



IE DCUA C1/2

Seán Lester Diary - PDF

January - June 1936

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19.1.36.



RECENT
2025

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P1/2

at 90th session of the League Council.

Geneva - 17th January 1936.

Spring weather. Little snow. And no time for the skis I brought with me.

Avenal greeted me with the remark "This is literature" - waving my annual report. I interrupted his rap-sody by saying that I was more concerned to know if he thought it good politics. He seemed to be 100% satisfied. I said I had done my best, while fulfilling my duty, to leave the Council plenty of latitude - not to present ~~an~~ inelastic proposals.

I had tried methods of persuasion - working for two years and when the ~~was~~ question of the League guarantee was now brought to an issue it was not by me but by the Senate refusing to carry out Council recommendations and accompanying that refusal with an impossible speech about the League. I had, furthermore, personally interviewed

Mont-Blanc

HOTEL DE LA PAIX



Genève, vue de l'hôtel

Geneva and Mont-Blanc as seen from the Hotel

Ausblick vom Hotel

HOTEL DE LA PAIX - GENÈVE

16th - Arrived 5 pm, after usual kind of journey: met by Krabbe who says Rastuy has left, & is leaving immediately for Copenhagen where he will work for a year in the Foreign Office, without pay, in anticipation of getting a Legation. It seems probable that present Danish Minister in Warsaw may succeed him. He left here, it seems, because his contract was finished & it is said, was not renewed. Krabbe rather sore that another Dane is being put in over his head.

Donee with Philon

17/1/36. Did not sleep till 5 Am. but
was allowed to sleep till 11:30 Am
when I unpacked & went to
lunch with Krabbe.

4 pm. an hour's conversation with
Walter. General support but a little
uncertain as to whether my Report
could be misinterpreted as anti-
Nazi. Various ideas of action
considered. A long talk
also with Avenol who
said my report was "literature -
a fine piece of writing" etc. I
queried "And what about its
politics?" In that he gave
100% support. Madame Venier
gave me a 'lift' back to hotel
& wants to know when
you are coming here
3½ to 4 hours' Donig talks today up to
7 pm



Genève, vue de l'Hôtel

Geneva and Mont-Blanc as seen from the Hotel

Ausblick vom Hotel

HOTEL DE LA PAIX - GENÈVE

A. b. f. r. - f. c. p. z. p.
 c. e. - v. z. p. - r. t. d.
 M. u. - x. } i. l. e. r.
 v. f. - b.) u. p. x. b. t. v.
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Gr. f. - y. x. u. o. b. t. x
 v. f. (i. a. l. i. a. x. i. y. i.
 L. e. a. > b. x!
 P. Dell. Ph. Carr, v. ? (small U.S.

Stophanis x weary looking
 and yet scene on gray. female
 mtg. cloisi. leaves. Returns -
 a few minutes to set in public
 mtg. while cloisy etc was being
 discussed

Wed.

Alvini advised to leave fr. by
4 for train. Eth. go to the
discussion at 5 by Cuel.
anxious argument. "Mr Raffari"
is represented.

The members of the Council most concerned
six weeks ago to warn them of the situation
and had endeavoured by diplomatic means
to find an issue from the situation.

But he had not the slightest doubt
that I had done excellently in my report.

Welter, just back from London & suffering
from a chill, did not seem quite so happy.
But the Polish-British conversation in London
on the subject seem to have been
on the whole satisfactory. If the Dangeys
insist in their defiance Poland is
prepared to accept a mandate from
the Council.

Of course I imagine the case makes
special difficulties for Britain (as rapporteur)
and Dangey, we must remember, involves
all kinds of questions relating to Eastern
Europe which Britain is charged of interfering
or becoming committed.

Nothing, we may suppose, will or can
prevent Dangey becoming again a focus
of international trouble and danger. But
if League prestige can be maintained in
this case it may help - even if only

postponing or lessening the crisis a little.

Senatorat Bittler, looking rather grim, shook hands with me as he walked into Kroebbe's office today.

To K. he said the H.C.'s refusal had shocked them; he added that the H.C. was the only course of trouble in Danzig (!); that he (B.) was German and that Germany would not allow this to continue. So the cat comes out of the bag again. This confidence is the real explanation of Danzig's defiance of the League.

B. has all the fervor of a convert. He is now more Nazi than Mr. Hitler. But that would not matter if he had intelligence & gave wise advice to his President. How much of the speech of 27th he was responsible for & how much Foster, I don't know; but I guess they share the responsibility.

It looks as though Danzig was going to fight. B. was two days in Berlin; has he any mandate from Berlin voters for whom? For, of course, Berlin is divided, too.

Well, I have spent two years, persuading, advising, coaxing & warning; it was not enough. It was announced on 27-September with defiance and a high & mighty "This closes a chapter." I am worried and anxious, as is my nature. Perhaps they were right when they ~~to~~ said in effect, that the realists in

Germany will understand that now that
Germany is among the League has ceased to
count in Europe.

~~18~~ 19
Sunday 18-1-36.

Four hours with Stenersen. I have read
a large number of minutes relating to
discussions in the F.O. and the conversations
with Raczyński, Polish ambassador in London.
All show that the problems are being faced
but the way out is not clear. Even the
abrogation of the articles in the Versailles
Treaty were considered & the withdrawal
of the H.C. Malin raises legal
difficulties about the first. It seems
to be recognized that a situation might
arise in which I should feel compelled to
resign. ~~There~~ There is no sign of
any tendency not to give me 100%
support. But is the problem not
insoluble? Military occupation
is to be ruled out. Economic
pressure by the League would require
an assembly decision; and even if

It were possible it would look
some what peculiar to have the
entire Assembly machinery brought into
motion against a recalcitrant
provincial town! The alternative
would be economic pressure by
Poland acting under a mandate from
the Council. I don't like it really
~~so~~^{unless} it can be effective merely as
a threat leading to complications,
as it would, between France & Poland.

Poland seems inclined to say 'yes'
I still have some hope that the more
reasonable elements in Berlin may
win the day before the crisis develops.

The German Press has opened a
broadside - rather concentrating on
the question of the elections. This is
not conclusive as the question of new
elections is not, really, the key to the
Council's difficulties which are concerned
in the first place with the refusal
to carry out recommendations and the
general attack on the Constitution & the
League guarantee.

Dined tonight with Stanley Bruce, Australian H.C.
and was full of news from him, at least
in London. He is President of the Council
this session. He was Prime Minister of ~~England~~
Australia when he was 38. Always well-
grounded he has ~~some~~ the air of the
Colonial educated at Oxford - and regards
himself as no small beans. Pleasant
enough but he & his wife are, I should say,
very snobbish. It may be noticed
I don't warm to them!

King George V is dying. Even here
telephones are busy & the latest bulletins
sought for. The succession question
is smooth but the formalities will involve
Eden's return to London should death
occur while he (Eden) is here. This
news would mean an upset, perhaps
ultimate serious in effect, in my own
problems. The full authority of the
Secy. of State himself is required in
the ~~diff~~ discussions. And when public
at last could be of value done up
at its worst would be smothered
out of the Press, as it was in Sept
by the Italian war.

Monday 20/1/36.

First day of the Council: & news of George II somewhat better inasmuch as the appointment of Hegarty Council suggests that there is no danger for some days at any rate. Max Bofas felt such a personal interest in HM's health.

Count Luberski called this morning and received from me the confirmation that my talk with Stenon yesterday had not resulted in any specific proposals.

"You know," he said, "we admire you very much. That might be nothing from me but I know that that is the Beech's opinion." Then he told me that the Polish Press this morning was unanimous in support of us as a contrast I suppose to the German Campaign with its veiled threats under references to Knox & the Saar. But I must not exaggerate that: I see a note of restraint so far in the Press of Germany. They have published a bowdlerised summary of my report. Only this afternoon has it been officially issued here.

Shut talks with Walter, Knolke, & Stevenson
In the middle of a conference Eden came
in, looking much older and lacking the
boyish verve of youth. I hope his high
office won't age him too quickly.

He said it was Arnold's suggestion that
there should be a preliminary Council
discussion before the Report was drafted.

I fully approved; it should help the
Rapporteur's task if a few Council
members express suitable opinions.
Secondly, & perhaps most important, a
preliminary expression of views may
help the reasonable elements of Germany
& give time for Freiser to reconsider
his position before we come to
positive proposals. Eden asked if
Freiser was here & expressed his
astonishment & annoyance at hearing
that he would not arrive before
tomorrow night. He sent Stevenson
to tell Böttcher to telephone at once
& B. promised he would suggest a
aeroplane from Berlin. It is

exactly what I warned them about before
Leary Donzig.

Beck saw Eden today. The situation
is becoming a little more clarified. Beck
will act on a "mandat deplomatique"
from the Council, as the State most interested,
& in conjunction with the F.P. in
ensuring the execution of the Council's
recommendations & the maintenance
of the Constitution. They don't want a
military mandate. What will the
other mean? Po Empowered by the
Council to talk to Donzig - & to
Germany, I suppose. One reflects
also that it helps the League to
shed some of its responsibilities, and
that one must remember that other
alternatives are more dangerous and
that after all the League was created to
meet a Jewish need. One can well
guess that the Wilhelmstrasse people
won't like it. It will increase Jewish
standing in relation to Donzig. But
it may well be followed by more complications.
It would & is no condiction of the Jewish

Later, I heard that that idea was regarded
by the French as impossible: I suppose
a ^{French} nominee might be different. The Poles
are subtle enough to have put up the question
with a view to getting the best.

decision but the hunt is dropped by Beck
that the next H.C. should be a Pole!

Well, well! The sardonic gods would
laugh if this were the outcome of the
stupid policy pursued by Danzig Nazis.
Wilful, blind, unintelligent partisans
without a glimpse of an intelligent policy.
I find it hard to envisage, but
there would be a certain logicity
superficially, at any rate, Germany &
Poland on good terms; Danzig boasting
the same while attacking the League
& the H.C.; Poland asked to take the
major responsibility on ~~be~~ behalf
of the Council in the present conflict.
Logically, it might be asked "why not?"
People like Bitcher & Foster may tell
the League Germany will not allow
the League to carry out its duty about
the Constitution. What sort of a "bust-up"
would follow the appointment of a Polish
H.C.! To hunt at it is perhaps a new
indication that Poland is in earnest about
her own rights and as sure we said,
she might not make any difficulty about
a few German (opponent) heads being broken
in Danzig by the Nazis and everybody be

Laval, Marcel Bonin, recalled suddenly to
Paris where his cabinet, the accustomed French
way, had crumbled under him.

A new Cabinet formed by Sarraut with Flandin
as Foreign Minister & Paul Boncour coming
back to Geneva as permanent delegate. *Collected with
mine for - Prague & for - Antwerp*

Interpretant into said Laval's hasty departure
was ~~the~~ because his black tie had been
left in Paris. Perhaps it sounds more of
a joke in French.

more comfortable! I think the ^{British} idea too fantastic.
- a nominee, ^{perhaps}, but not a take.

I reflect, with some satisfaction, that
I have done my best. ? Smug. No; too
anxious. I have advised - in vain; I have taken risks
to avert ~~the~~ crisis - & failed; I have then, blantly, put the
cards on the Council table.

22/1/36.

Geo. V died at midnight.
a day of great anxiety & nervous
tension over Donzig's situation. Watchy
points in the Rapporteur's draft with
an effort to judge effect in the future.
Geneva Press campaign turns out to
have been more virulent than
had thought for reading me or two
extracts.

Much congratulation, of course, from
circles here. Borberg, Donzig delegate,
a reserved fellow said "a courageous
report & as political judgement
excellent." Starkey, a wise old
veteran of the American Press, & many
other delegates, probably sincere, echoed
this.

