



An Undiplomatic Diary

An Unpublished Diary





GENERAL BANDHOLTZ



AN
UNDIPLOMATIC DIARY

BY THE AMERICAN MEMBER OF
THE INTER-ALLIED MILITARY MISSION
TO HUNGARY · 1919-1920

MAJ. GEN. HARRY HILL BANDHOLTZ, U. S. A.

EDITED BY
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Editor's Preface

This Diary of the late Maj. Gen. Harry Hill Bandholtz was not written for publication. However, when I happened to see it, I recognized its importance as a historical document of the World War period and was happy to secure from the widow of General Bandholtz, Mrs. Inez Clair Bandholtz, permission to make the contents of the Diary available to students of history and diplomacy. I believe that the Diary is a monument to an upright, fair-minded and humane American, who has represented the best type of his countrymen in an unfortunate land. The attitude and activity of General Bandholtz in Hungary may, *mutatis mutandis*, be compared to that of Gen. H. T. Allen in Germany.

I wish to express my appreciation to Mrs. Inez Clair Bandholtz, whose support in editing this Diary was valuable to me. Special credit is due to Miss Georgia W. Read, of the Columbia University Press, for many helpful suggestions and for her fine coöperation in the editing of this book.

FRITZ-KONRAD KRÜGER

WITTENBERG COLLEGE, SPRINGFIELD, OHIO
November, 1932

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One of the Three Seals Placed Upon the Store-
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For this service General Bandholtz later received a bronze medal dedicated to him "From the Grateful National Museum."

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Introduction

AS an integral part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Hungary participated in the World War on the side of the Central European Powers. It is now a well-established fact that her Prime Minister, Count Stephan Tisza, was the only leading statesman of the Dual Empire who opposed the fateful ultimatum to Serbia, the rejection of which led to the outbreak of the World War.¹

¹ Proof of this statement is, above all, found in the collection of official Austro-Hungarian diplomatic documents, *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der Bosnischen Krise, 1908, bis zum Kriegsausbruch, 1914; Diplomatische Aktenstücke des Österreich-Ungarischen Ministeriums des Äusseren*; Ausgewählt von Ludwig Bittner, Alfred Francis Pribram, Heinrich Srbik und Hans Uebersberger, Wien und Leipzig, 1930, Vol. VIII. Of special importance is the report of Tisza to Kaiser Franz Joseph on July 8, 1914 (pp. 371-73). In addition, see statements on pages 343-51 and 448. Count Otokar Czernin says in his *Im Weltkriege*, Berlin, 1919 (p. 16): "Ich habe mehrere Monate nach dem Kriegsausbruch eine lange Unterredung mit dem ungarischen Ministerpräsidenten Grafen Tisza über alle diese Fragen gehabt. Er selbst, Tisza, war entschieden gegen das scharfe Ultimatum gewesen, weil er einen Krieg voraussah und denselben nicht wollte. Es ist einer der verbreitetsten Irrtümer, wenn Tisza heute als einer der 'Kriegshetzer' bezeichnet wird." Compare with Czernin's opinion that of Oscar Jászi in his *Dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy*, Chicago, 1929, p. 408: "It must be noted that his [Tisza's] resistance to the catastrophe-policy of Vienna was very platonic and lukewarm"; and p. 409, "He helped to make the ultimatum unacceptable to Serbia." Jonescu's opinion, as expressed in *Some Personal Impressions*, New York, 1920 (p. 183), that "Count Tisza was the prime mover in unchaining the conflict," and that "he provoked the universal carnage," is unwarranted by the facts. Likewise E. Beneš was mistaken when he wrote in 1917: "When the Crown Council in July, 1914, decided on the declaration of war against Serbia, Tisza and the Magyar nobility gave the decisive vote." See, on the other hand, Sidney Bradshaw Fay's *Origins of the World War*, New York, 1928, Vol. II, p. 188 *passim*; and the symposium of Harry Elmer Barnes, Count Berchtold, Count Hoyos, von Wiesner, von Jagow, and Zimmermann in *Current History*, July, 1928,

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In March, 1914, Tisza wrote a memorandum in which he advocated a peaceful policy of readjustment in the Balkans. In this document he proposed the strengthening of Bulgaria against Serbia in order to attach the former country to Austria-Hungary. Furthermore, he advised a careful treatment of Roumania for the purpose of winning back, if possible, this country which had lately been alienated from the Central Powers, or, in the event of the failure of this attempt, to threaten her from two sides. In procedure he favored a "politique de longue main." Immediate war with Serbia he considered a "fatal mistake," one which might provoke a world war.² This memoir was laid before Count Berchtold and Emperor Franz Joseph. Both approved it. Later on—at the time of his visit to Vienna (October 26, 1913)—Emperor William II accepted in general the proposed Balkan policy of Austria-Hungary. Before any action could be taken in conformity with this memorandum, the assassination

pp. 619-36, on the question: *Did Germany Incite Austria?* Also Harry Elmer Barnes' *Genesis of the World War*, New York, 1927, pp. 178-80 and 247; A. Weber's "Graf Tisza und die Kriegserklärung an Serbien," in *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, Berlin, 3. Jahrgang, Nov. 12, 1925, pp. 818-26; and Rodolfo Mosca's *Problemi politici l'Ungheria contemporanea*, Bologna, 1927, pp. 27 ff.

² The German text of this memorandum may be found in Wilhelm Fraknói's *Die ungarische Regierung und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges*, Vienna, 1919. An English translation of the original Hungarian, as given by Professor Henrik Marczali, is contained in the *American Historical Review*, Jan., 1924, XXIX, 303-10, in an article entitled "Papers of Count Tisza, 1914-1918," pp. 301-15. See also Pierre Renouvin's *Immediate Origins of the War*, translated from the French by T. C. Hume, New Haven, 1928, pp. 37 and 55-56.

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of Archduke Franz Ferdinand took place at Serajevo on June 28.

Three days later Count Tisza wrote a letter to Franz Joseph recommending the maintenance of peace and, in the council of the Austro-Hungarian ministers on the seventh of July, he again advised moderation and strong *diplomatic*, rather than military, action. This position he again stated the next day in a letter to Franz Joseph, and he maintained it throughout the fateful month of July.

However, on the twenty-eighth of July, when war against Serbia broke out, Tisza immediately and unreservedly supported the cause of Austria-Hungary and her ally.³

His ultimate support of the cause of Austria-Hungary and the Central Powers may be explained in various ways. He was not a friend of the assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand or of his policies, for it was well known that the Archduke was quite sympathetic to the desire for more extensive rights for the Transylvanian Roumanians and that he had certain plans for the federalization of Austria-Hungary at the expense of Hungary. However, when the unfortunate Archduke fell by the hand of a fanatic assassin, Tisza, always chivalrous and noble in thought, was greatly shocked and incensed at the complicity of the Serbian government, whose hands were obviously not clean. The whole Hungarian nation, which has throughout its his-

³ See S. B. Fay's *Origins of the World War*, Vol. II, "Berchtold's Efforts to Convert Tisza," pp. 224-36, "The Conversion of Tisza," pp. 239-43.

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tory been distinguished by a somewhat feudal fealty to its legally recognized leaders, shared Tisza's feelings. It was indignant over this outrage, the last of a chain of political assassinations which had characterized the history of Serbia, in marked contrast with Hungary's record, which in this respect, was absolutely clean. Of course, Tisza realized that the aspirations of the Serbian "Black Hand," which was back of the crime at Serajevo, were directed towards the creation of a Greater Serbia, which meant the severance of Croatia from Hungary and probably the complete dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy. He also regarded the semi-official Serbian conspiracy and the official policy of Serbia, encouraged as it was by Russia, as merely links in the policy of encirclement, directed by the Entente against the Central Powers. In a letter to his niece, written on August 26, 1914, he expressed this opinion in the following words:

My conscience is clear. Already the noose with which they would have strangled us at a favorable moment, unless we cut it now, had been thrown around our necks. We could not do otherwise; but it agonized me, that we had to do as we did.⁴

When Tisza, therefore, was assured that an ultimatum to Serbia was unavoidable and that Germany was supporting the policy of the Ballplatz, he acquiesced in the majority decision and from then on fulfilled his duty in a most loyal way.

For two reasons I have dwelt at some length on the position of the responsible leader of Hungary in con-

⁴ Cited from S. B. Fay's *Origins of the World War*, p. 241.

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nection with the outbreak of the World War. First, because it seems to me that, in the light of these and other post-war disclosures, some rectifications of the incredibly harsh and dangerously foolish Peace Treaty of Trianon should be considered, in the interest of Hungary and humanity;⁵ second, because in many respects Count Tisza is the personification of his nation, especially of its ruling class, with its virtues and some of its shortcomings. He was, on the one hand, proud, cultured, loyal, strong in adversity, intensely patriotic, honest, courageous; on the other, haughty, contemptuous of the plebs, autocratic, and supernationalistic.⁶

Once more before the end of the War did Tisza raise his voice in protest against the policies of the Central Powers, when he opposed the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare, which, he feared, would give President Wilson the opportunity of bringing the United States into the War and thus of saving England

⁵ The outstanding non-Hungarian advocate of such a revision is Lord Rothermere. See his article in the *Daily Mail* of June 21, 1921. It appeared in German translation in the *Pester Lloyd* of June 24, 1927, and was reprinted in *Europäische Gespräche*, Berlin, Oct., 1927. Charles à Court Repington says in his diary, *After the War*, Boston, 1922, p. 168: "It is pathetic how all the Magyars confide in the legendary justice of England and in her power to put matters right. I tell them all that the mass of our people were too much preoccupied with affairs more vital to them to worry about little Hungary, and that I felt sure that few outside the official classes knew of the measure meted out to her and what it all implied."

⁶ To characterize as a "deluded Don Quixote" this realistic and powerful personality, to whom posing was absolutely foreign, indicates either bad judgment or poor taste. Dr. O. Jászi, in *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary*, London, 1924, p. 4.

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from threatened disaster.⁷ He opposed unrestricted submarine warfare because he felt sure that America's entrance in the War would mean the defeat of the Central Powers and the destruction of Austria-Hungary.

On May 23, 1917, Count Tisza resigned his position as Prime Minister of Hungary, which position he had held since 1913. Shortly afterwards he left for the battle front.

On October 17, 1918, the announcement was made in the Hungarian Parliament that the War was lost and that Hungary would be transformed into an independent state in an Austro-Hungarian Federation.⁸ Two days later the last Prime Minister of old Hungary, Alexander Wekerle, presented his resignation, and on October 25 Count Michael Károlyi reorganized a National Council. From now on events of the greatest importance followed in quick succession. Between October 30 and November 1 a revolution occurred in Budapest, during which Michael Károlyi was entrusted by the National Council with the formation of a cabinet and given dictatorial powers, Tisza was assassinated on October 31, and on November 1 Emperor-King Karl was forced by Károlyi to retire from his governmental duties.⁹ On November 3 General Diaz, representing

⁷ I wish to state explicitly that I am presenting Tisza's opinion, not my own. The latter I have expressed in *Deutsche Stimmen*, April 9, 1922, in an article entitled "Woodrow Wilson-Tumult versus Graf Bernstorff."

⁸ This statement, as well as many other documents concerning post-war Hungary, may be found in Malbone W. Graham's *New Governments of Central Europe*, New York, 1924, pp. 538-601.

⁹ It is to be remembered that Károlyi had accepted his position as Prime Minister from the hands of Emperor-King Karl. Karl did not formally abdicate.

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the Allies, signed at Padua an armistice with Austria-Hungary, and the Hungarian soldiers soon began to return home. But Károlyi, thinking that he could secure more considerate treatment for Hungary from the French Commander in Chief on the southern front, General Franchet d'Espérey, went to Belgrade on November 13 to obtain from the latter new armistice terms.

Károlyi believed himself entitled to friendly treatment by the Allies because he had always been an advocate of Western European political democracy. During the War he had been a leader of the Hungarian defeatists, who had been more interested in overthrowing the aristocratic government at home than in the safety or victory of their fatherland. Dr. Oscar Jászi, Minister of Nationalities in the Károlyi government,¹⁰ has expressed in these words the hopes held by the Károlyi followers:

¹⁰ Oscar Jászi was an official in the Ministry of Agriculture under the old régime. He resigned because he disagreed with the government. Founder of the Hungarian Sociological Society and editor of its organ, *The Twentieth Century*, he was associated with the movements for land reform, universal suffrage, and cultural autonomy for the minorities in Hungary. On the eve of the World War, he founded the so-called Radical Party, a pacifistic and liberal-socialistic group. After the outbreak of the October revolution, Dr. Jászi entered the Károlyi cabinet. Shortly before the collapse of the Károlyi régime, he resigned to become professor of sociology at Budapest, a position which he held until compelled by the Bolsheviks to give it up. Since 1919, he has lived as a voluntary exile, first in Vienna and later in the United States, where he now holds a professorship in political science. Dr. Jászi's book, mentioned before, is the most responsible and the ablest explanation and defense of the Károlyi régime yet published. Michael Károlyi has thus far written only the first volume of his story, entitled *Against the Whole World*. This volume does not contain his account of the Hungarian revolution.

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We had confidence in the democratic and pacifist quality of public opinion in the Entente states and especially in the policy of President Wilson, a policy which stood higher than any mere nationalism. — We were convinced that the conquering Allies would show the utmost good will to her [Hungary's] pacifist and anti-militarist government, and especially Károlyi, who had so often stood with unexampled courage for the policy of the Entente; we were sure that they would apply the plebiscitary principle on which they had so often laid stress, and that if we had to suffer losses of territory it would still be possible, with the aid of just and liberal commercial treaties, to assure the undisturbed continuance of communication with the lost area.¹¹

These phantastic ideologists, Michael Károlyi, the Don Quixote mounted on the Rosinante of the Fourteen Points, and Jászi, his Sancho Panza, were quickly disillusioned. To use the bitter words of Dr. Jászi:

The bright promise of Wilson's League of Nations, the just peace and the right of self-determination and the plebiscite, in which the Hungarian people had placed their trust, burst like soap bubbles. We saw ourselves not only defeated, broken and plundered, but, a much crueller wound to public feeling, bluffed and swindled.¹²

General Franchet d'Espérey was a typical French militarist, as a victor, arrogant and merciless. He received the Károlyi delegation with studied brutality. When the radical Socialist member of the delegation, the President of the Council of Soldiers and Workers,

¹¹ Oscar Jászi, *ibid.*, p. 37. In view of this and of other statements, as well as of the actions of the Károlyi cabinet, we can hardly believe Jászi when he says (page 3): "Nor was I blind at any time to the Janus-headed policy of the Entente."

¹² O. Jászi, *ibid.*, pp. 56-57; also p. 40: "We were doomed by the very internationalism which was the basis of our whole policy."

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Mr. C. S. Csernyák, who had been selected to impress the General with the change of heart of the Hungarian government, was introduced to him, he remarked contemptuously, "Well, have you come to this already?"¹³

As a result of the military convention concluded with Franchet d'Espérey without the specific sanction of the Allied Supreme Council, a line of demarcation was laid down foreshadowing the territorial provisions of the future peace. This convention transferred a large slice of Hungarian territory to the Serbs and Roumanians, who immediately began to occupy it. It was expressly stated that the Hungarian police and civil administrations were to be continued. This agreement was violated. The inhabitants of the occupied area were forced to take the oath of allegiance and were even pressed into military service. The Czechs, who had not been included in the military convention, were authorized by the Supreme Council to occupy Slovakia, and they not only carried out this mandate, but notified the Hungarians that they would proceed beyond the fixed line of demarcation.

On December 1, 1918, the Roumanians of Transylvania declared their secession from Hungary and on December 27 they were formally annexed by Roumania.

In vain did the Hungarian government protest against the Czech invasion of Northern Hungary as a violation of the Belgrade Convention. The Allies merely ratified the action of the Czechs *post hoc* and fixed

¹³ "Êtes-vous tombé si bas?"

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new frontiers for Hungary, information as to which were on March 20 communicated to the Hungarians by the French Lieutenant-Colonel Vyx, the chief of the Inter-Allied Military Mission in Budapest.¹⁴ Thereupon Károlyi immediately resigned.

On November 16, 1918, Hungary had been proclaimed a republic by Michael Károlyi, who on January 16, 1919, had been appointed its Provisional President.

We have seen how unsuccessful Károlyi was in his dealings with the Allies, misjudging completely their motives and miscalculating their aims. He had permitted Hungary to become stripped of all means of self-defence.¹⁵ Naïvely he had relied on a sense of justice and fairness in Hungary's enemies, and now no one could tell when and where their desire for more territory would stop.

Economic conditions had become extremely bad. The food blockade of the Allies had continued after the

¹⁴ Vyx, like Franchet d'Espérey, was a typical militarist who offended the Hungarians unnecessarily by the form in which he handed his orders to them. This is contrary to the statement expressed by Jérôme and Jean Tharaud, *When Israel is King*, New York, 1924, p. 144. Translated from the French: *Quand Israël est roi*, Paris, 1921, by Lady Whitehead. These French writers are Hungarophiles and try to explain away the bad treatment which the Hungarians received from the French. The diary of General Bandholtz is ample evidence of the futility of such efforts. The Hungarian opinion is expressed in the following words: "Taking advantage of his position, Colonel Vyx has trodden on our self-respect. He has treated the Eastern bulwark of Europe as the French officers treat the savages in their own colonies." Cécile Tormay, *An Outlaw's Diary: The Commune*, New York, 1924, p. 39.

¹⁵ See J. and J. Tharaud, *op. cit.*, p. 144. The first measure of the Károlyi government had been to demobilize the army. Béla Linder, the War Minister, had said that "he did not wish to see soldiers."

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Armistice, causing unspeakable misery in the large cities of Hungary.

Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the radical element in the government got the upper hand and gradually replaced the Liberals and moderate Socialists. Furthermore, the Károlyists must be charged with ignorance of the dangers of Bolshevism, an ignorance resulting from a combination of their naïve liberal doctrinarianism and their hatred of the old régime. Thus Jászi informs us:

I was in agreement with those who held that no limit should be set to the Bolshevik propaganda as long as it used, no matter how recklessly or with what demagogy, the normal means of political controversy; I agreed that the Bolsheviks must be respected as the pioneers of a great unrealizable idea.¹⁶ . . . It was generally felt that this government was no longer able to save the October Revolution; and if a choice had to be made between White and Red counter-Revolution the Red was preferred.¹⁷

Károlyi was in despair and felt extremely bitter against the Allies, who had rewarded so cruelly the services he had rendered them and the trust he had put in their professed ideals. He furthermore was a vain political amateur,¹⁸ an over ambitious hazard player,

¹⁶ O. Jászi, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁷ O. Jászi, *ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁸ It seems to me that his vanity can be implied from the statements in Jászi's book (p. 63): "Károlyi rewarded and overvalued men who brought news and material which bore out his pet ideas and convictions." The incompetence of Károlyi and his colleagues can be seen from the words of Dr. Jászi: "It proved impossible to control the course of events." Like the apprentice in Goethe's poem, *Der Zauberer*, these leaders could not control the ghosts whom they had summoned and were duly overpowered by them.

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who was willing to risk his country's welfare to satisfy his passions, with a terrible result to Hungary and great danger to civilization. This explains why he finally decided to turn over the government to the Communists, with the words:

Our Western orientation, our policy of reliance on Wilson, has been definitely wrecked. We must have a fresh orientation, which will ensure us the sympathies of the Labor International.¹⁹

The new government, a combination of radical Socialists and Communists, with the latter in control, was established on March 21. It set up a Soviet Republic and affiliated itself immediately with the Third International.²⁰ Its nominal president was the bricklayer Garbai, but the real power was Béla Kun,²¹ a capable, shrewd, and unscrupulous young Jew, who had been captured by the Russians during the War, and who had become an ardent admirer of Lenin and his teachings. Converted to Bolshevism, he was employed by the expert propagandist, Radek, for the spreading of communistic propaganda among the prisoners of war.

A few weeks after Károlyi's revolution, Béla Kun returned secretly to Budapest and, lavishly supported by the Moscow government, carried on extensive propaganda in Hungary. On February 22 he and other

¹⁹ In a speech before the Council of Ministers, end of March. Quoted by Jászi, p. 94.

²⁰ The dictatorship of the Proletariat was formally declared on March 22.

²¹ Previous to the War, Béla Kun had been an obscure newspaper reporter and secretary of a worker's mutual benefit society, in which capacity he had misappropriated a small sum of money and was about to be hailed into court, when the War broke out and prosecution was halted.

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Communist leaders were arrested by the Károlyi government but, at the instigation of its radical wing, he was released on March 21.

Knowing the intense patriotism of the non-Bolshevik Hungarians, he appealed to all Hungarians to unite against the "imperialistic aggressors." In a wireless message to the workers of the world, he stated: "The reply of the Hungarian people to the ultimatum of the Entente demanding the immediate and final surrender of Hungarian territory to the Roumanian oligarchy, is the proclamation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!"

On April 20 Soviet Hungary declared war on the invading armies of the Czechs, Roumanians and Serbs. At first the Communists were successful against the Czechs, and on June 7, receiving a distress signal from the French general at Pressburg, the so-called "Big Four" issued an ultimatum to Béla Kun promising him provisional recognition of his government, provided he withdrew his troops from Slovakia.

During all this time the Soviet leaders in Budapest had been trying to establish firmly their rule in Hungary, and to bring about the socialization of all means of production. To take revenge on the hated bourgeoisie, and to crush all attempts at counter-revolution, a bloody terror was established, both in Budapest and in the rest of the country, under the direction of Tibor Számuely, Cserny, Korvin, László, and others.²² The

²² See the graphic description of the rule of the Red Terror by the well-known Hungarian writer Cécile Tormay, in *An Outlaw's Diary*, New York, 1924; also the popular pamphlet *From Behind the Veil, the Story of Hungarian Bolshevism*, Budapest, 1920. The author of this interesting pamphlet

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men who carried on the Red régime in Hungary are described as follows by Dr. Oscar Szöllösy, Councilor in the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Justice:

Lenin's well-known axiom to the effect that in revolutions for every honest-minded man (unfortunately) are to be found hundreds of criminals, can scarcely be applied to Hungarian Bolshevism.—Criminologists of long standing who lived through the horror of the Red régime in Hungary, which lasted from March 21st to the end of July, 1919, could testify, even without the decisions of the court of laws, that the leading spirits of the "Soviet Republic" (with the exception of a few fanatics) consisted of common criminals, to the greater part of whom may be applied with perfect aptness the definition of Anatole France, "encore bête et déjà homme."²³

In general the policy of the Soviets followed Béla Kun's dictum: "I do not admit the distinction between the moral and the immoral; the only distinction I know is the distinction between that which serves the proletariat and that which harms it."

The explanation of the temporarily apathetic acceptance on the part of the majority of the Hungarian people of the rule of a handful of Communists, may be expressed by the two words, despair and hunger.²⁴

is Karl Huszár, as Count Paul Teleki states in *The Evolution of Hungary and its Place in European History*, New York, 1923, p. 138. On the other hand, Dr. Jászi always explains, excuses, and minimizes the Red Terror, in contrast to the so-called White Terror. Korvin-Klein, for instance, is called a martyr. According to the Hungarian Ministry of Justice, 585 persons were publicly executed by the Bolsheviks.

²³ Reprinted from the *Anglo-Hungarian Review*, in the *Appendix* (pp. 215 ff.) to Cécile Tormay's *Outlaw's Diary*.

²⁴ The blockade of the Allies was not raised until March, 1919. "Der Bolshevismus ist die fürchterliche Fratze staatlicher Einrichtungen. Der Krieg ist sein Vater, die Hungersnot seine Mutter, die Verzweiflung sein Pate." Ottokar Czernin, *Im Weltkrieg*, Berlin, 1919. "The bewildering fact of

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The main reasons for the downfall of the Bolshevik government lie in the abandonment of Béla Kun by the Supreme Council,²⁵ the counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie and the nobility,²⁶ and the stubborn passive resistance of the peasantry, who showed a determined hostility to the economic and antireligious ideas of communism and who starved Budapest, the citadel of Bolshevism, into submission by boycotting the city.

In vain did Béla Kun try once more to appeal to Hungarian patriotism, for the benefit of international Bolshevism, by sending a workers' army against the Roumanians. It was utterly routed. The Roumanians pursued the defeated Bolshevists. Their rule collapsed, Béla Kun and some of his companions fled to Austria, while others were captured and punished.

On July 31 the Roumanians, after having pillaged and devastated the country through which they had marched, entered Budapest, where a social-democratic government under Peidl had then been established.²⁷

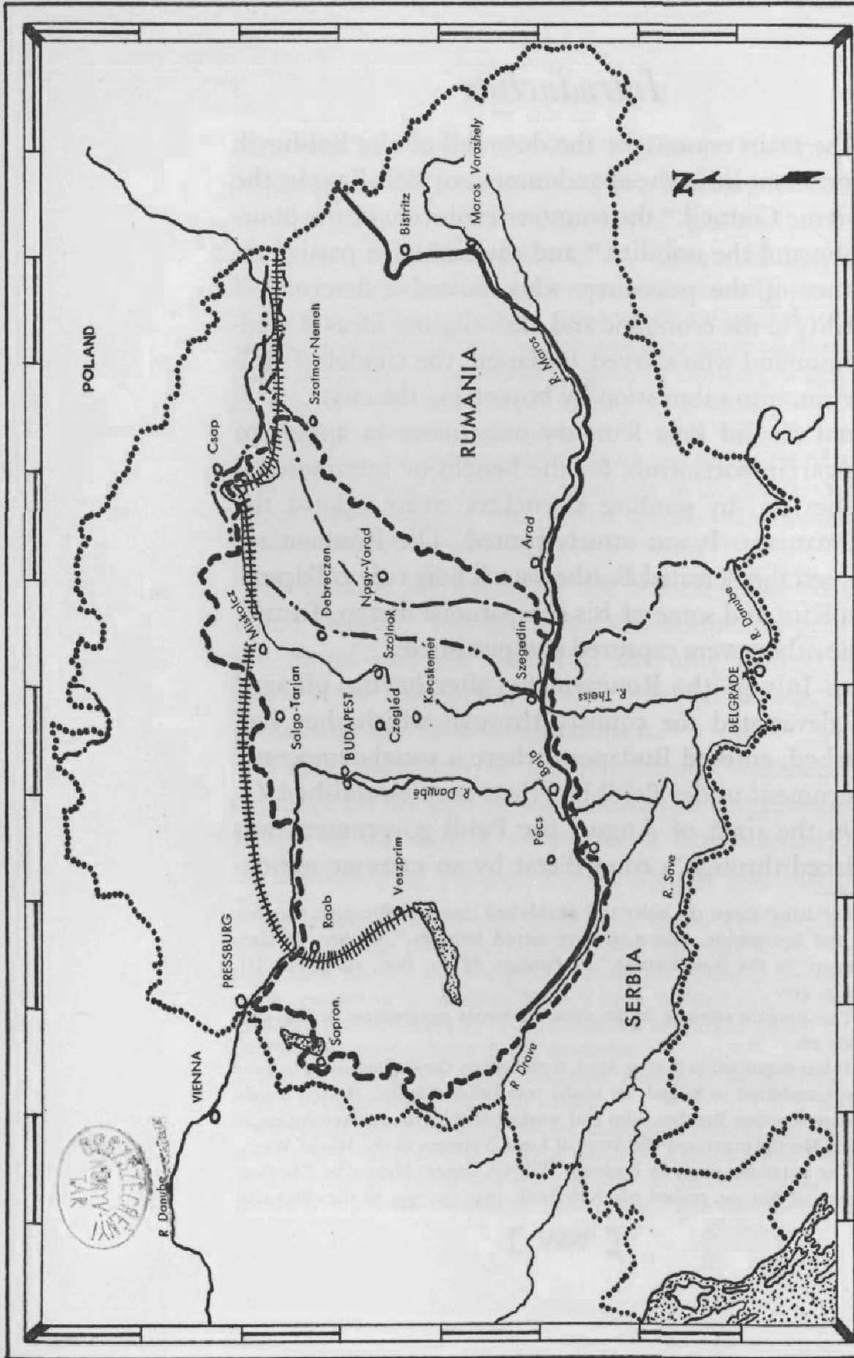
On the sixth of August the Peidl government was replaced through a coup d'état by an extreme nation-

military defeat threw the older and established classes of Hungary, together with the bourgeoisie, into a state of torpid lethargy." Stephen Bethlen, "Hungary in the New Europe," in *Foreign Affairs*, Dec., 1924, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 432.

²⁵ The Entente officially broke with the Soviet government of Hungary on July 26.

²⁶ It was organized in May at Arad, then held by the Roumanians. In June it was transferred to Szeged. Its leader was Julius Károlyi. He was joined by Count Stephen Bethlen, who had worked for the counter-revolution in Vienna. Horthy organized the Army of Loyal Veterans of the World War.

²⁷ The statement made by Professor William Bennet Munro, in *The Governments of Europe*, revised ed., New York, 1931 (p. 794), to the effect that



HUNGARY

- HUNGARIAN BOUNDARIES 1932 ————
- HUNGARIAN BOUNDARIES BEFORE WORLD WAR (dotted line)
- HUNGARIAN ARMISTICE LINE, NOVEMBER, 1918 ———— (dashed line)
- EXTENSION OF RUMANIAN LINE, FEBRUARY, 1919 - · - · - ·
- RUMANIAN TREATY LINE, AUGUST, 1916 — · - · - ·
- APPROXIMATE LINE OF RUMANIAN ADVANCE -#-#-#-#-#-#-

The changing boundaries in the postwar period are based on those of a map in H. W. V. Temperley's History of the Peace Conference of Paris (Volume IV, page 135), by permission of the author, the Royal Institute of International Affairs of Great Britain, and the Oxford University Press.

Introduction

alist-clerical government under Prime Minister Stephen Friedrich. The new government desired to put on the throne Archduke Joseph, who, before Emperor-King Karl's withdrawal, it is alleged, had been entrusted by him with the power of appointing Prime Ministers.

The invasion of Hungary, the sacking of the country, and the seizure of Budapest had taken place in defiance of the order of the Supreme Council.²⁸ The Roumanian adventure was being eagerly watched by Hungary's other neighbors and by Italy, who were all anxious to help themselves in Hungary or elsewhere, in case the Supreme Council should acquiesce in the *fait accompli*. In addition, the prestige of the future League of Nations was at stake, for if Roumania could defy the principal powers of this future association, it would be an object of ridicule even before it was born.²⁹

"With the aid of the Roumanian troops this soviet administration was ousted and a national government restored," is somewhat misleading. The Roumanians were as hostile to the Hungarian national government as to the Bolshevik government, but they desired to weaken the latter through the former. The Hungarian feeling in this matter is given in the words of Cécile Tormay: "What a terrible position is ours: The invaders fill us with horror, and yet we await them eagerly: we look to assassins to save us from our hangmen."

