

Adam von Trott zu Solz'
Early Life and Political Initiatives
in the Summer of 1939

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Table of Contents

Introduction.....pp.	1-2
Chapter I	
Formation of a German European.....pp.	3-29
Footnotes.....pp.	30-43
Chapter II	
Search for a Career to Cover Opposition.....pp.	44-90
Footnotes.....pp.	91-113
Chapter III	
Clandestine Operations.....pp.	114-145
Footnotes.....pp.	146-162
Conclusion.....pp.	163-167
Bibliography.....pp.	168-175

Abstract

Adam von Trott zu Solz was a participant in the German resistance to Hitler and to the National Socialist government. This thesis will describe his early life, his education and his political formation. Trott's foreign policy initiatives in England and his efforts to reactivate plans for a coup d'état during the summer of 1939 will be examined.

Résumé

Adam von Trott zu Solz participa à la Résistance allemande contre Hitler et contre le gouvernement national-socialiste. Cette thèse décrit sa jeunesse, son éducation et sa formation politique. Les initiatives en politique étrangère prise par Trott et ses efforts à ramener des plans pour un coup d'état seront étudiés.

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Introduction

There is no comprehensive, scholarly biography on Adam von Trott zu Solz. Dr. Clarita von Trott's unpublished account of her husband's life is frank, insightful and remains unmatched by subsequent efforts, but it is mainly a valuable collection of excerpts, documents and information. Christopher Sykes' Tormented Loyalty is flawed by preconceived views, and it has been superseded partially by information and work not available at Sykes' writing. Henry O. Malone's doctoral dissertation is a scholarly biography of Trott's life up to his return to Germany from the Far East in 1938. His epilogue gives only a brief summary of Trott's resistance activities from 1939 to 1944. Giles Macdonogh's recent biography adds little to the scholarship on Trott.

A number of Trott's own written works have been published. They include an edited version of his "Impressions of a German Student in England"; a collection of writings by Heinrich von Kleist with an introduction; Trott's doctoral dissertation on Hegel's political philosophy; an article on the struggle for hegemony in the Far East; and a report on Trott's initiatives in England in June 1939. Professor Hans Rothfels took a special interest in Trott's life. He introduced the 1967 reprint of Trott's dissertation, as well as several documents which

he published in the Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte.

Professor Klemens von Klemperer published a valuable collection of the correspondence between Trott and Shiela Grant Duff. His articles have contributed to a scholarly re-interpretation of Trott's character and motives. There are numerous published personal accounts about Trott, including those of David Astor, Isaiah Berlin, Christabel Bielenberg, Charles Collins, Richard Crossman, Shiela Grant Duff, Diana Hubback, A.L. Rowse and W.A. Visser 't Hooft.

This thesis will be based on all of the published materials, as well as some archival sources; items in both categories have been thus far used incompletely. The thesis will also draw on material from interviews with Dr. Clarita von Trott, The Hon. David Astor, Dr. Peter Bielenberg, and Mrs. Christabel Bielenberg.

Trott's intellectual and political development are not well known, despite the considerable body of published writing about him. His political position has remained unclear, and in dispute. The secrecy surrounding Trott's political initiatives in the summer of 1939 led to conflicting accounts of his aims and motives. This thesis will attempt to define Trott's political formation, and to clarify his political initiatives in the summer of 1939.

Chapter I

Formation of a German European

The first "Trotten" to be mentioned in documents were thirteenth century vassals of Boyneburg Castle. Subsequent members of the Trott family were vassals, feudal tenants, bailiffs, and cupbearers to the Landgraves of Hesse.¹ Between the 13th and 16th century, the family accumulated holdings in Northern Hesse. They acquired the castle at Solz,² southeast of Kassel, and the estate of Imshausen. The male line of the contemporary Trott family begins with Friedrich von Trott, a 16th century court marshal of the Hessian court in Kassel and a counsellor to Landgrave Philip the Magnanimous. One of his sons, Adam von Trott the Elder, was a skilful negotiator and military leader and was admired in particular by his descendant August von Trott zu Solz.³

August von Trott, the father of the subject of this study, was born on December 29, 1855⁴ the son of Werner von Trott, legation-counsellor in the Electoral-Hessian diplomatic mission in the Kingdom of Wurttemberg. Like his forbears, August von Trott chose to serve his government. He began as a district administrator (Landrat) in the Prussian province of Hesse-Nassau. By 1901, he was chief of district civil administration (Regierungsprasident) in Kassel. He and his family moved to Potsdam in 1905 where

he was chief of civil administration (Oberprasident) for the province of Brandenburg. In the summer of 1909, the new Chancellor and Minister President of Prussia Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg appointed August von Trott Prussian Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Instruction (Kultusminister).⁵ In July 1917, August von Trott resigned following Bethmann Hollweg's own resignation. He returned to Kassel and took the post of chief of civil administration (Oberprasident) for Hesse-Nassau and was also a provincial representative in the imperial senate (Reichsrat). Two years later, he and his family returned to the family home at Imshausen, and, in 1920, August von Trott retired.⁶

Adam von Trott's mother, Eleonore was the daughter of Lothar von Schweinitz. He had begun his career as a penniless lieutenant without connections and ended it as a general of infantry and as Prussian ambassador to St. Petersburg.⁷ When Schweinitz was in Vienna as the Envoy of the North German Confederation, his American colleague was John Jay, grandson of Chief Justice John Jay.⁸ The envoy's daughter Anna Jay attracted Schweinitz' attention and, in 1872, they were married. Eleonore, born on February 21, 1875, was the second of ten children.⁹ Throughout her life, Eleonore, in keeping with her Christian faith and the example of her ancestors, was keenly involved in charities and Church organizations.¹⁰ Eleonore and August von Trott married in 1901 and raised their children in their

traditions of moral integrity and service to society.

Their first son Werner was born on March 13, 1902 in Kassel. He was followed by three sisters: Irene (July 13, 1904, Kassel), Vera (June 1, 1906, Potsdam), and Ursula (February 13, 1908, Potsdam). Then Friedrich Adam was born in Potsdam on August 9, 1909. Two years after Adam's birth, Monika was born (April 30, 1911, Berlin) followed by Heinrich (May 16, 1918, Kassel), and Eleonore Augusta (February 11, 1920, Imshausen). Of all Adam's siblings, his older brother Werner engaged his attention the most.¹¹

The children were looked after by an English nanny, Louisa Barrett, until 1914, when the war forced her, to the children's great sorrow, to return to England. The war brought about other privations. The British Blockade caused food to become increasingly scarce. The children's nutrition was poor and unsupplemented by dealings in the black market, which their father's ethics and government position excluded.¹² From 1915 to 1917, Adam attended the primary school at the famous Franzosisches Gymnasium (classical high school).¹³ After their father's resignation in 1917, the family moved from cosmopolitan Berlin to provincial Kassel where the children felt like "outcasts in a world of barbarians, exposed to continuous threats and blackmail."¹⁴ Vera later remarked that it was from this time in Kassel that her brother Adam became difficult, often "mocking, negative, suspicious, bitter, [and] depressed. His few diary notes also show a tortured

dissatisfaction with himself."¹⁵ Adam finished the two remaining years of his primary education, then began his first year at the Wilhelmsgymnasium in Kassel. The move to Imshausen in 1919 prevented Adam from finishing that year, but the change of surroundings was a welcome one.¹⁶

The vast wooded countryside, known as the "Trottenwald", and the large 18th century manor house provided a haven for Adam throughout his life; his early experiences deepened his attachment to his ancestral home.¹⁷ Adam made numerous friends. One close friend was his cousin "Bobbi" von Trott zu Solz who came from the nearby village of Solz.¹⁸ Adam was taught by private tutors; the pastor of Solz taught him Latin. This arrangement lasted two years until 1921, when Adam returned to the Wilhelmsgymnasium in Kassel.¹⁹

In Kassel, Adam boarded with a pastor. Adam's dislike of the pastor's "'fear and trepidation'" brand of Christianity made a happy stay difficult. The house was located in an area of town far removed from his school friends' homes. His isolation was made greater by his doctor's ban on outdoor sports, a prescription against Adam's continuous ailments.²⁰ The loneliness Adam felt was not dispelled by schoolwork which he found uninteresting.²¹ He looked forward to his holidays at Imshausen when he went on hunting expeditions with his cousin Bobbi.²² The Nibelungenbund in Kassel had what Adam's school lacked. He enjoyed their outdoor activities, and the company of boys

of his age. This group was led by a war veteran and university graduate, Gustav Ecke, until 1923 when he left for China, where he and Adam would meet again in 1937-38. Adam's participation in the group waned after Easter 1922, when he moved to a new school, the Alumnat of Cloister Locium, in Hannoversch-Münden. In 1923 and 1924, he attended Nibelungenbund rallies and went on a trip with his group to Schleswig-Holstein in July, 1924. By 1925, he saw the unreality of the movement, and left his Nibelungenbund.²³

Adam's new school was second rate and he had difficulty respecting his masters. His weak heart prompted his doctor to continue the restriction on outdoor sports.²⁴ Adam was a member of the school's brass band for his five years at the Alumnat.²⁵ Among his courses, his favourites were German literature and classical Greek.²⁶ On March 14, 1927, having passed his Abitur (high school leaving exams), Adam received his certificate.²⁷

After his Abitur, Adam could look forward to his university education. His ambition was to pursue a career in the civil service, beginning perhaps, as his father had, as a Landrat.²⁸ He began his studies in the Faculty of Law and Public Administration at the University of Munich in May 1927. Trott's first term was not eventful; like many first term students with the final examinations a distant eight semesters away, Trott did not let his studies dominate his new freedom.²⁹ He took fencing and riding

lessons, went on bicycle tours and a canoe trip, and practised his English with two Americans who lived in his boarding house.³⁰ He also attended a speech by Adolf Hitler and noted that Hitler was "'quite a guy'", but that his audience was "'uneducated and stupid to an extreme.'"³¹ Trott was ill for a time, but recovered sufficiently to take his first big trip abroad, to Vienna and Budapest.³² The semester at Munich came to an end in July.³³ After a shooting holiday at Imshausen, he transferred to his father's old university at Gottingen in the autumn of 1927.³⁴

Following his father's example, Trott joined a students' corps, the Gottingen Saxons. The corps' fencing bouts appealed to him. Trott never felt at home in the corps,³⁵ but he found new friends, with some of whom he remained in contact with throughout his life, in particular, Fritz-Dietlof Graf von der Schulenburg, Goetz von Selle and Ernst-Friedemann Freiherr von Munchhausen.³⁶ He also had greater success combining his numerous social activities with effective study; he spent three to four hours each day preparing for lectures, colloquia, and seminars.³⁷

Toward the end of the summer term, an urge to travel prompted Trott to ask his mother to use her church connections to arrange a visit to Switzerland.³⁸ An American acquaintance of Frau von Trott's, Mr. Tracy Strong, the Executive Secretary of the World's Alliance of

YMCAs, invited her son to Geneva. Trott arrived on September 3, 1928, and spent most of the month attending lectures and conferences given by people from the world over on the topic of peace. Trott observed also part of the proceedings of the League of Nations whose members were still buoyed by the conclusion of the Kellogg-Briand pact on August 27. On September 11, he heard a lecture by George Bernard Shaw whom he found impressive.³⁹ The most engaging speaker Trott heard was the Rev. Charles Andrews whose penetrating anecdotes described vividly his friends Gandhi and Tagore, the Bengali poet and mystic.⁴⁰ On September 20, Trott met Dr. Willem A. Visser 't Hooft, who worked for the World's Alliance of YMCAs and for the World's Student Christian Federation in Geneva,⁴¹ and who became a contact for Trott during the war. Visser 't Hooft liked Trott. "His good looks, his tall figure, his high forehead gave him the appearance of the perfect aristocrat. But in his conversation he showed the humility of a young man desperately anxious to find some stable foundation for his life." Trott was "keenly aware of the perilous and tragic situation of the younger generation in Germany in the spiritual confusion after the first world war." He confided in Visser 't Hooft that he himself preferred reading the novels of Dostoyevski to the Bible.⁴² Trott left Geneva on September 25 with the Strong family to attend a meeting of the Swiss YMCA leaders in Lucerne. At the end of the month, he returned to Imshausen.⁴³

The trip to Switzerland did not quench Trott's thirst for travel. A friend in Switzerland, an American, Conrad Hoffmann, who worked for the World's Student Christian Federation, suggested to Trott that he attend the conference of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland to be held during the week of January 2-8, 1929 in Liverpool and Trott eagerly seized upon the idea.⁴⁴ Trott also wanted to spend the Hilary term (January-March) at Oxford.⁴⁵ He convinced his parents to consent to the plan, and arranged special requirements with his professors at Gottingen so that he would not lose credit for his winter semester.⁴⁶

When Trott arrived in Liverpool, he had yet to be accepted at a college, but after an interview with the Rev. Dr. William Selbie, principal of Mansfield College in Oxford, he was invited to spend a term there. Though much of his time at the conference was spent finalizing his plans to go to Oxford, Trott participated in discussions, and met a number of people including Prof. W.G. Adams of All Souls College, Oxford; G.R. Scholten, a Dutch student who later, when he was a participant in the Dutch resistance during the Second World War, met clandestinely with Trott; and a German student and socialist, Hans Gaides.⁴⁷

Mansfield was a theological college,⁴⁸ and Trott was obliged to take his main subjects in theology. He did attend lectures on politics from which he learned a great

deal about England and her political system.⁴⁹ His most valuable experiences, however, were his discussions with Dr. Selbie who was known throughout the university for his preaching ability and his wise counsel.⁵⁰ At the end of the term, Trott met A.L. Rowse, a Fellow at All Souls, who became a close friend. Trott appreciated the apparent seriousness with which Rowse took his ideas.⁵¹ The Liverpool conference and his discussions with Rowse intensified Trott's interest in socialism.

Trott returned to Imshausen in April, the holiday month between the winter and summer semesters. He spent the holiday preparing for Mr. Tracy Strong a report entitled: "Impressions of A German Student in England". The report focuses on what became a central theme of Trott's life: "the profound difference between the English and the German character, and their attitudes towards life and politics."⁵² Trott compared the student world in England with that in Germany. Part of his comparison involved a description of the effect on the younger generation in Germany of the First World War and the subsequent political and economic upheavals: "My country in all respects stands under the impression of a lost war and an innerpolitical collapse, the consequences of which are to be found in the material as well as in the intellectual and spiritual sphere. Every student now at University has as a boy of 9 or 10 years experienced a time in which really everything hitherto certain seemed doubtful

[...] Most of us come from homes where a deep resignation or resentment against everything now going on in Germany is the characteristic attitude [...]. But this state of political disturbance and disinterest marks more the students [sic] attitude to the state than to the country for you find very widely a true and not "militaristic" love for his country."⁵³ Trott characterized the English student as a "man of action" and the German student as a "man of thought" and he expressed his hope for "mutual appreciation and sympathy between the English and the German student world."⁵⁴

The small town of Gottingen seems to have lost its appeal to Trott after his travels abroad;⁵⁵ he transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelm University in Berlin where he arrived in early May, 1929.⁵⁶ Once in Berlin, Trott renewed his friendship with a German student and socialist, whom he had met at the Liverpool Conference Hans Gaides. He introduced Trott to the "Socialist Working Circle" (Sozialistischer Arbeitskreis) and Trott participated regularly in the group's discussions.⁵⁷ A letter to his parents following an evening discussion illustrates his commitment: "'to my amazement I found myself on the side of the workers [rather than the students in the debate], thus creating some surprise, as a former Corps student. However that may be, I believe to be finally on the right path and I am grateful to my worker friends for having helped me onto it.'"⁵⁸ At that meeting,

Trott was introduced to Dr. Hans Muhle, who later, especially in 1932, became an important source of contacts for Trott in socialist circles.⁵⁹ Trott also attended the meetings of the Sozialistischer Studentenbund (Socialist Student Union) of the University of Berlin.⁶⁰

During the winter semester of 1929-1930 in Berlin, Trott maintained his contacts with his socialist friends.⁶¹ With the help of his friend Hugh Montgomery (third secretary at the British Embassy), Trott began to become familiar with officials in German and British diplomatic circles. Montgomery introduced Trott to a fellow Gottingen Saxon, Josias von Rantzau and to Albrecht von Kessel, both of whom were attachés in the German Foreign Service. Through Kessel, Trott met another attaché, Gottfried von Nostitz. All three became friends, even though, as Kessel wrote in 1944, Trott was never easy to get along with: "He was a young genius, sensitive and irritable, and no one found the relationship with him easy. Nevertheless, we were bound for many years by an extremely tense, even endangered but always steadfast friendship." Trott, "as beautiful as a young god," was also a success in the social circles of Berlin.⁶² He wrote to his mother in February, 1930 that he was happiest in Berlin. His studies were suffering,⁶³ however, and since he would have to sit examinations in November, he decided to return to the calm of Gottingen.

The summer semester in Gottingen began officially for

Trott on May 8, 1930. Upon the suggestion of his cousin Adalbert von Unruh, Trott attended the seminar of Professor Herbert Kraus.⁶⁴ It was in this seminar that Trott, like many of his contemporaries at Gottingen, became keenly interested in the study of Hegel.⁶⁵ At first, Trott had difficulty understanding Hegel; he wrote to his father, "'this afternoon we again read in Hegel's Philosophy of Law and I swam somewhat.'"⁶⁶ However, by autumn, he had grasped the subject sufficiently to produce a research paper for Professor Kraus on Hegel's concept of international law.⁶⁷

During the summer and autumn, Trott prepared himself along with a fellow law student, Alexander Werth, whom Trott had met through Professor Kraus,⁶⁸ for the Referendar examinations to be held in November and December, 1930.⁶⁹ Trott received a vollbefriedigend (very satisfactory) in both examinations⁷⁰ and thus qualified for the next phase of training, a three year internship. But he found law studies restrictive; they did not inform his thoughts with the long sought for, elusive "unity" necessary for purposeful action.⁷¹ His interest in Hegel's philosophy had grown; he decided to delay his three year internship in order to complete a doctorate in law.

The September 14, 1930 Reichstag elections were Trott's first opportunity to vote. He voted for the SPD (Social Democratic Party). This break from the family's traditional political orientation dismayed his father, who

warned his son that he could now expect to meet with "derision and enmity" in their own familiar social circles.⁷² In the elections, the extreme parties gained in support. The KPD (Communist Party) received 13.1 percent of the popular vote, up from the 10.6 percent it received in the elections on May 20, 1928. More significant were the gains made by the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party) which jumped from 2.6 percent of the popular vote in the 1928 Reichstag elections to 18.3 percent in 1930.⁷³

Trott contemplated a further diversion from his legal training in the form of undergraduate studies at Oxford University and applied for a Rhodes scholarship on November 23, 1930.⁷⁴ On January 9, 1931 he was informed that he had been awarded the scholarship. Rhodes House also told him that to be granted senior status a doctorate was necessary, a strong incentive to obtain it by that summer, since senior status would enable him to read for the Bachelor of Arts in two instead of three years.⁷⁵

Trott pressed ahead with his dissertation during the winter months of 1931 but became so stressed that his doctor ordered him to take a holiday. He left Gottingen at the end of March and travelled to Munich and from there to Ponte Tresa on Lake Lugano where he continued working on his dissertation. In May, he returned to Gottingen and finished his dissertation on July 6. Two weeks later, on July 18, he sat his oral defence of his dissertation and

answered questions covering the different fields of law. He received the highest distinction, *summa cum laude*.⁷⁶

Trott had to have his dissertation published within a year of the oral examination before he officially received his Doktor der Rechte (Dr. jur.). He could have opted to undertake the cost of publication himself.⁷⁷ Instead, he decided to have his dissertation published as part of a scholarly monograph series on international law and diplomacy which Professor Kraus was editing.⁷⁸ For inclusion in the series, revisions and the addition of a second part were necessary.⁷⁹ In this second part, Trott resumed the concepts he had treated in Part I to "'make them come to life for contemporary legal and political thought.'"⁸⁰

Much of his time between terms at Oxford was devoted to revising his dissertation.⁸¹ On May 10, 1932, he had completed the handwritten draft. By the July deadline, however, he had concluded that further revisions were necessary as some of his ideas had changed. The university allowed him to delay publication.⁸² He sent the final draft to the publishers in September. In late October, the monograph entitled Hegels Staatsphilosophie und das internationale Recht (Hegel's Political Philosophy and International Law) was published. Trott dedicated the book to his father. Having completed all the requirements, Trott was granted the degree of Doktor der Rechte with distinction, sehr gut, on October 29, 1932.⁸³

Part I consists of Trott's original dissertation⁸⁴ which is a systematic presentation of Hegel's political philosophy, a presentation founded on a thorough study of all of Hegel's main philosophical concepts, as found in Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts (The Philosophy of Right).⁸⁵ Trott wanted to refute the traditional apprehension of Hegel's state as an institution whose governors exercise sole authority over the citizens and thereby preclude the development of international law.⁸⁶ He noted that Hegel's apparent deification of the state had led 20th century totalitarians to incorrectly regard Hegel as their intellectual forbear.⁸⁷ Trott, however, understood Hegel's state to be a community⁸⁸ in which freedom and compulsion were reconciled into a moral totality. The state is "'the logical realization of the idea of morality, [and] it is the highest duty, and virtue to act according to it (the state); at the same time, however, it is the true self-liberation of the citizen.'"⁸⁹ Domestic and international law, according to Trott, was founded on this moral will of the state.⁹⁰ International law was not to be established "'according to a general principle infringing upon the special character of the states, but only emerge[s] dialectically from relations between ultimately self-responsible political wills [...].'"⁹¹

In Part II "Decision of the Moral Conscience and the Sovereign Will of the State", Trott wanted to relate

Hegel's doctrine as described in part I to human activities.⁹² He enters Hegel's system at the level of subjective decisions of will and conscience and describes the development to the level of Weltgeist (universal spirit). The political will of the state is an integration of all subjective decisions of will and conscience and "'must act in a way compatible with the change these basic elements undergo [once the political will acts in this way it has achieved Volksgeist (national spirit)]. This leads to a necessary community of interests with other political wills in the process of shaping reality, and hence to a progressive development of international order [Weltgeist (universal spirit)].'"⁹³ Therefore, the political will of the state and the international order are responsible and sovereign only when they develop from and are maintained by the morality of the states' citizens.⁹⁴ The individual must ask what concrete position one must take as a maker of the morality. "Was sollen wir tun?" "What must we do?" This question commanded Trott's attention throughout his life.⁹⁵

Conclusions vary about the degree of influence Hegel's philosophy had on Trott. Charles Collins, who became a good friend of Trott while they were studying at Oxford, asserts: "It is true that Trott's ideas and language showed the influence of his Hegelian studies. But their total influence on him has been exaggerated [...]."⁹⁶ A.L. Rowse saw Hegelianism as the tragic flaw not only in

Trott's character but in the German nation: "Hegelianism encouraged, corroborated, justified his eternal self-questioning, his constant doubting of everything, the endless Verwirrung and Verzweiflung [...] It was the intellectual disease of the German nation."⁹⁷ In 1936, Trott wrote to his Oxford friend, Shiela Grant Duff: "The Idiot perhaps more than any other book (except perhaps Holderlin's Hyperion, and Hegel's Philosophy of State) has made my outlook for what it is worth."⁹⁸ Ten months later, he wrote to Diana Hubback: "'I never was a 'Hegelian' except perhaps for a very short time.'"⁹⁹ In another letter to Diana Hubback in August 1937, he wrote: "'I have also read some Kierkegaard again on this trip. He answers some of my most profound dissatisfactions with Hegel.'"¹⁰⁰ Trott's outlook was influenced by Hegel's philosophy, but he was not a disciple of Hegel. Charles Collins observed that Trott's approach included three components derived from Hegel's philosophy. Trott would consider any idea no matter how antagonistic, expose its weaknesses while searching for the element of truth in it. Each idea, he believed, had a certain historical context. As the context changed and the idea developed, internal contradictions or weaknesses would become apparent and the idea would be replaced by a better one. This process follows Hegel's dialectic of thesis-antithesis-synthesis. The deep analysis of ideas required by this dialectic perplexed and, at times, annoyed some of Trott's friends,¹⁰¹ particularly

when he attempted to fit National Socialism into this dialectical, historical process. Trott's second Hegelian belief was, "'considering ideas of political right not as static abstractions but as developing realities; and third, not failing, when debating issues of right, to ask finally the question, 'What must be done?' '"¹⁰²

Service to the state was Trott's ambition. His respect for his father and mother, his entry into law school, his interest in social reform and international co-operation, and his Hegel thesis point to this desire. His political apprenticeship continued at Oxford. Trott arrived at a time when Oxford student life was being recast, as Shiela Grant Duff explained: "The division was no longer (as it had been in the 'twenties) between the 'Aesthetes' and the 'Hearties' but between the 'Politicals' and the rest [...]." ¹⁰³ This suited Trott's political interests and he set about making friends and contacts.¹⁰⁴

Trott's college, Balliol, was an abundant source of friends.¹⁰⁵ He immediately established good rapport with the Master, Professor A.D. Lindsay who shared his interest in Hegel's philosophy.¹⁰⁶ He became friends with John Cripps who, like Trott, read Politics, Philosophy, and Economics (Modern Greats) at Balliol. Cripps introduced Trott to his father Sir Stafford Cripps who was a member of House of Commons for the Labour Party and from 1942 served in the War Cabinet.¹⁰⁷ Trott and Sir Stafford forged from their common views on world affairs an enduring

friendship.¹⁰⁸ Trott found a staunch friend in another Balliol man, David Astor. David Astor's parents Lord and Lady Astor were influential contacts as was the Astors' friend Lord Lothian who first met Trott as the secretary of the Rhodes Trust.¹⁰⁹ Lothian, with his belief in a commonwealth of self-governing dominions, was sympathetic to Trott's views on international co-operation. Lothian also shared Trott's hope for peaceful adjustments to the 1919 Treaty of Versailles.¹¹⁰ Trott believed the World War had been brought about by conflicts over economic markets. He advocated a retraction of the war guilt clause and economic and geographic adjustments aimed at preventing another war.¹¹¹

Trott renewed his friendship with another Balliol collegemate, Humayun Kabir, whom he had met during his 1929 visit to Oxford. After Gandhi's visit to Oxford in October 1931 when he held a discussion meeting at which Trott was present, Trott and Kabir's conversations focused increasingly on Indian independence.¹¹²

Trott's interest in politics was also stimulated by the numerous clubs he joined. He belonged to the Bryce Club whose president E.F. Schumacher was a fellow Rhodes Scholar from Germany. Trott presented two papers on Hegel at the Jowett Society. He was elected secretary, and in January 1933 he was the first German to be elected president of the society. He gave two speeches at the Oxford Union. At the Labour Club, Trott met Richard

Crossman, then a Fellow at New College, and Diana Hubback, who had come up at the same time as Trott. The three of them also belonged to the German Club where Trott, in October 1931, made a speech against National Socialism.¹¹³ Crossman later described the nature of Trott's resistance to the Nazis:

Adam was that very rare thing, a 'good German' who did not hate his 'bad' countrymen. In technical language he was a Grossdeutscher (quite different from a pan-German) who believed that the Germans, including the Germans who lived in truncated Austria, had as much right to make themselves into a nation state as the French or the British, or for that matter the Italians or the Spaniards.

