

Papers of Hugh Dalton:
Original Manuscript Diary

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8 x

1
Aug 7th, 1926.

~~1000~~ Baltara ^(S.S.) should have sailed yesterday, but waited for some third class passengers returning from U.S. on the Liverpool. We taxi from Carlisle Wharf to Hays Wharf about 7 pm, dine on board, watch the sunset over London Bridge & Wanda round the neighbouring wharves. To bed early in our little cabin, but it should be rough!

8th

Baltara leaves about 1 am. Breakfast at 8.30, invited to feed at the captain's table. Our companions are a middle aged business man, interested in S. African fruit, & his son, a very tall youth about 6 ft 5 at the age of 2 1/2 (there are

2 R

named Sutaric), also a spinning ^{little} doctor who has lived long in India. ~~1000~~

It is infinitely calm. The boat is only about half full. Many of the first class passengers are doing a round trip, - Danzig, travel, Liban & back. Third class are mostly Lithuanians returning from America for holiday, but not to stay.

First class also include an employee of the I.O., a Pole named Richmond (why?) ^{and} married his Lithuanian wife. She is even paler than he and seems to wear shields over her breasts and a tight fitting black blouse. He is employed to ~~act~~ interrogate aliens wishing to enter the

3

country. He speaks 8 languages, lives at Mile End and administers G.L. Also on board Sista Cawood, an elderly little woman, who has done a lot of international Red X work, especially in Poland, writes she is now going with medical supplies of the Ledochowska Orphan Home. She hates the Fricks, because she has worked for their therapy, intolerance & grandiosities. They & the Save the Children Fund left Poland suddenly in the summer 1923, because P was Roman Catholic, - also I suggest because P was classified as a victorians, & therefore wicked, nation. They taught the orphans to play football, & the day before an important match against another school gave the

aged about 17,

4

Captain a new ball. But they played with the old ball, & the Captain, when asked afterwards why they hadn't used the new one, said "I thought it would be wise to give it to the referee". British sport transplanted eastward!

Sista C also tells of a Polish priest who was hanged by the Germans - only the rope broke just before he was dead. Since then he has been mad, desiring Sista C to bring him pictures of hell fire to show to his flock, & believing that Poland is the Messiah among the nations (cf Krasinski & Mickiewicz) and that, whenever she is happy, she is wicked. In Poland she says for next year

curious & original types than anywhere else. They are an aristocratic people, conservative, Catholic, missing a garage pride. They often lack continuity; even their social work is not very good.

But their scientific work is first class.

There is also a Swansea tinplate, employed by the Soviet in a Moscow factory as a manager. He is well paid, getting about £900 a year. He has just taken £400 back to

England & left it there. Output is increasing, but there is much discipline. They work an 8 hour day. Cut wages are low & are spent at a coop shop, which is attached to the works & gives credit, getting the men into their debt & giving

poor quality. Out of 700 men under him about 5 a year go to the famous Soviet Rest Homes. The collection of British ^{one} miners are not compulsory. At works they were refused, several men saying that the British miners were ~~worse~~ ^{better} than themselves; at another works a resolution in favour of collecting ^{skillfully} was carried by a majority at a packed meeting one day when work ceased.

~~Aug 9th~~ Aug 9th

still dead calm. Passed Cuxhaven & reached mouth of the Elbe about 9 am. Entered Kiel Canal about 11 am. The country is flat, prosperous & well cultivated, rather like Lancashire. R

admires the style of the cottages, - charming red brick with steep roofs either in grey or red tiles. Perhaps a touch of the Danish. The locks at each end ~~staying~~^{move} back bodily by hydraulic power. Bathes along the shore wave arms & legs at us as we pass.

The young Gutrie, who is a nice lad but not intelligent & rather delicate looking man, finds us more interesting company than his father & the Captain, & we discuss his politics in the evening.

Aug 10th.

Still amazingly steady in the Baltic. Sun myself in a deck chair and Johnny Deck Perm with Gutrie. Sleep & sun & food, though the latter is very English.

Aug 11th.

Arrive at Danzig at 4 am. but don't get ashore till 9 owing to customs, etc. This sort of a holiday by sea rather than train is a fine idea! Stay at Danziger Hof. Immersed in letters & telephone calls at once.

Lunch with Van Hamel, 1st Commissioner. He but not sympathetic I learn from cable, the British Consul, but he is not persona grata with the Germans. He was pro-Ally during the war & this is remembered & dug out by the Danziger Allgemeine, by Teichm, the Co-Vice President of the Senate, a violent Nationalist. The German nationalists are now in opposition, against a coalition of Socialists, Centre & Liberals.

Van H thinks that the German Nationalists don't believe in, or desire, the permanence of the present régime. But the coalition is for reconciliation. The Dawid budget has been temporarily unbalanced owing to the fall in the 2 lotz. The customs ~~are~~ collected at D are paid direct into the Polish Treasury, women pay a ^{separate} grant-in-aid to D.

Before lunch we had walked round the town & admired the architecture especially the churches with its gilded stone pinnacles, & the red brick Gothic Cathedral, & the ^{gabled} houses & high balconies & the fish & fruit market along the river.

My train to Zoppot to ~~leave~~ ^{tea} with Cable, a nice intelligent fellow. These other Englishmen present, one an old farmer who voted for me, though he never saw ^{me} at Maidstone in 1922, another who heard me speak at the Cambridge Union, a third who heard me at the Cambridge Labour Club. Cable deflates the German Nationalists & their sabotaging tactics at D, eg. the block put on the project to make D a cotton import centre for Poland & Russia, in conflict with Bremen. This may encourage Poland to adopt an aggressive line later. In D there are said to be 40,000 Poles, including railway employees & many small shopkeepers.

Economic front, one way, to union with
Poland, ethnographically German, to union
with Germany. Hence the need for
an intermediate solution. The British

coal stoppage has temporarily stabilized
the 2 lots (of our gains from the
French occupation of the Ruhr).

The Poles spend too much on their
Army (600,000 men) & education.

I said the latter was a good
fault. German teachers were
committing the sin against the Holy
Ghost in preaching continual
nationalism & incitement to the
young. German officials ^{ought a} very
respectable & instructive spirit.

Most were not dangerous at all.

No University here, ∴ qualifications
must be obtained in Germany.

British consuls have improved
enormously since the war. Now they
are made for little use of by the
commercial community at home.

Dine in the open air at Zoppot, listen
to music & walk on the wooden pier.
Not bad for a northern seaside
resort, but a wretched lot, wretched
people of both sexes!

Back to D by bus.

Aug 12th.

Interview Mrs Sahm & via Mrs
Schl in the morning & de
Kermine, acting of Strasbourg in
the afternoon.

Sahm is a big, capable, straight
man, but a nationalist with
a contempt for the Poles & no
belief in the permanence of the

present regime. He, like most of the leading political nationalists are not Danzigers, but imported Germans. This is a serious difficulty. The two best Germans I met here, Gehl & Bechler are Danzigers & want reconciliation.

Sabara gave an exposé of great clarity. He said, in reply to my question, that it would not be an improvement to make D a free zone with Polish customs tariff outside it, ∴ they had to import so much from Poland. (This admits the predominant interest of D in Polish prosperity.) In confidence, he thought how if D returned to the Reich it would be easy to give P a free zone, such as the pass

have at Salonica.

Gehl is a character, blue, wrinkling eyes, sea grey beard, ^{scarcely} elderly but not paunchy. I suspect that Sabara, Pater & Volkmann, the Financé Minister, (a brutal, ^{Prussian} less type with a loud, rasping voice) hate G & despise him. A workman & a socialist, he now leads the coalition which put the Nationalists out.

Present Diet	Total	
		<u>120</u>
Nationalists	34	
Socialists	30	
Centre	15	
Liberals (1)	12	
Liberals (2)	7	
Communists	11	
Poles	5	
Others	6	

The present Govt consists 6 Soc,
4 Centre & 4 Liberals. The next
elections are in November 1927. The
new Dict within a few months elects
a new President & ^{Shaw} Official Senators.
The present Govt is all of
conciliation with Poland; relations
are much better; they pay
personal calls on Skarbinski &
write civil notes. They hope to
bring off some successful
negotiations soon. This would help
the Govt electorally. (I suggest
to do Keremenc's wis tactic, & he
pretends to think it intelligent &
important.) (Sgt points out that
trade has been bad largely because
D before the war was a naval
demerit centre. It is

bad & unemployment high but
improving. Trouble also from
the fall in the 20s, but benefit
from British coal stoppage. Fabian says
Talk in the afternoon with ^{you may need to pay help} ^{entry with plates} ^{am in} ^{Dump}
Keremenc. Rather shy. Things
are greatly improving. British
trade could be greatly developed.
There have been regrettable
misunderstandings on both sides.
Skarbinski did good work in making it
clear that Poland was not a hostile
matter. Poland would probably be content
with a semi permanent seat on the
League Council. Many Poles in Danzig
are now denationalized & there
has been difficulty with D as to
acquisition of D citizenship by
immigrant Poles. P is not pressing

It is at present. Van Hannel is a
 servant with which it is easy to
 deal with legal points.

