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Notes

Introduction

- 1 Cf Hayden White on the purpose of narrative in the writing of history. Hayden White, 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1980), pp. 5–27.
- 2 Carole Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 331. Claudena Skran, *Refugees in Interwar Europe: The Emergence of a Regime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 198–99; 230–33. Michael Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 162.
- 3 See Haim Genizi, 'James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees: 1933–1935', *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, Vol. 30 (Summer 1977), pp. 40–52. Haim Genizi, *American Apathy: The Plight of Christian Refugees from Nazism* (Jerusalem: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983). Yehuda Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper: A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1929–1939* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1974), pp. 146–47. Monty Noam Penkower, 'Honorable Failures against Nazi Germany: McDonald's Letter of Resignation and the Petition in its Support', *Modern Judaism*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (2010), pp. 247–98. Note particularly the titles of McDonald's published diaries that emphasize Jewish rescue. See also the recent documentary film, *A Voice Among the Silent: The Legacy of James G. McDonald*, produced and directed by Shuli Eshel (USA, 2014) <<http://www.avoiceamongthesilent.com>>.
- 4 Richard Breitman, Barbara McDonald Stewart and Severin Hochberg (eds), *Advocate for the Doomed: The Diaries and Papers of James G. McDonald, 1932–1935* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), and *Refugees and Rescue: The Diaries and Papers of James G. McDonald, 1935–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).
- 5 Key archival and documentary sources drawn upon for this study include the League of Nations Archive (United Nations Library, Geneva), the James G. McDonald papers in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection of Columbia University, New York, and other less complete holdings of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, the Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine, Université de Paris 11 Nanterre, the Archives diplomatique of the French Foreign

- Ministry (Ministère des Affaires étrangères), Paris, and the papers of Viscount Robert Cecil of Chelwood in the British Library, London. Historians referred to in the book have also made extensive use of the private papers and archives of a number of McDonald's associates and their organizations.
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 - 9 Barbara McDonald Stewart, *United States Government Policy on Refugees from Nazism 1933–1940* (New York: Garland, 1982).
 - 10 Genizi, *American Apathy*, p. 36. Genizi, 'James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees: 1933–1935'. Genizi cites McDonald Stewart, *United States Government*. See also Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 97.
 - 11 McDonald Stewart, *United States Government*, p. ii.
 - 12 McDonald Stewart, *United States Government*, p. 111.
 - 13 William Dodd, US Ambassador to Germany, for example, expressed this in his own diary, echoing opinions he had heard from the Jews of Berlin. *Advocate*, p. 454, n. 7.

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- 8 *Advocate*, p. 40.
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- 5 Grahl-Madsen, 'The League of Nations and Refugees', pp. 362–63.
- 6 *Advocate*, pp. 85f. McDonald Papers (Geneva File, August 1933), McDonald to Mildred Wertheim, 22 August 1933. Martyn Housden, *The League of Nations and the Organization of Peace* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 72.
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- 8 Eugene P. Trani, 'Herbert Hoover and the Russian Revolution', in Lawrence E. Gelfand (ed.) *Herbert Hoover. The Great War and Its Aftermath, 1919–1923* (Iowa: Iowa University Press, 1979), pp. 111–42. David Burner, *Herbert Hoover: A Public Life* (New York: Knopf, 1979).

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- 13 McDonald Stewart, *United States Government Policy*, pp. 104–5.
- 14 McDonald Papers, Columbia University Library (Geneva File, October–November 1933), Note by the Secretary General, 18 October 1933. *Advocate*, p. 126.
- 15 *Advocate*, p. 126. Fosdick, as it transpired, personally recommended McDonald to League Secretary General Avenol. McDonald Papers (Geneva File, October–November 1933), Note by the Secretary General, 18 October 1933.
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- 20 *Advocate*, p. 128, n. 10. McDonald Stewart, *United States Government Policy*, p. 110.
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- 22 McDonald Papers (Warburg, Felix, 1933–1934), Note on the Functions of the High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany, 18 October 1933,
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- 28 *Advocate*, p. 142.
- 29 *Advocate*, p. 142.
- 30 Bentwich was a professor of international law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, chair of the British Joint Foreign Committee's political and legal subcommittee dealing with German Jewry, and a former Attorney General of Mandatory Palestine. Norman Bentwich, *My 77 Years: An Account of My Life and Times, 1883–1960* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962). Gabriel Sheffer (ed.)

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- 35 Bentwich, *The Refugees from Germany*, p. 75.
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- 41 *Advocate*, p. 161. Burgess, *Refuge*, pp. 173–74.
- 42 *Advocate*, p. 168.
- 43 *Advocate*, p. 168.
- 44 *Advocate*, p. 171.
- 45 *Advocate*, p. 176.
- 46 *Advocate*, p. 177. McDonald Papers (Confidential File, 1933), McDonald to Esther Ogden, 27 November 1933.
- 47 *Advocate*, p. 177.
- 48 *Advocate*, p. 177.
- 49 Bentwich, *The Refugees from Germany*, pp. 72–73. The representatives were: Belgium Prof. M. Bourquin; Czechoslovakia, Dr Max Lobkowicz; Denmark, Mr W. Borberg; France, Senator Henri Bérenger; Great Britain, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood; Italy, Senator G. C. Majoni; Netherlands, M. Doude van Troostwijk; Poland, Dr Withold Chodzko; Sweden, Mr I. K. Westman; Switzerland, M. Henri Rothmund; United States of America, Prof. Joseph P. Chamberlain; Uruguay, M. Alberto Guani.
- 50 McDonald Papers (Geneva Office, December 1933–Februray 1934), Rigoberto A. Meraí, commander-in-chief, Military Command, Argentina, to Lord Cecil, 9 December 1933.
- 51 *Advocate*, pp. 189–90. McDonald Papers (Confidential File, 1933), McDonald to Esther Ogden, 27 November 1933.
- 52 *Advocate*, p. 185.