In his eyes the Nazis were criminals not because they wanted to overthrow Versailles and unite the Germans but because the methods by which they set about achieving this legitimate aim were a disgrace to German honour. As a good German he was in duty bound never to let himself become an accomplice of British or French anti-Germanism but to convince the Western democracies that their own security required the united Europe in which united Germany, purged of the Nazis, must have its rightful place. This was

Adam's vision when I first met him as a student,
it was still his vision when he was hanged
[...].¹¹⁴

In the July 31, 1932 Reichstag elections, the NSDAP gained 37.4 percent of the vote, the highest percentage it ever received in a free election.¹¹⁵ Trott was informed about events in Germany, but at Oxford he was isolated. After Trinity term and a short holiday in Cornwall, he returned to Germany, visited his family, then went to Berlin where he met his collegemate Charles Collins.¹¹⁶ Trott introduced Collins to his socialist friends including, Hans Gaides and Dr. Hans Muhle. At one of their meetings, Trott met and became good friends with Curt Bley who helped establish the Social Democratic resistance group Roter Stoßtrupp after the Nazis came to power. Bley and Muhle put Trott in closer contact with the people involved with the journal Neue Blätter für den Sozialismus. A review by Trott of A.L. Rowse's Politics and the Younger Generation appeared in the February 1933 edition. Collins and Trott also went to a socialist student conference near Berlin where they met Helmut Conrad, a law student who became a life-long friend of Trott's.¹¹⁷ Conrad described Trott as "almost obsessed by politics [...]."¹¹⁸ But Trott offset his intense seriousness with humour. Charles Collins wrote: "Much of the time there was in his matter and manner a high seriousness [...] but he had also a natural gaiety, which was sometimes frivolity, and which

sparkled even in dark days [...]." One such occurrence happened on their visit in Berlin. Collins, another collegemate and Trott decided to meet Hitler who was staying at the Kaiserhof hotel. They were politely turned away.¹¹⁹ The Berlin trip and the renewal of contacts with his socialist friends made Trott feel less isolated when he returned to Oxford. He believed Hitler was a fool, and the current government and the opposition to Hitler would prevent him from coming to power.¹²⁰

Trott was reluctant to return to the "'boy world'" of Oxford, in part because he was unsure his studies were preparing him for political activity in Germany.¹²¹ Nevertheless, he did return. After the publication of his Hegel monograph in October, Trott could devote his time to preparing for his undergraduate degree examinations which were set for the following June and July. In December, he studied at the British Museum Library and at the State Library in Brussels. Trott's friend Albrecht Graf von Bernstorff¹²², an embassy counsellor in London, gave him a letter of introduction to Graf Lerchenfeld, the German minister in Brussels. Trott also renewed a contact with a legation counsellor, Dr. Herbert Mumm von Schwarzenstein.¹²³ At the beginning of January 1933, Trott returned to Oxford where he attended an Anglo-German conference. Former Reich Defense Minister Otto Gessler led the German delegation which included Hans-Bernd von Haeften whom Trott met.¹²⁴

In Germany, the political crisis was intensifying. The fear of a civil war prompted August von Trott to advise his son in the spring of 1932 that he might have to stay and earn his living in England.¹²⁵ Hugh Montgomery and Hans Gaides also warned Trott of the threat of civil war.¹²⁶ The threat of a civil war which might end in a Communist takeover; Chancellors von Papen's and von Schleicher's failure to find a power base on which to govern; and pressure from his advisers and his son persuaded President Paul von Hindenburg to appoint Hitler, the "Austrian corporal", Chancellor of Germany. On January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler was sworn in as Reich Chancellor.¹²⁷ Charles Collins described Trott's immediate assessment of the significance of this event:

[...] he knew at once that a terrible disaster had befallen his country; that the prospects for his own future had undergone a fundamental change; that it was a future in which a bitter struggle would be needed to achieve even the smallest result; that many of his friends and acquaintances were at once in personal danger. A number of things he was sure of immediately: that overt opposition to the new regime would be useless for a long time to come; that nevertheless he must oppose it by all the means in his power, that a common ground must be found for as many opponents of the regime as possible,

and that he himself would try to find that ground in a struggle for the "liberal" rights; that, although it would certainly be at the cost of handicap to his own career, he would not join the Nazi party unless it should become his clear duty to do so in furtherance of his anti-Nazi activity. All these things he expressed to me on that same night that he learned of Hitler's coming to power.¹²⁸

Over the next two months emergency decrees, requested by the National Socialists and signed by Hindenburg, were issued. Germans were denied freedom of association, assembly, speech and the press. The constitutional guarantee of personal liberty was suspended, mail and telegrams could be opened by the police, telephones could be tapped, property searched and seized, and persons arrested and held indefinitely, all without a warrant. Defining who endangered public security became the responsibility of the law enforcers who answered to the Nazi Reich Minister of the Interior, Frick, or Goring, as Prussia's Minister of the Interior. Provincial governments which did not enforce the new measures had their executive powers usurped by the Reich government. On March 31, 1933, through the Preliminary Law for the Co-ordination of the State and the Reich, the Reich government gained control over the state legislative and executive bodies. "Attempts and conspiracies to kill the President or a member of the

government, treason against the government, poisoning of individuals, wilful flooding, damage to railway installations, and poisoning dangerous to the public" were declared crimes punishable by death. It became a criminal offense to convey to foreign governments facts of any nature or to make any true or untrue statements that, if true, might harm the government or the state. Special courts were established in every superior court district to handle cases arising from the enforcement of the decrees. The usual rights accorded to a suspect were suspended, that is, the limit on detention time before being accused and tried, the hearing of evidence, and the right of appeal to a higher court. Concentration camps were set up to contain those found guilty or suspected of being guilty: Communists, Social Democrats, and any others who opposed the new regime. Despite the Nazis' widespread, organized violence and terror, their party failed to gain an absolute majority in the March 5, 1933 election. The NSDAP received 43.9 percent of the popular vote. Through pre-election arrests of some of the Communist Reichstag deputies, their exclusion from the Reichstag after the election, and by lying to the Center Party, the Nazis ensured that the Law to Remedy the Distress of the People and Reich (the enabling act) would be passed into law by the Reichstag. This act gave the cabinet the power to pass laws, including laws voiding any part of the constitution, and to sign international treaties without the consent of the

Reichstag. On July 14, 1933, Germany effectively became a one party state. In December, it was enacted that all important government and civil service positions were to be filled with Nazi Party members.¹²⁹

In February 1933, Trott had written to his father that he could not serve a state which had "'surrendered itself to tyranny.'" He hoped the restriction of the rights of individuals would bring about a reaction which he could help channel into the building of a lasting order. He was determined to resist the Nazis, but he had yet to discover how he could do so most effectively.¹³⁰

Trott was in Berlin from early March to early April, 1933 during his school break. He wanted to be certain his brother Werner, a Communist party member then living in Berlin, was safe. He also wanted to appraise the political situation.¹³¹ At a party thrown for Trott in Oxford upon his return he gave his assessment saying: "'My country is very sick.'" ¹³² The censorship and disappearance of some of his correspondence, the presence of Nazi spies in England, and the treatment of the opposition in Germany made Trott cautious about revealing his motives for returning to Germany.¹³³ His position was further clouded by his attempts to find positive elements in National Socialism that would contribute to the advance of the historical process,¹³⁴ and by his over-sensitive reaction to English criticism of Germany.¹³⁵ Trott was aware that the political developments in Germany might estrange him

from his English friends. If the political situation worsened in Germany, would they understand that he could be both an anti-Nazi and a patriot?¹³⁶ Trott considered emigrating from Germany, but, to a man whose central desire was political activity, emigration was a humiliating option. Trott was prepared to regard a fellowship as an honourable exception.¹³⁷ At the end of July, he was informed that he had been granted a Second Class Honours degree. His tutor, Humphrey Sumner, thought the type of examination did suit Trott: "'If I may say so, I have always felt that you were really too mature to do these hour written papers up to your real standard. What would have suited you would have been a thesis and a very long oral examination.'" ¹³⁸ Despite his friend Isaiah Berlin's assurance that he still had a chance for a fellowship, Trott decided against applying. He was bitterly disappointed.¹³⁹ Christopher Cox, a Fellow at New College since 1926, wrote to Trott of his contributions to life at Oxford: "'There have been few undergraduates (if I may say so!) in the last 7 years who have contributed as much intellectually and culturally as well as socially to Oxford as you have done; and no one could have vindicated more triumphantly the revival of the German Rhodes Scholarships.'" ¹⁴⁰ With his return to Germany imminent, Trott wrote to Diana Hubback: "'I am viewing this return as perhaps the greatest venture in my whole life [...] I am diffident as to the ultimate success.'" ¹⁴¹

¹Clarita von Trott zu Solz, Adam von Trott zu Solz. Eine erste Materialsammlung, -Sichtung und Zusammenstellung, (abbreviate below as CvT) n.p., n.p., 1958, p. 2. Henry O. Malone Jr., "Adam von Trott zu Solz: The Road to Conspiracy Against Hitler," (Malone) Diss. University of Texas at Austin, May 1980, p. 82.

²The Castle later burned to the ground. Adam von Trott to Shiela Grant Duff, (abbreviated below as: A.to S./S.to A.), Imshausen, Jan. 7. 1937, in Klemens von Klemperer, A Noble Combat. The letters of Shiela Grant Duff and Adam von Trott zu Solz 1932-1939, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 205.

³Malone, p. 82. Clarita von Trott zu Solz, Adam von Trott zu Solz. An Account, tr. Elke Langbehn, (CvT, tr.) n.p., n.d., p. (1). Malone, fn. 5, p. 109, pp. 83-84 and fn. 16, p. 110, fn. 4, p. 108, "the Elder" was used to distinguish the 16th century Adam von Trott from contemporary relatives with the same name. That there was a direct line of descent from Adam von Trott the Elder to Adam von Trott zu Solz through the latter's maternal grandfather, Lothar von Schweinitz, was not known until around 1926 after Adam's birth. Malone's source is "Die Geschichte der Markischen Trott," unpublished, written by Adam von Trott's first cousin Victor von Schweinitz around 1926 and based on primary sources.

⁴Genealogisches Handbuch der Adelligen Hauser, Adelige

Hauser A, (Genealogische Handbuch), Band XIV, Limburg an der Lahn, 1977, pp. 443.

⁵Translation from: J. Scott Keltie (ed.), The Stateman's Yearbook. Statistical and Historical Annual of the World for the year 1917, London: Macmillan, 1917, p. 973.

⁶Malone, pp. 86-89.

⁷CvT, tr., p. 2. Malone, p. 84.

⁸CvT, tr., p. 2, Chief Justice John Jay was a friend of George Washington, and was the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. His son William Jay was a fierce opponent of slavery.

⁹CvT, tr., p. 2. Birthdate from Genealogisches Handbuch, p. 443.

¹⁰CvT, tr., pp. 2, 4. Malone, fn. 28, p. 111.

¹¹CvT, tr., p. 11, Malone, fn. 42, p. 113, fn. 78, pp. 115-116, Genealogisches Handbuch, p. 443, all birthdates in this paragraph are taken from Genealogisches Handbuch, pp. 443-444, except for Irene's date of birth and death, which is from Malone. Irene died of rheumatic fever on December 2, 1908. Werner left school before earning his high school leaving certificate (Abitur) in order to work in a machine factory. He joined the Communist Party in 1931. For 10 semesters he studied Philosophy, Economics and Sociology at the universities of Marburg and Cologne. He stopped work on his doctoral degree when his mentor, Max Schuler, died. In 1942, Werner became a Roman Catholic.

¹²CvT, tr., pp. 2-3. CvT, tr., p. 2, CvT, p. 5, Malone, p.

91, when there is a discrepancy in spelling the author has used Malone's version. There are a number of spellings of the nanny's name.

¹³Malone, p. 91.

¹⁴CvT, tr., p. 4.

¹⁵CvT, tr., p. 13, Vera von Trott is not quoted directly.

¹⁶Malone, p. 92.

¹⁷CvT, tr., pp. 5-6, 69.

¹⁸CvT, pp. 9, 11.

¹⁹CvT, p. 9.

²⁰CvT, tr., pp. 5-7.

²¹Malone, pp. 95-96.

²²CvT, tr., p. 6.

²³Malone, pp. 97-101. CvT, tr., p. 7. Malone discusses at length the development and nature of the Nibelungenbund.

CvT, p. 12 and CvT, tr., p. 7 have Adam changing schools on Easter 1923. Malone, p. 101, and fn. 99, p. 117, letter from Adam to his mother written from Hannoversch-Münden on May 13, 1922 from Dr. Clarita von Trott's collection of documents in Berlin, (TC) concludes the date is Easter 1922.

²⁴CvT, tr., pp. 7-10.

²⁵A.to S., [aboard a ship crossing the Atlantic], [beginning of March 1937, Klemperer's date], Klemperer, p. 216.

²⁶CvT, tr., p. 9. Malone, p. 105.

²⁷Malone, p. 105.

²⁸CvT, tr., p. 11.

²⁹Malone, pp. 119-120.

³⁰CvT, tr., p. 12.

³¹CvT, tr., p. 11.

³²CvT, tr., p. 12.

³³Malone, p. 129.

³⁴CvT, tr., pp. 11-12.

³⁵CvT, tr., p. 12.

³⁶Malone, p. 124.

³⁷Malone, pp. 122-123.

³⁸CvT, tr., p. 13.

³⁹Malone, pp. 125-126.

⁴⁰Malone, p. 127, fn. 39, p. 179. CvT, tr., p. 14.

⁴¹Malone, p. 128, Visser 't Hooft was the head of the "Boy's Work" department of the World's Alliance of YMCAs.

⁴²W.A. Visser 't Hooft, Memoirs, (Memoirs) Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1973, p. 155. CvT, tr., p. 14.

⁴³CvT, tr., p. 13. Malone, p. 129.

⁴⁴CvT, tr., p. 14. Malone, p. 130.

⁴⁵Malone, p. 127, this plan might have been inspired by Geoffrey Wilson, an Oxford student to whom Trott was introduced by Conrad Hoffmann in Geneva. Trott and Wilson later met in Oxford and became good friends.

⁴⁶Malone, p. 131. CvT, tr., p. 14.

⁴⁷Malone, pp. 132, 136.

⁴⁸Malone, p. 133. Mansfield College was not officially part of the university.

⁴⁹CvT, tr., p. 14.

⁵⁰Malone, p. 133. CvT, tr., p. 14.

⁵¹CvT, tr., p. 15. A.L. Rowse, A Cornishman Abroad, (Cornishman Abroad), London: Jonathan Cape, 1976, pp. 285, 288-289. A.L. Rowse, All Souls and Appeasement A Contribution to Contemporary History, (All Souls) New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961. In the latter book on p. 92, Rowse states that Trott, "was my most intimate friend and I can only say here that my emotional life was intensely bound up with him." Fifteen years later in Cornishman Abroad, pp. 282-283, Rowse clarified that Trott was "fundamentally heterosexual." They did not have a homosexual relationship, as Rowse suggested in his 1961 book. This raises a number of questions: Did Rowse make this suggestion before and/or during the Second World War? If he did, to whom, and did they believe him? Was Rowse' suggestion of a homosexual relationship taken into consideration when Trott's reliability as a contact was being assessed by the British government? In Richard Crossman's May 27, 1942 memorandum on Trott prepared for the Foreign Office Research Unit on Germany at Balliol College, he specifically mentions Trott's relationship with women, "incidentally he had a great way with women and was able to discard his worshippers whenever convenient." [Richard Crossman], "Freiherr [sic] Adam von Trott," memorandum, (1942 memorandum), PRO, FO371/30912, XP001809. Richard Lamb, The Ghosts of Peace 1935-1945, (Ghosts), The

Chantry, Wilton, Salisbury, Wiltshire: Michael Russell, 1987, pp. 255-256. Malone, fn. 106, p. 463.

⁵²CvT, tr., p. 15.

⁵³[Adam von Trott zu Solz], "Impressions of a German Student in England," ("Impressions"), Typescript, TC, [April-May, 1929, Malone's date], p. 2. Malone, p. 137. The essay was condensed and published in The World's Youth: A Magazine for Leaders of Youth, Vol. 5, no. 9, November 1929, pp. 135, 138.

⁵⁴Trott, "Impressions," pp. [1], 6.

⁵⁵CvT, tr., pp. 15-16.

⁵⁶Malone, p. 143.

⁵⁷CvT, tr., pp. 15-16. Visser 't Hooft, Memoirs, p. 155, the English, non-violent form of socialism appealed to Trott as it maintained the historical continuity that he believed was necessary. Visser 't Hooft writes that his meetings with Trott in September 1928 impressed upon him that Trott "had already come to believe that the future belonged to socialism."

⁵⁸CvT, tr., p. 16.

⁵⁹CvT, tr., p. 16, Malone, p. 145, fn. 229, p. 476, p. 555, Muhle was arrested and released in 1933. In 1936, Muhle was arrested and tried for treason [Malone, p. 476, "high treason" on p. 555.]. Trott found a good defense lawyer for him. He was acquitted and emigrated to America toward the end of 1938.

⁶⁰Malone, p. 145. CvT, tr., p. 17.

⁶¹Malone, p. 149.

⁶²Malone, p. 151, fn. 138, p. 188, from Albrecht von Kessel, "Verborgene Saat: Das 'andere' Deutschland," ("Verborgene Saat"), unpublished manuscript of memoirs covering period 1933-1944. written in 1944-1945. CvT, tr., p. 16, 18.

⁶³CvT, tr., p. 18.

⁶⁴CvT, tr., p. 18. Malone, p. 153, Professor Kraus was, at the time, Director of the Institute for International Law and Diplomacy at Gottingen.

⁶⁵Malone, pp. 154, 156.

⁶⁶Malone, p. 154.

⁶⁷Malone, p. 158.

⁶⁸CvT, tr., p. 18. Malone, pp. 154-155, Trott worked with Alexander Werth in the Foreign Office during the war.

⁶⁹Malone pp. 120, 161-162, students who wanted to become lawyers would sit the Referendar examination after eight semesters of law studies at a university. The Referendar examination was given in two parts. The written part lasted a week during which papers on civil, business, criminal and constitutional law were written. Trott wrote this examination in the latter part of November. On December 20, Trott sat the second, oral part of his examination. After passing these examinations, the student then became a Referendar or junior attorney. A three year legal internship followed which ended in another state examination which when successfully completed admitted one

to the status of Assessor or attorney.

⁷⁰Malone, p. 162. CvT, tr., p. 21.

⁷¹CvT, tr., p. 18.

⁷²CvT, tr., p. 19, the quotation is not a direct quotation of August von Trott.

⁷³Richard F. Hamilton, Who Voted for Hitler? (Hamilton), Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, p. 476.

⁷⁴Malone, p.164. CvT, tr., p. 21.

⁷⁵Malone, p. 165.

⁷⁶Malone, p. 167. CvT, tr., pp. 23-24.

⁷⁷Malone, pp. 224, 226.

⁷⁸Malone, p. 168.

⁷⁹Malone, p. 224.

⁸⁰CvT, tr., p. 23.

⁸¹Malone, pp. 224-226.

⁸²Malone, p. 227.

⁸³Malone, pp. 227-228. CvT, tr., p. 24. Trott's thesis was published in Gottingen by Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

⁸⁴Malone, p. 224. Charles Taylor has a concise and clear description of Hegel's philosophy in part one of Hegel and Modern Society, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

⁸⁵Malone, p. 235.

⁸⁶CvT, tr., p. 23. Malone, pp. 235-236.

⁸⁷Malone, p. 236. Christopher Sykes, Tormented Loyalty. The Story of a German Aristocrat Who Defied Hitler, (Sykes), New York: Harper and Row, 1969, pp. 71-72.

⁸⁸Malone, p. 236.

⁸⁹Malone, p. 237, fn. 184, p. 302, from Trott, Hegels Staatsphilosophie, p. 56. { } indicate additions by Malone.

⁹⁰Malone, p. 237.

⁹¹Malone, p. 236, fn. 181, p. 302, from Trott, Hegels Staatsphilosophie, p. 90.

⁹²CvT, tr., p. 23.

⁹³Malone, p. 240, fn. 189 p. 302, from Trott, Hegels Staatsphilosophie, p. 142. CvT, tr., p. 23.

⁹⁴Malone, pp. 238-242.

⁹⁵Malone, pp. 238, 242.

⁹⁶C.E. Collins, "Brave Against a Tide," Balliol College Annual Record, ("Brave"), 1987, p. 89.

⁹⁷Rowse, Cornishman Abroad, p. 284.

⁹⁸A.to S., Kassel, 24.8.36, Klemperer, p. 172.

⁹⁹Diana Hopkinson, [Memoir of Adam von Trott's Life 1931-1940], (Hopkinson, MS), Typescript, copy from the Julie Braun-Vogelstein Collection, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, 1946, p. 109, letter, May 1937. [n.b.: the page numbers of corresponding passages Malone cites from Hopkinson, MS are different from the page numbers cited in this thesis.]

¹⁰⁰Hopkinson, MS, pp. 112-113, letter, August 1937.

¹⁰¹A.to S., Hanau, 7th May, 1934, Klemperer, p. 32. S.to A., Paris, June 11th, 35, Klemperer, p. 70. S.to A., London, 23 June, 38, Klemperer, p. 310. Rowse, Cornishman Abroad, pp. 284 and 302. Collins, "Brave," pp. 89-90.

¹⁰²Malone, p. 231, fn. 170, p. 300, from Charles E. Collins, "Adam von Trott and Hegelianism," memorandum, in TC, n.d., n.p.. See also Collins, "Brave," pp. 89-90.

¹⁰³Shiela Grant Duff, The Parting of Ways. A Personal Account of the Thirties, (Parting) Boston: Peter Owen, 1982, p. 34.

¹⁰⁴CvT, tr., p. 28. Diana Hopkinson, The Incense-Tree. (Hopkinson) London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968, pp. 96-97.

¹⁰⁵Also beginning their studies that year at Balliol were David Astor (future editor of The Observer), Con O'Neill (later an expert on Germany in the Foreign Office), Christopher Hill (later an historian and Master of Balliol), Peter Calvocoressi (future publisher, journalist and author), Bill Adams (he was the son of Prof. W.G. Adams of All Souls).

¹⁰⁶Malone, pp. 197-198, Trott was on good terms with H.A.L. Fisher (Warden, New College), Dr. C.K. Allen (Warden, Rhodes), Prof. W.G. Adams (in 1933 he became the Warden of All Souls. Trott had met Adams on his trip to England in 1929), R.G. Collingwood (philosopher-historian, Pembroke College), H.W.B. Joseph (logician, New College), and of course Rev. Dr. W.B. Selbie (Mansfield College). Malone, pp. 217-218, except for Rev. Dr. Selbie.

¹⁰⁷E.T. Williams and Helen M. Parker, The Dictionary of National Biography, (DNB). 1951-1960. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 270-274.

¹⁰⁸Malone, pp. 217 and 279.

¹⁰⁹Malone, p. 217.

¹¹⁰Elizabeth Langhorne, Nancy Astor and Her Friends, (Langhorne) New York: Praeger, 1974, for Lord Lothian's views on a commonwealth, pp. 47-49, on Versailles, see p. 153, 202, Lothian hoped until the Munich Agreement for peaceful adjustments to the Treat of Versailles. Lord Waldorf Astor and Lord Lothian were participants in the Round Table which publishes a quarterly on commonwealth affairs. Lord Waldorf was the Chairman of the Royal Institute of International Affairs "Chatham House" during the 1930's. A.to S., [n.p.], [about 7 November 1935, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 104, A.to S., Hamburg. Monday, [25 November 1935, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 112, Trott expressed an interest in J.C. Smuts which he had in common with Lothian.

¹¹¹Malone, pp. 222-223, Malore summarizes a speech entitled "Germany and Peace" which Trott gave on the 14th anniversary of the end of the World War.

¹¹²Malone, pp. 135, 208, 214.

¹¹³Malone, pp. 202-204, 207.

¹¹⁴Richard Crossman, "Third Man as hero," review of Christopher Sykes, Troubled Loyalty, and Diana Hopkinson, The Incense Tree, The Observer Review, ("Third Man as hero"), London, November 24, 1968, p. 26.

¹¹⁵P. ter Hoffmann, German Resistance to Hitler. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988, p. 10.

¹¹⁶Malone, pp. 249-50. Hopkinson, pp. 90-92. CvT, tr., p. 29. Collins, "Brave," p. 89, Collins says there was a second collegemate with him and Trott in Berlin, but does not identify him. CvT, tr., p. 29, says "Collins and other Oxford friends." Perhaps the other friend was Bernard Alexander? CvT, tr., p. 17.

¹¹⁷Malone, pp. 250-252. CvT, tr., pp. 16-17.

¹¹⁸CvT, tr., p. 17.

¹¹⁹Collins, "Brave," p. 89.

¹²⁰CvT, tr., p. 29. Hopkinson, p. 97, quote from a letter written by Trott in September, 1932. Malone, p. 253.

¹²¹Hopkinson, p. 96.

¹²²Malone, p. 223, fn. 129, pp. 298-299, it is not certain when Bernstorff and Trott met, but it was at least by February, 1932, when Trott visited Bernstorff at Cambridge.

¹²³Malone, p. 255. Malone, fn. 231, p. 307, fn. 129, p.

297, Peter Hoffmann, The History of the German Resistance 1933-1945, (History), Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1977, p. 32, like Bernstorff, Mumm was forced to leave the Foreign Office after the Nazi takeover. Bernstorff and Mumm were involved later with the resistance group known as the "Solf Circle". Mumm was executed, and Bernstorff was murdered by the SS in the last days of the regime in April 1945.

