POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION OF BRITISH DIPLOMATIC POSTS IN POLAND
POWOJENNA ODBUDOWA BRYTYJSKICH PLACÓWEK DYPLOMATYCZNYCH W POLSCE

ABSTRACT: The reconstruction of British diplomatic missions in Poland began after the approval of the Provisional Government of National Unity (Polish: Tymczasowy Rząd Jedności Narodowej – TRJN) by London. Consular exchange resumed and a number of officials were appointed, who became not only liaison between the Foreign Office and local institutions, but also propagators of “Western ideology” in Poland. The aim of the article is to present the process of rebuilding British institutions in Poland, placing it in the context of Polish-British relations until 1956.

KEYWORDS: British embassy in Warsaw, British consulates in Poland, reconstruction of diplomatic missions after World War II, Polish-British relations after 1945

In the first half of the 20th century, Poland was an important entity in British politics. The British authorities were particularly attentive to breakthrough periods, important not only for the United Kingdom and Poland, but also for the building of political order in Europe and in the world. This was the case at the end of the World War I, after the Versailles Conference or in 1939, when Great Britain became an ally of the Second Polish Republic and the guarantor of its independence.1 After the Third Reich attacked Poland, London, along with members of the British Commonwealth, declared war on the German aggressor. From that moment until the end of hostilities

1 Guarantees and alliance agreements: Neville Chamberlain’s unilateral guarantee during his speech in the House of Commons on March 31, 1939; Security guarantee of April 6, 1939; Mutual Aid Treaty between Poland and Great Britain of August 25, 1939.
in Europe, and more specifically to the provisions of the Potsdam Conference, the United Kingdom devoted an enormous amount of attention to Poland.

The arduous process of British diplomatic mission’s reconstruction in Poland in the post-war decade has not been adequately researched. After World War II, most of the British establishments had to be built from scratch due to the war damage. Some had to be moved and situated elsewhere. The process of rebuilding was, to some extent, the task of opening entirely new facilities. The British government aimed to introduce diplomats with previous experience in Polish matters. Some diplomats had earlier visited or resided in Poland. When it comes to the staff of Polish origin such as, e.g., translators, it was difficult to find sterling workers, as it was unwelcomed to be associated with Western establishments among Poles.

The aim of the article is to elaborate on the matter, based on the analysis of the correspondence of British diplomats with the Foreign Office, stored in the National Archives in Kew, London. The period described is a decade from the recognition of the Provisional Government of National Unity (Tymczasowy Rząd Jedności Narodowej – TRJN) by the United Kingdom, which took part on July 5, 1945, and is the date when the rebuilding of the diplomatic mission began in Poland.

Embassy staff and location problems

The general structure of embassies is shown in the table below. Each foreign mission was led by an ambassador appointed by the Secretary of State. Ambassador was supported by the attaché, chargé d’affaires and a team of officials. Chargé d’affaires took over as ambassador in the absence of the latter.

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3 The research is a part of the author’s doctoral dissertation, still unpublished as of October 1, 2021.


5 Polish MSZ collected detailed data of the personnel of the British Embassy. See, i.e.: Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych [Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], 16/46, vol. 803.
Table 1. British embassy staff

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<th>Ambassador</th>
<th>Attaché</th>
<th>Chargé d’affaires</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Counsellors</strong></td>
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<td>MANAGEMENT SECTION</td>
<td>LAW FIRM</td>
<td>COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENT</td>
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<td>Consul and first secretary</td>
<td>First secretary</td>
<td>First secretary</td>
<td>First secretary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vice-consul and second secretary</td>
<td>Third secretary and attaché</td>
<td>Second secretary</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vice-consul and second secretary</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial officials</td>
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<td>Pro-consul</td>
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From the end of World War II till 1956, Poland was home to six British ambassadors who were the direct link between London and the communist government in Warsaw. Each ambassador introduced new solutions in Warsaw and proposed paths of solving possible disputes with the Polish government. After the United Kingdom’s recognition of the Provisional Government of National Unity, which took part on July 5, 1945, the rebuilding of the diplomatic mission in Poland began. Just two days later, in London, the first representative of the United Kingdom in Poland, Robin Hankey, was appointed as chargé d’affaires. Until the ambassador’s arrival in Warsaw, he was the head of the British diplomatic mission. After him, successively ambassadors in Poland were: Victor Cavendish-Bentinck (August 24, 1945 – June 6, 1947), Donald St Clair Gainer (June 10, 1947 – July 26, 1950), Charles Harold Bateman (July 27, 1950 – May 21, 1952), Francis Michie Shepherd (May 22, 1952 – May 7, 1954), Andrew Napier Noble (May 8, 1954 – October 26, 1956), and Eric Alfred Berthoud (October 27, 1956 – May 10, 1960).6