4-30 - 7-30 K & I walk round
 with Bechler admiring Artushof
 & ~~for~~ other buildings. R wants
 to beat Aix en Provence, on foot
 out into outside Italy.

K & I dine at the Mountain Lantankala,
 in Jopenasse. Good food & service &
 cheap.

Aug 13th.

Walk round D in the morning, in
 the afternoon motor with Xavien
 Zelochi, brother of Foreign Minister,
 Gdynia. Post is making good
 progress but its construction is a
 heavy expense for a poor country.
 Coal export to be a big feature, with

new direct line to Upper Silesia, ^{also emigrant org.} New
 trade channels within the new frontier
 are being dug. Naval post & naval
 barracks well advanced. Polish

Navy away "on an excursion" into
 Baltic. Helo to be developed as
 a seaside & fishery resort.

Good view from high ground at
 Oksyvia. Polish graves showing
 evidence of racial character of
 district. Cheap labor & longer
 hours than at D. Brand new
 railway station. Undulating
 wooded country inland.

Jolly dinner in the evening at
 Ratskeller, on guest of Gedy - a
 great pet. New member R,
 socialist Senator Paetsche
 & Bechler. Talk on politics.

P-R, Wan, ~~etc.~~ p.s.ⁿ, etc. Head waiter busy in glasses. Good food & admirable Hock. Drink from D goldwater. Only argument for P-R was "it is democratic" but practical objections admitted.

G & P very smooth about P-R. Danzig for want peace & trade. Outside German stir up trouble.

Later P, B, R & I go back to Danzig ~~etc.~~ & drink at Cabaret Hill

Aug 14th.

- 1.45 am. P man disappears, probably to sleep with a chosen girl. How fat, ugly & badly got up those Germans are. P drinks a lot of whisky, but only lapses into lethargy &

dishevelment. B & I drink egg flops with brandy. R plays up very well & encourages dirty stories.

We are in bed soon after 2 & up soon after 9. By train to Oliva; hot sunny day, a fine Abbey garden. Good new housing on the way out. Walk through wood, mixed pine & conifer, to Zoffot road. Sandy, undulating country, with good views over the Baltic & many new plantations.

Went Zoffot & lunch. Horrified at paunches & sweats. Transition to the Polish, & dirt & beauty!

(D bank manager had told me that Polish banks were all broke, Poles got up at 10 or 11 in the morning & tried to work at night.) I remembered Zimmerman's

Saying that German must cease to
 & office hours & then later with
 good feelings. German v Poles
 very like English v Irish.

Last walk with Kechla 6.30 - 7.30.

Up to fortification ^{Bischofsberg} ^{near} ^{run} into
 children's playgrounds. R suggests
 visit for a picnic. He says best
 from England was dit (German was

to discuss her & whole committee.
 (This from one who was twice wounded in war & had
 last dinner at M. Lauterbach ^{Shellsack}.)

Druck Liebefrausmilch, wonderful
 dry stick.

Main lines on D. Present regime
 intrinsically difficult to work, but
 initial difficulties now largely
 solved. (Complete absorption by
 either Germany or Poland would be
 much worse. Danziger are ^{mostly} all

right. Only German outsiders really
 troublesome. These should soon
 be dispersed with. P. Side &
 Russian justifiably in future
 based on D justifiably. German
 character of D so secure as not
 really to be threatened. That
 Poles would be wise to be generous
 & helpful. Socialism justified
 here in enlightened general
 attitude. ^{thus} ^{aim} at making D
 more of an international centre.
 This will become easier as Poland
 & Russia pick up.

Danziger Volkstimme, the Socialist
 paper, gives an illuminating account
 of demands by employers (and also
 German nationalists), for reduction of
 wages, lengthening of hours, repeal of

on grounds of "economy"
 German insurance legislation in D.G.,
 but of all, free entry for Polish
 labour, which is cheap & unorganized,
 with no where housing ~~and~~ shortage
 is serious & unemployment heavy! So
 do Chauvinism & Capitalism join hands!
 Socialists oppose all this, & demand increased
 taxation of the rich.

Aug 15th

By train from Danzig (9.50 am) to
 Warsaw (6.30 pm.). Train very crowded
 but ~~and~~ keeps good time. How good
 looking Poles are compared to German.
 Here we catch on physical civilization
 at any rate. Passing through territory
 saw many peasant women in
 rainbow woollen, green ^{with} yellow stripes.
 Flat country, mostly sandy. After
 crossing pre-war German-Russian

frontier buildings grow more squalid.
 Few metalled roads. Small watched
 cabins.

At Warsaw stay at Hotel Polonia.

Quite civilized, except no toilet
 paper. ~~Double~~ bedroom with ^{large cup-board} ~~at~~
 for clothes, or hidden loves. Polish dinner
 from 8 to 11 and lunch from 1 to 5.
~~Double~~ Dinner in hotel. Barszcz does
 a pleasant taste & colour, they make
 better coffee than the Germans & I
 have some good Hungarian wine, ~~at~~^{of}
 Madeira type.

At dinner make a vain attempt. Jan
 Ulcia Manszalkowska, to find the
 Gay centre of Warsaw.

Aug 16th

Buy map, guide book, etc. & walk
 steadily in spite of rain, for several

hours, picking out the heart of the city,
round Plac Saski, where destruction
of Russian Cathedral has made a
fine open space, & K.P. (Krasnow
Suburb or King's Parade).

Lunch at the Empire. Lots of vegetables.
Cabbage liver & some cream sauce.

Streets full of Jews in their Kaftans.

Shamefaced, scurrying & squinting. The
younger Jews are giving him up.

Meet Saveny in the afternoon. Very
intelligent. Said by Szapiro to be the
Emancipator of the Jewish people.

Dine with Szapiro at Pod Bacchus
("Under the Sign of Bacchus"); bloody
fine meal! Drink an initial glass
of Żytniówka, rye vodka, & then
wata. Rydze na masle, & -
mustard & butter. Mizerja.

Cucumber salad with some cream; served
with chicken. Sz has the interest
& limitations of the professional
journalist. On the whole, Jno
Milgrodski. Socialists are satisfied
with his policy now. He will
allow state monopolies, maintain
social legislation (at first
unrenewed) & aim at stabilizing
food prices by holding supplies.
The Right have him. (One speaks
he will check corruption, etc.)

P.S. Take a realistic view of
Russia. Horror of Soviets compared
to German & American P.S.s. Russia
P.S.s have Tsardom too well.

Decrees are limited to the present
Pault. The time limit on the
discussion of the Budget alone is

to be permanent. P is still a
socialist, though a gradual one, &
not an intellectual but a
soldier. A man of the people.
Impatient with the rich. He
prefers the Soviets to any
alternative Russia, & stopped his
opinion when it seemed that
Decision might win. He wants
Poland industrialized, so that she
may be strong in war.

Poland has difficult neighbors
in Germany & Russia. French
prestige has wound greatly.

(I said our foreign experts
in the L.P. were experts from
1919, 1 year ago, & don't follow
changes. Also we tend to
love Russia or sympathize with.

Germany, & both these emotions
make up Poland. But the most
of our pacifists embrace the
syllogism. Weighing that came
out of the war, & the Treaty of
Versailles, is bad, Poland came
out of the T.V.V., ∴ Poland is bad.)
~~But~~ Russia wants separate
treaties & guaranteed neutrality
with P & the Balkan states.

P wants an all-in guarantee.
This is different from the anti-
Soviet block idea.

P has little interest in Danzig
now. (This is good.)

Vilna is a Polish town, & the
country round is not Lithuanian,
but white Russia. Soviets hate
the rest of white Russia. Should P

29 ~~was~~

are both, however. Not hopeful about
disarmament.

At dinner drove in a taxi on
the virtual bridge.

Aug 17th.

10 am. Visited by Filozofow, Russian
emigree, born in by Polish F.O. &
recommended by Sarey. "Russia is
the great danger to peace". Pilsudski
realizes that R, not Germany, is the
danger to Poland. R is making an
intense anti-league policy, especially
as against Germany's entry. But the
real econ wars are in the East in
China & in relⁿ to Japan.

Pilsudski's govt is opposed by the Jews.
He will check the anti-Semitism
in the Nationalists & small bourgeoisie.
In Russia the last election were

30

among the peasants. ^{among the peasants.}
free for the first time, 80% of the
election voted against the govt. The
Soviet leaders are in great difficulty.
(All this is an old story!)

The English & Americans condemn
Polish imperialism. Anglo-Saxons
are not imperialists "en idee, mais
en fait."

