complication."

Other differences between 1914 and 1939 were that on the former occasion the ports of disembarkation were much nearer the actual war zone than they could be in 1939, and, moreover, owing to the menace of air attack, much more devious routes to the front had to be taken. Men and vehicles were dispersed in small groups and did their marching at night when their movement was invisible from the air. Again, the

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**BACK TO THE OLD CATTLE TRUCKS**

Once again British soldiers, following in their fathers' footsteps, taste the joys of travelling in the French troop-trains. Those in the photograph above seem very cheerful about it, perhaps because some wag has scribbled a sarcastic "1st Class" upon the wagon. The upper photograph shows a detachment of British troops, just detained at a French station.

*Photos, British Official: Crown copyright*
mechanized transport created a huge new set of problems. Every horse, as Mr. Horne-Belisha said, “eats the same food and can continue, like man, to move though hungry. Vehicles come to a standstill when their tanks are empty.” In the new Expeditionary Force, there were 50 different types of vehicles, most of them requiring a different grade of fuel and oil. Before they could be moved far from the base great reserves of space, spare parts, and petrol had to be stored, while a series of completely equipped workshops had to come into being to replace the attentions of the veterinary surgeon of 1914.

Well might Mr. Horne-Belisha stress the contrast in order to bring out the magnitude of the present achievement. “None of these problems”—those attendant on the wholesale mechanization—“existed, except in embryo, in 1914. It was a light Army that travelled then. Nearly 60 per cent of the fighting troops in 1914 were infantrymen, relying on their rifles and bayonets and two machine guns a battalion. Now only 20 per cent of the fighting troops are infantrymen, with 50 Bren guns, 22 anti-tank rifles, and other weapons as well with each battalion. It will be seen by this one example how much more effectively armed with fire-power is the present Expeditionary Force.” He might have added that even in 1914 the Kaiser’s generals were astounded at the fire-power of the British line; they could not believe that the men were armed only with rifles and not machine-guns, so rapid and accurate was their fire.

However different the equipment, however different the means and the methods of making war, there was one respect, said Mr. Horne-Belisha, “in which our Army had not altered: its relations with our Allies—who have welcomed the men so generously—are as good-humoured. The catchwords of the soldiers are as amusing. He had been quite recently on a visit to B.H.Q. in France and had met many of the men himself. “I would like their parents and wives to know that they are in fine spirit...” The Commander-in-

Chief and his Corps Commanders report of them in term of the highest pride."

Then in a striking passage the War Minister paid a tribute to all those who had co-operated in the transport of the new Expeditionary Force—to the various Government Departments, both in this country and in France, to the Navy and the R.A.F. “The Navy has not lost its secret, and the Air Force has held its protecting wings over another element of danger.”

Now that the great undertaking had been successfully accomplished, the silence which had been imposed upon the Press was removed, and a body of war correspondents proceeded across the Channel charged with the task of keeping the people at home informed of the day-to-day conditions and happenings at the front. First, however, they had to

SOLDIERS’ GRUB AND SOLDIERS’ TUB

When a number of men are billeted in one building the problem of feeding the men is apt to present difficulties, but as can be seen above, where there’s a will there’s a way: tubs and pots, even if the latter are somewhat small for a grown man, are soon pressed into service. At top: army cooks watching over an array of dishes.

British Official Photographer: Crown copyright

Tell of the voyage over—a voyage in vessels most elaborately and completely “blackened,” in which even the smoking of cigarettes on deck was strictly forbidden. Mr. Douglas Williams, the War Correspondent of “The Daily Telegraph,” reported that he himself sailed in a vessel in which there were 1,200 troops, including a scattering of pedros, doctors, engineers and R.A.S.C. men, as well as a handful of nurses in uniform and members of the Army Educational Corps. The discipline, patience and good spirits of these units
MAKING THE BEST OF IT—THEN AND NOW

There is a remarkable similarity between these two pictures, despite the fact that a quarter of a century separates them. The top photograph shows men of the 5th Dragoon Guards resting in a stable during the momentous autumn of 1914. In 1939 British troops were once again making themselves at home in French farmhouse stables, as is shown by the photograph below of our infantry in temporary billets, "somewhere in France."

during the long, tiresome and extremely rough crossing, packed sardine-like along the airless decks of the vessel, were amazing. Each man had but eighteen inches or so of deck boards on which to sleep, and the officers slept on the cabin floor. As for food, they had but bully beef and biscuit. Yet cheerfulness was on every hand, and songs were struck up from time to time during the night until at dawn the men, most of whom had never been abroad before, hastened to the bulwarks and strove to be the first to catch a glimpse of the land mentioned so often in their fathers' talk of the war of yesterday.

Arrived at the French port, the young soldiers—all of whom, said Mr. Williams, had apparently found the time and the means to wash and shave—were calmly preparing for a day in the City or their normal peacetime avocation—poured down the gangways and, after hot tea and sandwiches on the dockside, marched to the trains which were to take them to their places of assembly. "Somewhere in France."

As Mr. Hure-Belisha said, the relations of the men with the French people were excellent from the very beginning. As in 1914, the crowds flocked about the marching columns and did their best to show that they were more than welcome. And yet there was a difference. When the "Old Contemptibles" were greeted with almost hysterical joy at Boulogne, a generation earlier, men had no real knowledge of what modern war might and would mean. Twenty-five years later they knew only too well, and the knowledge made any suggestion of the spirit of carefree carnival out of place. The troops spoke and acted as men who were aware of the serious character of the venture on which they had embarked. Yet all the same they joked and whistled and sang, crowded about the hucksters' stalls on the quays and bought pretty souvenirs for the mother or the girl at home, and looked with deeply interested eyes at the signs in a strange language, the police in such different uniforms, and all the other little indications of the fact that they were in a foreign—but not in the least unfriendly—land. It was not long before one and all realized that the way they had been prepared for them, not only by the officers of the Staff and the departmental corps who had planned the great movement, but by those men of a generation ago, men whom they knew or perhaps had only heard of.

Only as the weeks passed was the magnitude of the Army transportation generally realized. Then one by one fragments were paid in the press to the men—still anonymous so far as the public were concerned—who had formed the plans for the great movement. The gentlemen of the Staff have been often held up to ridicule, and the exposure of their blunders in peace and even more in war is gloated over for long. Sometimes the censure is deserved.

But here is a case where grateful thanks were truly earned, even if they were not publicly accorded. The first assembly of the units chosen for the Field Praeseworthy Force, their equipment, organization and the establishment of a long and lengthening line of depots and communications, the formation of bases covering great areas, the chartering of trains and ships, the working out of a most elaborate time-table so that there should be no congestion, no time-wasting, no unnecessary interference with the requirements of civilian life—here are problems requiring intelligence and initiative of the highest and rarest order for their solution.

The working out of such problems is no doubt part of the Staff's daily task, but the opportunities for practice on a large scale are wanting. What is the Aldershot or Tidworth Tactico to the dispatch of 150,000 men?—and, moreover, the movement had to be conducted, so far as the sea crossing was concerned, at night, and always—in Britain, in the Channel, and in France—hostile attack from the air was an ever-present.
indeed exceedingly likely, possibility. Yet the stream of men and guns, tanks and transport, went on uninter ruptedly; not a man was lost in the journey whether by land or by sea.

Of the first stage of the march there is little to say—at least, little has been said. We may suppose the men paraded for overseas—a phrase which will evoke deep memories in those who played a part in the first Great War. But there were no marches through cheering crowds, no exuberant send-offs. Rather the troops slipped away practically unnoticed, saying their farewells almost surreptitiously. By road and by rail they converged on the ports in the

south, whence they were to be shipped across the Channel. One port in particular was thronged for days with hundreds of vehicles parked in its streets waiting the official word to embark. The men themselves, for the most part, passed from the train straight on to the ships. Trains from Scotland, from the east of England and from the west poured into the docks in a regular, unbroken stream. At one time it was stated that three troop-trains an hour were arriving. There was not a hitch anywhere. The transport of more than 150,000 men had been worked out to the last detail.

And here let something be said of the role of the French Navy in the transport to France of the first wave of the Expeditionary Force. It is not generally understood that, although during the actual crossing of the Channel the troop-ships were accompanied by vessels of the British Navy, for a considerable distance from the French coast the French Navy undertook the protection of the transports until their actual arrival at the French ports. While the patrol vessels and mine-sweepers remained at sea seeking and destroying mines which might have been laid, the surface, reconnaissance vessels, police boats from the harbours, and pilot boats stood by to receive the transports. The French Navy also ensured the actual defence of the ports and the coast—a task which involved keeping defence and anti-aircraft patrols and lookout stations constantly on the alert. Protective nets and minefields left to be carried out by a crowd of small craft constantly at sea.

For the most part the transports arrived at night or at dawn with lights extinguished and their decks crowded with troops and war material. As the lighthouses had been shut down, the ships were piloted through French waters with the help of a modified system of buoys. One by one the transports drew alongside the quay, gangways were lowered and the soldiers filed down them. Then tugs pulled the empty ship away from the quay.

another transport came alongside and another crowd of soldiers fell in and marched away. Several hundred transports arrived in French ports in a single month, and sometimes three transports were discharging simultaneously on to the quays lit only with dim blue lights. Looking back on the achievement it will be realized how close and how successful was the collaboration between the staffs of the French Army and Navy and that of the British headquarters.

That co-operation was even more in evidence when the troops set off on their journey to the front. It was now that the Military Police came into their own, and shepherded 720,000 Army vehicles through a strange countryside to their places near the front line. Some 720 military policemen did the job—men who were themselves strangers in a strange land. With but 24 hours to acquaint themselves with the roads in the sector, these men kept the traffic moving without a single big block or hold-up or any really serious inconvenience to the local traffic.

It was said that never a driver of tank or armoured car, of lorry or ambulance, had need to open a map to find his way. Always the police were there to guide him, or had already carefully signposted the route so that he who ran might
MECHANIZED ARMY NEEDS TRAVELLING WORKSHOPS

The transport to France of a vast mechanized army entailed the setting up in that country of a large number of completely equipped mobile transport workshops. Above, one of these travelling workshops is seen in a French village while repairs are made to a dispatch rider's motor-cycle.

Broken down and accidents were negligible; the most serious was an ammunition wagon which caught fire and blew up; even then there were no casualties. No vehicle took more than ten days over the journey from the port of disembarkation to its new disposal line, and the speed was never allowed to exceed 20 miles per hour. Perhaps the finest testimony to the excellence of the British police—many of whom only a short time before had been A.A. patrols on the roads at home—was that after a day's working the French withdrew many of their own men who had been posted as assistants and liaison officers to the Military Police. There were even "courtesy cops" who kept a stern eye on driving vagaries, and it was said that in those towns temporarily in British occupation the local traffic paid an altogether unusual regard to the signals made by the controllers in khaki.

In the matter of billeting as in that of transport, Anglo-French co-operation was markedly in evidence. The utmost deference was paid to the local authorities, and it was with the help of the Maire and the local chief of police that officers and men were allotted their quarters in inns, cafés, and estaminets, private houses and farms.

Step by step, stage by stage, the various units—infantry and cavalry (petrol-driven for the most part), tanks and signals, men of the R.A.M.C., the Ordnance and the Service Corps—moved in one vast unbroken stream to those places with such strange-sounding names that had been mentioned in the operation orders. At practically every crossroads a stalwart British policeman waved on or held up the traffic with the

air of one born to be obeyed. Everywhere notices in English pointed the way to this town and that. All was very well ordered, excellently carried out, efficient in a thoroughly British way.

After some days on the road the various units arrived at their destinations. Then they rapidly disappeared so far as the eye could see. When Mr. R. A. Montague, War Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian," went to visit the British Army at the front, he said that the thing that impressed him most was the remarkable way in which a force of 188,000 men could be tucked away in a peaceful landscape. "The handling of our troops," he said, "has been a triumph of concealment."

Though right in the war zone soldiers to be seen were remarkably few—just one or two walking up the village street, a sentry, an occasional dispatch rider roaring down the cobble road. One passes an inconspicuous house with no special activity about it, and is told that it is a corps headquarters. In a distant field a few small figures are practising short rushes among the cabbages. But one would never guess the presence of an army. A little nearer the front one notices grey mounds here and there among the green fields. Get out of your car and walk along a muddy cart track towards one of them and you come first to a barbed-wire enclosure. At the gate a sentry admits you, if you have the right pass, and you find that the grey mound is a pill box, a hut of immensely thick concrete banked up with earth in which the defenders live and sleep. They belong to the infantry battalion which is billeted near by. Rows of barbed wire entanglements protect them from infantry attack.

A short distance away to one flank one sees another mound, this time a blockhouse, a pill box de luxe. With ample rations the crew of a blockhouse could hold out for weeks.

What impressed Mr. Douglas Williams most on the occasion of his first visit was the state of advanced defence of the positions occupied by the British Army. Writing in the "Sunday Times," he remarked on the great contrast with the scene of war that had met his gaze when he visited the French war zone in the autumn of 1914. "Years of preparation with steel and concrete, which following years have thickly covered with a green camouflage of grass and overgrowth, have replaced the hastily thrown up trenches that used to mark battle positions like the cross-cross lines of a gigantic game of noughts and crosses." An occasional aeroplane...
flew overhead, but the lack of artillery fire, complete silence, and the absence of any war-damaged buildings formed a curiously calm picture.

A visit to a section of the front line held by British troops soon made it plain that the Army was ready for anything and everything. Everywhere, said Mr. Williams, was perfect discipline, smart appearance, good health and good spirits. He found men billeted in barns, sleeping in warm straw and blankets, while in a courtyard outside a field kitchen prepared the midday meal. Food was plentiful and varied, and the men seemed as satisfied as British soldiers—born farmers, all!—could be expected to be. "We are a long way from home," said one, "but taking everything together we are pretty comfortable. Our billets are fine and the food excellent. We have plenty of work and get plenty of sleep. The weather has been pretty fair, if a bit damp, and we are all fit and ready for anything that Jerry may spring on us."

Later in the day Mr. Williams visited one of the blockhouses in the British line, a massive affair of steel and concrete, apparently almost impregnable. Its garrison told him that they felt as safe inside it as if they were in a deep dug-out far below ground. "I don't think Fritz could do much to this thing," said one: "I certainly wouldn't like to have to attack it myself."

"As we left the blockhouse to return to our quarters," continued Mr. Williams, "we passed other troops practising attack across open fields side by side with French peasant women harvesting the last of the season's crops. Small boys drove huge horses much higher than themselves, while old men strove hastily with hill-hoek and rake to fill the enormous carts that waited amid the furrows." His final thought was: the complete mechanization of the army. Not a horse was to be seen anywhere, and even the trench digging was done by mechanical excavators.

So in 1939 the British Army crossed to France just as their fathers did in 1914: crossed, and marched "up the line" to meet the same foe. "How strange it is," said Mr. Hore-Belisha in his speech in the House of Commons which we have already quoted, "that twice in a generation men should take this journey, and that sons should be treading again upon a soil made sacred by their fathers. They are grumbling about the same things—mispronouncing the same names—making similar jokes and singing songs which seem to be an echo over the intervening years."

And the Secretary of State for War went on, "we may rest assured that they will acquit themselves with the same tenacity, courage, and endurance. However long the struggle and however great the ordeal, they will, as our soldiers did before, take our arms and our cause of freedom to victory."

BRITISH LIGHT TANKS TO THE DEFENCE OF FRANCE

Along the cobbled streets of a French town stretches a long file of light tanks used as Bren gun carriers, while the inhabitants gaze with interest at this further proof of the material co-operation and technical efficiency of their allies.

*British Official Photograph: Officers' Photograph.*
FIRST REVIEW OF BRITAIN'S WAR IN THE AIR

On October 10, 1939, Sir Kingsley Wood, Secretary of State for Air, reviewed in the House of Commons the work of the Royal Air Force during the first five weeks of war, and outlined further extensive developments of this arm of the fighting services. We print here selected passages from his speech.

The spirit and moral of the Royal Air Force are splendid. Officers and men are proud of their force and confident that they can give a good account of themselves and take a heavy toll of the enemy, and that one day the last of their pilots will play his part in active operations. While willing to recognize the fighting qualities of their opponents, they are, I know, inspired by the knowledge that their job is to beat the enemy and to ensure once and for all that aggression and tyranny are ended.

Accounts have already been given of such considerable performances of the Royal Air Force as the attacks on the German Fleet and the engagements with the enemy in Germany and on the Western Front. They show that the spirit and determination of the earlier generation of flying men have been preserved unimpaired. The men who have already been in action have indeed shown to the full their courage and efficiency.

Not all have returned, and I know that the House will join with me in paying our tribute to the high example set by the gallant pilots and their crews who have lost their lives in the performance of their duty. There is a revealing motto of one of our squadrons: "I spread my wings and keep my purpose"—that undeterred was the spirit and purpose of those brave men.

Full recognition too should be given to those who, though they have had to stand by at their war stations in a state of instant readiness for action by day or by night, have not yet been engaged in action against the enemy. The intensity of the operations of the Fighter Command, for example, depends largely upon the activities of the enemy.

Instant readiness is demanded, and the strain imposed has been great if not greater, than if active operations were in progress. The keenness and the alertness of these officers and men are the first order.

The activities of the Coastal Command too have been unceasing, and their strain is in the extreme from the first day of war. In the last War aircraft played their part both as auxiliaries to the Navy and in independent operations against submarines, but their activities were limited by the technical development then attained. Today the vastly greater range, speed, and reliability of our aircraft are being fully utilized, as the Prime Minister last night demonstrated. A few days ago, in close cooperation with the Navy in the task of defeating the submarine, the Royal Air Force was called upon to protect our convoys with airmen's lives, and in that service they have proved themselves.

One Million Miles Flown in One Month

By its very nature the work is silent and normally unspectacular. It demands continuous flying over the sea in all weathers. The magnitude of the effort of the Coastal Command during the first four weeks of war was huge, and the reconnaissance anti-submarine, and convoy patrol a distance of approximately 1,000,000 miles and provided air escorts for over 100 convoys.

Our air escorts have also been able to give warning of the approach of enemy craft and of the presence of submarines from ranges which are far beyond the vision on surface craft. Most valuable information as to the habits and movements of our submarine is being transmitted to our subordinate commanders at different stations by radio, and is being constantly built up from patient observation, experience and deduction.

The result of these submarine successes has been achieved. During the first four weeks of war submarines were sighted by aircraft on 22 occasions and 35 attacks were delivered, some of which were undoubtedly successful.

The value of the work performed must not be gauged by success alone. There is the important preventive factor. We have confirmed from intelligence statements that the mere presence of an aircraft is sufficient to make a submarine submerge and remain submerged, and that the presence of an air escort often prevents a submarine commander from attacking our convoy. Almost daily there have been clashes with the enemy. Through their incessant activity and alertness, carried out in full co-operation with the Navy, the Royal Air Arm, the units of the Coastal Command are successfully carrying out a service that is vital to our war effort.

Again, in the Bomber Command, apart from the large operations upon which they have been engaged, there have been the many hourly increasing attacks on our airfields, which have taken place day after day over German territory, and hundreds of hours of flying have been recorded. Vital military information has been gained and recorded, and units have familiarized themselves with the country over which they will be called upon to operate. Day and night reconnaissance aircraft are penetrating into the enemy's country, testing his defences and observing his movements and troop concentrations. A complete photographic map of the Siegfried Line has been made. Many attacks have come from only a few hundred feet above the line to go to its composition.

Bombers for the German People

Thus, distribution of messages to the German people, over large areas of enemy territory which has been combined with the successful reconnaissance work has been a source of considerable value in giving information to the people of Germany. It is interesting to note in regard to their interest in the German people that a number of these messages were repeatedly found in the possession of German prisoners, notwithstanding the pains and penalties threatened against persons who picked up such communications.

I can of necessity speak only in general terms of our aircraft production. We have built up on broad foundations many new factories and re-equipped old ones, so that back of our war effort there is a vast productive machine which comprises not only the old-established aircraft firms and the Government factories but the great new factories erected by well-known engineering and other organizations, and hundreds of sub-contracting firms large and small.

At the outbreak of war the rate of aircraft production represented an achievement unprecedented in the history of the country in times of peace. Moreover, our factories are every day increasing their labour force and the increased experience of aircraft work has already resulted in an increased output rate per man.

Immediately war broke out we carefully prepared plans for greatly increased production, and plans were put into effect, and they will mean in due course a rate of production more than twice the considerable figure we have now reached. Beyond all that, since the outbreak of hostilities the War Cabinet has made a fresh examination of the whole position, and authority has been immediately put into effect, to add considerably to our production facilities and to ensure us still further against the possible effects of enemy action.

Nothing has given us greater encouragement during the war than the keen desire on the part of all parts of the Empire to play an effective part in air defence. I am thinking not only of the Dominion Air Forces and many of the Colonies.

The Dominions have already signaled their desire to make a great and powerful contribution to the common cause in relation to air defence. In the last War the Dominions gave us large numbers of skilful and courageous pilots and crews. Again today in the air war the Empire is being marshalled, and there is no doubt that the great Dominion effort of 25 years ago will be largely surpassed in the present conflict.

We shall have our dangers, our ordeals, and our difficulties, but none of us doubt that, when the great test comes, again our airmen of today—from the Motherland and overseas—will once more record the same magnificent achievements sacrificial devotion, and devotion to duty.
CHANNEL CROSSING—BUT NOT A PLEASURE TRIP

Here are a few of the first 130,000 men of the British Expeditionary Force on their way across the Channel, wearing life-saving gear so as to be ready for any emergency. For many of the men it was their first trip to sea, and they clustered eagerly along the sides striving to catch their first glimpse of the land of France—on whose soil the fathers of so many of them had fought.

British Official Photograph. Copyright.

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HOW THE R.E.F. LANDED IN FRANCE

The photographs on these pages show British soldiers disembarking from a transport "in times of the French coast." In the upper picture we see the troops as they emerge from the vessel and are brought ashore. In the lower picture an anti-aircraft gun is seen in the foreground. The photograph on this page shows a British convoy halted in the tree-lined avenue of a French village, where a British military policeman is on traffic duty.

British Official Photographs (Crown Copyright)
Chapter 22

THE AIR WAR: A MONTH’S TALE OF RAID AND RECONNAISSANCE

A Survey of the Period Sept. 18 to Oct. 20, 1939—Ineffective German Attack on Firth of Forth: Eye-Witnesses’ Stories—The Raid on Scapa Flow—German Fleet Attacked in Heligoland Bight—Combats over the Siegfried Line—Heroic Rescue of an Airmen—Successful Reconnaissance Work—Contrasted Views of Aerial Superiority

A survey of aerial operations during the period Sept. 18 to Oct. 20, 1939, enables two conclusions to be drawn, both of outstanding interest and importance. The first is the extraordinarily high efficiency of the defence of the United Kingdom by the Royal Air Force and the organizations associated with it, including the anti-aircraft batteries and the Observer Corps; and the second is the indication that ships are more difficult targets for bombing attacks than on active service than the practices of peace had suggested.

The Royal Air Force actions were complete and conclusive, and will be remembered for their absolute mastery of the situation. The first test was on the occasion of the first German raid on Britain, the one launched on the early afternoon of Monday, October 16, on the Firth of Forth area. In the morning, from about 9 a.m. or until 1:30 p.m., enemy aeroplanes had approached the Scottish coast at intervals, but no contact had been made with them by the British defences. Then, at 2:30, out of a blue sky came a formation estimated at twelve aeroplanes, mostly Dornier 17s, in a steep power glide towards the Forth Bridge. Near the bridge there were three warships—the cruisers "Southampton" and "Edinburgh" and the destroyer "Mohawk," which last was coming in after convoy duty and was just approaching its moorings. It has been suggested that the German pilots intended to make dive-bombing attacks, but that they changed these to glide-bombing because they were disturbed by anti-aircraft fire. More evidence would be needed before this view can be accepted.

At any rate, the bomb attacks were made low, the machines only just clearing the Forth Bridge. A bomb glanced off the bow of the "Southampton," and fell into and sank the Admiral's barge and a pine moored alongside, both of them empty. Splinters of the bomb caused three casualties on the "Southampton" and seven on the "Edinburgh." Another bomb fell near the "Mohawk," since this vessel was coming in, more men were on deck and the casualties from splinters were correspondingly heavy. They included the commanding officer and the First Lieutenant. While this had been going on the defences had come into action, although no warning had been sounded in Edinburgh. Guns blazed and Royal Air Force fighters soared to the attack. The effectiveness of the defences was remarkable.

The first contact between British and German aeroplanes was near May Island, at the entrance to the Firth of Forth. A sharp combat took place, watched by people on the ground. The machines circled with guns firing, and the enemy lost height and eventually fell into the sea. This combat was followed by one off Crail. In all, four German aeroplanes were brought down, one by anti-aircraft gunfire. The crew of one enemy craft was rescued by a destroyer, but one airmen died afterwards.

Eye-witness accounts there were in plenty of this remarkable raid. They can be pieced together to form a picture. First of all in the city of Edinburgh, when the bombers were on their way as yet unknown to the British defences, the members of a special committee were assembled to consider the imputation of black-out rules in the interests of transport safety. There were some people who argued that attacks were not likely to come so far away from the nearest German air bases, and that it was ridiculous to preserve the strict black-out rules that had been made in Edinburgh and the surrounding districts. It was then the discussion on these points was about to start that the guns opened up and the bombs began to fall. The committee decided to adjourn and to abandon the subject.

One eye-witness said that the bombers came over from the direction of Rosyth and, swooping low, attempted to hit the Forth Bridge.

"Two British fighters," this man added, "made to attack them, but they were unable to get grips with the German aeroplanes because of anti-aircraft fire. The R.A.F. machines then changed their tactics and appeared to be driving the enemy aeroplanes into the fire from the anti-aircraft guns. One of the German machines was hit and came down in the water. Shortly after the wreckage was tossed into Queensferry."

Perhaps the most astonishing experience were those of passengers in a train which was actually crossing the Forth Bridge at the time the attack was in full swing. One passenger said that he was in the train from Edinburgh to Dunfermline, and that at Dalmeny they were told there was a raid in progress. Most of the passengers preferred to continue the journey. As they travelled slowly across the bridge they were able to see two aeroplanes, one near the south shore and one near the north shore of the Forth.

The greenkeeper of a golf course saw part of an air fight in which three machines were engaged, flying rather low over the sea. One of them was what he described as a "big black bomber," and the others were British fighters. "I could see sprouts of flame and hear the guns," he said. "Then in a cloud of smoke the bomber plunged into the sea." A fishing boat crew, which rescued three out of four of the crew of a German bomber brought down by the R.A.F., described what was probably the same fight from a different angle. They saw the "big black bomber" and the two fighters. The fighters made rings round the bomber and sometimes attacked from above, sometimes from below. When the bomber went down one wing struck the water first. Just before they reached the wreck the fishermen saw another German bomber which flew by overhead low down. Fighters were also seen in pursuit of this machine.

The fishermen threw ropes to the crew of the wrecked bomber and pulled in three. The fourth went down with the machine. The man who appeared to be in charge had a bad eye injury; another had been shot in the ribs, and the third in the arm. One of the fishermen was given a gold signet ring by a German airmen as an expression of his gratitude.

Citizens of Edinburgh climbed on to rooftops to see the raid, and in the Trinity district householders stood about in groups watching the spectacle.

The raid lent colour to the theory that the Germans were intending to
NAZI RAID ON THE FIRTH OF FORTH

On October 16, 1939, an ineffective German air attack was launched upon British warships in the Firth of Forth. Above, a photograph from the "Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung," alleged to have been taken by a Nazi aircraft. According to German propaganda, the object beneath the bridge, in reality Inchgarvie Island, was an exploding bomb. Below, a tailer driven off after dropping a bomb near H.M.S. "Edinburgh." Right is a map of the district.

concentrate their main attack on British shipping and ports, and this theory received further support soon afterwards. Another feature of the Firth of Forth raid was that it marked the first occasion on which the new air-raid policy adopted by the Fighter Command of the Royal Air Force (responsible for the air defences of Great Britain) was put into operation. This policy was explained later in the month by Sir Kingsley Wood, who said that it had been decided not to sound the air-raid warning sirens unless the Fighter Command had good reason to suppose that a fairly heavy attack was likely against places where the civil population would be endangered.

On October 17, the day following the Firth of Forth attack, there was a raid on Scapa Flow. It was thought that this might presage an attack in force, and air-raid warnings were sounded from Scapa in the north to Kent in the south. Two bombs fell near the "Iron Duke," which sustained certain damage, but there were no British casualties. One of the German aircraft was shot down and another was damaged. A second raid followed close on the first, and another German machine was shot down. The formations were estimated at six and four. Later, off the north-east coast, two enemy aeroplanes were seen. R.A.F. fighters went into action and shot them both down. On this same day (Tuesday, October 17) the Royal Mail steamer "Stena," plying between Scapa and Thurso, was attacked and bombs fell round it. On this occasion a German aeroplane was brought down by anti-aircraft gunfire.

Concluding episodes of these raids took place on Thursday, October 19,
admission that the U-boat campaign was failing in its purpose. The actions both at the Firth of Forth and at Scapa were sound tests of the defences, and showed that they were well organized and efficient. The fighters which attacked the bombers raiding the Firth of Forth were manned by members of the former Auxiliary Air Force.

The first enemy air attack on British warships was delivered on September 26. A squadron of the Home Fleet— including capital ships, an aircraft carrier, a cruiser and destroyers—was attacked in the North Sea by twenty German aircraft. None of the ships was hit, and the enemy were beaten off with the loss of two machines; a third was badly damaged. Three days later the R.A.F. launched an attack on the German fleet in Heligoland Bight. On Friday, September 29, the Air Ministry announced that the raid had taken place and that the British formations had suffered casualties, but as none of the second formation had succeeded in returning, no detailed information was therefore obtainable.

German reports stated that the British attack was made by twelve machines. The Air Ministry said that five failed to return. The Germans stated that two German machines were shot down and forced to alight on the sea, but that their crews were picked up. Various rumours went round, one being that the raid was made as two waves, the first on the lighter German naval craft and the second on the heavier ones. It was said to be the second wave that met the full force of the German defence. There was no official confirmation of this report.

While these overseas operations had been going on there were many encounters on the Western Front. A terrific combat occurred over the Siegfried Line between five Royal Air Force reconnaissance machines of the Fairey Battle type and 15 German Messerschmitt fighters. The Battles were taking photographs and gathering information when the Messerschmitts came up from below, opening fire while they were still on the climb. The Battle is a good deal slower than the Messerschmitt, but the small British formation turned and fought furiously. It seems that a "dog-fight" resembling in general the dog-fights of the war of 1914–18 took place. The pilots of both sides hurled their machines about in attempts to secure favourable positions for opening fire, and the rear gunners of the Battles poured fire and lead on the Messerschmitts every time they got the chance. But numbers and performance together were too much for the British formation. Two Battles went crashing earthwards, one crew at least managing

KILLED IN A GERMAN AIR RAID

During the German air raid on the Firth of Forth on October 16 there were several casualties on the destroyer "Mohawk" from bomb splinters. Among those killed was Commander R. F. Jolly (above).

Photo: Sport & General

and Friday, October 20. On Thursday two German airmen whose aeroplane had been shot down on Tuesday landed on the Yorkshire coast, after drifting about in the North Sea in their collapsible boat.

Little doubt was felt after the raids that the Germans were directing their air arm at the British fleet and British shipping. This was taken as in part an

FUNERAL OF TWO NAZI RAIDERS

Two German airmen were shot down in the raid on the Firth of Forth, and below men of the R.A.F. are seen escorting the coffins to the cemetery, watched by a crowd including women and little children carrying their gas masks.

Photo: Keystone
to get clear with parachutes. The others fought on, but they too were overcome and went to earth.

An account was given by the gunner of one of the British machines who was later saved by his own presence of mind and the courage of a French Algerian soldier. He had met fire with fire during the fight and had succeeded in sending two Messerschmitts down in flames, but his pilot was wounded and the observer shot dead. The machine made for home, but before it could get across the lines fire staked and the gunner was forced to jump with his parachute. He drifted, and finally came to earth in No-man's-land. On one there was a race between German and French troops towards him. Machine-gun and rifle bullets were flying, and the gunner was too much hurt to move. Then from among the French troops came a huge Algerian rushing forward from the rest, ignoring the fire. He reached the gunner, lifted him up, and carried him back to the French lines without either of them being hit. It was a great feat of courage and daring, and it enabled the gunner to tell his story afterwards in hospital and pay tribute to his rescuer.

The air gunner's story is worth giving in his own words. He said that they were over the Siegfried Line when the Germans attacked.

"We went up to 20,000 feet and continued our work. We were three in the aeroplane - pilot, observer and myself. It was a wonderful day and we could see for miles.

"There were no clouds anywhere and Germany stretched below us. Suddenly we saw enemy aeroplanes swinging up towards us from far down below. They were Messerschmitts, three formations of six each. We were outnumbered by more than three to one, but we prepared to give battle.

"The enemy began their favourite tactics of diving up at us from below, machine-gunning as they came. Then one of the aeroplanes attached itself to the tail of my machine and a terrific duel began. I could hear the bullets ripping through the fuselage beside me. The observer was crumpled up in his seat, shot through the head. The enemy were using incendiary bullets.

"As my clothing began to smoulder the aeroplane behind us swooped up and offered me a target. I gave him all I had, and as the flames blazed up in my face I had time to see him go into a spin and disappear down beneath me. If I hadn't been on fire I could have easily shot down more.

"My pals accounted for three besides the one I hit. Half unconscious, I struggled out of the cockpit and then suddenly saw my parachute open. Next I remember floating down while the battle continued above me. I saw a German aeroplane below but could not identify it. I began calculating if the wind would carry me over the French lines. Then, when I had come quite low, I heard firing and realized that bullets were whizzing near me. I was above the French lines and they were shooting at me. It was a terrible situation, but there was just hope that I might get past the German lines before touching down.

"I saw the Germans leave their trenches and some running towards me. I thought I was done for. Then suddenly I saw that men were running from a near-by wood as well. I recognized them as French Algerian soldiers. Both sides were runing for me. Most of the French began to fire at the advancing Germans, but one man came running straight towards me as hard as he could go. He picked me up, slung me over his shoulders and staggered with me into the woods. I was safe, but it was a very near thing. The pilot of my aeroplane did not have to jump out until a little later and he..."
R.A.F. AT WORK IN FRANCE

Here are some glimpses of British air activity in France. Above, a man of the R.A.F. is collecting a batch of plates which have been exposed over the German lines. Right, a formation of Fairey 'Battle' is seen on patrol. Below pilots studying maps before setting out on a reconnaissance flight.

Photos, courtesy of the French Embassy: Associated Press.
came down in French territory safely, though very badly burned. The observer must have died at once. He was shot right through the head.

There were some fine actions by French pilots of the Armée de l'Air on the Western Front. One French airman, flying alone, saw three Messerschmitts returning to a base near Saarbrücken. He attacked them and, although so heavily outnumbered, succeeded in bringing them down. Another feat worthy of record was that of two French airmen who had been taking photographs of positions behind the line. They met with heavy opposition, but continued until they had finished their task. They then landed in French territory, but those who went to the machine found both occupants dead. Clutched in the observer's hand was the camera, which was subsequently found to contain the pictures he had successfully taken.

Among other individual feats of the period was one on October 8, by the crew of a Royal Air Force reconnaissance machine. It was on patrol when it sighted and engaged a German flying boat. It succeeded in shooting down this craft, and afterwards the German crew were seen in the sea clinging to the wreckage of the machine. The British pilot then directed a ship to their rescue. On October 15 the German wireless paid a tribute to the R.A.F. pilot who had been instrumental in saving the German airmen.

Apart from the aerial fighting, a great deal of successful reconnaissance work was done by the Royal Air Force. On October 9 the entire German frontier from France to the North Sea was reconnoitred by British machines. These took off from aerodromes in France and made their reconnaissance inside German territory all the way, leaving enemy territory at the sea border and crossing the sea afterwards to land finally in England.

Some light was thrown on the strategy of the Air Staff on the Western Front by remarks made by Air Chief Marshal Sir Cyril Newall on October 7. He said that the French view was that the Royal Air Force had already secured command of the air, and that, although he felt that it was early to endow that view, he believed that the Royal Air Force was on the right path to attaining that end.

Thus command of the air, the objective in the war of 1914, was again laid down as the objective in 1939. This is in contrast to the German theory of air war on the Western Front, which is to seek only localized superiority when it is essential to the movements of ground troops. The German "circuit" system, which aims at massing machines at strategic points and operating them intensively at those points for brief periods, is well designed for quickly obtaining local superiority. But the British theory has always been that overall superiority is needed, and on this account the use of escorting aeroplanes for bombers and reconnaissance machines is frequently disapproved by the British staff. 

FRENCH PILOTS' VICTORY OVER HEAVY ODDS

Early in November, 1939, a spectacular air battle (typical of many fine exploits by the French Armée de l'Air) took place behind the Maginot Line between nine French fighters and 19 German planes. None of the latter were brought down, and all French planes returned safely. Above, the remains of a Messerschmitt shot down; right, men who took part in the raid listening, in their quarters, to the official account of their victory.

Photos, courtesy of the French Embassy
*EYES* OF THE MODERN ARMY

Some idea of the valuable work performed by the R.A.F. is given in these photographs taken during reconnaissance flights. Left, the approach to a railway bridge over the Ruine, showing closed gates at the bridgehead. Above, a pontoon bridge over the Ruine. The central portion is seen manoeuvred on the left of the near end. Below, a remarkable picture of Westkinner, six miles west of Saarbrücken. Distance between points A and B is about 7 miles.

British Official Photographs / Crown copyright.
AMERICAN PLANE USED BY THE FRENCH

The Curtiss felony, above, is of a type ordered from America by the French Air Force. It is driven by a Pratt and Whitney "Twin Wasp" engine, and can reach a speed of well over 300 m.p.h.

GERMAN ALL-PURPOSE PLANE

The Heinkel III K. used for bombing and reconnaissance. It has a transparent nose and gun turrets above and below the fuselage. The maximum speed is just over 300 m.p.h.

GERMANY'S FLYING TORPEDO

Sometimes called the "Flying Pencil," on account of its abnormally long body, the Do 17 has just come into view above the line. By 425 m.p.h. in the nose. The Do 215 is a later pattern.

BEARER OF A FAMOUS NAME

The Morane-Saunier 405 is a fighter aircraft of the French Air Force. A low-wing monoplane, fitted with a "one-seat-cannon," it can be seen, flying through the air below the "Swastika."
full air superiority it should be possible to send out reconnaissance machines and bombers without them being molested to any very serious extent. The idea is that the fighters are continuously sweeping the skies and engaging enemy fighters, so that the other types of aeroplane can operate without interference.

Some strategists hold that this kind of over-all air superiority is possible only when there is vast numerical preponderance, such as the Allies secured in the war of 1914 towards the end. At the outbreak of the war of 1939, in the view of most students of aviation, there was no marked Allied superiority in numbers over the Germans.

Two other aerial events must here be recorded. The first was on September 20, when a German military aeroplane attacked a K.L.M. Douglas D.C.3 air liner over the North Sea, and shot one passenger dead. It was fear of this kind of event that had led the British authorities at the outbreak of war to forbid all civil air transport operations by neutral countries to and from England. Subsequently, however, this prohibition was modified and, with proper safeguards, it was thought that air-lines might be restarted. As a result the London-Paris line, the Sabena line to Brussels, and a line to Scandinavia were restarted, as well as the K.L.M. line to London.

The other noteworthy aerial event was the breaking of parole by the British crew of a flying boat that had made a forced landing in Raufahöfn, Iceland, on September 27. There was some misadventure landing about the parole, and the crew later flew to England. An inquiry was ordered by the Air Ministry and they were sent back to Ireland.

General inferences as to the qualities of the opposing air forces are that the Allies are better equipped. French Morane fighters and Curtiss fighters proved superior to German fighters on all occasions on which combat was secured on even terms. British fighters completely overwhelmed German bombers every time they made contact with them.

German bombers have been captured, and both the Heinkel 111 and the Dornier 17 types have been examined and checked against what was known of them before the war. They appear to be unmodified, and to be equipped still with nothing more formidable in the way of defensive armament than a single forward firing gun in the nose, and single guns in upper and lower positions aft of the wings. Nothing corresponding to the British power-operated turrets seems to have been developed to the stage of practical use as standard in the German squadrons as yet. Even the Messerschmitt fighter captured almost intact by the French was, according to report, the type with the lower-powered engine and four machine-guns. It was stated to have no cannon. It had been imagined that nearly all the Messerschmuits were equipped with the cannon firing forward in the line of flight through the airscrew shaft.

These facts led some observers to wonder at the end of this period of fighting whether the Germans were withholding part of their striking force for some as yet unexplained reason. It was clear before the war that many of the logistic accounts of German machines and of German technical superiority emanated from observers not fully competent to weigh up the position.

But it was certainly expected that the German aeroplanes would exhibit better qualities in combat than they showed during the first six weeks of the war. On the other hand, the determination and tenacity of the German crews was proved by the Firth of Forth raid, which was made at a distance of nearly 500 miles from the home base and in which the bombing attack was pressed home in spite of the excellence of the defences.
The Government's measures against the U-boat menace were first described by Mr. Churchill on September 26, 1919 (see page 94). We produce below further reports to the House of Commons, by him, and by the Prime Minister, by him, and by week after week the campaign against the raiders intensified.

Mr. CHURCHILL, in the House of Commons, October 2:  
I am very glad to have had this opportunity of visiting part of the Fleet and its Auxiliaries at the Northern base. I have been much impressed by the keen and cheerful spirit that unites you in a determination to bring the way in a successful conclusion. Your task may be long and arduous, but I have every confidence in your ultimate success.

Please convey to all those under your command my appreciation of their efforts and my sincere good wishes for a safe return to their homes.

Mr. CHURCHILL, in the House of Commons, October 17:  
Towards the end of last week the U-boat war, which had for a fortnight been mainly directed against neutrals, became again intensified. Four ships, including two French, were sunk, and the remaining approaches under Saturday and Sunday, and three others were attacked but made their escape. The British ships sunk aggregated 37,000 tons.

On the other hand, it should not be supposed that all the losses are on one side. The Admiralty have, therefore, been forced to give the figures of the losses of U-boats and damage to merchant ships. Nothing like this rate of destruction was maintained at any moment in the last war. During the last week for which I can give figures, that is to say, to the end of the sixth week of the war, seven U-boats were sunk. But we look back over the whole period of six weeks since the war began we may estimate that 13 U-boats have been sunk, that five have been seriously damaged and possibly sunk, and several others damaged. These figures are probably an under-statement of the losses of U-boats which have been running large and suffering from depth-charges.

Germany's Loss of Skilled Crews  
We believe, therefore, that out of about 90 U-boats ready for action at the beginning of the war about one-third have already been sunk or seriously damaged, and of the largest and latest ocean-going U-boats the proportion is at least one-fifth. We actually hold survivors from the crew of three vessels taken by us, and there are two-thirds of the U-boats which have been out raiding and had suffered attack from depth-charges.

Mr. CHURCHILL, in the House of Commons, October 29:  
I have always expected that the situation would be difficult. I have been able to attain the object of maintaining the U-boat war at the beginning of the war. Their submarines have been driven to operate farther and farther from their bases and farther from the focal points where trade is being concentrated. As the result of this pressure, the destruction of enemy submarines is being maintained at a sufficient level to encourage us to believe that this menace to our trade will eventually be overcome.

One feature of the enemy's U-boat campaign is which we should call attention to their increasing operations. It seems now to have become the rule for merchant ships to be sunk without warning. Frequently passengers and crews have been turned adrift in small open boats in stormy seas to suffer from cold and exposure. ... No words are strong enough to express our deploration of this cowardly form of warfare.
Chapter 23

THE SEA AFFAIR: KEEPING THE SEAS OPEN FOR BRITAIN'S FOOD SUPPLIES

Vigilant Watch of the Navy: September Sinkings Halved—First Lord's Review of the Anti-Submarine Campaign—'Ark Royal' Story Refuted—Adventures of 'City of Flint'—Two Pocket Battleships at Large?—Loss of 'Royal Oak'—Epic Story of a British Submarine—Contraband Control System

During a period of warfare marked by little activity on land the British Navy maintained its supremacy at sea, countering the German attempt to paralyse British sea-borne trade by submarine, aircraft or raider action. The vigilant watch of the Navy, supplemented by its air arm, with help from the R.A.F., succeeded during the month of October 1939 in halving the number of casualties that had been sustained by submarine action in September. Thus in September enemy naval action accounted for the loss of 37 ships, totalling 159,636 tons. During October enemy sinkings amounted to 83,159 tons, accounted for by the loss of 19 ships. It was estimated that the entire loss did not come to more than 1½ per cent of the total British tonnage afloat during this period.

During the war of 1914–18, for two years the tonnage lost monthly by enemy action never fell below 300,000; and during the period when the U-boats and raiders had the upper hand on the high seas it was not unusual for the monthly figures to reach the alarming total of 900,000 tons. Then, indeed, it was necessary for Great Britain to look anxiously at her rationing system and to tighten her belt against the threat of starvation. The return of every food-bearing ship was eagerly awaited, for at times the stock in the national larder grew perilously low.

At the end of October 1939, after only two months of war, it seemed apparent that no intensification of the German sea campaign was likely to reduce Great Britain once again to such a sorry plight. The British navy, intact but for one or two major losses which it would be foolish to belittle, had proved that no enemy action could disturb its supremacy of the seas. Grieveous losses had been inflicted on the U-boat fleet, the full extent of which was not officially revealed. It was, however, authoritatively estimated that at the end of October 1939 at least 30 per cent of the German submarine effectives had been either sunk or disabled and, as has been many times pointed out by Mr. Winston Churchill and others, this did not mean merely a proportion of valuable submarine vessels lost to the enemy, but also the irreparable loss of the expert officers and crews who led the vanguard of the German attack on British shipping.

During the progress of a war it is never easy to estimate the underlying strategy of the enemy. It is indeed essential that he should disguise it by every feint and deception in his power. But Hitler, with his promise to his people of a "Blitzkrieg," must have counted confidently on the devastating damage which would be wreaked on British shipping during the first weeks. The gradual whittling down of his submarine forces and the diminishing effect of their campaign must have been a bitter blow to his hopes, for the flower of his personnel and the most powerful of his submarines were sacrificed in the first great attempts to reduce Britain by blockade.

As the war pursued its uneventful course on land it became clearer every

CLOSE-UP OF A NAZI SUBMARINE.
The ocean-going U-boat seen below was photographed from the Norwegian freighter "Ilda Banke" of Cape Clear, on the southern coast of Ireland. The U-boat's officers are directing the neutral vessel to pick up the crew of two British ships which they have just sunk.

Photo, Associated Press
HURLING DEATH AT THE U-BOATS

This photograph illustrates one of the methods used by the Royal Navy for dropping the depth charges which proved such an efficient method of destroying hostile submarines. The deadly weapon is thrown overboard from the deck of a cruiser shown above.

PHOTO, CENTRAL PRESS

had been sunk, five seriously damaged and possibly sunk, and several others damaged. Two-thirds of the U-boats which had been out raiding had suffered from attack by depth charges. He refrained from giving any indication of such losses that might have been inflicted by the French fleet, beyond saying that the French, too, had certainly taken their toll. Summing up, he said that he believed that out of about 60 U-boats ready for action at the beginning of the war about one-third had already been sunk or seriously damaged, and of the largest and latest ocean-going U-boats at least one-fifth.

