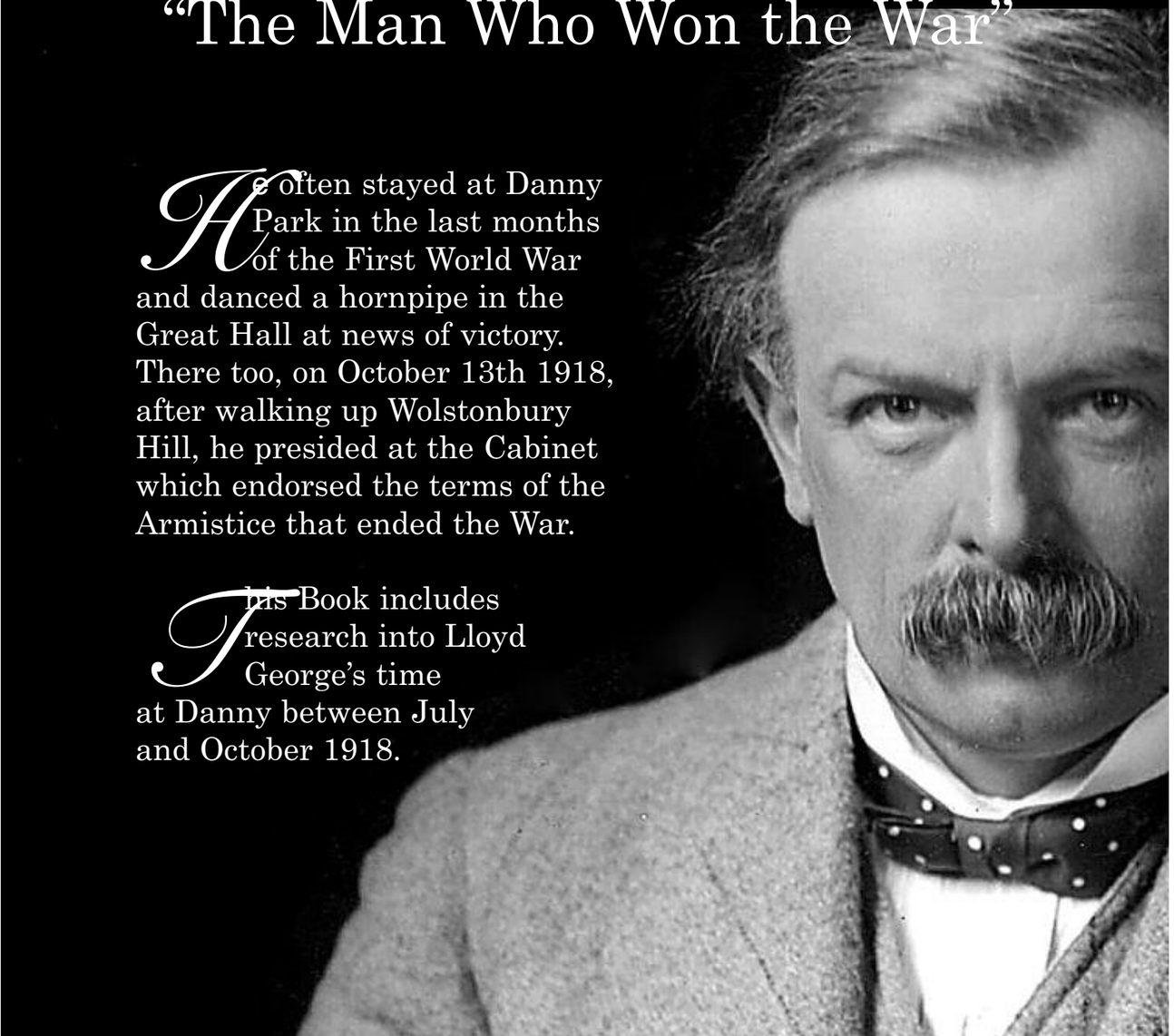
David Lloyd George

Prime Minister and "The Man Who Won the War"

He often stayed at Danny Park in the last months of the First World War and danced a hornpipe in the Great Hall at news of victory. There too, on October 13th 1918, after walking up Wolstonbury Hill, he presided at the Cabinet which endorsed the terms of the Armistice that ended the War.

This Book includes research into Lloyd George's time at Danny between July and October 1918.



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Introduction

David Lloyd George (LG) was Prime Minister from 1916 till 1922. He often stayed in the last months of the First World War at Danny Park, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, between July and October 1918. The house was rented for him by his close friend Sir George Riddell (the proprietor of *News of the World* and co-founder of *Country Life*) from the owner Lieutenant Colonel William Campion.

At the beginning of July 1918, the Allies feared defeat and were making contingency plans for a retreat from the Channel Ports. By September 1918, the Allies were confident of victory and Lloyd George danced the hornpipe at Danny in celebration of victory. In early October 1918, the Germans approached President Woodrow Wilson of the United States seeking an armistice on the basis of the Fourteen Points promoted by Wilson back in January 1918. On 12th October, LG used “awful language” when roused from his bed and was told that Wilson was effectively agreeing Peace terms without further consultation. The following morning on his daily walk up Wolstonbury Hill behind Danny House he was still “declaiming against Wilson's action”. That afternoon, he assembled a conference of key war time leaders in the Great Hall to consider a response to President Wilson. LG’s colleagues rejected his fears that unless Germany was invaded there would be no lasting humiliation of Prussian militarism, such as Rome inflicted on Carthage after the second Punic War, and without that, LG foresaw that “In a short time the Germans would say that these miserable democrats had taken charge and had become panic stricken, and the military party would get into power again”. Despite reservations, the British Government sent a telegram to President Wilson saying they were in full accord with the general tenor of the President’s policy to achieve an armistice. The eventual armistice was not signed until 11th November 1918.

Whilst at Danny, LG hosted meetings with most of the press magnates and members of the Cabinet. His secretary and mistress Frances Stevenson stayed there for much of the time and there are intimate love letters recalling their relationship whilst at the house. Danny is believed to be the only place where LG stayed the night with both his mistress and wife under the same roof.

This book commemorates the centenary of the end of the First World War, the unveiling of the sculpture of LG undertaken by Philip Jackson, and seeks to record what happened when LG stayed at Danny Park. Some of the information has not been published before. It includes recollections of the nephew of Robert Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister; the Danny Visitors Book; a delightful autobiography of Daisy Randell who lived in Hurstpierpoint at the time that recalls a large Garden Party taking place in the grounds and the secrecy of LG’s stay; the well-known diaries of Sir George Riddell and of Sir Maurice Hankey; the notes of the Conference that took place on 13th October 1918; and a play written by Kevin Carey entitled *Winning the Peace*.

Danny House, an aerial view

The Lloyd George Garden Party and the Unveiling of the Sculpture on 2nd September 2018

To celebrate the centenary of Lloyd George's time at Danny a garden party is being held on 2nd September 2018.

Lloyd George hosted a garden party at Danny in the summer of 1918 which was attended by members of the cabinet, senior military officers and people from the village of Hurstpierpoint. We will be seeking to re-enact that garden party, with attendees being asked to wear period dress.

The sculpture will be unveiled at the garden party by Mr Colin Prickett, who is the senior resident at Danny House. Born on 19th December 1919, he is 98 years old. He moved to Danny 21 years ago. Colin has a unique link with world history, having met the men who precipitated the two World Wars in the 20th Century. In 1937, Colin stayed with a family in Germany to learn the language. Tom Mitford was staying in the same house. Tom's sister Unity visited them and invited Colin to meet Hitler for coffee and cakes at the Baherishe Hof in Munich. Colin recalls Hitler exuding Austrian charm.

Then in 1938, whilst on a trip to see the battlefields of the Duke of Marlborough, his history teacher took Colin to meet the Kaiser who was living in a large country house called the Doorn, near Utrecht in Holland. After the Kaiser abdicated in November 1918, he was exiled to Doorn, taking with him 59 train wagon loads of goods. The Kaiser stayed there until his death in 1941. Colin's school master was an heir to a baronetcy, a communist and a member of Brooks Club, where he had befriended Prince Frederick of Prussia, the grandson of the Kaiser. Prince Frederick had arranged the meeting with the Kaiser as the Kaiser enjoyed meeting English people. Colin recalls the Kaiser receiving them in his study where the Kaiser sat on a leather gymnasium horse and reminisced to them about Queen Victoria. He relayed how Queen Victoria had died in his arms at Osborne House in the Isle of Wight and he claimed to have taken on some of the responsibilities of arranging with a boat builder in Cowes the making of the coffin to enable her body to be transported across the Solent. The Kaiser was the eldest grandson of Queen Victoria. The Kaiser spoke to Colin and his school colleagues in his fluent Edwardian English, and did not mention the First World War. After talking to the boys in his office, he invited them to join him for a good traditional English tea in the dining room downstairs, which included Dundee cake and sandwiches.

Danny House provided the setting for the British Prime Minister to celebrate victory against the German armies of the Kaiser and for the British agreeing to the terms of armistice. Some people believe these terms were to sow the seeds for the rise of Hitler and the Second World War.

Like Colin Prickett, Lloyd George was charmed by Hitler when he met him at the Berghof in 1936.

The Sculpture of Lloyd George

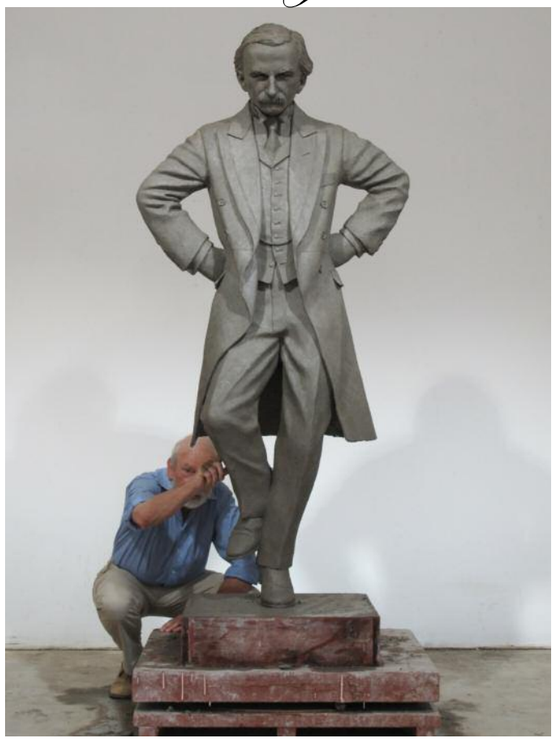
To commemorate the centenary of victory and peace that took place whilst Lloyd George stayed at Danny House, Richard Burrows commissioned Philip Jackson to make a sculpture of Lloyd George dancing the hornpipe.

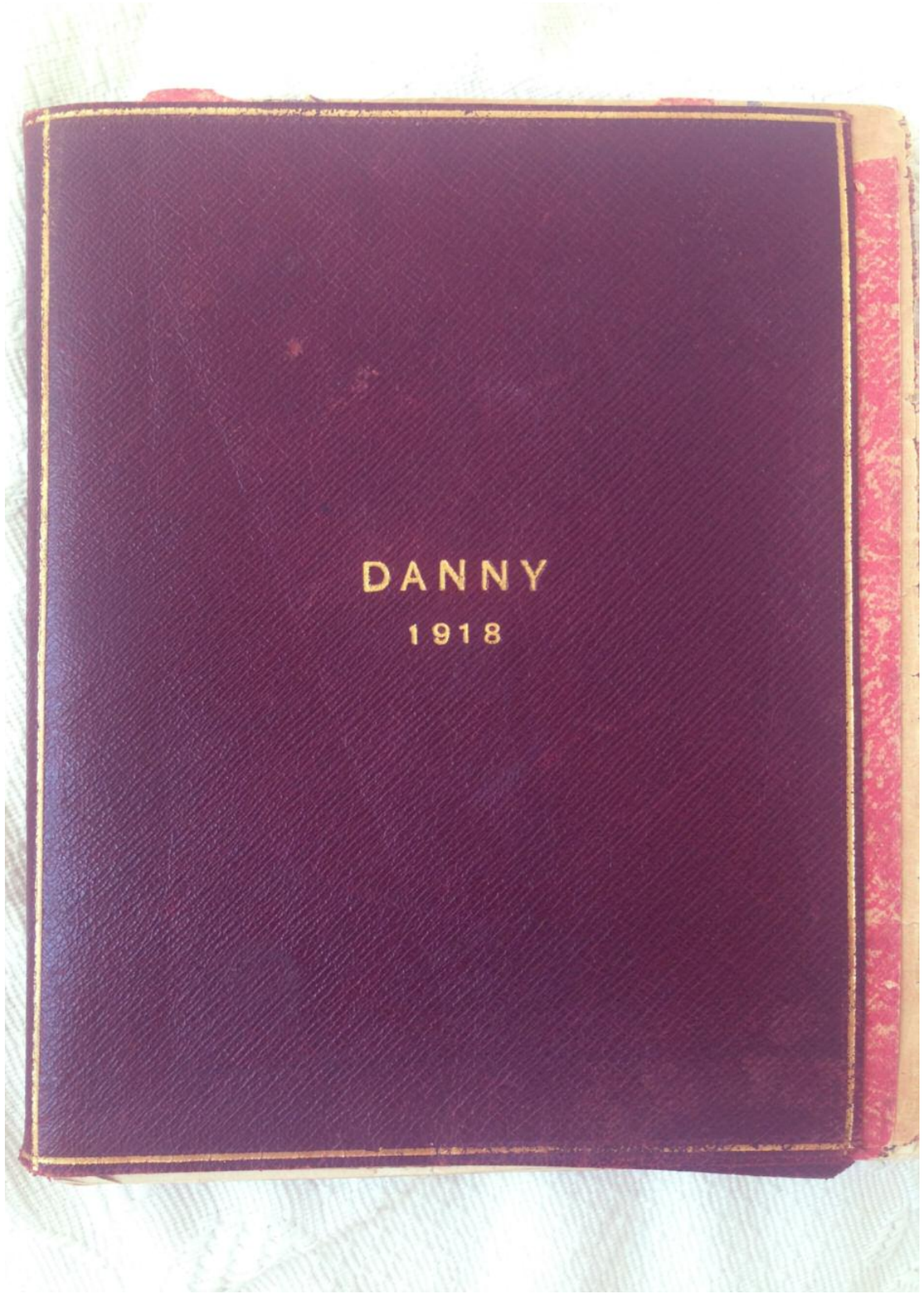
Philip Jackson was born in Inverness and now lives and works in West Sussex. He is a renowned sculptor with an outstanding international reputation. His work includes The Bomber Command Memorial in Green Park, The Equestrian Sculpture of HM The Queen, The Mahatma Gandhi Memorial, The Young Mozart and The Falklands War Sculpture "The Yumper".

The sculpture of Lloyd George is 110% of life size – Lloyd George was 5ft 8 inches. It is made of bronze (98% copper and tin) and weighs about half a ton. The sculpture has been made using the lost-wax casting process, a method first recorded some 6,000 years ago. Philip Jackson first made a small model of the proposed sculpture, known as a maquette. This helped him visualise how the much larger sculpture will eventually look. He then used clay to make the sculpture. The photograph was taken in June 2018 and shows Philip Jackson with the finished clay sculpture.

This clay sculpture was then encased in rubberised wax at Philip's studio to create the mould. Lasers were used to ensure the sculpture is upright, using four quadrants. A hard case was put over the rubberised sculpture and it was sent to the foundry. There, runners and risers were put over the sculpture and it was dipped into a ceramic tank and then put into an oven. The rubberised wax poured out of the shell and the hot liquid bronze was poured into the gap. After this had cooled, the clay sculpture and ceramic surround were broken out and the bronze sculpture emerged. This was then patinated with heat and some chemicals which were then washed off. The sculpture was then waxed and delivered to Danny House.

A few steps to victory…





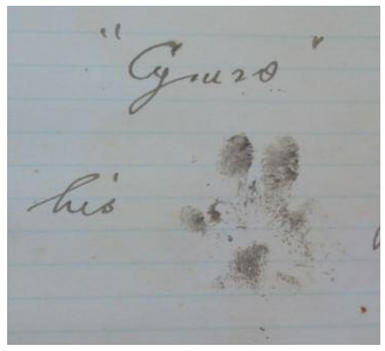
Visitors to Danny as recorded in the Danny Visitors Book between 14th July 1918 and 13th October 1918

Including brief biographies of the visitors and extracts from diaries and books recording what happened

23rd June 1918

Riddell wrote in his diary "I have taken Danny, Hurstpierpoint, for the summer for L.G. and self. We spoke of our doings last summer."

Apparently, when Colonel Campion agreed to rent Danny to Sir George Riddell for the use of the Prime Minister, he insisted that the names of those visiting be recorded in the Visitors Book. Afterwards, Colonel Campion decreed that the book should always remain at Danny. Unfortunately, the book does not seem to relay all the visitors, and when people arrived and when they left. There are some signatures that cannot be deciphered.



Cyruzo

Lloyd George brought his dog Cyruzo to stay at Danny. The dog left his paw print in the Visitors Book. No doubt the dog enjoyed the freedom of Danny Park and his morning walk up Wolstonbury Hill, far away from the confinement of 10 Downing Street.

Lloyd George walking his dog

Lloyd George walking his dog with Winston Churchill

13th July 1918

Hankey recorded in his diary being summoned to Danny. In the afternoon he motored home to pick up Adeline, on route to Danny Park, arriving just before dinner and:
"found LG very rampageous still about getting more Americans, and mediating sending Borden over to bally-rag Clemenceau about it… The PM was very fussy and fidgety all evening."

14th July 1918

Robert Borden's nephew, Henry Borden, recalls in his recollections dated 1971 and 1974: "My uncle [Robert Laird Borden] had planned to visit some Canadian hospitals in the south of England on Sunday, July 14th and he asked me to accompany him that day. However, about eight o'clock Sunday morning he telephoned to my bedroom and told me that Lloyd George wanted him urgently at his country weekend retreat and I could accompany him, go on to Brighton for lunch and then, as the meeting would not be a long one I could pick him up in the early afternoon, so that he could still visit two or three hospitals.

Thus we set off about ten thirty in the morning headed for "Danny", Hassocks, Sussex, not far from Brighton, in the red Rolls Royce, (see page 826 of Uncle Robert's Memoirs). Having deposited my uncle, the chauffeur, with me sitting beside him in the front seat, headed for Brighton where we had lunch at a small inn. The car certainly attracted a lot of attention in Brighton from the promenading Sunday crowds but there was nothing I could do.

When we returned to Danny about three o'clock, Lloyd George's secretary Philip Kerr, subsequently Lord Lothian, came out to the forecourt and insisted that I come in as some of the conferees had not yet arrived and the meeting would go on for a long time yet. In fact it had not even started. I found myself in the drawing room with Mrs. Lloyd George and Megan, the daughter, Sir George Riddell, later Lord Riddell, and Philip Kerr. Riddell occupied the house, an old one, and property and had placed it at Lloyd George's disposal for weekends. He was the owner or had a large financial interest in the Sunday newspaper, News of the World. This was before Chequers became the official country residence of the Prime Minister.

In due course I found myself in another room having tea with Lloyd George, Smuts,

my uncle and probably Kerr, but I cannot be certain the latter was present. The discussion naturally revolved around the war, disposition of troops and matters of that kind. I do not remember the statement of Mr Lloyd George which provoked my uncle's remarks but I have never forgotten his words, the pointed finger, his voice shaking with emotion: "Mr Prime Minister, I want to tell you that, if ever there is a repetition of the battle of Passchendaele, not a Canadian soldier will leave the shores of Canada so long as the Canadian people entrust the government of their country to my hands." Within seconds I was asked by my uncle to leave the room and I, therefore, do not know what transpired as the result of that statement.

Having left the room and being naturally somewhat shy I did not want to go back to where the ladies were. In any event in my youthful way I had been somewhat surprised at the fact that Mrs. Lloyd George had taken off her shoes and put her feet up and I had taken a bit of a skunner [dislike] to Megan because of what I thought was a propensity to use long words which I did not then understand and I doubted if she herself did. The only alternative for me was to walk out to the sunken garden.

While killing time in the garden Mr. Lloyd George came out alone and joined me. He started the conversation by saying: "My lad, I understand you want to enlist but your uncle tells me you are too young". "Yes Sir, I do" I replied and my spirits rose as I felt I might get some help from him. But this was a short lived hope for he then said, turning to face me and putting his two hands on my shoulders: "No one will ever know the Hell that our boys are going through right now." Thereupon the tears started to stream down his face and there we stood facing one another with his hands on my shoulders for at least a minute. It seemed eternity to me at the time, this Welshman with the mane of white hair, shaking with emotion and holding on to this sixteen year old Canadian boy. When he had composed himself he said: "Have you heard the guns?" I told him I had not and so we stood there in silence with him being surprised that I could not hear them. Then he took me to the stone steps at the front door and I understood. I had been listening for a bang or a roar but on standing on the steps I realised it was a constant tremor and distant rumble, easily detected.

A few minutes later, my uncle came out with General Smuts, Philip Kerr and Sir George Riddell. Lloyd George suggested a walk up a modest hill to view some old Roman fortifications. My uncle walked on the way up with Kerr and Riddell. I found myself walking between Lloyd George and Smuts, some fifteen yards or so behind the other threesome. Lloyd George asked me my uncle"s age and when I told him sixty-four, he commented on his physical condition and wonderful vigour. Suddenly Smuts turned to me and pointing at my shoes, which I thought were alright, said: "Where did you get those shoes?" Perhaps they were boots, I can't remember. I replied "In Canada Sir, before I left." Smuts then remarked that they looked like patent leather or cardboard ones and pointing to his own boots said: "See these boots of mine. They are made of rhinoceros hide and I walked over ten thousand miles in them during the Boer war." Smuts was wearing these boots, plus old grey flannels and an old jacket. He had motored down from Oxford for the meeting.

When we returned from the walk I sensed something was wrong and dinner kept being delayed. Eventually, Lord Milner and Sir Henry Wilson, C.I.G.S., arrived and dinner was served. After dinner the men went into their meeting and I sat around being entertained by Riddell and Kerr until my uncle sent out word for me to go to bed as we would be spending the night.

Next morning we motored back to London but my uncle spoke not a word to me in the car. A couple of hours after arrival at the Savoy Hotel he came into our office quarters in great excitement and said the Canadians had advanced, by way of counter attack I supposed, and had been more successful."

Hankey records Borden, Smuts, Wilson and Radcliffe being summoned to Danny by telephone, variously from London, Oxford and Henley. Hankey volunteered to drive 80 miles there and back to collect Milner from Canterbury (where he had no telephone).

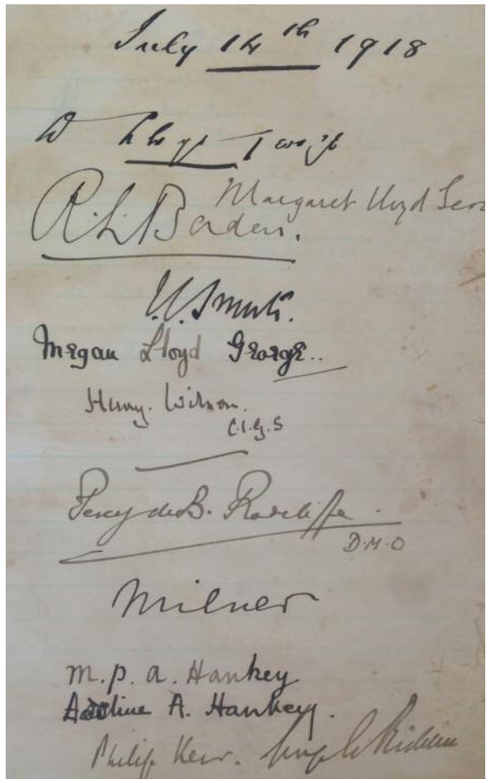
Riddell recalls a long talk with Borden, who gave him an interesting account of his political career. He is a clear-headed, sensible man and I should say courageous. He seems a kindly person and shows no side. LG is remarkably well and full of energy. The telephone was going all day as usual, and he spent a considerable time reading official papers. The rumour that he never reads anything is absurd. He is always at work.

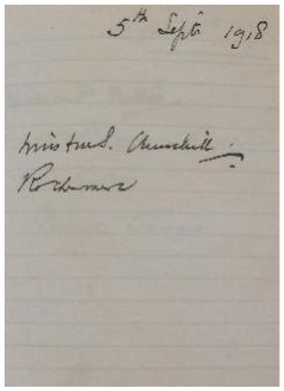
Riddell records that in the afternoon the PM, Borden and Smuts climbed to the top of Wolstonbury Hill at the back of the house. The PM and Borden returned covered with perspiration and forthwith had to bathe. After dinner the party assembled in the hall and sat in conference with Hankey and Philip Kerr until after midnight, the subject of the discussion being the disposal of the American troops, the major part of which have been placed by Foch in the rear of the French armies. LG's contention is that this disposition is unfair to the British, who have brought over 600,000 of them, and thus the result will be to place our army in a dangerous position should we be attacked. His proposal was to send Borden and Smuts to see Clemenceau. From what I gathered, Milner was averse to any such action on our part. LG was dissatisfied with what had taken place at the conference. Wilson, Radcliffe and Smuts returned to London. The others remained for the night, starting back to town at 8.30.

Hankey records that news came that Foch was confident that a new German attack was imminent between Chateau Thierry and Argonne, and had ordered four British divisions as well as the French reserves to that sector. This worried LG who had been convinced by Henry Wilson that the main attack would once again be on the British front. LG suspected Clemenceau of "using unfair political influence on Foch to save the French army and Paris at all costs". This was odd since LG had been so keen to appoint Foch supreme commander.

LG wanted to get Milner, who was at his home near Canterbury, over to discuss the matters. Hankey, partly to get away from LG in his irritated state, volunteered to go over and fetch Milner. On arriving at the quaint bachelor house, he sensed a romance, as the "business" Milner was engaged on involved "carrying a basket of roses to a lovely neighbour". However, he finally got the Secretary of State for War away, and after dinner a conference took place.

Smuts and Borden supported LG, but Wilson, Milner and Radcliffe thought that Foch was C-in-C and should be supported. Decided to send a telegram to Haig reminding him of his right to appeal if he thought his army was being endangered. But in fact Foch was right. The German attack did come near Chateau Thierry, and was easily repulsed by the tactic of "elastic defence" and the French and British and American support counterattacked successfully. This was a very important moment in the war. From now on victory became likely and thoughts turned towards peace terms.


July 14th 1918
R.L. Borden. Margaret Lloyd George
L. Smuts.
Megan Lloyd George.
Henry Wilson. C.I.G.S
Percy de B. Radcliffe. D.M.O
Milner
M.P.A. Hankey
Adeline A. Hankey.
Philip Kerr.


5th Sept 1918

Sir Robert Borden (1854 - 1937)

He was a Canadian lawyer and Prime Minister of Canada from 1911 to 1920. He accepted a knighthood in 1915 and was the last Canadian Prime Minister to be knighted.

Mr David Lloyd George (1863 - 1945)

He was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1908 to 1915 and is credited with laying the foundations of the modern Welfare State. He became the highly energetic Prime Minister of the coalition Government from 1916 to 1922 and was depicted as "the Man that won the War" and "the Man that saved the Empire". He was the last Liberal Prime Minister.

Whilst at Danny, the German offensive stalled and the prospect of defeat became an expectation of victory. He danced the hornpipe at news of victory on the Western front and agreed the terms of the armistice being promoted by Germany and President Wilson of the United States of America at a conference on 13th October 1918.

Mrs Margaret Lloyd George (1864 - 1941).

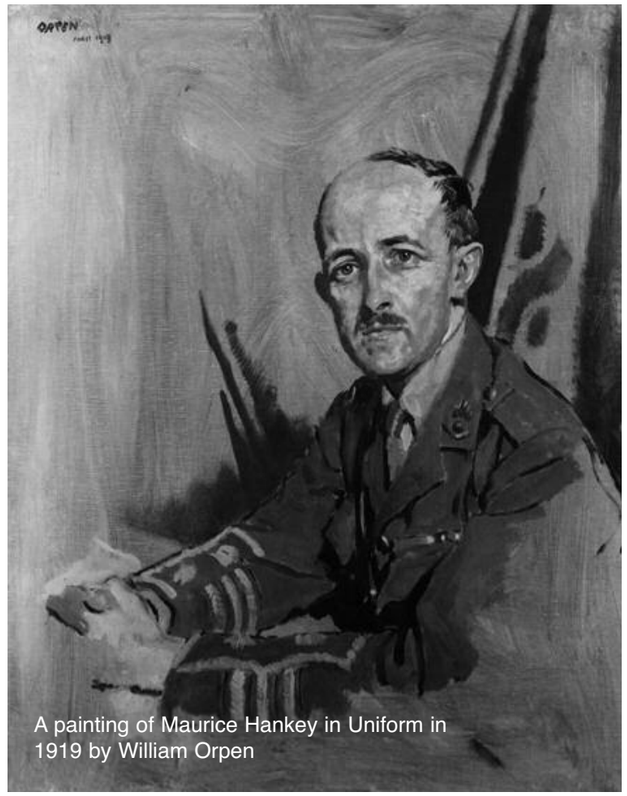
Her father was an elder of Capel Mawr of Criccieth, a well to do Methodist and farmer. Her father disapproved of Margaret marrying David Lloyd George in 1888. David and Margaret had 5 children. In 1918 she was appointed a Dame, having helped raise £200,000 for war charities.

Miss Megan Lloyd George (1902 - 1966)

Megan was aged 16 when she stayed at Danny. She was the third of David and Margaret's four surviving children and their eldest daughter. She accompanied her father to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. She was to became the deputy leader of the Liberal Party and the first woman Welsh MP. She became a vocal opponent of appeasement.

Lady Adeline Hankey (1882 - 1979)

Wife of Maurice. Born in South Africa.



A painting of Maurice Hankey in Uniform in 1919 by William Orpen

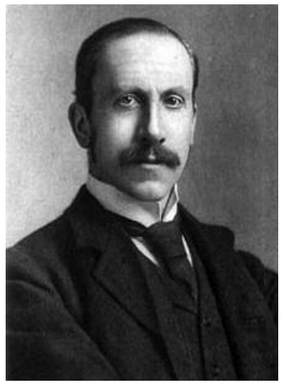
Sir Maurice Hankey KCB (1877 - 1963)

Born in Biarritz. Educated at Rugby School. A British Civil Servant who was the first Cabinet Secretary from 1916 to 1938. He was the highly efficient top aide to David Lloyd George and the War Cabinet that directed Britain in the First World War. His only sibling died at the Battle of the Somme. He became Baron Hankey in 1939 and briefly served in the War Cabinet of the Second World War.

Philip Kerr (1882 - 1940)

Philip Kerr was the Private Secretary of David Lloyd George between 1916 and 1921. He became the 11th Marquess of Lothian in 1930 and his seat was Blickling Hall in Norfolk. He was a British liberal idealist, a politician, newspaper editor and diplomat. He played a major role in the drafting of the Versailles Treaty in 1919. He became a leading advocate of appeasement in the late 1930s, emphasising the harshness of the Versailles Treaty and the dangers of Stalin's communism. From 1939 until his death in 1940 he was Ambassador to the United States and played a major role in winning American support for the British war effort. He was the inspiration for Kazuo Ishiguro's 1989 novel *The Remains of the Day*.

Viscount Milner (1854 - 1925)

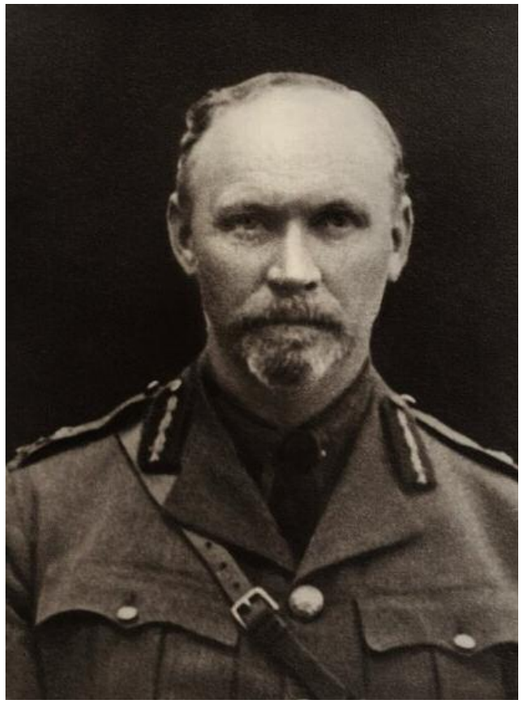


A British Statesman and Colonial Administrator. Born in Germany. Viscount Milner was High Commissioner of South Africa during the Boer War, Chairman of Rio Tinto Zinc and a Tory intellectual. He joined Lloyd George's 5 man war cabinet in December 1916 and was Secretary of State for War from April 1918. He was also one of Lloyd George's closest advisors. After the war he became Colonial Secretary and was a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles.

Percy Radcliffe (1874 - 1934)

He was appointed Director of Military Operations at the War Office in 1918. He went on to become a General. He died in 1934 after falling off his horse.

Jan Smuts (1870 - 1950)



He led a Boer Commando in the Second Boer War for the Transvaal against the British. Smuts led the armies of South Africa against Germany in the First World War, capturing German South-West Africa and then commanded the British Army in East Africa. From 1917 till 1919 he was a member of the British Imperial War Cabinet and was instrumental in founding the RAF. He attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and supported limited reparations and reconciliation with Germany. From 1919 to 1924 and again from 1939 till 1948 he was Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. He became a Field Marshal in the British Army in 1941 and served in the Imperial War Cabinet under Winston Churchill. Smuts was the only man to sign both the peace treaties of the First and Second World Wars.

Sir Henry Wilson (1864 - 1922)

Born in County Longford, Ireland. In February 1918, Wilson was appointed Chief of the Imperial General Staff (the professional head of the British Army) and was the principal military advisor to Lloyd George in the last year of the War. After the War, he was appointed Field Marshall. He later became an MP and a security advisor to the Northern Ireland Government. He was assassinated by the IRA on the doorstep of his house in Eaton Square in 1922.

Sir Henry Wilson and Lloyd George outside Buckingham Palace

Sir Eric Geddes (1875 - 1937)

Born in India. Geddes was asked to leave Merchiston College, Edinburgh. He became a business man and deputy managing director of North East Railway. He was brought in by Lloyd George to help munition production, and was one of his "Men of Push and Go." By 1917 he was responsible for military transportation on the western front. In 1917 he was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty and a Vice Admiral. He helped organise merchant shipping and the reduction of losses to U-boats. Of the 2,084,000 Americans brought over to Europe only 113 were lost to U-boats. During the election at the end of the War he was remembered for his quote "We shall squeeze the German lemon until the pips squeak."

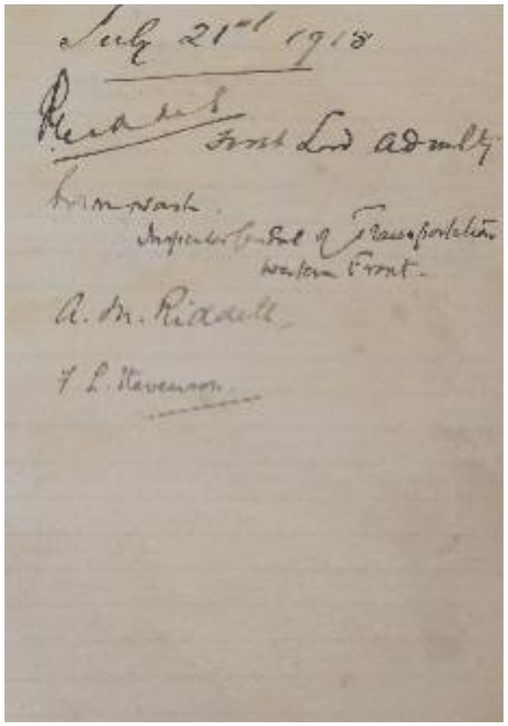
Sir George Riddell (1865 - 1934)

Born in London. A solicitor and business man. By 1903 Riddell was Managing Director of the *News of the World*, and his priority was the "solid, careful, objective presentation of police court reports of rape, seduction, violence and marital infidelity". His paper sold two million copies and he supported the Liberal Party. He became very close friends with Lloyd George. He built him a house in Walton Heath, but this was blown up by the suffragettes in 1913. George V rejected his nomination for a peerage in 1915 because he had been the guilty party in a divorce action in 1900. He was eventually created a baron in 1920.

During the War, Riddell was Lloyd George's most important adviser. His war diaries provide much of the knowledge we have about Lloyd George's time at Danny. Riddell rented Danny from Colonel Campion for Lloyd George to use from July to October 1918, to provide him somewhere to relax from the pressures of the War. Despite his considerable wealth, Riddell dressed in shabby clothes, drank little, smoked incessantly and had an insatiable curiosity, examining everyone with whom he came into contact.

Riddell had a controlling interest in *Country Life*, which he co-founded with Hudson in 1896. Years later, Riddell was to reflect that if his association with the *News of the World* hampered his entry into Heaven, "I will urge in extenuation my connection with *Country Life*". In the 19th October 1918 edition of *Country Life* was a large article about Lloyd George's stay at Danny House which concludes with: "A Prime Minister cannot, in times like these, retire into complete loneliness, and we may hazard the conjecture that the deliberations which have taken place within the walls of Danny will hold an important place in the history of the great war."

George Riddell with Lloyd George



July 21st 1918

Riddell records that LG was at Danny again on Saturday 20th and Sunday 21st July, "very busy preparing suggestions for a despatch to President Wilson regarding Japanese intervention (to try and restore an Eastern front). It was interesting to see him at work with his legs cocked up in the window seat of the dining room. As he read the message from Wilson he made comments to Philip Kerr and gave him comments for the suggested reply." The next day Kerr drafted a memo and took it to Balfour at Esher, while Eric Geddes arrived to see LG.

Riddell also recalls: "Last week Mrs L.G. came to Danny and this week she and my wife came, also Megan and a friend."

Major-General Philip Nash (1875 - 1936)

Inspector of Transportation Western Front. Educated at Radley College. Nash worked for the Great Northern Railway and East Indian Railway. He joined the Ministry of Munitions in 1915. In 1918, he became Inspector of Transportation on the Western Front and was made a Major-General. After the war, he eventually became Chairman of Great Universal Stores.

Lady Annie Riddell

Wife and cousin of George Riddell. Annie was the second wife of George. They married in 1900.