¹²⁴Malone, p. 256.

¹²⁵CvT, tr., p. 29.

¹²⁶Malone, p. 258.

¹²⁷Hoffmann, German Resistance to Hitler. pp. 11-14.

¹²⁸G.E. Collins, [sic] "Notes on Adam von Trott," 19th November, 1946. Hans Rothfels, "Trott und die Außenpolitik des Widerstandes," Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, (VfZ), Vol. 12, 1964, p. 311.

¹²⁹Hoffmann, German Resistance to Hitler. pp. 15-25.

¹³⁰Sykes, p. 81. Malone, pp. 263-264, fn. 260, p. 310, offers another translation of the passage which is taken from a letter, Adam von Trott to August von Trott, Oxford, February 13, 1933.

¹³¹Malone, pp. 268, 272.

¹³²Sir Isaiah Berlin, "A Personal Tribute To Adam von Trott (Balliol 1931)," Balliol College Annual Record, ("Personal Tribute"), 1986, p. 61.

¹³³Hopkinson, pp. 109-110. CvT, tr., p. 31. Malone, pp. 273-274.

¹³⁴Collins, "Brave," pp. 89-90. Grant Duff, Parting, pp. 49-50. A.to S., [Oxford, Klemperer], 2/4/33, Klemperer, p. 17. Malone, pp. 263, 272.

¹³⁵Malone, p. 271. A.to S., [Oxford, Klemperer], 2/4/33, Klemperer, p.17.

¹³⁶CvT, tr., p. 31.

¹³⁷A.to S., The Central Hotel, Glasgow, 22 July, 1933, Klemperer, p. 18.

¹³⁸Malone, p. 297, letter from Humphrey Sumner, 2 August 1933, TC.

¹³⁹Malone, pp. 278-279. Hopkinson, p. 111.

¹⁴⁰Malone, p. 280, fn. 314, p. 315, letter from Christopher Cox to Trott, Oxford, 27 July 1933, TC.

¹⁴¹Hopkinson, MS, p. 27, letter, [August? 1933].

Chapter II

Search for a Career to Cover Opposition

Trott believed the Nazis had created a climate ripe for "revolutionary possibilities" and expected a mass reaction. Once it had begun, he wanted to help shape it into a new socialist order.¹ Until this uprising occurred, he decided, largely for his father's sake, to continue his legal training. Trott had to complete a three year Referendar apprenticeship in the law courts and with a solicitor and a public attorney before sitting his final examinations in 1936 and becoming an Assessor.² He hoped his studies and his eventual career would sustain his effectiveness as a resister by enabling him to pursue his interest in international co-operation and to maintain his moral integrity which, in practical terms, meant resisting pressure to join a Nazi organization or the party.³

Before going to his first station at the county court (Amtsgericht) of Rotenburg (Hesse), Trott followed his uncle Eberhard von Schweinitz' advice and volunteered to attend a Wehrsportlager, a Nazi-run, semi-military sports camp, during the month of September.⁴ This concession to the regime was intended to "anticipate being forced to" attend the camp, and to "learn things from within".⁵ Trott still wondered if National Socialism had some comprehensible appeal.⁶ Since February 1933, he had hoped

that the National Socialists would hold to their promise of redistributing the land from large estates among the landless tenant farmers. Indeed, Trott believed the policy should be extended to agricultural wage workers.⁷ He also expressed admiration for the systematic, professional manner in which new laws were being codified.⁸ But despite his characteristic search for positive elements, he was in fundamental disagreement with National Socialist methods. His time at the Wehrsportlager confirmed his views. Diana Hopkinson recalls Trott's conclusions: "'I am certainly not joining the children' (our code word for the Nazis). 'I shall never be considered one of them by the children. Nothing could be more clear and distinct. I am very alone but not desperately so. It has been important for me to discover that children and grown-ups belong to different worlds.'"⁹

Although Trott himself was critical of National Socialism, he became defensive when the government received foreign, unconstructive criticism. He believed that the "veiled brutality" of capitalist states undermined the moral basis of their judgements.¹⁰ From this perspective, Trott responded to two articles written by a special correspondent for The Manchester Guardian on the persecution of the Jews in Germany. The correspondent acknowledged that the articles, which were published on January 22-23, 1934, were intended to give a general, and as such incomplete, survey of the past 10 months of

persecution.¹¹ Particular references were made to cities and provinces including Kassel and Hesse. Trott was offended by the correspondent's assessment of the judicial system. In his letter to the editor, Trott said that within his personal experience in the courts, Jews were not being treated unfairly. Furthermore, his discussions with storm troopers had indicated that they would be adverse to using violence against Jews.¹² The letter appeared to challenge rather than to temper the correspondent's generalizations. Trott soon regretted having sent the letter, writing to his parents, "'I have written a rather foolish letter to the Manchester Guardian which I hope they will not publish.'" ¹³ The letter appeared on February 21. It "was widely interpreted as a qualified apologia for the Nazi régime."¹⁴ It provoked a furor at Oxford. Isaiah Berlin knew the letter was "'not in keeping with your [Trott's] character and beliefs,'" ¹⁵ however he "thought that the obvious implication--that the harrassment of the Jews was not as great as was commonly supposed--could not be valid and wondered why he had chosen to publish it."¹⁶ His close friends remained steadfast, but to some of his friends the letter made it difficult not to question Trott's political allegiance.¹⁷ He responded to their doubts in a letter to Diana Hubback: "'What I have been told of people's attitude to my letter in the M.G. convinces me only the more that it is necessary to act away from an attitude which cannot even tolerate this restricted

effort to differentiate between propaganda and actualities. I know what the closed, one-sided, spiteful outlook is drifting towards--and it strangles all hopes within me.'"18

Trott was certainly aware of the dangers Jews faced in Nazi Germany. In August 1933, he tried to persuade the banker Fritz Warburg, the father of his Oxford friend Ingrid Warburg, of the danger the Nazis posed even to his prominent family.¹⁹ Trott's letter to The Manchester Guardian was not an apology for Nazi crimes, rather it indicated Trott's frustration at his country being marked with the stigma of Nazi criminality and his powerlessness to mount effective resistance against the Nazis. There were opportunities during his legal training to offer personal resistance, but resistance that promised a serious effect upon the régime with a view to reducing or removing it was elusive.

In Rotenburg and Hanau, where he trained from January-July 1934 at the district court (Landesgericht), Trott was under pressure from his superiors to join the Nazi party or its lawyers' organization. His refusal resulted in a negative evaluation from the Hanau district court.²⁰ On June 24, the Chief Justice of the Superior Provincial court in Kassel (Oberlandesgerichtspräsident) virtually ordered Trott to join certain Nazi party organizations, particularly the Nazi lawyers' organization. Trott refused. He also continued to evade completing a party questionnaire and application for party membership.²¹

Trott's non-conformist position hindered his career. His open mind, his "'daring and experimental'"²² character sustained him. He considered many options in his search for a career that would safeguard his moral integrity and involve him in practical political activity. After a four month wait, his application for an administrative post (Regierungsreferendar) in Kassel was rejected in May.²³ An offer of an academic position came from Professor Binder, one of Trott's Gottingen professors, who asked Trott to be his private assistant. Three years earlier, Trott had described Professor Binder as a "'completely resigned patriot'". On April 8, 1934, he wrote to his father: "'Binder is known to be the court Philosopher now--fervent party member etc. I shall refuse very politely. I know that I would thus have the support of a powerful new academic dynasty, but I don't think much of these gentlemen.'"²⁴ Professor Karl Bonhoeffer, whose family Trott had known since his childhood in Berlin, urged Trott to apply for a research assistantship at the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut fur auslandisches offentliches Recht und Volkerrecht in Berlin. Trott wanted to study the "Differences in the Anglo-Saxon and German Concepts of International Law" under Professor Bruns. He planned to work also in a private firm and continue his Referendar training. Once he became an Assessor, he would return to Oxford and finish his remaining third year of his Rhodes scholarship to write his Habilitationschrift which would

qualify him to teach at a university. His plan hinged on his transfer from Hanau to the Prussian Superior Court (Kammergerichtsbezirk) in Berlin. On July 18, his request for a transfer was denied.²⁵ Trott also considered joining the SA (Sturmabteilung, Storm troopers) or working for the Prussian Ministry of the Interior. This idea came to nought and by April he had decided also against a career in journalism.²⁶

Trott off-set the political isolation he suffered in Hesse by maintaining contacts with his socialist friends in Berlin. Curt Bley, a leader of the socialist resistance group Roter Stoßtrupp, managed to escape arrest when the group was broken up by the police. Eighty-one of its members were convicted and imprisoned in 1934.²⁷ Trott also developed his friendship with Peter Mayer, whom he had met during his March 1933 visit to Berlin. Mayer was a socialist involved with the Neue Blätter für den Sozialismus, the Social Democratic Party, and its organ Vorwärts.²⁸ Although these organized groups of resistance were outlawed in the summer of 1933, Mayer and other members of the SPD were planning for President von Hindenburg to replace Hitler with Major-General von Schleicher who had appeared to be open to socialist ideas during his chancellorship.²⁹ Mayer also occupied himself with organizing the publication of new editions of 19th century writings relevant to the current political situation. He asked Trott to make a contribution. In May

1934, Trott decided to prepare an edition of Heinrich von Kleist's political articles, essays and letters and to write his own veiled political commentary. Trott's collection entitled Heinrich von Kleist. Politische und journalistische Schriften was published a year later, in June 1935. In the commentary, Trott drew an analogy between the oppressive subjugation of the Prussians under the Napoleonic regime, the theme of the selected writings, and Hitler's totalitarian state.³⁰ The parallel between Kleist's and Trott's beliefs is apparent, as Helmuth Conrad observed: "'to a certain degree it is an essay in self-justification in a state of oppressive isolation, reluctantly borne.'"³¹ Although the extent of the book's circulation is not known, it was well-received by book reviewers and by July the publisher had over four hundred orders for the book.³²

Trott knew that the scope of this act of resistance was not wide. The political situation, Trott's own powerlessness and his political isolation limited his actions just as Kleist's had been: "'A frontal attack on the many-sided enemy of his people would have cost him irretrievably the last weapon--which in a narrow circle was still effective--the free word.'"³³ The Rohm purge of June 30-July 1, 1934 subdued the SA and with the murder of Major-General von Schleicher put an end to Mayer's and his socialist friends' plan to have President von Hindenburg replace Hitler with Schleicher. On August 1, a law was

issued which upon President von Hindenburg's death combined the offices of Reich Chancellor and President. The powers of both offices were to be exercised by Hitler. The following day, President von Hindenburg died, and the Armed Forces were ordered to take an oath of "unconditional obedience" to Hitler.³⁴ The tightening of Hitler's control of power, and the experience of Mayer and Bley, made it clear to Trott that conventional political machinations and large scale resistance were not weapons that would achieve the removal of Hitler from power.³⁵

August 1934 marked a year since Trott's return to Germany. "Life has grown more stern, bigger and harder since--it has been the hardest year indeed that I have so far experienced."³⁶ On July 19, Trott had moved to Kassel to train in criminal law at the Oberlandesgericht (Provincial Court of Appeal). His work consisted of "Long drawn-out criminal cases, dark and impenetrable in their substance."³⁷ August and September were brightened by visits from friends including Ingrid Warburg, Helmuth Conrad, Tracy Strong, Diana Hubback and Shiela Grant Duff.³⁸ Shiela Grant Duff wrote in her diary: "He [Trott] is the only Referendar in Kassel who has refused to join any Nazi organisation. He has been asked his reasons for not joining and answered that the leaders themselves had said none should join except from conviction."³⁹

Trott knew that at least his career was threatened by such actions. His friend Helmuth Conrad, an active

socialist, faced legal proceedings and a frustrating struggle to gain permission to continue his legal studies. He did return to his studies for a number of years, but his inability to get a certificate of good political conduct prevented him from completing his legal training. Trott gave his friend advice, names of contacts, and made inquiries on his behalf in order to help ease his situation. Conrad did manage to have the legal proceedings dropped. He removed himself from political activity, but kept himself informed. Trott valued the clarity of his friend's opinions, criticisms and advice. During Conrad's visit to Imshausen in August, Trott asked his advice on preparations for a lecture he was to give in December on National Socialist and Russian economic programmes. By the day of the lecture, Trott had become so absorbed in the material that he spoke freely, without his notes for an hour and a half, and it "'went off quite well.'"⁴⁰

Trott knew the risks of associating with Jews, socialists and communists. Yet he continued in his private and professional life to seek their company and offer his assistance. During November, he worked in a prison where he met Hans Siebert, a communist who had been imprisoned in September 1933. Trott was asked to write an evaluation of Siebert's case. He had number of interviews with Siebert and decided that he must try to gain Siebert's release. Trott also knew that he must convince Siebert to soften his dogmatic communist views to avoid being reimprisoned. He

smuggled into the prison a copy of Lenin's commentary on Hegel, a book no longer available in bookshops. The prisoner soon lost his understandable distrust of this judicial official, and they discussed Marxism extensively. Trott's evaluation succeeded in convincing the authorities that Siebert could be rehabilitated. He was released in April 1935, only to be arrested again and placed in a concentration camp. That summer, Trott represented Siebert at a court hearing and managed to have his sentence reduced from 18 months in prison to six months in custody by promising to be personally responsible for Siebert. During the period from September to December 1935, when he was at the Levant Line, Trott arranged for Siebert to be in Hamburg too, so that his "'reeducation'" could continue. In January 1936, Siebert was arrested again for participating in illegal political activities. He was released after two weeks in custody. Trott made the necessary preparations for Siebert to emigrate to England. Siebert left Germany in autumn 1936 and was housed and supported for a time by Shiela Grant Duff's mother and Diana Hubback.⁴¹

At last, Trott was granted his transfer to Berlin. He arrived on December 11, 1934 to begin work in his special field of interest, international law, at the firm of Paul Leverkuhn and associates.⁴² He completed his legal assignments, and he studied with a tutor two hours each day to prepare for his Assessor examinations which were to

begin in the summer of 1936.⁴³ He also shed the political isolation he had endured in Hesse.⁴⁴ He renewed his friendship with a fellow Gottingen Saxon, P.C. von Kleist, who invited him to spend Christmas at his family's home in Pomerania; it was Trott's first visit to a Prussian eastern province. At a dinner party, he met "'quite a number of genuine Junkers, mostly Kleists, who have made a lasting impression on me.'"⁴⁵ "I have met with human greatness in struggle that made my heart jump with joy and pride."⁴⁶ Trott was impressed particularly with Ewald von Kleist-Schmenzin, an uncompromising opponent of National Socialism. From then on, they would meet regularly in Berlin.⁴⁷

Around the turn of the year, Trott, perhaps through his friend Lola Hahn Warburg or through his father, met another steadfast opponent of the National Socialists, "'a wonderfully brave and noble man'",⁴⁸ Wilfrid Israel. He was the general manager of a large Berlin department store, N. Israel. The protection of Israel's British passport, and his own private fortune enabled Israel to be active in numerous and varied charities. One of his more dangerous undertakings was to assist Jews to emigrate from Germany to Palestine and other countries. Israel shared Trott's passion for political philosophy and the arts. His love for China may have sparked Trott's plan to travel there. In 1939, Israel left Germany for England where during the

war his unshakeable confidence in Trott helped to reassure his close friends.⁴⁹

In January 1935, Trott met Julie Braun-Vogelstein, an art historian and the widow of the SPD leader Heinrich Braun, whom Trott admired. Peter Mayer and Hasso von Seebach were protecting Julie Braun-Vogelstein and her niece Hertha Vogelstein from Nazi persecution. Trott also helped on a number of occasions. His intervention halted proceedings against Hertha by the Arbeitsfront (Labour Organization). She might have otherwise been sent to a concentration camp. He helped defeat an accusation against Dr. Braun-Vogelstein that she had a secret store of weapons hidden in her home. Plans to emigrate were begun in the summer. Julie Braun-Vogelstein, her niece, and Hasso von Seebach left Berlin in October 1935 eventually making their way to America where Trott visited them in 1937 and in 1939-1940.⁵⁰

Julie Braun-Vogelstein's house and Peter Mayer's bookshop often were meeting places for Trott and his Social Democratic friends. He sought to develop lasting contacts with socialists and communists.⁵¹ Trott was "sounding the strength of the potential opposition to the Nazis."⁵² He also met members of the British diplomatic corps including the ambassador to Germany, Sir Eric Phipps, and became friends with George P. Young, third secretary in the British embassy. Trott made contacts with American newspaper correspondents including the chief of the

Associated Press Berlin bureau, Louis Lochner,⁵³ and he frequented the officers' casino.⁵⁴ It was difficult to maintain "decent human relationships in a Berlin beset by the increasingly inhuman pressures of the political situation."⁵⁵ Toward the end of April, Trott fell ill largely from the strain of his life in Berlin.⁵⁶ He longed to return to the tranquility of Imshausen. His legal training in Berlin ended officially on May 12. Although he felt he had made few permanent friends during his Berlin posting, Trott had taken the opportunity to assess the strength of the opposition. His hopes to find an opposition group in which to participate, or a career suitable for resistance, were not fulfilled.⁵⁷ "There is a terrible veil of disappointment over these last days in Berlin. There is no doubt that this illness has only confirmed a frustration in my efforts here from which I would have suffered anyhow. Only perhaps a little less with the feeling, that I have done my best. I have not, as it is--so I have to resume the Kassel trial once more. I am not sorry I am leaving Berlin, but I am sorry to have failed here."⁵⁸

Trott had a two week respite before he had to return to Kassel. On May 11, 1935, he flew to London, his first visit to England since August 1933. He met with a few of the Rhodes Trustees in order to ensure they would endorse his nomination to a seat on the 1935 Rhodes Scholarship selection committee.⁵⁹ He visited his numerous English

friends and acquaintances including Professor Adams, David Astor, Charles Collins, R.G. Collingwood, and R.H. Tawney. He spent a weekend with Sir Stafford Cripps at his country house in Gloucestershire. Trott had been concerned that political events in Germany might have estranged him from his friends.⁶⁰ His experience with Shiela Grant Duff did not reassure him. Shiela Grant Duff distrusted, at times, Trott's political allegiance. In January 1935, concerned about the Saar plebiscite, she wrote to him: "You long as much as any of your 60 million country-men for the victory of the Teutonic over the Latin race [...] O, Adam--don't be taken in." Two weeks later she wrote: "I am here in the Saar--for two weeks I have been the correspondent of an English newspaper and I have had the honour to be banned in Germany. [...] The opposition people here are rather splendid but fight a losing battle; you--well-propaganded, I suppose--look upon them as 'idiots and traitors'." Trott replied: "Damn you for remaining frivolous about my being 'propaganded' in spite of my reproaches."⁶¹ His trip to England, however, renewed his confidence in the strength of his friendships. With relief he wrote to his mother on May 17: "'I have been received everywhere in the most friendly manner. I have a good many friends here, whose cordiality is genuine. My health is surprisingly good--the complete change has worked a miracle.'"⁶²

Trott's four months at the großes Amtsgericht (higher county court) involved fairly routine civil cases.⁶³ He

had visits from Richard Crossman, Dr. Hans Muhle, Diana Hubback and their mutual friend Jane Rendel. Trott wrote to Diana Hubback in June describing his plan to use his remaining third year of his Rhodes Scholarship to go to China after his legal training and to become qualified as an expert in East Asian affairs. This idea had been on his mind since that winter⁶⁴ and he probably discussed it with an Oxford friend during his May visit.⁶⁵ In June, he wrote to the former leader of the Nibelungenbund, Gustav Ecke, who had moved to China in 1923 and had become a professor in Peking. Ecke's response was positive and encouraged Trott to consider his plan seriously.⁶⁶

Before moving to his next posting, Trott was required to undergo a political evaluation by the superior in charge of his ideological and political education. In the superior's report, Trott was characterized as being too "'skeptical'" and having a "'scholarly rather than a fighting nature'", lacking in "'go-ahead qualities'" and "'fundamental integration'". It was recommended that Trott be supervised closely. The report would be the most important document at his Assessor examinations in the following year. After discussions with a fellow Gottingen Saxon, and with Hans von Dohnanyi, then with the Reich Ministry of Justice, Trott undertook to have the evaluation removed from his file. The evaluation was replaced by a more favourable one before his examinations, although the original was kept in his historical file by

order of the President of the Oberlandesgericht in Kassel. Trott's positive assessment of the communist, Siebert, in November 1934, his defence of Siebert in court in the summer of 1935, and his defence of other political cases may have displeased his superiors and contributed to the negative evaluation.⁶⁷ The report could at least influence the grade given for his examinations, and it was a humiliating blow for Trott who "still considered renown and a high position as indicative of a man's merits."⁶⁸

Trott had arranged to spend two months in military training as part of his legal apprenticeship, but something changed his mind, perhaps it was his new responsibility for Siebert.⁶⁹ Instead, Trott began his clerical posting in Hamburg on September 18, 1935 at the Levant Line shipping company.⁷⁰ The work in commercial law was unappealing, and soon Trott arranged to spend half of his day studying for the Assessor examinations toward which by November he reported feeling increasing indifference.⁷¹

In late September, he had a visit from Shiela Grant Duff.⁷² Theirs was a turbulent friendship, especially since Shiela Grant Duff's entry into journalism, a profession Trott did not respect.⁷³ Her letters alternate sympathy with him with suspicion and anger.⁷⁴ She had difficulty understanding that he was unable to help achieve the immediate change of government they both agreed was necessary. Restating his belief that also the capitalist system was corrupt, he tried to explain to Shiela Grant

Duff in a letter written in November, 1935 the predicament he faced:

I think, however, we can safely join hands in agreeing that we want each to defeat the great fraud in our respective social system and begin doing that by trying to be as free and human as possible in our stifling surroundings and create an open and honest outlook around us of the things that really matter. This sounds vague enough and till I have some power to do and see things a little more concretely you cannot expect me to have a set programme in these generally altered complexities.⁷⁵

Shiela Grant Duff was unable to appreciate Trott's dilemma: that he could be both a patriot and an anti-Nazi. It hurt his "'pride and general peace to disappear in a cloud of confusion and suspicion.'" ⁷⁶ As the political situation worsened, Shiela Grant Duff's distrust grew and it eventually ruined their friendship. Before she returned to England, they spent a weekend at Albrecht von Bernstorff's estate at Stintenburg. They met Basil Newton, a counsellor at the British embassy in Berlin, and John Wheeler-Bennett, an historian and member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. This was Trott's first encounter with Wheeler-Bennett who became a reliable and sympathetic contact until his about-face after 1939.⁷⁷

Trott immersed himself in the social life in Hamburg.

He preferred its citizens to Berliners.⁷⁸ He saw Ingrid Warburg and her family often. The Nurnberg laws of September 1935 removed many protections the law might have offered Jews. Within 18 months the Warburgs emigrated to America, where Trott met them on his way to China in 1937.⁷⁹ Peter Bielenberg, a friend of Miss Warburg's, and his Anglo-Irish wife Christabel became good friends of Trott. Bielenberg, like Trott, was preparing for his Assessor examinations and was saddled also with a negative political evaluation.⁸⁰ At a party that autumn, Trott was introduced to Clarita Tiefenbacher, the 18 year old daughter of a prominent Hamburg lawyer. Four years later, they met again at the Bielenbergs.⁸¹

During Trott's posting in Hamburg, solving his career problem took on greater urgency. Thoughts of a government career had ended in May 1934 with the refusal of his application as a Regierungsreferendar. Trott's other options were a career practising law in a firm or in industry, or a lectureship in an uncontentious subject at a university.⁸² By November 1935, I.G. Farben had expressed an interest in hiring Trott as a corporation lawyer.⁸³ He was put off applying by his dislike of industry which seemed to "'consume an infinite working capacity without providing a permanent aim or true satisfaction.'"⁸⁴ Also in November, Paul Leverkus offered Trott a position in his law firm. Trott declined, because he thought Leverkus not entirely reliable.⁸⁵ The appeal of Hamburg led Trott to

consider practising law there.⁸⁶ He found the isolation and political inactivity of his other option, an academic career, unattractive; "what irks me most is to have to continue to "learn" without knowing for what future purpose."⁸⁷ Nevertheless, he reaffirmed his interest in studies in East Asia in a letter to Gustav Ecke before he left Hamburg.⁸⁸

Trott outlined his plans for the new year, 1936, and the difficulties that lay ahead in a letter to Shiela Grant Duff:

Early in January (perhaps on the 15th or so) I am going off to my camp [Referendarlager] and after that to a more rigid period of court work in Kassel and then the examinations in Berlin [...] After that time if no momentous change takes place I shall most likely leave Europe for a longish time.

