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Chief of State Józef Piłsudski's Visit to Romania in September 1922. Antecedents, Course, and Results

*Podróż Naczelnika Państwa Józefa Piłsudskiego do Rumunii we wrześniu 1922 roku.
Antecedencje, przebieg i rezultaty*

ABSTRACT

The visit of Józef Piłsudski, Chief of State, to Romania in September 1922 played a part in the strengthening of the alliance between Poland and Romania, formed in March 1921. Its key achievement was the signing of a new military pact, removing the shortcomings of the previous pact signed in 1921. Other positive outcomes of the visit include Romanian diplomatic activity with regard to France, the United Kingdom and Italy, whereby Romania supported Poland's overtures to ensure the acknowledgment by these countries that Eastern Galicia was part of Poland's territory.

Key words: Polish-Romanian Alliance, Józef Piłsudski, September 1922

The Polish state, since the beginning of its rebirth in 1918, remained in the shadow of threat from Germany and Russia – two former occupying powers that did not want to accept its existence, and only because of their own weakness they were ready to tolerate temporarily this state of affairs. Polish governing spheres sought a means to neutralize the danger from the West through an alliance with France. The same role in relation to the threat from the East was to serve the alliance with Romania and cooperation with the Baltic States (except for Lithuania). The actions taken by Poland in that regard had intensified since the beginning of 1920, as expansive aims of Soviet Russia towards Central and Eastern Europe were being manifested. Polish diplomacy failed to create a common front with

the Baltic states. The similar lack of effects was noticed in Bucharest, where willingness to approach Warsaw increased or decreased depending on the hopes of the Romanians for the agreement with Moscow on Bessarabia¹, the degree of aggression of the Bolsheviks towards Romania and the assessment of the current military capabilities of the Republic of Poland².

After the victorious settlement of war with the Bolsheviks by Poland and signing the preliminary peace agreement on 12 October 1920, the fears of turning the Soviet troops against Romania deepened in Bucharest. They became particularly strong when the Red Army, after the breakdown of the White Guard troops of Gen. Peter Wrangel and the Ukrainian troops of ataman Symon Petliura, reached the Romanian border. On the Dâmbovița river, they returned to the matter of concluding a bilateral alliance with Poland, especially that the efforts of the Romanian Foreign Minister Take Ionescu to create a regional grouping of five countries (Romania, Czechoslovakia, the Kingdom of SHS, Greece and Poland), under the name of Little Entente, had been unsuccessful for some time. On the other hand, more and more likely were the plans of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Edvard Beneš to create a narrower Czechoslovak-Yugoslav-Romanian alliance which would not guarantee Bucharest's security from Soviet Russia³.

In this situation, the concept of bilateral alliance between Poland and Romania, constituting a security against the threat from the East, began to de-

¹ At the end of December 1917, Romanian troops began occupying this territory in clashes with Soviet troops; in response, Soviet Russia announced the severance of diplomatic relations with Bucharest. On 6 February 1918, in the presence of the Romanian troops, the Moldavian Republic was proclaimed independent and its government approved a union with the Kingdom of Romania on 9 April. L. Pădureac, *Relațiile româno-sovietice 1917–1934*, Chișinău 2003, pp. 17–32; E. Bold, R.O. Locovei, *Relații româno-sovietice (1918–1941)*, Iași 2008, p. 55 and next; D. Geblescu, *Chestiunea Basarabiei și relațiile româno-sovietice, 1917–1934*, ed. and introduction: S. Neagoe, București 2013, pp. 68–69.

² H. Bułhak, *Stosunki Polski z Rumunią (1918–1921)*, in: *Odrodzona Polska wśród sąsiadów 1918–1921*, ed. A. Koryn, Warszawa 1999, pp. 109–119; idem, *Polska a Rumunia 1918–1939*, in: *Przyjaźnie i antagonizmy. Stosunki Polski z państwami sąsiednimi w latach 1918–1939*, ed. J. Żarnowski, Warszawa 1977, pp. 305–309; W. Stępnia, *Dyplomacja polska na Bałkanach (1918–1926)*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 74–93; H. Walczak, *Sojusz z Rumunią w polskiej polityce zagranicznej w latach 1918–1931*, Szczecin 2008, p. 26 ff.

³ A. Essen, *Polska a Mała Ententa 1920–1934*, Warszawa–Kraków 1992, pp. 30–44; W. Stępnia, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–114. This alliance was to be primarily against Hungary and Bulgaria. The participation of Czechoslovakia which was pro-Russian and reluctant to enter any anti-German cooperation nullified this concept in the opinion of Polish politicians. This project was started by signing Czechoslovakian-Yugoslavian treaty of alliance on 14 August 1920 in Belgrade. A. Essen, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–26; Z. Sládek, *Malá dohoda 1919–1938. Její hospodářské, politické a vojenské komponenty*, Praha 2000, pp. 14–23; A. Iaz'kova, *Malaia Antanta v evropeiskoi politike 1918–1925*, Moskva 1974, p. 119 ff; E. Campus, *Mica Întelegeră*, București 1997, pp. 52–55.

velop. On 3 March 1921, in Bucharest, Foreign Ministers of both countries, Eustachy Sapieha and Take Ionescu signed the "Convention on Defensive Alliance between the Republic of Poland and the Kingdom of Romania" with three secret protocols. On the same day, generals Tadeusz Rozwadowski and Constantin Christescu signed a secret military convention⁴.

The conclusion of the alliance between Poland and Romania in March 1921 did not mean that both countries immediately started political and military cooperation. There were some deficiencies in the precision of expressions of the military convention and its inconsistency with the political agreement. The agreement committed the allies to render each other armed assistance in case one of the countries was attacked at the eastern frontiers, whereas the military convention obliged them only to full military mobilization⁵. The Polish side was aware of those shortcomings. In order to eliminate them, Lieutenant Colonel Bolesław Wieniawa-Długoszowski was sent to Bucharest as a military attaché in early 1922. Initially, the Romanian side did not demonstrate an "ardent understanding" of that matter. In Wieniawa's opinion, this was due to the underestimation of "the eastern danger" by a large part of the local political and military circles. In his view, as well as in the view of the Polish envoy to Bucharest Aleksander Skrzyński, the visit of the Head of State in Romania could help to overcome the impasse. Preparations for it were taken shortly after the arrival of Długoszowski to Bucharest. Its date scheduled for 16–20 April due to the Genoa Conference was, however, postponed for a month. This raised some concern for General Victor Pétin, the French military attaché in Bucharest, who, in a conversation with Alexandru Florescu, the Romanian envoy to Warsaw, pointed to the relevance and necessity of refining the military convention and correlating it with the political agreement. However, the delay of Ion Brătianu's return from Genoa, and the departure of King Ferdinand and his family to Athens to the ill daughter of Queen Elizabeth of Greece, resulted in another shift of very advanced preparations⁶. Finally, the collapse of the government of Antoni Ponikowski and

⁴ H. Bułhak, *Stosunki Polski z Rumunią*, pp. 120–123; W. Stępiak, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–119; H. Walczak, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–145.