Frances Stevenson (1888 - 1972)

Born in London, educated at Clapham High School and graduated with a Classics degree from Royal Holloway College in 1910. She had become friends with Lloyd George's eldest daughter Mair whilst Frances was still at school. Mair tragically died from an operation on her appendix in 1907. In 1911, Lloyd George hired Frances as a governess for his youngest daughter Megan. In 1913, Frances became Lloyd George's personal secretary and his mistress. She was created a CBE in the 1918 new year honours list. She accompanied Lloyd George to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. She was persuaded by Lloyd George to have two abortions. In 1929 she had a daughter Jennifer. Though Frances had been having an affair with another man at the time, it is thought that Lloyd George is the father of Jennifer. Frances married Lloyd George in 1943, two years after the death of Margaret Lloyd George.

Lloyd George with his love child

A PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE: MISS F. L. STEVENSON.

Among the unconventional innovations which the Right Hon. David Lloyd George has instituted is the encouragement of the woman worker, upon a scale hitherto unparalleled. Mr. Lloyd George, knowing how ably and loyally the Empire is being served by women, has taken Miss F. L. Stevenson, of whose capability and zeal he has been able to judge while she was serving under him when he was Minister of Munitions, to act as one of his principal private secretaries at the War Office—a compliment to women which they will be slow to forget.—[*Photo. by L.N.A.*]

Sir Rosslyn Wemyss (1864 - 1933)

Ancestral home Wemyss Castle in Fife. He replaced Sir John Jellicoe as The First Sea Lord and Admiral of the Fleet in December 1917 and served in this role till November 1919. He led the British landings at Gallipoli and represented Britain at the signing of the armistice on 11th November 1918. He attended the Paris Peace Conference as Britain's naval representative.

Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss (third from right) on 11th November 1918

27th and 28th July

Riddell relays that Arthur Balfour, Bonar Law and Reading staying. The two former did not arrive till 9 o'clock, having had a breakdown. Meanwhile LG was making notes as to the topics of discussion.

Riddell relays that "Bonar Law is very broken and obviously on the verge of a breakdown. I had a touching interview with him." Riddell said to him "You have had a very hard four years, but you have been very successful. You have led the House of Commons with marked success and you have the respect and esteem of everyone there." Bonar Law said "They are all very sorry for me. They know what I have suffered; they know what I am suffering." Riddell replied "They know also that you are straight and honest, and they admire your clear, direct way of stating things." Bonar Law, with tears coursing down his cheeks, said "It is useless to conceal that I am nearly at the end of my tether. I do my work from day to day because I have certain powers of endurance, but they are growing less and less. You can see the condition I am in. If it were not so, I should not give way like this. Ever since the death of my two sons I have gradually been growing worse and worse."

Riddell and LG talked of this later. LG said he did not know what to do with him. "He has no outside interests and he won't go for a holiday. He does not even care for golf or bridge. He just reads and works and smokes all day. I feel very sorry for poor old Bonar."

At lunch, before the arrival of Balfour and Bonar, Riddell and LG talked of the early days of the war. LG said "I must confess I never thought there would be a war, I never believed that anyone would be so mad to precipitate 12,000,000 armed men into a conflict. But I knew if war occurred it would be a long war. Riddell reminded LG

that the Sunday before war broke out LG told him he thought nothing would happen. LG replied, "Yes, that was my firm opinion. I remember the night that Russia declared war. I was at the Russian Opera. The curtain went up and there stood all the company ranged upon the stage… They struck up the *Marseillaise*, which the company sang over and over again. Then I knew that dreadful things had been let loose in the world."

29th July 1918

Monday. Riddell recalls LG read out to us some passages from *Macaulay's Essays*, a favourite book of his. He reads well and his comments are fresh and interesting... We talked much of the forthcoming election. LG is now full of it, and palpitating with energetic enthusiasm. His vitality is wonderful. He is like a skilful prize-fighter in the ring. He is all over the arena, defending here and attacking there.

3rd August 1918

Riddell recalls LG at Danny, just back from the Eisteddfod at Neath. "In the afternoon we drove around the coast by Beachy Head (LG, Kerr, Megan, Miss Stevenson and self). LG in great humour."

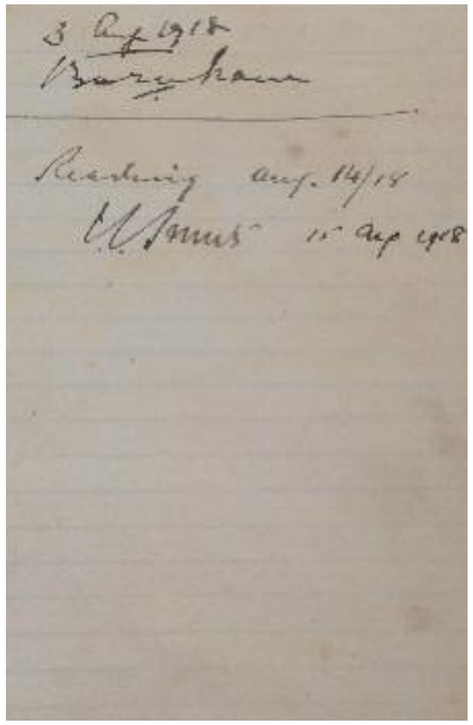
Frances Stevenson recalled that: "at Danny, one had to climb up to the top of the hill nearby to see the country beyond. This LG did every morning before breakfast, and I accompanied him. Unfortunately, I became ill there in early August, with an inflammation of the kidneys, and had to remain there six weeks with two nurses in attendance for most of the time.

Riddell took great care that I was well looked after…In August LG himself was taken ill with influenza while in Manchester…He returned to Danny to recuperate, which fortunately he did very quickly. He walked into my room on his return holding the beautiful Freedom of the City of Manchester – a breath-taking silver coffer with enamel plaques (see right), containing the gorgeous scroll of the Freedom – a happy smile on his face.

The Freedom of the City of Manchester

But I was horrified at the mark that the illness had left upon him. He must I fear have been very near death's door. But he was exhilarated by the turn which events in the war had taken. And this helped his convalescence.

My convalescence took a great deal longer. I missed, therefore, the mounting excitement which heralded the surrender first of Bulgaria and Turkey, and then of Austria, but there were long conferences at Danny Park and the news trickled through to me as I lay in bed. I could hear the drone of voices from the terrace below, as LG sat in the garden with Lord Milner, Lord Reading, Mr Bonar Law, Hankey and others who came down to discuss the terms of the Armistice and the prospect of Germany's surrender."



Lord Burnham (1862 - 1933)

Proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*. Educated at Eton and Oxford. Served in WW1, achieving the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, Burnham was mentioned in despatches. When his father died in 1916, he took his seat in the House of Lords and took over the management and ownership of the *Daily Telegraph*.

6th August 1918

Riddell recalls "LG at Danny, with Borden for the night, with Kerr and Riddell… Sir Robert Borden... has a remarkable knowledge of the cathedrals of this country, and greatly surprised LG… Borden is an able, sensible man. LG thinks him very good council. He is essentially a safe man. He leaves for Canada in a few days. He says he has much to see to."

Riddell recalls having: "an interesting talk with Philip Kerr about the war. He said 'I hope there will not be a row between LG and Foch. Foch will, I am sure, brook no interference.'"

The 8th August 1918 was the critical day of the war (Ludendorff's "black day of the German army") when the British 4th and French 1st armies broke through with 456 tanks near Amiens, achieving a complete surprise, followed by other breakthroughs in Flanders and further south.

The autobiography of Daisy Randell recalls a grand party at Danny in the first week of August. "There was a band playing on the lawn outside Danny, the Sussex Yeomanry Cadet Band from Brighton. There were large marquees, an area for dancing, refreshment tents and countless people, many in uniforms of all colours and sizes… there was a sale of work to help the wounded soldiers, many of whom were allowed to attend. Colonel and the Hon. Mrs Campion were there, waiting attendance on the Prime Minister…We went forward to be formally presented. I recall being surprised how small Lloyd George was. And I recall the mischievous twinkle in his eye as he shook hands... 'Good to see you again Mister Randell,' he said, in a very

musical voice. He bowed slightly over my mother's hand and grinned at us girls. 'Very charming, daughters. Very charming.' There were other introductions…Balfour, Bonar Law, General Sir Henry Wilson and Admiral Sir Arthur Wemyss."

13th and 14th August 1918

Riddell recalls: "much talk with the P.M. regarding the forthcoming election. Sir Henry Norman is to organise the campaign. LG says that Norman has written quite a good memorandum."

Riddell relayed that LG at Danny: "absolutely exuding energy and enthusiasm. He has a wonderful way of getting things moving; a sort of all-pervading energy. He is going to Criccieth for a few days, after which he returns to Danny, which he has enjoyed very much, so he says."

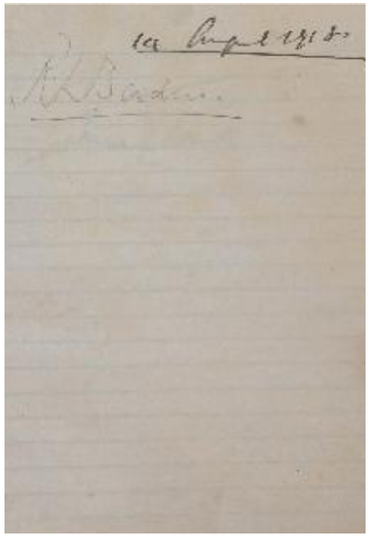
Hankey records accompanying LG to Danny to consider his draft report with LG, Smuts and Reading. "My draft report was acclaimed as a huge success, but they made a good many alterations, and I sat up until midnight inserting them." Hankey recalls leaving Danny early on 15th August with Smuts by car.

Robert Borden's memoirs relay that on 13th August: "I left for Danny where I arrived that evening. On the following morning I had a long discussion with LG as to War aims and condition of peace, as to arrangements for conditions of peace, as to arrangements for organisation of army and for next year's campaign. Told him of dangerous condition of public opinion in Canada, of official stupidity here as contrasted with his action and of difficulties in administering Empire affairs. He suggested we should take over the West Indies and I acquiesced."

The Earl of Reading (1860 - 1935)

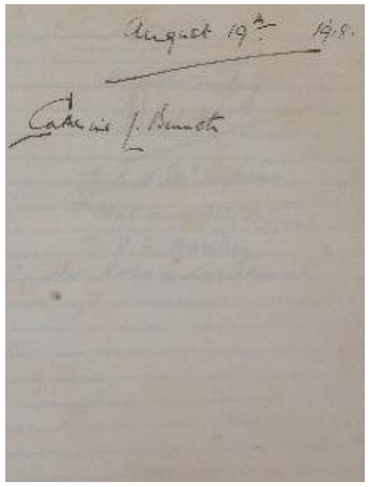
The son of a Jewish fruit merchant in Spitalfields London. Became a barrister, QC and Liberal MP. The Earl of Reading was Lord Chief Justice from 1913 to 1921. In 1915 he led the Anglo-French Financial Commission to seek financial assistance from the United States. From 1918 to 1919 he was British Ambassador to the United States. He was Viceroy of India from 1921 to 1925 and elevated to a Marquess in 1926.

Lord Reading, 2nd from right, inspecting the Front with Lloyd George



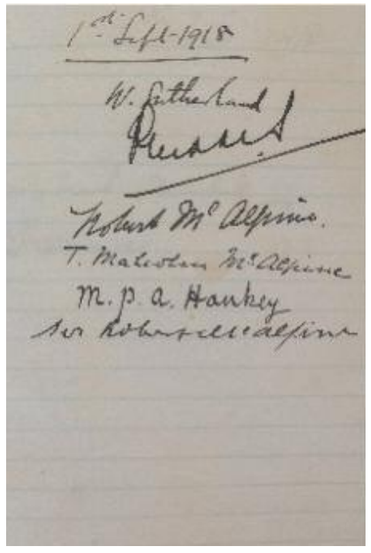
Sir Robert Borden

15th August 1918



Jan Smuts

19th August 1918



Catherine L. Bennett

Possibly a friend of Megan Lloyd George.

In August, Frances Stevenson fell ill at Danny, with inflammation of the kidneys, and stayed there for the next six weeks, looked after by two nurses.

On 30 August, the strike by the Metropolitan Police prevented LG going straight to Danny from Manchester. The Police had assembled in great force in Downing Street and assumed a very menacing attitude. LG went down to Danny on 31 August (Saturday evening) when he had settled the strike, Riddell recalls LG "being full of conservation all the way down in the car. …he is always ready to discuss politics or business."

1st September 1918

Hankey recalls being summoned to Danny on September 1 to join the "politico-journalist party assembled". Eric Geddes to lunch, plus Sir Robert McAlpine and his two sons. Frances Stevenson and Sutherland also present. Frances was well enough to take part in the conversation. In the afternoon LG, Geddes and Hankey drove to Shoreham to inspect some new anti-submarine defences. Later LG was full of election talk – an election while the war was still going on.

Sir Robert McAlpine (1847 - 1934)

Left school in Scotland aged 10 to work in the coal mines. Then became a bricklayer and went on to establish the building and civil engineering company Sir Robert McAlpine that is still in family ownership today. He was made a baronet in June 1918. His granddaughter Roberta was to marry Richard Lloyd George, son of David.
His company helped to build the "Mystery Towers" from 1917 in Shoreham Harbour. These huge towers were a major feat of engineering and a war-time secret. Some 3,000 labourers and 5,000 Royal Engineers were working on their construction around the clock. They were designed to be sunk in the Channel between Dungeness and Cap Gris Nez to facilitate an anti-submarine barrage across the channel to protect British shipping from the devastation of the German U-boats. The towers were also known locally as the ugly sisters, the wedding cakes and the mystery ships.

Maurice Hankey records in his diary that on 1st September, despite it being his wife and son's birthday, he had to go to Danny Park to join the politico-journalist party assembled there, and then to go on to Shoreham to inspect the towers being built (see left).

Lady Florence McAlpine (1889 - 1934)
Second wife of Sir Robert.

T. Malcolm McAlpine (1877 - 1967)
Malcolm was the third son of Sir Robert. He went on to be Chairman of the family business and was responsible for designing the Mulberry Harbours used in the D-day landings.

Sir William Sutherland (1880 - 1949)
He served as Lloyd George's private secretary and parliamentary secretary from 1915 till 1920. In the run-up to the 1918 general election he was used as a fundraiser from wealthy sources. He was a major participant in the honours for cash scandal. Today he would have been known as the PM's spin doctor. He later became a colliery owner and Liberal MP.

2nd September 1918
Riddell recalls that: "In the afternoon of Monday we went for a motor drive to Beachy Head, where we had tea in the open. Taking with us a kettle etc. LG is very fond of these picnics, and gave the subject much consideration today, viz. how the tea was to be made, what sort of kettle we should take with us, etc. His vitality is wonderful."

4th, 5th and 6th September 1918
Riddell recalls Winston Churchill and Lord Rothermere at Danny with LG: "Winston Churchill and Rothermere at Danny for the night. I drove with Winston in a car lent to him by Abe Bailey,[1] according to Winston the best Rolls-Royce in England. When we reached the open road, Winston got up every few minutes to look at the speedometer, which frequently recorded 30, 40, 50, and even 60 miles an hour. This gave him great satisfaction and altogether shook my faith in my knowledge of speed, based on many years' motoring in fast cars. Next day the explanation emerged. The driver told me that the speedometer registered ten or fifteen miles in advance of the speed. 'I have not altered it,' he said."

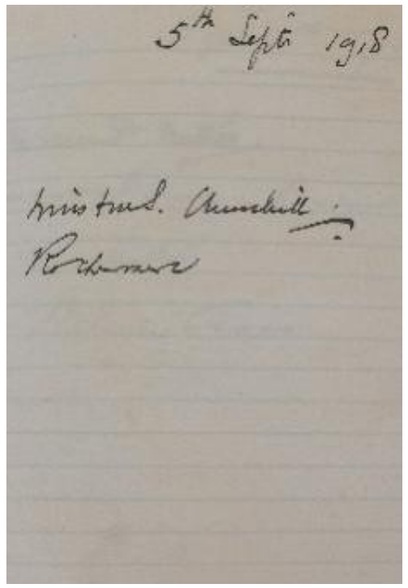
"Winston often flies. On his last flight across the Channel, the engine gave signs of failure. He described his feelings. 'I saw things looked serious. I knew that if the engine ceased to cough we should fall into the sea. We were too low down to have the opportunity to rectify matters. I wondered if I could unstrap myself and unstrap the pilot, and how long the machine would float and how long I could swim after that.' 'Were you afraid of death?' I said to him. 'No,' he replied; 'I love life, but I don't fear death. Beyond the feelings I have described, I felt a curious calm come over me.'

We talked, the three of us, about an election. I said, 'The main argument in favour of it is the necessity for a strong, virile House of Commons that will express the views of the people. The House of Commons is their mouthpiece and the natural safety-valve. This argument seemed to weigh with W. and R. Rothermere now favours an early election.

Much talk about the purchase of the *Daily Chronicle*, on which LG is very keen. The price is said to be £1,100,000 and the profits roughly about £200,000 per annum, of which about £130,000 is payable in Excess Profits Duty. Sir Henry Dalziel has an option on the paper until October 1st. There seems to be some difficulty in arranging the finance.

Winston has a wonderful eye for the good and striking thing in literature. He recited some of Sassoon's poems with great effect, and has a wonderful memory. He is a kindly creature and very lovable. In the evening we had a long and interesting argument concerning Foch. The P.M. advanced the view that our recent victories are mainly due to Foch's strategy. This Winston denied. He ascribed them to four causes: (1) tanks, (2) deterioration of German Army, (3) valour of British Army, and (4) fighting on a wide battle-line. Much eloquence was displayed by Winston and LG in debating of subject. LG said, "You [Winston] are echoing the sentiments of G.H.Q. You have changed your tone. Now you are all for Haig." Of course, Winston denied this, but ceased contending when LG referred to the change in the situation of the Conservative Party in 1874 owing to Disraeli and in 1885 owing to Winston's father. "That shows," said L., "how a great man can alter things."

[1] Sir Abe Bailey, Bart, the South African mine-owner



Winston Churchill (1874 - 1965)
He was a member of the Liberal Party from 1904 till 1924. As First Sea Lord he oversaw the disastrous Gallipoli Campaign. Afterwards he went to serve on the Western Front with the Royal Scots Fusiliers. He was invited back by Lloyd George in 1917 to be the Minister of Munitions. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill together were involved in many key political developments of the 20th Century, including the birth of the welfare state and the two world wars. They claimed to have remained friends throughout, despite their differences. Conservative leader Stanley Baldwin remarked "L.G. was born a cad and never forgot it; Winston was born a gentleman and never remembered it." Maurice Hankey, the most influential civil servant of his age summarised the differences of the two characters by saying "Imagine the subject of balloons crops up. Winston, without a blink, will give you a brilliant hour-long lecture on balloons. L.G., even if he has never seen you before, will spend an hour finding out anything you know or think about them."

Winston was Prime Minister from 1940 to 1945 and from 1951 till 1955.

Lloyd George and Winston Churchill

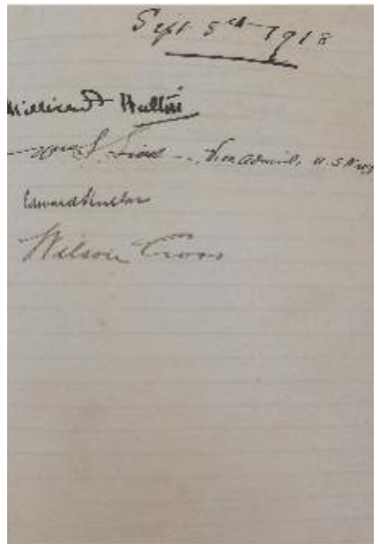
Lord Rothermere (1868 - 1940)

Harold Harmsworth was created a peer in 1914. Owner of the Daily Mirror, the most popular newspaper on the Western Front. Also founded the Daily Mail with his brother, who was to become Lord Northcliffe. In 1917 Lloyd George appointed him as President of the Air Council - he resigned in April 1918. Two of his sons were killed in action in the First World War. In the 1930s, he empathised with Hitler.

7th September 1918

Riddell diaries recall LG and Frances Stevenson being at Danny.

8th September 1918



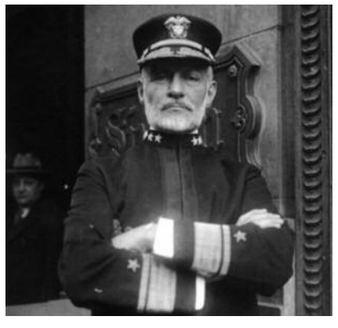
Wilson Cross

Sir Edward Hulton (1869 - 1925)

First baronet. Newspaper proprietor. Owned and founded the *Sporting Chronicle*, the *Sunday Chronicle* and the *Manchester Evening Chronicle*.

Lady Millicent Hulton (1869 - 1940)

Married Sir Edward Hulton in 1916. She had been a music hall artist.



Vice Admiral William Sims, US Navy (1858 - 1936)

From 1917, he was in charge of all US naval forces operating in Europe.

12th to 22nd September 1918

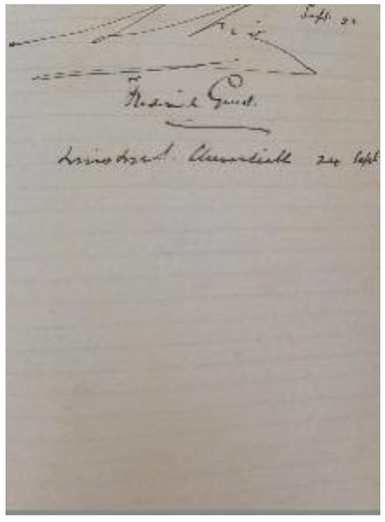
In September, LG made a speech in Manchester and was seriously ill with the Spanish influenza. Hankey reported that Newnham, LG's valet at 10 Downing Street, relayed to him that LG's health was "touch and go". He later convalesced at Danny.

While LG was ill in Manchester, Frances was ill at Danny. LG asked Christopher Addison (Minister of Reconstruction, but also a doctor) to look at her. Addison wrote to LG on 17th September "Miss Stevenson's illness arose from kidney infection… I got in touch with the Doctor who has a good consultant down and... it was quite clear that peritonitis was not in question. As you will have no doubt, she is making good progress and I hope that is now only a matter of time to get her well again."

On 21st September, LG returned to London, still wearing a respirator, with Megan, Sutherland, F.E. Guest and Milligan, but then went immediately to Danny for a working convalescence with Frances.

On 22nd September, Hankey relayed in a private letter to his wife "this morning however he [LG] slipped off to Danny without having seen a soul, saying that he would stay away a whole week and see no-one for two or three days."

23rd September 1918



Frederick Guest (1875 - 1937)

Chief Whip to the Lloyd George Coalition Liberal Party from 1917 till 1921. He won the bronze medal for polo in the 1924 Paris Olympics. He was a cousin and close friend of Winston Churchill.

Viscount Walter Long (1854 - 1924)

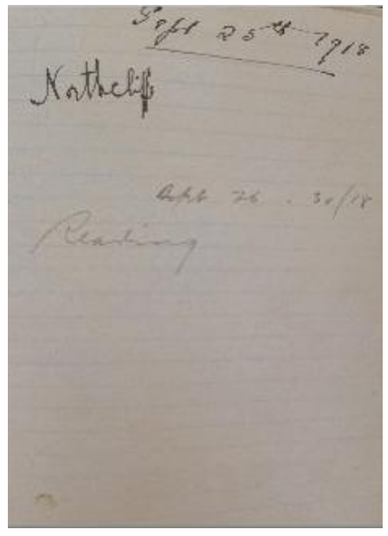
A Conservative Unionist politician. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church Oxford. He was a member of the Cabinet in Lloyd George's Coalition and Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1916 till 1919. He was an authority on Irish Policy and in 1918 supported the Conscription Bill that would provoke 'the crises of Irishness'.

24th September 1918

Winston Churchill

25th September 1918

The Riddell diaries recall: "Received letter from Northcliffe, who was at Danny yesterday seeing Lloyd George, saying he was sorry I was away so that he did not see me also. He went on to say that the Old Gang are trying to lay hold of the legs of the Prime Minister and drag him down, and he thinks they will drag him down unless he realises his position. He says further that because L.G. often comes face to face with the little people in the Government he seems to think they have some standing in the country. Northcliffe says he would be very glad to help L.G., but that he declines to work for the return of the Old Gang. He thinks Asquith might be made Lord Chancellor, although he is bound to confess that the few people to whom he has made the suggestion seemed outraged by the idea. He says his position may be summed up as follows: He does not propose to use his newspapers and personal influence to support a new Government, elected at the most critical period of the history of the British nations, unless he knows definitely and in writing, and can approve, the personal constitution of that Government."



Lord Northcliffe (1865 - 1922)

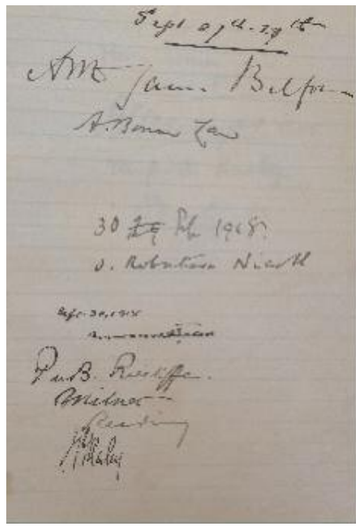
Born Alfred Harmsworth. A newspaper magnate who dominated the British press in the First World War. In 1914 he controlled 40% of the morning papers, including the *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *The Times*, *The Observer*. He became the first Lord Northcliffe in 1905. Such was his anti-German influence, that Germany sent a warship to shell his house in Broadstairs, Kent. In 1917 he directed a British mission to the United States and in 1918 was put in control of enemy propaganda.

26th to 30th September 1918

The Earl of Reading

27th to 29th September 1918

On 27th September, L.G. wrote to his wife saying: “My old love, Have only had one short scrubby note from you. What did the doctor say in the letter he wrote to you? I want to know. I am crawling upward but have not recovered strength. Unfortunately – or fortunately – things are moving so rapidly I cannot keep off affairs of state. Someone here every day.” His daughter Megan added to the bottom of the letter “Tada has asked me to finish this letter. We went for a run to Brighton as far as Roedean this morning. Col. Campion came here before lunch to arrange about taking ‘Danny’ for another week. He is a dear old fellow.”



Hankey recalls that on 27th September 1918, Bulgaria sued for peace. Hankey and Bonar Law at once rang up the P.M. at Danny and ascertained his views. Reading, Wilson and Kerr were at Danny with L.G. They were joined at 9am by Bonar law and Balfour, who had broken down on the way. “After dinner L.G.,A.J.B., and B.L. retired for a conference, which lasted till 11.30pm, the subjects being, so I believe, the proposal for a General Election and the Bulgarian peace proposals.”

The Bulgarian Delegation signing the Armistice Treaty in Thessaloniki on 29th September 1918

On 28th September, after another conference, BL and AJB returned to London at 12.30. Reading stayed on.

That day, Philip Kerr wrote to Nancy Astor “The PM is much better, & there have been many comings and goings of pundits…But it’s generally thought that he should stay here for a few more days… Miss Stevenson has been quite bad & is in bed, but gets up for a bite each day & will shortly be quite fit again.”

Riddell reported that on the morning of the 28th September another conference took place. A. J. B. and B. L. returned to London at 12.30. L.G. told me later that he may have to go to France for a conference with the Bulgarians, to whom a safe conduct has been offered
L. G.: I shall trust no one else. I must go myself, A..J.B would not be quite the man for the task. It will require handling. The Serbians will be apt to think only of their side of the war. They will want to decimate the Bulgarians now that they have them in their power.
R.: That is only natural. So should I if I were a Serbian.
L. G.: Yes, quite right, so should I! But we must look at the war as a whole. I am disposed to try to get the Bulgarians out of the war. We might be able to get them to attack the Turks. I should like to see that rotten old Empire broken up.

Much talk between L. G. and Reading on the same subject. Reading pointed out that America is not at war with Bulgaria, but may want a say in the peace negotiations. Bulgaria may, he thinks, ask for American intervention. Reading views the future of our relations with America with grave apprehension. He thinks that the American people are at the beginning of a new era. In the war serious points of difference are continually arising.

29TH.- Talked with L. G. and Reading regarding the crisis of March. L. G. bitterly complained of American delays in sending troops.
READING: They did not realise the necessity. They thought the Allies were well able to hold the line and we never told the Americans that we could carry their troops. Indeed, I heard Haig say at your house that we had plenty of troops and that he doubted if the Germans would make a big offensive. He anticipated only sporadic attacks. I went away very uneasy. I thought there was something wrong.
L. G.: That may be so. The War Office were undoubtedly responsible for a good deal of the delay.
READING: Who drafted the cablegram demanding more troops?
L. G. : I did that. I think on March 28th. I went for a walk in the Park with Philip Kerr. Things looked very black. I determined to cable without reference to the Cabinet or foreign Office. I went to the War Office and the cablegram is dispatched. I suppose Wilson has never forgiven me for sending the message which you [Reading] read at the public dinner in which I told the American public of the position.
READING: I don’t think so. I don’t think Wilson minded. He certainly said nothing to lead me to think so. I showed the message to House before I read it in public. It was an historic event. The telegram saved Europe.

Later I had a long talk with Reading about Anglo-American relations.
R.: Why does Wilson always refrain from mentioning the British effort in the war in his speeches? It looks ungenerous. It looks as if he wanted to adopt a high-handed, imperious attitude later on.

READING: The position is very dangerous and difficult. Wilson sits aloft and apart, and he directs and feeds the Press with his views and opinions. One great danger is that we may come to cross-purposes with the Americans, and in particular that L. G. and Wilson may come to cross-purposes. I think that much might be done by removing minor causes of disagreement, such as the differences regarding the cost of transport of American troops and the alleged profit on the wool.

A very cheerful day, notwithstanding the horrible weather. News of advance in the West arriving all day. The P.M. full of glee. On the arrival of the message he began to dance a hornpipe. The Bulgar delegates have arrived at Salonika, where Venizelos has gone to meet them.

L. G. : I am glad that Venizelos will be there. He is a wise man, but I expect he will want to impose very hard terms. That would not be my idea. I want to get the Bulgars out of the war. German troops are on their way to reinforce the Bulgarians.

On 29th September the armistice was signed between Bulgaria and the Allied Powers at Thessaloniki which regulated the demobilization and disarmament of the Bulgarian armed forces.

Sir Arthur Balfour (1848 - 1930)

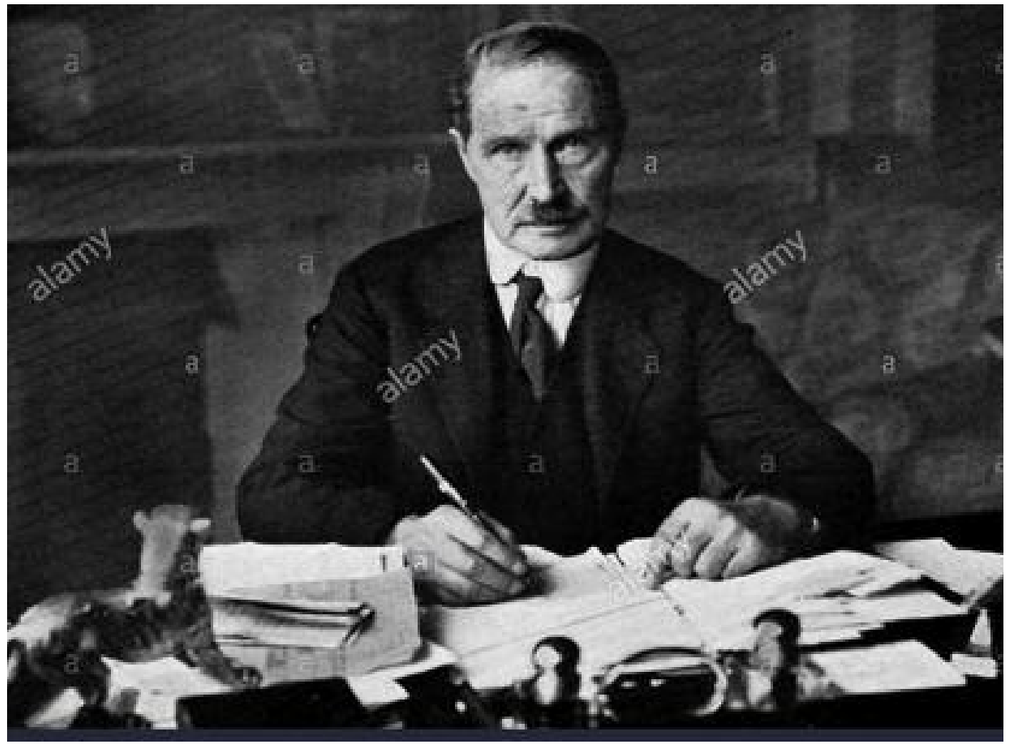
A Conservative. Prime Minister 1902 to 1905. Foreign Secretary 1916 to 1919. Issued the Balfour Declaration in November 1917 on a Jewish homeland. A brilliant debater. Never married. A philosopher. Frequently left out of Lloyd George's inner workings of Government.

Arthur Balfour and Lloyd George in Paris 1919

Andrew Bonar Law (1858 - 1923)

Leader of the Conservatives. Was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lloyd George's Coalition Government. He was to become Prime Minister for 211 days between 1922 and 1923. He was born in Canada and is the only prime Minister to have been born outside the British Isles.

Two of his sons died in action in 1917, making him "even more melancholy and depressed than before".



30th September 1918

Riddell recalled that Baker (US War Minister) and Reading met with LG, and were later joined by Milner, Wilson, Radcliffe and Maclay (Shipping) for a conference after dinner "which lasted till a late hour".

The Ridddell diaries recall that on 30th September, "Robertson Nicoll came down to lunch. Much talk about books and politics. Nicoll evidently surprised at L. G.'s knowledge of the former, and at his intimate acquaintance with the war of I745.

Later came Baker, American War Minister a nice, trim, little man of the Y.M.C.A, type- shrewd and clear. Also Reading returned. He told us that when he took L. G.'s telegram to President Wilson on March 27th, or 28th, the President said as he left him, 'Tell him [L. G.] that we will do our damnedest.' Reading said that first of all he intended to wire this to L. G., but on reflection thought it wiser to refrain. Baker listened with his mouth open and remarked, Wilson don't often swear, but when he does he means it! At which we all laughed heartily.

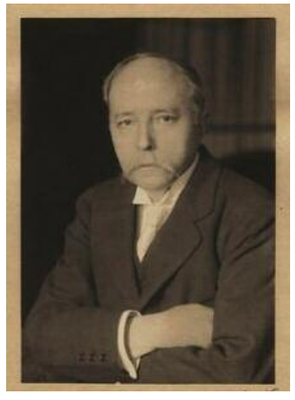
Later on came Milner, Henry Wilson, Radcliffe, the Director of Military Operations, and Sir Joseph Maclay. After dinner a lone conference was held which lasted till a late hour. The charge for carrying the American troops was, I believe, the chief question for discussion. A charge 25 per head, but on the other hand the Americans charge us at the same rate when their ships are used by us. I did not hear what decision was reached. The party started home at an early hour in the morning, Wilson at 7.30 and Maclay at 8."

Newton Baker (1871 - 1937)

He was US Secretary of War from 1916 till 1921 and presided over the US army during WW1. He selected General Pershing to command the American Expeditionary Forces, which he insisted acted as an independent unit. He told LG "If we want advice as to who should command our armies, we would ask for it. But until then we do not want nor need it from anyone, least of all of you." Baker was a lawyer and not a military person. He said "I am so much a pacifist, I'm willing to fight for it."

Sir William Robertson Nicoll (1851 - 1923)

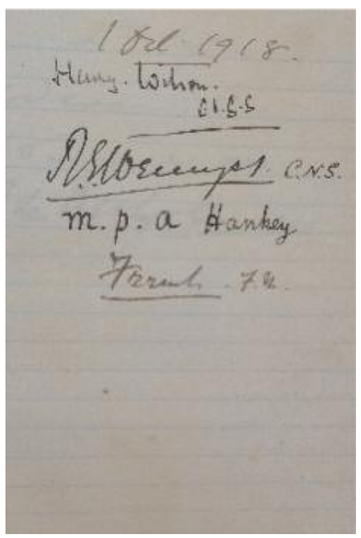
Founder of the *British Weekly*, a non-conformist newspaper and editor of the paper *The Expositor*. Long-term supporter of the Liberal Party and a Scottish Free Church Minister.



Sir Joseph Maclay (1875 - 1951)

A shipping magnate who was Chairman of Maclay & Macintyre Ltd of Glasgow. From 1916 till 1921 he was Minister of Shipping, despite not being an MP or being in the House of Lords. He was a Sabbatarian and would not even read newspapers on Sunday.

Percy Radcliffe
Lord Reading
Viscount Milner
Newton Baker



1st October 1918

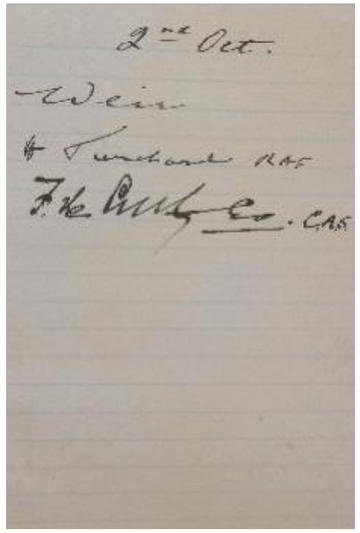
Henry Wilson recollected that he: "motored down to Hassocks to Lloyd George. Johnnie French and Rosie Wemyss there also, and Hankey, Philip Kerr and Riddell. Long talk about Bulgaria and Turkey, and I persuaded Lloyd George to have a meeting. So I go over to Paris tomorrow, and Lloyd George comes when I wire. We must walk wearily or we shall be getting into a mess down in the Balkans. Lloyd George quite agrees about conscription the moment the house meets again."

Hankey relays that he went to Danny on 1st and 2nd October, with Wemyss (First Sea Lord). Wilson and French were also there. Discussion about Turkey and Italy. Riddell relays that there was "an important conference at which I was not present."

Sir John French (1852 - 1925)

Commander in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force for first 1.5 years of WW1. In October 1918 he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. First Earl of Ypres.

Maurice Hankey
Sir Rosslyn Wemyss
Sir Henry Wilson



2nd October 1918

Northcliffe was apparently at Danny seeing LG. Riddell went back to London.

Hugh Trenchard (1873 - 1956)

He was instrumental in founding the RAF and is known as the father of the RAF, and was given the nick name of “The Camel”. Whilst fighting the Boers he was wounded and partially paralysed. Doctors advised him to recuperate in Switzerland. He took to bobsleighing to alleviate boredom. He had a heavy crash and this resolved his paralysis. He began flying in 1912.