In effect, something from a third to a quarter of the total U-boat fleet of Germany had been destroyed in the first six weeks of war, and gaps made among the skilled officers and crews which could not speedily be filled. Of the 21,000,000 tons of the British Mercantile Marine, we had lost by U-boat action, mines or accident 174,000 tons; and during the same period we had captured from the enemy 29,000 tons. Our own tonnage had been supplemented by the arrival of new ships amounting to 104,000 tons. The position, Mr. Churchill said, was that while our Mercantile Marine remained practically unaffected by the U-boat warfare, losses had been inflicted on the enemy which, if continued, could certainly not be endured.

In conclusion, the First Lord paid tribute to "the intensity of the effort and devotion which has been required from all the ever-increasing hunting craft and from those engaged upon the hunt—both in seas and the storms of the oceans—and the constancy of the merchant officers and seamen who face all the hazards with buoyant and confident determination." He further said that he would like to witness against the German fleet, a force composed only of ships of the British Navy which the enemy claimed they had sunk.

One of the most important of these vessels was the aircraft carrier "Ark Royal," which was alleged to have been the victim of a German aerial attack on Tuesday, September 28, and to have been sent to the bottom. Unfortunately for the German propagandists who loudly announced this claim after hour and day after day, adding to their tale an unmanned British cruiser, there happened to be an unimpeachable neutral witness to the contrary. This was Captain A. G. Kirk, U.S. Naval Attaché at the American Embassy in London, who spent the week-end following that date as a guest of Admiral
Sir Charles Forbes, commanding the British Home Fleet.

After his visit Captain Kirk made his routine report to the Navy Department in America, in which he said that he was present at the regular church services in the "Ark Royal" and observed all the normal Sunday routine of the Fleet.

Captain Kirk saw all the ships of the Fleet in perfect condition and in no way damaged by air attack. No ship had been hit by bombs and no casualties had been received. Yet from September 27 until October 2 twenty-seven wireless broadcasts claimed this victory. On October 4 the Prime Minister ridiculed these "reiterated misstatements."

"The Germans," he said, "have claimed the sinking of the aircraft carrier 'Ark Royal', later changed to 'Glorious' or even 'Furious'—and severe damage to battleships without loss to themselves. The facts are that no British ship was damaged and all of them, the 'Ark Royal' included, are carrying out their normal duties sublimely unconscious of these rumours."

Mr. Chamberlain added:

"The only casualties incurred in that action were suffered by the German aircraft themselves. Four of the crew of these aircraft are prisoners in our hands."

On September 28 there occurred an unsuccessful German aerial attack on a squadron of the Home Fleet in the North Sea, about 160 miles from Norway. The squadron included capital ships, an aircraft carrier, a cruiser and destroyers. This, the first enemy air attack on the Fleet, was carried out from a considerable height by twenty German aircraft. No damage was done to the British ships, none of which was hit. Two German aircraft were shot down and a third was badly damaged. Some of the crew of one shot down were rescued by a destroyer after they had taken to a rubber boat. It turned out that the British squadron was covering the movements of a damaged British submarine—that same vessel, in fact, whose thrilling adventures are recounted later in this chapter—and it was while our warships were thus hampered that the German aircraft had launched an attack. In naval circles the fact that this determined enemy raid had been so successfully beaten off was held to show very clearly the limitations of bombing attack upon warships, about which so much controversy had raged in recent years.

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NAZI IMAGINATION—BRITISH REALITY

Above is a drawing from the "Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung," purporting to depict a German air attack on British ships in the North Sea. A bomb is exploding on an aircraft carrier, which is doubtless intended to represent the "Ark Royal," so often "sunk" by the German wireless. Top, a photograph showing "Ark Royal" carrying out her duties "somewhere at sea."
About this time it became clear that the German offensive at sea was not solely confined to their U-boats. On October 3 it was announced that the British (Booth Line) steamer "Clement" had been sunk in the South Atlantic by an enemy ship. It was afterwards established that this was the work of one of two German "pocket" battleships which had managed to remain at large on the high seas. The existence of these formidable armed raiders abroad in neutral waters was confirmed by Captain J. H. Gainard of the American-owned "City of Flint," challenged on October 9 by a flag signal from the "Deutschland." He was ordered to take aboard the rescued crew of the British steamer "Stonegate." A German prize crew was put aboard the "City of Flint," which was taken first to the Norwegian port of Tromsøe and later put into Murmansk (U.S.S.R.). Ordered to "move on" by the Russian authorities, she returned to Tromsøe and after a few hours' stay was escorted away by a Norwegian warship. The subsequent adventures of the vessel ended by summary action on the part of the Norwegian authorities when she got to Haugesund; there the German prize crew was interned and Captain Gainard was told in effect that he was free to do what he pleased. (A full story of this episode is given in Chapter 28.)

These comparatively trivial incidents seemed to show that there were two German "pocket" battleships at large which might become a serious menace to British shipping; but during the long period at their disposal they had up to this time achieved little in the way of destruction. "This fresh menace," said the Prime Minister, "will be dealt with according to pre-arranged plans." It was further announced that only two ships, aggregating 10,000 tons, had so far been sunk—compared with 212,000 lost by U-boat action.

On October 14, in the early hours of the morning, the British Navy suffered a serious and a humiliating loss. The battleship "Royal Oak" was sunk at anchor in Scapa Flow by a U-boat. It was characteristic of Mr. Winston Churchill (whose humorous Allies battle stories the enemy made each of his official statements a delight to his listeners) that in his first announcement to the House of Commons he paid a tribute to the officers and crew of the German submarine responsible for this great tragedy.

"When we consider," he said, "that during the whole course of the last war this anchorage was found to be immune from such attacks on account of the obstacles imposed by the currents and the net barrage, this entry by a U-boat must be considered a remarkable exploit of professional skill and daring."

Some weeks later, with more facts in his possession, he made a statement to the House which clearly revealed that the defences of Scapa Flow were not in that state of strength and efficiency required to make the anchorage absolutely proof (as it should have been) against submarine attack. Fully accepting any blame that might lie on him as First Lord, he agreed that an undue degree of risk had been accepted both by the Admiralty and the Fleet; but, as he pointed out, many risks are accepted inevitably by the Fleet and by the Admiralty as part of the regular routine of keeping the seas, and those risks unadvisedly run at Scapa Flow assumed to highly competent persons no greater than many others.

When the "Royal Oak" was torpedoed and sent to the bottom with the loss of 800 officers and men, so far

**ARMED RAIDER AND HER VICTIMS**

On the left are some of the crew of the British steamer "Clement," sunk by an armed German raider in the South Atlantic. They were photographed on board the Brazilian steamer "Ilha de Goias," which rescued them and took them to Rio. The raider was thought to have been the German "pocket" battleship "Admiral Scheer," seen below.

Photo: Associated Press / Planet News
"CITY OF FLINT"S LONG AND ADVENTUROUS JOURNEY

On October 9, 1939, the American-owned "City of Flint" (above) was seized by the German battleship "Deutschland" and brought by a prize crew into Kola Bay, north of Murmansk. Later the ship was interned by the Norwegian authorities. On the left, members of the crew are seen at Bergen, after the ship had been freed, and below are the interned German prize crew. The map shows the ship's journey.

Photo: Keystone; Planet News; Associated Press
was it from the mind of these in command that the ship had been the subject of a submarine attack that they were taking precautions against a bombardment from the air, or alternatively examining the possibility of an internal explosion.

Apart from the tragic loss of life, the Navy mourned the disappearance of a ship which, though old, had great value. The "Royal Oak" was laid down in 1914 and cost £2,468,269. She had a displacement of 29,150 tons and bore a normal complement of about 1,000 men. She carried eight 15-inch guns, twelve 6-inch guns, eight 4-inch anti-aircraft guns and one 12-pounder, as well as torpedo tubes and smaller armament. During the war of 1914-18 she was in action at the Battle of Jutland; and she had been hit by an anti-aircraft piece. There was published in the early days of October, however, an account of the adventure of a British submarine which had been the subject of enemy attacks in the North Sea. This ship had set out from her British base on patrol duty with a full complement of men; and after a hazardous journey, in which she had to dive several times to avoid observation, she arrived at her station by night and lay on the bottom just before dawn.

Soon afterwards a deep charge exploded not far away, followed during the next hour by six more. During the following hour they averaged one every two minutes. Later came an attack by sweep wires and electrically fired charges as well as depth charges. One of these towed charges which exploded caused so great a shock that efforts the engines were put going again, and the wireless repaired. In answer to an appeal for help, an escort of warships was sent to meet her, and though (as told earlier in this chapter) enemy aircraft made an attack on the squadron covering her movements, the gallant little under-water craft reached her home port in safety.

This story might be matched by many of German submarines hunted and disabled. In one such account, voiced for officially, of British destroyers on an independent search for submarines in northern waters the weather was unfavourable, with visibility barely seven miles. There came the report that a submarine had been sighted some distance to the southward, and the destroyers steamed off in the direction indicated. They picked up the scent, and the hunt began. Depth charge after depth charge was dropped—terrible missiles described as "massive canisters about the size of ordinary dustbins." Their explosion sent up great spouts of water and shook the ships from which they were projected—but even so a second attack was necessary before the destruction of the prey could be assured.

Then, about half a mile astern of one of the destroyers, the conning tower and long hull of a submarine suddenly broke surface. Her stern was still under water when her conning tower lifted, and men started to tumble up on deck. Some leapt overboard. Others held up their hands. Destroyers approached and boats were lowered. The whole German crew were rescued, some from the water and some from the submarine itself. They were taken aboard the destroyers, where they were given Navy rum and warm clothing.

The crew's description of their experiences tallies in detail with that of the crew of the British submarine. The sound of the hunting destroyers' propellers becoming louder and louder; then the thunderous detonation of the first depth charges coming nearer and nearer. This first attack damaged the submarine badly, but the second put out lights, shattered the ship's instruments and caused bad flooding. The U-boat's stern soon became full of water, and she developed a heavy list. The compressed air was leaking, and the German commander decided to use the remaining pressure to blow the tanks and come to the surface. Very shortly after the rescue of the crew the submarine sank stern first.

During the period under review the Navy had to face several menacing
ROYAL NAVY SUCCOURS A VANQUISHED FOE

On October 9, 1918, there were repeated actions in the North Sea between German aircraft and British warships, but though over a hundred bombs were dropped, none found their mark. Above, the crew of one of the German aircraft brought down is being rescued by a British destroyer, from the deck of which the photograph was taken.

Photo, Central Press
LONE UNIT OF BRITAIN'S NAVAL MIGHT

Whereas the wide stretches of the oceans were covered with British shipping, which provided targets for enemy U-boats, the German flag was practically swept from the seas on the outbreak of war. But Britain's submarines still maintained their vigilant patrols, and the photograph above, taken from the air, shows one of them returning to her base.

Photo, Central Press
ALONE IN A WORLD OF THEIR OWN

These photographs give some idea of the cramped conditions of life in a modern submarine, where every available inch of space is utilised. Above are seen officers and crew at the controls; the officer in a white sweater is looking into the periscope. On the right a man is seated at the hydroplane controls, which regulate the submerging of the submarine. The periscope (centre) has been pulled down.

Photos: Dunn; Sport & General
THE BOARD OF ADMIRALTY IN SESSION

Here, assembled in the Board Room at the Admiralty, are seen members of the Board in special session. Sitting around the table are, from left to right, Mr. Geoffrey Shakespeare (Parliamentary and Financial Secretary), Rear-Admiral H. M. Burrough (Asst. Chief of Naval Staff), Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Ramsay (Fifth Sea Lord, retired November 1932), Rear-Admiral T. S. V. Phillips (Deputy Chief of Naval Staff), Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound (First Sea Lord), Sir J. E. Burnett (Deputy Secretary), Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (First Lord of the Admiralty), Sir Archibald Carter (Secretary to the Admiralty), Admiral Sir Charles Little (Second Sea Lord), Rear-Admiral H. A. Fraser (Third Sea Lord and Controller), Rear-Admiral C. S. Archibnot (Fourth Sea Lord), and Captain A. U. M. Hudson (Civil Lord).
attacks from the air. On October 14 twelve German aircraft attacked a British convoy in the North Sea. They were at once engaged by British fighters and escort vessels, and it was at first announced that four of them had been brought down. No British aircraft suffered any casualties and no ship of the convoy or escort was damaged. The attack was a determined one, for the German bombers first made their appearance in the morning, were sighted and driven off; they returned in the afternoon and were once more driven off after a desperate fight. To the first list of enemy machines destroyed there were later added at least three more aeroplanes which it was conclusively proved could never have returned home.

During the latter part of September and in October the convoy system increased in efficiency and strength, proving once again how great a protection it could afford to merchant shipping.

In regard to the convoy system Mr. Churchill now made one reservation. He said that at first it must necessarily impose a delay upon the movement of shipping which amounted in fact to a reduction of its carrying capacity. These delays were expected to be diminished greatly as the system came into full use and habit. The first two months, therefore, afforded no true measure of the degree of restriction which convoys imposed. He added, in praise of the magnificent service of the Navy and its auxiliaries:

"When we contemplate the difficulty of carrying on in full activity our vast processes of commerce, and the need of being prepared at a hundred points and on a thousand occasions in the teeth of the kind of severe attack to which we are being subjected, I feel that credit is due to the many thousands of persons who in every quarter of the globe are contributing to the achievement, and especially to the naval machinery and direction which is in fact holding the sea free as they have never been at any time in any war in which we have been engaged."

Amongst the most favourable features of the early months of naval warfare were the consistently encouraging reports of the quantity of contraband consigned to enemy use which had been captured. By early November over 400,000 tons of cargo consigned to Germany had been impounded.
TRAGIC LOSS OF THE 'ROYAL OAK'

The sinking of the "Royal Oak," torpedoed by a German submarine on October 14, 1939, entailed the loss of 819 lives. Among those killed was Rear-Admiral H. E. C. Blagrove (portrait as a captain, top right). The scene on the bridge of the vessel (above) and the photograph of the ship (below) were taken a few days before she was torpedoed. On the right, men are seen reading the list of survivors posted up in a naval port.

Photos: Sport & General; Keystone; Fox; Associated Press
Meanwhile, the German submarine attack, though substantially modified, continued to take toll in a typically ruthless manner of British, French and neutral shipping. One story characteristic of this period may be quoted. On October 14, among three vessels sunk (one was the British Royal Mail Line steamer "Lochaven," of 9,230 tons) was the French liner "Bretagne" (10,106 tons). A British warship that had gone to the assistance of the "Lochaven" (whose survivors were in the boats for eight or nine hours) also received an SOS from the "Bretagne." She had been attacked by a U-boat at dawn. After the signal to stop, two shots were fired at the lifeboats as they were being lowered, and the ropes parted, flinging women and children into the water. One passenger estimated that at least ten shells were fired at the "Bretagne," and four or five lifeboats thus put out of action. A large number of passengers were seriously injured and some killed, including a blind Arab groping his way to find his lifebelt.

One survivor described how, having put his wife and two of his children into a boat, he set his third boy, aged 7, around his shoulders and climbed down a rope over the side. The boy lost his hold; the father jumped after him and managed to support him for one and a half hours before being rescued. The ordeal was scarcely less terrible of those who occupied the riddled lifeboats, with water up to the gunwales.

THE MAN WHO SANK THE ‘ROYAL OAK’

Lieutenant-Commander Prien (left), since promoted Captain, commanded the U-boat which on October 30th, 1939, attacked and sank the "Royal Oak" in Scapa Flow, "a remarkable exploit," as Mr. Churchill acknowledged, "of professional skill and daring." Captain Prien is seen below driving in triumph through the streets of Berlin.

Photo: E.N.A.

A full account of the working of the Contraband Control is given in Chapter 30. As there related, three bases were established in British waters and two in the Mediterranean. There is little that is spectacular in this great service of the Navy which in eight weeks alone deprived the Germans of 87,340 tons of petroleum products, including 12,000,000 gallons of petrol. There is little of the romance of the sea in shepherding the harmless neutral to the port of search, nor was the personnel particularly numerous. The base at Weymouth was staffed by thirty-five naval officers and about eighty ratings. Attached were two examination steamers on patrol day and night outside the bay, and three Lowestoffe drifters to take off the boarding parties. The Mercantile Marine experience of the Royal Naval Reserve was called into service in this work, and many of the officers and men were drawn from this branch.

With reference to Mr. Churchill’s statement that the shaker fleet engaged in hunting submarines was being increased threefold, something has been revealed of the types of vessels which were enlisted in this service. Trawlers, of course, formed a large proportion, but it was not generally known that a great number of pleasure ships had also been requisitioned. Famous yachts— from the floating palaces of millionaires to humbler privately-owned craft— were painted grey and sent out on auxiliary services, and performed their duties with conspicuous success.
October 1, 1939. Garrison of Helgoland surrenders. French advance on a 50-mile front, west of Saarbruecken. Piers are built over the Moselle. Men over 60 and under 22 called up.

October 2. R.A.F. plans fly over Berlin. Local enemy attacks on Western Front repulsed.

October 3. Turkish military mission arrives in London. Dominican coastguard seen off coast, reported guarding U-boat, ship sunk by enemy. Belgian steamship "Suzon" sunk. Swedish steamer "Gun" reported sunk by U-boat.

October 4. Karatane, said to have been evacuated, French reports minor attacks. Greek ship "Diamantina," which had been torpedoed the day before, had been landed by U-boat on west coast of Ireland. British steamer "Oliver Fawcett" sunk by U-boat.

October 5. French Command report 7-hour battle in Artois Valley. Hitler flies to Warsaw to review troops. Pact of Mutual Assistance between Soviet and Latvia signed. Sovint-Turkish talks held up. French submarine arrives in port with German merchant ship captured 1,000 miles from coast. Warning of imminent sinking of American ship "Illinois" issued by German Navy.

October 6. Hitler announces "peace" plan to Berlin. British Government later issues statement that his "vague and obscure" proposals will be carefully examined. Conference of Allied Commanders is held in France.

October 7. Twelve German raids on Western Front are repulsed. Airfield attacks take place between M substituted and Saar. Dutch steamer "Binnenlijk" sunk in English Channel.

October 8. The King returns from two-day visit to Rome. Fleet. German flyers are brought down after combat over North Sea. R.A.F. patrolled. French report German patrolled attacks chiefly south-east of Zweibrucken. German naval squadron sighted by patrol aircraft south-west of Norway; enemy escape in unexploited country.

October 9. Repeated actions in North Sea between German aircraft and British warships. No British ship damaged. Four British planes carry out daylight reconnaissance flights along German frontier from France to North Sea; valuable photographs taken. Enemy patrol activity in valley of Lower Rhine and south of Siegburg.


October 12. Sharp fighting on Western Front. Premier replies in House of Commons to Hitler's "peace" proposals. Finnish-Soviet talks open in Moscow. German line "Czechoslovakia" reported captured.

October 13. King of Sweden invites Danish and Norwegian sovereigns and President of Finland to a conference in Stockholm. Three German submarines sunk by British Navy. British steamer "Makarska" sunk by U-boat.

October 14. H.M.S. "Royal Oak" sunk by German submarines. "Louisiana" and "Istanga" are attacked and sunk. British steamer "Lochaven" sunk. Finnish delegation leave Moscow to leave for Finland. British steamer "U-boat" leaves Moscow for consultation. Finland's gold reserve of £1,000,000,000 reaches Paris.

October 15. French reconnaissance units active on whole front. Admiral, who is not of 414 survivors of "Royal Oak." Further R.A.F. bombing attacks over Silesia.

October 16. Two enemy air raids over Firth of Forth. Twelve to 14 planes take part, four of which are brought down. Several damage done to cruiser "Edinburgh" and destroyers "Mohawk." German troops launch attack on four-mile front east of M}}
SIR NEVILLE HENDERSON ON HITLER AND HIS AIMS

An account by Sir Neville Henderson of his last weeks in Germany before the outbreak of war was issued as a White Paper on October 17, 1939. The British Ambassador's efforts to avert disaster have already been described in Chapter 3 (page 17). Here we are over the record of journeys, interviews and reports, and reprint passages from the White Paper which are invaluable as a psychological sidelight on the causes of the war.

Herr Hitler and National Socialism are the products of the defeat of a great nation in war and its reaction against the confusion and distress which followed that defeat. National Socialism is a revolutionary conception of racial philosophy. Contrary to democracy, which implies the subordination of the State to the service of its citizens, Nazism prescribes the subordination of the citizens to the service of the State, an all-embracing Moloch, and to the individual who rules that State.

So long as National Socialism remained an article for internal consumption, the outside world, according to its individual predilection, might criticize or sympathize with it but not yet feel its anxiety. The Government of Germany was the affair of the German people. It was not until the theory of German nationalism was extended beyond Germany, the own frontiers that the Nazi philosophy exceeded the limits compatible with peace.

It would be idle to deny the great achievements of the man who restored to the German nation its self-respect and its disciplined orderliness. The tyrannical methods which were employed within Germany itself to obtain this result were detestable, but they were Germany's own concern. Many of Herr Hitler's social reforms, in spite of the complete disregard of personal liberty of thought, word or deed, were on highly advanced democratic lines.

Nor was the unity of Great Germany in itself an ignoble ideal. It had been long the dream of some of the highest-minded of German thinkers. It was not the incorporation of Austria and the Sudeten Germans in the Reich which so much shocked public opinion in the world, as the unprecedentedly brutal methods by which Herr Hitler carried it out. Many of his social reforms were so calculated to precipitate an incorporation which would probably have peacefully come in due course of its own volition, and in accordance with the established principle of self-determination.

Yet even these methods might have been endured in a world which had experienced 1914-1918 and which sought peace as an end in itself, if Herr Hitler had been willing to accord to others the rights which he claimed for Germany. Revolutions are like avalanches, which once set in motion cannot stop till they crash to destruction at the appointed earth of destruction. History may show, whether Herr Hitler could have diverted Nazism into normal channels, or whether he was the victim of the movement which he had initiated, or whether it was his own megalomania which drove it beyond the limits which civilization was prepared to tolerate.

Another Scrap of Paper Torn Up

But that it may, the true background to the events of August, 1939 was the occupation of Prague on the 15th March of this year, the sudden destruction thereby of the hard and newly-won liberty of a free and independent people, and Herr Hitler's deliberate violation of the Munich Agreement which he had signed not quite six months before. In December, 1939, the origin of war with Germany has been due to the deliberate tearing up by the latter of a scrap of paper. Up to last March the German state had flown the German national flag, and its principles were the "sickening technique" of Nazism. It was difficult not to concede that Germany, and both to concede her own destiny and to benefit from these principles which were accorded to others. On the 15th March, by the ruthless suppression of the freedom of the Czechs, its captain belated the skull and crookedness of the pike, cynically discarded his code of international law, and appeared under his true colours as an unprincipled menace to European peace and liberty.

The tragedy of any dictator is that as he goes on his enthusiasm he loss the service of the best men. All opposition becomes intolerable to him. All those, therefore, who are bold enough to express opinions contrary to his views are shut one by one, and he is in the end surrounded by more yes-men, whose flattery and counsel are alone available to him. In my opinion, the events of 1938 I drew your Lordship's special attention to the far-reaching and unfortunate results of the Blomberg measures. I am more than ever convinced of the major disaster which that —in itself—minor incident involved, owing to the consequent elimination from Herr Hitler's entourage of the more moderate and independent of his advisers, such as Field-Marshall von Blomberg himself, Baron von Neurath, Generals Fritsch, Beck, etc. After February of last year Herr Hitler became more and more shut off from external influences and a law unto himself.

People are apt, in my opinion, to exaggerate the malign influence of Herr von Ribbentrop, Dr. Goebbels, Herr Himmler and the rest. It was probably consistently sinister, not because of their megalomania (self-appointed finality), but because it is probably applauded and encouraged, but because, if Herr Hitler appeared to hesitate, the extremists of the party at once proceeded to fabricate situations calculated to drive Herr Hitler into continuous action at all times shrank from risking. The simplest method of doing this was through the medium of a controlled Press.

Hitler's Admiration and Envy of Britain

Herr Hitler's constant repetition of his desire for good relations with Great Britain was undoubtedly a sincere conviction. He will prove in the future a fascinating study for the historian and the biographer with psychological leanings. Widely different explanations will be propounded, and it would be out of place and time to comment at any length in this dispatch on any aspect of Herr Hitler's mentality and character. But he combined, as I fancy many Germans do, admiration for the British race with envy of their achievements and hatred of their opposition to Germany's excessive ambitions.

Gourous are strange creatures, and Herr Hitler, among the paradoxes. It is a mixture of long-headed calculation and violent and arrogant impulse provoked by resentment. The former drove him to develop German friendship and the latter finally into war with her. Moreover, he believes his resentment to be entirely justified. He failed to realize why his military-synthetic tyranny should be repugnant to British ideas of individual and national freedom and liberty, or why he should not be allowed to expand his German and Eastern Europe to subjugate smaller and, as he regards them, inferior peoples to superior German rule and culture. He believed he could buy British acquiescence in his own far-reaching schemes by offers of alliance with and guarantees for the British Empire. Such acquiescence was indispensable to the success of his ambitions and he worked unceasingly to secure it. His great mistake was his complete failure to understand the inherent British sense of morality, humanity and freedom.

The Fuhrer Alone Decides

One of Herr Hitler's greatest weaknesses is that he has never trodden abroad. For his knowledge of British mentality he consequently relied on Herr von Ribbentrop as an ex-Ambassador to Britain whom he regarded as a man of the world. If report be true, Herr von Ribbentrop gave him consistently false counsel in regard to England. His theory of racial purity and the most abject susceptibility to the influence of his surroundings. Nevertheless, Herr Hitler's decisions, his calculations and his opportunism were his own. As Field-Marshall Goering once said to me: "When a decision has to be taken, none of us count more than the stones on which we are standing. It is the Fuhrer alone who decides."
TWO MONTHS OF HITLER'S BLUNDERS

This chapter, written by an anti-Nazi German refugee, intimately acquainted with German political life and leaders over a long period, throws into relief the many blunders committed by the German Fuehrer during the first two months of war, his errors in the diplomatic and strategic fields, his misjudgment of British psychology, and the falsity of all his fundamental assumptions. It covers the period August 23–October 31, 1939.

'A law unto himself... a mixture of long-headed calculation and violent and arrogant impulse provoked by resentment'—thus Sir Nevile Henderson's 'Final Report' on his mission to Berlin describes Adolf Hitler. Completely ignorant of foreign mentality—he had never travelled abroad except for his two state visits to Italy—and consequently trusting entirely in the advice of submissive servants such as Ribbentrop and Goering, Hitler was bound to make absurd blunders in foreign policy.

His first major error was the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia. Although he had heard the serious warning in Mr. Chamberlain's Birmingham speech of January 28, 1939 ('Not defiance, nor defiance, but defence'), he trusted in Ribbentrop's repeated and emphatic assurances that the British would never fight. So he marched into Prague in March and into Memel in April, thereby provoking Great Britain's pledges to Poland, Rumania, and Greece, and her protective alliance with Turkey. Once before, on his preposterous Foreign Minister's insistence, he had blundered into showing his hand too soon; this was at the end of 1938, when he had allowed Ribbentrop to propose to the Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, a combined German-Polish attack on Russia in pursuit of the old Hitler-Rosenberg dream of seizing the Ukrainian wheatfields. Had he not then encountered a rebuff, justified subsequently by Poland's tragic fate as the buffer between the two dictatorships, history would have taken another course.

As things went, Ribbentrop's successes proved even more disastrous than his defeats. For when, in August, 1939, Ribbentrop surprised the world by the Russo-German Agreement, he destroyed with one stroke of his pen:

1. the entire Nazi 'Drang nach Osten' policy;
2. the anti-Comintern pact (this alienated Italy from Germany); dealt
Japan such a smashing blow that the Hiranuma Cabinet immediately resigned, and the anti-British campaign in China disappeared as if by magic, simultaneously with the Nazi flags in Japan; and ensured that France's Spain decided upon benevolent neutrality towards France and Britain);
3. the whole Nazi 'Weltanschauung'—the German people's acceptance of Hitlerism with all its hardships and enormities as a necessary evil because they believed it secured the only reliable bulwark against the Bolshevists, who for nearly twenty years had been termed 'common bloodthirsty criminals,' 'sum of humanity,' 'human hyenas,' and so forth.

Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's faithful Russian-born high-preist, author of Germany's atheist gospel, 'The Myth of the 20th Century,' must have wept tears of blood when he saw the hands of the new favourite, Ribbentrop, tore to pieces what had been the only remotely reasonable basis of the whole Nazi regime. That Moscow blunder rid France of any concern about her south-eastern and south-western frontiers and permitted her to concentrate upon the Siegfried Line. It rid Britain of all possible worries in the Far East. It repulsed Hungary, Greater Germany's south-eastern neighbour, who had been pro-Axis but was even more strongly anti-Comintern.

Moreover, the signing of that agreement and its prompt ratification by the U.S.S.R. on August 31 sealed the fate of the three Baltic states, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, which had always been considered zones of influence for German economy and Kultur and were thickly interspersed with German settlers. For 700 years the German stratum had predominated in what were once Imperial Russia's Baltic provinces; world-famous men such as the theologian Harnack, the physicist Ostwald, the historians Schleiermacher and Haller, the surgeon von Bergmann and the philosopher Count Keyserling hailed from there. Now, by an order of October 9, more than 100,000 of these unhappy people...
GREETINGS FOR THE PERJURED FUHRER

On his return to Berlin from Czecho-Slovakia after his annexation in March, 1939, Hitler received a tremendous welcome from his followers. In this picture he is seen on his arrival at Berlin. On the right is Field-Marshal Goering, and between him and Hitler can be seen the head of Dr. Goebbels. In civilian clothes are the Japanese and Hungarian ambassadors, who do not indulge in the Nazi salute.

The result was outspoken criticism of their Fuehrer by the German people— and Hitler's henchmen had a busy time. As far back as August 25, according to serious Swiss newspapers, a great purge of his followers had been carried out, claiming the lives of about another 1,000 people, amongst them 70 to 80 higher officials of the Party. Then, on October 30, Heinrich Himmler, the Gestapo chief, was called upon to "clean out" the German prisons and concentration camps in order to make room for new victims—for refractory party comrades above all—while at the same time came news of mass-executions among the Austrian and Czech soldiers pressed into the German armies.

All the aforementioned blunders were errors in dealing with Germans themselves; they formed a wedge driven by the Leader's hand into the structure of his own Third Reich. But from the very beginning of the war Hitler made as many astonishing mistakes in dealing with the outside world, belligerent as well as neutral. His career of blundering began with the sinking of the "Athenia" on September 3, a disasterous crime committed without warning a few hours after the declaration of war. The parallel with the sinking of the "Lusitania" on May 7, 1915, which ultimately decided America's active participation in the first Great War, was striking. 300 among the 1,400 persons on board were American, and a proportionate percentage of the passengers lost belonged to that neutral power which Hitler ought to have considered above all. . . . Yet only a few weeks later, on October 23, he undermined his stupidity by seizing, in violation of international law, the "City of Flint," the very American steamer which had earned international praise for its work of rescue at the side of the sinking "Athenia."

Inasmuch as such historical decisions can be traced back to single events, Hitler can ascribe the attitude of the Washington Government to his own doings. The prompt denunciation of the "Standstill Agreement" by which, ever since the financial crisis in August, 1931, the repayment of German debts to American creditors had been extended, and the subsequent impounding of German cash and bonds to the extent of $5,000,000 in American banks as security for such debts, were the first
"The senseless ambition of one man," which had sent hundreds of thousands of men to their doom, provoked Nemesis in other ways. Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Anthony Eden, both of whom, ever since the September crisis of 1938, had been branded by Hitler's propaganda machinery as "war-mongers" and arch-enemies of the peaceful German nation, were selected for outstanding posts in Mr. Chamberlain's Cabinet. The Palestinian conflict, by a tacit understanding between Jews and Arabs, ceased only a few days after the outbreak of the war—clearly proving who had fostered it for years with the hope of diverting British interest from the European scene and of creating difficulties for British politics. The Balkan peoples, at all times aware of the solidarity of their interests with the Western Democracies, but wavering under the permanent threat of sharing Austria's and Czecho-Slovakia's fate, and bound by Germany's enforced barter agreements, rallied together in their decision to prepare their defenses and to fight if necessary. By now they had learned the crude and brutal tactics of Hitler.

As the German Fuehrer and his unscrupulous mouthpiece, the mendacious Dr. Goebbels, had done against Schonbruun's Austrian patriots and against the valiant little Czecho-Slovakian people, they now invented "atrocities" committed by Poland against her "innocent German minority." It was a holy duty, a crusade indeed, to save these "tormented brothers"! After the invasion of Poland on September 1—in itself a breach of a solemn non-aggression pact return blows felt by Germany. The second, and even sterner, retaliation began with the repeal of the Arms Embargo and the passage of the new Neutrality Bill. By the new "cash and carry" policy introduced in the Bill it was made possible for belligerent powers able to pay for the goods in cash and to ship them in their own vessels, to buy in the U.S.A. any kind of armament required—a formula which practically amounted to a privilege for Great Britain and France, as Germany had not the necessary foreign currency, nor could she send her ships across seas dominated by the Democracies.

The photographs above, showing the Nazi leaders before they attained power, was taken at Bad Ems, Saar, in the autumn of 1932. In the first row, from left to right, are Himmler, Caisl at the Gestapo; Frick, Minister of the Interior; Fuehrer Adolf Hitler; General von Epp; President of Colonial League; and Field-Marshal Goering. Back row, left to right: Matusohnm, Governor of Saar; Josef Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda; Heydebreck—"liquidated."

IN THE YEAR BEFORE POWER WAS THEIRS

The photographs above, showing the Nazi leaders before they attained power, was taken at Bad Ems, Saar, in the autumn of 1932. In the first row, from left to right, are Himmler, Caisl at the Gestapo; Frick, Minister of the Interior; Fuehrer Adolf Hitler; General von Epp; President of Colonial League; and Field-Marshal Goering. Back row, left to right: Matusohnm, Governor of Saar; Josef Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda; Heydebreck—"liquidated."

In the rear is Bernhard Rutt, Minister for Education

Photo, Topical Press
proposed and concluded by Hitler himself in 1934 and with another five years to run—the Nazi propaganda and calumnious campaign swelled to hitherto unknown proportions in order to conceal Hitler's own ruthless war of extermination. For, contrary to his previous promise to the world in general, women and children, open cities and peaceful hamlets alike were destroyed by continuous air raids, artillery action, and machine-gunning.

The Price of Power

When, on September 17, the march of the Soviet armies into the practically undefended eastern half of Poland made clear what price Hitler had had to pay for his agreement with Stalin, he tried to overcome the disgust of his own "Old Guard" and misgivings abroad by a triumphant entry into "liberated" Danzig—liberated from the Liberals who had embodied her proud, old Hanseatic spirit, from the Jews who had built up her ancient world-wide trade, from the Poles who had made her prosperous.

In the speech he made there on September 19 he bumbled as seldom before. In again complaining of the Polish "atrocities" he forgot that only a year before he had praised German-Polish friendship, describing it as that "understanding which, emanating from Danzig, had succeeded in removing all friction between Germany and Poland and made it possible to work together in true amity." Now he declared that "he did not know in what state of mind the Polish Government could have been to reject his proposals"—those proposals which had not reached Warsaw or, for that matter, London or Paris, when he unleashed the dogs of war, and which, in any case, would have meant the end of independent Poland. He tried to twist the facts, to make the world overlook the callous breach of his promise to spare women and children, by representing the British blockade, which only deprived him of war material, as an attack upon German women and children; yet he had asserted before that Germany was amply provided with food for years.

It must have been difficult even for Nazis trained in blind faith in their Fuehrer to make rhyme or reason of these contradictory statements, or to accept the cursory allusion to Russia's and Germany's respective national regimes remaining unaffected by their agreement, when Hitler had only a year before said of Moscow's "doctrine of world destruction" and of the "bearers of poisonous basilisk" that Russia was the only state with which he had never sought relationships, and did not want to have any.

In overthrowing the fundamental Nazi doctrine of anti-Bolshevism he evidently fomented the internal unrest which brought about anti-war demonstrations and strikes in Essen, Düsseldorf, and Cologne, in Breslau, Pilsen and Vienna, as early as the first half of September. They were suppressed with such increased activity by the dreaded Gestapo that soon that body had to advertise for more recruits. Further, the increase of taxes by fifty per cent, lengthening of hours of work (mostly without extra pay), confiscation of the funds of savings banks and social insurances, the severe rationing of meat, fat, bread, skimmed milk, textiles, shoes, and so forth, did nothing to stem the wave of discontent and distrust spreading all over the country, which now contained more than twenty million citizens (Austrians and Czechs) who had been forced into allegiance.

Other sinister indications of the blunder Hitler had made in provoking the Democratic world and associating himself with his former arch-enemy, Russia, filtered through; his own favourite A.D.C., Bahls, "died" suddenly under mysterious circumstances; General Baron von Fritsch, supreme commander of the Reichswehr until the "purge" of February, 1938, "fell"...
in front of Warsaw (it was later alleged, and more or less substantiated, that he had been murdered by order of the Secret Police). It soon became clear that the new "faithful ally" had advanced beyond the one-time Curzon Line not to assist but to stop the German army, and that one of the secret clauses of Ribbentrop's fateful agreement had been that Germany should give up all her south-eastern ambitions—not the Ukraine only, but her designs upon Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia as well—practically all the Balkans becoming a Russian sphere of influence.

Turkey, while realizing her mistake in the first Great War, and though ever since attached to the Western Powers, has carried through her modernization largely with German help and equipment. On the other hand, her fight for independence had been strongly supported by Soviet Russia, with whom a "close friendship" had been kept up, even when material interests seemed to clash. It would have been natural that she, first of all, should have fallen into the new Russo-German orbit had such a thing at all been portended by the agreement, for which Hitler had acclaimed Ribbentrop as the greatest German statesman, "not even excluding Bismarck." What happened was the exact contrary—proof in itself of the flimsy and insincere nature of the understanding between Russia and Germany. Summoned to Moscow, Turkey's gifted Foreign Minister, Shukri Saracoğlu, after three weeks of more or less friendly haggling, left—in order to consolidate Turkey's treaties with France and Britain by a fifteen years' mutual assistance pact signed in Ankara on October 19. Thereby the Mediterranean and the Allies' overseas and overland routes to the East became safe. Herr von Papen Hitler's former stirrup-holder, deputy and ambassador in danger-spots like Vienna and Ankara, hastened from Turkey to Berlin and finally to Turkey, presumably more to save his long-threatened neck than his diplomatic laurels, which von Ribbentrop's Moscow "triumph" had ripped in the bud.

The crude and clumsy new school of German diplomacy, which knew only two methods—the threat of force, and bribery with other people's property—was bound to fail where it met either self-confident power or more subtle and more civilized intellect. The complete break-down brought about in the Mediterranean by Hitler's blunders—Spain, Turkey and Greece definitely estranged from Germany, Egypt Britain's faultily, Palestine for the first time in five years entirely calm—could not but further influence Italy in observing strict and successful neutrality in the new war. It is no secret that there was never any love lost between the Italian dictator, always an intelligent and clear-sighted statesman, and the "cheap imitator" of his methods and technique.

They had tried, after a period of marked coolness, to use each other to gain their respective national ends; but Mussolini soon found out that the spoils were meant to be for Hitler alone. His decisions were accordingly prompt and clear. The air-raid shelters, improvised some time before the war in Rome and other Italian cities, were demolished; what small black-out measures had been taken were abolished; overseas shipping, a great source of national income and, with France, Britain and Germany at war, a particular asset, was resumed on a large scale.

Hitler's "he did not want Italy to help him in his fight but thanked Mussolini for his faithful friendship," pronounced on the eve of the war, strongly recalled the fable of the fox and the grapes.

Hitler had, at least until shortly before he started "his own little war"—he might have called it this, as the Empress Eugenie did that of 1870—completely misjudged Mussolini's intentions. But the Fuehrer blundered even more severely in his judgement of the psychology of the British Dominions. "Canada and South Africa," he had made his own people believe, following Ribbentrop's expert advice, "would never fight, even if Great Britain herself would." These Dominions, he believed, would break away from the Empire, and Australia and
New Zealand would, at best, grant useless moral support. Intense propaganda—a waste of much of the Nazis' meagre income in foreign currency—had been flung especially at the African communities within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Afrikander movement had, prematurely and short-sightedly, been claimed as a stronghold for Hitlerism and German world domination. When it came to the point, however, on the fourth day of the war, the Hertzog Cabinet, which had supported Dr. Malan's “Nationalists,” resigned defeated, and General Smuts, one of the most heroic and wisest personalities of our time, took power with the whole-hearted approval not only of South Africa, but of all parts of the Empire and the democratic world.

The ensuing rally of all the Dominions, the offers of Indian rulers, the large-scale measures for raising, training and equipping air forces for the Motherland (described at more length in Chapter 26) proved a hard blow for the primitive Ribbentrop conception of a dilapidated Empire. Like a boomerang he saw coming back, and with a vengeance, his rash assumptions of a world Nazified by the noisy trumpets or the cunning underground work of his vast propaganda organization. When, on September 21, Rumania's Premier Calinescu was assassinated by the Iron Guard, the faithful disciples of the Nazis, a blinding spotlight fell upon these activities which had gone on practically everywhere for years.

It was therefore nothing like a conversion when, at the beginning of October, Hitler started his “Peace Crusade.” Craftily, according to his own lights, he had tried to benefit by the rather unpleasant diplomatic situation in which he had been placed by the demands of his new “ally.” Stalin had ordered Ribbentrop—no other word would be adequate—to go to Moscow on September 26, in order to tell him that the Baltic and Balkan states were henceforward Russian preserves. A consolation prize, in the shape of a substantial correction of the Russo-German borderline in Poland in Germany's favour and a promise to support Hitler's intended peace offensive, was granted. The offensive took the form of a somewhat nebulous declaration, to which the Prime Minister and Lord Halifax answered respectively on October 3 and 4 in both Houses of Parliament: “No more assurances from the present German Government could be accepted by us. For that Government have too often proved in the past that their undertakings are worthless when it suits them that they should be broken.”

The “liquidation of the war,” on Herr Hitler's own lines, had broken down before it had as much as been discussed—a serious moral defeat if ever there was one, and a personal rebuff to Hitler, who once more had blundered in trying to dictate, as he had when he tried to force the Neutrals into his own scheme for a blockade, or when he clumsily tried to divide Britain and France.

But he did not give up at once. Before that body of automata paid to and made to cheer, which Hitler unerringly calls the German Reichstag.
HITLER CONSULTS HIS STATE GOVERNORS

Hitler is shown above in conference with six of his principal Reichskanzler, the governors of the (federated states of the Reich). Hitler is seated between Rudolf Hess (nearest the camera) and his State Secretary, Dr. Heinrich Lammer. On the extreme left is Lieut. Gen. Franz Xavier von Egg, president of the Reich Colonial League, and beyond him are Reichskanzlers Snuckl, Mutschmann, Wagner, Sprenger and Hildebrandt. (Photo. W. A. Fitzgerald)

He delivered on October 6 one of his verbose orations. What he proposed under the name of Peace was nothing more and nothing less than that his past misdeeds, including Poland's destruction, should be condoned, in return for one more of those promises which he had broken whenever he felt like it. The British Government's official statement of which this offer was thought worthy repeated the conditions laid down by Mr. Chamberlain for a peace proposal that could serve as a basis for discussion. The world's press, with the exception of some organs financed by Hitler and Moscow's official papers, treated the Fuehrer's last offer rather badly, as the desperate cry of an old offender abandoned by all.

Hitler had promised the price for that Russian support with which he had hoped to intimidate the Western world into allowing him to keep another conquered land. He had been deprived of the control of the Baltic Sea, and the ensuing conflict between Grand Admiral Raeder, experienced chief of the German Navy, and Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop was so embittered that even Himmler's Secret Police could not keep it a secret. It was no isolated event. Shortly afterwards, between October 20 and 25, it was learned that Field Marshal Baron von Blomberg, at one time Hitler's most faithful henchman and War Minister, General Barmen von Hammerstein, President of the Army, and General von Stulpnagel, one of the most gifted Army leaders, had been imprisoned in different fortresses. Was it conspiracy, perhaps

with a view to monarchist restoration, or was it undeserved if justified criticism? When even Julius Streicher and Josef Goebbels were not safe, and when everybody round the dictator became afraid of the carpet biter so they called Hitler when he fell into one of his maniacal fits of depression—every conjecture seemed permitted.

Indeed, he had not much to rejoice over. He could not but distrust the only ally, he had found, his former deadly enemy who negotiated a trade agreement with Britain while Germany waited in vain for Russian timber; who refused him, in the name of neutrality, the loan of 2,000 aeroplanes which might have enabled him to make his boasted thrust against England, who in general gave proof of the most cynical egoism instead of sacrificing herself for the holy cause of National Socialism.

Molotov's speech on October 31 clearly defined Soviet policy as free from entanglements, neutral and self-centred. Russia wanted to shorten the war, but by what means and at whose ultimate expense the Moscow Sphinx did not betray—even to Hitler, who had evidently wanted anxiously for some material support. To many who were not conversant with the primitive mentality of Russian and Siberian peasants, that speech, for which the Soviet Premier had called together 1,000 delegates from all parts of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and Asia, must have appeared more like a somewhat rude jest than a solemn declaration of policy at a turning-point of history. To Hitler, presented as an apostle of peace facing the war mongering capitalist democracies, but left alone in his fight with them, it must have come as a bitter blow.

Simultaneously his true friend and ally, Signor Mussolini, announced the elimination from his Cabinet of all the figures outstanding as architects of the Axis policy. Without attaching undue importance to the dropping of his Mois of even such important personalities as Signor Starace, head official of the Fascist Party, or Signor Alfieri, Goebbels' Italian counterpart—for the Duce never lets anyone grow rusty in his job—their replacement at this precise moment could not but cause bitterness to Hitler against his former brother-in-arms.

The war had lasted only two months; except for the Polish tragedy, they were singularly eventless ones, especially in view of the famous German Blitzkrieg boasts. Yet they had been sufficient to prove to Hitler that all his fundamental assumptions were wrong: that he had lost all those nations and men whom he had won or coerced to his side previously; that his grim new "ally," dread of whom had estranged all the others, was going to sit on the fence looking only after Russian interests; that time was against him; and that Britain, after all, would fight.
WORDS OF CHEER TO KEEPERS OF THE HOME FRONT

Modern warfare involves not only the fighting forces of land, sea, and air, but the great army of men and women behind the lines, for most of whom is dullness instead of danger, hard work, self-sacrifice, and discomfort untouched by the glamour surrounding the Services. Here are extracts from speeches showing that organization and morale of the Home Front constitute essential factors in winning the war.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE, LORD PRIVY SEAL, IN A BROADCAST, SEPTEMBER 22, 1939:

"Sirs of you are perplexed. I am not surprised. Your life has been suddenly changed. Your future has become uncertain. At home, the air raids have been increased. Instead of the heroic sacrifice that you had been ready to offer, you have had three weeks of domestic trouble, of irritating worry, of gloomy foreboding. In the war of nerves these small offensives are sometimes more difficult to meet than the massed attacks. They need the steadfast fortitude that only comes from a set purpose. This steadfast fortitude is pre-eminent among British qualities. It is showing itself in these difficult days when we are passing from the world of peace into the world of war. At this moment of transition there is bound to be disillusionment. I am here tonight to say that the Government is doing its utmost to mitigate this disillusionment. Our war effort is to be the maximum effort of the whole country. It will be less than our effort in 1914-18. In such an effort there will be no room for idle hands. Gigantic programmes are every day gathering momentum. I study them, and I am certain that at no distant date there will be a task for every man, woman, and child, in every village, in every town, in every city, that will make us all casualties and it is right that it should. But economy does not mean refusing to buy anything. We live by buying and selling.