²⁸ Charles Vopicka, a Czech by birth and naturally Slavophil, who was then minister of the United States at Bucharest, tells us that he did not join his colleagues at Bucharest in their advice to the Roumanians not to take possession of the new line of demarcation until they were given permission by the Peace Conference to do so. On the contrary, he incited the Roumanians indirectly to go ahead (p. 301). Since the Allies did not reply to their request, the Roumanians went to war. Thereupon Vopicka telegraphed to Paris asking the Peace Commission to force Béla Kun to retreat, and to call the Czechs, Jugo-Slavs, and Roumanians up against him in case he did not obey. *Secrets of the Balkans*.

²⁹ This point is well brought out by Frank H. Simonds in the article

Introduction

Therefore the Supreme Council sent a message, signed by Clemenceau, to the Hungarians, through its military representative at Budapest, the Italian Lieutenant Colonel Romanelli:

Hungary shall carry out the terms of the Armistice³⁰ and respect the frontiers traced by the Supreme Council,³¹ and we will protect you from the Roumanians, who have no authority from us. We are sending forthwith an Inter-Allied Military Mission to superintend the disarmament and to see that the Roumanian troops withdraw.

In accordance with this decision, four generals, representing the four chief Allies, were appointed to head a Military Mission to Hungary, viz.:

General Bandholtz of the United States Army,
General Gorton of the British Army,
General Graziani of the French Army,
General Mombelli of the Italian Army.

Here the narrative of General Bandholtz begins. He was commissioned on August 6, 1919; started for Budapest in an automobile with the then Director of Food Supplies, Herbert Hoover; arrived in the capital of Hungary on August 10 and stayed there six months, until his mission was ended. He left Hungary with the Hungarian Peace Delegation on February 10, 1920.

FRITZ-KONRAD KRÜGER

"Hungary, the Balkans and the League," in *The American Review of Reviews*, Sept., 1919, which, with the article, "The European Reaction," in the issue of October, 1919, is an interesting and, in general, well-informed journalistic commentary of the situation then existing in Hungary.

³⁰ Of Nov. 13, 1918. ³¹ On June 13, 1919.

A List of the Principal Persons Mentioned in the Diary

Americans

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| Gen. Harry Hill Bandholtz | } | Members of
the American
Military
Mission
in Hungary |
| Col. Halsey E. Yates, Chairman of the Commission on Police and Gendarmerie | | |
| Col. Raymond Sheldon | | |
| Col. James Taber Loree | | |
| Col. Nathan Horowitz | | |
| Lieut. Col. Charles Beatty Moore | | |
| Captain Edwin Bulkley Gore | | |
| Captain Will Shafroth | | |
| Captain Weiss | | |
| Lieutenant Laurens M. Hamilton | | |
| Colonel Causey, Adviser to the Austrian Government | | |
| Major Moffat, Head of the American Red Cross in Hungary | | |
| Colonel Anderson, Head of the American Red Cross in the Balkans | | |
| Mr. Frank Lyon Polk, Assistant Secretary of State, with the American Peace Commission | | |
| Mr. U. Grant-Smith, American diplomatic representative to Hungary | | |
| Mr. Schoenfeld, American charge d'affaires at Bucharest | | |
| Mr. Halstead, American Commissioner in Austria | | |

English

- Gen. Reginald St. George Gorton, Head of the English Military Mission
Major Foster, Chief Assistant in the Military Mission
Admiral Sir Ernest T. Troubridge, Head of the Inter-Allied Control of the Danube Navigation

List of Persons

Lieut. Gen. Tom. Molesworth Bridges, of the English Army
Sir George Russel Clerk, special representative of the Inter-
Allied Peace Commission, charged with the investigation of
the situation in Hungary

Mr. Th. B. Hohler, British High Commissioner to Hungary

Mr. W. F. A. Rattigan, British chargé d'affaires at Bucharest

French

General G. Graziani, Head of the French Military Mission

General Franchet d'Espérey, Commander in Chief of the Inter-
Allied Balkan Army during the World War

Gen. Max Weygand, Chief of the Staff of the French Army
during the World War

Italians

General Mombelli, Head of the Italian Military Mission

Colonel Romanelli, chief assistant to Mombelli

Jugo-Slavs

Dr. Lazar Baitch, diplomatic representative in Hungary

Major Body, military representative in Hungary

Roumanians

Ferdinand I, King of Roumania

Maria, Queen of Roumania

Carol, then Crown Prince of Roumania (now King Carol II)

General Mardarescu, Commander in Chief of the Roumanian
Army in Hungary

General Holban, Commander of Budapest

General Mosoiu, succeeding General Holban as Commander of
Budapest

General Serbescu, in charge of Roumanian requisitioning

General Rudeanu, liaison officer

Colonel Vasilescu, Roumanian Chief of Staff

List of Persons

General Panaitescu, Vasilescu's successor
Colonel Dimistrescu, Assistant Chief of Staff
Ionel I. C. Bratiano, Roumanian Prime Minister
Constantine Diamandi, chief diplomatic representative in Hungary
Ardeli, diplomatic agent in Hungary, Diamandi's go-between

Hungarians

Archduke Joseph of Hapsburg
The Archduchess Augusta, his wife
Stephen Friedrich, leader of the Christian Socialists, Prime Minister
Heinrich, Minister of Commerce in the Friedrich government
Count Somssich, Minister of Foreign Affairs under Friedrich
Karl Huszár, Prime Minister succeeding Friedrich
Count Albert Apponyi, Head of the Peace Delegation
Michael Károlyi, leader of the Democratic-Socialist revolution; President of the Hungarian Republic
Admiral Nicholas Horthy, Commander in Chief of the Hungarian Army; later Regent of Hungary
General Soós, Chief of Staff
Lieutenant Count Teleki, liaison officer, attached to the American Mission
M. Emil Zerkowitz, civilian liaison official
M. de Pekár, civilian liaison official, preceding Mr. Zerkowitz
Dr. Bódy, Mayor of Budapest
Count Edelsheim, host of General Bandholtz in Budapest

The Bandholtz Diary

August 7, 1919. Captain Gore, with myself and two orderlies, left Paris at 9.10 P.M. in Mr. Hoover's private car. Colonel Loree, my aide, Lieutenant Hamilton, and the rest of the detachment, remained in Paris and are to follow with the least possible delay. My other aide, Lieutenant Montgomery, was left in Paris with my Cadillac limousine and chauffeur, as my permanent liaison with the Supreme Council.

August 8, 1919. This morning we found ourselves just across the Swiss border, where we were held up for five hours while they were deciding whether or not our party, some of whom had no passports, could cross Switzerland. In any event they insisted that we wear civilian clothing. I therefore borrowed a blue coat of Mr. Hoover, a lurid purple tie from his stenographer, and a golf cap from somebody else, completing my demobilization by removing my spurs. Captain Gore did likewise, after which they decided we could proceed in uniform, under charge of a Swiss policeman, to the Austrian border. We arrived at the town of Buchs, very near the frontier line, about six o'clock, where we were joined by Captain Gregory, Mr. Hoover's representative in this part of the world, and where, after an hour, we were allowed to proceed on our way.

August 9, 1919. This morning we found ourselves in the town of Linz, Austria, and from there proceeded to Prague, where we arrived about two o'clock in the after-

August 10, 1919

noon. Here Captain Gore and myself took a drive all over the city, which is most interesting and full of antiquities. We had a very good dinner at the Municipal Restaurant, and at nine o'clock joined Captain Gregory in his car, Mr. Hoover proceeding to Warsaw, and our train being headed towards Vienna.

August 10, 1919. We arrived at Vienna about noon, lunched at the Hotel Bristol, and then had a long talk with Admiral Troubridge of the British Navy, who is in command of the Danube River, and Mr. James, the American representative on the Danube Commission, both of whom gave me valuable information as to the situation in Hungary. In the afternoon Captain Gore and I took an automobile ride all over the city of Vienna, and at 9.10 P.M. I left with Captain Gregory for Budapest. I had previously sent a telegram to Colonel Yates, the American Military Attaché at Roumanian Headquarters, stating that I was leaving Vienna, that I hoped to arrive early the following morning in Budapest, and that I expected the Roumanian Commander to facilitate my progress and work, in every way within his power.

August 11, 1919. We arrived in Budapest at daylight and were met at the station by Colonel Yates and Lieutenant-Colonel Causey, who represents the Peace Conference, in charge of railroads. From the station we went to the Hotel Ritz where I opened an office in Room 17. Shortly thereafter I was called upon by General Gorton, the British representative on the Inter-

August 11, 1919

Allied Military Mission. General Gorton and I planned a campaign, and word was sent to the Roumanian General Holban¹ that I would be at the Ritz Hotel at 4.30 that afternoon. He took the hint, called and was given some fatherly advice. At 5.30 in the afternoon the Archduke Joseph,² the temporary president of the Hungarian Republic, asked to see me and came into the room scared nearly to death, holding in his hand what purported to be an ultimatum from the Roumanian government requiring an answer by 6 o'clock, which meant within one-half hour. The ultimatum was to the effect that Hungary must yield to all Roumanian demands, giving up all of her war material and supplies of whatever nature, agree to back Roumania in taking away the Bánát country³ from the Jugo-Slavs, and, finally, that she must consent to political union with

¹ General Holban, who is frequently mentioned unfavorably by General Bandholtz, committed suicide on the eve of the investigation ordered by the Roumanian government after Sir George Clerk had come to look into the situation.

² Archduke Joseph was a distant relative of the late Emperor-King Karl. He was born in 1872. During the World War he had commanded first a division and later an army corps on the Italian front and had been a popular and capable military leader. He had always considered himself specifically a Hungarian. During the Károlyi and Bolshevik régimes he remained in Hungary, living quietly on his estate under the name of Joseph Hapsburg. On Aug. 6, 1919, he resumed the position of Nádor or Regent allegedly conferred upon him by Emperor-King Karl. After he was forced by the Allies to resign, he returned to private life and from then on took little part in public affairs.

³ Part of the Bánát was given to Jugo-Slavia by the Peace Conference. The Roumanians claimed that it should belong to them and felt very bitter towards the Jugo-Slavs.

August 12, 1919

Roumania, with the King of Roumania as ruler of Hungary, along the same lines as the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. He was told not to be afraid, and looking at me and trembling, he replied—"I am not afraid; I am a soldier just like you," which left-handed compliment was passed by without remark. He asked what he should do in regard to the ultimatum and was informed that in view of the fact that it had not been presented by the Roumanian Plenipotentiary he could send word to the sender to go plumb to Hell. This relieved the strain on the Archducal physiognomy to a great extent, and he retired in good order. After his departure I proceeded to the Royal Palace, which is on the Buda side of the river, and selected the best large suite in the building for Headquarters of the American Mission; and then suggested to General Gorton that he go over and take what was left for the British Mission. Later in the evening General Mombelli, the Italian representative, arrived, called upon General Gorton and myself, and agreed to the plans I had outlined as to the organization of the Mission.

August 12, 1919. The French General not having yet arrived, Generals Gorton, Mombelli, and myself met in my office in the Ritz Hotel and organized the Inter-Allied Military Mission on the basis of having daily rotation of chairmanship instead of allowing seniority to govern in the case, thereby securing national equality in the Mission. It was also agreed to make English the official language of the Mission. At the afternoon

August 12, 1919

session, M. Constantine Diamandi,⁴ the Roumanian Plenipotentiary, or High Commissioner to the Peace Conference, was introduced to the session of the Mission. In view of the fact that it was decided to run the rotation of chairmanship in alphabetical sequence, the American representative, myself, presided at this first meeting. M. Diamandi was read the instructions of the Supreme Council to the Military Mission, and asked if Roumania recognized them as valid and was prepared to follow the suggestions of the Mission. He replied that he could give no answer until he had communicated with his government. It was then intimated to him that much time had already been lost and it was expected that the Roumanian Government would proceed to comply immediately with the wishes of the Mission. On two different occasions he waxed furious, jumped up from his chair and started to leave the room, but, finding that his progress was not impeded, he calmed down and returned to his chair. He finally left apparently self-mollified, and promised to give us a reply as soon as possible.

Colonel Loree arrived this afternoon with a detachment of twenty-two men, and joined us at the Hotel Ritz, the detachment being sent to the Hotel Bristol.

⁴ Diamandi, or Diamandy, was Roumanian Minister in Rome from 1911 to 1913. From there he was transferred to St. Petersburg, where he remained during the World War. Later on he was Roumanian Minister to France. Before the World War he was considered friendly towards the Triple Alliance. See the report of the German Ambassador in Rome, von Flotow, to Bethmann-Hollweg, Nov. 13, 1913. "Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette," 1871-1914, Berlin, 1926, Vol. 39, p. 456.

August 13, 1919

August 13, 1919. General Graziani, the French representative, arrived last night, but was not seen until this morning. He had come with the full intention of presiding over and dominating the Mission. He had prepared a message to be sent to each of the other Inter-Allied Generals, to report to him at Hotel Bristol at 10 o'clock this date, but it was suggested to him that he send no such message to the American representative as it might cause difficulty. He, therefore, came to our regular meeting room and introduced himself. Through the medium of General Mombelli, there was explained to him in French the plan under which the Commission had been organized prior to his arrival. He could not conceal his chagrin, and explained that he considered that seniority should govern in the question of chairmanship, adding that he had all kinds of that article to show, and that his government had undoubtedly expected him to be presiding officer. I told him that neither my government nor any other government had notified their representatives of anything of the kind, and that in my opinion it was not right that accidental individual seniority should outweigh the question of national equality in representation. He reluctantly agreed to the proposition, stating, however, that he must inform his Government that he was not to be permanent presiding officer. This, of course, was acceded to. Immediately thereafter M. Diamandi, accompanied by General Mardarescu, the Commander in Chief of the Roumanian army, and General Holban, the Roumanian commander in Budapest, appeared be-

August 14, 1919

fore the Mission. General Gorton, the British representative, was President of the Day. They agreed to take steps immediately to alleviate the suffering from famine in the city of Budapest, and stated that they desired to coöperate with us as being allies. When they left, M. Diamandi asked if he could see me in the afternoon, was told he could do so, came at 3 o'clock and expressed supreme regret for his display of anger on the day previous, alleging that he thought I was prejudiced against the Roumanians. He told me, incidentally, that the Roumanian government was prepared to accept as valid the instructions of the Military Mission from the Supreme Council for the Peace Conference.

August 14, 1919. General Graziani, the French representative, was chairman this date. M. Diamandi, in view of his conversation with me on the preceding day and in view of the fact that he had made similar remarks to General Mombelli, was asked to appear before the Mission, and upon appearing was asked if Roumania was prepared to accept as valid the instructions of the Military Mission. He immediately resumed his policy of sparring for wind and replied that he was of the personal opinion that Roumania would acknowledge the Mission as the authorized representative of the Supreme Council, but that he could not as yet give the answer of his government.

In the afternoon all the members of the Mission went over to the Royal Palace, were shown the offices selected by the American and the British representatives,

August 15, 1919

and took what was best of that left. Afterwards there was a short meeting at which I presented a memorandum requiring prompt action on the part of Roumania in complying with the instructions of the Military Mission. Part of it was immediately adopted and copies sent to the Roumanian commander.

Lieutenant Hamilton arrived about midnight this date.

August 15, 1919. At 8 o'clock this morning, I found the Hungarian Foreign Minister and two others in my office stating that they had understood that I had authorized Captain Gregory to tell them that on account of the overthrow of the Socialist government in Hungary and the practical reestablishment of the Hapsburg dynasty by the assumption of the reins of government by the Archduke Joseph, there were in progress revolutions in both England and America, and to state that the Supreme Council could not stand for a moment for a continuation of the Archduke in power. They were told that Captain Gregory had been given *no* such authority and, furthermore, that he had said nothing of the kind. They were told, however, that the Supreme Council could not accept or acknowledge the *de facto* Hungarian government as sufficiently permanent in character to justify making a treaty of peace, and that the Peace Conference was most desirous of having a permanent popular government established in Hungary.

August 15, 1919

The Mission met at 10.30 A.M., with General Mombelli in the chair. The Archduke burst into the meeting, followed by his Foreign Minister, to submit a list of his new cabinet. As it seemed to be becoming a daily practice of the Archduke to come to the Commission for pap of some kind or another, I stepped over to General Mombelli and told him quietly that I must insist that the Mission continue with its session, instead of having its time taken up with Archducal oratory. His Highness was then invited to leave, and the Mission proceeded with its session. The Hungarian Minister of War was called in, and made a report on the former and present police organization of the city of Budapest. He was followed by the Roumanian General, Holban, who agreed to turn over to the Hungarians 6,000 arms for organizing a Municipal Police Force. When questioned, he stated that he at this time had 10,000 men in the city proper and 5,000 in the outskirts. He was told to make the reverse arrangement—to place 10,000 in the outskirts, and to place his 5,000 along the perimeter of the city proper, which he agreed to do. He admitted that, although there were at present 1,800 Hungarian police in Budapest, they had arms for only 600.

There was received this night from the American Mission in Paris a long telegram containing the Roumanian reply to the Supreme Council's ultimatum, and the reply of the Supreme Council to the same, to the effect that the Roumanian papers were interpreted as meaning a yielding on the part of Roumania to the demands of the Peace Conference.

August 16, 1919

August 16, 1919. I established my office this date in the Royal Palace, in the room which had been used by the Empress.

It being my turn to preside at the meeting of the Mission, I read to my associates the telegram from the Supreme Council, submitting to them likewise the draft of a paper which I proposed to place immediately before the Roumanian Commander in Chief. This was agreed to, and the latter, accompanied by General Mardarescu and his Chief of Staff, appeared before the Mission at 4.30. The text of the paper handed them was as follows:

1: (a) Cease at once requisitioning or taking possession of any supplies or property of whatever nature except in zones authorized by this Mission, and then only of such supplies as may be necessary for the Roumanian Army, and that this Mission be informed as to the kind of supplies which will be considered necessary.

(b) The Roumanian Commander in Chief to furnish without delay a map clearly showing the requisition zones, and also indicating thereon the disposition of his troops.

(c) Return at once to its owners all private property now in the possession of the Roumanians, such as automobiles, horses, carriages, or any other property of which the ownership is vested in individuals.

(d) To arrange for the gradual return to the Hungarian Government of the railroad, post and telegraph systems.

(e) Make no further requisitions of buildings, stores or real property and evacuate as rapidly as possible all schools, colleges, and buildings of like character.

(f) Cease at once all shipments of rolling stock or Hungarian property of any kind whatsoever, to or towards Roumania, and stop and return to Budapest any rolling stock or property already en route or held at outside stations.

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(g) Limit supervision over public or private affairs in the city to such extent as may be approved by this Mission.

2: The Roumanian government to furnish this Mission not later than August twenty-third a complete list of all war material, railway or agricultural material, live stock or property of any kind whatsoever that has been taken possession of in Hungary by Roumanian forces.

The Roumanians received this, agreeing to carry out instructions, and formally acknowledged the Inter-Allied Military Mission as being the authorized representative in Hungary of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference. While at the meeting they were told that not even Roumanian contact patrols could push on towards Szeged, and that they must not extend their occupation of Hungary. They were also given a few more bitter pills which they swallowed with apparent complacency. I wired the American Mission in Paris this evening that in my opinion the Roumanians were doing their utmost to delay matters in order to complete the loot of Hungary,⁵ and that as far as I

⁵ This is the first mention of the looting of Hungary by the Roumanians. Other examples are found on pages 38, 43, 46, 112, 113, 212, etc.

The following are some opinions of writers familiar with this aspect of Roumanian occupation of Hungary.

"The story of the pillaging by the Roumanian army in Hungary is Homeric. It equals anything of the kind done in the war.—A member of the English Mission, sent into the East of Hungary to investigate the facts, said epigrammatically, that the Roumanians had not even left the nails in the boards!"—John Foster Bass, *The Peace Tangle*, New York, 1920, p. 193.

"The Roumanian invasion was more like an old-time Highland cattle foray than a war."—L. Haden Guest, *The Struggle for Power in Europe*, London, 1921, p. 195.

"The Magyars detest the Roumanians on account of their looting during the occupation following the Béla Kun régime.—They are accused of hav-

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ing stolen everything movable—plate, pictures, carpets, linen, furniture, even down to the cloth of billiard tables. They took the best thoroughbreds and let them die in the train for want of food. They took twelve hundred locomotives and left the Hungarians only four hundred. In my hotel Béla Kun had done five million crowns' worth of damage. The Roumanians did seven million worth. They took literally everything, and the rooms are still without telephones as a result of their brigandage. This, of course, is all the Hungarian account of what happened."—Charles à Court Repington, *After the War*, Boston, 1922, p. 165.

Even E. J. Dillon, the most ardent defender of Roumanian interests, says: "They [the Roumanians] seized rolling stock, cattle, agricultural implements, and other property of the kind that had been stolen from their people and sent the booty home without much ado." *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference*, p. 230. How far his statement is correct is left to the reader to judge from the facts given in this diary. Dillon calls the action of the Roumanians "wholesale egotism."

"Hungary has suffered a Roumanian occupation, which was worse almost than the revolutions of Bolshevism."—Francesco Nitti, *The Wreck of Europe*, Indianapolis, 1922, p. 171.

Louis K. Birinyi, *The Tragedy of Hungary*, Cleveland, 1924. Especially Chapter XX, "Hungary Fleeced during the Armistice." It is somewhat rhetorical and not always accurate. This is particularly true of his account of the occupation of Budapest by Horthy's troops and the evacuation of Budapest.

On the other hand Cecil John Charles Street, in *Hungary and Democracy*, London, 1923, states "To Roumania was assigned the task of restoring order, and in her execution of it she displayed an ability and a restraint which will forever redound to her credit" (p. 200). Mr. Street makes it appear as if the aim of the Roumanians in invading Hungary with their "well disciplined forces" was principally to save the world from Bolshevism. From Street and Jászi is taken the account of Hungary by C. Deslisle Burns, 1918-1928, *A Short History of the World*, New York, 1928. Consequently it is entirely one-sided.

We may also refer to the statement in the standard short history of Roumania by N. Jorga, *A History of Roumania*. Translated from the second edition by Joseph McCabe, London, 1925. "For several months the capital of Hungary was in possession of the Roumanians, and a day will come when the baseless charges which are made against the commander of the army will be judged at their proper value. Light is already breaking, in fact, upon these unjust charges" (p. 263). Charles Upson Clark, *Greater Roumania*, New York, 1922. Mr. Clark was an American newspaper correspondent. He is a great friend of Roumania. His views are admittedly one-

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could see their progress up to date in complying with the Supreme Council's desires, was negative rather than positive.

This evening Colonel Loree, Captain Gore, Lieutenant Hamilton and myself moved to our new quarters, the residence of Count Edelsheim, where we have most commodious and almost palatial quarters, with a new Hungarian chef and butler. The Count, the Countess and their daughter occupy the rear portion of the building and give us complete sway over the dining room, the breakfast rooms, the parlors, our bedrooms, etc., and have only the entrance in common with us.

August 17, 1919. The Mission met this morning at 10.30 A.M., with General Gorton presiding. Yesterday afternoon we had sent word that we desired to have the Prime Minister⁶ and the Food Minister report to us at our meeting, but instead, the entire ministry came—less any Food Minister. They explained that the position of Food Minister was at present vacant, that they

sided. He says: "Relying in general on Roumanian sources, I shall try to check them up so as not to give *too* partial an account" (p. 242). Of special interest for us is Chapter XIX, "The Roumanians in Budapest." In this chapter he makes the statement that he is "trying to get at the truth—with a strong Roumanian bias, I admit, but anxious to do justice on all sides" (p. 257). "Doubtless few situations have ever combined more complex factors than did Budapest under the Roumanians.—No historian will ever clear them up fully" (p. 258).

⁶ Mr. Stephen Friedrich had originally been a democratic Republican and an ardent personal follower of Michael Károlyi. During the Bolshevik terror he changed his opinions completely and became one of the most active counter-revolutionists and an anti-Semitic nationalist. He is still a member of Parliament and considers himself now a Fascist.

August 18, 1919

had had four different Food Ministers during the past week or ten days, and that they were now seeking one who could speak correctly all known languages. They were told we did not care for a polyglot minister, but wanted one with some nerve and intelligence, who could fill the job and use an interpreter. They were also told that we expected the Hungarians and Roumanians to collaborate and accomplish something, instead of spending all their time and the Mission's time over mutual recriminations. I prepared a letter to the Roumanian Commander in Chief, which was adopted by the Mission, directing him, beginning tomorrow, to submit daily a report of the progress made by the Roumanians in complying with the instructions received by them from the Mission.

August 18, 1919. To go back into the original history of the situation:⁷ Shortly after the establishment of the Republic of Hungary in succession to the kingdom as part of the Dual Monarchy of Austro-Hungary, the Bolsheviks under Béla Kun obtained possession of the control of the Government and started a Reign of Terror. They painted red the windows and many of the statues of the magnificent Parliament buildings, and would have painted the roof had their supply of red paint not been exhausted. They arrested and executed hundreds and even thousands, confiscated for distribution everything of value, turned out a currency called white money on account of its color and to distinguish it from the blue-colored currency existing prior to that

⁷ Cf. Introduction.

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time, and in general started to run things along the same lines as the Bolshevists in Russia. In order to keep up the national spirit, they started a war against the Czecho-Slovaks and beat them. They started another war against the Roumanians and were driving them back when, about the first of August, the Roumanians assumed the offensive, invaded Hungary and marched without opposition into and took possession of Budapest. Promptly after their arrival, the Soviet government was overturned by fifty gendarmes and the Archduke Joseph, a cousin of the Emperor Karl, appointed Governor,⁸ which position he still holds. The Roumanians on their part immediately began to loot Hungary, removing all automobiles, locomotives, cars and other rolling stock, took possession of and shipped to Roumania all the arms, munitions, and war material they could find, and then proceeded also to clean the country out of private automobiles, farm implements, cattle, horses, clothing, sugar, coal, salt, and in fact everything of value; and even after they were notified by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference to cease such requisitioning, they continued and are still continuing their depredations. They have taken possession of all branches of the government, all railroad, telegraph, telephone and postal systems, and at this date have all Hungary completely terrorized and at their feet. Their arrogance, however, has taken a turn and they are no longer treating the Military Mis-

⁸ Obviously a mistake on the part of General Bandholtz. Cf. Introduction, p. xxvi.

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sion with the same practical contempt as in the beginning.

Our offices located in the Royal Palace are gorgeous in extreme. This magnificent building must have cost millions to erect and furnish, and no pains or expense were spared. The walls of each room are covered with the same cloth with which the furniture of the room is upholstered, except the magnificent ball rooms, the walls of which are solid marble, and the details of which beggar description.

At this morning's session, Horthy,⁹ who had been Admiral of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, stated he was prepared to reorganize a Hungarian Army and have an effective force ready within four days after he was given permission to proceed. The Roumanians have as yet made no report of any progress in complying with instructions from this Mission.

Last night Colonel Loree and I dined with Admiral Troubridge of the British Navy, and General Gorton.

At this afternoon's session, there was quite a fight between the American and the Italian representatives over the question of having the Roumanian Commander himself attend our sessions or be represented

⁹ Nicholas Horthy de Nagybánya. Born in 1868, belongs to an old family of the landed gentry. He entered the Austro-Hungarian navy. During the World War he distinguished himself greatly and at the end of it was appointed Commander in Chief of the Austro-Hungarian fleet. He helped to organize the anti-Bolshevik counter-revolution and was made Commander in Chief of the army of the new government. On March 1, 1920, he was chosen Governor or Regent, which position he is still holding today.

It is the same title with which two other Hungarians have been previously honored, John Hunyadi in the fifteenth, and Louis Kossuth in the nineteenth century.



ADMIRAL HORTHY
HUNGARIAN COMMANDER IN CHIEF





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by an authorized staff officer. General Mombelli insisted that this should be done by correspondence, the matter laid out in detail in a letter, and then sent to the Roumanian Commander in Chief, to await his reply. I told him, in view of the fact that all such letters had then to be translated either from English to French or French to English, and that no subject could be fully covered and explained in a communication, that I must insist that the Roumanian government be suitably represented at our Mission when we so desired. He said that it was very hard to require an army commander to stop his other most important work to attend a session. I replied that at present the Roumanian-Hungarian question was the most serious in Europe, that each of our governments had sent a general, accompanied by his staff and a detachment, to devote all their time to this question, and that I did not give a damn whether it were the Roumanian Commander in Chief or the Roumanian King, and I insisted that they be subject to call when needed. A letter was sent to the Roumanian Commander in Chief requesting him to come or be represented at tomorrow morning's session.

August 19, 1919. At this morning's session, matters were much more quiet, although the Roumanians, as usual, won a point by sending as their representative an officer who was authorized to give information on only two points, namely the question of food supply and the question of the organization of the Municipal police of Budapest. General Holban, the Roumanian

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Commander of Budapest and vicinity, is the representative and apparently knows as much about the military game as does an Igorrote about manicuring. On the fifteenth, when he was before the Mission, he stated that he had 10,000 troops in the city and 5,000 in the suburbs. Today he insisted that he had only 5,000 all told. When called upon to explain his map relative to requisition zones, he could not explain it at all and admitted that he could not turn out a map that would be intelligible. The Serbian plenipotentiary showed up and presented his credentials to the Mission. He rejoices in the euphonious cognomen of Lazar Baitch. It was decided in the future to have morning sessions of the Mission, leaving the afternoons to the members for catching up with their work and making personal investigations. I then notified the Mission that I must insist that General Mardarescu, the Roumanian Commander in Chief, be himself directed to appear before the Mission tomorrow at 11 o'clock. This time there was no dissenting vote. Despite all their promises and instructions the Roumanians are continuing with their wholesale pillaging of Hungary and the Hungarians.

It is not possible to describe conditions in a city or country occupied by an enemy, but judging from conditions in Budapest and Hungary while occupied by the Roumanians, we Americans should promptly take every measure possible to avoid any such catastrophe. Universal training should be adopted without further parley.

August 20, 1919

Last night Colonel Loree, Captain Gore and Lieutenant Hamilton, Captain Weiss, who is a Hungarian by birth and speaks the language perfectly and whom I have asked to be attached to my office here, and myself called upon Count Edelsheim, his wife and daughter. They told us of the terrors of the Bolshevist régime. The house is filled with beautiful antique furniture and a most peculiar mixture of paintings, ranging from choice antiquities to rotten moderns. Our chef, having cooked for hotels in both London and Paris, is living up to his reputation, but our butler in his previous condition of servitude had undoubtedly been a hostler, and knows more about shoveling in fodder than he does about waiting on the table.