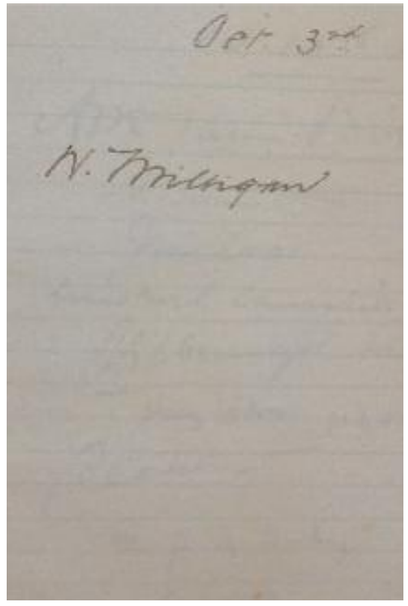
In 1918 he was made the first Chief of the Air Staff, but resigned in April 1918. In October 1918 he was put in command of the Independent Air Force. Lord Rothermere resigned as Air Minister in April 1918 and Sir William Weir took his place.

Sir William Weir (1877 - 1956)

He was a Scottish industrialist and chairman of the G & J Weir engineering group from 1910 till 1953. In 1918, Lloyd George appointed him to become the president of the Air Council.

Frederick Hugh Sykes (1863-1954)

He was the second Chief of the Air Staff. He had worked on a tea plantation in Ceylon and then served in the Boer war. In 1910 he commenced flying lessons at Brooklands. He was Chief of Staff and temporarily commanded the Royal Flying Corps in the field. He was appointed as Chief of the Air Staff in April 1918, and played a major role in the establishment of the RAF. He later became an MP and Governor of Bombay.



3rd October 1918

LG returns from Danny to London to attend a War Cabinet at 5pm.

Sir William Milligan

He was a doctor from Manchester who looked after Lloyd George when he was suffering from influenza. He stayed at Danny and accompanied him to Paris

4th - 10th October 1918

On 4th October, 1918, the German Imperial Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, asked President Wilson for an armistice on the basis of the President’s Fourteen Points. Austria and Turkey, the remaining two of the enemy Grand Alliance, associated themselves with this request.

It confirmed Woodrow Wilson in his opinion that he was now the arbiter of the world. Omitting to consult his Allies, the President now began to treat privately with the enemy he had only just begun to fight. In the Supreme Council at Versailles on 6 October, Lloyd George sharply protested that all the other Allied and Associated Powers did not have to pander to the President of the United States. On 9th October, he insisted that Britain could not agree to Point Two (the Freedom of the Seas) being made part of the basis of any truce, and that the evacuation of all occupied territory by the enemy must take place before the Allies would even discuss it.

LG went with N. Milligan, Lord Cavan and Hankey to Paris. LG returned from Paris on 10th October, probably to Danny. Riddell reports LG to be “in high spirits at the Allied victories”, and talked about Foch and Wilson's fourteen points, which he told Riddell were unacceptable. LG reported to have said: “His Fourteen Points are very dangerous. He speaks of the freedom of the seas. That would involve the abolition of the rights of search and seizure, and the blockade. We shall not agree to that; such a change would not suit this country.”

On 5th October, LG wrote a memo to Frances Stevenson, who remained at Danny whilst LG was in Paris:

Memo from D. to P.

This is not a love-letter – it is a purely business communication or rather a minute from a chief to his Secretary. Instructions how to behave on my departure for & during my absence on the Continent.

1. Look today as if you rather liked my going – cheerful jolly, otherwise we shall both be miserable (pure selfish thought for himself as usual says Pussy).
2. After I have left & the whole time I am away you must not get depressed or miserable. Act as if you were right down glad to get rid of an old bore who is always hanging about your room when he is not wanted.
3. Get rid of the cold as soon as you can.
4. Don't be in too great a hurry to get well. It leads to fretting & impatience & over persuading nurses & doctors to let you do things you ought not to do – and ultimate disappointment. Climb back to strength slowly.
5. Seek nor desire any substitute for me (vide First Commandment for paraphrase of this).
6. Never forget that there is a fond old man who will not be too full of affairs for a single moment of his journey to find room – & the best room in his heart for you.

Whatever luggage I leave behind Pussy will be with me for the little witch has done her own packing long long ago & she never leaves the value whatever is taken out or put in.

Every morning I shall be eagerly awaiting news from Danny – yes & every evening & how happy I shall be to know you are getting on my darling cariad.
Byth bythoed
D.11

11 LG to Frances, 5.10.18, FLS/6/1.

11th October 1918

Riddell's diaries recall:
11TH - We drove to Brighton and along the coast. L.G. in high spirits.
R.: Your sense of humour has kept you going through all these trying times.
L.G.: Well, I don't think I have ever been very gloomy, I always look on the bright side of things.
R.: But never very elated and never very cast down.
L.G.: It is always necessary to preserve a sense of proportion; that is one of the chief requisites of life.
R.: If you can find the time, you ought to make a speech regarding the wonderful doings of our soldiers. It would give great satisfaction, and no one could do it as you could.
L.G.: What I said about the aviators has taken the people's fancy. "Cavaliers of the clouds."
R.: It was a wonderful phrase. By the way, Robertson Nicoll says that you, Kerr, should go into public life, and that you could certainly do well.
L.G. Of course he would. [Kerr is a man of outstanding ability, but very modest. He is

very useful to the P.M. and it is a pleasure to work with him. He comes of one of the oldest families, but has no "side" and is a most unselfish person.] I often think of my early days in politics. I remember that they came to me and asked me to be more gentle with Mr. Gladstone. My answer was to quote a saying of Oliver Cromwell: "If I were in a battle I should shoot the King if I met him on the other side." Those old Covenanters had some fine sayings.
R: Do you remember the Earl of Essex's dreadful saying, "Stone dead hath no fellow"?
L.G.: That is a dreadful saying.
Kerr (to L.G.): Did you read Riddell your poem?
L.G.: No. I found it in an anthology of Welsh verses published during the past twenty-five years. I wrote it concerning D.A.Thomas[1] when I was fighting him more than twenty years ago. Kerr asked me to explain it (the poem is in Welsh). You can't explain poetry. When I said that the poem described the splitting of a cloud or something of that sort, he objected that you cannot split clouds. After that I gave up the attempt.
[1] Later Lord Rhondda.

12th October 1918

Riddel's diaries report:
12TH. - A momentous day. Lunch with Mr. and Mrs. L.G. at Walton and then on to Danny. L.G. not very well. Pains in his left leg, which he says always seize him if he is very run down. Talked of the peace negotiations.
Later Lord Reading arrived for the night. More talk about peace.
L.G.: It is important that you, Reading, should get back to America to look after our interests there. I have been picturing to myself my first interview with President Wilson.
Reading: Clemenceau says that after a few hours, only feathers would be left to tell the tale. Both would have disappeared!
L.G. (laughingly): I should like Clemenceau to see him first with me behind the curtain. That would be an amusing interview. However, he has placed his allies in a very difficult position. Eric Geddes has cabled inquiring whether I wish him to say anything special in a speech that he is making on Monday. I called him asking him to refrain from approving or criticising Wilson's note and suggesting that he should refer to the achievements of the British Army. I am not quite sure that it would not be a good thing for Clemenceau or me to make a speech indicating the position in an inoffensive way. The American public would soon understand and would speedily make it clear to Wilson that he must act in accord with the French and British, who have borne the burden of the day. Before you [Reading] go, you must get the facts about Pershing. It is a pity you cannot get them from the French. Pershing is most difficult. Before the recent operations, Weygand, Foch's Chief of Staff, went to him to give him advice. He refused to take it and there was, of course, a scene. Everything happened as Weygand predicted, with the result that the American Army has been quite ineffective. They have hindered Foch's plans. One side of the claw of the crab has not been working. The American Staff had not got the experience. For example, they used the same roads for incoming and outgoing traffic, with the result that there was serious, very serious congestion. They could get neither back nor forward; and had the Germans been fighting with their former spirit, the Americans would have suffered very severely. Pershing says that America did not enter the war with the same objects as France and Great Britain, but for independent objects, and therefore wants an independent army. Had the brigading system been carried out we should have defeated the Germans before this. But it is most important that Pershing should

act under Foch's instructions and take advice from those who know more about the job than he can possibly do. Wilson should know these facts, which are being withheld from him.
READING: I agree. Pershing spoke to me in the same way. He was full of that sort of thing.
Reading reminded L.G. of the financial arrangements made when L.G. was Chancellor.
L.G.: The old governor, Cunliffe, is a good old fellow – very inarticulate, but he has good judgment. At my first conference with the French and Russian Ministers of Finance I asked him to explain our views about gold. He gave three grunts, and that was all the explanation. The people at the Treasury were horrified at my proposals. I remember one night when the officials were nearly hysterical. What has happened? We have got back all the loan except £10,000,000 which we shall recover after the war.

Later L.G. sat reading Foreign Office papers, occasionally reading extracts aloud and making comments. For example: "The Germans are in a serious condition internally. Revolution is imminent if no peace is possible. They have no raw materials. The Kaiser is about to abdicate in favour of his second son."
L.G.: That's the British Navy. President Wilson can't claim that!

After L.G. had gone to bed, the German reply to President Wilson's Note came over the telephone from Downing Street. It was written down and taken to L.G. by Kerr, who soon returned saying, "There is awful trouble upstairs, I can tell you! He thinks that the Allies are now in a horrible mess. Wilson has promised them an armistice."
R.: His Note does not say that. It says, "I will not propose a cessation of hostilities while German Armies are on the soil of the Allies."
READING: The next sentence, however, refers to the good faith of the discussion depending upon the consent of the Central Powers to evacuate. Does not that mean an armistice to enable them to do so?
R.: Wilson may well say, Get out as best you can, and when you are out I will make proposals.
KERR: He can't mean that.
R.: Most people read the Note in the sense I indicated.
READING: It is badly drafted.

In the course of the evening L.G. expressed a desire to see American newspapers of various types and gave instructions for them to be ordered. Reading suggested cabled extracts as alternatives.
L.G.: You must see the newspapers themselves. Extracts are often misleading, and the extract often depends on the extractor, who selects what suits him for the purpose he has in view.

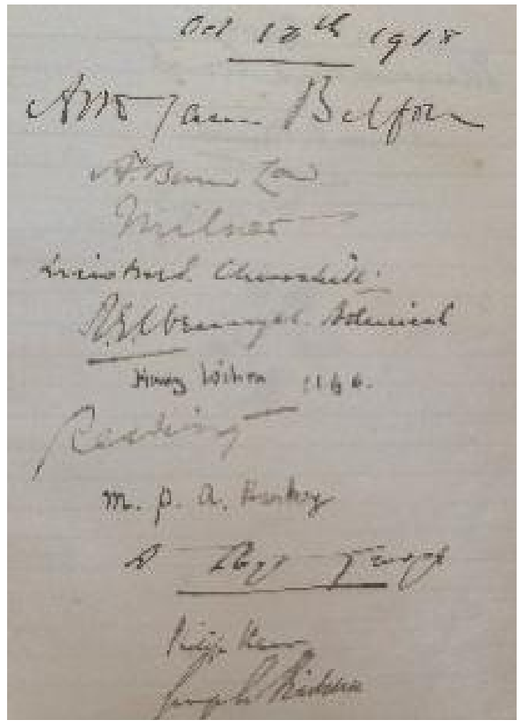
13th October 1918

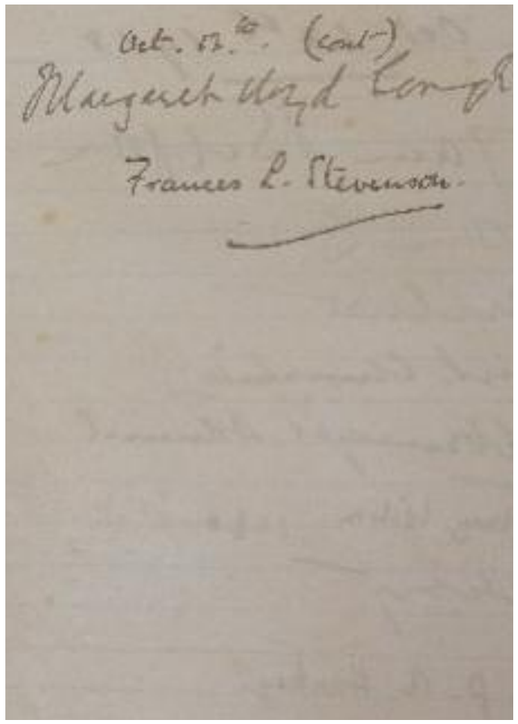
The Riddell diaries relay that:
13TH. – Much talk with L.G. and Reading regarding Wilson's first Peace Note. We walked to the top of Wolstonbury Hill, L.G. declaiming all the time against Wilson's action in replying without consultation with the Allies, and also in regard to the terms of the Note.
L.G.: The Germans have accepted the terms, as I prophesied they could. We are in a serious difficulty. Wilson has put us in the cart and he will have to get us out.
R.: The Note says that Wilson will not recommend a cessation of hostilities while the Germans are in possession of Allied territory. It is true that the next sentence says that the goodwill of any conversations must depend upon their consent to evacuate,

but it is quite open to Wilson to say that there can be no armistice while the Germans remain in possession.
L.G. would not agree upon this construction, and said that if any lawyer had written such a letter he would be regarded as guilty of sharp practice if he afterwards claimed that he had predicated for evacuation as a condition precedent. Reading did not agree with my construction, but strongly rebutted L.G.'s contention that Wilson had placed himself in a difficult position.
L.G.: The time is coming when we shall have to speak out. We have borne the heat and the burden of the day and we are entitled to be consulted. What do the Fourteen Points mean? They are very nebulous.

To lunch came A.J Balfour, Bonar Law, Milner, Winston Churchill, and Henry Wilson; later came Rosslyn Wemyss and Hankey. After lunch a big conference at which I was not present. A.J.Balfour, Hankey, and Philip Kerr then set to work to write memoranda expressing the decisions arrived at, each in a separate room. Meanwhile L.G. and the rest of the party adjourned to the gardens. From subsequent conversation I gathered that the terms of the armistice had been under discussion and that the conference had decided upon demanding unconditional surrender.
L.G.: I think it might have been wiser to have prescribed for Foch's terms (bridge-heads on the Rhine, etc.). They are not so humiliating, and I think the Germans would be more likely to accept them.

Before the party broke up it was decided that Sutherland should see the newspapers and explain the position. I told Milner that I had provided Sutherland with a list. The party left in a cloud of motor-cars, Harry Wilson driving his, which had been built for the Tsar of Russia, and the speedometer of which is marked for versts instead of miles. After dinner, this being our very last day at Danny, L.G. proposed my health in a delightful little speech. I understand that the Conference decided to make representations to Wilson as to his Note and reply to the Germans, but am not sure about this.





Hankey reports he was summoned to Danny, arriving at 2.30pm to find LG, Bonar Law, Balfour, Churchill, Reading, First Sea Lord and CIGS, and Kerr, “already in conference over their cigars.” Discussions of armistice terms and Wilson’s fourteen points, especially freedom of the seas, which Britain cannot accept.

Hankey reveals “We conferred for 3 hours on the subject of the German acceptance of President Wilson's conditions. The Germans have assumed, as we expected they would, that in his message President Wilson intended the evacuation of occupied territories to be the sole condition of armistice.”

The American Philosophical Society (1975) record that the British leaders at Danny Park agreed upon a telegram to Wilson concerning the apparent acceptance of the President’s Fourteen Points. The cable stated “With the general tenor of the President’s policy we are in full accord. But it has to be observed that these have never been discussed with the Associated Powers and that certain of them are capable of various interpretations to some of which we should raise strong objections and that there are probably other terms not referred to by the President (for example terms relating to outrages on shipping) which should be insisted on if full justice is to be done.”

Hankey reports that he “motored home with Winston Churchill, who was very friendly.”

Arthur Balfour
Andrew Bonar Law
Alfred Milner
Winston Churchill
Rosslyn Wemyss
Henry Wilson
Lord Reading
Maurice Hankey
David Lloyd George
Philip Kerr
George Riddell
Margaret Lloyd George
Frances Stevenson

14th October 1918

A War Cabinet meeting was held in London and the minutes record Balfour reporting on the discussions “held on the previous day (Sunday) at the Prime Minister’s house on the armistice terms and Wilson’s Fourteen Points. “The results of this discussion were embodied in two telegrams which had been despatched to our representative at Washington (Nos 6182 and 6183 dated 13th October).

18th October 1918

Hankey records “War Cabinet at noon under Bonar law (LG not present). After the meeting there was an outburst on Curzon’s part about the postponement of the discussion on armistices etc., about the conference at Danny last week…My opinion is that the PM is assuming too much the role of a dictator and that he is heading for very serious trouble. I simply cannot run the machine on these lines.” Apparently,

after the end of the normal Cabinet business Curzon asked Bonar Law, Balfour, Montagu (India), Long (Colonies), Chamberlain and Cecil (US, FO) and Reading to stay behind, when he protested about the manner in which the armistice discussions had been handled at Danny Park, when only a few members of the War Cabinet had been present. Chamberlain, Long and Montagu supported him. But Bonar Law and Balfour “pretty well disposed of any suggestions that the conference ought not to have taken place” because of the urgent need to consider the reply to President Wilson’s Note and the difficulty of assembling ministers at short notice.

Daisy - Growing up in a Sussex village 1897-1919

Extracts relating to the garden party held by Lloyd George held at Danny

It was now the turn of the village to become a central part of the history of the war. Hurst was to become a "centre" of the war's direction, at least from the British viewpoint, during that last year of 1918.

How it came about, I do not really know, perhaps it has already been recorded in some history book or in some memoir. So far as the people of Hurst knew Lord Riddell, the owner of the *News of the World* and a close personal friend of the Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, had arranged to rent Danny Mansion from the Campions. What no one knew initially was that Lord Riddell had rented it on behalf of Lloyd George as a country "retreat". Why this was is, perhaps, something of a mystery. I have never seen any explanation.

Only a few months before (October 5, 1917) Sir Arthur Lee had given a house and estate near Great Missenden, 35 miles from London, called "Chequers", to the nation in perpetuity for the use of the incumbent Prime Minister as a country residence. Why then had Lloyd George decided to rent Danny Mansion in Hurstpierpoint? Was the refurbishment at "Chequers" incomplete or was it for security measures? I think it probably was [the latter] for there was absolutely no mention of the fact even in the local newspaper and I know that Harry Beal, who used to be the local reporter, cycling into Hurstpierpoint every week on his bicycle from Burgess Hill to pick up the news, actually knew that Danny had an "eminent personality" staying there.

"I recall the mischievous twinkle in Lloyd George's eye as he shook hands"

At no time was there any mention of Lloyd George's presence there, save once. I heard afterwards that the one "slip" created a furore. In a report of the village whist drive to raise funds for a war charity, Lloyd George's name was listed. The local newspaper was, I am told, "hauled over the coals" about this. So I would say that the "authorities" did not want it generally known that Lloyd George was in residence at Danny. The Campions, so far as I recall, had moved to a house on the estate, and it had been put about that Danny Mansion was "empty". That was a story repeated in the local newspaper with George Beal adding, slyly, that he had, however, noticed some "eminent persons" on the lawns of the house.

Anyway, Danny Mansion and the village were chosen to be Prime Minister David Lloyd George's country home from July until November, 1918.

My father was "over the moon". In the heart of the Conservative controlled county, he was one of the stalwarts of the local Liberal Party. Indeed, the Randell family was, as I have explained before, very much Liberals of the late Victorian tradition, pledged to radical social and electoral reform and "Home Rule" for Ireland, Scotland and

Wales. Cousin David Randell, who had been Liberal Member of Parliament for Gower, had been one of our family icons.

Well, Lloyd George was my father's political idol. In July, 1917, Lloyd George had stayed for a few weeks at Great Walstead, about a mile-and-a-half from Lindfield, which was not far away from Hurst. My father was one of the leading Mid-Sussex Liberals who had been invited up to some garden party held at the house and had met his "hero". Therefore, when Lloyd George arrived in Hurst in July, 1918, and gave a private reception to the party faithful, which was given at Danny, my father received his invitation and off he went in his best suit to meet Lloyd George. I remember how happy he was when he came back. He said that the Prime Minister had remembered him from the previous year. Perhaps Lloyd George's aide had given him a good brief on village Liberal supporters. Father said that he had been able to have a long talk with him.

Well, soon after came another invitation for him to attend a grand party at Danny. This was during the first week in August and this time the invitation included my mother and "family". Well, at the time, there was only me at home. However, it was too good an opportunity to pass by and even Elsie decided to come up from Brighton to join us. The invitation plunged both Elsie and I into a fever. We would have to have new dresses. We had absolutely nothing to wear! I can remember how we dashed around in a panic seeking something suitable.

Eventually we had our new dresses. Elsie's was pink and mine was blue. We had large "Dolly Varden" hats with ribbons hanging down the back and small bunches of forget-me-nots, lace gloves and parasols and "dolly bags" for our handkerchiefs. We spend hours sewing the accessories to make sure they were perfect. It is strange but I cannot remember what my mother wore though I can recall father in his grey flannel suit, white shirt and grey cravat, with pin, and his top silk hat.

There was a band playing on the lawn outside Danny, the Sussex Yeomanry Cadet Band from Brighton. There were large marquees, an area for dancing, refreshment tents and countless people, many in uniforms of all colours and sizes. The noise of voices and laughter often drowned out the band. I recall Mrs Arthur Weekes fussing around the stalls and Mrs Anscombe running refreshments.

Reverend Finch was apparently in charge of the fete, and there was a sale of work to help the wounded soldiers, many of whom were allowed to attend. Colonel and the Hon. Mrs Campion were there, waiting attendance on the Prime Minister.

We went forward to be formally presented. I recall being surprised how small Lloyd George was. And I recall the mischievous twinkle in his eye as he shook hands.

"Good to see you again, Mister Randell," he said, in a very musical voice. He bowed slightly over my mother's hand and grinned at us girls. "Very charming daughters. Very charming." Then we had moved on. There were other introductions. People who were simply names from the newspapers: Balfour, Bonar Law, General Sir Henry Wilson and Admiral Sir Arthur Wemyss. I have lost count of them.

More importantly for a girl of twenty-one, there were numerous young men, officers in uniform mostly, who came seeking dances. Each lady was presented with a little book to mark off the dances. I always enjoyed dancing. It was a happy occasion. Perhaps unreal as I think about it now for here we were, in the midst of a frightful and cruel war, and yet, here we were enjoying ourselves as if the war didn't exist, chattering, laughing and dancing.

And in the interludes Miss Muriel Hardwick and Mrs Bartlett sang a medley of popular, patriotic songs to entertain us.

Lloyd George often came along the High Street, popping into local shops and several times he paused to speak with my father. What became a Music Hall line,

"my father knew Lloyd George", was absolutely true for me. Once or twice I would pass him with a nervous bob and he would raise his hat and smile. His routine, before breakfast, was to climb up Wolstonbury Hill. I used to think he was communing with his ancestors, the Celts who built the hillfort up there, for, of course, Lloyd George being Welsh was very much a Celt.

I do not know what would have happened had there been a German spy in the village for the entire village came to know that Lloyd George was in the habit of taking War Cabinet documents with him on his walks up Wolstonbury Hill, where he would often sit and work on them. On occasion a shower of rain would send him scuttling back for Danny, and he would leave some of his precious documents behind. On such occasions we often saw his long-suffering secretary, Miss Frances Stephenson, grunting up the steep slops to retrieve them.

It was, as most history books record, on October 13 that the terms and conditions for the Armistice were drawn up in the Great Hall of Danny. I have been there on several occasions to see Mary and Joan Campion when I was with the "Danny Daisies", and once or twice to dances and receptions escorted by my father, for he was often invited, during the winter months, to house parties given by the Campions for local tradespeople. Many are the times that I have been swirled across the polished oak floor of the hall in the arms of young men, the scions of the village business community. The Great Hall was a beautiful room with a high ceiling and it's believed that it was completed about 1595. The original stone floor was overlaid with oak planking in the mid 19th Century and the pine panelling in the century prior to that. There was a tremendously imposing fireplace. During the dances and receptions a large oak table was removed but it was around this table that the War Cabinet sat to sort out the terms of the Armistice.

There is an irony here that Lt Colonel William Campion, commanding his brigade at Wevelghem in Belgium, had just received orders to go "over the top" to attack impregnable German positions. The scheduled date of the attack was dawn on November 12. The Armistice came into being at 11am on November 11. Perhaps the life of Colonel William and the lives of his men were saved by the decision of men seated at the great table in his own home in Hurst. Sad, too, that their decision on October 13 failed to prevent the death of my brother Arthur in Palestine on October 27.

Danny House: east front (above) and south front (below)

Recollections from Robert Borden (Prime Minister of Canada), and Henry Borden (nephew) of their time at Danny

Letters to Limbo by Robert Laird Borden
Foreword by Henry Borden, published 1971

My uncle was a serious and thoughtful man, yet he had a deep, but quiet, sense of humour. He was an indefatigable worker and expected his associates and colleagues to accomplish as much work in a day as he himself did. In this he told me more than once that he was disappointed. This was understandable because he had tremendous powers of application and concentration and great physical stamina. Possessed of much patience, he was, however, no person to argue with when aroused. He was humble and kindly, and in his later years enjoyed the company of younger people with whom he would talk, discuss, and laugh as if they were his equal in learning and experience. While he was a great believer in the British Empire and in the Commonwealth, he was first and foremost a Canadian. I recall very vividly an incident that took place at the weekend residence of Mr Lloyd George, then the Prime Minister of Great Britain, one Sunday afternoon in July, 1918. Mr Lloyd George had called an emergency meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet to deal with a grave military situation in France with which the Allies were faced. During the afternoon, at the tea hour, I found myself in the room with those members of the Cabinet who had arrived. The discussion naturally revolved around the war, disposition of troops and matters of that kind. I do not remember the statement of Mr Lloyd George which provoked my uncle's remarks but I have never forgotten his words, the pointed finger, his voice shaking with emotion: "Mr Prime Minister, I want to tell you that, if ever there is a repetition of the battle of Passchendaele, not a Canadian soldier will leave the shores of Canada so long as the Canadian people entrust the government of their country to my hands." Within seconds I was asked by my uncle to leave the room and I, therefore, do not know what transpired as the result of that statement.

Toronto, Canada
May, 1971

HENRY BORDEN

Recollections, 1974, by Henry Borden, unpublished

My uncle [Robert Laird Borden] had planned to visit some Canadian hospitals in the south of England on Sunday, July 14th and he asked me to accompany him that day. However, about eight o'clock Sunday morning he telephoned to my bedroom and told me that Lloyd George wanted him urgently at his country weekend retreat and I could accompany him, go on to Brighton for lunch and then, as the meeting would not

be a long one I could pick him up in the early afternoon, so that he could still visit two or three hospitals.

Thus we set off about ten thirty in the morning headed for "Danny", Hassocks, Sussex, not far from Brighton, in the red Rolls Royce, (see page 826 of *Uncle Robert's Memoirs*). Having deposited my uncle, the chauffeur, with me sitting beside him in the front seat headed for Brighton where we had lunch at a small inn. The car certainly attracted a lot of attention in Brighton from the promenading Sunday crowds but there was nothing I could do.

When we returned to Danny about three o'clock, Lloyd George's secretary Philip Kerr, subsequently Lord Lothian, came out to the forecourt and insisted that I come in as some of the conferees had not yet arrived and the meeting would go on for a long time yet. In fact it had not even started. I found myself in the drawing room with Mrs. Lloyd George and Megan, the daughter, Sir George Riddell, later Lord Riddell, and Philip Kerr. Riddell occupied the house, an old one, and property and had placed it at Lloyd George's disposal for weekends. He was the owner or had a large financial interest in the Sunday newspaper, *News of the World*. This was before Chequers became the official country residence of the Prime Minister.

In due course I found myself in another room having tea with Lloyd George, Smuts, my uncle and probably Kerr, but I cannot be certain the latter was present. I have related in my Foreword to *Letter to Limbo* the incident that occurred and why I was asked abruptly and rightly to leave the room.

Having left the room and being naturally somewhat shy I did not want to go back to where the ladies were. In any event in my youthful way I had been somewhat surprised at the fact that Mrs. Lloyd George had taken off her shoes and put her feet up and I had taken a bit of a skunner [dislike] to Megan because of what I thought was a propensity to use long words which I did not then understand and I doubted if she herself did: the only alternative for me was to walk out to the sunken garden.

While killing time in the garden Mr. Lloyd George came out alone and joined me. He started the conversation by saying: "My lad, I understand you want to enlist but your uncle tells me you are too young." "Yes Sir, I do," I replied and my spirits rose as I felt I might get some help from him. But this was a short lived hope for he then said, turning to face me and putting his two hands on my shoulders: "No one will ever know the Hell that our boys are going through right now." Thereupon the tears started to stream down his face and there we stood facing one another with his hands on my shoulders for at least a minute. It seemed eternity to me at the time, this Welshman with the mane of white hair, shaking with emotion and holding on to this sixteen year old Canadian boy. When he had composed himself he said: "Have you heard the guns?" I told him I had not and so we stood there in silence with him being surprised that I could not hear them. Then he took me to the stone steps at the front door and I understood. I had been listening for a bang or a roar but on standing on the steps I realised it was a constant tremor and distant rumble, easily detected.
A few minutes later, my uncle came out with General Smuts, Philip Kerr and Sir George Riddell. Lloyd George suggested a walk up a modest hill to view some old Roman fortifications. My uncle walked on the way up with Kerr and Riddell. I found myself walking between Lloyd George and Smuts, some fifteen yards or so behind the other threesome. Lloyd George asked me my uncle's age and when I told him sixty-four, he commented on his physical condition and wonderful vigour. Suddenly Smuts turned to me and pointing at my shoes, which I thought were alright, said: "Where did you get those shoes?" Perhaps they were boots, I can't remember. I replied "In Canada Sir, before I left." Smuts then remarked that they looked like patent leather or cardboard ones and pointing to his own boots said: "See these boots of mine. They

are made of rhinoceros hide and I walked over ten thousand miles in them during the Boer war." Smuts was wearing these boots, plus old grey flannels and an old jacket. He had motored down from Oxford for the meeting.

When we returned from the walk I sensed something was wrong and dinner kept being delayed. Eventually, Lord Milner and Sir Henry Wilson, C.I.G.S., arrived and dinner was served. After dinner the men went into their meeting and I sat around being entertained by Riddell and Kerr until my uncle sent out word for me to go to bed as we would be spending the night.

Next morning we motored back to London but my uncle spoke not a word to me in the car. A couple of hours after arrival at the Savoy Hotel he came into our office quarters in great excitement and said the Canadians had advanced, by way of counter attack I supposed, and had been more successful.

Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs page 826-27, published 1938

On my return to London a message awaited me that Lloyd George wished urgently to see me and General Smuts on the following day. Thus, early the next morning (Sunday, July 14th), I left for "Danny", Hassocks (near Brighton), arriving at 1.50pm. The House, owned by the Campion family, was built in the Tudor period and had been altered in the early Georgian period. There were many portraits of the Stuarts, especially of Charles I; and I inferred that the Campions were a Jacobite family. At the time of my visit, the place was under lease to Sir George Riddell who had placed it at the disposal of Lloyd George.

I found that our visit had been occasioned by Foch's action in ordering four British divisions to the rear of the French line near Vitry-le-François, between Rheims and Toul. Lord Milner and General Smuts arrived in the afternoon and later we were joined by Sir Henry Wilson and General Radcliffe. The discussion lasted until after midnight when a decision was reached to inform Haig that if he thought the proposed order placed the British Army in jeopardy, he would have the support of the War Cabinet in refusing to comply. In the result, I believe that the order was either withdrawn or modified by keeping the four divisions more closely in touch with the main body of the British Army.

During the afternoon we walked to the top of a high hill on the Campion property where we inspected a rude fortification that was said to date from the time of Caesar, or perhaps from an even earlier period. It had been the scene of a surprise attack during the war between Charles I and Parliament. We could hear with great distinctness the booming of the guns in France; and it was said that the sound was conveyed through the chalk and water. Thus to be in touch with the terrible realities of the conflict had a very solemn and depressing effect.

Lloyd George, who walked with me that afternoon, exploded with regard to high command. He said that for eight months he had been "boiling with impotent rage" against them. He explained at great length their constant mistakes, their failure to fulfil expectations, and the unnecessary losses which their lack of foresight had occasioned. I asked him why he had not dismissed those responsible during the previous autumn; and he replied that he had endeavoured to do so but did not succeed in carrying the Cabinet; the high command had their affiliations and roots everywhere; and it was for the purpose of strengthening his hand in dealing with the situation that he had summoned the Dominion Ministers to the Imperial War Cabinet.

General Smuts, Wilson and Radcliffe returned to London at midnight but I remained until the following morning. On arrival in London I learned that the offensive was still in progress; and that the attack anticipated by Foch was on, but that it might not be the main attack.

Danny House, West Sussex

David, Margaret and Meghan Lloyd George

Love letters between Lloyd George and Frances Stevenson and extracts from "If Love Were All" by John Campbell

(Pages 139-144)

After the excitement of Rapallo, Frances failed to write her diary again during the whole of 1918. Unless she destroyed it – and we know no reason why she should have done – this is surprising, since 1918, even more than its predecessor, was a year of great events. In March the Germans finally broke the stalemate on the Western Front and advanced forty miles in a few days, almost taking Amiens: for a moment, until the offensive was halted and then reversed, an Allied defeat seemed a real possibility. Another conference at Beauvais in April finally established unity of command, with the British army placed under the ultimate command of the French Marshal Foch, whom LG always rated more highly than Douglas Haig. In May LG successfully beat off his most serious political challenge in the House of Commons. Then the Allied counter-thrust, reinforced at last by the arrival of American troops in sufficient numbers to turn the tide, drove the Germans back, leading to an Armistice on 11 November and the end of four and a quarter bloody years of war. Finally there was a General Election in December, from which LG emerged with a huge majority and an apparently unassailable position as "The Man Who Won the War". It is strange that Frances should have recorded none of this.

In his 1971 edition of her diary A.J.P. Taylor wrote somewhat airily that during this year LG and Frances "were both struck by the influenza epidemic and saw little of each other". But this cannot be true. Certainly both were ill in the autumn, but that does not explain Frances's silence for the whole year. LG wrote a lot of letters to Criccieth in 1918 – far more than in 1917 – so Maggie [LG's wife] clearly spent more time in Wales, which would have left the field clear for Frances. In the January honours Frances was awarded the CBE, and as a result received a whole file of congratulations, mostly from within Whitehall, but also including letters from such varied notables as the press magnate Lord Northcliffe (proprietor of *The Times* and *Daily Mail*) and the social researcher Seebohm Rowntree, all telling her that the recognition was overdue and well deserved. Also from January there survives a single official minute written to LG by Frances (presumably one of thousands), which offers a rare glimpse of the details of her work for him. It is striking both for its necessary formality and its self-confidence in recommending a particular course of action, on a subject she knew would strike a chord with him.

Prime Minister,
Attached is a letter from Sir Howard Frank on the subject of taking arable land for aerodromes, also a copy of the Cabinet Minute sanctioning this. Do you not think it advisable to have this minute & decision reconsidered? We have numerous letters of

complaint from farmers, & it must be most discouraging for them, especially in view of what you have said to them.
F.L. Stevenson
Could not "pasture" be substituted for "arable" in the Cabinet Minute.

There is no reason to think that Frances did not continue to work as usual for LG in No. 10 for most of the year and continue to look after him more intimately at Walton Heath and elsewhere whenever they could manage it. There is no hint of anything different in the only other direct evidence that survives from 1918 – a clutch of six exceptionally ardent letters, which he wrote to her in the late summer when she developed an inflammation of the kidneys. They were together at the latest house that George Riddell had taken for LG's relaxation – Danny Park in Sussex – when she was taken ill.* LG arranged nursing care for her and wrote her anxious notes when he was too busy to come and see her. At some point she evidently returned to London. But then she suffered a relapse and in late September she was back at Danny, ill again. None of these letters is dated, so their order is uncertain.

* An additional reason for LG wishing to be out of London as much as possible at this time was his extreme nervousness during air-raids. This was an embarrassing weakness in a war leader; on which Hankey frequently commented disparagingly.

Cariad bach anwyl aur chus mel [my little love, beloved golden honey]
But what a worry you are. Last night I got it into my silly head that you had a bad cold & it kept me waking up from fitful sleep all night. I strolled in the night twice outside your door to find out whether all was quiet. I was so thankful to hear your voice – strong as well as sweet – when I called out.
Oceans of love to my little sweet Worry from a
Doting old man who is
Father lover & husband all in one

Well how is the dear little girl with cold in her "dose?"... I have been envying that cold & wishing I were it. In the dead of night I should have crept down to the lips & had a great time – pressing their softness and then scampering along those pearly teeth – then touching the top of the tongue – then back to the lips. Oh that I were a cold.
How are you Pussy *bach*? – Pussy *bach anwyl* – I mean – not Pussy *bach*.
Longing to see you & to hug you
Ever your old
Dotard

My darling
This is to warn you at the earliest possible moment that I have once more fallen desperately in love with an absolutely new girl. She is the darlingest girl I ever met. I saw her yesterday afternoon for the first time lying (in the most seductive attitude) on a sofa. She was attired in a love of a dressing gown. She had the dearest face I ever saw – the most alluring smile – her neck was simply provoking. Altogether I am clean gone. I hope one day to make her love me as much as if I were a grilled kidney swimming in fat.
Ever & Ever
Her lover.

The last sentence is a peculiarly revolting image, in view of Frances's illness. But it seems that she had recovered her appetite and that LG – in one of his most teasingly erotic letters – was pretending to be jealous.

Cariad anwyl
When I woke up at 6 my first thought was of the loving little face engraved on my heart & I had a fierce impulse to go there & then to cover it with kisses. But darling I am jealous once more. I know your thoughts are on roast mutton & partridge & chicken & potatoes & that you are longing to pass them through the lips which are wine & to bite them with luscious joy with the dazzling white teeth that I love to press. I know that today I am a little out of it & that your heart is throbbing for other thrills.
I will not despair though for with a patience which few suspect me of but which has nevertheless borne me through many disappointments I shall bide my time feeling confident I will in the end beat the mutton chops & win back the delight of my fickle little *cariad* and it is worth waiting for.
Your very jealous old
Lover.

How are you today *cariad bach anwyl anwyl*?
I am in love today with two such darlings. One is the little pink sofa girl with the blue dressing gown & the other a little love in pink with braided hair falling on each side of the sweetest face you ever saw nestling on a pillow.
Fond fond tender love
To both
D.

The last in the series – if it was the last – is one of LG's most serious declarations of his love, expressed in biblical language reminiscent of the Welsh sermons of his youth.

