

# Notes

## Preface

1. P. Neville: *Appeasing Hitler. The Diplomacy of Sir Neville Henderson, 1937–39* (London: Palgrave, 2000).
2. A. Kaiser: 'Lord D'Abernon und die Entstehungsgeschichte der Locarno-Verträge', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 34(2), 1986; *Lord D'Abernon und die englische Deutschlandpolitik, 1920–1926* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989).
3. E. Stern-Rubarth: *Three Men Tried... Austen Chamberlain, Stresemann, Briand and their Fight for a New Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1939), 76–7.
4. Stern-Rubarth, 36.
5. Marchioness Curzon: *Reminiscences* (London: Hutchinson, 1955), 130. Emphasis in the original. Helen Duncombe was one of three daughters of the First Earl of Feversham who were famous Edwardian beauties.

## Introduction

1. A. Wolfers: *Britain and France between Two Wars. Conflicting Strategies of Peace since Versailles* (New York: Harcourt, 1940); W.M. Jordan: *Great Britain, France and the German Problem, 1919–1939* (London: Oxford University Press, 1943).
2. L. Zimmerman: *Deutsche Aussenpolitik in der Ära der Weimarer Republik* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag, 1958); L. Dehio: *Germany and World Politics in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1959); F. Fischer: *Griff nach der Weltmacht*, Third Edition (Düsseldorf, 1962).
3. M. Gilbert: *The Roots of Appeasement* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966); F.S. Northedge: *The Troubled Giant. Britain among the Great Powers, 1916–1939* (London: Bell, 1966).
4. B. Bond: *British Military Policy between the Two World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); J.R. Ferris: *The Evolution of British Strategic Policy, 1919–1926* (London: Macmillan, 1989).
5. Useful introductions to this subject include D.C. Watt: *Personalities and Policies: Studies in the Formation of British Foreign Policy in the Twentieth Century* (London: Longman, 1965); C.J. Lowe and M.L. Dockrill: *The Mirage of Power: British Foreign Policy 1914–1922*, Vol. II (London: Routledge, 1972).
6. D.G. Boadle: *Winston Churchill and the German Question in British Foreign Policy, 1918–1922* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973); see also C. Stamm: *Lloyd George zwischen Innen- und Aussenpolitik: Die britische Deutschlandpolitik, 1921–1922* (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1977).
7. M.L. Dockrill and J.D. Goold: *Peace without Promise: Britain and the Peace Conferences, 1919–1923* (London: Archon, 1981); see also A. Orde: *Great Britain and International Security, 1920–1926* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), 64–78.

8. A. von Vallentin: 'Lord D'Abernon's Anteil an Deutscher Geschichte', *Europäische Revue*, 1(5), 1927; A. Vagts: 'Lord D'Abernon', *Europäische Gespräche*, 1(2), 1930.
9. A. von Vallentin, 327–9.
10. Many have appeared in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, Vols IV–XXVII, and Series Ia, Vols I and II, published by HMSO at various times since 1968.
11. Minutes of Cabinet meetings of the numerous coalition governments of the Weimar period have also been published. These are listed in the German Published Primary Source section in the bibliography.
12. F.G. Stambrook: "'Das Kind' – Lord D'Abernon and the Origin of the Locarno Pact", *Central European History*, 1(2), 1968.
13. J. Jacobson: *Locarno Diplomacy. Germany and the West, 1925–1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
14. A. Kaiser: 'Lord D'Abernon und die Entstehungsgeschichte der Locarno-Verträge', *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 34(2), 1986; A. Kaiser: *Lord D'Abernon und die englische Deutschlandpolitik, 1920–1926* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989).

## 1 The Making of an Ambassador

1. For the sake of clarity and consistency, he will be referred to throughout the book as Lord D'Abernon. He became Baron D'Abernon in 1914 and was created Viscount D'Abernon in January 1926 in recognition of his role in the conclusion of the Treaty of Locarno.
2. It is possible that Roger D'Abernon came from Aberon, near Lisieux in Normandy.
3. D. Yates: 'The Manor House, Stoke D'Abernon', *Surrey County Journal*, 3(2), 1952 provides a useful summary of the history of the house.
4. See 'Notes of my life for future reference', 1882, British Library Additional Manuscripts (BL Add MSS) 48945, D'Abernon Papers.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Handbook of Modern Greek* (London: Macmillan, 1879). It was subsequently translated into German (*Neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1881)) by D. Sanders. The manuscript of the English original is in BL Add MSS 48928, D'Abernon Papers.
8. *An Ambassador of Peace*, 25 June 1920, I (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), 53–4.
9. Memorandum, 14 Sept. 1880, BL Add MSS 48922, D'Abernon Papers.
10. D'Abernon to Goschen, 9 Aug. 1880, BL Add MSS 48922, D'Abernon Papers; same to same, 21 Oct. 1880.
11. See for example, Goschen to D'Abernon, 7 Aug. 1880, BL Add MSS 48922, D'Abernon Papers; same to same, 15 March 1889.
12. D'Abernon to Goschen, 27 May 1887, BL Add MSS 48922, D'Abernon Papers.
13. Contained in BL Add MSS 48961, D'Abernon Papers.
14. Baring to D'Abernon, 29 May 1887, BL Add MSS 48929, D'Abernon Papers.

15. 'Diary of period as Financial Advisor to the Egyptian government, November 30 1883–September 1884', 21 Dec. 1883, BL Add MSS 48948, D'Abernon Papers.
16. *Ibid.*, 5 Jan. 1884, BL Add MSS 48948, D'Abernon Papers.
17. *Ibid.*, 20 July 1884, BL Add MSS 48948, D'Abernon Papers.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, 29 Aug. 1884.
21. Evans to D'Abernon, 24 Oct. 1891, BL Add MSS 48929, D'Abernon Papers.
22. See report in *L'Eclair*, 16 May 1921, discussed in D'Abernon to Curzon, 20 May 1921, PRO/FO371/C10881/416/18; Phipps to Curzon, 18 July 1923, PRO/FO371/8643/C12453/1/18.
23. D'Abernon to Goschen, 20 Feb. 1890, BL Add MSS 48922, D'Abernon Papers.
24. 15 Feb. 1906, J. Vincent (ed.): *The Crawford Papers. The Journals of David Lindsay Twenty-Seventh Earl of Crawford and Tenth Earl of Balcarres, 1871–1940, during the Years 1892–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 92.
25. *The Times*, 22 June 1914, 9.
26. D'Abernon was godfather to Violet Asquith's daughter, Cressida Bonham Carter. Lady D'Abernon was godmother to Raymond Asquith's daughter, Helen.
27. Margot Asquith to D'Abernon, 11 Nov. 1909, BL Add MSS 48928, D'Abernon Papers.
28. *The Times*, 4 April 1912, 8. Sir Charles Owens was general manager of the London and South-Western Railway and a member of the War Railway Council. Sir Rider Haggard was an expert on the economics of farming and the history of agriculture.
29. *The Times*, 30 Nov. 1912, 5.
30. *The Times*, 13 April 1914, 7.
31. *The Times*, 2 Feb. 1916, 6.
32. J. Grigg: *Lloyd George: from Peace to War 1912–1916* (London: Methuen, 1997), 236–7. Cameron Hazlehurst sees the establishment of the Board as a means of boosting Asquith's popularity when it appeared that the war was not likely to come to a rapid end. C. Hazlehurst: *Politicians at War* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971), 210–15.
33. M.E. Rose: 'The Success of Social Reform: the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) 1916–1922', in M.R.D. Foot (ed.): *War and Society* (London: Elek, 1973).
34. See the extensive correspondence concerning the structure and operation of the Board in PRO/Home Office (HO)/185/263; J. Turner: 'State Purchase of the Liquor Trade in the First World War', *Historical Journal*, 23(3), 1980, 589–615.
35. *The Times*, 25 Sept. 1915, 7.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *The Times*, 23 Nov. 1915, 5.
38. *The Times*, 13 July 1916, 5.
39. *The Times*, 19 April 1916, 5.
40. *The Times*, 11 May 1916, 3.
41. *The Times*, 20 Dec. 1917, 3.

42. Speech by D'Abernon entitled 'Future Regulation of Drink Trade', made at the Manchester Town Hall, 15 February 1918, cited in *The Times*, 16 Feb. 1918, 3.
43. *The Times*, 26 Oct. 1918, 3.
44. Cited in *The Times*, 4 Nov. 1918, 3.
45. *The Times*, 28 Nov. 1918, 7.
46. D'Abernon, letter to *The Times*, 8 April 1919, 8.
47. *The Times*, 31 May 1919, 4.
48. *The Times*, 26 May 1919, 17.
49. *British Secretary's Notes of a Conference, Held at Lympne on Sunday, June 20, 1920, at 10.55 am, Documents on British Foreign Policy, First Series, VIII, 310–18.*
50. Boadle, 9–55.
51. A. Orde: *Great Britain and International Security, 1920–1926* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), 84.
52. Curzon to Lloyd George, undated (probably early March 1920), House of Lords Record Office (HLRO), Lloyd George Papers, F/12/3/10.
53. K.O. Morgan: *Consensus and Disunity: the Lloyd George Coalition Government, 1918–1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 140–3; cf. M. Trachtenberg: *Reparations in World Politics: France and European Economic Diplomacy, 1916–1923* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 145–76.
54. Minute by Waterlow, 21 Oct. 1920, on Derby to Curzon, 20 Oct. 1920, PRO/FO371/4728/C9246/8/18; W.A. McDougall: *France's Rhineland Diplomacy, 1914–1924: the Last Bid for a Balance of Power in Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 232; *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 28 Oct. 1920 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), 80.
55. G. Johnson: 'Curzon, Lloyd George and the Control of British Foreign Policy, 1919–1922: a Reassessment', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 11(3), 2000.
56. Z. Steiner: *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1898–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); A. Sharp: 'The Foreign Office in Eclipse, 1919–1922', *History*, 61(2), 1976; E. Maisel: *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1919–1926* (Brighton: University of Sussex Press, 1994).
57. *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service*, Cmd. 7748, 7749, London, 1914, cited in A. Sharp: 'Lord Curzon and the Foreign Office', in R. Bullen (ed.): *The Foreign Office, 1782–1982* (New York: University of America Press, 1984), 67.
58. *Notes of a Meeting of the Heads of Delegations of the Five Great Powers Held in M. Pichon's Room at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, on Friday, July 25, 1919, at 3.30pm, in Documents on British Foreign Policy, First Series, I, 194.*
59. Memorandum by Lord E. Percy, 2 July 1919, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy, First Series, VI, 17–18.*
60. *Notes of a Meeting of the Heads of Delegations of the Five Great Powers Held in M. Pichon's Room, Quai d'Orsay, Paris, on Saturday, October 25, 1919, at 10.30am, in Documents on British Foreign Policy, First Series, II, 68.*
61. Note by the British Delegation for Submission to the Allied Supreme Council, 24 Oct. 1919, after a *Meeting of the Heads of Delegations of the Five Great Powers Held at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, October 25 1919*, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy, First Series, Vol. I, 76–7; II, 340.* This trend was also evident in Germany. In February 1920, the Müller government dispatched a financial expert, Friedrich Sthamer, as ambassador to London.