As I warned people here six weeks
ago Donzig is again ~~on~~ hetically in
the front line.

Am prepared to resign, of course,
but that, said Walter, would be a
disaster. Am equally prepared to
hold on, especially in view of the attacks.

I left Douzic with a somewhat resolute
intention of hinting at another year of office -
although I had previously & consistently
declared my sincere intention to go
at the end of my term. Certain personal
considerations arose. I am ^{time or} more afraid
of my health than anything else. I am
so constantly under nervous strain
and frequently have, for the first time
in my life, bouts of sleeplessness. And
I get no holidays so that I long
for a quiet corner & simple work
for a period. And of course it will be thoughtless
whatever I do in Douzic.

(George V was a model King of
England. But why did he pass away
just in time to smother Douzic?)

23/1/36. In spite of the King's illness & death I
find Douzic has been figuring in
the English Press. Good.

Saw Orinol for a few minutes
& found him very sore and a rather firm.
He is against letting the ideas
of a Commission of Investigation drop.
He wants it to be reserved as a
potential weapon, and the elections
petition, too.

at a vague hint that I would be ready at any time to give up my mandate he emphatically said that would be defeat for the L/N.

met Greiser and a delegation of eight advisers in the Council room. Cordial handshakes. Goring had provided him with an aeroplane to answer Eden's summons.

Eden opened the Council debate with a good declaration (including a compliment - "a H.C. in whose impartiality and good judgment the Council has complete confidence") The French, Spanish, Turkish, Danish, ^{Portuguese} & Polish representatives followed. I made a short supplementary statement - including a declaration as to absence of any political bias or prejudice. Then Greiser made an oration - declaring his attachment to the Statute of Dorgny including the H.C. - ^{legitimately} passing over the failure to carry out recommendations; only a difference of opinion between jurists and "we politicians" care more for peace than such trifles. Anthony

Eder deflated him a little & we adjourned.

"Such an important check I never heard," said Ferguson, the calm & shrewd representative of Reuters. Others seemed also to be badly impressed, but otherwise not.

I am so accustomed to it, & worse, that I was almost amused.

Lunch with Princess Ratty ~~Radzi~~
Radziwill whom I don't like. I
had been verbally invited three days
before and accepted conditionally, intending
to telephone promptly about a prior
engagement — and forgot. Sir William
Malkin, Legal Advisor to the Foreign Office
a grand fellow; Agnide, Director
of Disarmament Section — almost
defunct — a Greek gentleman; Hebach
& his lovely ~~Swedish~~ ^{American} wife were
there. From 2-45 till 6-45 Stovren, Walter,
Knobbe, in Kinnam Wood, Justinoni &
I laboured over the draft report.

Dinner with Avenol. Guests included
Colonel Beck, Litvinoff, Titulesco,
Monch, & Mrs. Hall of Afghanistan — all

Foreign, ministers & half a dozen other
~~monthly~~ Council representatives & officials.

I sat between Demak & Afghani.
Haar is like a beautiful aristocrat
out of the Arabian nights, brown skinned,
black bearded and big eastern eyes.
He says they ski now in Afghanistan.
Off. Titulesco was disgracefully
late & eventually Averil let us into
dinner - back fuming - $\frac{3}{4}$ hour after
the hour. Titulesco, looking uglier
than ever come in as we finished our
fish. I used to think, in looking at him
making an oration, how much more
appropriate it would be to see
him, sabre in hand, leading a mongol
horde across Europe's plains. (He's
clever, too, and a good orator). Thought he
shaved age and bagginess round his
face - not unlike an old woman - and
I recalled Brand's cruel jest - "mesdames
et messieurs et nun ami Titulesco."

I think I have noted how a few
weeks ago a wandering American
Professor in Danzig handed me a
scrap of paper (with letters of recommendation)

Tell Beck I would like to see him about a phrase at the end of the report concerning Polish support of the H.C. I cannot help having doubts & I intend to ask him what it means & might mean. He may dodge me. (He did)

Two sleeping pellets did not help me last night.

I forget the Russian Under Secretary General Rosenberg, said something to me tonight jokingly about another job for me in Abyssinia as High Commissioner. This is the third ~~of~~ or fourth person who has done the same. *mein Gott!*

Justiniani has been asked by some one on the ^{delegation} ~~delegation~~ as to my attitude on the ~~war~~ war question. He had assured that I believed in the League but as an Irishman understood British imperialism, which wasn't quite complete but I did not argue.

Of course the thing is absurd. My wife went, I do hope, a hard bitter colonial Governor. And I would not want to live in Abyssinia. In any case I'll never be asked. More concerned with getting out of danger with some shreds of my reputation

The only "intelligent" guess I can make about the Soviets' action is that the Comintern & its nearly-identity with State is an embarrassment for the new policy; & that this show may make new internal rearrangements easier.

But it is probably too intelligent.

Litvinov said U.S. had tried to deport a Communist but as he was not a Russian citizen the Soviet declined to have him. Now Uruguay offered to settle the matter by the sale of some thousands of tons of U.S. cheese. The break off of diplomatic relations followed Russia's refusal. Sir Willem Malmer on a scrap of paper summed it up thus:

The Government of Uruguay declined to provide a word, they say the Russians, far from feeling slighted declare themselves to be delighted. The Council notes with satisfaction that they're required to take no action etc.

It ran till just till 12:30 pm. Stevenson & the Poles were here. At 12:45 pm a copy of report reached the Donji delegate at 1:30 pm the telephone was quite unacceptably and asked for an adjournment till today.

Thursday 23rd January.

A strenuous day but am feeling more cheerful as things are moving better. Rapporteur (through Ralph Stevenson) has been sticking hard to his task. Walter also reacting better - his cold has disappeared.

Another big fight going on in the Council - a move by Soviets under article 11 of Covenant against Uruguay because latter broke off diplomatic relations following a semi-Communist revolt in Uruguay. Litvinov spluttered away, full of virtuous indignation & fat little Quoni defended his views with South America passion. It's still hard to understand Litvinov's English. I was only on the fringe of this, having many conversations. About 5:00 we met again in Walter's room with the results of Stevenson's long arguments with Birtcher. We worked till 9:30 pm, giving Donji little bits but keeping the main thesis & points of the rapporteur. Council came in

"I hope you are not changing that report too much," he said, "the first draft was excellent" And he added again to keep the elections & the investigation & the open questions.

Many things the Donzyes didn't like: but when they came to the final paragraph about Poland "lending any aid he may require to the Poles" it was the last straw. Out of the bag came the eternal cat: anything but that - although both of them had been publicly boasting of their excellent relations & friendship.

Stevenson referred them to the Poles on this point. The Poles sent them back to the Rapporteurs. There are aspects of this final paragraph which make me uneasy about the future but it did seem inevitable if Poland would undertake a political mandate and Donzy remained defiant. and ~~and~~ I have had to keep in mind that I could not accept any interpretation which touched my independence. That would be fatal.

In the Salle des Pas Perdus today - Count Lubinski "You & I shall be working much more closely now." "Almost impossible" I replied, turning to Poles, "we have always collaborated cordially

They also wanted Foster's references deleted
and said F. had now become a Danzig citizen!!!
Query: a precautionary measure in case more
drastic proposals should be made for his removal.
Böttcher argued this point for $\frac{3}{4}$ hour.

but of course I take all the responsibilities of
my post!

Danzig offered to telegraph orders
for immediate revocation of the unconstitutional
decrees, if only the words "Council enjoins
upon the Senate to" etc. were eliminated
and the elections & investigation not
reserved, sine die, but obliterated from
the report. It sounded a bit panicky
at the last.

And to think that everything could
have been settled in Danzig with a
little good sense & goodwill.

The German press is rather bitter, I am
told, over the Council speeches yesterday.
The English press gives surprisingly large space
to Danzig, in spite of pages of Royalty.
"Morning Post", e.g. "Danzig issues challenge to
the League": "Germans danger suddenly loomed
up large again today when Council discussed
Danzig... D. bids fair to become a first class
issue & is momentarily overshadowing even the
Abyssinian war... a test case for the League's
authority the outcome of which may have
far-reaching consequences in N.E. Europe" etc.

Frank Walter dined with me at 10 pm & we
talked fishing over a bottle of Moselblümchen
1925.

25/1/36.

about 10 o'clock I was told of more amendments to Report. Section question is "imposed" and all the Truste constataions are removed. and Pale & Danzig having a tiff regarding the clause suggesting special responsibilities for Poland.

Report eventually agreed to by British, Pale & Danzig.

Lunched with Geisler. Beck, Pofee, Lubanski & Guastini - and the Genar Comd General Krauel. Krauel said he thought my statement at the Council discussion was the best for Danzig & "he would never forget it for so long the way he spoke". I protested at once that Cohen's speech was inevitable; that the situation had been made intolerable for ~~the~~ the Council. Then I remarked that in the report Danzig had got many concessions; e.g. all the Truste references. Krauel said he was not sure that that was particularly pleasant to Geisler! Practical confirmation

Eden said to me he could not risk it being made the subject of a big attack on him in Germany. I bowed to that - he had already done so much.

of what von Radewitz had said to me. And it was taken out at the urgent request of Gieser & Böttcher & to prevent bad feeling in Germany!! Then Gieser said that when we got back to Danzig we must meet more often "without Dr Böttcher". Significant, too. B. is a Foster man & one can only reflect "for Gieser".

I had talked with Eden alone in the forenoon, thanked him for all his work and hoped it would not involve political trouble at home. I appreciated that England did not want to get much involved in East Europe. "That's so," he said, "& people don't distinguish between a Council ^{ambassador} rapporteur & his representative duties. My colleagues may well ask me what I have been doing." He also referred to a "daily mail" leader, headed "Keep out of Danzig" & which described him as "dangerous Mr Eden". I told him that only the gravest circumstances would bring me back to the Council with Danzig. I was not at all concerned as to the future but had some hope and would work it to the last degree.

On the Forster paragraph he said he could not
afford to aggravate Gurney & had the Italian business
already in his hands. I inclined before high policy.

The Council meeting went off smoothly
and should help to stave off any political
campaign against Eden in "Daily Mail" & "Daily Express".

Gurney & Council apparently highly
satisfied.

Director of my reappointment
advised "at my request".

Saturday, 26/1/36.

Had a talk with Krauel, German
Council General, meeting him for tea in Frank
Clemens' flat. Says the Forster difficulty is
only due to Hitler's affection for his "alte Kampf".

Forster had now done Gurney & National
Socialism a great deal of harm. I recalled
(to him) that I had forecasted this outcome
& that the obedience principle unfortunately
gave responsibility in the public eye to the Führer
for all done by his agents - like Forster.

The Nazi attack in Austria, e.g., whether aided
by Gurney or not, was blamed on Gurney
& he himself suggested that Bottcher
was thinking more of Forster than of Gurney.

I said my principal difficulty, apart
from Forster's dictatorship, was stupidity.

He was alarmed at the final paragraph

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pointing to Poland - & said that for them
was the worst sentence in the report.

I recalled that I had expended
every diplomatic resource open to me
before & after the P.S. violent speech - and
got no results. It was very nice
of Hitler to stick by old comrades - but it
was sometimes a difficult principle
to apply when the interests of a great
Empire were involved.

He said he knew of my visit to von
Neurath & that the latter had appreciated
the openness with which I spoke. Perhaps
the Geneva events would ~~strengthen~~ strengthen
the influence of the Wilhelmitrasse.

Lunched with Walters & the huge making of the Turpe
Office in the Restaurant der Simpfen - excellent fare.

