

*October 20, 1919*

General Mombelli then read four letters which had been received from our slippery friend Mardarescu, and which in their order were about as follows:

The astute Roumanian stated that in imposing the fine upon the Hungarian government for the action of the Hungarian National Army towards Roumanian patrols, he was doing only what he considered right and was sure that the Mission would agree to the justice of his demands. A letter was sent him ignoring all of his arguments, but informing him that all matters affecting the conduct of Hungarian and Roumanian patrols, or larger bodies, must be investigated and settled by the Army Organization Committee, which had been appointed by this Mission and which had a Roumanian among its members.

The second letter was a sort of thanks for an apology which had not been given, and covered some unfounded accusations against Major Foster of the British Army.

The third letter was a request that the Roumanians be given free access to the Museums for the purpose of selecting documents and other articles that had been removed from Roumania during the German occupation. He was informed that his delegates could have access to the Museums only when accompanied by Captain Shafroth of the American Army, who was the committee designated for this purpose by the Mission.

The fourth letter was rather curt and to the point. His Roumanian Excellency acknowledged receipt of the Mission's instructions to beat it out of Budapest, and in polite but firm terms told the Mission to go to Hell.

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What he said was that the Roumanian Command reserved to itself entire liberty of action in regard to operations, and that it was acting in strict accord with orders from Roumanian General Headquarters. A letter was sent to him in reply, to the effect that the Mission in its original letter had acted in strict accord with its instructions from the Supreme Council, which required it to determine the placements of the Roumanian troops necessary to maintain order on Hungarian soil; that the Mission had been previously recognized by both him and Minister Diamandi, and that the present action could be interpreted only as a decision on the part of the Roumanian General Headquarters to recognize no longer the Mission as representing the Supreme Council, which would be notified of this action.

There was next read a long letter from the Hungarian authorities in regard to the territory which had been turned over to Austria by the Peace Conference,<sup>49</sup> and in regard to which they had as yet received no information. It was decided to forward this paper to the Supreme Council for its information.

Mr. Butler, of the British Food Commission, submitted a letter showing that the food conditions in Budapest were from day to day getting more rotten and, in order to give Sir George Clerk something to do on his arrival, it was decided to give him this letter to take up with the Roumanians.

I then read a statement to my colleagues telling them what I knew about Roumanian movements, and to the

<sup>49</sup> The so-called Ödenburg (Sopron) district. See page 55, n. 23.

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effect that two divisions and one regiment were already headed eastward in the direction of Szolnok, that most of the Roumanian troops west of the Danube were being transferred to the east bank, and that other changes were taking place in Budapest. It was decided to inform his Excellency Mardarescu that he had promised this Mission to keep it posted in regard to any evacuation movements, and that we considered that he should have notified us of all of the movements referred to.

I next informed the Mission that I had received a verbal message from Colonel Sheldon to the effect that he had been hampered in all his movements as far as possible by the Roumanians; that at Arad, which place he had reached only through the assistance of the French commander at Szeged, he found that a Roumanian general had hastened to the scene and tried to remedy, but unsuccessfully, the situation. The International Red Cross had been forced to give each man a blanket, the windows had been boarded up, and the Hungarian officers had been taken out and forced to bathe in the open in cold water, as a result of which there were two serious cases of sickness, with more in prospect. The Colonel's report went at some length into the way the Roumanians were handling the wives and relatives of officers, who came there in their behalf. The women would show up with a written release of an officer, and the Roumanians would take this paper and tell them to come the next day. They would report the next day and then be told that no such paper had even been received, but were informed that if they

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would sleep that night with some Roumanian, matters would be straightened out the next day. Some of the women had yielded and others had been violated. A letter was therefore written to General Mardarescu stating that in the opinion of the Mission, the situation at Arad, which had first been described by the Swiss Captain Brunier, was so serious as to require immediate action, and he was informed that the Mission desired him to enter into arrangements with the Hungarian government for liberating the officer prisoners of war at once.

*October 21, 1919.* Last night General Gorton and I were entertained by Colonel Yates and Lieutenant-Colonel Moore at their mess. The house was beastly cold and they had only one fire going, so that they were obliged to shove the dining-room table into their parlor and when the dinner was through, shove it out again. Everywhere I have heard complaints of the cold, and unless something is done very soon to help out the coal supply, the situation will be serious. Colonel Loree has taken up the matter personally, and is pushing it in every way possible, but the Coal Commission makes the ridiculous argument that they cannot do anything unless a peace treaty is effected with Hungary. Of course the cold weather will hang off until that peace treaty is effected. The reasoning of some of our statesmen is about on par with that of a five-year-old child.

Sometime this morning we received a telephonic inquiry from the Roumanians as to whether or not there

*October 22, 1919*

was a session this date, and they were told that there was not. I took up the question with General Gorton and insisted that in view of the snubs that both Mardarescu and Diamandi had given the Mission, we should decline to receive them, and he agreed with me. We propose at the next session to insist that the Roumanians submit all their business to this Mission in writing and that they be not received until the Mission has been acknowledged by them as representative of the Supreme Council. I shall also probably insist on not receiving Mardarescu and Diamandi until they have apologized to the Mission for the letter they sent in regard to the Museums.

In view of the fact that Colonel Vasilescu has always been gentlemanly and accommodating, Colonel Loree took the Colonel and Mrs. Vasilescu to the opera to-night and we had them at informal dinner afterwards.

*October 22, 1919.* Last night Colonel Loree and Captain Gore had Colonel and Mrs. Vasilescu to the opera. I was busy in the office until almost eight o'clock, when I joined them at the opera and we had dinner at our quarters about nine. I got Vasilescu into a corner and in due time he waxed confidential, and I learned that our report in regard to the arrest of Prime Minister Friedrich, which implicated the Crown Prince of Roumania, was correct.<sup>50</sup> Vasilescu has been previously referred to in my journal as being an exceptionally fine man, and he is. He has had a tremendous burden to bear on account of the inefficiency and woodenheaded-

<sup>50</sup> See pp. 159, 161.

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ness of Mardarescu. He told me confidentially that the Roumanians were preparing to leave by the end of the month, and that the trouble was that Mardarescu instead of selecting skilled subordinates and holding them responsible for results, required everything to be brought to him for approval and action.

Yesterday I had a call from Rev. Dr. Morehead,<sup>51</sup> representing the United Lutheran Church of America and other Protestant denominations, and I gave him much material concerning Roumanian abuse in Transylvania and elsewhere.

