

LIST OF PAPERS

FIELD MISSIONS OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE

THE GHERARDI MISSION TO GERMANY

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Jan. 30 (501)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State (tel.)</i> Organization and personnel of the Gherardi Mission to Germany, sent for the purpose of investigating general situation.	1
Feb. 2 (2)	<i>Captain W. R. Gherardi to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report that political situation is critical; active resistance by Spartacists to government troops in Bremen, Düsseldorf, and Eisenach.	2
Feb. 4 (6)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to Colonel Williams, G-2, Third Army, A. E. F., Coblenz (tel.)</i> For Gherardi: Expression of appreciation for information conveyed in telegram No. 2 of February 2; suggested topics for investigation.	2
Feb. 4	<i>Captain W. R. Gherardi to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Analysis of present provisional government and instability of political situation; rumor that anti-government uprisings will occur on February 6.	3
Feb. 6 (2)	<i>Captain W. R. Gherardi to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on Spartacist uprisings; agreement of volunteer troops to support government.	5
Feb. 8 (3)	<i>Captain W. R. Gherardi to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that political situation remains unsettled; Ebert's opening speech at the National Assembly (text printed) protesting severity of armistice conditions and advocating a strong socialist government.	7
Feb. 11 (4)	<i>Captain W. R. Gherardi to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on change in political atmosphere; expectation that the government will assert, in dealing with the Peace Conference, that refusal of its claims will result in the Bolshevism of Germany.	12
Feb. 12 (H. H. F. No. 4)	<i>Dr. H. H. Field to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report of arrival in Munich and first impressions; animosity of general public toward Eisner, Social-Democratic Premier of Bavaria.	13
Feb. 15 (5)	<i>Major Arnold Whitridge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Opinion of the French Mission under General Dupont that the present government is growing more reactionary; indication that press considers Brockdorff-Rantzau's speech on German foreign policy (<i>infra</i>) to be very broad-minded.	14

THE GHERARDI MISSION TO GERMANY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Feb. 15	<i>Major Arnold Whitridge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Text of speech delivered by Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, Foreign Minister, before the German National Assembly, Weimar, February 14.	15
Feb. 16 (157)	<i>The Minister to the Netherlands (Garrett) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report that Brockdorff-Rantzau in framing future foreign policy considers it to be of first importance that he learn American opinion regarding his speech.	26
Feb. 17	<i>The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Major Arnold Whitridge</i> List of instructions for the continuation of the work of the Gherardi Mission.	27
Feb. 18 (6)	<i>Major Arnold Whitridge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Inability to supply military data requested by General Churchill's office; protestations of the press over the new armistice conditions.	28
Feb. 21 (2)	<i>Mr. Franklin Day to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on efforts of Spartacists and Independent Socialists to control German industries; political character of the National Assembly.	29
Feb. 22 (H. H. F. No. 9)	<i>Dr. H. H. Field to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on Bavarian political situation, including account of assassination of Bavarian Premier Eisner by a student and assault on Auer by left extremists.	31
Feb. 24	<i>Captain W. R. Gherardi to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Summary of the German political and economic situation as of the end of February 1919.	33
Feb. 26 (24)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to Colonel Williams, G-2, Third Army, A. E. F., Coblenz (tel.)</i> For Franklin Day for transmission to Dr. Field at Munich: Expression of appreciation for services rendered, and instructions for termination of Mission.	37
Feb. 26 (921)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State (tel.)</i> Information that a gradual withdrawal of the members of the Mission has been decided upon; reasons for withdrawal.	37
Feb. 26 (H.H.F. No. 11)	<i>Dr. H. H. Field to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Loss of prestige of moderate government group following assassination of Eisner, and strengthening of leftist movement.	38
Feb. 27	<i>Mr. Franklin Day to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that murder of Eisner has precipitated outbreak of radical movements in many parts of Germany; belief in Berlin that strike movement in industrial regions is prelude to a second revolution.	41
Feb. 28 (968)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State (tel.)</i> Reports from several members of the Gherardi Mission indicating that country is in a state of constant political flux, that food and employment are necessary in Bremen and Hamburg to make present quiet condition permanent.	43

THE GHERARDI MISSION TO GERMANY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Mar. 1	<i>Mr. Franklin Day to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on political situation; negotiations between government and strikers in Halle and Saxon industrial district; growth of radical tendencies among masses, who are convinced that democracy, as represented by the National Assembly, has failed and that signs of the second revolution are ominous.	44
Mar. 2	<i>Major Lindsay Blayney to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Résumé of impressions of conditions in western Germany based on visit to Cassel and Frankfort; opinion that authorities are doing all in their power to avert the hardship caused by unemployment and lack of food, fuel, and raw materials.	47
Mar. 4	<i>Mr. Franklin Day to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on general strike in Berlin, voted on March 3 by Convention of Workmen's Councils of Greater Berlin.	48
Mar. 6 (1034)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State (tel.)</i> Information that withdrawal of members of the Gherardi Mission has been effected. Reports from Day in Berlin that government is losing ground within its own party and the masses are becoming more radical; his opinion that only remedy for situation is immediate dispatch of food and raw materials.	51
Mar. 6	<i>Report on Economic and Political Conditions in Silesia, Prepared by Captain Robert L. Black, Lieutenant Albert H. Stonestreet, and Field Clerk A. L. Rosenthal</i> Text of report.	51
Mar. 14 (H.H.F. No. 13)	<i>Dr. H. H. Field to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Synthesis of impressions gained during stay in Munich, revealing that Bavarian particularist sentiments are taking the form of distinct separatist demands.	66
Mar. 15 (H.H.F. No. 14)	<i>Dr. H. H. Field to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on Bolshevism in Bavaria; recommendation that food, raw materials, moral aid, and military occupation are means of combating the spread of Bolshevism.	68
Mar. 17 (H.H.F. No. 16)	<i>Dr. H. H. Field to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on attitude in Bavaria toward militarism and the disarmament of Germany.	72
Mar. 19	<i>Report by Lieutenant George Howe</i> Report on the confused political situation in Munich.	74
Mar. 19 (H.H.F. No. 17)	<i>Dr. H. H. Field to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on conversations with various Austrians and Bavarians regarding the movement for the union of German Austria with Germany.	77
Mar. 20 (H.H.F. No. 18)	<i>Dr. H. H. Field to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Interview with Minister of Foreign Affairs Dietrich, in which he emphasized the paramount interests of Baden in saving the navigation of the upper Rhine.	79

THE SECOND DRESEL MISSION TO GERMANY

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Apr. 11	<i>The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Colonel David H. Biddle, American Liaison Officer, Cologne</i> Notification of the organization of the Dresel Mission to Berlin, and instructions to make arrangements for the accommodations of Mr. Dresel and his party en route.	82
Apr. 20	<i>Colonel Williams, Third Army, A. E. F., to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Dresel via General Harries: Interview with Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, who expressed his reluctance to accept the formal invitation to Versailles, because of inability to accept proposed peace terms.	82
Apr. 26 (20)	<i>Brigadier General George H. Harries to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Dresel: Rumor that Mission is serving as an advance courier to mitigate shock of the peace terms; information that treatment at the Foreign Office and elsewhere has been courteous.	84
Apr. 28 (23)	<i>Brigadier General George H. Harries to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Colonel House and Grew from Dresel: Request for instructions as to advisability of continuing Mission on account of attitude outlined in telegram No. 20 of April 26; plans to leave Berlin May 3, unless instructions to the contrary are received. (Footnote: Commission's approval of proposed departure.)	84
Apr. 28 (24)	<i>Brigadier General George H. Harries to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Dresel: Stubborn attitude of the government in regard to question of signing peace terms; doubt that people, in present frame of mind, can be induced to carry out peace conditions even if accepted by the government.	85
Apr. 30 (30)	<i>Brigadier General George H. Harries to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Dresel: Interview with Walter Rathenau, during which he expressed a different point of view in regard to the peace terms from those prevalent in political circles.	86
May 2 (35)	<i>Brigadier General George H. Harries to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Dresel: Interviews with an Independent Socialist and with a Foreign Office official of Independent views, who expressed belief that disposition of Danzig is an obstacle to peace.	87
May 3	<i>Mr. E. L. Dresel to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Memorandum, dated May 2, on impressions of the general political situation in Germany gained from perusal of the German press and conversations in non-official bourgeois circles.	88
May 6 (3224)	<i>The Chargé in Denmark (Grant-Smith) to the Acting Secretary of State</i> Two memoranda, dated April 24 and April 30, by Mr. Lithgow Osborne on the situation in Germany (texts printed).	94
[May 10]	<i>Messrs. E. L. Dresel and Lithgow Osborne to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Report on the Dresel Mission to Germany covering the period from April 16 to May 5 (text printed).	103

THE SECOND DRESEL MISSION TO GERMANY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 May 10	<i>Mr. E. L. Dresel to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of report (text printed) on the political situation in Germany, and annexed memoranda of conversations with the secretary of Minister President Scheidemann on May 9, and with Dr. Oskar Cohn, Independent Socialist, May 8 (texts printed).	118
June 5	<i>Mr. E. L. Dresel to President Wilson</i> Belief that credit should be given to the German Government for its accomplishments in the face of tremendous odds; opinion that the admission of Germany to the League of Nations would induce the Government to sign the peace terms.	122

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE REPORTS ON POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN GERMANY

1919 May 21	<i>Mr. C. A. Herter to President Wilson</i> Transmittal of six reports (texts printed) prepared by officers of the Military Intelligence Section on the political situation in Germany and on the substance of interviews with Mr. Erzberger and Count von Bernstorff.	124
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THE GREENE MISSION TO THE BALTIC PROVINCES

1919 Feb. 10	<i>The Secretary of State to President Wilson</i> Submission of a proposal for sending observers to the Baltic provinces, one observer to be in Esthonia, and one in Latvia.	136
Mar. 8 (1086)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Lansing: Receipt of request from Lithuanian Foreign Minister for aid against Bolsheviks, and for permission to organize soldiers of Lithuanian origin in the U. S. Expeditionary Forces in France; intention to request Baltic mission to investigate possibility of an understanding between Poles and Lithuanians.	136
Mar. 12	<i>The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Major Royall Tyler</i> Commissioners' approval of proposed Mission to Baltic provinces under Lt. Col. Warwick Greene; list of personnel.	137
Apr. 10	<i>Major Royall Tyler to Colonel S. D. Embick</i> Personnel and stations of the Baltic party.	137
Undated (1609)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Greene (via Copenhagen): Recommendation that the Baltic blockade, prohibiting supply by sea of the German forces operating against the Bolsheviks in Courland, be removed, subject to certain controls, insofar as will be necessary to maintain the German forces.	138
Apr. 13 (313)	<i>The Chargé in Denmark (Grant-Smith) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Greene: Synopsis of the present situation in Latvia and recommendations for improving the critical conditions caused by the blockade.	139