26/1/36. Leaving Geneva today for Danzig.

All the English Press except the two anti-League
isolationist organs, praise Eden's work.

I am fortunate in having the British as
happentem; it helps to make Danzig get
a possible existence.

... that France
... Turkey had agreed
... assistance" in the Mediter-
... as a Covenant obligation to be
... Interest in the Mediterranean
... already evaporated, no harm or
... good was done thereby.

P2/2 (3)

Geneva and Danzig.

The Danzig Senate's sundry violations of the Statute were the subject of public debate on Wednesday. MR. EDEN was rapporteur. More, he decided boldly to put his hand into the hornets' nest. COLONEL BECK, by contrast, was restrained and non-committal. On Friday night HERR GREISER, President of the Senate, announced that he would rescind the measures complained of. In other words Nazi Germany is not yet ready to force a major issue in Europe.

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Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.

HERR VON SCHUSCHNIGG's visit to Prague on January 16 and 17 is increasingly recognised as a symbol of something new and good in Danubian relationships. For many years the attempt at economic co-operation among the five Danubian countries has broken down on the diplomatic obstacles. There is no difficulty in accepting at its full face value HERR VON SCHUSCHNIGG's assertion that his present purpose is exclusively economic and that his foreign policy is not thereby affected. The opportunity is the greater because Germany has no trade to exchange with Austria.

^ JCS 9 26/1/36

Christopher Da
terest in religion is
literature on the subject
lished since the war, and I have
possession books in which the life
character and opinions of Jesus are
elaborately and learnedly discussed by
English, French, German, and Russian
authors, all of which have been pub-
lished within the last twelve months
or two years.

* * *

Mr. Louis MacNeice, who contributes
the chapter on Poetry to "The Arts
To-day," won and lost my agreement
in such rapid succession that I was still
revolving after I had finished reading
his essay. He is even more assertive
than Mr. Grigson, which is saying a
good deal, and he seldom stoops to argu-
ment. He is downright silly in
places. "Where it is possible to be a
hypocrite," he says, "it is also possible
to be a hero, a saint, or an artist," an
assertion with which, after consider-
able qualification, one may agree; but
he goes on to more dubious assertions:

It was hardly possible for a poet to be
a hypocrite in the pre-war period. Hence
the thrill (and subsequent, as it seems to
us, hypocrisy) of writers like Rupert
Brooke, when the war broke out.

A few lines earlier, he says, "More im-
portant was the Irish movement, where
poetry was healthily mixed up with
politics." I recommend Mr. MacNeice
to consult Mr. Yeats on the latter asser-
tion: I shall be greatly surprised if Mr.
Yeats does not deny his statement
entirely and assert with vehemence
that the mixture ruined Irish poetry

ship
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"Salisbury

A letter f
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Phillip

From the windows of the Hotel de la Paix
this morning Geneva does not look its best
with mist & rain. The lake steamer, tied
up for the winter, their mowing chains closely
festooned with seagulls; the drifting patches
of wild-duck & bald-cot, also winter vegees,
passing slowly toward the outfall of the Rhone
On the Sth side of the lake rise the bluff
towers of St. Pierre & beyond the crest
of Mont Salve above Geneva's blanket
of fog. The tramcars rumble over
to Port du Mont Blanc and I am only
longing to be back at home with Elsie - and
here is where Elsie is

Danzig.

3rd February.

I have been waiting for the situation to develop a little.

Last week the 30th January celebrations in Danzig led to several public speeches. Greiser & Forster on the same platform. Greiser also gave a carefully prepared interview. He studiously avoided any very harsh remarks either about the League or myself - although making the best of the situation from the U.S. point of view. Forster, on the other hand, impudent & irresponsible, made me the object of a tirade. "How could one expect a foreigner to understand us or our movement?" "The H.C. lends too willing an ear to the Opposition". There were also remarks about my enrolments that were not printed in his newspaper. He again declared he was Hitler's agent etc.

So I rang up Greiser & he & his wife lunched with ~~our~~ us on Monday today. He afterwards told me he was most willing to cooperate. Have you the power? I asked. He said that Hitler was leaving Balch & Danzig

matters to Göring; that he had seen
Göring in Berlin & had now the
backing which he had not had before.

There would be a clearer division
now between party & government
and he did not want any
question from Donzig on the way
agenda. I hardly needed to
guess Göring's orders. I saw I hoped
it would work out like that but
that things could not go as they
had been during the last six months.

I made various suggestions to
him of a general nature and
he said he hoped we could have
a discussion on any question which
became important without Böttcher
(was my friend Justinius); it was
more difficult to talk freely in
the presence of others.

My poor German got me through
the conversation sufficiently well.

Then when we were talking of a
short holiday I was thinking of in the
Hartz mountains he offered to have
us sent from Berlin in an S.S. car!!
after all the fuss and bust, it's a little funny.
I think we'll go to the Riesengebirge.

I mentioned F's speech & G. said F. had insisted on
replies to me but there would be no more of it.

Mr. a Paper (who has been a week in
Paris) came in later. He thought General
had taught "them" a lesson, & was
particularly pleased when I told
him something of my talk with G.
— especially as the original proposal
had been from G. I said I was
somewhat hopeful but my sad experience
of the past year made me cautious
I felt, however, that the stone wall
I had been faced with during the
past nine months had been taken
down. My policy was to wait
to see actual results; not to
pay too much attention to F's
impertinent vituperation on the first
occasion but to deal with it only
if the government's policy remained
unchanged.

13-2-36.

Just back from a week at the
Reichmannsbaude, ^(800 m.) a mountain hotel above
Krummhübel, in the Riesengebirge. Not the
usual de luxe winter sports hotel - local
architectural characteristics retained -
much painted wood, even in the bedrooms,
old German mottoes & proverbs on the walls.

"Deutsche Wein und Deutsche Weider
sind die beste Zeitvertreiber"

Die mitbringen von hunden in die
Gasträume ~~is~~ ist polizeilich verboten

And over a public tennis court "Die
Juden haben keine Zutritt" The latter
was the only sign of the new Germany.

I only saw one or two uniforms
Below guests were mostly middle-class
Germans with a bunch of Reichswehr
officers on short leave - saw one looking
fellow. We brought the snow with us so fast
a day or two enjoyed some skiing.

Scene: 7.15 Am. Sudden music in air
courda. Presumably, it required a somewhat
irritated investigation by those. "What is the

music for?" she asked. The Kapelle gathered round a bedroom door. They gazed at her somewhat sheepishly. A blonde fuzzy head of a 40-year old "young 'un" stuck out and piped (in English) "I have a birthday!" "Schrecklich!" "Furchtbar!" etc. for Elsie. "at a quarter past seven in the evening." There was no more matrimonial music or or evidence

And the bunch of news papers cutting awaited me. Across a page the "Daily Express" flaunted "league's Irish watchdog returns to Donyis". A special correspondent had been sent to report the riots which would, they hoped, greet me. Failing this, he made a mystery out of my return & police didn't know; government didn't know; no information about office etc. The secret & mysterious arrival was, as usual, by getting my car to meet me at Dirschau (Tschetsch) & thus save me a couple of hours in the train.

All quiet.

16-2-36.

Children have been able to ski all week with a good fall of snow. One of Devalera's sons killed today in the Phoenix Park. Greiser gave shooting in Poland with General Goring as guests of the Polish President.

18-2-36.

Greiser outlined today his proposed changes in the law. Extremely cerebral. He shot five boars in the Polish hunt — the total bag 36.

Elsie today received from the wife of Foreign Minister Beck, four beautiful hand-made models of Polish peasants in costumes of Cracow & Zakopane.

We can only return Irish tweed.

Justiniani reports a great success in Abyssinia when fifty thousand white troops stormed a group of mountains. I am glad for G's sake; he is so full of it.

A letter from Joseph O'Keefe acknowledging
my felicitations on his two books
"a wind from the north" and "Land under
England". I hope he will write more
of the same quality.

Five weeks ago I wrote to Joe Walsh
about my reappointment here: no reply.
Quite like Geneva surprises.

I have spent two mornings trying to
fix up seven or eight dinners of 22 each.
My difficulty is in trying to assemble a
party of Donzigers who won't walk
out when they see each other!

An invitation from Countess von Finckenstein
to week-end in Schloss Schönberg: too cold
to do the 3 hours' motor run.

"The Witnesses of Jehovah" otherwise the
"Bible Searchers" send me a petition. The
organization with American headquarters, was
suppressed in Donzig, following Berlin's
example; it was alleged their doctrines
were hostile to "the State".

Children just came in from their
riding. As usual, we get all the gossip
of the stables: they know every one of the
forty horses, & we hear the latest of Ned,

and Prince, Titus & Lady, Lux and
"Hussonsky". Prince is having a foot
massaged & is going to a farm for a
nest and Ben didn't know in time to
say good bye to him. And two lovely
new horses have arrived - young & lively
"and they nearly threw her back" (the riding
master). And the question of which
horses they will have for the Rest feet will
provide table talk for days.

21-2-36.

This afternoon to Zoppat - 14° Centigrade
under zero - to see the frozen sea. Walked
along the pier. Solid ice for about 400 yards
and closely packed ice floes as far as one could
see towards Hela or Dongyis. Seawards
they seemed to stretch a mile. Boys & men
were walking $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the shore.
"Bully gathered icicles on his jawls while
carrying my stick."

Tonight we went to a musikreiter
about 40 riders in costumes in the
electrically lit manège - very gay looking.
Dorothy Mary dressed in a (I think) white
chiffon dress with many flounces,
a pretty old English poke straw bonnet,
& her mammy's little shoulder cape of
satin. Very pretty, with the
wide skirt spread over her chestnut
her hair's headquarters.

She got the First Prize with the same
dress last year.

A great ice-harvest is going on. There
has been no ice on the ponds
until a week or so ago & one forecasted
expensive ice next summer. As we drive
through the white country side we
see many carts laden with ice-blocks
which are stored in stone vaults under
ground. The Mische, Haft is frozen
and some boats trying to reach
Pillau from Elbing are caught.
Many east Prussian roads are
said to be snow-blocked so it is
as well we didn't agree to go to
Schönberg this week-end.

Maximum temperature during the past
24 hours 10 deg. under zero Celsius

22-11-36. Lunched with private papers. Incisors there
Telkoj with Mrs. P's brother ^(Commander) DOBRZANSKI who served
in the Polish Legion in the war, with papers. (Austrian army)
He won the King's Prize at Olympia, London, international
riding a few years ago. He was with the shooting
party last year when I missed a fine boar.
What a trophy it would have been!

Received & passed draft legislative fulfilling
the Council's recommendation.

No-2-36.

I read that Sir Alexander Cadogan, British Ambassador in China, is returning to be an asst. Under Sec of State at the Foreign Office.

I recall speaking to Frank Walter at Geneva in January about the more "harsh" proposals (Cory) and he said I meant that he had put his Government into a "nice mess" & Frank said it was only a question now, by thought, of finding the right man to replace him. Cadogan's appointment may have some bearing on this.

I knew Cadogan well: he was at Geneva for years as head of the British F.O. League Section. In Ireland & in Berke he would be described as "a typical Dykshorn" - very reserved, an air of indifference if not superiority, - those characteristics which are not, I think, a natural asset. Of course he is not a bad chap when we know him well, but his popularity would always be in a limited circle. I worked beside him a lot in the Council but I don't recall any impression of striking brilliance.

An article by Vladimir Ormosen - a well known
French publicist - on Germany's 3 years of Nazi regime
describes Hitler "personnage assez énigmatique,
absolument détaché des biens de ce monde,
simple, intuitif, à la fois astucieux et
mystique" which I find fairly just.