At this morning's session we were informed that the Roumanian Colonel, Dimistrescu, was waiting with a message from his government. I immediately brought up the point that I would decline to receive Mardarescu or Diamandi until they had withdrawn their letter of October 4, stating in effect that they proposed to disregard our instructions to them of October 1 in regard to the Museum property, and also they must in writing recognize this Mission as being the authorized representative of the Supreme Council before we could transact business with them. General Graziani said that this would practically amount to a rupture, and I told him rupture be damned; that I had been, he had been, and all of us had been, snubbed time and time again by the Roumanians and I did not propose to allow my government to be subjected to any such additional humilia-

<sup>51</sup> Dr. John A. Morehead, of the American National Lutheran Council, in charge of relief work for the Lutheran Church of Europe after the World War. In a conversation with the editor of this diary he spoke most highly of the work done by General Bandholtz in Hungary.

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tion. I said, however, that I was perfectly willing to find out what Dimistrescu had to say, but if it were a case of receiving Mardaescu and Diamandi, they would have to come to time before I would have anything to do with them. Dimistrescu was admitted, and he simply made a wooden-faced explanation of recent Roumanian movements to which I had called attention when President of the Day.

There was also received a letter from the Roumanians, explaining that the officer who went up to Friedrich had not the slightest intention of arresting Friedrich, or anything of the kind. It was such a miserable, rotten explanation that even old Graziani looked nauseated and condemned it in his spicy French.

We also decided to notify the Serbians that, in compliance with our instructions from the Supreme Council, we wanted them to beat it out of the Baranya district, and in particular out of the city of Pécs.

A letter was also received to the effect that the Roumanians were holding forty-three locomotives at Szolnok for shipment into Roumania, and it was decided to notify them to send these locomotives back to Hungary.

*October 23, 1919.* Yesterday afternoon at about 5.30 o'clock, Minister Diamandi asked to see me and produced some postage stamps surcharged by the Roumanians on Hungarian stamps for their occupation of Transylvania, and for which I paid him between three and four thousand kronen. I have not the slightest doubt but that the little rascal got them for nothing



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and was told to give them to me. However, it was far better to have paid him full face value than to have accepted any gifts.

I told him that I was entirely out of patience with the attitude of himself and Mardarescu, first in regard to the Museum communication, and in regard to the evacuation of Hungary. He was still riding his high horse and insisted that they had a right to seize anything at any time and at any place, that came from Transylvania because Transylvania belonged to them; furthermore that the Mission could not give any orders concerning the Roumanian Army, that it was an independent army and that they could not accept orders from anybody; it was never customary in such cases. I informed him that in an Allied combination there was always a Commander in Chief from whom the various Allies received orders; that both the British and the American Armies received orders from Marshal Foch; that we as an Inter-Allied Military Mission were in effect the staff officers of the Supreme Council and as such were authorized to give orders in the name of the Supreme Council. He then reverted to his old sophistical argument that this present rumpus between Roumania and Hungary was a private feud and their own little war in which no one else had any right to interfere. Invariably when they make the excuse that we are treating them harshly, they accuse us of treating them worse as Allies than we treat the Hungarians. Whenever they want to pull anything off, they always maintain it is a little separate affair that they are having. I told the little

*October 24, 1919*

scoundrel that while I enjoyed talking to him—and I did, as it affords me much amusement—that such matters were purely and entirely personal; that while we may get along amicably and pleasantly in such relations, I would fight him to the limit in the execution of my orders, and apparently we could not come together.

Sir George Clerk, having arrived early this morning, General Gorton and I went over to see him by appointment at noon and found that he was coming purely in a political capacity. We gave him some fatherly advice, and I also gave him a copy of the memorandum I had sent to the American Commissioner on the subject of the political parties in Hungary. He also told me that there was no matter of any importance that would come up before next week. So I decided to start for Belgrade tonight, and accordingly wired the American Commission of my intention, adding that there had been no change in the Roumanian attitude.

*October 24, 1929.* Last night, accompanied by Colonel Loree, Field Clerk Fenselau, and orderlies Lester and Childstedt, and with Major Body of the Serbian army as liaison officer, I left Budapest on a special train for Belgrade. We arrived at Szeged between two and three o'clock in the morning and, as we could not find the French commander himself, the local French officer in charge refused to give us enough coal to continue to the next station, an hour's journey, where a Serbian locomotive was awaiting us. The result was that we waited at

*October 25, 1919*

Szeged until the arrival of the Simplon Express which took us on to our Serbian connection, and we eventually arrived in Belgrade at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Quarters had been arranged for Colonel Loree and myself at the Hotel Moskwa, and for the rest of the party at the Grand Hotel. The Serbian government placed a limousine at my disposal, and I called that afternoon upon the Chief of Staff. In the evening Colonel Loree and I were entertained informally at dinner by Mr. Dodge, the American Minister.

*October 25, 1919.* After spending the night in a room that both smelled and felt like a sepulcher and was located on the top story of the hotel, with no elevator running, we started to make our official calls and paid short visits to the Prime Minister, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to the War Minister, all of whom made the most favorable impressions as men of intelligence and experience.

At twelve-thirty, Minister Dodge gave a formal luncheon in my honor, to which were invited the main Serbian functionaries and likewise the military attachés of the various legations.

In the afternoon, we took a drive out to the fortress and around through Belgrade, which is not a very prepossessing city. Before the War, it was understood to have had a population of about 90,000, which, when the Serbians reoccupied the city, had dwindled to about 40,000, and which now, owing to abnormal conditions, had increased to 150,000, with about half as many

*October 26, 1919*

houses as had originally existed. As a result, there is much congestion and generally high prices.

The Serbian dinar, the standard coin, was exchanging at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  for one French franc, which made it worth in our money a little less than five cents, its former value being the same as the French franc.

In the evening, by appointment, I met Lieutenant-General Bridges of the British Army. We had dinner together at the Hotel Moskwa, and later my party and myself again boarded the train, leaving Belgrade at 11 P.M.

*October 26, 1919.* Our return journey was a trifle more successful than our outward-bound trip, owing to the fact that the Serbian locomotive carried us all the way through Szeged, where a Hungarian locomotive met us and brought us the rest of the way to Budapest, where we arrived about one o'clock, just in time for lunch; and, although Budapest is not particularly cheerful under the circumstances, yet it appeared very much like home after our absence in Belgrade.