THE GREENE MISSION TO THE BALTIC PROVINCES—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Apr. 21 (324)	<i>The Chargé in Denmark (Grant-Smith) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Greene: Report on conditions in Libau following the overthrow of the Provisional Government of Latvia by German Balt troops on April 16; attempt, on the part of Balt soldiers, to arrest certain members of Greene's party.	141
Apr. 22 (325A)	<i>The Chargé in Denmark (Grant-Smith) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Greene: Report on the critical military situation of Latvia; recommendation for the creation of a Latvian national army or occupation of Kurland by Entente forces, releasing German troops.	144
Apr. 23	<i>Mr. R. H. Lord and Mr. S. E. Morison to the Commissioners Plenipotentiary</i> Recommendations for Allied action to deal with political, military, and economic situation in Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia.	147
Apr. 28	<i>Colonel O. N. Solbert, Acting for the Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene), to General T. H. Bliss</i> Recommendation for Allied action to restore former Latvian ministry, but on more representative basis; suggestions to meet military situation in Latvia.	150
Apr. 30 (51)	<i>Colonel O. N. Solbert to the Minister in Denmark (Hapgood) (tel.)</i> For Greene: Notice of creation of an interallied Baltic commission to sit in Paris; favorable comment on work of Mission.	154
May 3	<i>The Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene) to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Transmittal of a report on Esthonia (excerpts printed) prepared by Lt. Comdr. John A. Gade, U. S. N., concerning questions of Allied recognition, food relief, spread of Bolshevism, relations with Germany and Russia.	154
May 3	<i>The Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene) to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Résumé of political developments in Latvia from establishment, and subsequent overthrow, of Ulmanis Provisional Government to the present; comment on position of General von der Goltz; transmittal of copy of a letter (text printed) from Lt. Col. Greene to Mr. Andreas Needra, Prime Minister of the Balt-controlled cabinet, advocating the re-establishment of the Provisional Government with Mr. Ulmanis as Prime Minister of a coalition cabinet.	172
May 4 (354)	<i>The Chargé in Denmark (Grant-Smith) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Greene: Recommendation, upon the basis of a report prepared by Lt. Comdr. Gade, for the recognition of Finland as an independent country and the necessity of immediate financial aid from the Allied Governments. (Footnote: Information that the United States had already decided to recognize Finland.)	183

THE GREENE MISSION TO THE BALTIC PROVINCES—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 May 15	<p><i>Report by Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Dawley</i> Report on military situation in Lithuania, recommendations for Allied relief and definition of position of Germany and German troops in regard to Lithuania; Annex No. 9 (text printed) containing questionnaire and reply by Lithuanian Minister of War regarding Mission to the United States to secure volunteers; supplemental military report regarding relations with Poland, and General Pilsudski's proclamation to the Lithuanians, April 22, 1919 (texts printed).</p>	184
May 20 (379)	<p><i>The Chargé in Denmark (Grant-Smith) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Greene: Report on the stability of the Lithuanian Provisional Government and the necessity for Allied military and financial support; forced resignation of Needra as Prime Minister on May 12, and resumption of duties, May 16. Information for Hoover regarding food conditions in the Baltic countries.</p>	196
May 26	<p><i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Minister in Denmark (Hapgood) (tel.)</i> For Greene: Decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers to send a military mission, with headquarters at Libau or Reval, to advise the governments of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania on questions of organization, equipment, and training of troops. Information that Marshal Foch has received instructions that General von der Goltz be ordered, through the German Government, to facilitate the establishment of a coalition ministry in Latvia.</p>	197
June 5	<p><i>The Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene) to Major Royall Tyler</i> Interallied consultation to consider a joint recommendation to the Peace Conference regarding situation of the Baltic provinces; request for means of motor transportation and additional funds for continuing the work of the Mission.</p>	198
June 6	<p><i>The Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene) to Major Royall Tyler</i> Transmittal of memorandum (text printed) containing suggested draft declaration regarding military and financial aid for Baltic provinces to be made jointly by American, British, and French representatives in the Baltic provinces, to be presented at Paris by Colonel Greene. (Footnote: Information that Lt. Col. Greene and certain members of his staff reported in Paris June 18.)</p>	200
June 22	<p><i>Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Dawley to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Criticism of the course of action followed by the Allies in the solution of the Baltic problem; necessity for removing the German occupation forces; recommendation for the organization of an Allied Mission charged with directing military operations and guiding civil governments of the Baltic provinces.</p>	202
June 30	<p><i>Memorandum From the Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene) to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Report on strategic importance of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and danger of their falling under Bolshevist or German control; joint Allied draft memorandum (text printed), recommending Interallied Military Mission and financial aid for these provinces, and further recommendations by American mission.</p>	207

THE GREENE MISSION TO THE BALTIC PROVINCES—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 July 5	<p><i>The Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene) to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i></p> <p>Continuation of the preceding report on the Baltic situation with additional recommendations for solving the military problems of the Baltic provinces.</p>	213
July 9	<p><i>The Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene) to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i></p> <p>Proposed resolution for continuing the work of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces.</p> <p>(Footnote: Information that Colonel Dawley, who is in charge of the Mission during Greene's absence, is acting as Military Governor of Riga by request of General Gough.)</p>	215
July 15	<p><i>The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to the Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene)</i></p> <p>Explanation of powers and duties of American Commission and information that Commissioners' decisions regarding the proposed resolution will be sent later. Instructions for Colonel Dawley to surrender his position as Military Governor of Riga if report is true.</p>	216
July 19	<p><i>Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Dawley to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i></p> <p>Report on the critical Baltic situation, particularly at Riga and Libau; recommendations that supplies and equipment be sent to the Russian northern army, that financial aid be provided, and that consular agents be sent to Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia, to open the way for commercial relations with America.</p>	217
July 28	<p><i>Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Dawley to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i></p> <p>Letter signed by the representatives of the Allied and Associated Governments presented to the Esthonian Prime Minister (text printed) protesting against certain elements of the Esthonian agrarian project, and requesting that attitude of Allied and Associated Governments be obtained before any action is taken.</p>	222
July 29	<p><i>The Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene) to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i></p> <p>Comments in reply to certain paragraphs of the Secretary General's letter of July 15, regarding duties and powers of Baltic Mission, and observations as to responsibilities of Allied and Associated Governments in Baltic regions, based on article XII of the Armistice and on certain articles of the Peace Treaty. Information that Colonel Dawley did not assume the position of Military Governor of Riga.</p>	223
Aug. 1 (Misc. 1155)	<p><i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Dawley (tel.)</i></p> <p>Query as to Dawley's authority for signing letter to Esthonian Prime Minister, quoted in telegram of July 28.</p>	227
Aug. 4 (87)	<p><i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Chief of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces (Greene) (tel.)</i></p> <p>From Tyler: Recall of the Baltic Commission and instructions for Greene and personnel to report to American Commission in Paris.</p>	227

VISIT OF MR. HUGH GIBSON TO COUNTRIES OF THE FORMER AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 [circa Feb. 1]	<i>Memorandum by the Secretary of Embassy at Paris (Gibson) for the Secretary of State</i> Report on conditions in German Austria, Hungary, Jugoslavia, and the Czechoslovak Republic based on trip January 1 to February 1 with a mission sent by the U. S. Food Administration to investigate food conditions in German Austria.	228

THE COOLIDGE MISSION

GERMAN AUSTRIA

1919 Jan. 30 (53)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on the possible future political associations of German Austria, including proposals for complete political and economic independence, membership in a Danubian Confederation, or union with Germany.	240
[Jan. 29]	<i>Captain Frederick Dellschaft to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Substance of a conversation with the Secretary of the Handels and Gewerbe Kammer regarding economic factors involved in a union of German Austria with Germany as opposed to a Danube Federation.	245
Jan. 31	<i>Captain Frederick Dellschaft to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Conversation with Dr. Oskar Reichenauer of the Wirtschafts-Politisches Amt, who expressed views regarding the spread of Bolshevism and opinion that troops, coal, and food are the only means of combating the danger.	246
Feb. 4	<i>Captain Frederick Dellschaft to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on the general economic situation in German Austria.	247
Feb. 10 (72)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on the question of liquidation of the assets of former Austro-Hungarian Empire, including war and railway materials, public buildings, and art treasures.	254
Feb. 22 (102)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that the former Emperor Charles is living in seclusion near Vienna; transmittal, as of historical interest, of substance of an interview granted by the Emperor to Professor F. W. Förster of the University of Munich containing an authoritative declaration by the Emperor (text printed) of his adherence to the doctrine of self-determination and federalization of Austria-Hungary, with equal rights for all nationalities.	256
Feb. 22	<i>Captain Nicholas Roosevelt to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Interview with editor of the <i>Arbeiter-Zeitung</i> , who emphasized the necessity for the resumption of industrial life in German Austria to prevent serious trouble.	259
Feb. 27	<i>Lieutenant Hugo G. Campagnoli to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on reciprocity arrangement between Hungary and German Austria regarding stamped bank notes.	260
Feb. 27	<i>Lieutenant Hugo G. Campagnoli to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Order by the Department of Finances of February 15, 1919 (text printed), regarding the temporary restrictions of money remittances, and reasons for order.	260

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued

GERMAN AUSTRIA—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Feb. 27	<i>Lieutenant Hugo G. Campagnoli to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Interview with officers of the Wiener Bank Verein regarding German Austria's two greatest problems, the stamping of the bank notes and the proposed union with Germany.	262
Mar. 3 (122)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of recommendation (text printed) by Major Lawrence Martin to Professor A. C. Coolidge regarding the final Hungarian-Austrian boundary; suggestion for the relief of the food crisis in Vienna.	264
Mar. 10	<i>Memorandum by Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on problems involved in determining the frontiers of the new countries formed out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.	271
Mar. 17 (153)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that the proposed union of German Austria with Germany has met with a setback; growing perception in Austria that as a future part of Germany she may receive severe treatment at the hands of the Allies.	278
Mar. 20 (163)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on the situation in Vienna, indicating that the shortage of food and coal is politically dangerous.	279
Mar. 31 (45)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) (tel.)</i> For Coolidge: Information that the Associated Governments intend to publish a notice authorizing the restoration of trade under certain conditions with German Austria.	281
Apr. 3 (185)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of a report (text printed) from Captain Nicholas Roosevelt describing an interview with Chancellor Renner; Renner's threat that if German Austria were dismembered, the Government would resign, turning the country over to Bolshevism.	281
Apr. 7 (192)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Opinion that the giving of the German South Tyrol to Italy would violate the principles of national self-determination, history, and nationality.	282
Apr. 4	<i>Mr. Walter E. Bundy to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Interview with editor of the <i>Neues Wiener Tagblatt</i> regarding the attitude of the Viennese public toward lifting of the blockade on German Austria and expectation of the fall of the Government because of the growing strength of the radical Socialist and Communist party.	284
Apr. 7 (198)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Interview with the Vienna chief of police regarding the growing indiscipline and arbitrariness of the Volkwehr; his recommendation that an increased supply of food, coal, and raw materials might help the situation, and suggestion that the presence of a guard of American soldiers with the food trains would have a reassuring effect on the population.	285
Apr. 7 (199)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on the unfavorable conditions in Vienna, emphasizing the disastrous economic and financial situation; growth of Bolshevism on the political front.	287