With Goering on the "right" and Goebbels on the
"left" what will be the next move of the Führer.

The Army becomes increasingly important and
that means "the right" but Goebbels' words
more closely represents the intuitive ideas
of Hitler.

I lunched yesterday with President Greiser, prior to his departure on holiday. I mentioned to him some of the incidents involving violence during the last week or two and he promised me he would see the Police President and the head of the S.A. before leaving Danzig and impress upon them that such things should not recur; that he had an understanding with the High Commissioner and other interested parties and would insist upon the avoidance of any complication of the new policy.

I have previously noted that I have a pretty high opinion of the shrewdness of Dr. Noé, who, on account of his position, is also usually very well informed. I had only two words with him last night at dinner at my house and remarked to him that I thought things were going to be much easier here. Perhaps he dramatized the situation in observing: "They have had enough; they will eat out of your hand". I said that I had felt that the nature of my report to the League and the action of the Council had been inevitable and necessary. "Absolutely necessary", he replied, and then I returned to my bridge table.

Gräfin Finkenstein, a very big German land-owner in the east, is staying with me at the moment. She is not political but takes an intelligent interest in politics for social reasons and has excellent connection with important people in Berlin, as her place in East Prussia is rather a show castle and they visit her. In conversation she volunteered the remark that Forster was regarded by the vast majority of his Party as a disaster for Danzig and that nothing has saved him but the sentimental interest of the Führer. She said that there were two posts in view for him: one was that of Gauleiter in East Prussia, but charges made against him recently in the Party - some people alleged a plot from the extreme Left wing - have led to his justification. The alternative spoken of is Forster's attachment to Herr Hitler's personal staff. On the other hand I have as yet had no reason to believe that there is any immediate intention to remove him. President Greiser will spend a day or so in Berlin this week and will meet Forster, who is at present absent from Danzig. I have heard on good authority that Forster has been warned by the Party authorities in Munich to go quietly.

German - Poland - Hungary - Austria - Italy is the suggested line of alliance. On balance it seems unlikely; too many difficulties. Hungary - Italy - or Hungary - Germany, perhaps. A practical deal with the Russians - little to be done more

Com. Mrs. Finkenstein when in Rome about Rome had an interview of 33 minutes (exact time subsequently announced to her in Berlin) with Mussolini. On her return to Berlin she asked to see Hitler and had tea with him in a two-hour conversation (Dabbling in high politics? Much talk accounts of Italo-German rapprochement but Germany cautious). Hitler talked to her of many personal things. She says he is a beautiful & well-dressed woman! He has a mistress in a poor Munich. Besides, he said, had been pressing him to marry but he said he would have to leave a wife too much alone. (It was cunning) said that it was H. who pressed going to marry his mistress, Sonia (not yet).

F. also had an amusing story of an encounter with the Italian Minister for Agriculture, Signor _____). She had seen him in his office & he had asked her to return. He became amorous & seized her in his arms - despite her protests. She said she was afraid of something happening as his table!! She got off with her hand marked with a complete set of teeth!

The dominant ideals of the National Socialist Party would make it difficult in the best of circumstances to expect administration 100 per cent loyal to the spirit of the Constitution. On the other hand I have no evidence to show that the League success of January was ^{not} real and not merely a momentary acquiescence of the people concerned. In spite of my cautious feelings about the future my conviction is increasing that not only was the policy which led to my Report and the firmness of the Rapporteur and the Council inevitable if League prestige were to be saved, but that this firmness will be justified by more than the immediate success - by subsequent effects on the political situation in Danzig.

Of course in regard to Danzig no one likes to prophesy for a long period or, knowing the situation and its inherent difficulties, ^{not} to be gratified in the prospect of a year or even six months of comparative calm. But there may be more in it than that and perhaps the saving of the foundations of League authority in this test will, if and when future and even more difficult tests come, strengthen the League in its efforts to confine action to pacific and legal methods.

I have written this note rather cautiously. I am becoming more convinced that we have had a very genuine success, and that I may have a quiet time till 15/1/37. Curmel Block, 24 years in Danzig, said to Elser last night that no H.C. had ever had such a bad time as I. So I have come a little peace.

28/11/36

On the eve of 22 last night, Senats Boeck (Educator) and Valkstedt, Pres. Beyle. I talked with them alone. Two "machine-guns" of German war concentrated on me when I had warned them up and I got the impression they were both highly gratified with the opportunity. Both express best intentions: I mingled appreciative remarks with occasional spots of sternness - "We could not have any repetition of last year's policy," etc.

Regierungs-pres. Budding from East Prussia stayed the night with us. He goes to off in January next month, & presented me with his photograph. We both like him. He said to me that it would be a pity to change High Commissioner at the end of the year. He had had another talk last week with Freiser - had again emphasised the mistakes the Senate had made with regard to me personally - he believed things would now go much quieter - a common view, it will be seen.

Eden's first official Parliamentary speech as Foreign Minister seems to confirm the new policy that European peace as a whole is of British concern - a deliberate break with the old, more cautious, & as I think more dangerous policy of disinterestedness & disinterment. He seems to go further than Baldwin's words about the British frontier being on the Rhine.

The publication of the secret Kaffir report (June '35) in Ital. in British interests in Abyssinia had, if anything, helped to restore the moral authority lost by the Hoare-Laval incident in Decr. The French Chamber has ratified the Franco-Russian Pact.

Mr. - - called to see me today. Amongst other matters he said that "on Monday last ~~we~~^{he} sent a letter addressed to Mr. Avenol. It was to go by Air Mail and to be registered. It arrived in the Post Office at five minutes before the Air Mail was due to close. The letter had been handed in when the principal Nazi ^{Deutscher} in the Head Post Office, who is a State official and who in the ordinary course would have been off duty at that time, appeared, took possession of this letter and in company with another minor official brought it into the town. It was brought back half an hour later and despatched by Air Mail to Königsberg in order to catch a special Air Mail from that town and to avoid any obvious delay.

"The letter was taken out of the ordinary channel through which registered correspondence passes and considerable indignation was felt by the officials whose duty it would have been to be responsible. It is not known how the Nazi official concerned came to be on the spot at the moment when the letter was handed in. Normally he would have been absent at that time. The letter was handed in by Mr. Laemmer, a messenger clerk in my office."

It is said that the postal official from whom the letter was taken would be prepared to state if put on oath that this was done. Some further enquiries are proceeding before I will consider taking up such a matter with the Government, but if I get further confirmation I will give them the fright of their lives with the threat of a public scandal at such an outrageous sequel to all the assurances I have been receiving.

In the letter, if it has been inspected (a matter for which with all letters posted in Danzig I have been prepared to count) the investigators would find nothing but evidence of honest dealing and good will.

An afternoon trip to Schiefenhardt, on the
Vistula. The great river is half frozen over
and large flocks drift down in masses in the
a couple of steamers keep moving up ^{or half}
& down to keep it clear. When the thaw
develops the dangerous days will come
as it is always likely a block could occur
& flood half the territory of the Free City.

Over the dead Vistula we passed in our
usual ferry to Pookussack, though a channel
cut in ice over a foot thick. Further
down an ice-breaker was charging its
way along - retreating about sixty metres
& charging again until its bow rose &
rested on the ice. Each time the sturdy little
boat could advance about its own length.
We went across on the ice to look at it.

Excellency von Bülow sends me a couple
of snipe - he calls them woodcock - which he says
but a great rarity here. At any rate they look
to me like our common snipe.

Mrs. Budding said to me last night that everything had
been fixed up for a settlement of the war in Decr. between
naval, Hoare, Mussolini, & the League. It was upset
by a Bolshevik plot! How Russia dominates the
German mind. The idea is nonsense.

29-2-36

Bishop Edouard Count O'Rourke has sent us a typed copy of a story of his grandfather General Count Joseph Cornelius O'Rourke (1777-1847) written by the ~~former~~ Bishop's niece Aileen O'Rourke-Broschocka. It is an incident in the Polish rising of 1830, & of how the Irish General in the service of the Czar helped his Polish wife to save the life of a young insurgent - Well, I'm afraid a sub-editor would cut it short if he intended to publish it. The Bishop is anxious to have it published in Ireland.

Sunday 1st March.

Spent the day with the old at Heestadt, or rather Weyersowo in the "Corridor". The old lady full of gossip as usual. Her daughter is a lady-in-waiting to the Crown Princess who, with her husband, was a guest at Princess Morino's wedding in London last year. The C.P. had a talk with Geo. V. and the story goes that the King was very anti-German in his sentiments. The Countess gave no details but remarked that Edward VIII was "better". She had talked while in Berlin with the surgeon who had operated on Hitler's throat last May & was full of the simplicity of the Führer. The surgeon had to tell H. he would probably have no more trouble but he must not scream in his public meetings. A doctor with a medicine

chest ready for any kind of accident
or mishap always travels with H.

The surgeon sent back H's cheque for
10,000 marks; then agreed to use it for his
students; but H. insisted & sent him
an additional 30,000 marks for his
personal funds for the poorer students.

We seem to have dealt in our talk up
with crowned or uncrowned heads of states.
For the Countess had gossip about Mussolini
too. For many years his doctor was a Gock
who returned home a couple of years ago &
had told a friend that M. would do well enough
as long as his brother was alive. This
brother had been his confident & adviser & had
allowed him to wash off steam. The brother
died 18 months ago, just before Benito started
the African plan; said the Countess significantly.

And in the records of a Geneva hospital
is one referring to Benito M., (I think he was then
a stone-mason) suffering from a bad attack
of a very serious disease (which sometimes
affects the head.)

The old Count, wheezing through his silver
throat, said "well, you have between you
settled up Europe!" and added that he did not
share his wife's enthusiasm for the
new rulers of Germany.

3rd March.

Count & Countess von Hardenberg - he is one of Budding's assistants - stayed with us last night. A dinner of 22 - and Senator Kluck, the principal special guest, was the last to leave. Young Mr. rather, half-Bav: found a monarchist.

Budding gets some strange specimens in the "exchanges" who live with him from time to time. Von Hardenberg was telling us of the latest - a young French baron (? coi-disant). They were bringing him out in their car, a rather old one, & the self-starter was not prompt. "Wie dumm!" said Mr. H. "C'est bien curieux," repeated the French guest "Ca arrive jamais avec des voitures Francaises."

They arrived at Schloss Schimberg & he was sham around. The 500-year-old wooden gate. He said he didn't believe it. The old castle - he merely remembered "affairs" at the table & red pill was served with meat - "Very provincial cuisine": "what is this meat?" "Gibier." "Un peu ordinaire, n'est-ce pas?" and so on. a wonderful collection of remarks by a guest. Countess Fickertstein said she would ask him again to luncheon to examine the specimens more attentively.

General Lehard called to see me this morning: he is president for 8 years of the International Shipbuilding Co. Says firm's armament will be matured in the middle of 1937, or beginning of '38. Says Hitler has better advisers and listens much to them than Mussolini. Does not see that a European settlement will be impossible when the Italian war is out of the way. Praises the cleverness of Beck's diplomatic dance - advancing, here, backing, advancing in another direction, & doing various little turns in between.

James Hicks, the famous Dublin cabinet-maker, who has been "the rage" for many years, is dead. A real Dublin "character"; small stature & broad "Jackeen" accent; a first-class tradesman in the best old Dublin tradition. He has three tables by him. Edward VII bought some of his work & the old Duke of Cornwall was a patron. An outdoorser, simple, unaffected, indefatigable old chap.