Chapter 4

- 1 *Advocate*, p. 212. McDonald Papers (Confidential File, 1933), McDonald to Esther Ogden, 12 December 1933.
- 2 LNA (HCR) C.1612, Statement of James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, Made at the Opening Session of the Governing Body, at Lausanne, 5 December 1933.
- 3 LNA (HCR) C.1612, Statement of James G. McDonald, 5 December 1933.
- 4 Marrus, *The Unwanted*, pp. 137f. Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany*, p. 21.
- 5 Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany*. Bentwich, *The Refugees from Germany*, pp. 75–78.
- 6 Bentwich, *The Refugees from Germany*, p. 80.
- 7 Leo Baeck Institute. Henri Béranger, Conseil d'administration, Procès-verbal 5, 7 December 1933. AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 2. The sentence is with repetition in the original as it has a rhetorical symmetry that cannot be conveyed in English: 'La France veut bien être une voie de triage, mais elle ne saurait être une voie de garage'.
- 8 LNA (HCR) C.1612, Memorandum Submitted to the Governing Body, 'Passport for Refugees', 7 December 1933.
- 9 Leo Baeck Institute, Conseil d'administration, Procès-verbal 1, 5–8 December 1933; Procès-verbal 5, 7 December 1933; Procès-verbal 6, 8 December 1933, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 2.
- 10 *Advocate*, p. 236. Leo Baeck Institute, Chamberlain, Conseil d'administration, Procès-verbal 1, 5 December 1933; Procès-verbal 6, 8 December 1933, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 2.
- 11 Leo Baeck Institute, Lobkowitz, Béranger, Procès-verbal 1, 5 December 1933; Procès-verbal 6, 8 December 1933, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 2.
- 12 Leo Baeck Institute, Cecil, Procès-verbal 1, 5 December 1933; Procès-verbal 6, 8 December 1933, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 2.
- 13 *Advocate*, p. 205.
- 14 LNA (HCR) C.1612, Address by Dr C. Weizmann to the Governing Body of the High Commission for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming From Germany, 6 February 1933.
- 15 *Advocate*, pp. 200–4.
- 16 Richard Bolchover, *British Jewry and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 23–24. Stuart A. Cohen, *English Zionists and British Jews: The Communal Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1895–1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982). Henry L. Feingold, 'Introduction', in *The Politics of Rescue. The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust 1938–1945* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970), pp. 6–16.

- 17 *Advocate*, pp. 205–6. McDonald Papers (Confidential File, 1933), McDonald to Esther Ogden, 12 December 1933.
- 18 Bentwich, *The Refugees from Germany*, pp. 81–82. Bentwich goes on to explain that the second meeting of the Governing Body in London in May 1934 decided to add three more Jewish bodies to the Advisory Council: the Alliance Israélite Universelle, then ‘the premier Jewish international body concerned to defend Jewish interests in any part of the world’; the Agudas Israel, an international organization ‘representing orthodox sections of Jewry, largely Eastern Jewry’; and the Belgian Jewish community. Applications were received from a missionary organization for Hebrew Christians and from a Society for the Assistance of the Victims of Fascism, ‘whose activities were not limited to German Refugees’, but were not accepted.
- 19 Bentwich, *The Refugees from Germany*, p. 83
- 20 Bentwich, *The Refugees from Germany*, pp. 82–83.
- 21 Sheffer (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann* Letter 136, 21 November 1933, pp. 147–49.
- 22 Sheffer (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann* Letter 136, 21 November 1933, p. 149.
- 23 Sheffer (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann*. Letter 158, Lausanne, 7 December 1933, to Vera Weizmann, London, pp. 169–70.
- 24 McDonald Papers (Confidential File, 1933), McDonald to Esther Ogden, 12 December 1933.
- 25 *Advocate*, pp. 213–14.
- 26 *Advocate*, pp. 218–19; 220–21
- 27 McDonald Papers (Confidential File, 1933), McDonald to Esther Ogden, 12 December 1933.
- 28 Parkes would go on to have a distinguished career as an history of Christian – Jewish relations. The Parkes Institute at the University of Southampton, England, describes ‘a tireless fighter against antisemitism in all forms, including from within Christianity, [who] he helped rescue Jewish refugees during the 1930s and campaigned for the Jews of Europe during the Holocaust’ <<http://www.southampton.ac.uk/parkes/about/jamesparkes.page>> (Accessed March 2016). See also D. Stone, ‘The Domestication of Violence: Forging a Collective Memory of the Holocaust in Britain, 1945–6’, *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 33 (1999), pp. 13–29.
- 29 *Advocate*, pp. 134, n. 27, 198 and 214–15; McDonald to Esther Ogden, 12 December 1933.
- 30 McDonald Papers (Finance & Expenditure).Statement, 1 November 1933 to 30 November 1934; Proposed Estimates, 1935; Statement, 1 January to 30 June 1935.
- 31 *Advocate*, p. 224.
- 32 *Advocate*, pp. 222–23.