My sweet loving fond thrilling little worry – the dearest thing I have struck in life after meandering through its marshes plains mountains for over half a century. It was worth such a long strenuous & weary walk to come across you in the end. And now I mean to take you along with me – for ever. We will walk alongside arm in arm or arm around waist as long as we can. When you are weary and footsore I mean to carry you & when I stumble on the way through folly or feebleness you will pick me up won't you darling – you will never leave me behind for the wolves to prey upon. Oh I am full of things wild but true to tell you sweetheart & I'll tell you them on your lips soon.
Ever & Ever your old
Dai[6]

[6] LG to Frances, n.d., August/September 1918, FLS/6/1.

From the way he ended all these letters it seems that LG was feeling his age. He was only fifty-five; but he was under tremendous strain. "I could not help noticing how terribly LG has aged in the last twelve months," Hankey noted around the time of the German breakthrough in France. "His hair has turned almost white."[7] In September he fell ill – seriously, for once. He had been speaking in Manchester when he caught a minor strain of the flu epidemic that claimed around thirty million lives worldwide in

1918 – far more victims than the war itself. LG was sufficiently ill that Hankey at one point described his condition as "touch and go".[8] He was laid up for a fortnight with – he complained later – nothing to look at but Manchester Town Hall and the statues of Gladstone and Bright dripping in the constant rain outside his window.[9] Frances was not able to go and see him and there is no record that Maggie did. When LG got back to London, Riddell wrote that his "nasty illness" had "shaken him a good deal". But he was quickly back to normal, returned to Danny for the rest of September and was back chairing the War Cabinet at the beginning of October, before going to Paris on 5 October to discuss armistice terms with his French and Italian counterparts. Before he left he wrote one more letter to the still–convalescent Frances – rather different from the others in that it was written in the form of a mock-memo.

[7] Roskill, Vol 1 p522 (9.4.18)
[8] ibid., p.604 (22.9.18)
[9] Riddell diary (21.9.18), (10.7.20)

Memo from D. to P.

This is not a love-letter – it is a purely business communication or rather a minute from a chief to his Secretary. Instructions how to behave on my departure for & during my absence on the Continent.

1. Look today as if you rather liked my going – cheerful jolly, otherwise we shall both be miserable (pure selfish thought for himself as usual says Pussy).

2. After I have left & the whole time I am away you must not get depressed or miserable. Act as if you were right down glad to get rid of an old bore who is always hanging about your room when he is not wanted.

3. Get rid of the cold as soon as you can.

4. Don't be in too great a hurry to get well. It leads to fretting & impatience & overpersuading nurses & doctors to let you do things you ought not to do – and ultimate disappointment. Climb back to strength slowly.

5. Seek nor desire any substitute for me (vide First Commandment for paraphrase of this).

6. Never forget that there is a fond old man who will not be too full of affairs for a single moment of his journey to find room – & the best room in his heart for you.

Whatever luggage I leave behind Pussy will be with me for the little witch has done her own packing long long ago & she never leaves the value whatever is taken out of put in.

Every morning I shall be eagerly awaiting news from Danny – yes & every evening & how happy I shall be to know you are getting on my darling *cariad*.
Byth bythoed [forever and ever]
D.11

11 LG to Frances, 5.10.18, FLS/6/1.

Letter from Lloyd George to Margaret

Danny House, Friday 27 September 1918

Hen gariad [My old love]
Have only had one short scrubby note from you.
What did the doctor say in the letter he wrote you? I want to know.

I am crawling upward but have not recovered strength. Unfortunately – or fortunately – things are moving so rapidly I cannot keep off affairs of state. Someone here every day.

[The rest of the letter consists of a note in the hand of their youngest daughter Megan which reads as follows:]

Tada has asked me to finish this letter. We went for a run to Brighton as far as Roedean this morning. Col. Campion came here before lunch to arrange about taking "Danny" for another week. He is a dear old fellow!

I have written to Harry Forsyth to ask him to make an appointment for Tues morning. I hope Margaret is not fretting too much after her charming aunt!
Mair sends her love to you all.
Yr doting daughter
Megan

Extracts from "Tempestuous Journey – Lloyd George" by Frank Owen

(pp489-492)

On 29 July, 1918, Riddell records another conversation which took place at Danny Park, near Hassocks, Sussex, a fine Elizabethan mansion which he had taken for the summer to serve as a country retreat for the Prime Minister. What Lloyd George said on this occasion undoubtedly expressed his true mood at the time. It was not that of a man who despaired of victory in the field, but rather of one who saw it possible within a measurable time. If it could be brought about soon, then the General Election could wait upon it; if not, then it seems that Lloyd George was ready to face a war-time Election to give a new mandate to his Government.

"Lloyd George is now full of it, and palpitating with energetic enthusiasm. His vitality is wonderful. He is like a skilful prize-fighter in the ring. He is all over the arena, defending here and attacking there."[1]

He kept to his early habits. Off to bed soon after nine o'clock where he read himself to sleep, leaving the light on all night. His reading there? Much as before. "I like a good, bloodthirsty novel, with plenty of fighting and plenty of killing. I love R. L. Stevenson and Anthony Hope... I don't care for serious books nowadays. I have too many official documents to read!"

Bad news never disturbed Lloyd George's sleep. He did his worrying in the daytime. About half-past six in the morning, he awoke, and started that "official" reading. The maid brought him a cup of tea. At eight o'clock, the morning newspapers arrived. Most of them he skimmed through rapidly, and threw on the floor. Certain articles by certain writers he read carefully and noted. Then he got up and dressed. If he was at Danny – which lacked only a view – and the morning was fine, he climbed to the top of a hill nearby to see the country beyond. At breakfast, the Prime Minister's public day began.

After lunch, Lloyd George always took a nap for an hour on a settee. "You must relax every muscle. You can stretch full out, or curl up like my chow! It will very nearly double your working day!"

It was a habit which Clemenceau shared, and Churchill has copied (though Churchill has carried it further; he climbs into bed for an hour or so). Lloyd George developed other restful devices during these arduous years. If he could, he always put his feet up in a motor-car, and slept on a journey, which was one reason why he never liked travelling at speed.

He fancied a cigar after his meals, and he always possessed a good selection. Sometimes, at this period of his life, he still smoked a pipe. But you have to pack your own pipe, and Lloyd George was never adept with his hands. If Sarah was around, he would be only too glad to let her lace his boots up for him. With drink, he was always abstemious; a glass or so of Irish Whiskey was his day's limit.

By now, he was putting on a little weight; a man of 5 feet 8 inches, he weighed 13 stones, and he took a size 17 collar. His hair he let lengthen with his age (he always insisted that his head had increased half an inch in circumference during the time that he was Prime Minister!). He was thoroughly aware of the importance for a

public man of a distinctive dress or accoutrements (had not Joe Chamberlain sported a perennial orchid and an eyeglass, and would not Baldwin provide himself with a perpetual pipe, and Churchill a cigar?). Lloyd George had his flowing mane which showed off his fine head, and his Tyrolean cloak, and his wide, open-winged collar. He went to a Cork Street tailor for his suits, his shirts were made to measure, and so were his boots (he never wore shoes, even with evening-dress).

He needed to keep his health and strength at this hard time. Though the war was now going better – indeed, no doubt because it was going so well – the prospects of Peace threatened to divide the unity of the War Cabinet. At one of its meetings on 13 August, 1918, the Canadian Prime Minister, Borden, came out with the opinion that after the victory had been won, the British Empire should make no annexations, but should hand over our conquests in South-West and East Africa, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia and the Pacific Islands to the custody of the United States. This was vigorously resisted by New Zealand's William Massey, and volcanically by Australia's Billy Hughes. Spluttered Billy, and the message was meant for all comers: "If you want to shift us, come and do it!"

Naturally, there were some difficulties with our Allies, too. Though the American armies were being transported to the Western battlefields largely in British ships, at the cost of withholding food and raw materials to Britain, the French were seeking to use these reinforcements to rest their own troops (who had borne far less of the 1918 battles than ours), while refusing to relieve us of any part of the British sector of the Western Front. On the eve of the arrival in London of the two French Cabinet Ministers (Clemenceau and Tardieu) to meet the Prime Minister's protests about this situation, Lloyd George set forth his own strong views in a letter to Lord Reading, which had played the leading part in arranging the transportation of the Americans. This letter, which is dated the very day of the great British tank triumph at Amiens, forcefully expresses the Prime Minister's determination to bring Britain out of the war, not only victorious over the enemy, but also, at least equal to her Allies. Moreover, Lloyd George reckoned that he had the means.

26 August, 1918 Danny Park, Hassocks.

My dear R,
...I am anxious to use the shipping lever for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear on the French and the Americans to take over a part of our line, and thus enable us to give a rest to our troops. Clemenceau and Foch mean to compel us to keep up our numbers on the British front by refusing to take over the line. This policy would be fatal to the British Empire, as we have no reserve of men here which would enable us to keep up anything approximating to the number of divisions we now maintain in the field, and if we endeavoured to keep up that number until the summer of next year we should be left with no army at all for the rest of the war. I cannot conceive of a more disastrous plan from the British point of view. I mean, therefore, to fight it with every available resource. Shipping is one of those resources, and until the French and Americans come to terms with us on the question of the line I do not propose to give any further assistance in the matter of shipping.

There are, therefore, two points which I am anxious you should impress upon Tardieu. (1) That our pledge to carry American troops does not extend beyond December and that, as we are losing 250,000 tons of essential cargo per month owing to the diversion of ships to the American troop business, we cannot possibly undertake any further extension. (2) That the Americans say that they cannot build up and

maintain an army of 80 divisions in the field next summer unless we give them something like the equivalent of 8,000,000 tons of cargo space. This we cannot do unless France and Italy are prepared between them to surrender the shipping we have placed at their disposal.

If we have anything in hand, I am extremely anxious that it should not be given at this stage. It must be used for bargaining...
Ever sincerely,
D. Lloyd George.

A day or two afterwards, Lloyd George went off to Manchester to receive the Freedom of the City where he was born. He fell victim to the extraordinary influenza wave which was then sweeping across England with a casualty rate almost equal to that of the Western Front, and spent the next week in bed at the Mansion House of the Lord Mayor.

He returned to face a fresh quarrel which had broken out over the question of the responsibility for Government propaganda. There was also a new row raging between the Zionist and the anti-Zionist Jews. His Foreign Secretary, Balfour, was no Jew, but he was the foremost and certainly the most famous Christian Zionist.
(pp493)

Irresistibly now, the Allied battle was rolling forward. In the East, Damascus had fallen, and with it the last buttress of Turk military power in Palestine. Bulgaria and Austria were making ready to retreat. In the West, the Allies advanced, not in sudden rushes, but by a time-table march. Riddell tells of one of those closing September days, when the news came through to Danny Park of a great new British victory: "The P.M. full of glee. On the arrival of the message, he began to dance a hornpipe."

Less than a week later, 4 October, 1918, the German Imperial Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, asked for an armistice on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. Austria and Turkey, the remaining two of the enemy Grand Alliance, associated themselves with this request.

It confirmed Woodrow Wilson in his opinion that he was now the arbiter of the world. Omitting to consult his Allies, the President now began to treat privately with the enemy he had only just begun to fight. In the Supreme Council at Versailles on 6 October, Lloyd George sharply protested that all the other Allied and Associated Powers did not have to pander to the President of the United States. On 9 October, he insisted that they tell him frankly that they could not agree to Point Two (the Freedom of the Seas) being made part of the basis of any truce, and that the evacuation of all occupied territory by the enemy must take place before the Allies would even discuss it. The argument continued more acidly among the Allies than between the belligerents.

The war also continued. The Germans withdrew methodically towards the Rhine, and the Austro-Hungarians tumbled back in disorder across the Piave; at Vittorio Veneto the Italians avenged Caporetto. The Czechs rose in revolt, seized Prague and proclaimed a Republic; the Croats and Slovenes joined the Serbs, and turned upon their ancient oppressors from Vienna; the Hungarians declared their independence of Austria at Budapest. The "Ramshackle Empire" had broken up. On 29 October, 1918, the Austrians surrendered. The Turks laid down their arms the same day.

Extracts from "The Pain and the Privilege" by Ffion Hague

(Pages 335-336)

As it happened, the night of Frances' crisis was the night the German advance was halted. From the summer of 1918 onwards the Allies, reinforced by American resources, gradually assumed the ascendancy, and Lloyd George was able to tell Frances privately that victory was just a matter of time. But during 1918 a second deadly killer was sweeping through Europe; the influenza epidemic that killed as many people as fell on the battlefields. In September Frances was ill with an inflammation of the kidneys, and was being looked after by two nurses in George Riddell's rented country home, Danny Park in Sussex.

Normally fairly robust in health, Lloyd George was worn out from four years of worry and hard work. His hair was by now nearly white, although, to his immense satisfaction, it was not thinning. He had travelled to Manchester to receive the Freedom of the City when he was struck so severely by the deadly 'flu infection that Newnham, the No 10 valet, reported to Maurice Hankey, the head of the Cabinet Secretariat, that it was "touch and go".[29]

It took a fortnight for Lloyd George to recover his strength sufficiently to travel to Danny Park, and when he did so Frances was shocked at how gaunt he looked. She would not have been able to nurse him through his illness, but neither was Margaret, who had also succumbed to the epidemic and was confined to bed in Beynawelon. She hid her illness from her husband so that he would not affect his own recovery by worrying about her, and he was distressed when he learned about it later in a newspaper report.

[29] Hankey Diary, 22 September 1918, ibid, p594

Extracts from "The Autobiography of Frances Lloyd George – The Years That Are Past"

(Pages 134-136)
"Armistice and the General Election"

That summer, 1918, Lord Riddell took a house for LG near Hassocks, in Sussex, so that the Prime Minister might snatch a change of air and scene whenever an opportunity offered.

Riddell came to all the conferences during and after the war. But during the Peace conference the French made a great fuss of him, and LG gradually formed the opinion that Riddell was becoming pro-French. The crisis came during dinner one day at a conference when LG was having trouble with the French over Turkey's demands. LG, who was tired and rather irritable with his many cares, turned on Riddle, and accused him of being pro-French and unpatriotic. This incensed Riddle, who left the dinner table, and returned the next day to London. After this he and LG saw much less of each other, though Riddle often turned into Downing Street when he felt like it. But he came to Churt rarely after the house there was finished (it was a long way from Walton Heath where Riddell lived) and the long friendship came to an end.

LG never forgave Riddell for transferring his visits to Bonar Law when the latter became Prime Minister. Lord Riddell had a lovely house in Queen Anne's Gate, overlooking the Park, and he used to entertain a great deal for LG. Riddell had started life as a solicitor, had made a great success in this profession and had become absorbed in it. Then suddenly, one night on his way home, he realised that he was becoming a slave to his work, and missing so much else in life. He never went back to his office, but soon afterwards bought the *News of the World* and devoted his whole life to it. It brought him a fortune but he spent himself on one long search for news, and news that would excite people's interest. He realised that politics were news, and especially that politicians – some politicians – were news. He attached himself to LG, and there is no doubt that his paper profited from this association, for even while playing golf LG was thinking and talking politics. They played golf every weekend together. The Walton Heath Gold Club was Riddell's property, and he had had a fascinating garden made around it by Miss Gertrude Jekyll. He was a good companion and an interesting talker, with lots of news and an interesting, if occasionally somewhat salacious way of telling it. He smoked incessantly and drank nothing and never seemed to enjoy his food. That was perhaps why he remained so spare.

Danny Park, the house near Hassocks, was a beautiful old Elizabethan mansion in a lovely setting. The only thing against it to LG's mind was that there was no view from the house itself. He discovered the same drawback at Chequers when he went there, but later on he realised that most of the old houses were built in a depression, for that was where water was naturally found. At Danny one had to climb up to the top of a hill nearby to see the country beyond. This LG did every morning before breakfast, and I accompanied him. Unfortunately I became ill there early in August,

with an inflammation of the kidneys, and had to remain there six weeks with two nurses in attendance for most of the time. Riddell took great care that I was well looked after, and I was very grateful to him.

In August LG himself was taken ill with influenza while in Manchester, where he went from Danny to receive the freedom of that city. There was a dangerous epidemic at the time, and LG's vitality was lowered owing to the strain he was undergoing. He was very ill, and was taken from his hotel to the home of the Lord Mayor of Manchester, Sir Alexander Porter, who with his family showed him infinite kindness. He returned to Danny to recuperate, which fortunately he did very quickly He walked into my room on his return holding the beautiful Freedom – a breathtaking silver coffer with enamel plaques, containing the gorgeous scroll of the Freedom – a happy smile on his face. But I was horrified at the mark that the illness had left upon him. He must I fear have been very near death's door. But he was exhilarated by the turn which events in the war had taken, and this helped his convalescence.

My convalescence took a good deal longer. I missed, therefore, the mounting excitement which heralded the surrender first of Bulgaria and Turkey, then of Austria, but there were long conferences at Danny Park and the news trickled through to me as I lay in bed. I could hear the drone of voices from the terrace below, as LG sat in the garden with Lord Milner, Lord Reading, Mr Bonar Law, Hankey and others who came down to discuss the terms of Armistice and the prospect of Germany's surrender.

By October I had recovered from my illness, and in spite of the fact that it had left me feeling very much under the weather, I was able to resume my work.

One of the most exciting memories is of the Lord Mayor's Dinner on November 9th, when LG announced the abdication of the Kaiser. I shall never forget the triumphal procession that filed into Guildhall to take their places at the high table. It was one of the peaks of LG's career, for it was clear that although the Armistice had not actually been signed, the war was as good as over, and the jubilant applause which followed his announcement that the Kaiser had fled and the Germans appealed for an Armistice was almost overwhelming.

Extracts from Lord Riddell's War Diary

JUNE 23RD, 1918. – I have taken Danny, Hurstpierpoint, for the summer for L.G. and self. We spoke of our doings of last summer.

JULY 13TH AND 14TH. At Danny. – The 14th (Sunday) a busy and exciting day. L.G. sent Hankey post-haste to Canterbury to fetch Milner. Urgent telephone messages were also dispatched asking Sir Robert Borden (Prime Minister of Canada 1911-1920), Smuts, and General Wilson to come. Later they arrived, Smuts having travelled from Oxford, Borden from London, and Wilson from Henley. Wilson brought with him General Radcliffe. Borden and Smuts arrived in the afternoon. Milner in time for dinner, and Wilson and Radcliffe at 9 p.m. In the afternoon, the P.M., Borden and Smuts climbed to the top of the high hill on the Downs at the back of the house. The P.M. and Borden returned covered with perspiration and forthwith had to bathe. After dinner, the party assembled in the hall and sat in conference with Hankey and Philip Kerr until after midnight, the subject of discussion being the disposal of the American troops, the major part of which have been placed by Foch in the rear of the French Armies. L.G.'s contention is that this disposition is unfair to the British, who have brought over 600,000 of them, and thus the result will be to place our Army in a dangerous position should we be attacked. His proposal was to send Borden and Smuts to see Clemenceau. From what I gathered, Milner was averse to any such action on our part. L.G. seemed dissatisfied with what had taken place at the conference. Wilson, Radcliffe, and Smuts returned to London. The others remained for the night, starting back to town at 8.30. Wilson looks much older and bears evidence of the strain of the past few months. I had a long talk with Borden, who gave me an interesting account of his political career. He is a clear-headed, sensible man and I should say courageous. He seems a kindly person and shows no side. He says that he is on friendly terms with Laurier, L. G. is remarkably well and full of energy. The telephone was going all day as usual, and he spent a considerable time reading official papers. The rumour that he never reads anything is absurd. He is always at work. His knack of sleeping at odd times is no doubt responsible for his vitality. He has a wonderful memory, and today raked up the names of the characters and incidents in several causes celebres which took place twenty years ago.

In the afternoon the PM, Borden and Smuts climbed to the top of the hill

20TH AND 21ST. Danny again. L.G. very busy in preparing suggestions for a dispatch to President Wilson regarding Japanese intervention. It was interesting to see him at work with his legs cocked up in the window seat of the dining-room. As he read the message from Wilson he made comments to Philip Kerr and gave his instructions for the suggested reply. On Sunday morning Kerr drafted the memorandum and took it to Esher, where Arthur Balfour is staying with Lord D'Abernon. I accompanied Kerr, who dropped me at Walton Heath, picking me up

again on his return journey. He found A.J.B. playing tennis and not at all pleased at being disturbed. On the journey Kerr gave me an interesting account of Lionel Curtis, who is chiefly responsible for Montagu's scheme for Indian Reform. Kerr says that Curtis is a practical idealist, that he has already done big things in South Africa, and that more will be heard of him. He describes him as being very able and very persistent.

Last week Mrs. L.G. came to Danny, and this week she and my wife came, also Megan and a friend. In the afternoon, while Kerr and I were out, Eric Geddes arrived and had a long talk with the P.M..

I found L.G. in the dining-room. He told me that Smuts had been to Switzerland some time ago to meet a leading Austrian statesman, to discuss peace terms, He was not the official representative of the Austrian Government, but no doubt they were glad to make use of him. It is just as if Asquith or Runciman were to go on such a mission. Our Government would not directly countenance such a move, but would not discourage it and would be glad to know what happened.

29TH – L.G. spoke in high terms of John Bright's speeches. He said that Bright was a master in stating a case and that he always made his meaning perfectly clear, which most speakers, from design of incompetence, fail to do. L.G. then got a volume of Bright's speeches from the library and read me extracts, making comments as he did so.

L.G.: Just note the little intimate touches which he introduces. "I met a man in the Lobby who said so-and-so." "I have just received a letter in which the writer tells me, etc." That is most valuable in enabling a speaker to get on intimate terms with his audience. Just listen to this (reading the peroration to Bright's speech on the American Civil War). Isn't that fine stuff?

R.: Would it be suitable for the present time? Is it too oratorical? I don't suggest that it is, but what do you think?

L.G.: I think it would have a great reception. He was discussing a great issue. The language was worthy of the occasion. The public like a high tone when a great moral issue is involved. A clear style is a remarkable asset. I have been reading the letters of a very different man – Byron. Let me read you some extracts (reading). Is not that good? How well he puts his point!

R.: I was looking at the book. I see that you marked it up. When did you do that?

L.G.: Years ago when I first read it. Have you read the letters?

R.: Yes, thirty years ago. I read them in *Byron's Life* by Moore.

L.G.: I must have read them about the same time. I am pleased to see that I now most admire the passages I marked at that time. Palmerston was a clear speaker. He did not believe in the Foreign Office style. He said what he meant. That did not please the Queen, who would have preferred him to wrap up his meaning in the language of diplomacy.

In the evening L.G. read out to us some passages from *Macaulay's Essays*, a favourite book of his. He reads well and his comments are fresh and interesting. I said, "Macaulay is the exponent of the modern journalistic style. Clarity and high lights!"

L.G.: Yes, his first object was to be interesting. His second to hit hard.

We talked much of the forthcoming election. L.G. is now full of it, and palpitating with energetic enthusiasm. His vitality is wonderful. He is like a skilful prize-fighter in the ring. He is all over the arena, defending here and attacking there.

AUGUST 6TH 1918 – We had Sir Robert Borden at Danny for the night. He has a

remarkable knowledge of the cathedrals of this country, and greatly surprised L.G., who asked him if he had visited Winchester. Borden is an able, sensible man. L.G. thinks him very good in council. He is essentially a safe man. He leaves for Canada in a few days. He says he has much to see to. I had an interesting talk with Philip Kerr about the war. He said, "I hope there will not be a row between L.G. and Foch. Foch will, I am sure, brook no interference."

13TH AND 14TH – L.G. absolutely exuding energy and enthusiasm. He has a wonderful way of getting things moving; a sort of all-pervading energy. He is going to Criccieth for a few days, after which he returns to Danny, which he has enjoyed very much, so he says. While he is away he is going to read up reconstruction, and prepare his opening speech, which he will make at Manchester.

AUGUST 1918 – L.G. back from Wales. His return signalised by a strike of the Metropolitan Police, who assembled in great force in Downing Street and assumed a very menacing attitude. This made the occupants feel that they were really face to face with a revolution. The Police came out on the Friday, which prevented L.G. going to Danny as intended. The strike was settled on the Saturday, so we started in the evening.

I congratulated L.G. on settling the strike.

L.G.: The whole thing has been disgracefully mismanaged. The terms granted by me had been agreed upon for some time past, but the men had never been told.

Eric Geddes came to lunch and drove with L.G. to inspect some new invention at Shoreham. They returned earlier than was expected. Their arrival was announced by L.G. stealing into the drawing room with his hat pulled down over his eyebrows and his coat collar up, as if he were a burglar. Sir Robert McAlpine and two of his sons also to lunch. We had some pleasant talk after tea concerning superstitions, in the course of which some good stories were related. Sir Eric Geddes showed himself in a new light by repeating a story told him by a Brazilian admiral, which has to be illustrated by a paper design. This Sir Eric cut with great deliberation, and at length successfully produced a cross representing King Edward's passport to Heaven and the word hell representing that of the Kaiser. Everyone thrilled, including the P.M., who insisted a careful note being taken on the manner in which these surprising results are achieved. Geddes strikes me as shrewd, able, and very effective. I think him one of the best of the Ministers. His methods are simple and direct. He gave an interesting account of Lord Pirrie and his wife. He says they are devoted to each other – that Lady P. always travels with her husband and always takes his lunch to the office and lays it out with her own hand. Neither L.G. nor Geddes seems quite sure about Pirrie. I said "Is he the real thing nowadays, or is he a back number?" To this I got no satisfactory reply. Geddes, in fact, admitted that he did not know. When Pirrie was first appointed, Geddes was amazed at the amount of nonsense he talked, but Geddes soon discovered that this was the old boy's way – a smokescreen to obscure his thoughts, as I remarked. He also discovered that the shipbuilding world quietened down in the most remarkable way. Whether this is due to Pirrie's ability or to the financial control which he exercises, Geddes does not know – of course, much depends on this. L.G. said that Milner, who had an interview with Pirrie, came to him (L.G.) and said that Pirrie had talked an awful lot of nonsense. L.G. said, "Yes, but did you get what you wanted or did Pirrie get what he wanted?" Milner had to admit that Pirrie had had his way. L.G. told Milner that different men had different methods, and that you could only judge by results.

Later L.G. said he had reason to believe that Northcliffe was anxious to enter the

Cabinet, but that he would be difficult to work with if he could not have his own way. L.G. said Arthur Balfour would be more useful, as he had the art of analysing a subject and stating the argument for and against with great power and skill. “His mind is opposed to action,”said L.G., “but I can decide, and such a discussion is of the utmost value.”

Much talk about a General Election. L.G. is strongly in favour of an appeal to the country in November, and commented upon the obvious fear of an election on the part of Henderson and the Asquithians. L.G. proposes to hold a meeting of the Liberal Party to ascertain who is prepared to support him. He also proposes to make an arrangement with the Tories as to the seats which are to be left to their candidates. He says the Tories have loyally supported him, and he proposes to be equally loyal to them. He hopes to carry with him 120 of the Liberals. The issue at the election will really be who is to run the war. Is it to be L.G., Bonar Law, and their associates, or Asquith, McKenna, Runciman, and others who act with them? L.G. spoke again of his domestic programme and read extracts from Auckland Geddes’s report on the physical condition of the people, from which it appeared that only 750,000 out of 2,000,000 men are fit for service, also that in the districts devoted to the cotton industry the men showed distinct signs of decay soon after 30 instead of after 50, as they properly should do. In other words they are twenty years worse in physical condition than they should be. L.G. said, “I shall make it plain that I shall not be a party to the continuance of such a condition of affairs. It is useless to fight this war unless the condition of the poorer classes is to be improved.” He is to make all this plain in his speech at Manchester on September 12th.

“It is useless to fight this war unless the condition of the poorer classes is to be improved”

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In the afternoon of Monday we went for a motor drive to Beachy Head, where we had tea in the open, taking with us a kettle, etc. L.G. is very fond of these picnics, and gave the subject much consideration today, viz, how the tea was to be made, what sort of a kettle we should take with us, etc.. His vitality is wonderful. On Saturday, after settling the Police strike, he was full of conversation all the way down in the car, and yesterday and today was in the highest spirits. He is always ready to discuss politics or business. On Saturday and Sunday nights he read me extracts from Strachey’s book on French literature, which I gave him. He is very pleased with the book and considers the author one of the best modern writers.

L.G.: I belong to a curious religious body – the Disciples of Christ. It was founded in America by a man names Campbell. Its peculiarity is that it has no paid preachers and no dogma. Its members take the Bible as it stands, and everyone is entitled to interpret it for himself.

R.: Do they baptise?

L.G.: There is some sort of baptism, but there is a verbal question which I do not quite remember. They attach great importance, I think, to baptising into the name of the Father, the Son, etc instead of in the name of the Father, etc. I do not remember the point of it all. It is very curious that only by accident was I prevented from becoming a preacher. My father was an ordinary Baptist. He died, and as you know, my uncle took my mother and her children to live with him. He belonged to this strange little sect – the Disciples of Christ – so that I became one of the disciples. As a boy, my great ambition was to be a preacher. In our part of the country we regarded

preachers as the most important people in the world – far more important than politicians or soldiers. As a boy, I admired and revered the great preachers; I was never tired of listening to them. But the difficulty was that in our sect you could not become a preacher unless you were able to support yourself by private means or earnings. The preachers in the sect are not allowed to make any charge for their services. Consequently, as I had to earn my living, I was unable to fulfil my ambition. Otherwise who knows? I might have become one of the leading preachers of the day!

R.: I hope you have not been disappointed?

L.G.: No. But one’s ambitions are varied by circumstances. As a boy, mine was to become a great preacher. If I had succeeded I suppose I should have been satisfied – at least as satisfied as people are when they attain their ambitions.

L.G. was loud in his praises of Sir Joseph Maclay, the Shipping Controller, who, he said, had worked miracles. L.G. described him as a truly wonderful man.

L.G.: When Wilson agreed to send the troops I sent for Maclay and told him that Wilson would send the troops, but that we should have to carry the bulk of them. I said, “Can we do it?” Sir Joseph, in his quiet way, said, “When do you want to know, Prime Minister?” I answered, “As soon as possible.” He said, “Very well. I will let you know at 6 o’clock tonight.” At 6 o’clock he came and said he could do it, and he did it. Maclay was the man who told me what was wrong at the Admiralty. I thought things were wrong, but I did not know the cause. He came and told me. Then I knew what to do. Owing to the delay in adopting the convoy system, we lost hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping. It was said that merchant sea captains had never been accustomed to sail in line and would ram each other, and indeed that the losses caused by such a system would exceed the gains. At last we got the Admiralty to call a meeting of the captains. They called captains of liners, who rather looked down on the captains of tramps. The liner captains confirmed the Admiralty opinion. But what was the result when we did introduce the system? We have saved scores upon scores of ships. But to revert to Maclay. The way in which he has managed our shipping has been remarkable. He has been one of the successes of the war, and the nation owes him a debt of gratitude.

R.: Hankey is also entitled to a share, and a large share, of the credit, for the convoy system, which saved the nation. He had the idea and, in the face of fierce opposition, continually urged its adoption.

L.G.: Yes, quite correct. For the moment I had forgotten. Hankey is one of the great figures of the war.

SEPTEMBER 4TH, 5TH AND 6TH, 1918

Winston Churchill and Rothermere at Danny for the night. I drove with Winston in a car lent to him by Abe Bailey, [the South African mine owner], according to Winston the best Rolls-Royce in England. When we reached the open road, Winston got up every few minutes to look at the speedometer, which frequently recorded 30, 40, 50, and even 60 miles an hour. This gave him great satisfaction and altogether shook my faith in my knowledge of speed, based on many years’ motoring in fast cars. Next day the explanation emerged. The driver told me that the speedometer registered ten or fifteen miles in advance of the speed. “I have not altered it,” he said. Winston often flies. On his last flight across the Channel, the engine gave signs of failure. He described his feelings. “I saw things looked serious. I knew that if the engine ceased to cough we should fall into the sea. We were too low down to have the opportunity to rectify matters. I wondered if I could unstrap myself and unstrap the pilot, and how long the machine would float and how long I could swim after that.” “Were you afraid of death?” I said to him. “No,” he replied; “I love life, but I don’t fear death. Beyond

the feelings I have described, I felt a curious calm come over me."

We talked, the three of us, about an election. I said, "The main argument in favour of it is the necessity for a strong, virile House of Commons that will express the views of the people. The House of Commons is their mouthpiece and the natural safety-valve. This argument seemed to weigh with W., and R. Rothermere now favours an early election.

Much talk about the purchase of the *Daily Chronicle*, on which L.G. is very keen. The price is said to be £1,100,000 and the profits roughly about £200,000 per annum, of which about £130,000 is payable in Excess Profits Duty. Sir Henry Dalziel has an option on the paper until October 1st. There seems to be some difficulty in arranging the finance.

Winston has a wonderful eye for the good and striking thing in literature. He recited some of Sassoon's poems with great effect, and has a wonderful memory. He is a kindly creature and very lovable. In the evening we had a long and interesting argument concerning Foch. The P.M. advanced the view that our recent victories are mainly due to Foch's strategy. This Winston denied. He ascribed them to four causes: (1) tanks, (2) deterioration of German Army, (3) valour of British Army, and (4) fighting on a wide battle-line. Much eloquence was displayed by Winston and L.G. in debating of subject. L.G. said, "You [Winston] are echoing the sentiments of G.H.Q. You have changed your tone. Now you are all for Haig." Of course, Winston denied this, but ceased contending when L.G. referred to the change in the situation of the Conservative Party in 1874 owing to Disraeli and in 1885 owing to Winston's father. "That shows," said L.G., "how a great man can alter things." The indirect compliment was at once effective, and succeeded where argument had failed. L.G. gave a graphic picture of Foch before the counter-offensive. "He looked rather white and strained," said L.G.; "and well he might, considering his terrible responsibilities. Everyone kept urging him to attack. Everyone was saying, "What is Foch doing? Foch – whose reputation has been built up on a policy of attack? Where is this army of manoeuvre?" But Foch was not to be moved. He went on building up his reserves and did not attack until he was quite prepared. His power of restraint will become historic. He will rank among the great commanders of the world. He hit just at the right time. Balfour asked him on one occasion some question which I [L.G.] forget. Where shall we attack or how, or something of that sort. Foch's reply was characteristic. "We shall attack here" (striking out with his right hand), "we shall attack there" (striking out with his left hand). "We shall attack here also" (kicking violently with his right foot), "and there also" (kicking violently with his left).

On the Saturday L.G. pointed out to me an article on the deterioration of the German Army to be read in conjunction with Hindenburg's letter complaining of our propaganda.

Much talk with Winston and Rothermere concerning Beaverbrook. Winston said that Beaverbrook is very disgruntled and may resign in a week. (Credence is given to this by what General Macrae, his head man at the Ministry of Information, said when we lunched together on Thursday.)

When discussing Foch, L.G. remarked, "I often think of Cicero's oration when it was proposed to send Pompey on a campaign. Cicero gave various reasons why Pompey would be a good commander, and concluded "and lastly he is favoured by the gods." Some men men are lucky and some unlucky. Foch, in addition to his other great qualities, is a lucky man. Look at his record in the war. That suffices!" (I did not say so, but doubted if the record proved this. He has had some bad mishaps, one of which, at any rate, has been bitterly criticised in the French Parliament.)

SEPTEMBER 21st (Saturday)

L.G.: Give me a few days to pull myself together, and then you and A.J.B come down to Danny and we will talk matters over.

Some pleasant conversation on general topics followed.

B.L.: Arthur Balfour hates prepared speeches and in particular those written or committed to memory. Some time ago I was at a dinner at which Clyde, the brilliant Scottish lawyer, made a speech. It was an admirable speech, beautifully phrased. A.J.B., who was there, looked up when Clyde began and was evidently impressed by such good speaking. After a time, however, it was obvious that he had ceased to be interested. Later I inquired the reason. I said, "Was it because you saw that the speech had been committed to memory?" A.J.B replied, "Yes. I had no more interest when I saw that!"

L.G.: Who was the best speaker in the House of Commons in your time? (This to Bonar Law.)

B.L.: Asquith, I think.

L.G.: You never heard Gladstone? In my opinion he far outdistanced everyone else.

B.L.: I suppose that is the general opinion.

R.: What is in your opinion the most important speech delivered in the House of Commons during the past hundred years? A.J.B. says Grey's speech of August 1914.

L.G.: Yes, I agree with that.

B.L.: Yes, I think so too. The issues were stupendous, and the results, in the way of convincing doubters, most remarkable.

Bonar Law said he thought the time had come when he should make a speech to the members of his Party. L.G. agreed.

B.L.: But before I speak we must decide upon our policy. We must both speak with the same voice.

L.G.: Well, next week we can have a talk.

The conversation then turned again to generalities.

B.L.: I said to A.J.B the other day that the art of humbugging the public is a necessary part of the make-up of all successful politicians. A.J.B. agreed. By humbugging I don't mean deceiving. Perhaps humbugging is the wrong word.

R.: You mean the art of advertising – the power of attracting public attention. That is necessary for all who depend upon the suffrages of the people – politicians, singers, golf professionals, painters, musicians, tight-rope dancers, etc. The individual must be able to do his job and do it well, but he must have the art of interesting the public and of making them believe that he can do his job.

B.L.: That is what I mean and that is what A.J.B. meant. You have it, George. You have an interesting personality; that is what makes you so successful a speaker.

L.G.That was Mr G's strong point as an orator – his personality, the secret of all good speaking.

Sir William Milligan, the doctor, is a nice, clear-headed Scotsman. He told some good stories; one of an after-dinner speaker proposing the ladies. "Our arms your defence. Your arms our reward."

22ND (SUNDAY)

L.G. spoke much of the death of Sam Evans. He said, "Evans had a jealous disposition, but was clever and made a good judge. In the House of Commons he was an excellent speaker and knew how to make the best of his goods. He often said smart things. Referring to Lecky, M.P., who used to sit up with an inquiring look on his face, Sam remarked, 'He looks like a note of interrogation.' Very smart that!"

Much talk with L.G. about the election. He is drawing up reasons pro and con. He

asked me for my views. The point I made was the necessity for re-establishing the authority of Parliament in the country. He agreed, but said that Bonar Law and Balfour would be frightened by any definite reference to the labour situation and would consider labour unrest as a reason against an election. On the following day L.G. showed me his memorandum and one prepared by Guest. I had a long talk with L.G. on the labour question. He is anxious to improve conditions, but does not, I think, understand the worker's point of view. Just now he is angry about the strikes and keen on putting the strikers in the Army, as they stand in the way of the prosecution of the war.