6-3-36 The assassinations by military of Japanese cabinet ministers has been causing a furor. It was feared in London, Paris, Washington & Moscow that it might be the prelude to an intensification of the campaign to dominate Asia. Japan has now made some declarations at Moscow which ease the situation. In Geneva in January I said something to him about the Far Eastern situation but he replied that it was much easier and that he had no immediate anxieties. It would appear he was more concerned about his European front.

A letter from Frank Walter says - so the Italian war - that things are not going badly from the League point of view, in spite of the great Italian victories in the north.

Since then the League 13ⁿ have sent another appeal to the disputants and the aid embargo will it would seem, be imposed if the appeal fails. A Geneva paper says the embargo is implicitly decided upon.

I wonder if Filletti's words some six weeks ago - that we would have a settlement in March - will prove true.

and now the Italians have bombed a British Red X. unit.

Problems with the Senate include more newspaper questions and the matter of opposition meetings.

6th March. Reichstag suddenly called today & Hitler announced immediate reoccupation of the Danubian zone; his readiness to make 25 year non-aggression pacts with France & Belgium to replace the Locarno Pact which he said had been smothered by the Franco-Russian Treaty. Also ready, now, to make a pact with Lithuania & offered reassurances, on somewhat general terms (the German text is obscure), regarding Poland's access to the sea. And finally will now be ready to return to the League.

Sensational news. What will happen? The reoccupation is a fact accomplished. I believe France should accept it - not in the same way as the breaking by Germany of the Part V of the Versailles Treaty - but to "take her profit" such as they are.

more assurances may be needed as to the future - especially frontier questions.

Douglas's flag has not again this afternoon - for with same reason this time.

This time, however, it is not only the Locarno Treaty that is unilaterally broken - it is Locarno.

10/3/36. Hitler's bombshell created consternation in many capitals. It appears to have been totally unexpected. Boncompagni went last week to inquire about Hitler's interview - friendly to France - given to a French journalist; he wanted some precisings; he was told to wait a couple of days for the answer; it came with the marching of troops. The day before H. spoke Eden had called the former ambassador & (following a week's conversation with Flondin) again proposed a Western Air Pact.

France refuses to negotiate. Two treaties unilaterally broken within a year do not, Doreau says, give any confidence in making a new one. Paris has appeared to the League Council.

Eden, in Parliament, denounces the German action, but says the future is more important than the present.

Polish uneasiness manifested over the destination made between the East & West.

It is natural to feel much sympathy for the completion of German sovereignty over a part of former territory; but the methods are bad and discouraging.

11/3/36 London "Times" leads its leading article
in "a chance to rebuild"! French troops have
moved into the frontier zone. Much nervousness
in U.S. I cannot believe disaster is imminent.

Hitler's move may hasten European stabilization but
on the other hand, remove the hope
which still persisted of a peaceable settlement.

"Times" bold correspondent, thinks his coup d'etat
was due to increasing conflict within the U.S.
part of increasing financial & economic
difficulties. The action reestablishes H's internal
authority, but has weakened Europe's confidence
incredibly.

Ned Phelan writes to me: "Geneva is seething
with rumours over the Rhineland and Hitler's speech.
It will, I think, get a fair reception. He makes a
good case to the unprejudiced mind and his offers
for settlements East and West will not, I think,
be lightly rejected. It is a pity the Jewish
question will rob him of a lot of support he might
otherwise have had. The French will be in a quandary
There is no doubt but that the idea of sanctions
tempered to meet the idiosyncrasies of the aggressor
has been an element in precipitating the present
position. I always said the French would be up
against this dilemma but I certainly did not think
it would confront them so soon Locarno
or no Locarno. My guess is that the British will
not go to war because German troops occupy a part
of Germany. At the most they will agree to sanctions
à la Italo-Ethiopian and the French footwork will
be something to make a clog-dancer envious."

Dined with the barbers & the student Lederhaght last night. a frightful dinner, as usual, in spite of two "graces" by himself & Bishop Beerman.

We hadn't finished coffee before we were ushered into a room with chairs set ready. "Kiesi Jattl, a prayer meeting," I said to Noé. But it was a lecture by Lederhaght's daughter on ~~the~~ 1000 years of Hungarian history; an imposing manuscript, "mostly late," as Elsie said.

At last it was finished & N. played some Hungarian airs on a tiny gramophone. Then another huge MS. was produced - on the literature of Hungary.

I couldn't escape from the front chair. No drinks, no smokes. I tried to read the names of books upside down. Another interval & a drink.

I swallowed a brandy in a gulp, a "life-saver" & rose. I passed to the back of the room, capitulated Lederhaght, & to my horror learned there was another lecture to come. 1 1/2 hours of it had been enough. I said I must go. Elsie came up with another excuse. We insisted & left.

Lederhaght threatens to be another "public nuisance" in Dornying. "Thin & his school-girl histories," says Elsie.

13-3-36

Dined with Koch, Belgian representative, last night. von Rodewitz showed much nervousness & concern as to the outcome of the conf. he force in the west. Koch steadily repeated "you broke a treaty freely entered into." The legal arguments about the Franco-Russian pact sounded same what this - although the former official memo. makes the best of it. Mr R. hoped the Council which will meet in London on 15th would not press for the withdrawal of German troops. It couldn't be done now (that's all of the defects of dictatorships). Meyer, just back from Berlin, said they had expected a better reaction from that & Poland; that's queer. Induced von Neurath was not present at the German consultation immediately prior to last Sat's conf.

Lunch for another score of people today. We have entertained, dinner & luncheon, about 170 during the past two months - none to come.

Ex President Richin after luncheon, said my actions were generally recognized to be completely objective; & that, incidentally, my firmness had been a source to Daring & to Genoa. Some effort had been made in the press to suggest I was unfriendly to Genoa but he had had a talk two months ago with a German Cabinet minister (I understood it was von the assistant minister for foreign affairs) & the minister had spoken freely to him saying they had great respect for me & fully appreciated that I had done my best to avoid difficulties and could not have done more. He had been told that von Neurath was of the same opinion. He had said to

He will believe these people that the maintenance of the Constitution here was an essential bulwark of Dorey's Germanism.

Ziehn was German Nationalist Pres. of the Senate for many years & has close connections with German Government people in consequence, of first with the N.S. Party. He is not Nazi himself but a German Nationalist, & has a long record of service. He suggested I should occasionally see von N. in Berlin but I explained that while Germany was not in the League Council that might create difficulties.

14-3-36. League Council met in London, and after leaving France & Belgium invited Germany to be represented. It will be very difficult for Hitler to refuse.

A small ~~club~~ bridge dinner, Robinson, von Radant's, Prati (Italian) & von Gerke (Polish). von R. much more cheerful.

15-3-36. Heavy snow. Showcock sent by the Blythes. Lawless, has arrived to help in the office. Says he was not sure when he left London if the international situation would enable prevent him from ever reaching Dorey's (His father was Irish; a relative of our past Emily Lawless).

Deas with Koe, who showed me a letter written by him to a friend in Geneva, prophesying the outcome of the German situation as the rise of an extreme radical party, on the right wing of Nationalism.

to which ex-officio, officials without a future, the proletarianized middle class, & the entire youth of Germany would be attracted; & which would later lead to war. The first part of his prophecy has come true; may the second prove to be false.

Most anxious & fearful of the outcome of the present situation he wanted me to write to Eden to suggest that the German troops might be withdrawn from the Dutch & Belgian frontiers - if not from the French. I said I could not believe that possibly compromise had been overlooked in Berlin & London. It would greatly improve the moral & political situation of Germany: it was rather a question for Germany. He said he would write to a friend in close touch with von Neurath.

Kaë had listened to H. speaking a luncheon last night & said he struck all through his speech, an apologetic & defensive note. (Gustavson later remarked that he had had a similar impression). Berlin undoubtedly has made another blunder, is perhaps genuinely surprised at the consequences. But is H. losing his nerve? (I haven't read the speech yet myself).

Germany's reply to the invitation to attend the Council is an acceptance "in principle" with the condition that her

constructive proposals should be discussed simultaneously with the question of her breach of the Locarno Treaty. This has added to the difficulties of a situation already critical. Horden says he would leave London ~~first~~ before he could accept such a proposal.

For the second time in a year I begin to think of what to do with my family in case of war. Actually so.

One aeroplane or one machine gunner might in the present situation precipitate the unthinkable disaster. A boat to Sweden or Denmark with my family on board would leave me here with a less anxious mind. But would one have time to pack them off?

One thing is certain, I believe no one wants war.

Dictatorships have virtues & uses but also disadvantages. When a H. or a Muss. does something with éclat he cannot go back without "losing face". All the more reason for dictators to act with the greatest prudence - not to act on an emotional conviction that they are semi-divine. It is as well to leave that conviction to the mob, & to listen carefully to advice of trained counsellors who know the world. Gomer keeps on talking of the Bolshevik peril: all the usual liars but

It is not Russia they fear. German statesmen must take account of that fact.

St. Patrick's Day. a walk with the children in Kenilwood woods - sunny & a cold north wind. Lunch with Mr Kadwitz who was also entertaining ambassador German of Buenos Ayres, his predecessor at Danzig.

Elsie was tired & decided not to invite the Bishop to dinner. Mrs. Harkness, or "Irish Colony", come. Monsignor Okruke telegraphed "a bright & happy feast on St. Patrick's Day."

A great basket of flowers from the Senate for Elsie & daffodils from the Robinsons.

Mrs. met Beers in the town yesterday, almost running from flower shop to flower shop, looking for wood sorrel. Each St. Pat's day he gives me a little pot, and now I was to be got. It ended with an apologetic postcard with four-leaved clover & New Year wishes.

18-3-36. Read English translation of Hitler's Munich speech. "God Almighty created me a German and by His order I must stand by this people" He wished to bring them together with the rest of the world, not as a self & slave, but as an equal partner. No threat or compliments would make him change his ~~opinion~~ ideas.

"My only wish is to have my name mentioned with respect by posterity. I am therefore indifferent to threats, compliments, or slurs. I go my way with the assurance of a scoundrel, the way which Providence has sent me."

008 Telegramm

Landesstaatsdirektion der Freien Stadt Danzig

P1/z(4)

aus 21 DANZIG / 5 776 16 17/3 1400 =

Aufgenommen				Befördert	
Tag	Monat	Jahr	Zeit	Tag	Zeit
14/3		1911			
7 1					
Amt Danzig					

EXCELLENCE LESTER AM

GENERALKOMMANDO DANZIG =

A BRIGHT AND HAPPY FEAST ON ST. PATRICKS DAY =

BISHOP OROURKE ++++

Raum für dienstliche Rückfragen

This is self-revelatory.

But he also said Germany would not wage war to readjust frontiers. That must be the new foundation.

Berlin has agreed to be represented at the Council mtg, apparently without insisting on the second condition. One can only pray that Germany & Russia may soon find mutual confidence & peace.

American education is extraordinary in the smaller towns. The head of a history school in Memphis addresses me in high-falootin' terms as though I were the head of a basileus dynasty.

"Since we have studied the lives of your ancestors we have become greatly interested in you, yourself. As a ruler you may hold the fate of the world in your hands etc. We believe that your name will appear in the histories of the future" -

Then I am told that Memphis has the third largest free 2.00 in America & the letter concludes with a request for stamps, pictures, & literature of Danzig.

I suppose the Danzig stamps is the fondest hope of the Memphis history class.

And the envelope is addressed :-
"High Com Sea Post"!

One reads in English newspapers the report that von Blomberg (war), von Neurath (Foreign affairs) and Schacht (finance & economics) opposed Hitler's plan to suddenly re-occupy the Lore.

26. 11 - 36.