To F.O. see Balinski, who passes
me on to others. Listen to an ^{old}
mendicant, hard to interrupt, from Jan
Tarnowski, head of L.O.W. section,
& expert also on Russia. ~~He~~ ^{He}
Poland wanted the Protocol. This
we have given security against
Russia and Germany. It is
not possible to talk seriously
about disarmament until we have
the equivalent of the Protocol, especially

for the Nordic States. It is a far off
 dream that Russia should send a
 her own L of N, the Third International
 at Moscow, in order to enter the League
 L. But Poland wd not oppose this.
 Not all Poland welcomed Locarno.
 Not the permanent seat on the
 Council. Poland will accept the
 Cecil plan in substance & will
 hope for a few p.s. later on.
 Not an enlarged Council &
 the unanimity rule, there is
 not much greater practical
 difficulty in getting 14 people to
 agree than 12. To introduce
 majority decision in any form
 wd ^{lead to} make the League a super-state
 & modify the Covenant profoundly.
 P would not oppose this; indeed it

Protocol was in this direction. But
 what about Britain, who opposed the
 Protocol? Hitlerto, unanimity on
 the Council has been secured by
 agreement of Britain & France.
 (I said "what about Brazil?" but
 T went straight on.) If Germany
 is to have a p.s., in future there

For the moment Stalin, the West
 Communist, is up, & Zinovieff the
 doctrinaire is down. But there
 is no guarantee that the position
 won't soon be reversed. ^{Russia has}
 always been, & still is, the most imperialist
 state in the world.
 (This is the natural Warsaw
 angle.)

must be agreement betⁿ B, F & G.
 There will be great difficulties at
 the start, for G comes in
 determined to use the L to revise

the Peace Treaties. But it is to be hoped that the difficulties will not last long. In England, & especially in the Labour Party, there is much ignorance & misunderstanding of Poland; also much ignorance of Russia. Tarnowski, allowing for the necessary stiffness of an official interview with a foreign stranger, strikes me as a realist in the head & unhelpful sense, but ~~with~~ capable of changing direction to suit new realities.

After lunch. (3 tables d'hôte at the Polonia = 1/3^d of 4 courses!) We are piloted round by B. B. Wyszynski, 2d gradeable & rather b.g. & not a very well informed Cicerone. Kariculi Park not

permitted to be entered by Jews in Kaftan. Jews may, in theory, become officers in the Army, but in practice don't. Drive through Stone Biasto to ghetto. Polish Jews fairer & less fat & less nosy than Whitechapel. Kariculi Palace a small Versailles, & better for being smaller.

5-7 with Savary, who poses for the information & names of people to see all over P. Cracow has the high culture, a little overdone, of Oxford. Ruthenians are the worst minority in Poland. S began by being sympathetic, but their traits have made him less so. German & British both subsidize R movement. So do émigré R's in Prague & elsewhere.

A Ruthene Univ in Lwow wd be the
best solution, also from the Polish
point of view, for L is a Polish town
& R's wd take P imprint easily
there, & be themselves more
satisfied. L-s did harm by ignorantly
encouraging Rutheness.

White Russians will probably be
persecuted peacefully. Likert
German are too few to matter.

White Russian peasants, under
Polish rule voted that children shd
be taught in
either Polish or Great

Russian. (The kids know white
Russian already, & if schools were
any good to them shd teach them
something useful - ^{es.} a language
spoken by the country!

Pilsudski is the only man to rescue

up during the war when will live in
the national legend. He is also expert
in judging the national psychology. He
wants to interest everyone in the
Army, but his ideal is not expensive
modern equipment but a national
militia. (This may lead toward
a reduced year of service.)

S has neat plans & was probably
at Oxford & still a bachelor.
Dine at Pod Bachusem, to meet by
ourselves.

Order Chłodnik. What an
experience! My wife divides tonight
into two quite separate parts!
First they serve into four soup
plates little piles of skirups,
cucumbers, hard boiled egg & very
thin little strips of veal. Then

They pour over it a cold, pelepukh liquid, - the colour of strawberry jam and made of beetroot, cream milk & vinegar, with flavourings of herbs. All cold & sourness!

Then Kozel Filet, with a sauce of mushrooms, (cēfer = grzybianin) these are smaller fungi than rydze.) One does not need to drink wine or beer with this rich & sumptuous food. A glass of Żytniówka białej with, wata in the middle, & coffee at the end. Total price 18.30 = 91⁰ = 7/7 = 3/10 each, including tips which weren't given.

Aug 18th.

Visit Tamplin(?), of the Anglo-Polish Bank for money. A stiff-minded public schoolman. Poles not eager to take on

country estate, not to do business. Difficult now to get English money to come to Poland. Since March they say, "o kurci where they have revolutions!"

11-30 interview Zaleski, Foreign Minister, (after being photographed at Hotel for Warsaw illustrated paper)

Z makes a good impression, less by his personal manner than by his ideas.

He stands for the Protocol. He thinks that after a year or two of its working, Russia would have some in-

Russians are all dominated now by anti-English feeling. They think we are preparing to attack them. Nothing can be done to improve Anglo-Russian relations, until Chicherin lasts.

He is bitterly anti-English & we have made him a Kolskie by

expelling him from London at the
 ruin of Kerenski's patch. He was then
 a Kerenski's. Litvinoff, now
 acting for him during his illness, is
 little better, for we drove him out
 too. Whenever Poland tries to
 negotiate with Russia, it breaks
 this part up of England the
 communists lie shamelessly in
 their arms - they hold the doctrine
 that a bourgeois state can't be
 sincere. Their propaganda not very
 successful in P. - P. peasants
 hear frontier know they are better
 off than Russians. Greeting to
 J. K. D. Dany ~~very~~ ^{rather} much
 improved. It will be reasonable to
 will not try to Poland D. But
 German too trouble. The present

Coalⁿ, unhappily, may not last.
 Russia looks L of N is an English
 Russia work ^{Russia work} ^{Japan} with
 with ^{the roads lead to} ^{Wyszyski to} ^{Koromania} ^{ch.}
 Wyszyski to Fukias &
 drink some wine 180 years old. Wine
 cellar, & some wine ~~was~~ 300 years
 old.

Lunch at Rydz with Klimacki,
 Baluski, Wyszyski & Roma(?)
 a dark young Pole from Kovno,
 all eggs with women. ^{They are a} ^{young lot at}
 After lunch to Willanow, another
 little Versailles.

Dine with Kaloski, rather uneasy
 manner. Musolini not a strong
 man, but ably served. Easily talked
 over. Filida, Koromania work
 at Athens during the war, Westphalia
 & Tub. ^{German} Westphalia.

accepted. "Voltaire." Has not
 delivered, but Voltaire unaccepted
 by British fleet, - British false spoken!
 Aug 14. D'Annunzio's war speech,
 giving Italian neutrality was paid
 for by the French. Sometimes, on the
 day when he was due to speak, he
 would ring up the French
 Embassy in Rome and refuse to
 perform unless paid more.

Il Fusco. He showed the manuscript
 to Dase, who begged him not to
 publish. He replied that he
 would lose a million lire on
 a publisher's contract if he didn't.
 She sent him a million lire. He
 kept it & published just the same!

Aug 19th

Leave Warsaw 9.15 am & arrive at

Skrzybowce at 7.30 pm. Over
 the endless plain ^{with stretches} ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ ~~for~~
 beyond Poland, through the forest
 of Bialowieza where the English
 stick exchange sharp & the white
 Russian Condottiere are cutting down
 the trees.

We have a first class carriage
 ourselves ~~and~~ the whole way
 with a few stations for Warsaw.
 Railway stations rebuilt in good
 style. white washed fronts, & nicely
 shaped red roofs and quantities
 of lobelias in window boxes.
 Sunset in very clear, clear colours.
 At Skrzybowce met by ^{female} Cousin of
 Hela, speaking a little English. She
 is waiting for the train to Warsaw.
 A swarm of small boys seize on

luggage & rush away with it into
the dark. We drive on a krap, as
Hela put it in her letter, behind
an impassive surf of 2 1/2 hours,
(20 kilometers), along sandy
tracks to Letiodka. Often
the tracks were indistinguishable
from the neighboring plowed
fields. Often they went through
thick woods. But the moon
shone and we arrived about 10-30.

Aug 20th -
at Letiodka.

A pathetically ruined place! A
country house built 30 years ago
by Hela's father on a German plan.
Occupied by German officers for
three years during the ^{great} war, but
the damage done by the Bolsheviks
in 1920 during the Polish-~~Russian~~
Russian

war. Practically no furniture
now, no curtains, no crockery.
~~Before the war they lived in style.~~
The garden & orchards all run
wild & smothered in weeds. The
H's also ~~took~~ ^{pillaged} their safe, containing
money, scrip, etc & took all
cattle & horses but were left of the
Germans. Hela's aunt was
carried off by them as a hostage
when they retreated & had
never been seen again.

H's mother is a dear old lady,
who is very delicate now
but takes her impoverishment
wonderfully sweetly. Nearly
everyone else would have
been completely ruined.

He herself is a most attractive

round the walls. They are an ugly lot, but sturdy. We are taken into a small room at the back & entertained on bread, butter, cheese & brandy. I drink rather much of this, with disagreeable results in the night, but in the good cause of making myself agreeable! The evening of the ceremony was once in America, but his English is very sketchy. The peasant bride is the most impressive thing in the room.