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued

GERMAN AUSTRIA—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Apr. 8 (201)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Impression created in Vienna regarding the sending of General Smuts' mission to Budapest.	289
Apr. 8 (205)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Desire that the Commission consider the suggestion of the chief of police regarding the presence of an American or English guard with the food trains; opinion that the guard would give an impression of strength and good will.	290
Apr. 10	<i>Mr. Walter E. Bundy to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Interview with editor of the <i>Arbeiter-Zeitung</i> concerning the political situation in German Austria; opinion that relief in the form of food and raw materials can prevent a revolution.	290
Apr. 15	<i>Lieutenant Hugo G. Campagnoli to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on the final result of the stamping of banknotes in German Austria.	292
Apr. 17	<i>Major Lawrence Martin to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report of investigation of Vorarlberg and Liechtenstein to determine whether they are to be attached to Switzerland, or to Germany, or to remain in German Austria; annex regarding suggested boundaries.	293
Apr. 22 (238)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of a report by Walter E. Bundy regarding the suspicious character of the Vienna Volkswehr; his opinion that the so-called neutrality of the Volkswehr can become dangerous to the present government and favorable to the Communist movement.	305
Apr. 28 (252)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that President Wilson's declaration regarding Italian frontiers is arousing anxiety among the Tyrolese.	307
May 5 (260)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that the Tyrolese Landtag, with the exception of the Socialists, voted to set up an independent neutral republic in an attempt to preserve the integrity of the Tyrol; desire of the Socialists for annexation to Germany under any circumstances; opinion that if the Tyrol is annexed to Germany, Vorarlberg should annex itself to Switzerland.	307
May 11 (271)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Interview with the Chancellor, Mr. Renner, before his departure for Paris; his opinion that the proposed peace terms were severe, and appreciation of the work done in Austria by the American Food Commission.	309
May 11 (272)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Interview with Mr. Renner regarding the present situation of the Germans in West Hungary; opinion that this region is on the verge of civil war; Austrian desire for immediate mandatory powers and ultimately, for a plebiscite.	310
May 14 (278)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on the further disintegration of the Austrian provinces; information that the inhabitants of Vorarlberg voted to enter into negotiations for union with Switzerland.	311

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Jan. 27 (44)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of Professor R. J. Kerner's report (text printed) regarding the Czechoslovak-Polish boundary question; criticism of the historical and ethnographical arguments presented in Kerner's report.	312
Jan. 27 (46)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of a report (text printed) by Lieutenant R. C. Foster concerning the occupation of the Duchy of Teschen by the Czechoslovak troops under cover of a so-called Allied Commission.	317
Jan. 29 (50)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that the fighting between the Poles and the Czechs in Eastern Silesia is continuing; unexpected resistance on the part of Polish troops aided by volunteers from the mining population.	322
Jan. 31 (54)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on a conversation with Mr. Tusar, the Czechoslovak Minister at Vienna; Tusar's intimation that the Entente tacitly approved the Czech action against the Poles.	323
Jan. 29 (24)	<i>Lieutenant Frederic R. King to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Text of report by Mr. Van Svarc, American newspaper correspondent, regarding recent events in Teschen.	324
Feb. 3 (14)	<i>Captain John Karmazin to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Information regarding Bolshevik movement in Czechoslovakia; opinion that the attempted assassination of Dr. Kramar, the Premier, turned the people from Bolshevism.	326
Feb. 5 (61)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Conversation with President Masaryk regarding the boundaries of Bohemia and the action of Hungary and Austria in claiming disproportionate share of assets of former Austro-Hungarian Empire; expression of hope that the United States would soon appoint a Minister to Bohemia.	327
Feb. 5 (62)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Opinion of President Masaryk and Mr. Stepanik, Director of Foreign Affairs, regarding the conflict between the Czechs and the Poles in Austrian Silesia; transmittal of the terms of the armistice with the Poles (text printed).	328
Feb. 5 (66)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Impressions regarding the critical situation in Czechoslovakia as a result of inexperienced personnel holding offices, unemployment, and the rise of Bolshevism; opinion that the Czechs, in spite of their present difficulties, have confidence in their future.	330
Feb. 15	<i>Lieutenant Hugo G. Campagnoli to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Interview with Minister Tusar and Dr. Venicek, Finance Commissioner, representing Czechoslovakia at the Austro-Hungarian Bank, regarding reasons given by the Czechoslovaks for their stamping of the banknotes in Czechoslovakia.	331
Feb. 17 (89)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of a report (text printed) by Professor Robert J. Kerner on the subject of a German Bohemia with special reference to the Brûx-Teplitz coal region; critical comments on the report.	334

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued
CZECHOSLOVAKIA—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Feb. 24	<i>Lieutenant Hugo G. Campagnoli to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Interview with Dr. Preiss, head director of the Zivnostenska Bank in Prague, regarding financial conditions in Czechoslovakia; Campagnoli's opinion that American financiers should invest reserves and surplus funds in the new republic.	342
Feb. 26 (50)	<i>Lieutenant F. R. King to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Information regarding a bill passed by the National Assembly governing the stamping of banknotes and the declaration of property in the Czechoslovak Republic.	344
Mar. 1	<i>Professor R. J. Kerner to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on political conditions in Slovakia; analysis of various nationalities living there.	345
Mar. 2	<i>Professor R. J. Kerner to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Synopsis of the four reports regarding the results of an investigation made of conditions in Slovakia.	349
Mar. 2 (55)	<i>Lieutenant F. R. King to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report that the Entente order for the Czechs to evacuate Teschen has met with a storm of protest; opinion that the Czechs continue to hope for a favorable decision of the boundary question.	351
Mar. 5	<i>Statement of Professor R. J. Kerner to the Commissioners Plenipotentiary</i> Report on Bolshevism in the states of Central Europe; recommendations for Allied action to curb Bolshevism on the one hand, and to prevent development of a German <i>revanche</i> on the other.	352
Mar. 20	<i>Mr. Ellis Loring Dresel to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Criticism of Professor Kerner's memorandum of March 5; opinion that Germany's acceptance of the peace terms is an admission of her defeat.	355
Mar. 10 (131)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of a report (text printed) by Captain John Karmazin regarding Bolshevik propaganda in Slovakia.	356
Mar. 23 (77)	<i>Lieutenant F. R. King to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Information that the expropriation of the large estates is causing friction among the various parties of the National Assembly; proposal of the Czech State Right Democrats for a program of land reform.	359
Mar. 23 (31)	<i>Captain John Karmazin to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on modifications by the Committee of Finance of the Custom Tariff Bill of 1906 for the Czechoslovak Republic; recommendations of the Committee of Finance to the National Assembly.	360
Mar. 25 (33)	<i>Captain John Karmazin to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on the Bolshevik movement in Bohemia and the Government's measures for suppression of Bolshevik propaganda.	363

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued

POLAND

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Jan. 9	<i>Lieutenant R. C. Foster to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Interview with Mr. I. J. Paderewski regarding his idea of the formation of a coalition Government; Paderewski's opinion that the present Government, under the leadership of Pilsudski, is inefficient and incompetent.	365
Jan. 15	<i>Lieutenant R. C. Foster to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Interview with General Pilsudski regarding the question of arranging an armistice between the Poles and the Ukrainians; desire of the Poles to hold Lemberg and Drohobycz; impression that Pilsudski is working for Poland, but that his officials are inefficient and unreliable.	368
Apr. 7	<i>Lieutenant R. C. Foster to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on the difficulties surrounding the settlement of the Danzig question and on the general political situation in Poland.	369

HUNGARY

1919 Jan. 16 (20)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that the Hungarians consider the occupation of large tracts by the Czechs, Serbs, Roumanians, and Ukrainians, a violation of the terms of the armistice; Hungarian arguments for preserving the unity of the state.	372
Jan. 19 (21)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on impressions received during a short stay in Budapest; opinion that the people are unanimous in their desire for a plebiscite to determine the future boundaries of Hungary; information that the Hungarians look to America and President Wilson for their salvation.	374
Jan. 19 (22)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that the Hungarians insist upon maintaining the essential unity of their country; presentation of their principal historical and national arguments.	375
Jan. 19 (23)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Admission by Hungarians of mistreatment of the non-Magyar nationalities in the past, but intention of the Liberals, who are now in control, to grant full autonomy to all the nationalities in Hungary.	377
Jan. 19 (25)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on the geographic and economic unity of Hungary; rupture of economic life resulting from occupation of certain sections by the Czechoslovaks, Roumanians, and Serbians.	378
Jan. 19 (26)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on the political situation in Budapest and the strength of the various parties; opinion that the coalition government of Count Karolyi is weak; confidence of the Socialists in their power to maintain order as long as food and fuel last.	380

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued
HUNGARY—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Jan. 19 (27)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on the Czech seizure of northern Hungary and the Slovak question; assertion by the Hungarians that the Slovaks do not desire separation from the state, but that they do want autonomy and privileges for their language.	382
Jan. 20 (28)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of a memorandum (text printed) from Lieutenant Goodwin on the financial situation in Hungary; comment that memorandum has overlooked certain facts.	383
Jan. 26 (43)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Opinion of Baron Podmonincky, of the Hungarian Foreign Office, that the declaration of the Supreme War Council against the forcible occupation of disputed territories before the settlement of the peace terms will strengthen the Karolyi Government.	385
Jan. 28 (48)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Inability of the Hungarian Government to call for an election of a popular assembly because of the occupation of large sections of Hungarian territory by other states.	386
Jan. 29 (49)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Agitation of the German population in western Hungary for union with Austria, encouraged by Austria in accordance with principle of self-determination; Hungarian opposition to this movement.	387
Feb. 2	<i>Mr. C. M. Storey to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Belief that the election of the constitutional assembly is necessary; proposal by Count Apponyi, President of the Hungarian Independence Party, of a method for holding the elections without admitting the relinquishment of sovereignty over the occupied territory.	388
Feb. 8 (60)	<i>Mr. C. M. Storey to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Résumé of the activities of the political parties in Hungary and their respective platforms.	389
Feb. 10 (72)	<i>Mr. C. M. Storey to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on Bolshevism in Hungary under the leadership of Bela Kun; conclusion that there is little danger of a Bolshevik uprising at present.	392
Feb. 17 (90)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Interview with three representatives of the German-speaking population of western Hungary regarding their desire to belong to Austria; their request for Allied occupation of this territory in order to secure protection against the Hungarian troops and to insure a fair plebiscite when the time comes to vote.	393
Feb. 25	<i>Mr. C. M. Storey to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Information from Baron Podmonincky regarding Hungary's desire to reach a <i>rapprochement</i> with the Serbs and the Jugoslavs, in accordance with view that Hungary's future access to the sea lies through Serbia and Salonica.	394
Feb. 25	<i>Mr. C. M. Storey to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Conversation with Count Karolyi regarding the Hungarian attitude should Hungary be deprived of her non-Magyar territory.	395