Wise Buying and Honest Selling

Go on buying and selling then, but when you buy, buy prudently, and pay your bills — to run off into the country and to leave your tradesmen unpaid in town is an act of desertion on the Home Front — and when you sell, avoid profligating, as you would the plague. We must have no muggings, no hoarders, and no profiteers. And there is something more to be said. We must not encourage the war obsession that sometimes leads excellent people into anti-social courses. Of course, the war adds a gigantic burden to the taxes we already bear. But our people are of a firm temper that they will carry this extra burden and yet maintain the kindly good nature and common sense of the British character.

I think of the spirit with which the women in the country villages have already received the refugees from the towns. The country women and the villagers have done splendidly. We all give them our thanks and our congratulations.

And, true to British tradition, they are facing these troubles with a smile and a joke. Every district and village has already its budget of funny stories about the great dispersal. This British spirit of good humour is going to dissipate the darkness of the black-out. It is going to help the employer and his employee, the trades and its customers to carry on with the work that must be done.

And behind it is another support that always seems to stand out more clearly in times of strain and stress, the pull and stay of good comradeship. For, faced with the great issues of life and death, we gather together as one family. Where the man of toil is least interested in his own affairs, today a common purpose has created a real community of feeling.

Loyalty and Support of the Trades Unions

Two trades unions, which have agreed, under proper safeguards, to relax their normal conditions, have saved us from the difficulties which confronted us in the last war, and have made a contribution for which the whole country is grateful. There is, in fact, no country in which the Government is assured of more organized assistance than that at our disposal.

Finally, I wish to say a word to the House, and through the House to the country, about our general attitude towards the war. No one can doubt that, in modern warfare, it is upon the determination, bravery, and endurance of ordinary men and women that victory ultimately depends. No one familiar with conditions in this country can have any doubt as to where we stand in these respects. Never have our people been more united, or more determined. They are resolved — and the simple fact cannot be too often stressed — to rid themselves once and for all of the perpetual threat of German aggression, of which Poland is only the latest instance.

We and France entered the war to rid ourselves and the world of that menace, and our peoples are united as they have never been before in their resolve to achieve that purpose.
In the anticipation of daily air raids and the consequent complete dislocation of civil life in Britain, from the moment of declaration of war, the Government naturally and rightly created a vast organization, which for want of a better term may be called the "Home Front," to cope with the difficulties and dangers foreseen by them. Fortunately for the country, and unfortunately for the organization, the expected offensive did not take place; the result was that millions of persons engaged by the State or generous terms were without work. It was not long before County Councils, Borough Councils, Ratepayers' Associations, and other bodies of a like nature, began to protest at the colossal amount of organization on the Home Front. No one could deny that the A.R.P. wages list, for instance, was on the excessive side; no one could deny, either, that 999 was a fantastic figure for the number of employees whom the Ministry of Information housed. The outcome of protests in Press and Parliament was that the month of October, 1939, was largely devoted, insofar as the Home Front was concerned, to the reduction and readjustment of much of the organization that had been set working during the previous month.

The Services and their auxiliaries were not, of course, in question. The argument of over-expense, over-staffing and muddle was directed almost solely against the A.R.P. organization, the vast new bureaucracy that had been created with the formation of new Ministries of the Crown, and the blunders that had unquestionably occurred in putting the evacuation scheme into operation—yet so much of the evacuation of mothers and children as that of hosts of Civil Servants, to make room for whom hundreds of country hotels, schools and houses had been light-heartedly commandeered in the name of the State.

It must be said for the authorities that they were not very backward in admitting the cogency of the argument, though they were not always as ready to accept responsibility for the facts complained of. There was little reconcilement shown by either side; if they had wished to do so the Government could, under Emergency Orders for the Defence of the Realm passed without a division and without much thought by the Commons, have suppressed out of hand all discussion of the matter, and no one would have been any the wiser. But they did not do so. On the other hand, the critics, if they had wanted, could have quoted cases of mismanagement beyond all conception, could have pointed out instances of stupidity in high and low places alike, and could have ventilated grievances so thoroughly that the Government might have wilted before the storm that would have arisen. But the critics forbore to do so. It is not the British way to look for the worst even in what one is criticizing; and it is not wise to invite reprisals by the vindication of one's own attacks. The

matters were therefore settled in an amicable manner; justice was ultimately done (more or less), and the unity of the country was not jeopardized by ill-advised action on the part of either attackers or defenders. In a word, British compromise reigned.

There was, in fact, a revolution against "totalitarianism" in Britain during the second month of the war, because the expected totalitarian war had not yet materialized. Members of Parliament began to examine with more care the measures which they had unanimously passed in the early days of the war, and, in enjoyment of their present security, were horrified at what they saw, although it must be emphasized, all these measures would have been essential if the war had taken its expected course. Ratepayers and local councillors, presented with the bill for the first month's A.R.P. salaries, were astonished and dismayed. The ordinary woman in the street, confronted with petty difficulties in obtaining the butter and sugar she required, began to grumble. The small trader and shopkeeper, hemmed in by restrictions on selling hours and faced with ruin and bankruptcy owing to the blackout and evacuation, openly revolted. Hotel-keepers in the provinces wailed; head-masters and mistresses of country schools spoke sternly; and the hundred and one other classes of sufferers made their grievances heard. Letters to "The Times," post-cards to M.P.s, grew from a trickle to a stream, from a stream to a flood. By the end of the first week in October the offensive was on; but it was the home offensive, and it was directed against the Home Front. The Siegfried Line of Bureaucracy was under fire for the first time in the Second Great War.

Let us now consider the details of the case, and the satisfactions obtained from the Government by the governed. But first a word about the means adopted by the masses in making their grievances heard. Too great praise cannot be given to the Press for the way in which it acted at this time; seriously, without party prejudices, with no attempt at sensationalism, but with a
SOLVING PROBLEMS OF THE BLACK-OUT

The black-out brought many problems in its train, for which some solution was sought and usually found. Top left, a sensible pedestrian crosses the road at night wearing a white coat and carrying a newspaper. Above, an experiment in street lighting at Liverpool. The light cannot be seen over 30 feet from the ground. Left, a white-suited policeman at Trafford Park, Manchester, where five roads meet, shepherds pedestrians across the road with a lantern. Below, a reading lamp of the type installed in main-line trains, the windows of which were blacked out.

Photos, Sport & General; Wade; World; E.P.; L.N.A.
Much Censured Censorship

from the outbreak of war a strict (and occasionally futile) censorship was placed on the dissemination of news, and the Ministry of information, the organization responsible for the distribution of news to the Press, encountered some severe criticism. Above is a scene in the Press Room at the Ministry. The Assistant Director, News Division, is seen at the microphone reading a bulletin to Press representatives.

Photo, Photographic News Agency

High conception of their duty, as the only national organs of national opinion, the newspapers exposed but without glee, and criticized but constructively, the faults they saw in the structure. They bore a grave responsibility, but bore it nobly; in a word, the Press performed its high office high-mindedly.

Secondly, there was the private member—the back-bencher M.P., who in normal times avoids rather than seeks to capture the Speaker's eye and whose best duty is done when he walks into the division lobby in strict obedience to the Whip's instructions. Now he came into his own; local interests were given a hearing in the Commons in place of vested interests, and the man in the street began really to feel that he was represented in the Mother of Parliaments. Question time became the hour of greatest importance in the Commons; supplementary questions from both sides were so freely asked that the Government had to impose a time-limit. The House stood up for itself, and the member stood up for his constituency. Question time resembled the "harassing fire," which the French communiqués so often mentioned as the chief event of the day on the Western Front. And the effect was similar: ministers were kept fully aware of criticism and were forced by publicity to take action—they were kept awake.

The fire was first directed against the expenditure by local authorities on A.R.P. salaries. The "Daily Express" pointed out that the annual wages bill for whole-time A.R.P. volunteers for the whole country would amount to a sum of £10,000,000 more than the pay of the whole Navy for 1938, £13,000,000 more than that of the Army, and £27,000,000 more than the R.A.F. wages bill. The "Daily Mail" investigated the A.R.P. salary list of Canterbury, a "safe" city of 25,000 inhabitants, and found that it totalled almost £600 a week, or more than £30,000 a year. The same paper also protested against "inadequate and inefficient" in the A.R.P. service, particularly "in the matter of the requisitioning of vehicles for ambulances and the "contradictory orders" that were received by the A.R.P. staff from higher quarters. W. F. Brown, the Civil Service Clerical Association's secretary, protested in a long article in the "Daily Express" against the errors that had been made in the evacuation of Government employees, and the danger lest the public servant should become the public's master.

Bureaucracy righted came in for hard knocks from every quarter, the most notable examples of these attacks being those made upon the unfortunate Ministry of Information, with its 993 employees. The result of an intensive campaign against waste and inefficiency by the newspapers was a wholesale reduction in the staff of this institution; but other new ministries, which came into the public eye, continued in the same state of "overspill." These new concerns, brought into existence to fight the war on the Home Front, included the Ministry of Economic Warfare, Ministry of Shipping, and Ministry of Food. The Shipping Minister was Sir John Gilmour, and his appointment gave rise to much harsh criticism; the Food Minister was Mr. W. S. Morrison, who was also later under fire in connexion with rationing schemes. The Ministry of Supply (under Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha), according to certain newspapers, was painted by business men, fell far short of success; but to the public it seemed to be one of the more efficient of the new wartime bodies.

On the question of Home Security (Sir John Anderson's department) there
FIRE-FIGHTERS AT EXERCISE ON THAMES-SIDE

This striking photograph shows a battery of powerful hoses in operation beside the Thames in the neighbourhood of the Tower Bridge on November 4, 1939, during the course of the greatest fire-fighting exercise ever planned in the City of London. More than three thousand officers and men, together with seven hundred pumps and a number of fire-boats, took part in this impressive demonstration of the efficiency of London’s fire-fighting services, regular and auxiliary.
DESTROYERS PUT THE U-SHIP IN CONSTANT PEARL

The most formidable weapon against hostile submarines is the depth charge. The U-ship discovered in the last war. It consists of a thin-walled cylindrical container, filled with an explosive, in which a high-explosive charge and a firing mechanism. The charge can be either dropped overboard or fired from a special gun resembling a trench-mortar, as shown in page 214.

THE HUNTERS DROP THEIR DEPTH CHARGES

Depth charges are thrown out to form a ring of explosives around the spot where the submarine is judged to be, and the firing mechanism can be adjusted to explode at a predetermined depth. These idea of the destructive force of these charges may be gathered from the great columns of water which they chase up on exploding, as seen in the photograph above.
Leaders of Great Britain in Time of War

The members of Britain’s War Cabinets—Standing (left to right): Sir John Anderson, Home Secretary and Minister for Home Security; Lord Hankey, Minister without Portfolio; Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha, War Minister; Mr. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty; Sir Kingsley Wood, Air Minister; Mr. Anthony Eden, Minister for the Dominions; Sir Edward Bridges, Permanent Secretary and Secretary to the War Cabinet. Sitting (left to right): Viscount HALIFAX, Foreign Secretary; Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister; Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Privy Seal; Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield, Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence.
were many outspoken critics. The lighting regulations were attacked vigorously by motorists; and, indeed, the "black-out" in the first two months was responsible for more casualties in Britain than occurred on both sides of the Western Front. An official headlamp mask was designed, but was not put on sale until after a very long delay, and in the meantime motorists became so bewildered by instructions and counter-instructions that many of them returned to pre-war lighting without apparent penalty. The complete darkness on trains caused many protests, and at the end of October experiments were conducted with a view to enabling travellers to be able to read on the railways; as a result certain main-line trains were provided with brighter lighting in the early days of November. Suburban trains remained black, and 80 per cent at least of daily travellers enjoyed no more light than before.

In their praiseworthy eagerness to place the country on a full war footing at the earliest possible date, the Government admittedly overreached themselves in the restriction of goods and services. It had been assumed that distribution would be completely disorganized as the result of air raids, and the most elaborate schemes had been laid down for severe emergency. In the period under review none of these was, as it happened, required. Rationing was fully prepared; foodstuffs of all kinds and fuel of every nature were to be restricted. Indeed, the rationing of petrol was introduced from the very first, although it was said that vast stocks and comparatively undiminished imports later made it unnecessary. Coal and coke were likewise rationed to 75 per cent of the normal consumption, as were also gas and electric light; but these restrictions were lifted in October and early November, consumers being allowed their normal consumption. In the second week of November the first food ration books were issued, but although they contained coupons for every kind of foodstuff, only bacon and butter were to be rationed, and that at a future date left unnamed. Four ounces per head per week of each commodity was the amount announced by the Food Minister, but larger quantities were to be granted to manual labourers. This was, surprisingly, approximately the same ration as obtained in Germany for butter and bacon, although the Ministry of Information pointed out that the German butter contained much water. It should here be noted that German coupons were seldom able to be cached.

In response to criticism of its economic activities, the Government appointed on October 10 an Adviser on Economic Co-ordination to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Committee, in the person of Lord Stamp. This was the main concession paid to the constant demands of professional economists for a reasonable and reasoned economic policy; but it appeared that this was only an honorary and part-time post for Lord Stamp, who remained chairman of the L.M.S. Railway. Thus it was made clear that any but an ad hoc policy was not being considered by the Government. This was perhaps wise, in view of the unforeseeable nature of future events. The Government, naturally, did not wish to bind itself to any declared economic policy which might be completely overthrown by some happening at a later date. But it was felt that the appointment was a sign of weakness as implying that the full economic implications of war had not been foreseen. The economic machine of the country was "tinkered with"; it was not put into proper running order. Slowness in granting licences for import and export, downright incompetence in handling marine insurance risks, seemingly unnecessary disparity in freightage charges between

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**MOTORISTS ON SHORT COMMONS**

So vast is the quantity of petrol consumed by modern mechanized armies that fuel for the private motorist was stringently rationed as soon as war broke out. Above is shown the cover and coupons of the British Motor Spirit Ration Book, as issued by the Board of Trade to owners of private cars and motor cycles.
HOW THE ROADS WERE EMTIED BY PETROL RATIONING

The rationing of petrol which came into force on the outbreak of war forced the majority of cars, except those used for essential business purposes, off the roads, and the streets of London presented an unusually peaceful appearance. Our photographs show (left) Fleet Street, with a group of people waiting for one of the infrequent buses; (right) Sunday afternoon in Whitehall; and (below) the normally crowded Great West Road.

Photos: Wide World; Sport & General; Associated Press
British and neutral shipping, and, worst of all, increasing unemployment—these were some of the problems which had not been faced with sufficient foresight two months or more after the declaration of war.

A certain dogged resistance on the part of the man in the street to unnecessary interference with personal liberty was soon noticeable during the second phase of the Home Front war. Perhaps it was seen at its best—that is to say, at its strongest and most reasonable—in the opposition that met the shop-closing "curfew" introduced in early November. The Government order was that shops were to close at 6.30 p.m. on ordinary days and 7 p.m. on Saturdays; but from the first the order was openly flouted, and local authorities soon amended it (as they were permitted to do) to suit local conditions. The L.C.C. set a standard by fixing 7 p.m. as "closing time" on ordinary days, and boroughs contiguous to the L.C.C. area were almost forced to follow suit. Similarly, the Government's "pooling" systems for tea and margarine were dropped, as a result of persistent and outspoken criticism.

On financial questions there was less criticism because there was less knowledge. Thus Sir John Simon's £2,000,000,000 War Budget, introduced on September 27, passed almost without comment—save for the patriotic remark that everyone would " grin and bear" the increase of a penny a pint on beer, eighteenpence a bottle on whisky, a penny a packet on cigarettes, a penny a pound on sugar (all of which were passed on in toto to the consumer), the increase of 10 per cent on estate duty, and income tax at 7s. 6d. in the £ with
reductions in the family man’s allowances. The £107,000,000 so raised by extra taxation was a mere fraction, however, of the money that would be required to finance the War; Sir John Simon reserved for a later date his announcement of the next vast defence loan which he would have to raise.

The effect of the Budget, said of compulsory air-raid risk insurance on wholesalers and retailers with stock of £1,000 or over, was to raise prices of everyday commodities ten, twenty or even thirty per cent. It was evident that some profiteering was taking place, and there was an immediate outcry, which had its result; many prices fell to almost normal. "While existing stocks remain," as the shop windows stated, although the general rise in the cost of living was considered such as to warrant increases in wages to many thousands of workers at the instance of their trades unions. These included miners, railwaymen, the textile trades, agricultural labourers, electricians, dockers, pottery workers, garment makers, jute workers, and others.

An aspect of price-fixing that came to the fore early in November was the tendency on the part of distributing and retailing trades to pass on to the consumer almost every farthing of the losses which the war entailed upon them. Thus the gas companies published an announcement in the daily papers that, owing to evacuation from London and other cities, the consumption of gas had fallen; therefore, it was implied, they were justified in raising the price of gas to those who remained in the cities in order to maintain the companies’ profits. Gas rose by 3½d. a therm in the next few days. Similarly, the vast milk

distributors gave as the reason for a proposed increase in London and the suburbs of 4d. per pint on the price of milk the fact that evacuation had seriously reduced their profits. They admitted—even proclaimed—that there was no shortage of milk; they even stated that there was such a surplus that they could hardly dispose of it. But the price must be raised in the already hard-hit evacuation areas to maintain the profits of the “combines.”

The small retail shops in evacuation areas had no such powers; if they raised their prices their customers went elsewhere. Evacuation had damaged their trade to an extent immeasurably greater than it could harm the multiple store or combine, but they had no redress. The result was a large number of bankruptcies among small shopkeepers in the large cities, and it was no consolation to them to know that the village shops in country districts were enjoying an unprecedented ‘boom,’ equally as a result of evacuation. These were some of the various economic problems that remained untouched by the appointment of Lord Stamp as Adviser on Economic Co-ordination.

On the credit side, the Government did not receive sufficient praise for its price-control of foodstuffs, which, though generally higher in prices than before the

DIRECTORS OF SHIPYARD ECONOMICS

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Gilmour (left), a former Home Secretary, was appointed Chief of the Ministry of Shipping on October 13, 1939. Sir Amos Ayres (right), an authority on naval architecture and Chairman of the Board of Trade Advisory Committee on Merchant Shipping, became Director of Shipbuilding and Repairs.

Photos, Elliott & Fry / Lafayette
Throughout Britain, Civil Defence measures were rehearsed and perfected as the war went on, and the country prepared itself for any emergency. Our photographs show, above left, the women’s surgery at a Casualty Station at Erith, Kent; above, a patrol boat of the Emergency River Service; below left, an A.R.P. Warden on duty; below, an air-raid rehearsal at Bethnal Green.

Photos, John Topham; Black Star; Fox;应急预案
war, were by no means beyond the pockets of the poorest. In one instance, indeed, the price was for a time kept lower than usual, and English new-laid eggs, which normally rise to

**Food Prices**

3s. per dozen in October kept down to 2s. 9d. by Government order. Meat was plentiful, and fish, in general, well distributed and cheap, after the first disorganization due to the closing of Billinge Gate and Smithfield, the former of which national markets was soon reopened. Before rationing, indeed, the nation was in general well-fed and

organization took place in large numbers, and criticism was at first welcomed. We may say that this period ended about the second week in November, when a movement against the continuing “nagging” of the Government by press and public was inaugurated by a leading article in the "Daily Telegraph." This warning was timely; by that time criticism for criticism’s sake was beginning to replace the former wise exposure of undemocratic practices.

The greatest triumph of the true criticism had, moreover, already taken place. This was the debate in the Commons, inaugurated by Mr. Dingle Foot for the Labour Opposition, on the Emergency Defence Orders passed earlier. M.P.s on both sides of the House joined to force upon the Government the necessity for reviewing some of the entirely undemocratic powers which had been granted to them under the Defence of the Realm Act. These powers included the virtual abrogation of habeas corpus by the right to try “suspected persons” without confronting them with their accusers, and even to detain them without trial of any sort; the right to deprive “suspected persons” of the possession of any specified article; the right to suppress the expression of any opinion contrary to the “public interest,” and, in a word, almost all the powers that the Nazi Party had had to fight for many years to obtain in Germany.

At first no hope of alleviation was held out by Sir John Anderson, the responsible Minister, but the debate then became so violent that Sir Samuel Hoare was forced to intervene with a promise that the whole matter should be reviewed in consultation with all parties. This was a generous offer, and the debate closed amicably. Once again British compromise had succeeded, and there was a reasonable hope that British liberties would be maintained. This was a momentous day in wartime history; the date was Tuesday, October 31. Mr. Dingle Foot proved himself a worthy champion of Democracy.

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**DECENTRALIZING LONDON’S FOOD SUPPLIES**

On the outbreak of the war, the central fish market was transferred from Billinge Gate to various depots in the country, one of which was in this village (top) “somewhere in Surrey.” The scheme proved impracticable and the distribution was resumed from Billinge Gate. Smithfield, however, remained closed as a central meat market, and meat distribution was carried on from various decentralized localities, among them the South London meat depot seen above.

*Photo: Fox*
Chapter 26

THE MERCHANT NAVY: BRITAIN'S FOURTH LINE OF DEFENCE

A Strong Mercantile Marine Essential to Britain's Security—The Merchant Ship Reserve—On September 3 the Merchant Navy took up its Wartime Function—Encounters with a Ruthless Foe—Defensive Armament of Shipping—Anti-Submarine Measures—Convoy System—Contraband Control Service—Losses and Gains Reviewed

Throughout her long history the supremacy of Great Britain at sea has been a vital factor in the life of the nation. That is why, in peace as well as in war, the Royal Navy is constantly at work in all the seven seas, as much in the China Sea and the Pacific Ocean as in the English Channel or the North Sea. One of the prime duties of that strong Navy is the patrolling of the trade routes of the world, keeping them free for the long lines of merchant ships which carry Britain's exports to all parts of the world and bring home the foodstuffs and raw materials upon which the life of this island nation depends. A strong merchant navy is an absolute essential for a maritime Empire, and in times of war the Empire's reliance upon the Merchant Service is revealed in its deepest significance. Every soldier at home or abroad, every civilian, man, woman or child, depends for the food that keeps him alive on the men and officers of the Merchant Service, Britain's fourth line of defence. Twenty-five years ago, in the last tragic conflict of arms in Europe, that fact was brought home beyond question. At the height of the unrestricted submarine campaign the British Empire was nearly brought to its knees because of the ravages the torpedoes made in the numbers of British merchant ships. Today the importance of the Mercantile Marine is even greater, for Britain's ability to feed her own people is unhelped by overseas supplies is weaker.

In 1914 the British Merchant Navy was stronger in numbers and tonnage than in 1939, but it was not as well prepared for the war as it might have been. It was not until the war had been in progress for two years that adequate steps were taken for the protection of shipping and for the replacement of tonnage lost.

Things were very different in 1939. For some years shipowners and others had been bringing to the notice of the Government the signs of decline in the British merchant fleet, maintained as it is in peacetime exclusively by private interests. For years foreign Powers all over the world had been subsidizing shipping under their flags, if indeed they were not altogether state-controlled, recognizing that their vessels were vital economic, if not defensive, weapons. British shipowners were unable to meet the competition of national treasuries out of their own private purses, and they urged upon the British Government the necessity, in the national interests, of a strong fleet under the Red Ensign.

At the beginning of 1938 the Government acted. The proposals embodied in the British Shipping (Assistance) Bill were passed, and grants and loans towards the cost of building new cargo vessels were sanctioned. As a result nearly 200 vessels were ordered or laid down in British shipyards in April and May of that year. The sale of British ships abroad was prohibited except by licence, and the Government itself bought suitable vessels to form the Merchant Ship Reserve.

At last the Government had given British shipping a guarantee that its national importance was fully recognized.

The British Admiralty had been under no illusions as to the importance of this matter. It had long been obvious that the German Navy's concentration upon the construction of submarines pressed a devastating campaign against British merchant shipping upon the outbreak of a future war; and ever since 1937 British merchant ships were having their decks strengthened to withstand the stresses set up by defensive guns, which were being prepared for them against the contingency of war. Almost all such vessels under construction during those two years had gun mountings embodied in their structure. Mr. Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty, paid a sincere tribute in the House of Commons to the foresight of his predecessors in this respect.

As soon as it became clear from the international situation that the chances of resuming war were great, the British Admiralty acted. At midnight on Saturday, August 26, British shipping came entirely under the control of the Admiralty. All information as to the movements of vessels was suppressed. The Merchant Navy became as silent as the Royal Navy; it became its corollary, the true function of the Merchant Service in time of war.

The Mediterranean and Baltic Seas had already been closed to British shipping as a precautionary measure, but now that the Admiralty entirely directed the voyage and use of British merchant vessels it could send them where it pleased. The ships of the Royal Navy were at their war stations, and the ships of the Merchant Navy were fulfilling their wartime functions.

According to the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, passed by a special session of Parliament in a single day, and the Defence Regulations issued in pursuance of it, the Admiralty "by means of Navigation Orders may determine the movements, navigation, pilotage, anchorage, mooring, berthing, and lighting of vessels." Without prejudice to these Orders, the Board

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**ALLIED SHIPPING WAR CASUALTIES**

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<th>Country</th>
<th>Sept. 1-30</th>
<th>Oct. 28-30</th>
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<td><strong>French</strong></td>
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<td>3,737</td>
<td>5,017</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,737</td>
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<td>2,869</td>
<td>5,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4,895</td>
<td>10,274</td>
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BEFORE THE NAVY CURBED THE U-BOAT MENACE

During the first weeks of the war, while the U-boats were rampant, several merchant ships were torpedoed, among them the one shown on this page. Above, the Cunard cargo liner "Beulah" being blown up by the U-boat seen in the photograph on the left. These pictures were taken by a member of the liner's crew from the Norwegian oil-tanker "Eldanger," which rescued them. Below, left, is the injured commander of the torpedoed "Goswood" being wheeled from hospital, while beneath are seen some of the 37 officers and men of the "Winkleigh," rescued in mid-Atlantic after their ship had been sunk.

Photos, Associated Press; Planet News
of Trade was likewise empowered to control the movements of ships as it "considered expedient in the interests of the defence of the realm or the efficient prosecution of war, or for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community." Powers of requisition, both of property and of rights under contracts, were also granted to the Board of Trade. Thus, a ship which was hired to a firm for a certain length of time or for a particular voyage could immediately be commandeered, the Government taking over all the rights under the existing contract. Ships were immediately requisitioned for various purposes—large liners for conversion into armed auxiliary cruisers; cross-Channel vessels for troop-ships and hospital ships; trawlers and paddle steamers for minesweepers, and so on.

The whole system by which the shipping industry was normally run had to be completely reorganized to meet the new conditions. Plans for the insurance companies' combined their resources and appointed their individual representatives to undertake marine risks on behalf of all the members of the pool.

This system was adopted in anticipation of a colossal attack against British shipping. It was feared that the loss of a single ship would be enormous at the outbreak of war and that the organization of business itself would be completely disrupted by disasters and attacks on the City of London. Fortunately, as it turned out, neither of these eventualities was forthcoming, and before the first month was out the pool system was abandoned, although the skeleton organization was ready for instant adoption should matters later prove more serious. As the success of the naval anti-submarine forces increased, there were striking reductions in the premiums asked for war risk insurance.

The business of chartering, normally undertaken by private brokers, members of the Baltic Exchange, was immediately transferred to about twenty chartering committees, composed mainly of the chartering personnel of the leading merchants. The Government issued a schedule of freight rates which it offered to shippers for various voyages, and the schedule was subject to revision from time to time to take account of changing conditions and costs. The whole business was so successfully organized that, although there were some mistakes made at first, there was nothing but the best cooperation between the shipping industry and the Government departments concerned. It was stated soon after the outbreak of the war by certain members of the industry that our shipping was already better organized than it was half-way through the last war.

Thus the vital transition period from a peacetime to a wartime basis was virtually effected, without loss of efficiency, before hostilities started. That this was done so well is a lasting tribute to the foresight of the Government officials concerned and to the members of the shipping industry in its every ramification—an achievement the importance of which it is difficult for a layman to appreciate to the full.

**HERO OF THE TORPEDOED 'MANAAR'**

The British cargo ship "Manaar" (below) was sunk by a German submarine on September 7, 1939. Her wireless operator, Mr. James Turner (right), displayed great gallantry in saving the life of a wounded Lascar at the risk of his own. The "Manaar" was torpedoed twice.
When war was declared on that Sunday morning of September 3, the whole organization was "on its toes," prepared for any eventuality. All the men and officers in the ships at sea had been long on the alert, keeping constant watch for the first sign of hostile activity. Then, in the middle of the first night, the first blow was struck by the enemy. The transatlantic liner "Athenia" was torpedoed by a German submarine 200 miles out in the Atlantic. Neutral vessels and British warships rushed instantly to the rescue, and the loss of life, though heavy, was minimized. (The full story is related in Chapter 10.) Public opinion, at home and in neutral countries, was horrified that the first victims of the U-boat campaign should have been mainly civilians—men, women and children, many of them of neutral nationality. The liner was out of bound, and therefore could not have been expected to be carrying munitions or any form of contraband to a belligerent country.

Realizing this error of policy, the German High Command tried to transfer the blame for the incident on to the shoulders of the First Lord of the Admiralty, representing that he had ordered a British warship to sink the "Athenia" in order to alienate neutral opinion against Germany. Such an amazing statement had the reception it deserved.

Then the news of sinking of other merchant vessels began to filter through to Britain. In the first week three cargo liners were torpedoed, six cargo vessels and two tankers—a total of 76,264 tons gross (including the "Athenia"). The losses in the first two weeks of the war were, by later standards, heavy, but they were not nearly as heavy as it was originally feared that they might have been. That they were so much heavier than in later weeks was due to many reasons. First, the U-boats had been out at their stations on the trade routes long before war was declared, lying in wait for the unarmed merchant vessels out on their lawful occasions; and, secondly, there was not time for the organization of the convoy system for homebound bound vessels. Ships which had started on their voyages home perhaps three weeks before the outbreak of war had to continue on their homeward way, running the gauntlet of submarines and minefields, without escort or the means of defence.

The episode of the "Mopan" illustrates graphically not only the situation in which many British merchant ships found themselves, but also the innate courage of the British seaman when faced with the perils of the sea. On the outbreak of war the "Mopan," a cargo vessel of 5,359 tons gross, was outward bound from Jamaica to Great Britain with a cargo of bananas. On September 6, at 1 p.m., when she was about 200 miles away from the English Channel, the lookout shouted: "Submarine on the starboard side." In a short time the U-boat was sending salvo after salvo towards the "Mopan," and when the shells began straddling the ship, Captain Hugh Roberts steered a zigzag course, turning to port and starboard with each alternate salvo. Fragments of the exploded shells came on board the vessel, but owing to the captain's skill in zigzagging no direct hits were scored. All the time the "Mopan" was steaming full speed ahead, her nominal speed being 13 3/4 knots. The submarine, compelled to give chase, had to confine her firing to her forward guns. Down in the engine-room the engineers forced up every ounce of steam, with the result that the ship was soon travelling at 15 knots and gradually outdistancing her pursuer. The gunfire from the submarine continued for more than half an hour, by which time the "Mopan" had increased her lead to nearly 7,000 yards. Gradually the "Mopan" increased her speed until 4 p.m. she was travelling at 16 1/2 knots, three knots faster than her nominal speed. The U-boat was by that time nearly four miles astern and gave up the chase. For his valour and determination in defeating the submarine attack with an unarmed ship, Captain Roberts was awarded the Order of the British Empire.

Captain Roberts shares with Mr. James Turner the distinction of winning the first awards to merchant seamen of the war. Mr. Turner was the radio operator of the Broadsands class "Manasar," which was attacked without warning by a U-boat in the Atlantic on September 7. Although the ship was still under gunfire, he refused to leave the vessel until two lascar seamen (one wounded slightly, the other severely) could be rescued. He tried to lower a life-boat, but the falls jammed and then suddenly ran out, so that the boat crashed into the water and filled. He put the severely wounded man in another boat, which was blown to pieces. The gallant operator then jumped into the water and towed the waterlogged boat alongside the ship so that the wounded lascar could get in. Later they were picked up by the master's boat. For this deed, Mr. Turner was awarded the Empire Gallantry Medal. Both the "Mopan" and the "Manasar" were unarmed merchant ships, homeward bound on the outbreak of war. The conduct of their officers and men could afford no more striking proof that the personnel of the Merchant Service had not lost one jot of that courage and daring which were so outstanding in the last war. That courage goes far to the assurance of victory, as His Majesty the King pointed out in his message to the Merchant Navy and Fishing Fleets:

In these anxious days I would like to express to all officers and men in the British Merchant Navy and the British Fishing Fleets my confidence in their unflinching determination to play their vital part in defence. To each one I would say: Yours is a task no less essential to my people's existence than that allotted to the Navy, Army, and Air Force. Upon you the nation depends for much of its foodstuffs and raw materials and for the transport of its troops overseas. You have a long and glorious history, and I am proud to bear the title "Master of the Merchant Navy and Fishing Fleets." I know that you will carry on your duties with resolution and fortitude, and that the high and chivalrous traditions of your calling are safe in your hands.

God keep you and prosper you in your great task.

The President of the Board of Trade replied:

The President of the Board of Trade, with his humble duty, has the honour to
inform Your Majesty that he is transmitting Your Majesty’s gracious and inspiring message to the officers and men of the British Merchant Navy and the British Fishing Fleets, and humbly begs on their behalf to express their grateful appreciation and their determination to prove worthy of Your Majesty’s confidence. Whatever difficulties and dangers may beset their calling, they are firmly resolved to play their part in maintaining the operations of the Merchant Navy and Fishing Fleets and thus to make their contribution to the achievement of victory. They will be strengthened in this resolve by the inspiration of Your Majesty’s message and by the renewed assurance which it gives of Your Majesty’s unfailing interest in all that concerns the Merchant Navy and Fishing Fleets.

In the second week of the war, the losses at sea continued to be serious. Convoy had not been arranged for outward-bound ships, but it had not yet been possible to organize homeward-bound vessels in convoys. Before the end of the second week, however, the convoy system was in full operation. Homeward-bound vessels were instructed to meet at rendezvous out in the Atlantic, where they were picked up by British and French warships and escorted to Allied shores. Here they were handed over to other escort vessels, and the Atlantic “chaperones” took over an outward convoy. Aircraft of the Coastal Command played a large part in the work of convoying merchant vessels round British coasts, for a vigorous campaign against the U-boats was waged from the air as well as from the surface.

Merchant shipping in this war is open to a danger to which it was not exposed in 1914–18—namely, attack from the air. Several times convoys were attacked by Nazi warplanes in the North Sea, but on each occasion the enemy was repulsed, with severe losses, by fighters of the Coastal Command and by anti-aircraft fire from the escorting warships. Not a single hit had in the first three months of the war been scored on any vessel, merchantman or warship proceeding in convoy.

The protection of merchant shipping forms a part of the British coastline devolves almost entirely on the Royal Navy’s destroyers and escort vessels; on the Coastal Command of the Royal Air Force; and on the great fleet of fishing vessels and auxiliary craft, manned by Royal Naval Reservists, which day and night patrols the seas, sweeping them for mines and clearing them for shipping.

Hundreds of trawlers were taken over by the Navy and fitted out as minesweepers, as well as all sorts of private yachts, paddle steamers and other craft. The work of the fishing fleets and those who man them cannot be given too much prominence. They do the “dirty work” of the Navy, and release regular warships for duties to which such vessels are more suited.

The success of these anti-submarine measures can be gauged by an examination of the rate of losses by enemy action. In the month of September 33 British ships, totalling 155,000 tons gross, were lost by torpedo, mine, and submarine gunfire. In the first week of October only one vessel, of 876 tons gross, fell victim to enemy action. The later weeks of the month saw an intensification of the submarine campaign, and the two “pocket” battleships, “Deutschland” and “Admiral Scheer,” had found their way out into the high seas to prey on merchant ships, yet the total losses reported for the month amounted only to 18 ships, of 22,000 tons gross, little more than half the total for the previous month.

The figures are insignificant when compared with the losses in the last war. At the height of the unrestricted submarine campaign, in April, 1917, British losses amounted to over 345,000 tons. At the beginning of the war, in September, 1939, British shipping totalling 12,000,000 tons was afloat, and at the end of October only 1½ per cent had been lost, while at the same time the graph of losses showed a steady decline. Only one week after the convoy system was brought into operation 1,485 ships, of 3,679,000 tons gross, entered or cleared from ports of the United Kingdom without damage.

CONVOYED FROM THE SKY
A convoy, such as that seen in page 872, is protected not only by ships of the Royal Navy, but also by aircraft, which, from their height, can easily spot a submarine near or on the surface of the sea. Below, a Fairfly “Swordfish,” is seen on convoy work.

Photo, Wild World
Meanwhile the work of arming merchant vessels with guns to defend themselves against submarines was going on apace. As stated earlier, many vessels already had their gun mountings in place and all that was required was for the guns to be hoisted on board and fitted in the stern. Many, too, had had their decks strengthened to take the stresses set up by a gun in action, and other vessels were similarly dealt with. According to the principles of international law, all merchant vessels have the right to arm themselves for purely defensive purposes, without thereby becoming warships; for this reason they are allowed to have guns only of a certain calibre, and they must be fitted only in the stern, as a guarantee that they cannot be used for offensive purposes.

When a merchant ship is fitted with guns forward and amidships, she loses her status as a merchant vessel and becomes recognized as a warship, thus running the risk of being sunk at sight by an enemy warship. As in the last war, many of the larger merchant ships (notably passenger liners) have been fitted with guns of as much as 6-in. calibre, for use as auxiliary cruisers. As auxiliaries of the Royal Navy, and flying the White Ensign, they patrol the seas, ready to meet attack from all except heavy warships and able to capture enemy vessels.

In many a British shipyard soon after the outbreak of war could be seen passenger liners being converted into auxiliary naval cruisers. Lavishly decorated dining saloons, resplendent with artificial lighting, decorated mirrors and expensively fitted, were converted into wardrooms and gun-rooms; tourist sleeping quarters and public rooms were turned into accommodation for petty officers and naval ratings, and the cargo holds into ammunition magazines. Range-finders and fire-control apparatus were set up in the navigating quarters, to lessen the danger of sinking thousands of airright drums are packed up to the bulkhead decks.

The fitting out of auxiliary cruisers, the conversion of fishing vessels into mine-sweepers and naval auxiliaries, the arming of merchant ships—all this was but a part of the magnificent effort of British shipbuilders and repairers throughout the country. Not until months or even years had passed would the full extent of this work be known fully to the public. Notable tribute must be paid in this respect to the Trade Unions, which co-operated fully and admirably with the employers and the Government departments under whose control all the shipyards and repairing yards came soon after the outbreak of war. On them fell the burden of building the ships of the Royal Navy, which since the beginning of 1939 were launched at the rate of at least one warship a week.

In addition was the great merchant shipbuilding programme of 200 cargo vessels, close on 1,000,000 tons, already in course of construction before war broke out. After the outbreak the Government again took control of the ordering and construction of merchant ships and ordered on its own account tonnage to act as replacements. So rapid was the progress in the first two months of the war under the direction of Sir Amos Ayto, formerly the chairman of the Shipbuilding Conference and later appointed Director of Shipbuilding and Repairs for the Ministry of Shipping, that more than 100,000 tons of new merchant shipping was launched.

The Government's organization and control of the maritime industries at the outbreak of war was a model for all time. Plans had been carefully prepared beforehand for the establishment of a Ministry of Shipping, but politicians and public alike were not a little alarmed that this Ministry had not been set up when the war had already begun in progress for a month. As it turned out, the Government could not have made a greater mistake than to have yielded to popular demand and transferred all the Government control of these industries into the hands of a brand-new Ministry. Chaos was the best that could have followed. Instead, the work was carried on by the various departments of the Board of Trade and the Admiralty and by the commercial concerns which normally function in peacetime. Gradually the organization was made ready for the transference to a single authority with a responsible Minister in the House of Commons, and when all was ready the announcement of Sir John Gilmour's appointment was made. The first thing he did as Minister of Shipping was to set up an Advisory Council composed of leading shipowners and representatives of the Trade Unions and of the men...
and officers of the Merchant Service, Parallel with all this vital activity at home, British merchant ships all over the seven seas were plying along the trade routes on their due stations, under the Royal Navy's watch and ward, under the control of the vast organizations all over the Empire, their destinations, routes and cargoes all duly planned. But at any moment the lookout man, the vigilant watch-keeper, might give the warning “Submarine in sight.” What happened next depended on the fortune of the war. When the ship was alone the submarine might fire a torpedo without warning; or, as sometimes happened, the submarine would break surface and fire a warning shot to bring the vessel to a stop. The captain had the choice of taking to the boats and abandoning his ship or of making an attempt to escape. If his ship was slow and unarmèd, he would be foolish to do so; but if he had a useful gun mounted in the stern and a sufficient margin of speed, he would order full speed ahead and zigzag away as fast as he could, firing meanwhile at the U-boat.

For some years gunnery training courses for Merchant Navy officers and men have been held to train the personnel to make the best defence against submarine attack. The courses last for a fortnight, and over 200 men attend them each week. The wisdom and foresight of this plan were proved within a few weeks of the outbreak of war. One merchant ship in the Atlantic, attacked by a submarine, brought such accurate fire to bear on the U-boat that the submarine was hobbled and unable to submerge. Before long two British destroyers arrived upon the scene, took off the crew and sank the submarine.

Keeping station in a convoy, too, is an exceedingly difficult job. When twenty or so merchant ships are steaming in convoy, they move in parallel columns, each ship keeping as close as possible to the one in front. To frustrate attacking submarines, the entire convoy alters course at intervals, on a signal from the Convoy Commodore. It is essential that the greatest skill should be exercised in this manœuvre, to avoid the danger of collision or the disorganization of the convoy.

Despite the ruthlessness of the German submarine campaign, there have been many instances of U-boat commanders respecting the traditions of the sea. Thus the commander of the submarine that sank the British freighter “Olivegrove” gave the British captain full instructions as to how he could sail his boat to the nearest land. In other cases, the crew were given supplies from the U-boat and wished good luck. When the trawler “Aryia” was stopped by a submarine, its commander decided he would not sink her when he realized that he could not guarantee the safety of her crew. Instead, he dismantled her wireless, smashed the dynamo in the engine-room and wrecked the fishing gear; he gave them cigarettes and a bottle of gin in exchange for a lifejacket which he wanted as a souvenir, shook hands with the captain and departed. The U-boat commander who sank the “Firby” gave the world a surprise when he wirelessed to the First Lord of the Admiralty the position of the ship's boats.

In the third week of the war history was made when the crew of a torpedoed ship was rescued by two seaplanes of the Royal Air Force. As related in more detail in Chapter 10, the “Kensington Court” was attacked off the west coast of Britain and the crew of 34 were forced to take to their boats, having previously sent out S.O.S. messages giving their position. These men were picked up by two R.A.F. seaplanes on patrol duty, which proceeded immediately to the position indicated. There they found the vessel sinking and the men in the boats. The seaplanes sighted and sent out collapsible rubber dinghies in which to ferry the men across.
HOW MERCHANT SHIPS WERE ARMED AGAINST U-BOATS

The photograph above shows the seamen gun-library of a cargo vessel. He has familiarized himself with his duties by frequent drill such as that seen in progress at top left, aboard another merchant ship. As these pictures convey, the work was taken up with great enthusiasm by merchant seamen and their officers. The photograph below shows the after gun and some of the smoke-flotsam on a British liner seen against the New York skyline. At the left, with the aid of a model, merchant sailors are being instructed in defence against the deadly mine.

Photos, A. L. Kembell; Topcut: Keystone; Associated Press
BRITAIN'S UBQUITOUS MERCHANT NAVY

Some idea of the magnitude and extent of British merchant shipping is conveyed by this map of the busy North Atlantic region, on which are indicated the number and approximate location of British ships on an average day before the outbreak of war. On any given day there are about 2,000 British vessels at sea, and between 100 and 150 enter or leave home ports.

The end of the month saw a new phase in the war at sea when the British cargo liner "Clement," was sunk in the South Atlantic by the "pocket" battleship "Admiral Scheer." Her sister ship, the "Deutschland," also indicated her presence in the Atlantic during October by the sinking of the British freighter "Stonegate" and a Norwegian vessel. But up to the end of the month there was no further news of these marvels. In the middle of October, however, the submarines scored more heavy successes after a certain period of inactivity. Possibly a new U-boat had been sent out from Germany to reinforce the survivors of the first batch. In one night: one British liner (the "Loch Linnhe") and two French vessels (the "Bretagne" and "Louisiane") were lost in the Atlantic. The French liners suffered one or two losses among passengers and crew, but the British vessel escaped fatalities. Then, in the following week, two British liners, the "Yorkshire" and the "City of Mandalay," were sunk by the same submarine, with tragic loss of life.

Despite these serious individual losses, the total for October, as we saw above, was little more than half that of the first month of war, according to the figures available. The total French losses in the whole two months amounted only to eight vessels, of 57,338 tons gross. The success of the anti-submarine campaign of the Royal Navy and the R.A.F., and particularly the effectiveness of the convoy system, are shown in a striking manner by the figures for the losses of neutral flags by German action—16 ships, of 34,578 tons, in September and 16, of 44,942 tons, in October.

In addition, to effect those tonnage losses, numbers of German vessels were captured by the Allied Navies and more than 100,000 tons of new ships had been launched; while almost the entire merchant navy of Poland, amounting to 63 ships, of 121,030 tons, escaped from enemy hands, including four fine modern motor liners. Moreover, as a set-off to the loss of cargoes sunk with ships, nearly 500,000 tons of contraband were intercepted by the Allied Navies in the first two months of war. The British Naval Convoy Control Service was responsible for the detention of four-fifths of this amount. (For a fuller account of this aspect of the war see Chapter 30.)

By the beginning of the third month the German merchant navy had been virtually driven from the seas and the menace of the submarine had been at least temporarily nullified. The much-discussed peril of attack from the air had been proved a bogey, for several attacks on merchant convoys in the North Sea by enemy bombers failed to score a single hit, although many aircraft were brought down. The Merchant Service earned on, increasing in strength rather than weakening, bringing cargoes of food-stuff and essential raw materials from all parts of the Empire and the world. At one British port alone four convoys docked within four days and unloaded over 100,000 tons of food, in spite of the blockade of Britain which the German Navy claimed to be imposing. The rationing of food, which it was originally thought would have to be started in November, was indefinitely postponed. There could be no greater proof of the efficiency of the men and officers of the Merchant Navy, not less than of all members of the maritime industries.

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NAZIS' FIRST ACT OF RUTHLESSNESS

The first act of German ruthlessness upon the high seas was the torpedoing of the "Athenia," on the very day on which war was declared, as related in Chapter 10. The photograph above taken from a ship nearby shows the ill-fated ship shortly before she sank, her stern already awash. On the right she is seen with her bows high out of the water, just before her final plunge.

Photos: G. E. Wiltshire
KEEPING THE SEAS FOR BRITAIN'S TRADE

Despite U-boat activities and the reckless sowing of German mines, the Navy found themselves unable to stop the steady flow of trade to and from British ports. Thanks to the convoy system instated early in the war, merchant ships could sail round Britain's coasts safely under the vigilant guard of the British Navy. Here ships of a British convoy, stretching as far as the eye can see, are being escorted on their way.

British Official Photograph: Crown Copyright
ONE OF THE WAR'S MOST DANGEROUS JOBS

One of the war's most hazardous jobs is that of minesweeping, a task carried out daily by the fleet of minesweepers which constantly comb the seas round Britain's coast to protect her shipping and that of neutrals bound for her harbours. Here some of the crew of a British minesweeper are seen dropping overboard an Oropesa float, a buoy which is used for supporting the drag wires of the sweeping gear.