⁵ Hoover Institution Archives [later referred to as: HIA], Polska. Poselstwo (Rumunia) [later referred to as: Rumunia], Księga szyfrów [later referred to as: Ks. szyf.] nr 1, pudło [later referred to as: p.] 1, folder [later referred to as: f.] 1, Skrzyński's telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated from 2 May 1922 (No 45); Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie [later referred to as: AAN], Ataszaty wojskowe RP [later referred to as: AWRP], AII, t. 18, k. 577, Raport ppłk Wieniawy-Długoszowskiego do Szefa Sztabu Generalnego gen. Sikorskiego z 25 V 1922 (nr 382).

⁶ AAN, Akta B. Wieniawy-Długoszowskiego, t. 17, k. 1, 4, Letters of Lieutenant Colonel Wieniawa-Długoszowskiego to Piłsudski from 27 January, 19 March 1922; HIA, Rumu-

the prolongation of the political crisis in Poland made the arrival in the summer of 1922 impossible⁷. Nevertheless, Romanian military authorities succumbed to the suggestions of the Polish side and the discussions were started on the modification of the military convention⁸.

In the middle of August, they returned to the matter of the Chief of State's visit in Romania. This time there were again some perturbations. First, the date of the visit collided with the date of convening the Sejm, which was managed to postpone from 12 to 19 September. Then, on August 30, General Władysław Frankowski, who was supposed to accompany the Chief of State, died. At the last moment, he was replaced by General Stefan Suszyński, commander of the capital city of Warsaw. Due to the discretion, the Polish guests were to be received not in the capital city, but in Sinaia holiday resort 120 km away from it, where the impressive royal residence was located. People from the king's surroundings and the Romanian government had carefully prepared for this meeting⁹.

nia, Ks. szyf. nr 1, p. 1, f. 1, telegramy Skrzyńskiego do MSZ z 21 III (nr 34), 7 V (nr 46), 9 V (nr 48), 12 V (nr 49), 27 V (nr 54) 1922; Instytut J. Piłsudskiego w Ameryce [later referred to as: IJPA], Adiutantura Generalna Naczelnego Wodza [later referred to as: AGNW], t. 83, pl. 8631, list ppłk Wieniawy-Długoszowskiego do mjr Świtalskiego z 25 III 1922; HIA, Rumunia, Ks. szyf. nr 1, p. 1, f. 1, telegramy MSZ do Skrzyńskiego z 29 III (nr 30), 7 V (nr 36), 10 V (nr 37) 1922; *Ibidem*, telegram chargé d'affaires P. Jurjewicza do MSZ z 23 V 1922 (nr 53); IJPA, AGNW, t. 83, pl. 8677, list ppłk Wieniawy-Długoszowskiego do AGNW z 29 IV 1922; Arhivele Ministerului Afacerilor Externe, București [later referred to as: AMAE], 71/1920–1944 Polonia, vol. 38, k. 1–1a, telegram poșta rumuńskiegó w Warszawie A. Florescu do Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych w Bukareszcie z 26 IV 1922 (nr 1655); *Ibidem*, 71/1920–1944. Dosare Speciale, vol. 60/3, k. 4, pismo A. Skrzyńskiego do Duky z 31 V 1922 (nr 1083); Maria, Regina României, *Însemnări zilnice (1 ianuarie–31 decembrie 1922)*, transl. S.-I. Racoviceanu, ed., introduction and footnotes V. Arimia, București 2005, t. 4, pp. 118–135.

⁷ HIA, Rumunia, Ks. szyf. nr 1, p. 1, f. 1, Skrzyński's telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated from 3 June (No 56) 1922; *Ibidem*, telegramy MSZ do Skrzyńskiego z 8 VI (nr 48), 17 VI (nr 57), 8 VII (nr 67) 1922; IJPA, AGNW, t. 83, pl. 8733, odpis raportu ppłk Wieniawy-Długoszowskiego z 11 VI 1922 (nr 435); AMAE, 71/1920–1944. Dosare Speciale, vol. 60/3, k. 19, telegram Florescu do MSZ z 11 VII 1922 (nr 2966); J. Faryś, *Gabinet Artura Śliwińskiego 28 czerwca – 7 lipca 1922*, in: *Od Moraczewskiego do Składkowskiego. Gabinety Polski Odrodzonej*, ed. J. Faryś, H. Walczak, A. Wątor, Szczecin 2010, pp. 124–128.

⁸ AAN, AWRP, AII, t. 18, k. 97–98, 101–102, Lieutenant Colonel Wieniawa-Długoszowski's reports to the Chief of General Staff General W. Sikorski from 11 (nr 217/22), 21 (nr 238/22) III and 21 IV (nr 296/22) 1922; Arhivele Militare Române, București [later referred to as: AMR], Marele Stat Major [later referred to as: MSM], Secția 3. Operați, t. 1121, k. 3–7, „Memoire (z podpisem Wieniawy) au sujet du complètement de la convention militaire polono-roumaine du 28 janvier 1921”.

⁹ HIA, Rumunia, Ks. szyf. nr 1, p. 1, f. 1, Skrzyński's telegrams to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 15 August (No 75), 20 August (No 78), 25 August (No 81), 5 September (No 86) 1922; *Ibidem*, telegrams of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Skrzyński from 17 VIII (No 70) 18 VIII (No 72), 24 VIII (No 77), 7 IX (No 92), 9 IX (No 98), 1922; AMAE, 71/1920–1944. Dosare Speciale, vol. 60/3, k. 20–20a, 21, 38, Florescu's telegrams to the Ministry of Foreign

Piłsudski together with the accompanying people set off from Warsaw on Tuesday, 12 September 1922, at 11.00 p.m. He was escorted to the railway station by ministers headed by Prime Minister Julian Nowak, heads of diplomatic missions, as well as generals and senior officials. Among the members of the Polish delegation there were: Minister of Foreign Affairs – Gabriel Narutowicz, Head of Ministerial Office and Director of the Diplomatic Protocol – Stefan Przewdziecki, Head of Press and Propaganda of Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Józef Targowski, Deputy Director of the Diplomatic Protocol – Jerzy Tarnowski, Secretary of the Minister – Adam Tarnowski, Head of the Central European Department – Aleksander Ładoś, General Suszyński, already mentioned, Colonel Tadeusz Kutrzeba – Head of IIIa Department of the Office of the War Council, Major Włodzimierz Ludwig – officer of this Department, Major Tadeusz Schaezel – Head of the Department of the Register of the II Branch, adjutants of the Chief of State – Cavalry Captain Ignacy Sołtan, lieutenants Jan Horodecki and Mateusz Iżycki, doctor – Colonel Eugeniusz Piestrzyński and the inspector of the train of the Chief of State – Szymon Eborowicz¹⁰.