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued

HUNGARY—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Mar. 12	<i>Major Lawrence Martin to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on the Ciscarpathian Ruthenians, in relation to parts of the final frontiers of Ukraina, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, and in relation to the Transylvanian problem; transmittal of a report (text printed) on the Ciscarpathian Ukrainians in relation to the question of the southeast border of Czechoslovakia.	395
Mar. 13 (140)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of a report (text printed) by Captain Nicholas Roosevelt on the Transylvanian question, including a report (text printed) summarizing the respective Hungarian and Roumanian claims.	404
Mar. 17 (156)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of a memorandum (text printed) by Major Lawrence Martin, in support of the cause of the Hungarians; his desire that the Magyar Republic be permitted to send delegates and professional advisors to Paris; his offer to go as an American spokesman for the Magyars.	411
Mar. 20 (123)	<i>Captain Nicholas Roosevelt to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on the presentation to President Karolyi of the Peace Conference decision regarding new demarcation line for Transylvania, and creation of a neutral zone to be occupied by Interallied troops.	413
Mar. 26	<i>Captain Nicholas Roosevelt to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Summary of conditions in Hungary after revolution of March 21 establishing a Communist government; information that revolution was precipitated by presentation of Peace Conference decision regarding Transylvania, and recommendation for immediate and vigorous action by Allies.	416
Mar. 26 (1)	<i>Professor Philip M. Brown to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Summary of political situation in Hungary under new régime; observation that mass of people are intensely nationalistic and have accepted socialism as alternative to complete dismemberment of Hungary; conclusion that a policy of conciliation by Allies might prevent the situation from becoming worse.	419
Mar. 26 (2)	<i>Professor Philip M. Brown to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Transmittal of documents furnished by Colonel Vix, head of Interallied Military Mission in Hungary, concerning affronts to French Mission, notification to new government regarding departure of Military Mission, and declaration to government regarding nature of new line of demarcation; comments regarding these subjects.	422
Mar. 27	<i>The Secretary of State to President Wilson</i> Transmittal of two messages (texts printed) from Professor Brown in Budapest regarding situation in Hungary, and advising of departure of Interallied Military Mission; his opinion that negotiations could be held with present government, which is conciliatory.	424
Mar. 31 (183)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of report by Professor Brown in Budapest, March 30 (text printed), regarding political situation, based on a conversation with Mr. Kunfi, an official of the new Hungarian Soviet Republic; Brown's recommendation for friendly understanding with new government, and offer to serve as unofficial channel of communication between Entente and Hungarian government.	424

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued

HUNGARY—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Apr. 6 (22)	<i>Professor Philip M. Brown to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on food situation; understanding that prohibition on shipment of fats ordered and paid for by Karolyi government has now been removed; considerations regarding policy of supplying food to Hungary under present government.	428
Apr. 9 (1543)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State (tel.)</i> Report by Professor Brown from Budapest (text printed), regarding treatment of foreigners under new government, release of French troops captured by Hungarians March 31, and growing strength of revolutionary government.	429
Apr. 10 (26)	<i>Professor Philip M. Brown to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Transmittal of memorandum on the coal and iron industry furnished by Dr. V. Koller, an official of the new government; agreement with his conclusions as to necessity for supplying food and coal to revitalize the industrial life of the country.	430
Apr. 10 (29)	<i>Professor Philip M. Brown to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on political situation; policies and methods of present government; recent restrictive regulations concerning private property of foreigners. Observation that while new government has not won support of the workingmen, possibility of a counter-revolution appears unlikely.	432
Apr. 11 (210)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Discussion of question of Ruthenian territory in northern Hungary in regard to establishment of future boundaries of Hungary; three possible solutions of problem, and recommendations for leaving Ruthenian territory to Hungary.	434
Apr. 17 (31)	<i>Professor Philip M. Brown to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Memorandum of a conversation with Bela Kun, April 15 (text printed), regarding the economic situation in Hungary, arrests of <i>bourgeoisie</i> , spreading of propaganda in foreign countries, and other topics.	437
Apr. 25 (248)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of two memoranda (texts printed), one by Lieutenant Osborn concerning proposed conference in Switzerland between Bela Kun and a mission from the Entente, for formation of a transitional government in Hungary along moderate socialist lines; the other, an oral report by the courier of Professor Brown's views regarding situation in Budapest, and willingness of Bela Kun to form a transitional government of a moderate socialist type.	442
May 1 (253)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of a portion of letter from Professor Brown in Budapest, dated April 29 (text printed), regarding political situation and requesting support of proposed conference with Bela Kun in Switzerland; considerations against action recommended by Professor Brown.	447
May 2 (37)	<i>Professor Philip M. Brown to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Information regarding recent regulations issued by Bela Kun for protection of foreigners and assurances regarding protection of foreign business enterprises.	452

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued

HUNGARY—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 May 2 (40)	<i>Professor Philip M. Brown to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Transmittal of copy of appeal addressed to President Wilson by the Hungarian Soviet Government (text printed) requesting arrest of the advance of Roumanian and Czecho-Slovak troops, now actually fighting the Hungarian Red Guard.	453
May 8 (267)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Opinion that invitation to Hungarian Government to send representatives to Paris, if delivered, would strengthen position of Government; efforts of Professor Brown to contact Roumanian troops in attempt to avert massacre in Budapest. Report by Lieutenant Osborn, May 7 (text printed), regarding situation in Hungary. Report by Professor Brown, May 4 (text printed), of interview with Bela Kun on political situation and negotiations with the Italian Mission regarding proposal to turn government over to Czechs.	455
May 12	<i>Professor Philip M. Brown to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on mission through French lines to Szegeed and Belgrade; opinion that Entente failure to adopt clear policy regarding Hungary, combined with Roumanian advance, is precipitating state of anarchy in Budapest and that only alternative now is military occupation of Hungary in conformity with the terms of the armistice; feeling that presence in Budapest is no longer desirable and would be more useful in Paris.	462

JUGOSLAVIA

1919 Jan. 16 (1)	<i>Lieutenant Colonel Sherman Miles to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on general conditions in Slovenia; observation that while there are potential questions of politics and economics, they are in abeyance pending settlement of frontier question.	468
Feb. 27 (114)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> (tel.) Information that there are reasons to believe Italy is encouraging Croatian Separatist movement.	475
Mar. 2 (116)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Extracts from reports by Lt. L. R. King (texts printed) regarding (1) attitude of Yugoslav Government towards territorial claims of its component states, and (2) military situation and alleged efforts of Italians to hinder Yugoslav state.	475
Mar. 15 (16)	<i>Lieutenant Colonel Sherman Miles to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on Fiume situation; desire of the people for an autonomous form of government, based on economic considerations; summary of arguments of pro-Italians in Fiume, and Yugoslav counter-arguments.	479
Mar. 16 (146)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of reports by Lt. King (texts printed) regarding general situation in Jugoslavia and political parties; observation that although ill feeling between Serbs and Croats seems to be growing, the situation is quiet at present.	484
Mar. 19 (11)	<i>Lieutenant Le Roy King to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on general situation; relations between French and Jugoslavs; anti-Italian sentiment in Agram.	489

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued

JUGOSLAVIA—continued

Date and Number	Subject	Page
1919 [Mar. 20 (?)]	<i>Lieutenant Colonel Sherman Miles to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on trip of investigation to Pola; difficulties among Allies in interallied occupation zone at Fiume.	491
Mar. 29 (19)	<i>Lieutenant Colonel Sherman Miles to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Report on the question of the future nationality of the Dalmatian coast.	492
May 10 (29)	<i>Lieutenant Le Roy King to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Extract from a report concerning effect in Jugoslavia of President Wilson's declaration regarding Fiume, and announcement of conditions of peace with Germany; Italian activity in Fiume.	497

BOUNDARY IN CARINTHIA BETWEEN GERMAN AUSTRIA AND JUGOSLAVIA

1919 Jan. 20 (31)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report of action of Lt. Col. Miles and Lt. King in determining a temporary line in disputed region in Carinthia in order to avoid hostilities between Austrians and Slovenes; request for immediate telegraphic instructions as to whether decision reached should be given out.	498
Jan. 29	<i>Mr. Ellis Loring Dresel to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Suggestions regarding report by Professor Coolidge of attempted settlement of Carinthian boundary dispute.	499
Jan. 30 (67)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) (tel.)</i> For Coolidge: Instructions as to policy regarding attempted settlement of boundary disputes by American representatives and position of Commission regarding Carinthian boundary.	500
Feb. 10 (73)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information regarding reports made by Lt. Col. Miles and Lt. King, Maj. Martin and Professor Kerner, giving recommendations as to provisional boundaries between Austria and Jugoslavia in Carinthia, for purposes of avoiding bloodshed and not for final delimitation of frontiers; reports by Miles and King regarding methods and final decision, dated February 7 and 9 (texts printed).	500
Feb. 12 (77)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Acceptance in general of conclusions of Miles, Martin, and King, with certain reservations, and nonacceptance of Professor Kerner's dissenting report; opinion that there is no need for haste in publishing a decision, and intention not to make a public statement at present.	511
Feb. 14 (80)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of report by Miles, Martin, and King, dated February 12 (text printed), with recommendations regarding future boundary between Austria and Jugoslavia in provinces of Carinthia and Styria.	513