62. Note by the British Delegation for Submission to the Supreme Council, 24 Oct. 1919 in *Notes of a Meeting of the Heads of Delegations of the Five Great Powers Held in M. Pichon's Room, Quai d'Orsay, Paris, on Saturday, October 25, 1919, at 10.30am*, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, II, 76–7.
63. Undated report of the Allied Supreme Council, quoted in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, II, 339–40.
64. Nothing appears to have survived in the Foreign Office archive which explains Kilmarnock's selection.
65. *British Secretary's Notes of an Allied Conference Held at 10, Downing Street, London, SW1, on Monday, March 1, 1920 at 4pm*, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, VII, 330–1.
66. *Ibid.*, 331.
67. *British Secretary's Notes of an Allied Conference Held at 10, Downing Street, London, SW1, on Wednesday, March 3, 1920 at 11am*, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, VII, 365.
68. *Ibid.*, 336.
69. *British Secretary's Notes of a Conference, Held at Lympe, on Sunday, June 20, 1920, at 10.55am*, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, VIII, 312–13.
70. *British Secretary's Notes of a Meeting of the Supreme Council, Held at the Villa Belle, Boulogne, on Monday, June 21, 1920, at 12.30pm*, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, VIII, 343–4.
71. Undated Minute c. 9 June 1920, Public Record Office (PRO), Foreign Office (FO) 371/3769/W202512/198916/17.
72. Minute by Waterlow, 13 Nov. 1920, cited in Sharp, 'The Foreign Office in Eclipse, 1919–1922', 213–14.
73. *British Secretary's Notes of an Allied Conference Held at 10, Downing Street, London, SW1, on Monday, March 1, 1920 at 4pm*, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, VII, 334.
74. Churchill to Lloyd George, 24 March 1920, HLRO, Lloyd George Papers, F/9/2/20; Boadle, 136, 144–5.
75. R. Vansittart: *The Mist Procession* (London: Hutchinson, 1958), 253.
76. The 'Garden Suburb', which included Lord Northcliffe, Edward Grigg and Philip Kerr and was widely criticised by contemporaries as it appeared to have the status of a second Cabinet.
77. Curzon to Geddes, 27 May 1920, Oriental and India Office Library (OIOL) Eur F 112/206, Curzon Papers.
78. Cf. Morgan, 113–14. Exacerbated by the often cool relationship between Hardinge and Curzon.
79. D'Abernon had made a positive impression on Balfour while both were in Paris during the peace conference. D'Abernon attended dinners at the British embassy in Paris at which the peace settlement with Germany was discussed. He would therefore have been aware of the rationale behind British policy towards Germany. There are numerous references in the diary of the British ambassador to Paris, Lord Derby, in 920 DER (17) 28/1/3–4, Liverpool Record Office, Derby Papers.
80. Diary, 9 July 1920, Liverpool Record Office, Papers of the 17th Earl of Derby, 920 DER (17) 28/1/7.
81. Journal, 29 Aug. 1920, Churchill College Cambridge, Kennedy Papers, LKEN 2.

82. See, for example, D'Abernon to Curzon, 2 July 1920, PRO/FO371/4739/C549/45/18.
83. Vansittart, 253.
84. Diary, 9 July 1920, Liverpool Record Office, Papers of the 17th Earl of Derby, 920 DER (17) 28/1/7.
85. Derby to Curzon, 5 March 1920, OIOL, Curzon Papers, Eur F 112/197.
86. *The Times*, 25 June 1920.
87. Steed to Curzon, 23 Feb. 1920, OIOL, Curzon Papers, Eur F 112/218.
88. Information about *The Times's* attitude towards Lloyd George's treatment of the Foreign Office and the circumstances of D'Abernon's appointment can be found in the journal of Aubrey Kennedy, the newspaper's Berlin correspondent. Journal, Churchill College Archive Centre, Kennedy Papers, LKEN 2.
89. Leader, *The Times*, 29 June 1920.
90. *The Times*, 2 July 1920.
91. Cited in *The Times*, 2 July 1920.
92. Hardinge was later appointed ambassador to Paris, 1920–22.
93. Hardinge to Curzon, 19 April 1920, OIOL, Curzon Papers, Eur F/112/119.
94. Later ambassador to Madrid, 1924–28, and ambassador to Berlin, 1928–33.
95. Hardinge to Rumbold, 13 July 1920, 43, Cambridge University Library, Hardinge Papers.
96. Rumbold to Hardinge, 24 July 1920, Cambridge University Library, Hardinge Papers, 43.
97. See D'Abernon's *Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1931), which chronicles his period as head of the inter-Allied mission. See also Norman Davis: *White Eagle. Red Star. The Polish-Soviet War 1919–1920* (London: Orbis, 1983).
98. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), 19–23.
99. Curzon to Lloyd George, 20 July 1920, HLRO, Lloyd George Papers, F/13/1/1.
100. Rumbold to Hardinge, 28 Aug. 1920, Cambridge University Library, Hardinge Papers, 43.
101. Ibid.
102. Hardinge to Rumbold, 4 Sept. 1920, Cambridge University Library, Hardinge Papers, 43. See also M. Gilbert: *Sir Horace Rumbold: Portrait of a Diplomat* (London: Heinemann, 1973), 203–15.
103. Kennedy to Wickham Steed, 15 Aug. 1920, Churchill College Archive Centre, Kennedy Papers, LKEN 1.
104. Johnson, op. cit.
105. See, for example, minute by Lampson, 18 Nov. 1922, on 'Relations between the British Delegation to the Reparation Commission and the Treasury and the Foreign Office', 14 Nov. 1922, PRO/FO371/7487/C15635/99/18.
106. Ibid.
107. Crowe to Curzon, 22 Dec. 1922, OIOL, Curzon Papers, Eur F 112/229. A minute by Curzon of the same day indicates his assent. See also Lady Curzon, 210.
108. H. Nicolson: *Curzon: the Last Phase* (London: Constable, 1934), 274.
109. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 25 June 1920, 53–4.
110. D'Abernon to Lloyd George, 16 Jan. 1926, HLRO, Lloyd George Papers, G/5/10/4.

111. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 48.
112. Hankey to Lloyd George, 6 June 1922, HLRO, Lloyd George Papers, F/26/1/40. Hankey's emphasis.
113. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1931), 31.
114. For example, the eighteen extracts that D'Abernon sent from his diary to Hankey and Lloyd George between 7 July and 30 Sept. 1921 contained in HLRO, Lloyd George Papers, F/54/1/32–51.
115. McDougall, 232.
116. Derby to Curzon, 22 July 1920, Liverpool Record Office, Papers of the 17th Earl of Derby, 920 DER (17) 28/2/4.
117. Review of *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, in the *New Statesman*, 26 Jan. 1930, 499.
118. Nicolson, 42–3, 193; Morgan, 114.
119. Derby to Curzon, 22 July 1920, OIOL, Curzon Papers, Eur F 112/198A.

## 2 The Debate about Reparations, 1920–22

1. D. Felix: 'Reparations Reconsidered with a Vengeance', *Central European History*, 4(2), 1971; S. Marks: 'Reparations Reconsidered: a Rejoinder', *Central European History*, 5(2), 1972, 359.
2. S.A. Schuker: 'Finance and Foreign Policy in the Era of the German Inflation: British, French and German Strategies for Economic Reconstruction after the First World War', in O. Büsch and G. Feldman (eds): *Historische Prozesse der deutschen Inflation 1914–1924: Ein Tagungsbericht* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), 346; B. Kent: *The Spoils of War: the Politics, Economics and Diplomacy of Reparations, 1918–1932* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 250–67.
3. J.-N. Jeanney: 'De la spéculation financière comme arme diplomatique. À propos de la première "bataille du franc" (Novembre 1923–Mars 1924)', *Relations Internationales*, 5(1), 1978.
4. A. Kaiser: 'Lord D'Abernon und die Entstehungsgeschichte der Locarno-Verträge', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 34(2), 1986.
5. J.M. Keynes: *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (London: Macmillan, 1920).
6. Marks, Felix: *Walter Rathenau and the Weimar Republic. The Politics of Reparations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), 67–87.
7. Foreign Office correspondence about the San Remo conference can be found in PRO/FO371/8654.
8. See also Sir Maurice Hankey's notes in PRO/CAB 63 and the Foreign Office discussion of the Agreement in Memorandum by Waterlow, 5 July 1920, PRO/FO371/4726/C704/8/18.
9. These can be found in the following Foreign Office 371 files in the Public Records Office: 4728–30, 4739, 4743, 4774–5, 4806–7. D'Abernon also discussed the Spa conference in *An Ambassador of Peace*, I (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), 56–68.
10. D'Abernon and Curzon, 9 Dec. 1920, PRO/FO371/4730/C13512/8/18; *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik*, Serie A iv, No. 72 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982); P. Wulf (ed.): *Das Kabinett Fehrenbach, 25 Juni 1920 bis 4 Mai 1921* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt, 1972), No. 131.