*Photo, Planet News*
LAST MOMENTS OF A TORPEDOED TANKER

These photographs were taken as the French tanker "Emile Miguet" went down after being torpedoed by a U-boat. In the upper picture a great pall of black smoke is seen rising from the blazing wreck, while burning oil covers the surface of the sea near by. The explosion broke the ship's back, and the lower photograph shows the two halves settling down in the water. 35 of the crew were saved and landed at Boston, Massachusetts, by the cargo ship "Black Hawk."
BELGIAN-DUTCH PEACE APPEAL AND ALLIED REPLIES

Best both by military menace and by diplomatic pressure, the Sovereigns of Holland and Belgium held a sudden conference in the Palace at The Hague during the night of November 6, 1919, the outcome of which was the issue on November 7 of an offer to the belligerent nations of their services as mediators. The text of this appeal is given below, followed by the replies of King George and of President Lebrun.

QUEEN WILHELMINA AND KING LEOPOLD, IN A JOINT APPEAL FOR PEACE, ADDRESSED TO THE COMMUNITY OF THE DUTCH FOREIGN OFFICE, NOVEMBER 7, 1919:

At this hour of anxiety for the whole world, before the war breaks out in Western Europe to all its violence, we have the conviction that it is our duty once again to raise our voice.

Some time ago the belligerent parties declared that they would not be unwilling to examine a reasonable and well-founded basis for an equitable peace.

It seems to us that in the present circumstances it is difficult for them to come into contact in order to state their standpoint with greater precision and to bring them nearer to one another.

As Sovereigns of two neutral States, having good relations with all their neighbours, we are ready to offer them our good offices.

If this were agreeable to them, we are disposed, by every means at our disposal, to make proposals, in the friendly spirit of understanding, to facilitate the ascertaining of the elements of an agreement to be arrived at.

This, it seems to us, is the task we have to fulfill for the good of our people and in the interests of the whole world.

We hope that our offer will be accepted, and that then a first step will be taken towards the establishment of a durable peace.

REPLY OF KING GEORGE TO QUEEN WILHELMINA, NOV. 12:

I have carefully examined, with my Governments in the United Kingdom, Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, the appeal which your Majesty and his Majesty the King of the Belgians addressed to me on November 7.

I recall the appeal made by His Majesty the King of the Belgians on August 23 in the name of the Heads of State of the Allied and associated Powers, in which His Majesty pleaded for the substitution of disputes and status quo ante operation, in the spirit of brotherly co-operation. My Government in the United Kingdom, as well as the French Government, sent favourable replies to this appeal.

I recall also the joint offer of good offices made by Your Majesty and his Majesty the King of the Belgians to my Government in the United Kingdom and to the French, German, Italian and Polish Governments on August 28. This offer was welcomed by my Government and by the French, Italian and Polish Governments. A few days later the German Government launched an unpropagated attack on Poland, which has been overrun with every circumstance of brutality.

My Governments deeply appreciate the spirit of your Majesty's offer, and they would always be willing to examine a reasonable and assured basis for an equitable peace. It is, as it has always been, my desire that the war should not last one day longer than is absolutely necessary, and I can therefore at once reply to that part of your Majesty's appeal in which you state your willingness to facilitate the ascertaining of the elements of an agreement to be reached.

The essential conditions upon which we are determined that an honorable peace must be secured have already been plainly stated. The documents which have been published since the beginning of the war clearly explain their origin and establish the responsibility for its outbreak. The peoples took up arms only after every effort had been made to avert it.

The immediate occasion leading to our decision to enter the war was Germany's aggression against Poland. But this aggression was only a fresh instance of German policy toward her neighbours.

The larger purposes for which we peoples are now fighting are to secure that Europe may be redeemed, in the words of my Prime Minister in the United Kingdom, from perpetually recurring fear of German aggression, to enable the peoples of Europe to preserve their independence and their liberties, and to prevent for the future resort to force instead of to pacific means in settlement of international disputes.

These aims have been simplified and enlarged on a number of occasions, in particular in the statements made by my Prime Minister in the United Kingdom in the House of Commons on October 15 and my Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the House of Lords on November 2.

The elements which in the opinion of my Governments must form part of any settlement are clearly and distinctly from these declarations of policy. Should your Majesty be able to communicate to me any proposals from Germany of such a character as to afford a real prospect of achieving the purposes I have described above, I can say of one thing that my Governments would give them their most earnest consideration.

A reply in similar terms was addressed to King Leopold.

REPLY OF PRESIDENT LEBRUN TO QUEEN WILHELMINA AND KING LEOPOLD, NOVEMBER 12:

The Government and people of the French Republic are unanimous in paying homage to the sentiments which inspire the message which your Majesties have addressed to me. They fully appreciate its lofty and noble character.

No nation is more peace-loving than the French nation. No nation has made greater sacrifices in the cause of European peace. France has already four million and a quarter of her army engaged in the field, and she does so once more today, that she has been and remains determined to welcome every possibility of assuring a just and durable peace for all peoples.

Only a peace founded on justice will endure. France has taken up arms to put an end to the methods of violence and force which, for the last two years, in defiance of the most solemn engagements and in violation of the pledges given, have already enslaved or destroyed three nations in Europe and today menace the security of all nations. A durable peace, therefore, can only be established by requiring the Injurers who have forced upon us a war of extermination on our soil.

Moreover, it can only be established to the extent in which effective guarantees of a political and economic nature assure in the future respect for the liberty of all nations. Mankind will only be delivered from uncertainty and anguish if they are sure that new attacks against justice will be speedily brought to an end.

Any solution which legalized the triumph of injustice would only secure for Europe a precarious truce bearing no relation to the just and stable peace to which your Majesties look forward.

Today it is the duty of Germany to avert all the consequences of war, which France has never been the cause of and which we are determined to avert instead of fighting for.

All the powers which have accepted the responsibility of creating the conditions for peace have an interest in an armistice that will end the present war and bring about a just peace.

[EDITOR'S NOTE]

On November 15 Herr von Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister, summoned the Belgian Ambassador in Berlin and the Dutch Minister and informed them verbally that, after the "sumt rejection" of the peace move by Britain and France, the German Government would not make any further negotiations.

Written replies may have been sent by the German Government to Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold, but, if so, they were not made public.

On November 16 the "Deutsche Diplomatische-politischer Korrespondenz," the organ of the German Foreign Office, described as "irreconcilable provocation" the British and French replies to the offer of good offices made by the Dutch and Belgian Sovereigns.
FOUR outstanding events brought the neutral States prominently to the fore in the second phase of the war, covering the period October 1 to November 14. Three of these events—German threats to Holland, the Anglo-Turkish Pact, and Russian demands on Finland—had been more or less anticipated; but the fourth event, the exodus of Baltic Germans from the Baltic States, took the world completely by surprise. The exodus was so much at variance with Hitler's oft-proclaimed demand for "Lebensraum" that people that it could only be supposed that Russia had offered Germany substantial advantages elsewhere for this sacrifice of her influence in the Baltic.

Inspired German statements hinted that the move was a preliminary to the gathering within the frontiers of Greater Germany of all Germans living abroad; but the haste (savouring almost of flight) with which the migration was executed could not silence suspicions that it had been imposed on Hitler by Stalin as a condition for Russian friendship. This view found support in the fact that the exodus of the Balts coincided with the entry of the Red Army into the Baltic States. The first intimation of the intended migration was given to the Latvian and Estonian Governments on October 14, 1939. Six days afterwards ten German merchant ships steamed into Riga harbour to take home the first batch of Latvian Balts. German schools and hospitals were abruptly closed, and German newspapers ceased publication. From Estonia 11,500 Balts left in thirteen ships, leaving a mere 1,500 behind. The liquidation of their still extensive property created an economic problem of the first magnitude for the Baltic States concerned. There were 50,000 Balts living in Latvian towns, and 20,000 in the countryside. Latvia, as a result, had 60,000 hectares (235 sq. miles) of land left on her hands for which new cultivators had to be found.

On the whole, however, both Estonia and Latvia welcomed the departure of the Germans. They had been an uncomfortable minority. Exit the Baltic German.

Lettish and Estonian inhabitants
As rich landowners and merchants under the Tsar, they had formed a predominantly aristocratic community, supporting the oppression of the Tsarist regime in return for the safeguarding of their privileged position. Although dispossessed when Estonia and Latvia regained their independence after the war of 1914-18, many of them had looked forward to a reassertion of German domination in the Baltic States. It was not surprising, therefore, that M. J. Uluots, Prime Minister of Estonia, stated that with the emigration of the German minority there had disappeared from Estonian-German cultural relations "this frequently disturbing link."

After the departure of the Baltic Germans Stalin's anxiety regarding the strategic position in the Baltic States was removed, and the Soviet Press now began to turn its attention to Finland, with inspired hints regarding the desirability of Russia repossessing her former island strongholds in the Gulf of Finland—notably Sveaborg, "key to Helsingfors (Helsinki)," and the Aaland Islands. Sveaborg had been heavily fortified by the Russians before the war of 1914-18, and was the centre of a ring of fortifications known as the Suomenlinna or "Fort of Finland," protecting the Finnish capital. On this occasion, however, the Soviet Press was somewhat in advance of official Soviet circles, and neither Sveaborg nor the Aaland Islands figured in the Russian demands made later on. The Finnish Cabinet had already announced on October 8, 1939, that it had decided to accept an invitation from Moscow to send a special delegation to "discuss questions of a political and economic nature."

Confident of her greater powers of resistance, and mindful of the moral support she enjoyed in the United States and Sweden, Norway and Denmark, Finland determined to take a firm attitude in the forthcoming discussions. As her envoy to Moscow she sent M. Paasiiki, Finnish Ambassador in Stockholm, and his first talk with Paasiiki's return, and the talks in Moscow were not resumed until October 21, when M. Paasiiki was accompanied by Finland's Finance Minister, M. Tanner, who in pre-war days, it is reported, once saved Stalin from arrest by sheltering him in his house.

In the meantime, President Kallio of Finland and M. Erkko, the Finnish

IN THE FINNISH ISLES THAT DOMINATE THE BALTIC

The Aaland Islands, at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, are of great strategic importance, and Russia has long coveted them. Top, Kastellholmen, a medieval stronghold of the Aaland Islands, re-fortified by Finland; above, a scene on the island of Sveaborg (Suomenlinna), the "Gibraltar of the North," three miles off Helsinki, of whose harbour it forms the defense.
Foreign Minister, had attended a meeting in Stockholm of the heads of the Scandinavian States. While awaiting the final outcome of the talks, Finland took no chances. Helsinki, the capital, was partly evacuated and was blacked out. The entire Finnish merchant marine was ordered to take refuge away from ports, in the Gulf of Finland, and the Finnish Army (under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Oettermann) was brought up to a strength of 300,000. But still there was no hint to the outside world of the true nature of the Russian demands. That they were rather drastic was surmised from a speech made on October 27 by M. Erkko, who said that Finland was not prepared to sacrifice anything essential for its freedom and independence, and no self-respecting nation could accept the proposals as rumour had shaped them.

Unwelcome but not unexpected enlightenment came five days later in a speech by M. Molotov to the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, which broke the hitherto self-imposed silence of the two negotiating parties in an unpleasant manner. After fiercely attacking the Democracies, M. Molotov said:

"It is untrue that the Soviet Government is demanding the Åland and other islands from Finland. What Russia wants is a mutual assistance pact along the lines of those negotiated with the other Baltic States. The Soviet Government has asked Finland to move back some kilometres from the frontier in the Åland area and take part of Karelia in exchange. The Soviet Government also sought to take some islands and create naval bases in the northern part of the Gulf of Finland."

M. Molotov added: "If the Finns continue in their failure to meet Soviet requirements, it will be harmful to the cause of peace and to the Finns themselves."

The Finnish Government professed not to be astonished by Russia's demands, but the broadcast by Molotov brought new and dangerous factors into the situation—namely, Soviet prestige, and public opinion in Finland, which became, for the first time, aware of the far-reaching Soviet proposals. A certain section of the Finnish Army was inclined to regard the speech as a challenge to Finland's honour, and signs of a split became apparent between those who favoured President Kallio's negotiations with Russia and those who were for breaking off negotiations.

Speaking the day after M. Molotov, M. Erkko emphasized that Finland would maintain her neutrality at all costs, and there could therefore be no question of a peace hostile to Russia using Finnish territory as a base for operations. Russian hopes for a naval base at Hanko (Hango) on the Finnish coast were held to be unacceptable; and while Finland might have been ready to consider the Russian proposals for an exchange of territory and the grant of certain islands in the Gulf of Finland, a mutual assistance pact with Russia was definitely out of the question, as it compromised Finland's neutrality.

Finland endeavoured to continue the negotiations for a few days, but the atmosphere rapidly deteriorated, culminating in their abandonment and in bitter attacks by the Russian Press on leading personalities of the Finnish Government.

"The present Finnish leaders have begun the dangerous game of hate propaganda," said "Trud," the Russian organ of the heavy industries. "This little State of 3,650,000 people wants to triumph over the Soviet Union with its 183,800,000 people. It is absurd. British and French Imperialism stands behind the Finns."
SALIENT FEATURES OF THE BALTIC SITUATION IN 1939

War strategy in the Baltic region is governed largely by the fact that in an average winter the Gulf of Bothnia and Finland are frozen over. The ports frozen are shown in light grey; darker grey indicates the area of shifting ice floes. Striped from upper left to lower right is territory lost by Russia after the 1914-18 war; striped the opposite way is her regained Polish territory. The tiny planes mark air bases, and the shaded white line running North and South shows the 500-mile limit of effectiveness of the Soviet Air Forces. Also marked are strategic railways, among them the important line to Sweden’s iron mines at Kiruna and to Narvik.

Whatever Russia’s ultimate aims were, it was obvious that in pressing Finland for a mutual assistance pact and thecession of territory, she was bent on finally securing domination of the Baltic. Memories of British warships in the Baltic in the years following the war of 1914-18, which played a large role in enabling the small Baltic countries to break loose from Russian domination, were kept alive in the Russian Press throughout the negotiations. As regards Russia’s alleged fears for her security, while it is true that the Finnish frontier on the Karelian Isthmus was only some 20 miles from Leningrad, Finland could not well withdraw without sacrificing her strongest line of defence on the Isthmus, the so-called “Mannerheim Line.” Had Finland ceded islands in the Finnish Gulf, the strategic triangle formed by her garrison towns of Helsinki, Viipuri and Mikkeli might have been menaced. A Soviet
PREPARING THE ANSWER TO RUSSIA

Finland's delegate at the short-lived Russian-Finnish talks in Moscow which preceded the Soviet invasion was M. Palskii, who is seen above (at the right) in conversation with M. Ericks, Finland's Foreign Minister.

Photo, Press Feature

garrison in Hanko could prevent Swedish supplies reaching Finland, and without these Finland had slight hopes of resisting an aggressor for any length of time. The surrender of the Rybachy Peninsula in the Arctic, on the other hand, would give to Russia Finland's only ice-free port and immense mineral deposits, including nickel, and make Finland totally dependent for her overseas trade on Russian goodwill in the Baltic.

Hardly affected by Russia's demands on Finland were the Scandinavian countries, comprising Sweden, Norway and Denmark, and Iceland. There was a meeting in Stockholm of King Gustav, King Haakon, King Christian and President Kallio of Finland while the Finnish-Russian negotiations were in progress. Sweden's chief concern was that the Aaland Islands should not fall into Russian hands, as these islands, if dominated by a hostile Power, could be made a base for menacing action against Stockholm and the Swedish mainland. Norway wondered whether Russia's desires would stop at a re-conquest of her former territory, and whether Norway's own ice-free ports on the Arctic and the North Sea might not be affected. All three countries—Denmark, Sweden and Norway—feared an interruption of their extremely close commercial and cultural ties with Finland. The Stockholm conference closed on October 20, however, without any definite promise of direct support for Finland if she were attacked by Russia.

The German Press began at the same time to assure Holland of undue acquiescence towards the British authorities as regards contraband control, demanding that Holland should stage a test case by ordering her ships not to stop when summoned by British warships; further, there were frequent violations of Dutch and Belgian neutrality by German warplanes. The aim of this campaign of innuendo was apparently to prove that Holland was incapable of maintaining neutrality, and therefore to furnish Germany with an excuse for intervention. The Dutch were also fearful that the statesmen in the West might induce the Germans to attempt a flanking movement through Holland, which, if it achieved nothing else, would at least put Germany in possession of the Dutch coast and air bases for attacking Britain. Previous German air attacks on Britain had not been successful, owing to the

SWEDEN'S KING GREETES FINLAND'S PRESIDENT

Following an invitation from the King of Sweden, the British and Norwegian Sovereigns and the President of Finland arrived in Stockholm on October 28, 1939, for a conference. Above, President Kallio of Finland (left) is being greeted by King Gustaf of Sweden on his arrival.

Photo, Keystone

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HOW HELSINKI PREPARED FOR AIR RAIDS

Here are scenes in Helsinki, Finland’s capital, just prior to the outbreak of the Russo-Finnish war. Above, trenches hastily excavated in Helsinki’s open spaces. Top left, the well-laden car of an evacuating family. Left, sandbagging an official building in the city. Below, the long queues of people lined up in front of Helsinki’s great railway station. Over a hundred thousand people were evacuated beforehostilities began.

Photos: L.N.A.; Central Press; Keystone; Topical Press
In spite of this Dutch reply, Hitler carried on his feverish consultations with his War Chiefs in Berlin; the German Press continued to advocate occupation of Belgium and Holland to "forestall the Allies," while large numbers of German troops were still being sent to the Dutch frontier. Holland reinforced her frontiers, mined her frontier bridges, constructed tank traps, and began to inundate certain zones of the country, prepared for the worst.

True realization of the seriousness of the German threat was not brought home to the Dutch people and the rest of the world until Tuesday, November 7, 1939, when it was revealed that King Leopold of the Belgians had made a hurried journey at 11 o'clock at night from Brussels to The Hague, in order to consult on joint measures for averting the threat to both countries. The meeting was followed by a joint peace offer by the two rulers (see Historic Documents, No. 57), addressed to the heads of Great Britain, France, and Germany. In this offer Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold stated that "it was their duty to raise their voices once again before the war breaks out in Western Europe in all its violence."

The statement continued: "If this offer of good offices were agreeable to them (the belligerent Powers), we are disposed, by every means in our disposal that they might care to suggest to us, in a spirit of friendly understanding, to facilitate the achievement of the elements of an agreement to be arrived at."

It was significant that, in addition to the Foreign Ministers of Belgium and Holland, General Reyners, Chief of the Belgian General Staff, was present at the conference. This mediation offer took Britain completely by surprise. It was considered remarkable that the offer was not also addressed to Poland, the ally of Britain and France, without whom no separate peace was possible. There was a general tendency to dismiss the offer as having been made under the pressure of German troop concentrations; while, as Lord Halifax pointed out, the Allies' war aims, including rectification of the injustices done to Poland and Czechoslovakia, could hardly serve as a basis for peace discussions without a radical change in the outlook of the German rulers.

The French Press went even further. "We want peace just as much as the
HOLLAND READY TO FIGHT FOR HER LIFE

After over a hundred years of uninterrupted peace, Holland was faced, in November, 1939, with the threat of war. Resolved to defend herself against aggression, she took steps to meet any emergency, and her most efficacious method of defense was to flood her low-lying country. The delicate yet formidable Dutch cartoon above, reminiscent of a print by Hiroshige, is reproduced from "De Telegraaf." It is captioned: "Clearly, the Dutch are determined to make their country a veritable 'league of nations.'" The lower photo shows the foreground of the photograph at the top of the page, where Dutch soldiers are testing the effectiveness of the "Water Line." The other photo shows a Dutch town, and, lower, Dutch soldiers manning a trench near the German frontier.

Photon, Associated Press; New Age; Planet News
would be chosen by Hitler for striking at Holland, thus providing a "victory" with which to wipe out Germany's defeat of 21 years ago. But the day passed without incident, in spite of the most alarming rumors among the population of Holland—rumors for which, in the opinion of many prominent Dutchmen, was largely responsible. The Dutch Government's policy seemed to have been to avoid all mention of the possibility of an invasion, while taking every measure to meet it.

The reasons why Germany's change of attitude towards Holland and the postponement of the apparently threatened invasion were not revealed. The first indication of a relaxation of tension came with a statement by a Berlin Foreign Office official, quoted in the Dutch newspaper "Handelsblad". This declared that the German troops near the Dutch frontier were on maneuvers, and that Germany "did not dream of violating the neutrality of Holland or Belgium." There were also assurances from Germany that her troops were intended partly as reserve forces for the Siegfried Line and partly for the northward extension of the line. The Dutch Government attributed many of the reports of an intended German invasion to foreign correspondents, who were urged to "use consideration." Nevertheless, after the lapse of some days, as the situation became clearer, it became generally accepted in neutral countries that Holland had actually been threatened by Germany.

The report gaining most credence was that Germany had assumed that Belgium would make it impossible for the Allies to come to Holland's aid if Holland were attacked. The German Ambassador in Brussels, however, these reports added, was given clearly to understand on the eve of the intended invasion—November 10—that an invasion of Holland would threaten Belgium and would lead to Belgian mobilization. This declaration was handed to the German Ambassador in Brussels after a meeting between King Leopold, M. Pierlot, the Belgian Prime Minister, and M. Denis, Minister of Defense, the same day. It was also believed that the Belgian declaration worked like a bombshell among German generals, who had completed detailed plans for the invasion, and they had therefore declared their plan unworkable.

It was also stated in neutral circles that Herr von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, had at the same time learnt from an authoritative source that

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**Defences of the Low Countries**

The map shows the defence systems Germany would have to overcome if she attempted the invasion of Holland or Belgium. The rivers Yssel and Maas constitute Holland's first line of defence, and, in addition, large areas of the country can be flooded. Belgium is defended on the north by the fortified Albert Canal and on the east by the fortified heights between Liége and Dinant.

*Courtesy of "News Chronicle"*
a German invasion of Belgium would have unforeseeable consequences in the United States, while Italy and Spain are said to have made their influence felt in Berlin against the projected invasion. Another theory was that Holland and Belgium were informed about German plans for a violent attack upon Great Britain at an early date by aeroplane and by submarine, and a hint was given by Berlin that the Low Countries should adopt as indulgent an attitude as their neutrality would allow in the case of German squadrons flying over their territory or German submarines seeking shelter in their territorial waters. The Dutch and Belgian Governments, therefore, this theory adds, informed Germany that their neutrality would be ensured by every means in their power. This, some observers believed, explained the official Dutch

QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS
On November 6, 1939, King Leopold went to The Hague to consult with Queen Wilhelmina on problems common to the security of their two countries. The Queen (below) succeeded to the throne in 1890.

Photo, Field World

KING OF THE BELGians
Leopold III, King of the Belgians (above), was born in 1901 and succeeded to the throne on the death of King Albert in 1934. During the war of 1914-18 he served as a simple soldier in the 24th Belgian Regiment.

Photo, Brynwood
denial of pressure on the one hand and the measures of precaution on the other.

Whatever the truth of these reports—and, it may be added, stories of Italian intervention were expressly denied in Rome—the Dutch taxpayer was called upon to grant a second extraordinary defence credit of 100,000,000 floras (about £13,000,000), and it is estimated that one half of this amount was spent in thirty days' in pre-mobilization preparations.

One neutral, at least, was not afraid to clarify its position and take up a definite stand: with the Allies in the second phase of the war. Turkey, a country whose fighting qualities Britain learned to respect during the war of 1914-18, remained loyal to her pledges to Britain and signed, on October 19, 1939, a Treaty of Mutual Assistance with Britain and France. Under this Treaty, the most resounding diplomatic
success for the Democracies since the war began, Britain and France agreed to come to the assistance of Turkey if an act of aggression were committed against that country by a European Power, or in the event of aggression by a European Power leading to war in the Mediterranean in which Turkey became involved.

Turkey, for her part, agreed to reciprocate if Britain and France became involved in war in the Mediterranean area as a result of aggression by a European Power, or if Britain and France became engaged in hostilities by virtue of their guarantees to Greece and Rumania. Turkey stipulated, however, that the obligations of the Treaty could not compel her to action, which would involve hostilities with the U.S.S.R.

On the face of it this Treaty secured for Britain and France the active cooperation of their former enemy Turkey in certain circumstances—cooperation in the Mediterranean area and in the Balkans. It took a good deal for granted, however, for obviously Turkey's power to afford such help depended on the turn taken by the great European conflict, which had not yet really begun. Should fortune favour the Allies the Treaty would secure to Britain the passage of the Dardanelles. To Rumania, as far as she was affected by the joint Franco-British guarantee, it gave a reasonable expectation that naval aid could reach her in the event of German aggression. Should Italy—

ALLIES' DIPLOMATIC VICTORY IN THE NEAR EAST

Soon after the Turkish Military Mission had arrived in London there was signed at Ankara, on October 19, 1939, an Anglo-French-Turkish Treaty, providing for mutual assistance in the event of an act of aggression by a European power against any of the signatories leading to war in the Mediterranean area. On the left of the photograph below is General Sir A. P. Wavell, next to whom sits General Weggand. Dr. Saglam, President of the Turkish Council, is signing the treaty, while second from right is Marshal Truchaske, Chief of the Turkish General Staff.

BIRDWOOD GREETS FORMER OPPONENT

On October 3, 1939, a Turkish Military Mission, under the leadership of General Kiaman Orbay, arrived in London to discuss matters of common interest between Britain and Turkey. General Orbay is here seen being greeted on his arrival in London by Field-Marshal Lord Birdwood, who, a quarter of a century before, had fought against the Turks at Gallipoli.

at present carefully watching the war to adjudge her own chances of profit—intervene to deny free access to the Mediterranean, the Treaty promised an effective counter-blaze; by its mere existence it might be expected to function as a powerful deterrent to any privatizing ventures on the part of Mussolini. The Treaty was to be in force for a period of twenty years.

At a later stage in this narrative a survey is given of the reactions to the Pact in Russia, the Balkan countries, Hungary and Italy, and the diplomatic activity to which it gave rise in the efforts to form a neutral bloc against Russian or German aggression.
BY THE PASSING OF THE NEUTRALITY ACT OF NOVEMBER 3, 1939, THE UNITED STATES LIFTED THE EMBARGO ON THE SALE OF ARMS AND MUNITIONS TO FOREIGN NATIONS, WITH THE PROviso THAT SUCH ARMS AND MUNITIONS WERE TO BE SOLD ONLY TO THOSE NATIONS THAT SAID \"CASH AND CARRY\" ACT

WHEREAS the United States, desiring to preserve its neutrality in world affairs, and the foreign States, desiring to avoid involvement therein, voluntarily impose upon its nationals by domestic legislation the restrictions set out in this joint resolution: and whereas by so doing the United States, in the exercise of its own rights and privileges, or those of any of its nationals, under international law, expressly reserves all the rights and privileges to which its and its nationals are entitled under the law of nations, therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Section 1. (a) That whenever the President or the Congress, by concurrent resolution, shall find that there exists a state of war between foreign States, and that it is necessary to promote the security or preserve the peace of the United States to protect the lives of citizens of the United States, the President shall have a proclamation naming the States involved.

Section 2. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of Section 1 (a), it shall thereafter be unlawful for any American vessel to carry any passengers or any articles of material to any State named in such proclamation.

(b) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of Section 1 (a), it shall thereafter be unlawful for any American vessel to carry any passengers or any articles of material to any State named in such proclamation.

(c) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of Section 1 (a), it shall thereafter be unlawful for any American vessel to carry any passengers or any articles of material to any State named in such proclamation.

(e) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of Section 1 (a), it shall thereafter be unlawful for any American vessel to carry any passengers or any articles of material to any State named in such proclamation.

(f) The provisions of subsection (a) of this Section shall not apply to transportation by American vessels on or over lakes, rivers and inland waters bordering on the United States, to or from ports in the western Hemisphere, of thirty degrees north latitude, to any port in the Western Hemisphere, or thirty degrees south latitude, to any port between the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, including the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea, and any other dependent waters of either of such oceans, seas or bays, or to any port on the Arctic Ocean or its dependent waters south of thirty degrees north latitude. The exceptions contained in this subsection shall not apply to any such port, which is included within a combat area, as defined in Section 3, which applies to such vessels.

Section 3. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of Section 1 (a), and shall thereafter find that the protection of citizens of the United States so requires, he shall, by proclamation, define, to any State, or the President shall have issued a proclamation under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed, such cargo shall thereafter be unlawful for any citizen of the United States or any American vessel to proceed into or through any such combat area.

Section 4. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of Section 1 (a), it shall thereafter be unlawful for any citizen of the United States to travel on any vessel named in such proclamation, except in accordance with such rules and regulations as may be prescribed.

Section 5. Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of Section 1 (a), it shall thereafter be unlawful, until such proclamation is revoked, for any American vessel, engaged in commerce with any foreign State, to be armed, except with small arms and ammunition therefor, which the President may deem necessary and shall publicly designate for the preservation of discipline aboard any vessel.

Section 6. Whenever, during any war in which the United States is neutral, the President shall find that special restrictions placed on the use of the ports and territorial waters of the United States by the operations of armed merchant vessels of a foreign State will serve to maintain peace between the United States and the foreign States, or to protect the commercial interests of the United States, such States, or to promote the security of the United States, and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall thereafter be unlawful for any such submarine or armed merchant-vessel to enter a port or territorial waters of the United States, unless such persons and materials are subject to such limitations as the President may prescribe.

Regulations Governing Export of Arms

Section 12. (a) There is hereby established a National Munitions Control Board. The Board shall consist of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of Commerce. Except as otherwise provided in this Section, or by other law, the administration of this Section is vested in the Secretary of State.

(b) Every person who engages in the business of manufacturing, exporting or importing any arms, ammunition or implements of war listed in a proclamation issued under the authority of subsection (1) of this Section, either as an exporter, importer, manufacturer or dealer, shall register with the Secretary of State in his name, or business name, principal place of business and places of business in the United States, and a list of the arms, ammunition and implements of war which he manufactures, import, exports,

(c) It shall be unlawful for any person to export, or attempt to export, from the United States to any other State, any arms, ammunition, or implements of war listed in a proclamation issued under the authority of subsection (1) of this Section, or to import, or attempt to import, to the United States from any other State, any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war listed in any such proclamation, without having submitted to the Secretary of State the name of the purchaser and the terms of sale and having obtained a license therefor from the Secretary of State.

(d) The President is hereby authorized to proclaim upon recommendation of the Board, from time to time, a list of articles which shall be considered arms, ammunition and implements of war for the purposes of this Section.

Section 13. (a) It will be unlawful for any vessel belonging to or operating under the jurisdiction of any foreign State to use any flag of the United States thereon, to make use of any distinctive flag or markings, indicating that the same is an American vessel.
Chapter 28

AMERICA LIFTS THE ARMS EMBARGO AND OPENS HER ARSENAL TO THE ALLIES

How the Nazis Antagonized the U.S.A.—Passing of the Neutrality Act—The "City of Flint" Affair—America's Desire for Technical Neutrality—Far-reaching Effects of the Neutrality Legislation—Enormous Productive Capacity of the United States

Is vital questions of national policy there may be such a thing as a foregone conclusion, but while the to-and-fro of violent political debate continues it always seems that a logical certainty may prove a broken reed in the ultimate event. Reason said that the United States would surely repeal the embargo on war materials which formed a part of America's Neutrality Law. Nevertheless, it was only after a month of fierce debate that the Senate, on October 27, 1939, voted for repeal and adopted the revised Neutrality Bill sponsored by the Roosevelt Administration. And the news was received in the United States, as well as in the Allied countries, with evident relief as well as pleasure. The vote, of 65 in favor to 30 against, was a satisfactory and conclusive one, roughly fulfilling the best-informed anticipations.

The campaign that had resulted in this victory had been conducted by the Administration on a non-party basis, so that, although it was a moral victory for the President, the ground was largely cut away from under the feet of those malcontents and influential Republicans who feared that if the repeal were not defeated they could not hope to defeat the Democratic Party, led for a third term by Roosevelt, at the next elections. Twelve of the opposition votes were Democratic and eight supporters of the Bill were Republicans.

Another and a stiffer hurdle had yet to be taken by the Administration—the vote of the House of Representatives, which promised to be more divided than the Senate and more influenced by party considerations. Meanwhile, "gentlemen's agreements" were being made between Allied representatives and American manufacturers concerning orders for supplies, and the actual and prospective trade with Britain and France became certain an influence on the side of the repeal of an embargo which unjustly put the maritime powers at a disadvantage. The "cash and carry" provisions of the Neutrality Bill, moreover, had been good American law until early in 1939, and though the restrictions were severe against munitions being carried in American ships, they were clearly in American eyes a safeguard of United States' neutrality.

Once more the Nazis by their own acts helped to ensure this first big political victory for Roosevelt's policy, for while the Nazis Offendence on October 24 came at the same time as the negotiations between the Soviet and Finland—acting as a warning to Americans, whose sympathies were strongly on the side of Finland. There was little understanding of the real reasons which lay behind the Russian demand for the Aaland and other islands.

Although the Soviet's policy was ultimately directed against German influence in the eastern Baltic, it also threatened Finnish independence, which the Finns showed they were determined to preserve. In this they had the moral support of the United States, as well as of their natural allies, Sweden and Norway. Pro-Ally sentiments in the United States were deepened by the consequences, which followed quickly. It was learned that the "City of Flint," had been captured by the German battleship "Deutschland," which must have evaded the British blockade and have been operating in the Atlantic. The American steamer, with a cargo of grain, tractors, hides, wax and fruit, had been seized on the high seas, and by a powerful battleship which could reach any of the Americas. The Germans put a prize crew on board and took the vessel into Kola Bay, near Murmansk, a Soviet port.

On October 31 Finland rejected the Soviet demand for military bases on
ROOSEVELT'S TRIUMPH SEALED

This is the scene at Washington, D.C., as President Roosevelt signed the new U.S. Neutrality Bill on November 4, 1939. Watching him are left to right: Adolph H. Berle (Assistant Secretary of State); Senator Key Pittman; Mr. William Bullitt; Mr. Cordell Hull (Secretary of State); Mr. John N. Garner (U.S. Vice-President); and Senator C. McNary and Allen W. Barkley.

Finnish territory and began laying mines at the port of Hanko, at the entrance of the Gulf of Finland. The Soviet had abandoned its demands for the military bases, but was still demanding control of this ice-free port. In America, no less than in Britain and Scandinavia, the undaunted firmness of Finland in resisting Soviet pressure was hailed with enthusiasm, if not with much serious understanding of Russian policy. But an element of comedy had entered into the "City of Flint" affair, which might have mollified American irritation at Russia, for the Germans were ordered by the Soviet to take the steamer away.

American "mayor-proper," already upset by the seizure of the vessel, was wounded. The United States Ambassador in Moscow was denied information for a week about the fate of the steamer and her American crew, and not until the Russian official Tass Agency reported that the ship had been staying at Murmansk to repair her engines, and had left again on October 28, was either the Ambassador or the American public told anything. Then the German official radio informed the world that the steamer had left Murmansk on the previous day, in charge of the prize crew. The American crew were virtually prisoners on board. American opinion was echoed in the State Department's review of events issued on October 28, in which Russia was accused of "withholding adequate co-operation" with the American Government and of "unnatural conduct favourable to Germany. Nobody believed the Russian excuse for allowing the "City of Flint" to stay at Murmansk, and subsequently going away with both crews on board, the Germans being still in charge. The story of her unworkability sounded too much like an afterthought, when the Soviet leaders had realized all the implications of giving hospitality to their compromising visitors.

Nor was American anger appeased when Molotov, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, addressed the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union on October 31 and in a detailed attack upon the Western Democracies as ideological aggressors, attributed the war to the aims of Britain and France and the support of these Powers by the United States. Molotov's renunciation of Soviet neutrality in the same speech did nothing to excuse official Soviet confusion in the "City of Flint" affair, especially as it was accompanied by a reaffirmation of moral support for Germany in her efforts for peace.

It is true that, in spite of the Soviet Commissar's verbally hostile tone to America and the Allies, his statement threw a wet blanket over Germany's expectations (rather rashly announced by Nazi propaganda) of more active Soviet help that would be a decisive factor in the war. But the comic climax to the "City of Flint" interlude was delayed until November 4, and the Americans after further suspence had heard merely that she had anchored at Haugesund, in Norway, still in charge of the German prize crew.

On November 2 the House of Representatives gave a more definite vote than cautious prophets had anticipated.
in favour of repeal of the Arms Embargo, approving the Neutrality Bill by 243 votes to 172.

To continue the chronological comparison, on November 4 the German prize-crew of the "City of Flint" were interned by the Norwegians, as the Nazis had violated international law.

The same day, a Saturday, the President of the United States put his signature to the Neutrality Bill. This week-end also the Finnish delegation to Moscow renewed their discussions at the

prize crew on October 20, and asked permission to fill up with water. This, quite legally, was given, and the ship was only detained long enough to set free and land the crew of the British steamship "Stonegate," sunk by the "Deutschland" a few days before the seizure of the "City of Flint." According to Norwegian neutrality regulations, the Nazis were allowed to sail the ship within Norwegian territorial waters for the next twenty-four hours after its departure from Tromsø. Instead of

professed to agree to this ruling, but at dusk on November 3 he anchored in the port, and, when questioned for his reason, said he was acting on orders from his Government. The Norwegians thereupon interned the prize-crew and released the ship, which left next morning under her American captain and crew. This curious episode of the "City of Flint" affair, in itself, provided an example of the indirect but important events of war. Besides exacerbating American opinion at a most vital political phase, while the American Neutrality Bill was being fought over, it can be seen as a

Trivial Cause

Tremendous Effect

perfect illustration of Nazi stupidity. In reviewing the episode it seems clear that the seizure of the American vessel was not a mistake, but the result of calculation. Probably the Nazis hoped to frighten Americans as well as cause international complications.

In Mussolini's newspaper, "Il Popolo d'Italia," on October 24, an article signed by Luigi Barzini ostensibly set out to prove that American intervention in the Second Great War was out of the question although wanted by the Allies, but in effect the article was a review of German policy towards America in the war of 1914-18. The writer traced the insults and injuries inflicted by the Germans upon the United States, which have been regarded as typical German blunders; and declared that they were due to a deliberate policy of forcing the United States into the war in order to check the stream of American supplies to the Allies. The theory was that the Americans, in arming themselves and supplying their own hastily prepared forces, would have no spare supplies for Britain and France. In the event this proved a colossal blunder.

If Mussolini's article was correct, the Germans realized in 1939 that America need not be brought into the war again, and that Americans had no intention of coming into it. Possibly their efforts to American dignity and sense of justice throughout September and October, 1939, were based upon an ill-founded confidence in the value of Soviet assistance, and a realization that the repeal of the Arms Embargo was so strictly in accordance with American neutrality that it could not be avoided. It is more likely that, as the Germans were always better at tactics than long-range strategy in the military field, the same inventive but short-sighted cunning was the clue to their psychological blunders. By the middle of November they had succeeded in alienating sympathy in all the neutral countries of Europe as well as in America.

THE SHIP THAT DID NOT SAIL

The passing of the United States revised Neutrality Bill struck a severe blow at American shipping, which was prohibited from entering belligerent waters. Above, the U.S. "Washington," with lights ablaze, is seen at her New York pier, following the announcement that her sailing would be postponed indefinitely.

Photo, Reynolds

Kremlin of the Soviet proposals for "mutual assistance," which are set out in Chapter 27.

In acting upon their legal rights in the "City of Flint" affair, the Norwegian Government undoubtedly chose to obtain American sympathy rather than to mollify the angry Nazis. Norway, overawed by her great Nazi neighbour, was in a difficult position in any case. The Norwegians rejected the German protest at the internment of the prize crew, and released the ship with its original American crew in charge. She returned to Bergen under the American flag. The futile fury of the Nazis was answered by a résumé of the ship's adventures, issued by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry. This stated that the vessel arrived at Tromsø with a German taking the vessel straight to Germany, the prize crew sailed her northward to Murmansk. The Soviet method of dealing with the situation, as already described, resulted in another hurried departure, and the wanderer turned up at Tromsø again on October 31. She stayed for only three hours and was escorted away by a Norwegian warship. This warship was later relieved by another, and when the vessels were near Haugesund the Nazi commander of the prize crew signalled that he must stop at Haugesund because he had a sick man on board. The Norwegian escort, "Ovay Tryggvason," sent a surgeon over, who discovered that the sick man had merely a slight leg injury. The Nazi commander was told that he could not stop at Haugesund, and he
FINNISH CIVILIANS FLEE THE AIR MENACE

Towards the end of November, 1939, many thousands of the inhabitants of Helsinki, Finland’s capital, hearing an unsuccessful outcome to the negotiations with Soviet Russia, then in progress, left by train. The photograph above shows a crowd waiting for trains on the platform of the Helsinki Central Station. In page 289 is a photograph of would-be passengers in a long queue outside the station.

Photo, Wide World
BRITISH TROOPS TAKE UP THEIR STATIONS

At the top of the page is seen a British howitzer camouflaged among farmyard surroundings in north-eastern France. The lower picture shows British troops finishing emplacements for an anti-aircraft unit. An anti-aircraft gun is seen in the background, while in the foreground men are setting up the predictor.

British Official Photographers / Crown copyright
SOLDIERS OF FRANCE IN THE WAR ZONE

In the upper photograph two French sentinels, in a camouflaged post on the roof, are guarding a factory in the war zone. French motorized troops are seen in the lower picture in a village somewhere behind the Western Front, parading before their commanding officers.

Photos, courtesy of the French Embassy; Planet News
SCANDINAVIAN RULERS IN CONFERENCE

On October 13, 1939, Stockholm greeted the Kings of Denmark and Norway and the President of Finland, who came to confer with the King of Sweden on the position of the Scandinavian countries with regard to the war in general and the threat to Finland in particular. The photograph above, taken at this Stockholm conference, shows, from left to right, King Haakon of Norway, King Gustav of Sweden, President Kallio of Finland and King Christian of Denmark.
Whether the Nazi Government contained enough political intelligence or not to anticipate the repeal of the Arms Embargo, the accomplished fact produced unmistakable reactions of annoyance and scarcely concealed fear. This attitude was reflected by the immediate comment in the "Deutsche diplomatisch-politische Korrespondenz":

"One cannot understand how a neutral Power can bring itself to add fuel to the blaze of war by the export of arms to belligerents. Such a Power is helping both to carry on and prolong a war. Nobody knows better than America that every day the war is prolonged, the damage of its spreading is increased—and consequently the danger that America too may become involved. A great responsibility now rests on President Roosevelt, whose discretion Congress has left the execution of the Neutrality Act."

The Administration's execution of the Neutrality Act very quickly promised to express the strong anti-Nazi sentiment of America as well as the desire for real neutrality. In interpreting in practice certain prohibitory clauses, such as the "no credit" formula and the compulsion of purchasers to carry their own war materials, it was seen that, whenever possible, credit would be given—for instance, for material only indirectly describable as "war supplies," such as cable, telephone, wireless and telegraph equipment. And as for aeroplanes, these might be flown to the Canadian frontier or to a United States shipping port, but no farther, so that any enterprise American firm that might have been required to face the hostility of public opinion and to fly planes to Germany was saved from any possible temptation.

The strength of the American desire for technical neutrality, as a means of keeping out of the war while ensuring the victory of the Allies, can be gauged by the severity of the prohibition against the carrying of war supplies to belligerents by American ships. These vessels might go anywhere along American coasts, and to neutral ports, except those in Ireland, in Norway south of Bergen, in Sweden or any other Baltic ports, in Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands. Mostly the shipping between Canada and the United States remained as before. Black Sea and Mediterranean ports also remained open.

In spite of these exceptions, the Neutrality Bill struck a severe blow at American shipping and compelled an expansion of the mercantile marine of Britain and France. The Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Merchant Marine estimated on November 5 that the effects of the new restrictions involved the abandonment of eight foreign trade routes, in which the American Government had invested nearly two hundred and a half million dollars, and the immediate withdrawal of 32 American vessels from the prohibited routes. About 6,000 seamen would be put out of employment, the cost of laying up the withdrawn vessels would amount to about four and a quarter million dollars a year, and the gross revenue lost to the American merchant marine would come to fifty-two and a half million dollars. While many business interests in the United States welcomed the revised Neutrality Law on business grounds, quite apart from political sentiments, it is not surprising that commercial circles, as distinct from industrial, were dismayed by the full consequences of the national policy. They had calculated on American shipping not being barred from any neutral ports, and no doubt expected that great quantities of supplies could be sent to Belgium and Holland at least. Some of the steamship lines worst hit by the new regulations announced their intention of chartering neutral vessels for the prohibited routes, and this would of course tend to increase the carrying resources of the Allies.

In actual terms of supplies, the repeal of the embargo meant the almost immediate superiority of the Allies over Germany.

Orders for aircraft and equipment alone were expected soon to reach a

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**AMERICA'S SCRAP-IRON FOR THE ALLIES**

With the lifting of the Arms Embargo, the United States metal industries worked at full pressure to fill orders received from the Allies. The ship seen here is loading scrap-iron for use in armament manufacture at Erie Basin, Brooklyn, New York.

*Photo, Page*
value of some £250,000,000, though such estimates were necessarily guess-work. The definite facts of the situation in the first week of November, however, were sufficiently ill-omened for the Nazi tyranny. American aircraft industry, though only about one-third as large as the expanded British industry, was employing nearly 40,000 men and planning rapid expansion. The factories of southern California were already working above normal capacity and ready to turn out 700 war 'planes a month. The remaining 100 bomber out of 250 ordered previously by the British Government from the Lockheed factory, which had not been delivered when the embargo on arms was declared early in 1939, were expected to be ready in a few weeks. The British Government's £27,000,000 order to this factory had been supplemented by a $6,000,000 order on account of Australia. At both Los Angeles and New York shipment began of single-engined training 'planes completed by the North American

**AMERICAN 'PLANES FOR THE R.A.F.**

In this page are seen the first two types of American military aircraft ordered by the R.A.F. Below, reconnaissance bombers are being turned out in a factory of the Lockheed Company. Left, Lockheed bombers at Burbank, California, ready for delivery. Note: observer's R.A.F. markings on fuselage. Above, R.A.F. pilot returning after training on 'Harvard' training 'planes, made by the North American Aviation Co.

Photos: Wide World / Planet None
Aviation Company for Britain and France. The French Government had ordered 775 of these, and from the Douglas factory 700 two-engined bombers with a speed of 350 miles an hour.

On the day that the House of Representatives passed the Neutrality Bill British and French agents made provisional agreements that would come into force as soon as it was signed by the President (as it was the next day) for not less than £44,000,000 to be paid on account of 'planes and equipment. Full speed ahead was the order of the day also in many other American factories, to meet the Allies' needs for spare supplies of a variety of essentials, from tools, gun-steel and guns to motor vehicles and surgical equipment.

The enormous potential supplies of the United States promised to meet the Allied demands, while also supplying a new programme of American naval and air expansion which was announced on the day that President Roosevelt signed the new Neutrality Act. This involved...
the spending of an extra £600,000,000 on the navy, which would obtain 95 new warships, and constructing about 2,400 aircraft. Authority for this programme was to be sought by the United States. In the table reproduced here the figures displayed the capacity for rapid expansion shown by the U.S.A. during the war of 1914-18.