The months immediately ahead of us will be extremely important [...] The attitude I have taken up since my return will be put to a test, the risks and dangers of which I do not fear. But I see a real difficulty in pushing through it all without having one's spirits and one's hopes undone especially since those for whose sake I would consider it most worth while to undergo it in a

certain manner, show more shakiness in their belief in me than I have ever experienced in my life. I know that some of your remarks were made in a playful spirit and do not refer to this. But there is a fundamental unclarity in our relationship which most aggravates this difficulty under which I am labouring, besides making me intensely unhappy.⁸⁹

Trott knew that his anti-Nazi attitude made him conspicuous and that it might prevent him from completing his legal studies. Attending the lawyers camp (Referendarlager) for two months was a way of creating a good impression with his superiors.⁹⁰ This fuelled rumours in England that Trott was sympathetic to the National Socialist régime.⁹¹ In general, Trott's decision to stay in Germany was misunderstood by some of his English acquaintances as a sign of support for the National Socialists. Diana Hopkinson later explained the rationale behind this misinterpretation: "That Adam could remain in Germany, proud, herrisch and reckless about his own safety when other Germans in his position came to England, as nervous refugees, was incomprehensible to them. They failed to grasp the nature of Adam's patriotism and his optimistic conviction that things could be made to change in Germany."⁹²

Hitler's foreign policy successes made the prospects of change in Germany dim. He had reduced the value of France's alliance with Poland with the January 26, 1934 German-Polish non-aggression pact. He had rejected efforts by France, and initially the Soviet Union, then Italy and Great Britain between May 1934-March 1935 to bring Germany into the fold of a multilateral peace treaty. On March 16, 1935 Hitler's announcement of general conscription confirmed that Germany was not merely rearming to a reasonable level. At the Stresa conference, Italy, Britain and France condemned Germany's action. France and the Soviet Union agreed on a mutual assistance pact on May 2, and on the 16th the Soviet Union made an alliance with Czechoslovakia. Sanctions contemplated by the League of Nations against Germany were, however, not enacted. Britain, following a dual policy of adjustments to the Treaty of Versailles and rearmament, accepted Germany's rearmament with the June 18, 1935 Anglo-German Naval agreement. The League's ineffective sanctions against Italy for its war on Abyssinia weakened the power of the League. Germany had helped Italy bypass the sanctions and together they intervened on Franco's side in the Spanish Civil War. A pact between France and the Soviet Union was ratified by the end of February 1936. Hitler used this pact's legal incompatibility with the 1925 Treaty of Locarno to order troops into the demilitarized Rhineland on

March 7, 1936. Britain and France replied with meek protests.⁹³

Confronted with Hitler's latest success, Trott remained steadfast in his purpose: "I can and want only to work for the new order of labour which I know will come [...] To share in this contribution [to the new order of labour] has been the object which I have never quite lost hold of all these years."⁹⁴ His chief concern with regard to European politics was that the Western and Soviet policy of encircling and isolating Germany would prevent a true European settlement and might lead to war as it had in 1914.⁹⁵ Trott strongly believed that "there must be a way out of the 'world-civil-war' that is threatening to break out, with either side of which we [he and Shiela Grant Duff] are profoundly out of sympathy."⁹⁶

Trott spent March, 1936 in Gottingen preparing for his law examinations and commuting to Kassel to work the required three days a week at the Oberlandesgericht. This arrangement proved to be inconvenient, and he moved to Kassel at the end of March. He wrote in June: "I suffer from such violent distaste with my 'palais de justice' and all that belongs to it because there is no sufficient counterweight."⁹⁷ That summer, two of the three Assessor examination took place. During the week of 22-28 July, Trott wrote five papers on the "classical legal disciplines", and for three weeks beginning on August 11, he wrote a practical examination. The third, oral

examination was arranged for late October.⁹⁸

Trott left Kassel on September 17 for Berlin where he studied with a tutor for the final stage. While in Berlin, he inquired about openings for a legal position at Krupp or I.G. Farben. A relative on the board of I.G. Farben, Dr. Ernst von Simson, informed Trott that the policies of the legal department were not apolitical and that he would increase his chances of being hired if he had more experience in international law. Simson recommended that Trott study either with Professor Bruns at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Foreign, Public and International Law or in the Far East.⁹⁹

Trott's oral examination took place on October 22. His panel was unsympathetic, severe and rude. The final grade was based on reports from his stations, his political evaluation which had been favourably rewritten, his written examinations and his oral examination. Trott received a grade of satisfactory. He was bitterly disappointed. The result meant he would not be considered sufficiently qualified for a government post. He was confident, however, the grade would not undermine his chances of a position at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Foreign, Public and International Law. Trott was now free from the burden of legal training he had taken on largely for the sake of his father. On October 23, he wrote to his father, "'[...] that now at long last I can, I will, I must, I have to and shall find my own way to work.'"100

Trott went to Prague at the end of October to see Shiela Grant Duff. She had arrived in Prague in early July to work as a correspondent for The Observer.¹⁰¹ She initially knew very little about Czechoslovakia, but under the guidance of Hubert Ripka, a Czechoslovak journalist for the Brno newspaper Lidové Noviny and a political adviser to President Benes, Shiela Grant Duff became aware of the role Czechoslovakia had in maintaining the European balance of power. She and Trott had had a happy visit that summer in Kassel and Imshausen. Their friendship, however, suffered from the strain of misunderstanding while they were apart.¹⁰² On August 26, 1936, Shiela Grant Duff wrote to Trott: "You don't deserve a letter--your country does nothing but infuriate me [...] your hateful militarism [...] your splendid millionaire army [...] at the moment you have no manners for society and should be excluded till you learnt some."¹⁰³ Although she clarified in a letter of September 1 that her remarks were not intended personally, this quarrelsome style would appear more frequently and it seemed as if she held Trott responsible for the actions of the Nazi government.¹⁰⁴ The meeting in Prague was not a happy one. Shiela Grant Duff introduced Trott to Hubert Ripka. Their meeting was "disastrous". More informative was Trott's discussion with Otto Strasser, brother of Gregor Strasser and leader of the Schwarze Front (Black Front).¹⁰⁵ Trott wrote to Shiela Grant Duff: "[...] for whatever his detail qualities are, his will is determined

and he will not make mistakes out of fear, though perhaps out of lack of thought."¹⁰⁶

Trott returned to Imshausen early in November. He had decided to investigate the possibility of studying in China, although he was not yet resolved to follow that course. Trott knew there were no experts in Germany in the field of China and international law. Once he became such an expert, his chances of employment would improve and his anti-Nazi political views might be overlooked by employers. Upon returning from a year of study in China, he could write his Habilitationsschrift and thereby become qualified to teach in a university, or he could practise international law in an industrial firm. He convinced his parents to agree to the plan. It remained for him to arrange the funding.¹⁰⁷

When Trott completed his undergraduate degree at Oxford in 1933, he still had one year left in his Rhodes scholarship. He was allowed to postpone his final year. In autumn 1936, he inquired whether funds for this final year could be applied to a year of study in China. He had no reply by November 3 and became less certain that the funds would be made available. He travelled to England via Frankfurt intent on personally convincing the Rhodes trustees to approve his plan. He spent most of his trip in London. He made a short visit to Oxford, staying for both nights with the Warden of All Souls, Professor Adams, and ending each night talking with Isaiah Berlin until 2 a.m..

Trott wrote: "Oxford in the end was very nice, and I really am rather at home there."¹⁰⁸ There were days, however, when he felt awkward in England: "I find it very difficult to find my feet this time. I feel very much the stranger and I constantly find myself saying things that I don't really want to say at all. Everybody seems so hasty and unsettled--but perhaps that is only something wrong with oneself."¹⁰⁹ Just before the end of his trip he wrote: "There were days when I was feeling very happy in your country, and I am glad I came and I am sure they will stick in my memory more than these other ones."¹¹⁰ He met with Lord Lothian, the secretary of the Rhodes Trust on November 16. His response was "reasonably favourable" and Trott was asked to submit a formal proposal to the Trustees.¹¹¹ Trott found it difficult to write the proposal, since he had not yet decided that he wanted to go to China.¹¹² He wrote that he would use his year in China to work toward becoming an expert on that country's internal structure and how it influenced China's conformity with international laws. He wanted to leave Europe as early in the new year as possible. He proposed to travel through America en route to China in order to meet experts on the Far East and to spend some time at the School of Oriental Studies in Berkeley. Lord Lothian assured Trott on November 27 that he would receive the grant.¹¹³

Trott returned to Germany with the assurance of a grant and "any amount of splendid introductions" to

politicians and intellectuals during his journey to China.¹¹⁴ On December 15, the Rhodes Trustees officially awarded Trott a grant of £350 in order "'to proceed to China to qualify himself as an expert in Far Eastern affairs before taking up a teaching position in a German university.'"¹¹⁵ Trott received invitations from relatives and Julie Braun-Vogelestein to stay in their homes in America. Julie Braun-Vogelstein also financed Trott's Atlantic crossing to America. Gustav Ecke offered Trott his hospitality and contacts once he had arrived in Peking. Ecke also recommended to Trott that he discuss his travel plans with a sinologist in Leipzig, Dr. Wolfram Eberhard. He and Trott met twice, and they agreed to study together in California. Trott paid a visit to the former German ambassador to China, and, upon Lord Lothian's advice, Trott wrote to Edward C. Carter, Secretary General of the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York City. Carter invited him to visit the institute. Trott used the facilities at the Institute of International Law in Berlin to compile a bibliography and to read extensively on the Far East.¹¹⁶

As the preparations for his journey to China proceeded, Trott gained confidence in his decision to go to China.¹¹⁷ He wrote to Shiela Grant Duff in the middle of January: "It [a visit to Imshausen] has convinced me and reassured me about the necessity of going away, and as you say, to leave those I love best. I have nothing to offer

them now [...]," and two weeks later, "[...] on the whole I think I could get almost anything I wanted in this place if I applied myself--I think you have slightly underestimated that always. After five or ten years drudgery in some carefully chosen starting point, one really could do things. And that, after all, is what one wants most of all. But before that I must tidy up the Trott's head, heart, and soul, and for that I must go to Peking and become very wise and ponderous."¹¹⁸ Trott could never be certain of the wisdom of leaving Germany. Nevertheless, he knew his ongoing search for a career that would not compromise his political beliefs, and for the philosophical unity he felt was necessary for effective political action, had stalled in face of the restrictive measures of Nazi Germany and the strain of leading a double life. "He needed a breathing space for reflection and to get European problems into perspective."¹¹⁹

Trott left Imshausen on February 19 to begin his voyage to China. He went to Frankfurt to see his brother Heinrich and on the 21st arrived in Paris. Two days later he met Shiela Grant Duff and they travelled to England together. He stayed initially with Alexander Werth in London. He then went to Oxford where he met Lord Halifax, Sir John Hope Simpson who had been in charge of flood relief in the Yangtze valley from 1931 to 1935, and the Chinese Ambassador to Britain. He saw Maurice Bowra and Isaiah Berlin. He had a "very friendly parting" with them.

Also during this trip to Oxford, A.L. Rowse introduced Trott to a lawyer from Germany, Helmuth Graf von Moltke. Trott stayed during his weekend visit to Oxford at H.N. Spalding's, who also provided additional funds for his trip to China.¹²⁰ David Astor invited Trott to stay at his family's home once he had returned to London. David Astor's mother was a lively woman, originally from Virginia. She had married Waldorf Astor and was the first woman to be elected to the British House of Commons.¹²¹ The Astors "were very friendly and kind to me, and I really liked Lady Astor for all her wiry liveliness [...] she gave me a letter to Charlie Chaplin, and money to buy riding boots and a trench coat which she thought I ought to have when I went to the Virginian horse farm of my cousin."¹²² The Astors and Lord Lothian gave Trott valuable letters of introduction, as did Sir Stafford Cripps, who also financed Trott's journey from California to China.¹²³ Overall, Trott found "England was quite different this time and much pleasanter."¹²⁴ With his plans more defined than they had been during his November visit, and his friends' kind send-off, Trott was more assured of his good standing in England. The parting exchange between Shiela Grant Duff and Trott was hopeful: "Bless you, dear Trott--I am pleased with you, and think you not in such need of blessing as you and I have been during the last year and a half. We are getting stronger to deal with this hard world, and we will be happy and good allies [...]", and

Trott's response was: "You are splendid and brave and I shall try to be the same [...]. We will not lose each other. We will not be captured by the fatal round of things [...]. Your country has been very kind to me [...]. Well, Duff, the rush and sweep of the big waves of your Atlantic will soon lie between us. But it's all right, I too am pleased and content in you and I know there's nothing fatal or final to divide us."¹²⁵

Trott arrived in New York City on March 12, 1938. He was met on the quay by his friends Ingrid Warburg and Josias von Rantzau, who was the Secretary of Legation in the German Consulate General in New York. Julie Braun-Vogelstein invited Trott to spend his first evening in New York with her, her niece and Hasso von Seebach, but he felt obliged to reserve this time for his New York hosts, Dr. William and Louise Schieffelin, cousins of Trott's mother. Julie Braun-Vogelstein, her niece and Hasso von Seebach were making their way to the west coast. Trott saw them again in Washington and then stayed with them during his visit to California.¹²⁶ He spent most of his time in New York and Washington. He also took trips to Virginia and New England. In New York, Trott made contact with the Secretary General of the governing council of the Institute of Pacific Relations Edward C. Carter. Carter along with Owen Lattimore, a sinologist Trott had met in England in November, gave him names of people in Washington, Japan and China who could assist him in his studies in the Far East.

Following Dr. Visser 't Hooft's suggestion Trott became acquainted with the theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and with Francis P. Miller, the head of the World Christian Student Movement in America. A letter from Isaiah Berlin introduced Trott to Felix Frankfurter, a professor of law at Harvard University and adviser to President Roosevelt. Two friends of Paul Leverkuhn became acquainted with Trott. They were Felix Morley, editor of the Washington Post, and Colonel William J. Donovan, then a Wall Street lawyer and during the Second World War the head of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). With a letter of introduction from Stafford Cripps, Trott met the head of the American Civil Liberties Union, Roger Baldwin. He was unable to make use of Dr. Schieffelin's offer to introduce him to the Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who was not in New York City at the time of Trott's visit. He did meet the former Secretary of State Henry Stimson who was "most encouraging about China."¹²⁷

In general, Trott was well received by his new acquaintances. The Frankfurters made Trott feel welcome, as did the Baldwin family.¹²⁸ William Donovan offered his Washington home as a place for Trott to stay.¹²⁹ Felix Morley wrote in his diary on March 31, 1937: "'Von Trott, Leverkuehn's German Rhodes Scholar friend, proved a thoroughly delightful young fellow [. .]. He spoke with exceeding frankness of the repressions of the Nazi regime and regards a popular uprising as by no means impossible.

It will be a ghastly business if it comes.'"130 Despite his numerous encouraging and friendly encounters, Trott wrote: "'I have sensed an awful distrust against me over here, which I suppose is only natural in the present international situation and which I was protected against to an enormous extent by my personal friends in England. More and more you are either an emigré or a Nazi, and as neither of them are you liked.'"131 Trott experienced two overt, minor incidents involving prejudice against Germans. He and a distant cousin became fascinated with each other much to her father's anger. He felt it inappropriate for a German to show interest in an American given the poor relations between the two countries. Trott also found in his discussions with Hamilton Fish Armstrong, the author of the anti-totalitarian book entitled 'We or They': Two Worlds in Conflict, published in 1936, that Armstrong had difficulty separating Germany's legitimate foreign policy goals from the National Socialists' methods. Trott wrote of Armstrong's book to Shiela Grant Duff: "you will admire it very much at first, and then you will wonder about the constructive value of this whole position. Liberal-democracy!--all very well, but what about its application, what about the grievances which have made for its defeat in the countries where it has been defeated?"132

At the end of April, Trott began his journey to the west coast of America. He made brief visits to Ithaca, Harvard, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Detroit, Chicago

Denver, and Kansas City: "Montreal is an extraordinary city, three quarters French, and one quarter British--the first all in slums, the latter in granite business houses. Ottawa is provincial and charming." In Ottawa, he stayed with the parents of John Buchan, an Oxford friend. His hosts, Lord Tweedsmuir, the Governor General of Canada, and his wife were "very charming to me and I have long, extremely instructive talks with him about the world and Canada in particular."¹³³ He visited his Oxford friend David Lewis who had become the Secretary of the labour party, the Canadian Commonwealth Federation (the C.C.F.). Trott found Chicago to be "wild and fascinating".¹³⁴

He arrived in Los Angeles on May 7, 1937. He made his way to Carmel where he stayed at the home of Julie Braun-Vogelstein. Trott's life was less hectic in California. He read books on China, went to the beach and for walks and prepared a report for his friends in Germany on his impressions of America.¹³⁵ The strain on Trott of living in Germany had been great. The trip through America was achieving its purpose of freeing Trott: "These last years have, I think, frozen me inside to an extent which can only be gradually thawed up, but some crusts have already fallen off, and I am much freer and opener to the world than I was."¹³⁶

Dr. Wolfram Eberhard, the sinologist from Leipzig with whom Trott had arranged to meet in California, arrived in Carmel in early June. Eberhard became Trott's tutor in

Chinese. In the latter part of June, Trott attended a summer course at Berkeley in Chinese Studies directed by Professor Lessing, a German emigrant and former professor of Eberhard. Julie Braun-Vogelstein provided the funds to enable Eberhard to accompany Trott on his journey through China. Since Eberhard wanted to travel via Japan and Trott's Pacific passage had been booked in England, they were unable to cross the ocean together. Trott began his trip on July 17, 1937 aboard the MS Maron.¹³⁷

On July 7, the Japanese attacked the Marco Polo bridge near Peking and began their full-scale invasion of China. During a stopover in Manila, Trott was informed that Peking had been cut off by the Japanese. The MS Maron was diverted away from its destination, Shanghai, to Hong Kong. The ship arrived on August 12 and was sequestered for troop transport. Not expecting to be in Hong Kong, Trott had no pre-arranged contacts and his money and mail had been sent to Shanghai. He contacted Eberhard in Japan who arrived in Hong Kong on August 26. The fighting around Peking made a journey there dangerous. Trott and Eberhard left instead for Canton which was under air attack, but was a better place than Hong Kong from which to explore their options.¹³⁸

Once in Canton, they decided to travel through the province of Kwangsi. Despite a warning from the provincial government that the military situation and flooding made it an inconvenient time to visit, Trott and Eberhard proceeded

by boat to the city of Wuchow. To their surprise, the authorities in Wuchow granted them a visa for the whole province. They travelled to Nanning, Liuchow and Kueilin. In Kueilin, they were the only foreigners other than a missionary. At dawn on the day after their arrival, they heard shots. Seventy-two people were executed. Trott and Eberhard decided to leave Kueilin, travelling down the River Kwei by sampan.¹³⁹

Since his arrival in the Far East, Trott had experienced a number of natural and man-made disasters: "earthquake in Manila, epidemic of cholera here [Hong Kong], bombing in Canton, shooting and arrest in Kwangsi, running into mines in the Canton river, and being shot by Japanese boats [sic], when we passed them, and last but by no means least, the typhoon here, which cost some ten thousand lives." Nevertheless he "had a beautiful and even placid trip through the interior of China, made almost in the old style with junks and sampans, and tasted the profound peace of the East inspite of this upheaval."¹⁴⁰

Trott and Eberhard returned to Hong Kong on September 24. They each had to decide whether or not the upheavals in China would prevent them from carrying out their plan of study in Peking. Eberhard believed that the friendly relations between Japan and Germany would make serious work with Chinese scholars impossible in Japanese-occupied Peking. He decided to accept a teaching position at the University of Ankara. Since there was no longer any

fighting around Peking, Trott decided to assess the situation first hand. Gustav Ecke had sent him a cable in September: "'Welcome beginning October own risk.'" Trott arrived in Peking on October 20.¹⁴¹ He was pleased to have finally reached his destination: "It still seems impossible and unreal, but it is without doubt the best thing that has happened to me for a long time [...]. Imagine yourself being suddenly surrounded by huge cold calmness, ancient and solemn, looking down on you, as it were, and waiting with an ironic smile which turn you're going to take next."¹⁴²

Trott stayed intermittently in Peking for one year. Using Peking as a base, he travelled to Japan, Korea, Manchuria, Shantung, and Shanghai.¹⁴³ Trott's principal concern was finding a suitable topic for his research. He discovered that the facilities at Yenching University and at the local libraries were adequate for his research, and he became acquainted with Chinese intellectuals. The Japanese invasion made his original plan of studying Chinese sovereignty impossible. After three months of study, Trott decided on the classical concept of sovereignty in China as his research topic. He knew his research would take more time than originally planned. In February 1938, he asked the Rhodes Trustees to extend his scholarship. They refused.¹⁴⁴

Insufficient time, Trott's inability to read Chinese characters and his lack of "'certain essential qualities of

a scholar, particularly a certain leisurely steadiness, industry and orderliness, which are all indispensable for genuine research'" limited the scope and depth of his research.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, Trott allowed himself to be distracted by other projects. Before leaving for China, he had promised Professor Karl Larenz, a friend from his days at Gottingen and co-editor of the Zeitschrift fur deutsche Kulturphilosophie, he would write a review of a book on the 19th century Oxford Hegelian Bernard Bosanquet. He was unable to complete it before his departure, and had to finish it during his stay in China.¹⁴⁶ He also delivered a lecture to the German Club in Peking on January 18, 1938, the anniversary of the foundation of the empire in 1871. He described his topic to Shiela Grant Duff: "I gave a lecture to the German Club on 'Anglo-German Relations since 1871' and told them that whereas we had an authoritarian patriotism you had a spontaneous though subconsciously imperialistic one and while Bismarck knew how to handle this profound difficulty his successors muddled it into a hopeless sequence of bluff counter bluff and that we both must not behave like that again."¹⁴⁷

Trott did manage to produce two studies on the Sino-Japanese conflict. He used part of his research to write a paper entitled "Die staatspolitischen Hintergrunde des Ostasienkonflikts" ("The Political Background of the Conflict in East Asia") which he presented in Berlin in 1939 to the Society of Chinese Studies.¹⁴⁸ In his paper,

Trott argued that the Sino-Japanese conflict could not be understood through an examination of only the economic interests. He believed that both countries' differing concepts of the state and Emperor were central factors. If the conflict were to be resolved, Trott concluded that the Japanese would have to overpower the Chinese resistance by making inroads into the hinterlands of China or the Japanese would have to accept China's ancient concepts of state and Emperor.¹⁴⁹

Trott used his experience in the Far East as the basis for a memorandum, entitled "Far Eastern Possibilities", which called for Anglo-German initiatives aimed at resolving the Sino-Japanese conflict. In the memorandum,¹⁵⁰ Trott gave an assessment of the Far Eastern situation and described the British government's policy options. He stated that most safeguards for western trade would be removed if the main arteries of trade in China, especially the Canton-Hankow railway, came under control of the Japanese whose army had a strong anti-foreign attitude. Germany's friendly relations with the Japanese army made her the sole power who would be capable of influencing effectively the political plans of the army. Britain could provide the capital, which Germany lacked, to return economic stability to Japan and China and in co-operation with Germany could negotiate a peace settlement between China and Japan. The settlement would also co-ordinate British and German trade in the Far East, therefore making

it in Germany's interest to support Britain's position in the Far East. Trott argued that German trade in the Far East was not, as those hostile to Anglo-German co-operation believed, "inspired by the wish to build up strategic positions against the [British] Empire or [...] intended to pave the way for territorial aggrandisement."¹⁵¹ Certainly a British-German settlement of the Sino-Japanese conflict would give Germany a chance to prove she had no aggressive intentions in the Far East. The settlement would demonstrate that Britain was not opposed to non-threatening economic expansion by Germany in the Far East, and it would indicate that Britain would be prepared to acknowledge Germany as a great power. Anglo-German initiatives in the Far East could lead to similar initiatives in European affairs. Trott believed Anglo-German co-operation was essential to averting war in Europe. Such co-operation might check the "fatal drift of opinion that war is inevitable"¹⁵² and that Britain could turn only to the Soviet Union as her ally in the Far Eastern and European theatres. Trott realized that there might no longer be a basis for co-operation between Germany and Britain. He concluded his memorandum with: "Even if the international constellation [sic] makes a concrete peace move from the West--be it in the shape of Anglo-German action or otherwise--impossible, the inevitable trends in the situation prove clearly the common menace to all Western

powers, if their morals no longer permits [sic] concerted action."¹⁵³

Trott prepared his memorandum during June 1938. A copy of the German version entitled "Ostasiatische Moglichkeiten" was sent to his family who in turn distributed approximately fifty copies to friends, industrialists, government officials, and professors. The Reichsbank president Hjalmar Schacht and the German ambassador in England, Japan and China received copies. Early in July, Trott prepared a draft version in English for his friend Peter Fleming to take with him when he returned to England from Hong Kong. He delivered it to Lord Lothian. Later that month, Trott finished the final draft and sent it to the Rhodes Secretariat asking that copies be distributed to friends and to people with an interest in the Far East.¹⁵⁴ Lord Lothian gave a copy to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax. Lord Halifax' assessment of the memorandum is not known, but lower officials gave the memorandum serious consideration. However, as Trott suspected, the tensions between Britain and Germany prevented the two countries from taking concerted action in the Far East. In August and again in September, Trott's memorandum was set aside by the Foreign Office for a month in case tensions between Germany and Britain had eased.¹⁵⁵ During these months, tensions became more acute as the European powers worked out a settlement of the Sudeten question. The Munich Agreement of September

29 thwarted Hitler's plans to occupy all of Czechoslovakia. Hitler signed the agreement not as a result of gentlemanly negotiations, but rather in response to Britain's and France's show of arms and Italy's refusal to support an occupation of Czechoslovakia by Germany.¹⁵⁶ Although an agreement had been reached, there hardly remained a basis for co-operation between Britain and Germany in the Far East.

Travelling enabled Trott to see the problems of Germany in the European and world context. Leaving Germany did not remove the issues from Trott's mind. His approach to the problem of maintaining the European balance of power while duly recognizing Germany as a world power was often a topic in his letters to friends and relatives. From California, he wrote to Diana Hubback:

"One begins to see Europe as a whole from this detached angle in a curious sort of way--as if really the same problem is at stake in all our countries and all our governments inadequate to deal with it in a different degree rather than in substance. If this is so, one must not revert to the kind of argument which S.[Shiela Grant Duff] seems to imply, that the good cause is bound up with these and the bad one with the other colours.--I think that means surrendering to the philosophy of war (which naturally dominates Central Europe) instead of fighting

constructively for an ordered relationship between the existing powers and thereby creating a breathing space in which the peace element within each of them can change them from inside. That's why the internal situation in Germany seems to me of paramount importance. I left Germany with the conviction that powerful processes making for peace were at work there-- but that I could not substantially contribute anything to them myself. Considering them and the return of Europe to a more stable balance with your re-armament, there was no immediate prospect of war. I still think so, but I feel that neither pacifist idealism nor idealising your national policies will sustain the fragile European balance until the present essentially temporary social and economic crisis in Germany can work itself out. There ought to be a firm, self-confident bulwark against war and at the same time an attitude of solidarity to the desperate ferment in Germany."¹⁵⁷

Trott believed that war was not inevitable and that it was best avoided through "constructive means and attitudes [rather] than building strategic positions for the event of its happening."¹⁵⁸ The essential "constructive means" was Anglo-German co-operation "in some shape or other".¹⁵⁹ Trott's observations in America, and of the British

position in the Pacific, and the attitude of the Western powers in China confirmed his view that the veiled brutality of the capitalist states gave them no moral basis for their denunciation of Germany.¹⁶⁰ He believed the moral, economic and political containment of Germany would lead to war and the destruction of the remaining foundations of Europe.¹⁶¹ A negotiated settlement was the constructive option.

To a degree, nationalism motivated Trott's opposition to the policy of containment. Containment would restrict Germany's national sovereignty as it was restricted under the Treaty of Versailles. Trott resented the invidious Treaty of Versailles¹⁶² and "the leading spirit of Europe wanting to perpetuate Germany's defeat in 1918."¹⁶³ National sovereignty was "'the only tool by which [...] a return to some international order can be achieved.'"¹⁶⁴ Trott argued that Anglo-German co-operation in the Far East and in Europe would establish by constructive means, not through coercion, Germany's sovereignty and her position as a world power.