11. D'Abernon to Curzon, 9 Dec. 1920, PRO/FO371/4730/C13512/8/18.
12. Hardinge to Curzon, 12 Dec. 1920, PRO/FO371/4730/C13798/8/18.
13. M. Trachtenberg: *Reparations in World Politics: France and European Economic Diplomacy, 1916–1923* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 181–2; *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 77–8. See also C. Schulkin: *Lost Opportunity: the Reparation Question and the Failure of the European Recovery Effort* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 305–6. Schulkin is mistaken in stating (p. 305) that D'Abernon received no instructions. They are in PRO/FO371/4730/C13331/8/18, dated 8 Dec. 1920, and were approved by the Cabinet on 6 Dec. 1920, CAB 23/23/66/1.
14. An assessment of German attitudes at the Brussels conference can be found in P. Wulf: *Hugo Stinnes. Wirtschaft und Politik, 1918–1924* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), 241–53. Cf. Kaiser's account of D'Abernon's conversations with Bergmann, Kaiser, 58–65.
15. Bergmann later became principal German delegate to the Reparation Commission.
16. *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik*, Serie A iv, No. 85.
17. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 16 Dec. 1920, 101; *Memorandum on Position of Brussels Conference at the Christmas Adjournment*, communicated in D'Abernon to Curzon, 3 Jan. 1921, PRO/FO371/5934/C94/94/18. Kaiser states that D'Abernon had a great influence on Bergmann's thinking at the Brussels conference, Kaiser, 512.
18. *Ibid.*, 101. Bergmann also feared that if the Boulogne figure was accepted, it would result in the fall of the German government, Trachtenberg, 183.
19. C. Bergmann: *A History of Reparations* (London: Ernest Benn, 1927), 49.
20. *Ibid.*, 47–8.
21. *Ibid.*, 50.
22. *Secret Memorandum of an Interview with Bergmann, December 18 1920*, OIOL, Eur F 112/202, Curzon Papers; Wulf (ed.), *Das Kabinett Fehrenbach*, No. 145.
23. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 18 Dec. 1920, 102.
24. 21 Dec. 1920, diary BL Add MSS, 48953A, D'Abernon Papers. Bergmann's account of the meeting can be found in Undated Memorandum by Bergmann, German Foreign Ministry (GFM) 3375/D735577–9. See also Bergmann to von Simons, 21 Dec. 1920, GFM 3375/D735570.
25. Bergmann, 51.
26. Wulf (ed.), *Das Kabinett Fehrenbach*, No. 145.
27. 28 Dec. 1920, BL Add MSS 48953A, D'Abernon Papers.
28. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 31 Dec. 1921, 241.
29. Bradbury to Chamberlain, 19 Jan. 1921, PRO/T104/269.
30. Von Simons to Bergmann, 1 Jan. 1921, T-120/1635/D735589ff, cited in Trachtenberg, 183.
31. Wulf (ed.), *Das Kabinett Fehrenbach*, No. 145.
32. Wulf, *Hugo Stinnes*, 249; Trachtenberg, 155–91.
33. The most comprehensive analysis of the Seydoux Plan can be found in Trachtenberg, 155–91. See also G. Soutou: 'Die deutschen Reparationen und das Seydoux-Projekt, 1920–1921', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 23(2), 1975.
34. Bergmann, 52.
35. D'Abernon to Curzon, 19 Jan. 1921, PRO/FO371/5961/C15232/386/18. The main points of this conversation are contained in *Summary of the Various*



- Proposals for a Settlement of the Reparations Question Made at Boulogne, Paris and London, June 1920–February 1922*, enclosed in Foreign Office Memorandum dated 16 March 1921, PRO/FO371/6018/C5580/2740/18.
36. *Memorandum of an Interview with Herr Bergmann, January 18 1921.*
  37. 'Adherence to the Paris Agreement? A semi-official Reuter's message', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 14 Feb. 1921, communicated in D'Abernon to Curzon, 14 Feb. 1921, PRO/FO371/6015/C3586/2740/18.
  38. *Summaries of Statements Made by the German Delegates at the Conference in December 1920 on the Question of Reparations*, communicated in D'Abernon to Curzon, 20 Dec. 1920, PRO/FO371/4730/C14695/8/18.
  39. This stated that Germany would pay approximately 1,800,000 tons of coal per month to the Allies. Foreign Office correspondence can be found in PRO/FO371 4728–30, 4739, 4743, 4774–5, 4806–7.
  40. Bradbury to Chamberlain, 19 Jan. 1921, PRO/T194/269.
  41. *German Currency: its Collapse and Recovery, 1920–26*, The Presidential Address of the Right Hon. Viscount D'Abernon, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. Delivered to the Royal Statistical Society, 16 Nov. 1926, reprinted in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 80(1), 1927, 2.
  42. See G.C. Peden: *Keynes, the Treasury and British Economic Policy* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 22–3; Kaiser, 42, 528. Keynes's views were not without support within the Treasury. See Memorandum by Sir Basil Blackett, 22 Nov. 1921, *German Reparations: the Need for a Readjustment of the Present Scheme of Payments*, PRO/FO371/6038/C22283/2740/18.
  43. D'Abernon, *German Currency: its Collapse and Recovery, 1920–26*, 4.
  44. Grahame to Curzon, 15 Dec. 1920, PRO/FO371/4730/C13969/8/18.
  45. 13 Dec. 1920, diary, BL Add MSS 48953A, D'Abernon Papers.
  46. Wulf (ed.), *Das Kabinett Fehrenbach*, No. 142; *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik*, Serie A iv, No. 85.
  47. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 28 Dec. 1920, 107.
  48. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 8 Jan. 1921, 109.
  49. Diary, 8 Jan. 1921, communicated in D'Abernon to Curzon, 10 Jan. 1921, PRO/FO371/5934/C1048/94/18.
  50. Addison to Waterlow, 15 Dec. 1920, PRO/FO371/4730/C14367/8/18.
  51. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 31 Dec. 1921, 241.
  52. Hardinge to Curzon, 11 Jan. 1921, PRO/FO371/5934/C827/94/18.
  53. See for example the comments cited in Mendl to Tyrrell, 1 May 1921, PRO/FO371/357/P826/2/117 and in D'Abernon to Curzon, 20 May 1921, PRO/FO371/5971/C10881/416/18.
  54. The entries published in *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 117–18 give conflicting opinions as to whether Loucheur or Doumer was the author of the scheme, despite reference in D'Abernon's unpublished diary to *Translation of a Note by M. Doumer, French Minister of Finance*, BL Add MSS 48953A, D'Abernon Papers. See also D. Lloyd George: *The Truth about Reparations and War-Debts* (London: Heinemann, 1932), 33–53.
  55. *Translation of a Note by M. Doumer.*
  56. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 24 Jan. 1921, 115; Wulf (ed.), *Das Kabinett Fehrenbach*, No. 165.
  57. Bradbury to Chamberlain, 19 Jan. 1921, PRO/T104/269; *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik*, Serie A iv, No. 133.

58. See *Summary of the various proposals for a settlement of the Reparation Question made at Boulogne, Paris and London, June 1920–February 1921*, communicated as a Foreign Office Memorandum, 16 March 1921, PRO/FO371/6018/C5580/2740/18. Trachtenberg, 55–191.
59. Kilmarnock to Curzon, 26 Jan. 1921, PRO/FO371/5961/C1957/386/18.
60. Summary of speech by von Simons in the Reichstag, 1 Feb. 1921, communicated in Kilmarnock to Curzon, 2 Feb. 1921, HLRO, F/54/1/8, Lloyd George Papers.
61. D'Abernon to Curzon, 4 Feb. 1921, BL Add MSS 48924A, D'Abernon Papers; *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik*, Serie A, iv, No. 157.
62. D'Abernon to Boveri, 11 Feb. 1921, HLRO, F/54/1/12, Lloyd George Papers.
63. The article appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt* on 5 Feb. 1921. A summary can be found in D'Abernon to Curzon, 5 Feb. 1921, PRO/T160/38.
64. 3 Feb. 1921, diary, BL Add MSS 48953A, D'Abernon Papers; Wulf (ed.), *Das Kabinett Fehrenbach*, No. 166.
65. 10 Feb. 1921, diary, BL Add MSS 48953A, D'Abernon Papers.
66. A summary can be found in D'Abernon to Curzon, 14 Feb. 1921, PRO/FO371/5963/C3414/386/18.
67. D'Abernon to Curzon, 18 Feb. 1921, PRO/FO371/5963/C3859/386/18; Wulf (ed.), *Das Kabinett Fehrenbach*, No. 181.
68. Marc Trachtenberg has pointed out that the German government's attitude towards resolving the reparations question differed from that of German industrialists. D'Abernon's dealings with both supports this contention. Trachtenberg, 187–8.
69. See also *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik*, Serie A iv, No. 169.
70. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 4 March 1921, 134; von Simons to Fehrenbach, 6 March 1921, GFM 3398/D737146/7.
71. Diary, 6 March 1921, Churchill College Cambridge, HNKY 1/6, Hankey Papers.
72. Communicated in Cheetham to Curzon, 8 March 1921, PRO/FO371/6016/C4965/2740/18.
73. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 10 March 1921, 130.

### 3 From Rapallo to the Ruhr Crisis, 1922–24

1. E.Y. O'Riordan: *Britain and the Ruhr Crisis* (London: Palgrave – now Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).
2. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 23 April 1922 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), 296–8.
3. D'Abernon to Curzon, 23 April 1922, BL Add MSS 48924B, D'Abernon Papers.
4. D'Abernon to Curzon, 24 April 1922, BL Add MSS 48924B, D'Abernon Papers.
5. D'Abernon to Curzon, 29 April 1922, BL Add MSS 48924B, D'Abernon Papers.
6. D'Abernon to Curzon, 24 April 1922.
7. See also D. Gilmour: *Curzon* (London: John Murray, 1994), 528.
8. D'Abernon to Curzon, 7 July 1922, BL Add MSS, D'Abernon Papers, is typical of a large number of dispatches which emphasise this point.

9. D'Abernon to Curzon, 12 July 1922, BL Add MSS 48924B, D'Abernon Papers.
10. Viscount D'Abernon: 'German Currency: its Collapse and Recovery, 1920–1926', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 80(1), 1927.
11. O'Riordan, 25.
12. See, for example, *An Ambassador of Peace*, II, 3 Oct. 1923 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930), 263–4.
13. Neville Chamberlain's diary, entry 27 July 1923, Birmingham University Library, Neville Chamberlain Papers; Crowe to Phipps, 24 Nov. 1923, Tyrrell to Phipps, 18 Dec. 1923, Churchill College Archive Centre, PHPP 2/3, 2/12, Phipps Papers. See also J.R. Ferris: *The Evolution of British Strategic Policy, 1919–1926* (London: Macmillan Press – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1989), 127.
14. Curzon to Kilmarnock, 11 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8707/C1563/313/18.
15. Cited in S. Moore: *Peace without Victory for the Allies, 1918–1932* (Providence, RI: Berg, 1994), 165–6.
16. Curzon to Derby, 1 April 1920, OIOL, Eur F112/240, Curzon Papers.
17. Curzon to D'Abernon, 22 Feb. 1923, BL Add MSS, 48925A, D'Abernon Papers.
18. Ferris, 129.
19. D'Abernon to Curzon, 17 April 1923, PRO/FO371/8729/C7315/313/18.
20. Memorandum by Cadogan, 19 July 1923, OIOL, Eur F112/241, Curzon Papers.
21. The substance of the German government's response is discussed in D'Abernon to Curzon, 23 July 1923, BL Add MSS 48925B, D'Abernon Papers.
22. Julian Piggott to Lampson, 20 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8706, cited in F.L. Carsten: *Britain and the Weimar Republic* (London: Batsford, 1984), 126.
23. Curzon to Kilmarnock, 11 Jan. 1923. Kilmarnock had been appointed in 1922.
24. Curzon to Grahame, 26 March 1923, OIOL Eur F 112/240, Curzon Papers.
25. O'Riordan, 61.
26. *An Ambassador of Peace*, II, 25 Jan. 1923, 161–2.
27. D'Abernon to the King, 26 Jan. 1923, BL Add MSS 48922A, D'Abernon Papers; H. Rupieper: *The Cuno Government and Reparations 1922–1923: Politics and Economics* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979), 11.
28. *An Ambassador of Peace*, II, 9.
29. *An Ambassador of Peace*, II, 21 Jan. 1923, 159–60; Kaiser, 125.
30. D'Abernon to Curzon, 12 April 1923, PRO/FO371/8727/C6880/313/18.
31. D'Abernon to Curzon, 16 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8704/C1146/313/18.
32. D'Abernon to the King, 26 Jan. 1923, BL Add MSS 48922A, D'Abernon Papers.
33. The main points of this report were: that immediate stabilisation of the German economy was possible without external assistance; the establishment of equilibrium in the German economy was a necessary requirement for the stabilisation of the mark; that a foreign loan to aid the stabilisation was not a necessary requirement; that no scheme of stabilisation would be practicable unless accompanied with a solution of the reparations question; that a moratorium on reparations payments was a necessary precondition to budgetary equilibrium.
34. *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik*, Serie A vi, No. 291.
35. D'Abernon to Curzon, 6 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8702/C318/313/18.
36. D'Abernon to Curzon, 24 Jan. 1923.