Since the iron and steel industry was one of prime importance in the war, Dr. Sternberg gave the relevant figures for Germany and the United States immediately before 1918. In 1937 the United States produced 37,200,000 tons of pig-iron. In 1938, owing to severe depression, this total fell to 19,080,000 tons. But the German totals were 15,088,000 tons in 1937 and 18,300,000 tons in 1938, and Germany's industry was then working under pressure of the Nazi Government's plan for colossal armaments. Hence it is clear by these figures that the United States needed only to increase the production of 1938 to that achieved in 1937 in order to add to her output by as much as Germany's maximum. A similar moral was pointed out by the figures for steel ingots. The total production in tons was 50,300,000 in 1937 by the United States and 20,280,000 by Germany. In 1938 the United States output was 28,290,000, and Germany's 23,330,000. The United States had no need to build any new blast furnaces in 1939-40 to increase her output by an amount equal to almost the entire German maximum.

Another factor of great importance to the new situation brought about by the repeal of the American Arms Embargo was that of reserves of labour. When the war began in Europe, the United States had some 10,000,000 unemployed, including much skilled labour.
BRITAIN'S EXPEDITIONARY FORCE STANDS TO ARMS ON THE WEST

Digging In and Settling Down—Provisioning of the Army—Alert Readiness the keynote—The Entente in Practical Operation—A Glimpse of the Maginot Fortifications—Patrol and Reconnaissance—Possible Routes for a Nazi Invasion—A State of 'Unwary Quiet'

A: October drew to a close. "General Winter," gave most convincing signs that he was about to assume command on the Western Front. Following forty-eight hours' incessant rain, No-man's-land, already shunned up by the fire of nine weeks of war, assumed the appearance and the character of a morass, and the Rhine inundated the positions in or near the river banks. Fortunately for the Allies, the French roads are too solidly constructed to be affected by even the most prolonged downpour, and the stream of men and transport proceeding to the Front was unhampered by the turn for the worse in the weather.

Correspondents who visited the British sector found the men's spirits totally unaffected by the prevailing dampness. Detachments were busily engaged in digging fresh trenches in the heavy clay, and deepening those already constructed. Others devoted their efforts to the still further extension of the great expanse of barbed wire which lay before and amongst the fortified posts. Day after day the work went on, and each day saw an ever-more impassable obstacle erected to stay the advance of the enemy. So far not a shot had been fired on the British front save by the anti-aircraft gunners, but the soldiers, as they went whistling about their work in the rain, breathed confidence from every pore.

To some extent the mud made more difficult the work of bringing up the big guns into the advanced zone, but the tractors and lorries

DAMP BUT NOT DOWNHEARTED

The autumn rains made large-scale operations on the Western Front impossible, but did not succeed in damping the spirits of the British soldiers, some of whom are seen below marching through a French village in their waterproof capes, watched with interest by a French labourer.

British Official Photograph: Crown copyright

boughs and greenery, they pointed their muzzles menacingly towards the east. Until they began to speak, however, the life of the French countryside went on practically unchanged about the gun positions. Children played with the gunners, and the village chickens pecked unconcernedly amongst the monstrous wheels. Those who had shared in the experiences of the Great War of twenty years before, were quick to appreciate the contrast between this struggle and its predecessor. Then they stood to at dawn in an exposed trench, and spent their days and nights in the midst of mud and indescribable nastiness. Never

by Tractors artillery successfully overcame that element which, so often and so calamously affected the course of the last war. Great numbers of guns of all calibres were placed in position—how many to one would guess, so careful, so elaborate, was the camouflage. Hidden in barns and haystacks, in villages and clumps of trees, in embankments and sometimes in the apparently defenceless open, guns bristled the whole length of the British front and far behind. Covered with nets—said to have been worked by the skilful fencers of Scottish fisher-girls—or with

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REMINDERS OF WAR IN A PEACEFUL SETTING

Peace and war are strangely intermingled in the photograph above, depicting a farmhouse in France where British troops were quartered, and where the stacked shells bring a grim reminder of war into the peaceful lanyard atmosphere. Below, a working-party of men of a Scottish regiment are marching over a duckboard in the muddy fields of a French farm on their way to do some digging.

British Official Photographs / Crown copyright
a moment when death might not strike with a sniper's bullet, a raider's hand grenade, or a shrapnel burst. Often, too—at least in the earlier phase—the material wherewith to fight was inadequate. But in the autumn of 1939, quite apart from the fact that the war had not started so far as actual fighting on the British front was concerned, the troops, after a spell of duty in the front line, were able to withdraw to warm and comfortable billets, and their general condition and treatment were far, far better than was that of the "Old Contemptibles."

"The British soldier today" (wrote Mr. Douglas Williams in "The Daily Telegraph"), "as I have been able personally to observe, is better fed, better clothed and treated than any other soldier in the world. He has three or even four good meals a day. Breakfast, a hearty dinner, tea and, if the quartermaster of his unit knows his business, something tasty for supper in the evening. He gets fresh meat every day brought up to railheads in refrigerator cars, bully beef only every now and then as a change of diet, fish in the shape of sardines or herring frequently, and all the bread, tea, sugar, butter in reason, cheese, jam and vegetables he can eat. In short, he enjoys a well-balanced, diet medically selected, which is immensely superior to that available to many hundreds of thousands of people at home."

No layman can ever properly appreciate the vast task, the intricate organization, involved in the provisioning of the new British Expeditionary Force—the largest army, be it remembered, which has ever crossed the sea as a complete whole. Two army corps went to France, and the motor transport attached to an army corps would occupy forty miles of road. "Every day," to quote Mr. Williams again, "nearly 200,000 men have to be fed and 5,500 tons of petrol supplied to keep the mechanical transport running. The monthly requirements in weight to supply the army in the field with everything it needs amount to one-third of a ton per man, excluding such items as heavy railways or bridge equipment. Food, ammunition and clothing are the main items, but scores of other things complete a list that would baffle the largest department store in London or New York. In addition to all these, large reserve stores have to be built up at base supply depots to ensure supplies against the risk of air raids on home ports, on bases across the Channel, or on strategic railway centres in France which might momentarily handicap or delay the normal movement of material from the bases to the troops in the front sector."

Within a month of the Field Force's arrival in France forty-six days' reserves of food and immense stocks of ammunition had been built up. Nothing that the keenest brains could think of as being necessary to a modern army was omitted.

Here, indeed, is contrast enough between 1939 and 1914, but yet another marked change for the better was seen in what was described as the new spirit of camaraderie between officers and men. There may have been a tinge of military Prussianism in the old-time Regular Army, but that of today is markedly democratic, and the barrier between the ranks is only such as is required by good discipline. The Commander-in-Chief himself set an example of cheery good comradeship. He might be seen in the front trenches, standing in mud up to his ankles as he chatted with the soldiers on duty or joked knowingly at the sandbags and wire. Anywhere and everywhere General Lord Gort's sturdy figure, the khaki uniform set off by the red tab and hat, and imposing rows of metal ribbons, might be encountered.

Under his experienced eye the preparations for the offensive which must come some time and might come at any time, went on apace. The units as they arrived from the ports of disembarkation took up their positions and, as British soldiers will, soon made themselves really at home in their new surroundings. They erected shelters with
corrugated iron, pit props, tree trunks, boughs and boards, and displayed the most original gifts in the perfecting of their camouflage.

Always the men were on the alert. In the gun-pits and in the trenches held by the infantry, in the machine-gun emplacements and the tank fields, they maintained the utmost vigilance. Fingers were ever, as it were, on the trigger; hands were always ready to fire the guns. So dilatory was the war that there were many grumbles at the

wounded. Casualty clearing stations were established near the front and equipped with all the latest life-saving apparatus. As yet no pitiful procession of bullet- and shell-shattered humanity passed the portals of these temples of mercy, but all the same the doctors and nurses who staffed them found many an opportunity of exercising their healing art. Soldiers in the line are not immune from sickness and accident, and many life-saving operations were performed in a room which only a few weeks before

had been the parlour of a French bourgeois, but was now a fully-equipped operating theatre.

Relations between the British and the French troops and, what was not always the case in 1914, between the High Command, were excellent. The Entente Cordiale of the last war was once again very much in evidence. The Tommy and the poilu conversed in that strange mixture of signs and sounds that served their fathers so well in 1914–1918, and on the football field they met often in friendly rivalry. Rather to the surprise of the British, the French were not seldom the victors; the supporters of Villa and Arsenal forgot that the present generation of young Frenchmen has found in the British sportsman a type worthy of the sincerest form of flattery.

There was little to mark the point where the British line ended and the French began. Mr. Douglas Williams went to discover it one day. "I stood on the grass-covered roof of the blockhouse," he told readers of "The Daily Telegraph," "and looked across the marshy plains, lumpy with machine-gun nests, dawdling with barbed wire, and criss-crossed with trenches and tank traps. The rain was still falling in torrents and water lay inches deep on the fields and lanes. Here and there working parties were shrouded in mackintosh sheets were improving strong points or cutting branches off willow trees to use

enemy's activity. Only the anti-aircraft gunners could boast of having actually fired a few shots in anger, as the saying goes. Once or twice Nazi planes came within range and the guns were let fire. There were some casualties, even in the target, none amongst the defenders.

Such exciting occasions were considered to be all too few and far between, however. For most of the time the observers turned their glasses on the sky in a vain quest.

'All Quiet'

Every half-hour a relief took over to maintain the ceaseless vigil. Very, very rarely did he find cause to blow that whistle which brought the gun crews rushing to their station, which lifted the muzzles of the guns and swung them easily this way and that as they followed the darting, speeding movements of the plane in the sky.

Perhaps even more suggestive of the readiness of the British Field Force to meet the attack when Hitler should deem fit to launch his oft-threatened onslaught were the elaborate provisions for the reception and care of the

FRIENDS AS WELL AS ALLIES

in the top photograph soldiers of the B.E.F. are being entertained to tea by a French family. The lower picture shows a corporal of the R.A.F. being presented with a bouquet by a French soldier after an impromptu football match between French soldiers and R.A.F. boys, won by the British team.

(Photos, courtesy of the French Embassy, S.P.C.)
BRITISH TROOPS ACTIVE IN FRANCE

Fishermen's wives were busy making nets for the British Army, and above is seen what they were wanted for. With coloured material fastened to them, they provide camouflage for guns, in this instance a Bren gun. On the right a signaller is at work in the British zone in France. Below, an anti-tank gun is being hoisted on to a transport truck.

British Official Photographer Crown copyright
OUTWORK OF THE MAGINOT LINE

Above is a fortified work, one of the many linked fortresses which extend along the famous Maginot Line. In the distance can be seen the iron stakes known as "asperges" (asparagus), designed to rip the caterpillar tracks of attacking tanks. In the foreground are barbed-wire entanglements.

Photo, Planet News

in movements. "That is where the French line begins," said the officer of a famous Scottish battalion which holds one of the extreme flank wings of the British sector. And he pointed across the field to another pill box, similar to the one on which I was standing, where he could distinguish French poilus gathered around the doorway of their concrete fort. The position appeared a very strong one. Here and there were scattered individual mitrailleuse posts, each protected by an armoured cupola, fitted with a telescope, inside which the gunner can sit and fire in perfect safety. It looked as though we had all the benefit of the lie of the ground, and any enemy forces advancing would be exposed to a withering and destructive fire long before they reached close quarters. At a farm near by, where we adjourned after our tour, it was curious to hear the combined chatter of French mixed with broad Scots. French privates stood amid the kitchens and time smoking their pipes and talking as best they could in a kind of new-fangled argot with the Scottish soldiers, their kits, unfortunately, abandoned in favour of battle dress, but still retaining a hint of Scotland in their bonnets." Cooperation was excellent, he found, and there was much fraternizing among both officers and men of the two armies.

A companion picture was given to the same journal by its Correspondent with the French Army. "A giant is stirring uneasily," wrote Mr. Richard Capell, "but the war here is still not really awake. He groans in his sleep sometimes, but we can only guess when he will resume himself. It is like early morning in some enormous palace—a tyrant's palace. The master of the household is not up, but there is tremendous activity among the innumerable servants. Privileged onlookers have been allowed to see the preparations for the day's work. They have been welcomed and shown without reserve all kinds of marvels, dreadful marvels, now in readiness for the entertainment of the rising giant. Never before was there anything of the sort so elaborately prepared." There was nothing on the surface, went on Mr. Capell. "The eastern frontier of France will in 1000 years or so have nothing to show to remind posterity of the year 1939 comparable with Hadrian's Wall or Offa's Dyke. The Great Wall of China has not been rivalled as a picture scene spectacle by the Maginot Line. The new wonder of the world is indeed characterized by its modest inconspicuousness. Here and there is a mushroom—so called—of concrete and steel, but there is hardly anything else to catch the eye of the casual passer-by. One can possibly imagine a casual passer-by in these parts. But, underground, French ingenuity has elaborated a new world, something between the London tube system and a battleship." Throughout a part of his visit Mr. Capell found it difficult to believe that he was not on board a battle-destroyer of some strange navy whose personnel wore khaki. He mentioned this to a young French gunner in one of the many turrets. "Yes," came the reply, "but a real ship would sometimes put into port."

"Above ground," continued Mr. Capell, "there is a world to all appearance placid. On most days the sound of a shell is a rarity. Cows are grazing between the belts of wire. We come across a young gunner who has in a leisure hour snared a hare. A very few miles away there is a ridge, and you are told that the Germans are there. 'Let them come,' says the commandant. The whole garrison is on tiptoe. It is magnificently confident in itself and its marvellous machine. It knows itself invincible."

To the co-operation of French and British the Prime Minister paid tribute. Speaking on October 18, he stated that the British Expeditionary Force had now finally taken over its allotted sector of the French line and all the divisions were in position. "We are proud to know," he went on, "that our men are thus standing to arms beside the soldiers of France, for whose patriotism, determination, and magnificent fighting qualities we have so deep an admiration. The understanding between the French and British Higher Command is complete. The fact that our Expeditionary Force is under the command of the French Commander-in-Chief and that unity of command has thus been achieved at so early a stage of the war is one proof of this accord. Another is to be found in an agreement by which French troops are serving under the orders of the British Commander-in-Chief in France." Thus the Premier made it plain that in this war, unlike the last, there was to be none of that frittering away of effort, nor of that weakening
SIEGFRIED LINE AS THE GERMANS SEE IT

This page shows the German army on active service on the Western Front. Above, a sentry, outside a fortified work, is watching for signs of enemy movement; top right, German soldiers manning an anti-tank gun; right, a German machine-gun emplacement on the Siegfried Line; below, a German patrol advancing to attack a French outpost.

Photos, International Graphic Press; E.N.A.
**FACETS OF WAR AT A FRENCH H.Q.**

Above, a German prisoner, captured during operations on the Western Front, is being interrogated by the Intelligence Branch. Below, a French general, studying a map with his staff officers, is in the Air Liaison department. Captured swastika pennants are hanging over the map by the window, and captured trophies, including an automatic rifle, lie on the table at the left.

*Photos, courtesy of the French Embassy, Associated Press*
and short-sighted prejudice that for so long prevented the establishment of a unified command.

Turning now to the record of the days and weeks following the withdrawal of the French advanced troops to their lines of resistance on the frontier (see Chapter 18, page 170), we are however, considerable activity in the air, despite the clouds and heavy rain, which on many days made aerial reconnaissances out of the question.

By October 16 the Germans had re-occupied most of their border territory which had been in French hands. They made no attempt to push into France, and this restraint may have been due to an expectation that Hitler’s peace move might be productive. He had said on October 6 that he considered the Versailles treaty ‘extinct, but that the German government and people saw no reason and no cause for any further invasion except for the demand for such colonial possessions as were due to the Reich.

Much of the German armies’ attitude towards the French could be explained by an obvious desire to try bladderments before resorting to active warfare. "We won’t shoot if you don’t," was the sort of slogan the enemy posted up in view of the French lines; loud-speakers blared out much the same sort of appeal, and there were numerous incidents that pointed the same way.

Undoubtedly Hitler wanted to be left alone to carry out his schemes in Poland and Czechoslovakia; and, as after his previous acts of aggression, he seemed really to cherish the view that the Allies would make the best of a bad job and leave him with his ill-gotten gains.

Another possible explanation was that he needed a few months longer in which to complete his preparations for further strokes. Where would the expected offensive be directed? The Maginot Line guarded French territory from an invasion on the east and its presence almost made it certain that a German advance would seek to turn that Line—by an infringement of Belgian and Dutch neutrality. The signs thus pointed to an attempted break-through somewhere in the Limburg "appendix" and a swing-round towards the Meuse where the river runs roughly parallel with the Franco-Belgian border. But this again depended upon the attitude of Belgium and/or Holland—unpredictable with certainty at this period. Should either or both refuse to give peaceful passage to Nazi armies a delaying campaign in the Low Countries would seem certain, with a corresponding variation in the plans of the German High Command.

As to the likelihood of an assault on the Maginot Line there was a good deal of scepticism. Colonel Fabry, a former military secretary to Marshal Joffre and a distinguished soldier in the war of 1914-1918, wrote in the "Matin" that it would be an operation which would repeat "an immense scale the eternal problem of all sieges—to crush the garrison, including the field forces in advance of the Maginot Line, with a torrent of fire and steel, simultaneously to cut off all help from outside, and to take it by famine, in this case a famine of reinforcements and munitions." In view of the strength of the French fortified zone and the vast number of highly trained men ready to defend it, an assault could not be anything but an exceedingly costly operation and one whose result must be to say the least, doubtful.

For the time the condition of uneasy quiet held on the Western Front. In Paris and in London some grumbled at the "slowness" of the war. They had hoped to read of something more exciting than the monotonous recital of quiet nights and empty days. But, as Major-General Sir Ernest Swinton said in the first of a series of weekly broadcasts talks on the progress of the war, "The war is not being run to provide news. And when I hear people complaining about the lack of news from France

**DALADIER'S GREETINGS**

M. Edouard Daladier, the French Premier, kept in constant touch with his country’s fighting forces, and in the photograph above, taken during a visit to the front, he is seen shaking hands with a leader of the French Air Force.

_Photo, courtesy of the French Embassy_

confronted by a series of uninformative bulletins, uninformative because the real war had not yet started and such fighting as there was was a matter of outposts and patrols, and artillery duels at long range. "Patrol and reconnaissance activity between the Meuse and the Saar. We took a few prisoners."

_Why Hitler Wanted Peace, and talking about 'All quiet on the Western Front,' I say, 'Thank God that there is no news of battles; thank God that the commanders have learned something from 1914-1918, and that the Allied troops are not going to be thrown in haste, without due preparation, against a stone wall or, rather, a steel and concrete maze, breasting with every sort of gun.'"

**A.A. BATTERY WITH THE B.E.F.**

Inside the battery dug-out at a forward post in France the telephonist reports the presence of enemy aircraft to headquarters. Outside, other units determine the range and height of the raider, while the guns crew get ready to fire on receiving the order.

_Photo, British official; Crown Copyright_
Chapter 30

ECONOMIC WARFARE: A REVIEW OF THE FIRST TWO MONTHS OF WAR


For the most part the wars of the past have been won on the battlefield, where armies fought fiercely for victory, or on the seas, where navies engaged in a similarly martial struggle. Still today the armies and the navies hold the stage, and we have now to chronicle a war in which the conflict has been carried high up above the clouds. But there is in modern warfare an element which, if not entirely lacking in the wars of olden days, was at least decidedly subordinate to the military and hardly noticed — the economy. In the war of 1839 — as, indeed, in that of 1914 — economic warfare stood forth as a vital offensive arm, a complementary fourth to the historic three services of Army, Navy and Air Forces.

Within a few hours of war being declared, Britain's Ministry of Economic Warfare was set up under Mr. Ronald Hlobert Cross, M.P., a merchant banker who was elected to the House of Commons in 1913 as a Conservative, and when the war began was Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade.

Corresponding broadly to the Ministry of Blockade which functioned so successfully in the war of 1914-18, the new Ministry's aim is in essentials the same — to disorganize the economy of the enemy as to prevent him from effectively carrying on the war, and at the same time to initiate and co-ordinate the economic, financial and industrial aspects of Britain's own life. Although it came into being only on September 3, 1939, the plans for the Ministry had been taking shape for some two years beforehand, and a staff of Civil Servants and of expert business men and industrialists had been earmarked for service. It commenced operations at once, then, as a going concern. The first shot in the economic war was fired on September 4, when the King issued a proclamation giving a list of articles which were declared to be contraband of war, and forbidden to be imported into Germany.

No blockade of Germany was declared, although the term is often used as a convenient one for describing economic warfare based on the exercise of belligerent rights at sea. Correctly speaking, blockading in the naval sense is the control of an enemy port, or series of ports and coastline, so that not only may none of the enemy ships enter or leave, but also, no neutral ships may have intercourse with the blockaded area. Napoleon in 1806 declared by his Berlin Decree that the British Isles were in a state of blockade, but he had not the naval power whereby the decree could be made effective. In the Great War of 1914-18 the German Admiralty proclaimed the blockade of the British Isles when the first submarine campaign opened early in February, 1915, and in the following month Britain replied by declaring Germany to be in a state of blockade. In the end it was the blockade as much as military pressure that brought the Kaiser's empire crashing to the ground in ruins.

In 1939 it was considered sufficient to institute a system of contraband control in which the traditional distinction between absolute and conditional contraband was maintained. The full list, which may be said to include anything designed to be used by the enemy for carrying on the war, was as follows:

A. Absolute Contraband: (a) All kinds of arms, ammunition, explosives, chemicals, or appliances suitable for use in chemical warfare and munitions for their manufacture or repair; component parts thereof; articles necessary or convenient for their use; materials or ingredients used in their manufacture; articles necessary or convenient for the production or use of such materials or ingredients.

B. Fuel of all kinds; all contrivances for, or means of, transportation on land, in the water or air, and machinery used in their manufacture or repair; component parts thereof; instruments, articles, or animals necessary or convenient for their use; materials or ingredients used in their manufacture; articles necessary or convenient for the production or use of such materials or ingredients.

C. All means of communication, tools, implements, instruments, equipment, maps, pictures, papers, and other articles, machines, or documents necessary or convenient for carrying on hostile operations; articles necessary or convenient for their manufacture or use.

D. Coal, carbon, currency, evidences of credit, and also metal materials, dies, plates, machinery, or other articles necessary or convenient for their manufacture.

Conditional Contraband: (a) All kinds of food, foodstuffs, food, forage, and clothing materials and articles used in their production with a view to ensuring that no vessels should be allowed to proceed with contraband cargo having either immediately or ultimately an enemy destination, the Government established three contraband control bases in British waters — at Kirkwall in the Orkneys, the Downs off Rumpsate, and at Weymouth — and also at Gibraltar at one end of the Mediterranean and Haifa at the other. Vessels bound for enemy territory, or for ports in neutral countries from which goods could conveniently be forwarded to enemy territory, were advised to call voluntarily at one of the control bases of the United Kingdom, preferably at Weymouth. If they did so and it was established that they carried no contraband, they would be given a pass to facilitate their onward journey.
GLIMPSES OF THE BRITISH BLOCKADE

Here are further illustrations of the work of the British Control and Control. Above, the skipper of a patrol vessel is giving instructions to a neutral ship. Below is a photograph taken from the deck of the crack Italian liner "Rea" as she was stopped by a British warship at the control base at Gibraltar. After a boarding party had searched her, she was allowed to proceed.
which did not call voluntarily would be liable to be diverted to a base. In those cases where adequate search at sea was not practicable.

It was declared that everything would be done to examine vessels as rapidly as possible, particularly those which called voluntarily, and neutral vessels were advised that delay would be reduced to a minimum if they would co-operate by having all their papers drawn up in the most convenient form and would carry a spare copy of the full ship's manifest to be handed over and retained by the examining officer.

Notice was also given that vessels calling at British ports, other than the three bases, in the ordinary course of trade would be required to give the Customs full particulars of their cargo, whether it was being landed or remaining on board.

On the whole, the neutrals co-operated willingly enough in the contraband control. The procedure was simple. We may suppose a neutral merchant vessel steaming up Channel with a cargo for the Continent. Arriving off Weymouth, she anchors in the bay and hoists to the masthead a red and white blue-bordered flag, the indication that she is awaiting examination by the officers of the British Contraband Control, and the flag must not be lowered until clearance papers have been granted.

By the time she has dropped anchor her approach has been signalled from Portland, and a boarding-party of two officers and six men of the Royal Navy sets out in a fishing drifter to board her. With some apologies to the captain for the delay and inconvenience, the boarding officer asks him to produce the ship's papers, manifest, bills of lading and other documents. While this is being done the wireless cabin is sealed up, so that no signals may be sent out while the ship is in the control zone.

After satisfying themselves that the ship's cargo is what its papers say it is —this may involve considerable prodding and unbalancing in the hold—the boarding-party goes ashore, and a summary of the manifest, giving particulars of the cargo, passengers carried, ports of origin and destination, and so on, is sent by teleprinter to the Ministry of Economic Warfare in Aldwych, London. Usually the Ministry's consent to the release of the ship is received in a few hours. The boarding-party assembles again, sails out to the ship and returns the papers to her captain, together with a certificate of naval clearance. If, however, the boarding-party finds something just a trifle suspicious, a search-party is sent out to make a thorough examination of the whole cargo, and an order may be given for the vessel to be unloaded. A full statement of the evidence will also be prepared by the Ministry and submitted for decision to a specially formed Contraband Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Finlay, whose decision will be given in each case on the basis of the evidence. Cargoes will either be released, detained for further inquiries, or seized; and the vessel, unless she has also rendered herself liable to seizure, will be allowed to proceed with her voyage. If the decision is seizure, vessels or goods are transferred to the Admiralty Marshal, who then becomes answerable for their custody until the case can be brought before the Prize Court.

In the first six weeks of war the daily average of neutral ships arriving in Weymouth Bay for examination was twenty. Most of these were allowed to pass after a brief inspection of their papers, but out of a total of 74 vessels (carrying 518,000 tons of cargo) 99,800

**HOW NEUTRAL SHIPS ARE SEARCHED FOR CONTRABAND**

At the outbreak of war Britain instituted a system of contraband control, and a number of control bases were established. The photographs show, above, a search-party examining grain on a neutral vessel; and, top, a boarding officer (centre) going over the ship's books and examining manifests.

*Photos: Keystone*
BRITAIN STEPS OUT ALONG A FRENCH ROAD

The strain means that Britain would fight to the last French soldier "cut adrift" in France, where people could see with their own eyes that Britain was pulling her whole weight with her French allies. Here a French poilu, standing by the roadside, gazes with interest as long columns of British troops bound for the front pass by.

VALUABLE PRIZE FALLS INTO BRITISH HANDS.

It was announced on October 12, 1939, that the German Hamburg-America liner "Cap Norte" had been captured. The vessel, which had previously taken refuge at Paramaribo, put out to sea again on September 27.

The photograph shows a boarding party, in a British warship's sloop, putting out to the liner.

Photo, "The Times"
THE SEARCH FOR CONTRABAND

In the photograph above a British Contraband Control examination steamer is seen standing by a neutral line which has been stopped for search. On the right, sailors of a British boarding party are seen handing up the boarding book carried by the party.

Photograph P.N.A. Keystone

Tons were seized as contraband, since they consisted of iron ore, fuel oil, petrol, manganese, and wheat.

In the very first week of operation, indeed, the British Contraband Control intercepted and detained large quantities of goods as to which there was evidence that they were contraband consigned to Germany, including:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Tons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum</td>
<td>26,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron ore</td>
<td>36,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. (hematite)</td>
<td>3,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manganese ore</td>
<td>4,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood pulp</td>
<td>7,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peatite (phosphates)</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also a number of mixed cargoes.

The importance to the German military machine of petroleum imports is obvious: Germany before the war started could supply about one-third only of her peacetime needs. Iron ore is another great deficiency, Germany depending on foreign sources for at least two-thirds of her requirements. Most of Germany’s manganese is imported, and phosphates are an essential fertilizer, for which she is completely dependent on supplies from abroad.

Thus already the Royal Navy was carrying out its historic role of cutting off the enemy’s supplies on the high seas.

In the second week of the war approximately 110,000 tons of goods of a value of about £500,000 were detained, and it was announced that the 30,000 tons of manganese that had been seized since the war opened represented about 7 per cent of Germany’s total annual import of this vitally important commodity. In the case of molybdenum concentrates the seizures represented an even larger proportion of an alloy and metal essential for the preparation of bullet-proof and other steels. Many of the cargoes intercepted at the outset of the control had been consigned openly to Germany before the war started, and it was only natural that the amounts seized should show a diminution as weeks passed. Even so, the Contraband Control intercepted and detained 33,000 tons of goods in the last week of September, and the month’s total “bag” was 269,000 tons.

German concern at the increasing effectiveness of the blockade was marked. For the first time the Nazis strove to arouse the ire of the neutrals whose shipping was subjected to search. Strange stories were given out over the German wireless of sailors of neutral ships who had put in at Weymouth for examination, being subjected to such harsh and inhuman treatment that they suddenly went mad and committed suicide by jumping overboard! Such fantasies could hardly live in the cold air of actual experience, and the neutrals had little to complain of beyond delays consequent upon the sudden institution of a new control and the necessity of consulting London before a detained cargo could be released.

The German wireless also attacked Britain’s “blockade” on the ground that the inclusion of food in the list of contraband was not only inhuman but illegal. Mr. Cross was denounced as the “Minister of Starvation,” and Hitler in his speech to the Reichstag on October 6 said that contraband must be defined in such a manner that “the war will be deprived of its horrible character of a fight against women, children, and non-combatants in general.”

The Soviet Government, too, in a note published on October 21, protested against inclusion in the British lists of war contraband of foodstuffs and other basic articles of mass consumption, on the ground that their inclusion inevitably “leads to profound disorganization of the supply of necessities to the peaceful civilian population, gravely endangers the health and lives of the peaceful population, and portends innumerable calamities for the masses of the people.” Just as “the universally recognized principles of international law do not permit the air bombardment of the peaceful population of women, children and aged people,” so “on the same grounds, the Soviet Government deems it not permissible to deprive the peaceful population of foodstuffs, fuel and clothing, and thus subject children, women and aged people and invalids to every hardship and starvation, by proclaiming the goods of popular consumption as war contraband.”

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CONTRABAND COMMITTEE IN SESSION

Above, the Contraband Committee of the Ministry of Economic Warfare is seen at one of its daily sessions. In the centre of the table sits the Rt. Hon. Viscount Finlay, Chairman of the Committee, and on his left is Mr. Justice Morten, the Deputy Chairman.

Photo, P.N.A.

In the British view, however, the inclusion of foodstuffs as conditional contraband was an essential element in the economic warfare in which the Allies were now engaged against Germany. Foodstuffs have been treated as conditional contraband since the days of the French Revolution, and international law fully supports their classification in this way. No British Government had ever signed any declaration that foodstuffs were not to be treated as conditional contraband. The nearest approach to such a step was in the Declaration of London of 1909, which would have debarred our Navy patrols in the North Sea from stopping the ships carrying materials for Germany's war industries and any food, even when destined for the German army, provided that it was not for German industry or for the German navy, and that the shipper took the precaution of addressing the consignment to a neutral port on the way—Rotterdam, for instance. But when war broke out in August, 1914. Britain had not ratified the Declaration, and early in that war Britain claimed the right to stop foodstuffs, though at first only for German navy, and then for goods destined for the Government and the troops and for foodstuffs destined for the civilian population. In modern times this distinction has practically disappeared; as war is now conducted it is highly probable that foodstuffs imported into a belligerent country will serve a military end.

"When practically the whole population," says Professor J. L. Bremley, "is either with the colours or engaged in some form of war work, and when governments have the power to requisition any commodity that they need and have instituted elaborate systems of control, it is practically impossible to have any assurance that all food which is allowed to pass will be consumed by non-combatants, and, if it were, it would mean that other food would be released for military consumption."

Even in the war of 1914-18 this truth was generally recognized: it was General Ludendorff who wrote that "in this war it was impossible to distinguish where the sphere of the army and navy began and that of the people ended." No nation, indeed, has done so much to abolish the distinction between the military and the civilian population as Germany. What it has been asked, is the object of her German submarine campaign, with its indiscriminate sinkings, if not to prevent all cargoes of foodstuffs from reaching this country? War today is totalitarian. Whole nations are mobilized for war, and when a government is possessed of totalitarian powers, it is impossible to determine whether a cargo destined for enemy territory may be presumed to be for use for military or quasi-military purposes. Nay, more, Britain has a stronger case than Germany in making food contraband, for it has been laid down that if a belligerent puts the whole of its people on rations, then foodstuffs can be declared, not conditional, merely, but "absolute" contraband. As yet Britain was not on rations, but Germany was so even before the war began.

FRENCH BLOCKADE MINISTER

M. Georges Perrot, above, was appointed by the French Premier, M. Daladier, to be Minister of Blockade in his war cabinet.

Photo, Topical
So much for the legal aspect. As for the charge that the inclusion of food in the contraband list is inhuman:

"Humanity," to quote Mr. Ronald Cross, "begins at home. Think of the number of our own soldiers, sailors and airmen who would lose their lives if we allowed the enemy to prolong the war which it was in our power to shorten. That would be the worst cruelty. To prolong the whole war unnecessarily is incomparably more cruel than to increase economic pressure on a nation, and anything that increases the general store of supplies to which the others would be suffering from a shortage must tend to prolong the war..."

The German Government will always have sufficient resources at its disposal to feed the German people if it chooses "butter" rather than "guns" and spend sufficient of its money and manpower on agricultural production."

If it be asked how much food had been actually intercepted at the beginning of November, to quote Mr. Cross again, of the total seizures:

"only about 14 per cent would normally be classified as foodstuffs. But, of this, 10 per cent consists of commodities containing oils and fats which the German Government could not easily use for munitions. The choice between 'guns' and 'butter' has been a mere metaphor to the Nazis. The German Government has been diverting its supplies of fats to gun oil, and has, in consequence, been starving the people of butter or its equivalent. Much of the other 4 per cent consists of cereals; these might be given to the German people as food, but they could also be converted into spirit.

The Ministry of Economic Warfare were not slow to take up the challenge. The distinction between the British and German methods of conducting war against commerce at sea it declared in an official statement is clear. It turns largely on the use made of the submarine. In the British view, the submarine is a weapon entirely unsuited for commerce raiding purposes, since it can only with difficulty and under exceptional circumstances be so employed as to conform with the accepted rules of war. It follows that a belligerent who is seriously desirous of conforming to these rules will not normally make use of submarines for this purpose, and the fact that Germany does so habitually and on an extensive scale must in itself raise doubts as to her good faith and intentions. Nor are these doubts in any way allayed by what has occurred in the sinking of the 'Athens,' 'Goodwood,' 'Bremen' and many other ships innocent lives have been lost. On the other hand, no civilian loss of life has been caused by British action and no neutral property, except contraband, is threatened by it.

"Equally clear," went on the statement, "is the difference between the effect of the British and German methods on neutral cargoes in belligerent vessels. The British regulations are that an enemy merchant ship may only be sunk if she cannot be brought in, and officers are informed that compa-

FRANCE ADDS HER PRESSURE TO THE BLOCKADE

Like the English, the French contraband system proved itself highly efficient and was the means of depriving Germany of vast quantities of stocks necessary for carrying on the war. The upper photograph shows merchant shipping awaiting examination at a French port. Above, a Norwegian vessel is signalling with international code flags to the chief of the French navigation police.

Photo, Press News; Associated Press
The commission to be drawn is that the German method of economic warfare is now, as in the past, violent and indiscriminate, and, owing to the use of the submarine, inherently likely to cause loss of life, even where there is no deliberate intention of doing this. The British method, on the other hand, pursued in legitimate exercise of Britain's sea-power, is directed to lawful ends and is not aimed against human life or innocent cargoes. The instruments by which it is carried on, moreover, are such as to permit full conformity with the laws of war and to avoid loss of life or unnecessary damage. The difference is that between what is essentially a weapon of terror, even when unchecked, as it often is, by personal bravery and as that issued on September 16 by the German official news agency, bear obvious signs of being the manufacture of a fertile imagination. In this case it was said that the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs had documentary evidence that the British Government had recently addressed notes to neutral countries forbidding them to send or transmit certain raw materials to Germany, and threatening that, if they did so, this would be regarded as an infringement of their neutrality. These alleg-

The more important items were classified by the Ministry, and the details printed here give some idea of the grave effect which the loss of the goods must have had on Germany's economic life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Tons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fortifiers, fute, and feeding stuffs for cattle</td>
<td>75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw materials needed for explosives</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fibers, fute, wool, cotton, hides and skins</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel (petroleum products)</td>
<td>87,000 (including 19,000,000 gallons of petrol)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw materials used for guns, shells and armour plate</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other raw materials for the armament industry</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By far the greater part of these consignments, it will be seen, consisted of materials directly applicable to military use.

Every week scores of vessels were examined by the officers of the Control Board. Thus in the week ending November 4, 137 new cases of ships were considered in addition to 77 cases carried forward from the previous week. Classified according to nationality, the vessels examined included 41 Dutch, 35 Italian, 28 Norwegian, 14 Greek, 13 Danish, 11 United States, 10 Swedish, 7 Finnish, and 7 Belgian. During the period four cargoes were wholly seized and 102 wholly released. In 33 cases part-cargoes were seized. Generally about half the number of ships putting in for examination at one or other of the three bases were cleared in less than a week, and the balance were given their clearance papers in ten days or so.

From the very beginning of the war the French Ministry of Economic Warfare worked in close conjunction with its opposite number in Britain; a French liaison mission, indeed, was permanently established in the British Ministry. Early in November M. Perrot, French Minister of Economic Warfare, announced that the French Navy had already seized 225,297 tons of contraband goods; of this quantity, 101,693 tons were raw materials for manufacturing, 35,000 tons liquid fuel, and 240 tons were arms.

These figures, it should be realized, do not tell the whole story. The seizures by the Allied fleets are sufficiently impressive, but after the first few weeks of war they were bound to decline as the last of the cargoes consigned openly to Germany before the war began were intercepted and detained. After that initial phase the contraband seizures represented goods about which there was at least some doubt concerning their status; those goods in the contraband

NAZI PRESSURE ON NEUTRALS

The Germans, it is said, established a system of contraband control, but with their fleet blockaded up it was only effective locally. Above, a German boarding party is seen rowing towards a Danish merchant ship to search for contraband. This photograph was used in a German paper to show that German North Sea control was complete.

Photo, Wide World

Pacifying the Neutrals

The German policy of economic warfare is now, as in the past, violent and indiscriminate, and, owing to the use of the submarine, inherently likely to cause loss of life, even where there is no deliberate intention of doing this. The British method, on the other hand, pursued in legitimate exercise of Britain's sea-power, is directed to lawful ends and is not aimed against human life or innocent cargoes. The instruments by which it is carried on, moreover, are such as to permit full conformity with the laws of war and to avoid loss of life or unnecessary damage. The difference is that between what is essentially a weapon of terror, even when unchecked, as it often is, by personal bravery and
MERCHANDISE THAT NEVER REACHED GERMANY

The British were apt to forget the activities of the French Navy and the part it played in the enforcing of the blockade of Germany. These photographs of contraband goods of all kinds destined for the Third Reich but captured by the French contraband control are enlightening: they were all taken at French seaports. Particularly interesting are the ingots (right) destined for Hamburg, but held up "somewhere in France."

Photos, Courtesy of the French Embassy; Planet News.
categories which normally would have been consigned to Germany were not in fact dispatched. Some authorities estimated that in the war's first two months Germany was deprived of half her normal peace-time imports, and every vessel of her mercantile marine—making a tonnage of over four millions—ran for safety to neutral harbours as soon as the struggle began. (Some 54,000 tons of shipping were actually captured by the Allies, and nearly as much more was sunk or scuttled.)

Of the raw materials which were absolutely necessary for carrying on modern war—coal, iron ore, other metals, rubber, timber, textile fibres, and oil—Germany in peace-time was self-sufficient only as regards coal and timber. Most of her overseas sources of supply were closed to her as soon as war began, by the Anglo-French control of the North Sea and predominance in the Mediterranean. The Baltic and the Black Sea remained open, and the new German-Soviet pact, followed by trade agreements, gave rise in Germany to the most extravagant hopes of Russian economic support.

In general Russia produced no large quantities of raw materials which she could spare for export to Germany without doing considerable damage to her own economy. In former years she had willingly restricted her own consumption of certain products in order to provide exports that would yield her much-needed credits abroad; it was problematical, however, whether the Soviet would make such sacrifices for her new ally. Russia was not an exporter of iron ore, but needed her whole output to satisfy her own needs; nickel, tin, lead, and antimony she did not produce at all; copper she imported. In manganese, however, she could be of real assistance. Rubber is not a Russian product, and the U.S.S.R. output of textile fibres was considerable. Timber and coal she might supply, but in these Germany was not so terribly deficient. There remained oil—and Russia's export surplus of one million tons would not go far to meet Germany's estimated wartime need of seventeen million tons, of which she might produce from coal by distillation some two or three million tons only. Here it may be noted that the Polish oilfield had been producing 500,000 tons a year, and Rumania in 1938 produced 6,500,000 tons of oil. Although Germany in anticipation of the war built up a large oil reserve—perhaps 4,000,000 tons—the Polish campaign must have made large inroads into her stocks, and the future situation could hardly appear encouraging.

Not even in foodstuffs could Russia render much assistance to her new ally. Cereals and sugar she might perhaps furnish, but for some time past the Soviet had not been a large exporter of wheat, and the last pre-war figures gave a mere half-million tons as being available for export.

Moreover, the Soviet railway system would find it extremely difficult to stand the strain of any increased traffic, and the difference in gauge between the German-Polish systems and the Russian was a further hindrance to speedy collaboration.

On the morrow of the German-Soviet pact, the German people were hidden rejoiced, for now not only the menace of a war on two fronts had been defeated, but the promise of economic assistance would make defeat impossible. Some of the German people may have recalled, however, that much the same comfortable assurances were given out in 1917-1918 by the Kaiser's Government. In those years Germany and her Austro-Hungarian satellite controlled politically, militarily and economically not only the whole of what is Germany today (with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine); but Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, the Baltic States, and the Ukraine and other huge portions of the Tsar's realm. Yet, controlling that vast block of territory, Germany found its economic resources altogether insufficient for the winning of victory or even the obtaining of a fairly satisfactory peace.

Nazi Germany started the war of 1939 in a far less favourable position than Imperial Germany in 1914. Then the Reich was rich, prosperous, well-fed, flourishing. Its successor of today had been told that it could not have both guns and butter and that the choice must be guns; the German people had been on rations for years, they were over-taxed and under-nourished. Behind the apparently solid façade were germinating the seeds of unrest, dissatisfaction, sabotage, the bitter hostility of party and class, of race and faith.
Small wonder that the Nazis, faced with the prospect of a long war with a resolute and hitherto undefeated enemy, and feeling already the stranglehold of the economic war, should resort to desperate measures to relieve the pressure. There is no German navy fit to compare with that which was the Kaiser's pride in 1914, but the U-boats have left their harbours once again and have taken toll of the Allied and neutral shipping. In September and October, 1939, ninety-one merchant vessels were sunk by enemy action—U-boats and surface raiders—and of these 53 were British (236,841 tons), 7 were French (47,933 tons), and 31 were ships of neutral countries (77,574 tons).

But in his stock-taking of the general position reached in the first six weeks Mr. Churchill was able to claim that, while something from a third to a quarter of Germany's total U-boat fleet had been destroyed, the British Merchant Marine of 21,000,000 tons had experienced a loss of a little less than one per cent by U-boat action, mines and accidents; during the same period we had captured from the enemy 29,000 tons and had been refreshed by the arrival of new ships amounting to a total of 194,000 tons.

Even a month earlier Mr. Churchill was able to inform the House that "we have, in fact, got more supplies in this war this afternoon than we should have had if no war had been declared and if no U-boats had come into action." And his proud claim that "at that rate it will take a long time to starve us out" was increasingly justified as the weeks and months wore on.

Germany, however, must be already feeling the pinch. Not in this war was there that half-hearted and ineffective "blockade" of 1914 to 1917, when huge supplies were allowed to slip into Germany through neutral countries. In the early years of the First Great War the German home fires were kept burning with British coal; German soldiers rode to battle on the backs of British horses; German guns were made of British iron; German planes were driven by petrol to convey which British ships had had to run the risks of the Atlantic crossing.

In 1939 Britain and France started the war, as it were, in much the same position as in 1917. The crushing triumph of the blockade of 1918 had become part of accepted history, and the lessons of those terrible days had not been forgotten. In the fight against Nazism, as against Prussian militarism 25 years earlier, the economic weapon was being used with hard determination born of the will to win.
ROYAL VISIT TO FRANCE'S ARMY

On December 4, 1930, the King went to France and, after spending several days with his troops, visited the French zone. He met the President of the French Republic and the French Premier, and in company with the Generalissimo, General Marie Curille Gamelin, made a tour of the Maginot Line defences. Above, His Majesty with General Gamelin.

Photo, Wide World
Chapter 31

MEN WHO LED THE FIGHTING FORCES IN THE FIRST MONTHS OF WAR


At the beginning of a war in which the first clash of arms on land was postponed from month to month, in which the very disposition of the troops was a closely guarded secret, the reputation of the military leaders necessarily rested on their past records. With no sensational success to claim, nor any lamentable retreat to be explained, generals, admirals and even marshals of the air remained figure-heads to the public, men with a past of honourable achievement but a future as yet sufficiently obscure.

Not always does a nation embark on war with the best leadership available—and no war has lasted any length of time without reputations being made and lost—but according to the most trustworthy military opinion the Anglo-French alliance in September 1939 had elected to its highest posts men of exceptional ability and experience and, regardless of age or seniority, those best fitted to fulfil an arduous and unpredictable task.

The briefest examination of their records will show that all the Allied Army leaders reached their commanding positions through personal merit, that every one of them had had first-hand experience of warfare on the European battlefields against the same enemy that now confronted them, and that during the years between 1918 and 1939 all had had a directing hand in moulding the new military machine.

The phrase "regardless of age" leads directly to the Generalissimo, General Gamelin, and the British Commander-in-Chief, Viscount Gort. The French did not hesitate to retain the services of their most brilliant general despite his 66 years, the British to choose for commander a man who was no more than 53. The question of age in leadership is so much a relative question of the activity of mind and body that no hard and fast opinion can be held, but in the main Great Britain was happy in the selection of a younger Commander-in-Chief and well content that the supreme direction of the war should be in the hands of one to whom old age was already beckoning.

In this respect it may be interesting to compare the ages of the military leaders of 1914 with those of 1939. The portly and paternal Joffre was 62, four years younger than Gamelin; French was 62, nine years younger than Gort; Robertson was 54, five years younger than Ironside. Haig was 53, five years younger than Dill, and Brooke and Smith-Dorrien were of the same age, 56.

It will be seen that the chiefs of 1939 were in some cases older than those of 1914, but if there is any advantage or disadvantage in a few years one way or another this could be offset by the vastly greater intensive experience of the conditions of modern warfare possessed by the present leaders.

Unlike Hindenburg, Gamelin was not called from retirement, nor indeed were any of the Allied commanders. They were all men of continuous service, holding at the outbreak of war the highest and most responsible positions. They were not called upon to familiarize themselves with an entirely changed set of conditions, with the rapid advance in mechanization, or with the introduction of new weapons. For these developments they had themselves been responsible.

The decision, painfully taken after four years of war in 1918, to place the Allied forces in the West under the supreme command of a French general was agreed to with alacrity in the early conversations of 1939, and at the outbreak of war the title and the powers of Generalissimo were bestowed on General Gamelin. This remarkable soldier had since 1931 held a post unique in French military history: he was made Chief of General Staff of National Defense, by virtue of which he had authority to co-ordinate all branches of the defence services. With the additional powers of Generalissimo now given him he held a position in the military hierarchy little lower than that of Napoleon himself.