Cavendish-Bentinck was a vivid figure in British foreign politics. From December 1939 until the end of World War II, he was the chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee, which directly supervised the British Secret Intelligence Service. He advised the Prime Minister on matters related to intelligence services. Thus, he

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had extensive contacts both at the Foreign Office and at the Ministry of Defense. Before the war, he married an American woman, but the marriage was not successful. Cavendish-Bentinck’s wife spent the entire period of the war in the United States. After arriving in Warsaw, Cavendish-Bentinck filed for divorce, which ultimately happened two years later. His career in Poland ended very quickly. Already in November 1946, the Polish authorities arrested Ksawery Grochowski on charges of cooperation with Ruch Oporu bez Wojny i Dywersji „Wolność i Niepodległość” (WiN; in English: Freedom and Independence movement) and for passing secret information on the situation in Poland to the British ambassador. Grochowski pleaded guilty and was sentenced to death. Moreover, from January 1947, Cavendish-Bentinck openly spoke about rigging of the election results in Poland, which made him a persona non grata. He was also involved in the trial of Maria Marynowska, one of the embassy employees, who was arrested on January 29, 1947. She was accused of translating WiN memoranda for the United Nations and for Cavendish-Bentinck. Moreover, from October 1946 until her arrest, Marynowska was to hand over to Victor Cavendish-Bentinck and the American ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane the press published in the so-called “Polish Underground”, i.e., the WiN newsletter, a special report on the elections and secret political information. For Cavendish-Bentinck it meant the end of his career in Poland and the necessity to change his post.

The then ambassador to Rio de Janeiro Donald St Clair Gainer resigned from this post and came to Warsaw on June 4. Cavendish-Bentinck was appointed in his place to Brazil. Six days later, Gainer submitted his credentials to the Belvedere. His views on cooperation with communists were uncompromising. He stressed that relations between Warsaw and London will not improve until Poland supports the anti-British point of view in the international arena. He also did not want to engage in direct talks about the western border of Poland on the Odra (Oder) and Nysa Łużycka (Lusatian Neisse) rivers. Donald St Clair Gainer was dismissed as ambassador.

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9 TNA, FO 668/72 Marynowska, *The Marynowska Trial: First Day of Trial; Act of Accusation*.
10 It is about the Information Bulletin of the Shipyard, one of WiN departments, for September and October. TNA, FO 668/72 Marynowska, *Act of Accusation*.
11 The matter was extremely important for the Polish communist government, which the British knew and skillfully used in their foreign politics through the post-war years.
on July 26, 1950. Upon his arrival in London, he was appointed to the special position of permanent Undersecretary of State for Germany. Charles Harold Bateman, a former employee of the Northern Department, was appointed the next ambassador in Warsaw. It was a difficult period in relations with Warsaw, especially due to the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from some of the economic agreements with Poland. Bateman skillfully used trade in negotiations with the Polish government.\textsuperscript{12}

On May 22, 1952, Bateman was replaced by Francis Michie Shepherd. In 1939, for two months, he was acting as Consul General in the Free City of Gdańsk, but after the outbreak of the war, he returned to London, where he worked at the Foreign Office. After arriving in Warsaw, Shepherd met with president Bolesław Bierut, whom he assured of his friendship and willingness to cooperate. His words, however, did not coincide with his deeds. The year 1952 was extremely difficult in British-Polish relations. Polish communist authorities engaged in an intensified press propaganda war, which intensified at the beginning of the next year. The negative attitude of the Polish government towards the ambassador and his associates also resulted from the British policy of supporting the remilitarization of Germany. It was only after the death of Joseph Stalin that detente appeared on the Warsaw–London line. In 1954, Shepherd decided to retire.