THE COOLIDGE MISSION—Continued

BOUNDARY IN CARINTHIA BETWEEN GERMAN AUSTRIA AND JUGOSLAVIA—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Feb. 24 (105)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Attempts of Yugoslavs to avoid carrying out their promises in case conclusions regarding boundary should be contrary to their desires, and to obtain postponement of announcement of decision in belief that it would be unfavorable to them.	520
Feb. 26 (923)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State</i> Information that on February 4 a telegram (text printed) was sent to Professor Coolidge, advising him of Commission's attitude regarding the fixing of a temporary boundary between Austria and Jugoslavia, and instructing him to inform the parties to the dispute, preferably orally, that matter has been taken up by the Supreme War Council in Paris, and is therefore outside the competence of any individual or of the American Commission.	521
Feb. 27 (112)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Acknowledgment of telegram of February 4; opinion that there is no necessity for making any statement at present, and intention not to do so unless necessary.	522
Apr. 25 (247)	<i>Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information regarding disturbed situation on Austrian-Jugoslav frontier, and opinion that no improvement can be expected until final boundaries have been established.	523
TERMINATION OF THE COOLIDGE MISSION		
1919 Apr. 27 (250)	<i>The Office of the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Commissioners Plenipotentiary</i> Consideration of suggestion by Professor Coolidge that his Mission be closed when the terms of peace with Austria have been decided upon; recommendation that Coolidge Mission be replaced as soon as possible by appropriate consular representatives, who should, however, not act as such until after the signing of peace.	524
May 16 (83)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Instructions to make immediate arrangements to bring Mission to a close and to proceed to Paris as soon as possible; arrangements for turning over work of Mission to Consul General Halstead and Vice Consul Heingartner.	525
May 21 (2197)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State (tel.)</i> Information that Coolidge will leave Vienna on May 22 after consulting with Consul Heingartner; temporary arrangements regarding clerical and other personnel, and opinion that with arrival of Consul General Halstead the question of finances and personnel should be taken over by the Department of State.	526
May 29	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to Professor A. C. Coolidge</i> Commission's expression of appreciation for valuable work accomplished in Austria and Hungary.	527

THE HALSTEAD MISSION

GERMAN AUSTRIA

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 June 13 (291)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report of conditions in Vienna; dissatisfaction and despair caused by peace terms.	528
June 14 (292)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of copy of an address by Dr. Bauer, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to the National Assembly on June 7 regarding the treaty of peace; interview with Dr. Bauer concerning the effect upon financial conditions in Austria of peace treaty provisions.	531
June 17 (296)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report of unsuccessful attempt by Communist faction, on June 15, to overthrow Government and establish a Soviet regime, which was checked by strong action of the Government and loyalty of the Volkswehr.	532
June 29 (311)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Transmittal of letter from Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, June 28 (text printed), regarding food supplies for returning prisoners of war, for attention of the Food Administrator; information that copy of despatch and letter has been sent also to Captain Gregory, head of Food Administration in Austria.	534
July 2 (532)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> View that severe peace terms will drive Austria into union with Germany.	536
July 4 (544)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Reiteration of view that unless steps are taken for economic federation of Austria with new states formed from old empire, union with Germany is inevitable; hope that financial and industrial peace terms will give basis for rebuilding of industry and commerce.	537
July 6 (554)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Opinion as to necessity for Allied military action to overthrow the Hungarian Bolshevist government and to force the expulsion of Bolshevist agents in Austria in order to prevent the spread of Bolshevism throughout Europe.	538
July 7 (560)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Opinion that conclusion of peace with Austria before overthrow of Bolshevist regime in Hungary would be great error and open the way for Bolshevist invasion of Austria, followed by union with Germany.	539
July 11 (323)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Italian attitude in regard to boundary in Tyrol between Italy and Austria.	541
July 16 (329)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Memorandum of a conversation with the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (text printed), who made an appeal to President Wilson, or the U. S. Government, for a rectification of the Tyrolean boundary.	541

THE HALSTEAD MISSION—Continued

GERMAN AUSTRIA—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 July 18 (620)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Information that Foreign Secretary has discussed with British and American representatives his intention to negotiate with Mr. Boehm, the new Minister from Hungary, with regard to the possible overthrow of Bela Kun and Hungarian extremists and establishment of a Social Democratic government in Hungary; belief that this move should be encouraged indirectly, but without promise of recognition.	544
July 18 (335)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Comment on future of Austria in regard to its relations with the new states formed from the old Austro-Hungarian Empire; political and economic problems facing the new states.	545
July 18 (336)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Assurance by Foreign Secretary that there will be no disorder when planned demonstration and 24-hour general strike occur in a few days; information regarding proposed informal negotiations with Mr. Boehm when he returns as Minister from Hungary, in regard to establishment of a Social Democratic government in Hungary.	548
July 19 (339)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report on coal situation and necessity for solution before the coming of winter.	550
July 27 (356)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Resignation of Dr. Bauer as Minister of Foreign Affairs, as result of letter from Dr. Renner, Austrian Chancellor, indicating that Bauer's attitude was hindering his work at the Peace Conference; probable effects on Austrian political situation.	551
Aug. 1 (15)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Reports in <i>Neue Freie Presse</i> of attitude of Allied Missions in favor of modification of peace terms; opinion that any expression of views differing from those of the Peace Commission should not be a matter of public discussion.	554
Aug. 3 (17)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Comments in regard to the injustice of certain provisions of the Austrian peace treaty, and danger to the future of Austria.	555
Aug. 8 (28)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Criticisms of reparation clauses of peace treaty, which would place Austria under the domination of other nations, particularly the new states of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.	557
Aug. 10 (35)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Memorandum of a conversation with Dr. Renner (text printed), who referred to unjust clauses of peace treaty and appealed for U. S. assistance in Austria's problems following the signature of the peace treaty.	559
Aug. 12 (36)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Austrian desire for an American as president of the Reparations Commission.	561
Aug. 14 (39)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Feeling in Vienna against restoration of the monarchy.	561

THE HALSTEAD MISSION—Continued

GERMAN AUSTRIA—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Aug. 28 (66)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Transmittal of reports by Count Sigray, civil governor of Western Hungary; opinion that it would be desirable to have an investigation of conditions in West Hungary for a report to the Peace Conference.	562
Sept. 5 (75)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Review of political conditions in Austria; disproportionate influence of Workingmen's Council.	563
Sept. 7 (77)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report regarding ratification of peace treaty by Austria.	565
Sept. 9 (82)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report that there are many valuable opportunities for investment in Austria which would be worth while for American financiers.	566
Sept. 12 (2)	<i>Mr. A. W. DuBois to the Secretary of State</i> Summary of events of past week; attitude of the people toward the signing of the peace treaty; probability that reorganization of present temporary government will be undertaken upon return of Dr. Renner to Vienna.	567
Sept. 12 (92)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report on Italian investments in Austria.	569
Sept. 15 (95)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Memorandum of conversation with Dr. Renner, Austrian Chancellor and Foreign Minister (text printed), who expressed thanks to the United States and Great Britain for their attitude toward Austria during Peace Conference negotiations, and hope for improvement in Austria's relations with those countries; discussion of Austria's relations with France, Italy, and new states to the east.	570
Sept. 21 (7)	<i>Mr. A. W. DuBois to the Secretary of State</i> Report on coal crisis in Austria and serious consequences liable to result from lack of fuel.	574
Sept. 26 (108)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Memorandum of a conversation with Dr. Renner on September 25 (text printed), in which informal representations were made regarding reports that pogroms were being organized against the Jews; information that Foreign Minister made public announcement in newspapers (text printed) regarding visit of U. S. representative and assurances given him that all necessary steps would be taken to avoid brutalities.	576
Sept. 28 (114)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> <i>Neue Tag</i> article (excerpt printed) regarding publication of Austrian <i>Red Book</i> and Dr. Bauer's action in arranging to clear Germany as far as possible from the charge of responsibility for the war.	578
Oct. 10 (128)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report on necessity for immediate assistance to Austria in order to rebuild its industries, in the interest of all Central Europe, and importance of Reparation Commission's beginning to function at once.	578

THE HALSTEAD MISSION—Continued

GERMAN AUSTRIA—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Undated (11)	<i>Mr. A. W. DuBois to the Secretary of State</i> Memorandum regarding acceptance of treaty on October 17 by National Assembly and resignation of old Cabinet; establishment of new coalition Cabinet headed by Dr. Renner; program of new administration.	580
Nov. 7 (146)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report on present conditions in Vienna; lack of food and fuel, and arrangements for financing of public food kitchens.	584
Nov. 21 (159)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report of conditions in Austria and Vienna; discouragement of people and Government under hopeless conditions, and dissatisfaction with inaction of powers; political tendencies, sentiment for restoration of monarchy, growing independence of provinces.	587
Nov. 26 (163)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report of interview with Dr. Renner in regard to the hopelessness of the Austrian situation; his belief that only hope of saving Austria is through a loan from the United States.	589
Nov. 27 (167)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Suggestions regarding possible intervention in Austria by neighboring states, particularly Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Hungary.	592
Dec. 1 (36)	<i>Memorandum by Mr. A. W. DuBois</i> Report of trip through German West Hungary, made to learn the wishes of the population regarding annexation to Austria; conclusion that decision of the Peace Conference, giving area to Austria, should be abided by.	594
Dec. 3 (173)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report of conference of State Chancellor with heads of Missions of the United States, United Kingdom, France, Italy, and with Chief of Japanese Military Mission, in which he discussed difficulties confronting Austria, appealed for help from Allies and United States, and requested permission for Chancellor, Finance Minister, and other secretaries to go to Paris between December 10 and 15 to present Austria's case to the Supreme Council.	598
Dec. 5 (41)	<i>Mr. A. W. DuBois to the Secretary of State</i> Report of a conversation with the Minister for Hungary in Vienna regarding German West Hungary and the unfortunate effect on Austro-Hungarian relations if this area is given to Austria.	600
Dec. 12 (182)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Statement (text printed) submitted to Foreign Office with request that it be issued through Official Correspondence Bureau, expressing American Commissioner's regret at frequent publication in Vienna newspapers of unfounded reports of what the United States proposed to do for Austria; granting of the request by Acting Foreign Secretary after 24-hour delay.	601
Dec. 12 (187)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report on increasingly serious situation in Austria; weakness of Government; separatist tendencies in provinces.	604