On 16th Elsie was told by Prof. Dr. Fuchs that an operation was necessary. When he told me on the 17th I rolled into the corner, sick & fainting holding on to my consciousness. The poor girl had been through it all before, 3 years ago in Geneva. She has such courage. The operation took place on 21st - The ~~Dr.~~ had wanted her a day earlier but she postponed it for a day - because she had a big luncheon party here! I was in hell, anxiety & fear & sympathy. The calm assurances of doctor & nurses just helped a very little. My darling is still very weak & suffers but all seems to be going well, thank God.

(E. made a remarkable & quick recovery; being home within 15 days.)

Der Landesjägermeister
der Freien Stadt Danzig

P1/2 (5)

Danzig, den 21. März 1936 .

Herr Hoher Kommissar!

Am Dienstag, den 24. März ds.Js., vormittags
10.⁰⁰ Uhr, findet im Deutschen Vereinshause, Neugarten 8,
die Eröffnung der Danziger Trophäenschau für das Jahr 1936
statt.

Jch beehre mich, Sie, Herr Hoher Kommissar,
zu dieser Eröffnungsfeier ergebenst einzuladen.

Jch benutze die Gelegenheit, Sie, Herr Hoher
Kommissar, meiner besonderen Hochachtung zu versichern.

Der Landesjägermeister.

J. V.

Polizei- Präsident.

An

S.E.

den Herrn Hohen Kommissar
des Völkerbundes Sean Lester,

h i e r .

Danzig, May 6th 1936.

Not feeling inclined to write for a week or so I find that it easily becomes a habit. The international world has been developing crises, in the same way as has marked the last year or two, from month to month. Addis Abeba occupied by the Italians and the Emperor in flight out of the country and a most infernal puzzle for the League. French elections over with results showing successes on the Left, which probably means an increased support for the League and a greater tendency towards English cooperation, but which probably comes too late to have any effect on the Italian aggression. The League has so far completely failed to prevent the aggression being successful in the most flagrant case which it has yet dealt with. References by important public men have been made in France and England, threatening to abandon the League - these are only threats but the new situation must be dealt with and it seems possible the next year may see a revision of the international guarantees concerned in the League idea. It seems difficult to foresee whether this means a weakening or a strengthening of the League. If it means a strengthening how can the Italian incident be buried? If it means a weakening that would seem only to speed up the policy of alliances with all the dangers involved. No new League can bring in the United States, unless it were so attenuated as to be useless in Europe except as a meeting-place for Foreign Ministers.

The lull of the Rhineland question has, as was expected, been very useful and it is only this week that the British Government is expected to put the questionnaire which was to be prepared at the last meeting of the Locarno Powers, before the German Government. I am interested to see to what extent the question of Germany's intentions in the East will be included.

In Danzig the new Government policy of cooperation with the League, which was initiated following the January Council, has on the whole been followed. The first point in influencing this is the determination of the Senate that no Danzig problem shall go before the Council at its May Session. I have absolutely no doubt that this was on orders from General Göring, on whom apparently the Führer has conferred the duty of dealing with Danzig questions in so far as German influence is concerned. Forster has been comparatively quiet and the public attacks on the League and the High Commissioner have completely ceased. Some points which I have raised with Greiser have been met in a very reasonable way but I have pointed out to him that the policy of cooperation with the League which is expected has to be based on the maintenance of the Constitution, and that the administration in my view is still very far from complying with the Council's views in this respect. There has been, compared with any equal period of last year, little interference with the Press and I have said to the Senate I hoped this policy would not end with the May meeting of the Council.

I was speaking alone with Greiser on this occasion and he said that he couldn't imagine any reason for changing it; that Danzig was bound to remain for at least very many years in its present position of a Free City, and added that the people who talked about the Rhineland coup being repeated in Danzig were mad, because Germany required to keep on good terms with Poland. I said to him that it appeared to many observers, including myself, that any use of force in Danzig would almost certainly lead to military action on the Polish side, with the consequence that war might very easily occur. As he had himself expressed the view as to the immediate future I took the occasion to say to him that in these circumstances would he not think that National Socialist policy in Danzig would be more wisely directed if it were aimed at securing the free and willing cooperation of the various German Parties, and also was it not the fact that the division between German people in Danzig was deeper than it had been at any time

during the past fifteen years? Greiser jumped to the point and remarked: "Yes, what we need in Danzig is a Deutsche Front, such as they had in the Saar." I remarked that if that were his ambition it could only be achieved with a great deal of patience and very slowly, and with the abandonment of elements in the National Socialist Party programme. It could only come by real cooperation and not by absorption. Again Greiser agreed.

There are various possibilities as to how far this represents the genuine intentions of the people behind Greiser in Berlin. As it would be an intelligent and intelligible policy, I feel inclined on the whole to accept it. It is true that Hitler has described himself as acting in major matters as a somnambulist, and I suppose there is always some incalculable element about a man of his very sincere and emotional type, but there are other elements involved besides the local one of bringing Danzig under German sovereignty, which provide a check. It is always possible that Hitler may yet prove, in spite of the philosophy of violent nationalism and the pan-German ideals which he has formally expressed, to be the man to increase European stability. One cannot write a remark of this kind without very much hesitation. It is merely a hope not yet given up in quarters which are not anti-German. One must not overlook the internal difficulties which he has to face. There have been alarms in Austria and Chequo-Slovakia, and in Austria feeling is growing that a coup in that direction only requires a situation as favourable as that in which the Rhineland was reoccupied. This suggestion and the military alarm on the frontier last week have been indignantly denied in Berlin.

My friend O R. a few days ago said to me that in his view a war was only a matter of a short time, and some public man in England is prophesying that the life of the present Parliament would not have run its course before war broke out. If, therefore, the more immediate and acute anxiety following the Rhineland affair seems to have been avoided, Europe is still under a cloud of fear.

Poland has been having some rioting as a result of economic difficulties, and anti-Semitic feeling is growing especially amongst the younger people. Poland in the past had no middle class; the Jews controlled commerce and finance to a great extent because Polish aristocrats were not interested. With the growth of the new Polish State young Poles find themselves faced by barriers and competition both in commerce and the professions. The uneasiness in Jewish circles which followed this partly accounted for the flight of capital lately, with the consequent restrictions which were published a fortnight ago. It may also be partly accounted for by the fact that Poland is proceeding to strengthen her armaments, on which she expends a very high percentage of her budget.

In a personal conversation with P. a short time ago I asked him if there was any anxiety in Warsaw as to the immediate future. They were always opposed to the Locarno Pact which left the East on the outside and while they were therefore not much distressed by events affecting the Locarno guarantee they were naturally concerned that further arrangements should not be so exclusive. As to whether there was any nervousness regarding the international status of Danzig, it was remarked that France, in facing the coup in the West, had made a great mistake. One battalion of troops placed just over the frontier would have left them in a very strong position to negotiate, at any rate, and would not, it was confidently felt, have led to any war. That was not a mistake which Poland would make in similar circumstances. As I am only concerned with the prevention of crises I said it would ^{be of} very much importance to know if Germany were aware of that, and the reply was "I have reason to believe so".

It would seem to confirm my first reaction following the Rhineland coup that that was the last that could be safely undertaken because it was within the political frontiers of the Reich.

Yesterday I had another long session with the Senate. An order has been consequently issued that no flag but the Danzig flag shall appear on public buildings. I regard this as of considerable psychological importance, apart from the restoration of the legal situation. The argument that the Swastika was no longer a Party flag since it had become officially the flag of the Reich was obviously untenable. Some concessions also have been made with regard to the question of education.

The Council will consider the question of renewing my mandate and two newspapers in close connection with the Wilhelmstrasse have publicly ballons d'essai suggesting that in view of the improved situation in Danzig I might reconsider my decision not to accept a second term. P. has told me that the Polish Government would be delighted; so has V.R. and President Greiser has asked me if there is anything he could do to further my wishes in the matter! I shall not make up my mind definitely about another short appointment until I am in Geneva.

One of my visitors during the post month was Rhy J. Davies, M.P. (Labour) a member of the last Labour Govt. I met him for 15 minutes. He was here to see opposition parties, particularly Soc. Dem. in the hands of his. Asked him to conclude to meet Senate rep. & sales but he was leaving a few hours after he called on me, a charming old gentleman, personally, but - he didn't know that Poland had no more outlet to the sea!

He has made a report on his visit - not very profound & full of sympathy for the non-belligerents. I notice he says in it:-

"The Commissioner at present is Mr Sam Leste
"an Irishman; a high-minded person of
"sterling qualities and plenty of courage. Was
"it otherwise it is doubtful if active members
"of the minorities would be able to secure
"even a bare livelihood there just now." etc.

The 93rd Session of the League opened on May 11th and ended on the 13th after three short meetings. I think this is the shortest Council meeting on record. The only political point of any interest was the decision that in spite of Italy's formal annexation of Abyssinia, and her argument that as Abyssinia no longer existed Italy should represent that territory at the Council table, the Council decided that the Ethiopian delegate would be called to the table. This was at a private meeting on Sunday on the question of procedure. Eden was President of the Council. Outside the Committee room where the Council was meeting about a hundred journalists were gathered, as one of them said to me: "to see which of them comes out". The door opened and Baron Aloisi walked out and half way down the stairs, followed by a swirling surge of journalists. He had left the Council table when the Ethiopian sat down, or rather, he had waited until he had finished reading his declaration in spite of his black colleague's presence. Five minutes later, at the public Session to discuss other questions, Aloisi sat smilingly in his place.

The question of my reappointment was on the Agenda. I had one or two short discussions before the matter was reached. Eden said that as Rapporteur he considered it most desirable and earnestly hoped I would accept reappointment for a period. He was aware that it was the unanimous view of his colleagues.

Avenol, the Secretary General, with whom I had a longish talk, pointed out to me that there was considerable uncertainty about the immediate future. There might be a question of changing some of the commitments of the League. He returned to the point that Germany and Poland being now "on good terms", and the High Commissioner not being called upon for the present to settle disputes between Danzig and Poland it might be an opportunity for the League to reduce its commitments in this corner.

We were going to have an anxious and uncertain time and during that period he was most anxious that there should be in Danzig someone in whose judgment they had confidence as well as someone who knew the situation. In these circumstances it was urged that I should accept a prolongation. I said that in all these circumstances I would accept another short period, and I presumed my Government would have no objection. "Oh," he said, "of course your Government will be delighted".

Discussing the possibilities of any change in the League position here, I pointed out to him that there had been quite recently an appeal from Poland for the settlement of a dispute with Danzig. I had the impression that this appeal would possibly be settled before it came to a formal decision at any rate. I did not take it that it meant a definite breach in the plan for direct negotiations between the parties, but it had some political significance. As for any reduction in the League

commitments here I imagined that that would be strongly opposed by Poland, if and when it came under discussion. Some years ago Poland might have welcomed it as the League's activities were in those days very largely required for protection of Danzig rights, at any rate to a greater extent than the protection of Polish rights. With the changed military situation in Europe it would be quite easy to imagine that Poland now would regard the League in Danzig as less of a nuisance and more of a guarantee, if not as an actual protection at least as strengthening their moral and political position, if and when the negotiations were opened between Poland and Danzig with regard to an arrangement of the problem involved in Danzig and the Corridor. I was quite certain that these discussions would eventually arise, but of course, like nearly everything else in Danzig, that would depend upon the general European situation. I also thought that it was most likely that for the present at any rate official Germany was not sorry to have the League and its High Commissioner here as a buffer to prevent the more extreme people from pushing matters too quickly.

I did not think that there was any immediate danger of an actual coup de force from the German side. For one thing I did not believe it could in the present circumstances pass without the gravest danger and it was extremely likely, if not absolutely certain, that any such attempt would be resisted by force by Polish troops. There was, of course, always the incalculable element, but I believed that would be checked unless the European situation deteriorated rapidly.