This evening Colonel Loree, Captain Gore and I were entertained by the Roumanian General, Serbescu, at a most sumptuous banquet in his billet in the palace of the Baron Groedel. The food was well prepared and everything would have been delicious but for the fact that I had Diamandi on my left front and directly opposite to me General Serbescu, who did several marvelous sword-swallowing feats with his knife. On my left was little Mrs. Serbescu, who had a pair of diamond

*October 27, 1919*

earrings as big as she was; and on my right was a very homely lady who flashed a diamond about the size of a locomotive headlight, on her forefinger. Colonel Loree was sure that the Roumanians would try to poison us, but by carefully watching what they ate themselves, and imitating them, we escaped serious consequences.

*October 27, 1919.* The Mission met this morning, with General Mombelli presiding.

I related to them my experiences during my trip to Belgrade, informing them that the trip had no political significance, but that I did bring up with the Prime Minister the question of the evacuation by the Serbians of the Baranya district, and in particular of the town of Pécs.

A letter was received from the Hungarian officials, stating that the shortage of coal was getting acute, and that there was no hope for a solution of the problem until the Roumanians allowed them the transportation. It was, therefore, decided to inform the Roumanians of the present situation and that they would be responsible in case any suffering ensued.

The Museum authorities have sent me word that there were a few boxes in the Museum which really belonged to Transylvania and which they were willing to turn over to Roumania. Captain Shafroth had come to me with a request for the key to the Museum and for permission to break the seals in order to deliver the boxes in question. I brought this up before the Mission and recommended that, in view of the fact

*October 27, 1919*

that the Roumanians had taken so many things to which they were not entitled, there need not be any hurry about these few boxes which might properly belong to them. I was sustained by the Mission and the Roumanians were informed that they would have to await the action of the Reparation Commission.

The Roumanians also asked the Mission to designate a delegate to receive the telephone and telegraph instruments which they proposed to return to the Hungarian Minister of War, and it was decided to have our Committee on Army Organization act in that capacity.

A little after ten, Sir George Clerk appeared before the Mission, in accord with our previous telegraphic advices from the Supreme Council, but he really had very little light to shed upon the general situation. We discussed with him the measures to be adopted in case of evacuation by the Roumanians, and it was agreed that we should proceed, to the limit of the means at our disposal, with the rapid organization of the Budapest police, and that the Hungarian Army should not be allowed in the city until the Roumanians had entirely evacuated, in order to avoid any encounters between individuals or small detachments. It was decided to request the Hungarian Minister of War to direct Admiral Horthy and General Soós to report to the Mission at the next meeting, on the twenty-ninth.

A letter was received from the Roumanian Commander in Chief, evidently written with the intention of stirring up friction among the members of the Mil-

*October 28, 1919*

itary Mission. He said that the American Mission had interfered at the jails and had told the Roumanian officials that no prisoners were to be removed except by permission of the American Mission. As it was all a lie, it was decided to file the paper and drop it.

Upon arrival here yesterday, I found a Colonel Raymond Sheldon, who had been a Major of Scouts in the Philippines and whom I have known for a great many years. He recently reported here, had accepted our invitation to join our mess and was very glad to be quartered with us. He had just returned from an extensive trip covering all of the Roumanian prisoner-of-war camps and is now busy, with Doctor Munro and Captain Brunier, in writing up a comprehensive report.

In the evening Colonel Sheldon went out to dine with the Italians, and Colonel Loree, Captain Gore and myself dined alone.

*October 28, 1919.* As we are apparently out of gasoline and the Roumanians are the only ones who possess any, I was forced most reluctantly to go and see little Diamandi. I found him with a bad cold in the head and with a nose on him that looked like a paprika. He said that he would be very glad to give the necessary instructions and that he would telephone General Serbescu to give us what gasoline we needed. In order to drive home the matter, I later went down to General Serbescu's and he said that he would give us immediately 2,000 liters of gasoline and would supply us from day to day as we needed same.

*October 29, 1919*

During the day we were threatened with a visitation from a delegation of 10,000 women, but through Colonel Loree, aided and abetted by our Hungarian liaison officers, we managed to stave them off, and later I had word sent to the Hungarian government that I must decline any such delegation as they simply annoyed and embarrassed us, and we could have no transactions whatever with them. Then somebody did a dirty trick and suggested that the delegation go down and visit Sir George Clerk, which I understand they did. I afterwards saw a thousand or more, mostly women, girls, and children, lined up in front of the government building, where Prime Minister Friedrich was addressing them. Down at the foot of the hill we found a company of Roumanians with machine guns drawn up to defend themselves against these women and children.

I have been informed that there has just been issued from Roumanian Headquarters an order prohibiting Roumanian officers from continuing to use rouge and lip sticks. It will certainly be hard on the poor dears.

*October 29, 1919.* At the meeting of the Inter-Allied Military Mission today, I presided and there was considerable activity.

We first took up the question of executions in Hungary, in regard to which the Mission was on record as being in favor of General Holban's attitude, which would not tolerate executions until a permanent government had been organized. A memorandum had been received from Colonel Loree explaining that, as the

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pardoning power by the chief executive did not exist in Hungary to the same extent as was usual in other countries, and as the judges were all hold-overs from the older régimes, the decision of the Mission was apparently based upon wrong premises. General Mombelli insisted that the chief executive still did have power, and that he would show the authority. It was decided, therefore, to leave this matter pending until the next meeting of the Mission.

At 10.30 General Schnetzer, the Hungarian Minister of War, accompanied by Admiral Horthy and General Soós, were introduced and I explained to them that they had been summoned so that we might lay before them the situation as we saw it and as it would be affected by a probable early Roumanian evacuation.

I told these gentlemen that Hungary was about to appear before a jury of all the nations; that she was to a certain extent discredited on account of having allowed Bolshevism to exist within her borders for over three months; that in case any disorders should result after the Roumanian evacuation, and there should be a recrudescence of Bolshevism, her standing with the Allied Powers would be practically nil; on the other hand, if she conducted herself with the dignity of a civilized nation and permitted no serious disorders to ensue, she would raise herself highly in the estimation of the Entente.