24TH. Winston Churchill came to lunch, apparently with no particular object. We were glad to see him. He was very amusing as usual. He said that if our military successes continued, peace would come upon us like a thief in the night.

27TH. Lord Murray and Lord Rothermere appeared on the scene yesterday, with the proposal, so I gather from various sources, that there should be a coalition in which Asquith would become Lord Chancellor, and Runciman and, I think, Samuel, would enter the Government, together with half a dozen of the younger men all thirsting for office. I am told that Mrs. A. approves. What the P.M. thinks of this, I don't yet know. Rothermere arrived today with Northcliffe. Whether he approves I have not heard, as it was late when I arrived.

The L.C.J. arrived today. He was to have come tomorrow, but I understand L.G. asked him to come a day earlier. Whether the Chief knows of the proposal, I can't say, but he volunteered the information that Margot Asquith had invited him for dinner last night.

The publication of Haig's dispatches was discussed.

WILSON: Haig has agreed to cut out certain portions indicated by Milner.

L.G.: I don't think that will do. We can have no cuttings out. (Wilson looked rather glum at this.) If the dispatches are published we must publish our reply. We must show that we sent 1,200,000 to France this year. We must also show that the Cabinet objected to Haig taking over so much of the line. He wants to throw the blame on other people. That I shall not allow. The difficulty is that if we publish the dispatch and the explanation, we may be giving information to the enemy.

L.G. spent the major part of the evening alone with Wilson, studying maps, etc..

Meanwhile Kerr and I talked with Reading of his work in America. He views with apprehension commercial conditions after the war. He thinks the Americans will strive to scoop up the world's trade. The war has strengthened the federal idea. America is becoming a great united nation, and as such will prove an even greater factor in the naval, military and commercial life of the world. He thinks President Wilson a very wily, able man, and that he will take a great place in history. Reading believes that Wilson thought for some time that he could keep America out of the war. In this idea a very large section of American public men were in agreement with him. Gradually he came to see that America must fight, and in this view also he was followed by the section referred to.

After L.G. had gone to bed we had a long and interesting talk with Reading and Wilson about Russia.

WILSON: The Tsar said to me, "They say that I should adopt representative government. I know my people. They do not want representative government. It would not work. I shall govern as Tsar; that is what is best." Now, was the Tsar right or was he wrong?

READING: I should say wrong.

R.: I should say right, but he should have appointed a proper executive. He was represented by rascals and incompetents.

WILSON: That is true!

READING: The trouble was that he could not ensure that his orders would be obeyed. Thomas, the Frenchman, told me that, in commenting upon some action of the French in regard to labour, the Tsar said to him, "How can you do such a thing? I am supposed to be an autocrat, but I could not do it!" Thomas replied, "The reason is that I can get my orders obeyed, and you cannot!" Later the Tsar sent him a message saying, "What you said was true. I cannot get my orders carried out in the same way as you can in France."

(I think I noted this conversation at the time.)

KERR: And yet the Tsar was able to stop the sale of vodka. That does not tally with his statement as to lack of authority.

27TH and 28TH. Arthur Balfour, Bonar Law, and Reading. The two former did not arrive until 9 o'clock, having had a breakdown. Meanwhile L.G. was making notes as to the topics of discussion. Bonar Law is very broken and obviously on the verge of a breakdown. I had a touching interview with him.

R.: You have had a hard four years, but you have been very successful. You have led the House of Commons with marked success and you have the respect and esteem of every-one there.

BONAR LAW : They are all sorry for me. They know what I have suffered; they know what I am suffering.

R.: They know also that you are straight and honest, and they admire your clear, direct way of stating things.

B. L. (the tears coursing down his cheeks): It is useless to conceal that I am nearly at the end of my tether. I do my work from day to day because I have certain powers of endurance, but they are growing less and less. You can see the condition I am in. If it were not so, I should not give way like this. Ever since the death of my sons I have gradually been growing worse and worse.

"Ever since the death of my sons I have gradually been growing worse and worse"

L. G. and I talked of this later.

L. G.: I don't know what to do with him. He has no outside interests and he won't go for a holiday. He does not even care for golf or bridge. He just reads and works and smokes all day. I feel very sorry for poor old Bonar.

At lunch, (before the arrival of A. J. B. and Bonar Law) we talked of the early days of the war.

L. G.: I must confess I never thought there would be a war, I never believed that anyone would be so mad to precipitate 12,000,000 armed men into a conflict. But I knew that if war occurred it would be a long war.

R: I remember that the Sunday before war broke out you told me you thought nothing would happen

L. G. : Yes, that was my firm opinion. I remember the night that Russia declared war. I was at the Russian Opera. The curtain went up and there stood all the company ranged upon the stage with Chaliapine in the middle. He struck up the Marseillaise, which he and the company sang over and over again. Then I knew that dreadful things had been let loose in the world.

After dinner, L. G., A. J. B., and Bonar Law retired for a conference, which lasted until 1.30, the subjects being, so I believe, the proposal for a General Election, and the Bulgarian peace proposals. I asked L. G. whether there was to be an election. His answer was not definite. In effect he said, "Yes, unless peace negotiations alter the position." When Bonar Law and A. J. B. came from the room where the conference

took place, this after L. G. had gone to bed, A. J. B. remarked, "The P.M. is certainly a very attractive creature." Bonar Law said, "When he's keen on anything he sweeps you along with him and imagines you are in agreement with him, when probably you are not. You may have to show him later plainly that you are not!"
A. J. B.: When he is wrong, he is usually wrong in a more interesting way than other people.
B. L.: He will only see one side of a question when he has made up his mind.
R.: As a man of action, that is his strength. When he comes to a decision, he is like an engine that has determined to start. He begins to work up the steam. He compels himself to see no obstacles and to believe that anyone who disagrees with him is either a misguided fool or a knave. That is a great source of strength when you want to do things, but a dangerous quality if your decision happens to be wrong. People who come to decisions weaken themselves in action by constant questionings and doubts.
Balfour: Quite true!

On the morning of the 28th another conference took place. A. J. B. and B. L. returned to London at 12.30. L.G. told me later that he may have to go to France for a conference with the Bulgarians, to whom a safe conduct has been offered.
L. G.: I shall trust no one else. I must go myself, A..J.B would not be quite the man for the task. It will require handling. The Serbians will be apt to think only of their side of the war. They will want to decimate the Bulgarians now that they have them in their power.
R.: That is only natural. So should I if I were a Serbian.
L. G.: Yes, quite right, so should I! But we must look at the war as a whole. I am disposed to try to get the Bulgarians out of the war. We might be able to get them to attack the Turks. I should like to see that rotten old Empire broken up.

Much talk between L. G. and Reading on the same subject. Reading pointed out that America is not at war with Bulgaria, but may want a say in the peace negotiations. Bulgaria may, he thinks, ask for American intervention. Reading views the future of our relations with America with grave apprehension. He thinks that the American people are at the beginning of a new era. In the war serious points of difference are continually arising.
29TH.– Talked with L. G. and Reading regarding the crisis of March. L. G. bitterly complained of American delays in sending troops.
READING: They did not realise the necessity. They thought the Allies were well able to hold the line and we never told the Americans that we could carry their troops. Indeed, I heard Haig say at your house that we had plenty of troops and that he doubted if the Germans would make a big offensive. He anticipated only sporadic attacks. I went away very uneasy. I thought there was something wrong.
L. G.: That may be so. The War Office were undoubtedly responsible for a good deal of the delay.
READING: Who drafted the cablegram demanding more troops?
L. G.: I did that. I think on March 28th. I went for a walk in the Park with Philip Kerr. Things looked very black. I determined to cable without reference to the Cabinet or foreign Office. I went to the War Office and the cablegram is dispatched. I suppose Wilson has never forgiven me for sending the message which you [Reading] read at the public dinner in which I told the American public of the position.
READING: I don't think so. I don't think Wilson minded. He certainly said nothing to lead me to think so. I showed the message to the House before I read it in public. It was an historic event. The telegram saved Europe.

Later I had a long talk with Reading about Anglo-American relations.

R.: Why does Wilson always refrain from mentioning the British effort in the war in his speeches? It looks ungenerous. It looks as if he wanted to adopt a high-handed, imperious attitude later on.
READING: The position is very dangerous and difficult. Wilson sits aloft and apart, and he directs and feeds the Press with his views and opinions. One great danger is that we may come to cross-purposes with the Americans, and in particular that L. G. and Wilson may come to cross-purposes. I think that much might be done by removing minor causes of disagreement, such as the differences regarding the cost of transport of American troops and the alleged profit on the wool.

A very cheerful day, notwithstanding the horrible weather. News of advance in the West arriving all day. The P.M. full of glee. On the arrival of the message he began to dance a hornpipe.

The Bulgar delegates have arrived at Salonika, where Venizelos has gone to meet them.
L. G.: I am glad that Venizelos will be there. He is a wise man, but I expect he will want to impose very hard terms. That would not be my idea. I want to get the Bulgars out of the war. German troops are on their way to reinforce the Bulgarians.

30TH.– Robertson Nicoll came down to lunch. Much talk about books and politics. Nicoll evidently surprised at L.G.'s knowledge of the former, and at his intimate acquaintance with the war of I745. Later came Baker, American War Minister, a nice, trim, little man of the Y.M.C.A, type – shrewd and clear. Also Reading returned. He told us that when he took L.G.'s telegram to President Wilson on March 27th, or 28th, the President said as he left him, "Tell him [L. G.] that we will do our damnedest." Reading said that first of all he intended to wire this to L. G., but on reflection thought it wiser to refrain. Baker listened with his mouth open and remarked, Wilson don't often swear, but when he does he means it! At which we all laughed heartily. Later on came Milner, Henry Wilson, Radcliffe, the Director of Military Operations, and Sir Joseph Maclay. After dinner a lone conference was held which lasted till a late hour. The charge for carrying the American troops was, I believe, the chief question for discussion. A charge of 25 per head, but on the other hand the Americans charge us at the same rate when their ships are used by us. I did not hear what decision was reached.

The party started home at an early hour in the morning, Wilson at 7.30 and Maclay at 8.

OCTOBER 1ST 1918. The *Daily Chronicle* purchase has been completed. L.G. is to have full control of the editorial policy through Sir H. Dalziel, who will in effect be his agent. The experiment will be interesting.

In the evening, French, Henry Wilson, Rosslyn Wemyss, and Hankey arrived for the night. Much talk of Irish conscription. French all for it. And of course Wilson. L.G. more judicial, but with obvious leanings in favour of enforcing the act. After dinner an important conference at which I was not present.

2ND. Drove to London with Wemyss and Hankey. Wemyss is a most liberal-minded man. He says that both officers and men in the Navy are badly paid and that their pay should be increased. It is, however, difficult to persuade the Treasury to move. He gave an account of his experiences when war broke out. On the Thursday (I think it was) prior to August 4th, the Admiralty telegraphed to him, he then being in Germany taking a cure, that there was no need for him to return. But later came a wire calling him back. Before the arrival of the second telegram an English visitor at

the hotel came to him and said, “You are my barometer. So long as you are here, I feel there is no need for me to move. But would you mind telling me specifically what news you have?” Wemyss showed him the first wire, which of course reassured him. When the second wire arrived, Wemyss could not find the man, who is probably still in Germany.

OCTOBER 3RD, 1918. Received letter from Northcliffe, who was at Danny yesterday seeing Lloyd George, saying he was sorry I was away so that he did not see me also. He went on to say that the Old Gang are trying to lay hold of the legs of the Prime Minister and drag him down, and he thinks they will drag him down unless he realises his position. He says further that because L.G. often comes face to face with the little people in the Government he seems to think they have some standing in the country. Northcliffe says he would be very glad to help L.G., but that he declines to work for the return of the Old Gang. He thinks Asquith might be made Lord Chancellor, although he is bound to confess that the few people to whom he has made the suggestion seemed outraged by the idea. He says his position may be summed up as follows: He does not propose to use his newspapers and personal influence to support a new Government, elected at the most critical period of the history of the British nations, unless he knows definitely and in writing, and can approve, the personal constitution of that Government.

He went on to say that the Old Gang are trying to lay hold of the legs of the Prime Minister and drag him down

11TH – We drove to Brighton and along the coast. L.G. in high spirits.
R.: Your sense of humour has kept you going through all these trying times.
L.G.: Well, I don’t think I have ever been very gloomy, I always look on the bright side of things.
R.: But never very elated and never very cast down.
L.G.: It is always necessary to preserve a sense of proportion; that is one of the chief requisites of life.
R.: If you can find the time, you ought to make a speech regarding the wonderful doings of our soldiers. It would give great satisfaction, and no one could do it as you could.
L.G.: What I said about the aviators has taken the people’s fancy. “Cavaliers of the clouds.”
R.: It was a wonderful phrase. By the way, Robertson Nicoll says that you, Kerr, should go into public life, and that you could certainly do well.
L.G.: Of course he would. [Kerr is a man of outstanding ability, but very modest. He is very useful to the P.M. and it is a pleasure to work with him. He comes of one of the oldest families, but has no “side” and is a most unselfish person.] I often think of my early days in politics. I remember that they came to me and asked me to be more gentle with Mr. Gladstone. My answer was to quote a saying of Oliver Cromwell: “If I were in a battle I should shoot the King if I met him on the other side.” Those old Covenanters had some fine sayings.
R: Do you remember the Earl of Essex’s dreadful saying, “Stone dead hath no fellow”?
L.G.: That is a dreadful saying.
Kerr (to L.G.): Did you read Riddell your poem?
L.G.: No. I found it in an anthology of Welsh verses published during the past

twenty-five years. I wrote it concerning D.A. Thomas when I was fighting him more than twenty years ago. Kerr asked me to explain it (the poem is in Welsh). You can’t explain poetry. When I said that the poem described the splitting of a cloud or something of that sort, he objected that you cannot split clouds. After that I gave up the attempt.

Later L.G., Kerr. and I drove to London. We talked of men’s deficiencies.
L.G.: “The one thing needful.” What a great saying that was! What a sermon could be preached upon it. How many men we know have all qualities but the one. And then what a great saying that was, “He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone!” I often think of it.
R.: And the parable of the young man who preferred his cash to the Kingdom of Heaven. The divided ideal is always destructive.
L.G.: Yes, the young man was evidently a prig, and the Lord marked him down at once. His saying, “Render under Caesar the things that are Caesar’s” was another sagacious utterance. He saw the necessity for supporting the Government. (There is nothing like leather, even for Prime Ministers. – R.)
12TH. – A momentous day. Lunch with Mr. and Mrs. L.G. at Walton and then on to Danny. L.G. not very well. Pains in his left leg, which he says always seize him if he is very run down. Talked of the peace negotiations.

Later Lord Reading arrived for the night. More talk about peace.
L.G.: It is important that you, Reading, should get back to America to look after our interests there. I have been picturing to myself my first interview with President Wilson.
Reading: Clemenceau says that after a few hours, only feathers would be left to tell the tale. Both would have disappeared!
L.G. (laughingly): I should like Clemenceau to see him first with me behind the curtain. That would be an amusing interview. However, he has placed his allies in a very difficult position. Eric Geddes has cabled inquiring whether I wish him to say anything special in a speech that he is making on Monday. I cabled him asking him to refrain from approving or criticising Wilson’s note and suggesting that he should refer to the achievements of the British Army. I am not quite sure that it would not be a good thing for Clemenceau or me to make a speech indicating the position in an inoffensive way. The American public would soon understand and would speedily make it clear to Wilson that he must act in accord with the French and British, who have bourne the burden of the day. Before you [Reading] go, you must get the facts about Pershing. It is a pity you cannot get them from the French. Pershing is most difficult. Before the recent operations, Weygand, Foch’s Chief of Staff, went to him to give him advice. He refused to take it and there was, of course, a scene. Everything happened as Weygand predicted, with the result that the American Army has been quite ineffective. They have hindered Foch’s plans. One side of the claw of the crab has not been working. The American Staff had not got the experience. For example, they used the same roads for incoming and outgoing traffic, with the result that there was serious, very serious congestion. They could get neither back nor forward; and had the Germans been fighting with their former spirit, the Americans would have suffered very severely. Pershing says that America did not enter the war with the same objects as France and Great Britain, but for independent objects, and therefore wants an independent army. Had the brigading system been carried out we should have defeated the Germans before this. But it is most important that Pershing should act under Foch’s instructions and take advice from those who know more about the job than he can possibly do. Wilson should know these facts, which are being withheld from him.

READING: I agree. Pershing spoke to me in the same way. He was full of that sort of thing.

Reading reminded L.G. of the financial arrangements made when L.G. was Chancellor.

L.G.: The old governor, Cunliffe, is a good old fellow – very inarticulate, but he has good judgment. At my first conference with the French and Russian Ministers of Finance I asked him to explain our views about gold. He gave three grunts, and that was all the explanation. The people at the Treasury were horrified at my proposals. I remember one night when the officials were nearly hysterical. What has happened? We have got back all the loan except £10,000,000 which we shall recover after the war.

Later L.G. sat reading Foreign Office papers, occasionally reading extracts aloud and making comments. For example: "The Germans are in a serious condition internally. Revolution is imminent if no peace is possible. They have no raw materials. The Kaiser is about to abdicate in favour of his second son."

L.G.: That's the British Navy. President Wilson can't claim that!

After L.G. had gone to bed, the German reply to President Wilson's Note came over the telephone from Downing Street. It was written down and taken to L.G. by Kerr, who soon returned saying, "There is awful trouble upstairs, I can tell you! He thinks that the Allies are now in a horrible mess. Wilson has promised them an armistice."

R.: His Note does not say that. It says, "I will not propose a cessation of hostilities while German Armies are on the soil of the Allies."

READING: The next sentence, however, refers to the good faith of the discussion depending upon the consent of the Central Powers to evacuate. Does not that mean an armistice to enable them to do so?

R.: Wilson may well say, Get out as best you can, and when you are out I will make proposals.

KERR: He can't mean that.

R.: Most people read the Note in the sense I indicated.

READING: It is badly drafted.

In the course of the evening L.G. expressed a desire to see American newspapers of various types and gave instructions for them to be ordered. Reading suggested cabled extracts as alternatives.

L.G.: You must see the newspapers themselves. Extracts are often misleading, and the extract often depends on the extractor, who selects what suits him for the purpose he has in view.

13TH. – Much talk with L.G. and Reading regarding Wilson's first Peace Note. We walked to the top of Wolstenbury Hill, L.G. declaiming all the time against Wilson's action in replying without consultation with the Allies, and also in regard to the terms of the Note.

L.G.: The Germans have accepted the terms, as I prophesied they could. We are in a serious difficulty. Wilson has put us in the cart and he will have to get us out.

R.: The Note says that Wilson will not recommend a cessation of hostilities while the Germans are in possession of Allied territory. It is true that the next sentence says that the goodwill of any conversations must depend upon their consent to evacuate, but it is quite open to Wilson to say that there can be no armistice while the Germans remain in possession.

L.G. would not agree upon this construction, and said that if any lawyer had written such a letter he would be regarded as guilty of sharp practice if he afterwards claimed that he had predicated for evacuation as a condition precedent.

Reading did not agree with my construction, but strongly rebutted L.G.'s contention

that Wilson had placed himself in a difficult position.

L.G.: The time is coming when we shall have to speak out. We have bourne the heat and the burden of the day and we are entitled to be consulted. What do the Fourteen Points mean? They are very nebulous.

To lunch came A.J Balfour, Bonar Law, Milner, Winston Churchill, and Henry Wilson; later came Rosslyn Wemyss and Hankey. After lunch a big conference at which I was not present. A.J.Balfour, Hankey, and Philip Kerr then set to work to write memoranda expressing the decisions arrived at, each in a separate room. Meanwhile L.G. and the rest of the party adjourned to the gardens. From subsequent conversation I gathered that the terms of the armistice had been under discussion and that the conference had decided upon demanding unconditional surrender.

L.G.: I think it might have been wiser to have prescribed for Foch's terms (bridge-heads on the Rhine, etc.). They are not so humiliating, and I think the Germans would be more likely to accept them.

Before the party broke up it was decided that Sutherland should see the newspapers and explain the position. I told Milner that I had provided Sutherland with a list. The party left in a cloud of motor-cars, Harry Wilson driving his, which had been built for the Tsar of Russia, and the speedometer of which is marked for versts instead of miles. After dinner, this being our very last day at Danny, L.G. proposed my health in a delightful little speech. I understand that the Conference decided to make representations to Wilson as to his Note and reply to the Germans, but am not sure about this.

The Great Hall, Danny, 2018

Extracts from "Hankey, Man of Secrets" by Stephen Roskill Vol. 1

13th July 1918

P.M. tried to catch me for breakfast, but failed, as I was at Limpsfield. After getting agreement of C.I.G.S. to the letter to Clemenceau I spent most of the morning with the P.M., tuning it up. It was a very strong letter in the end. Lunched with Montagu, Mrs M., the Duchess of Rutland, Lady Diana Manners (exquisitely beautiful in Nurse's costume) and Lord Beaverbrook. In the afternoon motored home to pick up Adeline, en route to Danny Park, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, where Sir George Riddell is entertaining Lloyd George. Arrived just before dinner and found L.G. very rampageous still about getting more Americans, and meditating sending Borden over to bally-rag Clemenceau about it. As Borden knowns nothing about the matter I rather feared that I should be sent with him, so suggested that Smuts should go too. The P.M. jumped at this idea. P.M. was very fussy and fidgety all the evening...

Next day, 14th, news came that Foch was confident that a new German attack was imminent between Chateau Thierry and the Argonne, and had ordered four British divisions as well as French reserves to that sector. This worried Lloyd George, who had been convinced by Henry Wilson that the main attack would once again be on the British front. He wanted to get Milner, who was at his home, Sturry Court, near Canterbury, over to discuss the matter. Hankey, "partly in order to get away from him [Lloyd George] in his irritated state", volunteered to go over and fetch Milner. On arriving at his "quaint bachelor house" he sensed a romance, as the "business" Milner was engaged on involved "carrying a basket of roses to a lovely neighbour". However, he finally got the Secretary of State for War away, and after dinner a conference took place. Lloyd George was still in a difficult mood "suspecting Clemenceau of using unfair political influence on Foch to save the French army and Paris at all costs". Such suspicions conflict oddly with Lloyd George's enthusiasm for appointing Foch Supreme Commander; but Smuts and Borden supported him, while Milner, Wilson and Delme-Radcliffe "were inclined to support Foch as we had appointed him Allied C-in-C". In the end a telegram was sent to Haig reminding him of his right under the Beauvais agreement to appeal to the British government if he believed his army was endangered by a decision of the Supreme Commander. It was also decided to send Smuts over to France to watch developments. In fact Foch's prevision was quickly proved correct.

15th July 1918

The storm has burst. The Germans have attacked from Chateau Thierry to the Argonne, exactly where Foch had expected. Gen. Clive, who came to see me in the afternoon said the French were completely prepared with all reserves on the spot, and knew the very date of the attack. There was no surprise. Prisoners, deserters, agents, aircraft, "dumps" had all agreed. I motored up just in time for the Cabinet at noon, which was attended by the Dominion P.Ms. Lunched with the P.M. and Winston Churchill. Busy afternoon. Am staying in town, as we may get news from Smuts, who went to Haig's G.H.Q. this afternoon, or from the battle, requiring a Cabinet late tonight. After dinner at the club I strolled round to the P.M. at Downing St. to get the latest news, and stayed there until after 11pm. The news of the battle was uniformly

Lloyd George, Smuts and Hankey in Paris in the closing days of the war

Meeting of the British Empire Delegation at Mr Lloyd George's flat in Paris, Rue Nitot, Sunday 1st June, 1918 to discuss the German Peace Treaty. Hankey directly behind Churchill

good, but we did not get much out of Smuts, who could not be induced to say much on the telephone.

In truth that day was of immense importance to the outcome of the war, since the system of "elastic defence", for which the real credit must be given to Petain, was then given full play for the first time on the Allied side. In essence this consisted of absorbing the first shock of an attack with lightly held forward positions, and then awaiting the next advance in strongly held positions further back, where the attacking troops would be beyond the range of most of their supporting artillery. These tactics were so successfully applied in the Second Battle of the Marne in July 1918, that the assault against the British in Flanders, which Ludenorff had planned to launch on 20th, never got off the ground.

14th August 1918

Continuation of war aims – peace terms discussion by War Cabinet and Prime Ministers in the afternoon. Sober, sensible speech by Smuts pointing out realities of situation. Most of them, I think, dubbed it as pacifist. In the evening I had to go off with the P.M. to Danny Park, near Brighton, to spend the evening going through my draft report. Our party was small but select – the P.M., General Smuts, Lord Reading, and myself. My draft report was acclaimed as a huge success, but they made a good many alterations, and I sat up until after midnight inserting them.

Victory at last

September – November 1918

Despite 1st September being Adeline's and Henry's birthday Hankey had to go off again to Danny Park to join the politico-journalist party assembled there. From Danny he went on to Shoreham to inspect the "towers" being built by Sir Alexander Gibb's firm to make the Channel anti-submarine barrage virtually impenetrable. He was greatly impressed by what he saw and heard; but in fact the crisis in the U-boat war had already been overcome and the towers were never used for their designed purpose. Two days later at an "X Meeting" Geddes and Wemyss, the First Sea Lord, reviewed the submarine situation for Lloyd George's benefit.

3rd September 1918

Meeting at 11 am. Present the P.M., Geddes, Ad. Wemyss and self. The Adty. think it is no longer worthwhile for the enemy to stick to the Flanders coast. 24 out of 42 submarines based there have been sunk and 50% of their destroyers. It is very costly to hold owing to the constant bombing and bombarding. They seem to think the Hun may eventually hook it. Wemyss described our vast system of mines in the N. Sea... War Cabinet at 11.30. Baku is said to have fallen, and it is believed our forces there will be scuppered. A bad business, which I never liked. I am, and have long been concerned about our whole position in Persia, which is in my opinion a very perilous one. Splendid news from the western front again. A private telephone message from G.H.Q. to the War Office says that the Germans are everywhere running like hares...

22nd September 1918

The P.M., who has been very seriously ill, went off before 11am to Danny [Park] for a week, saying he would see no-one for two or three days. I did not see him, but had an hour's talk with Bonar Law, whom I found very cheerful after the victories on the western front, Salonika and Palestine and his success in settling the threatened railway strike, on which I warmly congratulated him.

3rd October 1918

War cabinet at noon... At 5pm a second War Cabinet, the PM having returned from Danny, to consider the line to be taken at his forthcoming conferences with Clemenceau and Orlando. Very interesting, but discursive and ill-ordered discussion.

13th October 1918

On my way home from lunch I was met by Adeline with a message that the PM wanted me at Danny [Park], so I started off immediately after lunch, arriving about 2.30. I found that, already in conference over their cigars, [were] the PM, Bonar Law, Balfour, Churchill, Lord Reading, 1st Sea Lord, [and] C.I.G.S with Philip Kerr. We conferred for three hours on the subject of the German acceptance of President Wilson's conditions.

18th October 1918

War Cabinet at noon under Bonar Law. After the meeting there was an outburst on Curzon's part about the postponement of the discussion on armistices etc., about the conference at Danny last week, [and] about the PM's failure to circulate the report of the Prime Ministers Ctee. to the Imperial War Cabinet. It is all described in a letter I wrote to the PM, of which I enclose a copy. My opinion is that the PM is assuming too much the role of a dictator and that he is heading for very serious trouble. I simply cannot run the machine on these lines. I lunched with Mr Balfour and Lord R. Cecil who were fairly chuckling over what the latter described as "all my colleagues in their most characteristic attitudes". In the afternoon I saw Chamberlain, to explain to him the position about the report of the PM's, and generally to try and stroke him down. I had also seen Bonar Law before lunch and given him most solemn warning of the trouble that was brewing. He took it fairly lightly.

In the letter to Lloyd George ("Strictly Personal and Confidential") to which Hankey referred above he explained in tactful terms exactly what had passed when, after the conclusion of normal Cabinet business, Curzon asked Bonar Law, Montagu, Long, Balfour, Chamberlain and Cecil to stay behind. Reading, who was intending shortly to return to the embassy in Washington, was also present. Curzon then protested about the manner in which discussions on the armistice terms had been handled – notably at Danny Park a few days earlier, when only a few members of the War Cabinet had been present; and Chamberlain supported the Lord President. Balfour and Bonar Law, remarked Hankey, "had pretty well disposed of any suggestion that the conference ought not to have taken place" – because of the urgent need to consider the German reply to President Wilson's Note and the difficulty of assembling Ministers at short notice.

Extracts from "Danny House ~ A Sussex Mansion through Seven Centuries" by Colin and Judith Brent

123 *Lloyd George and colleagues during the Great War, by Sir James Guthrie.*

Chapter 11 – The Great War, The PM and his 'Darling Pussy', 1914-18

Sadly for Danny, an Indian summer of idyllic seclusion, rose-tinted romance and ever-expanding gardens came to a brutal close in August 1914. The Great War drastically disrupted civilian life. In Hurst villagers flocked to join the army and 78 "died for the Empire". Horses were requisitioned, rationing imposed, and Emergency Orders for evacuation in the event of invasion echoed those issued in 1804 when Napoleon's legions massed at Boulogne. William Campion was himself a casualty of new regulations – being summoned before his own Bench of Magistrates and fined half-a-crown for failing to register as an "alien" his elegant French visitor, Madame Veaux. Otherwise he was active as Honorary Colonel of the Fourth Territorial Battalion of the Sussex Regiment, "the Fourth Sussex" – B Company had its Drill Hall at Hurst. Indeed, his epitaph (he died in 1923) claimed, rather obscurely, that his "last work on earth was associated with the despatch of Sussex Territorials to active service in France". Also on the Home Front, the dauntless Gertrude, ably seconded by Flora Mitten, set up a Women's Institute, while her Sunshine Home became the "Sunshine Auxiliary Hospital" for soldiers wounded in France. Her daughter Mary, whose Danny Daisies defeated the Newtimber Nettles in August 1914, organised the Hurst branch of the British Red Cross (VAD) and then at Rouen recreation for convalescent troops, earning an OBE.

Meanwhile William's three sons and his grandson, Simon, were enmeshed in a war which killed Major Edward, the career soldier. Truculently, in April 1915, when his men were dug in at the Ypres Salient on the Western Front and facing their first poison gas attack, the veteran of the Sudanese War sent a message along the line: "Remember no Seaforth Highlander ever has left or ever will leave his post. Whatever damnable engine-of-war the enemy use, the Seaforths will stick it out and will have their reward in killing the enemy". Gassed a few weeks later, he died from its effect in 1916 aged 43. Meanwhile, his eldest brother William Robert had vacated his seat in Parliament for the Lewes Division to take command of the Fourth Sussex, his father's beloved Battalion. His brother Frederick, the former Bush-Brother, joined him as Battalion chaplain and his wife Katherine organised at Danny a depot for Battalion comforts – carbolic soap, insect powder, jellies, tobacco, matches and chocolate. After a brief stop in Egypt "the Fourth" landed at Sulva Bay on 8 August 1915, to join an ill-fated Gallipoli campaign designed to seize the Dardanelles and threaten Istanbul. The very next day William and his men advanced towards a baptism of fire – one treacherous gulley they nick-named, with black humour, "The Devils Dyke". Twenty-two men were killed by relentless shelling and sniping from the Turkish defences, before the mutilated Battalion was withdrawn to the Corps reserve. Further ravaged by dysentery, it returned to Egypt, whence William was invalided home. Thereafter, on 8 and 9 August, the survivors met to remember "epic days, friendship, sorrow and joy, service and sacrifice in a distant theatre of war". Simon Campion's health also suffered while serving with the Seaforths in Mesopotamia – indeed he later restricted himself to helping his father and managing the estate. Suitably reinforced in Egypt, the Fourth sussex advanced through Gaza to capture Jerusalem, before transferring to the

The very next day William and his men advanced towards a baptism of fire...

Western Front, where William, now recovered, took command and gained his DSO. But a shell killed his fellow officer, Captain Weekes MC, whose grandfather "Dick" and great-uncle George had so yearned to "get in" at Danny – a feat finally achieved by the Captain's father, Arthur – the magistrate indeed who fined Colonel William for failing to declare Madame Veaux. A barrister educated at Harrow and Oxford, he flourished in the Bengal Civil Service and then loomed large at Hurst as a JP, County Councillor and Chairman of the Parish Council. And on May Day morning he gave an orange and a bright new penny to any child bringing to his Mansion House in the High street a posy of spring flowers – and to aged "Crazy Jenny", a stranger with wild flowers stuffed in a dusty hat, who swung a hand bell, danced a jig and croaked an incoherent song. Fittingly, therefore, at a fund-raising held at Danny in 1916, Daisy Randell identified the "village celebrities" as Colonel Campion, Admiral Beaumont and Arthur Weekes. When Weekes died in 1917, Walter Tower supplied a memorial east window in St Lawrence's chapel.

Briefly though, the grim stoicism of wartime Hurst was brightened by the ebullience of the Prime Minister, the mercurial David Lloyd George. In July 1917 sir George Riddell, who owned the *News of the World* and keenly admired "the Welsh Wizard", leased Great Walstead Place near Lindfield to allow the P.M. to relax, free from fear of air raids. The next year, for that same patriotic purpose, he rented Danny from mid-July till mid-october and Daisy Randell was to vividly recall L.G.'s local impact, his very musical voice, his "habitual twinkle". Her father, a Hurst builder, enjoyed "a long talk" with him during a reception he gave in July for local Liberals. and in August the P.M. hosted "a grand party". On the lawn at Danny, the Sussex Yeomanry Cadet Band assisted the dancing and patriotic songs, while amid the marquees and refreshment tents promiscuously strolled Cabinet Ministers and convalescents from the "Sunshine Hospital", staff officers in dazzling uniforms and the Randells in their sunday best. "Good to see you again, Mister Randell," the P.M. crooned, bowing slightly over his wife's hand and grinning at Daisy and her sister – "Very charming, daughters, very charming". And maybe, not since Edward VII's chauffeur enquired of Esther Funnel the way to Danny, had a village maiden received such expert appraisal. Meanwhile, L.G. was often in the High Street, popping into shops, greeting Mr Randell yet again, raising his hat to Daisy – the perfect politician.

Amid these public festivities, relays of Very Important Persons were closeted in the mansion as the Great War jolted towards an armistice.

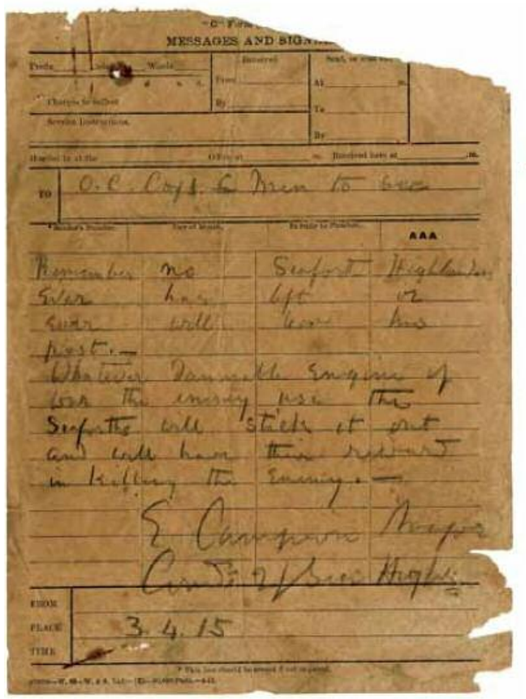
In July 1918 the Central Powers – Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey – were still undefeated by the allies.

In 1917 Lenin's Russia had deserted the Allies, but the United States, led by President Wilson, had joined them. Indeed, on 13 July Sir Maurice Hankey, the Cabinet Secretary, observed L.G. at Danny "very rampageous still about getting more Americans", to stiffen a beleaguered Western Front. Next day, he noted that the P.M., Borden, the Canadian Premier, and Smuts, his South African counterpart, climbed 'the high hill on the Downs at the back of the house'. But whereas the P.M. and Borden returned "covered with perspiration and forthwith had to bathe", Smuts, the ex-Boer commander, took Wolstonbury in his stride. After dinner they met in the Great Hall with Viscount Milner, the War Secretary, and Sir Henry Wilson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff – the speedometer of his official motor-car registered versts, being built for the Tsar but undelivered. Their worry was that General Foch, the Supreme Allied Commander, was massing the new American troops behind the French armies, leaving the British line dangerously thin. But they left it to General Haig to protest if he thought fit. The Germans, in fact, attacked the French line near Chateau Thierry the very next day and were thrown back – it proved their last major

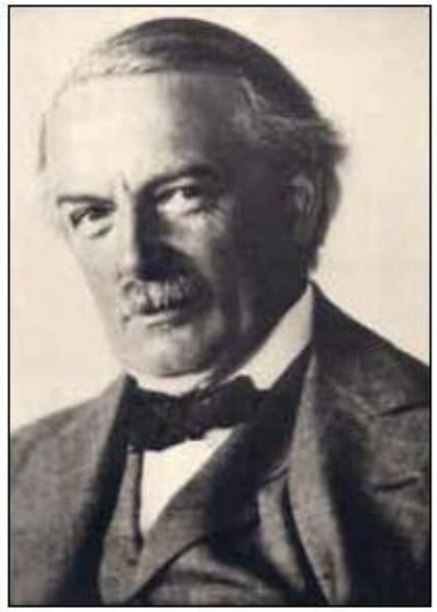
offensive. The following weekend, 20-21 July, L.G. was "very busy preparing suggestions for a dispatch to President Wilson regarding Japanese intervention" – an attempt to restore an Eastern front now the Russians had withdrawn. "With his legs cocked up in the window seat of the dining-room", he also absorbed a report from General Wilson.

Then on 8 August, "a black day for the German army", the British and French with 456 tanks broke through near Amiens, forced a retreat and smashed enemy hopes of victory on the Western Front. And naturally, by 14 August, L.G., exuding "energy and enthusiasm", was discussing possible Peace terms at Danny with Smuts and Lord Reading, the Ambassador to the United States. After a fortnight with his family at home in North Wales, the P.M. returned to Danny and with the war going well, thought of calling a general election.

Locally he inspected anti-submarine defences at Shoreham and fussed over a picnic at Beachy Head – "how the tea was to be made, what sort of kettle we should take with us". Unscheduled, though, were the ten days he subsequently spent in Manchester Town Hall, laid low by the influenza sweeping a war-torn world. "Still with a respirator", he was back at Danny on 21 September, destined for a busy convalescence. This extended his stay till 15 October, as William Campion, lodged at Chichester House in Kemp Town, informed carpenters due to repair windows in the south wing. The PM's visitors included Winston Churchill, the Minister of Munitions, and Lord Northcliffe, owner of the *Times* and the Daily Mail. Meanwhile, the fate of Europe was being decided on battlefields far distant from the re-stabilised Western Front. In Syria General Allenby destroyed the last Turkish army and cleared the way to Damascus. In the Balkans the Allied advance from Salonika caused Bulgaria to sue for peace. And indeed, on 27-28 September terms for such an Armistice were agreed at Danny by L.G., Bonar Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, A.J. Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Reading and General Wilson. Next day the stream of good news prompted the P.M. "to dance a hornpipe". The Allies were now poised to invade an exhausted Austro-Hungary and Germany's armies were already over-stretched. Indeed, on 4 October the German government appealed to President Wilson for an Armistice and a negotiated Peace.