As to the Constitution there had been undoubtedly an improvement since January. The Nazis had learnt a lesson. The open defiance of the League had ceased. Some of my discussions with the Senate on other matters had been fruitful. I did not think the situation as placed before the Council last January would be soon repeated, if at all, but at the same time the administration remained Nazi in spirit and in many respects, I feared, unconstitutional. This was extremely difficult to check, with the resources and powers at my disposal. The only way it could be radically changed, if the Senate were determined not to change their policy in this respect, would be by a Committee of investigation. That had been proposed to the Council in January in circumstances which could have justified a Council decision. It had been adjourned and I did not think the Council would get a similar opportunity. The Opposition Parties in Danzig were somewhat weakened by events and to some slight extent perhaps demoralized by the absence of a decision to hold new elections. They were extremely dissatisfied and would probably continue to make complaints. I had indeed one or two kilos of such complaints on my desk.

The question of my remaining in Danzig was decided at a private meeting of the Council, which of course I did not attend. As a matter of courtesy Greiser was invited to the table. Eden and Paul Boncour^{de} said a few nice things about my work. Paul Boncour added a remark about the Constitution which seemed to be a reflection of the influence of the prospective Left Government, in France.

Lunched with Frank Walter
a couple of times; Cummings &
Roger Markham ^{Markham} of the F.O.M.

Gave a dinner to Greiser & Co. &
lunched with them.

Dined with Pheasant for our usual
yarns & controversies. He's become
a really enthusiastic yachtsman.

Reichmann came up after my
"reappointment" to congratulate Poland
and Danzig. He says Beck
is gratified that his prophecies about
the collapse of the collection system
were proving true.

Never have I seen Geneva in such disarray.
No-one could speculate on the future; no-one could
feel any certainty as to the European position even
two months hence. The Italian actions, together
with the flight of the "King of Kings" had presented
a situation in which the League appeared to have
been defeated. There are clearly in every country
elements which think that sanctions should be raised
as their object, they claim, was to prevent war
and the war is now over. The matter was eventually
adjourned until June 16th to enable the new French
Government to take over and incidentally to give
other Governments time to consider the position.
No doubt the situation will have crystallised to
some extent by that time. The question of changes
in the Covenant immediately becomes a matter of
urgent politics. It is difficult to see Italy
simply resuming her place in the European concert
after having swallowed a fellow member, and the
matter being passed off with a few speeches of regret
at the unfortunate disappearance of a State member
of the League. It would seem to be more decent to
wipe out the Articles 10 and 16, but if so the
potential value of the League would very largely
disappear and it would be doubtful if small States
would continue in many cases to remain. The German
desire to have the Covenant separated from the
Treaty of Versailles will also be under discussion
in the summer, and generally there seemed to be
complete uncertainty as to the future.

Half jokingly I asked one or two friends to be
sure to telegraph to me any untoward event so that
at the outpost I should not find myself the solitary
and isolated representative of law in Europe!

I might say that Greiser's attitude to me in
Geneva was of the most friendly. Again he sought
a definite indication as to my wish to stay on, with
the object, as he said, of assisting to that end.

The scandal of the Budget in England involving
Jimmy Thomas was an invariable subject of conversat-
ion among English groups.

Eden said to me he did not find that Council meeting so bad as that of January. I can only suppose he meant as to his personal fractional position in the backwash of the Hoare-Laval proposals.

Frank Channing urged me strongly to stay abroad - i.e. in Dargis. No hope, he seemed to think, for me at home! Rather, astonishing & discouraging: with my special experience I had hoped to be taken back into our own service. Until two weeks ago I had had near one word of appreciation or encouragement from head quarters, personal or official, for my work in the Council, or for my work in Dargis. I wrote again to Joe Walsh asking for a direction from the Joint as to accepted overseas period here. Was semi-officially told "that the President would not stand in my way in accepting fuller advantages: the President himself was ill - ~~Dargis~~ Zurich & could not be consulted. He had, it is true, last July urged me to stay on - "as a feather in our cap". Joe, for the first time for years, softened his semi-official note by a purely personal one (congratulations on my success in Dargis). (See letter).
I'm much afraid he doesn't want me.

()

Like other people I receive many queer things out of the United States, but a letter from the Shoe Club, Inc. of New York which awaited me on my return from Geneva was one of the more extraordinary. The Shoe Club bespeaks my "kind office to help us in adding to our collection of worn shoes of notables all over the world".

"Having finished with a collection of famous statesmen and personages in all walks of life in the United States of America, we are now seeking to add to our collection the worn shoes of similar personages in other countries.

"The Shoe Club feels that a collection of shoes that have been worn by men of renown will be an inspiration to the younger members of the industry not only in craftsmanship but to show them that their livelihood is of a service to mankind of which they can be proud.

"May we therefore bespeak your graciousness in sending a pair of your old shoes and also fill out the enclosed autograph? "

The incredulous giggles with which this request has been received by my daughters is a sufficient European commentary on one of the American idiosyncrasies, but Georg, hearing of it, promptly offered to get rid of one of the many pairs of shoes which he thinks I should not be wearing.

1st June.

Charles Bewley, Dr. Ministe in Berlin, spent what week, and with us. Son of a Quaker Doctor and a Quakeress (Pim) B. is a Catholic convert & more zealous, naturally, than a born Catholic. A barrister, he was appointed to the Holy See in 1929; & in 1933 to Berlin. (About '21 or '22 he was an of unrecognised agent of the Movement in Berlin). ~~But~~ Perhaps it was Worcester & Oxford, but he is violently anti-English; I feel always that he is more anti-English than pro-Irish. Also anti-League & even condemns DeValera for carrying out Ireland's obligations under the Covenant in the Abyssinia dispute. I have little or nothing in common with him & he is a prig - I prefer the pleasant odour of Bewley's (Roasted) coffee shop in Westminster St. Brought him to Canter in Kegelink's schloss. Had the Gräfers, Mr Hagens, Professor Fruchs & a few others to dinner; we both rode with Gräfers in the woods on Monday morning.

2nd June. Jimmy Thomas found guilty
by the Budget Tribunal - giving information
to his two friends, Bates & Butt,
a terrific sensation. Everyone expected
it to be inferred. & perhaps it is
a tribute, I suppose, to English justice
that the scandal has been faced.

But, without having read the decision
yet, I had the impression that it was
a case of "circumstantial evidence".
The £20,000 biography "did" for him.

I met him a couple of times in
Geneva. Else & I were lunching
with him one day when the laudable
dignity of old Cecil passed along the
other side of the Beau Rivage terrace.
"Hey, Bob, come ~~there~~ 'ere", shouted
Jimmy. and Bob duly came!

We played bridge one night
with him - Duloury had told him I
played - & Elsie "took a scunner
agin' him" which still remains.
(Throughout this inquiry, as she admits,
she has been vindictive of anti-
Thomas.) The agin' Khon came
over to our table and asked Jimmy

what the stakes were. It was a franc.

"I suppose your 'Spiness plays for £50 a cent", said Jimmy. "Yes, will you have one now?" And J. couldn't well refuse, as a gambling man. He lost, incidentally.

At one of the Commonwealth mtgs - about the impending imposition of a tariff & the proposed preference to Dominions (Thomas was the Dominion Secy.) he asked the various reps. who included four High Commissioners for London. When he reached old Sir Granville Byrie, a square-headed & almost stupid old soldier, Thomas spoke to him like a sergeant to a recruit, with oaths. Old Square-head spoke similarly when he spoke at all & on this occasion he sat dumb.

Yet Jimmy made a good intervention at a Council mtg held while he was at Geneva (for the Disarmament Conference)

and scarcely dropped a single "H."
It was I think in the Sun-Job. go
but as far as English policy was
concerned it was a swallow that
never made a summer.

The "Irish help" later recalled, my
general opinion of a fault in the curies, that
whatever might now be said about
Thomas he had been a political
friend of Ireland in the Home Rule
& Black & Tan days.

During the Irish railwayman's strikes
to prevent the carrying of British troops
& ammunition in 1921 or perhaps 1920
a special conference was called by Thomas
of the Railwayman's union (of which he
was Secy) at Bristol. For some
reason I went over myself instead
of sending a member of the Repatory
Staff. I recall approaching
the hall where the conference
met and an elderly thin old
Longshaven man came up to me.
"Are you Irish," he asked. "Yes?" I
replied. "Then tell them to watch
Slim Jimmy: he'll let you down."

Samuel Druggon, one of the signatories of the
Anglo-Herb. tract, suddenly dead. He was a
great friend of Jiffitt. Very pleasant, genial
type; but I never got to know him well.
Has been out of national politics for some time.

10th Böttcher called to see me. Tomorrow
the Corpus Christi procession will be held
and police will intervene to prevent boys
marching in uniform which is still
polizeilich verboten. Pres. G. sent him
to ask if I would talk with Bishop
O'Rourke to try to avert the scandal.

I said I would do so. But the
negotiations on the wearing of uniforms
has been going on too long; and I expected
an early decision giving reasonable
facilities to the Catholic Jugend.

B. also apologized for the "Vaposten's"
impetuosity. Two or 3 days ago it
published a photo of a man emerging
from a doorway & offered a prize for the
best solution as to identity etc.
It was Sr. Boneta Blavier leaving my office.

Blavier, not a very serious person, entered with a solution in bad verse: (1) It was he; (2) he was leaving the H.C.'s office; (3) he had been telling the H.C. that Zarske (Schita) was "the greatest swine in Donzig".

Blavier had been in schutzhaft; I had intervened & secured his release. He had come to thank me, & describe his references amongst the "A. & S." - "for his own protection".

I had obtained an assurance that he wd not in public mention my intervention & had suggested it was the reasonableness of the sentence which he owed his release.

I told B. it was a piece of scandalous impertinence & I wd speak to Greiser.

Greiser, a couple of weeks ago, made a big blunder with a speech in a U.S. café, saying that the Polish-Donzig pact was not lost & then we came their realization of their ambition etc etc. Paper protested & obtained a complete denial. The "Volksstimmung" was suppressed for 2 months for "false" reports! I also obtained a flat denial. "Do you think I wd be so stupid as to make such a speech?" said Greiser. Later he said he was in the quandary of making us speeches & getting into disputes with his staff; or having trouble with others. I gave him some good

advice. And now I have to see
about the "Valkstunne".

13th June. Our comparative peace shattered &
fear & danger in the city. Nazis stormed
a Deutsch Nat. meeting with 100 yards from
house tonight - Was at a State reception to
the riding teams for an local annual jumping
Competitions at Zoppot. When I got home
Elsie told me people had been clamouring
at the door calling out that there was
a massacre going on. Ambulances
had been busy & fifty people were
in hospital. It seems to have been
a brutal dirty business. Most of the
A. N. audience of 700 were bourgeois, &
many elderly men & women included
in the injured.

14th Called for an immediate appointment
with Freiser. But he came to see me.
Referred to our efforts to work smoothly
together, said Opposition had been very
provocative, & were many of them
etc. (See notes). I said police impartiality
& activity against all lawbreakers, Nazi or
not, was the only safeguard. Reserved

my opinion on the events. G. said that
Waste had been on the phone with
him at 5-30 AM. that morning complaining
that the police had injured 15 of his
men. Even the opposition has report
admitted that police where they had
acted & secured peace.