THE HALSTEAD MISSION—Continued

HUNGARY

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 July 10	<i>Captain Bernath Weiss to Mr. Albert Halstead</i> Report on economic and political conditions in Hungary; opinion that Hungary could be occupied by Allied troops for purposes of restoring order.	606
July 11 (321)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Observation that peace in Austria is dependent upon restoration of peace in Hungary and overthrow of the Bela Kun regime; opinion that declaration by the Peace Conference, backed by force, that there will be no peace negotiations with Hungary while Bela Kun regime exists is only method of overthrowing that regime.	609
July 16 (330)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Impressions of Count Holstein, a journalist, of the Bolshevik movement in Hungary and Bolshevik plans to dominate all Europe.	611
July 22 (137)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to Mr. Albert Halstead (tel.)</i> From White and Bliss: Advice, in reference to telegram No. 620 of July 18 (page 544), that American Commission does not desire to interfere in question of future form of government for Hungary, and recommendation for utmost caution in the matter.	613
July 24 (646)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Suggested solution of Hungarian problem agreed to unofficially by British, French, Italian, and American representatives, and approved in principle by Boehm, new Hungarian representative in Austria.	613
July 24 (647)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Information in reply to telegram No. 137 of July 22 that unofficial negotiations regarding Hungary have been conducted through the British representative and that American Commission is not committed in any way.	614
July 24 (654)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Information that Boehm will be ready to act in about a month provided Allies approve plan; inability to recommend approval of plan in view of Commission's attitude, expressed in telegram No. 137 of July 22.	614
July 24 (350)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> History of discussions in regard to the Hungarian situation, indicating that there was no personal connection between Halstead and the Hungarian leader, Boehm.	615
July 26 (141)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to Mr. Albert Halstead (tel.)</i> Instructions to have nothing to do with the negotiations regarding Hungarian situation, either directly or indirectly.	619
July 27 (3351)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From White and Bliss: Issuance by the Council of Five of a declaration to the Hungarian people which it is thought would give the necessary assurances to provide the incentive for the overthrow of Bela Kun.	619
July 27	<i>Captain Bernath Weiss to Mr. Albert Halstead</i> Report on conditions in Budapest and Hungary; organizing of Soviets among peasants; plans of Bolshevik leaders for reign of anarchy in Budapest if defeated by Rumanians; report of increasing disorganization of Red Guard.	620

THE HALSTEAD MISSION—Continued

HUNGARY—continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 July 29 (361)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that British and Italian representatives were advised that declaration by Allied and Associated Governments regarding Hungary, issued July 28, had taken the matter out of the hands of the American representative and that he could proceed no further with the negotiations.	621
Aug. 1 (687)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report from Budapest of overthrow of Bela Kun and establishment of new Socialist government, which includes no Bolsheviks; personnel of new Cabinet.	622
Aug. 2 (16)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Comments regarding change of government in Hungary, factors contributing to Bela Kun's downfall, and character of new government.	622
Aug. 3 (19)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Further comments on conditions in Hungary; promise of Foreign Minister to call constitutional assembly, indicating intention to form representative government; information that there has been full accord among Allied Missions in attitude toward new Hungarian Government.	625
Aug. 5 (25)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Comments regarding effects of Peace Commission note of July 27, and unofficial negotiations in Vienna upon fall of Bela Kun government; emphasis upon necessity of requiring withdrawal of Roumanian troops from Budapest to line established in armistice terms; other recommendations for Allied action to assist Hungary.	627
Aug. 19 (53)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Comments regarding situation in Hungary; urgent recommendation that Roumanians be compelled to obey orders of Peace Conference and cease looting of Hungary; impossibility of establishment of a truly representative government since return of Hapsburgs under Archduke Joseph as Regent.	629
Aug. 26 (61)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Telegram from Count Sigray, Government Commissioner for Western Hungary (text printed), protesting advance of Roumanian troops toward Western Hungary under pretext of restoring order, and requesting that protest be forwarded to Allied Missions; information that copies of telegram have been forwarded to British, French, Italian Missions, and to General Bandholtz.	630
Aug. 29 (65)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report on political situation; observation that prospect is favorable for the election of a national assembly which will support the restoration of a monarchy.	632
Aug. 29 (67)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Remarks regarding situation in West Hungary; assurances by Foreign Minister Ippen that Austria has not been responsible either directly or indirectly for any agitation in West Hungary, but that his information is that people are being influenced against union with Austria by propaganda from Budapest.	633
Sept. 7 (76)	<i>Mr. Albert Halstead to the Secretary of State</i> Report of situation in Hungary; attitude of Magyar minority in West Hungary hostile to Peace Conference decision to join certain portions of three western counties to Austria; recruiting of men for White Army under Admiral Horthy.	634

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 July 25 (2636)	<i>The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> President's approval of plan to detail army officer to represent United States on mission to Hungary.	635
Aug. 7 (3554)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> Appointment of an Interallied Mission of Generals for Hungary; appointment of General Bandholtz as American representative and arrangements for his immediate departure for Budapest.	635
Aug. 11 (1)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report of arrival in Budapest and tentative organization of Military Mission in cooperation with General Gorton, British representative.	636
Aug. 11 (2)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Arrival of General Mombelli, Italian representative on Interallied Military Mission.	636
Aug. 11	<i>The Interallied Military Mission to the Commander in Chief of the Serbian Forces (tel.)</i> Request, if report is true that Serbian troops have crossed Hungarian boundary prescribed by the Armistice, for immediate withdrawal of invading forces.	636
Aug. 13 (1)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to General Bandholtz (tel.)</i> From Polk: Message for Interallied Military Mission (text printed) containing instructions for dealing with <i>de facto</i> Hungarian government, and defining powers of the Mission.	637
Aug. 14 (4)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Arrival of General Graziani, French representative; conference with Roumanian representatives regarding their arrangements for alleviating food situation in Budapest; report of private interview with M. Diamandi, who advised that his Government was willing to accept as final Supreme Council's instructions to the Military Commission.	638
Aug. 14 (5)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Memorandum submitted to Military Mission (text printed) recommending request for Roumanian action toward restoration of municipal and government functions to <i>de facto</i> Hungarian government, ceasing of requisitioning, and other steps toward restoration of peaceful conditions in Hungary.	639
Aug. 15 (7)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Belief that Roumania is attempting to delay withdrawal in order to continue looting of Hungary.	640
Aug. 16 (8)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Presence of M. Diamandi and General Mardarescu with his Chief of Staff at session of Interallied Military Mission, at which they acknowledged for Roumania the validity of Supreme Council's instructions to the Mission, and were handed a communication (text printed) containing instructions along lines of memorandum referred to in telegram No. 5 of August 14.	641
Aug. 17 (11)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Notification to Hungarian government as to immediate importance of appointing a qualified person as Food Minister, and of necessity of cooperating fully with Roumanians; preparation of notification to Roumanian Commander requesting submission of daily report of progress.	642

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Aug. 18 (12)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Continued requisitioning by Roumanians, and intimation that Roumanian forces may suddenly be withdrawn; request, at insistence of American representative, that Roumanian Commander appear before Mission and explain what has been done toward complying with requests of Supreme Council; opinion that if Supreme Council does not intend to recognize the <i>de facto</i> government, the Archduke should be notified accordingly.	643
Aug. 19 (14)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Dissatisfaction with information given by General Holban, Roumanian Commander of Budapest, before Mission, and insistence upon attendance of Roumanian Commander in Chief at next meeting.	644
Aug. 20 (16)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Appearance before Mission of General Mardarescu, Roumanian Commander in Chief, M. Diamandi, Roumanian High Commissioner, and General Rudeanu; questioning of General Mardarescu in regard to action taken in accordance with instructions of August 16.	644
Aug. 20 (20)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Information that a report on the Hungarian political situation, requested by the Supreme Council, will be submitted by the Mission and will be a composite of memoranda by the four representatives; memorandum by American representative (text printed).	646
Aug. 21 (18)	<i>The Interallied Military Mission to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Notification (text printed) read to Hungarian Archduke and Prime Minister requesting immediate revocation of proclamation by Hungarian Government of state of siege in Hungary, to which Archduke agreed; message (text printed) read to Archduke alone regarding attitude of Mission toward <i>de facto</i> Hungarian government.	647
Aug. 21 (18A)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report regarding action of Mission in advising Archduke of lack of confidence in his government and in Hapsburg regime, and his reply that his retirement from the government would mean a return to Bolshevism.	647
Aug. 22 (19)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Belief that Archduke does not intend to quit office unless given more emphatic instructions; failure of Roumanians to comply with instructions given them; suggested measures for carrying out Supreme Council's instructions to prevent Roumanians from exporting material from Hungary.	648
Aug. 22 (21)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Interview with General Rudeanu to protest continued seizures by Roumanians and failure to return anything despite promises; General Rudeanu's promise to confer with his colleagues and report on the following day regarding the Roumanian Government's intentions in the matter.	650

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Aug. 23 (22)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Assurances by Roumanian Commissioner Diamandi and General Rudeanu of the desire of their Government to cooperate with the Allies; belief that Roumanian policy is one of procrastination in order to drain Hungary before they can be stopped; indication that Roumanians are attempting to make a separate peace with Archduke's government before it dissolves.	650
Aug. 23 (24)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Resignation of Archduke and entire Ministry following receipt of message from Supreme Council, and information that ministry was advised that they must organize a government.	652
Aug. 24 (25)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Opinion that action of Supreme Council in compelling resignation of Archduke has discouraged Roumanian hopes of forcing Hungary into a separate peace; systematic looting of Hungary by Roumanians; report on situation west of Danube, and existence of a well-armed Hungarian peasant force, under Admiral Horthy in that territory.	652
Aug. 24 (26)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Information regarding Roumanian requisitions and seizures, which occurred subsequent to promise of Roumanians to comply with instructions of Interallied Military Mission.	654
Aug. 25	<i>The Interallied Military Mission to the Commander in Chief of the Roumanian Forces</i> Information regarding actions of Roumanian forces in Hungary west of the Danube and request that Mission be informed as to the intentions of the Roumanian Government in that territory.	655
Aug. 25 (28)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Information that Roumanian attitude is unchanged, that they are believed to be planning to leave suddenly when they have finished their looting, and that meanwhile all their actions are directed toward turning Hungary over to Bolshevism and chaos; information that Archduke's successor has not yet been selected.	655
Aug. 26 (29)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Importance of preventing anarchy in Hungary in event of sudden Roumanian withdrawal by immediate arming of municipal police and other actions; information that no government has yet been formed.	656
Aug. 27 (30)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report on political situation, and actions of Prime Minister Friedrich, who is attempting to organize the Government.	657
Aug. 27 (31)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report of further seizures by Roumanians, and comment that if Roumanians continue exporting material at present rate, they will soon leave Hungary a charge upon the Allies, unable to pay any indemnity.	658
Aug. 28 (33)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Opinion that Roumania is being backed by someone, presumably Italy, in effort to isolate Jugoslavs.	660