August 20, 1919. This morning's session, at which I presided, was one of the most interesting that we have had. In the beginning there was considerable discussion about our Board of Claims and Complaints. Then the Hungarian Minister of War was introduced and submitted a verbal proposition for the reorganization of the Hungarian Army. He was told to reduce the same to writing and submit it with the least practicable delay. A complaint has been received that the Hungarians have been making wholesale arrests and committing abuses in certain districts which had been assigned by the Peace Conference to Austria, and it was decided to ask the Supreme Council to give a correct definition of the present geographical limits of Hungary. Next, our old friend Diamandi came in with the Roumanian

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Commander in Chief, General Mardarescu, and a new star in the Roumanian constellation in the person of a General Rudeanu. General Mardarescu was put on the carpet and told in unmistakable terms that it was up to him to report what had been done in complying with the request from the Mission of August 16, 1919. He resorted to all sorts of evasions and circumlocutions, which may have been intentional or may have been due to his grade of intelligence, which appears to be about that of a comatose caribou. He finally agreed to be a good boy and carry out our instructions. Our friend Diamandi insisted that in the future, whenever we discuss matters of importance with a Hungarian official, the Roumanian government should be represented. His proposition was laid on the table and he received no reply, as we propose to use our own judgment in regard to such matters.

In the afternoon General Rudeanu, with Colonel Yates of our Army, called upon me at my office in the Royal Palace, and practically asked that we let bygones be bygones, stating that he is prepared to turn over a new leaf from now on. He appears to be possessed of almost human intelligence and it is hoped that some progress will now be made.

Later, General Pétain, who is a younger brother of the French Field Marshal of that name, called upon me at the office and spent an hour trying either to determine my exact attitude as regards the Roumanians, or to influence me in their favor.¹⁰

¹⁰ See other pro-Roumanian actions of the French on pp. 32, 35, 57, 79, 105, 110, 125, 331.

August 21, 1919

August 21, 1919. At this morning's session a complaint was submitted by the Roumanian government that the Archduke had been declaring martial law in certain places in Hungary and that they could not tolerate this as it was considered an infringement upon their prerogatives. Additional complaints were also received about acts of violence and other abuses committed by Hungarians in territory which had been given to Austria by the Peace Conference.²¹ Last night a telegram from the Supreme Council was received intimating that they were not satisfied with a Hapsburg as governor of Hungary. In view of all the foregoing, it was decided to send for our friend the Archduke and his Prime Minister and tell them where to get off. This was done. They promptly arrived and the Archduke was notified that he must immediately revoke his declaration of martial law in any place in Hungary. He and his Prime Minister obsequiously acquiesced and promised to revoke the order immediately. The Prime Minister was then invited to tarry in the antechamber while a little private conversation was addressed to the Archduke, which in effect was that it was our opinion that a government which could act in such an idiotic manner as his had been acting could inspire confidence in nobody, and he was then given the coup de grâce by being told that we considered it our duty to inform His Highness that the mere fact that the head of a state is a Hapsburg diminishes the possibility of feeling con-

²¹ The Ödenburg or Sopron district, the so-called Burgenland, in the western part of Hungary.

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fidence in an administration, which furthermore had been established by a coup d'état during a foreign occupation. He maintained that he was the people's choice and practically the only available Moses to lead them out of their present political wilderness. He was informed that on this subject there was a great difference of opinion. At this the Archduke waxed furious, stated that his giving up the reins of government would mean a return to Bolshevism, and dashed madly out of the room without shaking hands with anybody.

The Roumanian General, Rudeanu, and the Roumanian High Commissioner Diamandi were then sent for, and the situation explained to them in order that they might take the necessary precautionary measures.

August 22, 1919. Last night we entertained at our quarters General Rudeanu and M. Diamandi. They were given champagne and wine *ad libitum* but fought shy of it, apparently fearing there was a scheme on foot for inducing garrulity on their part. Being their host, I allowed no official matters to come up for discussion.

At this morning's session of the Mission, General Mombelli informed us that our old friend, the Archduke, called on him last night and stated that he was in such a twitter at our meeting yesterday that he could hardly speak, and went on to complain that we did not understand that he, as a Hapsburg, was working only for the best interests of Hungary, that he was remaining bravely at his post only to lead his country until the elections, when the wishes of his countrymen

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would be sacred to him. He failed to add, however, that it would be no fault of his if any Hungarians were left to dare vote against him. He then asked whether our talk to him yesterday was inspired from Paris or was on our own initiative. He was told that gave him just two guesses. He then stated that he thought it was probably inspired from Vienna,¹² and was told that, as a supposedly intelligent human being, it was up to him to make his own interpretation.

We unanimously agreed that the Roumanians must immediately aid the Hungarians to organize a police force of 6,000 men in Budapest and that we would take up the reorganization¹³ of the Hungarian Army on a

¹² While the Hungarians were returning to monarchical institutions and showed no dislike for the Hapsburg dynasty, the government of Austria was decidedly socialistic-republican and violently anti-Hapsburg.

¹³ This is the first statement in the Diary pertaining to the important question of the reorganization of the Hungarian police or gendarmerie, which, on Sept. 5, the Inter-Allied Military Mission put into the hands of Colonel Yates, U. S. Army. The Roumanians tried to prevent such a reorganization. References to their policy in this respect may be found in statements of Sept. 1, 2, 18, 22, 24, 29, Oct. 3, and 6. Upon completion of the work Colonel Yates was, on Nov. 19, officially congratulated by the Inter-Allied Military Mission.

It was undoubtedly the firmness of the Inter-Allied Military Mission which brought about the desired result, and not the good offices of Mr. Vopicka. Charles J. Vopicka was U. S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Roumania, Bulgaria, and Serbia. In his book, *Secrets of the Balkans*, New York, 1921, he assumes some credit for the compliance of the Roumanians with the demands of the Allies.

"Polk," he says, "told me what was demanded by the Allies from Roumania, and stated that unless she complied with this request, the Allies would sever relations. I first spoke to the Roumanian members of the Peace Commission in Paris, and then I sent telegrams to the Roumanian Prime Minister. Within ten days the Roumanian government complied with the first request of the Commission, to supply 10,000 gendarmes in Hungary

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working basis of 30,000 men. Everything seems to indicate that the Bolshevists have about 100,000 arms still hidden and we have decided to make the Roumanians, aided and abetted by the Hungarians, get hold of these arms and place them at our disposal. We decided furthermore to tell the Roumanian Commander in Chief that he would be "skinned" for being off limits whenever he came west of the Danube except at Budapest. Our gallant Roumanian allies turned in a complaint about the Czecho-Slovaks invading a portion of Hungary, and it was suggested that the Czecho-Slovaks had a damn sight better ground for complaint of the Roumanians for having done the same thing. I called the attention of the Mission to the fact that our noble allies were still playing the same game and that no report of progress had yet been made. I insisted that there be incorporated in our telegram to the Supreme Council information to that effect. We then discussed the present political situation in Hungary, upon which we were required to make a report, and I have attached hereto my memorandum on that subject which was then submitted.

The question of claims and complaints is so serious and becoming so complicated that I stated that Colonel Loree could no longer be spared for that exclusive work, and it was decided to lay the matter before the Supreme Council, requesting that a suitable number

with arms and ammunition, and also complied with the other things which were required, with the exception that they refused to sign the treaty between Roumania and Austria" (p. 306).

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of officers with proper equipment be sent to Hungary for that purpose.

Memorandum on the Hungarian Political Situation

To consider the present political situation one must start in at least with the assumption of the reins of government by the Archduke Joseph.

Taking advantage of the fact that the Socialist government had been started but a few days and that an enemy was in possession of the city, a coup d'état was pulled off by about fifty gendarmes with the accessory passivity of the Roumanians. The Archduke himself has shown that when it comes to diplomacy, political matters and the administration of a government, he is still a babe in swaddling clothes. This is demonstrated by the seriousness with which he took an anonymous ultimatum, and by the various ridiculous administrative stunts he has pulled off. He is probably, when all is considered, quite popular in Hungary, but his popularity is neither so extensive nor so deep-rooted as he seems to imagine. It is believed that he has been misled by his intimates, who have lured him into believing that he is the almost unanimous choice of the people of Hungary. However, either independently, or influenced by his advisers, he is believed to have been taking measures to perpetuate his office by declaring martial law with the announced intention of arresting Bolsheviks. This is undoubtedly a transparent camouflage to conceal the real intention of disposing of all political opponents and of assuring his ultimate election.

The Hungarians had barely disentangled themselves from the meshes of Bolshevism when the present weak régime came into existence. It would be a calamity if either Bolsheviks or the Hapsburgs were allowed to control Hungary. To prevent this, it is important that some strong man of real popularity and influence among all classes be placed in charge and given every assistance in reorganizing a semi-permanent government. To restore a Hapsburg at this time, when it is in the memory

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of everybody that that unfortunate dynasty was the intentional or unintentional cause of the World War, would seriously affect all the Allies and would give an impulse to Bolshevism.

In brief, the Hungarian political situation is believed to be critical, but not beyond remedy. If the Roumanian government will shift its gear from first to second, up to third, and do its best to facilitate the organization of a government and the creation of a police force and an army of suitable size, and to arrange for gradual but prompt withdrawal behind its own recognized boundary, it is believed the present deplorable condition in Hungary can soon be brought to an end.

Before adjourning, a telegram was received from the Supreme Council authorizing the Mission to send detachments wherever necessary to prevent the Roumanians from getting their Hungarian loot over into Roumania, and it was decided to wire the Supreme Council that this would not be feasible either with the means at our disposal or with any force that could arrive in time for the purpose. It was furthermore recommended that additional officers be sent to watch over the points of egress and take inventory of what the Roumanians were making away with.

In the afternoon, after sending a telegram to the American Commission posting them to date on the situation, I took a car and investigated a few of the complaints concerning Roumanian seizures, etc., and found them to be true. I then called upon General Rudeanu, told him I had found his people were removing 4,000 telephone instruments from private houses and were about to take the remaining half of the supplies of the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, which they had not taken in first requisition; that they were

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seizing the few remaining Hungarian breeding stallions; that they had sent word to the Ministry of Agriculture to deliver to them all maps, instruments, etc.; and that I could give him only too many instances of like character. I told him that his government had repeatedly promised to carry out the Mission's instructions, but that I had been here twelve days, during which the Roumanians had continued their seizures and had not returned a single thing despite their repeated promises. I added that we were all most anxious to cooperate, but that I should like for once to telegraph my superiors that the Roumanians had shown any indication of an intention to play the game according to the rule. He replied that in my place he would feel as I did, that he would confer with his colleagues tonight, and would tomorrow let us know whether or not the Roumanian government really intended to stop requisitioning and return any property already seized. All of this looks like an admission that they had all along intended to pursue the even tenor of their way regardless of the wishes of the Supreme Council.

In the evening Count von Edelsheim called upon us and continued his stories of Bolshevik atrocities.

August 23, 1919. At this morning's session, after disposing of several routine matters, the Mission prepared to receive M. Diamandi and General Rudeanu, who had faithfully promised to be in the antechamber at 11.30. As a matter of fact, they were only twenty minutes late, which is the closest any Roumanian has yet

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come to keeping his promise with us.¹⁴ Diamandi seated himself with his unctious diplomatic smile, and stated that he had received advices from his government at Bucharest, and first proceeded to regale us with information that was already six days old and which we had read to him ourselves at one of our sessions. He was politely informed of the fact and then proceeded to other matters, prefacing his remarks by the usual statement that the Roumanian government desired to work in complete accord with its allies, but that we must consider the deplorable transportation conditions in Roumania and the fact that the Roumanians found here in Hungary many supplies taken from their own country, in proof of which he displayed two first-aid packets, two iodine tubes, and one or two other matters with the Roumanian mark. We were overwhelmed with this incontrovertible evidence, but in time sufficiently recovered to let him proceed, which he did by adding that all Roumanian property found in Hungary must naturally be subject to unqualified seizure, that the seizures would be limited to what was actually necessary for the Roumanian forces, but that this government must insist that they pick up an additional 30 per cent to replace articles taken from Roumania during the German invasion; that formerly Roumania had had 1,200 locomotives whereas they now had only 60; that they would be very glad to pay for all private automo-

¹⁴ I found an amusing laconic footnote by Lieutenant-Colonel Repington in his *After the War, A Diary*, Boston, 1922. "Roumanians are not remarkable for keeping promises or appointments" (p. 327).

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biles and other property seized in Hungary, but must insist on doing so with their government bonds along the same lines as the Central Powers had done in Roumania. Then he wished to know, in case Roumania did not take things from Hungary, who would guarantee that the Roumanians got their proper share, and he added that it certainly would be much better to leave all such property in the hands of faithful and truthful allies like the Roumanians, than to leave it with the Hungarians, who were known never to keep their promises. He would probably have gone on indefinitely with similar sophistical persiflage, had I not intervened and stated that on three separate occasions our truthful allies, the Roumanians, had faithfully promised to carry out our instructions, but that up to the present time there was no tangible proof that a single one of the promises had been kept. Certain it was that they were continuing their requisitions and more boldly than ever, that no property had yet been returned, that they had submitted no reports as promised, and that I personally must insist on some proof of the perfect accord that I had heard so much about. M. Diamandi stated that he could say nothing more than was contained in his instructions, and any question whatever that was put up to him would need to be referred to Bucharest for decision, the natural inference being that he could never answer a question inside of about five days. Our little friend Diamandi has always been in the diplomatic service, having served at Rome, Vienna, Paris, and Berlin. He was Roumanian minister

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to Petrograd when the Bolshevik régime started, during which he was arrested by the Bolsheviks, and I shall never forgive them for having afterwards released him. He typifies perfectly the Roumanian policy of procrastination with a view of absolutely draining Hungary before it can be stopped.

While the Roumanians were present, a telegram was received from M. Clemenceau, which, after repeating the opinion held by the Supreme Council of our friend, the Archduke, wound up by insisting that "Archie" resign *tout de suite*. The Roumanians were informed of this, gave evidence of great glee, and it is believed sent word to "Archie" as soon as they left the building. In any event, the first thing that was brought up at our afternoon session was how to handle his Royal Highness. Finally we drafted a letter to him, in which was enclosed a copy of a telegram received from the Supreme Council, stating that:

The Allied and Associated Powers have been further considering the information, derived from your report and from other sources, as to recent events in Budapest. Their conclusions are as follows:

They are most anxious to conclude a durable peace with the Hungarian people but feel that this cannot be done while the present Hungarian government is in power. That government has been brought into existence, not by the will of the people, but by a coup d'état, carried out by a small body of police during the occupation of a foreign army. It has at its head a member of the House of Hapsburg whose policy and ambition are largely responsible for the calamities from which the world is suffering and will long suffer. A peace negotiated by such a government is not likely to be lasting nor can the Allied

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and Associated Governments give it the economic support which Hungary so sorely needs.

If it be replied that the Archduke Joseph is prepared, before approaching the Allied and Associated Governments, to submit his claim to the test of popular election, we must reply that this procedure cannot be a satisfactory election if carried out under the auspices of an administration which the Archduke himself controls. The difficulties in obtaining by election a faithful reflection of the popular will are, in the present unhappy state of Hungary, of the most serious kind. They would be overwhelming if the election were carried out under Hapsburg influences. Even if the assembly elected under such circumstances were really representative, no one would think so. In the interest of European peace, therefore, the Allied and Associated Governments must insist that the present claimant to the leadership of the Hungarian state should resign and that a government in which all parties are represented should appeal to the Hungarian people. The Allied and Associated Powers would be prepared to negotiate with any government which possessed the confidence of an assembly so elected.

After dispatching the letter to the Archduke, we took up the Roumanian situation, and it was decided, in view of Diamandi's statement that in case he were called he could add nothing to what he had already said, there would be no use in sending for him. I therefore insisted that a telegram be sent from us to the Supreme Council, informing them of all of M. Diamandi's statements and adding that in our opinion so far as the Roumanians were concerned the time of this Mission had been wasted, and that it would be useless to continue its relations with Roumanian officials who apparently were determined to carry on a reprehensible policy of procrastination, and who had repeatedly broken their solemn promises. General Graziani said he

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would draft this telegram at once, provided he could take a recess of about an hour. When he returned with his draft it contained only the bald statement in regard to M. Diamandi's remarks. I insisted that my reference to our waste of time be incorporated in the telegram. Thereupon I was asked to draft the telegram. I complied with this request and handed the telegram to Lieutenant-Colonel Romanelli, General Mombelli's secretary. He made a very good French translation of it, and it was then handed to General Graziani's aide to add to the telegram. Just as we were leaving, I saw this aide hand General Mombelli my draft, Colonel Romanelli's translation, and another slip of paper, and asked him what the third paper was. He said that it was for the purpose of putting part of Romanelli's translation into better French. I insisted on seeing that part. He showed it to me, and then General Mombelli said that, as handed to him, it was understood that this new slip of paper was to replace entirely Colonel Romanelli's translation. At this I thumped the table two or three times and said that I absolutely insisted that the statement in regard to the futility of hoping for anything from the Roumanians be incorporated. This was then agreed to. Evidently our French colleague was trying to play a skin game and got caught at it.

At 8 o'clock the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs showed up with a letter containing the resignation of the Archduke¹⁵ and the entire Ministry. He also

¹⁵ His proclamation on leaving the government may be found in Malbone W. Graham's *New Governments of Central Europe*, New York, 1924, p. 583.

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stated that everything was now in the hands of the Inter-Allied Military Mission. We then sent for the Prime Minister and told him that this Mission did not mix in the internal affairs of Hungary, except to such an extent as it might be definitely instructed by the Supreme Council; that the notice to the Archduke was sent as directed by our superiors, but that it was not within our province to organize a new government. We added that it was the duty of the members of the present cabinet to continue temporarily in office until a new government could be organized, which we hoped would be within a few days. General Rudeanu, our Roumanian liaison officer, was sent for and informed of the Archduke's resignation.

August 24, 1919. For the first time since my arrival at Budapest, there was no session of the Mission today. This resulted from the almost piteous appeals of both the French and the Italian representatives to have a day off.

About 10 o'clock I was called upon by two representatives of the British press, and I gave them the dope in regard to the official demise of our friend, the Archduke, and filled them full to overflowing with complaints and proofs in regard to the rapacity of our gallant Roumanian allies.¹⁶

¹⁶ Public opinion in the principal Allied countries and in the United States concerning the situation in Hungary was divided. On page 748 of the New International Year Book for 1919, New York, 1920, we find the following summary: "A portion of the American press complained that in France among the official class as well as among the Italian representatives there was a tendency to blame the United States and to a less degree Great

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I then prepared and sent a long telegram to the American Mission, to the effect that yesterday our suave friend Diamandi, accompanied by General Rudeanu, had called upon Admiral Troubridge, apparently on the verge of tears because we had not sent for them the day before. They both intimated that probably their usefulness in Budapest was over, in which they were just about right. The rotund and diplomatic Diamandi was undoubtedly thus affected because he had been sent here to pull off a coup in the shape of forcing Hungary to make a separate peace with Roumania practically amounting to annexation, which coup had been demolished by a bomb in the shape of the Supreme Council's handing the Archduke his hat and telling him not to be in a hurry. I also received word that on the twenty-first the Crown Prince of Roumania, as the future King of Hungary, received a number of kowtowing Hungarian aristocrats.

Britain for what was considered the harsh treatment of Roumania. As Italian and French representatives on the Supreme Council had approved its action, there seemed to be no color to these accusations, but in the French and Italian press there was a disposition to find excuses for Roumania in every instance, and to oppose any effort toward keeping her within bounds." In this same article, *War of the Nations*, may be found a moderate and critical explanation of the Roumanian viewpoint by a French journalist. The commentary on the disregard of the Allied demands by Roumania was very severe in the United States. Read also the articles by Frank H. Simonds, "Hungary, the Balkans, and the League," in *The American Review of Reviews*, Sept., 1919, and in the October issue of the same *Review*, "The European Reaction." Another summarizing article is contained in the *Literary Digest*, April 23, 1919, "Roumania's Invasion of Hungary." Dillon says, in the book previously referred to, that the French papers applauded the action of the Roumanians, and also the English; but he gives no example of the latter. In fact, liberal public opinion in England was absolutely opposed to it.

August 24, 1919

The day before yesterday I sent Colonel Yates, formerly of the Thirtieth Infantry, U. S. A., and now American attaché at Bucharest, to investigate conditions in Hungary west of the Danube. On his return today he reported that Admiral Horthy had about 8,000 well-disciplined, well-trained, and well-armed troops, including machine guns and nineteen field guns under his command.

I also wired the American Mission in regard to the incident of last night, when our dapper French colleague tried to put one over on the American and British representatives by not including all that should have been included in the telegram to the Supreme Council. General Gorton, the British representative, read over and concurred in all of my telegram, asked me to say so, and to add that he requested that a copy be furnished the British Mission.

Upon leaving the Palace about 1.30, I was met by a delegation of about 200 Hungarians who said that they were small landholders and wished to see the Inter-Allied Military Mission in regard to their proper representation on the government. I told their spokesman and interpreter that the Mission could do nothing in regard to this, as we did not meddle with internal affairs, but that in case they desired to send any petition to the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference and would present the same in writing tomorrow, I would submit it to the Mission for consideration.

This morning I found on my desk two magnificent bouquets of purple orchids, and I am getting so accus-

August 25, 1919

tomed to the Royal Palace life and surroundings that it will be pretty difficult to come down to the life of an ordinary American citizen.

August 25, 1919. Yesterday afternoon, accompanied by Colonel Loree and Lieutenant Hamilton, I visited and inspected the State Railway shops, and found that the Roumanians were gutting the place strictly in accord with the Hungarian reports. In a neighboring freight yard there were 120 freight cars loaded with machinery and material, and in the yard of the shops there were 15 cars, likewise loaded and more than 25 others partly loaded or in the process of being loaded. I then went through the machine shops and saw many places where machinery had just been removed and others where it was in the process of being removed. The workmen stated that the Roumanians had been busy there, despite the fact that it was Sunday, until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and that they were obliging the Hungarians to do all the work connected with taking out the machinery.

In the evening, at about 9.50, we heard a racket outside of our window, but we did not pay much attention to it at the time because a discussion of Roumanians and Hungarians, none of whom understands the others, usually sounds like a ladies' tea party. This morning I found out, however, that the trouble was all caused by a Roumanian patrol of one officer and eight or ten men who had arrested a British Bluejacket and had declined to examine his pass. One of my men, thinking the

August 26, 1919

rumpus was all due to the fact that the Roumanians did not understand the Britisher, went to try to explain in German, and met the fate of the peacemaker. He was pricked by a bayonet wielded by a Roumanian soldier. At this, becoming disgusted with the rôle of peacemaker, he yelled to the American soldiers and British sailors across the street. They came tearing to the rescue of their comrade who was promptly abandoned by the Roumanians.

The Mission met at the usual hour, *i.e.*, 9.30, this morning, but there was nothing of great importance. This was mainly due to the fact that the Archduke was now out of the way, and also to our decision to have no more transactions with the Roumanian officials, on account of their lying propensities.

Our officer who had been sent to the bridge over the Theiss, reported that the bridge could not be completed inside of three weeks and that it would take about the same time to complete any of the other bridges.

During the morning a delegation, claiming to represent 600,000 industrial workers, asked to see the Mission, and when they announced that they desired to insist upon suitable representation in the new government, they were told that this Mission could not mix in the internal affairs of Hungary.

August 26, 1919. Yesterday afternoon a verbose but rather stiff telegram came to me, containing the text of an ultimatum from the Supreme Council to the Rou-

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manian government. I told them in unmistakable terms that in case they persisted in looting Hungary, alleging as an excuse that they were simply reimbursing themselves for what they had lost during Mackensen's invasion, it was all bosh; that they must abide by the decision of any reparation commission the Peace Conference might appoint; and that in the meantime this Mission of Inter-Allied Generals would be authorized to appoint such a commission temporarily. It was added that in case they did not immediately and affirmatively make a statement that they would abide by all their past agreements, the Allied and Associated Powers would be obliged to make them pay in full any claims against Transylvania and other portions of Hungary which had been given to Roumania by the Peace Conference. The foregoing telegram was followed up this morning by another one preëemptorily notifying those sons of Ananias, the Roumanians, that drastic measures would immediately be adopted if they would not come to time.

I had drafted a telegram, which was sent in the name of the Mission, stating that in our opinion the Roumanians were looting Hungary as rapidly as possible so that they might suddenly evacuate the country, and at the same time they were disarming everybody and refusing to reorganize the police, and in general that, intentionally or unintentionally, every move they made was in the direction of turning Hungary over to Bolshevism and chaos.

There were several more delegations out in the Pal-

August 27, 1919

ace courtyard today, all representing the so-called Christian Socialists; all clamoring against the Jews, and practically demanding control of the government. One delegation, consisting of four balatant and bellicose females (none of them pretty) and three Bolshevistic-looking males, got into the Council Room, frothed at the mouth in Hungarian, English, and French, and were told that the Mission could not mix in the internal affairs of Hungary.

Major Borrow of the British Army, whom we sent to inspect the Szolnok¹⁷ Bridge, reported that it would take two or three weeks to get that or any other bridge across the Theiss River so that it would support loaded cars, but that he found at the bridge, ready to cross, 150 locomotives, 200 to 300 empty freight cars, 4 aëroplanes on cars, 200 to 300 tank cars and, between Szolnok and Budapest, many hundreds of carloads of merchandise.

For the past three days we have been having fairly warm weather; in fact the warmest that any of us have ever seen in Europe, but at that it was not much over 80 degrees Fahrenheit. Today it has turned cool again, and with the clouds and threatening rain, reminds me more of "Sunny France."

August 27, 1919. This morning's session of the Mission, with General Graziani, the French representative, in the chair, was very quiet and orderly, all due to the fact that we have very little coming in now on account of

¹⁷ Szolnok, a river port on the right bank of the Theiss. Population not quite 29,000. An important market and railroad center.

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our strained relations with the Roumanian Commander in Chief. Each one of the representatives had received a basketful of telegrams, nearly all of which came from the so-called Christian Socialists. This party should be more properly called *Anti-Jews*, because most of their petitions are devoted to a tirade against their Semitic fellow countrymen. They seem to be a blatant minority, but more thoroughly organized than any of the other parties.

Yesterday afternoon I was called upon by Mr. Lazar Baitch, the Jugo-Slav Plenipotentiary to our Mission. He is built along the line of the blonde and bland Roumanian Diamandi, except as to complexion, which is distinctly brunette. Among other things, he stated that his country greatly feared an Italian, Austrian, Hungarian, and Roumanian combination, which would cut the Jugo-Slavs off from the rest of Europe, and that they, therefore, preferred to see a strong and friendly Hungary. He promised to report to me any developments as rapidly as they came to his attention. Then he came to the main object of his visit, which was to ask that I give him the permanent loan of an automobile. I suggested that he apply first to the Hungarian government, knowing damned well that the Roumanians had swiped all they had.

Later on in the afternoon I learned that the fine Italian hand had attempted to get in its deadly work, even during the Bolshevist régime; that the Italians had then bought the magnificent Hungarian Breeding Farms, which are now being seized by the Roumanians;

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that they were now as mad as a nest of hornets because they cannot stop the Roumanian seizures, as it would give away their rather reprehensible relations with the Bolshevists. I also learned that the Italian Lieutenant-Colonel Romanelli, who has been in Budapest for some time, is understood to have been sent with a mission to induce the Hungarians to accept the Duke of Savoy as their king. This is rather confirmed by the intense hostility towards Romanelli of the Roumanians, who wanted the Crown Prince Carol to be elected King of Hungary,¹⁸ and also that most of the Hungarians are sore on Romanelli.

Yesterday afternoon a British correspondent, named Hamilton, representing a Manchester paper,¹⁹ called me up over the telephone and said that the inevitable Archduke, accompanied by his former Prime Minister, Friedrich, who is now supposed to be reorganizing the Hungarian government, butted into the Press Bureau at the Hotel Ritz and announced that M. Clemenceau had sent a telegram to Friedrich directing that three Hungarian plenipotentiaries be sent to the Peace Conference to represent Hungary. Hamilton further stated that Friedrich had publicly announced practically the same thing to delegations in front of his house. All of this is, of course, a damned lie and is the line of propaganda spread to delude the Hungarians into the belief that the Archduke's pet, Friedrich, is *persona grata* with the Peace Conference.

¹⁸ Compare statement to this effect in the entry of the Diary on Aug. 11.

¹⁹ Obviously the *Manchester Guardian*.

August 28, 1919

The Roumanians are proceeding merrily with their seizures and general raising of Hell. All this cannot last indefinitely and something is sure to pop up before long.

August 28, 1919. Yesterday afternoon, accompanied by General Gorton, the British representative, I visited some of the places where reports have been received from Hungarian sources that the Roumanians were making seizures. It is remarkable that, so far as we have been able to verify, *not a single Hungarian complaint has been exaggerated.* At the warehouse of the Hungarian Discount and Exchange Bank, we found that up to date the Roumanians had seized and removed 2,400 carloads, mainly of provisions and forage, and were daily carting away great quantities. At the Central Depot of the Hungarian Post and Telegraph we found seven cars already loaded, two with shoes and five with carpets and rugs. In this connection, it should be remembered that the Roumanian Commander in Chief said that he had never taken anything that was not absolutely necessary for the use of troops in the field. At this place we also found the Roumanians removing the machinery from the repair shops. At the works of the Ganz-Danubius Company we found the Roumanians busily engaged loading five freight cars with material, under the charge of Lieutenant Vaude Stanescu. At the Hungarian Military Hospital Number 1, the Roumanians had ordered all the patients out and there remained only 57 patients in the hos-

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pital, whose capacity was 800, and these 57 could not be removed on account of the serious nature of their wounds. Next we visited the Hungarian Central Sanitary Depot and found that under Major C. Georgescu, a medical officer, the Roumanians were absolutely gutting the establishment. In all the places we visited, the manual labor is performed by Hungarian soldiers under Roumanian sentinels.

Last night, accompanied by my aide, Lieutenant Hamilton, I dined with General Graziani, who is billeted in the magnificent home of Count Széchényi. His wife was formerly Gladys Vanderbilt. The other guests were the General Mombelli and his aide-de-camp.

At this morning's session, General Graziani reported that he had received a call from the Hungarian General Soós, Admiral Horthy's Chief of Staff, who said that he would submit to the Mission today his plans for the reorganization of the Hungarian Army. This memorandum was received later and is very excellently prepared and arranged. General Graziani then read a telegram he had received from M. Clemenceau stating that there was no objection on his part to the rotation of the chairmanship in the organization of the Mission. General Mombelli then reported that he had had a call from the Hungarian liaison officer, Colonel Dormándy, who explained that Hungary needed a strong government as quickly as possible, adding that he thought that the Allied Powers should have a force here. General Mombelli reported further that he had

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had a call from our special *bête noire*, the Roumanian diplomat Diamandi, during which the latter stated that his government could do nothing with the Hungarian government under Friedrich, and that they could not consent to the reorganization of the police under Friedrich because they knew that such an organization would be used for political purposes. M. Diamandi then tried to pump General Mombelli in regard to what information we had received from Paris, but he got no reply.