I explained to them that there would undoubtedly be some young hot-heads of the Hungarian Army who would be crazy to shoot a Roumanian or hang a Jew,

*October 29, 1919*

and that one or two such could bring discredit upon the whole country. It was also explained to them that on the part of the workmen of Budapest there existed much fear of the so-called "White Army," and that they should show that their army was not made up of a gang of "White Terrorists," but was a well-disciplined and organized National Hungarian Army. The Admiral said that he had his forces absolutely in hand and under control; that they were well disciplined and that he would guarantee that there would be no disturbances.

I explained to him that the general idea was that, when the Roumanians evacuated the city, the Budapest police take over the maintenance of law and order during a short transitional period between the leaving of the Roumanians and the arrival of the Hungarians, and that the time when this should take place would of course be determined by the Inter-Allied liaison officers attached to both forces.

The Admiral complained that he had drawn up a proclamation for publication in the city of Budapest, which the Roumanians had censored in its entirety. He was told to submit any such proclamations to the Mission, which would insist that the Roumanians publish it. Our visitors then left.

At the beginning of the session, I delivered to each member a copy of the report of Colonel Sheldon's committee on inspection of Roumanian prison camps. As it was so voluminous and contained so many disgusting details, it was decided that each member should

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study his copy until tomorrow, and that in the meantime I should prepare a telegram to the Supreme Council embodying the more salient features of the report. In this telegram I should likewise explain that, although this Mission on October 13 had requested that the Supreme Council either force the Roumanians to evacuate Hungary or relieve the Mission, and despite the fact that on October 19 the Supreme Council had telegraphed to the effect that Sir George Clerk would inform us that the Supreme Council would take all measures to force the Roumanians to comply with requests, there had been as yet no change in the Roumanian attitude, and that each succeeding day the difficulties of the Mission were increasing in geometrical progression. It was also decided to call the attention of the Supreme Council to the fact that the Roumanians had been requested to release immediately all *officer prisoners-of-war* and *interned civilians* at Arad, and to arrange with the Hungarian government for the general delivery of prisoners; yet no reply had been received from the Roumanian commander.

*October 30, 1919.* This morning I drafted a telegram to the Supreme Council, took it personally in the afternoon to Generals Gorton, Mombelli and Graziani and had them all approve it. General Mombelli was a trifle afraid that we were repeating our ultimatum to the Supreme Council as given in the message of October 13 and, although he talked better French than I did, mine was the stronger flow and he eventually signed

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in order to close the argument. The telegram sent was as follows:

Armistice of August 2nd between Roumanian and Hungarian forces provided that Hungarian officers should supervise disarming of their own troops and would then be given freedom with retention of arms. Hungarian troops being disarmed, officers were required to report daily but about August 7th despite agreement many officers throughout Hungary were arrested and sent to Arad. Most all so-called prisoners of war were arrested after the armistice and then disarmed, instead of being captured during a gallant advance. During transfer from place of arrest to prisons many of both officers and men were beaten, maltreated and robbed by Roumanian officers and soldiers, and prisoners' female relatives were insulted when visiting prisoners.

Mission's committee sent to investigate prisoner of war camps visited Arad Citadel, Brassó Citadel, Bertalan Hospital, Camp Christian, Camp Rajnow, and Fogaras. Committee consisted of Colonel Raymond Sheldon, U. S. A., Doctor Hector Munro of the International Hospital Relief Association, Captain Georges Brunier of Swiss Army and delegate of International Red Cross, and First Lieut. Francesco Braccio of Italian Medical Corps. All reports of the committee were unanimous, were practically the same as quoted in telegram of October 13th, and in general resembled following extracts from report on interned civilians at Arad, Brassó and Fogaras:

"At Arad about one hundred men and boys occupy casemates of fortress. No preparation whatsoever had been made for them. No beds or wooden boards to sleep on, floors were of concrete. No heating stoves, weather wet and bitterly cold. Many windows broken, food provided not by Roumanians but by local Hungarian Red Cross under orders from Roumanians. Very few of the men had overcoats, none had blankets, many were without boots and underclothes. Some had no jackets. It would be difficult to describe the abject misery of these men and youths. Many were blue with cold; half starved and worried about their private affairs. Some were quite young, one

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sixteen years; some upwards of sixty years of age. At Brassó in Citadel we found 121 civilian prisoners, mixed with military and in the same buildings. Latrines are thoroughly unsanitary and inadequate. Among civilian prisoners are six women, one evidently an educated woman who has written poetry. They were housed in a room ten feet by nineteen feet. Five slept on one bench and one in a bed. At Fogaras we found 72 civilian prisoners. They were housed with military, and their condition has already been described. Many of these prisoners had no boots, no underclothing, and one had no trousers. He wore a kilt made of carpet. All were inadequately clad for winter weather. They accused Roumanian soldiers and in some instances officers of stealing their clothes, boots and private property. We found four boys, two of thirteen and two fourteen years old. One old man of seventy-six. Many were suffering from incurable diseases."

Nevertheless we are still allies of a nation guilty of conduct described above, which continues to treat inhabitants of country between Danube and the Theiss as reported in telegram of October 13th, and which has repeatedly ignored or flatly turned down the requests of representatives of the Supreme Council. Roumanians claim many prisoners are Bolsheviks, but prisoners deny charges. On October 20th Roumanian commander was asked to liberate immediately officer prisoners of war and civilians at Arad and to arrange with Hungarian government for liberation from other camps, and on October 22nd he was also requested to return from Szolnok to Budapest forty-three idle locomotives that were urgently needed for food distribution. No action taken on any of these requests; not even the courtesy of a reply.

Supreme Council's telegram of October 18th stated that Sir George Clerk would inform Mission that the Council had decided to take all the measures necessary to force the Roumanian government to follow line of conduct it was requested to adopt. There is as yet no noticeable change in Roumanian attitude and situation is becoming intolerable. If Roumanians are allowed to remain until a coalition government is formed, consequences, at the present rate of progress, will be more seri-

*October* 30, 1919

ous. Difficulties encountered in accomplishing our Mission are increasing rapidly. Under instructions of August 13th even though representing the Supreme Council this Mission can give no orders to Roumanians. In view of Mission's telegram of thirteenth instant stating that either the Roumanians should be forced to evacuate Hungary at once or that this Mission should be relieved it is realized that the Mission will not be held responsible for consequences that may result from Roumanian refusal to evacuate, but it is deemed necessary to present the facts to the Supreme Council.