Trott's advocacy of co-operation between the British and the German government was based on the premise that Hitler would negotiate, since popular support in Germany for peace gave him no popular basis for the use of coercion. After "Munich", Trott interpreted the success of the Anschluss as an "intrinsic turning point [...] which opened up the path for a coercive settlement of the Central

European problem."¹⁶⁵ Trott failed to understand the significance of the Anschluss until after the signing of the Munich Agreement and he continued to argue against a policy of containment until then. This was due to his isolation from day to day events in Europe: "[...] this whole extreme sharpening of the European conflict came as a complete surprise to me [...] It is not only this particular aspect of the mounting European crisis, but Europe itself, home and all I love there that I have really lost touch with to a degree which is beginning to worry me a good deal."¹⁶⁶ He had not realized "the immediate threat as it must have existed all these months of a unilateral settlement of the issue by Germany without the Western Powers carrying out their promises to your [Shiela Grant Duff's] friends [the Czechoslovakians]. I would not have written to you as I did [about the policy of containment] had I been clear about the circumstances."¹⁶⁷ Trott objected to the use of unilateral action by Germany and, if it had been used, the Western powers ought to have responded by fulfilling their guarantees.

The Munich Agreement had become a fait accompli. Europe had peace and Trott urged that it be made into a constructive solution: "Don't please let your [Shiela Grant Duff's] mind get trapped in the hopeless view that only war can make things right again. Peace, even a painful peace is ultimately better and may still give us a

chance to disentangle the destinies of our two countries."¹⁶⁸

Living in the Far East had isolated Trott from the events of Europe and had not prepared him, in practical terms or philosophically, for his return to Germany. He did not want to return to the impasse of the three years prior to his departure. In January 1938, he felt he was making progress in preparing himself to return to Germany.¹⁶⁹ In April 1938, he wrote to Shiela Grant Duff: "At present I bring nothing back that could justify my long absence and I must if I want to get a university job. [...] I cannot even really wish for a university job--nor probably have a chance to get one. It would be the most rational approach to the given situation.--I could very probably get that legal job in industry I once told you about [with I.G. Farben], but I want that only as the last resort {....} I am afraid China has made me rather less than more able to fit in anywhere."¹⁷⁰ By October 1938, he had not improved his prospects.¹⁷¹ His research in China had not been substantial in terms of writing a Habilitationsschrift once he returned to Germany, and meeting the expectations of the Rhodes Trustees.

Research, however, had not been Trott's private reason for his Far Eastern voyage: "You [Shiela Grant Duff] know that it was my chief wish to have some time for quietly working out things, for which purpose my friends in Peking suggested a good environment and that in so far China as a

subject had been secondary."¹⁷³ He had wanted to "tidy up the Trott's head, heart, and soul[...]."¹⁷⁴ Being in China was not "a facile escapism. And nothing, on careful consideration, makes my presence indispensable anywhere else. [...] I infinitely prefer it to humiliating inactivity at home."¹⁷⁵ Toward the end of his stay in China, however, Trott concluded he had reclined into a "passive contemplativeness which is no good for solving the problems right ahead of us nowadays. [...] All this time away has done the very opposite to adapting one to 'fit in'."¹⁷⁶ Living in a country where war, destruction and death were not threats but an actuality numbed Trott to these horrors. This experience encouraged "a type of indifference and passiveness which is utterly objectionable and however good it may be for getting out of the rut of morbid over-intensity from which we suffer and as a calm stratum to withdraw to from time to time, it is no way out of our bad troubles."¹⁷⁷ Trott's journey in the Far East was "in some ways [...] an idyllic period for him."¹⁷⁸ In his last letter to his wife, in August 1944, Trott described the Berlin sky as "a clear, Peking sky."¹⁷⁹ His sojourn in the Far East gave his otherwise hectic and at times endangered life a period of tranquility.

The day Trott heard of the Munich Agreement, he contemplated going "via America [...] to look for a place to work if our continent is really going to be what we both feel threatening now a conflict has been spared. It is a

damned hard choice, but I'd rather be a beggar than a slave [...]."¹⁸⁰ He wrote a week later: "that even the authoritarian state must allow for the development of free individual personality to survive. I believe, and I have seen that to some extent this is the case in Germany and it is my duty to try that out until I fail utterly."¹⁸¹ His strong sense of duty toward Germany and his optimism won over his understandable desire for a more predictable life in America. He recognized that his return to Germany and his search for an official position from which to resist could be misinterpreted by some of his English friends as sympathy for the Nazis.¹⁸² Shiela Grant Duff wrote to him in September: "[...] what has been done to show there is a distinction between government and people [in Germany]? [...] I suppose you will go back and be part of it. I cannot condemn you, but I cannot approve either, and perhaps one day I shall think you did wrong."¹⁸³ Trott believed a constructive solution to the European problem had to be wrought from the painful peace of Munich.¹⁸⁴ He decided to go home through the parts of the Orient that were necessary for him to produce "a fair analysis of the immediate and future possibilities,"¹⁸⁵ then continue through Burma, Rangoon, Calcutta, Bombay and then home to Germany. A few hours before sailing from Hong Kong on October 28, he received telegrams from home saying his father had had a stroke and had died. Trott boarded the SS Ranchi the following day and sailed for Europe.¹⁸⁶

¹Hopkinson, MS, pp. 63-64. Sykes, p. 81, letter from Adam von Trott to August von Trott, Oxford, February 13, 1933.

²CvT, tr., p. 32, see "Transl. note".

³CvT, tr., pp. 33-34.

⁴Malone, p. 317. CvT, tr., p. 32.

⁵A.to S., Imshausen, 28th. August. 1933, Klemperer, p. 20.

⁶CvT, tr., p. 32.

⁷Malone, p. 326-327, 331.

⁸Malone, pp. 325-326.

⁹Hopkinson, pp. 130-131.

¹⁰A.to S., [n.p.], 2/4/33, Klemperer, p. 17. Hopkinson, MS, p. 43.

¹¹"The Jews in Germany. Ten Months of Persecution. A Terrible Record The Guilt of Educated Germans," and "The Jews in Germany. Pitiless Process of Elimination. Many Suicides. German Art and Science in Eclipse," The Manchester Guardian, January 22-23, 1934, pp. 9-10, and 9-10. Berlin, "Personal Tribute," p. 61, Klemperer, fn. 5, p. 31, the special correspondent was F.A. Voigt who was The Manchester Guardian's Berlin correspondent. S.to A., [n.p.], [beginning of March 1934, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 30: "Voigt questioned your observatory powers. I only hope your are right."

¹²Adam von Trott, "The Nazi Rule in Hessen Anti-semitism Denied," letter to the editor, The Manchester Guardian,

February 21, 1934, p. 18, at the end of the letter the editor included a reponse by the special correspondent. Harrison Brown, "Anti-Semitism in Hessen Dealing in Cattle," letter to the editor, The Manchester Guardian, March 7, 1934, p. 18. Adam von Trott, "Anti-Semitism in Hessen," letter to the editor, The Manchester Guardian, Thursday, March 8, 1934, p. 18.

¹³CvT, tr., p. 37.

¹⁴Hopkinson, p. 131.

¹⁵Sykes, p. 110.

¹⁶Berlin, "Personal Tribute," p. 61. Malone, pp. 340-341, 443, Malone states that Berlin gave the impression he had lost confidence in Trott, and that at least two years after The Manchester Guardian incident Berlin was a source of negative rumours circulating in Oxford about Trott's political allegiance. Malone, fn. 195, p. 472, Hopkinson, MS, p. 90, in a letter to Trott, written in the winter of 1936, a friend warns him that "'X [Isaiah Berlin] is still leaking," that is, still a source of negative rumours.

¹⁷Malone, p. 341. Sykes, p. 110. CvT, tr., p. 37.

¹⁸Hopkinson, MS, p. 47, letter [February or March, 1934].

¹⁹Malone, p. 317.

²⁰Malone, pp. 323, 332, 356-358. CvT, tr., p. 36.

²¹CvT, tr., p. 36. Malone, p. 256.

²²CvT, tr., p. 46, quoting a letter from Diana Hopkinson.

²³CvT, tr., pp. 32-33. Malone, pp. 333, 355.

²⁴CvT, tr., p. 34.

²⁵Malone, pp. 349-350, 358. CvT, tr., pp. 36, 42. A.to S., Imshausen, 18th July, 1934, Klemperer, p. 35.

²⁶Malone, pp. 333-335, 350-351. CvT, tr., pp. 34-35.

²⁷A.to S., Kassel, 3 Oct. 1934, Klemperer, p. 52, Trott writes of is "whole physical, emotional, intellectual isolation." Malone, pp. 323-324.

²⁸Malone, pp. 268-269.

²⁹Malone, p. 353.

³⁰Malone, pp. 416-418. Hopkinson, MS, p. 79.

³¹CvT, tr., p. 39. Malone, pp. 418-420, contains translations of quotations from Adam von Trott zu Solz, ed. and intro., Heinrich von Kleist. Politische und journalistische Schriften. (Heinrich von Kleist), Potsdam: Alfred Protte Verlag, 1935, pp. 8,9,12.

³²Malone, p. 421.

³³Malone, p. 420, Adam von Trott, Heinrich von Kleist, p. 12. Hopkinson, MS, p. 80.

³⁴Hoffmann, German Resistance to Hitler, pp. 25-28.

³⁵CvT, tr., p. 42, quoting Shiela Grant Duff, and p. 47. Malone, pp. 324-325, 360.

³⁶Hopkinson, MS, p. 66, letter, second half of July, 1934.

³⁷A.to S., Kassel, 31.10.34, Klemperer, p. 55. Malone, p. 358.

³⁸CvT, tr., p. 41. Malone, p. 406.

³⁹CvT, tr., pp. 41-41, quoting Shiela Grant Duff.

⁴⁰Hopkinson, MS, p. 69, letter, n.d.. CvT, tr., p. 41, Dr. von Trott writes that only "A few paragraphs of the last

part [of the lecture] are still in existence." Malone, pp. 362, 372, fn. 217, p. 306, Conrad finished his legal training after the war.

⁴¹Malone, pp. 367, 368, 369, 370, 409, 423, 425, 444, 445. CvT, tr., pp. 43-43, 51.

⁴²CvT, tr., p. 43. A.to S., Kassel, 19.11.34, Klemperer, p. 59. Malone, p. 395.

⁴³Malone, p. 397.

⁴⁴CvT, tr., p. 43.

⁴⁵CvT, tr., p. 44.

⁴⁶A.to S., Berlin, 29.12.34, Klemperer, p. 63.

⁴⁷CvT, tr., p.44. Malone, pp. 399-400.

⁴⁸Hopkinson, MS, p. 72, letter January 1935. Hopkinson, p. 133. Malone, p. 401.

⁴⁹CvT, tr., pp. 45-46. Malone, pp. 400-402.

⁵⁰Malone, pp. 402-406, 432-434. CvT, tr., p. 45. Hopkinson, pp. 141-142.

⁵¹Hopkinson, pp. 141-142. CvT, tr., pp. 43, 46.

⁵²Hopkinson, MS, p. 71.

⁵³CvT, tr., pp. 43-44. Malone, pp. 406-407. Hopkinson, pp. 137-138.

⁵⁴Malone, p. 411.

⁵⁵Hopkinson, p. 145.

⁵⁶CvT, tr., p. 45. Malone, p. 410. Hopkinson, p. 138.

⁵⁷CvT, tr., pp. 45, 46. Malone, pp. 410, 411.

⁵⁸CvT, tr., p. 47.

⁵⁹CvT, tr., p. 44. Malone, p. 412.

⁶⁰CvT, tr., p. 47. Malone, p. 413. Hopkinson, MS, p. 75, letter , [spring 1935].

⁶¹S.to A., Chelsea, [about 1 January 1935, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 64. S.to A., Saarbrücken, 13.1.35, Klemperer, p. 65. A.to S., [Berlin], 15.1.35, Klemperer, p. 67.

⁶²CvT, tr., p. 47.

⁶³Malone, p. 416.

⁶⁴Malone, p. 416. Hopkinson, MS, p. 78, letter [June? 1935].

⁶⁵Malone, p. 413.

⁶⁶Malone, p. 416. CvT, tr., p. 78. A.to S., Hamburg, Monday, [25.11.35, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 112.

⁶⁷Hopkinson, MS, p. 83, letter, September 1935. CvT, tr., pp. 42, 48. Malone, p. 434.

⁶⁸CvT, tr., p. 48, quoting a recollection by Julie Braun-Vogelstein.

⁶⁹Malone, p. 425.

⁷⁰Malone, p. 426.

⁷¹CvT, tr., p. 49. Malone, pp. 426, 427. A.to S., Hamburg, 11.11.35, Klemperer, p. 105.

⁷²Malone, p. 430.

⁷³A.to S., [n.p.], 15.1.35, Klemperer, p. 67. A.to S., Peking, July 20, 1938, Klemperer, pp. 312-313, "I have never hesitated to tell you how I hated your ambition to make a name for yourself in journalism. You have, to a slight extent, taken this objection of mine seriously, but

mainly you have put it back to obsolete prejudice and treated it lightly because you know very well that my affection was stronger than my disapproval. [...] any occupation with current events which fails to reach such fundamental detachment and fairness is bound to be swayed by collective prejudice and the uncritical interests inertly entrenched in it. That's why I think a person like you with your impulsiveness and your strong personal ambition--however sincere your beliefs may be--is bound in journalism to become prey of forces which you cannot control."

⁷⁴S.to A., Klemperer, pp. 34, 40, 43, 80 and 29, 64, 65-67.

⁷⁵A.to S., [n.p.], 6.11.35, Klemperer, p. 103.

⁷⁶CvT, tr., p. 51.

⁷⁷Grant Duff, Parting, p. 96. Malone, p. 431, fn. 146 and 153, pp. 466, 468, Malone explains the history of the confusions and denials surrounding this meeting between Wheeler-Bennett and Trott. Lamb, Ghosts, pp. 265-266.

⁷⁸CvT, tr., pp. 49, 50. A.to S., Hamburg, 29.11.35, Klemperer, p. 116.

⁷⁹Malone, p. 488. Gordon A. Craig, Germany 1866-1945, (Craig), New York: Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 634.

⁸⁰Christabel Bielenberg, The Past Is Myself, (Bielenberg), London: Chatto & Windus, 1968, pp. 23, 40.

⁸¹Malone, p. 429. CvT, tr., p. 50.

⁸²CvT, tr., pp. 49-50. Bielenberg, pp. 40-41.

⁸³A.to S., Hamburg, Nov. 17th, 1935, Klemperer, p. 109.

⁸⁴CvT, tr., pp. 49-50. Malone, pp. 435-436.

⁸⁵Malone, p. 427. CvT, tr., p. 43.

⁸⁶A.to S., Hamburg, 29.11.35, Klemperer, p. 116.

⁸⁷CvT, tr., p. 50.

⁸⁸Malone, p. 439.

⁸⁹A.to S., Hamburg, 18.12.35, Klemperer, p. 119.

⁹⁰CvT, tr., p. 52.

⁹¹Malone, pp. 442-443. Hopkinson, MS, p. 90.

⁹²Hopkinson, p. 147.

⁹³Hermann Mau and Helmut Krausnick, German History 1933-45

An Assessment by German Historians, (German History), tr.

Andrew and Eva Wilson. London: Oswald Wolff, 1978, pp.

62-66. Lamb, Ghosts, pp. 38-40.

⁹⁴A.to S., as from Kassel, 16.3.36, Klemperer, p. 134.

⁹⁵A.to S., Kassel, 24.8.36, Canton, China, 31.8.37, Klemperer, pp. 171-172 and fn. 2, p. 172. A.to S., Canton, China, 31.8.37, Klemperer, pp. 270-271.

⁹⁶A.to S., Imshausen, 14.9.36, Klemperer, p. 184.

⁹⁷A.to S., Kassel, June 10, 1936, Klemperer, p. 148.

⁹⁸Malone, pp. 449-450.

⁹⁹Malone, p. 450. CvT, tr., p. 54. According to Malone,

pp. 435-436, Trott met with Dr. Buhl, the chief legal director of I.G. Farben in in November, 1935, when they discussed the possibility of Trott applying for a position at I.G. Farben and Dr.Buhl's son's application for the Rhodes Scholarship. Trott was on the Rhodes Scholarship Selection Committee since November 1935. A.to S., Hamburg,

Nov. 17th 1935, Klemperer, p. 109, "I have been more or less offered a job in the big German chemical concern (I.G.)." A.to S., [n.p.] Monday afternoon [18.11.35, Klemperer] and Hamburg, Monday [25.11.35, Klemperer], unpublished letters, copies from Professor von Klemperer, in the first letter, Trott wrote: "I am going to Berlin Friday to have an interview with the chemical big busy boss and to help sorting out applications to this year's Rhodes Scholarship." In the second letter he wrote: "Berlin again has increased and depressed my hopes about everything, it certainly was a very good lesson. The 'boss' though rather forthcoming shocked and disappointed me as a person." Trott did meet with Dr. Buhl in November 1935, but, unless Dr. Buhl's son applied twice for the scholarship, they did not discuss his son's application until a second meeting in Frankfurt in November 1936: A.to S., 65 Eccleston Sq. London, Tuesday [10?] Nov. 1936, Klemperer, p. 192, "Before I left Frankfurt the chief legal director of the chemical concern, whose son wants to become a Rhodes Scholar gave me a princely lunch."

¹⁰⁰CvT, tr., p. 54. Malone, pp. 451-452.

¹⁰¹Grant Duff, Parting, p. 116. S.to A., Prague, 9th July, 1936, Klemperer, p. 151.

¹⁰²Grant Duff, Parting, pp. 120-123. A.to S., Hamburg, 29.10.35, Klemperer, p. 94: "Letters and distance are clearly not the medium in which our friendship thrives." A.to S., Hamburg, Nov. 4th 1935, Klemperer, pp. 100-101:

"You did not doubt my sincerity when you were here and your doing so now must reasonably be attributed to other factors than my own untrustworthiness [...] But I know that you would be the same fair Shiela if we met." S.to A., Chelsea, 9.1.36, Klemperer, p. 122: "[...] you see, it is still so true, that I forget what you are like when you are away and it is as if there were two of you--one to be with and laugh with and walk with and be happy with--and the other to quarrel with over interminable blue and white pages--[...]."

¹⁰³S.to A., Prague--Karlsbad, 26.8.36, Klemperer, p. 173.

¹⁰⁴S.to A., [n.p.], Tuesday, 1 Sept. [1936, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 177. For example: S.to A., Prague, 30.5.37, Klemperer, p. 240, "I hate armies and all views of life as a Kampf. You'd think Germany were situated in the Arctic Circle, and infested with bears and whales and storms and ice-blocks and natural phenomena of a peculiarly violent kind. What's wrong with you?" [added emphasis], S.to A, Prague, 28.6.37, Klemperer, p. 252, "The Czechs are such fools and your people so deliberately unscrupulous that I am shocked, and wish to make a formal protest to you." [added emphasis], S.to A., [Prague], 22 Nov. 1937, Klemperer, p. 291, "The English opinion here is that things are moving pretty fast, that the Czechs will give the Germans autonomy, and then, in my opinion, your game is almost won. [...] We [the British government] have to make up our minds what we can allow you [the Nazi government]

and what not. If you want what we cannot allow, there will be war. [...] I suspect it is a hopeless case. I do not know who is winning the race at the actual moment, but in the long run I suppose you are." [added emphasis].

¹⁰⁵Grant Duff, Parting, pp. 129, 146-147.

¹⁰⁶A.to S., Imshausen, Nov. 3, 1936, Klemperer, p. 189, fn. 2, p. 188, "Neill" was the code-name for Otto Strasser. In an editor's note pp. 186-187, Klemperer states that the ideas expressed in Trott's 1934 essay "Nationalism and Internationalism" are not far removed from those of Otto Strasser.

¹⁰⁷CvT, tr., pp. 55-56. Malone, pp. 478, 480. A.to S., Imshausen, Nov. 3. 1936, Klemperer, p. 189. A.to S., London, 16.11.36, Klemperer, p. 197. Malone, p. 477, Malone writes that after his Assessor examinations and his meeting with Simson (I.G. Farben), Trott was set on going to China. In a letter to Shiela Grant Duff, Trott wrote: "I have been asked for a written statement about going to China, and I sit long times in a room with large windows on the ground floor and can't think what to write--because (at the moment) I'd much rather stay and save Europe with you, and even if that is a self deception, [...] I'd much rather have this illusion with you and let the rest go hang. But I must try, you tell me, to go to China." A.to S., Yarmouth, 25.11.36, Klemperer, pp. 199-200.

¹⁰⁸A. to S., London, 16.11.36, Klemperer, p. 197, "I stayed with the Warden of All Souls [Professor Adams]." Malone,

p. 479, and Hopkinson, MS, p. 99, write mistakenly that Trott stayed with H.A.L. Fisher, Warden of New College. Hopkinson, MS, p. 99, CvT, tr., p. 61, during his trip to England Trott met with John Wheeler-Bennett, R.H. Tawney, and Ellen Wilkinson, a Labour M.P. for whom Diana Hubback had worked as a volunteer secretary.

¹⁰⁹A.to S., London, Nov. 12th, 1936, Klemperer, p. 193.

¹¹⁰A.to S., Yarmouth, 25.11.36, Klemperer, p. 199.

¹¹¹A.to S., Imshausen, Nov. 3. 1936, Klemperer, p. 189.

A.to S., London, 16.11.36, Klemperer, p. 197. Malone, p. 480.

¹¹²A.to S., Yarmouth, 25.11.36, Klemperer, p. 199.

¹¹³CvT, tr., p. 71. Malone, pp. 480-483. A.to S., [n.p.], Nov. 27th, 1936, Klemperer, p. 200. Hopkinson, MS, p. 99.

¹¹⁴A.to S., [n.p.], Nov. 27th, 1936, Klemperer, p. 200.

¹¹⁵Malone, p. 484.

¹¹⁶CvT, tr., pp. 54-55, 60-61, 78-79. Malone, pp. 483-485, and 493.

¹¹⁷Hopkinson, MS, pp. 99-100.

¹¹⁸A.to S., Imshausen, [about 15, Klemperer] Jan. 1937, Klemperer, p. 207. A.to S., Berling, Feb. 5, 1937, Klemperer, p. 209.

¹¹⁹Hopkinson, p. 162.

¹²⁰A.to S., [crossing the Atlantic], [beginning of March 1937, Klemperer], Klemperer, pp. 216-217, and fn. 2, p. 218, of Lord Halifax, Trott wrote: "I also saw Lord Halifax, whom I had so much wanted to meet, but hardly had

a word with him. He seems in many ways the person one should try and become like." Of Maurice Bowra and Isaiah Berlin, Trott wrote: "I saw Maurice Bowra on Sunday morning, and we had a very friendly parting. Same with Shaiah [Isaiah Berlin], although he had the cheek to say that I was now 'worming my way in with all the crook-humanists of the world.' He is a nice but not a very loyal friend to us, you know." Of Trott's meeting with Moltke, A.L. Rowse wrote: "I shall not forget the mutually appraising, slightly suspicious look those two gave each other in the increasing dangers of the later thirties." Rowse, All Souls, pp. 95-96. Malone, p. 487. CvT, tr., p. 59.

¹²¹see Langhorne.

¹²²A.to S., [crossing the Atlantic], [beginning of March 1937, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 218.

¹²³CvT, tr., pp. 59 and 71. Hopkinson, MS, p. 109.

¹²⁴A.to S., [crossing the Atlantic], [beginning of March 1937, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 218.

¹²⁵S.to A., [n.p.], 1.3.37, Klemperer, p. 213. A.to S., 4 St. James's Square S.W.I, March 5. [1937, Klemperer], Klemperer, pp. 213-214.

¹²⁶A.to S., [crossing the Atlantic], [beginning of March 1937, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 218, and fn. 5, p. 219. Malone, pp. 288, 493. Hopkinson, MS, p. 105.

¹²⁷A.to S., New York, 18.4.37, Klemperer, p. 223. Malone, pp. 488-492, fn. 14, p. 539. Hopkinson, MS, pp. 105-106,

letter, [April 1937]. On p. 488, Malone describes Dr. Schieffelin as Trott's mother's cousin, and on p. 490 he is described as Trott's uncle. Malone, pp. 490-492, fn. 34 and 37, p. 542, CvT, tr., pp. 60, 61, 64, 65, Trott met the following people during his stay on the east coast: Senator Lafollette (Wisconsin), Frances Perkins, (Secretary of Labour), Senator Robert Wagner (New York), Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck (a Rhodes Scholar, and Chief of the State Department's Far East desk), and his assistant Dr. Herbert Feis, John King Fairbank (an assistant professor of history at Harvard, he was at Oxford at the same time as Trott, had spent a year in China as a Rhodes Scholar and was a Far Eastern specialist), Harry Hopkins (administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration), B.B. Wallace, (chief of international relations in the Tariff Commission, and had worked in the Far East for a number of years), Dr. Mallory (head of the Council on Foreign Relations, whom Trott met through Lord Astor) and Guetano Salvemini, (an anti-Fascist historian from Italy). Clarita von Trott writes that Trott saw his cousin Theodore Taft, and he met Elsa Brandstrom-Uhlig while visiting the east coast. These people are not mentioned in Malone's narrative.

¹²⁸Hopkinson, MS, p. 105-106 letters, [spring 1937] and May 1937: "'I have just come back from a delightful weekend in the country somewhere near New York with Roger Baldwin--head of the Civil Liberties Union [...] He [Baldwin] has the eagerness of a wild animal in his eyes,

and is the friendliest, most encouraging soul I have met for a long time.'" In May 1937, he wrote: "'I spent a very delightful weekend at Harvard, where I met Salverini, the Italian anti-Fascist, whom I loved, and the Frankfurters (Roosevelt's adviser) whom I liked.'" A.to S., Ottawa, 30.4.37, Klemperer, p. 227, "Harvard was very nice, and--largely owing to the Frankfurters--very welcoming and homely."

¹²⁹A.to S., New York, 18.4.37, Klemperer, p. 223.

¹³⁰CvT, tr., p. 64.

¹³¹Hopkinson, MS, p. 105, letter, [spring 1937].

