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Internationalism, peace and reconciliation: Anglo-German connections in the Youth Hostels movement, 1930-1950.

Abstract

This article examines the close relationship that existed between the English and Welsh Youth Hostel Association (YHA) and the *Deutsche Jugendherbergswerk* (DJH), the German pioneer movement, between 1930 and 1950. It emphasises the importance of shared cultural values and the influence that the German DJH had on the YHA from its beginnings. It argues that the internationalism and pacifism of the fledgling national association, its debt of gratitude to the parent organisation, and close relationship between leading figures, all pushed it towards a position of accommodation with Germany, even when the German movement was subsumed within the racist, nationalist and militarist Nazi movement in 1933. The YHA thus reinforced the spirit and policy of Appeasement between the wars. In the aftermath of war, the same commitment to peaceful cooperation between nations, and the same personal ties, saw the hostel movement re-emerge as a vehicle for reconciliation.

Introduction

The Youth Hostels Association (YHA) of England and Wales was founded in 1930.¹ Its objective was ‘to help all, but especially young people to a greater knowledge, use and love of the countryside, particularly by providing hostels or other simple accommodation for them in their travels.’² By the outbreak of the Second World War it had a membership of 83,418 and by 1950 this had grown to over 200,000.³ The success of the YHA reflected the popularity of recreational walking and cycling in the period and built upon a domestic network of organizations dedicated to the provision of rural leisure and holidays and to the protection and exploration of the countryside.⁴ But as well as its domestic roots in the rambling movement, the YHA was heavily influenced by the German Youth Hostels Association, the *Deutsche Jugendherbergswerk* (DJH), established eleven years earlier in 1919, and it was connected to the wider, international hostelling movement from the outset. The general histories of the YHA, many written by activists in the organization, acknowledge the debt to Germany, but do not explore its international links or the key relationship with Germany in any detail, a shortcoming which the few dedicated academic studies of the YHA have not fully rectified. Equally, the broader scholarship on the outdoor movement, and on youth culture and leisure in this period, which *has* discussed German influence, largely ignores the YHA, as does the wider scholarship on Anglo-German relations.⁵

Drawing upon the records of the national and international associations, as well as national press coverage in both countries, this article details the forms and extent of the linkages with the German pioneer organization, focusing both on the process of cross-national cultural appropriation which informed the YHA’s beginnings, and its subsequent emergence as part of an international network of associations. Close examination of this material, which includes the personal correspondence between the leading figures in the German and English Associations, reveals the organisational and ideological fabric of a transnational hostel

movement, and the particular role played by YHA activists and members within a broader British commitment to internationalism, peace and reconciliation. These associational records, and those of the Allied Control Commission in occupied Germany after the War, help us to explain the durability and resilience of the English YHA's relationship with the German organization, a relationship which endured through a period of war and British and German enmity, and which was central to the re-emergence of the hostelling movement as a force for reconciliation after 1945.⁶

The present examination of the period 1930-1950 complements recent research on youth travel and hostelling in Europe in the decades after the Second World War. The latter has rightly emphasized the aim of reconciliation and internationalism as 'the animating force undergirding the expansion of hostelling in the post-war period'.⁷ However, whilst this work acknowledges the inter-war roots of cultural internationalism in general, it has perhaps underestimated the extent to which the hostel movement in particular was already internationalist in spirit, and transnational in form, prior to the war. The present study argues that for the YHA and indeed the other national associations affiliated to the international organization, the period after 1945 was as much a renewal of the earlier project, as a new beginning.

German links and the English movement to 1933.

There are three strands of German connections in the early years of the YHA. One is the broader cultural resonance that the walking and youth movement in Germany had in England which existed beyond the YHA as an institution but was also found within it. The second is the importance of the German Youth Hostel movement as inspiration and possible model for the YHA and the third is related to the status of Germany as a recent adversary in the First

World War and, from the early 1930s, the possibility of it being an adversary in a future conflict. These three strands will be considered in this order.

Elements of the German walking and youth movement, including the *Wandervogel* movement, were imbued with an anti-modernist ideology which included anti-urbanism, a tendency to romanticise a supposed simplicity and authenticity to rural existence which modern, industrial society could not provide. There were strong echoes of this in the walking and 'back to the land' movements in Britain.⁸ Tyldesley has recorded the interest in the German movement by two leading figures here, Rolf Gardiner and Leslie Paul,⁹ confirming also that the appeal of this ideology cut across political lines. Gardiner was on the political right, a member of the English Mystery and its successor, the English Array. These groups' eclectic ideology combined aspects of paganism, racial superiority, ecological revival, mysticism and an antipathy towards the development of interventionist statism. Gardiner was also a Germanophile and the extent to which he embraced Nazism is the subject of some debate.¹⁰ Gardiner's connections to the YHA were significant but short-lived. In 1930, at an Open Council meeting to discuss the establishment of a youth hostel network in England, he was accepted as a member of the Council as representative of the Wessex Hikers' Lodges, who would play a pioneering role in the English organisation together with the Merseyside YH group, the British Youth Council and a few specified individuals,¹¹ but by 1932 the Wessex Hikers' Lodges no longer appear on the list of affiliated organizations.¹² Gardiner had refused to include his two hostels in Hampshire and Wiltshire within the YHA organization and this may have provoked a rift.¹³ Paul was on the left politically and the founder in 1925 of the Woodcraft Folk, a pacifist alternative to the scout movement, which remained affiliated to the YHA throughout the 1930s.

Anti-urban and anti-modern views were also held by individuals more closely associated with the YHA.¹⁴ Richard Schirrmann, the founder and chairman of the German

youth hostel movement, contributed an article to *Rucksack*, the YHA's quarterly magazine for members, in 1935 which illustrated his own anti-urban vision and introduced it to an English audience.¹⁵ He attacked the routinized nature of the office and factory and 'the dusty, smoky, stony desert of the towns'. 'Peace and recreation' was instead to be found 'far from the artificial, smart world of the city, with its mechanised industry, its racing and chasing after supposed happiness [...] in the Kingdom of green things'¹⁶ Similar sentiments were routinely recorded by G. M. Trevelyan, the historian who was president of the YHA, by William Temple, Archbishop of York and later Canterbury, who was a vice-president of the organization and also held by T. A. Leonard, another vice-president and doyen of the English rural holiday movement who had founded both the Co-operative Holidays Association in 1897 and the Holiday Fellowship in 1913. Two of the three chairmen of the National Executive Committee (NEC) in the 1930s, Barclay Baron and John Major, also shared a similar outlook. Major linked both an anti-urbanism and his reaction to war to his motivation for youth hostel work: 'I ask myself what urge there was within me towards this work. Primarily it was my own revolt against the town and its squalid urbanization; then it was a vision (after World War I) of a happier world of young people.'¹⁷

Virtually every contemporary account of the movement's foundation in England, whether in the YHA literature or in the commentary of others, mentions the German movement as inspiration. In September 1929 M. Weinstein of the London School of Economics and London representative of the *Reichsverband für Deutsche Jugendherbergen* wrote to the *Times* promoting a youth hostel scheme in England like that of Germany,¹⁸ and the following March the National Council of Social Service (NCSS) organised a 'Conference on Hostels' in London for groups interested in supporting their establishment. It was chaired by R. C. Norman, the vice-chair of the NCSS, who made reference to the German movement with which, he said, the delegates would be familiar, and which he praised for promoting

‘self-disciplined freedom’ among German youth and an ‘intelligent interest’ in nature.¹⁹ At the follow-up Open Council meeting planned for late June 1930 to establish a national network of hostels, it was hoped that Dr Adolf Deissmann, the German theologian, would present a talk about the DJH.²⁰ In August, a YHA pamphlet noted that the ‘...*Jugendherbergen* movement...is now fairly widely known in this country. An increasing number of young English men and women are making use of it to spend their holidays in Germany, and on their return they always ask why something of the kind cannot be done at home.’²¹ German influence was also clear in the first of the YHA’s publications. The first edition of the journal *Rucksack* expressed the intention of learning from the success of the DJH, and included a letter of greeting from Wilhelm Munker, a close associate of Richard Schirrmann and co-founder of the DJH.²²

A number of leading members of the YHA had connections with Germany which point to a deeper cultural affinity with the country.²³ Many of the key figures in the English movement had either studied there, knew the language or visited for holidays. This was true of two of the three NEC chairmen of the 1930s, Barclay Baron, who studied at Berlin and Munich Universities from 1905-6 and John Major, who apparently worked with German ‘labour camps’ in 1933 and had a long knowledge of the DJH.²⁴ Egerton St John (‘Jack’) Catchpool, who was Honorary Secretary of the YHA from its foundation until 1934 and then Secretary until 1950,²⁵ was the leading administrator of the movement and first met Schirrmann in about 1927 becoming a close friend, of which more below.²⁶ Catchpool also had a personal link to Germany in the 1930s as his elder brother Corder was a Quaker representative in Berlin from 1931 to 1936.