The next afternoon I have a party & a horse race for children & youths. Prince Sapicha, a Lubomirski, said to be the only intelligent member

of that family, comes over with 3 boys, the eldest at the Oratory (R.C.) School in England (near Reading). Her husband was the first Polish Minister in London & then became Foreign Minister. A handsome woman with many interests, including horses, literature & botany. She asks us to stay a night on the way to Wilno. Two rather unrital but ^{very} well brought up ^(Czetwastinski) princelings also come. The race is won by the youngest Sapicha boy, aged 10, on a little pinto pony called Lampampoj. The young Polish aristocrat

leads a wonderful life, riding, shooting,
 & hunting wolves & wild boar. The
 English schoolboy in his militia
 "makes a good admixture of the
 young Suficha."

In the house at Ketrovka the
 Wancowskis held a secret Polish
 school in the Tsar's time. All
 the local peasants learned here.

The police sometimes looked in
 & found the place full of children.

But, as Wancowski was a general,
 nothing was said. Others, however,
 were sent to Siberia for him.

During the German occupation they
 were allowed to reach openly,
 & now there is a school in the
 village. When the Bolsheviks
 were held, they collected

all the cows in a field &
 divided the milk equally among
 the peasants, but this was not
 popular, according to H.

Prison I said that the Poleski
 revolt had not ~~done~~ ^{achieved} all it should
 have done. It was an old

man, & not well advised &
 was exploited by the Socialists.
 This is a typical reactionary
 view, I think.

In Lithuania, ~~H. says~~ Madame says,
 the priests are the cause of
 anti-Polish feeling. It is only
 a few people on both sides
 who keep the quarrel going.

In 1915, when the Russians retreated,
 Hela & her Aunt were alone here.

They were awakened by Cossacks

in the middle of the night, she was sitting
 matches. Helga put her head out of
 the window & asked "what for?" They
 said "to burn the house down."
 She said, "I won't give you matches
 to burn the house down, because
 my aunt & I are going to stay
 here." They said "the for? Well,
 you are wise, for there is more food
 here than in Russia." Then they
 rode off.

Her retreat from the Bolsheviks is an
 thrilling story; it could be written up into
 a shilling shocker! She would call
 it "The Lady with the Dogs," as the
 Polish soldiers called her. She stayed
 behind till the last moment, skulking
 & then not having gone two days
 earlier. The peasants begged her to

stay, but she didn't trust them, thinking
 the U's, wd talk them round when they
 arrived. She slept two nights alone
 at Kelsidka & then the stable boy came
 rushing in & said the U's were just
 at the corner of the road. She was
 dressed like a man & rode off with
 her dogs toward Grodno. When she
 had started, she remembered that she
 had forgotten her revolver & passport.
 She came back of them under the
 U's noses. On her journey
 she fell in with Polish Cavalry
 & later with a Polish battery, who
 were continually in action against
 the U's. Days of hunger & thirst
 & rain & cold & snow firing &
 men dying in her arms, in
 unbalanced & desperate. She

much more, because she is poorer,
 affluence R's very important generalist
 about the Poles, "Luxuries before
 necessities" - ^{London} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~clothes~~ ^{clothes}, with damaged
 horses unrepaired. The Russian
 is short of petrol, ∴ she has
 no spare cash.

He thaws slowly, but pretty
 completely by the end. Was first
 Polish Minister in London & then
 Foreign Minister in Warsaw during
 the Polish war. In 1918,
 they sent Zeligowski to exhibit
 unofficially, so as to save the
 face of the French. Gralski
 had gone to Spain, ^{where the Allies}
 were advancing, & had been
 bullied by L.G. into promising

to leave Wilno to the League. But
 his promise was cond^d on
 Allied assistance for Poland if
 the Bolsheviks crossed the
 Curzon line. No assistance
 was ever sent, partly because
 of a strike in Danzig (partly
 ∴ of British Council of Action.)
 When, ∴, he was reprovoked by the
 Allies of the occup^y of Wilno, he
 sent a note pointing out that
 Gralski's promise was cond^d on
 Allied promises which had not
 been kept. This note was not
 answered.

When the Bolsheviks were advancing
~~to~~ Warsaw & ^{had} proposed humiliating
 terms of peace, including Polish
 disarmament, Sir H. Rumbold, was

British ministers at Warsaw, came to say
that the British Govt advised Poland to
accept. It was a painful interview
and R obviously hated giving his
advice. As he left the rear his
face was twitching nervously. "The
reflex was the battle of Warsaw."

Princ's has an elaborate theory
about Russia & the future of Europe.
He wants, not a heape of Nations but
a United States of Europe. America
& Asia are too remote. Britain could
come in or not as she liked.

Russia should be the colony of
Europe, ^{European} source of raw material,
the market of Europe's industrial
products, the land in which Europe's
surplus population can settle.
The development of Russia would

enable reparation and inter-allied
debts to be paid, which would
otherwise be impossible. But
there are two necessary conditions,
① Bolshevism must be brought to
an end & ② the nations of
Western Europe must go into
Russia hand-in-hand as friends
& partners. The first condition,
he thought, could be brought
about by a commercial boycott
of Russia.

He has also an elaborate theory
of the State. Historically Parliaments
have grown from individual
grievances against the State. There
should be a balance of power
between State & Part, the
former standing for national & the

latter for individual interests. latter
 in balance has been upset in favour
 of latter. This can only be
 successful if, as in ~~England~~ Britain,
 members of Parliament are intelligent,
 honest & patriotic (!) in Poland
 many are ^{uneducated} ~~illiterate~~ & corrupt &
 in want only of immediate popularity with
 their constituents. Also coalition
 govts have consisted of ministers who
 were continually dictated to by
 their groups. Hence an impasse,
 (as in France.) If He appear with
 me that P.K. is the cause of much
 evil & that single member constituencies
 would be much better. There would
 need to be two member constituencies
 in mixed districts, so that minorities
 (e.g. Poles?) would be fairly represented.

He would also disenfranchise
 illiterates. One of above things is
 necessary, he says, to an amendment
 of the Pilsudski const. It stands for
 a strong state & not a corrupt
 Parliament. He has elements of
 personal ambition, as well as patriotism,
 in his composition. He may know
 his hand in the dispart. if things don't
 improve quickly. He is an old man
 now.

I learned from ~~Stans~~ that Puzis
 is preparing a plan for a new
 Conservative Party in Poland. The
 National Democrats he regards as
 pernicious jingo demagogues.
 We pick mushrooms in his fields,
 & picnic there, & study the
 principles of forestry, & ride
^{at ~~the~~ ~~lockeys~~ river,}

Wilno delight. His pine trees are
an artistic joy.

Aug 26th.

My birthday at Spusza, spent
happily in afternoon. ←

Aug 27th.

Called at 3 am. Next to Spusza
& catch the 5 am train to Wilno,
arriving at 8. Hotel St. George;
look in the town with good restaurant
but dilapidated, suitable for
country guests. Jews in Wilno
from 36 to 50% of population
according to various estimates.

Refugee, Professor Chasinski of
the Univ., looks after us. I
have a slight chill & not much
appetite.

Interviews arranged with Okulicz,

editor Kunja Wilewski and
Bagniski, a lawyer socialist. O
wants a federation with Lithuania, &

Pine's sup life is too short.
One should live long enough to cut
down at their maturity ^{first} trees
which one planted as a young man.
But he planted his first when he
was 25 & they will mature at the
age of 100! If the Veronoff treatment
were to become practical, we should
prolong our life once but no more.
For it would become so boring.

^{now} would be willing, on ~~the~~ terms, to
let Lithuania have Wilno. But he
agrees that few Poles at present
are prepared for this. The P-L

is completely closed. There are no official relations, but still officially a state of war! Economic Damage to Memel, where majority of population is German. Memel Convention, signed by Lithuania, is not being operated. Germans are sending some of their Russian trade by uneconomic routes through L to keep them going. Poles are being driven out of L every week, & coming as refugees to Wilno. Baginski says one reason why L peasants are unwilling, yet, to federate with Poland is: many landlords are Poles & L agrarian laws are more drastic than Polish, only 80 acres (? heaviest) being allowed per head in L. This law is not yet carried out, except to a small extent. R.C. priests very active in L politics. Vatican

not so helpful as might be supposed in composing P-L difficulties, as Pope, when Nuncio at Warsaw, made friend with L Wp of Wilno, who was ^{recently} removed to Kovno as result of P resentment, as he propagandized violently agt P. Also German influence at Vatican anti-P. Aug 28th.

Visit Greek churches with R. Meeting devout worshippers of all classes & both sexes. (O how devout the Poles are! It is a pathetic discourse. Spiritual exercises! Kneeling & kissing the floor & the pictures of the saints, grovelling on the ground at the Ostra Brama gate in Warsaw at 10 am. ^{before} the picture of the Virgin displayed above the gate.)

The many Baroque churches of Wilna are fine, but exotic. This architecture belongs to the luxuriant warm south.

It was imported here, ∴ the Poles have ^{shown} no native gift of architecture. There should have been a sort of Polish Gothic developed, to fit with the pine forests & the snow.

Drive with Retinger & see the University buildings. ~~Also~~ Especially his lab.