Chapter 5

- 1 *Advocate*, p. 231. Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper*, p. 146.
- 2 Burgess, *Refuge*, pp. 175–79.
- 3 'Conference plans ten million Relief Fund', *NYT*, 3 November 1933, p. 8. Conference representatives were the Joint Foreign Committee and the Board of Deputies of British Jews; The American Jewish Committee; The American Jewish Congress; The Alliance Israélite Universelle; the Committee of Jewish Delegations; the Jewish Agency for Palestine; the Jewish Colonization Association; The Women's International Zionist Organization; The Macabee Organization; the Agudath Israel; the Vaad Leumi (Jewish National Council of Palestine); the Jewish Communities of England, Bulgarian, Vienna, Amsterdam, Switzerland, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Belgium, South Africa, Hungary, Greece, Poland, Italy, Prague, Kovno in Lithuania, Riga in Latvia and B'nai B'rith; the Alliance Israelite of Austria and various organizations for the relief of German Jews.
- 4 '\$1,226,346 is Raised for German Jews', *NYT*, 5 November 1933, p. 5.
- 5 'Scheme of Corporation for the Settlement of Refugees from Germany', McDonald Papers (Confidential Files, January–June 1934).
- 6 'Scheme of Corporation for the Settlement of Refugees from Germany', McDonald Papers (Confidential Files, January–June 1934).
- 7 *LNOJ* Minute 1076, November 1923, p. 1327. By accepting the principle of this proposal, the League also undertook to raise the required funds, which were estimated to be \$4.7 million.
- 8 LND A.33.1928.XIII, 22 August 1928, p. 5.
- 9 *LNOJSS*, No.49, 1926, Item 28, Fifth Committee, 22 September 1926, pp. 36–37. *LNOJSS*, No.54, 1927 (Item 90, Plenary Meeting, 26 September 1927), p. 181.
- 10 *Advocate*, p. 242.
- 11 *Advocate*, pp. 244–58.
- 12 *Advocate*, p. 246.
- 13 *Advocate*, pp. 232–35.
- 14 'J.G. M'Donald puts Exiles at 60,000', *NYT*, 24 December 1933, p. 10.
- 15 *Advocate*, pp. 236–43.
- 16 'Aid for Refugees Asked of Non-Jews', *NYT*, 4 January 1934, p. 10.
- 17 McDonald Papers (Biographical Material).
- 18 *Advocate*, p. 246.
- 19 McDonald Papers (Speeches and Releases, 1933–1934), 'Text of Talk of Mr. James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, over WEA and stations associated with the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday afternoon, January 14, 1934'. *Advocate*, p. 256, n. 24.

- 20 United Jewish Appeal of the Joint Distribution Committee and American Palestine Campaign, *This problem must be met! an illustrated handbook on the needs of Jews in Germany and other lands* (New York, 1934) Leo Baeck Institute Library.
- 21 *Advocate*, pp. 308–9.
- 22 *Advocate*, p. 336.
- 23 ‘\$3,000,000 Sought for German Jews’, *NYT*, 12 March 1933, p. 7.
- 24 *Advocate*, p. 329.
- 25 ‘\$3,000,000 Drive on to Help Refugees’, *NYT*, 23 March 1933, p. 18.
- 26 McDonald Stewart, *United States Government Policy*, pp. 130–31.
- 27 *Advocate*, p. 342.
- 28 McDonald Stewart, *United States Government*, p. 131.
- 29 McDonald Papers (Geneva Office, December 1933–February 1934), note for High Commissioner, 4 January 1934.
- 30 *Advocate*, pp. 267–69.
- 31 *Advocate*, pp. 269–70 and pp. 274–76.
- 32 *Advocate*, p. 267.
- 33 *Advocate*, pp. 274–75. Leo Baeck Institute, Comité consultative/Advisory Council, 29 January 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 3.
- 34 *Advocate*, p. 276. Leo Baeck Institute, Comité consultative/Advisory Council, 29 January 1934; Comité permanent, 30 January 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 3.
- 35 LNA (HCR) C.1612, Report of the Meeting of the Permanent Committee of the Governing Body, London, 30 January 1934.
- 36 Leo Baeck Institute, Comité permanent, 30 January 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 3.
- 37 Leo Baeck Institute, Comité permanent, 30 January 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 3.
- 38 Leo Baeck Institute, Comité permanent, 30 January 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 3.
- 39 Leo Baeck Institute, Comité permanent, 30 January 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 3.
- 40 LNA (HCR) C.1612, Report of the Meeting of the Permanent Committee of the Governing Body, London, 30 January 1934.
- 41 *Advocate*, p. 286.

Chapter 6

- 1 *Advocate*, pp. 229–30.
- 2 *Advocate*, p. 205, n. 10.
- 3 *Advocate*, p. 260.
- 4 Leo Baeck Institute Comité Permanent, 30 January 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 3.
- 5 *Advocate*, p. 290.