On Wednesday, 13 September, at 1.00 p.m., the Chief of State arrived in Lviv, where he was enthusiastically received by inhabitants and the representatives of the local authorities with mayor Józef Neumann and voivode Kazimierz Grabowski. During the 30-minute stay at the station, the Marshal talked, among others, to the former legionnaires and the President of the Executive Committee of the East Fair, Marian Turski, who invited him to visit the exhibition. Piłsudski refused because of the tight schedule of the trip. Travelling to the Romanian border, the Commandant was warmly welcomed in Stanisławów, Kołomyia and Śniatyń, where he met with the Hutsul delegation. At 6.00 p.m., the Chief of State and his entourage crossed the Romanian border. At the first station, in the place called Grigore Ghica Voda, the Marshal was expected by several people: Polish envoy to Bucharest – Aleksander Skrzyński, Romanian envoy to Warsaw – A. Florescu, Attache in Bucharest – Lieutenant Colonel Wieniawa-Długoszowski and his counterpart in Warsaw – Colonel

Affairs of 18 VIII (no No), 23 VIII (No 3755), 2 IX (No 3920) and 7 IX (No 4008) 1922; *Ibidem*, k. 23, pismo A. Skrzyńskiego do Duki z 26 VIII (nr 523) 1922; IJPA, AGNW, t. 83, pl. 8858, telegram ppłk Wieniawy-Długoszowskiego do Sztabu Generalnego z 6 IX 1922 (nr 551); P. Stawecki, *Słownik biograficzny generałów Wojska Polskiego 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1994, p. 114; A. Wojtaszak, *Generalicja Wojska Polskiego 1918–1926*, Warszawa 2012, p. 427.

¹⁰ *Wyjazd Naczelnika Państwa do Rumunii*, „Kurier Poranny” 13 IX 1922, p. 3; *Naczelnik Państwa w drodze do Bukaresztu*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” 13 IX 1922, p. 10; *Kronika polityczna*, „Kurier Warszawski” 13 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 2; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, p. 6280.

Constantin Trandafirescu, as well as the Consul of Poland in Chernivtsi – Eustachy Lorentowicz. On the Romanian side, the Polish guests were received by Major Emil Skeletti – royal adjutant, generals Nicolae Petala – Commander of the 6th Corps of the Army, Iacob Zadik – Commander of the 4th Corps and Lodovic Mircescu – Commander of the 8th Infantry Division, Secretary General of the Ministry of Internal Affairs – Richard Franasovici, General Director of Railways – Tancred Constantinescu and the head of the State Security Service – Romulus Voinescu. The reception of the Polish delegation was accompanied by the Colour Guard of the 25th Infantry Regiment of the Romanian Army, the orchestra of the 113th Infantry Regiment and the honorary company of the 10th Regiment of the Gendarmerie¹¹.

On Thursday, 14 September, at 8.40 a.m., Piłsudski's train stopped briefly in Chernivtsi and then headed for Ploești, where it arrived at 9.30. During the trip, Piłsudski talked to General Petala about various military matters, expressing admiration for the appearance and attitude of the Romanian soldiers. In Ploești, the head of the Romanian government, Ion Brătianu greeted the Marshal and the whole retinue went to the royal residence in Sinaia. They arrived there at 11.30. The Chief of State was awaited at the station by King Ferdinand, the successor to the throne, Carol, the younger son, Prince Nicholas, members of the Romanian Cabinet, President of the Chamber of Deputies (Mihail Orleans) and Senate (Mihail Pherekyde), diplomats accredited to the court, Chief of the General Staff – General Constantin Christescu, Commander of the III Corps of the Army – General Nicolae Rujinski, senior officers of the Romanian Mountain Hunters and a large audience¹². After years, Prince Nicholas described this event in the following way:

¹¹ *Podróż Naczelnika Państwa*, „Polska Zbrojna” 14 IX 1922, p. 4; *Podróż Naczelnika Państwa*, „Kurier Warszawski” 14 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 3; Z. Sachnowski, *Podróż Naczelnika Państwa do Rumunii*, „Kurier Poranny” 14 IX 1922, p. 3; *idem*, *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Przegląd Wieczorny” 14 IX 1922, p. 1; *Rostul vizitei președintelui Poloniei*, „Adevărul” 14 IX 1922, p. 4; *Naczelnik Państwa we Lwowie*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” 15 IX 1922, p. 2; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, p. 6280; E.A. Buhman, *Patru decenii în serviciul Casei Regale a României. Memorii 1898–1940*, ed. C. Scarlat, București 2006, p. 249; F. Anghel, *Construirea sistemului „Cordon Sanitaire”. Relații româno-polone 1919–1926*, Cluj-Napoca 2003, p. 172.

¹² *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 15 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 1; *Sosirea mareșalului Piłsudski în țară*, „Adevărul” 15 IX 1922, p. 4; *Rząd, Sejm, Polityka*, „Polska Zbrojna” 16 IX 1922, p. 4; *Wjazd Naczelnika Państwa do Sinaia*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” 18 IX 1922, p. 2; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, p. 6280; E.A. Buhman, *op. cit.*, p. 250; D. Hrenciuc, *Vizitele regilor României întregite în a Doua Republică Poloneză (1923–1937)*, Cluj-Napoca 2015, p. 30.