Possibly the earliest communication by Schirrmann with someone who later had strong links to the YHA was in 1923 when he wrote to T. A. Leonard praising his work as General Secretary of the Holiday Fellowship.²⁷ The Co-operative Holidays Association,

which Leonard also founded, had properties in Germany, and Leonard was an advocate of the creation of an English YHA along the lines of the German movement.²⁸ Henry Weston, an associate of Leonard who was General Secretary of the Co-operative Holidays Association and first chair of the Manchester Region of the YHA was another figure to have spent ‘some years studying in Germany’ according to his obituary.²⁹ Weston knew Schirrmann, who had written to him after he had visited Germany in March 1930, encouraging him to organise regional groups (also mentioning a Herr Heidrich of Bremen who had visited England in 1929 and was interested in German-English youth exchanges).³⁰ The Liverpool District Ramblers’ Association set up a sub-committee of Tom Fairclough, a member who had holidayed with the DJH (and later Secretary of the Merseyside Region), Ingram Knowles of the British Youth Council and David Rogers of the Co-operative Holidays Association to investigate the possibility of setting up youth hostels in the area.³¹ According to the website of the Merseyside archive, ‘many people’ had visited German hostels and hoped to organise a similar network.³² One of these was probably Fairclough as he expressed this desire to a companion in 1929. When she expressed her scepticism, he responded ‘...what Germany can do England can do.’³³

Network ties with the leaders of the German association and the YHA’s own internationalism were strengthened at the annual conferences of the International Youth Hostels Federation (*Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Jugendherbergen*), the first held in the Netherlands in 1932. Catchpool and Hesselgreaves attended the majority of these meetings and Baron was a representative in 1935. At Bierville in 1937 Heath and Hesselgreaves attended as Catchpool was on a lecture tour of the USA promoting the hostelling cause.³⁴ At the 1934 Conference held in England, Schirrmann became acquainted with many more activists in the English Association, as the surviving photographs in Schirrmann’s own collection, and others held elsewhere, confirm.³⁵

The third aspect of the Anglo-German relationship relates to the status of Germany as a former adversary and, after the Nazi accession to power, to the threat of future conflict. This is intimately connected to the strong current of internationalism and pacifism (or anti-war sentiment) to be found in the English YHA movement. Many in the movement, and others outside, believed or hoped that international linkages, and in particular walking in other countries and staying with other nationalities, would encourage mutual understanding and friendship and reduce the likelihood of further conflict. This was a strong current in 1930s Britain reflected, for example, in the Peace Pledge Union and had a resonance in the YHA, in particular because of the strong Quaker influence associated with pacifism or an anti-military ethos. Of the important figures in the YHA already mentioned, Catchpool, Major, Baron, Cadbury and Leonard were all Quakers and Catchpool and Major both served with the Friends' Ambulance Unit in the First World War. Many members of the prominent Quaker families, the Cadburys, the Rowntrees and the Sturges were active in regional YHA administration.³⁶

Many variations on the theme of the promotion of peace and understanding through youth hostel activity could be cited; three will be given as examples. In the first Handbook, Barclay Baron outlined six aims of the Association. The sixth included the following. 'Our movement has a contribution to make, on the most natural terms, to a better understanding between the younger people of different classes, opinions and nationalities...and there is no greater safeguard against strife, whether industrial or international, than the deep-seated friendship between very different people which can be begun in the freedom of the open air.'³⁷ In 1933, a *Rucksack* editorial declared: 'the world is full of fear, suspicion and doubt. To go simply as a wanderer from one country to another, making casual wayside friends, learning strange customs, talking, trying to understand and sympathise –that is perhaps the greatest contribution towards world peace that the individual can make. Never was that

contribution more needed than it is to-day.’³⁸ In the Handbook of 1933, the author Hugh Walpole wrote of the role of the love of beauty in creating universal brotherhood and believed ‘it would be a fine thing if Mussolini, Hitler, Ramsay MacDonald and M. Herriot could walk for a fortnight together using the hostels as they go.’³⁹

The movement thus urged its members to go walking abroad, with school parties particularly encouraged, since it was considered especially important to foster tolerance and understanding amongst young people. This predated the foundation of the English YHA; in 1929 the DJH had 700 British members including a block membership taken out by the continental section of the School Journey Association.⁴⁰ Walking parties in England from Germany, and other countries, were also promoted. A practical aspect to this policy was an attempt, launched in March 1931, to establish reciprocity with Germany (and other countries) so that English members could use German hostels. Catchpool visited Germany in late 1931 to lobby for this,⁴¹ and reciprocity was established the following year. He described it as an act of ‘splendid generosity’ by the German Association as its extensive network of hostels offered many walking opportunities for English members.⁴²

The section above has outlined how Germany had influenced the foundation and the development of the English movement: the following section will examine how the relationship was affected by the National Socialist accession to power in 1933.

The Nazi Period

The national associations outside Germany were confronted with the brutal nature of the new regime in a rather direct manner. In the spring of 1933 many German youth hostels, including the large flagship institution at Hohenstein in Saxony, were being used as concentration

camps; one variant of the 'wild' camps used in the early assault on the political Left. The hostels were requisitioned by the Nazi paramilitary S. A., which also used the buildings as barracks, but it would be wrong to conclude from this that the German association was somehow also a victim of the new regime. In the months following the takeover the DJH voluntarily subsumed itself into the broader Nazi Youth movement, both because its leaders understood Nazism to be closely related to their own nationalist, youth-oriented mission and, critically, because cooperation was felt to be the best way to grow the organization. 'Cooperation', of course, meant changes in personnel. Regional DJH leaders with socialist backgrounds were forced out, unable to continue as volunteers after losing their jobs in the purges of 1933. Neither Schirrmann nor Munker expressed much concern about this process. Their belief that they could remain at the helm of the organization, however, also proved to be wrong. Over the following months, the DJH came under the complete control of the Hitler Youth.⁴³ Johannes Rodatz became Nazi Commissioner for Youth Hostels, reporting directly to Baldur von Schirach. Munker resigned in September 1933 and Schirrmann was given a greatly diminished role as Emeritus President,⁴⁴ although he remained president of the International Youth Hostels Federation (IYHF) until 1937. Schirrmann's ostracism appears to have been driven by personal animosity, in part born of his stubborn refusal to make way for a younger generation, rather than ideological difference. His repeated efforts to join the Nazi party, which also appear to have been thwarted by personal politics, suggest at least that he continued to identify with the Nazi movement with his last application being made as late as 1942.⁴⁵

When the American Sociologist John Biesanz visited Germany in the late 1930s, he found a hostelling movement that had been completely re-purposed:

..[T]he free and democratic hostel atmosphere, characteristic of the former era, has now given way to regimentation: Hitler's picture is displayed in the general room of every hostel;

*'Heil Hitler' is the officially required password on arrival and departure; house parents are quite often party officials, dressed in uniform; hostel radios are tuned in on National Socialist programs; the hostels themselves are not infrequently used for political activities. There is less individual and small group wandering; the visitor constantly meets large groups on the German roads who, dressed on the clothes of the Hitler Jugend, bearing flags and singing political songs, march in lock-step from hostel to hostel.*⁴⁶