¹³²Malone, pp. 489-490. A.to S., Ottawa, 30.4.37, Klemperer, p. 227, and fn. 1, p. 227, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, 'We or They'; Two Worlds in Conflict. New York: 1936. Malone, pp. 489-490.

¹³³A.to S., Ottawa, 30.4.37, Klemperer, p. 227.

¹³⁴A.to S., as from California, [about 10, Klemperer] May 1937, Klemperer, pp. 229, 231 and fn. 3, p. 234. Malone, p. 492, identifies the C.C.F. as the Co-operative Commonwealth Association. Hopkinson, MS, p. 106-108, letters [spring 1937], and May 1937: "'I spent three days at Ottawa at Lord Tweedsmuir's house which though a bit constraining was an interesting experience. [...] I also saw David Lewis whom you may remember at the Cripps' and indeed my friend; I have a spontaneous affection and trust in him as I have in few people. [...] She [a Canadian communist] was very nice and reckless, called Bobby and

promised to be a friend for life and invest my surplus money (!) for me in wildly lucrative goldmines in the north of Canada."

¹³⁵CvT, tr., pp. 60, 68. Malone, pp. 493, 496-497 and fn. 49, p. 543, the report entitled "Americanische Eindrücke", TC.

¹³⁶A.to S., as from California, [about 10, Klemperer] May 1937, Klemperer, p. 232.

¹³⁷CvT, tr., pp. 68, 69, 71. Malone, pp. 496-498.

Hopkinson, MS, pp. 105, 111.

¹³⁸CvT, tr., pp. 71-72. Hopkinson, MS, p. 113, letter, [August 1937]. A.to S., 11.8.37, Chinese Sea, 20.8.37, Hong Kong, 31.8.37, Canton, China, Klemperer, pp. 264, 267, 269. Malone, pp. 498, 500 and fn. 558, pp. 544-545, Trott met General Alexander Freiherr von Falkenhausen in Hong Kong. He was the Chief of the German Military Mission to China. He assured Trott about the quality of the central government's troops. A.to S. , 20.8.37, Hong Kong, Klemperer, p. 267: "The soldiers of Kwantung look like children, but one of our Generals who was returning from leave in Java to Nanking told me the central govt. troops are good stuff. Peasant boys, quick in uptake, brave and loyal." Indeed, Canton did not fall to the Japanese until October 1938.

¹³⁹CvT, tr., pp. 72-74. Hopkinson, MS, pp. 115-116, letter, Hong Kong, end of September 1937.

¹⁴⁰Hopkinson, MS, pp. 115-116, letter Hong Kong, end of

September.

¹⁴¹CvT, tr., p. 75. Malone, pp. 503-505, fn. 60 and 65, p. 545, Trott prepared a report on his voyage through the province of Kwangsi in English and German. "A Trip to Kwangsi in September 1937" and "Streifzug durch die Provinz Kuang-hsi" in TC .

¹⁴²A.to S., Tientsin, [20 October 1937, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 284.

¹⁴³Malone, 506, 508-510, 521-522, A.to S., Tientsin, [20 October 1937, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 284, A.to S., Peking, Oct. 21, 1937, Klemperer, p. 285, A.to S., Peking, Oct. 1, 1937, [Nov. 1, 1937, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 287, A.to S., Peking, 6.11.37, Klemperer, pp. 289-290, while Trott was in Peking, he stayed with Gustav Ecke. He met a number of people including his Oxford friend, Gerry Young, an orientalist, George Taylor, whom he met in November 1936 in England, and an Oxford graduate and British consular official, John Brett Robey. In his November 6 letter to Shiela Grant Duff, Trott wrote: "I am afraid, although I have been here only about 20 days, I have a bad reputation with them [the local Germans]. They think me baronial and conceited and perhaps politically undesirable. [...] The Americans here have been told certain deprecating remarks which I made in the wrong company about their country, and they dislike me. And to your countrymen I have said a little too boastfully that I don't wish to be invited, and the world fashion of being anti-German adds to it all, so

that all in all I am very much out of favour with European Peking." Malone, p. 509, states that it is likely that Trott was under British security surveillance and that reports on Trott were compiled and sent to London.

¹⁴⁴Malone, pp. 506-507, 513, 516-517. CvT, tr., pp. 83-86.

A.to S., Yumoto Nikko Japan, 1.4.38, Klemperer, p. 305.

¹⁴⁵CvT, tr., pp. 88, 94. A.to S., On the Kwei River,

September 21st [1937, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 277, "You

cannot get very far without the language though and in the language you cannot get very far within one year--so

perhaps providence with this bloody war has really spared

me an impossible attempt. You know that it was my chief

wish to have some time for quietly working out things, for

which purpose my friends in Peking suggested a good

environment and that in so far China as a subject had been

secondary. A.to S., Peking, 3.1.38, Klemperer, p. 293, "I

read quite a lot, and work--but not as calmly and

undisturbedly as I should. First, because I haven't quite

the presence of mind to turn from Europe entirely for a

while [...] and secondly because, as always, I get involved

in other people's lives and upset my peace by them."

¹⁴⁶Malone, p. 517. CvT, tr., p. 88. Trott reviewed the

book by B. Pfannenstiel, Bernard Bosanquet's Philosophy of

the State, Lund, 1936. The review was published as an

article in the Zeitschrift fur deutsche Kulturphilosophie,

new series, 4, Heft 2, 1938, pp. 193-199, Malone, fn. 97,

98, pp. 547-548.

¹⁴⁷A.to [S., Klemperer], Peking, 28.1.1938, Klemperer, p. 295. Malone, p. 517, fn. 99, p. 548, this lecture was published in April 1938 with the title "Deutscher und englischer Wille zur Macht," in issue 58, April 1938, volume VI of an unknown journal.

¹⁴⁸CvT, tr., p. 94. Malone, pp. 528-529, fn. 135, p. 550, the paper was published under the title of "Der Kampf um die Herrschaftsgestaltung im Fernen Osten" ("The Fight for Hegemony in the Far East") in the journal of the Kaiser Wilhelm-Institut für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht Institute of International Law: Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht. Vol. IX, 1939/1940, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1942, pp. 264-283.

¹⁴⁹CvT, tr., pp. 94-95.

¹⁵⁰Adam von Trott zu Solz, "Far Eastern Possibilities," September 1938, Malone, Appendix, pp. 586-602.

¹⁵¹Malone, p. 598.

¹⁵²Malone, p. 598.

¹⁵³Malone, p. 602.

¹⁵⁴Malone, pp. 523-524, the draft, English version was entitled "First Draft of a memorandum on the present situation in the Far East."

¹⁵⁵Malone, pp. 526-528.

¹⁵⁶Hoffmann, German Resistance to Hitler, p. 37.

¹⁵⁷Hopkinson, MS, pp. 110-111, letter, [June? 1937].

¹⁵⁸A.to S., Peking, June 4 1938, Klemperer, p. 308. A.to S., Peking, 10.8.1938, Klemperer, p. 317. CvT, tr., p.

105.

¹⁵⁹A.to S., Peking, 3.7.38, Klemperer, p. 311. CvT, tr., p. 95, letter to his father June 26, 1938: "'[...] it seems to me that the peace of Europe and the world can only be maintained if there is an understanding between England and Germany.'" Although Trott believed there were "powerful processes making for peace" in Germany, (Hopkinson, MS, p. 111, letter, [June ? 1937]), he was not aware of an organized resistance with whom the British government could negotiate. A.to S., Tsingtao, 1.10.1938, Klemperer, p. 328, after the Munich Agreement, he wrote in despair: "[the European problem] can really no longer be solved in Europe--unless there has been in the last years a change to the better in my country that I cannot perceive from here." A.to S., [n.p.], 30.12.38, Klemperer, p. 347, Trott did not find out about the plans for a coup d'état prior to the Munich Agreement until after his return to Germany. By Anglo-German co-operation, Trott means, at this stage, negotiations with the Nazi government.

¹⁶⁰A.to S., [n.p.], 2/4/33, Klemperer, p. 17. A.to S., Peking, July 20, 1938, Klemperer, p. 314. A.to S., Peking, 10.8.1938, Klemperer, p. 317, "blind denunciation of Germany's ills which although couched in phrases of liberal rights and progress is fundamentally drawing more and more on socially reactionary motives and those of nationalist which made the last war."

¹⁶¹A.to S., Peking, July 20, 1938, Klemperer, p. 315:

"There is no hope that the present alignment of European forces will ever lead to a constructive peace. [...] I resent and consider as utterly hopeless and damaging the highhanded denunciation of a people which contains [sic] just as many hard-working and responsible 'Europeans' which [sic] have been defeated and silenced by economic desperatism and not least by the leading spirit of Europe wanting to perpetuate Germany's defeat in 1918.

As long as it is not possible for you to consider all that happened in Germany a European phenomenon and responsibility, no step further can be made. If on the other hand you try to hedge in Germany morally and materially the explosion is bound to happen and destroy what foundations of a Europe in our sense may still be left." A.to S., Shanghai, October 6 1938, Klemperer, p. 330.

¹⁶²A.to S., Hanau, 7th May, 1934, Klemperer, p. 32.

¹⁶³A.to S., Peking, July 20, 1938, Klemperer, p. 315.

¹⁶⁴Hopkinson, MS, pp. 110, letter, [June ? 1937].

¹⁶⁵A.to S., Shanghai, October 6 1938, Klemperer, p. 329.

Hoffmann, German Resistance to Hitler, pp. 40-41, it became apparent to Hitler that support for the use of force in foreign matters had shallow popular support in Germany, when on September 27, 1938 a Berlin crowd responded unenthusiastically toward a military parade. In a speech to the press on November 10, 1938, Hitler argued for a move away from peace propaganda and toward the promotion of the

use of force in certain matters of foreign policy. CvT, tr., p. 90, letter to his parents, April 8, 1938.

Immediately after the Anschluss, Trott's perception was that the threat of war seemed to have diminished by a gain in Germany's power. Trott voted for the Social Democratic Party in the July 1932 Reichstag elections. The party supported a democratically achieved union with Austria.

¹⁶⁶A.to S., Shanghai, October 6, 1938, Klemperer, pp. 329-330. CvT, tr., p. 95, in a June 26, 1938 letter to his father, Trott wrote: "'I have lost too much contact with the everyday problems of Germany and Europe.'" A.to S., Peking, July 20,, 1938, Klemperer, p. 315, "Perhaps I am too much out of touch with what is happening in Europe every day now [...]."

¹⁶⁷A.to S., Shanghai, October 6 1938, Klemperer, p. 330.

¹⁶⁸A.to S., Peninsula Hotel, Kowloon, Hongkong, Oct. 28, 1938, p. 335.

¹⁶⁹A.to [S., Klemperer], Peking, 28.1.1938, Klemperer, p. 295.

¹⁷⁰A.to S., Yumoto Nikko Japan, 1.4.38, Klemperer, p. 305, { } are Klemperer's.

¹⁷¹A.to S., Tsingtao, 1.10.1938, Klemperer, p. 328, "I want also very much to see my brothers and, if possible, start work in some uinversity--but the prospects of Europe seem absolutely appalling and I feel I would have to stay away at least for another couple of years to be anywhere near capable of taking on what I should there. All this time

away has done the very opposite to adapting one to 'fit in'."

¹⁷²A.to S., Tsingtao, 1.10.1938, Klemperer, p. 327, Trott still had "to see those parts of China which are absolutely essential for a fair analysis of the immediate and future possibilities " The need to return to Europe because of the sudden death of his father meant that Trott was unable to complete his study plans. A.to S., Peninsula Hotel, Kowloon, Hongkong, Oct. 28, 1938, and 29/10/38/, Klemperer, pp. 335-336.

¹⁷³A.to S., On the Kwei River, September 21st [1937, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 277.

¹⁷⁴A.to S., Berlin, Feb. 5, 1937, Klemperer, p. 209.

¹⁷⁵A.to S., Beppu, March 15. [1938, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 298.

¹⁷⁶A.to S., Tsingtao, 1.10.1938, Klemperer, pp. 327-328.

¹⁷⁷A.to S., Shanghai, October 6 1938, Klemperer, p. 330.

¹⁷⁸Hopkinson, p. 162.

¹⁷⁹CvT, tr., p. 197.

¹⁸⁰A.to S., Tsingtao, 1.10.1938, Klemperer, p. 327.

¹⁸¹A.to S., Shanghai,, October 6 1938, Klemperer, p. 331.

¹⁸²David Astor, "Von Trott's Mission. The Story of an Anti-Nazi," The Manchester Guardian, ("Von Trott's Mission"), Monday, June 4, 1956, p. 6.

¹⁸³S.to A., The Clock House, High Elms Farm, Farnborough, Kent, Sept. 1 1938, Klemperer, pp. 319-322.

¹⁸⁴A.to S., Peninsula Hotel, Kowloon, Hongkong, Oct. 28,

1938, Klemperer, p. 335.

¹⁸⁵A.to S., Tsingtao, 1.10.1938, Klemperer, p. 327.

¹⁸⁶A.to S., Peninsula Hotel, Kowloon, Hongkong, Oct. 28,
1938, and post scriptum, 29/10/38, Klemperer, pp. 335-336.

Chapter III

Clandestine Operations

"Going back [to Europe] I feel a bit like a swimmer who is going to dive into a pool from a rather distant and high rock and does not quite know how cold, deep or rocky the pool itself is--but he dives quite cheerfully."¹ Trott's first task upon his return to Germany was to help settle his father's inheritance and his family's financial problems. New laws had been passed which were aimed at the break up of family estates. Trott agreed with these laws as long as they helped the farmer who worked the land, but he also wanted to preserve his family home and farm and the residue of independence both offered, especially in view of his own uncertain future.²

The remoteness of Imshausen, as always, prevented Trott from making a fully informed assessment of Germany's political situation. But even in the peaceful country life, he felt "a sterile despair in most veins of life that one follows up and behind any sense of peace there is a deeper one of guilt and shame."³ He discovered Berliners felt much the same: "Instead of the triumphant capital of the future Empire of Europe, I found a sulky, disgruntled demoralized mess [...] The country is magnificently industrious, full of new amazing achievements, but painfully resigned and spiritually asleep, if no worse."⁴

Trott cared deeply for his country and its people and believed "in the fundamental integrity of Europe and its ultimate reassertion."⁵ Since January 1933, Trott had wanted to work against one of the main obstacles before this goal, Hitler, but between 1933 and 1938 there had been no viable opportunity. Before Christmas he was told, evidently by Albrecht von Bernstorff, of the failed attempt of September 1938 to overthrow Hitler.⁶ The news gave Trott hope that another attempt would be made.⁷

It was widely held by the resisters that Western concessions to Hitler in September 1938 had ruined the small chance for a successful coup d'état. Contacts by German resisters with the British government had been initiated by General Beck (Chief of the General Staff of the Army until his resignation on August 27, 1938), by his successor General Halder, Lieutenant Colonel Oster (section head in the Abwehr) and by Ernst Freiherr von Weizsacker (Permanent Undersecretary of State, Foreign Office) with the aim of persuading the British to take a firm stand on the Czechoslovakian issue. After the Munich Agreement, it appeared to the resisters that the British government had taken no notice of their pleas and was not interested in collaborating with them against Hitler and his regime. The resisters' disappointment at having been left in the lurch⁸ is evident in Trott's assessment of the events of September 1938. He wrote to Shiela Grant Duff on December 30, 1938:

"The attempt to couple the venture [war] with a general overhaul [coup d'état] and readjustment of the inner gears of the machine was frustrated by your clever Neville and the only alternative is another 'venture' or an overhauling in the garage in which many chaps only disguised as mechanics [Nazis] would have to be squeezed out of the door as the engine is neither big nor tough enough to stand all their clumsy hands. At present the door is shut, the engine stinks and puffs the evillest poisons, suffocating all the more sensitive lungs while everybody gets more and more uneasy. Although some will still not believe the gas is poisonous, all seem to agree that something must happen soon--push some men out [coup d'état] or let the whole engine crash its way out [war] so that all of them [Nazis] may remain under cover a little while longer.⁹

As one who believed Nazism was poisonous and war had to be avoided, Trott approved of the September 1938 conspiracy. The unprecedented efforts of resisters in the Army, Foreign Office and the Abwehr indicated that there was a possibility of another calculated armed attempt to overthrow Hitler and his police state. Although the attempt to launch a coup d'état failed in September 1938, the resisters continued to seek ways to remove Hitler from

power and to avert war. Trott joined their search. The possibility of success was slim, but it was an opportunity to resist for which Trott had searched in vain from 1933-1937. Trott began re-establishing friendships and contacts who could inform him of the political situation and of developments in resistance activities. Reliable sources of information were essential in a state where the papers gave little news of internal and external politics.¹⁰ Trott renewed his contacts with Curt Bley, Helmut Conrad, Wilfrid Israel, Hjalmar Schacht (the Reichsbank President) and Peter Bielenberg. Peter Bielenberg and his wife Christabel had been planning to emigrate to Ireland. Trott convinced them to stay in Germany and move from Hamburg to Berlin where they could work toward a change in government.¹¹ Trott recognized the necessity of military support for a coup d'état in a police state. In order to establish contacts in the military, Trott visited the Garde-Kavallerie-Club as he had before his departure to the Far East. His friend from the Gottingen Saxon Corps, Friedemann Freiherr von Munchhausen introduced him to his father-in-law, General (ret.) Freiherr von Hammerstein, an ardent opponent to Hitler. It was in Hammerstein's house that Trott met General Beck. He renewed his contact with General (ret.) von Falkenhausen whom Trott had met in Hong Kong.¹²

By the end of December 1938, Trott had decided to visit England in February.¹³ This trip was not co-

ordinated with plans for a coup d'état, since the necessary conditions were not in place then. Trott's goal was to sound out British opinion.¹⁴ He wondered how welcoming his British friends and acquaintances would be. On his return voyage to Europe, he had heard of the November 9-11, 1938 anti-Jewish pogroms. He wrote at the end of November to Diana Hubback, whose mother was Jewish: "'You know that it is we who are humiliated by what has passed and it is for us to wonder whether our former friends wish to have anything more to do with one who, after all (in my case through my very absence) has to accept his full share of responsibility. I know that our friendship is too deeply rooted to be affected by all these developments, but I know of hardly another one I have abroad that in some way or other is not. This I think will be my hardest discovery on returning to Europe after these eventful months. I shall have to face it and set to work in other directions.'"¹⁵

Trott arrived on Sunday, February 12 in London, where he had a happy reunion with Diana Hubback.¹⁶ From London, he travelled to Oxford where he received mixed greetings. The older generation, the Wardens of Balliol, New College, Wadham and All Souls, welcomed Trott with "unchanged friendliness", whereas his younger friends had become "a little estranged".¹⁷ He wrote: "'I succeed less and less in finding my way into the atmosphere of the carelessly excited and thoroughly disobliging ideas which are current here.'" He spent the latter part of his visit at the

Astors' home in St. James Square. He continued to get along well with Lady Astor, who liked Trott's ideas on Anglo-German co-operation. The Astors' connections in political circles proved useful to Trott during his next visit to England in June 1939.¹⁸

During his February visit, Shiela Grant Duff threw a party at her farmhouse in Kent. Trott saw Hubert Ripka, who had emigrated from Czechoslovakia and was living in the Grant Duff home, and he met Diana Hubback's fiancé, David Hopkinson.¹⁹ The party was enjoyable, but overall his reunion with Shiela Grant Duff was not a success.²⁰ During the tense week leading up to the occupation of Prague on March 15, she wrote a bitter letter to Trott in which she accused him of inactivity: "As it is, I'm afraid you resemble a larger number of my countrymen. You do not really care until your own skin is involved. [...] I don't think that serenity is becoming in a lunatic asylum, do you?"²¹ Trott could not speak or write openly about his resistance activities. He did allude to them in reply to Shiela Grant Duff's accusations: "I agree that serenity, kindness etc. in an asylum are not only unbecoming but disgusting. Actually 'serenity' is utterly impossible and something else is more and more rapidly taking its place which I would find hard to attack, though possibly equally difficult to share."²² After March 15, 1939 Shiela Grant Duff stopped corresponding with Trott.²³ Sir Stafford Cripps, Geoffrey Wilson, who worked as Cripps'

assistant, and David Astor remained supportive and steadfast friends.²⁴ In view of the political developments in Germany, Trott had not expected many of his English friends to trust him; when they did not, he tried to maintain his resolve to "set to work in other directions."²⁵

After the invasion of Bohemia, Moravia and Memel by Germany in March, Hitler demanded that Poland cede to Germany the city of Danzig and the land link between Germany and German East Prussia known as the Corridor. On March 29, the British government decided to build a field force of thirty-two divisions. In response to Hitler's breach of the Munich Agreement, the British government assured Poland on March 31 of her unrestricted support in the event that Poland's national integrity and independence were violated by Germany. On April 27, conscription was introduced by the British government for men of 20-21 years. During a speech on April 28, Hitler declared null the Anglo-German naval agreement of 1935 and the German-Polish Pact of January 1934. Since April, the Western Powers were negotiating with the Soviet Union for her to enter into a non-aggression system of alliances. They were also consolidating their position in Europe. Britain and France gave assurances, similar to the one given to Poland, to Greece, and to Roumania; Britain also concluded a mutual assistance pact with Turkey. In March, Germany gained control of Roumania's economy through a trade treaty and

signed non-aggression pacts with Denmark, Esthonia, and Latvia. Italy and Germany concluded a formal alliance in May. Hitler informed the chief commanders of the Army, Navy and Air Force at a secret meeting of his true intention: Poland must be attacked by Germany as soon as possible in order to secure not only Danzig, but also living space in the East.²⁶

Trott returned to Berlin in early March.²⁷ He was determined to assist the overthrow of Hitler and the Nazis. Considering his training and the need for power to resist effectively in a totalitarian state, Trott had to find a government position. When he returned to Germany, he was told by Peter Bielenberg, his cousin, Adalbert von Unruh and his uncle, Eberhard von Schweinitz, that 'bowing to the formula', joining the NSDAP, had become a requisite for a government position.²⁸ Trott decided against joining the NSDAP. His application for a position in the Ministry of Economics was refused in April 1939.²⁹ At the end of April, Trott was offered a position in the Foreign Office. This offer had to be approved by the Office, and, by May 18, it had not been.³⁰ Trott did have reservations about working in the Foreign Office: "'I cannot yet say I want this type of work and career which will keep me abroad most of my life and tie me to people that have always had a damping effect on me.'" ³¹ Edward Carter of the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York had been impressed by Trott's memorandum "Far Eastern Possibilities", and, in

March 1939, he made Trott an offer of a six month term of research at the institute and he invited him to a conference to be held that autumn in New York.³² This was a further reason why Trott was not eager immediately to find a permanent position in Germany.³³

He cultivated his contacts with friends in the Foreign Office, particularly Gottfried von Nostitz and Albrecht von Kessel. They were sources of information on employment opportunities, on political events and on resistance activities. Kessel was the executive assistant to Weizsacker. Nostitz was the contact between the conspirators in the Foreign Office and the Abwehr (the counter-espionage service in the Armed Forces command). Kessel introduced Trott to Drs. Erich and Theodor Kordt.³⁴ Trott tried without success to contact Helmuth von Moltke at the beginning of May.³⁵ It is possible that Trott met Dr. Berthold Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg in the spring of 1939, when he gave his lecture to the Society of Chinese Studies. The lecture was expanded and published in the journal of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Foreign, Public and International Law. Dr. von Stauffenberg was a research member of the institute and an editor of the journal.³⁶ One of Trott's more unusual, and valuable, contacts was Walter Hewel, an early and ardent Nazi party member and devoted supporter of Hitler, who worked as a liaison person between the Foreign Office and the Chancellery, where much of his work involved listening to Hitler's evening

monologues. Trott met Hewel through a distant cousin.³⁷

In early April 1939, he had a visit from Geoffrey Wilson. Together they travelled from Imshausen to Heidelberg, through the Black Forest, and then north to Berlin. Along the way, Trott introduced Wilson to friends who were opposed to the dictatorship. Trott wanted Wilson, who was Sir Stafford Cripps' assistant, to report to Cripps the extent of the opposition in Germany; that it included people from the military, the civil service, labour unions and the churches, some of whom would soon be in positions to attempt the removal of Hitler. If Hitler's downfall came about during a war, Trott strongly urged that the Allies be prepared to extend moderate, constructive terms to Hitler's successor. Wilson reported his observations and Trott's suggestions to Cripps. Cripps had always taken an interest in Trott, but he had just been expelled from the Labour Party in January and could do little to encourage Trott.³⁸

Trott then decided to use his many contacts in England to help recreate the conditions for a coup d'état that had existed in September 1938. Coupled with this aim was his desire to avert war. A war would be destructive and would spread the evils of Nazism throughout Europe. The outcome of a war was not certain. A war would intensify patriotism and render the task more difficult to enlist the forces of opposition against Hitler.³⁹ Trott once asked David Astor why he did not like Hitler and before Astor could reply,

Trott said: "'For the same reason as me; because he is a fanatic nationalist, because he's cruel and is guilty of the murder of his fellow men, because he is blind with hate. I agree with you in all that--but can't you see that if we have war, then everyone will become a nationalist fanatic, everyone will become cruel, and you and I will kill our fellow men and perhaps each other. We will do all the things we condemn in the Nazis, and the Nazi outlook will not be suppressed but will spread. Is that really the solution?'"⁴⁰

Trott knew that the chances of averting war, and a coup d'état being carried out were not good.⁴¹ He believed attempts had to be made, because the consequences of a war would be disastrous. By the end of May, he had not been appointed to a government position, but it was not yet necessary for him to adopt this restrictive position to cover his activities. Walter Hewel provided Trott with an alibi for a trip to England. Hewel was a Nazi, but he did not want a war. He gave his official sanction to Trott's plan to "make a survey of the attitude" in England toward Germany with the aim of persuading Hitler to abandon his plans for war against Poland. Hewel was not aware of Trott's intention to revive plans for the overthrow of Hitler.⁴²