On May 8, 1954, the new ambassador, Andrew Napier Noble, arrived in Warsaw. He set the improvement of relations with the government in Warsaw as the main goal of his diplomatic service. Moreover, he was a strong supporter of the recognition of the western border of Poland on the Odra (Oder) and Nysa Łużycka (Lusatian Neisse) rivers.\textsuperscript{13} Due to the different position of the government in London, Noble did not mention the border at the first meeting at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the end of March 1955, Noble proposed a correction of British policy towards Poland in the field of culture.\textsuperscript{14} However, the changes he presented were not as significant as those of December 27, 1955, when it was decided to intensify the dissemination of “Western ideas” in Poland, and Noble became

\textsuperscript{12} In August 1951, due to the escalation of the conflict in Korea, Great Britain had to withdraw from the contract to deliver two tankers to Poland. British Ambassador Charles Bateman announced that the ships would not be delivered to Poland, but considered compensation. To create a friendly atmosphere in negotiations on compensation, the Polish side released British colonel Turner from prison. Jan Linowski, \textit{Wielka Brytania w polityce zagranicznej Polski w latach 1945–1956}, Toruń 2001, p. 228–229.

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibidem}, p. 242.

\textsuperscript{14} Andrzej Korzon, \textit{Skrócona misja ambasadora brytyjskiego w Polsce w 1956 r.}, „Dzieje Najnowsze”, 34 (2002), 1, p. 156.
their executor.\textsuperscript{15} He officially ended his service in Poland in October 1956 but was canceled in August. Eric Alfred Berthoud was appointed in his place.

Along with the changes in the position of the ambassador, the composition of the embassy was also transformed. It is worth adding that the number of secretaries or attaché positions at the embassy changed systematically in the following years. The number of staff also resulted from the needs of embassies and consulates, and illustrated the commitment of the British in creating politics in Poland. The rank of secretaries in the embassy also changed, and so in the years 1947–1952 there were usually three first secretaries, three third secretaries, but only one in the rank of the second secretary. Each of them also dealt with a specific subject, e.g., the first trade secretary was separately named. In addition, there were several attaché positions, such as labor attaché, maritime attaché, military attaché, and air attaché. They often had their advisers titled as assistant. An archivist, doctor and consul, as well as vice-consul or proconsul also resided at the embassy. After a significant reduction in staff in the years 1951–1952, which resulted from the then foreign policy of both countries towards each other, in 1953 the size of the institution was expanded again. Along with the changes in the leadership of the embassy, the composition of individual positions was also modified, but quantitatively it was almost the same in number. It was similar with the arrival of ambassador Andrew Napier Noble in Poland in May 1954, but throughout his term in office the structure of important positions did not change. Further transformations took place after the October changes in Poland and the appointment of Ambassador Eric Alfred Berthoud.\textsuperscript{16}

The tasks of the embassy staff were strictly defined; however, when it came to policy towards Poland, the preparation of reports was the most important. These were drawn up monthly or annually and were sent to the Northern Department, as appropriate, directly to the Foreign Office or other ministry to which they were responsible. The Foreign Office produced instructions by which the labor attaché prepared their reports. They were to contain, in turn, information on: 1) mining and industry, 2) working conditions, strikes, wages, and salaries, 3) health and

\textsuperscript{15} A comprehensive program for the improvement of Polish-British relations of December 27, 1955 by A. Noble: expansion of the activities of the British Council; attempting to sell British books; organizing cultural events with British artists; granting loans to Poland; buying Polish coal; revision of the visa policy. Noble also announced that a kind of thaw had occurred in Poland and that reconciliation with the West was possible. \textit{Ibidem}, pp. 157–158, 174.