The response of the English Association to these developments was largely one of accommodation and indulgence, although this position was at least understood to be problematic. Catchpool told the *Manchester Guardian* that he spoke 'with great hesitation about the position in Germany because it was almost impossible for an Englishman to appreciate the present German point of view and also because it was difficult to speak of the recent events without offending or causing misunderstanding among people of many different shades of opinion whose friendship he valued.'⁴⁷ Amongst others, he was probably thinking of Schirrmann and his accommodation with the regime. (The discrimination and repression by the Nazi regime was clearly indicated in the article as it cited Rodatz's reassurance that *British Jews and Communists would still be welcome at German hostels.*)

In the *Rucksack*, there were two articles dedicated to the Nazi accession, both of which offered a rather disingenuous or naïve view of developments. In 1933 Philip Williamson in 'The D.J.H. in New Germany' claimed that the situation was not really as bad as it had been represented and offered the platitude that when in Rome, one did as the Roman. Although the politicisation of the movement was to be deplored, this did not justify a boycott as this policy would 'aggravate the inferiority complex that is in itself largely responsible for the present situation' and that 'maintaining contacts between youth must be beneficial.'⁴⁸ The following year H. Maw wrote 'An Innocent Abroad' which struck a similar note. 'I had qualms about the Nazis, which were quickly dispelled. Everyone seemed happy

at being a Nazi, so I could not very well object to their happiness... I will not mix politics, but I can say that I saw nothing out of place for English Youth Hostel members to be afraid of, and certainly I found the place more settled than on previous occasions.⁴⁹ He advocated that walking with Germans should continue and not be undermined by the politically-minded.

Neither author seems to have been a prominent member of the YHA, although the publication of these articles in the house magazine may suggest a wider currency to such sentiments. The YHA did not favour a boycott but instead encouraged the maintenance and extension of trips to Germany and *vice versa*. There are three possible reasons for this. First, as mentioned above, is the belief that contact and, in particular, walking with Germans would increase understanding and fraternity and, relatedly, reduce the chance of conflict. The rise of Nazism arguably made this strategy more compelling. In autumn 1933, Catchpool accepted the invitation to attend the second annual conference of the fledging IYHF at Bad Godesberg, near Bonn, in the belief that there was 'nothing to be lost and much to be gained by the close association of the youth of other countries with the youth of Germany during this anxious period.'⁵⁰ Second, is that in 1935 Schirrmann appealed for as many British walkers as possible to visit Germany.⁵¹ Third, may have been the pragmatic consideration by the YHA that the situation in Germany did not warrant depriving its members of access to a large numbers of hostels for recreation. The YHA's position also reflected wider opinion in Britain. Most commercial, sporting and voluntary organizations and the government favoured continued links with Germany for a variety of motives and support for boycotts was limited, found principally among Jewish and labour organizations.⁵²

The German organization under the Nazis continued to court foreign walkers. A travel brochure entitled *Hiking in Germany* was published to this end and in early 1934 the special charge on foreigners in German YHs was abolished.⁵³ The commitment to promoting German links by the YHA was emphasised by the introduction of a voucher scheme in 1935.

German currency restrictions meant that only ten marks could be taken out of the country. To facilitate German travelling, Germans could buy vouchers for use in England and to pay for hostel accommodation if English walkers reciprocated in buying German vouchers.⁵⁴ In 1936 English visitors constituted 57,800 of approximately 196,000 bed nights spent by foreigners in Germany and, of 120,000 visitors in 1937, the British 'greatly predominated.'⁵⁵

In most cases these visits probably amounted to a continuation of the largely unstructured, individual and group holidays of the early 1930s. However, hostels were sometimes the setting for more formal exchange programmes between the countries. Unsurprisingly, under the Nazis, such programmes were exploited for the positive image of the regime they could project to foreign and domestic audiences. One prominent German initiative was a series of Anglo-German camps in the two countries between 1934 and 1939. Bryanston School in Dorset, Berkhamsted School in Hertfordshire and Gresham's in Norfolk were all to play host.⁵⁶ In a report on the 11th camp, held at the Adolf Hitler Youth Hostel in Berchtesgaden in January 1937, the *Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro* quoted extensively from von Schirach's opening speech which emphasised the Führer's commitment to peace, and the role to be played by young people in fostering mutual understanding between nations.⁵⁷ By this stage such talk of peace and friendship amounted to little more than a cynical appropriation of internationalist sentiment; one that served the purposes of a regime ultimately bent on war. The particular relationship to be encouraged through the Anglo-German camps may have reflected a genuine interest in friendship with the British, but in part this had also become a purely instrumental concern to forge alliances with potential allies.

The German association left the international organization in July 1937, ostensibly because it no longer wanted to be bound by rules set by a body that was viewed, increasingly, as meddling in its affairs. However, the departure was also related to the personal animosity that existed between von Schirach and Rodatz on one side and Schirrmann on the other and

the final ousting of Schirrmann from any involvement in the movement in the summer of 1937. According to Munker, the reason was Rodatz' failure to secure the presidency of the international movement for himself at the 1936 conference in Copenhagen. The other international delegates had steadfastly supported Schirrmann, who was then held responsible for the debacle by von Schirach and accused of 'jeopardising Germany's interests in a reckless manner bordering on treason.' The regime needed a 'dyed-in-the-wool' National Socialist to represent it on the international stage not Schirrmann who was also accused of not being effusive enough about the Nazi regime during an earlier three-month visit to the USA in 1935. After his humiliation at Copenhagen, the decision to pull Germany out of the international organization may simply have been an act of spite.⁵⁸

The majority of member countries favoured a swift return for Germany; this view was expressed by Menant and Sangnier (France), Meilink (Netherlands), Binder (Switzerland) and Hesselgreaves at the 1937 Conference held in Bierville, France.⁵⁹ A motion on readmission was carried by seventeen votes to three, with three abstentions and Germany re-joined the IYHF in February 1938, a return 'warmly welcomed' at the international conference,⁶⁰ and greeted with cheers when announced at the annual National Council meeting of the England and Wales association in April 1938.⁶¹ The reasons for the readmission are unclear, but it seems the Nazi regime had now decided a German presence could help to present National Socialism in a good light abroad. Rodatz would also go on to represent Germany at the 1938 Conference. With Schirrmann now absent, he secured enough votes to be elected vice-president but not the presidency itself, which went to Catchpool.⁶²

The absence of evidence of any criticism within the movement in England of the continued links with Germany is striking.⁶³ As hinted at by Catchpool's discomfort above, such a position would be a political gesture by an organization which was avowedly non-political, yet the lack of condemnation or boycott was in itself political in that it aligned the

YHA with the policy of appeasement.⁶⁴ Not only were links maintained but they persisted until late in the decade. For example, a letter in the second edition of *Rucksack* of 1939 from Graham Heath, YHA International Officer, appealed for volunteers for a working party on the Rhine and for one in Suffolk where fifty members of the DJH would participate from mid-August to mid-September. A second letter of appeal appeared in the third edition of midsummer 1939.⁶⁵

This lack of criticism is also found at the international level. The minutes of the International Conference contain no discussion of political developments in Germany and blandly record the ‘incorporation’ of the Austrian YH organization into the German one after the Anschluss of 1938 and approve Rodatz becoming vice-President in 1938. From a contemporary perspective, this indulgence may seem surprising or blameworthy so it is worth a little consideration. One possible explanation, as indicated above, is that the IYHF was preoccupied with the maintenance and expansion of the movement measured by the number of member countries, number of hostels and bed-nights. This implied an apolitical stance and an uncritical attitude to the domestic politics of members and may have been reinforced by the importance of Germany in the movement, in terms of its founding status and its large number of hostels, which also increased substantially under the Nazis. But, equally, this maintenance was not, or not solely, a bureaucratic or organizational imperative but was underpinned by a moral vision. Catchpool and others saw the hostel movement as a force for good in the education of youth, the promotion of peace and the avoidance of war and thus its expansion had aspects of a moral crusade.⁶⁶

Reconciliation, reconstruction and reintegration: the post-war years 1945-50.