Upon leaving General Mombelli's quarters, I met General Graziani at the door and we had a little talk about the general situation, and I was delighted to learn that our Latin colleagues were getting as thoroughly disgusted with the Roumanians as are General Gorton and myself.

Later in the afternoon, Captain Gore and I took tea with the family of Baron Groedel. They turned over to me a stamp collection which they wish delivered some time to their home in Vienna.

Upon arriving back at my quarters, I found that the Roumanians had been closing up the Telephone Central and raising Merry Hell in general. Colonel Sheldon of my Mission and Captain Aitken of the British Mission had gone over to investigate the proposition and got all sorts of rough treatment from a bunch of Roumanian rough-necks that were putting the proposition over. Colonel Sheldon went and saw Colonel Vasilescu. The Roumanians disclaimed all knowledge of the occurrence and stated likewise that it had not been done with the knowledge or consent of General Mosoiu. The matter is being investigated.

*October 31, 1919*

This evening General Gorton and myself dined with General Mombelli and his family, which consists of his wife and young-lady daughter of about twenty-two years of age, who speaks very good English. One of the guests was an Italian who spoke Spanish; so I was able to get along very well.

*October 31, 1919.* The Mission met at 9.30 this morning, with General Gorton presiding.

We first decided to take up the question of executions in Hungary, which had been laid on the table at the last meeting, and it was decided to inform the Hungarian government that our action in concurring with General Holban's decision in regard to the suspension of executions until the organization of a Hungarian government, applied entirely to the portion of Hungary under Roumanian military control, that the Inter-Allied Military Mission did not mix in the internal affairs, and that our previous letters should be so construed.

We then took up the discussion of the report of Colonel Sheldon's Committee on Prisoner-of-War Camps and it was decided to send to the Roumanian Commander a letter telling him that the report of our Committee indicated that conditions in his prisoner-of-war camps were even worse than reported by Doctor Munro and Captain Brunier; that the conditions were disgraceful; and that, as it reflected upon all the Allies, we must insist that he immediately remedy the same; and he was directed to carry out the following:

*October 31, 1919*

Immediately to liberate by turning over to the Hungarian government, all civilians under eighteen and over sixty years of age, and also all invalid civilian and military persons.

To send immediately to the hospital all civilians whose condition required surgical attention.

To take measures so that the quarantine camps should be handled for the purpose of ascertaining the state of health of repatriated prisoners, and not for the purpose of detaining them fifteen days or longer.

That prisoners of war should receive the pay due them in the future and retroactively from the day on which they were apprehended.

To see that all camps be furnished suitable arrangements for washing and that the latrines be disinfected and put in condition so that they can be used.

To arrange so that food should be properly distributed in sufficient quantities.

To arrest and punish whatever persons, whether military or civil, who had caused the arrest of ladies and gentlemen who were the guests of our Committee in Arad; and finally

To arrange for the establishment of a courier service between Arad and Budapest, which service should be run in conjunction with the Hungarian Red Cross at Arad, which latter association must be treated according to the rules and customs of war.

Letters were received complaining that homeless illegitimate children in Transylvania were being deported by the Roumanians in such numbers as to overcrowd

November 1, 1919

the Home in Budapest. Another report was received showing that the Roumanians were carrying out general religious persecutions.<sup>52</sup> It was decided to inform them that it was difficult to believe how any nation that laid claims to being in a civilized class could handle children along the lines indicated; and in the second case it was decided to report to the Supreme Council as indication of the necessity for obliging the Roumanians to adopt the "Minorities" clause in the treaty.

*November 1, 1919.* Last night Colonel Loree, Colonel Sheldon, Captain Gore and myself were the guests at dinner of Count Edelsheim, who entertained us at the National Club. This is the select club of the Hungarian aristocracy and has been opened only a few days. The other guests were all of them either counts or barons, and included Count Andrásy, former Prime Minister, and Count Károly, the President of the Club, but not the notorious Count Károly who turned the government over to Béla Kun.

<sup>52</sup> On the condition of religious minorities in Transylvania after the incorporation of that country into Roumania, see *The Religious Minorities in Transylvania*, compiled by Louis C. Cornish, in collaboration with the Anglo-American Commission on the Rights of Religious Minorities in Roumania, Boston, 1925. The Commission consisted of representatives of the Presbyterian, Reformed, and Unitarian Churches of England and the United States, and investigated the status of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Unitarian congregations. It summarized its findings in the following words: "The impression gained . . . is that unless a solution can be found for the present problems, racial and linguistic, religious and economic, it will continue to be one of the saddest lands in Europe, and a menacing danger-spot for the peace of the world (p. 22)." "The Commission submits that the reply of the Roumanian Government is evasive and inconclusive (p. 174)."

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This morning the gasoline situation was so acute that, after having telegraphed General Allen<sup>53</sup> at Coblenz, Secretary of State Polk at Paris, Colonels Smith and Causey in Vienna, and the American Minister in Bucharest each to send me a carload of gasoline, knowing that I could easily dispose of any surplus, I sent Colonel Loree out to round up the Roumanian situation and force them to disgorge a part of the large quantity which I knew that they have on hand here in Budapest. He stuck to the proposition and finally about 5 o'clock this afternoon sent up for a truck to get 2,000 liters. The chauffeur said that there was any quantity of it on the tracks, thereby verifying my well-founded suspicions. The present market price here in Budapest is a trifle over a dollar a gallon, but I have already arranged to buy three or four hundred gallons of the Hungarian government at about thirty-five cents a gallon.

About noon today I had a personal call from my old friend "Archie Duke" accompanied by his son, the young "Archie Dukelet." He is very pleasant to meet socially, and we discussed at some length the general Hungarian situation, and what Hungary ought to do whenever she got rid of the Roumanians. His Royal Highness seemed to think that about the first thing that should be done was to turn loose and invade Roumania. Although he is still technically an enemy and he was talking about one of our Allies, I could not help in my heart sympathizing with him, and I don't know of any-

<sup>53</sup> Henry Tureman Allen, Commander of the American Army of Occupation in Germany.

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thing that I would rather do just at present than fight Roumanians.

While out on his trip, Colonel Loree telephoned me the sad news that our good friend, Colonel Vasilescu, had been ordered back to Bucharest and would probably leave on Monday. After he leaves, there will be only one advantage in the Roumanian situation, and that is that it will be one of homogeneous rottenness.