Trott had decided to put forward to Hitler a plan designed to draw Hitler's attention away from war and toward negotiations with Britain over an exchange of the

nominal independence of Czechoslovakia, excluding the Sudetenland, for Danzig and the Corridor.⁴³ In the report intended for Hitler, Lord Lothian was named as the originator of this scheme, but, in fact, it was Trott who had suggested the plan. The rationale was to report the plan as originating from a British subject of standing in order to give the plan greater influence with Hitler and to protect Trott. He had asked David Astor if Lord Astor's and Lord Lothian's name could be used in a manner necessary to further the plan. Astor knew that they would not object, since many of Trott's ideas were similar to their own views; he told Trott it would be all right to use their names.⁴⁴ It was possible that Hitler would negotiate revisions to the Treaty of Versailles and thereby "remove some of the planks from Hitler's dangerously popular political platform and thus pave the way to power for those who had the interest of the world, as well as Germany, at heart."⁴⁵ Trott suggested this possibility to the gentlemen at a dinner party in England on the weekend of June 3-4, 1939, in order to conceal his true intentions. Although an evolutionary change in government was possible, he had recognized since his return from the Far East that if a coup d'état could be brought off, it would have a better chance of removing Hitler than the possibility of Hitler negotiating himself and the National Socialists out of power. The revival of the conditions for a coup d'état could be achieved first by demonstrating to the German army

leaders that an attack by the German army against Poland would mean a war against Britain and France,⁴⁶ and second by showing Hitler's intransigence, in the face of a threat of war with Britain and France, to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the Polish question. Trott used an allegory to illustrate to David Astor his intentions: "You could imagine Hitler as a heavily armed drunkard, whose wild behavior was endangering the lives of his own family and those of his neighbors. The best way to deal with him might be for two people to take him, one by each arm. One arm would be taken by his strongest relative (the German plotters) and the other by his strongest neighbor (Britain). These two should then persuade him, with much pretense of friendly helpfulness (negotiations on Danzig, colonies, anything at all) to come for a long walk. Having got him into a quiet field, they should then hit him on the head with his own revolver (the German Army)."⁴⁷

Thus Trott's mission in England had several purposes. He wanted to urge Britain to demonstrate unequivocally her willingness to go to war if Germany attacked Poland, to gauge British reaction to negotiations over Poland and Czechoslovakia, to warn the British government of the rumours in Berlin that the Nazis were "'up to something with the Russians'", to tell the British government of the existence of an active resistance movement in Germany, and to ask for the British government's assistance in

activating opposition by the people in Germany against the Nazis.⁴⁸

It is not clear if the Czech-Polish proposal Trott was to put forward in England was his own creation. There is no evidence that Weizsäcker collaborated on or approved of Trott's plan before Trott went to England.⁴⁹ In June 1939, Weizsäcker was pursuing a conventional policy of diplomacy. He did not support, for instance, the Kordt brothers' June 13-16 warnings to the British government of a German-Soviet rapprochement. The Kordt brothers may have been the source of Trott's warning that the Nazis were "'up to something with the Russians,'" but there is no evidence of this.⁵⁰

Trott arrived in London on Thursday, June 1. David Astor arranged for him to be invited for the weekend to the Astors' country home at Cliveden.⁵¹ Lord and Lady Astor regularly entertained politicians and celebrities at Cliveden. Certain journalists had accused the Astors of using their influence to manipulate politicians into following a supposedly pro-Nazi appeasement policy. The Astors and their friends were dubbed "The Cliveden Set". There was no substance to these stories, but, at the time, they were believed by many people, including some of Trott's English friends.⁵²

The thirty guests at Cliveden that weekend included the Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, whom Trott had met briefly in February 1937; the ambassador-designate for Washington D.C., Lord Lothian; the Secretary of State for

Dominion Affairs, Sir Thomas Inskip; the influential lawyer, Tom Jones;⁵³ and William Douglas Home.⁵⁴ After dinner on Saturday, Trott spoke in broad terms of revisions to the Treaty of Versailles which would lead to an evolutionary change of government in Germany. Douglas Home later recounted that conversation:

"Von Trott, as passionate an anti-Nazi as he was a patriot, spoke with a perfect mastery of English, of the aspirations of the German nation as a whole. While allowing for the mistrust engendered in the British mind by the activities of the Nazi leaders--a mistrust which he fully shared--he seemed to be trying to impress upon the Minister [Lord Halifax] the necessity for an immediate adjustment to the status quo. He argued that some gesture of goodwill, not only verbal but actual, should be made towards Germany, not only to satisfy her just desire for a revision of the Versailles Treaty, but also--and this might be decisive--to remove some of the planks from Hitler's dangerously popular political platform and thus pave the way to power for those who had the interest of the world, as well as Germany, at heart."⁵⁵

Trott knew he could reveal, without fear of betrayal, that he was not a Nazi sympathizer,⁵⁶ but he could not, according to Douglas Home's account, mention to the guests

that his proposal was aimed at reviving conditions for a coup d'état. He used this opportunity to gauge British reaction to a general plan for negotiation with Germany.⁵⁷ As much as he could, he directed his conversation at Lord Halifax.⁵⁸ He urged Halifax to have his government make unequivocally clear her determination to go to war in the event of a German attack against Poland. He warned Halifax there were rumours in Berlin that the Nazis were "'up to something with the Russians.'"⁵⁹ They spoke "in general terms, about the internal situation in Germany."⁶⁰ Trott impressed upon Halifax the need for Germans to hear an alternate voice to that of the Nazis. Trott believed that Britain could provide that alternate voice. Britain was geographically close to Germany and the two countries were not foreign to each other; they shared a common historical landscape. Trott suggested that the British speak across the Nazis directly to the German people and, thereby, provide leadership to the potential opposition to Nazism in Germany.⁶¹ Trott spoke with Halifax for around four hours.⁶² Tom Jones, who was a good friend of Trott's, suggested to Halifax that a meeting be arranged between Trott and Neville Chamberlain.⁶³

On Wednesday June 7,⁶⁴ Trott met for half an hour with Neville Chamberlain.⁶⁵ According to David Astor, with whom Trott spoke after his meeting with Chamberlain, Trott told Chamberlain of the existence of an opposition to Nazism which was "well placed to strike at Hitler." Trott also

outlined the scheme for talks on Poland and Czechoslovakia which would gain time for the opposition to launch a coup d'état.⁶⁶ David Astor has said that Chamberlain was "invited [by Trott] to take part in an international intrigue to overthrow a government", but it is not clear that Chamberlain comprehended Trott's message.⁶⁷ "He [Trott] returned discouraged, saying that Mr. Chamberlain was nice but 'like a man already half-dead.' He found it hard for Mr. Chamberlain to grasp his unorthodox hints that he, the British Prime Minister, should seek to encourage potentially disaffected Germans to oppose their regime."⁶⁸ Chamberlain made it clear that the initiative for renewed negotiations would have to come from Germany. Germany had to prove her trustworthiness to the British public, before the British government could enter into negotiations. Chamberlain regarded this proof as "practically impossible."⁶⁹

Trott had been well received by both Halifax and Chamberlain. Both wanted to remain open to reasonable solutions to the crisis. It was an accomplishment for Trott, who had little political experience or standing, to have delivered his messages to the British Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.⁷⁰ Halifax was impressed by Trott's idea that the British government should cut through Nazi propaganda to the people in Germany. This is apparent in two major speeches he delivered in June. Both speeches were recorded in The Times. On June 8, Halifax told the

House of Lords as reported in The Times:

"British policy seemed to ourselves straightforward and plain, but it was perhaps not difficult to imagine how differently it might appear to many thinking people in Germany. There must be many such who were not less shocked than ourselves at the treatment of the Jews, and who realized that whatever Germany might have felt about relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia as they were left by Munich, to attempt to solve that problem by the destruction of Czech independence was, to state it in the most moderate terms, both unwise and wrong. [...]

There emerged the really dangerous element in the present situation, which was that the German people as a whole should drift to the conclusion that Great Britain had abandoned all desire to reach an understanding with Germany. [...] The British people had constantly sought and would still earnestly desire, if they thought it possible, to reach an understanding with Germany [...]

it should now be equally clear that the people of this country were not less ready and determined than their friends across the Channel [in France] to make whatever contribution was necessary to preserve their way of life and defend their position in the world. [...] If

these problems were to be resolved by negotiations there must be good will on both sides. [...] Great Britain and France and the countries with which they had been in consultation would never commit any act of aggression or attempt by indirect means to undermine the independence or security of another State."⁷¹

On June 29, Halifax addressed the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House. He repeated essentially what he had said in the House of Lords. Halifax had taken Trott's advice and had spoken directly to the people in Germany. He had recognized that there was a distinction between Germans and Nazis. He had made it clear that Britain was open to negotiating a settlement, if the Nazi government demonstrated its goodwill. If necessary, Britain and France were determined to fight a defensive war. Their assurances to countries neighbouring Germany, their military preparations for war, their negotiations with the Soviet Union were not aimed at encircling Germany, as Germans were led to believe. Germany was isolating herself through her economic, political and cultural (racist) policies.⁷²

Trott read both of Halifax's speeches.⁷³ He was encouraged by Halifax's public statement of British foreign policy. It left a small chance that his attempt to avert war and reactivate plans for a coup would succeed.⁷⁴

After Trott's meeting with Chamberlain, he had a conversation with Chamberlain's private secretary, Lord Dunglass, who promised to speak with Oliver Stanley, the President of the Board of Trade, about Trott's ideas. On June 9, Stanley made a speech, of which Trott was aware, to the supply committee of the House of Commons. His statements regarding Germany clarified the purpose of British economic policy as one not aimed at the encirclement of Germany.⁷⁵

Trott decided to discuss his proposal for negotiations over Poland with the Czech emigré, Hubert Ripka, who was staying in the Grant Duff family home. Trott did not mention that his proposal was aimed at launching a coup d'état.⁷⁶ Ripka indignantly rejected the idea of concessions to Germany at Poland's expense and in exchange for Czechoslovakia's nominal independence. He suspected that the proposal, which Trott had attributed to Lord Lothian, actually originated with Goring. He wrote a letter to Winston Churchill denouncing the proposal. Without the context of an attempt to revive plans for a coup d'état, Trott's proposal appeared to Ripka to be aimed only at averting war through further appeasement.⁷⁷

Trott returned to Berlin on Friday, June 9. With the help of Peter Bielenberg, he prepared a report intended for Hitler's eyes.⁷⁸ The report had two purposes. First, Trott wrote of Britain's determination to go to war if Germany attacked Poland, and of the British government's

willingness, if the German government restored British confidence in her, to "take any really reasonable peaceful way out."⁷⁹ Second, in the context of Britain's dual policy, Trott proposed the Czech-Polish scheme as a reasonable peaceful way out.

The report was written in dialogue form with Trott acting as the Nazi foil. He presented the typical Nazi arguments in anticipation of his reader's objections. Then, Trott responded with the 'British' counterpoints which led to his proposal. He used Lord Astor's and Lord Lothian's name to shield himself and to give the proposal greater status by attributing it to an influential British subject. The central proposal was preceded and ended by assertions from Halifax and Chamberlain of their government's willingness to negotiate if possible, and their determination to fight if necessary.

Efforts were made to advance the report as far as Hitler, but it was blocked by Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, who wanted no views on foreign policy which conflicted with his own to be presented to Hitler.⁸⁰ It is not clear whether Hitler saw the report or not.⁸¹ Trott attempted to bypass Ribbentrop by arranging a meeting with Goring for Sunday, June 11. Ribbentrop learned of the meeting and forbade Goring to attend. Ribbentrop would not suffer interference in his Foreign Office.⁸²

Once Trott's initiatives had come to nought in Berlin, he decided to visit his university friends in England. He

had been planning to do so since May.⁸³ He left Berlin on June 11 or 12, and went back to London, where he stayed briefly with the Astors.⁸⁴ By June 15, he was in Oxford and he spent the weekend at the Grant Duff family home. He visited Cliveden, then returned to Berlin probably on Monday, June 19.⁸⁵

At Oxford, Trott attended two college dinners. His conversation at All Souls and, to a lesser extent, at Balliol caused his friends to wonder how genuine his opposition to Nazism was.⁸⁶ Trott could speak to his friends of his ideas on how to avert war. However, the presence of Nazi informers in England made it too risky for him to reveal his hopes of reactivating a coup d'état. And there was no apparent political use in telling his friends. It is understandable then that many of his English acquaintances believed Trott was an appeaser, a "misguided 'nationalist'".⁸⁷

Richard Crossman had no patience with Trott's ideas on how to avert war: "'[...] you don't realize that we don't want peace with the Nazis. We've tried it and it doesn't do. We're out for war. That's our interest. If it can be a bloodless war so much the better, but we don't want to make pacts and alliances and agreements with any more Nazis. We are hostile to the Nazis. We think they're a lot of bastards. We want to defeat them, push them down, smash them.'" ⁸⁸

Trott attempted to explain his position to his friend,

Maurice Bowra, the Warden of Wadham College. He revealed he was "'working with the secret opposition'" in Germany. Bowra could not believe that the Gestapo would allow such a free-speaking adversary to travel and he concluded that Trott was a Nazi sympathizer and asked him to leave.⁸⁹

Shiela Grant Duff warned Trott that his conversations with his Oxford friends had aroused "infinite suspicion".⁹⁰ Trott recognized there was little he could do to change this. He would not emigrate and thereby forfeit his long-sought-for chance to resist the Nazis, nor could he deny his patriotism, his love of Germany, to assuage the misgivings of his English friends. To Shiela Grant Duff, who had suspected his motives from as early as January 1935, Trott wrote: "[...] we must I think let deeds speak for themselves later on."⁹¹

At the end of June, Trott received in Berlin a newspaper copy of Halifax' June 29 speech from Charles Bosanquet. In an accompanying letter, he wrote of Britain's determination to go to war if necessary: "'You must know that opinion in England has hardened still more since you were here last. [...] It is essential that responsible people in Berlin should know that England will fight over Danzig in order to stop this gangster era in international relations.'"⁹² Trott was overjoyed: "'Charles has done the best thing he could! Now I've got it on paper--now I've got something to show them!'" He

distributed copies of Bosanquet's letter and Halifax' speech, but to whom it is not known.⁹³

When Trott's June 1939 initiatives in England are interpreted as attempts to promote an appeasement policy, his comment on Charles Bosanquet's letter and Halifax' speech is inconsistent with his earlier pro-appeasement stance. That is Sykes' interpretation: "He was never an easy man to predict, especially if, amid his complications and wildest inconsistencies, one lost sight of his integrity."⁹⁴ When proper consideration is given to the accounts of Trott's two close friends, David Astor and Peter Bielenberg, which Sykes all but ignores,⁹⁵ then it is evident that Trott initiatives in England, as Astor and Bielenberg state, were aimed at reactivating plans for a coup d'état. Trott's joy at receiving Bosanquet's letter and Halifax' speech is, therefore, understandable. He had written proof of Britain's determination to fight over Danzig, evidence he needed to fulfil part of his plan to activate the army leaders. Trott's reaction to Charles Bosanquet's news establishes that, at the end of June, Trott was still working to revive plans for a coup d'état.

About a week later, David Astor, upon Trott's request, visited Berlin. Trott needed Astor's help to further his political initiatives. First, he wanted Astor to play the part of an important political contact from Britain at a party, in order to impress Walter Hewel with the extent of his British connections. It follows that this charade was

part of on-going efforts to keep alive Hewel's interest in Trott as a contacts man in England and to interest Hewel in sanctioning another trip to England.⁹⁶ Second, Trott wanted Astor to write a memorandum for Lord Halifax based on Trott and his fellow resisters' ideas.

Astor wrote the memorandum on July 9, 1939 in London. Astor reported that Germans were unanimous in their support of Hitler's attempt to make Danzig officially German and to secure a road and railway to Danzig through the Corridor. Had the British not given her guarantee to Poland, Germany and Poland would have settled the Danzig question amicably. If Danzig was to make a free-will decision to join Germany, Britain would have no moral right to intervene. Danzig in German hands would not make Poland more vulnerable; Danzig relied on Polish trade.

Neither Hitler nor the German people wanted a world war, Astor continued. Hitler was being driven into a war by an economic consideration, the need for raw materials. Goring had warned Hitler that the policy of autarky and armaments build-up could not be sustained by the current resources. Raw material would have to be acquired through war or by stopping armaments production and moving back into the trade market. The second course was blocked mainly by the Nazis' mistrust of the Western Powers' amiability to the Nazi system and leaders.

Astor wrote that Ribbentrop and Himmler were sheltering Hitler from advice which differed from their

own. Goebbels was a yes-man and Goring had not much influence with Hitler recently, because of problems with the four year plan. Three potentially powerful groups: the industrialists, the Economics Ministry, and the generals were against a solution by war. An attempt was being made to align them behind Goring in an endeavor to oust Ribbentrop. Then Goring, if he could be convinced there were another solution than war, would have a chance to convince Hitler to follow the alternate solution.

Astor suggested Britain could aid in activating Goring by clarifying the Danzig question, showing an unprovocative determination to oppose annexation, not taunting the Nazi leaders or expressing openly a desire to separate the leaders from the people in Germany, and by making open and convincing displays of civilian and military preparedness for war. Once Goring was in place to act, the British government could indicate her genuine readiness to negotiate through four possible methods: a visit from a non-British person, such as Colonel Lindbergh, who could make a good contact for Goring; a visit from an English admiral; an apparently casual English visitor, perhaps an M.P.; or, best of all, an invitation to Goring to send to England an air marshall, preferably Udet, who could ascertain the actual strength of the British airforce and, as a result, prompt Goring to reciprocate with an invitation for political negotiations.

The British government, Astor continued, should prepare herself for negotiations leading to the re-entry of Germany in the world Market. Trott realized that the current economic crisis in Germany was a result of Nazi policy and he recognized British reluctance to help the Nazis. The alternative was a war whose outcome was not certain. Furthermore, Germany should enter the world market system.

Astor concluded: if the moderates in Germany and the statesmen in Britain could guide the Nazis toward the open world market and move them past the point when their armaments were sufficient to solve their problems by war, "then Nazism and with it power politics may die a natural death."⁹⁷

Astor wrote in a cover letter to Lord Halifax that the memorandum was a summary of his talks with Trott and his friends in Berlin. Astor's frequent naming of his source as "my friend" rather than "my friends" suggests the memorandum was based primarily on conversations with Trott. His use of the terms "my friend and his allies" tells the reader the proposal had the support of Trott's fellow resisters. The purpose of Astor's memorandum was to inform Lord Halifax of the plan and to indicate the necessity for British preparations for negotiations. This plan shared with Trott's report of early June the aim of averting war through negotiation and thereby gaining time in which conditions for a coup d'état could be recreated.

Ribbentrop had prevented the early June proposal from reaching Hitler. This time the plan was to displace Ribbentrop by Goring, who did not support the idea of going to war.⁹⁸ However, had Goring been substituted for Ribbentrop, the British government probably still would not have, as the memorandum suggested, encouraged an intermediary to prompt Goring to initiate political negotiations with the British government. Chamberlain's response to an approach by a Swedish acquaintance of Goring's on June 6 made it clear that any invitation to a conference had to come from Hitler.⁹⁹ Goring would have to persuade Hitler to negotiate. Furthermore, as Chamberlain had said to Trott on June 7, the German government had to restore British confidence in her goodwill to negotiate, before any such negotiations took place. These were substantial conditions to be achieved just to reach the stage of negotiations.

Taken by itself, the memorandum reads much like Douglas Home's account which had Trott promoting to the dinner guests at Cliveden a plan for an evolutionary change in government. There is no internal evidence to suggest that this proposal was aimed at reactivating plans for a coup d'état. Astor could not risk revealing Trott's actual purpose in his memorandum. External evidence suggests that Trott was still working to revive the conditions for a coup d'état: Trott's actions followed from his decision after his return from China to put his energies into reviving

plans for a coup d'état rather than to work toward an evolutionary change in government. In April, he showed Geoffrey Wilson the breadth of the opposition in Germany and told him that there were some resisters who were moving into positions from which they could attempt to remove Hitler. Astor's and Bielenberg's accounts state that reviving the conditions for a coup d'état was Trott's intention in early June and that this continued to be his intention at the end of June. This is confirmed by his reaction to Charles Bosanquet's news.

Trott visited England again in mid-July. Little is known about what his purpose was or whom he saw. Malone has suggested that Trott was seeking to encourage dialogue between Britain and Germany to buy time for an attempt to remove Hitler from power.¹⁰⁰ His efforts were to no avail.

After the second attempt to reactivate plans for a coup d'état had failed, Trott and Kessel tried to convince Lieutenant-General Alexander von Falkenhausen to rid Germany of Hitler. Trott had met Falkenhausen in China, and he had fostered his contact with the general since his return to Germany. Falkenhausen had close connections with Beck, Goerdeler, Schacht and Wilhelm Leuschner.¹⁰¹ In late July or early August, Trott and Kessel paid a visit to Falkenhausen in Dresden. Kessel asked Falkenhausen to invite Hitler to inspect the fortifications on the Bohemian frontier. Falkenhausen would then somehow isolate Hitler in a bunker and confront him with the choice of suicide or

assassination. If Hitler chose the latter, a grenade was to be tossed in the bunker. Falkenhausen was taken aback and said to Trott, "'so this is what comes from the Foreign Ministry nowadays.'" Although he had listened approvingly, he doubted the attempt could be made. There is no evidence that he tried to take action.¹⁰²

One final initiative was taken to revive conditions for a coup d'état. Since Trott felt it was no longer safe for him to travel to England, he asked Peter Bielenberg if he could go instead. On Saturday, August 19, Bielenberg flew to England.¹⁰³ This was no small risk for Bielenberg. The imminent danger of war meant that he, as a reservist, could be called up at any time. He went to England without permission from his department or from his unit.¹⁰⁴ Bielenberg went immediately to David Astor's house and the latter tried to get in touch with Lord Halifax in order to arrange a meeting, but he was unable to do so. Before Bielenberg returned to Berlin on Sunday, he and Astor wrote a memorandum which was sent to Halifax. The memorandum urged that a British subject of standing be sent to Germany to deliver to Hitler a message that Britain would indeed go to war if Hitler launched an attack on Poland. Bielenberg suggested Lord Gort be sent, whereas Trott had suggested a member of the Royal family.¹⁰⁵ Bielenberg has stated that his initiative was aimed also at moving the army leaders to launch a coup d'état.¹⁰⁶

On August 15, Weizsacker warned the French and British Ambassadors of the German plan to attack Poland and of the threat of a German-Soviet pact. He urged the British Ambassador, Neville Henderson, to have his government send to Hitler a firm statement of Britain's strong determination to go to war against Germany if she attacked Poland. He suggested the statement be delivered to Hitler by a British general.¹⁰⁷ The chronological proximity of the Bielenberg's appeal to Halifax and Weizsacker's request to Henderson is striking.

Halifax was in London that weekend following up the Weizsacker-Henderson proposal. It is likely that Halifax decided then not to unnecessarily endanger Bielenberg by meeting with him.¹⁰⁸ The Weizsacker-Henderson proposal ended in Weizsacker, Henderson and Hewel delivering a statement of the British determination to fight to Hitler at Berchtesgaden on August 23. The statement had no effect other than setting Ribbentrop's wrath on the Foreign Office for their interference.¹⁰⁹

On August 21 the news was released that Ribbentrop had successfully concluded a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. The next day Hitler ordered the invasion of Poland. Troops began to mass on the borders. The Hitler-Stalin pact ended what small chance there had been of motivating the military leaders to launch a coup d'état. On August 24, the day after Ribbentrop flew to Moscow to sign the pact, Trott wrote a memorandum on the state of the

opposition in Germany. He sent it to David Astor through a friend in the British Embassy in Berlin. Part of it reads: "The New Opposition in Germany is a) developing on the ground of unity and organisation, b) on the basis of political unity not only in the negative sense of the fight against Fascism, but also in a positive sense"¹¹⁰--in a constructive sense of building a New Europe once Germany was rid of Hitler and National Socialism.

¹A.to S., Hotel Beaujolais, Paris, Sunday (end of November 1938), Klemperer, p. 340.

²Hopkinson, MS, p. 127, letter, end of November 1938. CvT, tr., p. 110.

³A.to S., [Imshausen], 13.12.38, Klemperer, p. 344.

⁴A.to S., [n.p.], 30.12.38, Klemperer, p. 347.

⁵A.to S., [Imshausen], 13.12.38, Klemperer, p. 344.

⁶Malone, p. 556. A.to S., [n.p.], 30.12.38, Klemperer, p. 347, "[...] all that is merely two days Berlin [sic] before Christmas [...]."

⁷David Astor, "The Man Who Plotted Against Hitler," The New York Review, ("Plotted"), April 28, 1983, p. 18. David Astor, "Adam von Trott: A Personal View," The Challenge of the Third Reich, ed. Hedley Bull, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, p. 23.

⁸Hoffmann, History, pp. 60-68, 94-96, Hoffmann, German Resistance to Hitler, pp. 88-89, Western concessions did offer Hitler a way out of war, but his decision to accept the Sudetenland over the conquest of Czechoslovakia was probably based on a loss of nerve in face of Mussolini's refusal of support, Britain's firm stand and partial mobilization and the evident recalcitrance of Germans to fight another war.

⁹A.to S., [n.p.], 30.12.38, Klemperer, p. 347.

¹⁰A.to S., Imshausen, Dec. 6, 1938, Klemperer, p. 342.

¹¹CvT, tr., pp. 46, 113. Bielenberg, pp. 41-42. A.to S., [n.p.], 30.12.38, Klemperer, p. 347.

¹²Malone, p. 557, Trott also met General Werner Freiherr von Fritsch and General Wilhelm Wetzell.

¹³A.to S., [n.p.], 30.12.38, Klemperer, p. 347.

¹⁴Astor, "Plotted," p. 18. Astor, "Adam von Trott: A Personal View," p. 23.

¹⁵Hopkinson, MS, p. 127, letter, end of November 1938.

¹⁶Hopkinson, MS, p. 132.

¹⁷CvT, tr., p. 112. Sykes, fn. 6, p. 227, Maurice Bowra was elected Warden of Wadham College in 1938.

¹⁸Sykes, pp. 228-229.

¹⁹Grant Duff, Parting, p. 207. Hopkinson, MS, p. 132.

²⁰A.to S., Berlin-Dahlem, Helferichstr. 24, 6.3.39, Klemperer, p. 349, "How typical of my whole stay this last day of misunderstanding and waiting between us." Grant Duff, Parting, p. 207, Shiela Grant Duff has no recollection of Trott's visit to her home, and concludes it must have been painful.

²¹S.to A., [Clockhouse, Kent], [2nd week of March 1939, Malone], Klemperer, p. 351.