After more conferences at Danny, on shipping and the campaigns in Italy and Turkey, L.G. spent 4-9 October in Paris, anxiously discussing with Allied leaders the Fourteen Points that President Wilson was proposing to offer Germany as the price of Peace. Back at Danny on 12 October, and despite a refreshing drive to



128 *Miss Fran*
Stevenson and
Lloyd George.

Brighton along the coast, the P.M. used “awful language” when roused from his bed and told that Wilson was agreeing Peace terms without further consultation. Next morning he was still “declaiming against Wilson’s action” while climbing “the hill” with Riddell and Lord Reading. Nonetheless, after lunch, a “conference” was held in the Great Hall, which a plaque still commemorates: “In this room a meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet was held on the 13th October 1918 at which the following were present: – Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. A.J. Balfour, Viscount Milner, The Earl of Reading, Mr. W.S. Churchill, Admiral Sir R. Wemyss, General Sir Henry Wilson, Lt.-Col. Sir M.P.A. Hankey, Mr. Philip Kerr.”

A cable was sent to President Wilson authorising him to proceed with negotiations for an Armistice with Germany. In actual fact the Imperial War Cabinet had disbanded in August. Nor was the “conference” a formal meeting of the War Cabinet, of which only L.G. and Bonar Law were members – indeed, absent members later complained that vital decisions were taken there without them.

Nonetheless the conference in the Great Hall was momentous. Crucially, his colleagues rejected the P.M.’s fears that unless the German Fatherland was invaded, and German towns bombarded, there would be no lasting “humiliation” of Prussian Militarism, such as Rome inflicted on Carthage after the Second Punic War – delenda est Carthago. And without that, L.G. argued, “In a short time the Germans would say that these miserable democrats had taken charge [the Kaiser having fled] and had become panic-stricken, and the military party would get into power again”. As indeed it did in 1932, in fruitful alliance with Herr Hitler and his National Socialists. But the P.M.’s colleagues argued that Wilson’s Fourteen Points would require Germany to evacuate all occupied territory, surrender its colonies, cede Alsace-Lorraine to France and German Poland to “an independent Polish State”.

Moreover, the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire would enjoy “self-determination” and the Turkish empire be dissolved. So the “War Cabinet” sent President Wilson a cable merely requiring that, before any armistice, Germany must accept Peace terms that “in the opinion of experts”, naval as well as Military, “would make the resumption of hostilities by the Central Powers impossible”. The cable also sought clarification of Point Two – “absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas …

alike in peace and in war” – conceivably a threat to Britain’s maritime supremacy. So ended the fateful conference and a complacent Riddell could note: “after dinner, this being our last day at Danny, L.G. proposed my health in a delightful little speech.” The armistice duly arrived on 11 November, in the nick of time for William Campion and his Fourth Sussex, poised on the Western Front in Belgium to go “over the top” and assault entrenched German positions at dawn on 12 November.

But amidst these awesome affairs of state, private passions were threading the corridors of Danny. Mary Campion in 1906 ended her “sketch” for Country Home with a lyric touch:

“Those who have lived and loved within its walls never leave it; and herein lies the charm of association, of personality, in an old house. They come to us, these far-off airy visions of the past, of dainty ladies and splendid gentlemen, like a soft sentiment of romance, intangible, half real, like the whiff of lavender from a long-closed drawer.” To this aroma L.G. added a fresh fragrance. Besides the signatures left by the Great and the Good in the Visitors Book at Danny (which Colonel William stipulated was always to remain there) were those of Mrs Margaret Lloyd George and Miss Frances stevenson – along with the paw print of L.G.’s pet dog. Miss Stevenson also appears, unflatteringly, in Daisy Randell’s reminiscences. “The entire village” knew that L.G.’s routine was to climb “the hill” before breakfast and work on War Cabinet papers. sometimes a shower of rain would send him scuttling back down to Danny, leaving documents behind – whereupon, “his long-suffering secretary” was often seen “grunting up the steep slopes to retrieve them”.

The reality was far different. Attractive, intelligent and half-Italian, with a Classics degree and Liberal views, Miss Stevenson became L.G.’s private secretary in 1911 and his mistress in 1913, though 26 years his junior. The affair, though passionate and persistent, stayed secret.

L.G. would not leave his wife or ruin a political career rooted in Welsh nonconformity. But some ardent notes survive written to her at Danny while she languished upstairs with inflamed kidneys. Variously she was his “darling Pussy”, his “dear little girl with the cold in her ‘dose’”, his “sweet loving fond thrilling little worry”, and he, “ever and ever your old Dai”, “your very jealous old Lover”, “a Doting old man who is Father, lover and husband all in one”. Did she adore him as much as “a grilled kidney swimming in fat”? He even envied her “cold” – “in the dead of night I should have crept down to the lips & had a great time – pressing their softness and then scampering along those pearly teeth – then touching the top of the tongue”. and while recovering she was doubly desirable, as “the little pink sofa girl with the blue dressing gown” and as “a little love in pink with braided hair falling on each side of the sweetest face you ever saw nestling on a pillow”. He had drifted unfulfilled through life’s “marshes plains mountains for half a century”, but henceforth (in private at least), they would “walk alongside arm in arm or arm around waist as long as we can”. A playful memo, penned before he left for Paris in October, suggested she act as if she was :right down glad to get rid of an old bore: – though in truth, :whatever luggage I leave behind, Pussy will be with me, for the little witch has done her own packing long long ago & she never leaves the valise whatever is taken out or put in:. such was the newest :soft sentiment of romance: soon to enrich :the whiff of lavender: from Mary Campion’s :long-closed drawer”.

Extracts from "Distractions of Peace During War: the Lloyd George Government's reactions to Woodrow Wilson, December 1916-November 1918" by Sterling J. Kernek

(pp96-100)

5. WILSON'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH GERMANY DURING OCTOBER, 1918

Germany gave Wilson another and better chance to commit the Allies to his principles. On 3 October, the German government sent a note to the President requesting him to invite all belligerents to take up peace negotiations on the basis of Wilson's message to Congress of 8 January, 1918 (the Fourteen Points speech) and his subsequent pronouncements, particularly the address of 27 September, 1918. The German government also urged the President to bring about an immediate armistice.[85] The note was signed by the new German chancellor, Prince Max of Baden and was transmitted by Switzerland. The Austro-Hungarian government appealed to Wilson in similar terms at the same time through the Swedish government.

After learning of the German move on the fifth, the British waited anxiously for Wilson's reply, while the President followed his usual practice of drafting his response without consulting the Allies.[86] Lloyd George was, at this time, in Paris conferring with the French and Italian governments, primarily about Bulgaria and Turkey. Wilson sent his reply on 8 October, and the Allies were not informed of its terms by United States representatives until the ninth, which was the same day that the President's note appeared in the press. General Sir Henry Wilson, who was then chief of the Imperial General Staff, exclaimed: "He really is the limit." [87]

President Wilson responded to Germany by seeking clarification on several points. He wanted to know first whether the German government accepted the terms he had laid down in his various speeches and whether the purpose of discussions would be only to agree upon practical details of their application. Secondly, the President stated that he would not propose a cessation of arms so long as the armies of the Central Powers were on the Allies' soil. The good faith of any discussion would depend upon the consent of those Powers to withdraw from invaded territory. Thirdly, Wilson asked whether the Imperial Chancellor was speaking merely for the authorities of the empire who had so far conducted the war. [88]

At a conference of the three major Allied governments in the afternoon of 9 October, Clemenceau said that he thought Wilson's note was excellent. Lloyd George emphatically disagreed. He had, in fact, been angered by news of the President's note.

He was not only irritated by Wilson's failure to consult the Allies, but also by the content of the President's reply. [89] Lloyd George explained at the inter-Allied meeting that he believed the Germans were in a thoroughly bad way and predicted that Prince Max would readily accept Wilson's Fourteen Points. There were aspects of those points, Lloyd George observed, about which he would like to know more. He specifically noted British doubts about freedom of the seas and pointed out that the Fourteen Points made an uncertain allusion to Alsace-Lorraine.[89] He went on to say that he did not pretend to understand the President's question as to whether Prince Max's request emanated from the former rulers of Germany, but he did have definite and serious misgivings about Wilson's reference to an armistice. The British Prime Minister thought that Prince Max would also readily accept the evacuation of occupied territories as a condition of the armistice, and he feared that, if the Germans did do this and the Allies were to say nothing, the Germans could maintain that nobody had protested against it and that they were entitled to regard it as the Allied conditions of an armistice. Lloyd George had come to the conference armed with a draft telegram to Wilson which was designed to avoid this pitfall. The message made it clear that an armistice would involve more conditions than the evacuation of territory, that it must be drawn up by the military experts and that it should preclude the enemy from obtaining any advantage by withdrawing unpursued to a shorter, more defensible line. In advocating this cable, he also warned that once an armistice was declared, the Allies would not be able to start fighting again. Hence, it was essential to secure the evacuation of Alsace-Lorraine, the Trentino and Trieste as well as the evacuation of occupied territories.

When Clemenceau expressed concern that Wilson susceptibilities not be offended. Lloyd George remarked that he was as eager as anyone else to avoid offending the President, but that he was even more anxious to avoid a German trap. Clemenceau was opposed to any public announcement at this time, but he agreed to a suggestion made by Baron Sonnino that they send a private telegram.

Lord Robert Cecil then warned that they must be careful not to imply that they accepted Wilson's proposals relating to matters other than the armistice, that is, to all of his Fourteen Points and other pronouncements. Cecil mentioned freedom of the seas, of course, but he also referred specifically to Wilson's suggestion that he would not make peace with the Hohenzollerns. Cecil said that they should be very careful not to commit themselves to that.[91]

Various reservations were circulating among the British in regard to the idea of "no peace with the Hohenzollerns." One feeling was that it would not be worth while to prolong the war merely to change Germany's government. Lord Milner's views continued to be particularly definite on this topic. He especially feared that prolonging the war would promote the spread of Bolshevism and chaos. He thought that any attempt to dictate drastic change in Germany's government might actually stiffen Germany's resistance, and, in any case, he considered such an attempt unnecessary, because a complete transformation was already in progress in Germany. Moreover, he believed that it was in the Allies' interest to see that there was a stable government in Germany to deal with.[92]

Another reservation which was expressed at this phase of the war concerned a very interesting possibility. On 3 October, 1918, the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office warned that Germany might turn the formula of "no peace with the Hohenzollerns" to its own advantage. A new, liberal German government might say that it had been given to understand that an agreed peace would be made easy for a liberal, democratic government, that it was such a government, and that it asked the Allies to redeem their pledges. If the Allies did not then waive certain

demands, embarrassments and complications might follow. The memorandum concluded that it would be wise to return as quickly as possible "to the old and sound principles that the internal forms of government in one nation are not the concern of other nations."[93]

After Cecil's general warning about the idea of "no peace with the Hohenzollerns," the inter-Allied conference adjourned while the foreign ministers drafted a telegram to Wilson. Balfour did not attend the meetings in Paris because of illness, so Cecil acted in his place. When the conference reassembled, it approved a cable which politely embodied the main points which Lloyd George wanted to make. In addition, the meeting approved a telegram which was intended to alleviate some of the Allies' serious difficulties in cooperating with the President. Bonar Law had suggested earlier in the afternoon that, although President Wilson had not compromised the Allies yet, he might have placed them in a difficult position. He thought it would be wise to point out to Wilson that in view of the important decisions which had to be taken, it was desirable that the President should send some person in whom he had complete confidence to join in the Allies' discussions.[94] This additional telegram stated tactfully that the purpose of the American representative would be "to keep the other associated Governments accurately and fully informed of the point of view of the United States Government." [95]

The text of both notes was cabled to Washington by Arthur Frazier of the United States Embassy in Paris on 9 October.[96] Copies of the two Allied messages to Wilson were also communicated to the president by the French ambassador in Washington on 10 October. A report of this interview indicated that Wilson's reception of the notes was friendly, and confirmed that he, in fact, did not regard his note to the German government as a statement of the only conditions of an armistice.[97]

The impression of amity and reassurance was not, however, long lived. The President, in fact, harboured acute suspicions and anger of his own. While the Allied leaders in Paris were waiting for Wilson's reply to the German note, they had discussed the terms of an armistice and had requested the advice of the military representatives on the Supreme War Council. General Bliss, the American representative, did not participate in the deliberations, but reported the recommendations to the President.[98] Wilson was furious. He thought that the Allies had not only discussed armistice terms without consulting him, but had agreed upon them. Allied officials in Washington and Balfour in London smoothed over the situation by explaining that the Allies were only making preparations, and that no decisions had been made.[99] The incident underscored the need for an authoritative American representative in Europe.

The German government's second note further aggravated British-American relations. It fully accepted the points in Wilson's address of 8 January and in his subsequent addresses as the basis of peace. Worse from the British Government's point of view, the German Government said that it believed that the countries associated with the United States also accepted the position taken by the president in his addresses. Moreover, the German Government, as Lloyd George predicted, declared its readiness to comply with the President's propositions regarding evacuation, and urged that a mixed commission should meet to make the necessary arrangements. Finally, the note declared that the present German government was supported by the will of the German people.[100]

When Lloyd George learned of the note late on 12 October, his anger at Wilson flared up again.[101] He thought the President had placed Britain in a difficult situation. The Prime Minister was staying at Danny Park, Lord Riddell's house in Sussex, at this time. On the following day Balfour, Bonar Law, Milner, Winston

Churchill, General Wilson, Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, who was the First Sea Lord, Philip Kerr, and Hankey met in conference with the Prime Minister and discussed their next moves. The Prime Minister again hammered away at the point that the Central Powers must not be allowed to assume that the evacuation of occupied territories was the sole condition of an armistice. Milner suggested that Wilson had merely said that the enemy must evacuate the occupied territories before he would even propose an armistice, but the meeting readily agreed that they should suggest to the President that he make the position very clear.[102] The substance of a message was approved and promptly sent to Washington. The telegram urged Wilson to tell the German government publicly that he never contemplated granting an armistice merely on the promise of a German retirement from occupied territories, and that the associated powers would only consent to a cessation of hostilities on terms which, in the opinion of military and naval experts, rendered any resumption of hostilities by the enemy impossible.[103]

The British leaders meeting at Danny Park also agreed upon a telegram to Wilson concerning the German Government's apparent acceptance of the President's Fourteen Points and other public utterances.

The cable stated:

With the general tenor of the President's policy we are in full accord. But it has to be observed (1) that these have never been discussed by the Associated Powers, (2) that certain of them are capable of various interpretations to some of which we should raise strong objection, (3) that there are probably other terms not referred to by the President (for example terms relating to outrages on shipping) which should be insisted on if full justice is to be done.

The reference to outrages at sea was intended to cover a British demand for compensation for the loss of merchant ships and reparation for the families of lost seamen. British anger about maritime atrocities had recently been heightened by the sinking of a passenger and mail steamer, the *Leinster*. The message to the President continued:

It seems to us that care must be taken lest the conditions of the armistice should be so framed as to deprive Allies of the necessary freedom of action in settling final terms in Peace Conference: and that the chief belligerent Powers should at once take steps to come to some agreement among themselves on doubtful points.[104]

In the discussion at Danny Park which led to this message, doubts were raised about various points. Freedom of the seas was once again the main focus of objections, but the Prime Minister also drew attention to the President's point number three which called for reduced economic barriers and equal trade conditions. Hankey's minutes record that Lloyd George said: "President Wilson was a Free Trader pure and simple and this was certainly a disputable point." Balfour replied: "What President Wilson failed to understand was that, however successful a League of Nations might be, there must be a transition period while it was being established."[105] The Foreign Secretary had touched one of the key differences between the outlook of Wilson and the British government. Wilson did not, in fact, share the British government's strong convictions about the necessity of having discriminatory trade policies during the period of reconstruction. On the other hand, the President's point three restricted the liberalised trade conditions to "nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance." In other words, Germany might be excluded from equal trading privileges until the League of Nations could be established and until she could be admitted to it. That could take considerable time after the war.

When Balfour reported on the deliberations at Danny Park in the War Cabinet on

the following day, 14 October, he apparently did not mention the President's point number three. He did, however, refer to another keen British interest, the fate of the German colonies. Like the question of freedom of the seas, the colonial question arising out of the Fourteen Points was, he observed, capable of wide variation in interpretation. The President's point number five, in fact, did little more than call for an impartial adjustment of colonial claims.[106] Cecil noted that while they had a great case made out against the return of the colonies to Germany, it was not so easy to make out a case for Britain keeping them. Lloyd George asked whether it was worthwhile "suggesting to the American Government that they should send officers to the ex-German colonies" to inform the President about them directly. Balfour thought that this might be desirable if they could ensure the selection of "impartial and competent" officers. "This," he said, "would not be easy."[107]

Wilson replied to the second German note on 14 October. The President made it explicitly clear that "the process of evacuation and the conditions of an armistice" were matters to be decided by the military advisers of the United States and the Allies, and he declared that no arrangement could be accepted which did not safeguard and guarantee the present military supremacy of the United States and the Allies. Wilson's reply also told Germany to stop her outrages at sea and the destruction of cities and villages in Belgium and France from which the German armies were withdrawing. "The nations associated against Germany cannot be expected to agree to a cessation of arms," he warned, "while acts of inhumanity, spoliation, and desolation are being continued which they justly look upon with horror and with burning hearts." Finally, Wilson stressed that the whole process of making peace would, in his opinion, depend upon the satisfactory character of the guarantees which can be given concerning the altered nature of the German government.[108]

This was a stiffer reply than Wilson's first note. The change of tone was greeted with some sarcasm at Downing Street and there was even some criticism of the note's strictness, particularly in regard to Wilson's uncompromising attitude toward the Hohenzollerns. There was also continued resentment of Wilson's failure to consult the Allies. On the other hand, as far as Wilson's remarks about armistice conditions were concerned, the note seemed more satisfactory, and the War Cabinet decided that there was no need for the Foreign Office to send any message with reference to the President's reply.[109]

It was the German government which once again provoked the British to give the President some direct advice. The third German note, dated 20 October, began as follows:

In accepting the proposal for an evacuation of the occupied territories the German Government has started from the assumption that the procedure of this evacuation and of the conditions of an armistice should be left to the judgment of the military advisors and that the actual standard of power on both sides in the field has to form the basis for arrangements safeguarding and guaranteeing this standard. The German Government suggests to the President to bring about an opportunity for fixing the details.[110]

This passage was discussed by the British Cabinet on 21 October. It was suggested that the German government still assumed that the evacuation only applied to the occupied territory and not to territory such as Alsace-Lorraine and the Trentino. It was pointed out that President Wilson's second note had not, in fact, definitely cleared up this matter. He said that the "process of evacuation and the conditions of an armistice" must be left to Allied and American military experts, but the question arose as to whether the President's phrase could be fairly interpreted in a way which

would enable the military advisers of the associated governments to insist upon the evacuation of districts such as Alsace-Lorraine, the Trentino, Istria, and so on. It was felt that the Germans interpreted Wilson's phrase as applying only to the occupied territories. Vagueness on this point seemed dangerous. The correspondence between Washington and Berlin "might become damaging to public opinion in allied countries," and could be used in Germany to stiffen morale.

It was also observed that none of the German notes contained anything about naval terms of an armistice, although it was suggested that military terms might be interpreted as including naval terms. Other aspects of the German note were criticized, as well, but on the whole it was felt that, if satisfactory conditions of an armistice could be obtained, the remaining points would not in themselves justify prolonging hostilities.

The question was raised as to whether the Allied governments would be committed to the Fourteen Points if Wilson now accepted the German proposals. It was generally agreed that the Allies would not stand committed in that event. Moreover, according to the War Cabinet minutes, "the view was expressed that President Wilson was not at all likely to agree to the German terms." The War Cabinet, however, felt that the President should be immediately notified of the British government's views about armistice conditions, and after considerable discussion, a draft telegram by Balfour was adopted.

The message was sent to Washington in the early evening of 21 October. It pointed out that the Germans had not mentioned naval terms and that they were assuming that an undisturbed retreat to their frontier had been accepted in principle. "We are well aware," the telegram stated, "that this is not the President's view." It then explained that British experts believed that such a policy would give the Germans "time to reorganise, and a short and very defensible front." If peace negotiations broke down under such conditions, for example on questions like Alsace-Lorraine or Poland, the Allies would be compelled either to give way or to resume hostilities against an enemy who was in an improved position. The Germans would feel that they were fighting for their fatherland. Furthermore, what would inspire German troops, the telegram suggested, "would discourage ours; and all the fruits of victory would be lost." Any armistice must contain securities against the resumption of hostilities if peace negotiations break down, and probably also against violation of the final peace treaty. In the opinion of British experts, this required (a) the immediate occupation by Allied troops of some enemy territory, including at least Alsace-Lorraine, and (b) adequate precautions against the resumption of naval warfare. The telegram concluded by expressing the hope that the President would not commit himself on these vital questions without previous consultation with the Allies.[112]

Wilson replied to the German note on the twenty-third without consulting the Allies, but his answer satisfied the British as far as armistice conditions were concerned. Wilson agreed to take up the question of an armistice with the associated governments, but he made it clear that the only armistice which could be considered would leave the associated governments with an indisputable upper hand. The President's reply also indicated that he was transmitting his correspondence with the German authorities to the associated governments with a far-reaching suggestion. If those powers were disposed to "effect peace upon the terms and principles" expressed in his speeches, their military advisers, together with American advisers, should submit armistice conditions which would "ensure to the associated Governments the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace..." In conclusion, the President had some more harsh things to say about "those who have hitherto been the masters of German policy," and he again said that America could only deal

with the veritable representatives of the German people. If the United States had to deal with the military masters and autocrats, it must demand, not negotiations, but surrender.[113]

At a War Cabinet meeting on 24 October, Lloyd George said that he welcomed the terms of Wilson's reply and liked the tenor of the President's proposals. According to the minutes, he explained:

If Germany meant peace she would accept, and the acceptance would be equivalent to military surrender. If on the other hand, the Germans want to continue the war, they would now be compelled to continue the war upon a refusal to accept the armistice terms proposed by the Allies jointly.

General Wilson expressed his apprehension that the President's note would be construed as meaning that he would grant easier terms if he were dealing with a constitutional regime in Germany. The Prime Minister, however, thought that apprehension was unnecessary on this point, because the President had made it clear in the first part of his note that even if he were dealing with a constitutional regime, the armistice terms would amount in practice to military surrender. Austen Chamberlain, on the other hand, observed that, while there was no distinction in regard to armistice terms, a distinction was drawn in regard to ultimate peace terms.[114] Thereafter, being assured that the President's position was fully satisfactory as far as armistice conditions were concerned, the focus of the British government's concern turned to Wilson's peace program.

85 Rudin, 1944: pp. 80 and 89
86 For British enquiries about Wilson's forthcoming reply, see F.O. 371/3444/157260/168439; Frazier to Lansing 7 Oct,. 1918, Foreign Relations, 1918, Supplement 1, 1: p. 344.
87 Calwell, 1927: pp, 134-135.
88 Scott, 1921: pp. 418-419
89 J.C.C. Davidson remembered a tirade about "honesty and fair dealing in international relations" which Lloyd George delivered (while standing on a golf tee) to an official of the United States Embassy in Paris. Davidson confused the occasion with Wilson's announcement of his Fourteen Points, but he caught the relish with which Lloyd George expressed his indignation. James, 1969: pp.85-86. See also Hankey, 1961: 2: p.854
90 See p. 75 above. Actually Wilson's "allusion" to Alsace-Lorraine was not significantly more "uncertain" than Lloyd George's demand for "reconsideration" of the question.
91 Proces-verbal of a conference held on 9 Oct, 1918, CAB 28/5/81.
92 Gollin, 1964: pp. 569-574
93 CAB 24/65/5883.
94 Bonar Law was more concerned than Lloyd George about the need to maintain smooth relations with Wilson. See Callwell, 1927: p. 133. The Foreign Office and Lord Reading, or course, were also very concerned. On 7 Oct., Cecil had sent an urgent cable from Paris to Drummond about the lack of an authoritative representative of the president in Europe. "...Lloyd George and Clemenceau," he observed, "vie with one another in scoffing at the President..." To avoid misunderstandings, Cecil wanted Wilson himself to come to Europe. Balfour Papers, Add. MSS. 49738. Balfour pointed out to Cecil that it would be impossible for Wilson to leave the United States before the congressional elections in November. Telegram to Lord Derby for Cecil, 8 Oct,, 1918, Balfour Papers, Add. MSS. 49738.
95 CAB 28/5/81/Appendix II.
96 Foreign Relations, 1918. Supplement 1, 1: pp. 353-354. For a report by Frazier of a conversation with Lloyd George and Bonar Law about British anxieties, see pp. 351-352.
97 Telegram from Barclay, 10 Oct., 1918, F.O. 371/3444/157260/170667.
98 Rudin, 1944: pp. 92-96.
99 Telegrams from Barclay, received 10 Oct., 1918. F.O. 371/3442/62451/169742, 169743; telegram to Barclay 10 Oct, 1918., F.O. 371/3442/62451/169743; War Cabinet minutes, 11 Oct, 1918, CAB 23/8/484/3; telegram from Reading for Wiseman, 12 Oct., 1918, F.O. 800/225; telegram to Barclay, 13 Oct, 1918, F.O. 371/3444/157260/171764; telegram from Wiseman for Reading and Drummond, 13 Oct., 1918, F.O. 800/225.
100 Scott, 1921: pp 420-421
101 Riddell, 1933: pp 370-371
102 Draft notes of a conference at Danny Park, 13 Oct, 1918, CAB 24/66/5967
103 Telegram to Barclay, no 6182, 13 Oct, 1918, F.O. 371/3444/157260/171765. Another cable urging essentially the same action was sent to Wiseman for House. Telegram from Reading to Wiseman, 13 Oct, 1918, F.O. 800/225.
104 Telegram to Barclay, no 6183, 13 Oct, 1918, F.O. 371/3444/157260/171765. Balfour simultaneously sent an additional cable (no. 6184) which reported information that the Germans were resolved to keep Alsace-Lorraine and all Polish areas. "Inference is," he pointed out, "that they hope both to accept President's terms and to dispute in Peace Conference over interpretation even of the conditions which seem to be most explicitly stated."
105 CAB 24/66/5967
106 For a discussion of possible pitfalls in Wilson's fifth point from the British government's perspective, see the memorandum by the Political Intelligence Department on "President Wilson's Speeches as a basis of Negotiation," 12 Oct,. 1918 CAB 24/67/6012.
107 CAB 23/8/485/8.
108 Scott, 1921: pp 421-423. The substance of this reply had probably been formulated before the British notes of 13 Oct were delivered to the president. See Baker, 1939: 8: pp476-479.
109 Roskill, 1970: 1: p. 614; Callwell, 1927: p. 136; Jones, 1969: 1: pp.67-70; War Cabinet minutes, 15 Oct, 1918, CAB 23/8/486/5; Austen Chamberlain to his wife, Ivy, 16 Oct., 1918, Austen chamberlain Papers, AC 6/1/319.
110 Rudin, 1944: pp. 164-165.
111 CAB 23/14/489A
112 F.O. 371/3444/157260/175883.
113 Scott, 1921: pp 434-436.
114 CAB 23/8/490/1.

Draft Notes of a Conference held at Danny, Sussex, on Sunday, October 13th, 1918 at 2.30 p.m.

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-SECRET-

T. 5967 WAR CABINET.
PRESENT

The Prime Minister (In the Chair).

The Right Hon. A. Bonar Law, M.P.,
Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Right Hon. A.J. Balfour, O.M., M.P.,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. Viscount Milner, G.C.B.,
G.C.M.G., Secretary of State for War.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Reading, G.C.B.,
K.C.V.O., K.C., His Majesty's High Commissioner
and Special Ambassador to the United States of America.

The Right Hon. W.S. Churchill, M.P.,
Minister of Munitions.

Admiral Sir R. B. Wemyss, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O.,
First Sea Lord and Chief of the Naval Staff.

General Sir H.H. Wilson, K.C.B., D.S.O.,
Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

Mr. Phillip Kerr.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir M.P.A Hankey, K.C.B., Secretary.

THE GERMAN REPLY TO PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE.

THE PRIME MINISTER said that he had summoned this Conference to consider two points:-
(1) The next step which the Allies should take
(2) What communication should be made to the Press.

THE PRIME MINISTER said that, as regards the second point, it appeared to him necessary to indicate to the Press that President Wilson was alone responsible for the negotiations up to this point; also that we could not accept the principle of the Freedom of the Seas included in the "Fourteen Points"; and that the guarantees for agreeing an armistice must be greater than mere evacuation of the occupied territories. The Germans, he pointed out, were now in a panic. If they could not obtain a respite they might suffer disaster. On the contrary, if they could gain some respite they might obtain time to re-organise and recover.

LORD MILNER said that the Press ought not to be encouraged to discuss the Fourteen Points at all, but only the conditions of an armistice.

Mr BALFOUR pointed out the difficulty that the terms of an armistice must be made so stiff as to prevent any renewal of hostilities. There were several additional terms that would have to be included in the final Peace over and above President Wilson's Fourteen Points: for example, ton-for-ton, and punishment for the crimes of Germany in the War. If we were to grant an armistice, would not Germany say that we were precluded from raising any fresh points beyond President Wilson's Fourteen Points?

THE PRIME MINISTER said that President Wilson had practically promised to suggest an armistice on the condition that the occupied territories were evacuated. That, at any rate, was the natural interpretation of his Note by the ordinary man.

LORD MILNER expressed the view that all President Wilson had said was that the enemy must evacuate the occupied territories before he would even propose an armistice. (President Wilson's reply to the German appeal for an armistice was then read to the Conference, and there was some discussion as to the precise significance of his words.)

THE PRIME MINISTER said that, in the circumstances, we were practically bound to demand disarmament as a condition of an armistice.

Mr CHURCHILL said that, taking into account the number of guns that the Germans had captured, and their present output, they would be able rapidly to recuperate.

GENERAL WILSON said that the enemy were short of supplies for the length of line they were holding today. In order to hold the shortest defensive line on the Western Front, however, their material might prove sufficient. In his view, "Pile your arms" should be the main condition of the armistice.

Mr CHURCHILL pointed out the difficulty on our side of starting again once an armistice had been entered into. Even after disarmament, the enemy would still be

able to maintain a very formidable front if they decided to start on a purely defensive form of warfare. It was impossible to stop the production of armaments until a real guarantee was obtained that fighting could not start again.

THE PRIME MINISTER then raised the question as to whether it was desirable, at the present time, to have peace at all.

Mr BALFOUR said that, if a conclusive peace could be obtained, it was; otherwise it was not.

THE PRIME MINISTER then raised for consideration the question as to whether the actual military defeat of Germany and the giving to the German people of a real taste of war was not more important, from the point of view of the peace of the world, than a surrender at the present time when the German Armies were still on foreign territory. Up to the present the fighting this year had really been ding-dong, and there was no very great difference between the numbers of prisoners and guns taken by the enemy and the Allies. Was it, he asked, worth stopping the fighting unless Germany was really badly beaten?

Mr BONAR LAW asked whether any terms could be more complete than those imposed on Bulgaria, which might also be imposed on Germany? If the troops had to leave their guns and rifles behind, the defeat would be as complete as anyone could wish.

Mr BALFOUR said that the main test of victory was territory. If Germany was stripped of Alsace-Lorraine, which she had always asseverated she would never surrender; if she was stripped of German Poland, including even Posen as well as half of Silesia; if she was stripped of half the areas in which were produced her steel and coal, the War could never be represented in Germany as anything but a complete defeat. This appeared to him far more important than the bombarding of new German towns, although he admitted he would like to have seen this. In addition to what he had mentioned, Austria, Germany's principal ally, would have been destroyed.

THE PRIME MINISTER pointed out that, if peace were made now, the Allies would not have occupied a yard of German soil. While pointing out that historical comparisons were not always very valuable, he compared the present situation to the Second Punic War. The Romans might have made peace by insisting on Carthage clearing out of Italy and Spain. The Romans, however, said that this was not enough, that they must actually invade Carthaginian territory and achieve victory on Carthaginian soil. History has shown that they were right.

Mr BALFOUR hoped that this analogy, which might be summed up in the words "delenda est Carthago", should not be used in public.

GENERAL WILSON, in reply to a question as to what it would mean to force the War on to German soil, replied that the present opportunity of disarming Germany now should be taken. Otherwise the Germans would put up a great fight on their own frontier, and he wished to put this out of their power.

THE PRIME MINISTER pointed out that, if peace were made now, in twenty years'

time the Germans would say what Carthage had said about the First Punic War, namely, that they had made this mistake and that mistake, and that by better preparation and organisation they would be able to bring about victory next time.

Mr CHURCHILL suggested that if the Freedom of the Seas was whittled down to our interpretation, and the remainder of the Fourteen Points were screwed up to the interpretation we wished put upon them, the situation would be all right. What he feared, however, was that the Germans were putting their construction on all the points, including Freedom of the Seas. They would also insist that all the Fourteen Points held together, and that they could not use them as a basis for peace unless they were all adopted with their interpretation. If they did this, and meantime re-organised their military power, we should have to order the Allied Armies to advance, and this would be a very difficult thing to do while the Germans were sitting still and saying that they were quite prepared to carry out President Wilson's Fourteen Points according to their own interpretation.

Mr BONAR LAW pointed out that this was not quite Mr Lloyd George's point. What he wanted to know was whether, if the Germans accepted terms so humiliating as the laying down of their arms, would the humiliation be sufficient to prevent them from making war in the future.

THE PRIME MINISTER pointed out that in a short time the Germans would say that these miserable democrats had taken charge and had become panic-stricken, and the military party would get in power again. The question arose as to whether we ought not to inflict an even more humiliating defeat on them.

Mr BONAR LAW said there were two points:–
(1) Whether any Peace negotiated now could be sufficiently humiliating to crush Prussian militarism;
(2) Whether, after once entering into an armistice, we could get the Allied Armies to fight again.

Mr BALFOUR repeated that he rather differed from the Prime Minister on the first point. It appeared to him a far greater defeat to give up territory, such as Alsace-Lorraine, which they had held for 40 years; Posen and Silesia, which they had held for 130 years; to see her principal Ally, Austria, smashed for ever; and to lose her Colonies; than merely to be beaten on German soil. These four points would provide to the world proofs of a crushing defeat. Perhaps Posen would be the greatest defeat of all, but (THE PRIME MINISTER having said that he did not believe the Germans would give up Posen) even without Posen the other three surrenders would be a crushing defeat.

Mr BONAR LAW said he would add to the four points the equivalent, in reparation to damaged territory, of a vast indemnity.

LORD MILNER expressed the view that German militarism was already overthrown.

GENERAL WILSON said that, from a military point of view, he could imagine no greater degradation than for the Armies to lay down their arms in foreign territory.

ADMIRAL WEMYSS expressed entire agreement with General Wilson, but urged

that the disarming of the Fleet must also be included.

SIR MAURICE HANKEY reminded the Conference that, in the early part of the War, it had always been suggested that the Kiel Canal ought to be held by the Allies as the condition of an armistice.

Mr CHURCHILL said this was a matter of great importance.

THE PRIME MINISTER summed up by saying that the Conference were all of them evidently opposed to his idea that it was necessary, in order to inflict sufficient humiliation, to defeat the enemy on German soil. He wished to remind them, however, that at the moment an armistice was entered into we were absolutely done.

Mr CHURCHILL agreed, unless we had the Kiel Canal or some great bridgehead in our possession.

THE PRIME MINISTER said that second point was as to what steps should now be taken. Should the Allies wait until they heard from President Wilson, or should they proceed at once to France, or should they send a communication to President Wilson?

ADMIRAL WEMYSS said that, from the Naval point of view, the great difficulty arose over the Freedom of the Seas. He had had this question examined from every point of view, and it was clear that the step was directed absolutely against the British Navy. If it were adopted we should lose enormously in prestige, and enormously in power. What it really meant was that sea communications could not be attacked, while on shore they could. If Freedom of the Seas were accepted, Germany could take an expedition unmolested as far as the limit of territorial waters of England or any of her coaling stations, anchor outside territorial waters, and land her troops. Theoretically, up to this point we should not be entitled to interfere with her. In reply to the Prime Minister, he said that Germany would also be in a position to obtain rubber, and the blockade would become a thing of the past.

THE PRIME MINISTER said that this was very important, since blockade had been the primary factor in defeating Austria and a very important one in defeating Germany.

Mr CHURCHILL pointed out that blockade cut both ways. The German submarine so-called blockade had made a great drain upon our military resources, and reduced us probably by some 30 Divisions.

Mr BALFOUR said the question could not be discussed from a historic point of view, because President Wilson looked at the question of Freedom of the Seas entirely from the point of view of the League of Nations. There was no doubt about the German interpretation of "Freedom of the Seas", which was that it meant that no power should remain with us which would give us any advantage at sea, and they even demanded the abandonment of such places as Gibraltar. The Americans, however, as he understood the matter, had never advocated the abolition of blockade
.
THE PRIME MINISTER then read the actual words of President Wilson's statement on the Freedom of the Seas, which were as follows:-
"Absolutely freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in

peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

Mr BALFOUR suggested that we should not object to the Freedom of the Seas if the League of Nations had stopped all wars. He asked if any case could be quoted in such circumstances where we should be put at a disadvantage.

ADMIRAL WEMYSS read an extract from a Memorandum he had prepared on the subject.

SIR MAURICE HANKEY suggested that the answer to Mr Balfour's question was that the League of Nations might collapse within an hour or two, whereas sea-power could only be exercised by years of preparation. If, therefore, we allowed our sea-power and our means of enforcing it to dwindle, trusting in the League of Nations, we might find ourselves at a great disadvantage when the League of Nations collapsed, which even its staunchest advocates, like Lord Robert Cecil, admitted it might.

Mr CHURCHILL asked what would be our position if, at the end of the present War, after we had entered into a League of Nations, India gave trouble: should we be hauled up before a League of Nations before we could deal with it?

Mr BALFOUR said that this was not the case, and that in the case of India, Ireland, and other territory, our hands would be perfectly free.