37. D'Abernon to Curzon, 21 Feb. 1923, BL Add MSS 48925A, D'Abernon Papers; Thurstan to D'Abernon, 18 Feb. 1923, communicated in Thurstan to Curzon, 18 Feb. 1923, PRO/FO371/8715/C3301/313/18.
38. D'Abernon to Curzon, 4 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8703/C759/313/18.
39. D'Abernon to Curzon, 3 March 1923, PRO/FO371/8720/C4460/313/18.
40. O'Riordan, 149.
41. *An Ambassador of Peace*, II, 24.
42. *Ibid.*, 27 Oct. 1922, 117–18.
43. D'Abernon to Curzon, 23 April 1922, BL Add MSS 48924B, D'Abernon Papers.
44. *An Ambassador of Peace*, 28 Oct. 1922, II, 118–19.
45. Warren Fisher to Baldwin, 19 July 1923, PRO/T172/1309.
46. See for example Curzon's minutes of 26 Jan. 1923 on a communication from the Reparation Commission to the Foreign Office about the organisation of the Paris conference of that year, PRO/FO371/8628/C1633/1/18.
47. Bradbury to Baldwin, 25 April 1923, communicated in Niemeyer to Lampson, PRO/FO371/86733/C7649/1/18. Bradbury was referring to the disagreement between Britain and France at the Paris conference of 1923 over which proposals to put to the German government.
48. *An Ambassador of Peace*, II, 11 June 1923, 222.
49. Moore, 170–3.
50. Memorandum on the Pledge of the French Government not to act independently of their Allies, 16 Nov. 1923, OIOL, Eur F112/240, Curzon Papers.
51. For example Minute by Crowe, 4 July 1923, on Addison to Lampson, 26 June 1923, PRO/FO371/8641/C11392/1/18.
52. D'Abernon was made aware of this by Curzon. Curzon to D'Abernon, 6 May 1923, PRO/FO371/8634/C8044/1/18.
53. H. Nicolson: *Curzon: the Last Phase* (London: Constable, 1934), 274.
54. Note by Curzon, 6 Jan. 1923, transmitted in Curzon to D'Abernon, 8 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8626/C449/1/18.
55. Memorandum by Lampson, 4 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8626/C466/1/18.
56. Debate in the Reichstag, speech by Stresemann, 10 Aug. 1923, communicated in D'Abernon to Curzon, 11 Aug. 1923, PRO/FO371/8699/C14067/203/18; E.D. Erdmann and M. Vogt (eds): *Die Kabinette Stresemann I und II, 13 August 1923 bis 6 Oktober 1923 bis 30 November 1923*, I (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt, 1978), No. 8.
57. Minute by Lampson, 17 Jan. 1923, on D'Abernon to Curzon, 15 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8627/C882/1/18.
58. D'Abernon to Curzon, 20 April 1923, PRO/FO371/8633/C7580/1/18.
59. See a sequence of documents communicated in D'Abernon to Curzon, 18 Sept. 1923, PRO/FO371/8656/C16264/1/18.
60. D'Abernon to Curzon, 4 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8625/C233/1/18; *Memorandum on Sir Eyre Crowe's note respecting German Reparations*, enclosed in D'Abernon to Curzon, 6 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8627/C594/1/18.
61. D'Abernon to Curzon, 22 April 1923, PRO/FO371/8728/C7177/313/18. See also extract from the *Lokal Anzeiger*, 23 April 1923.
62. Phipps to Curzon, 24 April 1923, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXI, 223.
63. Curzon to D'Abernon, 25 April 1923, BL Add MSS 48925B, D'Abernon Papers.

64. *An Ambassador of Peace*, II, 3 May 1923, 207.
65. D'Abernon to Curzon, 4 May 1923, BL Add MSS 48925B, D'Abernon Papers. Stambrook cites this remark out of context, suggesting that it was an attempt to convince the German government of Allied good faith. F.G. Stambrook: "'Das Kind' – Lord D'Abernon and the Origins of the Locarno Pact', *Central European History*, 1(2), 1968, 238.
66. D'Abernon to Curzon, 8 Aug. 1923, PRO/FO371/8738/C13770/313/18. The Cabinet debate on funding passive resistance can be found in K.H. Harbeck (ed.): *Das Kabinett Cuno, 22 November 1922 bis 12 August 1923* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt, 1968), No. 6; Kaiser, 137.
67. O'Riordan, 40.
68. Crewe to Lindsay, 24 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8792/C1653/1652/18. Crewe's emphasis. This dispatch also communicated the text of an article from *Le Matin* of 21 Jan. 1923, entitled *Sir Edgar Vincent alias Lord D'Abernon*.
69. Minute by Lampson, 25 Jan. 1923, on *Memorandum respecting French attacks on Lord D'Abernon*, 25 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8792/C1653/1652/18.
70. Crewe to Curzon, 28 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8792/C1720/1652/18.
71. D'Abernon to Curzon, 31 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8792/C2270/1652/18.
72. *Daily Mail*, 3 Aug. 1923.
73. *Daily Mail*, 8 Aug. 1923.
74. The note contained 55 articles.
75. Earl of Ronaldshay: *The Life of Lord Curzon*, III (London: Ernest Benn, 1928), 359.
76. D'Abernon to Curzon, 11 Aug. 1923, BL Add MSS 48925B, D'Abernon Papers.
77. D'Abernon to Curzon, 14 Aug. 1923, BL Add MSS 48925B, D'Abernon Papers.
78. D'Abernon to Curzon, 23 Aug. 1923, BL Add MSS 48925B, D'Abernon Papers.
79. Jones contains a useful assessment of the activities of the MICUM.
80. The initiative was not the first of its kind. An attempt to create closer economic links between France and Germany had been made as early as 1921, resulting in the Wiesbaden Agreement.
81. *An Ambassador of Peace*, 25 Dec. 1923, II, 286.
82. O'Riordan, 109.
83. Foreign Office to D'Abernon, 26 Sept. 1923, PRO/FO371/8744/C17453/313/18.
84. D'Abernon to Curzon, 4 Nov. 1923, PRO/FO371/8748/C19013/313/18.
85. Curzon to D'Abernon, 7 Nov. 1923, PRO/FO371/8748/C19013/313/18
86. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 51.
87. *Ibid.*, 5 Oct. 1923, II, 262–3.
88. D'Abernon to Curzon, 15 Nov. 1923, PRO/FO371/8749/C2015/313/18. Also included in this dispatch is D'Abernon's letter to Stresemann, 12 Nov. 1923 and Stresemann's reply of 14 Nov.
89. Curzon to D'Abernon, 21 Dec. 1923, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXI, 731.
90. Cf. D'Abernon to Curzon, 1 Sept. 1923, BL Add MSS 48925B, D'Abernon Papers.
91. Curzon to D'Abernon, 4 Jan. 1923, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXI, 734.
92. Von Schubert to Sthamer, 9 Jan. 1924, German Foreign Ministry, 3116/D640810–11.

#### 4 The Challenge of the United States, 1922–24

1. A. DeConde: *A History of American Foreign Policy*, Third Edition, II (New York: Scribner, 1978).
2. D'Abernon to the King, 18 August 1921, BL Add MSS 48922A, D'Abernon Papers.
3. S.A. Schuker: *The End of French Predominance in Europe. The Financial Crisis of 1924 and the Adoption of the Dawes Plan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976); M.P. Leffler: *America's Pursuit of European Stability and French Security, 1919–1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).
4. Diary, 27 July 1922, BL Add MSS 48954, D'Abernon Papers.
5. M.L. Dockrill and J.D. Goold: *Peace without Promise: Britain and the Peace Conferences, 1919–1923* (London: Archon, 1981); B. Kent: *The Spoils of War: the Politics, Economics and Diplomacy of Reparation, 1918–1932* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
6. The British government had borrowed heavily from the United States to help finance the war effort – a sum of almost £1000 million. In 1922, the British government, faced with economic recession, requested a moratorium but the Harding administration refused. See B.J.C. McKercher: *The Second Baldwin Government and the United States, 1924–1929: Attitudes and Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1–8.
7. McKercher, 8.
8. The German perspective on these negotiations can be found in Bernhard Dernburg: 'The Moribund Peace Treaty', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 23 May 1920, communicated in Kilmarnock to Curzon, 27 May 1920, HLRO, F/54/1/1, Lloyd George Papers.
9. K.O. Morgan: *Consensus and Disunity: the Lloyd George Coalition Government 1918–1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 318.
10. Cited in diary, 28 March 1923, BL Add MSS 48955, D'Abernon Papers.
11. Germany: Annual Report, 1921, D'Abernon to Curzon, 2 Feb. 1922, PRO/FO371/7556/C2067/2067/18. See also Schulze-Bidlingmaier (ed.): *Die Kabinette Wirth I und II, 10 Mai 1921 bis 26 Oktober 1921, 26 Oktober 1921 bis 22 November 1922* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt, 1973), I, No. 54.
12. D'Abernon to the King, 18 Aug. 1921, BL Add MSS 48922A, D'Abernon Papers; *An Ambassador of Peace*, I (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), 18–19. These latter observations were written before the Wall Street Crash.
13. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 30 Sept. 1921, 214.
14. Diary, 31 Dec. 1921, BL Add MSS 48953B, D'Abernon Papers.
15. Ambassador to Berlin from Feb. 1922 to Feb. 1925, subsequently ambassador to London.
16. Diary, 29 June 1922, BL Add MSS 48954, D'Abernon Papers.
17. K.P. Jones: 'Alanson Houghton and the Ruhr Crisis: the Diplomacy of Power and Morality', in K.P. Jones (ed.): *U.S. Diplomats in Europe, 1919–1941* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 26.
18. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 19–20.
19. Speech made before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 22 April 1927, cited in B. Willson: *America's Ambassadors to England, 1785–1828* (London: Macmillan, 1928), 485.