This dapper, quiet-voiced, quiet-mannered General, conspicuous by the smoothness of his appearance (which belied his age by several years), had gained the complete confidence of the French people. He had been a soldier, and, some say at first, against his will, he was bred one. There is a charming picture painted by his mother of the infant Gamelin, dressed in flannel suits, beating a toy drum. Mme. Gamelin, it is said, predicted his future. It is more probable that it never even entered her head that he would do otherwise than follow the family profession, for on both sides he came of a distinguished line of soldiers. His father was Auditor-General of the French Army; a great-uncle was the last French military governor of Strasburg before the Franco-Prussian war of 1870; his great-grandfather had served under Napoleon, and yet more remote ancestors had fought under the banner of Louis XIV.

His family had their origins in French Flanders, but Gamelin was born...
in Paris, where his father was employed. He was brought up a Roman Catholic, and after his preliminary education was sent to the French military college of St. Cyr. Here he had a distinguished career as a student, passing out with the highest marks. Like many a famous French soldier, his early service was spent in Africa, but he was clearly marked down for higher training, and in 1899 he went to the École Supérieure de Guerre. Here he had amongst other instructors the future Marshal Foch.

In 1904 the young Gamelin joined Joffre's staff, and we may pass over the intervening ten years to find him still with that general, now commander-in-chief of the French army. As a member of the operations branch, Gamelin was much in the counsels of his chief. He is described as constantly by his side, silent unless his opinion were asked or his infallible memory for detail called upon. Then in few words he would state his considered view or provide the required facts. There is no doubt—and Joffre himself testified to it on more than one occasion—that Gamelin was that exceptional type of assistant—the man who combined the virtues of the efficient subordinate with those high qualities of mind which marked him out as a successor in leadership.

History has credited him with a major part in the momentous decision in September 1914 to counter-attack on the flank of the German waves then so perilously near Paris. He himself pooh-poohed the idea that he did more than draft the order that resulted in the successful battle of the Marne—which arrested the German sweep through Belgium, saved the Channel ports, threw the Germans back on the line of the Aisne, where they were kept for nearly four years, and altered the whole course of the war. There is no doubt at General Headquarters, where strategic opinions were at variance, that it was Gamelin and the ever-resourceful Gallièni (then military governor of Paris) who persuaded the cautious Joffre to strike on September 6, 1914, with such immediately gratifying results.

Although Gamelin became Chief of the Operations Branch, he did not remain a staff officer throughout the war. He became a brigade and divisional commander, earning credit in the field as solid as that he had gained at the conference table.

After the war he was employed on a military mission to Brazil, during which he did much to enhance French prestige in that country; and he also performed one more warlike service of great value to France when, in 1923, he was mainly instrumental in crushing the Druze rebellion in Syria.

A distinguished military historian (Capt. Liddell Hart) has referred to his "infinite calmness of temperament, his air of detachment, his power of unravelling complicated issues and expounding them in a simple way to untechnically minded ministers. In discussion he rarely raises his voice, indulges in no gestures, and is as ready to listen to others while waiting the right moment to intervene as in the years when he was Joffre's shadow. Gamelin's favourite phrase is said to have been "I am a philosopher," to which Joffre added the comment after the battle of the Marne: "If this be philosophy it is time all generals were philosophers."

One final picture of the Generalissimo as he was in the days of the last war may well be that of General Spears, who referred to him, "eloquent and low-voiced," as this "chunky little officer who looked so young and who exercised such a mastery over himself that it seemed impossible that he should ever give himself away."

Second in the military hierarchy of France at the outbreak of war was General Georges, an officer of 64 years of age, who bore the title of Commandant of the French army. As Gamelin was to some extent the lineal descendant in military upbringing of Joffre, so Georges owed the chief inspiration of his military career to Foch. But in the material circumstances of his birth and upbringing Georges had vastly different origins from Gamelin. He was a child of the people, with no proud soldier ancestry calling to him for emulation. His father has been variously described as a gendarme, a blacksmith and a village schoolmaster. It is immaterial which humble occupation he followed—the important fact is that his son had to make his way to the top without influence and by the force of his own character.

Georges was a student at St. Cyr, and as a subaltern saw service at Algiers. He, too, had a brilliant career at the École de Guerre, and at the outbreak of the war of 1914-18 was commanding a battalion in the army of General Castelnau. He then joined the staff of General Foch, and during the occupation of the Ruhr was chief of staff to General Degoutte.

Those years with Foch did much to influence Georges' character and outlook. No one could come within the sphere of that incurable optimist without

SEEKING THE ROAD TO VICTORY

General Lord Gort, V.C., Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force, is here seen examining one of the many maps which are the sole mural ornaments of his office at General Headquarters. Before his appointment as C-in-C, Lord Gort was Chief of the Imperial General Staff, a post in which he was succeeded by General Sir Edmund Ironside.

Photo, "Match," Paris
catching something of the buoyancy of his mind and spirit. One recalls his famous message of 1914: "My centre is broken, my right is giving way. Situation excellent, I am attacking." Or again later at Doullens, during the dark days of March 1918, when the German offensive had penetrated so dangerously into the Allied lines. "It is here," said Foch, "we must stop the Boche. It is only necessary to give the order—it is sufficient to say "We retreat no more'... France is France—she does not die."

Georges inherited much of this gallant bravado, and he, like his master, had complete confidence in his country's inviolable strength. After the war he held the post of military secretary to Maginot, whose foresight provided France with that immensely strong barrier along the eastern frontier which bears his name. Further service at Algiers as G.O.C. the 13th Corps was followed by his appointment to the Supreme War Council. It was in his capacity as a member that he was involved in the outrage in November 1934 at Marseilles when King Alexander of Yugoslavia and M. Barthou of the French Cabinet were assassinated.

General Georges was in the same carriage, and was so seriously wounded that for some time his life was despaired of. Actually he was saved from death by a Sarabian decoration, for the bullet glanced off this into the left shoulder blade instead of piercing the heart.

Georges was endowed with a naturally gay and lively disposition, and the hazards of war and peace left him with unimpaired vivacity. This showed itself in his leisure moments, but during his long working hours he was always a man of unflagging industry, a tireless student, and one to whom the habit of deep thought was second nature. Like Pétain, his first preoccupation had always been the well-being of his troops. Foch, it is said, always thought that he had enough men to attack, Pétain that he never had enough. Georges is quoted as saying, "I would never willingly order an attack unless I was certain of success."

Its was also said of Georges that he inherited Foch's hatred of formulas and hard and fast military doctrines. "There is only one doctrine in war—common sense," said Foch, and Georges accepted this view. Like many other great strategists he early knew that maps were more valuable than books, and he studied maps so that the very woodland paths or desert tracks of any likely theatre of war were familiar to him.

Of such a character were the two men who in 1939 assumed the supreme commands in France. In Viscount Gort and Sir Edmund Ironside Great Britain was fortunate in having two soldiers of almost equal experience and of a proved leadership in war.

Gort had leap-frogged over the heads of many senior major-generals to become, in 1937, Military Secretary to the Secretary of State for War, and later Chief of Imperial General Staff. His distinguished military record both during and after the war of 1914-1918 fully justified this promotion. He was further promoted full general, and on September 4, 1939, he was, at the age...
abundance were to be his, and before
the war was over he had won a Military
Cross, a D.S.O. with two bars (or, as
some prefer to say, three D.S.O.s), had
been mentioned nine times in dispatches,
and finally had been awarded the V.C.
—the supreme decoration "for valour."

In April 1917 Gort left the staff and
returned to regimental duties as com-
manding officer of the 4th Battalion
Grenadier Guards. He was in the front
line with his battalion during the third
battle of Ypres, when, it may be remem-
bered, the Guards justified their reputa-
tion by invariably taking their objec-
tives. He was in command again of
the 4th Grenadiers at Cambrai, that
distressful battle which opened so
brilliantly, which was a glorious victory
for the tanks, and which ended in a
devastating German counter-attack
that completely nullified these results.

Later Gort succeeded to the command
of the 1st Battalion of the Grenadiers,
and was leading them during the great
retreat of March 1918. The zenith of
his career as a regimental officer was,
however, reached on September 27 of
that year, when he led the battalion
in the attack across the Canal du Nord,
near Flesquières. Lieut.-Colonel Gort
was wounded at the outset, and at the
forming-up ground found himself facing
very severe artillery and machine-gun
fire. The "London Gazette," announcing
that he had been awarded the V.C., said:

"Although wounded, he quietly grasped
the situation, directed a platoon to proceed
down a sunken road to make a flanking
attack and, under terrific fire, went across
open ground to obtain the assistance of a
tank, which he personally led and directed
to the best possible advantage. While thus
formally exposing himself he was again
severely wounded by a shell. Notwithstanding
considerable loss of blood, after lying
on a stretcher for a while, he insisted on
going up and personally directing the
further attack. By his magnificent example
of devotion to duty and utter disregard of
personal safety all ranks were inspired to
exert themselves to the utmost, and the
attack resulted in the capture of over 200
prisoners, two batteries of field guns, and
numerous machine-guns. Lieutenant-Colonel
Viscount Gort then proceeded to organize
the defence of the captured position until
he collapsed; even then he refused to leave
the field until he had seen the "success
signal" go up on the final objective.

The successful advance of the battalion
was mainly due to the valour, devotion
and leadership of this very gallant officer."

Gort's post-War career was not at
first meteoric. In 1927 he was holding
the comparatively junior job of G.S.O.1
to the Shanghai Defence Force. He was
Director of Military Training in India
from 1932 to 1936, when he came home
to take up the post of Commandant of
the Staff College at Camberley. His
selection as Military Secretary and
G.C.S. has been recorded, and it was
probably from this time anticipated
that he would be given command of the
Field Force in event of war.
subaltern in the South African War. He was mentioned in dispatches and did invaluable secret service work disguised as a Boer wagon driver. The maps which he based on his journey through German territory are said to have been used by General Botha in the S.W. African campaign of 1914.

During the war of 1914–18 Ironside held staff appointments almost throughout, but in March 1915, when all available troops were thrown in to stop the German offensive, he brought into the line the personnel of the Small Command from 1936 to 1938. He was so clearly marked for the highest posts that it came as a shock, late in 1938, to find him appointed Governor of Gibraltar, for this had long been recognized as a decorative appointment indicating the last stage on the way to retirement. But we may assume that, with the threat of war growing daily more menacing, it needed a master hand to put the defenses of the Rock in order.

There was no doubt when war did break out where his high duties lay.

Ironside is a man of big stature,

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ALLIED COMMANDERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Lieutenant-General Sir Archibald Wavell (left), Commander of the British Land Forces in the Middle East, is here seen in conversation with General Weygand, Commander-in-Chief of the French troops in the Levant. The photograph was taken during the staff talks which preceded the signing of the Anglo-French Treaty with Turkey.

_Foto: The Times_
FRENCH NAVAL C-IN-C. VISITS ENGLAND

Admiral Darlan, Commander-in-Chief of the French Navy, is seen inspecting a guard of honour at a British port. Behind him is Admiral Sir William James, appointed Chief of the Naval Staff in 1939. Admiral Darlan was given command of the French naval forces on June 6, 1939.

Photo: Planet News

retained their loyalty and confidence. Equally had he the complete trust of the British people.

In September 1939, when the British Expeditionary Force first went overseas, two Corps Commanders were appointed—General Sir John Greer Dill and Lt.-General Alan Francis Brooke. Later, a 3rd Corps Commanders Corps was designated under Lt.-General Sir Ronald Forbes Adam. Of the three Sir John Dill was the only one whose name was at all familiar to the public, for it had come into prominence when from 1936 to 1937 he was G.O.C. in Palestine and Transjordan. In September 1939 Dill was G.O.C. Aldershot Command.

Dill, who was born in 1881, saw service in the Boer War as a subaltern in the Leinster Regiment, and at the outbreak of the First Great War was, like Ironside, a student at the Staff College. Practically his whole active service was spent on the Staff. He was familiar with the French army and its leaders, and infantrymen could well take comfort from the fact that their two senior commanders in the field were both foot soldiers who had in the past shared the greatest of the "foot-sloggers" hazards and knew full well their inevitable hardships.

Gunnery, on the other hand, contributed to leadership in Ironside and the

2nd Corps Commander, Lt.-General Brooke. Like Dill, Brooke is an Ulsterman of a famous family, who entered the Royal Artillery in 1902 and began his service in the Great War with the Indian Expeditionary Force. He was on the staff throughout, serving for a year with the Canadian Corps. Two of his more recent appointments were Director of Military Training and Commander of the Mobile Division and of the Anti-Aircraft Corps.

Another leader of outstanding personality, Sir Ronald Adam, in 1938 shot up over the heads of many major-generals to become Deputy Chief of Imperial General Staff. Sir Ronald was a regimental captain in 1914 and saw active service in France, Flanders and Italy. But he later became a specialist in airmanship for rapid promotion. He was well known for his gift of penetrating comment and the posing of searching questions. He followed Lord Gort as Commandant of the Staff College.

It is interesting to note that Gort, Ironside, Dill and Adam were Commandants of the Staff College, and that Brooke had been an instructor there, which gave them exceptional knowledge of Staff Officers who later served them.

On his appointment as Corps Commander his place at the War Office as Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff was taken by Major-General H. R. S. Massey, D.S.O., M.C. He served during the war of 1914-18 in

HOME FLEET'S C-IN-C. ABOARD H.M.S. "NELSON"

Admiral Sir Charles Forbes, D.S.O., seen above inspecting a guard of honour of Royal Marines, was present at the Battle of Jutland as Jellicoe's flag commander on the "Iron Duke," and was second in command of the "Queen Elizabeth" during the attack on the Dardanelles in 1915.

Photo: Wide World

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Gallipoli, Egypt and France. He received a commission in the R.F.A. in 1902, and later went to West Africa (1907-11). When the First Great War broke out Nassy was Adjutant to the 4th East Lancs Brigade, R.F.A. He served in India (1922-28), being instructor at the Staff College, Quetta, from 1925. A colonel in 1932, he became Brigadier R.A. Southern Command two years later, holding this post until 1938, when he was promoted major-general and appointed Director of Military Training at the War Office. He was 55 when in 1939 he took up the post of Deputy C.G.O.S.

As Deputy Chief of General Staff, Overseas Lord Gort took with him to France Major-General Philip Neame, V.C., D.S.O. General Neame’s V.C. was won at Neuve Chapelle in December 1914 when he was serving as a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers. In 1916 he became Commandant, Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

Another highly important appointment at the outbreak of hostilities was that of Lieut.-General Sir Archibald Wavell to the supreme command in the Middle East. General Wavell, who shares with Ittmison and Dilt the laurels of a Boer War veteran, had had varied experience in the war of 1914-18, acting as Liaison Officer with the Russians and ending as Brigadier-General on Sir Philip Chetwode’s staff during Allenby’s victorious campaign against the Turks. Latterly he was G.O.C. in Palestine and of the Southern Command. He was always known for his open-mindedness, unconventionality of outlook and ready receptivity of new ideas; qualities of great value in facing the strategic problems of the Eastern Mediterranean.

It is said that at the present war had been in progress for three months the question was posed to a company of intelligentia—"Who is the Commander-in-Chief of the Homes Fleet?" Only one could answer correctly—"Admiral Sir Charles Forbes," and he added the wise comment—"Better a man with a public reputation to make than one made for him by injudicious publicity." This is more especially true of the silent service, where any kind of public boosting is looked upon with horror and rather sets as an embarrassment than an encouragement.

Forbes’s record, however, was of a character sufficiently impressive to bear stark repetition without adornment.

He entered the Navy in 1894 as a boy of 15, in the old wooden cadet ship "Britannia." In 1912 he was a commander, in 1917 a captain, in 1928 a rear-admiral; he became a vice-admiral in 1933 and an admiral in 1936. He was a specialist in gunnery, and his first important post in the war of 1914-18 was as second in command of the "Queen Elizabeth" under Admiral de Robeck during the attack on the Dardanelles.

Recalled to the Grand Fleet, he became Jellicoe’s flag-commander on board the "Iron Duke," and in this post was present at the Battle of Jutland, after which he was awarded the D.S.O. Jellicoe, in his dispatches, paid high tribute to his efficiency and helpfulness. From 1932 to 1934 Forbes was Third Sea Lord. After his promotion to Vice-Admiral he commanded the 1st Battle Squadron.

Slightly built, with keen blue eyes, Sir Charles could carry his 58 years with an air of youthfulness. He made his way up the ladder by merit and not influence, and through his forty odd years of service absorbed every lesson of experience. On shore his hobby and his pride had been his beautiful garden at Virginia Water. Already in September 1939 the country had to acknowledge the efficiency of two mobilizations of the Fleet, one in the previous September during the Czech crisis and the other at the outbreak of war, for both of which Sir Charles Forbes was responsible.

At the Admiralty, the First Sea Lord was Admiral Sir Dudley Pound, an old sea-dog of proved worth in battle and in peacetime, who had entered the Navy in 1891 and who in 1914 had been commander of the "St. Vincent." At Jutland he commanded the "Colossus," of which ship he was captain for two years. When Chief of Staff to Sir Roger Keyes in the Mediterranean, in 1926, he was promoted to flag rank, and to this command he himself succeeded in 1938. Pound is said in many ways to have resembled Beatty in his belief in the initiative and the offensive. At the Admiralty in his early days he was a pupil of Fisher. Very popular with the
lower deck, with a breezy, barking manner, he was always blessed with foresight and wisdom. Four years previously, when pleading for more capital ships, he had prophesied, "In two or three years there is going to be a hell of a fight."

As opposite number to Sir Charles Forbes, the French Navy had as commander-in-chief Admiral Darlan, a roving sailor from Narac in Gascogne—a man of precise orders, light-hearted, optimist and immensely loved and trusted by his men. It was typical of him during the war of 1914–18, when fighting on land seemed to offer the more immediately exciting employment, that he had volunteered for it and was given command of a naval battery, with which he saw service in France (on the Somme and at Verdun) and at Salonika. His post-war employments were all highly important, and he reached the highest command in 1926.

Only second to the Navy in coasting obscurity is the Royal Air Force, but it had at the outbreak of war two great leaders, who, amongst a galaxy of talent, held the highest posts and upon whom the safety of the country so vitally depended. Both Air Chief Marshal Sir Cyril Newall and Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding were soldiers who had joined the R.F.C. at the beginning of the war of 1914–18.

Sir Cyril Newall, Chief of the Air Staff, was born in India in 1886. He was commissioned to the Royal Warwickshire Regiment and afterwards to the 2nd R.E.O. Gurkha Rifles. In 1911, as a Lieutenant, he learnt to fly at his own expense, and shortly after the outbreak of war joined the R.F.C. In September 1915, he was commanding No. 12 Squadron, which he took to France. On active service he won the Albert Medal for a deed of extraordinary gallantry, when with the help of three others he put out a fire in a store in which 2000 high explosive bombs were housed.

His progress after the war was gradual but inevitable until he became Chief of Air Staff in 1937.

The formation of a separate R.A.F. Command to include all units of the Force in France was announced on January 9, 1940. This Command, known as the "British Air Forces in France," was entrusted to Air Marshal A. S. Barratt, C.B., C.M.G., M.C., who became responsible, in consultation with the Army commanders-in-chief concerned, for ensuring the most effective support by the British Air Forces for the B.E.F. and the French armies on the Western Front. In collaboration with General Vuillemin, he was also charged with co-ordinating the operations of the British and French Air Forces in France.

There are three other chief executive commands in the Air Force—the Fighter Command, the Bomber Command, and the Coastal Command. The Air Officer commanding-in-chief the first of these was Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding. His command included the fighter aircraft, the A.A. guns, the searchlights, the barrage balloons and the Observer Corps. He, too, had learnt to fly before the war of 1914–18. As a gunner subaltern he joined the R.F.C. In 1915 he was entrusted with the development of wireless communication between aircraft and batteries.

The commander-in-chief of the Bomber Command and the Coastal Command are respectively Air Chief Marshal Sir Edgar Ludlow-Hewitt and Air Marshal Sir Frederick Bowhill. Sir Edgar was also in the R.F.C. in 1914 and was awarded the D.S.O. and M.C. Sir Frederick is an old "Worcester" cadet who, after service in the R.N.R., joined the R.N.A.S. and commanded a seaplane squadron in the German East campaign—winning the D.S.O. and bar.

For 13 months before the present war the French Air Force had been commanded by General Vuillemin, who in 1914–18 established his reputation as a fighting ace. By June 1918 he had fought 40 battles, and on one occasion fought single-handed with five German Albatros machines. He was mentioned in dispatches. During the intervening period he earned a high reputation both as a leader in the air and as an administrator. On one occasion he led a flight of 30 military aeroplanes over 15,000 miles of desert. In rebuilding the French air power he showed the greatest firmness and persistence.

CHIEF OF BOMBER COMMAND

Air Chief Marshal Sir Edgar Ludlow-Hewitt, D.S.O., M.C., served with the Royal Flying Corps in 1914. He was six times mentioned in dispatches. In 1915 he was appointed to command the R.A.F. in India.

Photo: L.N.A.

CHIEF OF COASTAL COMMAND

Air Marshal Sir Frederick Bowhill, D.S.O., served with the R.N.A.S. in the 1914–18 war, and was mentioned six times in dispatches. He began his career as an officer in the Merchant Service.

FRENCH AIR CHIEF

General Vuillemin, C.-in-C., of the French Air Force, holds a high place in the ranks of French air aces of 1914–18. Originally an artillery officer, he transferred to the air service when it was in its infancy.
FRANCE GUARDS HER PRICELESS TREASURES

The famous Gothic cathedral of Notre Dame at Chartres, 55 miles S.W. of Paris, is one of the finest in the world and was built in the 13th century. It is renowned for its lovely stained-glass windows, and in order that they should not be damaged by air raids, they were removed on the outbreak of war and replaced, as shown in this photograph, by wired paper. Note, too, the sandbag protection being built in front of the sculptured doorways.

Photo, Irene H. Grammer
OUR ALLY'S POWERFUL SUBMARINE CRUISER

Below is a close-up view of France's popular submarine "Seveux." With a surface displacement of nearly 4,000 tons, a height of 150 feet and an armament which includes the two 5-inch guns seen in the photograph, the "Seveux" is almost as much a cruiser as a submarine. She has two 600-ton turrets and carries a normal complement of 100 men.

She can also carry a small submarine.

PHOTO, DELA.
HIGH-SPEED MAKING OF FRENCH FIGHTER 'PLANES

Here is a scene in a French aircraft factory where single-seat fighters are being turned out at high speed. In 1937 most of the French industrial works connected with the aero-plane industry were grouped in six Sociétés Régionales, and a decentralization of factories took place so as to render them less vulnerable to mass air attacks. The machines seen above are the famous Morane-Sainiier fighters.

Photo, Agence Fréquences

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA UNDER THE NAZI HEEL: A PURGATORY OF OPPRESSION

Chapter 32

For twenty years Czechoslovakia was a member of the family of nations; for twenty years the little country had her place in the map stretching across the heart of Europe from the mountains of Bohemia to the Carpathian foothills in Bukovina. During those two decades her people, blessed with the gifts of industry and courage, developed a national estate which Nature had endowed with no niggard of riches. Both at home and abroad her statesmen sought peace and ensured it. Far beyond the confines of the Continent her fame went forth, and everywhere, by men who prized freedom and lived by tolerance and reason, this at least of the Succession States born of the collapsing Austro-Hungarian realm was hailed as one of the few worth-while products of the Great War.

So proud was her bearing, indeed, so splendid her achievement, so encouraging to all who held by democratic forms and breathed the democratic spirit, that those fit only to be tyrants and the slaves of tyrants were put to shame. In their hearts the seeds of envy and hate grew and multiplied, until the time came when the totalitarian sea could not endure this little island of liberty set in its midst. Gradually the distant storm muttered and grew near, until at last it broke in the shriekings of a megaphone, the babble of diplomats, the tramp of armed legions, the rumble of tanks, the crash of volleys behind prison walls. Czechoslovakia died because, being free, she was no safe neighbour for a country of "yes-men," a nation of spies and the spied on.

This is not the place to tell the story of the Czechoslovak crisis of 1938. Suffice it to say that at the Munich Conference of September 30 the dismemberment of the little country was decreed, and her wrong, completely prepared defenses were handed over to Germany. For a few months the rump state staggered along beneath a giant load of difficulties. Then, on March 13 of the following year, the German armies marched in overwhelming force to take advantage of a situation deliberately worked up by Nazi agents. At 3:55 a.m. on March 13 President Hacha, in Herr Hitler's office in Berlin, signed away his country's independence, having been told that unless he did so without delay 800 German aeroplanes would blast Prague into nonentity. At 6 a.m. on March 15 the German troops occupied Bohemia and Moravia, and thirteen hours later Hitler himself entered Prague. Once again he had bullied his way to victory; he did not know it then, but history will recall that this was his last major triumph. The Idea of March, as Mr. Harold Nicolson has written, the seizure of Prague, came as such a profound shock to British opinion that "in twelve hours the great majority of people in England realized that the policy of appeasement had failed completely." From that realization proceeded in due course the Peace Front, the resolve to stand by Poland, the declaration of war on September 3.

When war came Czechoslovakia was a prisoner. A year before, when war had threatened, the enemies of the Nazi power had relied on Czechoslovakia as constituting a bulwark thrust into the very heart of the foe. Now, as a result of a year's diplomatic manoeuvring, of chicanery and bullying, of underground conspiracy and open suppression, she was enclosed within the armed circle of her oppressors. However ardently the majority of the Czech people might hope and long for the victory of the Allies, they could do little to further its advent. Whereas on the earlier occasion they might have proffered guns and fortresses, planes and men, now they could but shake their shackles in fuming impotence.

Armed revolt on a large scale was, of course, out of the question; the Nazis...
saw to that by spreading their spy network throughout the country and by occupying every place of importance with numbers of heavily-armed troops. Many years ago, Engels pointed out that an instruction of the street-fighting and barricade type was out of date when the streets have been laid out long and straight, and the militia are numerous, well-armed and firmly disciplined. Only when, as in Russia in 1917, the soldiers join the people in revolt is success at all probable. In Prague, in the autumn of 1939, military support was not to be expected when the garrison was made up of aliens, men of a different race and speaking a different tongue; men, moreover, whose interest was bound up with the maintenance of their position in the midst of a vast hostile populace.

But though for the time being the Czechs submitted to the conqueror, they never attempted to conceal their hatred, to veil their contempt. Some of the young German lovers were horribly aggrieved when they found that swagger and smart uniforms were not the passport to the consideration of the Czech maidens. In every way and at every opportunity the Germans were made to feel that they were beyond the pale. They were boycotted. Czechs refused to buy in German shops, and got up and left the cafés as soon as German customers appeared in the doorway. They professed to be quite incapable of understanding the German tongue, and when in the German-controlled factory or munition works something went wrong with the machinery and the machines operated by the Czechs always seemed to be going wrong—the culprits smiled at every question, shook their heads helplessly at every reproach, and at every curse returned always the same reply: "Sorry, don't know German."

During the six months that elapsed between the proclamation of the Protectorate and the opening of the war with Poland the relation between the Czechs and their oppressors grew steadily worse. For the most part the Czechs maintained an admirable sang-froid and they soon proved that ridicule was a powerful weapon in their armory. They roared with laughter when the Nazi tanks and mechanized transport refused to start after they had once halted in a great procession in Prague; they boomed as well when the drivers and mechanics had to set about the untying of petrol tanks, filled by onlookers with water, milk, sugar, and even raw eggs. They smiled to one another when, on the day on which the receipts of Prague's transport system were declared to be reserved for the Nazi Winter Relief Fund, they all walked to work with their "seasons" tucked ostentatiously in their hatbands, or gaily rode through the streets in taxis. They grinned when things went wrong in the workshops, when the Nazi officials blundered or were complacent, when they bade them with requests for assistance in the filling up of "forms."

It was not always a matter of smiles, however, or even jeers. Patriotic organizations, driven underground by the Gestapo, continued to exist and, when occasion offered, hit—and hit hard. If report spoke true, many an unfortunate Nazi was made to pay the price of his Führer's treachery and dropped in his tracks with a cracked skull or a dagger in his back. When the war began and the black-cuts came into being, these nocturnal assassinations became more frequent, and the Czechs' "Black Hand" came to be spoken of with dread by the members of the garrison.
NAZIS OCCUPY PRAGUE'S HISTORIC CASTLE

In this page are scenes from the Nazi annexation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939. Above, Hitler is looking down upon his handiwork from a window in the Hradcany, the historic castle of Prague—residence of the ancient kings of Bohemia. On the right, he is seen in a room of the castle listening to General Keitel, the Reichsheer commander, making his report. Below, Nazi troops entering the Hradcany.

Photo: International Picture Press
Small wonder that some amongst the Czechs broke out into something not far removed from insurrection. In the middle of September the newspapers of the world carried stories of a great revolt by the Czechs against their oppressors. It began—so the account ran—on Sunday, September 17, in Bohemia, Moravia and Western Slovakia, and despite repressive measures of the most severe and brutal kind, undertaken by vastly superior forces, it went on for several days before the unrest was once more driven underground. Bridges were blown up, railway rolling stock damaged, workshops bombed and machinery sabotaged. There were clashes between troops and civilians; Czech garrisons were said to have revolted and thousands of men had been disarmed. There was fighting in the streets of Prague, in which women had taken a grimly effective part. As a result of these widespread disturbances thousands had been arrested, hundreds shot.

CZECHS DEMONSTRATE IN PRAGUE

After the assumption of Czechoslovakia the Nazis rigorously put down any manifestations of patriotism. But on October 28, 1939, the twenty-first anniversary of Czechoslovakia’s Independence Day, there were many demonstrations, and in scuffles between Czech and German many were injured and arrested. Below, a students’ demonstration in the Vaclavské Naměsti.

Photo, Planet News
and marched to the central quarter of Prague, where they held a demonstration. The Czech police had the situation well in hand. Indeed, there was no suggestion of disorder—until a band of Sudeten German youths got up a quarrel with Czechs wearing the tricolour and those peaked caps which were always worn by old President Masaryk.

Scuffle Leads to Massacre

One of the big banks was made into a temporary reception station by the police, and the cries of the prisoners who were being mistreated within attracted the attention of the crowd, and so aroused the disgust and horror of the Czech police that they could hardly be restrained from making an entrance with a view to putting an end to the atrocities.

Meanwhile, crowds were assembling and demonstrating in peaceful fashion in other streets of the central zone, particularly in Wenceslas Square and outside the church of St. Mary-in-the-Nerow, where they sang the Czech national anthem with patriotic fervour. But as evening drew on tempers began to rise. There were some force encouters between the rival factions, particularly in the little park on Karlovo Namesti, and State Secretary Frank and his gang of Sudeten agents provocateurs got involved in, or started, a mêlée in which revolvers, whips and rifle butts were brought into effective action. Several passers-by were shot, and a number more were taken to hospital suffering from revolver wounds. In all, seventeen Czechs were reported to have been killed, and some 3,500 arrested.

IN THE PANTHEON OF PRAGUE

Below is the tomb of President Masaryk in the Pantheon, or National Monument of Liberation, at Prague, which holds many relics and documents sacred to all Czechs. It was reported to have been desecrated by members of the Gestapo, who smashed up the exhibits.

Photo, E.N.A.
and threatening manner." The Czech police, so far as Mr. Villard observed and heard, were perfectly correct in their behaviour (although he wondered that any Czechs could be got to do their work), but he could not help feeling that if efficient British or American police had been on the job, the day would have passed without any disturbance to speak of, and certainly no killing. "It remains to add," he went on, "that the S.S. men who did the killings used a very interesting new technique. They shot obliquely at the sidewalk so that the bullets ricocheted up into the crowd. That enabled them to say that they were 'so sorry' these 'accidents' had happened. Had they not been careful to shoot at the ground and not at the people?"

Among the victims of the shooting on October 28 was a Czech medical student of twenty-two, Jan Opletal, and on November 13 his funeral was made the occasion for another great demonstration of national feeling. Thousands of his fellow-students assembled in procession and marched beside the bier, funeral flames were lit, defiant speeches delivered before the Czech Unknown Warrior's Tomb, and Czech and Slovak anthems sung to the tune of cries of "Death to the Murderers!" and "Long Live Liberty!" Czech police kept the crowds on the move, but the Nazi Black Guards, arriving in lorries and on motor bicycles, acted with characteristic brutality. After dispersing the crowds, troops and gendarmes made a search of the University buildings and arrested a number of students, whom they carried away to their headquarters in lorries.

Following the arrests there were shootings. A statement issued by the German News Agency on November 13 read: "A group of Czech intellectuals, which is in touch with ex-President Beneš, has for some considerable time tried to disturb public order in the Protectorate by minor and major acts of resistance. It has been possible to establish that such incidents have occurred, particularly in the Czech universities. The closing down of the Czech universities for a period of three years has been decided upon because these elements made attacks on Germans on October 28 and November 15."

After this announcement Prague became a city of the dead. Czechs kept away from the usual confines of concert, and stayed at home as much as possible by way of mute protest against their oppressors' brutality. The German authorities, however, had no hesitation in attempting to justify their action. "The measures were taken by the Government of the Protectorate," said a Berlin spokesman, "in agreement with Baron von Neurath, the Reich Protector. In the present situation it was impossible for Germany to allow the Czech people to be contaminated by a few hotheads. It is quite possible that similar occurrences may take place in the occupied parts of Poland. In peacetime Germany would be most lenient in the case of such happenings. But under circumstances as serious as the present we have no choice but to crush relentlessly any such currents."

For a few days the Nazis acted as if they were garrisoning a city on the eve of revolt. The University was occupied by armed police and Nazi guards, and so, too, were all the Czech societies of one kind or another. Five thousand Nazi guards were rushed to the city on motor-cycles and in armoured cars, and another five thousand were brought in later. Two thousand students and many professors were arrested, and of those only 800 were released after interrogation. Some of the students were taken away to the ill-famed concentration camp at Buchenwald, near Weimar.

Three more Czechs—two of them police officers—were shot by the Germans in Prague on November 18; they were said to have attacked a Nazi guard...
LIFE IN THE NEW GERMAN PROTECTORATES

On the left is a Sunday morning scene on the famous 14th-century Charles Bridge in Prague, taken in November, 1938, after the former Republic of Czechoslovakia had been annexed by the Nazis. Above, a young uniformed Nazi grins at the impasse face of a Czech policeman. The German caption to this photograph was "A Friendly Conversation". Judging from the Czech's expression it must have been a one-sided one. Below left, the village of Ratierdorf, in so-called independent Slovakia; the swastika must be flown with the Slovak national flag. Below right, a newspaper seller in Prague.

Photos, International Graphic Press and from "Berlin Iliustrirte Zeitung"
white engaged in the execution of his duties. This, the Nazi authorities now admit, made twelve executions, but it was widely believed that the real number was very much larger. On the same day martial law was proclaimed in Prague.

After the executions von Neurath issued a proclamation to the Czech people reminding them how often they had been warned against having anything to do with those who acknowledged the leadership of Beneš, and in the evening President Hacha was brought to the microphone from his sick bed to broadcast an address to his people. After saying that the events of the last few days had put in jeopardy the status given to the Protectorate by the Fuehrer on March 15, he attributed the anti-German disturbances to "infatuated elements" who were under the influence of hostile propaganda. The Czech people, he went on, had been incorporated in Germany's "living space," and it must be understood that Germany was now at war and justified in taking all the measures deemed necessary for victory. Moreover, the Czechs had been spared the horrors of war and the destruction which had befallen the Poles; they were in a position to live their lives in peace and hence were in a happier situation than many neutrals. He concluded with an appeal for the maintenance of law and order. Any resistance, he indicated, must have unpredictable consequences for the nation as well as for the individuals concerned.

Shortly after the making of this feeble essay in justification it was announced that the President had left Prague and his resignation was rumoured. So dangerous was the situation felt to be that the number of Nazi guards and storm troopers still concentrated in Prague was believed to be some 20,000. Brutalities of the most shocking kind continued to be reported, and the special courts set up under the proclamation of martial law were empowered to pass the death sentence for murder, sabotage, and (ominous inclusion) resistance to authority. Amongst the arrested were a number of Czech police officers. As a foreign observer told Mr. Villard, the Germans had made "every possible mistake" since taking over the Protectorate, and surely it would be difficult to surpass such silly vandalism as the destruction in the Czech National Museum of documents and records recording the Czech fight against the tyranny of the Hapsburgs. It would be difficult to assess the folly, too, of expelling hundreds of students into the countryside, there to spread the story of oppression now rampant in the capital.

The Nazi attitude to the Czechs was well expressed in the extraordinary outburst of Herr Henlein, the German Governor of the Sudetenland, on Dec. 3, 1939, at the first Nazi public meeting to be held in Prague. "The Czechs should realize," he fulminated, "that wherever the Swastika flies it flies for ever. They should also free themselves from dreams of a Czech Legion, or they will lead themselves to destruction. We

LITTLE FUEHRER OF SUDETEN GERMANS

Konrad Henlein (above), leader of the Sudeten German party in Czecho-Slovakia, was the chief agitator in the events which led to the crisis of September, 1938. After the Nazi annexation he became Gauleiter of Sudetenland and Civil Administrator for Bohemia.

Photo: International Graphic Press

— the Reich, Bohemia and Moravia — are at war. But your Fuehrer is not the weak Emperor Charles in Vienna (presumably a reference to the last of the Austrian Kaisers, Charles, who abdicated in 1918). Germany today has the strongest government in the world. Sabotage is going to be treated with the greatest severity. Who is against us will be destroyed." Henlein was followed on the rostrum by the notorious Dr. Ley, who reminded his hearers that it was in Prague that "the greatest misfortune the German race has ever endured—the thirty years' civil war" had its beginning. But Prague was now once more what it had been for so many centuries, a centre of German culture.

NAZI LABOUR FRONT LEADER.

Below, Dr. Ley, leader of the German Labour Front, is seen speaking at a Party Congress. At the first Nazi public meeting to be held in Prague, on December 2, 1939, he informed his listeners that their city was once again what it had been for many centuries, a centre of German culture.

Photo: International Graphic Press

To quote Mr. Villard again, the Nazis "have no sense that they are dealing with the greatest and most determined antagonists Europe has ever known, and that their only hope of winning them was by friendly methods, by putting wise and kindly officials in charge, by seeking their co-operation and giving them real autonomy from the start. This they have not done." Instead, the truncheon and the bullet, the packed court and the concentration camp, the suppression of political life, the repression of natural culture. And the irony of it—that when Herr Hitler marched into Czecho-Slovakia only six months before it was to "restore order,"
RESOLUTE WAR EFFORT OF THE FRENCH NATION

With the enemy on their very frontier, the French people realized, perhaps more acutely than the British, the need for self-sacrifice, courage and endurance, if the Allies were to be victorious. The following extract from speeches of leading statesmen stress the importance of these qualities in the struggle against the forces of aggression.

Mr. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, in the House of Commons, November 8, 1939

The French Navy has not for many generations been so powerful or so efficient. Under the long rule of Admiral Darlan and the Minister of Marine, M. Campanelli, a magnificent fighting and seafaring force has been created. Not only have we been assisted in every way by the men of the French Navy, but the whole of the French Navy has been united in the struggle against the common foe. The French Navy has never been more united in the struggle against the common foe.

M. Pauil Reynaud, French Financier Minister, in a Broadcast, November 11

What about the French people? Imagine a country in which one in every thirty inhabitants is in the army; a country in which women have required men to work in the factories and in the fields. Nearly all the houses and the farms have been commandeered. Very often they remain in a village only one house, which is used in turn. The women whose husbands have left for the front guide the plough. Imagine what has been to the economic life of my country. Everyone has bravely faced the danger. Our magnificent working class is working sixty hours a week and more, and they are not only working overtime, but they are giving up 40 per cent of their overtime pay. In addition to this, those under forty-nine who, by their age, are eligible for the army, are paying another 15 per cent of their salaries. The French people have accepted these sacrifices with courage, but in spite of all this difficulty the financial recovery has not been interrupted. The rich continue to bring their money back to their country. The poor are making their money available to their country by increasing their savings in the banks.

Mr. Anthony Eden, Secretary for Dominion Affairs, in a Broadcast in French, November 19, 1939

Last week it was my good fortune to accompany the Ministers from each of the Dominions overseas and a representative of India... We saw what was for many of us our first view of the magnificent Canadian forces, massed as they are today in the army, which, for clear vision, training and efficiency, is unsurpassed.

France has made great sacrifices, financial and material, in order to complete her Maginot Line. Today France knows that her sacrifice has been well worthwhile.

The second picture is of the forward slope of the Maginot Line. It is early morning and the mist still lingers on the ground. Peering through the British and French forces and watching their progress, one can see the valiant expression of the men who hold the same faith and cherish the same ideals.

M. Daladier, Prime Minister of France, in the Chamber of Deputies, November 30, 1939

For almost three months our forces have been in contact with the enemy, on land and our armies have already given proof of their valour. Forward of the fortified positions they are every day showing their mastery.

In the air, our Air Force and the British Air Force are effectively protecting the French nation. On the sea, the fleets of Britain and France have paralyzed the German submarine menace.

Contrary to all forecasts, military operations at the end of the third month have not developed, as expected, with the enemy's adoption of the tactics of massed attacks and great use of firearms. Yet we have been able to inflict serious losses on the enemy.

Since they have been fighting, our armies have deepened our line of resistance. One must talk now of the Maginot Line or of the line which extends from the North Sea and the Jura. One must talk of a succession of lines, anti-tank obstacles, concrete works and casemates which protect French territory.

The bonds which unite us with Great Britain have never been so strong and as deep as today. All speculation on possible divisions between France and her faithful ally are completely in vain.

It is only necessary, in this connection, to point to the struggle being carried on in the noble spirit of sacrifice and comradeship on sea, land and air. It is sufficient to note that, as in the past, the losses in human life suffered by Great Britain are higher than those of the French Army.

M. Paul Reynaud, French Financier Minister, in the Chamber of Deputies, December 13, 1939

This is the language of sacrifices... I resemble victory to be certain, if Frenchmen will show themselves worthy of the great heritage of their history. The war is a test of the will of the Allies is immense, because the freedom of the sea, though disturbed, is still maintained.

After six years of the Nazi regime the German people are undergoing a severe strain. The new German Government is a dictatorship. The old German government is a military dictatorship. The new German government is a military dictatorship. Hitler, who is a revolutionary agitator, has found that the German people are ready to follow him.

We must prepare ourselves to meet the dangers of prolonged military action. Hitler must be defeated. We shall not win the war unless we are prepared to face the dangers of the war. We must be prepared to face the enemies of our country, and we must be prepared to face the danger of the war.
Chapter 33

FRANCE'S WAR EFFORT: BUILDING UP THE THREE SERVICES

Undeceived by the Munich Poutpapers France Speeded Up her Defence—Her Enormous Allocations for the Fighting Forces—Five Million Men Mobilized—Economic Help from the Colonies—A Covering Advance on the Siegried Line—France’s Remarkable Naval Contribution—Exploits of her Submarines

Although the might and the resources of the British Empire would in the long run be the most decisive factor in the defeat of German ambitions, Britain looked to a powerful defence by the French armies to check the advance of the Nazis. It is true that Britain had accelerated her rearmament, especially in the air, from the moment that Mr. Neville Chamberlain returned from the interview with the German Fuehrer at Berchtesgaden. This interview, which had quickly followed the Munich conference of September 1938, meant, according to the British Prime Minister’s statement, “peace in our time.”

It is possible that some French citizens believed this; it is certain that many British citizens believed it. But not the British Government, which, at last had caught up with the realism of the French, who in the main had been preparing for the German threat for several years on a scale and with a speed far greater than Britain. The resources of France and of the French Empire (which includes a population of some 110,000,000) were great, but in proportion to these resources the measures of the French when the war began had been greater than that of Britain.

In 1938 a large extra vote of about £56,000,000 for extending the Maginot Line, and for other defensive measures, brought home to many British people for the first time the seriousness of the French effort to prepare against German aggression. Several big additions to the military forces had been made since 1932, and others had still to be made before the French were satisfied that they could adequately resist when the final crisis arrived.

The great national effort involved in the extension of conscript service from one to two years represented a real sacrifice to the French, and for a time caused much heated political debate and even some riots. The ever-increasing expenditure on all three defence services—army, navy and air force—nevertheless was a heavy burden; and early in 1938 it was found expedient to separate the growing defence expenditure from the ordinary budget. The Caisse Autonome de la Défense Nationale was set up to administer the defence funds, and it was managed by a board comprising the Defence Minister (M. Daladier) as Chairman, the Governor of the Bank of France, representatives of the Senate and Chamber, and officials of the Ministry of Finance. But most significant perhaps was the falling into line early in 1938 of the Trades Unions on their 40-hour week, which they agreed to forgo so that deliveries of armaments might be speeded up.

Speeding up of aircraft production had not been without its difficulties. In 1935 there was a crisis in the aeronautical industry, and in 1936 the industry was nationalized, being grouped into six Sociétés Régionales. In 1937 the Air Ministry had published a programme for the French Air Force, promising to quadruple its bombing power by the end of the year and to double its total strength. The number of aeroplanes had increased by 37 per cent in the preceding six months. By May of 1938 a plan for purchasing “planes abroad was announced, so that the air fleet might be entirely renovated by 1940. This programme was well in hand when the war actually started, and the French air force quickly proved its superiority to the German, machine for machine, in the numerous small encounters during reconnaissance work over the German lines during the opening months of hostilities. When the U.S.A. embargo on arms to belligerents was removed, France already had orders awaiting execution in America for 850 Curtiss pursuit machines, 370 Douglas bombers, 200 North American trainers, 245 Martin bombers, and 40 Vought dive-bombers; and by December of 1938 she had ordered a further 600 Curtiss pursuit ‘planes.

At the end of 1938 France had been consciously preparing for war, and little surprise was occasioned when one of her extra defence votes included £4,700,000 for A.R.P. The main part of the extra

FRENCH SOLDIERS IN THEIR LEISURE HOURS

Just as in England and with the B.E.F., institutions such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Church Army provided for the soldiers’ recreation during their leisure hours, so the French soldier is catered for by the “Foyer du Soldat” (Soldier’s Home). Below is one of these institutions.

Photo, Courtesy of the French Embassy

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WAR COMES TO PARIS

As in London, many of Paris’s Underground stations were temporarily closed for structural alterations. The top photograph shows a station in the Boulevard de la Madeleine. Also in common with London, many shops in Paris protected their windows from blast by strips of adhesive paper; Paris, however, made use of the talents of her artists, as shown, above left, by the ingenious window decoration of a famous dressmaker. Above, Paris firemen are seen turning out for exercise. On the left are captured German aeroplanes exhibited in the Place de la Concorde; behind is the Luxor obelisk, protected by sandbags.

Photos, Keystone; Topical; Wide World
expenditure had again been for her magnificent army, which had grown in five years from less than half a million to 700,000 in 1937, compared with 1,000,000 in Germany's army, not counting reserves.

On August 24, 1939, France had 1,000,000 troops under arms, and the Government was prepared to begin general mobilization at any moment. Citizens already were being advised to avail themselves of the arrangements for evacuation from Paris. The next day the "Official Journal" published a decree ordering all firms and their employees engaged in the production of armaments to be requisitioned by the Government immediately. Another emergency decree enabled any vehicles, including taxis, buses and lorries, to be requisitioned for troop transport. Without elation of any kind, but without waverings, French men and women set themselves to face partings and all the grim preparations for another great war.

Very soon the air-raid shelters were to be occupied in Paris and other towns, which received a series of warnings in the opening weeks of the war. There was a characteristic atmosphere about these shelters, the women going on with their knitting, the men not forgetting to bring when possible a bottle of wine to encourage conversation until the "all clear." Very soon the civilians had to put up with the disappearance of their coffee, which had been commandeered for the troops, though some further supplies were coming from overseas. And cheap red wine got scarce, for it was wanted by the army, whose ration of wine was the palli's protection against cold, wet, and boredom.