Yesterday afternoon, when General Gorton and I returned from our inspection trip, we found Heinrich, Minister of Commerce, awaiting us. He wanted to know if the Entente had stated that they wanted Friedrich at the head of the government, and also what the Entente's attitude would be toward a cabinet formed either with or without Friedrich. We gave him the stereotyped reply that we could not mix in the internal affairs of Hungary. Later a newspaperman came in and told me that he had verified the fact that Friedrich was the organizer of the Christian Socialist party and that although this party had never had over 10 per cent of the membership in Parliament, it was now the only party that was organized and the only one, therefore, able to make itself conspicuous. The newspaperman also stated that Friedrich was determined to remain in power, with the idea of ultimately accomplishing the Archduke's election and return to the head of the government. I wired all this information to the American Commission.

August 29, 1919

On arrival at my quarters a little before 8 o'clock, I found General Gorton awaiting me, and he gave me the substance of another ultimatum of a somewhat anonymous character, delivered through the Roumanian Ardeli, who had sent the first ultimatum to the Archduke. This one was along similar lines and included demands for immediate peace between Hungary and Roumania; the occupation of Hungary by Roumania for one year; the cession of practically all the strategic points, and then the annexation of Hungary to Roumania. This was coded and ciphered and sent to the American Commission in Paris with a request that a copy be sent to the British Commission.

Early this morning I sent another coded and ciphered message to the American Commission, to the effect that the Roumanians certainly could not continue their arrogant and haughty attitude unless backed by someone, and that I believed it was the French and the Italians who were trying to accomplish some kind of political or other union between Roumania, Hungary, Austria, and Italy, with a view to isolating entirely the Jugo-Slavs.

August 29, 1919. At the meeting this morning, there was the usual discussion and gesticulatory machine gun French on the part of our Latin members, especially after I suggested that the Mission, owing to the attitude of the Roumanians, had accomplished less than nothing since its arrival here, and that we should consider whether or not the time had arrived for noti-

August 30, 1919

fyng the Supreme Council that in our opinion our prolonged stay only subjected us to humiliation from the Roumanians, and our governments to steady loss of prestige with both the Roumanians and the Hungarians. After considerable discussion and playing the fine old game of passing the buck, they invited me to prepare a memorandum on the subject, which I agreed to do.

Last night we had General Mombelli to dinner, and our chef surely did spread himself. He sent in course after course of unknown concoctions, but fortunately all of them came in an inviting manner and tasted good.

This morning I drafted a long memorandum on the subject of the Mission's work in Hungary and sent it by courier to Vienna for transmission to Paris.

August 30, 1919. At the session of the Mission today, at which General Gorton presided, I submitted a memorandum arranged on the basis of the deadly parallel, prefacing the same as follows:

1. This is the eighteenth day that the entire membership of the Mission has been present in Budapest, and unfortunately it must be said that, but for one or two negligible exceptions, practically nothing has been accomplished by the Mission as regards the carrying out of the instructions given it by the Supreme Council. As this has been entirely due to the action of the Roumanian officials in ignoring the Mission's requests, in declining to accept the Mission's instructions as authoritative, it is believed that the time has come when the case should be plainly laid before the Supreme Council and a statement made that, unless there is an immediate change in the attitude of the Roumanian government, it would be useless for the Mission to

August 30, 1919

attempt to function at Budapest. In substantiation of the foregoing, there are presented in chronological order the more important requests made by the Mission to the Roumanian government, and in a parallel column the action taken on the same.

After this there were arranged in parallel columns the requests made on the Roumanian Commander in Chief by the Inter-Allied Military Mission and the action taken on the same by the Roumanian authorities, and in conclusion I added:

2. It will be seen from the foregoing that this Mission has been unable to make any progress whatever in the performance of the duties expressly assigned to it by the Supreme Council. It is difficult to understand what motive can inspire the Roumanian government in following its long-continued line of conduct, but whether the same is due to deliberate intent, to inefficiency of subordinates, or to any other cause, the result is the same. It is recommended that the Military Mission seriously study this matter and consider whether or not it should immediately telegraph the Supreme Council to the effect that it is the unanimous opinion of the members that a continuation of the Mission in Budapest could result in nothing but humiliation for all of us and a loss of prestige for our governments. We shall lose prestige with the Roumanians because they seem to feel that they can treat us with contempt, and with the Hungarians because they can plainly see the treatment we are receiving from the Roumanians.

There was a unanimous opinion that the Roumanians had done nothing to aid the Mission, but on the contrary had ignored it, but in view of the fact that an ultimatum had recently been sent by the Supreme Council to Roumania, it would be advisable to await action on the same before further stirring up the question.

August 31, 1919

General Mombelli stated that the Archduke Joseph came around to see him last night and explained that Hungary wanted a real monarchy, and that this was the only form of government suitable for these people. He stated that there was some talk of the return of the Emperor Karl as King of Hungary;²⁰ that he himself was personally very fond of his cousin Karl, but that he hardly thought that Karl could fill the bill. He then continued that he felt that he (the Archduke Joseph) was popular in all Hungary, that the people were clamoring for him, and that he should be invested with the royal dignity. General Mombelli stated that he allowed the Archduke to talk, but that he gave him no reply beyond stating that all such matters were for the decision of the Supreme Council, and not for this Mission.

Our beloved Roumanian allies are continuing merrily with their requisitions and seizures, and apparently have not the slightest intention of letting up until they have cleaned Hungary out of everything worth taking.

August 31, 1919. Yesterday one of my agents came to see me and reported that he himself had just had a talk with the Prime Minister Friedrich, who said that he had decided to make peace with Roumania on her own terms inside of seventy-two hours, unless something were done in the meantime by the Entente

²⁰ The Allies would never have permitted Karl to be King of Hungary. At the end of March and Oct., 1921, he made two unsuccessful attempts to seize the throne. He died at Madeira on April 1, 1922.

August 31, 1919

to alleviate the condition. I immediately sent this by enciphered code to Paris. Later in the afternoon I received word that Friedrich had been to see the British Admiral Troubridge, and had repeated to him practically what he had said to my agent, saying that the Hungarian cause was hopeless, the country was prostrate, the Roumanians were pillaging them right and left, and the Entente was doing absolutely nothing. I repeated this also to Paris. Friedrich is apparently a bullheaded brute who is either in the pay of the Archduke or the Roumanians, or both, and who proposes to run things his own way regardless of all others. He is backed by a powerful minority, which is powerful on account of being organized, and his tendencies are decidedly reactionary. It is believed that he proposes to start a reign of white terror which will make Béla Kun's red terror look like a billy goat by the side of an elephant. They have been beating and maltreating Jews in Budapest and now we have definite information that many wealthy and prominent men have been killed in the country. It is not enough for Hungary that the Roumanians are gutting her, but apparently she now insists on cutting her own throat.

I received word today that Lovász, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was dropped from Friedrich's last cabinet, has now organized a cabinet of his own and proposes to oust Friedrich inside of twenty-four hours.²¹ Business is decidedly poor in Hungary, if we do not have from three to five cabinets per week.

²¹ This did not materialize.

September 1, 1919

The Roumanians are paying not the slightest attention to the last ultimatum sent them and are going right along with their looting, which has become a habit.

On the twenty-fifth, one of my men, going out with two chauffeurs for an automobile, was held by the Roumanians, and no report about it was ever made to me. For three days he went without food or lodging except such as he could pick up himself. His companions were robbed, and when they were all eventually released, because I took the matter up with the Roumanian Commander here, they were short changed when their money was returned, and for their good blue money they were given worthless Bolshevist money. I had the man's statement prepared and sent a curt note to the Roumanian Commander in Chief that I wanted to know, not later than September second, what he had done or intended to do in this case. I am not sure that some of the Roumanian conduct is due as much to ignorance and stupidity as it is to hostility.

It is difficult to realize how European money has depreciated. The French franc, which was formerly worth nearly twenty cents and which was ordinarily rated at five for a dollar, is today about worth twelve cents. The Austrian and Hungarian krone, worth formerly a little over twenty-one cents, is today worth about two cents.

September 1, 1919. Towards one o'clock yesterday afternoon, M. Heinrich called upon General Gorton and myself and showed a proposition for the reorganiza-



September 1, 1919

tion of the government of Hungary, stating that he was authorized by Prime Minister Friedrich to get together a tentative cabinet. We told him to have Friedrich's signature attached to a minute of the meeting of the cabinet at which the discussion took place, and bring the same today at 10 A.M. when it could be laid before the Mission and suitable action taken. I then wired Paris so as to keep them in touch with the situation.

At ten o'clock this morning, M. Heinrich showed up exactly as agreed upon and submitted his list of a cabinet which was actually representative of all parties. He likewise delivered to us a copy of the resolution of the cabinet, which was attested by Friedrich. I immediately wired the American Commission of this fact and stated that the conditions attached to the organization of Heinrich's cabinet were: That the Supreme Council recognize and transact business with the new government as being representative of Hungary; that the Roumanians cease disarming and interning Hungarian officers; that the Roumanians evacuate all of Hungary west of the Danube; that the Roumanians cease cleaning out Hungary of supplies; and finally, that in case for any reason Heinrich had to leave the cabinet before the elections, Friedrich would succeed him. I added that the Mission at its session this morning recommended that the Supreme Council do everything reasonable towards recognizing and assisting the new Ministry. About two hours later the Mission's telegram in French was likewise sent off.

September 1, 1919

I then read General Rudeanu's reply to my letter of the twenty-seventh relative to evacuating immediately Hungary west of the Danube, and in which he was requested to give an answer either affirmatively or negatively. In the characteristic Roumanian style of begging the issue and of circumlocution, Rudeanu's letter was neither affirmative nor negative. I then drafted a reply to the effect that in view of the fact that our letter of the twenty-seventh required a positive answer, and as the Roumanian answer, though not being affirmative was not negative, we must interpret it, on account of the Roumanian Commander in Chief's repeated assurances of a desire to coöperate, as affirmative, and that we would accordingly proceed with the organization of the Hungarian forces west of the Danube. The Mission decided to send my letter.

We also decided to tell the Roumanian Commander in Chief that we were getting damned tired of the fact that they had not yet answered a single one of our questions definitely; that the organization of the Municipal Police of Budapest was of paramount importance; and, in effect, that if the present Commander could not comply with his promises, someone else ought to be put in his place.

The chief of police of the city of Budapest appeared before this Mission and showed that, although he had 3,700 men, the Roumanians had given them nothing in the way of arms beyond the original 600 carbines.

General Soós, the Chief of the Hungarian General Staff, appeared before the Mission and explained his

September 1, 1919

proposed plan for the organization of the Hungarian Army. His intelligence and knowledge of what he wanted to do was in startling contrast to the Roumanian ignorance and stupidity.

Last night we entertained at dinner Admiral Sir Ernest Troubridge, his Chief of Staff, Colonel Stead, and General Gorton. Our chef is steadily improving and turned out a meal that would have done credit to Paris.

During the afternoon we received word that there was an American in one of the neighboring towns who was advising the people to decorate their streets and prepare for the reception of American cavalry, which was about to enter the town. I had two of my men sent out to locate any such American and bring him in if they found him. About one o'clock they showed up with a most nondescript and comic-opera artist. He maintained in excellent German that he was an American soldier belonging to the Seventh Cavalry, that he had spent several years in America—and there it ended. He had on a pair of gray woolen breeches, a coat that looked like a Roumanian soldier's coat, on the collar of which had been sewn a portion of the Stars and Stripes from an American flag handkerchief. His hat was an imitation of a French lieutenant's. We had previously received word that the Roumanians were endeavoring to stage some pictures for the cinematograph and this fellow had undoubtedly been dolled up by them to pass off as an American so that the townspeople would decorate their town. Then a body of Rouma-

September 2, 1919

nian cavalry would enter and be photographed accordingly. We have the man jugged over in the barracks and propose to do some pumping.²²

September 2, 1919. General Mombelli presided at today's meeting and very little of consequence took place.

A strong letter was drafted to be sent to the Roumanians, demanding that they immediately complete the organization of the police as promised, and complaining of subterfuge and procrastination. A similar letter was sent in regard to the evacuation of western Hungary.

Colonel Yates arrived last night from Bucharest, and from his report the Roumanians are pretty generally arrogant and haughty over what they consider their tremendous victory over Hungary, completely ignoring the fact that they could never even have touched Hungary had not the Allies first crushed both Germany and Austria-Hungary. All their talk is along the lines of having a Roumanian officer in a coördinate position on the Inter-Allied Military Mission, and demonstrates the fact that they feel that on account of their little private war with Hungary they are entitled to loot the latter absolutely in payment for their last little war, and leave the Allies to get indemnification from

²² Here we have an example of propaganda in the making. About American propaganda, consult George Creel's *How We Advertised America*; about that of Great Britain see Sir Campbell Stuart's *The Secrets of Crew House*. An excellent summary and indictment of propaganda is Arthur Ponsonby's *Falsehood in War Time*, London, 1928. See also the account of the wireless propaganda lie, told in this Diary, Sept. 25, 26, and Nov. 13.

September 2, 1919

a prostrate nation for their share of expenses in the World War.

I have repeatedly telegraphed the American Commission at Paris explaining the necessity of keeping my present detachment until this matter ends, or at least of having substitutes sent, but all my requests and telegrams have so far been ignored.

The Hungarians also get cocky occasionally, and today, through their liaison officer, sent word to us that Austro-German aëroplanes were flying over western Hungary dropping propaganda, inviting the people to join Austria. They stated that they intended to fire on any such aëroplanes that might show up in the future and requested that we have all Allied aëroplanes marked plainly so that they would not be confused with the Austrian planes.²³ They were told to cut out all such monkeyshines or they would be punished.

²³ This statement refers to propaganda in the Ödenburg or Sopron district. This part of old Hungary, inhabited in the majority by German-Hungarians, was handed over to Austria in the treaty of St. Germain. It has frequently been suggested that this was done in "compensation" for the transfer to Italy of Southern Tyrol — a country entirely inhabited by German people and belonging to German Austria for a thousand years — as well as for the purpose of driving a wedge between Austria and Hungary. No matter how one may look at the transfer of this territory to Austria, the motives of the Allies were low and sordid. The alleged purpose of embittering the Hungarians against the Austrians has been accomplished. The attitude of a majority of the Hungarians in this respect is reflected in the following passage from Cécile Tormay's *An Outlaw's Diary: The Com-mune*, New York, 1924: "Our quarrel with Austria has lasted for centuries, and she brought us hard times, yet there is no people on earth to whom her fate causes as much pain today as to us. We have fought and fallen together on the battlefield. Now they hang a beggar's satchel round the neck of unfortunate, torn Austria, and out of irony, with devilish cunning, send her to take her share with her own predatory enemies, in the plunder of

September 3, 1919

September 3, 1919. Last night we entertained at dinner the Serbian Minister and Plenipotentiary, Doctor Lazar Baitch, and the Serbian Military Attaché, Major Body. Incidentally, the Serbian Plenipotentiary became quite mellow, cuddled up to me and imparted considerable information as to the Serbian point of view. He said in his opinion the Roumanians would stay in Hungary for at least a year, during which time the elections would be held, and that of course they would result as the Roumanians desired, and that they would bring about some sort of political or economic union of Roumania and Hungary, all with a view to the isolation of the Jugo-Slavs.²⁴

It was my turn this morning to act as President of the Mission, and General Graziani stated that M. Diamandi called on him yesterday not knowing who was President of the Day. Diamandi was apparently much concerned over the probable elections, maintaining that in case they were run under Friedrich's régime, only Friedrich's tools could be elected to office. In leaving, M. Diamandi turned loose his usual threat, that

Hungary, with a piece of land that promises endless revolts and is meant to act as a living wedge to prevent forever an understanding between the two despoiled peoples. It is a devilish plan, the most perfidious part of the terrible Peace Treaty. It pretends to be a present, but it is a curse and a disgrace."

²⁴ As a matter of fact, the opposite happened. The tension between Roumania and Jugo-Slavia over the division of the Bánát subsided, and in April and June, 1921, Roumania signed conventions with Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia, which had entered into an alliance on Aug. 14, 1920. Thus the so-called Little Entente was created, an alliance directed against Hungary. See A. Y. Toynbee's *Survey of International Affairs*, 1920-23, London, 1926, pp. 287-303.

September 3, 1919

it was about time the Roumanians left the country, in which they found only difficulties.

General Graziani also stated that he had had a visit from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Csáky, who likewise thought he was temporary President. Count Csáky's mission was to inform the Allied Generals that M. Garami had been accused of having received a large sum of money from Béla Kun, which was explained by saying that M. Garami desired to leave the country when Béla Kun was in power, but that the Communists would give him no passports except on condition that he go via Russia to Switzerland and there get in contact with the Italian Socialists. This Garami refused to do, but being of a timorous nature, and on being offered later an opportunity to go to Switzerland, he took seven hundred pounds sterling for the Communists which was delivered in Switzerland without being touched by him. Count Csáky added that in case the investigation should prove to be unsuccessful, M. Garami would be replaced in the cabinet by another Socialist.

It is quite noticeable that the Roumanians in particular habitually make the mistake of thinking that our French colleague, General Graziani, is the President of the Day, which rather strengthens the suspicion that the Roumanians and French are somewhat in touch.

Up to date, I have practically had no car, and we were just getting one in partial shape when it collided in the Palace entrance with Colonel Yates' car and smashed them both up.

September 4, 1919

To add to the joy of the occasion, there is as yet no word from the American Commission as to whether or not my detachment can remain with me or be replaced by others. Apparently about next week I shall be left flat on my back with six enlisted men to handle the whole American side of the question. As no remarks would do the subject justice, none will be made.

At the session of the Mission this morning, General Gorton produced a proclamation from the Roumanian authorities, directing that all motor vehicles bear certain numbers, and in general prescribing the regulations for same. It was decided to send a communication to the Roumanian Commander in Chief to the effect that this proclamation had come to the attention of the Inter-Allied Military Mission and, in order to avoid any misunderstandings, it was desired that instructions be issued immediately so as not to cause trouble with the cars of the various members of the Mission, which would bear either the colors or a miniature flag of the nation represented.

General Mombelli stated that he had sent two letters to Roumanian Headquarters, addressed to General Rudeanu, or whoever was acting in his place, and both have been returned, the Roumanians refusing to sign for same.

September 4, 1919. Last night my little Serbian friend, Doctor Lazar Baitch, called upon me and in his most unctuous and confiding manner imparted the important information that M. Lovászy was now organizing

September 4, 1919

a cabinet to replace the Friedrich cabinet. This was apparently done without any knowledge on Lovászy's part of the Friedrich-Heinrich understanding, and in complete ignorance of the fact that the Mission had telegraphed a list of the Hungarian cabinet for action by the Supreme Council. For some reason or other, the Jugo-Slavs are afraid of the Friedrich régime and are determined to have Lovászy put into office.

Reports are now coming in that the Hungarians in their turn are toying with the truth, and that instead of having less than 10,000 men in their Transdanubian Army under Admiral Horthy, they have practically 38,000 men.

The Inter-Allied Military Mission is altogether too shy on accepting responsibility, has developed to a chronic extent the habit of passing the buck, and seems determined to refer nearly everything to Paris. It would be a fair assumption that the Generals sent down here are presumed to have ordinary human intelligence and to be willing to accept reasonable responsibilities without spouting hot air, going through calisthenic gesticulations, and then referring everything to the Supreme Council. On the other hand, and probably as a result of this passing the buck, the Supreme Council practically pays no attention to whatever is sent them, whether important or otherwise.

Prime Minister Friedrich today submitted a complaint of the attitude of the Roumanian Commander in refusing to allow the publication of proclamations designating September 28, 1919, as election day in all

September 4, 1919

Hungary; the Roumanians reason, and a damned good one, being that as yet the territorial limits of Hungary had not been defined and, furthermore, that the present government had not been recognized as such by the Entente. Friedrich also complained that the Roumanians would not allow his government to execute death sentences, alleging in this case the latter of the two above reasons. It is no wonder that he is peeved at this action, because, if left to carry it out, he would, in a short time and with all appearance of judicial legality, have been able to rid himself of many of his more dangerous opponents.

This day has really been a Friedrich day, because that gentleman capped the climax by sending information to each member of the Mission that, having heard of the atrocities committed by the White Terror, he had decided to take a special train and go out into the country to investigate. In order to prove the sincerity of his intentions, he invited each General either to accompany him or to send a representative, a like invitation being sent to the Roumanian authorities also. Of course any such investigation committee would run up only against prepared cases, but Friedrich's main object would be accomplished, because if he made a triumphal tour of the country accompanied by representatives of all the Powers, the Hungarians would naturally consider such action as tantamount to recognition.

I put through the Mission, at the session today, at which General Gorton presided, arrangements to place

September 5, 1919

Colonel Yates in charge of the organization of the Hungarian Police along the same lines as the organization of the Hungarian Army with a French officer in charge. By this means, I hope we may be able soon to make progress in the police reorganization.

In regard to the case of the Roumanians holding one of my men several days out in the country, and concerning which I wrote and demanded that they state within thirty-six hours what they had done or intended to do in the case, it should be added that for once they came to time, and an apology was received with assurances that the matter would be immediately investigated and satisfactory action taken.

September 5, 1919. There was very little of importance brought before this morning's session of the Mission, at which General Graziani presided. Letters were sent to the Hungarian cabinet to the effect that this Mission concurred in the Roumanian attitude in regard to the matters presented by M. Friedrich at yesterday's session. A letter was written to the Roumanian Commander in Chief, stating that Colonel H. E. Yates, U. S. A., had been designated by the Mission on a subcommittee for the prompt organization of the police and gendarmerie in Hungary, and requesting that the Roumanian Commander designate some officer as associate to Colonel Yates. A like request will be made to the Hungarians.

Word was received from General Graziani that the Bratiano government in Roumania was about to fall,

September 5, 1919

and that our not overly-bright friend, General Mardarescu, was to be Minister of War in the new cabinet.²⁵

Incidentally, I notified the Mission that on Monday next three of my officers and 18 men would leave for Paris and that I could not thereafter furnish any guard at the Royal Palace, as I would have only six men left, whom I needed as orderlies and for ordinary duties.

Last night Colonel Loree, Captain Gore, Lieutenant Hamilton and myself went to the Orpheum Theater as guests of Captain Weiss. The performance began at 5.30 and ended at 9 o'clock, after which we were entertained at dinner in the restaurant attached to the Theater. The whole parquet of the theater was filled with small tables at which the audience could be seated and have tea or dinner served to them, thereby combining two pleasures, that of eating and that of seeing the play. The galleries were arranged in boxes, and along the back walls were likewise placed small tables for two, where meals could be served. The performance was a combination of a comic opera, in three acts, and vaudeville. Some of the singing was excellent and, judging from the applause of the audience, the comedians' jokes must have been of like quality. Besides ourselves at the dinner, Captain Weiss had three or four prominent Hungarians and two of the actresses; one of them accompanied by her husband. The other, after remaining about thirty minutes, said that she had

²⁵ Bratiano resigned on Sept. 13. Mardarescu, as well as Mosoiu, were political followers of Bratiano and became later on ministers in his new cabinet.

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an appointment with her lover, who was becoming insistent, and she must beg to be excused. This one was very pretty, and the other one was very bright. The pretty one spoke beautiful Hungarian, but blended her French and German to such an extent that it was almost impossible to follow her line of talk. The brighter one spoke English, in which she carried on flirtations with four different gentlemen at the same time under her husband's nose, as the latter's specialty in languages was limited to Hungarian.

September 6, 1919. Last night we entertained General Graziani at dinner.

At today's session of the Mission, General Mombelli presided, and there was practically no business except to write a letter to the Roumanians asking them to explain why they had established practically a state of siege in Budapest without advising us of their intentions.

Yesterday afternoon a telegram came from the American Commission, stating that none of my telegrams in regard to the necessity of retaining my detachment had been seen by any member of the Commission, and Mr. Polk²⁶ stated that he would do everything possible

²⁶ Frank Lyon Polk, Undersecretary of State of the United States. A lawyer by training, he became Counselor of the Department of State on Aug. 30, 1915. This position he held until July 1, 1919, when he assumed the title Undersecretary of State. From Dec. 4, 1918, until July 18, 1919, he served as Acting Secretary of State at Washington, while Lansing was in Paris. On July 17, 1919, he was appointed Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States to negotiate peace. From July 28 to Dec. 9, 1919, he was the head of the American delegation at Paris.

September 7, 1919

to arrange matters. Another telegram came, stating that General Connor²⁷ had authority to extend the time limit in such cases for a month. My detachment will, therefore, remain at least that much longer.

In view of the fact that there is practically nothing doing, I have arranged to go with Captain Gore to Bucharest. Colonel Yates, the American Attaché to the Roumanian capital, will accompany us and act as our guide and mentor. We plan to leave Budapest at 4 o'clock this date and return about the tenth of September.

September 7, 1919. Colonel Yates, Captain Gore and myself, accompanied by a Roumanian liaison officer, left Budapest on a special car and by special train about 4.30 yesterday afternoon. Our special car was about half the length of an ordinary American car, but was very well fitted out and had all conveniences except those for cooking. I know I slept on a hair mattress, because the hairs pushed up through the mattress, through the sheets and through my pajamas, and could be very distinctly felt. In addition to this, the mattress undoubtedly had a large and animated population. All of my traveling companions reported like experiences. Last night, while traveling through eastern Hungary, we

Obviously he gave General Bandholtz his full support. Charles Vopicka, U. S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Roumania, Bulgaria and Serbia, reports that "Mr. Polk was very much dissatisfied with the inactivity of the Roumanian Government. He said that this government promised everything and did nothing." *Secrets of the Balkans*, p. 305.

²⁷ General William Durward Connor, U. S. General Staff Officer, Service of Supply, Nov. 12, 1918, to May 26, 1919.

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saw large numbers of cars loaded with stuff, all en route to Roumania. We crossed the Szolnok Bridge, which had been originally a large double-tracked structure, but in the course of recent repairs had been left mostly single-tracked. We traveled through long stretches of level land in Transylvania and late in the afternoon got into the foothills of the Carpathians, and finally at 7.15 we arrived at Sinaia, where the summer palace of the King is located. We went direct to the Palace, and found that they had planned to entertain us all night and as long as we could stay. The summer palace of the King is called "Castel Palisor,"²⁸ and is beautifully located in the Carpathian Mountains about seventy-five miles north of Bucharest. There are really two palaces here; one which was built for the former Queen of Roumania, the celebrated Carmen Sylva,²⁹

²⁸ Or Castel Pelishor.

²⁹ In 1866, Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was called to Roumania to govern this country, which had secured its autonomy after the Crimean War in 1856. Roumania's complete independence was recognized in 1878 in the Treaty of Berlin, and in 1881 Charles was crowned King of Roumania. He was married to the noble Princess Elisabeth of Wied, who as a charming writer and poetess was known by the name of Carmen Sylva. Their only child, Marie, died in infancy. Charles died in 1914, shortly after the outbreak of the World War. Being without male issue, his nephew Ferdinand became his successor to the throne. He had in 1893 married Marie, daughter of the late Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. The membership of the Royal Roumanian family is as follows:

Ferdinand I (b. 1865, d. 1927), m. Marie (b. 1875)
|
King Carol II (b. 1893), m. Princess Helen of Greece, 1921
|
Michael (b. 1921)
Elisabeth (b. 1894), m. Crown Prince (now former King) George of
Greece, 1921

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and which, although completely furnished, is not occupied by the present King, who instead, with the Royal Family, lives in the palace which was built for him when he was Crown Prince. This is neither so pretentious nor so commodious as the other, but apparently is better adapted to the present needs of the Royal Family. We met His Majesty at dinner about 8.30, and he had me seated at his left. The only other member of the Royal Family present was Prince Nicolai, neither the Queen or any of her daughters appearing during the evening. The King is of medium height with a full-pointed beard, and with a low forehead with the hair starting from not far above the eyes. He speaks English fairly well, although with a peculiar hissing accent.

After dinner, while waiting in the reception room, I talked with the King and other members of his staff, and stated that I hoped to leave early in the morning. His Majesty then asked me if I would not kindly step into his private office for a little conversation, which I did, and he kept me there about an hour and a half, during which he went into details of the Roumanian grievances, especially referring to the fact that the Roumanians were considered to be robbers because they

Marie (b. 1900), m. King Alexander of Jugo-Slavia, 1922

Nicholas (b. 1903)

Ileana (b. 1909) m. Archduke Anton of Austria-Tuscany, 1931

Mircea (b. 1912, d. 1916)

On Dec. 28, 1925, Carol renounced his right of succession to the throne. On Jan. 4, 1926, his son, Prince Michael, was declared heir to the throne. In 1927 he became King under a regency. On June 8, 1930, Carol was again proclaimed King by Act of Parliament and ascended the throne.

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were looting Hungary, whereas the Serbs had looted the Bánát and had never been called to account. He also complained that the Serbs had received some of the Danube monitors, whereas Roumania had received nothing. But his main grievance seemed to be due to the "Minorities" clause in the Treaty of Peace³⁰ which Roumania was to be called upon to sign.³¹ I explained

³⁰ Treaty of St. Germain with Austria.

³¹ The problem of the protection of minorities in Europe is not new. The first to receive special protection were religious groups, such as the Christians and Jews under Turkish rule, the Protestants in certain Catholic countries, and vice versa.

Article 44 of the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, contained the following provision in regard to Roumania: "The difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of the various professions and industries in any localities whatsoever." F. de Martens, *Recueil général des traités*, 2d series, Vol. III, p. 341.

In spite of this treaty obligation, the Jewish minority in Roumania continued to be discriminated against as previously.

Even before the War, the treatment of religious, cultural, and racial minorities had received the attention of the liberal and socialistic element all over the world; and during the World War the right of self-determination became one of the powerful slogans. The tenth of the Fourteen Points of President Wilson demanded "the freest opportunity of autonomous development" for "the peoples of Austria-Hungary." Several drafts of the League of Nations Covenant contained this principle, as applying to *all* members of the League. In the final version, such a provision was left out, probably because of the tremendous dangers to the imperialism of the victorious Great Powers.

However, it was realized at the Peace Conference that the transfer of large alien populations to new or enlarged states, especially when such people were of a much superior culture, would be a constant source of irritation and would prevent the stabilization of Europe, unless such minorities were protected against undue persecution. Therefore these states — Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Greece, and Armenia — were required to sign special treaties guaranteeing certain rights to the minorities living under their rule. Similar provisions are contained in the peace treaties with Aus-

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to His Majesty that of course the Inter-Allied Military Mission had nothing to do with any such matters; that furthermore its instructions were explicit and mandatory, and that we could discuss nothing concerning the same. I assured him that Americans had no ill feeling toward Roumania, and had nothing to gain financially or otherwise in treating her badly. The King then insisted that I remain until noon tomorrow,

tria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and in the defunct treaty of Sèvres with Turkey. Roumania signed a minority treaty very reluctantly on Dec. 9, 1919. Doubtless the pressure of the very influential Jewish element in the United States had a great deal to do with the insistence of Wilson on these treaties, as suggested on page 170 of Fouques-Duparc's book: "Le président Wilson par sentiment libérale, peut-être aussi par sympathy pour un groupement ethnique, dont la puissance électorale ne peut-être négligé, suivit l'exemple de ses illustres devanciers."