20. Diary, 26 Aug. 1922, BL Add MSS 48954, D'Abernon Papers.
21. *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 31 Dec. 1921, 241.
22. Communicated in D'Abernon to Curzon, 24 Dec. 1921, PRO/FO371/5980/C23886/416/18.
23. D'Abernon to Curzon, 1 April 1921, PRO/FO371/6022/C6958/2740/18.
24. Schulze-Bidlingmaier, I, No. 54.
25. D'Abernon to the King, 18 Aug. 1921, BL Add MSS, 48922A, D'Abernon Papers.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Germany: Annual Report, 1921*. Cf. Schulze-Bidlingmaier, I, No. 54.
28. Berg, 77–8.
29. Jones, 26.
30. D. Felix: *Walther Rathenau and the Weimar Republic. The Politics of Reparations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971).
31. Cited in Berg, 83; cf. also *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 4 April 1922, 291.
32. Diamond, 446–7.
33. Ironically, it was Lloyd George who played a large part in encouraging Wiedfeldt's mission. See *An Ambassador of Peace*, I, 9 March 1922, 270.
34. Extract from the *New York Times*, 30 Dec. 1922, communicated in Geddes to Curzon, 5 Jan. 1923, PRO/FO371/8627/C692/1/18. A. Kaiser: *Lord D'Abernon und die englische Deutschlandpolitik, 1920–1926* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989), 92–3.
35. See British Delegation, Reparation Commission to Treasury, 30 Nov. 1923, PRO/FO371/8662/C20802/1/18; *Annual Report on Germany 1923*, communicated in D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 26 Dec. 1924, PRO/FO371/10726/C370/370/18.
36. Dawes, 85–7.
37. The text can be found in *Report of the First Expert Reparation Committee, 8 April 1924*, PRO/FO371/9739/C5870/70/18.
38. *Summary of Negotiations concerning the Application of the Dawes Report*, PRO/30/69/130, MacDonald Papers.
39. Foreign Office record of Chequers talks, April 1924, cited in D. Marquand: *Ramsay MacDonald* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972), 340.
40. MacDonald to Massingham, 12 Aug. 1924, PRO/30/69/2, MacDonald Papers.
41. MacDonald to D'Abernon, 3 June 1924, PRO/FO371/9747/C9000/70/18.
42. Diary, 3 Feb. 1924, PRO/30/69/1753, MacDonald Papers.
43. *An Ambassador of Peace*, 20 Feb. 1924, III, 55.
44. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 31.
45. *Ibid.*, 65.
46. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 15 April 1924, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVI, 638.
47. MacDonald to D'Abernon, 19 April 1924, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVI, 648.
48. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 15 April 1924, 639.
49. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 22 April 1924, PRO/FO371/9742/C6815/70/18. Finlayson's technical memorandum was forwarded with this dispatch.
50. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 22 April 1924.
51. MacDonald to D'Abernon, 29 May 1924, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVI, 712.

52. *Memorandum by Herr von Schubert on the Execution of the Experts' Report*, 2 May 1924, communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 2 May 1924, PRO/FO371/9743/C7382/70/18. Department III dealt with relations with Britain, the United States and Turkey.
53. Leffler, 92–3.
54. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 18 April 1924, PRO/FO371/9741/C6467/70/18. Cf. *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik*, Series B Iii, No. 136.
55. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 2 May 1924, PRO/FO371/9743/C7387/70/18.
56. *Memorandum by Herr von Schubert on the Execution of the Experts' Report*. For an account of D'Abernon's meeting with von Schubert, W. Weidenfeld: *Die Englandpolitik Gustav Stresemanns: theoretische und praktische Aspekte der Aussenpolitik* (Mainz, 1972), 254.
57. A. Cassels: 'Repairing the *Entente Cordiale* and the New Diplomacy', *Historical Journal*, 23(3), 1980, 142–6. The second protocol can be found in *Franco-British Memorandum Concerning the Application of the Dawes Scheme, Drawn up at Paris on 9 July 1924*, PRO/FO371/9750/C11043/70/18.
58. *Memorandum by von Schubert*, 10 July 1924, German Foreign Ministry (GFM) 4492/E099313; von Schubert to D'Abernon, 1 July 1924, communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 1 July 1924, PRO/FO371/9749/C1038/70/18.
59. *An Ambassador of Peace*, 11 July 1924, III, 78–9.
60. Weidenfeld makes no mention of this or of D'Abernon's subsequent meeting with Stresemann on 11 July 1924, Weidenfeld, 260–1.
61. 'Extract from *Die Zeit* of June 7 1924: Dr Stresemann's speech in the Reichstag, June 6 1924', communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 12 June 1924, PRO/FO371/9747/ C9637/70/18.
62. Cited in Berg, 83.
63. 'Extract from *Die Zeit* of June 7 1924: Dr Stresemann's speech in the Reichstag, June 6 1924', communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 12 June 1924, PRO/FO371/9747/ C9637/70/18.
64. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 22 June 1924, BL Add MSS 48926A, D'Abernon Papers; *Government Statement Made before the Reichstag, June 4 1924*, communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 6 June 1924, PRO/FO371/9747/ C9229/70/18.
65. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 11 July 1924, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVI, 788.
66. Reported in Sthamer to MacDonald, 16 July 1924, PRO/FO371/9751/ C11571/70/18.
67. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 20 March 1924, 59–61.
68. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 11 July 1924, PRO/FO371/9751/C11500/70/18. D'Abernon had made this point the previous day, see *Memorandum by Stresemann*, 10 July 1924, GFM 3398/D739938–40.
69. *Memorandum by von Schubert*, 23 July 1924, GFM, 4492/E0993676–7.
70. *Memorandum by Stresemann*, 10 July 1924. See Stresemann to von Hoesch, 13 July 1924, in A. Hartung (ed.): *Gustav Stresemann 'Schriften'* (Berlin, 1976), 321–4.
71. *Memorandum by von Maltzan on a Conversation with Lord D'Abernon*, 14 July 1924, GFM 4492/E099235–7; Weidenfeld, 261. On 23 July, he recommended that the German government should send a delegation to London as



assurances that the conference would have a strong diplomatic basis had been received from the Allies.

72. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 8 Nov. 1924, PRO/FO371/9804/C17265/737/18.

## 5 The Anglo-German Commercial Agreement, 1924–25

1. Article 268. It stated that: 'For a period of five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty... the Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to require Germany to accord freedom from customs duty, on importation into German customs territory, to natural products and manufactured articles.' *The Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany* (London: HMSO, 1919), 129–30.
2. J.W. Angell: *The Recovery of Germany* (New York: Yale University Press, 1929).
3. *Ibid.*, 3.
4. See B. Kent: *The Spoils of War: the Politics, Economics and Diplomacy of Reparation, 1918–1932* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 150.
5. J.M. Keynes: *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 32–3, cited in R.G. Hawtrey: 'Germany's Part in European Economic Life', in P.W. Bidwell (ed.): *Germany's Contribution to European Economic Life* (Paris: M. Rivière, 1949), 134.
6. H. James: *The German Slump: Politics and Economics, 1924–36* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 162–3.
7. S. Marks: 'Reparations Reconsidered; a Reminder', *Central European History*, 2(1), 1969; 'Reparations Reconsidered; a Rejoinder', *Central European History*, 5(2), 1972; D. Felix: 'Reparations Reconsidered with a Vengeance', *Central European History*, 61(2), 1971.
8. Angell, 2–3.
9. Marks: 'Reparations Reconsidered'.
10. Memorandum respecting a Commercial Treaty with Germany, 7 Nov. 1924, PRO/FO371/9791/C17139/330/18.
11. This Act was repealed in 1925 before the Anglo-German Commercial Agreement was ratified. See *Safeguarding of Industries – Procedures and Enquiries*, Cmd. 2327, HMSO, London 1925. The British delegation insisted that the British government reserved the right to reinstate the Act should the value of the German currency further deteriorate. Note by Mr Fountain respecting Discussions at Berlin on the Question of an Anglo-German Commercial Treaty, 30 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/10721/C5791/124/18.
12. C. Stamm: *Lloyd George zwischen Innen- und Aussenpolitik: Die britische Deutschlandpolitik, 1921–1922* (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1977), 84–9.
13. T. Balderston: *The Origins and Course of the German Economic Crisis, 1923–1932* (Berlin, 1993), 91.
14. Memorandum respecting a Commercial Treaty with Germany.
15. Note by Mr Fountain.
16. D'Abernon to Stresemann, 23 Jan. 1924, communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 25 Jan. 1925, PRO/FO371/9729/C1623/25/18.
17. See, for example, 'Treasury Memorandum on the Effect of MICUM Deliveries, &c., on Finance of the Experts' Scheme', 14 July 1924, PRO/FO371/9750/C11276/70/18.

18. Note by Sir Eyre Crowe, 19 May 1924, PRO/FO371/9765/C8143/79/18.
19. Board of Trade to the Foreign Office, 6 June 1924, PRO/T160/200/F.7629/1.
20. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 3 July 1924, PRO/FO371/10721/C5791/124/18. This Article stated:

Limited liability and other companies and associations already or hereafter to be organised in accordance with the laws in force or in the territories of either contracting party, are authorised, in the territories of the other, to exercise their rights and appear in the courts either as plaintiffs or defendants, subject to the laws of such other party, and they shall enjoy the benefits accorded to this treaty to the subject or citizens of the first party.

Furthermore, each of the contracting parties undertakes to place no obstacle in the way of such companies and associations which may desire to carry on in its territories, whether through the establishment of branches or otherwise, any description of business which the companies and associations or subjects or citizens of any other foreign country are or may be permitted to carry on.

In no case shall the treatment accorded by either contracting party or companies and associations organised in accordance with the laws in force in the territories of the other be less favourable in respect of any matter whatever than that accorded to companies and associations of the most favoured foreign country.

Negotiations leading up to the Signature of the Anglo-German Commercial Treaty of Dec. 2 1924, PRO/FO371/10721/C5791/124/18.