The end of the war marked a stark reversal of fortunes. In the late 1920s and early 1930s the German movement had been an inspiration, and offered encouragement, to the fledgling English YHA. After 1945 both the organization and the hostels in Germany needed rebuilding and the English movement was eager to assist in this process and was, in one sense, paying a debt of gratitude from the earlier period. Pascall, the NEC vice-chairman, was quoted as saying that ‘the Y.H.A., the strongest child of the international Y.H. family, could not do less than make these contributions in order to assist the convalescent parent.’⁶⁷ This sentiment was echoed in Catchpool’s presidential address at the 1947 International Conference when he stated: ‘although all the countries represented have suffered such grievous hurt at the hands of the German Nazi dictator, we will not forget those who, at the outset of the Movement, graciously accepted reciprocity, offering the open door, even to hostellers which were yet without any kindred organization in their own countries.’⁶⁸

The optimistic, or perhaps naïve, view that walking and contact between peoples, especially youth, could help to promote understanding and avoid conflict had been dealt a severe blow by the war. However, this did not seem to undermine the international orientation of the YHA. Although war had not been prevented, these links could be re-forged as part of a process of reconciliation. Like other NGOs and particularly educational and religious ones, the YHA was keen to offer practical and other forms of support once the war ended.⁶⁹

There are two principal aspects of post-war linkages. One was related to the English assistance in physical reconstruction and other personnel connections like the warden training programme. The other was the attempt by Schirrmann and Munker to re-establish the German organization under their leadership after Nazi control and to reintegrate it into the international network of hostelling by readmission into the IYHF. To this end, they looked particularly toward the English organization, and to Catchpool, to plead their case both with

the occupying authorities and the international youth hostel community.⁷⁰ Although he was not a member of the YHA's International Committee, which was chaired by C. H. Bradley, his leading administrative role in the English movement, his international stature as President of the IYHF and his close personal links with Schirrmann and Munker meant that he remained the most important contact with the German movement.

The task of rebuilding the network of hostels in Germany was an enormous one. Many of the buildings had been destroyed, and those fit for human habitation were serving as emergency housing for displaced persons and refugees. The British Control Commission and the German authorities working under them in the British Zone were clear that this use took precedence over any desire to 'revive youth excursions.'⁷¹ The process of releasing hostels and of rebuilding them was thus a slow one, and only 185 of Germany's pre-war total of 2200 hostels had been reclaimed by the movement by the summer of 1947.⁷² In this context, Munker's letter to Catchpool in June 1945, in which he asked for Catchpool's help in the return of furnishings and YHs 'stolen' by Nazi youth, seems more than optimistic.⁷³ It is not clear whether Catchpool acted on this request and, given the situation, it appears unlikely that any intervention on his part would have made any difference. Catchpool first corresponded with the founders of the German movement in November 1945. In his first letter to Munker in 'six terrible long years', sent via Major Bickford Smith of the Control Commission for Germany, he asked him to send a message to Schirrmann '...to let him know how deeply we have sympathised with him in the smashing of his life work since the Nazis came to power.'⁷⁴

The International Committee noted in June 1946 that there was a possibility that a small working party could visit Germany that autumn but that this should not reach the attention of the press presumably because such links were still politically sensitive.⁷⁵ The working party did not take place because Colonel Andrews, of the Education Branch of the Control Commission, had written to the International Committee to inform it that conditions

in Germany would not allow working parties that year but they would be welcome as soon as the position eased.⁷⁶ By the following year it seems this had indeed occurred. In March 1947 Catchpool and Pascall visited Colonel Andrews in the British Zone to discuss practical proposals to help in Germany and the first two post-war working parties took place in Hamburg in July and August 1947, where a party of YHA members and local Germans began the task of transforming a former barracks in the Martinstrasse, a site which had also served as a POW camp and later as an orphanage.

A possible indication that the reconciliation and reconstruction initiatives had the support of the wider membership is that Catchpool recorded that 1000 people had volunteered for the project, only eighteen of whom could be accommodated.⁷⁷ Catchpool visited again in March 1948 by invitation of the Control Commission to conclude arrangements for summer working parties. In May that year he wrote to Evans, of the German Education Section of the Foreign Office (FO), detailing six other work camp possibilities for that year in Aachen, Cologne, Castle Bilstein, Hannover, Brunswick and Berlin although it is not clear if they all materialised. *Rucksack* included a report on a working party to Cuxhaven in May and noted that it was one of a number which visited Germany that year.⁷⁸ The next edition recorded that 160 volunteers had visited Germany in 1948 and their work had been appreciated by Colonel Andrews.⁷⁹ 1949 marked a peak in working party activity with twelve taking place between early April and mid-August with nearly 200 YHA members taking part.⁸⁰

The attitude of the authorities to the working parties was generally favourable, albeit overlain by bureaucratic concerns.⁸¹ Concerns relating to cost, logistical issues over transport and getting the 'right people' appear in the correspondence. However, it is also clear that the FO and the Control Commission recognised the part that this scheme could play in the broader policy of denazification and re-education. A letter to Catchpool in May 1947 stated

that 'only a comparatively small number of Englishmen can go to Germany this summer, and their influence on the general situation may be considerable. It is therefore absolutely necessary for us to feel sure that those who go are likely to prove of the maximum use in the re-education of the Germany people, which is the essential purpose lying behind all these plans.'⁸²

Working parties were the most significant element of post-war contacts although other miscellaneous ones were organised which included visits from German youth, warden training and cultural visits to Germany. In late 1947 a group of Germans were visiting England to walk and Catchpool outlined his reconciliatory hopes in a letter to Munker: 'these young Germans will be with us over Christmas and they will, we hope, go back as ambassadors of friendship and endeavour to explain England and all the difficulties through which our country is passing when they return to Germany. Perhaps the best way of bringing about an understanding between our two countries is to realize our common suffering.'⁸³ In 1948 the contacts were extended and Catchpool mentioned a small number of Germans visiting England who he hoped would go back home to explain England and her democratic methods. These visits were generally small-scale; the early ones in late 1947 were often only parties of four because, for part of the visit, the Catchpools would host the visitors and Catchpool would take them on excursions in his car. That even such relatively modest schemes could provoke tensions with the authorities is suggested by a telegram from Berlin to the FO in London in late 1947 complaining that the YHA were continually changing the arrangements for visits to England by German boys.⁸⁴

Warden training seems to have been first raised in late 1946 when Catchpool asked Regional Groups to host German houseparents (the equivalent of the wardens) with four to six week visits being envisaged in mid-1947.⁸⁵ It is not clear that they took place; however in early 1948 two German couples were engaged in two months' training in England.⁸⁶

Volunteers visited Germany as goodwill visitors whereby two or three would visit training centres and offer lectures, organise excursions and offer workshops in music and dancing. The International Committee noted in October 1948 that the Lord Mayor's UN Children's Appeal Fund had offered £2000 to assist in European YH reconstruction with a supplement of £250 for the specific purpose of bringing young Germans to England on educational visits. It was used to pay the expenses of twelve Germans to visit, including wardens, regional officers and members.⁸⁷ The fund was later increased and Germany was one of twelve countries to benefit with £500 allocated for the purchase of mattresses and blankets.

In March 1950 the International Committee noted that the German YHA was expected to invite English members to be assistant wardens at emergency tented hostels in the Rhineland in the summer and, were the events to take place, the volunteers would be selected from those who had given good service at working parties over the previous three years.⁸⁸ Later that year, Germans were among foreign wardens attending a training course held at St Briavel's hostel and eight cycling tours of Germany, for the first time aimed specifically at young members, had been organised with eighty-four of 104 places filled.⁸⁹

It is impossible to know if YHA reconstruction activity on its own had much effect in terms of reconciliation, partly because the impact of the hostel movement is not easily disaggregated from the impact of other religious and voluntary groups working towards similar ends and partly because the views of Germans were not necessarily recorded. However, given the privations of post-war Britain and the fact that working parties were also deployed to help former allies, and other adversaries such as Italy and Austria, the allocation of resources to help in the reconstruction of approximately twenty German hostels indicates a significant commitment.