*November 2, 1919.* Yesterday afternoon about 6 o'clock I got word that Minister Diamandi was waiting in the anteroom, and desired "to approach the east." I sent word that he should be admitted in due form and ceremony. He came in with his little mincing steps and said that between gentlemen (although I could not understand why he used it in the plural), it was always best to speak with frankness, and he wished to enter two complaints about the conduct of American officers.

He started in first and said that an American Red Cross officer had invaded the sacred precincts of Roumanian territory, had gone to the city of Arad and interviewed a lot of Hungarian prisoners there without first having been admitted to the presence of the prefect and, in general, had been guilty of most discourteous conduct, emphasizing the fact that he thought it was a military custom always to advise a commanding officer when his territory was to be invaded. I told his little Excellency that there had been no American Red Cross officer outside of the city of Budapest, and that he was off his nut.

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He then read the prefect's complaint, giving the name of the American Red Cross officer as Colonel Raymond Sheldon. I then told him that Colonel Raymond Sheldon was an officer of the United States Regular Army, that he had been sent to Arad as chairman of a committee of four representing the Inter-Allied Military Mission for the purpose of investigating prisoner-of-war conditions there and elsewhere; that forty-eight hours before his departure, General Mardarescu had been advised of it; that Colonel Sheldon had called upon the commanding officer at Arad and every damned Roumanian official he could find, and that he found conditions there that were a disgrace to civilization.

His Excellency then branched out on the topic of American officers having gone to the Telephone Central and of having had trouble there with Roumanian sentinels, stating that he thought that when complaints were to be made of things of that kind, the officers should first go to the Commanding General of Budapest or General Mardarescu and not go and have trouble with sentinels; that the whole thing was an incident that might easily have been avoided. I told him just so, that the two officers concerned were Colonel Sheldon, U. S. Army, and Captain Aitken of the British Army, accompanied by two American field clerks; that the first thing we knew on the day in question was that our telephone service had been stopped; that it was not customary when telephones ceased to operate, to chase up a commanding general of a foreign army of occupation or any other army, but to go direct to the central office

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to see what the trouble was; that these two officers had gone to the central office and found about eight Roumanian soldiers under the command of a civilian detective, raising Merry Hell; that they were holding up several hundred women and girls from leaving the building; and that when the courtyard was practically vacant of anyone else they had shut the gate, closing in Colonel Sheldon and Captain Aitken; that they had pointed their rifles at them and would not allow them to leave, even for the purpose of reporting the matter to the Roumanian Commander. His Excellency explained that the barred gate, consisting of iron pickets at intervals of about six inches, had been closed apparently to keep the dust out, and he furthermore said that the cause of the whole thing was the fact that a report had been received that some of the Hungarian employees were going to attack some of the Roumanian employees and that it had been decided to stop the Hungarians at the gate and search them for weapons. I told him that it was damned peculiar that both Generals Mardarescu and Mosoiu disclaimed any knowledge of what had taken place, and that it was a funny procedure for soldiers to be placed under the command of a civilian detective and detain hundreds of women and girls, who certainly were not going to attack Roumanian officials; and then to cap the climax I called in Colonel Sheldon, who in unmistakable terms confirmed in still further detail everything that I had said. His Excellency then told Colonel Sheldon that he regretted the incident and that he would further inves-

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tigate, and although he came into the room with his tail up over the dashboard, he left my presence with it curled up tightly between his legs.

Last night we entertained General and Mrs. Mombelli and their daughter at dinner, and our chef split himself wide open. Everything was deliciously well cooked and prepared, and when it was served was something to tempt the appetite of an Epicure. General Mombelli enjoyed himself so much that later in the evening, when Colonel Sheldon was playing the piano, he accompanied him with a brass gong.

*November 3, 1919.* Yesterday morning I started out with young Count Teleki by automobile to visit his uncle's place, which is at a place called Dunatetetlen, between forty and fifty miles down the Danube. This was done because the Roumanians, despite two safeguards given old Count Teleki, had started to make requisitions and were generally acting nasty. Shortly after we started, it began to rain and the roads were very bad. Although there were numerous Roumanian garrisons up and down the river, they are such fine soldiers that the rain kept them all inside, and with one exception we saw no Roumanians on all our outward-bound trip. The exception was a small Roumanian cavalry patrol on the outskirts of the town of Solt, which we came upon rather suddenly. The chauffeur sounded the klaxon and away went the cavalry patrol, Hell split for election, down the road, scattering mud in all directions, and the Roumanians flapping their

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arms and legs, trying to check their horses. When the horses slowed down a little, we would start up again and sound the klaxon, and away they would go. As there was a deep ditch on each side of the road, we were able to chase them for about a mile before they could turn off into a field. My only regret was that none of them were spilled off their horses on the way. All of them had narrow escapes and were about as rotten a bunch of cavalrymen as I have ever seen.

When we arrived at Count Teleki's home, I found some Roumanian officers there already and, assuming that they were starting to make requisitions, I started in for them good and quick and plenty, and had the Roumanian colonel and two assistants standing at attention, bowing and scraping and trying to explain. I finally learned that they were really there on a decent mission and owing to a complaint that I had sent to General Mardarescu about the conduct of a young Roumanian officer in going to the Count's house while there was nobody there but his nieces, and insisting on having the prettiest one in a room by himself, in which kind intention he did not succeed. The Roumanian colonel was investigating according to my complaint and cracked his heels together every time I batted an eye in his direction. They finally left, and after an early dinner young Count Teleki and I also left, about 4.30, on our return trip. As it was not raining, we were halted three times by Roumanian sentinels, but we had no difficulty.

At this morning's session of the Mission, I related to General Graziani and General Mombelli—General Gor-

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ton being absent—my experiences with Diamandi on Saturday evening, and it was decided to send to the Roumanian Commander a demand for an apology for the conduct of the Roumanian guard at the Telephone Central.

We had a reply from the Czecho-Slovak Republic to our demand for them to evacuate the portions of Hungary which did not belong to them, and they said they would be glad to do so, within five days after three conditions had been fulfilled. One was the assurance that the Hungarians could maintain order in the territory in question; the second that the Hungarians would not attack them; and the third that they should be reimbursed for their expenses in furnishing food to the inhabitants of the occupied section. We replied to the first two, stating that those conditions would be fulfilled, but that the third was ridiculous and preposterous, and we wanted them to get out of there immediately.