We went with my father, King Ferdinand to the station to meet Marshal Piłsudski, the Polish Chief of State, who arrived on an official visit. I had the impression that my father had intended to receive his guest heartily, but with some nonchalance. In spite of everything, the Marshal, the Chief of State was not a king. My father was talking to us cheerfully while the train was approaching and when it stopped, he lit a cigarette. Two adjutants jumped out of the compartment directly in front of us and they splendidly sprang to attention on both sides of the door. After a moment, at this door [...] the Marshal appeared and, slightly bent forward, he looked at our group. Then slowly, very slowly he began to get off. There was something in that sight that I straightened up involuntarily. I looked at my father and, I will never forget, I noted that before the Marshal managed to go down, my father threw a cigarette and stood at attention¹³.

After the orchestra performed the Polish anthem, the King greeted the head of the Polish delegation, who then reviewed the honorary company of the Romanian Mountain Hunters. From both sides the presentation of accompanying people started. After it was done, all the participants went by horse-drawn carriages à la Daumont to Royal Palace Peleş, where the Polish guests were welcomed by Queen Mary at 12.15, together with the wife of the successor to the throne – Greek Princess Helena and her sister – Princess Irene. The Queen liked Piłsudski very much. She saw in him a man of great vigour, prone to violence, but at the same time sincere and open. She saw in him a soul mate who could understand her¹⁴.

After a short and cordial conversation with the Queen, the Chief of State, as well as the adjutants, Doctor Piestrzyński, Minister Narutowicz, Head of the Protocol Przewdziecki and General Suszyński went to the palace apartments. The rest of the Poles were accommodated in local hotels¹⁵.

Piłsudski was not much impressed by King Ferdinand. After years, the Chief of State described him as a good and honest man of average intelligence. In his opinion,

it was Queen Maria who tried to play the main role at the court; she was educated, intelligent and impulsive, but also ambitious and striving for popularity. However, she gained – according to the Marshal – neither the popularity nor sympathy of the nation. The Romanians wished to see in their Queen greater dignity, not the lively and explosive temperament she was distinguished by.

¹³ W. Grzybowski, *Spotkania i rozmowy z Józefem Piłsudskim*, „Niepodległość”, t. 1, Londyn 1948, p. 94.

¹⁴ *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 15 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 1; *Sosirea mareşalului Piłsudski în ţară*, „Adevărul” 15 IX 1922, p. 4; *Wjazd Naczelnika Państwa do Sinaia*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” 18 IX 1922, p. 2; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, p. 6280; M.R. României, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

¹⁵ *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 15 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 1; *Sosirea mareşalului Piłsudski în ţară*, „Adevărul” 15 IX 1922, p. 4; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, p. 6280.

In Chief's opinion "the smartest person, a person of an outstanding intelligence was ... the Greek Princess Helena". On the other hand, the Marshal felt an instant dislike and reserve, which would later deepen, for her husband and the successor to the throne, Carol¹⁶.

At 12.45, the King, in the presence of Princes Carol and Nicholas, decorated Piłsudski with Romania's highest military decoration, the Order of Michael the Brave of the first three classes for the personal courage and heroic actions of the Polish army during the war of 1920. Then Ferdinand handed over the Grand Cross of the Order of Carol I to the Chief of State. At 1.00 p.m., an intimate lunch at Pelisor Palace began. At the table, beside the royal family, there were the Chief of State, Minister Narutowicz and Ambassador Skrzyński. The remaining Polish guests dined with the Marshal of the Royal Court, General Paul Angelescu. After the lunch at 2.30 p.m., Marshal Piłsudski honoured Prince Carol and Prince Nicholas with the highest Polish decoration – the Order of the White Eagle of the I class¹⁷.

At 5.00 p.m., the head of the Polish delegation welcomed the representatives of the press on the terrace of the palace. He stated that he was pleased with the fact that the planned visit took place. He expressed his admiration for the "cordial hospitality" of the Romanian monarch, and at the same time expressing his regret that he would not be able to visit Bucharest. He emphasized, however, that one visit would certainly not be enough. In his opinion, the neighbourhood of the two countries, the mutual political interests and the "similarity of some qualities [...] of natures" of the two nations are decisive motives "for closer and closer unification of all the elements and all the spheres, both governmental and political, as well as scientific and cultural circles and the financial and economic spheres". "Let us go towards this friendship" – he said – "Let us strive to make our roots deep in our conscience, to branch out in all spheres of our national energy, because this friendship can only result in the permanent good for both our nations"¹⁸. In a conversation with journalists, also at-

¹⁶ A.L. Korwin-Sokołowski, *Fragmety wspomnień 1910–1945*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 75–77; F. Anghel, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

¹⁷ *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 15 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 1; *Sosireea mareșalului Piłsudski în țară*, „Adevărul” 15 IX 1922, p. 4; Z. Sachnowski, *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Przegląd Wieczorny” 15 IX 1922, p. 1; *Wjazd Naczelnika Państwa do Sinaia*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” 18 IX 1922, p. 2; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, pp. 6280–6281; M.R. României, *op. cit.*, p. 278; cf. D. Hrenciuc, *Vizitele*, pp. 30–31.

¹⁸ J. Piłsudski, *Pisma zbiorowe*, t. 5, Warszawa 1937, pp. 279–280 (hence the quote); *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 15 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 1; *Sosireea mareșalului Piłsudski în țară*, „Adevărul” 15 IX 1922, p. 4; *Rząd, Sejm, Polityka*, „Polska Zbrojna” 16 IX 1922, p. 4; *Naczelnik Państwa do dziennikarzy rumuńskich*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” 17 IX 1922, p. 9; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, p. 6281.

tended by Minister Narutowicz, Piłsudski noted that “the neighbours are in a position to argue”. However, in his opinion, Poland and Romania were the exception and “it would be good if other neighbours followed this example”. The head of Polish diplomacy, asked about the attitude to the Danube bloc, stated that Poland had not belonged to the Little Entente, but because “relations with Romania are so good [that] undoubtedly and with other states of Little Entente, Poland, in matters of great policy, will work in agreement”¹⁹.