The YHA's efforts were part of a much broader intervention by British youth organizations in Germany after the war, one coordinated by the occupying authority, the British Control Commission, but owing much to the National Council of Social Service, a body that had been established in England in 1919 to facilitate cooperation between the country's largest youth organizations, and now also with an international focus. In October 1946 its delegates, including representatives from the Girls and Mixed Clubs, the Young Christian Workers, the Church of England Youth Council, the Church Lads' Brigade, the YMCA, YWCA, and the Boy Scouts Association all visited Germany to study the desperate situation first-hand, meeting with Control Commission officials, German youth workers, and with young people themselves. They emphasised the need to develop 'cooperation between German youth and other countries [...] with vision and imagination, and on a very wide scale' and, like the YHA, they were keen to invite selected youth leaders to Britain as part of this process.⁹⁰ Those English associations which were affiliated to an international body here looked to revive affiliate German associations and work towards their rehabilitation at international level, much as Catchpool was doing for the DJH. The German YMCA and YWCA were amongst the first to be approved by the western occupying powers, who were keen to work through the churches, and their reintegration into the world organisation followed swiftly after 1945. For the German Scouts and Guides, who had not previously been recognised by the International Bureau of Boy Scouts, things moved more slowly, delayed because some British officials thought sections of the German movement had been organised along paramilitary lines, and that resuscitation in this case would prove counterproductive to the aim of denazification.⁹¹

The second main theme of post-war Anglo-German links was related to attempts to re-establish the German organization and to promote its admission to the IYHF. The International Committee was keen to encourage and assist in the reconstruction of the

movement. In June 1945 an item recorded the wish 'as soon as censorship conditions permit to get into (sic) touch with old and trusted members of the pre-war anti-Nazi Association, giving confidential information of the work and growth of the YHA and asking for their news.'⁹² As early as August 1945, Catchpool was lobbying the FO to have the independence of the German YHA restored. The Committee decided that PJ Clarke, as chair of the NEC, should write to the proper authorities stating that the YHA knew Munker and Schirrmann and supported their work.⁹³

Over in Germany Munker and Schirrmann lobbied for the reconstitution of a national movement and for leading roles for themselves within it. In January 1946 Munker wrote to Bickford Smith requesting recognition of the *Hauptverband* (a central, national organization) with Schirrmann as chairman and, over a year later, in March 1947 a similar letter was sent with Munker advocating posts for himself, Schirrmann and a Herr Albrecht, pending proper elections.⁹⁴ These efforts would lead to a degree of tension between Schirrmann and Catchpool because Schirrmann, who saw himself as a victim of Nazism, appeared to think it was unproblematic that he should lead the post-war movement in Germany. He also seemed not to appreciate, or was insensitive to, the extent of anti-German feeling in Europe.⁹⁵ Schirrmann and Munker attended the International Conference at Loch Lomond, Scotland in September 1946, but as guests and not in any official capacity. Here, Sigurd Stinessen, the Norwegian representative who had been a prisoner of war for four-and-a-half years, argued passionately against German links and re-entry to the international movement.⁹⁶

Whether he was aware of it or not, Schirrmann was only allowed to visit at all after persistent lobbying by Catchpool. J. Mark of the Control Commission had written to FDW Brown of the German Department of the FO in June 1946 and stated that Schirrmann and Munker were '...men of some standing who were anti-Nazis', presumably a view that had been promoted by Catchpool.⁹⁷ In a reply to Mark in July 1946, Brown stated that he thought

Schirrmann and Munker should not be allowed into Britain because they were over seventy and thus would have little contact with German youth and were persons of little significance. 'Furthermore, I do not (sic) feel that the Youth Hostels Association is likely to be in a position to take up again its connexion with a similar organization in Germany for some considerable time to come. In these circumstances the doubtful advantages of the presence of the two Germans would seem to be very much outweighed by the disadvantages of possible and not unreasonable criticism by people in this country and by our Allies.'⁹⁸ In response to FO opposition, Catchpool wrote to the Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, stating that the International Committee wanted Schirrmann to attend.⁹⁹ He also claimed that Schirrmann had suffered much under the Nazis and that other overseas representatives would welcome him; both claims were misleading if not mendacious. It is unclear whether Bevin intervened directly but the FO objections were overruled.

That the decision at Loch Lomond not to readmit Germany immediately rankled is evidenced by a letter from Schirrmann to Hans Hocke, a member of Croydon YHA group, in June 1948. 'You ask whether I'll also be taking part in this year's international youth hostel conference in Ireland. I am not able to tell you at present. I also don't know whether I'll be invited to it! In 1946 I was present at Loch Lomen (sic) castle. Unfortunately disagreements arose and I was not invited the following year. I had thought you see that all the colleagues in the international Youth Hostel Association comprise a special little nation, where politics was excluded and where there were no conquerors and conquered - even if the nations and states to which they belong make war on each other and tear each other apart. Here I was mistaken, and that is why I stayed away from the subsequent international YHA conference.'¹⁰⁰ As indicated above, it was naïve of Schirrmann to expect a speedy readmission of Germany even if he was untainted, or considered himself to be, by Nazi association.

In September 1947, Schirrmann would speak bitterly of the British people and, because of Russian wartime atrocities, was angered by the attempt to bring the USSR into the International Federation; a policy about which Catchpool was unapologetic. Echoing his earlier position, in November 1947 Catchpool also stated that the German organization must elect its own President, Secretary and democratic committee and that ‘...any direction or pressure by an International Committee would not be in accordance with my views of democracy.’¹⁰¹ Despite these tensions, the strength of the personal relationship is revealed in a letter to ‘my dear Richard’ in June 1948 which concludes: ‘you will not doubt my love for you and my gratitude for all you have done. Someday all the cruel misunderstandings will be over for ever, and just as soon as it is allowed, you know that your German boys and girls will be welcome in our Youth Hostels.’¹⁰²

The German organization was reconstituted as a national body in October 1949. Schirrmann and Munker had seats on the Executive Committee and were given honorary titles.¹⁰³ Regarding the international level, Catchpool wrote to Munker and said that if it had been his decision there would have been reciprocal arrangements with Germany and Schirrmann as honorary President ‘these last post-war years’ but the decision of the IYHF as a democratic body had to be respected.¹⁰⁴ At the International Conference that year in Denmark the issue of German admittance was remitted until 1950.¹⁰⁵ In August that year, the German YHA was admitted by a unanimous vote at the twelfth Annual Conference held in England.¹⁰⁶

Its national re-establishment and re-admittance to the international body in 1950 marked the end of a chapter in Anglo-German relations and in particular for Catchpool and Schirrmann as two of the most significant protagonists. Catchpool retired as Secretary of the YHA and was succeeded as President of the IYHF by Leo Meilink of the Netherlands. Meilink paid tribute to Catchpool at the 1950 Conference: ‘...it must be a great satisfaction to

you that at this Conference, under your chairmanship, Germany is with us again. It crowns your work of reconciliation.¹⁰⁷

One other event after Catchpool's retirement encapsulates many of the themes above. A working party at Bierville in the summer of 1951 rebuilt the first French youth hostel which had been opened in 1929 by Marc Sangnier, who had founded the French youth hostel organization the following year. He had died in 1950 and the project was in part a tribute to his work. The internationalism of the movement was represented in that sixteen different nationalities, including Germans, comprised the working party. The reconciliatory efforts promoted by Catchpool were manifest at the inauguration in September 1951 when it was possible 'to invite collaborators, Resistance and German youth in happy co-operation with the village dwellers and youth from many lands' which, claimed Catchpool, Sangnier would have wanted.¹⁰⁸ The event was attended by 1500 people with much press and radio coverage and by the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman which was pertinent given his family connections to the contested territory of Alsace-Lorraine.

The occasion also provided a link between pre and post-war figures in the movement. An address was given by Heinrich Hassinger, the new President of the DJH, who paid tribute to Catchpool for his work in the 'spiritual reconstruction' of friendly relations between Germany and other associations.¹⁰⁹ Schirrmann attended and much of the oversight of the work was undertaken by Karl Kaufhold, who was resident in the USA but had formerly been Schirrmann's Secretary for International Affairs in the DJH. Schirrmann's stock remained high among English members. In 1949 a letter from the Central London Group thanked him for the transmission of his ideas to Britain which were '...a boon to thousands of young people' and Catchpool invited him to send goodwill greetings for the 21st anniversary of the YHA to be printed in *Rucksack* and the souvenir programme.¹¹⁰ In a letter published in the journal, Schirrmann wrote on the familiar themes of the hostelling movement promoting a

love of nature and internationalism and concluded: 'it is still but patchwork, and it is left to you to finish.'¹¹¹ As a postscript two letters were sent to Schirrmann from rank and file members in 1959 on the 50th anniversary of the German movement thanking him for his contribution to hostelling.¹¹² In the same year, he visited England as guest of honour at the opening of the flagship hostel in Holland Park, London.¹¹³ Following his death in December 1961, three eulogies by Catchpool, Bradley and Len Clark, chair of the NEC, were published in *Youth Hosteller* and a biography in English by Graham Heath, former YHA International Officer, was published in 1962.¹¹⁴

Conclusion and reflections

Between the wars the youth hostel movement emerged as a transnational organisation committed to international co-operation and peace, but with the Nazi accession to power in 1933 this project unravelled, both because of the synchronization of the 'parent' association (a process facilitated by the DJH's willingness to adapt to the Nazi programme), and because the fledgling associations adopted a position of accommodation towards the now fascist German organisation. In the case of the YHA this remarkable acquiescence was born of its close relationship with the German DJH, and of the belief that continuing to encourage youth travel to and from Germany remained a force for good. These ties were only broken with the onset of war in 1939. The history of the movement in the period 1930-1950, was thus profoundly shaped by the Nazi coordination and corruption of German civil society.