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Aug. 29	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Report that Friedrich intends to remain at head of new government and that he is organizing a ministry which is practically a continuation of the Archduke's Cabinet.	660
Aug. 29 (215)	<i>The Interallied Military Mission to the Supreme Council (tel.)</i> Opinion of Mission, in reply to inquiry by Supreme Council, that Hungarian army has been reduced below the effectives mentioned in the armistice of November 13.	663
Aug. 29 (35A)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Reply given by Mission to Roumanian proposal to hold their present line west of the Danube, requesting immediate evacuation of the territory, except for a bridgehead at Budapest.	664
Aug. 30 (37)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report of declaration by Friedrich that he will make peace with Roumania on her own terms within 48 hours unless the Entente is successful in stopping the plundering of Hungary.	664
Aug. 31	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Memorandum (text printed) for consideration of Interallied Military Mission regarding results accomplished by the Mission, setting forth requests made to Roumanian Government and action taken regarding them; decision to hold memorandum until notified of Roumanian reply to last ultimatum of Supreme Council, of August 25; information that Roumanians continue looting, with no intimation that their Government has received ultimatum.	664
Sept. 2 (46)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Attitude of Roumanian government officials toward Hungarian situation and their right to indemnification from Hungary before considering claims of other allies.	671
Sept. 3 (49)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report on material taken out of Hungary by Roumanians from August 25th to September 1.	671
Sept. 6	<i>The Prime Minister of the Hungarian Government (Friedrich) to the Interallied Military Mission</i> Appeal for recognition and aid of Allied and Associated Powers, particularly in achieving evacuation of Roumanian Army beyond demarcation line, and organization of an armed force for maintenance of public order, so that the elections may be held; intention, otherwise, to turn country over to Allied and Associated Representatives.	672
Sept. 7 (60)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Telegram sent to Supreme Council (text printed) at request of M. Heinrich, transmitting information that he is resigning his mandate to constitute a Cabinet, in the belief that public opinion favors present Government under Friedrich.	674
Sept. 8 (27)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to Officer in Charge in General Bandholtz' Absence (tel.)</i> From Polk: Message for General Bandholtz to avoid discussion of diplomatic questions with Roumanian officials, and to telegraph immediately object of trip.	674

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Sept. 11 (62)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report on trip to Roumania, which was undertaken for purposes of explaining Mission's orders in hope of securing Roumanian cooperation, and of ascertaining reason for growing Roumanian hostility towards America.	674
Sept. 12 (4183)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> For the Secretary of War from Polk: Request to have General Bandholtz continue in rank of Brigadier General until his work with Mission is completed.	676
Sept. 12 (65)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report of Roumanian requisitions of rolling stock up to September 8; appointment of a commission to investigate material left by General Mackensen; Roumanian claims of a Hungarian conspiracy against the Roumanian Army and Government in which Prime Minister Friedrich is seriously implicated.	676
Sept. 13	<i>General Bandholtz to the Supreme Council (tel.)</i> Furnishing by Roumanian Command to the Mission of proofs that Friedrich Cabinet has encouraged the clandestine creation of a corps of troops in Budapest and suburbs, and request for Mission's consent for action against Ministry.	677
Sept. 14 (67)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Impression that Roumanians are intending to leave suddenly; Hungarian opinion that they expect request to return on account of unsettled condition of country.	678
Sept. 15 (68)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Information that efforts to organize a police force to handle conditions in Hungary have accomplished nothing, owing to uncooperative Roumanian attitude.	679
Sept. 15 (69A [69])	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Transmittal of a telegram (text printed) to the President of the Supreme Council from Prime Minister Friedrich requesting that the Hungarian Government be placed under the protection of the Supreme Council because of danger threatening country from Roumania.	679
Sept. 15 (69 [70])	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report of fall of Friedrich Cabinet and formation of new Cabinet approved by Roumania, and Roumanian attempts to force signature by Hungary of peace treaty under threat to evacuate and leave Hungary in a state of chaos; opinion that Hungary could handle situation in event of Roumanian withdrawal.	680
Sept. 16 (72)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Information that Roumanians are beginning to evacuate part of Hungary, looting as they go; unconfirmed report that new government under Perenyi has approval of Roumania and Italy.	680
Sept. 17 (75)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Decision of Mission to protest to Roumanian military commander against scheme for further impoverishing Hungary by demanding redemption of 200 million kronen of Communist-issued white money.	681

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Sept. 18 (77)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report of additional Roumanian requisitions and departure of troops, despite nonadmission by Roumania of their departure; information that Mission has requested attendance of Roumanian Commander in Chief at session following day to advise as to whether he intends to permit organization of police, and as to definite date for promised evacuation of trans-Danubia.	682
Sept. 19 (79)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Information and assurances given by Roumanians at session of Mission in regard to promise to give notification of decision to evacuate Hungary, pledge of immediate evacuation of west bank of Danube, organization of Hungarian Army, and other questions.	683
Sept. 20 (47)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to General Bandholtz (tel.)</i> Telegram for Interallied Military Mission from Supreme Council (text printed), regarding desire for speedy constitution of a <i>gendarmerie</i> force to maintain order after withdrawal of Roumanian army; instructions to so inform Hungarian and Roumanian authorities.	684
Sept. 20 (1722) [M2]	<i>The Interallied Military Mission to the Supreme Council (tel.)</i> Importance of having a government in Hungary which is recognized by Entente; recommendation that Friedrich Cabinet be recognized, or that explicit instructions be given them as to what will be recognized; further report on Roumanian seizures and exportations.	684
Sept. 22	<i>The President of the Day, Interallied Military Mission, to General Mardarescu of the Roumanian Army</i> Request that General Mardarescu either postpone intended departure until receipt of report upon Admiral Horthy's army, or arrange that officer in charge in his absence be invested with necessary authority to act upon the report.	685
Sept. 23 (86)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report by Budapest chief of police that Roumanians have authorized Socialist meetings for alleged purpose of overthrowing Friedrich Cabinet and that unarmed police force may have difficulties in handling them; information that Mission is informing Roumanian authorities that they are responsible if anything happens; failure of Roumanians to supply promised guns for police force.	686
Sept. 23	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Summary of Mission's negotiations with Roumanians regarding conditions in Hungary, and failure to carry out instructions of Supreme Council owing to obstructive attitude of the Roumanians; visit of Hungarian Foreign Minister, who advised that he believed that it was necessary to accede to Roumanian terms to save the country.	686
Sept. 24 (87)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Foreign Minister's intention to confer with Ardeli with view to accepting Roumanian terms in order to save country; intention to advise American representative, in confidence, regarding terms.	693

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Sept. 25 (89)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Notification to Roumanian Commander of receipt of committee report containing unanimous declaration that Admiral Horthy's army does not threaten the Roumanian army, with which Mission concurs; request for reply by September 23 as to decision of Roumanian Commander, for transmission to Supreme Council.	694
Sept. 27 (95)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report by U. S. Army officer after visit to headquarters of Hungarian army, concerning investigation of reported mistreatment of Jews; his opinion that authorities are doing their utmost to prevent injustice and disorder and that rumors of a White terror are unfounded.	695
Sept. 29 (102)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Information that Roumanians have agreed to evacuate trans-Danubia and that evacuation should begin in about 5 days.	695
Oct. 2 (112)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report on U. S. Army personnel on duty with Interallied Military Mission.	696
Oct. 3 (115)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk from Bandholtz: Action taken by Mission in respect to claims and complaints regarding Roumanian requisitions; opinion as to necessity of forcing Roumania to obey instructions of the Supreme Council.	696
Oct. 4 (118)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Recommendation that Roumanians be made to return immediately a portion of Hungarian rolling stock as directed by Interallied Military Mission to relieve food and fuel shortage.	697
Oct. 5 (124)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report that first stage of Roumanian evacuation has passed off satisfactorily.	697
Oct. 6 (125)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Recommendation that Hungarian peace delegates, to be approved by the Interallied Military Mission, be sent to Paris without delay.	697
Oct. 6 (126)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Efforts to prevent removal by Roumanians of articles from National Museum in Budapest which they claim belong to them.	698
Oct. 6 (127)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Receipt by Mission of a letter from the Archbishop of Esztergom and Prince Primas of Hungary claiming ownership of the articles which the Roumanians desire to seize from the National Museum.	699
Oct. 7 (128)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk from Bandholtz: Report that Roumanians have delivered 1,000 serviceable rifles for police, and that evacuation of Western Hungary should end this date.	699
Oct. 8 (133)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Data regarding continued Roumanian requisitions despite Roumanian assurances on September 16 that they would cease; report of formation of an Austrian Red Army with intention of breaking into Hungary; completion of evacuation of Western Hungary without serious incident.	699

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Oct. 8 (561)	<i>The Interallied Military Commission to the Supreme Council (tel.)</i> Information that withdrawal of Roumanians and corresponding advance of Hungarians in trans-Danubia has been completed without incident; data regarding rolling stock evacuated by Roumanians through October 4.	700
Oct. 11 (76)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to General Bandholtz (tel.)</i> From Polk: Request to be informed whether promised delivery of rifles for police has been made by Roumanians.	701
Oct. 16 [13?] (145)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Telegram to Supreme Council from Interallied Military Mission (text printed), containing text of memorandum sent to Roumanian Headquarters in protest against attempted arrest of Prime Minister Friedrich.	701
Oct. 13 (147)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Report that Roumanians have delivered 4,000 rifles and promised 6,000 more.	702
Oct. 15	<i>The Interallied Military Mission to the Commander in Chief of the Royal Roumanian Forces</i> Request that, pending report of Interallied investigating committee on conflict between Roumanian and Hungarian troops beyond neutral zone in trans-Danubia resulting in death of Roumanian soldiers, Roumanian orders for payment of fine by Hungarian Government under threat of starvation of Budapest be suspended.	702
Oct. 15	<i>The Interallied Military Mission to the Commander in Chief of the Royal Roumanian Forces</i> Desire that Roumanians proceed with the evacuation of Hungary and of Budapest in accordance with instructions of the Supreme Council and request to be informed of date on which withdrawal will take place.	703
Oct. 15 (151)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Report on obstructive actions of the Roumanians; information regarding letter sent by Mission requesting immediate withdrawal of Roumanian forces.	703
Oct. 15 (154)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Report that Roumanians have delivered 10,000 rifles and 40 machine guns, which, however, lack accessories, bayonets, and cartridges.	704
Oct. 17 (157)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report of continued Roumanian requisitions in trans-Danubian territory; reply of General Mardarescu to Mission's letter of October 15 in regard to cutting off of food supply of Bucharest that he had been misunderstood; further information regarding Roumanian attempt to arrest Prime Minister Friedrich.	704
Undated (167)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Roumanian reply (excerpt printed) to Mission's letter of October 15, maintaining liberty with respect to operative questions; reply by Mission that such action would imply nonrecognition of Mission's authority, and that Supreme Council will be notified accordingly; efforts of Roumanians to seize Friedrich, which were frustrated by action of Interallied Military Mission.	705