All the minority treaties, which, with the exception of those with Armenia and Turkey, are in effect today, are according to their own terms placed under the guardianship of the League of Nations, and cannot be changed except with the consent of the majority of the League Council. The text of the Roumanian Minorities Treaty may be found in *Current History of March, 1920*. Statistics of the different minorities in Roumania and their distribution in the different parts of the country may be found on page 334 of Jaques Fouques-Duparc's *La Protection des minorités de race, de langue et de la religion*, Paris, 1922. See also Marc Vichniak's *La protection des droits des minorités dans les traités internationaux de 1919-1920*, Paris, 1921; and, Leo Epstein's *Der nationale Minderheitenschutz als internationale Rechtsproblem*, Berlin, 1922.

For the treatment of the Hungarian minorities in Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, and Jugo-Slavia, see Sir Robert Donald's *Tragedy of Trianon*, London, 1928.

The making of the minority treaties may be followed in David Hunter Miller's *My Diary at the Conference of Paris*, Vol. XIII. (The Appeal Printing Co., 1925.) Only forty copies of this valuable set of diaries are in existence. See there especially the letter of Bratiano of May 27, 1919, protesting against the special obligations imposed upon Roumania (p. 89). Also the report on July 16, 1919, concerning Roumania.

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as the Queen desired to meet me. As a matter of fact, he did not have to insist, because our transportation away from Sinaia was entirely at his disposition, and I could not leave until he saw fit to let me go. I was assigned to a very comfortable suite of rooms and was able to get a good bath, sadly needed after a trip in a Roumanian private car.

September 8, 1919. We reported for breakfast this morning about 8.30, and I met Her Majesty, the Queen, and one of the Royal Princesses. Her Majesty habitually wears the Roumanian peasant costume, which is very becoming, and she is decidedly a handsome woman, showing that she must have been beautiful when younger. The Royal aide-de-camp informed me that I was to sit at breakfast at the left of Madame Lahovary, one of the ladies in waiting. So we entered the dining room in that order. However, immediately after entering, the Queen called out from the head of the table, "General, I want you to sit up by me." So I, in fear and trembling, approached the Royal presence and sat on her left, with the King on her right. Without any preliminaries, Her Majesty turned to me and said, "I didn't know whether I wanted to meet you at all—I have heard many things about you." I replied, "Your Majesty, I am not half so bad as I look, nor one-quarter so bad as you seem to think I am." She smiled and said that the King had told her that I wasn't exactly a heathen, so she had decided really to form my acquaintance. We spent a very pleasant time at the breakfast

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table, in which considerable repartee was indulged in, despite the Royal presences.

After breakfast we went out into the garden and I told Madame Lahovary that it was very apparent that the Inter-Allied Military Mission did not stand very high in Roumania. She said, "We have always heard that the four generals were very fine." I asked her if she hadn't heard that the American actually wore horns, or at least was somewhat of a devil. She said, hardly that, but that they had heard that the American representative was very difficult to handle.

After a little time in the garden, Captain Gore and myself took a long walk exploring the grounds about both the palaces, did some writing and had lunch about one o'clock. This time the King and Queen, instead of sitting at the end of the table, sat opposite each other at the middle. I was placed on the Queen's right, with the senior Roumanian General,³² who it is understood will be the next prime minister, on her left. His Majesty had the Royal Princess on his right and Madame Lahovary on his left. During the conversation the Queen said that she felt keenly over the fact that Roumania had fought as an ally and was now being treated as an enemy; that all Roumania had been pillaged by the Huns, and why shouldn't they now retaliate and steal from Hungary, saying, "You may call it stealing

³² After Bratiano's resignation, a new government was formed, in October, which was headed by General Vaitoanu and consisted of military men and officials. After a short time, general elections were held and a democratic government succeeded. From November, 1919, to March, 1920, Alexander Vaida-Voevod was the head of the government. See n. 34 below.

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if you want to, or any other name. I feel that we are perfectly entitled to do what we want to." The King butted into the conversation and said that anyway the Roumanians had taken no food stuffs. As it is bad form to call a king a liar, I simply informed His Majesty that he was badly mistaken, and that I could give him exact facts in regard to thousands of carloads of food-stuffs that had been taken out of Budapest alone. Her Majesty complained also that a Reparation Board had been appointed to investigate and look in Bulgaria for property that she had looted from other countries, and that all the Allies had been represented on this Board except Roumania. She added that similar action had been taken in regard to the German indemnification. It was apparent that all the Roumanians are rankling, whether justly or no, under a sense of injustice, and they insist on stating, and may be believing, that their present war with Hungary is separate and distinct from the big War, and entitles them to first choice of everything in the country.

After leaving the luncheon table, we spent a considerable time in the reception room, during which Her Majesty and I had much conversation usually on general lines and, when I explained to her that we were leaving early that afternoon, she said that now she would *retain recollections of a very pleasant gentleman*,³³ and added that she desired to give me one of her photographs, so that, whenever I felt hard towards

³³ Compare with these words the actual feelings of the Queen, as given in the statement of January 4, 1920.

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the Roumanians, I could look at that, and she hoped it would make me feel more kindly. She then went upstairs herself and soon brought me down an autographed photograph. We then sent for my two orderlies, who were presented to the Queen, and could do nothing but stammer and say, "Yes, Ma'm" and "No, Ma'm."

We finally left Castel Palisor by automobile, with Colonel Yates, at 4.30. The first part of the trip down the mountains was very beautiful, but we soon struck a flat country through the oil section of Roumania, and arrived in Bucharest at 7.30 P.M., completely covered with dust and pretty well tired out. Colonel Yates went to his quarters, as he is American Military Attaché at Bucharest; Captain Gore went to a hotel with the orderlies, and I went to the American Legation where I was guest of our Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Schoenfeld.

September 9, 1919. After a delightful night's rest at the American Legation and a fine American breakfast, I went with Mr. Schoenfeld, and, by appointment, called upon the Prime Minister, M. Bratiano,³⁴ at 9.30 at his

³⁴ Ionel I. C. Bratiano (or Bratianu), born 1864, died 1928. He was heir to great wealth and power. His father had led the uprising against the Turks in 1848, and had been instrumental in placing King Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen on the Roumanian throne in 1868. The elder Bratiano became Roumania's first prime minister. Through the control of oil and other mineral resources, the family was immensely wealthy. Originally liberal-minded, the Bratianos later turned to conservatism. Ionel became the successor of his father in the control of the so-called Liberal party. He was virtually the political dictator or boss of Roumania. Whenever popular indignation over his autocratic régime became too loud, or when there was too much corruption in his government, he resigned temporarily to make

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home. He received us very pleasantly, and after I had told him that I had come to get in closer personal touch with the Roumanian leaders, feeling that I could thereby more clearly visualize the situation, he launched into his tale of woe, which in more detail was the same as that of the King and Queen, but which included quite a lengthy history of Roumania. He stated first, however, that he was pleased to have an opportunity

room for some other leader. Unlike Také Jonescu, Bratiano was not originally a pronounced anti-German. Later on, in the course of the World War, he turned towards the Allies.

At the Peace Conference of Paris, he presented very ably Roumania's interests, but he was practically ignored by the so-called Big Four. (Read the account by E. J. Dillon, *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference*, New York, 1920, p. 500 *passim*). He protested vigorously against the minority clauses contained in the treaties of St. Germain and Neuilly, which imposed upon Roumania the obligation of treating her minorities fairly. His reasoning, as presented in his speech at Paris on May 31, 1919, is contained in these pages of the Diary.

Mr. R. W. Seton-Watson, a well-known anti-Hungarian, explains the hostile attitude of the leading men at Paris as follows: "If the Paris Conference showed but scanty sympathy for Mr. Bratiano, it was, above all, the result of his rigid and intransigent attitude on every subject of foreign or internal politics. Unfortunately 'liberal' writers in the West often seem unable to distinguish between the Bratiano family and Roumania." (In his London magazine, *The New Europe*, Oct. 2, 1919. In the issue of Sept. 18, 1919, of the same magazine, he said: "As long as he [*i.e.*, Bratiano] remains in office, there is but little prospect of a real understanding between Roumania and the West.")

Bratiano started the prime-ministership, held by him during the time described in the Bandholtz Diary, on Dec. 14, 1918, and he resigned on Sept. 13, 1919, as a protest against the minority clauses of the peace treaties. The new elections, held on Oct. 3, gave a large majority to the Peasant Party and the National Democrats. On Dec. 9, 1919, a cabinet of the democratic parties, with Alexander Vaida-Voevod and Dr. Lupu as the outstanding members, came into power. It was forced to resign on March 19, 1920, and a cabinet formed by the leader of the nationalistic People's Party, General Alexander Averescu, took its place.

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to meet me as an American, who would probably have influence with the American government, and he stated that he deplored the fact that the United States was so far away as to be in pretty general ignorance of Roumania and things Roumanian. He added that it was unfortunate that the American officers sent there after the War had been selected from those who had formerly been in Roumania, and who had not liked the country. He took up the question of Roumanian grievances in general, and in particular inveighed against the "Minorities Clause" in the Treaty, explaining that some fifty years ago, as a result of the pogroms in Russia, a great Jewish migration to Roumania had taken place; that these immigrants belonged entirely to the middle classes, without trades or professions, and came into a country where commerce had hitherto been almost nonexistent. In the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, the Powers had imposed upon Roumania certain conditions in regard to the Jews, but that when Roumania bought over the railroads which had been built by German capital, these restrictions had been removed, and Roumania was left as independent as any other nation. He added that the Jewish question was not the only one concerning the "Minorities"; that they had acquired about one million Transylvanians, as well as many Bulgarians and Slavs, by their recent acquisition of territory, and that he felt it was administratively wrong to have these "Minorities" come into a government without any obligation on their part of assimilating themselves to the new nation, but on the other hand

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with a feeling that they were being protected, in any opposition they might make, by the strong powers. He considered it to be the part of wisdom to allow the Jews and others perfect liberty, but that no independent and sovereign state could accept the conditions which were being imposed on Roumania. He complained that General Smuts had been sent on his fruitless errand to Budapest³⁵ without informing the Roumanians, who could at the time plainly have told the Allies the uselessness of such a procedure. M. Bratiano said in conclusion that he had hoped the war would equalize all nations that had participated among the Allies, although he could understand why countries like Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, just recently emerging from vassalage, should be treated somewhat differently from the others. He excused himself then, stating that his wife was coming by train, that he was obliged to meet her, and asked if he could not see me again in the afternoon. It was arranged that he call at the American Legation at 5 o'clock. This he did, almost on the dot, and without preamble resumed the discussion where he left off. He first explained how Roumania had been guaranteed by Germany all of the territorial acquisition she has acquired, but that nevertheless she joined the Allies, who had failed to keep their promises to her in regard to war material, as well as to the strategic arrangements for launching an attack from Salonika syn-

³⁵ In April, 1919, General Smuts arrived in Budapest to examine the situation in Hungary. He remained in his special train, received Béla Kun and some other members of the Bolshevik government, and left Budapest on the following day.

September 9, 1919

chronously with the Roumanian offensive. As a result, the Roumanians were obliged to meet forty-two German divisions, and were gradually forced to evacuate their country. After the Armistice, he stated, the Roumanians, when told to stop at their proper boundary, had done so; that they had not attacked the Hungarians, but that they (the Hungarians), after being recalled from their attack on the Czecho-Slovaks, had attacked her, and the result was of course a violation of the Armistice, and therefore the present was an entirely different war from the Great War. He explained that he knew it had been Béla Kun's intention to create an ocean of Bolshevism in eastern Europe, which would afterwards inundate Italy and western Europe, and he felt that Roumania had saved civilization from Bolshevism. He stated that Roumanian action in Hungary was an action similar in every respect to that of every other victorious army. She was short of rolling stock and very naturally took it where she found it; that this rolling stock was indispensable to her life in the coming fall and winter, and that she had no alternative. I then explained to M. Bratiano that any statements I might make were purely personal, although I felt that my colleagues shared my opinion. I then recounted to His Excellency several cases of a total lack of coöperation on the part of the Roumanians and also several instances in which they had told the Mission untruths, among which I gave instances of requisitioning supplies not needed for troops in the field, which General Mardaescu had stated was the only cause for requi-

September 9, 1919

sition. I also called attention to the fact that General Mardarescu had said that the Roumanians were not occupying western Hungary, whereas they were in many of the towns, and had been interning Hungarian officers and officials. I explained to M. Bratiano that above all it was necessary to organize a police force and an army in Hungary, and that the Roumanians should with the least possible delay evacuate western Hungary, Budapest and then eastern Hungary by successive zones, according to the plans of the Inter-Allied Military Mission. His Excellency said he was willing to do all this on one condition—namely, that the Roumanians be secure from Hungarian attack. I replied to him that of course nothing of this could be done until the evacuation began, and that if this took place I would be glad to recommend to my colleagues, who in turn could recommend to the Supreme Council, that the Hungarians be instructed not to attack the Roumanians under such circumstances. This seemed to impress His Excellency favorably, and he said he would be glad to act in accordance with those plans. After mutual expressions of pleasure at our personal acquaintance, we separated after a two-hour conversation. On both occasions after our interviews with M. Bratiano, Mr. Schoenfeld and I went to his office, a stenographer was called in, and he repeated from memory our entire conversation. This was reduced to memorandum form and signed by both of us.

About 11.30 o'clock in the forenoon, accompanied by Colonel Yates, I called upon Lieutenant-General Vai-

September 10, 1919

toiano, the Minister of War, and we held a conversation, all of the points of which had been covered in my talk with their Majesties and subsequently in my talk with the Prime Minister.

After lunch, I took Captain Gore, and we explored the city of Bucharest, returning in time to go with Mr. Schoenfeld to tea at the British Embassy. Here I found Mr. Rattigan,³⁰ the British Chargé d'Affaires, and his very charming wife. The relations between the British and the American Chargés d'Affaires are along the same satisfactory lines as those of General Gorton and myself.

In the evening, Captain Gore and myself dined at the American Legation and retired early to bed to get in shape for our start tomorrow.

September 10, 1919. We left Bucharest about 8 although the train was scheduled to leave at 7.30. My private car and the first-class coach assigned to the orderlies and the Roumanian liaison officer, were attached to the Simplon Express, which took six and three-quarter hours to reach Sinaïa, the same distance we had covered by automobile two days earlier in three hours. Fortunately on this train we were able to get our meals in a dining car, although, as there was no train corridor, we were obliged to make connections at station stops.

³⁰ W. F. A. Rattigan, First Secretary of the Legation. Compare with this statement Mr. Rattigan's confidential report and Bandholtz' critique, in the Appendix.

September 11, 1919

September 11, 1919. Our special car was detached from the Simplon Express at Arad, and from there we went as a special train across the Szolnok Bridge to Budapest, where we arrived at 12.15. After lunch, I went to the office and found that the American Commission had been very much, and in my opinion, unnecessarily, exercised over my having gone to Bucharest. I found two telegrams—one asking me to delay my departure and the other suggesting that I engage in no diplomatic discussions. I immediately sent them a long code message descriptive of everything that had been said and done, explaining that I had understood when in Paris that I could make a trip to Bucharest whenever I thought it advisable, but nevertheless I regretted having done so without having obtained specific permission. As a matter of fact, the permission probably would not have come and I would not have had a trip which I know resulted in much good. While in Bucharest, Mr. Schoenfeld told me that conditions in Roumania, as far as Americans were concerned, were worse than rotten. Apparently the French who felt that Roumania came within their sphere of influence and in anticipation of possible rivals, had done everything they could to make the Roumanians dislike the Americans. This was frequently referred to in my conversations with the high officials, and Mr. Schoenfeld told me when I left that in all the time he had been in Roumania, he had never seen M. Bratiano so pleasant and affable as he was with me, and that never before had he made a two-hour call. He said that, on the contrary, the gentlemen in ques-

September 12, 1919

tion had been most haughty and arrogant towards all Americans.⁸⁷

During the afternoon I called upon Generals Gorton, Mombelli, and Graziani, and read them the entire memoranda which had been dictated by Mr. Schoenfeld covering our interview with M. Bratiano.

September 12, 1919. On account of my previous absence, I was President of the Day at the session this morning, at which the Mission unanimously approved of all that I had done in Bucharest. About 10.30, Generals Mardarescu and Holban and M. Diamandi were presented and, after being photographed and cinematographed with them in the courtyard, we returned to the council room for business. I brought up, as urgent, the police question, during which we showed that that officer and gentleman, General Holban, had lied about the arms question. He had originally said that he could easily furnish 4,000 pistols for the Hungarian police, while he now maintained that it would be necessary to get these pistols from the Hungarians. Before finishing this question, our friend Diamandi asked that it be laid on the table to make way for other important matters. He first stated that the Roumanians did not agree with the Mission that nothing should be taken from the museums, adding that Roumania had now Transylvania and was therefore entitled to such portions of the mu-

⁸⁷ It must be remembered that Bratiano was treated very badly by the Americans in Paris, and particularly by Wilson, whom Dillon accuses of disliking Bratiano personally. No doubt Bratiano's governmental system did not appeal to him. It is well known that Clemenceau also disliked Bratiano.

September 12, 1919

seums as belonged to Transylvania. General Mombelli had quite a little set-to with his rotund Excellency, who then again changed the subject and stated that Roumanians had unearthed a terrible Hungarian conspiracy which, disguised as an anti-Bolshevist proposition, was really also aimed at the Roumanian Army of Occupation. Our hirsute friend Holban then produced a bundle of documents that would have filled a cart, and proceeded to give us the horrible details. The noon hour, however, arrived before he had finished his song and, as we had all been invited to attend the Roumanian review of a division, we adjourned to meet again tomorrow.

We plowed our way through clouds of dust out to the review field, and saw what was supposed to be a division of about 10,000 men. By careful count and close approximation, I figured that this division was less than 5,000 men and therefore not much larger than an American war-strength infantry regiment. As the distances between the units of this division were so great that it looked as though the review would last all afternoon, I excused myself at 1.30 and left with Colonel Yates and Colonel Loree. I also noted that some units passed in review twice.

During the afternoon, my little friend, the Serbian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Doctor Lazar Baitch, called upon me, apparently to give me some information, but really to find out what I had been doing in Bucharest. Before leaving, he had given a little more than he had received.

September 13, 1919

At 8.30, accompanied by Colonel Loree, I attended a gorgeous spread at the Hotel Gellért, as the guest of the Roumanian Headquarters. General Mombelli and some of his officers were also in attendance.

September 13, 1919. It seems good to be back again where fruit has some flavor. The muskmelons of Hungary being delicious, we naturally thought that those of Roumania would be likewise and, as they were exceedingly cheap, we bought from the car window about a dozen fine-looking melons which we thought would be a good investment. After opening all twelve, one at a time, we discovered that the Roumanian melons are about as juicy as a can of oatmeal, and have the flavor of an immature pumpkin. In fact everything Roumanian makes a sad comparison with Hungarian equivalents. The city of Bucharest compared to Budapest would be like a tadpole by the side of a rainbow trout.

At the meeting this morning, General Graziani presided, and our Roumanian friends showed up, as usual, about twenty minutes late. The bewhiskered Holban started to make excavations in his mountain of documents in proof of the Hungarian conspiracy, which I endured for about half an hour, and then told the Mission I saw no reason why we should waste our time hearing all proof of something that was already known to exist, but which did not prove that there had been any conspiracy directed against the Roumanians. Little Diamandi then put up the proposition that, because Friedrich, the Hungarian Prime Minister, was directly

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implicated in this affair, they could now handle him as they saw fit; that whether it were a conspiracy or not, the meeting and the organization were certainly in contravention of Roumanian orders and regulations. He wanted to know whether or not the Mission desired to get rid of Friedrich. Apparently the Roumanians do, anyway. He thought it would not do to arrest and make martyrs of any of the ministers, but he could put sentinels over all the offices and prevent their entering, and he desired to know whether or not the Mission wished this done. He said that in view of the imminent departure of the Roumanians from Hungary and the length of time it would take to get a reply from Paris, they must have an immediate affirmative or negative answer. We cleared the council room, said good-bye to our Roumanian guests, and then held a closed meeting. I stated that ever since we had been on this duty, we had tried to get the Roumanians to expedite matters, but never before had they been in any hurry. I added that in view of the fact that they were going to dine with me tonight, and that I was going to dine with General Holban and others tomorrow night, and that the Roumanians were going to dine with the British Monday night, they apparently could not leave before Tuesday, and we could certainly get a telegram to Paris and a reply before that date. I said that invariably when we put anything up to the Roumanians, they said they would have to telegraph to Bucharest and get a reply. I said that their threat of immediate departure was simply a bluff. The Mission was unanimously of the

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same opinion. So we drafted a telegram along these lines to be sent to the Supreme Council this date. The Roumanians stated that the Mackensen material, which is located south of Pressburg, instead of consisting of 4,200 carloads, is now understood to consist of 10,000 carloads. It was noted in General Holban's report of the dangerous anti-Bolshevism organization that this organization was composed of 10,000 ex-soldiers and 13,000 civilians, with 600 mixed arms for the whole 23,000, most of the arms being sabers.

September 14, 1919. I spent all the morning in my office working, but at noon I was interrupted by Colonel Yates, who insisted that I accompany him and a party of Hungarian nobility to a lunch on one of the high hills overlooking Budapest, and then go to the races. I went to the lunch and rather enjoyed it because the party of Hungarians, who were the Colonel's guests, could all speak English. I afterwards went for a while out to the races, over a miserable dusty road, and didn't enjoy myself at all.

Last evening I entertained at dinner M. Diamandi, General Mardarescu, General Holban, and General Sorbescu, who is in charge of Roumanian requisitions. We gave them a sumptuous feast, after which they parted, more or less mellow and verging on the affectionate.

September 15, 1919. At our session this morning, General Mombelli presided and we were not afflicted by the presence of any heel-clicking Roumanians. After

September 15, 1919

discussing the matter, we decided to send a telegram to the Supreme Council to the effect that, despite our repeated and strenuous efforts to start the organization of a police force and an army for the maintenance of order in the interior on the evacuation by the Roumanians, we had been able to accomplish practically nothing, all due to the fact that our so-called allies not only disregarded all of our requests and instructions, but that they constantly were placing stumblingblocks in our way; adding that the Roumanians were giving as a reason for their delay in helping the police their lack of confidence in the government of Prime Minister Friedrich. We also stated that there were strong rumors to the effect that the Roumanians intended to leave Hungary on short notice, in hopes that such disorder would ensue that they would be promptly requested to return.

In the afternoon, three of the new ministers of the Hungarian cabinet called upon me, and I told them all practically the same thing; that they themselves were to blame for the unfortunate condition in which Hungary found herself; that it was all due to the fact that they had allowed Bolshevism to take root and spread over the country for a period of several months; that, if Bolshevism had not been allowed, there would have been no Roumanians; but, as there was no use crying over spilt milk, it was now up to them to make the best of their horrible situation and show the world that, should the Roumanians evacuate precipitately, Hungary was still able to demonstrate that she possessed

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civilization to an extent that would not admit of her again falling into the abyss of Bolshevism. I also advised them to be careful about allowing their reactionaries to go beyond reasonable limits. I added that although I sympathized with men of education, refinement and means, whose comfortable homes had been taken charge of by a lot of anarchists, and whose families had been confined to one or two rooms and forced to live in close contact with a lot of filthy, ignorant and fanatical Bolshevists, this was no reason why they should not handle the situation with decency and decorum.

On Saturday, a Colonel Nathan Horowitz reported to me, despite the fact that I had previously telegraphed in code to Paris that it was inadvisable to send an officer of Jewish faith to Hungary at this time. In writing to General Bliss about the matter, I explained to him that although all Bolshevists were not Jews nor were all Jews Bolshevists, nevertheless Béla Kun, the Hungarian Bolshevist leader, practically all his lieutenants, and most of his followers, were Jews, and as a result the people of Hungary were simply furious and determined to rid themselves of the Semitic influence.

We have also heard reports about the Hungarians starting pogroms in several places.

The following is a copy of a letter which has been received from General Bliss³⁸ and which is one of the most encouraging things I have had since arriving here:

³⁸ General Tasker H. Bliss, one of the leading members of the American Peace Commission at Paris, was a liberal-minded man and opposed to many of the harsh and stupid provisions of the peace treaties. The action of the Allies in regard to Hungary was most severely criticized by him. He de-

September 15, 1919

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE.

Hotel de Crillon, Paris

September 4, 1919.

My dear Bandholtz:

I take advantage of the fact that an officer is leaving here to-night for Trieste and thence to Budapest to send you this hasty line.

First of all I want to tell you how very much pleased the entire Commission here is at the splendid work you have been doing in Budapest. By word of mouth from various sources we have full confirmation of what appears in your own reports, namely, that you have been working in full accord with your British colleague even though the representatives of other nations may not have shown the same spirit of cooperation. We have every reason to think that you are the strong man of the Mission. It is to be regretted,—but it cannot be helped, of course,—that your hard and excellent work has not been more fruitful in making our Roumanian friends work inside the traces. Today (I think) Sir George Clerk, one of Mr. Balfour's personnel, leaves for the purpose of delivering in person to the Roumanian Government a final note of the Allied and Associated Powers. If this is not promptly effective and if the Entente then shows inability or unwillingness to apply further pressure upon the Roumanians, I think it very likely that our Government may relieve you from the Mission of Generals at Budapest, although it may leave you there as an independent

clared as "politically unwise" the action of the Council of Ten, taken on Feb. 26, 1919, while President Wilson was away, establishing a neutral zone between the Roumanian and the Hungarian Armies, a zone which extended far into territory of solidly Magyar population. He called it an unfair proposal which "caused the Bolshevik revolution" and said that "it cannot be justified morally before the people of the United States." He recommended a peace with Hungary on the principles advocated by Woodrow Wilson on Jan. 8, 1918, and in subsequent addresses, in contrast to one based on the secret treaty concluded between the Allies and the Romanians on Aug. 18, 1916. See: Ray Stannard Baker's *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, New York, 1922-23, three vols. II, 29-30; III, 238-45.

pp. 238-45.

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observer. We all think that the time has come to make everybody in Europe understand that if they expect further cooperation and assistance from the United States they must play the game properly or we will show them at once that we intend to withdraw completely and leave them to their own resources.

I have been trying to get for you an automobile in anticipation of those which have been ordered to be sent to you from the Morgenthau Mission in Poland. Unfortunately, the American Delegation has none that it can send. All of ours have belonged to the American Army and have been sold to the French, and as rapidly as we have no use for one here it has to be turned in to the latter government. But Captain Smyth, who arrived here yesterday with dispatches from Budapest, told me that your own automobile and chauffeur were, as he understands, here and doing nothing. I asked him to go at once and see the proper officer and tell him that it was most desirable that this be at once made available for you. Captain Smyth said that if he could get it he would himself drive the machine to Budapest. In that case I will have time to send you a further and fuller letter.

Meanwhile, I again congratulate you for myself and the American Mission for the excellent work you have been doing in Budapest, I remain

Cordially yours,

(Signed) Tasker H. Bliss

Last night we entertained Baron Jean de Cnobloch, the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the German-Austrian Republic, at dinner.

During the evening, General Gorton came over and informed me that Baron Perényi had been to see him to tell him that he had been approached by the Roumanians with a view of being Prime Minister of a new cabinet, and that they had offered to return to Hungary all the stuff they had removed on condition of certain territorial and other concessions. Baron Perényi

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was told that he would be a fool to pay attention to any such propositions, that Hungary in the past, as her history proved, had suffered far more than at present and had nevertheless risen above her ruins, that it would be foolish for any of them to consider any offer the Roumanians might make, and that he as a man of intelligence ought to know that the Roumanians would not return one-tenth, if any, of what they had taken away. I sent a telegram immediately to the American Commission, advising them of the information we had acquired, and also stating that the evening paper, which is under the control of the Roumanians, had stated that the Friedrich cabinet had fallen and that the Perényi cabinet had taken its place. There was, however, no confirmation of this up to noon today.

[*September 16, 1919.*] General Gorton left this morning to go out and inspect Admiral Horthy's white army at Siófok, so I was President of the Day one day in advance of my turn.

A letter was read from the French postal authorities requesting the Hungarian government to make postal arrangements between the two countries, and this was given to the French representative as being a matter peculiarly his own.

We had many unimportant letters submitted, among them a plea from a bunch of Hungarian suffragettes. This was tabled.

I repeated to the Mission the gist of the conversation I had held yesterday with various cabinet officials,

September 16, 1919

and then read them the report from Major Borrow, the British officer, who is watching the bridge across the Theiss River. He reports that up to date the following has been sent across that river: 684 locomotives, 231 saloon and private cars, 946 passenger coaches, 2,900 empty box and flat cars, 1,300 mixed carloads of grain, cattle, etc., 1,300 carloads of munitions, 298 cannon, 43 autos, 56 aëroplanes, 1,400 oil tanks, 2,000 carloads of railway material and agricultural machinery, 1,435 of war material, 4,350 contents not visible; also many miscellaneous cars, making a total of 17,319 locomotives and cars.

Just as we were adjourning, a Roumanian colonel came in and stated that they had located another depot of Mackensen supplies, and he was authorized to return there with his committee, investigate and make report.

This afternoon M. Diamandi called upon me and showed me a telegram from the Roumanian Prime Minister, stating that His Majesty, the King of Roumania, had conferred upon me the Grand Cross of the Roumanian Crown, and that the same would be forwarded without delay. His Excellency denied the reports that were current, to the effect that the Roumanians were evacuating the country, but told me confidentially that he had decided to give rifles to the municipal police of Budapest.

This afternoon the Hungarian liaison official, M. Pekár, came in to protest against the increasing Roumanian seizures, and I told him if he had any small

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and valuable articles, he could bring them to my office.

In the evening, we had Count von Edelsheim, his wife and daughter to dinner with us, and found them to be very charming. During the month we have occupied their house, we have seen practically nothing of them, although they have lived all the time in the back portion of the building.

September 17, 1919. This morning I sent for Colonel Horowitz and had one of the head porters, who belongs to the Royal Palace guard, brought in under the charge of having denied admittance to a person who wanted to see Colonel Horowitz, giving as his reason that the latter was a Jew. He tearfully denied this and the matter was dropped.

General Gorton being absent on his inspection trip of Admiral Horthy's army, General Graziani presided at the Mission's session. I first brought up before the Mission the question of having someone sent to identify museum property which the Roumanians desire to remove, and which action had been requested by General Serbescu. The Mission decided that, in view of the fact that the Roumanians had been told to take nothing, there was no reason why a representative should be sent.

I also informed the Mission what M. Diamandi had said yesterday in denial of the reported evacuation of the country by the Roumanians.