As this study and other recent scholarship on the period after 1945 has made clear, non-governmental actors like the hostelling associations remerged to play an important role in the process of European integration after the war, a role which has often been overlooked in interpretations which focus on 'state-centred activity'.¹¹⁵ However, transnational

associations like the IYHA could only influence things because they were given the space to flourish by governments committed to the reconstitution of civil society and greater European cooperation. In the immediate aftermath of war neither the re-emergence of the German organisation nor English YHA involvement in reconciliation and reconstruction would have happened without the approval of the occupying powers. They were permitted because they accorded with the Control Commission's policy of re-education.

When reviewing the twenty-year period from 1930 to 1950, one is struck by the depth and resilience of Anglo-German relations in the youth hostelling movement, given the strains that total war provoked. We have demonstrated the different levels at which this relationship operated. At a 'macro' and ideational level, the relationship rested on a shared cultural antipathy towards the negative aspects of urbanism and modernity and an evangelical zeal for walking and the countryside. A more temporally specific and politically contextualised link was an internationalist and reconciliatory ethos, forged initially as a response to the First World War, although this was exercised more selectively post-World War Two by Schirrmann. Central too was the feeling amongst English activists that they YHA owed a debt of gratitude for the inspiration the German movement had provided. As we have shown, this feeling of indebtedness survived the war years, despite occasional strains. These broad and diffuse linkages were then reinforced at the 'micro' or personal level where the energy, commitment and organizational ability of Catchpool were crucial factors. Schirrmann's rehabilitation as father figure of the movement in the post-war period, uncertain given his problematic relationship with Nazism, clearly owed a great deal to the personal loyalty and tireless engagement of Catchpool.

¹ The terms ‘Anglo’ and ‘English’ are generally used in this article for convenience. The organization covered England and Wales with a separate Scottish YHA.

² London Conference, 10 April 1930 cited in Helen Maurice-Jones and Lindsey Porter, *The Spirit of YHA* (private publication, 2008), 45.

³ Annual Report 1939 (Y440001. YHA archive, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham. All references hereafter Y...refer to this archive); P. J. Clarke, ‘Foreword’, Handbook, 1950, 3 (Y430001).

⁴ For a history of this period, see Oliver Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story: the first twenty years in England and Wales* (London, NCSS, 1950).

⁵ For the domestic context of the YHA, see Michael Cunningham, ‘Ethos and Politics in the Youth Hostels Association in the 1930s’, *Contemporary British History*, 30, 2 (2016), 177-202. Important texts in the related areas mentioned include Harvey Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside: a History of the British Outdoor Movement* (Keele, Keele University Press, 1997), Sian Edwards, *Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside, 1930-1960* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), Walter Laqueur, *Young Germany: a history of the German Youth Movement* (London, Routledge, 1962), J. A. R. Pimlott, *The Englishman’s Holiday: a social history* (Hassocks, Harvester, 1976; 1st published 1947), Fred Inglis, *The Delicious History of the Holiday* (London, Routledge, 2000) and John Ramsden, *Don’t Mention the War: The British and the Germans since 1890* (London, Little Brown, 2006). These texts either do not mention the YHA or devote only a few pages to the organization.

⁶ The main archives consulted are: The YHA archive, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham; The National Archives, Kew; Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung, Burg Ludwigstein; The London Metropolitan Archive and the Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London. In addition the authors have made use of the proceedings of the international conferences contained in the *Dossier für den ersten bis achten*

Internationalen Kongress der Internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Jugendherbergen (Amsterdam, Holbeinstr. 18) held at the German National Library, Leipzig.

⁷ Richard Jobs, 'Youth Mobility and the Making of Europe, 1945-60', in Richard Jobs and David Pomfret (eds), *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2015), 146.

⁸ See Frank Trentmann, 'Civilization and its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-Modernism in Twentieth-Century Western Culture', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29, 4 (1994), 583-625. More recently Williams has argued that German 'naturism' (by which he meant conservation, walking, and nudism) should not be seen as anti-modern but instead as a rational response to problems of contemporary life. However, it is clear that for the leading figures in the hostelling movement anti-urbanism was inextricably linked with anti-modernism, as indeed the quotation from Schirrmann overleaf illustrates. See John Williams, *Turning to Nature in Germany: Hiking, Nudism and Conservation, 1900-1940* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2007).

⁹ Mike Tyldesley, 'The German Youth Movement and National Socialism: Some Views from Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 41, 1 (2006), 21-34.

¹⁰ See Matthew Jefferies and Mike Tyldesley (eds), *Rolf Gardiner: Folk, Nature and Culture in Inter-War Britain* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2010).

¹¹ Handbook, 1931, 9 (Y430001).

¹² YHA National Council meeting, Welwyn, 10 April 1932 (Y700003-1).

¹³ He did later contribute an article about workcamps for the unemployed in an edition of the YHA magazine. See Gardiner 'Springhead: Work Camps in Wessex', *Rucksack*, 2, 3 (1934), 35-6 (Y500001).

¹⁴ For more details see Michael Cunningham, "'Pavements grey of the imprisoning city": the articulation of a pro-rural and anti-urban ideology in the Youth Hostels Association (YHA) in the 1930s', *Literature and History*, 25, 1(2016), 56-75.

¹⁵ The date of the foundation of the movement is often given as 1909, the year that Schirrmann opened a hostel at Altena. Hence, the congratulations sent to Schirrmann in 1959 marking the 50th anniversary.

¹⁶ Richard Schirrmann, 'Departure and Return', *Rucksack*, 3, 1 (1935), 3 (Y500001). YHA's *Rucksack* was first published in 1932, costing 3d per issue or 6d for an annual subscription. It contained news of YHA policy, international linkages including hostel restoration and walking trips, reports on regional activity, book reviews and a series on walking in different parts of Britain entitled 'The Ways of Britain.' *Rucksack* and its successor magazines were published for many years, suggesting that a large body of YHA members subscribed.

¹⁷ 'John W. Major', *Youth Hosteller*, 34, 5 (1966), 6-7 (Y500001).

¹⁸ *Times*, 21 September 1929, 6.

¹⁹ NCSS 'Conference on Hostels', London, 13 March 1930, np. (London Metropolitan Archive: LMA/4287/02/451).

²⁰ Item 4 (3), Executive Committee minutes, London, 28 May 1930 (Y700003-1).

²¹ Anon (possibly G. M. Trevelyan). 'Youth Hostels Association of Great Britain', August 1930, 4-5 (LMA/4287/02/451).

²² *Rucksack*, 1, 1 (1932), 7 (Y500001). Executive Committee, 18 March 1931 (Y700003-1). See also Trevelyan's reference to the movements of the 'Teutonic lands' in Handbook, 1931 (Y430001), 4, and Barclay Baron, 'How Hostels Began 1. In Germany', *Rucksack*, 4, 1 (1936), 10 (Y500001). It was noted at an executive meeting of March 1931 that Munker would also endeavour to send a delegation to England for the proposed opening of an old mill in Winchester, although it is unclear whether this visit, or that of Deissmann, actually took place.

²³ In this respect they were not unusual. Since the Victorian era there had been a broad interest in German culture amongst sections of the British middle and intellectual class. See Richard Evans, *Cosmopolitan Islanders: British Historians and the European Continent* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), 93.