THE PRIME MINISTER said that there were now two questions to be answered. The first was, should we assent to President Wilson's first proposition, that we should be willing to discuss Peace on the basis that we accept all the Fourteen Points? He pointed out that, if we did accept, the implication would be that we agreed in them. Germany had accepted the Fourteen Points and had assumed that we did also.

Mr BALFOUR said we could not possibly assent to them.

THE PRIME MINISTER said the second point was that the Germans assumed that President Wilson had laid down conditions for an armistice. There were two assumptions that might be made. The first was that President Wilson did not agree with the German contention that he had laid down the conditions of an armistice. The second assumption was that he did agree.

Mr BONAR LAW pointed out that President Wilson, by his Note to the Allies, had already made it clear that he did not accept the German contention.

Mr BALFOUR said that the answer to the first point raised by the Prime Minister was that we did not accept the Fourteen Points. On the second point, it was clear that we could not accept President Wilson's conditions as representing the terms of an armistice.

Mr CHURCHILL said he saw great difficulties about not agreeing to the Fourteen Points, which had a very presentable appearance to the world.

Mr BALFOUR, reverting to the question of the Fourteen Points, raised two questions:–

(1) Ought we not to add to the Fourteen Points: for example, the question of Ton-for-Ton:
(2) Did we ourselves know what interpretation we put on them?

THE PRIME MINISTER drew attention to No.3:
"The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance." President Wilson was a Free Trader pure and simple, and this was certainly a disputable point.

Mr BALFOUR said what President Wilson failed to understand was that, however successful a League of Nations might be, there must be a transition period while it was being established.

Mr CHURCHILL said that he would accept the Fourteen Points, provided we could place our own interpretation on them.

LORD READING suggested that President Wilson should be asked at once to send over Colonel House, or some other person who had his whole mind, in order to give an explanation of the Fourteen Points. At present they were much too vague. Would it be possible, he asked, for the British Government to assent to these Fourteen Points without even knowing what they meant? At any rate, they could not allow such points as reparation for seamen, which we had stated in our own terms, to be omitted.

THE PRIME MINISTER said we must formulate our own conditions.

LORD READING pointed out there would be a great outcry by the public if the British Government accepted Freedom of the Seas.

THE PRIME MINISTER said that then we must add to the Fourteen Points Naval reparation for the sinking of merchant ships, and for the families of seamen. This was a thing the people would fight for.

Mr BALFOUR then read the telegram sent to Washington as the result of the Allied Conference in Paris, putting the point of view of the Allies in regard to the armistice.

THE PRIME MINISTER said that this telegram put our point of view very clearly, and President Wilson had accepted it.

GENERAL WILSON suggested that the next step was for President Wilson to notify us that now he would like to know the conditions of an armistice.

THE PRIME MINISTER suggested that, before doing so, he ought to telegraph to the Central Powers at once that they were wrong in assuming that the evacuation of the occupied territories was the condition of an armistice. He thought we should tell President Wilson that at once.

LORD READING said that, on the previous day, he had communicated with Sir William Wiseman, putting the Prime Minister's point of view. We might assume, therefore, that President Wilson knew what he felt.

THE PRIME MINISTER said that, in reply to a telegram from Sir Eric Geddes asking him what line he was to take up in a speech to be made in America on October 14, he had warned him that he should on no account express approval or disapproval of President Wilson's Note to Germany.

LORD READING proposed that the Government should make a suggestion to President Wilson as to what was in their minds. Otherwise he was afraid lest President Wilson might act prematurely. He was rather in the habit of retiring into his room and working alone. Moreover, he probably believed that he was manoeuvring Germany into a difficult situation. We did not want him to come to us and ask us for the terms of an armistice before he had made it quite clear to Germany that his previous Note had not laid down the conditions of an armistice. On September 27 the President had prepared the way for stiff conditions by stating that Germany could not be trusted and that we must have adequate guarantees, etc. What we now wanted him to do was to telegraph to Germany saying that, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, he considered it necessary to notify them that his Note had not stated the conditions of an armistice, and that these would depend mainly upon military considerations. The Germans might say that they were willing to submit to onerous terms, but that they would not disarm until they knew how much was to be left to them. The next question, perhaps, was to ask President Wilson what additional terms were to be added to the Fourteen Points, and what was the meaning of these Points.

THE PRIME MINISTER said that all this discussion brought him back to his old view, that the important thing was to have a very carefully drawn armistice.

Mr CHURCHILL suggested that the conditions of the armistice should be entirely disabling, and that Germany should be asked to put the worst construction on her ultimate fate.

Mr BALFOUR agreed that, even so, additions would be required.

THE PRIME MINISTER agreed that we must add articles dealing with the maritime situation.

LORD READING repeated his proposal to get some American, whom the President could trust, sent over.

THE PRIME MINISTER pointed out that this meant postponing the decision for some three weeks.

Mr CHURCHILL said that public opinion would not stand a delay of three weeks. The next step, therefore, was to get President Wilson to do what we wish.
(At this point an adjournment was made for half an hour, while Mr Balfour and others prepared specimen draft telegrams as a basis of discussion.)

On re-assembly:
Mr BALFOUR said that, since the adjournment, he had received, from a very secret but absolutely reliable source, information to the effect that, as late as October 9, the Germans, while contemplating the acceptance of President Wilson's terms, were resolved not to surrender the whole of Alsace-Lorraine, or the whole of the Polish

areas. The inference, he pointed out, was that they hoped both to accept President Wilson's terms and to argue at the Peace Conference over the interpretation even of those conditions which appeared to be most explicitly stated. The German Press had been asked not to discuss single points raised by President Wilson, but German agents in certain neutral countries had been warned to take the line that it was impossible, on economic grounds, for the Germans to retire from the whole of Alsace-Lorraine, which was the main source of raw materials for their steel industry, while for political reasons they would not retire from Poland.

THE PRIME MINISTER pointed out that this supported what he had said, that Germany would never evacuate Poland. After some discussion, the Conference agreed that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs should send two telegrams to Washington, for the President of the United States, in the following sense:—

(i) Acceptance of Peace Terms by Germany. It is presumed that the President in his answer to Germany will make it clear that he never had in mind the granting of an armistice simply on an undertaking by Germany to retire from occupied territory. His telegram to the Allies, stating clearly that this was merely the condition necessarily precedent to the informing of the Associated Governments by the President of the German proposals, makes this of course evident. We are doubtful, however, if Germany appreciates that the sole terms on which the Associated Powers will agree to a discontinuance of hostilities must be those which will, in the opinion of experts, not only Military but Naval, make the resumption of hostilities by the Central Powers impossible. We consider it most important that the Government of Germany should be at once publicly informed exactly how the case stands.

(ii) It appears that Germany has accepted the Fourteen Points laid down by President Wilson and supplemented by his later speeches. We are in full agreement with the general tenor of the President's policy. It has, however, to be observed (1) that the Associated Powers have never discussed these points, (2) that some of them can be interpreted in various ways, to certain of which we should have strong objection; (3) that probably there are other terms to which the President has not referred (as, for example, those dealing with outrages on shipping) which must be included if full justice is to be exacted. To us it would seem that care must be taken that the conditions of an armistice do not deprive the Allies of the freedom of action necessary at the Peace Conference in the settlement of final terms; also that the principal belligerent Powers should immediately take steps among themselves to arrive at an agreement on points in doubt.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.,
October 14, 1918.

Extracts from "Country Life" magazine, October 19th 1918

DANNY, SUSSEX

THE SEAT OF COL. CAMPION, WHERE THE PREMIER HAS BEEN SPENDING HIS AUTUMN HOLIDAY.

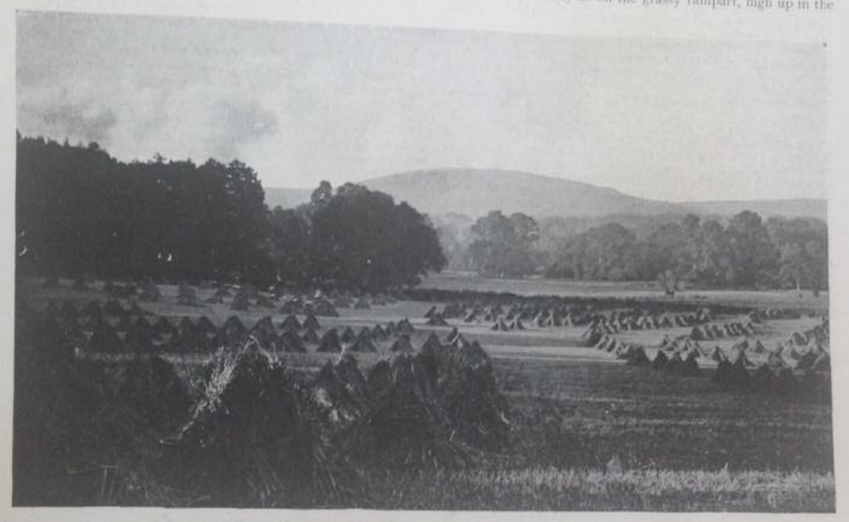
MR. LLOYD GEORGE chose for his autumn holiday a house not only pleasantly situated, but enriched with memories going back to its building in the spacious days of great Queen Bess. At that time the charm of the Downs and woodlands of Sussex appear to have dawned very decidedly upon the great families. There is a cluster of fine houses all lying within reach of Danny. Such is Wiston, in the time of Fuller a seat of the Shirleys, the most notable of whom was Sir Anthony Shirley, who has an important place among the worthies of England. Parham, Cuckfield and Arundel are among the others. Families have changed, but it is possible even at this long distance to form an idea of the jovial life of those country squires in the beautiful and remote mansions they built for themselves at a time when sport and hospitality went hand in hand. Contemporaneously with the building of the big houses there seems to have been a similar movement on the part of the yeoman, who formed part of the same class. What it was like comes out in the history of the Wars of the Commonwealth, when neighbour was arrayed against neighbour and in some cases one member of a family against another. Even a civil war could not obliterate the kindly hospitable habits of the men of Sussex. A characteristic story told in Mr. Thomas Stanford's "Sussex in the Great Civil War, 1642-1660" throws a world of light on the habits of the great squires as they had been for centuries. When Sir William Campion, before the Campions came into possession of Danny, was defending Borstall against the Parliamentarians there was an exchange of courtesies between him and the Parliamentarian Commander, Major Shilbourne, which illustrates the good feeling which in those times withstood the strain of a four years' war. A letter is printed from Major Shilbourne to Sir William Campion in which he offers him "a rundlet of sack." "Sir, I assure you there is none in this towne worth sending to soe gallant an enemy as yourselfe, but I have sent to London for a rundlet of the best that can be got, and so soone as it comes to my hands I shall present it to you. For the meantime, Col. Theed hath sent you a taste of the best that is in Brill. I should be very happy if wee might meete and drink a bottle or two of wine with you. If it be not allowed your condition to honour me with soe high a favour, the civilities I have received engage me to acknowledge myself to be, Sir, your Servant, Thos. Shilbourne." Sir William Campion accepted this attention in the spirit in which it was delivered. His letter in reply is a model of its kind and will be read with all the more interest by those who deplore the harsher manner and more acrid sentiment of opposing officers after our four years of war. Here is the letter: "I did tell your trumpet, that if you would send us some sacke, we would drinke your health: but you have expressed yourselfe soe faire, that I am afraid I shall not suddenly be able to requite it, nevertheless I shall let slip noe opportunity for meeting of you. I should be glad to embrace an occasion, but by reason of the condition wee are in, I know it would not be consonant with myne honour. . . . But, if you please to favour me with your company here (which I am confident may be done without any prejudice at all to either) you and your friends shall receive the best entertainment the garrison can afforde, and a safe returne and you shall much oblige him who is desirous to be esteemed of you." In commenting upon this correspondence the editor of the volume dwells very justly on "the great and remarkable humanity with which this war was conducted in an age not generally distinguished by a too squeamish delicacy." We may infer without the possibility of error that the ancestors of men like these were never forgetful of the rights of hospitality,

THE HALL.

nor, on the other hand, were the inferior gentry, the little yeomen who dwelt in happy independence in houses of their own. Rumour says, in fact, that if they have exceeded at all it was in the fervour with which they exchanged such courtesies. Much is altered now, but not in the hearts of the squires and yeomen of Sussex. For a further account of Danny and of the houses in the neighbourhood it would be sufficient to refer our readers to back numbers of COUNTRY LIFE, and for the outdoor charm there is nothing which better expresses it than the passage from Richard Jefferies explaining what he felt on a summer day on Wolstonbury Hill, at the foot of which Danny is built.

"On a summer's day Wolstonbury Hill is an island in sunshine; you may lie on the grassy rampart, high up in the most delicate air—quick air, pellucid—alone among the butterflies and humming bees at the thyme, alone and isolated, endless masses of hills on three sides, endless weald and valley on the fourth; all warmly lit with sunshine, deep under liquid sunshine like sands under the liquid sea, no harshness of man-made sound to break the isolation amid nature on an island in the far Pacific of sunshine."

A Prime Minister cannot, in times like these, retire into complete loneliness, and we may hazard the conjecture that the deliberations which have taken place within the walls of Danny will hold an important place in the history of the great war.



WOLSTONBURY HILL FROM A DANNY HARVEST FIELD.

IVINGHOE

Round Ivinghoe the lanes are red
With swollen fruit of rose and may,
And autumn branches in the woods
Drop rainbow-gold the livelong day.
With silver tufts of Traveller's Joy
The long hedgerows are garlanded,
And orange poison-berries swing
Like little lanterns on a thread.

I met a maid near Ivinghoe—
A dryad girl, I think, was she;
In her brown, narrow hands she held
The berries of the spindle-tree.
Her hair was darker than the thorn,
Her mouth was crimson as the may,
Her eyes were like the changing leaves
Upon the oak-trees on the way.

She gave me neither word nor smile—
She looked at me and I at her;
I turned and stood to watch her pass
Upon the road to Wendover.
The autumn sky is broad and cold
As lonely on my way I go,
And bleak winds cry disconsolate
Round Ivinghoe, round Ivinghoe.

IANTHE JERROLD.

A Play written by Kevin Carey of Hurstpierpoint in 2018 - "Winning the Peace"

Foreword

Robert Harris, the noted author of historic novels, has formulated the rule that nothing should be said nor done which is not possible. I have adhered to that rule in this work, noting that the more we know the less room there is for the imagination. Nonetheless, no matter how strictly I have adhered to my sources, this is a drama, not a documentary, in which I have made use of most of the material available but not all of it because a play, whose lines are only heard once, is incapable of handling some of the minutiae which naturally engaged politicians. It is also important to point out that the Minutes which constitute the basis of Act Two, if accurate (in the sense of substance as opposed to style) and recorded in the order in which remarks were made, present a badly chaired discussion which leaps from topic to topic in a way that Harold Pinter might find useful but which this kind of play does not. While staying faithful to the main arguments and their outcomes, therefore, I have marshalled the points into a coherent series of topics.

While taking all responsibility for any factual errors, I wish to thank Alex Latto, Colin & Judith Brent, and Richard Burrows for their invaluable assistance in providing me with source material and advice on its interpretation, and my wife Margaret for helping with the script.

Kevin Carey
Hurstpierpoint
7.ii.2018

FOR RICHARD BURROWS

Dramatis Personae

In order of appearance

William Grimson - Butler at Danny House
Anne Dunn - Cook at Danny House.
Daisy Randall - daughter of Mr. Randall
Gertrude Campion - Wife of William Campion, owner of Danny Park
A Soldier
A Sailor
An Airman
'Colonel' William Campion - an honorary title, owner of Danny Park
Arthur Balfour - Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Andrew Bonar Law - Chancellor of the Exchequer
David Lloyd George - Prime Minister
Mr. Randall - Leading Hurstpierpoint trader and Liberal
Frances Stevenson - Secretary to and secret mistress of Lloyd George
Philip Kerr - Private Secretary to Lloyd George.
Winston Churchill - Minister for Munitions
Viscount Milner - Minister of War
Earl Reading - British Ambassador to the United States
Sir Maurice Hankey - Cabinet Secretary
General Wilson - Chief of the Imperial General Staff
Admiral Wemyss - First Sea Lord

Winning the Peace: The Danny Armistice

Act One - Danny House Garden, August 8th, 1918

(Military brass band music fades, a low, distant roar is heard.
Enter William Grimson and Anne Dunn)

Grimson: It's been going on for almost two years now but I still can't get over the sound of the guns.
Dunn: I can't hear anything.
Grimson: No, you silly thing! I'm not talking about individual reports but a constant, low roar that fizzes under your feet.
Dunn: Oh, that explains everything. I have felt something queer ever since I arrived and now I know what it is. But don't call me "silly". We learn from experience.
Grimson: Well, you will get used to it soon enough but now there's no time to loiter. The Colonel will want me to be in attendance when the bigwigs arrive and you need to get back to your kitchen if all the cake is to be delivered in time.

(Roaring fades as military brass band music fades up then fades.
Enter Gertrude Campion and Daisy Randall)

Daisy: Just think, almost four years ago to the day we were all saying that the War would be all over by Christmas; and now here we are enjoying ourselves when more than 70 Hurst men have been killed and twice as many wounded. It doesn't feel right Mrs. Campion.
Gertrude: Try not to be too hard on yourself, or anyone else, Daisy. Life has to go on as death goes on. Anyway, this Danny Garden Party is for a good cause and with so much sadness and difficulty about it is not reasonable to ask for generosity without providing a little pleasure.
Daisy: But I feel so torn. Naturally I want to dance with handsome young men in smart uniforms. All girls like to have their dance cards full but I can't help wondering whether this will be the last time I see some of them.
Gertrude: I do not mean this unkindly, Daisy, but surely the point is to make the young men happy. If some of them may not come back, they are entitled to a good time while they are here. It is our duty to help them to blot out their precarious futures for a few hours at least. Then there are those who want to forget, many of whom have life changing injuries. They need a little comfort and encouragement and you are just the person. The stalls may remind the wounded of the front but we must send comforts to the troops such as socks, ointment, tobacco and chocolate. Heaven knows, it has been difficult enough scraping things together to sell. There is enough money about with so many women supplementing the income of their menfolk but the more money there is, the less there is to buy. So many ships are being sunk that I am not at all surprised rationing has come in. Cook got her new combined Ration Book yesterday. Soon there will be no spare butter or margarine for garden party cakes, so we better make the best of it.
Daisy: I'm sorry Mrs. Campion - It was thoughtless of me - but The War has changed so much that it is hard to know where to begin. We have all been wrenched out of our comfortable ways, even without the loss of loved ones.
Gertrude: Yes, even losing one son, the Colonel and I have been lucky so far but it may not hold. There is a rumour that we are winning but we have heard such rumours before; and if this one is false, my boys may not escape their turn at the front.
Daisy: My father says that if anybody can settle matters quickly in favour of the Empire it's Lloyd George.
Gertrude: Naturally, being an Empire Liberal, he would say that but we must not argue about politics. If coalition is good enough for our political leaders it should be good enough for us. The Colonel and I are glad enough to de-camp to Hove so that the Prime Minister and his colleagues can take some rest here. They deserve all the peace and comfort they can get and that is more important than party politics.
Daisy: I can't get over how cheerful the Prime Minister looks amid all his difficulties. Almost every day he comes smiling down the High Street, a glint in his eye, never forgetting to raise his hat to the humblest and a good word for everyone. My father says he has hardly heard a finer comedian, even at the Brighton Theatre Royal.
Gertrude: To be cheerful in the face of adversity is a great gift. We never do our best if we allow ourselves to be weighed down by our troubles, no matter how great. Last week the Prime Minister

looked very grave as he read a telegram but then he braced himself and was driven out for a round of golf. But you must say nothing, Daisy. It amazes me that the whereabouts of the Prime Minister are largely unknown. I know the newspapers are properly discreet but it must be a great relief not to be swarmed by journalists and hangers-on.
Daisy: I won't say a word. My father is most emphatic on that point; but we are all very proud.
Gertrude: We are all doing our best to give what we can and stay cheerful. The Colonel says that we cannot imagine how dreadful it is at the front so we must bear our small difficulties with a smile.

(Enter Anne Dunn carrying cake on a tray)

Well, Anne, I am pleased to see the first batch has come out well. Put the tray over there, please.

(Exit Dunn)

Now Daisy, you have been very helpful but you must go and entertain some of our visitors and I am sure your father will want you.
Daisy: Thank you.

(Re-enter Dunn)

How much more is there to come?
Dunn: Three more batches Madam. I know there are restrictions but the Colonel's tenants have been very generous with their butter and eggs, for the right price.
Gertrude: The least said the better, Anne.
Daisy: I will come with you Anne and carry a tray so that you might be spared at least one journey.

(Exit Daisy and Dunn)

Gertrude: A nice girl but she shows every sign of being more spirited than might be good for her. But the clock cannot be put back. There has been too much sacrifice on all sides for a return to the days of Queen Victoria. With her father's business interests I daresay Daisy will pass the property qualification and vote at the next Election, probably later this year. Women have always been active on farms and in shops but there is no telling what will happen now they work in offices and factories. They may resent resuming domestic duties when the men come home. The War has done its damage everywhere. There is no knowing how the Empire will turn out and the Trade Unions will have to be given something for their co-operation with the Coalition. But I must not get things out of proportion. The Colonel says that nothing much changes over a long stretch of time and that the people who built this place at the end of Tudor times and re-modelled it in Georgian times are not very different from us. I am so weary. We are all weary. But with God's help we will stick to the task and hope for the best.

(Exit Gertrude. Military brass band music fades up then down. Enter a Soldier and a Sailor)

Soldier: Those bloody guns. They might be far away but I can still hear them banging in my head. I don't know what I would have done if I'd known in 1914 what I came to know later. I might have become a conchie!
Sailor: Treason!
Soldier: Calm down! It was a joke. I had to go because my girl said if I didn't she wouldn't marry me. So I went; and she married someone else! But what I mean is that at the beginning we marched up and down with sticks pretending they were guns and bayonets. Nothing about barrages; nothing about blasted gas; and, worst of all, nothing about mud!
Sailor: At least war at sea is proper, old fashioned, fair fighting.
Soldier: There was nothing fair about Flanders except that I got wounded twice so I'm not dead. Boredom, barrages, gas and lice. Lovely!
Sailor: I'd shake you up if I could, you young, disrespectful whippersnapper, except that I can't stop shaking. Ever since that shell exploded in the engine room I've never stopped shaking. Lucky we didn't go down so fast as I never learned to swim.
Soldier: In the Navy and never learned to swim? Well, who am I to criticise when I was sent into the trenches without learning to fight.

(Enter Daisy with a plate of cake)

Very nice. And who might you be, young lady?

Daisy: I'm Daisy. Would you like some cake?
Soldier: Anything from your fair hand.
Sailor: A pleasant sight for an old bachelor. (The Soldier takes a small cake and eats it. The sailor tries to take a cake but cannot grip it properly) Drat! I just don't seem able to grip like I used to.
Daisy: Let me break it into small pieces.
Sailor: I don't want to be fed titbits like some parrot.
Daisy: Come now. It will give me pleasure to help you and nobody can see us here. (She puts a morsel of cake into his mouth). Well, this gallant young man is here but he won't say.

Soldier: Sorry, what did you say? I can only hear properly when I'm talked to straight on. It's the guns.
Daisy: All the more reason we should look nicely at each other. Can I put you down on my card for a dance?
Soldier: Delighted, although I don't see what good I am to anyone nowadays. I don't want to feel sorry for myself but the men who haven't been to the front look much better than the ones who have.
Daisy: I prefer heroes to novices. What was it really like?
Soldier: I don't think discussing the War is suitable in mixed company. Indeed, I swear I will never discuss it again. It was unspeakable, is unspeakable and will continue to be unspeakable. Don't believe anybody who wants to tell you their story.
Sailor: That's right, lad! I can still hear the screams as she went down. I don't want to talk about it but, more difficult, I don't want to remember it. (Daisy puts another morsel of cake into the Sailors' mouth). Thanks, love.
Soldier: They said we were fighting for the Empire but when I was out with the lads in the trenches we didn't think much about the Empire, we just tried to look after each other.
Sailor: That's it! We were a tight knit crew and looked out for each other.

(Enter smartly uniformed Airman)

Soldier: God forgive me if I am wrong but I felt even more sorry for the dead horses than for my comrades. We chose to fight, after all, and our politicians chose, but the horses had no choice.
Airman: Horses! What an old fashioned idea, using cavalry in a war of aeroplanes and tanks. Up where I was you could see the whole battlefield; it was glorious.
Soldier: I daresay it was, with no mud and no gas.
Airman: Well, our casualty rate has been very high but it's still fun.

(Exit Airman)

Soldier: I'm no mathematician but a mate told me that when we fought at Ypres one man died for every three inches of ground we gained; but then we lost most of it shortly afterwards.
Sailor: It was the civilians I felt sorry for, getting sunk at sea when they had nothing to do with it; but at least that brought the Americans in. And we're supposed to be grateful when they have no ships.
Soldier: As I'm still alive I have almost stopped resenting my damaged ears. But excuse me, it's time for me to claim my dance with this nice young lady. At least you don't seem to mind my ears.

(Exit Soldier and Daisy; and Sailor separately. Military brass band music fades up, then fades down. Enter Grimson and Dunn)

Dunn: All the cake is out, the tear urns are all set up and so I thought I would take a turn round the stalls before I begin to supervise the clearing up.
Grimson: I do not recall giving you permission to take time off from your duties to enjoy yourself.

Dunn: Well, first of all, as I've just said, there are no duties; but, secondly, and more critical, Mr. Grimson, butler, you see if you can get another cook of my quality at short notice, with all those dignitaries staying at the house.
Grimson: I have a good mind to dismiss you on the spot.
Dunn: You may have a mind to do it but you don't have the ability if you want dinner served for the Colonel's paying guests.
Grimson: I will take the earliest opportunity ...
Dunn: ... Far from wishing to be impertinent, I'm just telling you the truth. When this War is over there will be fewer women wanting to be in service and fewer still who will be treated like pack horses.

If you want a good cook or housekeeper you will have to be a good deal more civil.
Grimson: Mrs. Grimson has always been content under my direction.
Dunn: Your wife is an admirable, nicely behaved woman but she comes from a different time and place. I was brought up among the mills of Blackburn where women of my class ran all the domestic business; and I learned my cooking in a hard school, in an oven twelve hours a day; and I'm not going back and I won't be bullied.
Grimson: If ladies are to have such unpleasant manners, I wonder whether the upheaval of war was worth it.
Dunn: Don't you say that to me. I lost my two cousins in the Accrington Pals on that dreadful first day of the Somme. They were both shattered to bits and became part of the mud in no-man's-land only yards from their own trench; and they didn't die so that butlers obsessed with the aristocracy could go on pushing the working class about. Yes, there have been brave officers but it's the lads that have borne the brunt and it's been the lasses that have signed on in the munitions factories working until they have gone yellow with sulphur, not the sort of thing that butlers would understand.
Grimson: I lost a nephew at the Somme and was proud of it.
Dunn: I'm sorry you lost a boy but if they were fighting for anything it was supposed to be for freedom. What kind of freedom is it to do as you're told because of your class or your sex?
Grimson: We are fighting for a well ordered society where people can't just please themselves or throw their weight around.
Dunn: Ah, but it depends on which people and what weight. You don't mind putting yourself about on behalf of the Colonel or on your own behalf but when I express a definite opinion you think I'm forward, or whatever word you want.
Grimson: You will change your tune soon enough when you are married.
Dunn: One of the consequences of this bloody War is that there will be fewer good men and I won't marry anyone ordinary. And I'm not going back to Blackburn. I like down here with the green countryside and the quality cooking and the civilised hours. I won't give up this place easily, so you need not worry. I will do my job faithfully in return for fair wages and will expect to be treated properly.

(Enter Gertrude)

Yes, Madam?
Gertrude: You can relax for a few minutes, Anne. The Colonel is receiving his principal guests but says he does not need you for the time being, Grimson.
Dunn: As Daisy was kind enough to help carry out the cake I will go and see her dance, if I may, Madam.
Gertrude: By all means.

(Exit Dunn)

A very capable woman, Grimson. She is certainly the least dramatic cook I can remember.
Grimson: What she lacks in hysterics she certainly makes up for in cheek.
Gertrude: I can take a little cheek if my meringues are nice and white and brittle and the beef is rare at one end and well done at the other. I do not know where she learned all her tricks as I gather she undertook mass catering somewhere in Lancashire.
Grimson: Books, Madam.
Gertrude: You mean she has been reading cookery books? How remarkable.
Grimson: Yes, Madam. She asked for books to be supplied and I did not see how I could refuse her as she never stops talking about our distinguished guests and how she wants to do credit to you Madam and - and this is the remarkable thing - she want to do credit to herself, so we got her Mrs. Beeton and Eliza Acton.
Gertrude: Do not be surprised, Grimson, that the young woman wants to do herself credit. We must not treat our servants like animals.
Grimson: Why, Madam, that is precisely what she said.
Gertrude: My father used to say that in late Eighteenth Century Vienna there was a musical genius on every street corner but society only had room for a few like Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. If we want to recover from this global catastrophe, we will need all the talent we can find.
Grimson: When my nephew was killed on the Somme he did not think he was fighting for violent change; he was fighting to keep things as they were in the days of good old Queen Victoria.
Gertrude: That may be so, Grimson, but wars bring about violent change, so if we object to that we had best avoid wars if we can. But I see you are growing restless so I will not keep you. And here is

the Colonel coming to have a word with me.

(Enter Colonel Campion)

Has everybody arrived?
Colonel: All except the Prime Minister who, I understand, always takes an hour's nap after lunch to set him up for the rest of the day. There are cabinet ministers freely mingling with tradesmen, officers and men.
Gertrude: It is gratifying that we can be of service to all these people who are contributing in their different ways to the War effort.
Colonel: Ah yes! But I do miss the horses! Such a fine stable we had before they were all requisitioned and from what I hear they are not a bit of use with all that mud and these new tanks.
Gertrude: Oh William! William! How can you say such a thing when we have already lost a son and may lose two more before the fighting ends?
Colonel: Terribly sorry, my dear, I did not mean it that way.
Gertrude: No. No. I am sure you did not but you talk about the horses so often.

Colonel: I try not to mention the boys for fear of appearing weak. We have to lead by example. Hardly an hour passes without my thinking of dear Edward, so ignominiously gassed at Ypres. I should not have minded so much if he had been killed in a fair fight. And we are both naturally worried about William and Frederick although they have been lucky so far, and even mentioned in despatches. It must have been wonderful for William to be part of the conquest of the Holy City.
Gertrude: It is the strain of cheerfulness that almost drives me mad. Sometimes I just want to say: "we have suffered too" but it would be misunderstood.
Colonel: It is precisely that stoicism that has retained high morale in the British Expeditionary Force when morale in every other army has broken down to some extent, particularly the French.
Gertrude: But there is a difference between public, manly stoicism and the need for a woman to let go of her feelings, just a little. Not here, of course, William; but seeing all these wounded servicemen alongside fresh uniformed officers and men waiting to go out to France stirs me so.
Colonel: The Prime Minister, I am told, has been ebullient of late about the Western Front. The Chancellor told me only a few moments ago that he is already turning his mind to the peace terms.
Gertrude: I just hope that the end comes quickly. Daisy reminded me that we all thought four years ago it would be over by Christmas. I wonder if we had known then what we know now whether greater efforts might have been made to avoid the catastrophe. Was Belgium really worth more than a million lives on our side?
Colonel: It was the principle. No imperial power can allow another imperial power to march into a neutral country with impunity.
Gertrude: I understand the intellectual argument but the slaughter has surely been disproportionate to the cause.
Colonel: Perhaps it has. But it is easier to get into fights than it is to get out of them.
Gertrude: Once this is over we can move back in here permanently instead of being Prime Ministerial hosts camped out in Hove.
Colonel: We must do it for the War effort as well as the money. Even as the leader of a coalition mostly made up of our own people, I still mistrust Lloyd George or any Liberal for that matter. It was Asquith who got us into this after all and there would be no determination to win without Conservatives backing The Prime Minister.
Gertrude: Enough for now! The Prime Minister may appear at any moment. We must attend to our guests. I am sorry, William, but I could feel the pressure building inside me. Here come the Chancellor and the Foreign Secretary. I will slip away and leave them to you.
Colonel: I just want to say, my dear, that there is a lot of love for you hidden inside my rather under-informed heart.

(Exit Gertrude. Enter Bonar Law and Balfour)

Gentlemen, I hope you are enjoying the occasion.
Balfour: It is a sad man who cannot enjoy such an occasion.
Bonar Law: Then I am a sad man indeed. I have never recovered my spirits since the loss of my sons and all I have is work and smoke. I truly do not know how long I can continue.
Balfour: There are no words or, rather, I should say there are too many useless ones.
Bonar Law: It is so good of you, Colonel, to let the house to Mr. Riddell for the benefit of the Prime

Minister who, if anything, works even harder than me.
Colonel: I must not complain. Mr. Riddell is most generous and it is not a great sacrifice, all things considered, to live off the premises for a while. But without meaning to detain you, gentlemen, what is the state of the Front? We all know that the newspapers are pretty careful in what they say in case it damages morale.
Bonar Law: I think there is little fear of anything to damage morale today. We have great hope of our latest attack at the Marne, even greater than the first time we fought there, halting the German push for Paris long enough for both sides to get bogged down. We have great hopes of a final breakthrough very soon. I know you have heard all this before but this time we really think that the Germans are on their last legs, that they have over-reached themselves and must soon collapse.
Balfour: Optimism is all well and good as long as it is considered as a medicine to cure depression but it is useless for anything else without evidence.
Bonar Law: I sometimes think you would have been happier sticking to philosophy.
Balfour: I sometimes think so too but with a political pedigree like mine it was rather difficult to avoid the pressure of my uncle to become partisan.
Bonar Law: Which you have put aside rather handsomely given the fight you had with the Prime Minister over his social reforms and taxation when he was in my place as Chancellor.
Balfour: War makes fools of calculation and subtlety. In war a foreign secretary is always trying to establish the appropriate relationship between politicians and military strategists. The Prime Minister loathes Field Marshall Haig but he has found nobody better and so he strives to make military strategy civilian whereas Haig knows that he may largely please himself because there will be no adverse consequence.
Bonar Law: That will be even more true if he gains another victory today after his recent triumphs. Indeed, if he wins today the question of his status may become irrelevant as we will be thinking about peace.
Balfour: If we win this year, in spite of all the blunders and bloodshed, Haig will take more credit than he deserves; but that always happens with victors.
Bonar Law: It will matter little by then.
Balfour: It never matters much at all in the grand scheme of things. We are short-lived limited creatures who do our best, only to find that everything is much the same at the end as it was at the beginning.
Bonar Law: Well, Colonel, that discussion has not helped you much but I think it is fair to say that we have not been so hopeful since we came into Coalition almost two years ago.
Colonel: I am grateful for the intelligence and your trust in me by communicating it. I shall say nothing until the outcome is more certain. Rumour takes a strong hold in village communities like ours.
Balfour: It is strange, in that regard, how bad news always seems to travel faster than good.
Bonar Law: As Chancellor I can say without fear of contradiction that the bad news in my budgets always overcomes the good in the newspapers. Even our good friend, Mr. Riddell, will not prevail on his publications to be kind to me though he is kind enough to everybody else.
Balfour: Too much kindness is bad for politicians. Look at how the Prime Minister thrives on pugilism.
Colonel: Which reminds me, gentlemen. I must leave you as I am sure the Prime Minister will appear at any moment.

(Exit Colonel)

Bonar Law: I hope we are not deluding ourselves again. It is difficult to know. It is difficult to gain a true picture. I would be much happier if the Americans could be persuaded to accelerate their build-up otherwise, although we will win in the end through the force of numbers, we might have to fight into the summer of next year. It is well enough known that President Wilson is opposed to empires of any sort and he might want to delay so that America is seen to win the war, thereby weakening our ability to get our hands on German colonies and some territory in the Middle east. After all the blood we have spilled we must not end up weaker in the world than we started but stronger.
Balfour: You, above all, Bonar, know that whatever the final terms of the peace, we have been economically crippled by our efforts and the Americans have grown fat on our purchases and their loans.
Bonar Law: Which is why reparations are so important. Lloyd George is determined that the Germans must be forced to pay for their aggression; but I doubt we will get back as much as we have laid out.
Balfour: Sometimes we just have to go through the motions for the sake of it.
Bonar Law: And then there is the promise of the Prime Minister to give the Dominions more autonomy. They feel as if they have earned this right with their blood.

Balfour: We will have weakened our Empire to save it.
Bonar Law: We could not have got this far without help from the Colonies. Our sea power has been under-utilised and we have been prodigal in the field.
Balfour: Intelligent generals are no doubt helpful but the key factors in war are usually brute force and luck. But we should not stand here speculating and grumbling. Let us go and look at the dancing.

(Exit Balfour and Bonar Law. Military brass music fades up, then down, enter Lloyd George, Colonel Campion and Gertrude)

Colonel: Although you have been here for some time now and often before, Prime Minister, I believe it is still appropriate for me to welcome you formally to Danny Park.
Lloyd George: I thank you for your courtesy Colonel but it is hardly necessary. I love your house and gardens but more than anything I like to climb Wolstonbury Hill. There is such a good view from the top. I am sorry that I dozed longer than usual.
Colonel: You have every right to recuperation, sir.
Gertrude: I do not know how you find the time to do everything, Prime Minister, fitting in climbing and golfing between your duties and then reading at bed time.
Lloyd George: I fancy that only one cigar a day and the tiniest glass of whiskey has a lot to do with it.
Gertrude: And how do you stay so cheerful, sir?
Lloyd George: I really find there is no alternative. The carnage pains me dreadfully but we have to go on working to bring this sorry mess to a triumphant conclusion. History shows, I think, that optimists win wars.
Colonel: Here is Mr. Randall come to say hello.

(Enter Mr. Randall and Daisy)

Lloyd George: Mr. Randall, it is so good to see you. And Daisy, too, looking so pretty in what I fancy is a new frock. Blue suits you Daisy. It cheers an old man's heart to see such beauty on such a pleasant day. Indeed, an almost perfect day, except for the roar of the guns under our feet and the uncertainties at the front. How are you, Mr. Randall?
Randall: Pretty well, sir, considering the factors to which you have alluded although I don't think I'm giving much away in front of the Colonel here when I say that the Liberal cause is somewhat fragile at the moment.
Lloyd George: I sympathise, Mr. Randall, I really do, but winning the War is even more important than winning Elections. We have had to pull together since the Coalition came in. Some people have accused me of destroying the Liberal Party. But no more of this now, Mr. Randall, as this is a day to be cheery. Come, Daisy, will you do me the honour of a dance. I am not so nimble nor accomplished as you are but I can jump about to make us both laugh at my clumsiness.
Daisy: Oh, Prime Minister!
Lloyd George: Come, Daisy, my name is David as you well know and dancers should be on first name terms. This is the age of women's suffrage.
Daisy: Well, David, we can try, and I promise not to laugh.