- 6 Heim, 'International Refugee Policy and Jewish Immigration', in Caestecker and Bob Moore (eds), *Refugees from Nazi Germany*, pp. 24–25; McDonald Stewart, *United States Government Policy*, p. 128.
- 7 *Advocate*, pp. 290–91.
- 8 *Advocate*, pp. 290–91.
- 9 *Advocate*, p. 292.
- 10 *Advocate*, pp. 292–93.
- 11 'Aid for German Refugees', Letters to the Editor, *NYT*, 24 March 1934, p. 14.
- 12 *Advocate*, p. 332.
- 13 *Advocate*, p. 338.
- 14 *Advocate*, pp. 350–51.
- 15 *Advocate*, p. 353.
- 16 *Advocate*, p. 354. A short biographical file note on Chodzko lists him as a doctor by training and a career public servant, with posts in the Polish Ministry of the Interior, public health, hygiene and children's aid services. He had participated in the League of Nations Assemblies, conferences and committees since 1921. Noted in Bentwich's handwriting are the comments 'typical "intellectual" (interested in everything)', and 'open minded and influential in government spheres'. McDonald Papers (Confidential File, July–December 1934).
- 17 McDonald Papers (Warburg, Felix 1933–1934), McDonald to Felix Warburg, 13 April 1934.
- 18 McDonald and Bentwich arrived in Vienna on the morning of Saturday 14 April 1934, and left for Prague that evening; they visited Prague between 15 and 16 April 1934 and Warsaw between 17 and 19 April 1934. *Advocate*, pp. 356–65.
- 19 The *New York Times* reported that McDonald's visit to Warsaw was to investigate the condition of '30,000 Jewish refugees, of whom 95% are Polish citizens who had lived in Germany for between fifteen and twenty years'. 'McDonald In Poland On Refugee Problem', *NYT*, 19 April 1934, p. 19. On the conditions of Jews in Poland at this time, see especially Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 69–79.
- 20 'Czechoslovakia Ready to Aid Refugees', *The Jewish Exponent*, 20 April 1934, p. 7.
- 21 *Advocate*, p. 364.
- 22 *Advocate*, p. 365.
- 23 LNA (HCR), C.1612 (Germany).
- 24 *Advocate*, pp. 365–69.
- 25 Leo Baeck Institute, Statement of James G. McDonald, Second Session of the Governing Body, London, 2 May 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 6. (Also at LNA (HCR) C.1612).
- 26 Leo Baeck Institute, Rapport financière, Second Session of the Governing Body, 3 May 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 6.

- 27 High Commission for Refugees from Germany, Cecil Papers, 51129, notes the contribution was \$10,000. The Financial Statement for 1934 lists \$7,500 (22,943.75 Swiss francs). Total salaries were 139,662.98 Swiss francs, and 42,452.16 Swiss francs was provided for travel and 'subsistence allowance'. Still, the accusation that McDonald was using his post for his own gain could not but affect him. In 1935, he drew on only half of his salary of 60,000 Swiss francs, with the other half made as a contribution to the High Commission. His personal contribution therefore for 1935 was 45,000 Swiss francs. These details were never published. McDonald Papers (Finances and Expenditures).
- 28 Leo Baeck Institute, Statement of James G. McDonald, Second Session of the Governing Body, London, 2 May 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 6. (Also at LNA (HCR) C.1612).
- 29 *Advocate*. The report states 'England' and not 'Britain'.
- 30 Leo Baeck Institute, Report of the World of the Organizations other than those Dealing with the Intellectuals, April 1934. AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 6. (Also at LNA (HCR) C.1612).
- 31 Leo Baeck Institute, Oungre. Second session of the Governing Body, London, 2 May 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 6. (Also at LNA (HCR) C.1612).
- 32 Leo Baeck Institute, Statement of James G. McDonald, Second Session of the Governing Body, London, 2 May 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 6. (Also at LNA (HCR) C.1612).
- 33 *Advocate*, p. 388.
- 34 *Advocate*, pp. 388–89.
- 35 *Advocate*, pp. 388–89.
- 36 *Advocate*, p. 400.
- 37 *Advocate*, pp. 393–95.
- 38 *Advocate*, p. 394.

Chapter 7

- 1 *Advocate*, p. 402.
- 2 *Advocate*, p. 411.
- 3 *Advocate*, p. 399.
- 4 *Advocate*, pp. 404–5.
- 5 *Advocate*, p. 424.
- 6 *Advocate*, pp. 422–23.
- 7 *Advocate*, p. 418.
- 8 McDonald Papers (Joseph P. Chamberlain, July–December 1934), McDonald to Felix Warburg, August 1934. By the end of 1936, it had raised only \$550,000. Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper*, p. 145 and n. 16.

- 9 *Advocate*, pp. 428–29.
- 10 *Advocate*, pp. 428–29.
- 11 *Advocate*, p. 417.
- 12 *Advocate*, p. 421.
- 13 *Advocate*, p. 439.
- 14 *Advocate*, pp. 439–40.
- 15 *Advocate*, p. 459.
- 16 The purge was also an opportunity for Hitler to settle old scores against those who had slighted him before the Nazis came to power. McDonald found only one person, the South African High Commissioner to London, who believed that the purge strengthened Hitler's position and would stabilize German politics.
- 17 HICEM was founded in 1927 from an amalgamation of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), which assisted Jewish emigration into the United States, the Jewish Colonization Association, and the German Jewish emigration society Emigration-Direkt. Bentwich, *The Refugees from Germany*, p. 74; 'HICEM', Shoah Resource Centre, Yad Vashem <http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%206368.pdf> (Accessed November 2015).
- 18 LNA (HCR) C.1612, Report on Schemes of Settlement and Industrial Settlement Submitted to the Anglo-HICEM (Undated).
- 19 *Advocate*, p. 426.
- 20 Burgess, *Refuge*, pp. 174–79.
- 21 *Advocate*, p. 429.
- 22 *Advocate*, p. 422.
- 23 *Advocate*, p. 428.
- 24 Leo Baeck Institute, *Compte-rendu de la réunion de la Commission Spéciale d'émigration*, London, 19 July 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, File 8.
- 25 *Advocate*, p. 436.
- 26 LNA (HCR), C.1613. Statement of James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, made at the Third Session of the Governing Body, London, 1 November 1934.
- 27 McDonald Papers (Warburg, Felix 1933–1934), Felix Warburg to James G. McDonald, 28 August 1934.
- 28 *Advocate*, pp. 490–91.
- 29 *Advocate*, pp. 492–93
- 30 *Advocate*, p. 496.
- 31 *Advocate*, pp. 457–59.
- 32 *Advocate*, p. 468.
- 33 *Advocate*, pp. 462–63
- 34 *Advocate*, pp. 476–77.

