

between Danzig and Germany extremely difficult, evidently with the purpose of making this purely German territory Polish in the course of time by means of economic pressure." Suggestions of harbour facilities for Poland in Danzig, Memel and Königsberg, as a substitute for access to the sea, were officially submitted. The view was privately expressed that, if Poland had to have a German port, it would have been far less inconvenient to have given her Memel rather than Danzig. On the other hand, the Polish Government protested that Poland should have been given possession of Danzig, on the ground that without it her access to the sea could not be truly secure. The Polish coastline without Danzig contained no harbour save for the fishing village of Puck (German: Putzig). Further, they maintained that the mouth of the Vistula was of vital importance for the new Polish State. The sense of not having been given a fair chance to resist the inevitable recovery of an aggressive Germany was never absent from Polish political thinking.

8. The British view in 1919 may be said to have been that an attempt should be made to find a true middle way between Polish needs and the interests and sentiments of the inhabitants of Danzig. At the same time British policy took immense pains to be fair to the Germans, both in drawing the Free City's boundaries and in defining its relationship to Poland. If the Poles in the end obtained less control over the port of Danzig than they had expected from the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the explanation was to be found, in the British view at least, in the impossibility of separating Danzig from its port; since the degree of control over the port for which the Poles had hoped would have entailed a degree of control over the city itself which would have gone far beyond what was intended when the treaty provisions concerning the Free City were drafted.

9. *The Constitution.*—The Danzig constitution was framed by a constituent assembly elected by the citizens of the Free City, many of whom had no long-standing connexion with Danzig. The principal part in drawing up the constitution was taken by the German officials of the city who had been left undisturbed by the Peace Treaty. At their head was the burgomaster, Dr. Sahn, formerly Burgomaster of Altona, in Western Germany, and German police-chief in Warsaw during the War of 1914–18. Like the other officials, he retained his place in the German service while serving in Danzig. The parties represented in the constituent assembly were, except for the Polish minority party, the local branches of parties which existed in the German Reich, and the sequel showed that many of the members of the assembly had German rather than Danzig interests at heart. The constitution provided that the legislative assembly, the Volkstag, should elect the Government, to be known as the Senate; the Senate was also to have power to initiate and veto legislation. The Senate originally consisted of 22 members, but the number was reduced to 12 by amendments adopted in 1930; and, of these 12, six, including the President and Vice-President, were paid officials of the Free City. Among other provisions the constitution laid it down that the Free City could not, except with the consent of the League of Nations, serve as a military or naval base, erect fortifications, or authorise the manufacture of munitions. The constitution thus framed, as revised in negotiations with the League of Nations, was approved by the League in May 1922.

10. *The Treaties with Poland.*—The Danzig-Polish treaty provided for in article 104 of the Treaty of Versailles was signed under the title of the Convention of Paris on the 9th November, 1920. This treaty, which was negotiated by representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, provided, among other things, for the establishment of a joint Danzig-Polish Harbour Board, instead of giving Poland the sole control over the harbour which she had hoped to obtain. This convention was completed by a further convention, the Convention of Warsaw, of the 24th October, 1921. Polish assent to the formation of the Joint Harbour Board was given in July 1920, at Spa, at the moment when the Soviet forces were approaching Warsaw; and the Poles say that it was given in return for a promise of military assistance, which was never received, and which in fact became unnecessary.

11. *Effect of the City's Status.*—The Free City legally came into being on the 15th November, 1920. On the 6th December the constituent assembly became the first Danzig Volkstag and elected its first Senate, with Dr. Sahn as its President. Legally, Danzig was now a sovereign State for most purposes—the most important exception being that it did not control its own foreign relations. Such restrictions on its independence as existed were a constant source of irritation to the Senate, a majority of whose members were German Civil Servants, seconded, as it were, for service in Danzig. The somewhat anomalous