It can be assumed that the minister was referring to the discussions on the agreement of the joint candidate of Poland and the Danube bloc to the Council of the League of Nations that had lasted for some time. During the visit, Narutowicz was given the assurance of Prime Minister Brătianu that he would apply for Romania's candidacy when he was sure of its being accepted. If it turned out that this solution would not be possible, Narutowicz was ready to support the Yugoslav or Czechoslovak candidature to maintain good relations with the Little Entente. In return, he was supposed to receive a promise to support Polish interests in the League of Nations, especially the recognition of the unification of Eastern Galicia with the Republic of Poland. The head of Polish diplomacy counted on the benevolent mediation of Romania and France to agree on these issues with Belgrade and Prague²⁰. However, the French had adopted a completely neutral attitude and advised to talk to the Danube bloc about the joint candidate. The actions of Constantin Diamandi, the former chairman of the Romanian delegation to the Hague Conference (16 June–20 July 1922) were also ineffective²¹ – he was specially sent for this purpose from Bucharest to Geneva. In the end, not only the joint candidacy of Poland and the Danube bloc was not established, but also no consensus was reached

¹⁹ Z. Sachnowski, *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Poranny” 15 IX 1922, p. 2; *Rozmowa z dziennikarzami*, „Przegląd Wieczorny” 15 IX 1922, p. 1; *Mareșalul Piłsudski și d. Narutovici vorbesc presei*, „Adevărul” 16 IX 1922, p. 2; Raport Deringa do Curzona z 21 IX 1922 (nr 502), *Documents on British foreign policy* [later referred to as: DBFP], series I, vol. XXIII, *Poland and the Baltic States, March 1921–December 1923*, ed. W.N. Medlicott, D. Dakin, London 1981, p. 571.

²⁰ Information about the arrangements and the instructions for the Polish delegate in Geneva, Sz. Askenazy, were taken by A. Ładoś, who left Sinaia on 16 September, before the departure of the Polish delegation. HIA, Rumunia, Ks. szyf. nr 1, p. 1, f. 1, Narutowicz's telegrams from Sinaia to the Polish delegate to Geneva, Sz. Askenazy from 15 September (no 570–572) 1922; Z. Sachnowski, *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Poranny” 16 IX 1922, p. 3.

²¹ The conference continued discussions on the economic problems of Genoa. It ended in a complete fiasco. C. Fink, *The Genoa Conference. European Diplomacy 1921–1922*, Syracuse 1993, pp. 266–274; S. White, *The Origins of Detente. The Genoa Conference and Soviet – Western Relations 1921–1922*, Cambridge 1985, pp. 192–211.

within the bloc. As a result, the Kingdom of SHS and Czechoslovakia went to the polls separately and both candidates were gone²². In Sinaia, Poland received further promises from Romania of support for efforts regarding East Galicia in London, Paris and Rome²³.

Particularly solemn point of the day was a gala dinner in honour of Marshal Piłsudski, which took place at 8.30 p.m. at the Palace of Peleş in the Mauritian Room. It was attended by the members of the government, the chairmen of the two parliamentary chambers, the employees of the Republic of Poland in Bucharest, the general secretary, the personalities of the Civilian House and the King's Military House; 82 people altogether. The Chief of State took the place between Queen Mary and the successor to the throne Carol. King Ferdinand, sitting opposite Piłsudski, delivered a speech on the need for "close friendship and mutual interests [of both nations] to maintain the peace based on existing agreements". On his part, Piłsudski stated that

the link between Poland and Romania is that both countries have emerged from the great anguish of the world, Romania united and Poland resurrected, and that they are the living embodiment of the victory of the law, the victory of justice. From this similarity of our paths of the recent past results as a logical consequence [...] a shared path in the present [...]. One would even like to say that from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea there is one nation with two national flags.

After dinner, which ended at 10.30 p.m., an hour-long conversation took place. The Chief of State remained surrounded by the Princesses, then he had a long conversation with Queen Mary, whereas the King exchanged views with Minister Narutowicz²⁴.

The next day, on Friday, 15 September at 9:30 a.m., Marshal Piłsudski went with the King, who drove the car, to manoeuvres in the vicinity of mountain Predeal. In the cavalcade of cars the Queen went along with Princes Carol and Nicholas. In subsequent vehicles there were Minister Narutowicz, Minister of War – General Gheorghe Mărdărescu, Minister

²² A. Szklarska-Lohmannowa, *Polsko-czechosłowackie stosunki dyplomatyczne w latach 1918–1925*, Wrocław–Kraków 1967, pp. 98–99; A. Essen, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–108.

²³ *Małopolska Wschodnia i Besarabia*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” 18 IX 1922, p. 2; AAN, AWRP, AII, t. 19, k. 482, raport ppłk. B. Wieniawy-Długoszowskiego do Sztabu Generalnego z 17 X 1922.

²⁴ *Mowa króla Ferdynanda*, „Przegląd Wieczorny” 15 IX 1922, p. 1; *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 15 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 1; Z. Sachnowski, *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Poranny” 16 IX 1922, p. 3; *Dineul de gală dela Sinaia*, „Adevărul” 16 IX 1922, p. 2; *Przyjęcie w Sinaia*, „Polska Zbrojna” 17 IX 1922, p. 2; J. Piłsudski, *op. cit.*, pp. 280–281; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, pp. 6281–6282; M.R. României, *op. cit.*, pp. 278–279.

of Internal Affairs – General Arthur Văitoianu, Foreign Minister of Romania – Ion Duca, members of the Polish delegation and foreign military attachés. The manoeuvres were led by General Smidt, whose task was to cross the Timiș valley from Brașov and to seize Predeal. The thrust made by the forces of two infantry companies supported by the artillery regiment was a success. Piłsudski watched the manoeuvres with great interest, he approved the strategy and its realization. In the course of manoeuvres, however, an unfortunate accident took place. Installing the machine gun they came across an unexploded bomb which had been there since 1916. Its explosion caused the death of two and severely wounded four soldiers, two of whom did not recover. After the manoeuvres, around 12.30, the Chief of State, at accompaniment of Polish anthem, decorated the Romanian monarch with the Order of Virtuti Militari. Then there was a parade led by the successor to the throne, Carol. In spite of the bad weather, Romanian soldiers gained recognition in the eyes of the Chief of State²⁵.