- 35 *Advocate*, pp. 477–78.
- 36 *Advocate*, p. 480.
- 37 *Advocate*, pp. 482–83 and n. 24. Frederick Birchall, 'M'Donald Praised for Refugee Work', *NYT*, 23 September 1934, p. 12. Eleven countries supported the statement: Yugoslavia, Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, France, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands and Poland.
- 38 Cecil Papers, 51101 (Miscellaneous Correspondence, July 1932–1934), 19 October 1934, fos. 169–172.
- 39 Birchall, 'M'Donald Moved by Refugees' Lot'.
- 40 Robert Stone, 'Great Christian Friends of the Jews', *Jewish Advocate*, 7 September 1934, p. B1.
- 41 'M'Donald is Honored for Aid to Refugees', *NYT*, 23 November 1934, p. 6.
- 42 Leo Baeck Institute, Compte-rendu de la session du Comité Consultatif du Haut-Commissariat, London, 29–30 October 1934; procès-verbaux, Conseil d'administration, London, 1–2 November 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folders 11 and 12.
- 43 Caron, 'Loyalties in Conflict', pp. 306–7.
- 44 LNA (HCR), C. 1613, Statement of James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, made at the Third Session of the Governing Body, London, 1 November 1934.
- 45 *Advocate*, p. 531.
- 46 Leo Baeck Institute, Compte-rendu de la session du Comité Consultatif du Haut-Commissariat, London, 29–30 October 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 11.
- 47 Leo Baeck Institute, Compte-rendu de la session du Comité Consultatif du Haut-Commissariat, London, 29–30 October 1934, Box 2, Folder 11.
- 48 Leo Baeck Institute, Conseil d'Administration, London, 1 November 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 12.
- 49 Leo Baeck Institute, Conseil d'Administration, London, 1 November 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 12.
- 50 *Advocate*, pp. 537–39.
- 51 *Advocate*.
- 52 Leo Baeck Institute, Conseil d'Administration, 2 November 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 12.
- 53 *Advocate*, p. 538.
- 54 *Advocate*. Leo Baeck Institute, Conseil d'Administration, 2 November 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 12.
- 55 Leo Baeck Institute, Conseil d'Administration, 2 November 1934, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 12.
- 56 *Advocate*, p. 538.
- 57 *Advocate*, p. 540.
- 58 McDonald Papers, Geneva Office (November 1934–February 1935).

Chapter 8

- 1 *Advocate*, pp. 543–45.
- 2 McDonald Papers (Geneva Office, December 1933–February 1934), 4 January 1934.
- 3 *Advocate*, pp. 458, 463, 566.
- 4 *Advocate*, pp. 404–5.
- 5 LNA (HCR) C.1613, Statement of James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, made at the Third Session of the Governing Body, London, 1 November 1934.
- 6 *Advocate*, p. 550.
- 7 *Advocate*, p. 523.
- 8 *Advocate*, pp. 511–12.
- 9 *Advocate*, pp. 555–57.
- 10 *Advocate*, p. 557. McDonald Papers (Confidential File July–December 1934), Confidential Memorandum of Conversation with the Reichsbank, 13 November 1934; Memorandum of conference in the Auswaerige AMT, 13 November 1934. Also in the Cecil Papers, 51101 (Miscellaneous correspondence, July 1932–1934).
- 11 *Advocate*, pp. 565–69 and 610. Burgess, *Refuge*, pp. 182–85.
- 12 *Advocate*, pp. 575–76.
- 13 *Advocate*, pp. 578–79.
- 14 *Advocate*, pp. 578–79.
- 15 *Advocate*, p. 581.
- 16 *Advocate*, p. 595.
- 17 *Advocate*, p. 559.
- 18 *Advocate*, p. 564.
- 19 Cecil Papers, General Correspondence 51170 (January–July 1935), McDonald to Lord Cecil, 16 January 1935.
- 20 *Advocate*, pp. 599–600.
- 21 *Advocate*, pp. 602–4.
- 22 *Advocate*, p. 601.
- 23 *Advocate*, p. 609, n. 17.
- 24 *Advocate*, p. 621.
- 25 McDonald Papers (Kotschnig, Walter M., 1935–April 1936), Report on Visit of WMK (Walter Kotschnig) to Forbach, 15 January 1935.
- 26 Caron, *Uneasy Asylum*, pp. 52–57. Burgess, *Refuge*, pp. 180–82. The *refoulement* to Germany of rejected refugees was a complaint made to Kotschnig, noted in his report of his visit on 15 January.
- 27 Barros, *Betrayal from Within*, pp. 24–25.

- 28 Cecil Papers, General Correspondence, 51170 (Jan–July 1935), Cecil to McDonald, 19 January 1935. McDonald Papers (Geneva Office, November 1934–February 1935), Wurfbain to McDonald, 26 January 1935.
- 29 *Advocate*, p. 617.
- 30 Cecil Papers, General Correspondence, 51169 (1934); Literary Manuscripts, 51197, Speeches and Broadcasts (1934–1935).
- 31 *Advocate*, pp. 308–9 and 346–48. McDonald Papers (Geneva Office, December 1933–February 1934), Bentwich, interview with Lord Marley, 21 December 1933, Notes of Interviews. Nicole Taylor, ‘The Mystery of Lord Marley’, *Jewish Quarterly*, no. 198 (Summer 2005) <<http://www.jewishquarterly.org/issuearchive/article8d4f.html?articleid=113>> (Accessed November 2015).
- 32 LNA (HCR) C.1609 (Great Britain – Lord Cecil), Wurfbain to Cecil, 31 January 1935. *Advocate*, pp. 618–19.
- 33 *Parliamentary Debates. House of Lords*, Wednesday, 6 February 1935. Vol. 95, no. 18. *Official Report*, Lord Marley, 822–28; Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, 828–35.
- 34 *Parliamentary Debates. House of Lords*, Wednesday, 6 February 1935. Vol. 95, no. 18. *Official Report*, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, 840–44.
- 35 *Advocate*, pp. 612 and 621.
- 36 LNA (HCR), C.1609 (Great Britain – Lord Cecil), McDonald to Cecil, 7 February 1935.