Enlistments of foreign volunteers went on throughout the autumn in Paris, and these men included Poles, anti-Fascist Italians, Russians, and Hungarians. The Czechoslovak Legion in Paris, which had remained open since the invasion of their country, issued a communiqué stating that Czechs and Slovaks in France were not stateless.
capable of raising her total to 500,000, in case of need. There was little temptation for Signor Mussolini to go back on the decision of the Italian Government to take no initiative on the side of Germany by attacking French Colonial possessions in Africa. French superiority on the north coast of Africa was a vital element of British security in helping to keep the Mediterranean free from enemy control, and its importance had been greatly increased by the establishment (with Fascist and Nazi help) of a reactionary government in Spain.

M. Mandel, the Minister of Colonies, describing the economic contributions of the French Empire, announced that he had instructed Colonial Governors to provide from the harvest the harvest a total of 3,500,000 tons of foodstuffs, which included 1,000,000 tons of cereals, mostly from French Indo-China; 1,000,000 tons of oil-yielding products, specially ordered from African possessions, and 300,000 tons of various colonial foodstuffs, including tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar and rum. To this must be added an order of 800,000 tons of industrial materials, which included 300,000 tons of wood, 350,000 tons of coal, etc., 60,000 tons of rubber, and 40,000 tons of textiles.

As impressive as the speedy mobilization of the armed cohorts of democratic France was the new spirit of unity made manifest when war was declared on outlawed Germany. Daladier's expression of the determination of France and Britain never to sign a separate peace was a necessary declaration only as an answer to Nazi propaganda attempting to cause a split between the Allies. It was hailed throughout France in the temper of such Press responses as that of M. Saint-Brie in the "JOURNAL": "The British and French sense of honour, their tenacity, and traditions show categorically that, now that the struggle has begun, it will be pursued to the end." And "Le Jour" said: "No separate peace. So France wrote in the Franco-Polish protocol on Tuesday. Britain thinks the same. Let us scout in advance all argument on this subject."

This was the language of public declarations, but behind it were the memories of the people. The B.B.C. correspondent, Mr. Richard Dimbleby.

exiles, but would fight as allies of France under their own national flag. "The Friends of the French Republic," a federation of foreign associations in France, with a membership of 3,000,000, issued an appeal for volunteers. Thus did France, the flower and the fortress of European liberty and civilization, find that in her resolve strength she was the rallying point of many friends.

By the middle of September, 5,000,000 men had been mobilized, and the total was expected to reach 6,000,000 within a few weeks. That this was achieved undisturbed by enemy action was due principally to the strength of France's fortifications and to the threat of enormous reprisals by the British and French Air Forces for any indiscriminate bombing by German planes.

The French Ministry of Colonies also announced that the number of men mobilized in the French Empire had reached, and would soon pass, the total recruited in 1914-1918. That total was 274,000. On the basis of Italian recruitment of colonial troops in 1938, in proportion to resources, France was

STRENGTHENING THE EASTERN DEFENCES

During the fall in the fighting on the Western Front, the Allies were not inactive. The Maginot Line, France's bulwark against an invader, was further consolidated and extended in depth. Above, French soldiers are building concrete shelters near the front line.

Photo. Courtesy of the French Embassy
COLOURED WARRIORS FROM FRANCE'S COLONIAL EMPIRE

In time of war France can call upon great reserves of man-power in her colonial empire, and in this page various types of French colonial soldiers are shown. Top left, a section of Tirailleur Senegalais are seen at trench mortar practice. Above is a member of a medical unit attached to the Tirailleur Algériens. Left are French West African troops with donkeys used for carrying machine-guns. Below, the scene in Antananarivo, capital of Madagascar, as native troops left for France.

Photos. Courtesy of French Embassy / Keystone / Planet News
broadcasting in October, told of a drive towards a certain French town through one of the eastern areas, full of names made tragic and glorious by the last war. And it was raining endlessly on the heavy soil, turning all to mud.

"We had driven along those roads, splashing through puddles and seeing through the foggy windows of the car the villages and hamlets, and even the towns, which had been built up from weeds. We had with us on our car an Air Force officer who had nearly all of those districts during the last war. He would write the wind and point out and explain. 'There used to be an ammunition dump here; I remember having a shot at it early in the war.' Once when he said this, or something like it, the civilian driver of the car—an Englishman from Paris—turned his head, and said, 'Our front line was just here; you must have been one of those fliers that nearly bombed us as well as the Germans.' And so it went on. Finally the Air Force man, then the commanding officer, then the driver—recognizing some village, or perhaps some hill or valley, and all the time we were passing those plowing signboards in the rain.

"It was the modern army that I could see around us that night, but even as that Air Force officer told how when we flew over France today he could see the marks of trenches stretching for miles over fields and meadows, so I had seen the marks, the signs and the graves which make up the ghastly pattern of that other army in that other war."

In the first few weeks of the war, while Britain was transporting an army to France and the Germans were resorting to "frightfulness" at sea, as in 1914, the French artillery began to hammer selected points of the still incomplete fortifications of the Siegfried Line, and, as a measure of additional security, the infantry occupied positions well in advance of the Maginot Line. They found that the German territory was thickly sown with concealed mines, but they quickly learned to anticipate the typical cunning tricks of their enemies, and the casualties from these boobytraps were relatively small. In the Wandsbek Forest alone it was stated that 3,000 unexploded mines were collected by the French. Sometimes a German prisoner was able to give helpful information. One told his captors how to distinguish between an abandoned house or cottage that was mined and one that was safe. The mined buildings, he said, had a skull-and-crossbones painted on the door. The unmined ones had only the crosses!

Many of the German advance troops were said to be members of the Nazi S.S. organization, which fact suggested that they were intended to stiffen the morale of formations in contact with the French. Among Germans taken prisoner were some who, it appeared, had been unaware that they were actually at war with France, not to speak of Britain. They had been told that the German victory in Poland was the end of fighting. The extent of German military solidarity had still to be tested by events.

The French in their cover ing tactics during the last few weeks of the war had occupied nearly 200 square miles of German territory and had compelled the evacuation of the important Saar coalfield and the town of Saarbrucken. Though small, measured by distance, the French advances were important in seizing high observation posts and enabling accurate artillery fire to embarrass German concentrations.

The Maginot Line along the Rhine-Moselle front was out of range of the German artillery in this phase, and in the Warend Forest area the French pushed forward some eight miles beyond the German frontier. The next phase was a series of evacuations of the outposts in German territory, to hold which would have caused heavy casualties, and the French advance line was retired slightly until it approximated to the French frontier. But by October 1939 there had been not the slightest interruption of French and British military concentrations of men and material. Enemy concentrations were reported near Switzerland and close to the Belgian and Dutch frontiers, and it began to seem probable that, rather than face the casualties which must result from hurling the German armies at the Maginot fortifications, the German High Command would invade those small neutral countries. It seemed to be the Allied policy not to bomb enemy troop concentrations—perhaps for fear of reprisals from the air against French towns. So the Nazis marshalled and transformed their divisions without hindrance.

The French had not been content with their great defensive works prepared in peace. Ever since the war began they had continued to extend the defensive system. By General Gamelin had never sanctioned the popular notion that the Maginot Line was "impenetrable," and a barrier behind which France's armies could sit down in peace. It was intended to cover the eastern frontier while an attack was made on other sectors. An army attempting to storm it must be faced by serious opposition in front of the main fortifications. By December 1939 the French Army was estimated to have used about 15 million square yards of wire and barbed wire since the start of the war. Four million stakes and 65,000 tons of wire were put up. Some 44 million cubic centimetres of earth were removed, and 700,000 cubic metres of concrete were used in deepening and strengthening the Maginot system of fortifications.

Work was also pressed forward in the same period to complete the French defenses along the Belgian frontier. The fortifications were of a lighter character, since Belgium had discouraged anything stronger. In the south an interesting variation of method was adopted. The "Trou de Bale," or Baile Gap, had been a troublesome problem.
owing to an ancient treaty of 1815 prohibiting the construction of fortifications within 15 kilometres (about 10 miles) of the Swiss city of Basel. The French had decided to observe this legal obligation, although modern conditions of warfare would have exposed a breach of it. The French line of forts along the Rhine below Basel accordingly stopped short outside the legal radius. But the Germans had no such scruples. They had begun building fortified lines close to the Swiss border in March 1938, a circumstance which the French considered good enough reason for extending their own fortifications. They did so in such a way that they could either check an enemy advance into France direct, or quickly assist in resisting an invasion of Switzerland.

The terrain on these foothills of the Jura Mountains needed a specially designed fortification. Before the end of 1939 the French had a vast network of trenches, tank traps, wire entanglements, and all kinds of well-concealed artillery positions. This artillery could cover the Rhine and dominate the Belfort Gap, between the Vosges and the Jura. If, instead of this route, the Germans attempted to come by the more southerly approach, along a valley running into Switzerland near Porrentruy, the French artillery was equally prepared to put down a deadly barrage right across the strip of Swiss territory. But perhaps most remarkable of all France's efforts, since so little had it been considered by comparison with military and air power, was her naval contribution to the Allies' forces. As was expected, Germany had at once commenced her war of attrition on the high seas, and the first phase of the war resolved itself largely into a naval conflict. For the Allied blockade spell, Germany's doom, and could be broken (if at all) within a sufficiently brief period only by a German counterblockade, carried out with the utmost ruthlessness and disregard of all neutral rights and of the considerations of common humanity. U-boats, flying-boats and enemy raiders, including two pocket battleships (the "Deutschland" and the "Graf Spee"), were engaged in this furious effort. And the French Navy's part was immensely important in countering it. The French Admiralty

MACHINES OF THE FRENCH NAVAL AIR ARM

Above, a squadron of Latécoère torpedo flying-boats, belonging to the French Naval Air Force, is about to set out on a reconnaissance flight. The torpedoes can be plainly seen suspended between the cockpit and the floats, while some ingenious artist with a sense of humor has transformed the nose of the seaplane machine into the 'leaves' likeness of a shark. Top, bombs being fed to a French naval 'plane.

Photos, Courtesy of the French Embassy; Associated Press
FRENCH SUBMARINE ESCORTS HER PRIZE

During the month of November, 1919, a French ocean-going submarine captured the German cargo-boat "Chernitz" in mid-Atlantic and, after having placed a prize crew on board, for five days and five nights conveyed it to the safety of a French port. Above, the French submarine is seen leading the German vessel to harbor. The cargo of the "Chernitz" included 4,000 tons of wool and 3,000 tons of cobalt and zinc ore.

Photo, Planet News
WARS ARE WON HERE AS WELL AS ON THE FIELD

In modern warfare mechanical equipment plays so great a part that human courage would be of little avail without the backing of adequate armament. War-eats up material at an alarming rate, and it is essential in war time to be able to supply the armies in the field and the Navy at sea with ample stocks of guns and ammunition. Above is a general view of the "gun shop" in one of Britain's largest armament factories.

Photo, Sport & General
WHERE ARMAMENTS ARE BORN

Among the most important contributions to Britain's immense war effort was that made by her great iron and steel works, and this photograph, taken at a typical plant, is symbol of the industrial strength which enabled Britain to maintain the efficiency of her fighting forces. In this huge foundry, where shafts of sunlight cast strange patterns through the smoke, a workman, standing beneath a huge tilting ladle, is pouring molten steel into ingot moulds.

Photo: Pan
TESTING BRITAIN'S BIG GUNS AND SHELLS

In this striking photograph, a howitzer is being tested at a range in England, one of the Ministry of Supply's experimental stations. The gun is laid on the target and the cage-like structure seen at the top of the photograph is adjusted to the trajectory of the shell. The projectile, which can actually be seen in flight, passes through this cage and the muzzle velocity is thereby determined.

Photo, Frank Sesno
which were commissioned in 1937 and 1938. The "Dunkerque" and her sister ship the "Strasbourg" resembled in appearance the battleships of the "Nelson" class, the main armament being concentrated forward. It consisted of eight 380 mm guns on the upper deck forward, three sets of twin turrets mounting twelve 510 mm guns placed all, with four more 510 mm guns abreast. An aircraft catapult was installed on the quarter-deck. The "Dunkerque" is said to have been the French battleship which joined the British naval force outside Montevideo to wait for the "Graf Spee". Germany's pocket battleship that had been battered and forced to run into the neutral harbour by British cruisers in December 1939. The "Graf Spee", when her time was up, came out again to avoid internment, and was scuttled by her commander.

The continued safety of the trade routes of the Allies entailed the surveillance and control of some 65,000 nautical miles for the Navy of the British Empire, and about 50,000 nautical miles for the French Navy. The task was huge, but not beyond the power of the combined fleets, and some idea of the extent to which France can contribute to this task may be gained from the table of the French Navy, printed opposite.

Among the French submarines was the "Surcouf", one of the few German merchant vessels which the Allies were able to seize, since most of them had fled to the safety of neutral ports. Here, too, the French were able to bring their prize back intact, whereas in many similar cases the German crew managed to scuttle their ship. The following account was given by the second-in-command of the submarine to Joseph Kessel, a war correspondent:

"We had reached the end of our mission and nothing had happened. One morning, without our knowing it, the submarine had reversed its course and, for the crew, began to feel the strain. We noticed a large object on the horizon. We drew near with our guns ready to fire. She made off as soon as she recognized us, but it was too late. Her commander had hesitated, thinking at first that we were a German submarine."

"We soon caught up with her and signaled to her crew to abandon ship. This did not take long. We approached cautiously, looking to see that there were no sliding panels which might suddenly drop down and uncover a gun. As a further measure of security, we passed under her bows and examined the other side. Everything seemed inoffensive."

"So our captain sent a prize crew aboard the 'Chimenea', numbering a third of our men. They visited the ship from top to bottom and found no traps. The Germans were then told they could return to their ship. They did not need to be asked twice for the sea was infested with sharks."

"Then we took the 'Chimenea' into a French port, the questionnaire followed, five days and five nights of pretty tiresome work, for we were minus a third of our men and in the normal course of events we had not a man too many. The ship was carrying a valuable cargo: 4,000 tons of wool and 3,000 tons of coal, and zinc ore. It was worth at least 25 million francs."

The French Fleet Air Arm included a number of great flying-boats similar to those used on the transatlantic mail service between France and South America. These huge seaplanes, with four or six engines and weighing from fifteen to thirty tons, have been of inestimable value for reconnaissance and convoy work. One such machine is seen in the photograph on page 338.

The French Navy had not only powerful bases at home, such as Brest and Toulon, but, like the British Navy, possessed modern harbor accommodation in many outlying stations, such as Bizerta, Oran, Casablanca, Dakar, Port de France, and Saigon, in which the largest ships could shelter and refuel.

Moreover, the French Admiralty was already, when war broke out, completing an important unfinished naval programme. The "Richelieu" and the "Jean Bart", of 35,000 tons, both to be commissioned a little later, were capable of a speed of 30 knots and were armed with eight 380 mm guns. In addition, two more battleships of 35,000 tons, the "Champion" and the "Gascoigne", had also been laid down before December 1939. Although France possessed only one aircraft carrier (the "Bearn") in service, two others ("Joigny" and "Fantôvre") were being rapidly completed.

### THE WAR STRENGTH OF THE FRENCH NAVY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
<th>Origin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Battleships</td>
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**Armament**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruisers</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Under construction or authorized:** "Beauvoir", "Bichonnetier", "Boucheaux" (1,000 tons).  

**Compiled, 1913-14; reconstituted, 1928-29.**

Two 35,000-ton battleships, the "Champion" and the "Gascoigne," have been laid down.

**Notes:**

* Designed as a training ship for naval cadets.

**Light Surface Craft**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
<th>Authorised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Submarines</td>
<td></td>
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**Aircraft Carriers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under construction: &quot;Joigny&quot; and &quot;Fantôvre&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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Although during the first few months of war there was almost unbroken calm on the battlefront, at home in Britain the nation's factories and workshops resounded with the glamour of martial preparation. Here there was none of the quietness of which the British soldier complained; on the contrary, there was the bustle of mighty hammer, the battle of cranes, the roar of blinding furnaces, the ear-splitting crash of shells belched forth by guns fired from the foundry.

By day and by night the work went on. Men—and women, too—by the hundreds thousand toiled with muscle and brain, wrestled with the inchoate materials torn from Nature's womb, and so contributed to the nation's armament a master 14-inch naval gun or a little Bren, a ponderous shell destined, perhaps, to crash through the defences of a fort in the Siegfried Line, or a stumpy little fellow which might halt with a vengeance the march of a Nazi tank. As yet never a shot was fired by all the guns massed so close and deep on the British front, but behind the line, on both sides of the Channel, vast stacks of shells were piled up in readiness for the blaze of battle. Military stores of every kind, indeed, were multiplied during those weeks of waiting, so that when the war really began there should be no waiting for the material which should blast the way to victory.

THE SUPPLY COUNCIL IN SESSION

The Ministry of Supply was set up in the early days of the war to co-ordinate and direct munitions production. Its Council is seen below in session. On the extreme right of the photograph is Mr. O. S. Cleverly, the Secretary. Then, going clockwise round the table, we see Mr. P. Bennett (Dir.-Gen. of Tanks and Transport); Sir Andrew Duncum (Chairman of Committees of Control); later President of the Board of Trade; Sir Arthur Robinson (Deputy Chairman); Mr. Leslie Burgin (Chairman and Minister of Supply); Lord Wootton (Dir.-Gen. of Munitions Production); Mr. A. M. War (Dir.-Gen. of Explosives); Lord Woolton (Dir.-Gen. of Munitions Production); Mr. A. J. Coote (Director-General of Munitions); Lt.-Gen. Sir Maurice Taylor (Senior Military Adviser); and Col. J. M. Llewellyn (Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Supply).
SHELLS FOR THE GUNS—BIG AND LITTLE

The photographs in this page show various stages in the making of shells. Top left, a white-hot shell is being extracted from a mechanical shell forger; top right, women workers inspecting shell cases; bottom left, 9.5-inch shells being stacked after processing; bottom right, a gunner at a Ministry of Supply experimental station placing a propellant charge in the breech of a big siege gun.

Photo: Fox; Associated Press
April 1939, with Mr. Leslie Burgin as its head—which was charged with the initiation, inspiration and direction of this unparalleled effort. Soon after war began its activities became so vast that the Minister appointed a Council of Supply composed of “leaders in the civilian world of industry, commerce, and finance,” under his chairmanship. Sir Arthur Robinson, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry, was appointed Deputy Chairman. Engineer Vice-Admiral Sir Harold Brown, for four years Engineer-in-Chief of the Fleet, became Director-General of Ammunition Production. The Director-General of Explosives was Lord Wair; and Mr. Peter Bennett, President of the Federation of British Industries, assumed a similar post in connexion with the production of tanks and mechanized transport. Sir Andrew Duncan, who in the first week of war was appointed Controller of Iron and Steel, became Chairman of the Committee of Control. Finance fell to Mr. P. Ashley Cooper, a Director of the Bank of England. Lord Woollton, adviser to the War Office on Army Textile Supplies and President of the Drapers’ Chamber of Commerce, became Director-General of Equipment and Stores. The Council was completed by the addition of Lt.-Gen. Sir Maurice Taylor, former Deputy Master-General of the Ordnance for Production and Supply, as senior Military Adviser, and Col. J. J. Llewellyn, M.P., who became Parliamentary Secretary.

The Ministry’s task, as stated by Mr. Burgin, was to see that the soldier was clothed, equipped, given weapons of offence and defence, and fully supplied in every way from the moment of his departure from his home for service right through to the winning of the ultimate victory. Incidentally, the Ministry was concerned with the production and provision of “common user” goods for the Navy and Royal Air Force, and also supplied in considerable measure the armed forces of the Dominions.

Vast changes were wrought in the nation’s economy by the Ministry’s activities. Groundwork much preparatory work of Supply had been done in the uneasy years just before the war; the technique of armament making had been thoroughly explored, new methods tried out and developed; industrial plants had been inspected with a view to ascertaining which could be turned over to war work as soon as the emergency required it. Firms had been supplied with process manuals to show how the work, if and when ordered, should be done. At every step, in every stage, the co-operation of industry was as willing as it was complete, and not once but many times the Government experts were quick to acknowledge that certain ideas and processes that emanated from private practice were such as should be at once incorporated in the specifications. As a result of this careful planning it was a comparatively easy matter to switch over plants in all parts of the country to national service. Specialized machinery had been installed in readiness, buildings had been adapted, key men engaged. The outbreak of war marked but a further stage in a transformation which had been already begun.

Some aspects of the transformation were surprising enough. The gramophone and wireless industry devoted itself to the production of fuses, gauges, precision instruments and shells of one kind and another. The electrical industry found a fresh field in tanks, guns and gun mountings; instruments and shells; and so, too, did the firms which hitherto had been noted for the quality of their agricultural machines and tractors. Machinery employed in sugar manufacture was early converted to the production of armour plate. The knitting machine industry turned itself to producing small arms components, gun mountings and complex instruments. At the same time there was no unnecessary interruption of the production of articles intended for normal civilian use: and those responsible for
SPEEDING AHEAD WITH SUPPLIES

Above is a view of the Bren gun assembly shop in a Royal Ordnance factory specializing in the production of small arms. Below, mechanics in a Ministry of Supply factory are seen assembling the chassis of army trucks on a moving platform, known as the chassis assembly line. In this factory various types of military vehicles are manufactured.

Photos, Planet News: Sport & General.
the direction of the industrial effort did their best to see that the work was evenly-distributed, so that not only did each district receive a fair share of the war orders, but the rates of war were distributed far and wide.

War is no longer a matter of men, but of machines, declared the Director of Ammunition Production: the problem today was to beat our ploughshares into swords, and at the same time to see that there were sufficient ploughshares for civilian needs and for our export trade.

So successful was the conversion that in a very short time it could be claimed that the work of German technicians had been surpassed in fields in which, openly or in secret, they had laboured for years past.

Thus, whereas a certain German shell-producing machine could produce a shell in 45 minutes, a British machine of new pattern could turn out a shell in 35 minutes—no considerable saving when the product is counted by scores of thousands.

Then there may be noted marked advances on the technique employed in the munitions factories of a quarter of a century earlier. Recent developments in methods of production were reported to have reduced the time required to perform a particular operation, the raw material consumed, and the man-hours involved. Fuses which in the last war were made from bar metal are now stamped, with a saving of twenty per cent in the material required.

In large measure, too, the equipment of the industrial establishments was found to require but little alteration to fit it for the needs of war. A factory which had been devoted to the production of enamel tins was switched over with little trouble to the making of cartridge cases. A tremendous reservoir of machine tools suitable for the making of fuses was found ready to hand in the factories, and the industry speedily planned a vast increase in output.

Strange places were these wartime factories—these temples of the War God in modern Britain. Some were established in the environs of great cities, others were hidden away in country towns and villages. Some bore names which have their place in English history; here were made the cannon which roared from the docks of wooden men-o'-war and the guns with which the redcoats blazed the enemy on many a hard-fought field. Some came into existence during the Great War, and since the Armistice had languished until this new war—or revival of the old—made them resound once again with the baste of armament-making. Others were new to the tasks of war, converted overnight from the production of the articles of peaceful commerce to that of shells and fuses and military instruments.

Visitors from the outside world were amazed at the vastness of the organization, the complexity of the processes, the extraordinarily high standard aimed at and achieved in the finished product. They plunged from the light of day into huge structures of cement and steel and corrugated iron, whose darkness was shot by the flames from a score of mighty furnaces. They moved gamely amongst the cranes and chains reaching down from the roof and stepped aside hurriedly as red-hot ingots slithered across the cobbled floor. They watched with fascinated eyes the foundrymen who managed with such consummate ease the masses of molten metal—big-framed men, dressed in dungarees, wide open at the neck, with little round hats that once were white on their heads and their feet sunk in mighty heat-resisting clogs.

They watched great cauldrons of seething metal from which streamed cascades of sparks; they saw bars of red-hot iron sliced into lengths with the ease of a greasy cutting cheese on his counter; they held in their hands plates of brass, which, in a brief space, would be drawn out by ingenious machinery into shell cases, and ran their fingers through heaps of cartridge cases in embryo. They stood by as liquid nickel was poured into shell moulds, and then moved on to where, by the application of a lever, a weight of 3,000 tons was brought to bear on a huge mass of semi-molten iron which was already assuming the unmistakable appearance of a naval gun. They flung a glance into the interior of the electric furnace, a white-hot inferno disclosed by the opening of a flame-licked door; and could hardly tear themselves away from the machines which with uncanny skill subjected every round of small-arm ammunition to a ninefold examination.

They were quickly made to understand that examination was an unending process in the ordnance factories. Through the great workshops, in every shell and every bar, moved the official examiners—army officers chosen for the work after long and difficult training, supported by a corps of civilian examiners, many of whom as ex-service men knew exactly what might be demanded of the weapons under the actual conditions of modern warfare. The Inspection Department of the Ministry of Supply was, indeed, very much in evidence. Every now and again the examiners ordered away a shell for firing on the proof blasts, or a sample of small-arms ammunition. They stood by and watched with eyes ever alert the various stages through which all the products passed.

Amazing to the onlookers was the care bestowed on every shell of a mighty batch. They followed its course as it passed down the bench and was subjected to the first test and that. They saw it gauged and weighed, measured for length and thickness, tested with hammer-taps for quality, peered into by the light of little electric lamps lowered into its glittering interior. At last it emerged from the barrage of scrutiny, marked all over with the cabalistic signs of the examiners: fifty tests had to be passed with flying colours before the shell was allowed to leave the workshop for the filling room.

Everywhere there was displayed the same fever of activity, the same wonder of machinery, the same resolve that the soldier should have good reason to put the most implicit trust in his weapon, whether that weapon was his rifle or revolver, machine-gun or 25-pounder, anti-tank rifle or anti-aircraft gun, or some great monster of the siege artillery. Nothing was left to chance; everything that could

OUTSIDE IN BINOCULARS

Giant binoculars, similar to the pair seen above, were manufactured for the Royal Navy by one of the largest firms of optical instrument makers in Britain, which produces binoculars, telescopes and photo-lenses.

Photo, Fox
BULLET-PROOF TIRES

These tires, made for Army vehicles by a secret process, are so little damaged by bits from machine-guns or rifle bullets that the vehicle can continue at its normal speed.

Above, firing a rifle at one of the tires for demonstration purposes.

be done to ensure a hundred per cent efficiency was done.

In the mobilization of industrial resources the potentials of modern science were not forgotten. Modern war is indeed a matter of mechanisms, and in this war the mechanical element is far greater and more important than in the struggle of 1914-1918. In December it was announced that at one works alone there were being produced in a single day as many motor-lorries as the British Army possessed when the last war broke out.

Similar progress was in evidence in the production of tanks, in spite of the fact that until 1939 there was no large-scale production of tanks in this country.

The Ministry of Supply was revealed as the world's biggest buyer of at least the heavier types of mechanized vehicles.

Among the wheeled vehicles required by the Army and Air Forces the Ministry were motor-cycles, light and heavy cars, infantry trucks, machinery lorries, searchlight lorries, mobile offices and laboratories, four-wheeled-drive field artillery tractors, anti-tank gun carriers, ambulances, mobile workshops, wireless trucks, water tanks, six-wheeled lead carriers, winch lorries, and anti-aircraft tractors.

"In war," stated the Director of Mechanization, "demand is immensely expanded, and the element of surprise and change, with the consequent requirements of capacity for rapid adaptation of production, must be kept constantly in mind... But adaptation is going on all the time, and already production of the heavier types of mechanical transport is proceeding here at a faster rate than anywhere else in the world, and the quality of our vehicles is the best in the world.

"As far as possible," he went on, "standard commercial components are used in the production of military vehicles, so that practically all the parts are interchangeable. Since the last war tires, especially for the heavier vehicles, have changed beyond recognition. Then lorries ran at 15 or 20 miles an hour on solid tires, and even at that speed tires sometimes burned out. Today lorries run at speeds up to 50 miles an hour on pneumatic tires.

Nowhere in the world will you see better pneumatic tires than those now being made for the Ministry of Supply—and it was now disclosed that this country was leading the world in the production of bullet-proof tires.

EAR TRUMPETS OF THE A.A. DEFENCES

Above are the "ears" of a sound locator, which are used to detect the presence of aircraft long distances away. The complete machine consists of hundreds of intricate parts, and its manufacture is highly specialized work. The parts are made in various departments and assembled in another building.

Photos, Fum

Arrangements were made for the turning out of large quantities of military instruments—prismatic binoculars, episcopes, gun sights, flux receivers, height- and range-findings, sound locators, telescopes, predictors, prisms, and the rest. In their production firms were enlisted whose fame in this department of industrial activity was world-wide, and, despite the employment of largely untrained labour, so skilled was the guidance, so willing and whole-hearted the co-operation...
SCIENCE IN THE SERVICE OF WAR

Compared with the group of 45 scientists engaged in research and experimental work for the War Office in 1914, the Directorate of Scientific Research of the Ministry of Supply had, in 1939, a permanent staff of about 500, in addition to the resources of scientific laboratories throughout the country. Above, two young chemists engaged in research work. Photo. O.P.U.

between private enterprise and the Ministry officials, that the output of first-class instruments was vastly increased. Thousands of prismatic compasses were turned out in the space of a few weeks from commencing mass production, and bulk delivery of mine covers was made within two weeks of receiving the order. And be it remembered that these goods are amongst the most complicated in the whole range of engineering production; a sound locator, for instance, consists of thousands of parts.

Even the discoveries of twentieth-century physics were employed to good purpose. Thus in the ears of the sound locator are electrical devices which indicate on a dial the arrival of the sound, so relieving the strain on the human ear. In these devices the work is performed by the indefatigable electron—that discovery of pure physics which, for all the many strange things which have come into our ken by way of the laboratory, to be the most remote from practical use.

Then the spider found itself famous for its contribution to Britain's war effort, when the Director of Ammunition Production called public attention to the fact that spiders' webs were used for gratings in Army binoculars; so uniform was the diameter of the thread that the spider must be classed amongst the most efficient of machines.

Besides shells and guns and instruments, there was mass production of uniforms. Thousands and thousands of girls were employed in making khaki clothing; most of them were quite new to the work, and many had been long unemployed. Now with all-electric machinery they made their contribution to the coat or greatcoat as it passed slowly before them on a conveyer belt. In one London factory 4,500 'complete' suits were turned out in a week; ere long the number would grow to 10,000. At another clothing factory, where uniforms for special constables, A.F.S. and A.R.P. personnel were made side by side with the military khaki, there was in constant use an imposing array of busts, by means of which a good fit was made almost certainly possible. (It was found that in the last ten years the male waistline had been considerably reduced.) In this establishment 2,500 complete suits of battle-dress, 10,000 alshirts, 6,000 forage caps, 2,500 suits of Service-dress, and a large number of warrant officers' uniforms were produced each week. As an indication of the care for detail, it may be mentioned that forage caps were made in 20 sizes. In these clothing factories, as in those producing shells and guns, rigorous inspection was the rule. Each garment had to be passed by an
TAILORING ON THE LARGEST SCALE

The tremendous increase in the size of Britain's army necessitated one of the biggest tailoring and outfitting jobs ever undertaken in a comparatively short time. Clothing factories all over the country worked at top pressure executing orders for the Ministry of Supply, and below is a room in a factory producing great quantities.

Photo: Report & General
November 1, 1939. Holland proclaimed a state of siege in certain areas along French and Belgian borders. German heavy artillery began shelling French fortifications and villages behind them. R.A.F. makes reconnaissance flights over southern Germany.

November 2. Two German aeroplanes brought down over Western Front. Germans using shock troops for raids on French lines. French patrols active between rivers Béthune and Béthune.

November 3. Third series of talks between Russia and Finland begins. Roosevelt, Neutrality Bill passed by U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. Allied Control Central have now attained over 300,000 tons.

November 4. Huge order for war supplies confirmed. American Norwegians. Norwegian Admiral Feenstra announces that "City of Flint" has arrived at Harmsund and German mines have been laid. French pilot "Rasputin" reported sunk.

November 5. "City of Flint" reaches Bergen. German Government protests against release of vessel and intervention of private interest on West Coast of Canada. Swedish Government protests against extension of German mines along the coast.

November 6. Nine enemy aircraft brought down over Western Front in flight between 27 German and nine French fighters. German pilot arrives at The Hague. Queen Wilhelmina. R.A.F. aircraft secure valuable photographs over western Germany.

November 7. Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold arrives at The Hague. Admiral Feenstra announces engagement in North Sea between certain of our light forces and German aircraft. No ship damaged. Pitt reports on German minefields in North Sea. Enemy aircraft approaches Skudal but is driven off.

November 8. Attempt made on Riker, direct German naval exploitation. Hawker Typhoon, bomber, destroyed, by Defiant. Zerastourner, bomber, destroyed, short before he was making a speech, New Zealand pilot in France brings down German machine after duel at altitude of five miles. In flight over North Sea between three German and two British aircraft, one Heinkel seaplane is shot down. Three German aircraft attack on Western Front repulsed.


November 10. R.A.F. fighters destroy enemy flying-boat over East Coast. Admiral Nathan announce that M.H.S. Rovas must be considered lost with crew of 27. Holland starts flooding inundation areas.

November 11. The Queen broadcasts message to women of the Empire. R.A.F. fly over south-west Germany. Enemy aircraft by over north-west France. Germany expects that neutrality of Holland and Belgium will be respected.

November 12. The King and French President reply to Dutch-Belgian peace appeal. Soviet Government expresses its readiness of disaffection with French negotiations.

November 13. Two air attacks made on St. Nazaire, only bridge is dropped. No damage. German machines reach Paris but are driven off. Air activity on both sides of Western Front. Finnish delegation leave Moscow without any agreement being reached. British steamer "Tornado" reported torpedoed.


November 15. Ribbe empty informs Belgian Ambassador and Dutch Minister in Berlin that, as a result of "blunt reprobation" of peace appeal by British and French, Germany considers matter closed. British steamer "Woodhounds" reported mined.


November 17. Enemy plane flies over north-west England, and another over Scotland. Four bombs dropped. Nine Greek students and four German students shot in Belgium. Czech universities closed down for three years.

November 18. British liner "Simon Bolivar" sunk by German mines. Enemy aircraft reported off East Coast and Firth of Forth area.


November 20. German air raiders seen over South-East England, and chased out to sea by British fighters. One Heinkel shot down. Enemy plane appears over Orkney. German machines by over wide areas of France. British British steamer "Wignes" reported sunk.

November 21. The Queen broadcasts message to women of the Empire. R.A.F. fly over south-west Germany. Enemy aircraft by over north-west France. Germany expects that neutrality of Holland and Belgium will be respected.


SOME SIDELIGHTS ON GERMANY IN WARTIME

It is seldom that the Nazi censorship allows the world any direct indication of the privations and sorrows endured by the civilian German people. We prize below exceptions, made by three leaders, which reveal not only the increasing misery of living conditions in that country, but also the usual misapprehensions regarding Britain's outlook and aims.

WILHELM, MAHRISCH GEORGE IN A SPEECH TO ARMAMENT WORKERS, SEPTEMBER 11, 1939:

W HEN I started the Four-Year Plan I did it with the object of forming a protection that cannot be defeated, and today I can say that Germany is the best armed State in the world. We possess all that we need to defeat our enemies. They have more gold, copper, and lead, but we have more workers, more men. That is decisive. And our production of aeroplanes and guns is still far greater than that of our enemies...

I know there are many things that will get worse. There is, as I see it, the question of substitute materials. I admit that the substitution of material is not as good as a real one, especially since we have made the latest fibres from the potato plant. But that is not the point. It is no longer a question of the war-life of the individual, but of the nation. I know that war soup is not as good as peace soup and often there is no soup at all. But then we must just have dirty hands...

I can understand how depressed many of you are when you think of the World War. And many say that it will be the same again as it was then. But the situation is not the same. Great Britain has not succeeded in inflicting the whole world against us. We want nothing from the French. We shall defend our frontiers like iron, but we shall not attack.

I must ask hard and difficult sacrifices of you. You must understand that it cannot be otherwise. You must also understand that at the beginning everything does not go as well as it should. The most important thing is bread, and we have seen to it that there is enough. Of meat, it can be said that we eat far too much of it in any case. With less meat we shall get thinner and we need less material for a suit. That is an advantage. You shall always be told the truth in this war. Maybe that the front is a serious reverse—that must not be hidden from you. If listening to foreign radio stations is heavily punished, it is not because we fear them but because it is dishonourable to listen to the dirty words of foreign countries.

HERMANN GORING IN A BROADCAST TO GERMAN MOTHERS, OCTOBER 1, 1939:

W E should be thankful to those of you who wear the cross of honour for bearing many children. We should be thankful to mothers whose children have permitted Germany to maintain her existence and greatness. We know how hard it is for young women to know that their marshal are in the field, but German mothers and wives are proud of their sons and husbands who have perished in field grey, gone to the front, and answered the roll-call in full knowledge of their duty.

These mothers who have lost their husbands and sons, whose whose husbands were killed in the last war and whose sons are fighting in the new war, will receive a special cross of honour.

German women, you had to give up the life to which you were accustomed. You have had to restrict yourselves in many spheres of life. Some of you are serving at posts of danger. You must realize that the Fuehrer demands all of this of you to secure your life and the life of your people.

England has forced a war on us.

England has not believed many things. English people do not believe that Russia has offered as she fertile lands, her materials. England has not believed many things in the past. They did not believe that National Socialism could come to power. They did not believe we could build a new Germany. They did not believe we could build a motor roads. They did not believe we could wipe out unemployment.

Today England must believe all this, and one day, provided the plans are not made peace before, she will have to believe that it is impossible for her to save us, more since Russia is with us.

HERMANN GORING IN A SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE WINTER RELIEF FUND, OCTOBER 10, 1939:

O UR has become accustomed to the fact that the man-in-the-street has, more or less willingly, contributed to the whole relief work. I say more or less. The great majority show more willingness: it is only a small minority who show less.

We want to give each individual an insight into the real misery of many of the people. They are in despair. They think that fortunes and wealth have not come to all of us, nor will they.

There has always been misery; there is misery today; there will always be misery.

A state of war compels us to take up arms for the safety of our Reich. We do not know what the future has in store for us, but there is no Power in the world which can again bring us to our knees:...

Before us is the eternal destiny of the German people. We are not alarmed about how long it will take to realize our aims. Nothing can turn us aside, nothing can stop us, realizing our destiny. Whatever the other choose they shall have.

The firm our determination to accept all sacrifices of the more certain shall we be of obtaining the peace needed by the German nation.

I want the helpers to work along the lines I have indicated and I entrust the German people to assist the helpers and so help to repair the wrongs done to them in 1914—1918.

HERMANN GORING IN A SPEECH IN THE BUCHEREBBAU BIER CILLAR, MUNCHEN, NOVEMBER 9, 1939:

W E have built up an army of which there is no equal in the world, and this army is backed by a people of such compact unity as is unparalleled in history and above this army and this people there is a government with fateful will-power similarly without precedent.

What they [the British] hate is the Germany which constitutes a bad example. They hate a communal Germany. They hate the Germany of the abolition of class distinction. They hate the Germany which has achieved all this. They hate the Germany which during the past seven years has made every effort to create for her nationals an adequate standard of living.

They hate the Germany of welfare for the younger generation. They hate the strong Germany which marches forward.

... Their struggle is a struggle against a free and sound Germany, and our struggle is a struggle for the establishment of a sound and strong community of people, and for the security of this community against the rest of the world.

Today we are standing at the crossroads of history. Germany has changed completely. There were things in Germany which confronted us when we were only a party, and which as a new party we succeeded in overcoming. Today we are in power. We will today is as unshakable in the struggle against the outside world as it was in the struggle which was carried on as a party at home.

The sacrifice made by the first sixteen men of our party was not more valuable than the sacrifices of those who have died now. We shall never forget this. Millions of the German people have fallen in the course of time, and every one must know that we could have made just as valuable as that of those who sacrificed themselves before and will do so in the future.
INSIDE GERMANY DURING THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS: WHAT NEUTRAL OBSERVERS SAW

How Long Could Germany Hold Out? — Her Precarious Finances — Fantastic Economic Devices
— The Human Side of Her Problem — Unruhenden und Unzufriedenen, an American Observer's Testimony — A German Family Evening — Clothing Shortage — Signs of Economic Deterioration
— Propaganda to Sustain Morale — Would the Catholic Church be the Next Scapecgoat?

Speculations were rife at the beginning of hostilities as to the probable duration of the war. The question implied how long it would be before German power was broken. Very few people entertained the possibility of Germany's victory, though some there were who produced reasons for believing that a stalemate must result. Basing their optimistic belief on economic statistics, or on the opinion of those who had studied them, many people expected the war to be over within six months. Others retorted that the former were jumping too hastily to a wished-for conclusion, as many did in 1914, when the general expectation was that the war would be "over by Christmas." To this the optimists of 1919 made an immediate rejoinder, and insisted that such arguments ignored the big difference in conditions in 1914, when Germany was relatively far better off for waging a war against the Western Allies.

One of the lessons of the war of 1914-1918 was the importance of propaganda. Used effectively, it helped to sustain morale at home and to undermine that of the enemy, besides influencing the sympathies of the neutrals. The European dictatorships had improved upon the wartime practice of nationalist propaganda by deliberately suppressing inconvenient news and the freedom of political discussion, thus placing the majority of the population (especially the young) more at the mercy of the State teachings. The German Fuehrer, by this dangerous and immoral form of statecraft, had achieved his political triumphs, and when he could no longer get any results without fighting, it was to be expected that the great Nazi propaganda machine would be working at high pressure throughout the war.

The main arguments of German propaganda in the early phase of the war are described in a later chapter, and what we have to consider here is the function of that propaganda as one of the important elements of German resistance. It failed as an offensive weapon intended to split the Allies, though there may have remained some responsive element of resentment and desolation among the democratic peoples which it might still be able to reach. As a defensive weapon, behind the shield of the rigid German censorship, propaganda could be wielded with the unscrupulous cunning of the Nazi leaders.

How important to them must have been any means of strengthening the morale of the German people, and only by inducing them to hate their "enemies," is demonstrated by the insidious nature of the problems that confronted the Nazi Government that had stumbled into a great war. These problems were mainly economic, but in modern warfare that meant military as well. The truth was that Germany had begun to suffer seriously from war strain some years before the war with France and Britain had actually started, and many of the facts of the situation at the end of the summer of 1919 seemed to justify the most optimistic expectations of a speedy collapse of the German war machine, in spite of the British Government's announcement that their plans would be laid in anticipation of the war lasting for three years at least.

Financially, the situation of Germany was not in contrast with that of 1914. In 1914 her foreign investments alone, giving purchasing power for necessary imports, amounted to somewhere about £1,000,000,000, and she also had gold and many other important commodities in big stocks. But in 1919 her holdings of foreign investments, of gold, and a long list of essential commodities which could only be obtained through imports were very low. Towards the end of August 1919, for example, the Reichsbank returned showed gold holdings and foreign currency of less than seven million Reichsmarks, while the notes in circulation had a face value of at least 120 times that amount, and this was enormously expanded during the first few months of the war.

No foreign country could afford to accept Reichsbank paper money for goods, and, in fact, most of the neutral countries of Europe were big creditors of Germany. Even little Switzerland

GERMAN CLOTHING CARDS

Articles of clothing were rationed in Germany soon after the outbreak of war. Above is one of the "Reichsbegleisterlekleidkarten," the German clothing ration cards. On the left of it is a table of articles with the number of coupons needed for each. For a pair of pyjamas, 25.

Photo: Central Press

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 credible and probably insoluble quantity of other dishonest paper promises in the form of various kinds of bonds and loan certificates, the result of the Hitler regime's policy for several years previously of gambling on the future, and raising fresh forced loans when older ones became payable. The normal peacetime industrial business of the country had been crippled, and much of the wealth amassed by the big magnates like Thyssen, at the expense of the people, under the misnamed National Socialist regime, had either been taken out of Germany or had been appropriated by inefficient Government departments.

With ten hours as a general minimum of daily work for seven days a week, the German workman's wages had been "stabilized" for some years before the war, and with the war came wage reductions forced on the employees, who had been driven to compete for labour. The wage reductions and the compulsory overwork tended to reduce production, and increased output in the industries connected with armaments was obtained only by the most rigid "slave-driving" and the increase of employed men. The result for many thousands of private firms not engaged in the war industries was bankruptcy, for these firms were also being starved of the materials they needed. The situation had become so bad by December 1939, that to avert complete chaos a Government Credit Company was started which would make State loans to save tottering firms who could not obtain normal bank credits. The quite unsound but unavoidable State loans were described as intended to help the firms that were in difficulty "owing to the stoppage of output, shortage of raw materials, delay in receiving payment, lack of labour or transportation," an altogether depressing list of business troubles.

Owing probably to discontent among the workers and to a consequent drop in output the German government found it necessary, towards the end of 1939, to reduce hours of labour and to restrict the employment of women. Thus the "driving" of the workers soon turned out to be of little avail.

Germany's power-politics had involved her in fantastic economic devices, designed to gain a "self-sufficiency" which could never be fully realized, and bound to collapse when once a blockade began. The extent of her dependence upon imports was far greater than she could afford in a big war against wealthy Powers, and the consequences of her economic weakness had been serious in the country's domestic life even before the war began. This circumstance, too, was foreseen both in Germany and outside and strengthened the belief in an early collapse due to the strain of war, of a character not unlike the revolutionary movement that took control of Germany at the end of the war of 1914-18.

**HOME-PRODUCED FUEL FOR GERMANY**

Germany's preoccupation with the problem of petrol supplies in wartime led to a great increase in her home production of synthetic motor spirit. In this picture, reproduced from the "Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung," tank wagons are being filled at a German plant for the production of synthetic oil fuels.

was owed about £100,000,000. These debts could be paid only by manufactured goods, and until they were paid Germany could not buy any more goods unless she paid cash or bought them by barter. And yet it was essential for Germany to continue making large purchases. These figures, bad as they were for Germany, show but a fraction of the picture of Germany's state of bankruptcy in 1939. In spite of very heavy direct and indirect taxation of incomes and of the luxuries and necessities of the people, there was an increase of employed men. The result for many thousands of private firms not engaged in the war industries was bankruptcy, for these firms were also being starved of the materials they needed. The situation had become so bad by December 1939, that to avert complete chaos a Government Credit Company was started which would make State loans to save tottering firms who could not obtain normal bank credits. The quite unsound but unavoidable State loans were described as intended to help the firms that were in difficulty "owing to the stoppage of output, shortage of raw materials, delay in receiving payment, lack of labour or transportation," an altogether depressing list of business troubles.

Owing probably to discontent among the workers and to a consequent drop in output the German government found it necessary, towards the end of 1939, to reduce hours of labour and to restrict the employment of women. Thus the "driving" of the workers soon turned out to be of little avail.

Germany's power-politics had involved her in fantastic economic devices, designed to gain a "self-sufficiency" which could never be fully realized, and bound to collapse when once a blockade began. The extent of her dependence upon imports was far greater than she could afford in a big war against wealthy Powers, and the consequences of her economic weakness had been serious in the country's domestic life even before the war began. This circumstance, too, was foreseen both in Germany and outside and strengthened the belief in an early collapse due to the strain of war, of a character not unlike the revolutionary movement that took control of Germany at the end of the war of 1914-18.

**GUARDING VITAL INDUSTRIES**

Owing to the fear of sabotage, all German works, such as factories, mines, etc., were strongly guarded. Above, a German miner talking to a soldier on duty at a coal-mines.