General Graziani read a telegram from M. Clemenceau, again giving us the already oft-repeated instruc-

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tions not to mix in the internal affairs of Hungary, but directing us to urge upon both Hungarians and Roumanians the necessity of immediately organizing a gendarmerie.

I then submitted to the Mission the Hungarian financial question, which is getting into acute stages, and which shows that our Roumanian allies have business ideas which would do credit to the Buccaneer Morgan. While the Bolshevists were in power, they issued three and one-half billion kronen worth of money, which, on account of its color, has been called white money. Previous to this, the paper currency of all Austro-Hungary was blue in color, so this currency which is still being used in Austria, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia, is called blue money. At the present time, one krone of blue money is worth five kronen of white money. Our good friends, the French, looking out for their own interests, obliged the Hungarian government to pay three hundred thousand kronen blue money for the same sum of white money in the hands of French subjects. As a result the Roumanians then promptly came forward with the demand that the Hungarians give them twenty million kronen in blue money for that amount in white money. This was finally agreed to, partly because it was hoped thereby to give the Roumanians only blue money with which to make payment whenever they paid at all. As matters resulted, however, this was only an opening wedge, and the Roumanians demand today that they receive immediately fifty million kronen blue money for that sum in white money,

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and that within three weeks they receive a total of one hundred and fifty million kronen of blue money for that amount of white money. If this is done, they will undoubtedly continue the procedure, because a man could start out with a few kronen of white money and by a rapid succession of changes make himself a millionaire in a few days. We protested to the Roumanian Headquarters against their thievish propensities, and I reported the matter to the American Commission in Paris.

This date Captain Shafroth reported, and I assigned him to duty with Colonel Loree.

This afternoon when returning to the office from lunch, Colonel Loree and I found a whole company of Roumanian soldiers with their guns on their backs, milling up the entrance to the Palace courtyard. Without any preamble, I took my riding crop in hand and, ably seconded by Colonel Loree, we expelled the intruders into the street outside of the Palace entrance. I then inquired if there was a Roumanian officer about, and they said he had gone into the Palace. I chased him up, dragged him up to my office and asked him what the Hell he meant by insulting the Inter-Allied Military Mission by bringing a whole company of armed soldiers into our precincts. He stated at first that he had heard that there were subterranean passages in the Palace which he wished to explore, and later changed that to saying that he had heard of the Palace and wished his soldiers to see it before they left. I told him that Roumanians would hardly expect a company of

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American, British or French troops to go over to General Mardarescu's Headquarters and, without saying a word to him, proceed to explore the premises. I further informed him that he had committed a serious and gross breach of etiquette, and that we couldn't let one Roumanian company in here without letting the whole army come in, which we did not propose to do. He was most abject, in his apologies and beat it.

This afternoon, accompanied by Colonel Yates, I paid calls upon the new Roumanian Commander for Budapest, General Mosoiu; upon General Holban, who is just being relieved from command of Budapest; and upon General Serbescu, who has charge of the requisitions. We were so fortunate as to find that General Mosoiu was sick in bed and could not be seen, and the other two were out.

This evening we entertained at dinner Colonel Horowitz, of the regular Army, Captain Weiss, who has just been demobilized, and Mr. Zerkowitz, the Hungarian gentleman who has been acting as my guide and mentor as regards relations with Hungarians in the city.

September 18, 1919. At this morning's session, General Gorton presided, and I related to the Mission my experience of the day before, in having, accompanied by Colonel Loree, assaulted a company of Roumanian Infantry with riding crops and driven them out of the Palace courtyard.

A communication was read from the Swiss consul describing the horrible condition of Hungarian pris-

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oners of war left in charge of the Roumanians in their prison camps.

A report was read from the British officer, Major Borrow, which showed that, up to date, 759 locomotives and 18,495 cars had crossed the Theiss River eastward bound, since we had been able to keep track of them. The total cars reported missing by the Hungarians amount to over 31,000. Major Borrow also showed that, within the past week, twenty-one troop trains had crossed the Szolnok Bridge and seventeen troop trains, containing a division of cavalry, had crossed the Csongrád Bridge, all headed towards Roumania. Everything indicates that our noble Roumanian allies intend actually to pull out of all of Hungary except Budapest and a thin line some distance west of the Danube. This will enable them to prevent any reorganization of the Hungarian police or Army, and will carry out their apparent design of leaving Hungary like a beautiful rosy-cheeked apple, but rotten at the core.

Colonel Yates was brought into the Mission, and from a memorandum showed how the Roumanians had practically done nothing along the line of police organization except to turn loose the usual supply of broken promises. Things have all along been in such a rotten condition that no superlatives can do the subject justice. The Mission finally decided to send again for the Roumanian Commander in Chief to appear before us tomorrow at 10 o'clock, to answer affirmatively or negatively a few questions which will be propounded to him.

September 18, 1919

I received a telegram from the American Commission in Paris, wanting to know if newspaper reports to the effect that Italy and Germany were mixed up in a deal with Roumania and Hungary were true. I replied that the same rumors had come to my knowledge, but that they were not verified, had not yet been proved to be true, and therefore I had not inflicted them upon my superiors.

Apparently the opera season is on, and I received tickets for the Royal box, to hold twelve occupants, with additional boxes for twenty-four more. They run their shows and operas from 6 in the afternoon till about 8, after which the audience can go to dinner.

A report came in today that a French major had gone to the State Railway's offices and demanded a report in regard to the management and expenses of the railway for the past year. As the Hungarians were not certain whether this was the individual action of the French or the joint action of the Mission, they sent up here to ascertain, and we told them that no such action had been taken by the Mission. I reported the matter to Paris.

At the present rate of Roumanian seizures of cars, this country, with 6,000 kilometers of railroads, will have only 4,500 cars available. As it takes 4,000 a day to feed Budapest alone, which contains one-fifth of the population of Hungary, it is not difficult to imagine what the result will be when winter sets in.

September 19, 1919

September 19, 1919. Last night, accompanied by my staff, I attended the opera, occupying the Royal box. As a matter of fact, I had three of these boxes, all of which were turned over to me—myself and staff occupying the center one and soldiers of my detachment occupying the others. After the opera, Captain Gore and I attended a dinner party at the house of Captain Weiss's brother. There was too much to eat and the rooms were stuffy, so we did not stay overly late.

This morning we had a prolonged and hot session of the Mission, with General Mombelli presiding. He first read a memorandum of questions he proposed to propound to the Roumanians, covering the question of when they were going to evacuate, when they were going to organize the police, and a few other things, which sounded most preëmtory in character, especially when accompanied by his flashing eyes and resounding fist. As given to us, it was an Oriental typhoon, compared to the gentle little zephyr with which he turned it loose on them when they arrived later, which they did at 10.20 A.M., as usual twenty minutes late.

When directly informed that we knew that at least two divisions of Roumanian troops had already left Hungary, General Mardarescu admitted it and went one more, saying that two infantry divisions and one cavalry division had already left; and it was not a case of evacuation of Hungary, but that these troops were being sent to the Bánát, where they were concentrating in considerable force to avoid possible trouble. He said that this was not to be interpreted as a beginning

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of the Roumanian evacuation, and that whenever they did begin to evacuate, he would notify us in regard to the same and keep us posted daily.

It was next pointed out to General Mardaescu that, on the twenty-fifth of August, they were requested to evacuate the country west of the Danube and that they replied then that they would take it under immediate consideration, but that so far nothing had been done. General Mardaescu stated that he wanted to be sure that the Hungarians would not attack him, and he could not withdraw until he was positive in this respect. This made me *un peu fatigué*, and I told him that, as a soldier, he should know that the troops that he had west of the Danube, scattered as they were, were in far more danger of an attack from the Hungarians than they could possibly be if withdrawn to the east side of the Danube and the Budapest bridgehead. General Mombelli then proposed that our committee which is working on the organization of the army, investigate conditions in the zone occupied by the Hungarian troops and report upon the same, so that General Mardaescu could know whether or not his organized and valiant army, of which he so loudly boasted, was in danger from about ten thousand poorly-armed Hungarians. It was finally agreed, by both the Mission and the Roumanians, that steps should be taken immediately towards the organization of a Hungarian army consisting of two divisions and some auxiliary troops, to a total number of 12,500. The police question was then taken up, and considerable discus-

September 19, 1919

sion ensued. Colonel Yates had insisted on 22,000 police, and the Roumanians were willing to give only 10,000. Finally, however, they agreed to turn over to us, the Inter-Allied Military Mission, 10,000 rifles and 40 machine guns for us to deal out to the police when we saw fit, and with the understanding that a provisional gendarmerie of 10,000 men might be started.

M. Diamandi then brought up the question of Hungarian prisoners of war. He said that they had 27,000 Hungarian prisoners of war, many of whom had been formerly Bolsheviks, and whom, of course, they would not care to take back to Roumania with them. He made the point that, in case they were turned over to the Hungarian government, the latter would be given an opportunity to persecute and probably execute great numbers on account of their having belonged to the Bolshevik army, whereas their service had been entirely compulsory. It was decided to discuss this matter at further length later on.

M. Diamandi then stated that the Hungarian government had applied for authority to issue fifty million kronen in small notes, depositing as security an equal sum of large notes. I opposed this on two points: the first being that there was no government as yet recognized, so that the issue would not be legal; and the second being that, even if there were, there would be nothing to prevent their shortly after turning loose the fifty million on deposit and thereby again depreciating the currency. It was decided not to allow the Hungarians to make any such issue.

September 19, 1919

M. Diamandi showed a telegram from Roumanian headquarters directing him to investigate in the case of child mortality, saying that it was understood that the Roumanians had been held responsible for deaths of infants in hospitals. I reminded my colleagues of what had been brought before them at one of our earliest sessions. M. Diamandi said that they had letters from the hospitals saying that all these reports had been unfounded. It was then proposed to send a committee consisting of a French doctor and an Italian doctor, but I insisted on including an American officer.

M. Diamandi then showed a memorandum stating that several wagonloads of Roumanian documents, seized and removed to Budapest by the Hungarians, were in the cellars of the Palace. It was decided to investigate this.

The question of a probable shortage of cars, resulting from the excessive Roumanian demands, was then brought up and given to the Roumanian officials, who promised to investigate this immediately.

They started to leave us, but I insisted on settling the question about the evacuation of western Hungary, and we actually split on this, the Frenchman and the Italian thinking that this could be discussed later, and General Gorton and myself insisting that it be done at once.

As they started to leave again, a note was brought in to me from Colonel Loree to the effect that the Roumanians had demanded that the Hungarians turn over to them, before 5 o'clock this afternoon, one hundred

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millions worth of blue kronen for a like sum of white kronen, threatening to revoke the decree which had placed the two at the rate of five white for one blue, unless this demand was complied with. General Mardarescu stated that the facts were that some time ago the Hungarians offered to replace one hundred million of white money, then in the hands of the Roumanians, by blue money, provided they were allowed to import three hundred million kronen of blue money from Vienna. This was done and they now tried to avoid keeping their bargain.

After they left and we were alone, I told the Mission that I wanted them to understand exactly where they stood on the evacuation question; that I did not and would not agree with them; that I felt sure that they were wrong, although I might be the one in error. I said it had taken the Roumanians since August 25 to arrive at no decision whatever, and now we were giving them another delay for like purpose. I added that we were all supposed to be officers of common sense and experience, and not one of them could look me in the eye and say that there was a particle of danger to the Roumanians, should they evacuate western Hungary, but on the contrary that it would add to their security. They could not do it. I then added that, so far, the Mission had been unanimous, but now we appeared as a divided house before the Roumanians. They then proposed writing a letter to the Roumanians again calling upon them to evacuate western Hungary. As they looked like licked dogs with their

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tails stuck between their legs, I let it go at this, and we therefore decided to send our third ultimatum on this subject. This ultimatum business is getting to be quite a habit.

Reports from western Hungary indicate all kinds of atrocities on the part of the Hungarians, who are torturing and butchering the Jews, and having their will on the population. These people down in eastern and central Europe would make Ananias look like George Washington.

In the afternoon I called upon M. Diamandi and, during the conversation, he asked my advice as to what they should do in regard to the Friedrich cabinet. I told him that in my opinion any form of persecution usually resulted in making martyrs of the victims, and that any persecution of Friedrich would result only in his increased popularity.

This evening, Captain Gore and I were entertained at dinner by Admiral Sir Ernest T. Troubridge, the other guests being the Roumanian Chief of Staff, Colonel Vasilescu, a fine fellow, and his French wife.

September 20, 1919. Today being the grand Italian national holiday, General Mombelli appeared all dolled up with his various decorations, medals, etc., and our meeting did not last long. As a matter of fact, it never does when I am President of the Day, which I was today.

We first considered several questions which had been left over from yesterday's meeting, including the money

September 20, 1919

question and the handling of prisoners of war. This all brought about a discussion on the present seriousness of the situation, and I insisted that the time had come for us to lay before the Supreme Council in unmistakable terms the necessity for recognizing some form of government in Hungary. My colleagues agreed to this and I drafted a telegram of which the following is the substance:

Unless there is quickly organized in Hungary some government which is recognized by the Entente, the situation will with increasing rapidity, as winter approaches, get worse. The Military Mission cannot carry out plans for the reorganization of the Hungarian gendarmerie and police, for the release of Hungarian prisoners of war, and for the evacuation of Hungary, with a government which has no standing. Furthermore, such a government cannot carry out satisfactory financial transactions, as it properly has no authority to levy or collect taxes; such a government cannot contract for future delivery of fuel and food supplies for the winter, without which disorder and dire suffering are certain to ensue; and such a government cannot make a treaty of peace or perform any of the various functions necessary to a sovereign state. At the present rate of progress, the Roumanians will continue indefinitely with their occupation and attendant looting in which they are daily becoming more expert. The Hungarians, on the other hand, are becoming more and more discouraged and famine, suffering and disorder are approaching. It is recommended that either *the Friedrich cabinet be recognized or that explicit instructions be given as to what will be recognized.*

The Roumanians are continuing right merrily with their looting, and we have already scheduled over 800 locomotives and 19,000 cars which they have removed.

This morning several letters came in from Roumanian Headquarters, stating that they had located va-

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rious papers and documents in government offices and in the cellars of the Palace, which had been taken from Roumania by the Austro-Germans, and which they desired to have returned. This was the first time so far that they have proceeded along such polite lines.

September 22, 1919. At our meeting this morning, the cat came out of the bag with a loud yowl. I again brought up the subject of the Roumanian delay in evacuating Transdanubia and told my Latin colleagues that I considered that their yielding to the Roumanian asinine demand, that they defer any evacuation until it was shown that there was no danger from a Hungarian attack, made this Mission responsible for a continuation of the present rotten conditions in western Hungary with all of its consequences; adding that there would be a considerable delay before the committee sent to investigate, could report, and asking when the committee would have its report ready. This forced the issue and the French representative admitted that the committee had not yet started and would not start until the twenty-third of September. As the start could have easily been made early in the afternoon of the nineteenth, this will have caused a delay of nearly five days.

As reports have been received of engagements between Hungarian and Roumanian patrols, General Gorton mentioned that an officer be sent to remain with the Hungarian Army to avert as much as possible any of these minor engagements and to investigate them immediately and fix the responsibility whenever they

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occurred. The French member bitterly opposed this, and was carrying on the discussion indefinitely when I proposed that the committee on army organization, of which a French lieutenant colonel is chairman, have charge of this investigation. This he consented to, and then I proposed that the British officer be placed as an additional member on this army committee, and stated that I would furnish an American officer also, and that really the committee should assume an Inter-Allied aspect. He was obliged to swallow this proposition, and eventually the Italian representative stated that he would send an officer also.

Although the occurrence cannot be well described, it gave convincing proof to both General Gorton and myself that the French member was working hand in glove with the Roumanians and was helping them in their policy of delay.

The Italian Colonel Romanelli, who investigated present conditions in Budapest prisons, submitted a report today indicating that they had been simply rotten. Political prisoners had been thrown in with criminals; many of them were badly beaten up, and all the prisons were crowded beyond all reason, with one exception, in which conditions were good. The Hungarians have been called upon to explain why this condition exists and to state how they propose to remedy it.

A Roumanian officer showed up at the Palace this morning, to swipe property from the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and was expelled by Colonel Loree.

September 23, 1919

The Countess von Edelsheim and her daughter, with a maid, are leaving today for their estate in Czecho-Slovakia, and Captain Gore, not very reluctantly on his part, is in charge of the arrangements for their departure. They had been trying for two weeks to get passports for two servants viséd at the Czecho-Slovakian Ministry, and could not do it. Captain Gore had the thing settled in a few minutes this morning.

Admiral Troubridge reported today that there were only five days' food supplies left in Budapest, and these will not last long at the present rate of Roumanian seizures.

September 23, 1919. At this morning's session of the Mission, General Graziani presided, and we cleaned out a whole mountain of accumulated unimportant correspondence. It is now getting so that both the Roumanians and the Hungarians endeavor to use this Mission as a liaison bureau.

One letter submitted was rather important, in that it was a report from the Hungarian Chief of Police to the effect that the Roumanians had authorized the Socialists to hold meetings on the twenty-fifth, and that the police, being unarmed and almost unorganized, would not be able to handle any serious situation. We decided therefore to notify the Roumanians that it was reported that they had given such permission, and that they would be held responsible for anything that happened.

Yesterday afternoon the Roumanians arrested an undersecretary of the Hungarian War Office because he

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had delivered to us a memorial addressed by the Ruthenian party of Hungary to the Supreme Council. General Mardarescu has been called upon to explain why he took such action.

Colonel Yates was called before the Mission and explained how despite all the beautiful promises of the Roumanians on the nineteenth to give us 10,000 rifles and 40 machine guns for use of the municipal police, they had, when it came to a show-down, surrounded this munificent gift with such conditions as to make it practically worthless. The Mission instructed Colonel Yates to go to Roumanian Headquarters and tell them that he was ready to inspect the arms they proposed to turn over to us, and then incidentally to bring up the question of the distribution of these arms, and let them know that it was understood that they were under our orders without any Roumanian conditions attached, except that the Roumanians would be informed from time to time of the disposition of these arms.

While before the Mission, Colonel Yates reported this morning that he had learned that the Roumanians were starting to take the fire apparatus out of Budapest, and that he himself had driven away the Roumanian officer in charge of the looting party.

I shall send, in a day or so, recommendations for the D.S.M. for my various colleagues, and shall suggest that we establish an Order of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves so that our Roumanian friends can also be properly decorated.

September 23, 1919

This afternoon the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Somssich, called upon me and, with more bluntness than is characteristic of these people, asked me when the Roumanians were going to leave. I told him that I could give him no more definite information on that point than I could have given six weeks ago; that I did not know. He then said:

There is apparently nothing else left for us; we will have to make terms with the Roumanians because at the present rate my country will be absolutely ruined, and it behooves us to save as much as we can from the wreck. The Entente either cannot or will not help us, and so far as I can see there is absolutely no alternative but acceding to the Roumanian terms.

I told him that I thought he was very foolish for two reasons: the first being that the Roumanians would demand so much that it would ruin Hungary in perpetuity; and secondly that they, for their part, would not carry out any contract that they made.

He said he realized these facts; that he had been brought up as a gentleman, always hoped to remain a gentleman, but that one had to fight fire with fire, and that when one was dealing with liars and thieves like Roumanians, the only thing to do was to fight them with their own weapons, agree to give practically all they ask for, and then give them nothing. I told him, of course, this was rather reprehensible, and that while I could not blame him for feeling sore at the way the Hungarians had been neglected and been treated, I was positive that in the long run she would win out and that Roumania would pay dearly for all the pleasures she had derived from looting a fallen enemy.

September 24, 1919

I asked him how he proposed to negotiate with the Roumanians, and he stated that M. Ardeli, the same gentleman who had acquired the ultimata habit with the Archduke Joseph, was going to see him tomorrow to discuss terms. He finally said that he would listen to the terms, find out just what they were, and let us know, but agree to nothing until he had seen me.

I then asked him if he had been approached at all by the French, and he said no, but that the Hungarians knew that the French were winking at the Roumanians in all they had been doing.

I then asked him if he had had any transactions with the Italians. He said yes, that General Mombelli himself had suggested that the Hungarians come to terms with the Roumanians. He said his reliance was upon the Americans and the British, and that he would be glad to have me talk the matter over with General Gorton. This I did, and we shall now hear what terms M. Ardeli has to offer. Captain Gore and Colonel Loree had planned to go to the opera tonight, but at the last moment did some backsliding and we had a very quiet and satisfactory dinner.

September 24, 1919. Late yesterday afternoon, Colonel Yates was sent by me to see General Mardarescu in regard to the arming of the Hungarian police. He returned later; said that he had had a talk with General Mardarescu, who told him that they could not establish a depôt for the arms inside of a week or ten days, which means of course that they never intend to furnish any

September 24, 1919

equipment whatever. Later in the evening I called upon General Mardarescu, but the call was essentially social, and no business was discussed. He told me, however, that he was leaving the next night for Bucharest, instead of on Thursday as originally contemplated and he also stated that the French Minister to Roumania had called on him during the afternoon. The question naturally arises then—*what in Hell is the French Minister doing here!*

At the meeting of the Mission this morning, General Mombelli presided and, after dispatching a little routine business, a letter was read from General Mardarescu, stating that he had found it impracticable to establish the arms depôt at Monor and had decided to put it at Czegléd, parenthetically twice as far away; that all the firearms they had, had been shipped to Roumania and, therefore, it would be necessary to ship them back again before being delivered, all of which would take considerable time. He then said the understanding was that the arms would then as needed be turned over to the Hungarians by the Roumanians, assisted by the Entente, but that he must insist that no arms be delivered until he had an accurate report on the number of arms in the possession of the Hungarians, and that all arms in excess of what was absolutely required for the police be turned back to the Roumanians.

I then read Colonel Yates' memorandum of his conversation with General Mardarescu, and I reminded my colleagues that this was just the result that might have been expected from our interview with the Rou-

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manian high officials on the nineteenth, and I recalled to their memories that when I was fighting for the evacuation of western Hungary, Diamandi had made the argument that he thought that for one day we had accomplished a great deal; therefore, why bicker over the evacuation of Transdanubia, adding: "You have already secured 10,000 rifles and 40 machine guns; that certainly is enough for one day." I told my colleagues that the Roumanians were treating us just the same as a teacher would handle a class in kindergarten, and that we deserved it. They asked if I had any suggestions to make, and I said that I certainly had; that I wanted a letter written to General Mardarescu repeating that on the nineteenth we had explained to him, and he had admitted, that the organization of the Hungarian police was an immediate and urgent necessity; that he had promised to have 10,000 arms and 40 machine guns ready by the twenty-third; that these were to be handled by the Entente assisted, if necessary, by the Roumanians; and that now he had broken his promise; that it looked to us as though there was no intention on the part of the Roumanians to help in the organization of the police, and that we should hold them responsible for any disorders or other troubles that might ensue as a result of a lack of properly-armed and organized policemen; and that we would advise the Supreme Council accordingly.

General Graziani suggested that, in addition, we say that if the Roumanians wanted to demonstrate their good intentions, they would now give us two or three

September 25, 1919

thousand rifles. I did a little table thumping and said that I would positively refuse to have anything to do with any such idiotic transaction; that I would not place myself or my country in the position of bickering with the Roumanians for such a paltry trifle, and that I thought it was a disgusting spectacle to see the representatives of France, Italy, Great Britain, and America *down on their prayer bones and supplicating* the Roumanians for two or three thousand rifles. General Graziani's suggestion was turned down, and the letter was drafted by General Mombelli, as I had suggested. I then telegraphed the American Commission the text of the same.

This afternoon Colonel Yates brought in the Countess Juliska Szirmay, who is a relative of Count von Edelsheim. She craved our protection for her five sisters and her uncle's family on their estate about two hours' automobile drive from here, stating that the Roumanians had threatened to send on the twenty-sixth and remove all their stock. As these people are furnishing us with some supplies, I went myself to General Serbescu and made him write me out a safe-guard for their farms.

September 25, 1919. Last night we entertained at dinner General Mosoiu, who is General Holban's successor in command of Budapest, his Chief of Staff, and Colonel and Mme. Vasilescu. General Mosoiu is a tremendously fat old fellow, but he is a decided improvement *over the hirsute Holban.*

September 25, 1919

This morning I presided at the meeting of the Mission. We had but few matters to discuss. First, two communications from Major Body, the Serbian military representative in Budapest, complaining that the Roumanians would not allow him to use his own language, either by telephone or telegraph, in communicating with Belgrade.

A letter was received from M. de Pekár, stating that the Roumanians had now requisitioned 900 of the remaining 4,500 closed cars still in Hungary, and that enforcing that requisition would leave the country in a most serious situation. As this matter had been brought to Minister Diamandi's attention at the meeting on the nineteenth, and he had promised to give it his immediate attention, the Mission authorized me to send him a communication stating that it was not believed that such a thing could have been done with the knowledge and consent of the Roumanian Commander in Chief, and we trusted that remedial action would immediately be taken.

I brought to the attention of the Mission the fact that a company of Roumanian soldiers had taken station in the Royal Riding Hall, right near the entrance to the Royal Palace, and that their commander, upon being interrogated, had stated that he understood he had been sent at the request of the Inter-Allied Military Mission for the purpose of preserving order near the Royal Palace. This was undoubtedly a delicate touch of sarcasm from our Roumanian allies in return for our communication of yesterday, when we told them

September 26, 1919

I am taking advantage of this, the first opportunity in weeks, for sending off a little mail and my reports to Paris.

September 26, 1919. At this morning's session of the Mission, General Gorton presided and introduced the question of the intercepted radio from the Roumanians to the Eiffel Tower, Paris. It was decided by the Mission to telegraph to the Supreme Council a statement to the effect that the workmen's union, instead of turning out 150,000 men at nine different meetings, had turned out less than 20,000, and that one-half of these left before the meetings were through with, and in general that the Roumanian report was a gross exaggeration.

We next received the report of the amount of material shipped by the Roumanians to the east. Up to midnight of September 23-24, and since the last report, 17 train loads of troops with the usual cattle and forage had gone eastward, and our records up to date cover 1,046 locomotives, and over 23,000 mixed cars.

The question of the organization of the subcommittee on army organization was brought up, and it was decided to make that committee permanent, with a representative from each Mission. General Graziani stated that it would be necessary then to relieve Colonel Horowitz by another officer if it was desired to retain Lieutenant-Colonel Berthon as chairman, but I told him that we would waive the rank and leave the committee as it is.

September 27, 1919

Owing to the small amount of business brought up before the meetings of the Mission, it was decided in the future to have regular meetings on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and on other dates at the call of any member.

September 27, 1919. Yesterday afternoon I was called upon by Mrs. Hegeman of New York City and her daughter, the Baroness Virginia Podmaniczky. The ladies just recently arrived from Switzerland and were to be in Budapest a few days to get some clothes and other things together and then to return to Switzerland. They made urgent request for just a little food and a little fuel. I therefore invited them to an informal dinner and also sent them enough to last them until their departure in three days.

Pursuant to our arrangements of yesterday to have meetings only on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, unless called by some one member, there was no meeting today, and I spent most of the forenoon going over the situation downtown. Although the stores do not display much, yet there is far more activity than ever before. The jewelers have nothing of much value but, if you wish to make special arrangements, they will get their better pieces out of hiding and put them on private exhibition, and make special sales. The depreciated value of the krone makes almost anything ridiculously cheap. Colonel Loree this morning bought for the equivalent of \$30 a large sterling silver cigar box which would hold about twenty-five cigars and one hundred

September 28, 1919

cigarettes. The box had a solid gold rim on the front with a genuine sapphire set therein.

As the American Commission has given me no further intimation as to what is to happen to me, I this date sent them a four word telegram as follows:

"Funds exhausted. Instructions requested."

Lieutenant-General Sir Tom Bridges, of the British Army,³⁹ arrived yesterday and will be here for two or three days. I met General Bridges at the Toronto race course in the spring of 1917. We have invited him and Admiral Troubridge to dinner tomorrow night.

September 28, 1919. I spent most of the morning today working at the office and the afternoon working at the house. In the evening, we entertained at dinner General Bridges, Admiral Troubridge and his son, and Major Foster of the British service. Major Foster is now assisting Colonel Loree on the Claims and Reparations Committee.

General Bridges at dinner mentioned that he understood that General Pershing would not have lasted much longer had the War continued, and he then stated that he had it from General Foch's Chief of Staff⁴⁰ that

³⁹ Lieutenant-General Sir (George) Tom (Molesworth) Bridges. During the World War, he was several times wounded and served with distinction. He was the military member of Balfour's mission to the United States in 1917 and head of the British war mission to the United States in 1918. From 1918 to 1920, he acted as head of the British Mission of the Allied Armies of the Orient.

⁴⁰ General Max Weygand. At the outbreak of the World War, he was colonel and chief of the staff of an army. In 1916, he was made Brigadier General. From the beginning of the War, he served as assistant to Foch, whom he succeeded as the French representative on the Inter-Allied Gen-

September 29, 1919

the American Army was very poorly organized, had called loudly for French divisions to assist them, that supplies were short and, in general, that the American offensive was very poorly managed, if not actually mismanaged. I told General Bridges that I had either been a participant in command of a unit at the beginning of the general offensive, or Provost Marshal General of the American Expeditionary Force, and I did not care who his informant was, that to put it mildly, that gentleman was badly mistaken. General Bridges said that he had known General Graziani and General Mombelli before, and that the latter was considered to be one of the astutest diplomats of the Italian Army, and was always given their more important semidiplomatic military missions.

September 29, 1919. At the meeting of the Mission this morning, General Graziani presided. A letter was received from the Roumanians stating that they would agree to begin the evacuation of Transdanubia promptly, that as soon as the Hungarian forces had arrived within thirty kilometers of the cities of Győr, Veszprém and Székes-Fehérvár they would then within forty-eight hours evacuate such cities and retire on a line at a mean distance of thirty-five kilometers from Budapest. They desired to have forty-eight hours advance notice given of the contemplated march of the Hungarians, so that,

eral Staff in 1917. In April, 1918, he resumed his work as Chief of the General Staff under Marshal Foch. This position he held during the remainder of the war. See also p. 160 for a repetition of this statement.

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all told, their movement should begin within four or five days after receiving such notice. We turned this over to the military subcommittee for the arrangement of all the details connected therewith.

Colonel Horowitz, who is a member of the Committee on Army Organization and who had visited western Hungary, turned in a report on the general conditions there, and in particular concerning the Jewish persecutions. He stated that in his opinion Admiral Horthy's army had done everything within reason to prevent any such persecutions, and that he considered that no more atrocities had been committed than would ordinarily happen under the stress of such circumstances. He stated that a great many rascally Jews under the cloak of their religion had committed crimes, that there really was a great deal of anti-Semitic feeling on account of so many Jews having been Bolshevists, but as to there being a real White Terror, there was nothing of the kind, and this danger was a figment of the imagination of politicians. He stated that Jews and Gentiles alike should unite in maintaining order, and that they could feel absolutely sure that there was no danger from the Hungarian National Army. It was decided to have this matter published in the local newspapers, in order that it might have a quieting effect upon the excitement of the people of Budapest.