Chapter 9

- 1 Leo Baeck Institute, Comité permanent, London, 12 February 1935, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 14.
- 2 *Advocate*, pp. 582–85.
- 3 *Advocate*, pp. 624–29.
- 4 *Advocate*, pp. 605–8.
- 5 McDonald Papers (Kotschnig, Walter M., 1935–April 1936), Walter Kotschnig to McDonald, 12 October 1934; Kotschnig to Inman, 12 October 1934.
- 6 *Advocate*, p. 580. ‘German Refugees Aided’, *NYT*, 12 August 1935, p. 11. In 1935, Inman was the first American cultural attaché for Latin America and served on the League of Nations Commission to Latin American Republics. ‘Inman, Samuel Guy’, Texas State Historical Association <<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fin06>> (Accessed November 2015). Kenneth F. Woods, ‘Samuel Guy Inman and Intervention in Mexico’ <<http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/history/johnson/Samuel%20Guy%20Inman.htm>> (Accessed November 2015).

- 7 McDonald Papers (Inman–McDonald Mission), James G. McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report on the Mission to South and Central America.'
- 8 McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report', p. 29.
- 9 McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report', pp. 33–34.
- 10 McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report', p. 19.
- 11 McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report', p. 14.
- 12 McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report', p. 28.
- 13 *Advocate*, p. 686.
- 14 McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report', pp. 8f.
- 15 McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report', p. 10.
- 16 McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report', pp. 14–15.
- 17 McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report', p. 17.
- 18 McDonald, 'Draft of Ad Interim report', p. 32.
- 19 Inman visited Brazil and Argentina with McDonald, and Uruguay separately. After leaving McDonald in Buenos Aires, he travelled to Paraguay, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala and Santo Domingo. He also included observations on Mexico in his final report.
- 20 Samuel Guy Inman, 'Report on the Placing of German Refugee Scholars in Hispanic America, Supplementary to the General Report of the High Commissioner on the Work of the Mission Visiting South and Central America, February–June 1935', in Karen J. Greenberg (ed.) *Archives of the Holocaust: An International Collection of Selected Documents*, Volume 7, *Columbia University Library New York, The James G. McDonald Papers* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1990), pp. 206–18.
- 21 Inman, 'Report on the Placing of German Refugee Scholars', pp. 215–16.
- 22 LNA (HCR) C.1614, Statement by James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, made at the Fourth Session of the Governing Body, London, 17 July 1935.
- 23 'Latin America Held Haven for Refugees', *NYT*, 30 June 1935, p. 29; 'Sees Refugee Hope in Latin America', *NYT*, 22 August 1935, p. 11. Inman continued to advocate refugee settlement in Latin America as war loomed in Europe: Samuel Guy Inman, 'Refugee Settlement in Latin America', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 203 (May 1939), pp. 183–93.
- 24 LNA (HCR) C.1609 (Great Britain – Lord Cecil), McDonald to Cecil, 23 April 1935.
- 25 LNA (HCR) C.1609 (Great Britain – Lord Cecil), Cecil to McDonald, 17 May 1935. Also McDonald Papers (Cecil of Chelwood, Viscount).

Chapter 10

- 1 McDonald Papers (Chamberlain, Joseph P. 1935–38), McDonald to Chamberlain, 20 January 1935.

- 2 *Advocate*, pp. 765 and 775.
- 3 Leo Baeck Institute, Comité Permanent, London, 12 February 1935, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 14.
- 4 'Memorandum', Cecil Papers, 51130 (High Commission for Refugees Coming From Germany), fos. 99–105. The memorandum was filed in the Secretary General's office on 21 February 1935.
- 5 'Memorandum', Cecil Papers 51130. Of the 28,200 refugees settled outside Europe, 20,000 had settled in Palestine, 5,000 in the United States and 2,500 in South American countries. The High Commission could not claim any role in these resettlements.
- 6 'Memorandum', Cecil Papers, 51130.
- 7 'Memorandum', Cecil Papers, 51130.
- 8 McDonald Papers (Confidential Files 1935), 'Report on Conversations with Various People in Geneva on Centralisation Plans', 27 May 1935.
- 9 McDonald Papers (Bentwich, Norman, 1935), Childs (International Labour Organization), 5 March 1935 and 19 March 1935; McKinnan-Wood (Legal Section, Secretariat) 19 March 1935. McDonald Papers (Confidential Files, 1935); McDonald to Bentwich and Wurf Bain, 2 August 1935. Michael Hanssen, *The Refugee Problem and the League of Nations* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1938).
- 10 McDonald Papers (Confidential Files 1935), 'Report on Conversations with Various People'.
- 11 Hanssen, *The Refugee Problem*.
- 12 LNA (HCR), C.1604 (League of Nations Union, 1934–36), Foreign Office, 'The Problem of the Refugees', 16 May 1935 and Eppstein to Bentwich, 23 May 1935; 'The League and Refugees', *The Times*, 18 May 1935, p. 18.
- 13 McDonald Papers (Kotschnig, Walter, 1935–April 1936), Report of Visit to Austria, 5 and 6 February 1935, Report of Visit to Czechoslovakia, 7 and 8 February 1935.
- 14 McDonald Papers (Kotschnig, Walter, 1935–April 1936), Report of Visit to Austria.
- 15 McDonald Papers (Kotschnig, Walter, 1935–April 1936), Report of Visit to Austria.
- 16 McDonald Papers (Kotschnig, Walter, 1935–April 1936), Kotschnig to Wurf Bain, 5 March 1935. Table 10.1.
- 17 McDonald Papers (Kotschnig, Walter, 1935–April 1936), Kotschnig to Wurf Bain, 5 March 1935.
- 18 LNA (HCR), C.1614, Statement by James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, made at the Fourth Session of the Governing Body, London, 17 July 1935.
- 19 *Advocate*, p. 783.
- 20 LNA (HCR), C.1614, Statement by James G. McDonald, 17 July 1935.
- 21 LNA (HCR), C.1614, Statement by James G. McDonald, 17 July 1935.