A complaint was received also from the Hungarian government to the effect that the Roumanian Commander east of the Theiss was organizing a provisional government of his own with Roumanian representatives, and in general was acting in contravention to all the customs and rules of war in like cases; so it was decided to notify the Roumanian Commander of the same, with instructions to have it stopped.

*November 4, 1919.* Shortly after arriving at the office this morning, General Gorton came in with one of his officers and said that the Roumanians were holding

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back fifty-odd trucks which were absolutely needed by the Food Commission for feeding the city of Budapest, that they had Roumanian drivers on the trucks, sentinels over the garage, and claimed that the trucks were war booty and would not be given up. I insisted that General Gorton accompany me to Roumanian Headquarters to tell the Roumanian Commander that we would have to have those trucks. He finally consented to go, and accompanied by Colonel Sheldon, U. S. A., and Captain Doumalle of the British Service, we chased over to the Hotel Gellért and were promptly ushered into General Mardarescu's presence. After sitting down for a few minutes and indulging in the ordinary persiflage usual on such occasions, I nudged General Gorton and he brought up the question of the trucks. General Mardarescu then stated that these trucks were considered booty of war, and that they had a right to them. I interrupted and told him that that was a mooted question and that I did not agree to this. Colonel Sheldon interpreted to Mardarescu that I considered that he was a liar, at which he begged to assure me that it was not the truth; that they did consider them booty of war. It was finally explained to him that he had not been called a liar, but with the mental reservation that the epithet would always be appropriate. After considerable palaver and after General Gorton had offered to sign a receipt for the trucks, he agreed to turn them over on condition that when we were through with them they should be turned over to the Roumanian authorities. As, of course, when we were through with

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them, they would be in charge of the Reparation Committee, who could theoretically turn them over and immediately take them back, we consented to this.

I then asked General Mardarescu how he could explain that with the beautifully disciplined Roumanian Army—and I got no further because he interrupted to explain that they really had a finely disciplined army. After he had rattled on for some time, I asked him if he would keep still long enough for me to state what I desired to state. I then asked how it could be that in such a well-disciplined army, the officers and soldiers absolutely disregarded the commanding general's safeguard, or property-protection certificate, and made requisitions in spite of it. He then indulged in a Hell of a lot of circumlocution, and finally stated that he would immediately investigate the concrete case of Count Teleki's estate, which I gave to him, and punish the guilty offenders.

Before we left, I think he invited General Gorton and myself to luncheon on Thursday as a sort of farewell party. If it is really a farewell, I may be inclined to attend.

From Roumanian Headquarters, General Gorton and I went to see Sir George Clerk to discuss the general situation as regards the organization of the Hungarian government. Sir George seemed to be having trouble with Minister Friedrich, who is apparently blocking the proposition. He was, however, optimistic and finally told us that Diamandi had been there yesterday and told him definitely that the Roumanians would start

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to evacuate Budapest on the ninth, and would finish by the eleventh. In view of the fact that Mardarescu and Diamandi both, at a session of the Mission, informed us that they would immediately advise us of any prospective evacuation plan as soon as they knew themselves, it is rather strange that Sir George Clerk should have been informed twenty-four hours in advance of the Military Mission, especially in view of the fact that Sir George had nothing whatever to do with the evacuation.

*November 5, 1919.* Last night I attended a large dinner party given by Sir George Clerk. Among other guests present were Admiral Troubridge, Generals Graziani, Mombelli and Gorton, Admiral Horthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs Somssich, Countess Somssich, the two Baronesses Podmaniczky, and Mrs. Mombelli and her daughter. It was a very good meal, but not quite up to the standard of our own chef.

Shortly after arising from the table, Sir George Clerk asked General Gorton and myself into his cabinet and informed us that the Italian consulate had received a telegram from Paris which stated in effect that the Supreme Council was studying three points of the Hungarian question. The first was the resignation of Friedrich, on account of his inability to organize a coalition government; the second was the immediate evacuation of Hungary by the Roumanians; and the third was a proposition to send as an army of occupation into Hungary two divisions under Inter-Allied

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officers, one division of Czecho-Slovaks and one division of Jugo-Slavs. Sir George was himself much opposed to this last, and read us the draft of a telegram stating that in his opinion it would be injudicious to take any such action.

At this morning's session, General Mombelli presided and we first brought up the question of Diamandi having notified Sir George Clerk that the Roumanian evacuation would begin on the ninth of November, and the President of the Day was directed to send a letter to General Mardarescu stating that both Minister Diamandi and he, at an open meeting of the Inter-Allied Military Mission, had assured us that they would give us immediately all possible advance notice as to the date of evacuation, and all details connected with the movement of troops; that Sir George Clerk had informed us that Minister Diamandi had given him such notice on the third instant, but that up to this date no word had yet been received by the Military Mission in regard to a proposed evacuation. An explanation was demanded. We next brought up the question of the telegram Sir George Clerk had seen in regard to the occupation of Hungary by a Czecho-Slovak division and a Jugo-Slav division. While the discussion was going on, I drafted a telegram to the Supreme Council, which was approved by the Mission and sent. The telegram read as follows:

This Mission is aware that a telegram has been received in Budapest from Paris covering three points. First the Friedrich Cabinet, second the immediate Roumanian evacuation, and

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third the occupation of Hungary by two divisions under Inter-Allied officers, one division of Czecho-Slovaks and one division of Jugo-Slavs. Against this third proposition the Inter-Allied Military Mission unanimously and urgently protests. Such procedure, it is believed, would stir Hungary into revolution and would destroy all prospects for an early solution of the Hungarian question. It is furthermore urged that the Roumanians, the Jugo-Slavs, and Czecho-Slovaks be all required to retire at once behind their respective lines of demarcation.

During the session, a letter was received from Roumanian Headquarters, which was turned over to me on account of Colonel Sheldon's interest in the matter. I therefore wrote, and sent to General Mardaescu, the following self-explanatory letter:

1: During the forenoon of November 4, 1919, accompanied by General Gorton of the British Army and Colonel Sheldon of the American Army, I visited the Headquarters of the Roumanian Army of Transylvania, and during the conference with General Mardaescu brought up the question of an incident which had occurred at the Budapest Telephone Office between an American Officer and a British Officer and some Roumanian soldiers. I explained that the telephone service having been interrupted, the two officers mentioned were sent to the Telephone Central to investigate as to the difficulty and that they naturally would not first go to the Roumanian commanding general for such a trivial matter until after an investigation; that once arrived at the telephone office and inside the fence they had the gate closed and locked on them, and were held prisoners for at least four minutes during which time they were threatened by Roumanian soldiers with fixed bayonets and pointed rifles and that as soon as they could leave the enclosure they promptly went to Roumanian Headquarters and made the complaint.