At 1.30 p.m., there was a lunch at Foișor Palace, which was attended by the same narrow group of people, just like the day before. Prince Carol was the host of the banquet held in honour of Marshal Piłsudski. At 3.30 p.m., after returning to Peleş Palace, the Chief of State met Professor Nicolae Iorga – a polonophile, and a prominent historian and politician. Iorga talked about the Slavic impact and Polish character whose influence could be observed also among the Romanian people. Piłsudski pointed out to the exceptional situation of both countries which had a great mission to accomplish, but limited opportunities. Hence, in his view, the Polish-Romanian co-operation was necessary. The Chief of State mentioned the good traditions of cooperation in the past, hoping that “good times” would return. The final of the audience was awarding Iorga the Order of Polonia Restituta. At 5.00 p.m., Piłsudski began a series of conversations with members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Bucharest, presented by Minister Duca. At 5.30 p.m., he met with the municipal delegation from Bucharest, on behalf of which the vice-president of the capital city, Lucjan Skupiewski, who was of Polish origin, paid homage to Piłsudski, expressing regret that the Bucharest residents had not been given the chance to host him in their city. The Marshal thanked for his kind words and cordial reception in Romania, decorating the Vice President with the Grand Cross of the Polonia Restituta Order, and the remaining members of the delegation with the

²⁵ *Festivitățile dela Sinaia*, „Adevărul” 16 IX 1922, p. 4; *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 16 IX 1922, wyd. wiecz, p. 8; *Udekorowanie króla Ferdynanda krzyżem „Virtuti Militari”*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” 18 IX 1922, p. 10; *Z całego świata*, „Polska Zbrojna” 18 IX 1922, p. 1; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, p. 6282; M.R. României, *op. cit.*, p. 279; E.A. Buhman, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

lower classes of this Order. At 6 p.m., Piłsudski met representatives of regional and municipal authorities from Prahova and Sinaia districts. At that time, he handed the Mayor of Sinaia the amount of 25,000 lei to support the poor people of this town²⁶. Probably, at that time, Minister Narutowicz placed flowers on the grave of Take Ionescu, a politician who contributed to the conclusion of the Polish-Romanian alliance, and who died several months earlier and was buried in the monastery in Sinaia²⁷.

At 8.30 p.m., in the Mauritian Room of Peleş Palace, a dinner was held in honor of the Polish guests. It was attended by 56 people, including the King and the Queen, the members of their family, Marshal Piłsudski with the retinue and the members of Civil and Military Palace. During the evening Piłsudski was manifestly honoured. He mostly kept the Queen company. At 10.00 p.m., in the Music Hall of the castle the concert began, which was attended by the best Romanian virtuosos and singers such as George Enescu, Alfred Alessandrescu, Traian Grozăvescu and others. Besides Schumann's songs, Wagner's works and compositions by Polish, Russian and Romanian authors were performed. The performance lasted until midnight. In addition to the *raut* participants, the artists were also applauded by members of the diplomatic corps, senior and military officials and aristocrats²⁸.

In the course of the visit, they also discussed the situation in the Middle East. The victories of the Kemalists forces over the Greeks and their approach to Istanbul stimulated British diplomacy and on 15 September, they applied to Romania for assistance for Greece. Since Soviet Russia was an ally of the Ankara government, the possible support of the Greeks could have led not only to Moscow's war with Romania, but there was a danger of drawing Poland into the conflict because of its alliance with the latter. It can be assumed that this issue, as a result of its sudden appearance, was not thoroughly discussed in Sinaia, however, Narutowicz

²⁶ On 16 September, Piłsudski also handed over to Queen Mary the sum of 50,000 lei to a child care society whose protector was the monarch. *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 18 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 1; *Pobył Naczelnika Państwa w Rumunii*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” 19 IX 1922, p. 1; M.R. României, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

²⁷ *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Przegląd Wieczorny” 16 IX 1922, p. 1; *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 16 IX 1922, wyd. wiecz., p. 1; *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, *ibidem*, 16 IX 1922, wyd. wiecz., p. 8; *Plecare a mareşalului Piłsudski*, „Adevărul” 18 IX 1922, p. 4; *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski”, 18 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 1; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, p. 6282; M.R. României, *op. cit.*, pp. 279–280; N. Iorga, *Memorii*, t. 3, [b.m.ir.w.], pp. 330–331.

²⁸ *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 17 IX 1922, p. 4; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, p. 6282; M.R. României, *op. cit.*, p. 280; N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

stated to the press that the war in the Middle East affected Poland far less than Romania, if necessary, the Government of the Republic of Poland will support Bucharest in that matter²⁹.

A participation of the delegations of both states in the disarmament conference in Moscow was another issue discussed. Soviet Russia had addressed this issue to Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Finland and Romania in the summer of 1922. At the same time, Poland offered participation in the meeting of military experts in Warsaw to Romanians, where it was intended to establish a united position, together with the Baltic states, for the Moscow conference³⁰. Talks about the meeting of military experts were also held in Sinaia. At first, the Romanians made their participation dependent on Moscow's approval for avoiding the Besarabian issue at the Disarmament Conference, which they considered definitively and finally settled. It is possible that the Polish side convinced Romanians to withdraw this condition. Indeed, participation in the meeting of experts did not involve any concessions to Soviet Russia. One of the participants of the Sinaia's talks was probably General Nicolae Petala, commander of the Sixth Army Corps in Transylvania, and the alleged delegate of Romania to the convention in Warsaw³¹. At that time, the preliminary arrangements were made as for representing Romania by Poland at the Moscow conference if Soviet Russia did not agree to the initial demand. On behalf of the ally, the Polish delegate was also to sign a non-aggression pact if it was concluded³².

On the last day of the visit, that is on 16 September in the morning, Queen Maria arranged a car trip with the Chief of State. Apart from those mentioned, King Ferdinand, Princes Carol and Nicholas, Princesses Helen and Irene, took part in the ride, as well as foreign ministers Narutowicz and Duca, and military attaches Colonel Wieniawa and Trandafirescu.

²⁹ HIA, Rumunia, Ks. szyf. nr 1, p. 1, f. 1, the telegram of Skrzyński to Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 20 September 1922 (No 97); DBFP, series I, vol. XXIII, p. 571; raport posła angielskiego w Bukareszcie H. Deringa do ministra spraw zagranicznych Wielkiej Brytanii G. Curzona z 21 IX 1922 (nr 502); W. Stępnia, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–134, 218–219.

³⁰ HIA, Rumunia, Ks. szyf. nr 1, p. 1, f. 1, the telegrams of Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Skrzyński from 11 July (No 62), 23 July (No 63) and 31 July (No 65) 1922; Z listu zastępcy ludowego komisarza spraw zagranicznych RFSRR M. Litwinowa do członków Kolegium LKSZ z 20 VII 1922, *Sovetsko-rumynskie otnošeníâ. Dokumenty i materialy 1917–1934*, t. 1, ed. A.A. Avdeev et al., Moskva 2000, pp. 182–183; telegram Duki do Florescu z 8 VIII 1922, *ibidem*, p. 184.

³¹ HIA, Rumunia, Ks. szyf. nr 1, p. 1, f. 1, the telegrams of Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Skrzyński from 8 September (No 90) and 15 September (No 100) 1922; DBFP, series I, vol. XXIII, pp. 570–571; raport Deringa do Curzona z 21 IX 1922 (nr 502).