- 22 LNA (HCR), C.1609, Country Reports (Germany), Report no, 54, Comité voor Joodsche Vluchtelingen, Amsterdam, 14 April 1935; The Treatment of Jewish Emigrants Returning to Germany (undated); Confidential document forwarded by Mrs van Tyne, 31 March 1935 (Translation).
- 23 LNA (HCR), C.1609, Country Reports (Germany).
- 24 LNA (HCR), C.1609, Country Reports (Germany). Hotels and places of residence were required to inform the police within twenty-four hours of any foreigners staying with them. Private households were required to inform the police within one week of foreign visitors staying with them.
- 25 LNA (HCR), C.1614, Statement by James G. McDonald, 17 July 1935.

Chapter 11

- 1 *Advocate*, p. 778. On the background and the context of the preparation of the statement, see Monty Noam Penkower, 'Honourable Failures against Nazi Germany: McDonald's Letter of Resignation and the Petition in its Support', *Modern Judaism*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (2010), pp. 247–98.
- 2 Oscar I. Janowsky, *Jews and Minority Rights, 1898–1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933). In 1937, Janowsky and Melvyn M. Fagen co-authored *International Aspects of German Racial Policies* (New York: Oxford, 1937).
- 3 McDonald Papers (Statement of Resignation, December 1935), McDonald to Sol M. Stroock (Chair, the American Jewish Committee), 22 June 1935; Stroock to McDonald, 25 June 1935; James N. Roseberg to McDonald, 28 June 1935. *Advocate*, p. 767, n. 3. *Refugees and Rescue and Rescue*, p. 23, n. 23.
- 4 LNA (HCR), C.1609 (Great Britain – Lord Cecil), McDonald to Lord Cecil, 12 September 1935.
- 5 LNOJSS no. 138 (1935), 'Plenary, Text of the Debates', Koht, 11 September 1935, pp. 57–58.
- 6 LND, A.36.1935.XIII (13 September 1935).
- 7 *Refugees and Rescue*, p. 23.
- 8 LNA (HCR), C.1609 (Great Britain – Lord Cecil). p. 24.
- 9 LNOJSS, No.138 (1935), Koht, 11 September 1935, p. 57.
- 10 LNOJSS, No.143 (1935), Minutes of the Sixth Committee, pp. 11–13.
- 11 LNA (HCR) C.1613, 'Proposals for a Central League Organization for Refugees'. LNA (HCR) C.1614, 'Proposals for the Establishment of a Central League Organization for Refugees'.
- 12 *Refugees and Rescue*, pp. 28–30.
- 13 LNOJSS, No.143 (1935), Item 21, pp. 52–54.
- 14 LNOJSS, No.143.

- 15 LND A.64.1935.XIII (26 September 1935). The Committee of Experts was appointed in late October 1935, comprising five individuals of international reputation: Michael Hanssen of Norway, ex-president of the Egyptian Mixed Tribunals; Senator de Michelis of Italy, formerly chair of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organization; Stefan Osusky, the Czechoslovakian minister in Paris and Chairman of the League of Nations Supervisory Commission and formerly a lawyer from Chicago; Marcel Roland, state councillor of France and former Prefect in Strasbourg, 'where he did good work on behalf of the refugees'; and Sir Horace Rumbold of the United Kingdom, formerly British ambassador to Berlin. McDonald to Warburg, (October 1935), McDonald Papers (Warburg, Felix, 1935–36); League of Nations Document C.437.1935.XIII (25 October 1935).
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- 17 *Refugees and Rescue*, p. 49.
- 18 McDonald Papers (Warburg, Felix, 1935–19336), McDonald to Warburg, (October 1935).
- 19 *Refugees and Rescue*, p. 49.
- 20 *Refugees and Rescue*, pp. 49–50.
- 21 McDonald Papers (Kotschnig, Walter, 1935–April 1936), 'Christian Appeal for Non-Jewish Refugees from Germany', 1 November 1935.
- 22 McDonald Papers (Kotschnig, Walter, 1935–April 1936), McDonald, 5 November 1935.
- 23 McDonald Papers (Statement of Resignation, December 1935). 'Memorandum. Proposed Research Under the Direction of Mr. MacDonald' [sic], June 1935) and Janowsky to McDonald, 21 June 1935.
- 24 *Refugees and Rescue*, p. 74.
- 25 *Refugees and Rescue*, p. 34.
- 26 McDonald Papers (Statement of Resignation, December 1935), McDonald, 12 November 1935.
- 27 McDonald Papers (Statement of Resignation, December 1935), McNair, 22 November 1935.
- 28 McDonald Papers (Statement of Resignation, December 1935), Lauterpacht to Neville Laski, 3 July 1935.
- 29 *Refugees and Rescue*, pp. 78–79; McDonald Papers (Statement of Resignation and Drafts, December 1935).
- 30 *Refugees and Rescue*, pp. 82–83.
- 31 McDonald Papers (Kotschnig, Walter, 1935–April 1936), Kotschnig to McDonald, 4 December 1935.
- 32 'League Body asks Joint Refugee Aid', *NYT*, 10 January 1936, p. 8.
- 33 *Refugees and Rescue*, p. 97.