(Military brass band music fades up in a waltz. Lloyd George and Daisy dance but the tune is almost at an end and they stop when the music ceases. Daisy laughs.)

There, I am sorry to have broken my promise but that was hardly elegant.
Lloyd George: The laughing, not the dancing, is the point.
Daisy: Here's that strange lady who seems to spend all her time dashing after you with things you have left behind.

(Enter Frances Stevenson)

As you may wish to discuss business I will rejoin my father. Thank you for the dance.
Frances: I have brought the papers you left at the top of the hill.
Lloyd George: Very good, Miss Stevenson.
Frances: Oh David!
Lloyd George: Prime Minister, if you please.
Frances: Oh David! After all I have given up for you so that we can be together and all I get is a bald "Miss Stevenson" and all you want is a stark "Prime Minister".
Lloyd George: It is not safe. You are an intelligent woman. How often have I told you that on public

occasions you must not only be formal but actually appear to be indifferent or even hostile?
Frances: For a woman who has risked her reputation completely for you that is harsh. You know I would do anything for you, to preserve your ability to perform your great public good, to give you a place of peace and quiet, to love you as much as any woman can, and to ask little in return.
Lloyd George: Very true; but what we have kept secret all these years must be kept secret now. There will be a General Election before the end of this year even if the War is not over - as I pray it will be - and all my good work in the War might be undone in a botched peace and a deliberate attempt to rob the common people of what they have earned through sacrifice. Balfour, Bonar Law and the rest are good allies in war because Conservatives are always better at waging wars than knowing why and Liberals are always better at knowing why than waging them but if I am plunged into scandal and Bonar Law becomes Prime Minister he will want things to be as they were before the slaughter abroad and the sacrifice at home. Conservatives only regard social reform as an expedient, as a last resort.
Frances: David, I know all this but I only ask just a little tenderness to keep me strong through all those hours when I am forced to pretend indifference.
Lloyd George: I understand but I am so frightened of discovery.
Frances: And then, what? Do you suppose for a moment that the newspapers would expose us?
Lloyd George: I would not be surprised if Riddell more than half suspects already but it only takes one to break ranks.
Frances: As far as I can tell, there have been close shaves before and if it were to come out how our unborn child was disposed of we would both be in such trouble that jail would not be out of the question. But love is always a risk - ours more than most - and it needs nourishment now and again if it is not to be overcome by necessary caution.
Lloyd George: My character is as clumsy as my speech is persuasive; but at least I have never lied to either of you. Margaret has been most forbearing and you have been an angel through times of public trouble but also in the face of my thoughtlessness and clumsiness. And you have always been so kind to Margaret and Megan.
Frances: Your wife and daughter are worthy of all kindness, being so good to you in their different ways.
Lloyd George: But Margaret cannot give me what you give.
Frances: Nor I what she has to give. The truth is, David, you need us both but that is unacceptable to society. Even after the upheaval of war, divorce will not lose its stigma ...
Lloyd George: ... but I don't want a divorce ...
Frances: ... I know but I was going on to say that it will accept our kind of arrangement no better. The French may understand a man having a wife and a mistress but never the hypocritical English who would prefer a man to have a wife and use prostitutes.
Lloyd George: There will come a time, pussy my love, when we will get out of this tangle but, for the time being, we must do our best to be careful.
Frances: Yes, I am sorry to have pressed too much. Love is the art of sacrifice beyond calculation: perhaps I should not have fallen in love with you; perhaps I should not love you now; perhaps I should resent your occasional thoughtlessness and even coarseness; but my love is both beyond bargaining and rationality. David, I bless you and God bless you.
Lloyd George: I will come to you when all has gone quiet. Thankfully, they are all very provincial here, sticking rigidly to routine and retiring early.

(Enter Bonar Law and Balfour)

You might find Philip and see if there is any news from the Front. We are all becoming rather anxious.
Frances: I will send him to you as soon as I find him, Prime Minister.
Lloyd George: That is right. You need not come back yourself; but take a little enjoyment.

(Exit Frances)

Now, gentlemen, have you spent your time well?
Bonar Law: We have never seen you dance before.
Lloyd George: There may be much that you have never seen, or seeing have not understood, as the Good Book Says.

(Enter Philip Kerr, running)

Lloyd George: Well, Philip?
Kerr: I came as quickly as I could but the intelligence people wanted to be certain. What they read

came as something of a surprise so they double checked.
Lloyd George: Yes, Philip, but you can do the preamble afterwards. What is the news?
Philip: At the Marne the Allied advance has been wholly successful and, reports Haig, not likely under any circumstances to be reversed. The Germans seem to have lost their ability to resist.
Bonar Law: Strange after four years when the advantage has always been with the defence and the damage sustained by attack that this should reverse so rapidly.
Lloyd George: I will have to congratulate Haig if this is true. I should rejoice but I shall never get rid of him now.
Balfour: You should rejoice. You may not need him for much longer if this news is accurate.
Lloyd George: You had best go and double check, Philip; and if you could find Winston while you are about it that would be most helpful. There is nobody quite so good as Winston in a crisis but he's even better when things are going well.

(Exit Philip)

I must admit that adjusting to triumph may be psychologically challenging but I hope it is a challenge we are forced to meet. We have heard this kind of thing before but the message was so unequivocal. It is unlike Haig to be so bullish so early.
Bonar Law: As I was saying, there is intelligence that the Germany Army is being swept by Bolshevism as well as Spanish influenza, a lack of munitions and general sloppiness. Our lads may be a bit undisciplined on occasions - do you remember when poor old Kitchener sent a signal to tell them to keep away from women - but they are not looters and drunkards.
Balfour: Indulgence rarely sustains victory.
Lloyd George: Let us keep calm until Philip can confirm what he told us.

(Enter Winston Churchill)

Ah, Winston! Has Philip given you the news?
Churchill: He has; and I take it to be true because I have always known - not least from my year with our men - that we would come through. Unlike the Hun we are not methodical, a race of muddle and fudge until we are pressed to the limit and then our flexibility becomes a virtue. They are losing because they make plans and do not know how to change them, just as we were in the first few weeks.
Lloyd George: But you and I were wrong about the Dardanelles, Winston.
Churchill: Right in principle, wrong in execution; it would have been over two years ago if we had got it right. But, David, it is much easier to admit you are wrong when you are on the winning side. Nobody forgives you for being wrong if you lose.
Balfour: That, Winston, is the most sensible thing I have heard today.
Lloyd George: The great politicians combine intelligence and eloquence in equal part.
Bonar Law: Would you be including yourself in that estimate, Prime Minister?
Lloyd George: Never mind, Bonar, here comes Philip. I have never seen him run faster. It must be very bad or very good.

(Enter Philip)

Well, Philip, just the essentials.
Kerr: Intelligence has intercepted a cryptic note from the German Commander which says: "This is the blackest day of the war for Germany'.
Lloyd George: (Shouting towards off)
Colonel! Get that band of yours to play a jig or a reel or something! We are going to dance! We have won the War, now we must win the peace!

(Military brass music fades up in a hornpipe. Lloyd George leads a clumsy dance. Music stops.)

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Act Two - The Great Hall at Danny House, October 13th, 1918

(Enter William Grimson and Anne Dunn)

Dunn: In the kitchen they are saying that the stiff Miss Stevenson is actually more than the Prime Minister's Secretary; they say she's his mistress.
Grimson: They may say what they like. The cardinal rule of the butler is to see everything and say nothing.
Dunn: But having his wife here at the same time as Miss Stevenson is beyond cheeky, it's blatant.
Grimson: And there are you, the suffragette, preaching morals. As far as I am concerned, as long as the Prime Minister continues to do his job competently - and in spite of being a Liberal - he may take his pleasures as he will as long as it does no harm.
Dunn: Well, he will have no pleasure of his fancy lady at present as she is only now recovering from a kidney complaint.
Grimson: I never can understand why women insist on telling people what they already know. While you have been in the kitchen I have been escorting medical gentlemen in and out of the house.

(Enter Philip Kerr)

Ah, Mr. Kerr, are there any instructions from your masters?
Kerr: Mrs. Lloyd George approved the menu for dinner before she went for her walk.
Grimson: Water, coffee and tea in flasks, two bottles of claret nicely oxygenated and a bottle of cognac for Mr. Churchill.
Kerr: Thank you.

(Exit Dunn and Grimson. Enter Lord Milner and Lord Reading)

Lord Milner, I hope you had a pleasant journey. You too, Lord Reading.
Milner: Not bad at all, Philip, although motor cars still make me feel slightly nervous.
Kerr: Winston simply loves motor cars; the faster the better. I am glad you are here Lord Reading. There was something of a to-do last night when the contents of the German reply to President Wilson was received. Only the Prime Minister took it even reasonably well. He had a few sharp things to say but he has this inexhaustible capacity for striking a balance between his work and his rejuvenation.
Reading: I can quite understand the frustration on this side of the Atlantic. President Wilson, as I have learned through my time in Washington, is a single-minded moralist who believes that he embodies America's superior virtue although, I cannot help remarking, that in America's case, piety is no enemy of profit; they have done well enough out of us with sales and loans. And they seem to be able to square their piety with astounding political gerrymandering. One only wishes they could use the same ingenuity to train soldiers and build ships more rapidly.

Milner: However, it may transpire that they have supplied just enough troops at just the right time to tip the balance but not enough early enough to dictate the peace.
Reading: That will not stop President Wilson trying. He thinks that all Europeans are some combination of perfidious, idiotic and grasping, although, as subject to self-delusion as all other politicians, he cannot see that the United States empire is going to become as extensive as ours but with a more hypocritical designation.
Milner: America is bound to emerge as the greatest winner from our folly and so we must take care to limit our losses.

(Enter Sir Maurice Hankey)

Ah, Sir Maurice! We must be almost ready to start.
Hankey: (Arranging his writing materials)
The Prime Minister asked for a few more minutes to collect his thoughts before we begin. Sometimes his haphazard way of working almost drives me to distraction and I have to withdraw for a while but there is no denying his good results, no matter how imperfect his methods.

(Enter General Wilson and Admiral Wemyss)

Nice to see you General Wilson and Admiral Wemyss.

Wilson: Thank you.
(Turns to Wemyss.)
The Prime Minister loathes Haig but has only now acquired the power to shift him. He is forever saying that he likes to have any dispute candidly discussed but as a politician, and a supposed strategist, he hates frontal assault. He prefers wearing down to coming out straight with anything because he makes the mistake of thinking that he who argues best has the best argument. Personally, I think Haig is deeply flawed but I see no alternative.
Wemyss: Yourself?
Wilson: Too late now.

(Enter the Danny party: Balfour, Bonar Law, Lloyd George, Churchill: throughout the meeting there is movement, drinks pouring &c; Churchill takes cognac, most of the others take wine but Lloyd George only takes soda water)

Lloyd George: Blunders, bloodshed, the wanton waste of lives resulting from inflexibility or, I might say, stubbornness. Haig is the limit.
Hankey: Did Margaret enjoy her walk?
Lloyd George: Yes, she likes being here but always misses Wales.
Bonar Law: How is Miss Stevenson?
Lloyd George: I have not heard since yesterday when a doctor told me that she was "doing very well, all things considered, sir" and "might try the sofa if she felt up to it." So all the documentation will be up to you, Maurice. I suppose this is not quite a War Cabinet?
Hankey: Constitutionally, it's not quite anything.

Lloyd George: But we have most of the people who count and will have to mollify anyone who is affronted. As we got the German note in reply to President Wilson last night, and as it raises questions whose answers cannot wait without the current damage being made much worse for want of clarity, we cannot delay. Can the constitution live with that, Maurice?
Hankey: I think it can, Prime Minister.
Lloyd George: I want to begin by asking General Wilson to read the latest estimates of war casualties since August 1914 on all fronts to remind us that we are neither discussing abstract strategies nor abstruse military principles. Whatever decision we take will cost lives, individual lives which have attached to them the lives of many others. There can hardly be a single person in our land who is not connected in some way to a casualty. But if we make the wrong decision in order to minimise casualties now, we will increase the risk of yet more casualties later. If President Wilson has his way this war will supposedly be the war to end all wars but Europe is and will continue to be, chronically unstable; so let us take care. Wilson.
Wilson: (Reads slowly and deliberatively)
First, the Central Powers:
Germany: dead two million; wounded five million
The Ottoman Empire: dead two hundred and fifty thousand; wounded six hundred thousand
The Austro-Hungarian Empire: dead one million; wounded two million
The total losses for the Central Powers, including disease: dead three and a half million; wounded or impaired eight million
Grand Central powers total: eleven and a half million
The Allied powers:
Britain: dead seven hundred thousand; wounded 1.5 million
The Empire: two hundred thousand; wounded four hundred thousand
Russia: dead two million; wounded five million
France: dead one and a quarter million; wounded four million
Italy: dead four hundred and fifty thousand; wounded one million
The United States: figures not yet released but very few.
The total loss for the Allies, including disease: dead five million; impaired twelve million.
Allied grand total: seventeen million.
The War's grand total for dead, wounded, diseased: approaching thirty million.
Estimated civilian deaths: eight million.
If I may, Prime Minister, it is easy to see from these figures that the allies have suffered much worse in numbers than the Central powers; but the latter have suffered a much higher casualty rate as a proportion of their populations, even excluding Russia.

Lloyd George: Thank you, Wilson. The tabulation had the effect on me which I supposed it would. An ardent advocate for fighting on needs to be sobered by these figures which, as I have said, constitute a terrible tally of human misery.
Wemyss: What about the navy?
Wilson: These are aggregate totals which include land, sea and air forces and the civilian casualty figure includes those lost at sea. But whereas the casualty rate at sea has fallen since the adoption almost a year ago of the convoy system, the rate on land has been relatively constant if we exclude Russia.
Lloyd George: Yes, yes; but let us not descend into a competition to see who has come off worse! I asked for the figures to make us solemn and sober, not to stoke up competitive grievance. Now to business. We have two points to settle: how to respond to the recent traffic between Berlin and Washington; and what to say to the press. On the second, we should emphasise that all the negotiations so far have been conducted by President Wilson, not by the allies and that we will want to have our own say on the Armistice and, later, on the famous Fourteen Points.
Milner: The Points are clouding the issue; we only need discuss the Armistice in the press.
Lloyd George: I take that to be the general view. Now, Philip, perhaps you will summarise the situation.
Kerr: Last night the Germans sent a note to President Wilson saying that they accepted his famous Fourteen Points en bloc which presents us with considerable difficulties. You will recall that the Fourteen Points make proposals on, not in any logical sequence, world governance, peace terms and Armistice terms.
Lloyd George: Yes. Last night I thought we were in a real mess but on further reflection I think we can sort matters out.
Kerr: To bring everyone up to date, the points which give us some concern are these, in ascending order of magnitude; the President calls for: the removal of all trade barriers; self-determination for all peoples; an equality of concern between colonies and colonialists; and an international organisation to guarantee territorial integrity. Then we come to the major points: an adjustment of colonial claims; absolute freedom of the seas; injurious ambiguity concerning German withdrawal from Alsace-Lorraine; and a deafening silence on reparations.
Lloyd George: President Wilson is a sanctimonious old prophet: "vindicate the principles of peace and justice" indeed. He talks as if he were the only moral person on the planet when he is as unscrupulous a politician as one could find; politicians who are fine orators are a danger to the world.
Churchill: Perhaps you are so antagonistic to the President, David, because the two of you are so much alike.
Lloyd George: You are one of the few people who can get away with that, Winston. What we have to face is Wilson's declaration that he wants a "new balance of power" on the basis of nugatory American sacrifices. I think that we can dispose of the minor points without extensive discussion: first, total free trade is, above all, advantageous to the United States and injurious to Imperial Preference and so it cannot be considered, in Wilson's favourite word "impartial". In effect, we are being asked to pay for our Empire without gaining any counter balancing advantages from it, so this is all of a piece with his anti-colonial proposals; he wants to make it economically impossible for us to maintain the Empire of which and for which we have shed so much blood and spent so much money, mostly in the United States and borrowed so much money primarily from the United States. Secondly, before President Wilson waxes moral about equal concern and respect between colonialists and colonies, he should look to his own county's treatment of his black population. He clearly has never visited a colony! In any case, we have agreed to adjust the relationship between Britain and its Dominions.
Reading: President Wilson's idealism is part of an American tradition of constitutionalism. As you say, Prime Minister, it opposes colonialism but cannot implement its own Constitution and Bill of Rights.
Churchill: I agree with Reading and conclude that if they cannot live their own ideals they will be highly unlikely to impose them upon anybody else. Clemmie says that Americans would be better equipped to handle international affairs if they were more prepared to travel outside what I might call their Garden of Eden.

Milner: I doubt, in any case, that we will be able to establish self-determination for all peoples, even in Europe, let alone elsewhere.
Balfour: There is no such thing as the self-determination of peoples; political and economic forces are far too powerful to give Belgium parity with Britain, or Poland with Prussia. These little nations will always be precarious barrier states that are fought over by the major powers.
Bonar Law: If Wilson wants his League of Nations we need to be clear how much Congress will be prepared to pay for it.
Churchill: Let us be reasonable, gentlemen. These proposals are harmless because they are unrealistic

so we should concede them with good grace. I am inclined to think, in any case, that our complaints concern bad drafting rather than bad faith.
Balfour: You might be correct Winston but bad drafting and deliberate ambiguity need to be distinguished even though they may both arise from unclear thinking.
Hankey: Whether or not we agree with Winston, Prime Minister, I think it would be best to assume that President Wilson acts out of the most generous of motives. If we show general goodwill for most of his points it will strengthen our case in the few places where we have genuine concerns.
Wilson: They are so infuriatingly self-righteous and naive at the same time, to be so generous is asking rather a lot, Mr. Secretary, but I am inclined to agree with Winston.
Reading: President Wilson is much more sympathetic to our outlook than some of his Congress. I have heard it said that there is no real difference between us and the Central Powers; we are all colonialists. And so we need to support Wilson where we can and put our objections in the most restrained manner, refusing to conflate bad drafting with bad motives.
Balfour: Precisely.
Churchill: By far the best approach, given that we should avoid the sanctimoniousness we have so emphatically deplored. I should, however, point out that the substantive point - I am sure Lord Reading will agree with me - is America's total misunderstanding of the purposes of our Empire. While it is true to say that all Empires decline and fall in the end by over-reaching themselves, losing their vigour and purpose, the British Empire is far from such a sorry state. Admittedly, we have done very well in terms of trade which has brought great advantages to all our people at home but we have also been most officious in promoting education and civilisation in all our colonies. It may seem sentimental to put it this way but we are indeed a family which has withstood the stress of war with steadfastness.
Milner: The men provided by the Empire have indeed been extraordinarily courageous and efficient which is a tribute to our conduct of Imperial affairs.
Lloyd George: I take your points, Winston and Milner; so let us leave the discussion of these important but relatively minor matters and turn to our three major topics. First, I am concerned about the proposal to adjust colonial boundaries, not so much because of America's ambition to do so but because of French ambition in that direction. We really do not want France meddling in the Middle East, although I am less concerned about claims East of Burma.
Balfour: We will need to be very careful. France, after all, has suffered a much greater loss in manpower than we have. It has had Germany boots tramping over its soil; its capital city has been threatened; its iron and coal have been used against it; and there is the long standing grievance of the Prussian occupation of its territory for almost half a century. It will properly feel entitled to share some of the spoils and gain from some of the compensations.

Churchill: But we must not forget, David, how an over mighty France has been the bane of Europe; our two longest ever wars have been against France. You could argue that the Hundred Years War does not count but there is no gainsaying the ravages of Bonaparte who would have taken our liberty and our Empire if he could. Clemenceau is amiable enough on the surface but he is a fierce fellow.
Balfour: We, likewise will have to be both amiable and fierce, a combination which, fortunately, the Prime Minister possesses. For myself, I can say that I am particularly anxious for the French not to become involved in the affairs of Egypt or Palestine as the French establishment, for all its virtues, is deeply anti-Semitic - we should not forget the Dreyfus affair - and a French presence in that region would be most unhelpful.
Milner: We should also be careful that we retain actual, if not legal, control of the Suez Canal.
Churchill: Agreed. In spite of our best efforts and the favours we have showered upon it, India will not always stay quiet; and the rise of the motor car in peace and the tank in war both make it necessary for us to protect the shipment of oil.
Wemyss: The element which brings our Empire together is the sea; and part of our necessary policing of international waters is our control of the Suez Canal and our ability to get ships in and out of wherever we want them.
Bonar Law: Yes, Admiral, that is of course true but what concerns me is the notion of re-drawing colonial boundaries in an impartial manner. What can President Wilson mean by impartial, given that, left to him, there would be no colonies at all? We certainly cannot agree to any proposal which allows Germany to retain its colonies.
Lloyd George: Absolutely correct, Bonar! Germany must not be rewarded for its Prussian aggression. Rather than President Wilson's pieties about even handed arbitration, we need to make it absolutely clear to all the world, including America which is not itself lacking in colonial ambitions, although of a subtle sort, that aggression cannot be rewarded. That is why we went to war in the first place. Nobody

was more opposed to it than myself, except, perhaps, poor Asquith, but I could not bear the thought of a small nation like Belgium being trampled over by what I might call a constitutional dictatorship. What line do you advise, Arthur?
Balfour: As Foreign Secretary I would advise us to draw a clear distinction between the terms of an Armistice and the final peace treaties. The problem with which we are faced is that Wilson, and the Germans to some extent, have entangled the two concepts. We must make it clear to Wilson that whatever Armistice terms we agree, these will not prejudice our freedom to negotiate further at a peace conference. As we have already noted, politicians, either from a desire to have their cake and eat it, or to generate deliberate ambiguity, are apt to make this sort of category error. Let us keep the Armistice demands to a clear and sharp minimum and leave the details of the self-determination of peoples and the drawing of European and colonial boundaries until later. We should remember that when we were in Paris last week this issue was not foremost in the mind of the French administration and so we should avoid bringing it there until we have to. There are more important matters to settle. On the whole, President Wilson's idealism forces him to make statements which are too clear cut and ignore the need for transitions; if he is to have his League he certainly cannot have it tomorrow morning but must wait until the details are hammered out between us.
Milner: Very true. We need to understand the Armistice as Phase One and the peace conference as Phase Two.
Bonar Law: Very good, Arthur. Quite right, Milner.

Hankey: I shall note, then, that we must be generous in our interpretation of The President's Fourteen Points accepted by Germany and defer discussion of all but the two remaining points until the Armistice is concluded and a peace conference begun.
Lloyd George: Correct, Maurice, as usual. I must admit that I am apt to veer occasionally from the practical to the rhetorical but I can see from our discussion that we have taken the correct approach. Let me now ask the Admiral to open the discussion of our second major point, the freedom of the seas.
Wemyss: Let me begin, gentlemen, by underlining the governing principle of this seafaring nation since the close of the Napoleonic Wars more than a hundred years ago. We have asserted the right of the freedom of the seas except where this is threatened by an aggressive power: the Spaniards asked for Drake's victory at Cadiz and the French asked for Nelson's victory at Trafalgar, just as the Germans asked for our numerous victories during the past four years. History shows that the only nation that can guarantee the freedom of the seas is ours. The idea that this League of Nations could or America should be part of that guarantee is preposterous. But the central problem which we face with President Wilson's text is that it wishes to give precisely the same freedom of the seas, and I quote, "both in peace and in war" to Germany as to ourselves; and this cannot be right. We have already suffered terribly from the German use of submarines against every kind of shipping, and it would be absurd to accord them that Freedom again.
Lloyd George: Again, on this point, President Wilson's drafting appears to want us all to let bygones be bygones so that we can all start again as equals, as if we had not been through this terrible war. On the shipping point I agree with the Admiral that Germany will have to pay for its aggression by being limited in what it is permitted to do with respect to the seas. Besides, through no fault of our own we were unable to reduce either Germany's submarine or surface fleet as much as we would have liked, so if this phrase, accepted by the Germans - and I quote - "absolute freedom of the seas in times of peace and war" is agreed, what is to stop Germany making an immediate nuisance of itself? Do we really want the Germans to continue destroying military and civilian shipping between the Armistice and any final agreement? No, gentlemen, we do not.
Churchill: We might readily conclude that although the role of the Navy in this war has not been so glorious as on some previous occasions, without our initial superiority we could not have prosecuted this struggle effectively. The key has been our ability both to deploy land forces all over the world but also to maintain reasonable supplies and deprive Germany of imports. But, again, I take it that President Wilson has in mind some grand, generous principle rather than taking care to understand the consequences.
Balfour: I take it that the President is in favour of starting from first principles and then trying to understand how they will be applied rather than deriving his principles from experience.
Wemyss: As a former First Sea Lord I am surprised that you could say what you did about the Navy's role in the War, Winston. After all, we delivered the troops precisely where you wanted them in the Dardanelles.
Lloyd George: We need not revert to that painful subject; but I should say in defence of Winston that I was as eager for a second front to relieve pressure in the West as was Winston. Politicians necessarily have difficult relations with the military, never quite knowing when to give them a free hand and when to intervene. But let us return to the matter in hand. Are we all agreed that President Wilson's

point about the freedom of the seas requires clarification.

Reading: If you will permit me, Prime Minister, I think we need to go a little further on this point in order to avoid later misunderstanding. When I held my last talks with senior officials in Washington who had helped to draw up what became the Fourteen Points, they failed to understand how our temperament and our interests are bound together. They gathered hundreds of statements and numerous maps to show empirically how the world ought to be run but they failed to understand the different ways in which nations see themselves: we, for example, are as attached to our Navy - no disrespect General Wilson - as the Germans are attached to their Army, or the Americans to their Constitution, or the French to their gastronomy. We will need to be much clearer with them when we come to details but, in the meantime, we will need to call for clarification. As the clause stands we can perfectly understand why the Germans will accept it because it gives them precisely what they want for nothing in return.
Milner: If we add up the case so far we can see that Germany's acceptance of the Fourteen Points gives them almost everything they could wish for, except the loss of some Eastern territory which will become a quasi-independent Poland, without having given away anything except that which they should not have had in the first place. As your Minister for War, Prime Minister, I would not wish to continue if we are reduced to this state.
Lloyd George: I quite agree, Milner. But the critical question which I think we have resolved is whether to take the American President at his word or whether to seek clarification, and whether we need to go into all this detail now or leave it to the peace conference.
Wemyss: On the point about the seas I think we must limit the damage without delay as Lord Milner says.
Hankey: I understand, then, that we need both to seek clarification on this point and to ensure that any such principle of freedom, if it is to be applied at all, cannot be applied to Germany either now or in the foreseeable future.
Lloyd George: I think, Maurice, that sums up our position admirably.
Wemyss: Pardon me, Prime Minister, I feel that I must say one more thing. Merchant shipping has suffered great losses in lives and in property for which persons and companies should receive proper compensation from Germany.
Lloyd George: Yes, Admiral, we are coming to that immediately. As I understand it, Philip, there is no mention in President Wilson's copious speeches over the past year about war reparations.
Kerr: I think not, prime Minister; and the Fourteen Points makes no mention of them.
Lloyd George: Heaven knows I have hated this war with such a deep hatred as cannot be readily imagined, not just because, as I grew up, I admired the German virtues, but also because I have opposed war on the ground that it is disproportionate in its havoc to any problem it might seek to settle. I thought that with some goodwill and wise counsel we might have avoided this war; I have been shocked and saddened by the apparent indifference - yes, General Wilson, I am sorry to say it but I must - of military leaders that deal with men in their millions as if they were nothing more than tin soldiers on a table; I need mention no names. But once committed to defend Belgium and punish German aggression nobody can have been in any doubt of my intention of bringing this war to a successful conclusion. And so on my part it is not contradictory or even paradoxical to be against war but also to ensure that aggression is properly punished. Those who are inclined to exercise brute force will not be inclined to accept philosophical arguments against it. That is President Wilson's great mistake. The only arguments that Prussia understands are the irrefutable arguments of steel and explosives, of the loss of such blood that they cannot find resources to replace it. After the Prussian invasion of Paris in 1870 we were all too soft; we did not see the consequences of our softness but we do now in the reality of our terrible losses. Our first cardinal point of practicality, therefore gentlemen - not principle but practicality - is to render the recommencement of hostilities by Germany impossible. As it sues for peace it is still sinking merchant ships and sacking Belgian towns as its armies retreat in too orderly a fashion for my linking. We must therefore ensure not only that we are properly repaid what we and our allies are owed but we must also be given all Germany's heavy weapons, much of its military transport and its fleet.
Milner: I understand the thrust of your observations, Prime Minister, but we must be careful not to push Germany so far that it descends into economic chaos and Bolshevism. All over mainland Europe revolution is in the air and if we are not careful it will spread not only in the countries that have been defeated but also in France which, in spite of its victory, is left in a nervous and fragile position; and if it becomes endemic in France it might spread, like this terrible Spanish influenza, into Britain itself.
Churchill: I agree with Lord Milner that Bolshevism is a threat to our democratic way of life which is why I believe that we should give all the encouragement we can, both moral and material, to the White Russians.

Lloyd George: I think we will leave that matter for another day, Winston, but I accept that there are arguments against the kind of measures I have proposed. No strategy will be perfect. So let me connect this point with the more pressing issue which concerns not the terms of any armistice but its timing.
Hankey: I will close that part of the discussion then, Prime Minister, and will work with colleagues to draft the appropriate telegrams at the conclusion of this meeting.
Lloyd George: Yes. Thank you Maurice, with one additional point. Before turning to questions of timing and tactics, I wish to build on Lord Milner's point that any Armistice terms are merely a prologue to a peace conference. Whereas the fates of nations might quite properly be left to politicians, the terms of Armistice should be agreed by military experts who are the only people who can know what needs to be done to prevent new outbreaks by the aggressors.
Balfour: A nice distinction.
Wilson: I hope that the Americans will agree to such a proposal as its general thrust is entirely correct.
Lloyd George: For me, the fundamental question which we must address is whether we should even be considering an Armistice at this time. Is it not more important for the peace of the world that Germany is badly beaten?
Bonar Law: It should be enough to demand that all weapons are handed over; complete disarmament will mean we do not need to continue the fighting.
Balfour: The issue is not the detail of armistice but the settlement of territory. If Germany loses Alsace-Lorraine, German Poland and Silesia and part of her industrial base, this would be universally seen as a crushing defeat which is far more important than the disposition of troops at an Armistice.
Lloyd George: But if we stop now we will not be occupying a single yard of German soil. History is not always a reliable guide but remember in the Second Punic War how the Romans were not satisfied with the Carthaginians clearing out of their territory but insisted on carrying the war into Carthaginian territory and history shows that they were right.
Wilson: I believe that the general opinion from the military is that we should drive for disarmament now as the Germans will fight much harder on their own territory.
Bonar Law: But will the humiliation of disarmament guarantee no further war?
Lloyd George: Whatever terms we impose it will not be long before the military take over from the failed democrats whom, they will say, have betrayed Germany and aggression will start all over again, so the key point is what settlement is likely to minimise this risk and in my view the best option is to invade Germany.
Bonar Law: I wonder whether any terms could crush Prussian militarism; but I worry more that we could not resume a campaign having left off.
Churchill: It would be almost impossible to resume; but, in any case, the people want peace now. They do not want any more bloodshed.
Lloyd George: Upon this point I am torn. Borden told me that as long as he was Prime Minister of Canada he would not allow a single Canadian to fight again if it was like Passchendaele.
Balfour: I am not in the habit of repeating myself because an argument is no stronger for being repeated but I believe that the loss of land which I have indicated would be a crushing defeat for Germany.
Bonar Law: Plus a vast indemnity, of course. As Chancellor I could not overlook this.
Milner: German militarism is already overthrown and I would not want to risk the triumph of German Bolshevism.
Wilson: From a military point of view there is nothing more humiliating than laying down arms on foreign soil.
Wemyss: I agree, plus naval disarmament.
Hankey: I should remind us all that President Wilson does not specifically include Alsace-Lorraine in what he terms "occupied territory", so that must be made clear.
Lloyd George: It is clear to me that I am in a minority of one on the issue of the occupation of German territory and I should say that if we adopt a policy of near imminent armistice then we will not be able to start up the war machine again; but, having lost, I am also heartily relieved that we will keep bloodshed at a minimum between now and the cessation of hostilities. We must now summarise our decisions on the Fourteen Points and the Armistice.
Balfour: We cannot accept the Fourteen Points either as a whole nor as a complete statement of principles to which we would assent; and we must also make it clear that there are substantial additions which we should make to the armistice proposals.
Churchill: I agree with the second point but think it would be quite difficult not to accept the Fourteen Points as a whole. After all, as I have said, there is a great deal of difference between accepting them in principle and turning them into practice.
Reading: I agree with Winston on that point. What we need is a high level United States representative in Europe. In the meantime, clarity on our part is vital as President Wilson might, not

for the first time, act prematurely. The President did not trust Germany and should therefore not trust its acceptance of the Fourteen Points. It is unacceptable, for instance, for Germany to disarm only after territorial conditions are agreed.
Balfour: I have it on good authority that Berlin has not lost hope of retaining part of Poland and Alsace-Lorraine as part of its acceptance of the Fourteen Points.
Lloyd George: Very good, gentlemen, we are beginning to go round in circles as Arthur has already pointed out and, being a philosopher, he should know.

(Exit Philip)

I propose that we should send telegrams to President Wilson and the Allies setting out our position, both an acceptance of an early armistice and general acceptance of the Fourteen Points but, in both cases conditional upon elaboration and clarification, not least in respect of the freedom of the seas.

(Enter Philip with Colonel Campion and Gertrude)

Thank you for coming in; we have completed our discussions as far as we can and I just wanted to say to you how grateful we all are for your hospitality and for your sacrifice of vacating this lovely house for us. We have been well treated and, if it is any consolation to you for all your trouble, Danny House will take its place in history; it will never be forgotten.
Colonel: We thank you, Prime Minister.
Lloyd George: If you will forgive me, I need a private word with the Chancellor after you have gone.

(Exit all except Lloyd George and Bonar Law)

Bonar, I just wanted a word. I know you are in a great deal of trouble because of the death of your boys. Do not give way, my good friend. You have been loyal and hardworking and you will receive your due reward. Sooner or later you will either disagree with me fundamentally or you will find a reason to disagree. No, you need not demur. All politicians do it in the end. And then the Coalition will fall and you will be Prime Minster. I do not know whether Asquith or I will be blamed for destroying the Liberal Party but it was a necessary sacrifice to win this dreadful War and the Conservative Party, with you at its head, will reap the inheritance. But, Bonar, in the meantime, now that you have helped to win the War, I need you to help me to win the peace.

THE END

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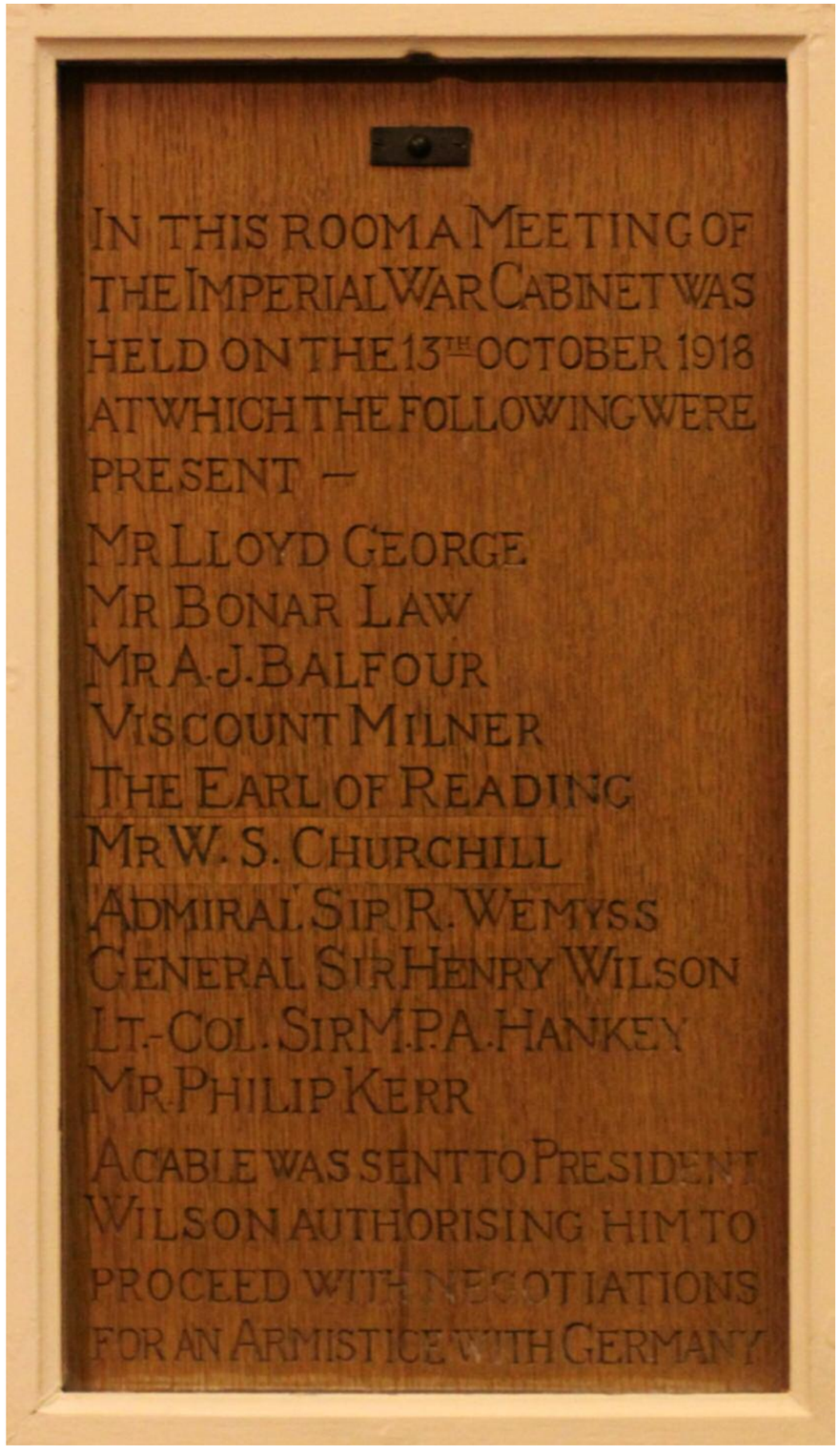

The plaque on the wall of the Great Hall, Danny Park. "Mr W. S. Churchill" was apparently cut out by a boy whilst Danny was used as a school between 1947 and 1956, and was subsequently repaired.