21. Board of Trade to the Foreign Office, 17 July 1924, PRO/FO371/10721/C5791/124/18.
22. Fountain to MacDonald, 17 July 1924, PRO/FO371/10721/C5791/124/18; MacDonald to D'Abernon, 23 July 1924, PRO/FO371/10721/C5791/124/18.
23. Balderston, 91.
24. Memorandum by Thelwall, 2 May 1924, communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 2 May 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C7383/330/18; 'Report Respecting Proposed Commercial Treaty between England and Germany', communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 8 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C14404/330/18.
25. MacDonald to D'Abernon, 20 Aug. 1924, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVI, 846.
26. Minute by Baillie, 19 Nov. 1924, on D'Abernon to MacDonald, 8 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C14404/30/18. Note that there is more than a two month gap between the date of the dispatch and the date of the Foreign Office minute.
27. MacDonald to Addison, 3 Oct. 1924, PRO/FO371/10721/C5791/124/18.
28. Minute by Bennett, 12 Nov. 1924, on D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 11 Nov. 1924, PRO/FO371/9791/C17092/330/18.
29. Minute by Lampson, 17 Nov. 1924, on D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 11 Nov. 1924, PRO/FO371/9791/C17092/330/18.
30. Lampson to D'Abernon, 27 Jan. 1925, PRO/FO371/10720/C777/124/18. He was referring to Chamberlain's attitude towards the German government. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 9 Jan. 1925, AC 52/250, University of Birmingham, Austen Chamberlain Papers.

31. Ibid.
32. *An Ambassador of Peace*, 15 Jan. 1925, III, 122.
33. *Vorwärts*, 21 Dec. 1924, communicated in D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 3 Jan. 1925, PRO/FO371/10720/C264/124/18.
34. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 25 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/10721/C5791/124/18; Memorandum by von Schubert, 24 Oct. 1924, German Foreign Ministry (GFM) 4481/E091777-9.
35. Ibid.
36. Viscount D'Abernon: 'German Currency: its Collapse and Recovery 1920-1926', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 80(1), 1927.
37. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 25 Sept. 1924.
38. Addison to MacDonald, 6 Oct. 1924, PRO/T160/200/F.7629/1.
39. Notes on Proposed Commercial Treaty, 27 Oct. 1924, communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 29 Oct. 1924, PRO/FO371/10721/C5791/124/18.
40. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 10 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C14349/330/18.
41. These meetings were also attended by Fountain of the Board of Trade and Addison, Kavanagh, Knox and Thelwall of the embassy staff. The Germans were represented by Hemmen and de Haas of the *Auswärtiges Amt*, and von Stockhammern, a German expert.
42. Minutes of Meetings held at His Majesty's Embassy, Berlin, for the Preliminary Discussion with German Experts of a Future Treaty of Commerce: First Meeting, 22 Sept. 1924, communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 27 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C15269/330/18.
43. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 24 Oct. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C16547/330/18.
44. Notes on Proposed Commercial Treaty, 27 Oct. 1924.
45. W. Weidenfeld: *Die Englandspolitik Gustav Stresemanns: theoretische und praktische Aspekte der Aussenpolitik* (Mainz, 1972), 236-8.
46. Minutes of Meetings held at His Majesty's Embassy, Berlin.
47. Proceedings of a Deputation received by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Treasury on Thursday, 27 Nov. 1924, at 5.30pm, PRO/FO371/9792/C18128/330/18. Sthamer had also sent a private letter to D'Abernon on this date outlining the German position, Sthamer to D'Abernon, 27 Nov. 1924, GFM 4481/E091979-80; Sthamer to *Auswärtiges Amt*, 28 Nov. 1924, GFM 4481/E091961.
48. Memorandum by von Schubert, 10 Nov. 1924, GFM 4481/E091497-9; D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 11 Nov. 1924, PRO/FO371/9791/C17092/330/18.
49. Proceedings of a Deputation.
50. Von Schubert to D'Abernon, 14 Jan. 1925, GFM 4481/E092305; D'Abernon to von Schubert, 14 Jan. 1925, communicated in D'Abernon to Lampson, 14 Jan. 1925, PRO/FO371/10720/C777/124/18.
51. Memorandum by von Schubert, 29 Jan. 1925, GFM 4481/E092302-3.
52. Von Schubert to Ritter, de Haas and Hemmen, 3 April 1924, GFM 4481/E092187-9.
53. *An Ambassador of Peace*, 28 Dec. 1924, III, 119-20.
54. Note by Mr Fountain.
55. Notes on Proposed Commercial Treaty.
56. Communications between the Board of Trade and the Foreign Office about the commercial agreement made respectful reference to D'Abernon's opinion. See the note of 6 June 1924, PRO/T160/200/F.7629/1.

57. A. Kaiser: *Lord D'Abernon und die englische Deutschlandpolitik, 1920–1926* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989), 159–60.
58. D'Abernon to Grahame, 24 Dec. 1924, BL Add MSS 48927A, D'Abernon Papers.
59. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 8 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C14404/330/18.
60. Report respecting proposed Commercial Treaty between England and Germany, communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 8 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C14404/330/18.
61. This attitude was dictated very much by the circumstances of the time as Germany already had a very long history of commercial relations with Britain.
62. 'Lord D'Abernon's Address to German Delegates', 22 Sept. 1924, communicated in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 25 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C15132/330/18.
63. D'Abernon to the King, 14 Nov. 1924, BL Add MSS 48922A, D'Abernon Papers.
64. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 2 May 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C7383/330/18.
65. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 8 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C14404/330/18.
66. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 15 Nov. 1924, PRO/FO371/9804/C17551/737/18.
67. Lord D'Abernon's Address to German Delegates.
68. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 24 Oct. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C16547/330/18.
69. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 14 June 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C9763/280/18.
70. D'Abernon to Lady D'Abernon, 3 April 1925, BL Add MSS 48936, D'Abernon Papers.
71. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 8 Nov. 1924, PRO/FO371/9791/C17157/330/18.
72. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 18 Nov. 1924, PRO/FO371/9804/C17461/737/18.
73. Speech by Stresemann at a convention of the *Volkspartei* at Dortmund, 13 Nov. 1924, communicated in D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 15 Nov. 1924, PRO/FO371/9804/C17430/737/18.
74. D'Abernon's description of the relative standing of Germany and Britain in commercial affairs after the First World War. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 10 Sept. 1924, PRO/FO371/9790/C14349/330/18.

## 6 Security Diplomacy, 1924–26

1. A. Wolfers: *Britain and France between Two Wars. Conflicting Strategies of Peace since Versailles* (New York: Harcourt, 1940), 207.
2. D'Abernon outlined its history in D'Abernon to MacDonald, 5 Feb. 1924, cited F.G. Stambrook: "'Das Kind' – Lord D'Abernon and the Origins of the Locarno Pact', *Central European History*, 1, 1968, 241. This proposal went beyond Articles 42–44 of the Treaty of Versailles, which stated that the Rhineland should be demilitarised for a fifteen year period.
3. G. Johnson: 'Lord D'Abernon, Austen Chamberlain and the Origin of the Treaty of Locarno', *Electronic Journal of International History*, 1(1), 2000.
4. Stambrook, 242.
5. G. Johnson: "'Das Kind" Revisited: Lord D'Abernon and German Security Policy, 1922–1925', *Contemporary European History*, 9(2), 2000.

6. G. Grün: 'Locarno: Idea and Reality', *International Affairs*, 31(1), 1955.
7. J. Jacobson: *Locarno Diplomacy. Germany and the West 1925–1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
8. There are numerous examples, although the most noteworthy are Angela Kaiser, 'Lord D'Abernon und die Entstehungsgeschichte der Locarno-Verträge', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 34(2), 1986; *Lord D'Abernon und die englische Deutschlandpolitik, 1920–1926* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989).
9. A. Chamberlain: *Down the Years* (London: Cassell, 1935), 157.
10. This can most clearly be seen in a statement that Curzon read to both Houses of Parliament on 12 July 1923, OIOL, Eur F/112/241, Curzon Papers.
11. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 5 Feb. 1924, cited in Stambrook, 241.
12. R. Marquand: *Ramsay MacDonald* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), 354–6.
13. The full title of the proposed agreement was the 'Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes'. See Institute of International Affairs: *Survey of International Affairs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), 1–64.
14. Although the decision whether or not to take military action was to be left to the discretion of individual states.
15. Chamberlain's comments on MacDonald's foreign policy can be found in Chamberlain to Mrs Carnegie, 11 Sept. 1924, cited in D. Johnson: 'Austen Chamberlain and the Locarno Agreements', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 8, 1961, 65.
16. Memorandum by Hankey, 23 Jan. 1925, in Hankey to Lampson, 26 Jan. 1925, PRO/FO371/10727/C1218/459/18.
17. Cecil to Chamberlain, 17 Nov. 1924, cited in D. Johnson, 72.
18. Von Schubert to Sthamer, 29 March 1925, K2090/K566977–79, cited in E.C.M. Breuning: *Germany's Foreign Policy between East and West*, 'East versus West: the Opening Moves', p. 62, unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1965. The pages of this thesis are not numbered consecutively throughout. Therefore the chapter title as well as the page number will be given in all subsequent references.
19. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 28.
20. Memorandum by von Schubert, 5 Feb. 1924, German Foreign Ministry (GFM) 2368/E490734–37.
21. Memorandum on Security and the League of Nations, by von Schubert, 11 Feb. 1924, GFM 2368/E490752–57.
22. Sthamer to von Schubert, 5 Dec. 1924, GFM 9518/H282551–52, cited in Stambrook, 243.
23. Memorandum by von Schubert, 29 Dec. 1924, GFM 4509/E124822–23.
24. Memorandum by von Schubert, 14 Jan. 1925, GFM 4509/E124805–9.
25. Memorandum by von Schubert, 5 Feb. 1924, GFM 2368/490734–37.
26. H.L. Bretton: *Stresemann and the Revision of Versailles; a Fight for Reason* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953), 86–7.
27. Jacobson, 5–6, 41.
28. Memorandum by Stresemann, 9 Feb. 1925, cited in E. Sutton (ed.): *Gustav Stresemann, his Diaries, Letters and Papers*, II (New York: Macmillan, 1935–1940), 59–60.
29. Statement issued by Stresemann to the German Press, 7 March 1925, cited in Sutton, 63–4.

