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**Excerpts from the book. The full text could be read in the attached CD**

**An Undiplomatic Diary**

**by Major General Harry Hill Bandholtz  
Footnotes by Fritz-Konrad Krüger**

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-Allied Military Mission. General Gorton and I planned a campaign, and word was sent to the Roumanian General Holban<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 country<sup>3</sup> from the Jugo-Slavs, and, finally, that she must consent to political union with 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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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 regimes, 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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 16, 1919.

...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.

(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 placency. 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<sup>4</sup> and that as far as**

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<sup>4</sup> 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 (according to the original edition). 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 any thing 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 having stolen everything movable - plate, pictures, carpets, linen, furniture, even down to the cloth of billiard tables. They took the best

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

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 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

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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 every thing, 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, 1912, 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, 1912, 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 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-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). "Doubt less few situations have ever combined more complex factors than did Budapest under the Roumanians. - No historian will ever clear them up fully" (p.258).order, and in her execution of it she displayed an ability and a restraint which will for ever 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

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.

. Next, our old friend Diamandi came in with the Roumanian 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.

August 22, 1919.

### **Memorandum on the Hungarian Political Situation**

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 Bolshevists 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.

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 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.

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 come to keeping his promise with us.<sup>5</sup> Diamandi seated himself with his unctuous 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 1,000 locomotives whereas they now had only 60; that they would be very glad to pay for all private automobiles 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

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<sup>5</sup> 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).

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 to Petrograd when the Boishivist régime started, during which he was arrested by the Bolshevists, 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.

....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 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.

August 24, 1919.

...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.**

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.

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 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 role of peace maker, 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.

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 Roumanian 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 preëmptorily 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.**

Major Borrow of the British Army, whom we sent to inspect the Szolnok<sup>6</sup> 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 aeroplanes on cars, 200 to 300 tank cars and, between Szolnok and Budapest, many hundreds of carloads of merchandise.

August 27, 1919.

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; 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,<sup>7</sup> and also that most of the Hungarians are sore on Romanelli.

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 I, the Roumanians had ordered all the patients out and there remained only 57 patients in the hospital, 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.

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 Ardéli, who had sent the first ultimatum to the Archduke. This one was along similar lines and included demands for immediate

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<sup>6</sup> Szolnok, a river port on the right bank of the Theiss. Population not quite 29,000. An important market and railroad center.

<sup>7</sup> Compare statement to this effect in the entry of the Diary on Aug. 11.

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 notifying 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.

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.

September 1, 1919.

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 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.

September 2, 1919.

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

September 3, 1919.

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.

September 6, 1919.

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 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 Sinaja, 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,"<sup>8</sup> 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<sup>9</sup> and which,

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<sup>8</sup> Or Castel Pelishor.

<sup>9</sup> 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

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

Nicholas (b. 1903)

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

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 Nickolai, 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 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 Peace<sup>10</sup> which Roumania was to be called upon to sign.<sup>11</sup> I explained to

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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.

<sup>10</sup> Treaty of St. Germain with Austria.

<sup>11</sup> 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.111, p.345.

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.

How ever, 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, Czechoslovakia, 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 Austria, 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

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 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,<sup>12</sup> who it is understood will be the next prime minister, on her left.

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of Wilson on these treaties, as suggested on page 170 of Fouques-Dupara's book: "Le président Wilson par sentiment libérale, peut-être aussi par sympathy pour un groupement ethnique, dont la puis sance 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 384 of Jacques 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 Minderheits-schutz als internationales Rechtsproblem*, Berlin, 1922.

For the treatment of the Hungarian minorities in Roumania, Crecho-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.

<sup>12</sup> 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

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 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 foodstuffs 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.

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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.