²⁴ It is likely given Major's background that 'Labour camps' refers to labourers' colonies for the homeless (*Arbeiterkolonien*) run by charities rather than the camp system developed by the Nazis. Major later stated '...I had by 1930 a reasonable knowledge of the German Jugendherbergen, and had not only come to know many hostels in Germany, but for ten years had had contact with Wandervogeln (sic) groups.' John W. Major, 'The Early Years', *Rucksack*, 18, 4 (1950), 4 (Y500001).

²⁵ Catchpool's successor in 1950 was Horace Knapp, an activist in Wiltshire who 'first came in touch with hostelling in Germany in 1930' *Rucksack*, 18, 5 (1950), 13 (Y500001).

²⁶ E. St J. Catchpool, "'One Man in his Time" created a world-wide Federation', *Youth Hosteller*, 30, 2 (1962), 4-5 (Y500001).

²⁷ Schirrmann to Leonard, 2 May 1923 (Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung, Burg Ludwigstein 201/A-403. All references hereafter AdJb refer to this archive). The letter refers specifically to the universal peace that the Holiday Fellowship was promoting.

- ²⁸ Letter to *Manchester Guardian*, 29 January 1930, 20; Douglas George Hope, *Thomas Arthur Leonard and the Co-operative Holidays Association: Joy in widest commonalty spread* (Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars, 2017), 102.
- ²⁹ *Times*, 31 December 1953.
- ³⁰ Schirrmann to Weston, 10 March 1930 (AdJb: 201/A-403).
- ³¹ Information on Fairclough from Hope, *Thomas Arthur Leonard*, 102.
- ³² <http://discovery.nationalarchives/details/rd/911a851a-b2fd-4> (accessed 1 March 2017). Coburn noted that Knowles was another with ‘a wide first-hand knowledge of the German movement.’ Oliver Coburn, ‘Youth Hostels in Germany: Plans for Y.H.A. Help’, *Rucksack*, 15, 3 (1947), 17 (Y500001). John Hesselgreaves, the first Secretary of the West Yorkshire Region, who claimed to be one of the first members of the English YHA, wrote to Schirrmann in fluent German in 1934.
- ³³ C. Williams, ‘T.E.F’, *Youth Hosteller*, July 1965, 13 (Y610020). Maurice-Jones and Porter, *Spirit of YHA* has a photo of Fairclough’s German membership card.
- ³⁴ The records of the conferences are in the *Dossier für den ersten bis achten Internationalen Kongress der Internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Jugendherbergen* (Amsterdam, Holbeinstr. 18) held at the German National Library, Leipzig.
- ³⁵ See, in particular, no. 07_3795 and 07_3796, 007 Sig. Richard Schirrmann, Jugendherbergswesen, IWL-Medienzentrum für Westfalen (<http://www.iwl.org/marsLWL/de/instance/ko.xhtml?oid=234612733&filename=Sig-Richard-Schirrmann-Begrümlndung-des-deutschen>, accessed 12 September 2017). See also the photographs in the Cadbury Research Library at Y610103, Y610102-2 and Y610102-4.
- ³⁶ For details of Quaker involvement see Mark Freeman, ‘Fellowship, service and the “spirit of adventure”: the Religious Society of Friends and the outdoors movement in Britain c. 1900-1950’, *Quaker Studies*, 14 (2009), 72-92. (<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/29901>).
- ³⁷ Barclay Baron, ‘The Aim of the Association’, Handbook, 1931, 7 (Y430001).
- ³⁸ *Rucksack*, 1, 3 (1933), 34 (Y500001).
- ³⁹ Hugh Walpole, ‘A Foreword’, Handbook, 1933, 5 (Y430001).
- ⁴⁰ E. St John Catchpool, *Candles in the Darkness* (London, Bannisdale, 1966), 137.
- ⁴¹ Item 6, Executive Committee minutes, London, 9 January 1932 (Y-700003-1).
- ⁴² Catchpool, *Candles*, 148.
- ⁴³ Eva Kraus, ‘Das Deutsche Jugendherbergswerk und seine Gleichschaltung durch die Hitlerjugend (1909-1933)’, PhD thesis, University of Paderborn, 2011, 170-180, 226-238.
- ⁴⁴ A decision he later bitterly regretted, according to Heath. Graham Heath, *Richard Schirrmann: a biographical sketch* (Copenhagen, IYHF, 1962), 44-45.
- ⁴⁵ Kraus, ‘Das Deutsche Jugendherbergswerk’, 192, 230-232.
- ⁴⁶ John Biesanz, ‘Nazi influence on German Youth Hostels’, *Social Forces* 19,4 (1941), 554-559.
- ⁴⁷ ‘Youth Hostels in Germany: British Secretary’s Report on Conditions Under Nazi Regime’, *Manchester Guardian*, 18 September 1933, 11.
- ⁴⁸ *Rucksack*, 1, 5 (1933), 68-9 (Y500001).
- ⁴⁹ *Rucksack*, 2, 1 (1934), 5-6 (Y500001).
- ⁵⁰ ‘Youth Hostels in Germany.’
- ⁵¹ Schirrmann, ‘Departure and Return’, 3-4.
- ⁵² There were also various organizations dedicated to maintaining Anglo-German relations including the Anglo-German Group, the Anglo-German Association and the Anglo-German Society.
- ⁵³ *Hiking in Germany*, Reichsbahnzentrale f. d. Dt. Reiseverkehr, Berlin, (1934), 2.
- ⁵⁴ The same information was repeated in the editions of 1937, 1938 and 1939 and, in 1937, *Rucksack* published an article entitled ‘To Help Y. H. A. Members going to Germany’, *Rucksack*, 5, 1 (1937), 24 (Y500001).
- ⁵⁵ *Rucksack*, 6, 1 (1938), 21 (Y500001); *Rucksack*, 5, 4 (1937), 102 (Y500001). Not until 1938 was there a marked decline, with only 13, 514 of the 48, 465 foreign visitors in this year from England.
- ⁵⁶ ‘Junge Deutsche und junge Engländer’, *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 25 April 1935, 1; ‘Boys’ friendship with Germans’, *The Times*, 24 April 1936, 13; ‘English and German boys’, *The Times*, 12 April 1937, 6.
- ⁵⁷ ‘Baldur v. Schirach vor dem deutsch-englischen Jugendlager’, *Deutsche Nachrichtenbüro*, 5 January 1937, 1.
- ⁵⁸ Wilhelm Münker, *Geschichte des Jugendherbergswerkes von 1933 bis 1945* (Bielefeld, Deutscher Heimat, 1946), 42.
- ⁵⁹ Discussion of 31 August 1937 in ‘Dossier für den 7. Internationalen Kongress der internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Jugendherbergen, Baden bei Zürich und Luzern 28 August -2 September 1938.’
- ⁶⁰ ‘The International Youth Hostels Conference, 1938’, *Rucksack*, 6, 4 (1938), 92 (Y500001).
- ⁶¹ ‘Youth Hostels: Germany returns to the movement’, *Manchester Guardian*, 4 April 1938, 10.
- ⁶² *Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro*, 5 September 1938, 1.

⁶³ YHA committee minutes and publications have no record of opposition to this policy. The YHA was a democratic organization and Catchpool and others could not have maintained this position without support or, at least, acquiescence.

⁶⁴ There is no clear evidence that Catchpool shared his brother's views about Germany. Corder Catchpool was a Germanophile who maintained contacts with Nazis despite his arrest by them in an effort to understand why people were attracted to the movement. He has been described as an 'incorrigible apologist' for Nazi Germany. Martin Ceadal, *Semi-Detached Idealists: the British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1854-1945* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000), 366. For a much more sympathetic account, see William R. Hughes, *Indomitable Friend: the life of Corder Catchpool, 1883-1952* (London, Housmans, 1964).

⁶⁵ *Rucksack*, 7, 2 (1939), 15-16 (Y500001).

⁶⁶ In 1949 Catchpool stated that in the future the IYHF would be a worthy recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. Richard Jobs, *Backpack Ambassadors: How Youth Travel Integrated Europe* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2017), 17.