30. Speech by Stresemann to the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Reichsrat on 3 Jan. 1925, GFM 4504/E121873–90.
31. Statement issued by Stresemann to the German Press, 7 March 1925, cited in Sutton, 66–7.
32. Statement by Stresemann in the Reichstag, 18 May 1925, cited in Sutton, 82–3.
33. Note by Stresemann on a conversation with D'Abernon, 3 Aug. 1925, cited in Sutton, 151–3.
34. D. Johnson, 1961, 79; Stambrook, 238–9, 245.
35. D'Abernon to Curzon, 6 Dec. 1923, British Library Additional Manuscripts (BL Add MSS) 48927, D'Abernon Papers.
36. 'Memorandum respecting the Balance of Power in Europe and its effect on the Problem of Security', communicated in D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 7 Jan. 1925, PRO/FO371/10726/C459/459/18.
37. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 2 May 1925 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1931), 158–60.
38. D'Abernon's suspicion proved to be well founded. The Treaty of Berlin was signed between the Soviet Union and Germany in April 1926.
39. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 7 Feb. 1925, 238–9.
40. F.S. Northedge: *The Troubled Giant. Britain among the Great Powers, 1916–1939* (London: Bell, 1966), 255.
41. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 1 March 1925, BL Add MSS 48928, D'Abernon Papers.
42. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 21. When this volume of diary was published, Chamberlain acknowledged that D'Abernon's assessment of British policy at this time had been correct. He wrote: 'I hoped eventually (but I must admit only eventually) to turn [it] into a reciprocal agreement with Germany.' Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 11 Sept. 1930, AC 39/2/35, Chamberlain Papers.
43. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 23.
44. Kaiser, *Lord D'Abernon und die englische Deutschlandpolitik, 1920–1926*, 371, 629.
45. 'Record of Conversation between the German Ambassador and Mr Lampson, 30 June 1925', communicated in Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 30 June 1925, PRO/FO371/10735/C8805/459/18.
46. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 2 April 1925, AC 52/266, Chamberlain Papers.
47. E. Stern-Rubarth: *Three Men Tried ... Austen Chamberlain, Stresemann, Briand, and their Fight for a New Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1939), 36.
48. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 10–20; Viscount D'Abernon: *Foreign Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930).
49. Lord D'Abernon: 'Stresemann', *Foreign Affairs*, 1930, 209–10.
50. Kaiser, 'Lord D'Abernon und die Entstehungsgeschichte der Locarno-Verträge', 95.
51. Stresemann to Brockdorff-Rantzau, 19 March 1925, GFM 4562/E155068–90.
52. Stresemann to von Hoesch, 15 Jan. 1925, GFM 3123/642046/51.
53. Extract from an article by Stresemann in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, 14 Sept. 1925, cited in Sutton, 158–9.
54. M.-O. Maxelon: *Stresemann und Frankreich: deutsche Politik der Ost-West-Balance* (Düsseldorf, 1972), 283.

55. Viscount D'Abernon, 'Stresemann', 211.
56. Bretton, 90.
57. G. Post: *The Civil-Military Fabric of Weimar Foreign Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 47–50.
58. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 12 Jan. 1925, AC 52/253, Chamberlain Papers.
59. Chamberlain to Crewe, 16 Feb. 1925, AC 52/189, Chamberlain Papers.
60. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 16 Jan. 1925, AC 52/254, Chamberlain Papers.
61. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 30 Jan. 1925, PRO/FO371/10727/C1454/459/18.
62. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 3 Feb. 1925, 136–7.
63. Stambrook; Kaiser: 'Lord D'Abernon und die Entstehungsgeschichte der Locarno-Verträge'.
64. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 20 July 1925, 177–8. Kaiser sees this as evidence of D'Abernon's pro-German sympathies, but overlooks his subsequent comments. Kaiser: *Lord D'Abernon und die englische Deutschlandpolitik, 1920–1926*, 322, 325, 331. According to Stambrook, by the end of 1924, D'Abernon had been persuaded to abandon the idea because the French would fear that the 'curtain' could be used as a screen to hide a new German war machine for use against France (p. 125). D'Abernon's later diary entries and dispatches suggest that he did not believe this to be so.
65. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 24 July 1925, 178–9.
66. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 20 July 1925, 177.
67. Chamberlain to Crewe, 16 Feb. 1925, PRO/FO371/10727/C2450/459/18.
68. E. Goldstein: 'The Evolution of British Diplomatic Strategy for the Locarno Pact, 1924–1925', in M. Dockrill and B. McKercher (eds): *Diplomacy and World Power. Studies in British Foreign Policy, 1890–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 130–1.
69. Cf. A. Sharp: 'James Headlam-Morley: Creating International History', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 9(1), 1998.
70. Memorandum by von Schubert, 14 Jan. 1925, German Foreign Ministry (GFM) 4509/E124805–9.
71. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 3 Feb. 1925, 135–6.
72. Memorandum by von Schubert, 20 Jan. 1925, GFM 4509/E122770–9.
73. Stambrook tentatively suggests that it is 'difficult to escape the conclusion D'Abernon was being deliberately mendacious' in his dealings with von Schubert (256).
74. Von Schubert to Dufour, 25 Jan. 1925, GFM 4567/E165308–11; von Schubert to Sthamer, 27 Jan. 1925, GFM 3123/E642125–26.
75. Memorandum by von Schubert, 20 Jan. 1925, GFM 4509/E122770–9. D'Abernon communicated the substance of the conversation to Chamberlain on the same day, PRO/FO371/10726/C946/459/18.
76. Memorandum by von Schubert, 20 Jan. 1925, GFM 4509/E124770–72.
77. Von Schubert to Sthamer, 19 Jan. 1925, GFM K2096/K56948–54, cited in Stambrook, 258.
78. Memorandum by von Schubert, 13 Jan. 1925, GFM 4504/E122307–9; Von Schubert to von Hoesch, 21 Jan. 1925, GFM 4509/E124765–9.
79. Stambrook, 259. The text is communicated in D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 20 Jan. 1925, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVII, 282–4.
80. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 21 Feb. 1925, AC 52/262, Chamberlain Papers.
81. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 3 May 1925, AC 52/267, Chamberlain Papers.

82. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 2 April 1925, cited in C. Petrie: *The Life and Times of the Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain*, II (London: Lovat Dickson, 1940), 271–4.
83. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 2 April 1925, 157–8.
84. Von Schubert to D'Abernon, 14 Jan. 1925, communicated in D'Abernon to Lampson, 14 Jan. 1925, PRO/FO371/10720/C777/124/18.
85. Memorandum by von Schubert, 5 April 1925, GFM 3123/E642993–3001.
86. Memorandum by von Schubert, 1 May 1925, GFM 4509/E126115–18.
87. Memorandum by von Schubert, 11 May 1925, GFM 4509/E126187–94.
88. A formal statement on the latter was made on 6 June 1925.
89. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 26 May 1925, PRO/FO371/10732/C7142/459/18.
90. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 28 June 1925, PRO/FO371/10735/C8770/459/18.
91. Memorandum by von Schubert, 28 July 1925, GFM 4509/E127442–47.
92. Memorandum by von Schubert, 3 July 1925, GFM 4509/E126988–7006.
93. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 3 July 1925, 153.
94. Von Schubert to von Hoesch, 11 July 1925, GFM 4509/E127112–19.
95. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 24 July 1925, PRO/FO371/10737/C9857/459/18. In a memorandum written four days later the strength of von Schubert's views is evident. He complained that the Allies intended to 'fling down a draft treaty before [the German government] and thus present [Germany] with an "either-or"'. Memorandum by von Schubert, 28 July 1925, GFM 4509/E127442–47.
96. Von Schubert to Brockdorff-Rantzau, 16 Aug. 1925, K308/K106492–95, cited in Breuning, *'East versus West: Failure and Success'*, 163–4.
97. Memorandum by von Schubert, 24 July 1925, GFM 4509/E127412–14.
98. See also Memorandum by von Schubert, 28 Aug. 1925, GFM 4509/E127855–58.
99. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 10 July 1925, cited in Petrie, 280.
100. Sthamer to von Schubert, 28 July 1925, GFM 3123/644118, cited in Breuning, *'East Versus West: Failure and Success'*, 165.
101. Memorandum by von Schubert, 29 July 1925, GFM 4509/E127450–52.
102. Memorandum by von Schubert, 31 July 1925, GFM 4509/E127458–62.
103. Memorandum by von Schubert, 1 July 1925, GFM 4509/E127458–62. Von Schubert's emphasis.
104. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 3 May 1925, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVII, 476–7.
105. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 29 June 1925, PRO/FO371/10735/C8770/459/18. The full text of D'Abernon's meeting with Stresemann can be found in GFM 3123/D643748–54.
106. Note by Stresemann on a conversation with D'Abernon, 3 Aug. 1925, cited in Sutton, 151–3.
107. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 30 June 1925, PRO/FO371/10735/C8770/459/18.
108. Ibid.
109. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 17 July 1925, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVII, 683–5.



110. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 28 July 1925, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVII, 701–4.
111. *Ibid.*
112. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 30 July 1925, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVII, 707–8.
113. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 29 July 1925, 179–80.
114. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 30 July 1925, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVII, 707–8.
115. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 11 Aug. 1925, cited in Petrie, 281–3.
116. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 11 Aug. 1925, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVII, 723–5.
117. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 28 Aug. 1925, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVII, 746–7.
118. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 22 Sept. 1925, cited in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XXVII, 784.
119. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 24 Sept. 1925, PRO/FO371/10740/C12110/459/18.
120. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 30 Sept. 1925, AC 52/297, Chamberlain Papers.
121. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 25 Sept. 1925, 189.
122. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 179–80.
123. Memorandum by von Schubert, 10 Aug. 1925, GFM 4562/E155733.
124. Von Schubert to von Hoesch, 20 Jan. 1926, GFM 4562/E156469–78.
125. Sthamer to von Schubert, 23 Jan. 1926, GFM 4562/E156500–02.
126. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 25 Feb. 1925, PRO/FO371/10717/C2881/109/18.
127. *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik*, Serie B III, No. 99.
128. Memorandum by von Schubert, 6 April 1926, GFM 2860/557026–36, cited in Breuning, 'Scylla and Charybdis', 166–7.
129. Memorandum by von Schubert, 6 April 1926, GFM 2860/557026–36, cited in Breuning, 'Scylla and Charybdis', 166–7.
130. Memorandum by von Schubert, 9 April 1926, GFM 2860/557077–84, cited in Breuning, 'Scylla and Charybdis', 183–5. Compare *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 23 April 1926, 249–50, 252.
131. Memorandum by von Schubert, 9 April 1926, GFM 4562/E15692–22.
132. Breuning, 'East versus West: the Opening Moves', 10.
133. An account of the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin can be found in Morgan, 268–71.
134. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 8 Nov. 1924, PRO/FO371/9804/C17265/737/18.
135. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 31 Jan. 1924, 42.
136. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 5 March 1925, 145–6.
137. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 15 Nov. 1925, 198.
138. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 22 March 1926, 239.
139. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 5 April 1926, 247.
140. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 25 April 1926, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Series Ia, I, 667.
141. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 30 March 1926, 244.

142. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 9 April 1926, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Series Ia, I, 587–8.
143. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 29 April 1926, 252–3.
144. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 19 Oct. 1925, AC 52/300, Chamberlain Papers.
145. Chamberlain, *Down the Years*, 152–3, 166.
146. D. Carlton: 'Great Britain and the League Council Crisis', *Historical Journal*, 11(2), 1968.