Then came a "stream" of prisoners.
all the Opp'n leaders in a bunch
with some of the weapons captured
from the attacks, a pistol magazine,
life-preservers, & a dummy hand-grenade,
a ghostly thing of wood & iron
with blood still in it. Heads very
ragged & sweating. I let them see it all
off & when they began to talk of
protecting themselves - "we all served in
the war & won't be killed in cold
blood" I warned them firmly
& said their only strength was in
legality. Then at G's request I received
a dozen young Naga storm troops
also bonded. Rather naive.
I pointed out to them that they were
damaging their movement, making
difficulties for their Government, & danger
for Dazip. No police must act against

all, I said. "But not so hard",
complained the leader.
^{a young Nazi died in hospital}
Situation very grave and dangerous.
Forster calls meetings. I ask Greiser
to use his influence to prevent
incitement. See paper & state my apprehensions.

Week-end passes with other outrages
reported.

Monday 15th The free Exile Council's
associates came to see me. Three
leaders with broken faces. Their
meeting was broken up, although they
had asked for prior police protection.
The leader P — placed while
unconscious in front of an approaching
train, etc, etc.

~~Hear~~ A visit from Paper. He has
protested against maltreatment of
Poles during the melee.

Other accounts say that police cleared
off the streets just before the attack
began. One says Forster's adjutant
saw to that!

Hear G. is going to Berlin & send
urgently on the message that I would
take such steps as seemed necessary
if the situation got worse.

The absence of confidence in the police

Redoubt

after my formal talk I told him that the people in Berlin knew I was trying to prevent mischief but that in certain cases I would not hesitate to take the strongest action. If I were not supported I would at once resign & explain why without ~~any~~ too much diplomatic nicety. "That would show an international force" he said. "Perhaps not international," I replied, "in view of the results of Foster's policy in the Council resolution of January". He promised to telegraph to Berlin at once.

forces is very bad.

July 15th more interviews & a series of outrages described including some with it's alleged, police looking on.

Write formal note to Senate as warning. See Geneva Conv. for official to draw his attention to Foster's activity. He agrees. Says F. does not, as he publicly claims, represent the Führer. Says Greiser feels he is made to look like a fool, & feels powerless.

16th funeral of dead Nazi today. By demonstration. All State flags half-masted & offices closed. Head of S.A. from Berlin arrives. Go to see Greiser to reinforce my letter & warn him that I must take heavy responsibility while the Council not sitting. Also that I may have to bring Donzy to the special (Sometime) sitting of the Council on 26th inst. He said open if he would regret that very much. Also referred him to Council's January resolution which specially mentioned

J. assured me that the police were well
in his hands; the Commander Bethke, was
his man & would take any orders
he gave him & from nobody else.

Poland to support the H.C. & said I
was going to see Papee this morning.
He hoped I would not make any
formal demarche with Poland.

I referred to the fact that I had a
verbatim report of Foster's speech
(his loud speaker could be heard
in adjacent houses!) & he asked for
a copy; it would, he said, help him.

In private personal conversation
afterwards he told me he was having
difficulties with Foster. & I mentioned to
him my step with the Gen. Sec. He asked
me to send him also a letter on the
subject. It would give him ground
for certain action, (? with Goring)

Said F's adjutant, when I had mentioned
was very badly advising F. & that he
G. was in serious conflict with him.

Am keeping up steady pressure
on all parties, & taking every preventive
measure possible, to keep the situation
from developing into a crisis requiring
international action, perhaps a
request for force, which would complicate
a situation in Europe already tense enough.

20 June '36

I am awaiting with a certain amount of anxiety the results of discussions and enquiries going on behind the scenes. President Greiser has been absent from Danzig twice this week and I understand that yesterday the same could be said of Mr. Forster and the German Consul General. President Greiser is expected back this morning. They have all been in Berlin of course, and I am told that when Berlin received three different versions of events, one from Greiser, one from Forster and one from von Radowitz, these three people were summoned to discuss the situation.

I cannot believe that any but one view can be taken of the political situation here. I doubt if any new campaign can be ~~made~~ ^{conducted} in circumstances in which it is a question of half the German population of Danzig against the other half, and where it is also quite probably the question of differing views within the National Socialist Party in Danzig itself, and where Forster has made public declarations which can only be interpreted as a threat to take the streets of Danzig ~~into~~ ^{into} control of the forces under him, in disregard of the position of the State police. Greiser, having been informed by me of the action I had taken with von Radowitz, privately asked me to give him a letter which would provide an ostensible basis for some action by himself also. He has this with him in an unequivocal form. Forster is the source of disturbance a danger to Germany, Danzig, Poland and a source of weakness to his own Party. On the whole the display of force in the Töpfergasse went too far to achieve political results in the way which might have been hoped for in some quarters. The press versions seem to me to be 75% blatant lies, but too many people saw something of the affair to enable these distortions to be generally accepted. On the whole I would estimate that the N.S. elements, while increasing a feeling of terrorism, have lost ground. If Berlin is well served they must know that also.

Himmler, who came to Danzig for one of the funerals with special wreaths from the Führer, is himself an extremist in the Party and has been known to me as one of the elements in Germany who have supported Forster.

The youth who died as a result of the Töpfergasse affair had a Polish father and a German mother, but was brought up as a German. He is said to have been a nervous type and to have disliked intensely the work in which he had participated on this occasion. The medical certificate was that he died from natural causes (aoreitis luetica) but in the German press his death was referred to as "cowardly assassination", "Red murder", etc. The boy seems to have had a slight blow on the head but there is nothing to indicate that it was from one of the half-dozen police who acted on this occasion or from one of the members of the audience which was attacked.

Greater obscurity still surrounds the death of the two S.S. men in a village near the frontier. One version is that the S.S. men with some comrades called at a house for a drink. It was a Social Democrat house. They objected that the water was not cold enough and the woman procured fresh water from the well. Again they objected, and flung the water in the woman's face. Some scuffling seems to have followed and shots were fired. The Opposition people believe, rightly or wrongly, that the only shots fired were by the visitors, and that the two men were killed by accident. It would seem that no fire-arm was found in the house, although the entire family was arrested, including very young children of 8 and 9 years old.

The N.S. press has not been very explicit as to the details and there is certainly ground in both cases for impartial enquiry. The Poles are alarmed and are taking action owing to the number of Poles assaulted in the streets for not saluting the Nazi flag, etc.

23-6-36

Reports from Foster, Greiser, & von R. to Berlin led to all three being called there, when he returns Greiser announced that all political meetings & parades w^d be forbidden; & in a speech referred to Foster as an Honorary Citizen of Danzig who must be protected. I made allowances for certain extravagances against the opposition & noted that he suggested there should be no assault for failure to salute the Swastika here.

I rejoiced too prematurely. It was true that Foster's immediate plans & threats were countered & peaceful conditions restored by the U.S. people being called off. But it was not a defeat: it was only a check.

Foster got full support. Greiser got a rebuff. He got his way about re-establishing order, but F. will remain here, more powerful than before if more cautious. The German front idea is, I reckon, to be abandoned for it can never succeed while F. remains.

G. saw me today; personally pleasant but very reserved & guarded. I did not mention his visit to Berlin & Foster.

Danzig, June 26th 1936.

Accompanied by every possible personal indignity, the German Government yesterday landed one in my midriff, if not below the belt. I suppose it was not personal, but it naturally has its personal effect.

The visit of the German cruiser "Leipzig", announced some weeks ago, took place yesterday and while I, all dressed up, awaited the arrival of the officers for the usual official call I received a message from a subordinate official of the Senate that the officers had informed the Senate that they had been instructed by the highest naval authorities to pay no visit to the High Commissioner. No explanation was offered.

I immediately cancelled the entertainment I had arranged for the officers and my acceptance of invitations in connection with their visit. It appears that the officers went straight from the Senate to the Polish Minister, arriving ten minutes before they were expected. This presumably was in order to prevent the Polish Minister knowing anything about the affair, which they did not mention to him.

So far as I have seen the German press has received orders to make ~~little~~ or no reference to the matter and even the "Danziger Vorposten" mentioned it merely in one line without any headlines. The less discreet "Danziger Neueste Nachrichten" published a message sent by the semi-official Deutsche Nachrichten Büro, which says that it assumed the decision is due to an incident which occurred ten months ago when the last German war-ship was here, i.e. the presence of the ex-National-Socialist President of the Senate at a reception of 150 people in honour of the German visitors. This is too silly, and I have not yet found it published in the German press. The arrangements ^{for} ~~of~~ official visits by visiting war-ships was established years ago by agreement between the Poles and Danzigers and the High Commissioner, and all Governments were notified. In accordance with the same agreement an entertainment committee, including the German Consul and my representative, had fixed all the details of entertainment and visits ten days ago, without any hint or suggestion that any

difficulty could arise. They waited until all arrangements had been made, guests invited, and successfully employed the element of surprise so dear to military strategists and also to the political directors of the new Germany.

I myself am quite certain that the decision related to my efforts to prevent Forster carrying out his threat a fortnight ago to take over the streets of Danzig. I am waiting with very considerable interest to see whether this will come out in the controlled press or in any subsequent official explanation. If so, and if I am to be made the object of any public black-guarding by the official press or official quarters in Germany, I shall have to consider how far my personal honour will enable me to disclose various conversations concerning Danzig I have had with leading people in Germany and in Danzig. It will be a nice question of personal morality. I shall not, of

course, allow any personal feelings of indignation to dictate what I shall do. I certainly am in a position to throw a few spanners into the machinery.

It may be that the German action, which I believe was directed from the very highest quarter in Germany (Von Radowitz complained to Greiser that nobody could see "him on Danzig affairs but Forster) was intended first of all for local effect; in some ways, no doubt, as a warning to myself and secondly as a further effort to impress the population here.

The "Economist" said last week that the continued existence of the situation in Danzig, in which perhaps more than 50 per cent of the people are against National Socialism is a very sore point in Germany, and is a continuous reflection on the occasion of popular plebiscites held there. The Danzig question will in due course come to the forefront between Poland and Germany. I have always hoped it would come in the way of peaceful negotiations and it has seemed to be a reasonable and intelligent policy to prepare for that by keeping German nationalist feeling strong and well stirred-up in Danzig while maintaining for the time being a careful enough regard for the legal position, which otherwise might affect

July 14th 136
to ~~July~~ Aug. 6th 136

and

July 11th to
Aug 6th
in
yellow diary

SK&F

ENGERIX B

Polish relations with Berlin. (They are still anxious enough about this, as will be seen from von Neurath's interview with Lipsky last week.) At the same time Forster has, by his policy, antagonised more people than he has intimidated, or even those he has intimidated. I have suggested to National Socialist and other leaders here that they should endeavour to cooperate rather than intimidate, and thought that the beginnings of this policy had been made when Greiser spoke to me some weeks ago about his hopes ultimately of a Deutsche Front. That policy seems to have been smashed for the time being by the brutal business of the Töpfergasse, whether it was pre-arranged or not.

The present incident may also indicate other changes. After the consultations in Berlin Greiser came back with authority to ban all meetings and processions, and with the orders which probably accompanied this to Forster, and the cessation of the daily marches of the Nazi troops, order had been restored.

In my interview with Greiser on the 23rd instant I sensed a feeling of restraint, and although I had suggested a personal interview Boettcher was there; whereas in his last personal talk with me he actually asked me to give him a letter about Forster in order to give him a basis on which to move in Berlin, as otherwise he would not be able to do so, and Von Radowitz had remarked to me when I discussed the situation with him that Greiser had told him he felt he was being made a fool of *by Forster*.

Of course the general European situation is again reflected here: the débâcle at Geneva and the apparent withdrawal of English policy within very small limits and the blow to British prestige in Germany following the victory of Italy.

P1/2 (6)

M. le Commandant
Henryk Dobrzanski.