⁶⁷ *Rucksack*, 15, 3 (1947), 12 (Y500001). For the post-war period see Jobs, *Backpack Ambassadors*, Jobs, 'Youth Mobility' and Sinika Stubbe, 'Der Widerbeginn des Jugendherbergswesens nach 1945' in J. Reulecke and B. Stambolis (eds), *100 Jahre Jugendherbergen 1909-2009* (Essen, Klartext, 2009), 241-50.

⁶⁸ Item 76a, FO 945/258, The National Archives, Public Record Office, Kew (hereafter TNA: PRO).

⁶⁹ Christian leaders were among the most determined advocates of the normalisation of Anglo-German relations and German churches were invited to re-join the World Council of Churches from early 1946. In 1947, Ernest Bevin called for a 'great missionary effort' by British universities to help their German counterparts (Ramsden, *Don't mention the War*, 259). See also Steven M. Schroeder, *To Forget It All and Begin Anew: Reconciliation in Occupied Germany, 1944-1954* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2013).

⁷⁰ Schirrmann also found support from the USA organization. Its leader, Monroe Smith, visited Germany in July 1946 to urge the civil and military authorities to re-establish YHs (Heath, *Richard Schirrmann*, 55).

⁷¹ Control Commission for Germany (British Element), Zonal Advisory Council 'Release of Youth Hostels' (9 August 1946), TNA: PRO HQ/14106/ZAC and 'De-requisitioning and release of youth hostels, 1946' TNA: PRO ZAC/P(46)52, FO 1037/30

⁷² Figure from Walter Wilkes' report on Hamburg work party of July 1947 (TNA: PRO FO 945/258).

⁷³ Munker to Catchpool, 16 June 1945 (AdJb: 201/A-404).

⁷⁴ Catchpool to Munker, 21 November 1945 (AdJb: 201/A-404).

⁷⁵ Item 74, International Committee minutes, London, 15 June 1946 (Y700003-9).

⁷⁶ Item 166, International Committee minutes, London, 14 September 1946 (Y700003-9).

⁷⁷ Catchpool, *Candles*, 166.

⁷⁸ H. Ollier, 'Cuxhaven, 1948', *Rucksack*, 16, 4 (1948), 10 (Y500001).

⁷⁹ J. Catchpool, 'German Work Parties 1949', *Rucksack*, 17, 1 (1949), 10 (Y500001).

⁸⁰ Catchpool to Welch, 21 June 1949 (AdJb: 201/A-405); *Rucksack*, 18, 1 (1950), 8 (Y500001).

⁸¹ According to Ramsden, the Control Commission was particularly ill-organised and bureaucratic (Ramsden, *Don't Mention the War*, 237-38).

⁸² Anon. (possibly Mark) to Catchpool 17 May 1947, item 6A, TNA: PRO FO 945/258. On FO and Education Branch approval for the scheme of 'rehabilitation' and on its organization in Germany, see the reports of William Thompson, a participant of the working party at the Martinistrasse (Thompson to Catchpool, 15 August 1947, TNA: PRO FO 945/258). For details of policy see Barbara Marshall, 'British Democratisation Policy in Germany', 189-214 in Ian D. Turner (ed.), *Reconstruction in Post-War Germany: British Occupation Policy and the Western Zones, 1945-55* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁸³ Catchpool to Munker, 24 November 1947 (AdJb: 201/A-404).

⁸⁴ Item 209, TNA: PRO FO 945/258.

⁸⁵ Catchpool to Regional Secretaries, 20 November 1946. Item 120A, TNA: PRO FO 945/139.

⁸⁶ Catchpool to Horsnell, Education Dept, Central Control, 13 January 1948. TNA: PRO FO 945/258.

⁸⁷ Item 252, International Committee minutes, London, 9 October 1948 (Y700003-11).

⁸⁸ Item 454, International Committee minutes, London, 4 March 1950 (Y700003-12).

⁸⁹ 4th Annual Report of YHA International Travel Bureau, YE 30/9/50 (Y700003-13).

⁹⁰ *Young Germany Today. A Report of the Delegation from the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organisations on their Visit to the British Zone of Germany October 1946* (National Council of Social Service, London 1947), 29. TNA, FO 945 139, Control Office for Germany and Austria and Foreign Office, German Section: General Department. Youth Activities.

⁹¹ *Young Germany Today*, 14, 17. TNA, FO 945 139, also correspondence in TNA FO 1050 12, especially Brigadier G. V. Britten's remark that 'it is probably true to say that as soon as you put a Boy Scout's scarf round a German boy's neck he begins goose-stepping' (Dec 1945, 58a), although this view was dismissed as exaggerated by others on the Control Commission.

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- ⁹² Item 101g/h, International Committee minutes, London, 17 June 1945 (Y700003-9).
- ⁹³ Item 321, International Committee minutes, London, 5 January 1946 (Y700003-9).
- ⁹⁴ Munker to Bickford Smith, 25 January 1946 (AdJb: 201/A-322); Munker to Education Branch, 27 March 1947 (AdJb: 201/A-322).
- ⁹⁵ An indication of this anti-German sentiment is that the official language of the IYHF was changed from German to English in 1946 (Jobs, *Backpack Ambassadors*, 27).
- ⁹⁶ 'The International Youth Hostels Conference, 1946', *Rucksack*, 14, 4 (1946), 10 (Y500001).
- ⁹⁷ Mark to Brown, 13 June 1946 (item 39A, TNA: PRO FO 945/139).
- ⁹⁸ Brown to Mark, 16 July 1946 (item 71B, TNA: PRO FO 945/139).
- ⁹⁹ Catchpool to Bevin, 21 August 1946 (item 85C, TNA: PRO FO 945/139).
- ¹⁰⁰ Schirrmann to Hocke, 1 June 1948 (AdJb: 201/A-404). Trans. from German by S. Constantine.
- ¹⁰¹ Catchpool to Schirrmann, 17 November 1947 (AdJb: 201/A-404).
- ¹⁰² Catchpool to Schirrmann, 24 June 1948 (AdJb: 201/A-404).
- ¹⁰³ Heath, *Richard Schirrmann*, 56.
- ¹⁰⁴ Catchpool to Munker, 9 October 1949 (AdJb: 201/A-405).
- ¹⁰⁵ 'I.Y.H.F. in Denmark: The 11th Annual Conference and Rally', *Rucksack*, 17, 4 (1949), 2-3, (Y500001).
- ¹⁰⁶ 'The Conference', *Rucksack*, 18, 6 (1950), 12 (Y500001).
- ¹⁰⁷ Leo Meilink, 'Closing Address to the 12th International Youth Hostel Conference', Y.H.A. Celebrations: Souvenir Report, 1950, 7 (Y626001-1950-2).
- ¹⁰⁸ E. Catchpool, IYHF. 'The Forty-First Work Party: the story of the work party at Epi D' Or, Bierville, Seine et Oise, France, summer 1951', 3, (Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London, TEMP MSS 199/4).
- ¹⁰⁹ 'Address given by Ministerialrat Heinrich Hassinger, Stuttgart, President of the German Youth Hostels Association on the opening of the Youth Hostel "L' Epi d'Or - Marc Sangnier", Bierville, on September 16th, 1951', (Library of the Religious Society of Friends, TEMP MSS 199/4). Many other German officials were also invited.
- ¹¹⁰ Central London Group to Schirrmann, 29 January 1949 (AdJb: 201/A-405); Catchpool to Schirrmann, 13 April 1950 (AdJb: 201/A-405).
- ¹¹¹ *Rucksack*, 18, 4 (1950), 16 (Y500001).
- ¹¹² Juliana Matthews to Schirrmann, 31 March 1959 (AdJb: 201/A-405); R. Williams to Schirrmann, 30 May 1959 (AdJb: 201/A-405).
- ¹¹³ 'Founding Father of Youth Hostels', *Times*, 13 May 1959, 14.
- ¹¹⁴ Catchpool, "'One Man in his Time'", 4-5; C.H. Bradley, 'Two Meetings with Schirrmann', 6-7; Len Clark, 'The First Hosteller', 8-9, *Youth Hosteller*, 30, 2 (1962) (Y500001); Heath, *Richard Schirrmann*.
- ¹¹⁵ Jobs, 'Youth Mobility', 144-166.