(He is a bio-chemist.) This is a romance. He came back from Chicago University to be Professor here after the war. Patriotic enthusiasm brought him, but his salary is only £4 a week. He came back to a good shell of a building, but with in nothing, no furniture or equipment, no windows or even window frames; one room is still as it was, heaps of rubble on

the floor, no paint, no plaster on the walls. He had to make & provide everything, & had practically no grant from the Govt to do it with. With the help of 3 lab attendants, he made the window frames & the furniture, desks & tables, ^{at Caplan's} & made of his tubs & other equipment. He ~~started~~ started to grow beets & tomatoes & sell them in order to buy chemicals.

He has 44 hours lecturing & demonstrating ^{& no assistant capable of routine work.} a week, ^{the} remaining is all out (a rotten system which prevails throughout Poland) & takes about 4 solid weeks in the summer. In addition he keeps abreast of new work & is doing what sounds like important research.

We then drive through a delightful pine wood above the river, the University Park.

In the afternoon an interview with two Lithuanian, husband & wife, both doctors, called, in Polish, Olsejko and, in Lithuanian, Alseika. They have many grievances to make by claiming Poland must first return ^{to Lithuania} ^{& Lithuania} ^{to Lithuania} ^{& then they will negotiate.} There are 300,000 organized Lithuanians in Poland, & 200,000 more unorganized & unconscious. The Poles allow only 4 Lithuanian schools in Poland, but in Lithuania there are 30 Polish schools. 100 Lithuanians are still in prison in Poland, untried after 3 years. There are difficulties about passports & the right to practice medicine. They have to get 6 monthly permits from Warsaw. Later in the afternoon I see Marian Dzieduchowski, rector of the Univ., a handsome old man, but reactionary &

academic in the bad sense. Not very friendly to England, violently anti-Bolshevik & pro-Magellan.

That night Ketygin sees us off to travel very comfortably and, of course, quite punctually in a second class sleeper to ~~Warsaw~~ Warsaw.

Aug 29th.

Spent the morning in Warsaw. The tramby in the unknown garden with its undying flame in the Sushigarden is very fine.

Leave for Warsaw in the afternoon, by an incredibly round about route through Czenstochowa. ~~But~~ Stay at ^{Grand} Hotel ~~at~~ ^{at} midnight I hear the bugles: amazingly moving & beautiful.

Aug 30th.

At Warsaw. Warm & southern & very

attractive. Cafes under large coloured
umbrellas, ^{glass of} water brought with the drinks.
Visit the Wawel & sit on the ramparts.

Aug 31st.

Key station from Cracow to Zakopane.
Stay at Hotel Radomil, clean, comfortable &
good food, which, however, becomes
rather dull later.

Aug 31st - Sept 7th.

A week of glorious sunny weather.

Only one day's partial rain & then
only for an hour or two.

We are pretty active & do a
fair sized walk every day. We
get very fit & well coloured.

The Carpathians here ^{in the Tatra} are much
lower than the Alps, - the only higher
on the Czech side than the Polish.
Practically no eternal snow, but the
sheep & forest of the mountains are
very beautiful. One

traversals between valleys are
low. There are more small lakes

& most outstanding, the pine
forests are superb & knock spots
off the Alps. Very well cared

for roads here. The Stala

is also an institution here, a

broad patch or strip of green

pasture in the midst of forests,

with a few wooden barns &

sometimes peasants' cottages. The

Tatra Society (Polish-Czech) runs

shelters & coloured walks on

mountain tracks. All this is

efficient but not too Teutonic.

"walks" are fairly numerous

& mostly scenic & pleasantly

got up. Practically all Poles.

They are much more aesthetic

than their Teuton equivalents.

We motor to Morskie Oko, through forests. There is a wooden hotel there, but it is becoming rather too much of a resort. The lake is quite beautiful from above, & we go up to the upper lake Czarny Staw. K.M. would make quite a good rock-climbing centre. So we go to Szczerbka at Stala Gasienicowa, where we spend the night. This would be better for rock-climbing than K.M. I have more variety. The Szczerbka is very clean & a good stone building. From there we do a circular walk, Czarny Staw (a different lake of the same name), Zmarzły Staw, two passes, including one on the Czech frontier

beside Świnica, the highest peak in Poland, & back by a great of other little lakes.

Another good walk is up the Kościeliska Valley to Śnieżny Staw, deep among trees, returning up Miętusia Valley and down a Koperska, with a glorious view from a Hala at the top, ~~down~~ into Malej Łąki valley.

A Valley here is a Dolina.

Up Dolina Skrzyńska and on into Dolina Białego is also good. Zakopane is still quite primitive, straggling along several roads & growing rapidly. It lies some way from the mountains & the scenery of the valley & most walks are best begun by driving in a horn

cab over the flat intervening space. The cabs are driven by picturesque górale. Many of these mountaineers are good looking fellows & most wear their costumes, but laugh it is said, to please the visitors.

There is a municipal garden. When we sometimes have tea in the afternoon & listen to a military band.

A gay little place, not yet too highly civilized. We were much helped by a quite first class map.

Sept 7th.

Zakopane to Cracow by bus in the morning.

Tea with Prof. K. Kostanecki, who with his wife, organize our time & show great kindness & competence on our behalf.

They live in a new house in the outskirts of the town, with a Della Robbia medallion on the wall facing the street. They have a very interesting collection of modern Polish paintings. Dine at Stare Teatr (Old Theater) Restaurant, said to be the best in Cracow. Place under repair & waiters rather slow, deaf & bottle-nosed, but food good & a powerful orchestra. In the morning after our arrival we go to the National Museum, full of modern Polish work (including Rembowski's sketch of the Legation).
Sept 8th.

Taken in charge by Dobrzycki, a young lecturer on art from the University, provided by Prof. Kostanecki.

He talks bad French & no English, but is very pet & Reena full of information. Spend most of the morning at the Wawel in the Cathedral & Castle. The ^{pieces} tapestries, reserved from Russia (17th century) and one French (16th C) now in the hidden Austrian barracks to be described later; are a wonderful sight.

Then Old University & Jagiellońska Library.

Lunch with Kostanecki, an academic party, ^{Tempowski, Prof of History of Art,} ^{Kossak, Prof of Medicine,} who reads all show & wells & lunch club

English, Gurski, a psychologist who is expert also on philosophy & Upper Silesia, Heydel, an economist

to Dobrzycki. A party worth would ^{is} credit but Cambridge or Oxford.

After a bloody good lunch, including Hungarian wine, a dessert wine of uncertain origin, Danzig gold water & coffee, - all really good, we go on with Dobrzycki to a series of churches, ^{beginning with} St Mary's with altar piece of a slit of by candles & procession. Procession everywhere of the feast of the Virgin & rather harsh ^{but very devout} ^{Polish} singing. (Heydel says that the Polish ancient musical, like the Russian & the Czech, but are born with a pencil in one hand & a sculpturing tool in the other. If Wieliczka chapels in the salt.) Drive through the ghetto & visit a Synagogue. Dirty, unclean for & stinking. Kostanecki explains

Went one reason why far aren't assimilated is that they talk jargon not Polish, I want their schools to be conducted usually in jargon, but not refused.

Wore a broad brimmed black hat - Borsalino but with a Gavar stamp. I had tired, but virtuous & happy. Sept 9th.

Start again with Dobrzycki at 9.30. More churches, Czartoryski Museum, Kosciuszko's Museum & New University. Photographed in Aida.

Lunch again with K. Kamanicki, who then took me to Wieliczka.

Stalk salt mine employing 300 men & dating back to 11th century. Wonderful chapels carved in salt by workers in their spare time.

Remarkably good workmanship with ^{by 2 anti-in} ^{inspiration} ⁷⁸
They assemble in those every day before starting work.

With Smith & Cook came underground chapels in coal when mines are nationalized?

During the war the Russian came within 8 miles of Cracow. A monument on a low hill shows the furthest point they reached. Sept 10th.

From Cracow to Lwow, which is crowded by visitors to the Eastern Fair. We sleep in a smelly room in the Imperial Hotel. (The best, the garage being full.) With the windows open, it smells of cooking; with them shut, it is intolerably stuffy. Cobwebs in the yard below and someone

Plays a piano till 5 am! I
 have an unusually broken &
 stuffy night!

Dine at the George with Colonel
 Whitehead the British Honorary
 Vice-Consul, chiefly interested in
 fishing, a protegee of Lord Derby.
 Married to a Pole, but why should
 such a perfect British philistine
 settle in Lwow?

Self II^E.

Fall in with Prof Ludwig Ehrlich, Prof of
 Natural Law in the Univ. who spent
 three years at Oxford & worked with
 Vinogradoff. Married to a common
 little American wife & living in a
 recently ill-planned house 83a i
 2g Listopada on the edge of the town.
 He is fat & rather repulsive, with

a rasping voice & an infinitely slow
 & persistent manner, - a caricature
 of a German, though a most patriotic
 Pole. A Jew? We are ^{very} glad to
 be rescued from the Imperial, but
 he is a terrible burden, though he
 & his wife intend to be immensely
 hospitable & kind.