## 7 The Admission of Germany to the League of Nations, 1922–26

1. R. Henig: *The British Government and the League of Nations, 1919–1926*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Lancaster, 1978. See also R. Henig (ed.): *The League of Nations* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1973), 1–18.
2. F.S. Northedge: *The League of Nations. Its Life and Times, 1920–1946*, Third Edition (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1988).
3. J. Spenz: *Die diplomatische Vorgeschichte des Beitritts Deutschlands zum Völkerbund, 1924–1926; ein Beitrag zur Aussenpolitik der Weimarer Republik* (Göttingen, 1966); C.M. Kimmich: *Germany and the League of Nations* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1976).
4. Tufton to Lampson, 28 April 1922, PRO/FO371/7568/C6347/6347/18.
5. Minute by Fisher to Chamberlain, 9 May 1922, PRO/FO371/7568/C6916/6347/18.
6. Memorandum by Sir Eric Drummond: 'German Admission to the League at the Next Assembly', 12 June 1922, PRO/FO371/7568/C8574/6347/18.
7. 'Maurice Hankey's Notes on a Conversation Held at 10, Downing Street on Wednesday, June 21 1922', PRO/FO371/7568/C9024/6347/18.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *An Ambassador of Peace*, II, 13 July 1922 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930) 58; 14 July 1922, 62.
10. Wirth to D'Abernon, 25 July 1922, communicated in D'Abernon to Hankey, 26 July 1922, HLRO, F/54/2/33, Lloyd George Papers.
11. The main terms of this letter are also cited in Kimmich, 41–2.
12. Balfour to D'Abernon, 24 July 1922, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, XX, 510–11.
13. Hankey to Lloyd George, 1 Aug. 1922, HLRO, F/54/2/33, Lloyd George Papers.
14. 'Memorandum respecting British Policy and the Admission of Germany to the League of Nations', 1 Aug. 1922, PRO/FO371/9820/C2072/2072/18.
15. Kimmich, 44–8.
16. 'Memorandum respecting the Admission of Germany to the League of Nations', 6 Feb. 1924, PRO/FO371/9820/C2072/2072/18.
17. Kimmich, 52.
18. D'Abernon to MacDonald, 12 June 1924, BL Add MSS 48926A, D'Abernon Papers.
19. Chamberlain to Salisbury, 2 Jan. 1925, cited in D. Johnson: 'Austen Chamberlain and the Locarno Agreements', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 8, 1961.

20. 'Memorandum by Mr Nicolson on British Policy considered in relation to the European Situation; prepared in pursuance of directions from the Secretary of State', 20 Feb. 1925, PRO/FO371/10727/C2201/459/18.
21. Chamberlain to Crowe, 7 March 1925, PRO/FO371/10728/C3368/459/18.
22. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 18 March 1925, PRO/FO371/10729/C4171/459/18.
23. London (Geneva) to Crowe, 15 March 1925, PRO/FO371/10728/C3725/459/18.
24. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 2 April 1925, PRO/FO800/127.
25. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 2 April 1925 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1931), 17.
26. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 1 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO371/11297/C1302/446/18.
27. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 2 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO800/259.
28. J. Barros: *Office without Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 149–50.
29. The plebiscite took place under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.
30. D'Abernon to Curzon, 7 May 1922, PRO/FO371/7568/C6932/6347/18.
31. Speech by Stresemann in the Reichstag, 18 March 1926, cited in E. Sutton (ed.): *Gustav Stresemann, His Diaries, Letters and Papers*, II (New York: Macmillan, 1935), 522.
32. 'The New Year' by Dr Stresemann, published in *Die Zeit*, 1 Jan. 1925, communicated in D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 3 Jan. 1925, PRO/FO371/10712/C262/35/18.
33. C.M. Kimmich: *The Free City of Danzig and German Foreign Policy, 1919–1934* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968), 73–4.
34. Memoranda by von Schubert, 19 Feb. 1925, 10 March 1925, 4509/E124954, E125472–83, cited in Kimmich, *Germany and the League of Nations*, 64–5.
35. Stresemann to the ex-Crown Prince, 7 Sept. 1925, cited in Sutton, 504.
36. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 15 March 1925, 149.
37. See D'Abernon's account of Hindenburg's activities, *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 11 June 1925, 167–9.
38. Memorandum by Stresemann, 13 June 1925, 2860/555257–67, cited in E.C.M. Breuning: *Germany's Foreign Policy between East and West*, unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1965, 'East Versus West: the Precarious Balance', 106–8.
39. Chamberlain to Tyrrell, 8 Oct. 1925, PRO/FO840/1/5.
40. This is the argument put forward in Henig, unpublished thesis.
41. The text can be found in R. Henig (ed.): *League of Nations* (London, 1973), 184–5.
42. Breuning, 'East Versus West: the Opening Moves', 57–8.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Cited in 'Memorandum on Soviet Influence on Germany in connection with the question of Germany's entry into the League and of a Western Security Pact', 6 April 1925, PRO/FO371/10730/C4844/459/18.
45. Memorandum by von Schubert communicated in von Schubert to Brockdorff-Rantzau, 26 Feb. 1925, 4562/E154993–5003, cited in Breuning, 'East versus West: the Opening Moves', 44–6.
46. Cited in 'Memorandum on Soviet Influence on Germany ...'
47. Drummond to D'Abernon, 5 March 1925, BL Add MSS 51110, Cecil Papers.

48. Statement by Stresemann to the German Press, 7 March 1925, cited in Sutton, 69–70.
49. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 10 March 1925, 147. See also Barros, 167–9. Barros states that D'Abernon's warning was issued to Stresemann rather than to Luther.
50. Sutton, 72–3. It stated that no power entering the League could be exempt from all or part of Article 16 of the Covenant. It rejected the idea that Germany's disarmed state gave grounds from exemption from the military aspect of this Article. If Germany was admitted to the League, she would be expected to contribute to any military operations that League members became involved with but that the extent of that involvement would take full account of Germany's present military position. The extent of involvement in any economic sanctions imposed by the League would again be determined by the relative strength of the individual powers. The note concluded that the adoption of any other stance by Germany or any other power would be incompatible with League membership.
51. Note by Stresemann, 16 March 1925, cited in Sutton, 73–4.
52. Sthamer to von Schubert, 11 April 1925, German Foreign Ministry (GFM) 4562/E155195–202.
53. Note by Stresemann, 18 June 1925, cited in Sutton, 89–90.
54. Extract from Stresemann's diary, 13 Oct. 1925, cited in Sutton, 182.
55. Von Schubert to von Hoesch, 20 Jan. 1926, GFM 4562/E156469–78.
56. Memorandum by von Schubert, 31 March 1926, GFM 4562/E156751–9; D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 1 April 1926, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Series Ia, I, 566–8.
57. Memorandum to the Cabinet by Chamberlain, 9 March 1925, PRO/FO371/10748/C3538/471/18.
58. The British perspective on Article 16 is discussed in Henig, unpublished PhD thesis, 182–204.
59. Memorandum to the Cabinet by Chamberlain, 9 March 1925, PRO/FO371/10748/C3538/471/18.
60. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 30 Jan. 1925, PRO/FO371/10727/C1454/459/18.
61. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 25 Feb. 1925, PRO/FO371/10717/C2881/109/18.
62. London (Geneva) to Crowe, 9 March 1925, PRO/FO371/10728/C3375/459/18.
63. Chamberlain to Tyrrell, 8 Oct. 1925, PRO/FO840/1/5.
64. 'Memorandum by Sir A. Chamberlain respecting Poland and the Council of the League', 1 Feb. 1926, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Series Ia, I, 383–4.
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66. Meeting between Spicer and Selby, 4 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO800/259.
67. Cecil to Chamberlain, ? Feb. 1926, University of Birmingham Library, Austen Chamberlain Papers, cited in D. Carlton: 'Great Britain and the League Council Crisis', *Historical Journal*, 11(2), 1968, 354–64.
68. 'Memorandum by Viscount Cecil on the composition of the Council of the League of Nations', 8 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO800/259.
69. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 7 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO371/11263/C2017/71/18.

70. See also Chamberlain to Max Muller, 8 Feb. 1926, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Series Ia, I, 405–6.
71. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 15 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO371/11263/C1998/71/18.
72. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 17 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO371/11263/C2087/71/18.
73. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 18 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO371/11263/C2087/71/18.
74. *The Times*, 18 Feb. 1926, 20.
75. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 19 Feb. 1926, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Series Ia, I, 454.
76. Ibid.
77. *An Ambassador of Peace*, 22 Feb. 1926, III, 225–7.
78. Ibid.
79. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 19 Feb. 1926, BL Add MSS 48929, D'Abernon Papers.
80. *An Ambassador of Peace*, II, 6 March 1926, 229.
81. Minutes of a Cabinet Meeting, 3 March 1926, CAB 23/52.
82. Tyrrell to Chamberlain, 11 March 1926, PRO/FO800/259.
83. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 6 March 1926, 228–9; 12 March 1926, 233–4; 19 March 1926, 236.
84. Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 29 March 1926, Austen Chamberlain Papers, cited in Carlton, 60.
85. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 16 March 1926, 234–5.
86. Cecil to Chamberlain, 16 March 1926, BL Add Mss 51078, Cecil Papers.
87. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 23 April 1926, 249.
88. Tyrrell to D'Abernon, 1 April 1926, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Series Ia, I, 570.
89. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 13 Aug. 1926, 256.
90. Viscount Cecil: *All the Way* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1949), 178.
91. D'Abernon to the King, 17 Aug. 1926, BL Add MSS 48922A, D'Abernon Papers.
92. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 9 Sept. 1926, 260.
93. G. Stresemann: *Vermächtnis*, II, 558, cited in Breuning, 'Between Moscow and Geneva', 83.
94. Ibid., 562.
95. See for example, D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 15 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO371/11263/C1998/71/18; Chamberlain to D'Abernon, 18 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO371/11263/C2087/71/18.
96. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 17 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO371/11263/C2087/71/18.
97. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 18 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO371/11263/C2116/71/18.
98. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 19 Feb. 1926, PRO/FO371/11263/C2147/71/18.
99. Stresemann to Brockdorff-Rantzau, 25 Feb. 1926, 2860/556815–6, cited in Breuning, 'Between Moscow and Geneva', 80–1.
100. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 12 March 1926, 234.
101. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 19 March 1926, 236.

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103. *Ibid.*, 241.
104. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 22 March 1926, PRO/FO371/11268/C3755/71/18.
105. D'Abernon to Chamberlain, 30 March 1926, PRO/FO371/11279/C4185/234/18.
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108. Note by Stresemann, 11 Aug. 1926, cited in Sutton, 529–31.
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111. D'Abernon to the King, 17 Aug. 1926, BL Add MSS 48922A, D'Abernon Papers; *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 18 Aug. 1926, 257; *Akten zur deutschen Auswärtigen Politik*, Serie B Iii, No. 35.
112. *An Ambassador of Peace*, III, 20 Aug. 1926, 257.
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## Conclusion

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