## THE SECRET TREATIES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1879-1914. VOL. I. TEXT OF THE TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

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The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879-1914. Vol. I. Text of the Treaties and Agreements by Dr. Alfred Franzis Pribram & Archibald Cary Coolidge & Denys P. Myers

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## THE SECRET TREATIES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

1879-1914

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## THE SECRET TREATIES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY VOLUME I

# TEXTS OF THE TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

WITH TRANSLATIONS

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J. G. D'ARCY PAUL



## CAMBRIDGE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD

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#### PREFACE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

Soon after the overthrow of the imperial government of Austria by the Revolution in November, 1918, Professor Franzis Pribram of the University of Vienna, a historian of international reputation, was fortunate enough to obtain access to the secret papers in the state archives. He has made use of the opportunities granted to him to produce a work of lasting importance, which is now in the process of completion and publication. Henceforth writers about the political history of Europe during the last forty years will turn to his volumes for the new and valuable information that he is offering us. He has not attempted a general history of the period, and - as he himself says - he has not consulted other archives than the Austrian ones, so that his researches, even on his immediate subject, need to be supplemented elsewhere. But Austria took part in so much that related to the affairs of central and eastern Europe during that time that her archives are extraordinarily rich in information concerning them, and especially concerning the famous Triple Alliance which so long held the centre of the stage. She was not, it is true, the leading member of the partnership, but it was of more vital importance to her than to the other two. All her political questions, even her internal ones, were more affected by it. She was more menaced by outside enemies, for she had not only what seemed a likely foe in the ever growing Russian Empire, but also a not unlikely one, as the event has proved, in Italy, her own ally. For her part, though traditionally conservative and usually peaceful, she never renounced territorial ambitions, and as the years went on her foreign policy became more and more interwoven with the hopelessly intricate questions of her own nationalities. Under such conditions, her diplomats and her Foreign Office had, at least, to be well informed.

Professor Pribram naturally writes from the Austrian point of view, but with a dispassionateness that is extraordinary for one who has just seen his country ruined by a disastrous war which has left her but a fragment of her former self. We cannot but admire the calmness and moderation with which he writes of things so near to him and so closely connected with the present catastrophe. Even when his statements occasionally betray a not unnatural bias, there has been little temptation to comment upon or to modify them.

In the German edition, Professor Pribram's first volume contains not only all his treaty texts, but also a second part with his story of the negotiations that preceded the signatures of the five treaties of the Triple Alliance. He promises that information on his other treaties and agreements will soon follow. But as the English edition comprises translations as well as texts, thereby almost doubling the treaty matter, the negotiations that led to the treaties of the Triple Alliance have been left till the I have included, however, the introduction, which comes just before the second part, and two supplementary agreements which stand after it, instead of being put in with the others in the first part - presumably because they do not belong to quite the same category. One of these is the so-called ' Reinsurance Treaty,' in which Austria had no share; the other is a naval convention between Germany, Austria, and Italy, concluded only a year before the outbreak of the World War. It seems best here to publish them with the rest rather than have them wait over till another volume.

Circumstances have interrupted all communication with Professor Pribram during the time that this first part of the translation of his work has been put into print. Since receiving his material, I have had to act without consultation with him. In general, the original of his text has been followed as closely as possible in the translation. I have only felt free to alter the wording in such things as explanatory headings, footnotes, and a portion of the preface which did not apply to the book as brought out in English form. The translations of the treaty texts and other matter have been made by Mr. Denys P. Myers and Mr. J. G. D'Arcy Paul — Mr. Myers more particularly doing the French, and Mr. Paul, the German — though they have had the help of advice and suggestion from others. Owing to the fact that it was desirable to bring out the translation at about the same time as the original, the work has perforce been done with more haste than one could have desired.

My thanks are due, not only to the translators, but to other friends who have coöperated, and especially to Professor G. G. Wilson, my colleague, and to Mr. G. W. Robinson, for his care and patience in reading the proof.

#### PREFACE

This work, the first volume of which I am herewith giving to the public, is intended as the preliminary to a history of the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary for the period between the conclusion of the German-Austro-Hungarian Alliance of October 7, 1879, and the outbreak of the World War in 1914. It contains the secret treaties concluded with various European Powers during these years by the cabinet of Vienna, and the history of the negotiations which preceded their signature. I regard a knowledge of these documents as indispensable to a deeper insight into the plans and actions of the leading statesmen of the Danubian Monarchy.

Up to the outbreak of the World War the only one of all these treaties to be known — and that only partially — was the one concluded on October 7, 1879, between Germany and Austria-Hungary. During the course of the war the two treaties concluded between Austria-Hungary and Italy in 1900—01 and 1909 regarding the Balkans, and especially Albania, were published in the Austro-Hungarian Red Book of 1915, together with four articles from one of the treaties of the Triple Alliance, while Germany very recently made public the German-Austro-Hungarian-Russian agreement of 1881, taken from the Russian archives. All the other treaties given in this work were, as regards their wording, unknown until now.<sup>1</sup>

We possessed but one account based on reliable sources of the negotiations preceding the conclusion of the various treaties — E. von Wertheimer's Graf Julius Andrássy, dealing with the German-Austro-Hungarian Alliance of October 7, 1879. In the present work light is thrown for the first time on all the other treaty negotiations. It was not possible for me to offer an uninterrupted account, for only the acts of the Vienna State

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But see p. 275, note. A. C. C.

Archives were at my disposal, and these, in spite of their richness, did not permit of a complete solution of all questions which arose. In the interests of research it is therefore greatly to be desired that the leading statesmen of the other countries signatory to the treaties should open their state archives to serious students for investigation as generously as the Austrian Republic has done.

The printing of the treaty texts follows as a rule the original document of Austria-Hungary or her cosignatories as found in the Vienna Archives. When the original is not in the possession of the Vienna Government, as in the case of an exchange of notes, there is given in its place the certified copy of a draft, the literal conformity of which with the original document destined for exchange has been vouched for through an official notation. The orthography of the original - which, moreover, cannot always be called correct, and certainly not consistent - has in general been followed. Exception is made only with regard to punctuation and in the use of large and small initial letters in accordance with the present usage of the respective languages. Repetitions of the wording of a treaty on the occasion of its renewal - as, for instance, in the case of the treaties of the Triple Alliance themselves, and the treaties of the Triple Alliance Powers with Rumania - may be recognized by the use of inverted commas.2 The reader is thus enabled to judge at a glance in what respects the new treaty differs from the treaty concluded previously with regard to the same subject.

This repeated renewal of various agreements also led me to depart from the chronological order in presenting the treaty negotiations. A strict adherence to this order would have destroyed the connection existing between many treaties. This is primarily true of the five treaties of the Triple Alliance. They will accordingly be taken up together in a later volume and then followed successively by the negotiations which preceded the conclusion of the agreements between Austria-Hungary on the one hand and Russia, Serbia, Rumania, Germany, and Italy on the other. The treaties concluded by Austria-Hungary with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It has not seemed necessary to repeat these for the translations. A. C. C.