But he seems good at his shop
 & has an excellent set of dark
 library.

Self-conscious & fawky about the
 Ruthenes. "Speaking as a Pole",
 he points out that, if I call on
 the Ruthene Archbp, I should
 also call on the Polish &
 Armenian Archbps, or there will
 be comments & misunderstandings.
 Fortunately, Szefticki, the Ruthene, is

away, so I give all Archbys a miss!
 R & I visit a Ruthene museum in
 the afternoon - simple, peasant
 products & gay Hercul stuffs
 with busts of their great men,
 including Szefticki (his broken
 crowned Polish troops defending
 Lwów agt the Ukrainians!)
 Stulick remains outside in the
 street while we go round the
 museum. He did not know it
 existed and he did not wish to
 influence our views in any way!
 Good view from the top of the Zamok.
 Visit the Armenian Cathedral,
 in course of restoration with gay
 coloring. An engaging young
 priest explains it to us. The
 Armenians of Lwów are said to be good Polos.

Sept 12th.

What a day!

Tramp round the Eastern Fair for 3 hours
 with Stulick, the Rector of the University,
 Cieszyński, Prof of Medicine (Dentist) &
 others. Stuff, sugar, coal, oil,
^{wood,} etc. etc & a fine panorama of
 Racławice, ^{Painted by} Kossak in 1892.
 Then 3 hours ^{spend} tramp through labs
 & clinics (they knew I was
 neither a doctor nor a chemist!)
 with swarms of professors waiting
 to receive us. Very good
 buildings & equipment, but awfully
 dull & tiring.
 In the afternoon a tea party
 at the Stulicks. Macharewicz,
 a Right wing senator, stiff,
 reactionary & rather suspicious of

England. Grabski, Sec. Minister of Education, charming & eccentric, author of bilingual Polish-Ruthenian school books (but many yet in existence). Wants to weld Poles & Ruthenians together. Educational progress, perhaps, a little too fast & expensive, he thinks. He had a plan, not carried out, to divert the youth into industry & commerce, & away from law & administration, by a reform of curricula in Gymnasiums. He had two, a son & a daughter. Both fought at the age of 16 in the defence of Lwów against the Ukrainians, to whom Austria handed over after the 21st. The boy was killed, the girl decorated for valor. It was largely Polish boys & girls

(There is a special part of the cemetery in Lwów where the boys & girls soldiers lie.)

who defeated the U's. | Boy & girl 84
 outposts were in the Ethelich's house. Weirdest, with a beard like an Assyrian god, an authority on P.P. & a previous tax-collector was made their pay. Now displaced for political reasons. In the evening a delightful party at Prof. Cieszyński's. At 9 pm. a meal of savory sandwiches, sweet cakes, fruit, white wine, cherry brandy & tea. An interesting company, including Twardowski, the greatest philosopher in Poland, who studied classics under Brechtans & knows Moore, Russell & Wittgenstein in print. Principia Ethica has been translated into Polish. Panes, Prof. of Chemistry, knows Cambridge & Beirut. After the meal I am

(Kutler's account sent to
 Kormanik & ref. fully correct
 made the central a ~~Scout~~ ^{by Poland} propagandist.
 The Rector, who fought with his son
 & daughter in the defence of Lwów & was
 decorated, explains that the Kutlers
 have no culture & no sense of
 of becoming a Professor & no fixed
 literary language. The offensive
 fellow, half a German by birth &
 very German in manner, a Polish
 National Democrat, named Czechowski,
 harangues interminably. He has never
 met a member of the British Labour
 Party before. We showed understand
 that a Pole regards Jews & ^{Slavs} minorities
 as an Englishman regards coloured
 people. He is sure that I shall
 go back to England & write something
 violently against Poland. Poland
 regards France as an honest Ally,

but England as a dishonest Ally.
 England will only be friendly to
 Poland when she feels herself
 weak & needs Poland's help
 against Germany. And England
 will emerge weakened from the
 coal stoppage. Her industrial
 structure is increasingly a source
 of weakness. England was willing
 to sell Poland in order to buy
 off a Russian propaganda in
 India.

I am very restrained in face of all
 this. Some would have struck him
 or left the room. I say that com-
 mit^{tee} policy (Labour Party) is the
 Geneva method. C says that
 the great value of the G.P. was
 that it drew from Germany a

Declaration of intended revanche
against Poland. Others join in a
certain way did J.K.M. speaking at
Geneva on the 12th or 13th say 'of
course the L of N has sometimes made
mistakes, e.g. in Silesia'?

Plan wounded Polish opinion &
made them suspicious of the authors
of the J.P. ^{See} Sichulski, points to Carpathian
scenery, mountains in Carpathian
Silesia. Shows the line between
Sept 13th.

Call on the Voivode & on Czar
Wojnacowski, Ruthene. A dear old
Paris kind type, but quite
impossibilist & vague ^{& shattered} the Russian
being poisoned. It was ^{hopeless}
try to negotiate with the Poles. The
bilingual schools were good in
theory, but unjust in practice.
He wanted Ruthene autonomy

with in Poland, England guaranteeing
west & W' carry out her promises.
England could do this. He had
a plan in 1923 which he took to
Warsaw. The F.O. agreed, but all
other Ministers opposed. Autonomy
Ruthenia would include Lwin
(where 10-15% of population
only is Ruthene). It would be
an asylum for refugees from
Russia. Later the Ukraine
might be detached from Russia,
including Kieff & Odessa. He
was inclined to give up the idea of
a Ruthene University & ask for
Erwerbsschule, where Ruthene
^{more intelligible} might learn trades, etc. to his
the best case the Ruthenes can help?
In the afternoon see Loewenherz,

migration into Russia. Only
 about 300 mixed ^{Russian} schools. Rest
 Ruthene in the villages. Most in P
 villages. Neither the language nor
 the school (in Russian) of the past,
 though occasionally aspirated about.
 The U. University is still under considⁿ.

In the evening we go to Muziuszko's
Halka. Singing rather harsh & per-
 nation slight, but good orchestra
 & good peasant dancing & dancing.
 Sept 14th.

From Lwów to Warsaw. Put up
 again at Hotel Polonia.
 Sept 15th.

Interview Stanisław, the young member
 of Agrarian Reforming Movement Professor
 of Rural Economy & Agrarian Policy
 at Wilno University. The redistribution

of land takes two forms, (1) the redistribution
 of land already in peasant ownership,
 so as to give each a compact holding
 in place of separate strips, (2) the
 diminution of large estates to form new
 peasant holdings. Landowners are
 encouraged to sell voluntarily, but if
 they don't compulsion is applied.
 They are working on a ten year program.
 Experimental ^{& model} farms are set up to
 instruct peasants. Cooperation is being
 encouraged. Peasants' payments are
 spread over 40 to 50 years. They
 pay very punctually. The land is
 the peasant's private property. The
 preservation of ^{peasants'} ~~the~~ ^{land} ~~the~~ ^{land}
 is inviolable. Surplus ^{land} must
 be absorbed in industry or settled on
 reclaimed land. Agrarian reforming is being

93

made at once on a small scale with
the drainage of the Pusk marshes, starting
with land on each side of the roads.
A good system of peasant holdings is the
basis of contentment.

Lunch at the Legation with Lady M. M.,
(Sir William is at Lódź.) R buys
a gay scarf.

(Generalⁿ. We ^{have} ~~met~~ a surprising
number of Univ. Profess. Scientific etc.
now are wonderfully travelled &
cultured. It is not only the flora &
the aristocracy who have these gifts.)
Fall in export of food following agrarian
reform in Russia & Roumania due
less to decreased prodⁿ than to increased
consumptⁿ by peasants who have had
to pay rent. This has so in P. when
large cropⁿ is paid, though peasants, &

94

Large landowner. (Dine at Oaza, carefully food
food & watch dancing.)

Sept 16th

10. am. buy a train of sheep.

11 am. see Rataj, Marshal of Szejer. Young
& simpatico. Pilsudski, he says, was before
him with a flag, now a man doing concrete
work. Hence disenchantment. P. directs
policy but has no mentality for economic
problems. R buys a hat.

12. With R to see Sujkowski, Minister
of Agricⁿ. Amiable but not brilliant.
How worships Pilsudski. 20% for
Alpha schools. One doesn't look like
persecution.

1.30 Lunch with Suway. Tante, (Mrs
Frumm) Lipshi (K.O., German sectⁿ)
Radwals (1st sec, but begⁿ). Tante
doesn't agree with my train of financing
public works out of revenue. They
aim at stabilizing 20% at present value.

95
New military expenditure in capital expenditure in providing uniform equipment of army.

Lipski says there are 1,300,000 Poles in Germany, unpermitted by Treaty. Mostly in S.E. Russia & S. Silesia & 60,000 in Berlin.

They are all accommodated with Germany. Satisfying says Sankirba, has samples along a post line at cost. 4-30. Tea with 13 Kenary. A jaundiced

fellow who wrote a good book on Danzig, ^{also said history in Cambridge Russian history.} News of Polish election to

recliff the seat on Council of League just arrived. Much delight.

Danzig must not be Polishized, he says.