hygiene, 4) patents, 5) railways and transport, 6) education, 7) bonuses paid, 8) new technological solutions, 9) progress in agriculture. Other instructions related to monthly reports sent from consulates to the embassy and then to the Foreign Office. These were to describe: 1) international relations, 2) major events in the country (e.g., rallies, conferences), 3) state-church relations, 4) financial and economic matters, 5) cultural events, 6) other political matters. The reports also included reports on benefits and celebrations organized by British institutions. Additionally, citizens’ involvement in cultural, economic and political life and relations with the British themselves, as well as reactions to major international events, were discussed. Regular reviews of the Polish press were also carried out.17

In the interwar period, the embassy was located in the Branicki Palace at Nowy Świat 18/20 in Warsaw.18 After the end of World War II, the seat of British diplomats in the capital was temporarily the Hotel Polonia at Aleje Jerozolimskie 45. Due to the war damage of the Branicki Palace in 1945, the Wielopolski Palace at the intersection of Aleja Róż 1 and Aleje Ujazdowskie 15 (then Aleja Stalina) was designated as a new seat.19 In 1948, Inspector General of Consular Accommodation Swinton A. Paterson produced an official report on the embassy headquarters on Aleja Róż. According to the census, there was a law office on the ground floor, and a commercial department (Commercial Secretariat), an information office and the office of the Information Officer and his assistant on the first floor. These rooms were small and did not meet the standards ensuring the security of confidential documents that were prepared there. The interpreters’ rooms and other offices were located above, and the consular section was in the attic.

The embassy building housed all sections except the British Information Center, which was located at Marszałkowska street. This section had to be opened elsewhere since Poles were reluctant to visit Western embassies. As a separate

17 TNA, FO 881/9421 General instructions. To commercial attachés, Instrukcje bez daty; oraz Embassy Circular 219/6/45 from October 26, 1946 r. defining the structure of the consular reports FO 688/52, FO 688/58, FO 688/5, and other reports.
18 Marta Leśniakowska, Architektura w Warszawie, Warszawa 2000, p. 49.
19 Built in an eclectic style in the years 1875–1876 at the request of the director of the Industry and Trade Department of the Bank of Poland, Antoni Nagóryn. Then, it came into the possession of the Wielopolski family. In 1938, it was the seat of the Estonian ambassador. It was not heavily damaged during the war and partially rebuilt in 1948, when the British took it over. See: Akta miasta Warszawy, Sekcja Planowa – Referat Gabarytów [Warsaw City Archive, Planning Section – Measurements Department], vol. 38, Aleja Róż, April 1938; Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski, Księga palaców Warszawy, Łódź 1985, p. 168.
building, it was a relatively more open location. In March 1949, an architectural sketch of the new embassy building was created, which was to be located on the corner of Koszykowa street and Mokotowska street. The layout was to be like the one at Aleja Róż, with sections operated by Poles on the ground floor, and rooms for secret documents on the upper floors. It was to house a cinema, a library and conference rooms. However, as early as December, there were doubts as to whether it would be possible to obtain the consent of the authorities in Warsaw for the construction of the new seat for the embassy. Difficult contacts with Poles were mentioned, as well as visible deterioration in mutual relations. In February 1950, the construction plans were abandoned due to a disagreement with the city authorities. The British Embassy was situated at Aleja Róż until 2008, when it was moved to a new building at Kawalerii street 12.

After 1945, British diplomats in Warsaw struggled also with the problem of accommodation. Many of the former permanent residences were destroyed during the war. The Polish government helped to find new premises for the embassy employees, but their renovation or equipment was to be financed by the British. The ambassador lived at Narbutta street 10 in a pre-war villa designed by Feliks Siedlanowski, but according to Paterson’s report, it was not large enough. The ambassador was not allowed to hold parties there for more than fifty people, so the possible rent of a new villa was considered. The same was true of the apartments where Ambassador’s Aide Richard Allen and First Secretary Michael Winch lived. From the time of their arrival in Warsaw, they lived in apartments distant from the city center, without communication with the embassy, which was soon to be changed. It should be added that there were no convenient flats in Warsaw. In 1955, the situation was so serious that it was discussed at the level of the Northern Department. The accommodation problem was also closely related to the financial one, resulting from the undervaluation of the pound sterling when exchanging it for the zloty. For this reason, some diplomats resided in hotels for a long time.