It was also decided to send a letter to the Roumanian Headquarters, stating that the Mission desired to have Colonel Yates appointed as supervisor of all police and gendarmerie, requiring the Roumanians, before taking

September 30, 1919

any action against the police, to take it up first with Colonel Yates.

Mrs. Hegeman and her daughter, the Baroness Podmaniczky, called on me a few minutes this afternoon to say good-by.

September 30, 1919. Last night we had Major Moffat of the American Red Cross informally to dinner. The Major recently arrived here to take charge of Red Cross work in Hungary. He is expecting a train of thirty carloads of supplies in the near future. This train is supposed to have left Paris over a week ago, but so far has not been heard from.

He is out of patience with the performance of Colonel Anderson, the Red Cross representative in the Balkans, who has devoted all his time and attention to Roumania. It is the common report that Colonel Anderson is very much under the influence of the Queen of Roumania and practically everything sent to the Balkans was distributed as she desired.⁴¹ Certainly there is no more pro-Roumanian advocate in the world than Colonel Anderson, who, however, in his arguments seemed to think that a loud noise was better than logic. In his interview with me yesterday afternoon, he seemed to have undergone a considerable change, and I understand has really given the Roumanians much excellent advice. The next thing is to see whether or not they will follow it.

⁴¹ On p. 275 of the strongly pro-Roumanian book by Charles J. Vopicka, *Secrets of the Balkans*, a picture may be seen showing Queen Marie at the Canteen of the American Red Cross in Jassy with Colonel Henry W. Anderson.

September 30, 1919

There was no session of the Mission this date, but I drafted two letters for the President of the Day; one covered the question of the publication of Colonel Horowitz's report on the anti-Semitic agitation in western Hungary, and the other was a recommendation to the Roumanian authorities that Colonel Yates be designated as Inter-Allied supervisor of police, gendarmerie and frontier guards.

M. N. Mavroudis, the Greek Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Serbia, came in to pay his respects to me this afternoon, and after the usual effusive compliments and ornate persiflage, wanted to know just what the situation was here and what the Roumanian plans and intentions were.⁴² I gave him whatever information I had, which was practically public, but which to him seemed to be in the way of news.

This afternoon Colonel Loree had difficulty with the Roumanians over the release of a Bolshevist prisoner. For some time they have been having former Bolshevists, who were known to be murderers and cutthroats, released without trial, undoubtedly as the result of bribery. Two Roumanians went to police headquarters today with the wife of a man who is being held under serious charges, including that of torture, and without any proper papers a Roumanian detective tried to throw a big bluff which was called, and it is trusted he will receive the punishment he deserves.

⁴² On April 18, 1919, a treaty of amity and friendship had been concluded between Greece and Jugo-Slavia.

October 1, 1919

October 1, 1919. At this morning's session, General Mombelli presiding, there was first read a letter from Minister Diamandi, asking that the Mission arrange for the prompt transfer of the Mackensen material to some point in Hungary where it could be divided up and the Roumanians receive their share. I suggested that we write Minister Diamandi that it was in the hands of the Entente, that its distribution was entirely under the jurisdiction of this Mission, and that this matter would be taken up in due course. I then suggested to my colleagues that what the Roumanians ought to have was a letter telling them that we would take up the question of such distribution when they returned the loot that they had already removed from Hungary.

According to a telegram received by General Gorton from the British Commission at Paris, Prime Minister Bratiano has given the Supreme Council representative a beautiful collection of characteristic Roumanian lies in regard to their seizures and requisitions. General Gorton received a telegram stating that Sir George Clerk⁴³ had been directed to come to Budapest and interview this Mission in order to determine whether it was Bratiano or the four Allied Generals who were lying.

We received two letters from one of my officers, Captain Shafroth, stating that there were certain articles in the Hungarian museums which had been taken, either from Bucharest, or from the portions of Tran-

⁴³ See p. 167, n.

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sylvania which belonged to Roumania. He recommended that the books, etc., which had been identified as coming from Bucharest be returned, and that all other articles be held pending the action of the Commission.

We received a telegram from the Hungarian town of Drégely, complaining that the Czecho-Slovaks had been posting patrols on all the roads leading to the town, and were allowing nobody to come in or go out, and stating with characteristic Middle-European hyperbolism that anarchy and everything else horrible would result on short notice if the situation were not immediately remedied. The President of the Day was accordingly directed to inform the Czecho-Slovakian Minister of the situation and direct him to take the proper measures.

General Mombelli invited our attention to the fact that one battalion of Hungarian troops was being formed and was occupying territory which, according to the treaty with Austria, had been given to the latter country. We therefore sent a letter to the Hungarian authorities to evacuate immediately any portions of territory which had been granted to Austria by the Peace Conference.

Yesterday I received a note from the Countess Szirmay to the effect that the safeguard sent them by the Roumanian General Serbescu and viséd by him, had been examined by a young Roumanian lieutenant, named Panescu, who said that such paper did not prevent requisitioning by his colonel. I therefore sent Colonel Yates to Roumanian headquarters, and they

October 2, 1919

telephoned out to the colonel of the First Chasseurs directing him to investigate Lieutenant Panescu's conduct and to award the punishment that the case would seem to merit. The Roumanian Chief of Staff, Colonel Vasilescu, sent me two safeguards from the Roumanian headquarters, which I sent out to the Countess with additional information that if Lieutenant Panescu cared to do any more quibbling about technicalities I would myself pay him a visit which he would not enjoy.

Yesterday the Roumanians gave a tremendous dinner at the Hotel Hungaria, to the British officials, during which, I understand, there was much playing of "God Save the King" and much talking about Great Britain as the greatest power on earth and, in general, that the affair was effusively affectionate, and that much champagne flowed. Apparently the Roumanians are trying to cut loose from the French and the Italians.

Yesterday I received a press report to the effect that it was now known that either Clemenceau himself or the French officials had always notified the Roumanians immediately after the dispatch of an ultimatum that such ultimatum could be ignored and that the Supreme Council really did not mean it. All of which is simply in line with the idea General Gorton and I have always maintained in regard to this situation.

October 2, 1919. Yesterday afternoon Sir George Clerk, the delegate from the Supreme Council, sent to Roumania for the purpose of giving the Roumanian government the last and final ultimatum in regard to the

October 2, 1919

occupation of Hungary, arrived. He spent an hour with the Inter-Allied Military Mission during which he showed himself to be decidedly pro-Roumanian.

He had arrived early during the day, had spent all the forenoon with Minister Diamandi, had been given a tremendous lunch by the Roumanians at noon, could give us only an hour in the afternoon, after which he went to the opera with Minister Diamandi, and was again entertained in the evening by the Roumanians.

His interview with the Mission was in most respects eminently satisfactory. He repeated in substance the same interview with Bratiano that I had had when in Bucharest; to which, however, he added that M. Bratiano insisted on having both banks of the Maros River practically up to Szeged⁴⁴ for the purpose of the strategic control of the railroad line. In his reply to M. Bratiano, covering this one particular point, he seemed to show the only gleam of diplomatic intelligence, as he told the Roumanians that he was sure the Allies would not consent to giving any more territory to Roumania; that present boundaries had been investigated and decided upon by a committee of geographical and tactical experts.

He asked the Mission if we thought that after the Roumanian evacuation there could not be made some permanent adjustment between Hungary and Roumania for their future amicable relations. He was told that the unreasonable and ridiculous excesses to which

⁴⁴ Szeged, or Szegedin, second town in Hungary, with a population of about 119,000.

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the Roumanians had enforced their requisitions, and in particular their crude and unnecessarily harsh methods of carrying out their seizures, had so embittered the Hungarians that it was not believed they would ever be satisfied until they had retaliated in kind.

It was very comforting to note that the Mission was practically unanimous on all points, and where any slight differences existed as to personal opinion such differences were unimportant.

It was most apparent that Sir George, owing to his prolonged stay at Bucharest, had listened to the siren voice of the enchantress Queen, and had fallen under the spell of Roumanian environment. Her Majesty certainly seems to think that she can control any man whom she meets, and it must be admitted that she has considerable foundation for that opinion. I am inclined to think, however, that she realized that it took more than a signed photograph to cause me to wander from the straight and narrow path of military duty. It is also evident that Sir George has been influenced by Bratiano's sophistry, as he advances the same line of argument as does that distinguished Roumanian Prime Minister. I asked Sir George, at the session of the Mission, if the Roumanians had given him the same song that they had given me, to the effect that they had never seized any foodstuffs in Hungary beyond the actual needs of the Roumanian Army in that country, and he replied that they had. I told him then that any such statement was a lie, using the very word here quoted; that I had personally investigated one case where they

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had shipped away to Roumania 2,800 carloads, mainly foodstuffs from one group of warehouses in Budapest alone, that they were seizing and removing seed grain and the last head of cattle from many of the farms, especially east of the Theiss River, and that I could give him overwhelming proof of only too many concrete cases.

Early this morning, General Gorton came in to see me, very much disgusted. He said that Sir George Clerk would be here probably only until tomorrow; that he had been wined and dined constantly by the Roumanians; that he himself had asked him to dinner tonight and showed me a note he had received from Sir George regretting that he could not accept because of a previous engagement with some Roumanian. We decided then that we would either get Sir George in deeper, or get him out; so I wrote a formal invitation, inviting him to dine with me tonight, and he promptly accepted.

He promised to be with Colonel Loree from 11 to 1 o'clock, but did not show up until 12, and stayed only for about an hour. At this session, he told Colonel Loree that he had been informed that the Roumanians had shipped back foodstuff to Hungary and were feeding the Hungarians, and was told that nothing of the kind had ever happened. He attempted to justify the seizure of all of the rolling stock, along the same lines as that adopted by the Roumanians, stating that they were taking back only an equivalent of what had been taken from them during the German occupation. He ad-

October 3, 1919

vanced the same old rotten argument that the Roumanian Army in its victorious march upon an enemy's capital had done no more than was customary in time of war, entirely ignoring the fact that there would be no victorious Roumanian Army had not the Entente first smashed the Germanic Powers, and that even then the Roumanians would never have gotten into Hungary had they not unfortunately had the opportunity to sneak in at the time when Hungary and its army were disrupted temporarily by the overthrow of the Bolshevist government.

Yesterday I had invited the family of Count Szirmay to go to the opera and sit in my box, but they had to come so far from the country and were delayed so long en route by the Roumanians, that they did not arrive until the opera was practically finished, and could not, therefore, go to the Opera House at all. As a result, Colonel Loree and I rattled around in the Royal box all alone until the last fifteen minutes, during which we were joined by Colonel Yates. The party eventually arrived and we had them to dinner.

This morning a ceremony took place in my office, during which we decorated a member of the British Mission, Lieutenant Molesworth, with the emblem of the Ancient, Honorable and Puissant Order of the P. E. Club of America.

October 3, 1919. Last night we entertained at dinner Admiral Troubridge, General Gorton, Sir George Clerk, Mr. Rattigan, the British Chargé d'Affaires at

October 3, 1919

Bucharest, and Admiral Troubridge's son, and Aide.

Sir George Clerk looked a little bit shamefaced, but I think was rather glad to have gotten out of the embarrassment that would naturally have resulted from too much appearing in public with the Roumanians. He left early because Mr. Rattigan was obliged, he said, to catch an early train back to Bucharest. He asked if he could resume his conference with Colonel Loree at 9.30 this morning, and was told certainly. But up to 11.30 he had not shown up.

The Roumanians kept on with their lying statements, that all requisitions had ceased on September the sixteenth, but nevertheless they are continuing daily.

Last night I received a telegram from Mr. Polk, stating that he had just had an interview with the Roumanian delegate, M. Misu, and with the Roumanian Colonel Antonescu. The latter had been in Paris for a week conferring with the French, but had just been able to get over to the American Commission. Mr. Polk stated that Antonescu denied all stories of outrages and looting, and was particularly indignant over stories that they had taken hospital supplies. He also gave as the reason for failure to arm 10,000 police, the fact that the Allies had charge of the Mackensen depôt of supplies and that the police should be armed from the same. Mr. Polk added that Roumania is apparently beginning to feel the pressure of the blockade of the Black Sea, because she could not get in the stores that she had purchased from the French and the Americans, and he added that this blockade would not be raised

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until the situation was improved. Mr. Polk suggested that a recommendation be sent the Supreme Council, to form a board representing the Inter-Allied Military Mission, with one Roumanian officer, for the purpose of investigating looting and seizures. I received another telegram from him earlier in the evening which was marked "double priority-urgent," wishing to know when Sir George Clerk would be back in Paris. I wired in reply to the latter that Sir George was due to arrive in Paris on Tuesday, and to the main telegram I sent the following answer:

Replying to your No. 63, there is only too much proof of Roumanian looting. I myself saw them taking hospital supplies and reported it at the time. They did not loot children's hospitals, but did cut off the usual supply of milk which was equally bad. Concerning Mackensen supplies, please see my telegrams No. sixty-three, sixty-five, sixty-six, and sixty-eight. This depot contained no firearms whatever and only about two thousand carloads of munitions. Roumanian tactics in regard to reorganizing the Hungarian police and army have been constantly obstructive. They seem determined to force Hungary into a separate treaty and, if obliged to evacuate, to leave her ripe for anarchy and Bolshevism so that their return will be requested. Since August 16th there has been a committee of the Mission on claims and complaints of which Colonel Loree is chairman. The Roumanian commander was requested to send a liaison officer, who refused to assist in any investigations, and the Roumanian commander insisted that all claims of any importance should be sent to him for final decision. Under the circumstances, we have gone on investigating and accumulating evidence, which is in as good a shape as possible with facilities at our disposal. Sir George Clerk has been given many data.

In my opinion, the most crying need is to force the Roumanians to carry out the instructions of the Supreme Council as given to them by the Inter-Allied Military Mission. Unless they

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evacuate Hungary as rapidly as we may require, and in the meantime assist, instead of obstructing, our police and army organization, matters will go from bad to worse. If for the first time they keep a promise and begin the evacuation of Transdanubia tomorrow, the fourth, we shall have made our first step forward.

I also sent a code telegram giving my opinion of Sir George Clerk, which was as follows:

Sir George Clerk spent about an hour with the Mission Wednesday afternoon. He repeated in substance his interview with the Roumanian Prime Minister which was practically the same as my own as to grievances, etc., but being with a diplomat also included demands for more territory on both sides of the Maros River for strategic defense of railroad. He said the Roumanians told him that no food requisitions had been made except for actual use of troops in Hungary. I told him this was untrue and I could give him absolute proof. The Mission was practically unanimous on all points discussed. My personal opinion is that Clerk is under the spell of Roumanian environment and a cooing dove would make a better ultimatum bearer. The Queen thinks she can handle any man she meets and is usually right. Clerk arrived Wednesday morning and, except for an hour with the Mission, he spent the balance of the day conferring with, and being banqueted by, Roumanians. In the evening he went to the opera with Diamandi; declined an invitation tonight to dine with Gorton because of an engagement with a Roumanian. So I asked him and the entire British Mission, and he had to accept. He asked the Mission about the prospects for future amicable relations between Hungary and Roumania, and was told that it was not believed possible, as Roumanian requisition methods and excess had created permanent retaliation sentiment. The Roumanians are devoting themselves almost exclusively to the British. For three consecutive days they have been giving them banquets, but the Admiral and General accepted only one invitation.

October 4, 1919

October 4, 1919. Although Sir George Clerk had two appointments with Colonel Loree yesterday, one at 9.30 in the morning and the other at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, he showed up at neither. During the forenoon, he had one of our stenographers, and in the afternoon gave General Gorton a copy of his notes, among which the following appears:

Cases brought to the notice of the Roumanian authorities such as M. Diamandi, the High Commissioner, or General Mardarescu, Commander in Chief, are indeed dealt with at once by them and an order is immediately issued for investigation, reparation, and if necessary, punishment.

He then adds, further on:

The Roumanian government, and those responsible for the conduct of its affairs, do realize that Hungary, stripped bare of all necessaries of life, is entirely contrary to the interests of Roumania, and I believe them sincere in their intention to take only what they consider to be their lawful property, stolen from them, and to limit their requisitions to the quantities which they have laid down.

I do not doubt but that Minister Diamandi, General Mardarescu, and others of that ilk, told Sir George just what he set down, and that he believed them. Their statements, however, are untrue. To give a concrete instance: at one of the meetings of the Inter-Allied Military Mission, which was attended by both Minister Diamandi and General Mardarescu, I called their attention to the fact that the Roumanians were seizing and removing articles like Gobelin tapestries, delicate scientific instruments, animals from stock farms, machinery installed in series in large factories, and in gen-

October 4, 1919

eral that they were seizing property that had never been taken from them, that was not needed by them at the time, nor were requisitions being made in a proper manner. General Mardarescu stated three times in reply that he had seized *only what was necessary for troops in the field*. Despite the fact that their attention on this occasion was called to definite cases, no action was taken by either of them in the way of investigation, reparation, or punishment. In particular, I read over the complete list of articles that had been removed from the Hungarian Directory of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, and asked General Mardarescu if he, as a soldier, could tell me that most of the articles seized were needed by his troops in the field. As he could give no direct reply, he invariably circumlocuted and switched to other subjects in which art both he and Diamandi are past masters.

The Roumanians have been most careful to require publication in the Hungarian press of the various banquets, entertainments, etc., given by them to Sir George Clerk, with the evident intention, of course, of impressing the Hungarians with the fact that they stood in with the Supreme Council.

Yesterday afternoon, at General Gorton's suggestion, Sir George saw Prime Minister Friedrich, and I understand that the latter made a most strong presentation of his case, showing how the Roumanians had descended even to petty personal persecution in order to force him to accept their terms.

October 5, 1919

In my opinion, the Roumanians should be forced by all means to make immediate restitution to the Hungarians of such portion of the seized rolling stock as may be required by the Inter-Allied Military Mission. This would enable the Hungarians, upon Roumanian evacuation, to move their supplies, coal, etc., and would be a great step forward. In addition, it would restore some of the prestige lost by the four great Powers, if it could be shown that the Roumanians had finally been forced to do something. They should also be required to restore draft animals and cattle foodstuffs, certain kinds of machinery, and such other articles as might seem necessary, but the question of rolling stock should be at once insisted upon and forced.

Last night we had a box party in the Royal box at the opera, entertaining Count Szirmay's family, and afterwards we had them at dinner.

October 5, 1919. This morning reports were received from Colonel Horowitz, U. S. A., and from Major Foster of the British Army, to the effect that the first stage of the evacuation of western Hungary by the Roumanians had been successfully carried through without friction or difficulty worth noting.

Last night Colonel Loree and I attended a dinner as the guests of Mr. Butler of the British Mission, the other guests being Admiral Troubridge, General Gorton, Sir George Clerk, and Sir William Goode. The latter is the representative of the Supreme Council on the Inter-Allied Food Commission. All of us, during

October 6, 1919

the course of the evening, hammered away at Sir George Clerk, and apparently changed his opinions in regard to his friends, the Roumanians.

Today being Sunday, there was, of course, no meeting, but this afforded opportunity for catching up with back work in the office.

October 6, 1919. Last night, just after we had risen from one of the excellent meals with which Captain Gore is nourishing us, Colonel Horowitz reported and stated that the Roumanians were at the National Museum with a whole flock of trucks, and proposed to take away many of the works of art.

At a meeting of the Military Mission on October 1, 1919, it was decided that although the Roumanians did claim many articles in the National Museum as belonging to them on account of their present ownership of Transylvania, they should have none of these articles until passed upon by our committee, of which Captain Shafroth, U. S. A., is chairman. On the same date the Roumanian Commander in Chief was notified of our decision.

Accompanied by Colonel Loree and one American soldier, I followed Colonel Horowitz back to the Museum, which we found under a strong Roumanian guard. One man tried to stop us, but it did not do him much good, and we went into the building and eventually routed out the Director. It appears that about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, General Serbescu, accompanied by an entourage of officers and civilians, showed

*This door sealed by Order
Inter Allied Military Mission*

*W. Bandholtz
Pres. of the day.
5 October 1919.*



ONE OF THE THREE SEALS PLACED ON THE DOORS OF THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM

BY GENERAL BANDHOLTZ, OCTOBER 5, 1919

REMOVED NOVEMBER 14, 1919, WHEN THE ROUMANIAN'S EVAGUATED BUDAPEST. FOR THIS SERVICE
GENERAL BANDHOLTZ LATER RECEIVED A BRONZE MEDAL DEDICATED TO HIM "FROM THE GRATEFUL NATIONAL MUSEUM"

October 6, 1919

up at the Museum convoying fourteen trucks and a detachment of soldiers. He stated that he was authorized by General Mardarescu and High Commissioner Diamandi to take over the objects from Transylvania, and demanded the keys. The Director informed him that the Inter-Allied Military Mission had taken over the Museum and he would not give up the keys. General Serbescu then told him that they would return in the morning and that, if the keys were not produced, they would take the objects by force.

I, therefore, had the Director deliver the key to the storeroom to me and left a paper worded as follows:

To whom it may concern —

As the Inter-Allied Mission is in charge of all the objects in the Hungarian National Museum at Budapest, the key has been taken charge of by the President of the Day, General Bandholtz, the American representative.

This was followed by my signature. I then had Colonel Loree place seals on each of the doors, on which was written:

This door sealed by Order Inter Allied Military Mission.

H. H. Bandholtz, Pres. of the day.

5 October 1919.

As the Roumanians and all Europeans are fond of rubber-stamp display, and as we had nothing else, we used an American mail-censor stamp, with which we marked each of the seals.

At this morning's session of the Mission, General Mombelli was unfortunately away, having gone to Vienna to meet his wife, but I related to my colleagues my experience of last night and asked whether or not

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the Mission approved the same, knowing in advance that General Gorton was with me. As there was some little delay before a reply was made, I said that in case the Mission did not care to do so, I personally would take all the responsibility and state that what I had done was done as American representative. At this, General Graziani very gallantly and promptly spoke up and said:

"No, I am with my colleague," and that settled it.

I then telegraphed the American Commission in Paris a statement of what had occurred, and wound up with the sentence:

"In the meantime the seals are on the doors, and we await developments."

We had another letter today from the Serbian representative, complaining of his treatment by his allies, the Roumanians, and he was told that he should lay his complaint directly before the Roumanians and if they did not act upon it, then he should bring it to us and we would try to force the issue.

Complaints were also received of abuses of Hungarian prisoners by the Roumanians, so it was decided to have our Army Organization Committee investigate and report on such abuses.

A letter was received from the Hungarian Ministry, stating that they had applied to the Roumanians for authority to reopen the mails, to which they had received the reply from General Mardaescu that he had no objection, provided the Hungarians would pay for forty Roumanian censors. This was so ridiculous that

October 6, 1919

it was decided to send a copy of the letter to the Supreme Council.

As the Roumanians are deluging us with statements that they have stopped all requisitions, we are bringing to their attention the more important reported cases, asking them to stop immediately and to make restitution. This morning we had a concrete case of about three million kronen worth of Tokay wine.

Just before adjournment, a letter was received from the Roumanians dated the fourth, in which they acknowledged receipt of the Mission's letter of the first, relative to the objects from Transylvania in the National Museum, and stating that these objects would be seized and that the signers, Mardaescu and Diamandi, would take the responsibility for this action. As it happens, they will now have to take the responsibility for breaking the Mission's seals before they get the objects.

In a burst of generosity, the Roumanians said that they would give one thousand rifles to the police immediately, and then they sent over a colonel to state that there were twelve to fourteen different kinds of makes in the one thousand rifles, that practically none of them were serviceable, and that it would be necessary to return them to Szeged and get others. Of course this will continue indefinitely, and we shall wind up, as usual with the Roumanians, by getting nothing.

Concerning the objects in the Museum, a letter has also been received from the Archbishop of Esztergom

October 7, 1919

and Prince Primus of Hungary stating that these objects were by will placed in his charge on the condition that they form an integral part of a Christian Museum at Esztergom or at Budapest, and protesting against anyone whomsoever interfering with the right of the Roman Catholic Church in this collection.

October 7, 1919. Colonel Yates returned from Bucharest yesterday afternoon, and Lieutenant Hamilton arrived from Paris late at night, and this morning Lieutenant-Colonel Moore reported for duty with me. He had formerly been in charge of the Courier Service at Paris, so he is well acquainted with the system of railroads through this section of the country, and is a West Pointer of the class of 1903. He came on the same train with Colonel Causey of the Food Commission, who is in Budapest for the day.

Having been invited by General Mosoiu, the Roumanian Commander in Budapest, with all of my staff, to lunch with him at the Hotel Hungaria at noon, seven of us went over and had an American-Roumanian love feast. At the entrance to the Hotel, they had an honor guard drawn up with a band which sounded off with what was supposed to be the "Star Spangled Banner." After we had entered the large dining room, the band came and repeated what was again supposed to be the "Star Spangled Banner," but which was different from the first offense. When we finally left, they sounded off again with the third variety, and also with the Roumanian national anthem.

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We opened up the ball with a hot drink, two glasses of which will lay out a full-grown man for about a week. Needless to say, none of us took very much. We then sat down to the usual banquet procedure, which was marked more by sumptuousness than by delicacy. As guest of honor, I sat facing General Mosoiu, who beamed upon me throughout the whole meal with his three-hundred-and-ten-pound smile. As previously stated, however, he is a pretty good old fellow and far above the ordinary Roumanian general, of which there were six specimens present. Colonel Loree sat next to General Serbescu, who, poor devil, is the Director in Chief of Roumanian requisitions, seizures, and thefts. He is really not a bad fellow himself, but has to be fourteen kinds of skunk in the execution of his office. He told Colonel Loree that I had put him between the devil and the deep sea. His orders were to seize the articles in the Museum; that he could not seize them without breaking my seals, and he did not dare to break the seals; so all he could see was disaster approaching in large quantities.

General Mosoiu toasted "Les États-Unis," which was responded to with raucous Roumanian shouts. In return, I gave them "The Allies and a lasting friendship," thereby avoiding a direct allusion to any greater Roumania.

On our return from the hotel, when we were crossing the Danube Bridge, we saw a crowd congregated, and proceeded to investigate. It seemed that a Hungarian policeman had tapped a Roumanian soldier in

October 8, 1919

a crowded street car, to warn him that he was in danger. The Roumanian did not understand and promptly pulled a revolver on the policeman, who then reached for his bayonet to defend himself. Seeing this, a Roumanian censor, dressed in civilian clothes, had called up some Roumanian soldiers who promptly responded, and Hell was about to pop. I took the name of the Hungarian policeman, and sent the Roumanian and the Roumanian soldier who had caused the difficulty, in charge of Colonel Loree and Lieutenant Hamilton, to Roumanian Headquarters, where they were turned over, and the situation was explained by Colonel Loree.

October 8, 1919. Last night we had Lieutenant-Colonel Causey, Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, and Captain Smythe to dinner. Afterwards Colonel Causey returned to Vienna by special train.

At this morning's session, General Graziani presided, and we had no matters of great moment to take up.

Lieutenant-Colonel Berthon, of the Army Organization Committee, reported that some Hungarian officers, during the evacuation of Transdanubia had indulged in considerable talk which was hardly proper under the circumstances, so we decided to communicate with the Hungarian War Department to that effect.

Reports of continuation of Roumanian pillaging between the Danube and the Theiss Rivers were received, and it seems that this pillaging is increasing in intensity, rather than diminishing.

October 8, 1919

There was received a very peculiar and interesting letter from General Mardarescu, stating that the Roumanians, when entering Budapest, had found several monitors and Vedette boats in the river here; that this matter had been brought to the attention of Admiral Troubridge, who had replied that these boats were the property of the Allies and were awaiting their disposition. The Roumanians, therefore, begged the Inter-Allied Military Mission to intercede in their behalf and see that there were turned over to them, without further delay, two monitors and two Vedette boats. As the matter was one which should be handled entirely by the Danube River Commission and not by our Mission, it was decided to notify the Roumanians accordingly and to transmit their paper to Admiral Troubridge. Just to get a rise out of General Graziani, I suggested that we write to the Roumanians acknowledging receipt of their communication, stating that up to date they had not complied with any of the requests made by this Mission to cease requisitions or anything else, that when they returned to Hungary the property which they had taken and which we had requested, we could consider the matter. In the meantime the boats were in the Danube and as easily accessible to seizure as was all the other property they had taken, the only difference being, of course, that the boats were under British guard. Poor General Graziani nearly had a fit of apoplexy when I suggested this. He gave a most audible sigh of relief when I added that probably it might be inadvisable to send such a communication as yet.

October 9, 1919

Just as we were leaving for lunch, we got word that the Roumanians were down at one of the banks and proposed to seize some funds which, they claimed, had belonged to the Bolshevist government. We accordingly hotfooted over there, but found nobody. Later in the afternoon, we got word that the Roumanians had been to the bank and had taken the funds away, and then we discovered that we had been directed to the wrong bank. Accordingly Colonel Loree and Major Foster of the British Service chased down and hoped that they would be in time to intercept the Roumanian retreat, but they had made a get-away with funds amounting to two million kronen white money, which is four hundred thousand kronen blue money or, reduced to United States currency, sixty thousand dollars. General Gorton and I also went over and found that all the Roumanian high officials were off on a hunting expedition. We therefore sent Colonel Loree and Major Foster over to Roumanian G. H. Q., where they spent the afternoon and left that bunch in fear and trembling.

To show the change of heart on the part of the Roumanians, they volunteered this afternoon to give us at once 10,000 rifles for the police, which proves that they lied in the beginning in saying that the rifles had to be imported from Roumania. The whole thing seems to be turning on the placing of the seals on the Museum, which seals, by the way, are still intact.

October 9, 1919. Yesterday afternoon I received an inquiry from the American Commission as to the where-

October 9, 1919

abouts of General Jadwin,⁴⁵ and after I had dictated a telegram saying that he had not been seen or even heard from, word came to me that he had just arrived bringing me two cards, so I spent the evening with him, at his home in the Hotel Ritz, going over common experiences.

As indicated in the journal of a previous day, the Roumanians seem to be determined to get revenue from every possible source, including the liberation of Bolshevik prisoners. Last night, some time after midnight, a Hungarian liaison officer brought word that a large number of Roumanian soldiers were at the main prison demanding the release of a Bolshevik prisoner. My secretary, Mr. Fenselau, accompanied by field clerk St. Jaques, was sent over to the prison and found the facts to be as stated. In fact, the Roumanians were about leaving with their prisoner. My men insisted on bringing the matter up directly to the Roumanian high officials, because the officer in charge of the detachment said that they were acting under verbal orders from Colonel Vasilescu. As Colonel Vasilescu is about the squarest Roumanian in the whole service, this looked very fishy, and the fishiness was demonstrated later on when at 2.30 o'clock in the morning neither Colonel Vasilescu nor his wife could be found in the hotel. Our two men hung on to the proposition like a pup to a

⁴⁵ General Edgar Jadwin of the Engineering Corps of the U. S. Army served as director of the light railways and roads for the A. E. F. in France, then as director of construction and forestry. In 1919 he was a member of the American Mission to Poland, and observer in the Ukraine. He died on March 2, 1931.