But frontier with Germany can't be altered

Every practical grievance of German must

be met, esp. in corridor. Corridor is

pure Polish. It never returned a

German deputy to Reichstag from 1866 on.

Prussian propose an exchange of posts, but

not in border & imp. Inst. of continuity

of land railway abroad. Esp. U.S. & Alaska

& Panama. More traffic by land & low

by sea than before the war bet E-Russia & rest of Germany. Need for commercial

agreement with Germany. Existing tariff war shows imp. mobility & free zone

at Danzig. Genuine Danzig for want

peace & impartiality with Poland. Prussia took in corridor at the first part.

Danzig & Poznan at 2nd Warsaw at

3rd. Before partition E. Russia was

separated, as now. ^{Let's have carried out drainage agreement upon industrial complex}

7-15 die with Balustrade at Baccarat,

March to Polish Ballet, Plan

Twardowski by Ludovico Piozycki,

a young composer. Best performance

of ^{of ballet} South Russian pre-war. Italina

Szmalcówna & Krewa Szymanska

two chief dances. were scenery.

Corps de ballet & music fits together

magnificently. Peasant costumes & dances.

We go behind the stage from 13's box, stand with Dutch Minerva & Stuart.

Sept 17th.

11 am. long & depressing interview with Smal.

Stochi, Ruthene. A "moderate". Put Ruthens

in Poland at 6 million. Poles say 4 1/2, R

nationalists, 7. In Soviet ^{Ukraine} ~~Russia~~ 30 million.Russians have moved capital from Kieff
to Kharkow. self govt on paper, but not in
reality. Even life dictated from Moscow.R press in Poland subsidized from
Berlin & Kharkow (= Moscow) inBerlin live Petruskevitch, Pres of
R govt, Komowalec, head of Kewristorgn & the Hetman Skoropacki, a
whom Hindenburg party ceremonialcalls. Also in Berlin a Ukrainian
Academy financed by Germans, someLatin Ukrainian & German students.
Also Ukraine Univ in Prague; halfstudents will come back to E. Galicia,
not with empathy. Czechs think* Soviet sup. Univ is part of their Slavonic
studies. Also that Germans are after Poland in E. Galicia.want a Ukrainian Peasants' Republic
will later emerge from chaos, & they
want to control its leaders.Write about schools. Before war
3500 R schools, now only 1500,
not bilingual (= Polish, for R only
lead to teach drawing & singing.)Write about Viniv. He wants it
at Winniki, just outside Lwów. He
says pop of Lwów is 60% Jew,
25% Pole, 15% R.(P local authorities fully plebiscite
about schools).R Defunct, nationalist, would have
any dealings with Warsaw govt.Write about agr reform. Land of
60% Polish state given, not toRuthenes, but to Polish servants
of landowners.Write about self-govt. Much
included. Nothing done. P sd be

federal, not unitary.

Under Austria Law is unitary,
(11 Ukr. Chaucis) Now none.

Moderate wd take Stanislaw for
Unit, but Extreme want to
decentralize Law.

[Sawey says that P officials in Warsaw
wd be reasonable, if R's approached them.

But they don't. Like other Galicia, they
think of Warsaw as a town in Russia. Their
complaints agt local P officials are often
justified, & there is venecism on both
sides. But R's, officially, boycotted the last
elect^{ns}. They also refused to cooperate

in working ^{R.S. system} local dict of law of 1924 &
∴ this law has not been operated. If

my advice to Radic was "go to Belgrade &
meet the other leaders wd be "go to Warsaw"
7 Jan. Interview with Towarzyski

Dr Pale, editor of N. Ostroch, a bearded
Jew in a frock coat, ~~but~~ cleaner
than the ghetto Jew but distinct
more Poles.

The P.S.P. is in oppⁿ to Govt & opposed
recent changes in the Constⁿ, though
they supported Pilsudski's Coup, which was
agst the Right. P.S.P. wanted an

immediate dissolⁿ of the Constⁿ. The
Govt introduced no new reforms, & P
concern himself almost wholly with
the Army. He has not been a
Socialist since the beginning of Warsaw.
But he belongs to no other political
party.

Social legislation.

(1) 46 hour week. ~~From~~ well
administered in main industries.

(2) Holidays with pay for all ind^{'s}

workers. 2 weeks a year, ^{or 1 week if} ~~if more than~~
 shorter period of employment. Applies to
 all concerns with 75 employees.
 Commercial workers, ^{esp. bank clerks.} generally get 1
 month with pay, but this is custom not
 law.

(3) Sickness insurance ^{for all ind. workers.} workers & employer
 contribute, but not state. Workers have
 $\frac{2}{3}$ of managing execs. Territorial
 & not occupational basis.

(4) Accident insurance, as in Austria.

(5) Unemployment. Workers, employer
 & state all contribute.

(6) Regl of women's & children's labor.
 - Partially.

So far these laws maintained intact
 after violent oppⁿ.

No workers' control in state enterprises,
 but some worker councils in U. Silesia.

taken over from Germany.

State monop in tobacco, spirits, salt.

Matches leased to a syndicate to last year.

V.S.P. supports P.R. This is in unconstⁿ.

& can only be changed by $\frac{2}{3}$ majority.

V.S.P. supports cultural claims of
 minorities & their territorial autonomy.

Communist, few. An illegal party.

Plan candidates under pseudonym but
 true.

Affiliated to 2nd intⁿ, no support / 3rd.

Polish has 20,000 circⁿ. Local

press in Cracow, Lwów & Katowice
 & weekly in Łódź.

Close relⁿ with T.V.'s many of
 whose leaders are defectors.

T.V. paying membership 250,000
 in P. political movement created with

good relⁿ with Danzig Socialists &
 periodical confer. support present regime
 but often annexⁿ - "patriotic".

Offered to any change of frontier, favorable or unfavorable. (e.g. with Czechs) ∴ it w'd cause war.

Support Geneva Protocol & proportional disarmament. Offered to abolⁿ of conscription but favor redⁿ of service from 2 years to 1 & creation of national militia.

Sept 18th - [Savoy says British Treasury is covering American loan to Poland ∴ wants ^{to help} ^{control}]

Meet Daszyński, handsome & distinguished socialist leader & Poland's greatest orator.

Red^m with Russia will grow gradually, especially economically. Stalin is

very opportunist.

Pact of non-aggression. Russia wants treaty separately with P., Roumania, Finland & Baltic States. P. & Roum. want treaty joint.

Prop^d discount would be one condⁿ. Red Army (600,000) = Polish (300,000) + Roumanian + Finnish + Baltic States. ∴

basis easy.

Polish want to revise frontier, but this is impossible. Transit etc can be arranged, there are no preferences now. German proposed, unofficially, a corridor along the railway within the corridor. This is impossible. They want to go south

at Danzig with Stahlhelm and Wehrwolf eyes. Schell is very smooth & sympathetic & rather very intimate & good.

They favor territorial autonomy for Ruthenians & White Russians, & fullest cultural freedom for Jews & Germans. Jews much reconciled in last few years. Polish Arm^y has committed many crimes in E-Jalicia. 3000 K Schools reduced by creation of Gilempats.

Good lunch at Europe with Szulcowski. Michal
 Bojanski of Press Dept V.O. knows Ukraine
 Country & towns & camps in it.
 * Conspiratorial ^{drinking much mead,} meeting at Smal Stocki's
 flat with him, Lewitki, "President of the Ukraine",
 & his "adjutant", refers to as "the Colonel",
 (young). They seem more interested in a
 rising apt in Galicia in the Ukraine ^{than}
 in the ^{they are so apt to come out, not write.} conduct of the Ruthenes in Poland.
 L thinks he can arrange them under the
 "rule" with Pilsudski, who is Pro-Ukraine.
 W's British Govt send fleet to Odessa & give
 support to a Ukrainian rising?
 Tea at Sarsen's flat. Heard that the youth
 of the Universities are less interested in
 social problems than in philosophy & engineering.
 Kostanecki, Jim, to dinner at the Bacchus.
 Pilsudski is surrounded by officers of the
 Legions, many quite young. Unpressed with

hundreds in Europe, & then also in England.
 Pilsudski picked Bartel & Zaleski; Bartel
 picked the rest of the Ministry. One about
 now - Ven, he looks like Raczyński (Agriculture)
 and Kwiatkowski (Commerce & Industry.)
 Agrarian reform of parts so far only on state
 & church land. Big private estates not
 yet reached, but included in 10 year
 programme.

Sept 15th.

Round table with Sarsen & Kostanecki.
 Lunch at Balinski's. Among them
 Jozef Potocki, who was at Ballard in
 1913-14 & at the London Legⁿ under
 Sapichay, a young man from the
 Danube Legⁿ & Balinski junior (Inter-University
 Students' President.)

Tea with Zaniewski.

Evening with wife.
 Govt building behind next door to Sarsen (2nd
 defunct - ^{partly also Govt officials. Unit Dept}
 (Wreck of flat) & entrance through Pilski's

Sept 20th.

11 am. Visit University with Prof Handelsmann.
Lunch with R-M's, 1st Sec^y of Leg^y. Good
Hunzevinska wine.