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20 TNA, WORK 10/411 Embassy: hiring of staff residence, Report by Mr. A. S. Paterson, August 31, 1948.
22 TNA, FO 371/116571 Housing Difficulties for HM Embassy Staff in Warsaw, Discusses Difficulties in housing in Warsaw, September 28, 1955.
Consulates

Following the recognition of the Polish United Workers’ Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza – PZPR) communist government, consular exchanges resumed in July. The duties of the employees of individual consulates included performing administrative tasks, such as issuing visas and conducting general surveillance in the country. The latter tasks were particularly difficult due to the isolation of diplomats working in consulates. Their knowledge was based mainly on conversations with the local population and on a review of the local press. From their observations, they prepared the aforementioned reports, which they sent monthly to the embassy, and from there to the appropriate department at the Foreign Office. Instructions on how to proceed were sent in more important cases, and the shape of official responses to various issues by consuls and vice-consuls was also decided. Despite the opening of a large consular network by the British in Poland after 1945, this network only existed for a few years.

Table 2. British consulates in Poland (1945–1956) and their staff

| Gdańsk         | Consul General | E.A. Cleugh (1945–1946)  
|                |                | C.N. Ezard (1947–1949)  
|                |                | D. Francis (1949–1951)  
|                | Consul         | W.D.E. Massey (1948–1949)  
|                |                | L.J.A. Paris (1949)  
|                |                | H.A. Cooper (1952–1953)  
|                | Vice-consul    | W.M. Hamley (1947)  
|                |                | A.A. Gordon (1949–1950)  
|                |                | H.F. Fisher (1951)  
|                | Vice-consul    | J.D. Watson (1951–1952)  
|                |                | M.C. Horan (1953–1954)  
|                | Vice-consul    | G.T.P. Marshall (1952)  
|                |                | R.L. Balfour (1953–1954)  
| Gdynia         | Consul         | G.C. Littler (1955)  
|                |                | A.G. Evans (1956–1957)  
|                | Vice-consul    | R. Hazell (1949–1950)  
|                | Vice-consul    | D.I. Steven (1955)  
|                |                | E.M. Gaylard (1956)  |
Katowice

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Consul</td>
<td>J.H. Dickinson</td>
<td>(1947)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.C. Everson</td>
<td>(1949–1950)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice-consul</td>
<td>G.E. Scott</td>
<td>(1947–1950)</td>
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<tr>
<th>Role</th>
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<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vice-consul</td>
<td>E. Gilbert</td>
<td>(1947–1950)</td>
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Poznań

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<td>J. Walters</td>
<td>(1950–1951)</td>
</tr>
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<td>B.W.A. Massey</td>
<td>(1948–1951)</td>
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Szczecin

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<td>J. Walters</td>
<td>(1947–1949)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D.G. Mitchell</td>
<td>(1950)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H.F. Bartlett</td>
<td>(1951)</td>
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After World War II, the United Kingdom had a general consulate in Gdańsk, a consulate in Katowice and, from March 1946, a vice-consulate in Szczecin. In 1945, Eric Arthur Cleugh became the consul general in Gdańsk, two years later this position was taken by Clarence Norbury Ezard, and then by David Francis, who held it until 1951. Later, diplomats with the rank of consul were stationed there. The facility was initially located in the Sopot Morskie Hotel due to the war damage in the center of Gdańsk. It was not until 1947 that it was moved to a villa on Jana Uphagena street 23 in Gdańsk, and the following year at Portowa street 15 to Gdynia. In its place, the residence of the local Committee of the PZPR was opened.23 In 1949, a vice-consulate was established in Gdynia, chaired by Ronald Hazell. They also dealt with the interests of the British Ministry of Water Transport, which had its branch here in the form of the Shipping Bureau. The deputy consulate was closed in 1950, and in 1955 a branch with the rank of consulate was reopened here, which at the same time took over the functions of the one from Gdańsk. It is worth adding that the very location of British diplomatic missions on the coast was not accidental. London wanted to have constant access to information about the activities at the Polish ports and the repatriation of the population that ran through these cities. Housing problems in post-war Poland, apart from the embassy, also concerned consulates. In 1949, a discussion began regarding the consulate in Katowice at Kościuszki street 67. Consul George Elgin Scott had to sign an unfavorable lease