- 34 *Refugees and Rescue*, p. 99.
- 35 *Refugees and Rescue*, pp. 98–99.
- 36 ‘Netherlands Queen Decorates M’Donald’, *NYT*, 3 January 1936, p. 17.
- 37 LND, C.13.M.12.1936.XIII, Letter of Resignation of James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany addressed to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, with an Annex, 27 December 1935. Also at Leo Baeck Institute, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 20.

Chapter 12

- 1 LND C.13.M.12.1936.XII, Annex. Letter of Resignation of James G McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, with an annex, 27 December 1935. Leo Baeck Institute, AR 7162, Box 2, Folder 20.
- 2 LND C.13.M.12.1936.XII, Letter of Resignation of James G McDonald.
- 3 McDonald Papers (Statement of Resignation, December 1935), ‘Repercussions of the McDonald Letter of Resignation’ (1938).
- 4 ‘Persecution In Germany’, *The Times* (London, England), 30 December 1935, p. 6, from *The Times Digital Archive* (Accessed 29 June 2013); ‘Refugees From Germany’, *Times* (London, England), 30 December 1935, p. 12, from *The Times Digital Archive* (Accessed 29 June 2013); ‘Guests of Germany’, *Times* (London, England), 30 December 1935, p. 13, from *The Times Digital Archive* (Accessed 29 June 2013).
- 5 ‘Reich Law Defined as Officials’ Whim: McDonald Holds “Non-Aryans” are Stripped of Rights by “Ambulant Justice”, and ‘Text of Resignation of League Commissioner for German Refugees’, *NYT*, 30 December 1935, pp. 12–13; ‘M’Donald’s Stand Backed In Britain: London Times Says Problem of German Refugees Calls for International Action’, *NYT*, 30 December 1935, p. 13. ‘German Refugees’, *NYT*, 30 December 1935, p. 18.
- 6 McDonald Papers (Statement of Resignation, December 1935), ‘Repercussions of the McDonald Letter of Resignation’ (1938).
- 7 McDonald Papers (Statement of Resignation, December 1935), ‘Repercussions of the McDonald Letter of Resignation’.
- 8 McDonald Papers (Statement of Resignation, December 1935), ‘Repercussions of the McDonald Letter of Resignation’.
- 9 *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (January 1936) and Vol. 82, No. 1 (January 1938).
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- 11 McDonald Papers (General Correspondence. Bentwich, Norman, 1936–1961), McDonald to Bentwich, 10 January 1936.
- 12 LNA File 50/22107/710. Sherman, *Island Refuge*, p. 68.
- 13 LND A.73.1936.XII, October 1936 (LNA C.1614), 'International Assistance to Refugees', Resolution on International Assistance to Refugees Adopted by the Council of the League of Nations, 23 January 1936.
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- 15 Sherman, *Island Refuge*, p. 65. Marrus, *The Unwanted*, p. 164. Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper*, p. 150.
- 16 Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper*.
- 17 LNTS, No.3952, Vol. CLXXI, 1936–1937, 'Provisional Arrangement Concerning the Status of Refugees Coming from Germany, and Annex. Signed in Geneva, 4 July 1936', pp. 76–87.
- 18 LNTS, No.4461, Vol. CXCII, 1938, 'Convention Concerning the Status of Refugees coming from Germany, with Annex. Signed at Geneva, February 10th, 1938', pp. 60–81.
- 19 LND, A.27.1938.XII, 'International Assistance to Refugees', 25 August 1938.
- 20 Skran, *Refugees in Interwar Europe*, pp. 238–39.
- 21 S. Lawford Childs, 'Refugees – a Permanent Problem in International Organisation', in *War is not Inevitable. Problems of Peace*, 13th Series. (London: International Labor Office, 1938), pp. 196–224. Against this background of a sense of a permanent refugee crisis and disquiet about its impact on the international order, the Institute of International Affairs in London commissioned a detailed study of the problem: Sir John Hope Simpson, *The Refugee Problem: Report of a Survey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939).
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Conclusion

- 1 James G. McDonald, 'Refugees', in Harriet Eager Davis (ed.) *Pioneers in World Order: An American Appraisal of the League of Nations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 208–28.
- 2 *LNTS*, Vol. CXCII, 1938, No. 4461. *LNTS*, Vol. CXCVIII, 1939, No. 4634.
- 3 Unlike McDonald, Rublee was able to reach an agreement with the regime. The Schacht-Rublee plan agreed between the German Reichsbank and the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees was modelled somewhat after the Ha'avra arrangement for emigration from Germany to Palestine, and envisaged financing refugee funds through increases in German exports. Sir John Hope Simpson, *Refugees: A Review of the Situation Since September 1938* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 19–20.
- 4 Centre d'orientation social des étrangers, *À la recherche d'une Patrie. La France devant l'immigration* (Paris: Éditions Réalité, 1946), pp. 21–22 and 42–43.
- 5 Gérard Noiriel, *Réfugiés et sans-papiers. La République face au droit d'asile XIXe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Hachette Littératures, 1991), pp. 117f.
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- 7 Penkower, 'Honorable Failures', pp. 279f.
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