³² HIA, Rumunia, Ks. szyf. nr 1, p. 1, f. 1, the telegrams of Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Skrzyński from 5 October (No 106) and 6 October (No 109) 1922.

They travelled along the road to Bușteni, running through the beautiful scenery of the Prahovy Valley. They came to the village of Stână, where they had a meal at around 2.30 p.m. and then they returned. After the trip, the Queen offered to the Chief a box of cigarettes with the inscription "Marshal Piłsudski"³³.

While Piłsudski was enjoying the ride, there was a farewell breakfast for the Polish delegation. It was held by Minister of Royal House Nicolae Mișu. In the course of it, he proposed a toast to the friendship of both countries and thanked them for their visit to Romania. In response, Józef Targowski, the head of propaganda and press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, expressed his gratitude for the hospitality and emphasized the importance of the meeting and its results. He declared that negotiations had shown the complete unanimity of general interests and political tasks. When Targowski said "see you later" the rest of Polish delegates finished "in Warsaw". They were not merely courtesy statements, as the date of King Ferdinand's visit to the capital of Poland was already set for March next year³⁴.

At 4.45 p.m., the King and the Marshal went to the Mountain Hunters Battalion in Sinaia where they were received by the honorary company with the colour guard and orchestra. After taking the salute and reviewing the army, Marshal Piłsudski decorated Prince Charles with the *Virtuti Militari* Order in the presence of the assembled troops and foreign military attachés. Then the prince presented the Chief of State with all the officers of the battalion, paying special attention to those with Polish decorations. After years, the Marshal recalled with humour and light irony about the "pomp" that Carol stage-managed for his decoration ceremony. In the officer's canteen, the Chief of State was received with a "tea", during which he talked with several officers about the organization and training of the Mountain Hunters. Then Piłsudski and Ferdinand visited the monastery in Sinaia, where the Polish guest put a wreath on the grave of Take Ionescu. He was also shown around the monastery by the abbot. Prime Minister Brătianu was released from the duty to attend the ceremonies on the last day, because he suffered from a heavy cold³⁵.

³³ *Plecarea mareșalului Piłsudski, „Adevărul”* 18 IX 1922, p. 4; *Pobył Naczelnika Państwa w Rumunii, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny”* 19 IX 1922, p. 1; *Parte neoficială, „Monitorul Oficial”* 24 IX 1922, p. 6282; M.R. României, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

³⁴ *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii, „Kurier Warszawski”* 17 IX 1922, p. 4; *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii, ibidem*, 18 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 1; *Pobył Naczelnika Państwa w Rumunii, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny”* 19 IX 1922, p. 1; *Rząd, Sejm, Polityka, „Polska Zbrojna”* 19 IX 1922, p. 2.

³⁵ *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii, „Kurier Warszawski”, wyd. por., p. 1; Echa pobytu Naczelnika Państwa w Rumunii, „Kurier Poranny”* 18 IX 1922, p. 2; AAN, AWRP, AII, t. 19,

Since the very beginning of the Polish delegation's visit to Romania, intense political, military and economic discussions had been taking place. The Polish side attached particular significance to the extension of the concession for the transit of Polish goods through ports in Braile and Galati³⁶. There were also discussions on the exchange of officers of both armies to make them acquainted with the organizational structure and functioning of the allied armies. As agreed by the Chief of State with General Christescu and General Mărdărescu, the first exchange of officers was to begin in the spring of 1923³⁷.

However, the most important premise of the Polish visit was the signing of a new text of the military convention. The work on formulation and clarification of the text together with the Romanian side was done by the trusted man of Piłsudski – military attaché Lieutenant Colonel Wieniawa-Długoszowski. The final negotiations with General Christescu and his deputy Colonel Ioan B. Florescu were also attended by Marshal Piłsudski, besides Długoszowski and Kutrzeba. It should be also emphasized that most of the Polish proposals were accepted by the Romanians³⁸.

The Polish visit was crowned by the signing of a new military convention on September 16. On the Polish side, it was signed on behalf of the General Staff by General Suszyński, commander of the city of Warsaw, on the Romanian side – by General Christescu, head of the General Staff. The agreement introduced clearly the obligation to enter the war without any delay immediately in case of the *casus foederis*, whereas the previous text required merely immediate mobilization. Thus, the inconsistency of the Convention with the text of the political agreement was also removed³⁹.

k. 482; raport pplk. B. Wieniawy-Długoszowskiego do szefa Oddziału II z 17 X 1922; A.L. Korwin-Sokołowski, *op. cit.*, p. 76, F. Angel, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–173.

³⁶ HIA, Rumunia, Ks. szyf. nr 1, p. 1, f. 1, the telegram of Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the legation to Bucharest from 12 January 1923; AAN, Embassy in Moscow, t. 2, k. 79, the copy of Jurjewicz's report to Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 22 February 1923 (No 113).

³⁷ Plecarea mareșalului Piłsudski, „Adevărul” 18 IX 1922, p. 4.

³⁸ *Festivitățile dela Sinaia*, „Adevărul” 16 IX 1922, p. 4; *O nouă convenție cu Polonia?*, *ibidem*, 17 IX, p. 4; H. Bułhak, *Polska a Rumunia*, p. 315.

³⁹ Upon the completion of the Piłsudski's visit to Sinaia, the accompanying officers of the General Staff together with Col. Kutrzeba set off for Bucharest. There, between 18 and 21 September, a conference was held with the representatives of the Romanian General Staff. As a result, they initialled two annexes to the convention of 16 September. The first one concerned plans for Polish-Romanian operations in the event of a war against Russia, while the other one contained arrangements for maintaining communications between the two armies and for transit. M.Ch. Popescu, *Relațiile militare româno-polone în perioada interbelică (1918–1939)*, București 2001, pp. 48–51, 131–132 (studium nr 1); AMR, MSM, Secția 3. Operați, t. 1121, k. 26–27, pismo (rkps) gen. Sikorskiego do gen. Christescu z 15 XI 1922 (nr 1949).

In addition, it was agreed that Romania would reorganize the army and a minimum force limit for the front by each party was determined⁴⁰.

The Marshal began the departure from Sinaia at Pelișor Palace, where at 6.30 p.m. he said goodbye to Queen Mary and Princesses Helena and Irene. Then at 7.00 p.m., together with the King and Princes they went to the station, where in the presence of members of the government, generals, diplomats and high officials they reviewed the honorary company, which was followed by a mutual farewell with a great applause of the audience. At 7.10 p.m., the train with the Marshal set off on the return route to Poland⁴¹.