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agreement, renovate it and pay the tax.\textsuperscript{24} It was similar in the case of Gdańsk, where the seat was changed several times over the course of eleven years. The number of consulates and their status changed in the following years. Until 1950, there were also a vice-consulate in Łódź and a consulate in Katowice operating in Poland. In February 1951, the vice-consulate in Szczecin and the consulate in Poznań were liquidated.\textsuperscript{25} The regime press reported that the reason for the liquidation of the consulates was the fact that the Polish security services had prevented the activities of the Western spies who worked there. These included, among others, the British vice-consul from Gdańsk, Hazell, and the second secretary of the embassy and vice-consul from Łódź, Gilbert.\textsuperscript{26}

**Conclusion**

The housing situation of the embassy and consulates undoubtedly reflected the difficulties in the country caused by the war, but it also could have been part of the communist policy of obstructing the functioning of institutions of imperialist countries. The staff of British diplomatic missions was permanently under control of the Polish secret services. British officials would numerously report about it in their correspondence with the Foreign Office.\textsuperscript{27} What is more, Poles were afraid to contact the Western establishments and due to that British officials had problems to fulfill their missions. The situation would fester and ease over the decade, though only after 1956 it was slowly remitting in the mutual relations.

Besides, British diplomatic mission in Poland in comparison to these in other Soviet-satellite countries was often treated individually. The notes and directories from the Foreign Office show that British presented a tailored approach towards Polish matters such as, e.g., culture and Western-ideology dissemination through the embassy, the consulates, British Council office in Warsaw, and other entities. The credit was also for British ambassadors in Poland who pleaded on its behalf.

\textsuperscript{24} TNA, FO 966/14 Lease of Consulate, *Letters between Establishment and Organization Department, Consulate in Katowice and Tadeusz Hof*, April 22, 1949–December 12, 1949.
\textsuperscript{26} *Konsul brytyjski w Łodzi zajmował się szpiegostwem*, „Dziennik Łódzki”, December 14, 1950, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{27} See i.e. TNA, FO 688/64 Polish Affairs Internal, *Scott’s Letter*, September 10, 1953 and other form the same collection.
From the point of view of the initiatives taken upon by the British diplomatic mission after its reconstruction, they were also highly dependent on the Warsaw–London strains, or to be more precise, on the Moscow–London tension. Consulates would reopen and close, thus embassy kept working regardless the political situation. It was itself a sign that diplomatic mission in Poland was treated with a dose of special attention by the countries of the Western Bloc.

STRESZCZENIE

Proces odbudowy brytyjskich placówek dyplomatycznych w Polsce rozpoczął się po akceptacji TRJN przez Londyn. Od zakończenia II wojny światowej do 1956 r. w Polsce urządzono sześciu ambasadorów Wielkiej Brytanii, którzy byli bezpośrednim łącznikiem między Londynem a komunistycznym rządem w Warszawie. Nie oznacza to jednak, że byli oni jedynie wyrazicielami woli Foreign Office. Każdy ambasador wprowadzał w Warszawie nowe rozwiązania oraz proponował inne ścieżki rozwiązywania sporów z polskim rządem. Komplikacje w procesie odbudowy wynikały z zastanych zniszczeń wojennych, ale również z ogólnej sytuacji politycznej. Artykuł ma na celu przedstawienie danych dotyczących odbudowy brytyjskich placówek dyplomatycznych dostępnych w dokumentach ambasady oraz konsulatów wymienianych z Foreign Office.

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