²²A.to S., [n.p.], [March? 1939, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 352, since Trott was defending himself against Shiela Grant Duff's accusation of inactivity in the face of a political crisis, Trott's remark has been interpreted as an allusion to his own resistance activity. The last clause of the second sentence "which you would find hard to attack, though possibly equally difficult to share" seems to have been written in light of a comment written by Shiela Grant

Duff seven months earlier: "I suppose you will go back and be part of it. I cannot condemn you, but I cannot approve either, and perhaps one day I shall think you did wrong."

S.to A., The Clock House, High Elm Farm Farnborough, Kent, Sept. 1 1938, Klemperer, pp. 321-322.

²³A.to S., Imshausen, April 2, 1939, Klemperer, p. 353.

Grant Duff, Parting, p. 208.

²⁴CvT, tr., p. 113. Malone, p. 559. Sykes, p. 227, letter to mother. CvT, tr., p. 112, the letter was written on February 20, 1939.

²⁵Hopkinson, MS, p. 127, letter, end of November 1938.

²⁶Hoffmann, History, pp. 99-100. Hoffmann, German Resistance to Hitler, p. 42. Keith Feiling, The Life of Neville Chamberlain, London: Macmillan, 1970, pp. 404-405. R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy, The Encyclopedia of Military History from 3500 D.C. to the present, New York: Harper and Row, 1977, pp. 1029, 1035. William L. Langer, An Encyclopedia of World History, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, p. 971.

²⁷Sykes, p. 229, "Trott returned to Berlin on the 1st or 2nd of March." A.to S., Berlin-Dahlem, Helferichstr. 24, 6.3.39, Klemperer, p. 349, "The sea and sky in Holland early Friday [March 3] were extraordinarily beautiful and gave me a short vision and reminder of the vast wonderful world between our petty camps." Hopkinson, MS, p. 132, "[...] in a letter written from the train on his way home travelling through Holland."

²⁸A.to S., Imshausen, Dec. 6, 1938, Klemperer, p. 342, fn. 4, p. 343.

²⁹CvT, tr., p. 111. Bielenberg, p. 42, Malone, p. 558, Peter Bielenberg applied for a position in the Ministry of Economics. At the same time, he applied for membership in the NSDAP with the hope that by the time all the paperwork was completed the government would be overthrown and membership would be no longer necessary. He accepted an offer of a position in the Ministry of Economics.

³⁰CvT, tr., p. 111.

³¹CvT, tr., p. 111. Sykes, p. 336, CvT, tr., p. 133, Malone, p. 568, after his trip to America in 1939-1940, Trott joined the Nazi party and, in June 1940, he took a position as a Research Assistant in the Political Information department of the Foreign Office.

³²CvT, tr., pp. 112. Malone, pp. 558, 560.

³³Hopkinson, MS, p. 113.

³⁴Malone, p. 561. CvT, tr., p. 114. Hoffmann, History, p. 63, Erich Kordt was a Legationsrat, who since 1938 was head of the Minister's Office of the Foreign Office. His brother, Theo Kordt was Embassy Counsellor and acting Chargé d'Affaires in London.

³⁵CvT, tr., p. 114. Ger van Roon, Neuordnung im Widerstand, Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1967, p. 148, Malone, fn. 33, pp. 580-581, Trott did see Moltke before Trott's departure for America in the autumn of 1939.

³⁶Malone, pp. 561-562, Malone gives no source for the

statement that Trott met Berthold von Stauffenberg in the spring of 1939. Adam von Trott zu Solz, "Der Kampf um die Herrschaftsgestaltung im Fernen Osten," Zeitschrift fur auslandisches offentliches Recht und Volkerrecht, vol. IX, 1939/1940, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1942, pp. 264-283.

³⁷CvT, tr., p. 114. Malone, p. 560, 563, 567, fn. 47, p. 581, Hewel's role in facilitating Trott's mission to England in early June will be discussed below. Hewel also gave his official sanction to Trott's voyage to America in the autumn of 1939.

³⁸CvT, tr., p. 113. Malone, pp. 559-560. Sykes, pp. 230-232. E.T. Williams and Helen M. Palmer (eds.), The Dictionary of National Biography, 1951-1960. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 270-274.

³⁹Interview with David Astor, Wednesday, November 1, 1989.

⁴⁰Sykes, p. 272.

⁴¹A.to S., Berlin-Dahlem, Helfferichstr. 24, 6.3.39, Klemperer, p. 350, "The thing that called me back is an almost hopeless piece of human worry. I am working hard for a remedy but probably there is none [...]." CvT, tr., p. 119, "But he never lost his presentiment that these individual attempts would not be able to stem the disastrous avalanche. He often said: "'We shall all have to go through the mill.'" On the same page, Dr. von Trott quotes Geoffrey Wilson as saying: "'Certainly my recollections is that in his heart he saw no real hope of bringing about a change of government except as the result

of a war situation."

⁴²Sykes, p. 235. Unsigned memorandum, "Fact-Finding Visit to Britain June 1-8, 1939," (Unsigned memorandum), Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945, (DGFP), Series D, vol. VI, March-August 1939. London: HMSO, 1956, pp. 674-684.

⁴³Unsigned memorandum, pp. 679-680.

⁴⁴Interview with David Astor, November 1, 1989.

⁴⁵William Douglas Home, Half-Term Report. An Autobiography, Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1954, p. 113, this quotation is part of Douglas Home's account of Trott's conversation with the gentlemen at a dinner party at Cliveden on the weekend of June 3-4, 1939. see below.

⁴⁶CvT, tr., p. 115, "I seem to remember that he thought of something like a demonstrative manoeuvre by the British navy [...]." cited in Peter Hoffmann, "The Question of Western Allied Co-operation With The German Anti-Nazi Conspiracy, 1938-1944," forthcoming in The Historical Journal, ("The Question"), 1991, p. 12 (draft).

⁴⁷Astor, "Plotted," p. 19. Interview with Dr. Peter and Christabel Bielenberg, November 10, 1989. Dr. Bielenberg, who helped Trott write the June 1939 memorandum, confirms that Trott's second visit to England (June 1-8, 1939) was aimed at reactivating preparations for a coup d'état.

⁴⁸Astor, "Von Trott's Mission," p. 6. Astor, "Plotted," p. 19.

⁴⁹Trott's friend Albrecht von Kessel was Weizsacker's

executive assistant and could have told Weizsacker of the plan. Malone, p. 563, Malone gives no source for the statement that Weizsacker had been informed through Kessel of Trott's intentions. Sykes, pp. 235-237, his account of the co-ordination of Trott's activities with Weizsacker is based on assumption and deduction: "[...] it can be assumed that he was briefed by Weizsacker," "The foregoing seems a reasonable deduction from the evidence." CvT, tr., p. 114, Dr. von Trott writes that Trott was protected by Hewel and possibly by both Hewel and Weizsäcker.

Christabel Bielenberg, "Adam von Trott's Mission," letter to the editor, Manchester Guardian, Thursday, June 7, 1956, p. 8. Astor, "Adam von Trott: A Personal View," pp. 23, 26.

⁵⁰Karen J. Bingel, "Ernst von Weizsäcker's Diplomacy and Counterdiplomacy from 'Munich' to the Outbreak of the Second World War," M.A. thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1986, pp. 76-91, this thesis does not discuss contacts between Trott and Weizsacker and the Kordt brothers.

⁵¹Astor, "Von Trott's Mission," p. 6.

⁵²Langhorne, pp. 159-161, 204. Hopkinson, p. 166.

⁵³Who was Who 1951-1960, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1964, p. 598.

⁵⁴Douglas Home, Half-Term Report, William Douglas Home believed that war would only make things worse. From the beginning of the war, he called for the British government

to define its war aims. He ran in three elections on this platform. In 1944, he refused to carry out an order from a superior officer which entailed the bombing of civilians. He was court marshalled and sent to prison. After the war, he had success as a playwright. His brother Lord Dunglass was a private secretary to Neville Chamberlain before the war and a member of parliament. In 1963, he became Prime Minister as Sir Alec Douglas Home. Marjorie Dent Candee (ed.), Current Biography Yearbook, New York: H.W. Wilson, 1958, p. 202. Unsigned memorandum, DGFP, p. 674.

⁵⁵Douglas Home, Half-Term Report, pp. 112-113.

⁵⁶Interview with David Astor, November 8, 1989.

⁵⁷Unsigned memorandum, DGFP, p. 674, 683 and 685.

⁵⁸Interview with David Astor, November 8, 1989. Unsigned memorandum, DGFP, p. 674.

⁵⁹Astor, "Von Trott's Mission," p. 6.

⁶⁰Astor, "Plotted," p. 19.

⁶¹Interview with David Astor, November 1 and 8, 1989.

⁶²CvT, tr., p. 118, letter, Saturday, [June 10, 1939].

⁶³Interview with David Astor, November 1, 1989.

⁶⁴Unsigned memorandum, DGFP, p. 681, says "Wednesday (June 8)", Wednesday was on June 7.

⁶⁵CvT, tr., p. 118, letter to mother, Saturday, [June 10, 1939].

⁶⁶Astor, "Plotted," p. 19.

⁶⁷Interview with David Astor, November 1, 1989. Hoffmann, "The Question," fn. 38, pp. 52-53, "The private papers of

both Chamberlain and Halifax contain no references to the encounters with Trott: University Library, University of Birmingham (Chamberlain papers), letter 8 Dec. 1988:

Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York (Halifax papers), letter 15 Dec. 1988."

⁶⁸Astor, "Von Trott's Mission," p. 6.

⁶⁹Unsigned memorandum, DGFP, p. 683. Trott had named Lord Astor and Lord Lothian as the originators of ideas he had in fact proposed. (see above) It would have been against Trott's interest, however, to distort the essence of what Halifax and Chamberlain had said. It would undermine at least Trott's credibility, if the German government sought to confirm these statements with the British government.

⁷⁰Astor, "Plotted," p. 19.

⁷¹Lord Halifax, "Parliament, Moves for World Peace, Halifax on Relations with Germany," The Times, Friday, June 9, 1939, p. 7. The quotation was taken from The Times, since this is the version which Trott read. A slightly different text appears in Viscount Halifax K.G., D.C.L., Speeches On Foreign Policy, H.H.E. Craster (ed.). (Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.) Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. 270-281. Halifax's June 29 speech to Chatham House is printed on pp. 287-297. German and British interpretations of Halifax' June 8 speech were reported in The Times, Saturday, June 10, 1939, p. 12. Halifax' June 12 response in the House of Lords to confusion over his June 8 speech is recorded in

The Times, Tuesday, June 13, 1939, p. 9, some members questioned whether Halifax' June 8 speech marked a change in policy. Halifax replied: "[...] it [the speech] was a perfectly frank attempt to get people here and elsewhere to face the realities of the situation. [...] if force is used to-day those who use it must count on force being met by force. [...] I should be well content if I thought this debate had the effect of focusing the attention of all whom it might reach on the incalculable advantage of changing the dangerous, threatening, and sinister methods of arbitral force for the methods of negotiation and peaceful settlement." [added emphasis]

⁷²Lord Halifax, "The Choice for Germany, Cooperation or Isolation, Lord Halifax on 'Give and Take'," Halifax' June 29 Chatham House speech, The Times, Friday, June 30, 1939, p. 9. On p. 12, there is a list of the people who were present. Lord Astor presided. Those who attended included: the Hon. David Astor, Mr. and Mrs. C.I.C. Bosanquet (cousins of Trott's), the Hon. Sir Alexander Cadogan, Dr. T.P. Conwell-Evans, Mr. and Mrs. Lionel Curtis and Sir Thomas Inskip.

⁷³Unsigned memorandum, DGFP, p. 683 CvT, tr., p. 117, Dr. von Trott writes: "I have a very vivid memory of Peter Bielenberg and Adam standing on the Wittenberg Platz and reading the latest newspaper report of Halifax' speech, immensely pleased at finding in it the arguments Adam had put forward." Trott returned to Berlin on June 9, the day

Halifax' speech was recorded in The Times. Sykes, pp. 268-270, the husband of Trott's cousin Barbara Bosanquet, Charles sent him a copy of Halifax' June 29 speech.

⁷⁴CvT, tr., p. 118, letter to mother, Saturday, [June 10, 1939]. Sykes, pp. 268-270.

⁷⁵Unsigned memorandum, DGFP, p. 683. Mr. Oliver Stanley, June 9, 1939 speech to the supply committee, Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons Official Report, fifth series, vol. 48, London: HMSO, 1939, pp. 790-804, British economic policy did not seek to exclude Germany from international markets, but rather to gain for Britain her fair share of the markets. Mr. Stanley acknowledged the threat of war was present, but it was a crime for anyone to say that it was inevitable.

⁷⁶Sykes, p. 255. Klemperer, Noble Combat, p. 355. Grant Duff, Parting, p. 209, the chronology of Shiela Grant Duff's account suggests that Trott met Ripka during or after a weekend party at Clock House, which took place on Saturday, June 17-Sunday, June 18, A.to S., Cliveden, 19.6.39 Sunday night [19 June was a Monday, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 356. Sykes, p. 253, refers to a letter written by Ripka on Friday, June 16, 1939 from Paris in which he expresses his indignation toward Trott's politics.

⁷⁷Grant Duff, Parting, pp. 209-210. Sykes, pp. 252-254, Ripka wrote to Shiela Grant Duff on June 16, 1939: "Je suis nettement déprimé en voyant tant d'allemands qui sont pénétrés jusqu'au fond par le culte de force et par la

mystique du pangermanisme. Je ne vois aucune autre issue que d'écraser militairement l'Allemagne et de faire voir aux allemands qu'ils ne peuvent plus compter sur la force."

Unsigned memorandum, DGFP, p. 684, during his visit to England, Trott saw Mr. Geoffrey Dawson and Mr. Garvin editors of The Times and The Observer. CvT, tr., p. 117, he also spoke with Professor Tawney, Geoffrey Wilson, Charles Bosanquet and Professor Gerhard Leibholz.

⁷⁸Sykes, p. 256.

⁷⁹Unsigned memorandum, DGFP, p. 675.

⁸⁰Christabel Bielenberg, "Adam von Trott's Mission," p. 8, "[...] to the best of my memory was sponsored by Secretary of State von Weizsacker, who later took over the channelling of the report. Adam von Trott heard later that it had never reached Hitler, but was suppressed by Herr von Ribbentrop." It has been demonstrated above that there is no evidence that Weizsacker collaborated on or approved of the Czech-Polish proposal before Trott went to England. There is no further evidence to suggest that Weizsacker channelled the report in the Foreign Office. Since Hewel sponsored the trip, it is more likely that he tried to advance the report.

⁸¹CvT, tr., p. 119, one of Trott's résumés of his impressions of England bears the remark "seen by the Führer". This résumé is different from the report Trott and Bielenberg wrote. CvT, p. 171, "Unter diesen Umständen ist es nicht ganz leicht, sich vorzustellen, was es

bedeuten soll, dass eine Zusammenfassung seiner englischer Eindrücke, die sich neben verschiedenen Fassungen des Berichts gefunden haben soll, den Vermerk trägt: Hat dem Führer vorgelegen. Malone, fn. 38, p. 581, cites an interview with Peter Bielenberg as his source for the statement that it was the report which had "seen by the Führer" on its cover.

⁸²CvT, tr., pp. 118.

⁸³Hopkinson, MS, pp. 134-135, letter, May 1939.

⁸⁴Sykes, p. 259.

⁸⁵CvT, tr., p. 119, letter to mother. A.to S., Cliveden, 19.6.39, Sunday Night [June 19 was a Monday, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 356.

⁸⁶Sykes, pp. 261-262.

⁸⁷Astor, "Plotted," p. 20.

⁸⁸Sykes, p. 267.

⁸⁹Maurice Bowra, Memories 1898-1939, Cambridge Mass.:

Harvard University Press, 1967, pp. 305-307, Trott had told Bowra of his plan to visit their mutual friend, Felix Frankfurter, during his trip to America in the autumn. Bowra wrote to Frankfurter, who had become a Justice in the United States Supreme Court on January 17, 1939, and told him of his suspicions that Trott was a Nazi spy. Bowra's warning contributed to the suspicion surrounding Trott during his visit in America. Trott was followed by the FBI and prevented from meeting with President Roosevelt. Bowra wrote after the war: "When I heard of the [Trott's

execution], I saw how mistaken I had been, and my rejection of him remains one of my bitterest regrets." Malone, fn. 49, p. 582, "Bowra deeply regrets his misjudging Trott, but in conversation with the present author [Malone] his remorse had grown considerably less as he sought to justify his distrust of one who had been a good friend, interview, Oxford, May 1971."

⁹⁰Grant Duff, Parting, p. 209.

⁹¹A.to S., Cliveden, 19.6.39, Sunday night [June 19 was a Monday, Klemperer], Klemperer, p. 356. Sykes, pp. 260-262, and 267, Trott also saw in England: Hans Siebert, Peter Mayer, Fritz Schumacher, Christopher Hill and possibly A.L. Rowse. Rowse, All Souls, p. 96, "But Adam entered deeply, ambivalently, into relations with the Nazis, without being one, indeed while belonging to the resistance movement. It was this Hegelianism in action that caught him in the toils in the end. Even though at bottom he was sincere, and his brave end proved it, while this was the situation I did not wish to see him. He would come to All Souls to see Warden Adams [Sykes, p. 261, during his second June visit]; he was no longer welcome to see me. At a certain point, on both private and public grounds, I decided that the relationship should end. Though I am ashamed to say so, I was not sure that he was not reporting back to Berlin what our opinion and attitudes were." Grant Duff, Parting, p. 209, Shiela Grant Duff offered to arrange a meeting between Trott and Churchill, but Trott could not accept. He could

not be sure his contacts were not known in Germany. While Trott could provide an alibi for his visits with Chamberlain and Halifax, he could not do so for a visit with Churchill, in light of Churchill's "warmonger" image. Interview with David Astor, November 1, 1989. A.to S., Canton, China, 31.8.37, Klemperer, p. 270, "I know Winston Churchill is nearer the thing, but isn't he a war monger?"

⁹²Sykes, p. 269.

⁹³Sykes, p. 270.

⁹⁴Sykes, p. 270.

⁹⁵Sykes, p. 237, Trott's June initiative is termed "the new appeasement plan," Sykes, p. 258, "Obstinately Adam continued [after his first visit to England in June] to think in terms of an appeasement policy." Sykes, p. 254, he mentions Peter Bielenberg's account, but ignores its broader significance. David Astor's account was first published in 1956 as "Von Trott's Mission" in The Manchester Guardian. The author has used the verb "ignore", because there can be no doubt that Sykes was aware of the two accounts. Sykes interviewed both Astor and Bielenberg, and the final draft of his book was sent to Astor and Bielenberg for their comments.

⁹⁶There is no direct evidence of this.

⁹⁷David Astor, letter and memorandum to Lord Halifax, July 9, 1939, PRO FO 800/316, unpublished.

⁹⁸Arnold Toynbee and Veronica M. Toynbee, Survey of International Affairs 1939-1946. The Eve of War 1939,

(Survey), (Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.) Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958, pp. 212-213, based on a May 25, 1939 conversation between Axel Wenner-Gren and Goring. Wenner-Gren made a report to the British government. It is recorded in DBFP, Third series, vol. VI, Appendix III, pp. 738-739. See appendices II, III, IV, for reports of conversations during the summer of 1939 between Goring and Wenner-Gren and Mr. Dahlerus.

⁹⁹Toynbee, Survey, pp. 212-213.

¹⁰⁰Malone, p. 565, Malone gives no source. Sykes, pp. 271-272, Sykes writes that Trott spent the night of 18 July at Cliveden and (p. 272) was back again in Berlin on 13 July. The chronology is not clear. Sykes may mean back to Berlin from Imshausen. Trott saw David Astor and Sir Stafford Cripps during this visit. Letter, Sir Stafford Cripps to Anthony Eden, June 20, 1942, PRO FO 371/30912. XP001809, "As a matter of fact I spent a day with him [Trott] in July '39 when we were both clear that the war was going to break out before the autumn and discussed at great length his attitudes to the Nazi régime."

¹⁰¹CvT, tr., p. 114. Sykes, p. 230. Hoffmann, History, p. 103.

¹⁰²Hoffmann, History, p. 104. Sykes, pp. 274-275. Both these accounts are based on Albrecht von Kessel's report "Verborgene Saat", typescript, Vatican City 1944-5, on a subsequent letter (15 July, 1970) from Kessel to Hoffmann,

and on a discussion Sykes had with Kessel.

¹⁰³Sykes, p. 279-280.

¹⁰⁴Bielenberg, p. 47.

¹⁰⁵Sykes, pp. 280-281. CVT, tr., p. 120. Interview with Dr. and Mrs. Bielenberg, November 10, 1989.

¹⁰⁶Interview with Dr. and Mrs. Bielenberg, November 10, 1989.

¹⁰⁷Sykes, pp. 278-281. DBFP, Third series, vol. VII, nos. 56, 58, 68, 69, 73, 78, 83, 84, 93, 101, 118, 142, and 145. Bingel, pp. 114.

¹⁰⁸Sykes, pp. 281-282.

¹⁰⁹Sykes, p. 283. Bingel, p. 116.

¹¹⁰Sykes, p. 284.

Conclusion

Adam von Trott lived through the privations of the First World War. He observed his father's devotion to duty and government service and his mother's earnest activity in the church. He learned from his parents the family traditions of moral integrity and service to the state. His parents' example and the beautiful "Trottenwald" fostered his love for Germany. His central interest became public service.

At the age of eighteen, he began to study law in the University of Munich. He broadened his horizons through travel to Austria, Hungary, Switzerland and England. He visited Liverpool and spent a term at Oxford where he became interested in socialism. His essay "Impressions of a German Student in England" is his first written record of his concern for Anglo-German co-operation.

He continued his education in jurisprudence in Gottingen and Berlin where he moved among the aristocracy, the foreign service, the diplomatic corps and the socialists. In 1930, Trott went against his family's tradition and voted for the Social Democratic Party. He struggled to reconcile the traditions of his aristocratic upbringing with his desire for social justice, without following the radical path which led his brother Werner to join the communist Party in 1931. Trott's search for

philosophical unity, which he believed fundamental to political activity, prompted him to write a doctoral dissertation on Hegel's political philosophy. Conscious of the popularity of the Communist and National Socialist mass movements, he wrote of the need for individual moral action as the basis of a sound national and international order.

At Oxford, Trott participated in a number of political clubs and made numerous contacts and acquaintances; he formed enduring friendships with the Astors, Lord Lothian and Sir Stafford Cripps. In October 1931, Trott made a public speech against National Socialism. His attempts to fit the rising National Socialist movement into the historical process were misunderstood by some of his Oxford friends as a sympathy with National Socialism. When Hitler became Chancellor, Trott knew his career prospects had changed fundamentally. He had to focus on finding a career which would allow him to keep his moral integrity while he pursued oppositional activity.

Trott began his law apprenticeship, which he undertook largely for his father's sake. His refusal to join any National Socialist organization hindered his career. His frustration at his own inability to effect change is apparent in his letters to The Manchester Guardian in February and March 1934. He hoped for a popular uprising against the government, and for a new socialist order. He helped people in difficulty with the régime, such as Helmut Conrad, Hans Siebert and Julie Braun-Vogelstein. He

published a collection of Heinrich von Kleist's political writings. In his introduction, as Diana Hopkinson later wrote, he drew "an analogy between Kleist's protest against Napoleon's despotism and his own antagonism to the Nazi tyranny."¹ He failed to find a career either in industry or as an academic, that would not compromise his political beliefs or inhibit his oppositional activity. Trott decided a trip abroad would widen his perspective on the European problem.

His sojourn in America and in the Far East was a tranquil period in his life, but he did not achieve what he had expected. He did not complete sufficient research for a Habilitationsschrift which was necessary to qualify for an academic position in Germany, nor did he achieve the long-sought philosophical unity. His memorandum "Far Eastern Possibilities" proposed a constructive way to Anglo-German co-operation. His letters to Shiela Grant Duff indicate that he had become isolated from the events in Europe. The Munich crisis recalled to Trott the urgent need for a constructive solution to the European problem. He rejected the idea of emigrating to America; he believed his duty was to return to Germany and to oppose Hitler from within Germany.

Trott was stirred by the news of the failed coup d'état attempt of September 1938. There was a chance that another attempt could be launched--this was the viable opportunity to resist for which Trott had searched in vain

from 1933-1938. He set to work re-establishing his contacts in Germany and England, and he sought some way to cover his resistance activities.

Trott's initiatives in the summer of 1939 were aimed at reactivating the conditions for a coup d'état. The initiatives were designed to slow the accelerating progress to war long enough to allow for the conditions for a coup d'état to be revived. But he knew his initiatives had little chance of activating a coup d'état. He often said in the summer of 1939: "'We shall all have to go through the mill.'"² He believed that if Germany threatened to or actually dominated the rest of Europe, she ought to be contained by the Western Powers. But the menace of the destruction and uncertain outcome of a war compelled Trott to pursue alternate solutions. The internal isolation of Hitler's régime through concerted action by the German opposition and British government could have been the first stage before Hitler's overthrow.

The necessary secrecy of Trott's initiatives of 1939 made some of his English friends doubt his motives. This doubt continued to be expressed in numerous publications after the war.³ Christopher Sykes' interpretation of Trott's actions of the summer of 1939 as either, aimed at appeasement, or inconsistent formed the basis of his thesis that Trott was not unequivocally anti-Nazi until half-way through the war, when documents clearly indicate that Trott was involved in plans to overthrow Hitler.⁴

This thesis has argued that Adam von Trott was an anti-Nazi from October 1931. His frustrating search for a way to resist Hitler and his régime ended in the autumn of 1938 when he heard of the failed coup d'état attempt. From then on he worked to reactivate the conditions for what had been the only viable opportunity to remove the Nationalist Socialist régime.

¹Hopkinson, MS, p. 79.

²CvT, tr., p. 119.

³Malone, pp. 16-55.

⁴[Adam von Trott, Dr. Hans Schonfeld, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier], Memorandum, [end of April 1942], VfZ, vol. 5, 1957, pp. 392-395, p. 394, "The most urgent and immediate task to stave off catastrophe in Europe is the earliest possible overthrow of the Regime in Germany." Astor, "Why the Revolt against Hitler Was Ignored. On the British Reluctance to Deal with German Anti-Nazis," Encounter, vol. 32, June 1969, p. 11. Sykes, "The Revolt against Hitler. A Reply to David Astor," letter to the editor, Encounter, vol. 33, July 1969, p. 93. See other exchanges in Encounter: Vol. 31, December 1968, Vol. 32, June 1969, Vol. 33, July-October, December 1969.

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