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Oct. 23 (172)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Receipt of letter from Roumanian Commander in Chief disclaiming intention to arrest Friedrich; trouble in Baranya caused by Jugoslavs, who have been requested to withdraw south of demarcation line; arrival of Sir George Clerk in Budapest.	706
Oct. 27	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Summary of lack of success of Mission in carrying out instructions of Supreme Council, owing to attitude of Roumanians; report on trip to Belgrade and attitude of Jugoslavs.	707
Oct. 30 (181)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Telegram for Supreme Council (text printed) regarding conditions in Roumanian prisoner of war camps.	713
Oct. 31 (182)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Decision of Mission to request Roumanians to take action to improve conditions in prisoner of war camps.	715
Nov. 5 (5011)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Recommendation that an American diplomatic or consular representative be sent to Hungary as soon as possible.	715
Nov. 5 (187)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Telegram for Supreme Council (text printed) containing unanimous protest of Interallied Military Mission against proposal of Supreme Council for occupation of Hungary by Interallied, Czechoslovak, and Jugoslav troops.	716
Nov. 6 (188)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Probability that Roumanians will begin evacuation on 9th; indication that they will evacuate only to line of Tisza and will try to hold territory in attempt to obtain territorial concessions from Supreme Council; willingness of Friedrich to resign when Roumanians have withdrawn to demarcation line.	716
Nov. 9	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Interview with Prime Minister Friedrich, November 7, at his request, in which he was advised unofficially that as the representative of the Hapsburg dynasty he would never be recognized by the British and American Governments, and the immediate organization of a coalition Cabinet was suggested.	717
Nov. 10 (195)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Submission of Roumanian plans for evacuation from Danube to Theiss; request that Mission be informed as soon as possible of Roumanian schedule for withdrawal from Theiss to line of demarcation in compliance with Supreme Council's orders; formation of an Interallied committee to supervise transfer of Hungarian prisoners of war held by Roumanians.	719
Nov. 12 (199)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Report of Roumanian action in distributing large quantities of food as a philanthropic gesture, which they obtained by seizing Hungarian Government food depot.	720

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Nov. 13	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Request for information as to probable date of liberation, or other information, regarding disposition of Hungarian prisoners of war in Siberia.	721
Nov. 15 (203)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Report of completion of evacuation of Budapest by Roumanians and reoccupation by Hungarians without incident.	721
Nov. 15 (204)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Information that evacuation is proceeding satisfactorily, but that Roumanians are determined to hold line of the Tisza River; intention to send one of Mission's officers to join Roumanians as liaison officer, since they left no one for that purpose.	721
Nov. 16 (205)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Arrival of Admiral Horthy's Hungarian National Army in Budapest; report of Sir George Clerk's concern over the arrest of several Social Democrats.	722
Nov. 17 (105)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to General Bandholtz (tel.)</i> From Polk: Agreement with attitude of Sir George Clerk regarding arrest of Social Democrats; observation that continuance of campaign against Socialists, will justify Roumanian claims that they are needed to keep peace in Budapest, and make impossible insistence on further Roumanian withdrawal.	722
Nov. 17 (206)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Telegram for the Supreme Council from the Interallied Military Mission (text printed) regarding conditions in Budapest since Hungarian reoccupation; information that Friedrich is about to publish election proclamation; indications that he will not form a coalition with the Socialists.	722
Nov. 18 (207)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Advice that facts do not justify concern over reported arrests; indication that Friedrich will be replaced within next 24 hours, probably by Apponyi; adverse report on Roumanian evacuation, and information that Mission's liaison officer will arrive at Roumanian headquarters on November 19.	723
Nov. 19 (208)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Intention of Sir George Clerk to telegraph an explanation of his first reports; his concurrence in opinion that there should be no delay in complete Roumanian evacuation; information that a telegram has been sent to Supreme Council by Mission regarding question of Serbian occupation of Hungarian territory.	724
Nov. 20 (110)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to General Bandholtz (tel.)</i> Information that Ulysses Grant-Smith has been selected as Commissioner to Hungary and instructed to proceed there immediately.	725
Nov. 24 (212)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Information that Friedrich will resign on this date and new Prime Minister, Charles Huszar, and his Cabinet will come into power; report on conditions in Pecs coal mines, now occupied by Serbs.	725

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Nov. 26	<i>The Interallied Military Mission to the Commanding General of the Roumanian Army of Transylvania</i> Protest against bombardment by Roumanian forces of defenseless town of Tokaj.	726
Nov. 26 (214)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Telegram for Supreme Council from Interallied Military Mission (text printed) recommending action by Supreme Council regarding Serbian occupation of Hungarian territory.	726
Nov. 27 (119)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to General Bandholtz (tel.)</i> From Polk: Request for views as to whether it is necessary for Interallied Military Mission to remain in Budapest, or whether it would be sufficient for General Bandholtz to remain as U. S. Special Commissioner until arrival of Grant-Smith.	727
Nov. 27 (215)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Recommendation that an Interallied committee be sent to investigate reported Roumanian atrocities in Transylvania; importance of arrival of American representative on Reparations Committee without delay.	728
Nov. 29	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Opinion that Interallied Military Mission could now be discontinued; report that Serbs are evacuating Baranya, plundering as they go, and that Mission has sent four officers there; information that Roumanians are still holding the line of the Tisza.	728
Nov. 30 (219)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Report from liaison officer sent to Roumanian headquarters, regarding intention of General Mardarescu to hold Tisza line until signature of peace with Hungary; Roumanian attitude that liaison with Mission is unnecessary since all questions regarding occupied territory should now be taken up with Roumanian Government.	729
Undated	<i>Report to the Interallied Military Mission Made by the Subcommittee Sent to Pecs on November 28, Returning December 1, 1919</i> Text of report; information that subcommittee was unable to accomplish its mission because of attitude of Serbian Military Commander and Civil Governor at Pecs; impression of subcommittee that Serbs intend to evacuate Pecs eventually, but without notice to the Mission.	729
Dec. 5 (127)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to General Bandholtz (tel.)</i> From Polk: Decision of Supreme Council to dissolve Council of Generals; instructions to remain in Budapest as United States representative; arrangements regarding staff.	731
Dec. 6 (230)	<i>General Bandholtz to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Indications that Roumanians do not intend to sign Hungarian peace treaty and will not retire from Theiss until forced to do so by economic or diplomatic pressure.	732
Dec. 13	<i>General Bandholtz to the Interallied Military Mission</i> Notification of discontinuance of membership on Interallied Military Mission.	733
1920 Jan. 10	<i>General Bandholtz to Countess Karolyi</i> Information in regard to question of repatriation of Hungarian prisoners of war in Siberia.	733

THE BANDHOLTZ MISSION TO HUNGARY—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1920 Jan. 23	<i>General Bandholtz to the Hungarian Prime Minister</i> Appreciation of cooperation and assistance of Hungarian Government, and especially of Minister Councillor Zerkowitz, in the work of the Claims and Complaints Bureau established by the Mission to consider claims and complaints of Hungarian subjects and others; notification that Bureau may be discontinued on February 15.	734
Jan. 31	<i>The Commissioner in Hungary to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> Recommendation that General Bandholtz be returned to the United States on State Department detail to report personally to the Secretary of State on conditions in Hungary.	735
Feb. 9	<i>The Commissioner in Hungary to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> Departure of General Bandholtz and staff from Budapest for Paris.	735

MISSION OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL SHERMAN MILES TO MONTENEGRO

1919 Mar. 28	<i>Mr. A. J. Balfour to Colonel E. M. House</i> Suggestion for an Anglo-American Commission to proceed to Montenegro to ascertain the true wishes of the inhabitants, following withdrawal of the Allied troops now occupying the country; suggestion of Count Salis as British representative.	736
Apr. 3	<i>Colonel E. M. House to Mr. A. J. Balfour</i> Information that President Wilson has approved plan for Anglo-American Commission for Montenegro and appointed Lt. Colonel Sherman Miles as American representative.	737
Apr. 18	<i>The Secretary of State to Mr. A. J. Balfour</i> Information that a telegram (text printed) is being sent to Colonel Miles requesting that he consult with Count Salis and investigate reports of massacres of Albanians in Montenegro by Serbian troops.	738
May 19 (23)	<i>Lieutenant Colonel Sherman Miles to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Summary of situation in Montenegro and suggested solution that Montenegro be included in Jugoslavia, under guarantees of autonomy and political rights; further recommendation for defining boundary between Montenegro and Albania on lines of nationality.	738
May 21 (24)	<i>Lieutenant Colonel Sherman Miles to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Report on investigation of Serbian massacres of Albanians in Montenegro.	740
May 30	<i>The Secretary of State to President Wilson</i> Submission of report of American representative on Anglo-American Mission of Investigation for Montenegro; observation that his conclusions confirm reports that best solution of Montenegrin question is the incorporation of this country into Jugoslavia, with guarantees of autonomy and political rights.	744

THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON MANDATES IN
TURKEY (THE KING-CRANE COMMISSION)

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Mar. 25	<p><i>Instructions for Commissioners From the Peace Conference</i> Instructions for guidance of the American Commissioners in investigating social, racial, and economic conditions in certain portions of the Turkish Empire which are to be separated from Turkey and put under the guidance of Governments acting as Mandatories, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the five great powers on January 30, 1919, and with the Anglo-French Declaration of November 9, 1918 (texts printed).</p>	745
Apr. 2	<p><i>The Secretary of State to President Wilson</i> Request for authorization to sign letters to Mr. H. C. King and Mr. Charles R. Crane, designating them as American Commissioners.</p>	747
Apr. 15	<p><i>President Wilson to the Secretary of State</i> Authorization to sign letters to Mr. King and Mr. Crane, even though other interested powers apparently have withdrawn from their agreement to send commissioners to Syria.</p>	748
June 20	<p><i>Mr. C. R. Crane and Mr. H. C. King to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> For President Wilson: Hostile attitude of Moslem and Christian population toward extension of Jewish immigration or any attempt to establish Jewish sovereignty over them.</p>	748
[July 10]	<p><i>Mr. C. R. Crane and Mr. H. C. King to the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Information that Commission has covered principal strategic points in Palestine and Syria and has been favorably received everywhere; observations concerning desire of native population for political independence, and attitudes toward United States, Great Britain, and France as mandatory powers; conflict of interests between Great Britain and France in area; importance of encouraging and supporting Emir Feisal.</p>	749
Aug. 28	<p><i>Report of the American Section of the International Commission on Mandates in Turkey</i> Text of report in three sections dealing respectively with Syria, Mesopotamia, and the non-Arabic-speaking portions of the former Ottoman Empire.</p>	751
Undated	<p><i>Confidential Appendix to the Report Upon Syria</i> Supplementary discussions and material involving criticisms of Allied powers not included in the report of the Commission.</p>	848