3.30 To Seps. meet Socialists in their club.
Theatre of reality!

6. Visit Gustav Simon & talk about
Coops & Workers Educⁿ. I found Gustav
illiterate & very peasant, ^{was employed in Warsaw,} coming in for
a ^{17th} cent for an evening class.

8.15. Dine at Legation. M-Muller & his
wife, Underman a British business man &
a Polish Count from the F.O.

M-M is a dull dog with superficial
good manners & little taste of his set.
Very anti-german. Doesn't rise at all
to mention of the Hunzevinska.

but the life of these diplomats is all
shadow & no substance. After recent

Italian men campaign against France
(also attempt on Mussolini) French
Diplomat's wife says of Lady M-M. in
great excitement asking if she thought
there would be war betⁿ France & Italy.
Lady M-M told her last "Billy brought
out" Grabski, said Lady M-M to R
alone, is "a terrible Bolshevik". He
had openly stated that he intended
to be rich so as to make her
prouder. So me, at lunch time
table, she says that she told Stanislaw
that she believed he would make a good
minister of the Reform, - she didn't
believe he would really break up the
legation!
before the events of May Lady M-M
~~was~~ had been collecting money
for the Red X Navy by a bridge
Pavement. When they occurred

Money taken on 7/8/26 from London. / 2 5d

125 Danzig gulden =	5.1.0
English money	8.5.4.
	<u>13.6.4.</u>

Drawn on letter of credit

13/8	Danzig	20.0.0
18/8	Warsaw.	10.0.0
30/8	Cracow.	20.0.0
10/9	Cracow	20.0.0
17/9	Warsaw	30.0.0
23/9	Warsaw	<u>10.0.0</u>

110.0.0

123.6.4.

Handwritten: *Krowczyński* ^{English} *Club* 191-75 = 3.6.0.
4.5.4.
1.0.0.
8.11.4.

∴ sum cost of holiday = 114.15.0
10.3.0.

∴ net .. 104.12.0.

Passage etc 23.12.0

129.4 0

Polish Postal Note

Wilna Poland	letter 20 g
	postcard 10 g
to England	letter 40 g
	postcard 25 g.

Expenditure to be separately entered & deducted from total spent abroad.

R.D. Clothing 4 13 0

H.D. Clothing 1 10 0

Lonia stuff. / V.F. 4 0 0

(per yr 3/2) 10.3.0.

Madameville Brunislawa Newfeldowa.

Hutkowsja 4 m 14. (Translated English book.)
 Warsaw.

Andrzej Kotwani.

Kleja Koz. 3. Warsaw. (Signed immortality.)

Zygmunt Piotrowski (W.S.A.) → Wanecka. Warsaw.

Thadée St Grabowski.

Head of Mason Sect. No. (misc)

Zimawia 22-19. Warsaw.

Prof Władysław Burkata.

Krucza 8 - 19. Warsaw.

Musician. Dent. Fish soup, etc.

113 Prof Jan St Lewiński. Koszykowa 22
Warsaw.

J. Bakuski. Ministerstwo Spraw
Zagranicznych (=F.O.) ul. Wierzbowa
Warsaw.
per Lubomirski.

Countess Sophie Łoś.
Ziemiarkowskiego 8. Lwów.

Baron Adam Heydel.
Wolska 30. Kraków.

Economist, etc. Sew I of I.
Weiffelt. 40 Ehrlich. Lwów. Sew P.K.

Wilno Univ. 40 Keturja. Sew same as last.

Prof. Ludwik Ehrlich. 29 Listopada 95^A.
Lwów.

Prof Antoni Cieszyński.
Ul Batoro 38 Lwów.

Dout. H. nice wife.

Dr Henryk Löwenherz.
Kopernika 21.
Lwów.

(Minister)
Jakob K. Parnas. Zamknieta 3
Prof of Chemistry. Warsaw. Lwów.
Wd osacze Pilske. Compatriot.

Prince H. Lubomirski. Sw. Jana 15.
Wielichowo. Poznan. Kraków

Count Xavier Pustowski. 10 Andreja Potockiego
(per Lubomirski) Cracow.

J. Szapiro. "Robotnik".
7 Warecka. Warsaw.

Prof. A. de Halban. Rue Mochnacki 38.
Lwów.

Dr W.J. Rose of Y.M.C.A. (Merle Scott) Y.M.C.A.
Super. }
Aleja Ujazdowska 22. Warsaw
(Student-Christian Movement - Dr Lowenfeld)

Wiestaw Wagner. Targowa 58
(per Dr Lowenfeld) Lodz
Prof K. Kostanecki. Sten Kiewicza 24 }
Kraków. IX

Mme H. Iwanowska-Skinder. Lebiodka.
Pocz Wasiliszki. Lida.

Count A. Sobanski. 11 Ujazdowska.
Warsaw.

Ignacy Daszyński. (S. Compatriot.)
sejm. Warsaw. mokotowska 17. Warsaw.
Michel Bujanski. (F.O.)

Frank Savery. Jerozolimska ~~106~~ 93.
115 Warsaw.

Hals. } Henriette. Mazowiecka.
 } Hense.

Prof Antoni Kostanecki. 19 K.P.

M. Adam Krzyżanowski. Hotel Europe.

Joseph Baliński. 11 Wiejska. } F.O.

B.B. Wyszynski.

Lein Klimecki.

M. Brochocki.

Maty Morejhow. } unchq Baliński.

Zakopane. Hotel Pension ~~S...~~
" " Radowid (new).

Princess ~~E...~~ E. Sapieha. Spusza. Skidel.
Woj Białostockie.

La Comtesse Marie Potulicka. Ostynia.

p. Olessów. woj. Stanisławów.

Princess Sapieha's sister. Ford car.

Dr Jerzy Dobrzycki.

ul Zwierzyniecka 22. Kraków,
Young lecturer on Art showed in Warsaw.

Dr Bechler. Danziger Verkehrszeitung
Stadrgaben 5. Danzig.
(per Bernstorff)

Julius Gehl. Stellvertretender Präsident
des Senats der Freien Stadt Danzig.
Archenholzweg 12. Danzig-Laufkuh

Dr J.A. van Hamel.

Hohes Kommissariat. Danzig.

Hielscher, Jugoslavien } 20
" Das Unbekannte } marks
Spanien
publ. Wasmuth. Berlin

Countess L. Zółkowska. Czacz } send
p. Smigiel. Wielkopolska. } gardening
her at Wielichowo. } books.

Already takes the Garden & Gardening Illustrated

From Lwów, motor to Podhorce, lovely

Bedroom curtain 3 m. x 2 m -
Country house.

passage 4 m. x 2 m -

A. & N.C.S. Ltd.,
STATIONERY DEPT.,
105, VICTORIA ST., S.W. 1

Polish Diary. (contd)

117

Summer 1926.

Sept 21st (cont'd)

118

Talk with Lewinski (a good example
of good British propaganda to education
entertain policy in England.)

New building Academy (contains
very good. Funded on "Common
education" - generally by a

Special vote on "Business men
driving to practice on such-

working burden of rate of
interest in Poland, mortgages
over 20% per annum.

Many show ~~down~~ ^{down} ~~down~~
Foreign loan mental &
Spain control by League &
Mendoza. (amplified)

of necessity.

Look at Spain, (controlled)

from France, Belgium, Italy,

119

(uncontrolled).

British coal shortage has enabled Poland
& Poland to increase its reserves ^{by grain from} ~~last~~

which will be able to be held ^{even}
at the end of ^{making the selling, or} ~~the~~ ^{new building on}

One romantic eye has been in Poland,
the eye of realism has begun.

(Savings in Austria in one
month = savings in Poland in two
years!)

Sept 22nd.

Ration a cold greeted with
renewals.

Delightful dinner & ~~returning~~
with ^{the} Szeniwick & Mrs Szeniwick.

Who has made great friends
at short notice with R. A little

Dark night, rather black, who
writes historical book in
Polish & German. In Member
of a Roman Law.

She collects furniture & things
stuffs. & talk of taking a
villa at Positano & leading
it to us!

They have Chopin's piano on
which they play.

Sept 23rd.

Paying off calls & bidding farewell.
At 1/2 of a visiting card!

Lunch at Legation. Sir R. Donnell,
very pro-German & anti-Polish.
is making a reputation for himself
in country.

Visit from Podolski in the afternoon.
Talk about military organization.
R. hears a good story about an

English gentleman who was walking ¹²¹
with a dog ~~in~~ in the Eastern borderland,
when she met her first wolf. Wolf
ate the dog!

Write a letter to

Comrade Zygmunt Piotrowski.
Polish Workers' University Society
7 Wawicka - Warsaw.

T.U.R. ~~founded~~

(Towarzystwo Uniwersytetu
Robotniczego)

founded in 1923, now has
6000 members & 700 branches.

seen off in the evening by the
Srenvics & Podolski.

Sept 24th. Arrive at Wielichowo
driving from the station with a
fan in hand.

Laboninski manage an
interesting contrast with
Sapichas at Spuzza.