*Photo: Keystone*
NEW COINS SAVE NAZI NICKEL

To conserve her stocks of nickel, needed for ammunition, Germany replaced her nickel coins by aluminium, the nickel coins being withdrawn from circulation and melted down. The aluminium 50-pfennig pieces are seen above. The one on the left was minted as early as 1935.

Photo, International Graphic Press

It was realized that inside Germany, in spite of all the efforts of Dr. Goebbels' propaganda department and of the false speeches of the Nazi leaders, there must be a big volume of discontent and resentment against the regime which had again plunged the nation into a war with France and Britain. It was remembered also that there were large minorities in Germany who were politically opposed to the Nazis long before the war, and they had been reinforced by the disillusioned Austrians and the oppressed and dispossessed people of Czechoslovakia.

Austrian and Czech disturbances and an underground political campaign against the Nazi tyranny gave the Gestapo plenty of work. Then, too, the wretched people of enslaved Poland required an extension of the German police organization.

If we look more closely at the human side of the problem in Germany, the view that her defeat was inevitable is strengthened, and some justification can be seen for the belief held in the autumn of 1939 that she must suffer some measure of internal collapse at an early date. The rationing of the population, which had made practically no difference to the peoples of France and Britain up to 1940, had been severe in Germany from the beginning of the war, and indeed from before the war as regards foods like butter and meat and important military requirements such as petrol. Even before the war started the internal combustion engine for civil transport had been generally run on gas, for coal was one of the very few important raw materials which Germany produced largely in proportion to her needs. But it was known that

industrial plant and rolling stock, owing to the pressure of the Four-Year Plan and the ever-increasing devotion of resources to armaments, stood in great need of renewal and overhauling. And though Germany's internal supplies of iron ore were normally adequate for her industry, her maximum output had probably been reached early in 1939, and she had scanty internal supplies of manganese (though she now had control of sources in Czechoslovakia), without which certain steels could not be made. That even the iron supplies were inadequate for the colossal needs of the war was revealed by a decree issued early in December. This ordered the demolition and requisitioning of all the gas and electric lamp-posts, metal show-cases, iron doors, window shutters, and even name plates and enamelled advertising signs.

"Peace is what almost everyone lives and prays for," declared Mr. O. G. Villard, the American journalist who spent a month in Germany in the autumn, and recorded his impressions in the "Daily Telegraph." (afterwards

published in book form by Constable & Co., Ltd.). He was referring to the remarkable demonstration of joy over the false peace rumours (described in Chapter 17, page 163) broadcast by a hoax from a German station on October 10.

"The very first conversation I had in Germany," he wrote, "was with two women workers, who astounded me by asking if there was as much unrest and discontent (Gewahn und Unzufriedenheit) among the workers in England as in Germany. They also gave me the assurance that there were more Communists in Hanover than ever before. One uniformed official of many years' service, a veteran of the last war, asked me where the United States stood in the present struggle. I replied: 'We are 95 per cent opposed to your Government.' He answered without an instant's hesitation: 'I know you for that!' He then proceeded to voice his hostility to the Government—to me, a complete stranger—with a bitterness and intensity that would have landed him in prison had he been overseas. That he knew his change was idle, when he tapped one of the walls of the room and said: 'These have ears here.'"

According to Mr. Villard, other Americans had similar experiences of outspokenness by discontented German citizens, which revealed the necessity for the regime to use its vast system of police espionage to the utmost, and its strict decrees against even picking up leaflets dropped from the air, or against listening to the foreign news broadcasts or the ubiquitous and irresistible secret wireless station which had been denouncing the Nazi leaders.

Discussing the food situation in his interesting record, Mr. Villard wrote:

"I went to the workers' quarters in the north of Berlin, where food usually starts when anything goes wrong. I found that the shops were plentifully supplied with

WHERE GERMANY CAME OFF THE RAILS

Photo, Reuter's

During the closing months of 1939 a series of railway accidents in Germany were accompanied by heavy loss of life. They were attributed mainly to lack of trained operatives and to the defective condition of much of Germany's rolling stock. Above, a German goods train that has been involved in a collision.
MYSTERY OF MUNICH BOMB

On November 9, 1939, at a quarter-past nine at night, Hitler left the Bürgerbraun Keller in Munich after having made a speech. At nine thirty-five a violent explosion killed and wounded many of those who had been listening to him. An attack against Hitler? A ruse to increase the Führer’s popularity? The vengeance of the Reichstag? It may be long before history provides the answer. On the right experts are searching for the mechanism of the bomb. Below, Hitler addressing a meeting in this famous beerhall, where the Nazi party used to meet in its early days.

VICTIMS AND VICTIMIZED

Hitler attended the funeral on November 12 of the victims of the Munich bomb explosion. The ceremony took place, as seen below, at the Munich Feldherrenhalle. On Hitler’s right is Adolph Wagner, Gauleiter of Bavaria. Below, left, is Georg Elser, charged by the Gestapo with having placed the bomb in the Bürgerbraun. How he managed to elude the close supervision of the police was not explained.

Photos: International Graphic Press; Wida Weekly; Keystone
fruit, meat and vegetables, but of course, milk can only be purchased on the presentation of a card, and there has been great grumbling among the workers in heavy industry that a pound per week is not enough. The Government has announced by announcing that by December there will be three pounds.

Similarly, it is promised that the number of eggs will be six per person per month, as compared with the one or two now available, and the quantity of milk for children has also been increased. Much of the fruit offered in those shops in the working-man's quarters could hardly be available in London, but at the market in the Wittenbergplatz, in the west of Berlin, where many well-to-do people shop, the quality of everything was excellent, and there was plenty of choice to be had. The only queuing was at the butcher's, and that was due to the fact that you could not buy fish until your name and address were entered into a book.

"Despite the German's love of regulations he does resent not being able to buy clothes or shoes without presenting a card. In Berlin the rationing system is working beautifully, but that is not the case in Southern Germany. There is great complaint at delays and long queues in Munich. I also heard the same charge made at Hanover. I do not doubt the report that there has been serious protest in Vienna, in which city no Jew, whether young or old, sick or well, can draw a drop of milk or milk products. The shortage of soap already troubles the housewife. What is given to them is 50 per cent puny and, I am told, straights are employed to economize on that. There is no doubt that the high standard of cleanliness of the Germans is deteriorating, as it did during the last war."

A revelation from a quite different angle was afforded by a sketch of an average German family which appeared in the "Veilichiner Beobachter" early in November. It represented the family spending the evening at home during the blackout.

While the father is reading his newspaper, the mother is looking through the rent book and wondering what sort of meal she can provide for the next "Sacrifice Sunday:" the young son and daughter are having the conversation that the "Veilichiner Beobachter" regarded as good reading for Germans:

**THE BOY:** "Mother, why must we eat all the windows covered with black paper?"

**THE FATHER:** "My son, we must be on our guard every day, every hour, every minute from enemy air attacks. Our Führer says we mustn't leave our windows uncovered. But don't worry, they will be shot down long before they reach Berlin."

**THE DAUGHTER:** "We were told at school today that the enemy is more than 300 kilometres from Berlin. Father said we have nothing to fear."

**MOTHER:** "That is quite right, my daughter. Look, my dear, I am taking this coin from your money-box to help our brave soldiers at the front."

**FATHER:** "But, Mother, that's a big coin."

**MOTHER:** "Stupid girl! We'll do it with a little less to eat this week. We must be prepared to make sacrifices."

**FATHER:** (looking up from his paper): "That's right, my children, had we not been chipped away from our loyalty in 1917 by the Reds, we would not have had the stab in the back that lost us the war."

**MOTHER:** "Tell me about that again, dear Father."

Food riots in Vienna during the autumn suggested a far more serious indignation about the shortage and the cumbersome and ilksome rationing than this story for German consumption, or even Mr. Villard's view of a section of German life. The shortage of clothing materials also had grown much more serious by November. The German ration book of 100 coupons for twelve months for articles of clothing limited purchases to the minimum necessary, and below the minimum for exercitation, but even so in actual fact the citizen was lucky what could obtain as much as his coupons covered. German newspapers to counteract discontent over the food shortage, had resorted to many lies about shortages abroad, including the publication of a picture of a queue of Swedes waiting for a State lottery office to open and sell tickets. This picture was described as a food queue in Sweden, showing how the neutrals were being starved by the Allies' ruthless contraband control.

Similarly, the reports issued from the British Ministry of Information about the shortage of clothes in Berlin were countered by the Deutschlandsfan's broadcasts, in English denouncing any such thing. Unfortunately for this propaganda, within a week the clothing shops had to be closed for several days owing to new regulations governing textiles and clothes.

The shortage of leather and rubber had also resulted in prohibitive prices for footwear, and reports published in Paris from Czechoslovakia described the hardships in this respect of the Czechs, who had always been able to supply themselves well. The confiscation of the Bara factory, typical of the rest, was almost at a standstill and without stocks. The rubber overshoes always worn in winter were quite unprocurable. In the supply of food, which again the Czechs had been used to in much more abundance than citizens of the Reich before the invasion of their country, conditions were worse than in Germany itself, and curfews were put on, the mainstay of the Czechs' and Slovakia's domestic kitchen, had become too expensive for poor people to purchase.

One example will serve for many that show want of enthusiasm for the war and the resentment of the German people. The once popular Nazi Horst Wessel song was parodied verse by verse and repeated in the towns as a joke. It described Hitler and Goebbels as still waiting for a bullet (noch immer nicht erschossen). By the substitution of a few words, the opening of the song was changed from:

**With beams high In swarted ranks and even, The Brownshirts march,**

into **With weary stride and sure, With steady stride and sure,**

with **With pious stride and sure,**

And frontier closed to freedom

Bible stalks on

With steady stride and sure.

All the signs pointed to rapid deterioration of the internal economy of
NEW TRUCKS FOR BRITAIN'S ARMY

Motor-car factories which before the war turned out luxurious limousines and domestic cars by the thousand concentrated on the production of trucks and lorries for the Army. Above is a batch of army vehicles ready to move off from one of Britain's well-known motor works. This batch represents but a part of one day's output.

Photo, Associated Press.
SHELL CASES FOR FREEDOM'S ARMY

Here is a scene at a Royal Ordnance Factory, where guns, shells, and cartridge cases are turned out to immense numbers for Britain's Forces. After the outbreak of war the factory was taken over by the Ministry of Supply. By this particular method the stored cases of the last output are cleaned at the factory, where worked at full pressure day and night.

Photo: Kent
CHRISTMAS "TREAT" FOR NAZI AIRMEN

Hitler, it was reported, went to the Western Front during the Christmas of 1939, making a tour of inspection which included his personal S.S. bodyguard regiment, A.A. batteries, fortress garrisons, and reconnaissance squadrons. In the photograph above he is seen addressing the personnel of an aerodrome in the vicinity of the front during his tour.

Photo, International Graphic Press
Germany, whose most important prospect of relief had been the economic domination of the Balkans. This had been forestalled partly by the Soviet's invasion of south-eastern Poland, and increasingly thereafter by the British economic offensive, in which agents of the Balkans offered fair prices for stocks of commodities needed by Germany. Without effective measures, Germany could not hope to obtain what she needed from the Balkan countries. The financial position, as was to be expected, grew more serious as the war went on. During November the controlled German Press was publishing hopeful articles about how the Government was able to finance the war, but in fact the great increase of 50 per cent on the already heavy income tax that had been imposed on the outbreak of war had proved itself a failure, and the enormous short-term debt had greatly increased.

The Government had no prospect of meeting this, with the result that in November to see the confiscation of deposits in banks and the reserves of insurance companies, such confiscation, of course, taking the form of another "conversion" into State loans, which would never be repaid. In spite of the severe restriction of home consumption, the currency had further diluted, and in the middle of November the money in circulation amounted to 13,000,000,000 Reichsmarks. No jeweller could sell any article containing gold unless paid for with an equal weight of gold, and all wedding-rings had to be made of steel. Whatever secret gold hoard the Nazi Government possessed, even when supplemented by what the Soviet Government may have paid as a bribe for non-intervention in the Baltic, it must have been but a small fraction of what Germany needed to pay for imports.

Germany's prospects were all the blacker when contrasted with the resources of the Allies, so that it is necessary to seek for more reasons against the immediate collapse that might otherwise have been predicted.

Strenuous efforts were needed to protect the regime from a break-down of morale, and some of the devices of propaganda are noted in a later Chapter. If conditions were bad they were not yet inapplicable, provided that the majority of the people could be induced with a sufficiently bellicose mentality and those of insurgent tendencies ruthlessly suppressed. Executions and imprisonments went on extensively, and it appeared probable that the bomb which exploded on November 10, 1939, in the Bremenbra-

**NAZI WARSHIPS MUST WAIT FOR THEIR GUNS**

Several warships were under construction in the German naval yards when war broke out, and every effort was made to speed up their completion. But, apart from the hull, the full armament of a battleship takes a considerable time to construct, for the job is not one that can be scrapped.

Below is a corner of a German naval engineering workshop.

*Photo, International Graphic Press*
NAZIS BOOST "BREMEN'S" SAFE RETURN

The crack German liner "Bremen" left New York on August 30, 1939, and, thanks to a heavy fog which covered the North Atlantic, succeeded in passing north of Iceland and getting to the Russian port of Murmansk. On December 17 she managed to reach a German port, after having been sighted by the British submarine "Salmon," which, of course, was precluded by international law and common humanity from torpedoing her. The Nazis made much of the liner's safe return, and here we reproduce part of a page from the "Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung," with pictures of the vessel's departure from New York. At the top, on each side, is pasted what purports to be a telegraphic message reading: "England announces that on September 5 the "Bremen" was brought into an English port by a British warship." Then the printed lines go on: "But the truth is--The Bremen is Through." This, of course, was a typical piece of Nazi propaganda.

her and refrained from sinking an unarmed vessel. outrages which increased the world's condemnation of Germany, such as the machine-gunning of civilians in December after their ships had been sunk by airships, were transformed in German news into successful operations against armed ships.

The unquestionably widespread political antagonism to the Nazi regime again could be made less dangerous than it might have appeared outside Germany. Hitler's subtle tact in cultivating Soviet friendship, even in the face of the invasion of Finland and the Soviet threat to the Scandinavian countries, must have caused much heart-searching among devout Nazis brought up in the hatred of political Communism; but on the whole it was accepted as a clever trick by which Germany had "double-crossed" the Allies in Stalin's favor. Some of the official Nazi speeches were quite discreet and almost tolerant of Communists, using the situation to reassert the Nazi regime's care for the ordinary little man. There was at the same time a strong Monarchist movement in Germany, at variance both with the Nazi Party and the Communist element; while the original and still considerable Democratic Republican movement, which asserted the claims of political freedom, was opposed to all three. We see how the cunning playing-off of these threatening tendencies against each other, must have helped the regime in power to maintain its position so long as the economic situation did not make conditions intolerable. And if things became desperate, a government so unscrupulous still had other treasures to raid, after the people's last savings had been turned into loans for the State.

The next prospective scapegoat after the Jews had been sucked dry was the Roman Catholic Church, with property in Germany, and the countries she had annexed that was estimated to equal some £4,000,000,000. During the war there was no possibility of this getting out of the Reich. And supposing there were 30,000,000 German Catholics? By the political divisions that the Government was apparently now encouraging, reinforced by the ruthless poisoning of the country and the usual propaganda justifying all contributions to save the Fatherland, this obstacle, too, could be overcome. But all the factors that could possibly be shown to explain why Germany might withstand the strain of war for a while longer left the conclusion inevitable that she must collapse when later the Allies attained their peak of effective war-power.
'CARRY ON AND DREAD NAUGHT!'

With these vigorous words, Mr. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, concluded his review of the naval war during the first three months, which he gave to the House of Commons on December 6, 1939. The First Lord's utterances, always cogent, were on this occasion enhanced by his confidence in the success of Britain's measures against the Nazi menace on the high seas.

The main attack of the enemy has been concentrated upon the Royal Navy and the sea-borne commerce upon which the British Islands and the British Empire depend. We have always over 3,000 ships at sea, and between 100 and 150 ships move every day in and out of our harbours in the United Kingdom alone. This immense traffic has to be maintained in the teeth of a constant U-boat attack, which never hesitates to break the conventions of civilized warfare to which Germany so recently subscribed.

We have been frequently attacked from the air. The Air Ministry large scale has been practised against us, and latterly magnetic mines have been dropped from aeroplanes or laid by submarines in the approaches to our harbours, with the intention of destroying ships and, still more, neutral commerce under conditions contrary to the accepted rules of warfare and to German engagements in regard to them.

Besides this, two of the so-called pocket battleships and certainly one other armed vessel have been lost for many weeks past in the North and South Atlantic, or near Madagascar in the Indian Ocean.

The Admiralty's task has been to bring in our immense world-wide traffic in spite of this opposition. Besides this, we have to cleanse the sea of all German commerce and to arrest every German vessel and every vessel of a type in which Germany is interested. Broadly speaking, the considerable duties have, up to the present, been successfully discharged.

The loss of the U-boats proceeding normally, and in accordance with the estimate I gave to the House of in the two or four weeks. That is to say, at a rate superior to what we believe to be the German rate of replacing U-boats, and of replacing competently trained captains and crews.

The rate of destruction varies, of course, with the numbers of U-boats which are actively hunting. It is, however, my firm belief that we are getting the better of this manoeuvre to our life. We are buffeted by the waves, but the enemy feels slow and steady in our favour.

The convoy system is now in full operation. Very few ships have been attacked in convoy; less than one in 200 has been sunk. Nevertheless, we must remember that convoy involves a certain definite loss of carrying power, since the ships must wait during the assembly of the convoy and the convoy must travel at the speed of the slowest ship. This loss is being steadily reduced by the institutions of slow and fast convoys and by other appropriate measures.

Neutrals Suffer Most From U-Boats

In consequence of these processes the U-boats have found it easier to attack neutral shipping than the vessels of Britain and France. They have increasingly attacked the ships of neutrals with whom they are at peace rather than the countries with whom they are at war. The figures are remarkably high.

The losses of British merchant ships in October were very small what they were in September, in November they were only two-thirds of what they were in October. There has been a strong and steady diminution of loss among all ships obeying Admiralty directions or joining our convoys.

Quite contrary has been the case with the neutrals. They lost half as much again in the second month as they did in the first, and double as much in the third month as they did in the second.

In the last four weeks the German U-boats have largely abandoned the gun for the torpedo, having descended from the torpedo to the mines. This is about the lowest form of warfare that can be imagined. The magnetic mine, dropped secretly by the U-boat under the ice, in the harbour, or dropped from patrolling aircraft, may perhaps be Hitler's most revolting secret weapon. It is certainly a characteristic weapon, and one that will be for ever associated with his name.

The magnetic mine is neither new nor mysterious. As the Prime Minister announced in his broadcast, its secrets are known to us. Indeed, the preparation of counter-measures was already far advanced, before the first one was laid in British waters. I do not wish, however, in any way to underestimate the magnitude or intensity of the effort which will be required and is now forthcoming to cope with this latest manifestation of Nazi culture. Events must tell their tale, and we are content to be judged by the results of our actions.

The recklessness of this latest attack upon neutrals, and the breach of international agreements which it involves, must lead us to place a retaliatory embargo upon the export of all goods of Germany ownership or origin.

Fishermen Eager to Serve Their Country

As an interim measure before the full scientific treatment can be given to this problem, we have found it necessary to call upon a large number of trawlers to assist in the dredging of our harbours. The service of mine-sweeping is one of peculiar danger, calculated to try the strongest nerves because of the slowness and constant uncertainty of destruction in which those who engage in it must sail. All these serious dangers were sufficient to bring forward an overwhelming response from fishermen and seamen who were called upon to come to their country's assistance, probably only for a comparatively short time.

We lost in all the war with Germany 111 merchant shipping. Out of this total we have lost, during the three months in which we have been subject to severe and concentrated attack by all kinds of methods, by fire and bomb, by U-boat, by mine, by surface raiders, and by the hazards of war, about 210,000 tons.

Again this we have gained by transfer from foreign flags, by prizes taken from the enemy, and by the new vessels we are building on a large scale, about 290,000 tons, having a net loss of about 60,000 tons. For every 1,000 tons of British shipping sunk, 110,000 tons have entered the ports of this threatened island, which are told on the enemy's authority is being-occupied and used on all sides, in the latest months of war. It is the House feel that these facts are reassuring and worthy of acknowledgement, their debt is due to the officers and men of the Royal Navy, and of the Merchant Service and also in increasing measure to their comrades of the Royal Air Force, as well as to our Allies, the French.

The price for sea control must be paid. It is often heavy.

We have lost in these three months of war two great ships, the "Courageous" and the "Royal Oak," two destroyers, and the submarine which was blown up by accident—in all about 50,000 tons.

We have at present building, much of it in an advanced stage, nearly 1,000,000 tons of warships of all classes.

We have also lost one of our 50 armed merchant cruisers, the "Rawalpindi," whose glorious fight against overwhelming odds deserves the respect and honour of the House and of the nation.

If I have given facts and figures of reassurance tonight, it is only because the House and the nation have a right to know them, and because the House and the public alike are entitled to use them, and feel what a splendid, and fortification to the much greater efforts which will be required from us as the future and restless conflict rises to its full height.

We have the means and we have the opportunity of outstripping the whole vast strength of the British Empire, and of the Mother Country, and directing them steadfastly and unswervingly to the fulfillment of our purposes and the vindication of our cause, and for each and all, for the Royal Navy, the watchword should be 'CARRY ON AND DREAD NAUGHT.'
SEAMEN WHO COPE WITH THE MINE MENACE

Among the war honours awarded during 1939, mine work was more deserved than those given to these officers and men for their work in recovering German mines from the sea. Left to right are A.R. A. L. Yeatman (D.S.M.); C.P.O. C. E. Baldwin (D.S.M.); Lt.-Com. J. E. M. Clancy (D.S.C.); Lieut. R. C. Lewis (D.S.O.); and H.-Com. J. Overy (D.S.O.). Our second photographs show: below, Newfoundlanders who travelled to England to join the minesweepers, writing home about it; right, crew of a minesweeper firing at a mine; bottom, a German mine destroyed by the trawler which located it.

Photos, Keystone: A.P.U., A.N.A., A. Weastar
THE SEA AFFAIR: INTENSIFIED ENEMY ACTION BY MINE, RAIDER AND SUBMARINE

Germany Employed Aircraft to Sow Magnetic Mines—Heavy Neutral Losses—Britain's Embargo on Sea-borne German Exports—Other Countermeasures—'Simon Bolivar' and 'Terukuni Maru,' Victims of the Magnetic Mine—Epic Story of the 'Rawalpindi,' Sunk by the 'Deutschland':—A Commerce Raider in the South Atlantic

During the closing days of October and the early days of November 1939, there was a lull in the war at sea. It was later noted by the First Lord of the Admiralty that the fluctuations of submarine activity had been clearly marked during the first three months of war; there had been periods of maximum activity interspersed with periods of minimum activity, the inference being that these latter occurred when the bulk of the raiders returned home for rest and refreshment. In the period under review the peak of destruction was reached towards the third week of November, when the quantity of British and, more particularly, neutral shipping sunk became so alarming for a few days as to distort the public view and cause an excusable but unnecessary apprehension.

This apprehension was increased by the news that the Germans, contrary to the solemn declarations which they had signed, were employing a form of magnetic mine which they were sowing indiscriminately along the open trade routes of the North Sea, dropped with or without parachutes from aeroplanes, or sown in the same waters by submarines. It is therefore desirable before describing the details of these disasters to take a broad view of this period between the end of October and the beginning of December, to contrast the results with those of the preceding eight weeks, and to mark the many encouraging features which were apparent in the situation. At all times there had been over 2,000 British ships at sea, and between 100 and 150 ships had moved daily in and out of the harbours of the United Kingdom alone. This great traffic had been maintained in spite of unerring attacks by U-boats, by aeroplanes and by mines. As well, there had been the lurking danger of the two pocket battleships and at least one other German cruiser loose in the North or South Atlantic, or near Madagascar or in the Indian Ocean.

The destruction of U-boats had, however, maintained an average of from two to four a week, a rate which Mr. Churchill suggested was rather more than the Germans could replace with equanimity either in the matter of ships or of trained officers and crews. In the event, however, of the enemy making large additions to their submarine forces, they would be faced with a vastly superior number of British hunting craft, already trebled since the beginning of the war. “It is,” said the First Lord, “my belief that we are getting the better of this menace to our life. We are buffeted by the waves, but the ocean tides flow strongly in our favor.”

One of the many measures taken to counter the submarine menace was the arming of merchant ships to resist attack (see Chapter 26). At the end of three months more than a thousand had been so armed, and it was anticipated that shortly the number would be 2,000. The convoy system, too, had reached a high state of efficiency, and of those ships which had sailed under its protection less than one in 750 had been sunk. The losses of British merchant ships in October were half what they were in September, and those in November were only two-thirds of the losses in October.

The price paid for sea control necessarily fell on the Navy itself—never, Mr. Churchill said, so constantly at sea as during this war. Figures of damage, so often claimed by the Germans to represent complete loss, were not published, but at the end of three months ships of a total of about 60,000 tons had been irretrievably sunk. This figure included the “Courageous” and the “Royal Oak,” two destroyers, and a submarine accidentally blown up. In the corresponding period of 1914, when the German sea-campaign was by no means so intensive, naval losses had been double this figure, and the comforting assurance was given that nearly 1,000,000 tons of warships of all classes were building, a large proportion of them in an advanced stage.

The indiscriminate laying of the magnetic mine was a new form of “frightfulness” by which naval historians of the future will remember these eventful months. The magnetic mine explodes on the near approach of a ship, and not on contact. It is to this extent more dangerous than other mines. It does, of course, enlarge the danger area, but the real menace of this “lowest form of warfare that can be imagined”—comparable, said Mr. Churchill, to the warfare of the L.R.A. leaving the bomb in the parcel's office of a railway station—was in its indiscriminate dispersal along unsuspected routes. International agreements make it clear that minesfields laid outside

HOW NAZI AIRMEN LAID MAGNETIC MINES

(A) One of the crew of this Do 17 flying boat is releasing mines through an aperture. (B) Parachutes prevent too violent impact. (C) Mines linked in pairs. (D) Decoy 'planes flying at height.

Drawing by Hovanis

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PRICE OF SEA MASTERY

Here are two of the ships lost by the Navy—part of the price which has to be paid in wartime for control of the seas. Above is H.M.S. "Oxley," a submarine of the "Oberon" class, accidentally destroyed by explosion in Oct. 1939. Right, H.M.S. "Blanche," a destroyer of the "H" class, which was sunk by a mine on Nov. 14, 1939.

Photos, Wright & Logan

...shipping through destruction by mine as did the British. Their losses, of all kinds were one-third greater than belligerent losses, and among the countries involved were Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Finland, Yugoslavia, Holland, Greece, Italy, and Japan. Such neutral countries lost half as much again in the second month as in the first, and twice as much in the third month as they did in the second.

Amongst the measures adopted immediately to counter the new menace were...
sinking of five British ships was reported: and on the evening of October 25, British boatmen found the broken wreck of a German submarine on the Goodwin Sands, while on the same day another German submarine was sunk by naval units in the Atlantic. On November 3 came the news that a 4,327-ton German tanker, "Emmy Friedrich," with Mexican oil believed to have been intended for the pocket battleship "Deutschland," had been scuttled by the orders of her captain to avoid capture.

On October 30 and November 7, further attempts were made by German aeroplanes to damage naval ships. The Admiralty announced that certain light forces, including two Polish destroyers, were in action with German aircraft. No damage was done to any ship. Three Polish destroyers were in fact serving with the British fleet at this time.

On November 14 the British destroyer "Blenheim" sank after striking a mine. This destroyer, of 1,360 tons displacement, with four 4.7-in. guns and eight torpedo tubes, was completed in 1931. After a vain struggle to save their ship most of the crew were picked up by passing craft; many of them were badly injured, having kept afloat in a sea of oil for an hour or more.

On November 19 the whole world was shocked by the news that the Dutch liner "Simon Bolivar" (8,300 tons) had been sunk on the previous day by a German mine off the East Coast of England. She had left Amsterdam only the day before for the West Indies. She had a complement of 225 passengers, mostly Dutch nationals, but including many British and a sprinkling of refugees from Czecho-Slovakia and Germany.

About the time the first luncheon was ready to be served and the passengers were still playing deck games, a terrific...
DOOMED U-BOAT'S CREW RESCUED BY THEIR FOES

This dramatic series of photographs shows that British sailors still wage war in their traditional chivalrous manner. Their duty was to sink the German submarine whose conning tower can be seen above, but that task performed, rescue boats picked up survivors, as shown below. In the circle, one of the U-boat's crew is being helped aboard the British destroyer.

Photos, Kayeema / O.P.U., Associated Press
explosion occurred. It seemed to be immediately underneath the bridge, and the captain (Hendrick Voorspuy) was killed instantly, as were others of the crew and some passengers. It was at once obvious that the ship would sink, and frantic efforts were made to lower the boats, but owing to the sharp list when she heeled to port, only those on the starboard side could be filled and lowered. Further disaster followed, for a second explosion occurred which upset some of the boats and threw their occupants into the sea. Worse horror was en-

NEUTRALS SUFFER FROM NAZI MINE WAR

The Dutch liner "Simon Bolivar" was sunk by a German mine in the North Sea on November 18, 1939, with the loss of 83 lives. Top right, the liner is seen disappearing beneath the waves; above is Mr. Gerard Wensing, one of the survivors, holding his eighteen-months-old baby. His wife was drowned in the disaster.

PHOTO: "DAILY EXPRESS"

countered in the ship itself, when the oil pipes burst and those who had not gained the decks were trapped and smothered. Many of the survivors jumped or swarmed down ropes into the sea, by this time covered with thick, greasy oil.

Two ships which happened to be near by at the time had suffered damage from German mines and could not render effective help, but within twenty minutes rescue vessels appeared. They went to the assistance of the lifeboats in which seriously wounded passengers were lying, and picked up from the sea the many who were clinging to rafts and spars. At the dock where they were landed the railway station was turned into a casualty clearing station; but even now the troubles of these wretched people were not over, for shortly afterwards an air raid warning was given and they had to be herded into a shelter before the "All Clear" was sounded. They were afterwards taken to London hotels and hospitals, where it took hours to free them from the coating of oil which still covered their bodies and matted their hair.

They told pitiful stories. One survivor, Mr. S. G. Price, a widower travelling with his small daughter and chauffeur, had the inspiration to put the child into a wooden box, which, by clinging to a raft himself, he was able to propel safely until rescued, although he was in danger of sinking from his oil-saturated clothes. His chauffeur, who had gallantly helped him to launch this frail craft, he never saw again. Other survivors spoke of the anguish which they suffered as they watched mothers clinging to babies drowned before their eyes. Some paid tribute to a quiet, middle-aged nurse who worked calmly through this terrible time and saved the lives of several children, but refused to give her name. For sheer courage and determination, however, few of these stories excel that of Dr. William Besson, a thirty-four-year-old colonial officer, who was told in hospital to a special correspondent of "The Daily Telegraph."

Dr. Besson was sailing back to his post after six months' leave. His wife, four-year-old daughter and six-year-old son were all drowned. He said:

"I was thrown high into the air by the explosion as the ship struck the first mine. I smashed my spine and my arm as I landed on the dock. The ship's boat we clambered into capsized and I was thrown into the water."

"Gripping to wreckage, I drifted for four hours. Then I saw a rope trailing from the side of a British destroyer. I caught hold of it with my teeth and clung to it."

"Then, using my teeth and my good arm, I gradually hauled myself up. I was too weak to shout for help."

Dr. Besson's brother-in-law, Mr. John Davis, told how after receiving his terrible injuries Dr. Besson directed rescue operations as he lay in agony on the dock, how he helped his wife and daughter to some drifting wreckage when the ship's boat turned over, how he left his side to plunge to the rescue of his son, who had been swept away by a wave, and how, with injuries that would have rendered any man completely helpless in normal circumstances, he swam after the little boy until he could swim no longer.

In all eighty-three passengers and members of the crew lost their lives in this, one of the most poignant tragedies of the sea, and many could never completely recover from their injuries.

Altogether between November 18 and 26 at least twenty-one British and neutral ships were the victims of the new German minefields. With few exceptions these ships had their toll of dead and missing. Five were killed in
the explosion which sank the Italian "Gracie." (9,907 tons) within a few minutes near the coast on November 18. Rescue ships brought back twenty-six survivors. From the Swedish ship "B.O. Bergevagen" (1,380 tons), seven were rescued out of a crew of twenty. The "Forbexense" (1,362 tons) was a collier owned by the Gas Light and Coke Company, and four were missing of her crew of seventeen. Four survivors were removed to Colchester Hospital with serious injuries.

Thirty-one children were rescued fatherless by the sinking of the Swedish "Wigmore" (243 tons), of which three were known survivors. The crew of the Yugoslav "Catinia Milna" (5,071 tons), which was carrying a cargo of coal from London to Dakar, was saved. Of other ships rescued, the British "Gorafina" (1,494 tons) and the Greek "Elba R." (4,530 tons) reported three survivors each. The London steamer "Lewisham" (274 tons), sunk in the North Sea, had nine missing and her master died of injuries.

During this critical week German submarines were also active. On November 16 the British steamer "Pendula." (2,300 tons) was torpedoed

JAPANESE LINER SUNK BY GERMAN MINE

The 11,500-ton Japanese liner "Teikoku Maru" was sunk by a German magnetic mine off the East coast of England. Nearly the crew and passengers were saved. Below, the ship is shown heeling over and sinking as the disasters fell at sea. Below, left, members of the crew wearing their life-saving gear are awaiting rescue in one of the lifeboats. Below, right, in Captain Ogawa, the company's the last man to leave the ship.

Photo, "The Weekly Mirror; Associated Press"

amidships and sank within an hour. She had managed to send out an S.O.S.

and all her crew were saved. Not so fortunate were the crew of the "Artington Court," sunk off the Irish coast.

Twenty-two survivors were rescued, but eleven persons were missing; seven of these latter were afterwards picked up, and the chief engineer died in the ship's lifeboat. The seven rescued from this particular lifeboat had been adrift for six days, and had suffered the most severe hardships from exposure and lack of food and water.

On November 23 eleven survivors of the Italian ship "Dante" were landed in an East Coast port after having been kept for three days aboard the German submarine which sunk last. It was on November 31 that the Italian ship "Placerta" was damaged by mine off the South-East coast. Though badly smashed and leaking, she was taken in tow by tugs and reached port.

More sensational, perhaps, was the sinking on November 11 of the crack Japanese liner. "Teikoku Maru," of 15,520 tons, one of the last ships of the Nippon Yusen Kaisa. Fortunately the explosion occurred in the daytime, and no lives were lost. Had it been at night...
VICTIMS OF MAGNETIC MINES

Neutral countries lost almost as much shipping as did Britain through the indiscriminate laying by the Germans of magnetic mines. On November 21, 1939, the Italian steamer "Flaminia" struck a mine, but fortunately did not sink. The next day H.M. Mineweeper "Aragonite" was sunk by a mine near the same spot, and the photograph shows how the two victims side by side, the moored "Flaminia" on the left. Below, right, the split in the hull of the "Flaminia."

The disaster might have developed into real tragedy. There could be no question that it was a German mine, almost certainly of the magnetic type, which caused the loss of this fine vessel. Despite a specially vigilant look-out for mines, at 12.53 the "Tsurukuni Maru" struck one. The explosion took place between Nos. 2 and 3 holds, and the engine-room became flooded. Some of the first-class passengers who were lunching were slightly injured by plates striking their faces, and one or two of the crew also received minor injuries—but all passengers and crew were away in the lifeboats and a few rescuing boats from the shore forty-two minutes after the mine had exploded. No one was lost out of a total of 206.

On the same day the British Navy had the misfortune to lose by mine off the East Coast the destroyer "Gipsy," launched in 1933. There was considerable loss of life (including the commander, Lt. Commander N. J. Crossley). Twenty-one officers and men were injured and about forty ratings missing.

Over 100 survivors were landed at an East Coast port by various rescuing ships on the following night. One vessel picked up thirty men who were swimming strongly following a leader who encouraged them with shouts of, "Come on, boys, here we are." When they reached port in the most nondescript collection of clothing, these stout fellows were still singing lustily.

One man wearing a black and white football shirt shouted to the crowds as he stepped ashore, "All right, chaps, I'm playing for Newcastle United." The "Gipsy" had that day rescued three German airmen foundadrift in the North Sea.

On November 22 the Royal Navy lost the mineweeper "Aragonite." Tugs rescued the crew of seventeen, four of whom were seriously injured, and efforts to tow the ship were unavailing. On November 23 came the serious news that the British cruiser "Belfast" had been damaged four days earlier by torpedo or mine in the Firth of Forth. The ship, only completed a month before the war, was able to be taken in hand for repair, but unfortunately twenty of the crew were wounded. The German wireless falsely claimed that she had been torpedoed and sunk.

On the same day it was announced that five survivors of the crew of the Dutch tanker "Birdracht" (5,133 tons) had been rescued exhausted and frozen after drifting for seven days in an open lifeboat. The ship had been torpedoed by a German submarine in the Atlantic after the commander had been informed that she was a neutral vessel bound for a neutral port. Another British ship, the 8,886-ton Brocklebank steamer "Mangalore," struck at anchor by a drifting mine, was seen to sink by crowds watching on the shore of an East Coast town. Her crew was saved with some injured.

About this time good news came from France, the French destroyer "Storo," having destroyed two German submarines within two days. Yet another U-boat was the victim of an armed French survey vessel. Allied captures
also included three German cargo ships, while the German liner "Adolf Woermann" (3,577 tons), which had escaped from Lobito Bay, Portuguese West Africa, was sunk by her crew in the South Atlantic to evade surrender. Thirty-five passengers and a crew of 137 were picked up by British ships. No lives were lost.

Occasional raids were made on naval ships by enemy aircraft, but never with any outstanding success. During two such attacks in the North Sea, on November 25, many bombs were dropped, but no hits were obtained, and there were no casualties despite claims made by German wireless.

On November 28 full details came to hand, in an Admiralty statement, of the sinking of the former P. & O. liner "Rawalpindi," which had been converted into an armed merchant cruiser, revealing a stirring story of heroic resistance against overwhelming odds, worthy of the highest traditions of the British Navy.

The "Rawalpindi," which was manned by merchant seamen, reservists and pensioners of the Royal Navy, R.R. and R.N.V.R., was forming a part of the Northern Patrol engaged in contraband control. On the afternoon of November 23, when cruising to the S.E. of Iceland, she sighted an enemy ship. The commanding officer, Captain Kennedy, at once identified this vessel as the German "pocket" battleship "Deutschland." The crew were ordered to action stations, course was altered to bring the enemy on the starboard quarter, and an attempt was made to escape under cover of a smoke screen. But a second enemy ship was soon seen to starboard.

The "Deutschland," approaching, signalled the "Rawalpindi" to stop, and when she failed to do so fired a shot across her bows. This warning being rejected, the battleship started to fire salvos from her 11-inch guns. The "Rawalpindi" replied with all her four starboard guns, but the third salvo from the "Deutschland" put out all the lights and broke the electric winches of the ammunition supply, while the fourth shot away the whole of the bridge and wireless room. The second German ship was now firing from the port side, but the "Rawalpindi" fought on until every gun was put out of action and the whole ship was ablaze except the forecastle and the poop.

After from 30 to 40 minutes the German ships ceased firing and the only three boats of the "Rawalpindi" which had not been shelled to pieces were lowered. This was about 4.25 p.m., and at 6.15 p.m. a British cruiser approached and the enemy immediately withdrew. It was stated by the Germans that they had picked up 26 survivors; those who were rescued by the British armed cruiser "Chitral" numbered only eleven. The burning wreck turned turtle and foundered with Captain Kennedy and all her remaining hands.

End of the chapter at 8 a.m. She went "Rawalpindi" down with her colours flying, after a most gallant and memorable fight. All attempts to shadow and pursue the attackers failed in the rain and darkness.

The menace of the "pocket" battleships thus remained unchecked for the time being. The "Deutschland," "Admiral Scheer," and "Admiral Graf Spee" have been described as masterpieces of naval architecture. They are fitted with six 11-inch guns, with the usual secondary armament, and two aircraft. They have a speed of 28 knots and a wide range of action, though dependent in wartime on supply ships (several of which are known to have been captured). The "Deutschland," for example, had a range of 10,000 miles without refuelling. When it is remembered that only five ships of the Allied fleets (the "Hood," "Renown," "Reprisal," "Dunkirk," and the "Strasbourg") are their match in

**NAZIS COULD NOT UNDERMINE THEIR COURAGE**

Below, survivors of the British steamer "Erskine," sunk by a mine in the North Sea, are seen at a Scottish Sailors' Home, where they arrived after spending nearly twelve hours in an open boat. They are typical of the British seamen who carry on their daily work in the teeth of ever-present dangers. In the centre Captain E. J. Niblett is making out his report.

*Photo, Planet News*
SAD END OF A BRITISH DESTROYER

H.M. Destroyer “Gipsy” struck a mine off the East Coast on Nov. 27, 1939, and was later beached. On the left the ship is seen “dismantled over all” on the occasion of a naval review. Below, in sad contrast, she lies with a broken hull two miles off shore. Her commander, Lieut.-Commander N. J. Crossley (bottom right), died of injuries received, and in the photographs at the foot of the page his funeral cortège is seen arriving at a country church.

Photo, G.P.H.; Associated Press; Wide World.
battle, the heroic fight of the "Rawalpindi," can be appreciated to the full. As the Prime Minister said:

"These men must have known as soon as they sighted their enemy that there was no chance for them, but they had no thought of surrender. They fought until they could be fought no more, and many of them went to their deaths, thereby carrying on the great traditions of the Royal Navy."

Many were the stirring stories told by the few survivors who landed on British soil. After the first salvos, gunners lay about the blazing deck, some mortally wounded, with dead around them, trying in vain to feed their guns with shells. One man, terribly injured, moving on his knees, and another wounded in the head and arms, groped their way towards their gun both carrying shells and shouting, "We'll get them!" With their ship adrift and the odds hopelessly against them they fought on to the end.

Meanwhile the sinkings of British and neutral merchantmen went on with painful regularity. On November 27 it became known that the London steamer "Hookwood" (1,137 tons) had been sunk (on November 23) by a German mine. Two of the crew were missing. On November 27 the chief victim was the Dutch liner "Spaarvogel" (8,557 tons). Four members of the crew and a woman passenger were drowned. Three of the crew of the New York steamer "Uxmouth," which was sunk, were reported missing. The survivors of the Newcastle collier "Sheaf Crest" (2,730 tons), mined off the East Coast, were rescued on November 30 by a Polish destroyer. On December 1 the toll included the Newcastle steamer "Dairyman" (4,558 tons), the crew and pilot being rescued; and the Finnish steamer "Mercator" (4,390 tons), some of whose crew were towed to safety on a raft by a fishing vessel.

In the first week of December 1939 nearly 60,000 tons of British and neutral shipping were lost. On December 4 the Admiralty announced the loss of the "Doric Star" (10,056 tons), homeward bound from New Zealand and Australia with meat. Her attacker was a pocket battleship believed at first to have been the "Admiral Scheer," already thought to have claimed two earlier victims (the Booth liner "Clement," on September 30 and a small tanker, "Africa Shell," on November 15). (Later, when the "Admiral Graf Spee" was brought to book and forced to flee into Montevideo harbour, it turned out that she had been masquerading for some time as the "Admiral Scheer," and had sunk nine British vessels. Sixty-one survivors were landed, including the masters of the "Doric Star" and "Africa Shell." The "Doric Star's" last radio message was the one-word "Gummed." The full story of the Graf Spee" is told in a later chapter.

On December 4, too, the London steamer "Horstle" (1,670 tons) was torpedoed off the East Coast. Three of the crew were killed, two were missing and 13 rescued by a British warship. The Greek steamer "Paraske" (3,154 tons) was sunk in the Thames Estuary on December 6 with three killed and many injured, and the Oslo steamer "Primula" (1,757 tons) was sunk with the loss of all her crew. Six of the crew of the Danish ship "Ove Toft" (2,135 tons) were drowned when the vessel struck a mine on the same day.

On December 7 the Belgian cargo ship "Ioni" (2,077 tons) ran ashore without casualties on the Devonshire coast.

Brave Ships Not Sent Below

She was carrying survivors from the Dutch motor-ship, "Tajjij" (8,159 tons), torpedoed in the Channel the day before. A West Coast sinking of this date was that of the Norwegian tanker "Britta" (8,214 tons). Of her crew of 31, six were missing. Thirteen men were lost when the British steamer "Thomas Walton" (1,460 tons) was sunk, probably by torpedo, off the coast of Norway on December 7; and on December 8 only two survivors, both injured, of the London cargo-steamer "Merle" were picked up after she had struck a mine off the South-East Coast. Her
The exploits of the R.A.F. are dealt with in other chapters of this work, but their contribution to sea warfare was of such vital importance that some mention must be made of it here. For example, on December 2 a strong formation of R.A.F. bombing planes attacked German warships in the neighbourhood of Heligoland. Direct hits were obtained on a cruiser, and the only enemy fighter encountered (a Messerschmitt) was shot down. The British force met with no casualties.

In hunting and destroying submarines the R.A.F. machines were invaluable. On the same day as the raid on Heligoland one of the Coastal Patrol sank a U-boat with a single bomb. The pilot approached unobserved through a cloud bank.

The U-boat crew, when they heard his engines, made frantic efforts to close the conning tower hatch and to "crash-dive" the submarine, but it was too late; a direct hit was scored on the base of the conning tower, and parts of the submarine were blown high into the air. A few days later another U-boat was destroyed by direct hits within five minutes of being sighted, and a second was attacked and probably damaged fatally.

During these anxious days the R.A.F. and Fleet Air Arm did much to counter the mine menace by driving off German planes suspected of laying these devilish instruments. Also they continued their work of rescue by indicating the position of stranded boats. It is pleasing to recall that the merchant sailors had opportunities of returning these good offices. On one occasion a pilot with engine trouble had landed in the North Sea and was trapped in the gear of the machine. A British trawler came to his rescue and hauled him out of the water.

Another most valuable service rendered by the R.A.F. Coastal Command was the protection and guidance of convoys. There was an occasion at this time when a convoy carrying 100,000 tons of foodstuffs had become dispersed because of a threatened submarine attack. Visibility was almost nil, but after searching over a radius of 50 miles an R.A.F. pilot found himself flying over the mastheads of about two-fifths of the convoy. He then discovered the escorting destroyers, and was able to collect the rest of the merchant ships.

But the main burden of defence lay always with the men and ships of the British Navy, and so magnificently did they keep their trust during this difficult time that they well justified the watchword of the First Lord, "Carry On and Dread Nought!"
GALLANT SURVIVORS OF THE 'RAWALPINDI'

There were very few survivors from the 'Rawalpindi' after her heroic fight with the 'Deutschland.' Eleven men were rescued by the armed merchant cruiser 'Chital,' and about thirty were picked up by a German ship. Above, some of the survivors being addressed at the Admiralty by Admiral Sir Charles Little (left). In front is P.O. Percy Harris, behind him stand Able Seaman P. Russell, P.O. Frank Simpson, and two others.
PILOTLESS "PLANE FOR GUNNERY PRACTICE

Wireless-controlled aircraft provide the Navy with realistic targets for gunnery practice, and, above, such a machine (of the type known as the "Queen Bee") is seen being catapulted from a British cruiser. Before launching, the catapult is turned so that the aircraft is pointing into the resultant wind formed by the movement of the ship and the natural wind. In this photograph two of the cruiser's anti-aircraft guns are plainly visible.

Photo: Keystone