In Ploești, at 8.00 p.m., the Polish envoy to Istanbul, Władysław Baranowski got on the train. Unable to come to the country due to the complex international position of Turkey, he decided to take advantage of the visit of the Chief of State in Romania and to present to him and Minister Narutowicz the situation in that area and "to influence the possible Polish intervention on the uncompromising attitude of Romania towards Turkey". The conversation with Piłsudski began at 11.00 p.m. and lasted about two hours. The Marshal seemed to be "extremely tired, almost ill". The formal ceremony had not been, however, the cause of it, as Baranowski thought. Piłsudski pointed out to the real reasons, saying,

neither the war with the Bolsheviks nor the multitude of our external complications have taken such a toll on me as the fight against the Sejm in the stinking atmosphere of venom and wickedness. So that this visit here, which you think I was tired of was a rest for me, a springboard of everything that is happening in the country, although you know that I hate pomps and representation. The situation here is clear – I know what I am coming with and what I will get in the end. They look at me here not only as the Head of the friendly nation, but they also see Piłsudski, the victorious leader. In Poland I am still an animal in a cage at which every stinker⁴² can shoot⁴³.

⁴⁰ H. Bułhak, *Materiały do dziejów sojuszu polsko-rumuńskiego w latach 1921–1931*, „Studia Historyczne” 1973, 3, pp. 422–424; M. Leczyk, *Polska i sąsiedzi. Stosunki wojskowe 1921–1939*, Warszawa 2004, p. 60; H. Walczak, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁴¹ *Plecarea mareșalului Piłsudski*, „Adevărul 18 IX 1922”, p. 4; *Naczelnik Państwa w Rumunii*, „Kurier Warszawski” 18 IX 1922, wyd. por., p. 1; *Z całego świata*, „Polska Zbrojna” 19 IX 1922, p. 2; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, pp. 6282–6283; M.R. României, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

⁴² Piłsudski was referring to the assassination carried out by an Ukrainian nationalist, Stepan Fedak on 25 September 1921. The trial of the assassin and his ancillaries took place in Lviv in October–November 1922. G. Mazur, *Zamach na marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego*, „Annales UMCS”, sec. F, 2005, 60, pp. 407–417; L. Kulińska, *Działalność terrorystyczna i sabotażowa nacjonalistycznych organizacji ukraińskich w Polsce w latach 1922–1939*, Kraków 2009, p. 73.

⁴³ *Konferencja Naczelnika z posłem polskim w Turcji*, „Przegląd Wieczorny” 18 IX 1922, p. 1; *Plecarea mareșalului Piłsudski*, „Adevărul” 18 IX 1922, p. 4; W. Baranowski, *Rozmowy z Piłsudskim 1916–1931*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 89–90.

Meanwhile, the train with the Chief of State arrived in Chernivtsi on 10 September at 10.15 a.m., where he was greeted by local administrative and military authorities and English, French and Austrian consuls and the representatives of the local Polonia. After a 15-minute stop, the Marshal and his surroundings continued their journey and at 11.05, they reached the border in Ghica Voda, where the farewell ceremony together with the Romanian dignitaries took place, analogous to the one of 13th of September. From this place, Piłsudski sent a cordial telegram to the Romanian royal couple, which included an acknowledgement of the warm reception. At 5.50 p.m., the train arrived in Lviv, where the representatives of the local authorities and honorary company awaited him. After a 10-minute break they continued their journey. They arrived in Warsaw at 10.55 a.m. There, at the Viennese station, Piłsudski was received by, among others, Prime Minister Nowak, members of the government, diplomatic corps, General Mieczysław Kuliński, Chief Commander of the Police – General Inspector Wiktor Hoszowski and the numerous people gathered to greet the Marshal. After the usual ceremonies, the Marshal accompanied by the general adjutant, General Jan Jacyna went in a horse-drawn carriage to the Belvedere⁴⁴.

Piłsudski's visit to Romania turned out to be a success. The main purpose of the visit, that is the revision of the military convention and the elimination of dissonance between the political and military conventions, was achieved. Admittedly, the Polish side did not manage to gain influence over the Little Entente through Romania on appointing a joint candidate for the Council of the League of Nations. But here, as in other matters concerning the cooperation of the Republic of Poland with the Danube bloc, they met with the resistance of Czechoslovak diplomacy. The attitude of the Romanian authorities to the representatives of the Republic of Poland had definitely changed for the better since the Marshal's visit. The cooperation between the two allies became closer, which was especially evident in the relations between the General Staffs of both armies. Another positive result of the visit was Romanian diplomatic work in France, Great Britain and Italy, supporting Polish efforts to recognize Eastern Galicia as belonging to the Republic of Poland. The success of the visit to Romania confirmed the common belief that Marshal Piłsudski was a prominent politician and a skilful diplomat.

⁴⁴ *Powrót do Warszawy*, „Kurier Poranny” 18 IX 1922, p. 2; *Powitanie Naczelnika Państwa w Warszawie*, „Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny” 20 IX 1922, p. 8; *Parte neoficială*, „Monitorul Oficial” 24 IX 1922, p. 6283.

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STRESZCZENIE

Wizyta Naczelnika Państwa Józefa Piłsudskiego w Rumunii podjęta we wrześniu 1922 r. w istotny sposób przyczyniła się do zacieśnienia sojuszu między obu państwami zawartego w marcu 1921 r. Doprowadziła przede wszystkim do podpisania nowej konwencji wojskowej, eliminującej mankamenty konwencji podpisanej w 1921 r. Do pozytywnych rezultatów wizyty należy również zaliczyć działania dyplomacji rumuńskiej wobec Francji, Wielkiej Brytanii i Włoch popierające dążenia Polski do uznania przez te państwa przynależności do RP Galicji Wschodniej.

Słowa kluczowe: sojusz polsko-rumuński, Józef Piłsudski, wrzesień 1922 r.

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Henryk Walczak (dr hab. prof. US) – urodzony w 1963 r., zajmuje się problematyką dotyczącą dziejów Polski w latach 1918–1939. Swoje zainteresowania koncentruje na myśli politycznej, postaciach wybitnych polityków oraz stosunkach Polski z Rumunią. Rezultatem badań nad myślą polityczną była dysertacja doktorska pt. *Stanowisko polskich ugrupowań politycznych wobec Czechosłowacji w latach 1918–1925* (Szczecin 1999). Zainteresowania biograficzne znalazły wyraz we współtworzeniu opracowań: *Ministrowie Polski niepodległej*

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