October 10, 1919

root, and eventually got word that General Panaitescu, the Chief of Staff, had authorized the return of the prisoner to the jail. I am sending word to Roumanian Headquarters, by Colonel Loree, that if there is any more of this I will personally put an American guard on the prison and allow no Roumanians to enter.

October 10, 1919. Last night I had General Jadwin to dinner at our quarters and invited General Gorton over to meet him.

This morning at 7.45, we all started in automobiles for Vienna. Jadwin and I rode in a limousine and Captain Gore with Jadwin's extra chauffeurs, etc., in a touring car.

When we struck the Hungarian guard station at Gyor, they did not know whether or not to let us through. They wanted me to go back and see an officer. I told them to bring the officer to see me. Finally after some telephoning, they let us through. At the succeeding Hungarian posts we had no trouble. Subsequently upon arriving in Vienna, I telegraphed Colonel Loree about our difficulty, knowing that he would take it up immediately with the Hungarian War Office so that there would be no delay on our return trip.

When we arrived at Bruck, we ran across the first Austrian guard whom we could not well understand, and as a result they put a soldier on our running board and took us up to some office where they again wanted us to go up and see an officer, and I again refused. We did let one of the chauffeurs go up and he eventually

October 11, 1919

came back with his passport viséd, which they said would be sufficient.

The other car had not caught up with us at Bruck, nor did it again join us because the timing chain was out of gear, and it had to remain there until we afterwards sent the limousine back from Vienna to tow it in. General Jadwin and I arrived at the Hotel Bristol in Vienna at about 3 o'clock, where I stayed as the guest of Lieutenant-Colonel Causey, who is on duty with the American Relief Association.

The American consul, Mr. Halstead, called upon me shortly after arrival, and in the evening we dined at the Bristol as Colonel Causey's guests, but we did not try to go out.

October, 11, 1919. Colonel Raymond Sheldon, for whom I had applied, arrived at Vienna last night, and reported to me this morning. Jadwin and I did a little shopping in the morning, got some French money, changed it into Austrian kronen, and then separated. I spent the rest of the day prowling around Vienna alone.

The Austrian currency has been steadily depreciating, until now it takes ten kronen to make one franc, French money, and it takes about nine francs, French money, to make one dollar of American money. That makes ninety kronen to the dollar. During the day, I received in change some two-heller pieces, which made each piece worth less than one-fortieth of a cent, as it takes one hundred heller to make a krone.

October 12, 1919

I gave a luncheon party at the Bristol to General Jadwin, Colonel Sheldon, Colonel C. B. Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel Causey, and Captain Gore. Owing to the depreciated currency, a very fine lunch for six cost less than the charge in Paris for an ordinary lunch for one. Colonel Sheldon stated that he was paying thirty-two kronen a day for a fine room with bath. This reduced to United States currency, would be about thirty-five cents.

In the evening we were all guests of Lieutenant-Colonel Causey at dinner at some restaurant near one of the palaces.

October 12, 1919. I left Vienna this morning about 8.30, the delay being caused by the impossibility of getting gasoline early on Sunday morning. Colonel Sheldon, Captain Gore and I went in the limousine, and in the touring car we loaded all our purchases and supplies, and Colonel Sheldon's baggage.

When we arrived at Bruck, we were again held up by the Austrian outpost. A soldier got on the running board, took us up to the same building, and wanted me to go up and see the officer. I sent word that if he wanted to see me, he could come down. He then sent word that it would *not be necessary for me to come up, but only to send my papers.* I again told him that if he wanted my papers, he could come down and, as he was rather slow in coming and I understood he objected to the same, we pulled out, made them raise their gates, and proceeded on our way without further

October 13, 1919

difficulty, as the Hungarians did not attempt to stop us.

We arrived at the house in Budapest about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, had lunch, and I put in the rest of the afternoon working at my office in catching up with back work.

In the evening, I went to dinner at General Gorton's, the other guest being the Roumanian General Mosoiu.

October 13, 1919. At this morning's session of the Mission, at which I presided, there was very much doing.

We started in by having a letter from the British Food Commissioner, Mr. Domaille, complaining that the Roumanians had reduced the food reserve in Budapest to one-third of what it was in September; and another letter from the Hungarian Minister, to the effect that the Roumanian Commander in Budapest would not allow the Food Commissioner to supply the suburbs, containing an estimated population of over 600,000.

There was a complaint from the Hungarian government stating that the Czecho-Slovaks were occupying territory on this side of the Danube opposite the town of Pozsony. As there were no data on hand to determine whether or not this territory belonged to the Czecho-Slovaks, a letter was sent to the Supreme Council asking for a decision.

A complaint was received from the Hungarians that the Roumanians, in the evacuation of Transdanubia, had liberated many Bolshevik prisoners. As this is particularly in line with what they have been doing in the

October 13, 1919

city of Budapest, a letter was sent to the Roumanian Commander in Chief, calling his attention to the impropriety of any such conduct and advising him to discontinue it in the future.

A red-hot letter was received from Captain Brunier, the Swiss representative of the International Red Cross, containing conclusions which are embodied in the telegram to the Supreme Council, copied further down. It was decided to send Colonel Sheldon, U. S. A., who had been my second assistant in charge of our prisoners of war in France, accompanied by an Italian doctor, with Captain Brunier to investigate all of the Roumanian prisoner-of-war camps.

A long letter was received from the Hungarian Minister of War, explaining that the conditions in Hungary were so entirely different from those in Austria that the Austrian treaty should not form a basis for a future Hungarian treaty, especially as regards a Hungarian army.

Several other complaints were received and matters worked up to such a climax that I stated to the Mission that, in my opinion, the time had arrived when we should lay the case plainly before the Supreme Council and asked that they either force the Roumanians to evacuate immediately, making much restitution of seized property, or that they relieve the Inter-Allied Military Mission. With very little discussion, it was decided to draw up and send such a telegram, which I did, and which reads as follows:

October 13, 1919

Cold weather is setting in and a day's delay now more serious than would have been a week's delay two months ago. Inter-Allied Military Mission therefore desires to present the Supreme Council following statements of fact concerning conduct of Roumanians with request for prompt action. They have so thoroughly cleaned out country of rolling stock that there is not enough for transportation of local food and fuel requirements. Their administration has reduced food reserve in Budapest to one-third of what it was in September. According to report of Hungarian Food Minister, they have by unnecessary and cruel restrictions prevented food from going out of Budapest to neighboring suburbs, population of which estimated to be six hundred thousand. It is reported that during evacuation of Transdanubia, they released Bolshevists who had been detained, and in the city of Budapest they have repeatedly, by force and without, written orders taking Bolshevist prisoners out of jails. At Szolnok, where a Committee of this Mission was obtaining information of Roumanian exportation, they have arrested several of the Hungarian railway men who were aiding in our efforts. They have prevented university students from a continuation of their courses. On September 26 their Commander in Chief sent a letter to Mission stating that to cover needs of feeding Hungary, the zone between Danube and Theiss Rivers had been placed at disposition of Hungarian government; that no requisitions would take place in that zone except those necessary for actual feeding of troops; that especially for city of Budapest above zone would be extended to east of Theiss to boundary line fixed by said commander, despite which on October fifth the Roumanian Colonel Rujinschi seized thirty aëroplane motors at Budapest which can hardly be classified as food. On October tenth in Budapest from the firm of Schmitt and Társai they seized and removed machinery which put two thousand laborers out of work. A large number of similar cases with proof are on hand. In reply to letter from Mission that it was desired that objects in National Museum be not disturbed until acted upon by committee, they sent reply that they intended to take those objects and that the signers of letters, Mardarescu and Diamandi, assumed

October 13, 1919

responsibility for such action, this being in effect an insult to nations represented on Inter-Allied Military Mission. That they did not take these objects was due to fact that doors were sealed and signed by the President of the Day at the time and they were afraid to go to extreme of breaking seals. Between five and six o'clock this morning they attempted to arrest Prime Minister Friedrich and did arrest two government officials, as result of which President of the Day in person delivered to General Mardarescu a memorandum from Mission, copy of which was telegraphed Supreme Council this date. They kept their Commander in Chief, General Mardarescu, and High Commissioner Diamandi absent in Bucharest a week, during which no representative was present with whom business could be transacted. Although they in August acknowledged the Inter-Allied Military Mission as representing their superior, they have with comparatively negligible exceptions carried out none of the instructions of this Mission and have always insisted on acting as though Roumania were equal or superior to nations represented on Mission. They have sent misleading reports to Paris placing themselves in attitude of saviors of Hungary and have censored the press in Hungary to such an extent that Hungarians could not refute any false statements. On the nineteenth of September their General Mardarescu wrote to the Mission that he had taken all necessary measures to make treatment of prisoners satisfactory, stating that especially from sanitary viewpoint according to report of his surgeon general conditions were very good. On October eleventh, Mission received communication from International Red Cross representative stating that his investigation at Arad resulted in discovery of conditions so opposed to conventions covering treatment of prisoners of war that he felt this Mission should take some action. His conclusions, which are as follows, concur with all reports concerning same except Roumanian reports:

"I find that these prisoners were not captured on the field of battle but many days after the cessation of hostilities; that the lodgings of the prisoners are unsanitary; that the army which captured them takes no care of them whatever, furnishes them neither food, clothing, medicine, covering, nor anything; that

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from the date of their captivity, the prisoners have had no funds and that the majority cannot purchase anything for even insufficient nourishment; that doctors are treated contrary to Article IX of Geneva Convention of 1906; that all these men are exposed to serious diseases if they are not promptly aided; that the order given to the Red Cross at Arad to take care of the prisoners' needs is entirely illegal and cannot be based upon any law or international convention."

Doctor Munro of the British Food Commission and the Swiss Captain Brunier of the International Red Cross have just returned from visiting the following towns: Hatvan, Gyöngyös, Miskolcz, Sátoralja-Ujhely, Nyiregyháza, Debreczen, Szolnok, Nagyvárad, Békés-Gyula, Arad, Temesvár, Szeged, all in permanent portion of Hungary, but now occupied by Roumanians, and have submitted signed statement from which following is extracted:

"In all towns occupied by Roumanians we found an oppression so great as to make life unbearable. Murder is common, youths and women flogged, imprisoned without trial, arrested without reason, theft of personal property under name of requisition. Condition of affairs prevails difficult for Western European to realize who has not seen and heard the evidence. People are forced to take oath of allegiance to Roumanian King; if they refuse they are persecuted. Experienced Hungarian Directors of Hospitals have been replaced by inexperienced Roumanian doctors. Roumanian military authorities demand petition for every passport, request for coal or food. Petition must be written in Roumanian language, Roumanian lawyer must be employed, and he charges enormous fees. Station master of Brad and the station master of Ketegyhaza have been most fearfully flogged. Last Good Friday Roumanians advanced suddenly to Boros-Sebes and two hundred fifty Hungarian soldiers were taken prisoners. These were killed in most barbarous manner; stripped naked and stabbed with bayonets in way to prolong life as long as possible. Roumanians have established custom-house in every village. Delivery permits can only be obtained by payment of ridiculously large sums. Commerce is impossible. People will soon starve. Deliberately and

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for no military and political reason apparent the hospitals are not allowed transports for coal and wood which they have already paid for. Very life of hospital hangs on coal. Hospitals will have to close down entirely unless relieved immediately. Results will be disastrous. There will be outbreaks of all sorts of contagious epidemic diseases, such as typhus, typhoid, etc."

An American officer and an Italian doctor, if Roumanians permit, will accompany the International Red Cross representative on a thorough investigation of prisoner-of-war camps. In general Roumanian conduct has been such that this Mission has been almost wholly unable to carry out its instructions and there is apparently no prospect of immediate improvement. It is the unanimous opinion of the Mission that unless the Roumanians immediately evacuate Hungary and make at least partial restitution in particular of rolling stock, machinery and much other property seized, there will result in a very short time extreme suffering from lack of food and fuel and a recrudescence of Bolshevism. This Mission is therefore of the unanimous opinion that either the Roumanians should be forced to evacuate Hungary at once and make restitution as above outlined or that this Mission should be relieved.

After acting upon this, Colonel Loree sent me word that the Roumanians had tried to arrest Prime Minister Friedrich⁴⁶ and had arrested at least two Hungarian officials. This action on their part rather got under the skin of all of us and we decided to notify them that in our opinion such action could not be tolerated, and I offered to deliver personally to the Roumanian Commander in Chief a memorandum on the subject. To make sure that there would be no misunderstanding

⁴⁶ Compare Mr. Charles Upson Clark's version of Bandholtz' being deceived by Friedrich in regard to the alleged attempt made by the Roumanians to kidnap him. *Greater Roumania*, New York, 1922, p. 267. At the same time the statement concerning Mr. Clark on p. 12 should be kept in mind.

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on his part, General Graziani wrote this out in his beautiful French, which afforded me much satisfaction to sign, chase down to Roumanian headquarters, and deliver in person to General Mardaescu. I told him we had received information that he had tried that morning to arrest the Prime Minister of the Hungarian government and that I had the honor to hand him the wishes of the Mission in regard to the conduct of the Roumanians toward the Hungarian government. He turned as pale as he could under his hide, and, as his Chief of Staff was with him, they discussed the matter for a few minutes in machine-gun Roumanian. His Excellency then told me that it was all a horrible mistake, and that they had never intended it. I told him that I was delighted to hear it, but nevertheless I would leave the memorandum. Then I departed. Thereupon I telegraphed in English the text of the memorandum, to the Supreme Council, which was as follows:

The Mission considers it indispensable that the conduct of affairs by the Hungarian cabinet be not interrupted for a single moment. Therefore in the name of the Supreme Council the Mission demands that the Roumanian authorities leave the members of the Hungarian government entirely alone in the conduct of the affairs of their departments until the Supreme Council has made known its decision.

Drawing up the telegram to the Supreme Council and chasing around after Roumanians took up practically all of my time, and we did not sit down to dinner until nine o'clock, having as our only guest a young Hungarian liaison officer, Lieutenant Széchy, who is attached to the American Mission.

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October 14, 1919. As all day yesterday was taken up with cleaning up accumulation of business, and as result of chasing around with the telegram to the Supreme Council, my whole forenoon was taken up dictating and receiving callers, and the afternoon was similarly occupied. In the evening Colonel Loree and I went as guests at the British "B Mess," which is run by the junior officers. It was certainly a relief to sit down to a dinner where you could talk in your own lingo.

October 15, 1919. At this morning's session, General Gorton presided, and there was first read a letter from General Mardaescu complaining that British and American officers had been guilty of gross discourtesy toward Roumanian soldiers and had called them pigs. It frequently happens that people do not like to be called by their most appropriate title. In any event our friend, Mardaescu, made a Hell of a howl and demanded all sorts of things. It turned out before we got through that the shoe was on the other foot, and that his pigs had been holding up our officers unnecessarily. His attention was called to this, and he was advised to instruct his soldiers to act more as such and less like animals.

I then turned over to the President of the Day a letter which had been delivered at my office yesterday by the Hungarian Minister of War. Enclosed in this letter was another one from the Roumanian Chief of Staff in which he admitted that three Roumanian patrols had gone across the neutral zone into Hungarian territory

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and had been beaten up or otherwise injured. It was demanded by the Roumanian Chief of Staff that the Hungarian Minister of War deliver to the Roumanian Chief of Staff one million two hundred and fifty thousand kronen before noon today, and in the event of failure to do so the food supply of the city of Budapest would be cut off. A letter was written and sent to the Roumanian Commander in Chief, calling his attention to the fact that according to the admission of his own Chief of Staff the Roumanian soldiers were entirely out of bounds, that in case of any difficulties between patrols the matter should be referred to the Army Organization Committee of this Mission, which had a Roumanian member, and that the recommendation of this Committee should be received before any action was taken. It was added that it was not believed that he could be serious in his threat to stop the food supply of two million people on account of the conduct of individuals many miles away.

I then informed the Mission that according to Paragraph 3 (b) of our instructions from the Supreme Council, which empower us to define the lines which occupying troops were to hold, we should notify the Roumanians that it was now time for them to evacuate the city of Budapest. With but little discussion, this was approved and I later drafted the following letter:

In compliance with the requirements contained in Paragraph 3 (b) of the instructions from the Supreme Council, the Inter-Allied Military Mission has directed me to inform Your Excellency that it is desired that the Royal Roumanian Forces proceed with the evacuation of Hungary and without delay

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withdraw from the city of Budapest to a line at least fifty kilometers distant.

Your Excellency will recall that at one of the sessions of this Mission which your Excellency attended it was decided that an infantry division and a cavalry division at thirty kilometers distance would be sufficient for moral effect upon the city, should there be any incipient recrudescence of Bolshevism or any other disturbance.

The Inter-Allied Military Mission requests of Your Excellency prompt information as to the date upon which the requested withdrawal will take place.

We received a protest from the Roumanians against our proceeding to organize an additional Hungarian division near Szeged, and it was decided to reply to them that this was a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of the Mission. Another letter was received from the Roumanians to the effect that they had heard that Admiral Horthy's army was far in excess of what was authorized and already numbered twenty-five thousand men. They demanded that we check this up at once and that they have a liaison officer at Hungarian headquarters and at each division. We decided that this likewise was a matter entirely within our jurisdiction, and that the Army Organization Committee, which had a Roumanian member, was fully capable of handling all such matters.

During the day I received a telegram for delivery to General Gorton, informing him that Sir George Clerk had been designated as Envoy of the Supreme Council at Budapest, and with full powers. Just what this means was beyond us; so I telegraphed the American Mission what was meant by "full powers"—did it mean that Sir

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George Clerk was to relieve the Military Mission, that the Military Mission was to function under him, or that he was to represent the Supreme Council to act upon matters which we could bring to his attention?

In the afternoon Lieutenant-General Sir Tom Bridges called upon me and we had quite a satisfactory chat.

In regard to the attempted arrest of Prime Minister Friedrich, I have ascertained that the whole affair was undoubtedly a fluke. The Crown Prince of Roumania, whose regiment is but a short distance out of Budapest, and who is about of the same moral fiber as most Crown Princes, was in Budapest on the night of the twelfth, as the guest of General Mosoiu, who commands in the city.

During the table talk, he stated, that when he became King of Hungary he proposed to turn loose the Communists and other political prisoners and that he would do it now but for the fact that that scoundrel, Friedrich, was Prime Minister. It is understood by some that this was taken by Mosoiu as a suggestion to have Friedrich arrested. Other reports are that the Crown Prince himself ordered the arrest. In any event the attempt failed, and I am rather satisfied that Mardarescu's surprise was genuine. It is an example, however, how matters are running in Hungary during Roumanian occupation.

October 16, 1919. It was remarkable that there were today no reports of Roumanian excesses.

I had luncheon at the Hotel Ritz as the guest of General Bridges of the British Army. With him was also

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the British General Greenly, who is the Attaché to Roumania.

During the conversation, General Bridges repeated to me the remarks that he made when he was my guest, to the effect that General Weygand, Marshal Foch's Chief of Staff, had told him that in the Argonne offensive the American army was badly split up, that there were from a hundred thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand stragglers who could not find their organizations; that hardly any supplies were brought up, and in general almost a state of demoralization existed.

I told General Bridges that in view of the fact that I was Provost Marshal General at the time and in charge of the straggling proposition I could tell him definitely and positively that General Weygand's statement was incorrect. I have written General Pershing informing him of these remarks of General Weygand's.

Of late I have been doing a great deal of adopting, and have several families under my wing. In one case I have six young countesses by the name of Szirmay, ranging from twenty-four years for the eldest on down, with about two years' intervals. My staff officers rather like this arrangement.

Last night, considerably to my disgust, I was obliged to attend the Grand Opera as General Gorton's guest. He was giving a big party with dinner afterwards in the Országos Casino. Nobody knew what the opera was because it had a Hungarian name, and the words were in Hungarian. It was something about a Jewess, who

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weighed about two hundred and twenty-five pounds, in love with a little tenor who was six inches shorter and weighed about one twenty-five. During the performance a giant of a cardinal wound up, having the Jewess thrown into a caldron of burning oil where she made a big splash and a red glow. The dinner was not bad, and I finally got home before eleven o'clock. Owing to the attitude of the Roumanians about hours, the opera begins at six o'clock and ends at nine, and each performance consists of a long drawn-out tragedy, with occasional rays of sunshine in the way of a ballet.

October 17, 1919. At this morning's session, General Graziani presided and we had another report of the invasion of Hungarian territory by Roumanian patrols. Judging from a secret service agent's report of the incidents which occurred at the dinner given to the Crown Prince on the night of the twelfth, the Roumanians intend to put over many of this kind of incursions in order to stir up the Hungarians to something more than passive resistance, so that fines can be imposed on the rest of the country.

A most peculiar letter was received from General Mardarescu, announcing that he proposed to return all the telephone instruments and other apparatus removed from the Hungarian Ministry of War, but he added that this would not take place until the Roumanians were about to evacuate.

A letter was received also from General Mardarescu, complaining that a British officer had gone to the town

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of Gödöllő, forced his way into the château there, and had broken the Roumanian seals on some of the doors. An explanation was demanded. The reply was that Major Foster, a member of Colonel Loree's committee, had gone to the château in question; that there were no seals there whatever; that some doors had been unlocked by the Roumanians themselves, but no seals were broken; and that Major Foster expected an apology from the Roumanian officer that had falsely accused him.

We also received a letter from Colonel Yates, stating that the Roumanians had agreed to accept him as the superior of police and gendarmerie. Everything considered there seems to be a little progress.

October 18, 1919. Last night about 7 o'clock, a long telegram of about fifteen hundred words was received from the American Commission, with the request that I furnish copies to my colleagues. It contained the last ultimatum of the Supreme Council to the Roumanians. In my opinion if a duck should drop into the Mediterranean Sea, it would have about as much effect on the tide in the Gulf of Mexico as would any such ultimatum on our Roumanian friends. It was as sweet as sugar and honey could make it and of the same type as its numerous predecessors. After reading it over, I went with Captain Gore, about 11 o'clock at night, to General Mombelli's quarters, got him out of bed and translated it to him in my beautiful, fluent, forceful, and rotten French. He seemed to grasp the point, however,

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and we decided that we would call a meeting of the Mission for the morning.

We accordingly met at 9.30, turned loose all of our interpreters upon the telegram, and eventually absorbed its gentle contents. It started by reminding the Roumanians that there were points at issue between them and the Allies. The first was their demand for both banks of the Maros River, which was diplomatically refused. The second was the question of "Minorities," in which the Supreme Council firmly announced its intention to abide by its original decision, and then wound up by saying in effect that, however, if the Roumanians would only please accept the treaty as it was given them, they could immediately discuss the matter and make any changes for which the Roumanians could give good reasons. The third clause was the Hungarian question, which was subdivided into two parts; the first being the question of requisitions, to which the Supreme Council said it knew very well that the great and glorious Roumanian government never had any intention of seizing anything beyond railroad rolling stock and war material, but that nevertheless there was incontestable evidence that some unruly Roumanian subordinates had gone far in advance of the authorized requisitions and had seized much other property for which the Supreme Council was regretfully forced to hold the Roumanian government itself responsible. It was stated that a Reparations Committee or Commission would be appointed, with Roumanian representation, to go into this matter and adjust it. Then was added one of those

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little acts called "closing the barn door after the horse is stolen"—it was suggested that a Commission be sent to the Szolnok and Csongr ad Bridges to keep track of all exportations from Hungary into Roumania.

The second subdivision was the evacuation of Hungary, and the Supreme Council stated that it would be tickled to death to receive assurances from the Roumanian government that they intended promptly to evacuate Hungary.

There was also another point of the Hungarian question, namely, the constitution of a government. Some time ago our Mission had telegraphed to the Supreme Council recommending that either the Friedrich government be recognized or that specific instructions be given as to what kind of government would be recognized. The reply was another beautiful example of glittering generalities. It was repeated that it was not thought that the Friedrich government was a correct representation of all Hungarian parties, and that Minister Friedrich should have a member in his cabinet from each party, and that in case he could not do so, the Entente could not make a treaty of peace with his cabinet. In view of the fact that there are at present eighteen different political parties in Hungary, it is apparent that long range theory does not always work.

Later in the morning, the American consul in Vienna, Mr. Halstead, called me up by telephone and gave me a translation from one of the Vienna papers, which was to the effect that the Supreme Council in Paris had received a telegram from the Inter-Allied

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Military Mission in Budapest in which it was declared that the Roumanians must be forced to leave Hungary; that the Supreme Council agreed with this; that instructions to such effect would immediately be sent forward, and that Sir George Clerk had left on the evening of the sixteenth from Paris for Budapest to hand over such instructions to the Roumanians.

During the session of the Mission, General Gorton stated that he had seen Minister Friedrich at lunch at Admiral Troubridge's, and that the Prime Minister was very much concerned for his personal safety. The General added then that he had seen me and I had agreed to send an American soldier over to stay at Minister Friedrich's house until matters quieted down.

This evening at about 7 o'clock, as I was about to leave the office to dress for dinner, several Hungarian functionaries, wild-eyed and disheveled, rushed into my office to say that the Roumanians, having heard that Sir George Clerk was coming, had decided to arrest Friedrich, and were on their way to make the arrest. I grabbed my riding crop, took the lot in tow, picked up my aide, Lieutenant Hamilton, and one military policeman, and went myself over to the government building, where I personally mounted guard, while Lieutenant Hamilton went and got a corporal and three men. These I posted and left with the idea of having British and American guards alternate in the future. The Roumanian company evidently had heard of this and they stopped in the barracks about three or four blocks away.

October 19, 1919

This evening Colonel Loree, Captain Gore and myself were invited to dinner by Admiral Troubridge to meet Sir Maurice de Bunsen⁴⁷ and Lady de Bunsen.

October 19, 1919. This morning, on the way over to the office, I stopped to look over our guard at the government building, and then started for the Palace, and ran plumb into a Roumanian patrol of about eight men. Of course, they understood no English and I no Roumanian, but they evidently understood the sign language of the riding crop and departed from the Palace precincts, escorted by Colonel Loree.

This noon I was obliged to attend a small luncheon party given by General Gorton to Lady Cunningham and the Countess Orssich. It was a devil of a nuisance because our courier leaves tomorrow morning and I wanted to finish my memoranda for the American Commission. Anyway I quit early and got back and busy at work.

In the afternoon General Soós came in to see me, and said that he understood that the Roumanians were going to evacuate the city of Buda tonight. I told him I thought he was mistaken and that only the division which was being relieved by another division, would leave, but in case there was any general evacuation I would let him know, and warned him in any event to be prepared for contingencies.

This evening we entertained at dinner Mr. Haan, the proprietor of the Hotel St. Regis of New York City,

⁴⁷ English Ambassador at Venna, 1913-14. He retired from the diplomatic service in 1919.

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his wife and two daughters, one of whom is married to a Hungarian general. Mr. Haan, although now an American citizen, is of Hungarian birth and came with a letter of introduction from Assistant Secretary of State Polk, and also from Lieutenant Littwitz, who as enlisted man was so long my chauffeur with the Twenty-seventh Division. Mr. Haan is bringing over funds to relieve distress in Hungary, but does not wish to appear in the limelight.

October 20, 1919. The Mission met this morning as usual at 9.30, and it was my turn as President of the Day.

There was read the telegram from the Supreme Council to the effect that Sir George Clerk⁴⁸ was coming here

⁴⁸ Sir George Russel Clerk was an English expert on Balkan affairs. In 1913-14 he had been Director of the Oriental Department of the English Foreign Office. "The French government having prudently refused to furnish an envoy" (according to E. J. Dillon's *Inside Story of the Peace Conference*, New York, 1920, p. 233), Clerk was sent to Budapest as a special diplomatic representative of the Supreme Council, to deliver the ultimatum to the Roumanians and to bring about the formation of a coalition cabinet in which all the responsible parties of Hungary should be represented (Oct. 15 to Dec. 2, 1919). From General Bandholtz' account, it would appear that he was at first decidedly prejudiced against the Hungarians and inclined to favor the Roumanians. Gradually he modified his viewpoint, undoubtedly strongly influenced by the statements of Generals Bandholtz and Gorton.

Lieutenant Colonel Repington writes in his diary, *After the War* (p. 167): "I also gather that Sir George Clerk's intervention here was most happy when all was in disarray. Clerk told them they were not divided on any essential matters and that they should have a coalition government and get on at once. They seem to have followed the advice exactly, and it all worked out, though not fully, till the Socialists were put out and the present lot came in."

On the other hand Professor Jászi's opinion concerning Sir George Clerk

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purely in a political capacity, that his coming had nothing whatever to do with the duties of the Military Mission, in whom the Supreme Council had the most beautiful and sublime confidence, all of which caused my Latin colleagues a sigh of satisfaction.

is quite different. He says: "Sir George Clerk, the plenipotentiary representative of the Supreme Council in Hungary, appeared at first to be working in this direction [*i.e.*, democracy], seeking a solution in which the socialist and progressive movement would have played the leading part. He was kept informed by Socialists, Democrats and Pacifists as to the steps which needed to be taken. I know that various memorials were submitted to him indicating the clear path of peaceful settlement on democratic lines. . . . The Entente, he was told, . . . should at once disarm the White officer's army, replacing it for the time by a reliable Entente force of 10,000 to 20,000 men, until the new Hungarian government had succeeded in organizing a reliable army from peasants and workmen" (p. 154). "Sir George Clerk at first showed a good deal of sympathy with these plans, but not for long; he changed his attitude in a very few days. He had dined and hunted with the nobles until in the end he had completely assimilated the mentality of the Hungarian ancien régime. He was, moreover, so disgusted with Hungarian conditions that he wanted to get out of this Balkan chaos as soon as possible, and was only concerned to produce some sort of order, real or apparent. In the end he obtained the assent of the leaders of the armed bands, the chiefs of the coffee-house cliques, and the Socialists who had remained in the country, to a patched-up compromise" (*vid.*, universal suffrage and a plebiscite on the form of the state, p. 155).

This viewpoint of Professor Jászi is criticized by R. W. Seton-Watson in his sympathetic preface to the book of the former writer. He says: "While, however, it is easy to understand the bitterness with which Dr. Jászi writes of the Entente, it is necessary to enter a certain caveat against what he says of Sir George Clerk's mission to Budapest. . . . To blame him for not bringing about a settlement of the acute party discords from which Hungary was then suffering, is really not quite reasonable; and it should be remembered that it was he who compelled the government to uphold universal suffrage, as one of those achievements of the October Revolution which it would not be justifiable to reverse. He thereby provided for the first time a basis for popular representation in Hungary," Seton-Watson speaks very highly of Sir George Clerk in his magazine, *The New Europe*, Sept. 11, 1919, p. 210. He calls him a well-known Slavophil.