2: Nevertheless letter Number 436 of November 4, 1919, from the Headquarters of the Army of Transylvania states as follows:

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"(a) The Allied officers in interfering directly in this matter endeavored to impose their will upon Roumanian soldiers which they had no authority whatever to do. If the Allied officers had applied direct to the Roumanian Headquarters it is certain that these gentlemen would have had no complaint whatever to register," all of which is in direct contradiction of my statement to General Mardarescu made in the presence of General Gorton and Colonel Sheldon on the 4th instant, and which I resent as an official reflection upon my veracity, and I am therefore regretfully obliged to inform the Roumanian commander that under the circumstances and until satisfaction is given for the entire incident it will, of course, be impossible for either myself or my officers to meet him and his officers at any social occasion such as the luncheon to which we were invited for the 6th instant."

At the same time, a letter was received from General Mardarescu stating that, as a result of their investigation, they had found that the statements made by the British Major Foster about not having broken seals at Gödöllö Palace, had not been confirmed, which they regretted. In other words, they politely said that Major Foster was a liar. General Gorton therefore sent General Mardarescu a letter similar to, but more gentle than, the above.

At noon today, accompanied by Colonel Loree, I paid a call upon my old friend "Archie Duke" in his own palace. The building had been originally a magnificent edifice and was still so as regards the structure. The Bolsheviks, however, had cleaned it out pretty thoroughly and it was apparently not in its former beautiful condition. "Archie Duke" and his son, the "Dukelet," met us in all the panoply of war, and dolled up with all the concentrated splendor of several Fourth of July cele-

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brations. "Archie" himself was such a mass of scintillating gold and decorations that it was difficult to pick him out from amongst the mass. He, however, really is a charming fellow, and all Hungarians are loud in praise of his actual personal bravery during the War. The Archduchess was afterwards introduced and joined in the conversation, which was mainly confined to the re-organization of the Hungarian government and the evacuation of the Roumanians. I finally wound up by inviting both the Archduke and his son to dinner for tomorrow night, which invitation they accepted.

*November 6, 1919.* Last night Colonel Loree, Colonel Sheldon, Captain Gore and myself were entertained at dinner by Mr. R. M. Haan, the proprietor of the Hotel St. Regis of New York City, who has daughters in Budapest married to Hungarians. The dinner, despite the food scarcity, was really a sumptuous banquet, but it was rather long drawn out, and we were glad to return home.

This morning I found Colonel Dimistrescu awaiting me in my anteroom with a letter from General Mardarescu, in effect apologizing for his letter which contained an official reflection upon my veracity. It was explained that the letter to which I objected had been signed and sent before General Mardarescu had seen me, and before he had even received Colonel Sheldon's report, and that he regretted the incident, and would be glad to investigate the affair at the Telephone Central whenever a representative from the Inter-Allied

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Military Mission had been designated. As that still leaves the second portion of my ultimatum in regard to satisfaction for the manner in which the American officer was treated in *statu quo*, I shall of course pay no attention to my ally beyond acknowledging his letter and accepting so much of his apology as applies to the case.

Our whole household is in considerable excitement over the proposed dinner to the Archduke and the "Dukelet" tonight. They are turning out so much new furniture and stuff that I regret that we did not invite His Highness at an earlier date.

I think I forgot to mention in my memorandum at the time that on October 31 we had our first snowstorm and it has been cold and nasty for several weeks.

Diamandi told General Gorton yesterday that the Roumanians would be ready to evacuate on the ninth, would begin to do so on the eleventh and be finished by the thirteenth, and that he was astonished that the Military Mission had not yet received official notice to this effect.

During the day I received a telegram from the American Commission, requesting that a copy of it be furnished Sir George Clerk, and which translated was about as follows:

The President of the Peace Conference on the 3d of November in the name of the Supreme Council sent the following telegram to the French Minister at Bucharest:

"The Supreme Council has decided to instruct the Allied Ministers at Bucharest without delay to notify the Roumanian Government jointly that it has received a bad impression from

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the arrival of General Coanda, sent by the new Roumanian Ministry as Special Envoy to Paris, without bringing the Roumanian response to the last communication from the Powers, under the peculiar pretext that the Italian Representative had not reported at the same time as the Ministers from France, England, and the United States. The Supreme Council desires to state that it wishes with the least possible delay a clear and positive reply from the Roumanian government covering the points in discussion. The situation in Hungary requires immediate decision in order to re-establish the normal conditions necessary for the security of Central Europe, and the Allied and Associated Powers cannot permit a prolongation of the dilatory Roumanian negotiations on the three questions submitted on the 12th of last October. I beg you to deliver this communication in the name of the Conference to your colleagues collectively, who will not need to await special instructions from their governments on account of the urgency of the case.

[Signed] S. Pichon<sup>54</sup>

The foregoing is a most encouraging sign and looks as though the Supreme Council was finally getting tired of Roumanian tactics.

At 6.15 I received a letter from General Mardarescu, explicitly regretting the detention of our officers at the Telephone Central, so he has finally made complete apology for the entire occurrence, and we will now lunch with him tomorrow.

*November 7, 1919.* Last night we had our big dinner for the Archduke and the "Dukelet," in addition to whom there were Count Andrassy, Count Somssich, Count Edelsheim, and Baron Than. "Archie" blew in all decked up like a Christmas tree, and we gave him a

<sup>54</sup> Pichon, Stephen Jean Marie. Journalist, politician, diplomat, and Minister of Foreign Affairs of France from 1906-11, March, 1913-Aug., 1914, and Nov., 1917-July, 1920. An ardent nationalist and follower of Clemenceau.

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good square feed, and the party seemed pleased, judging by the fact that they stayed until about midnight.

At this morning's session I presided, and General Mombelli informed us that Mardarescu told him on the fifth instant that the Roumanian evacuation would begin by the departure of Minister Diamandi on Tuesday. He will be followed on Wednesday by the General Headquarters, on Thursday by our cute little friend Mosoiu, and on the night of Thursday and Friday the Roumanian troops will leave Budapest.

We also received word that the Czecho-Slovaks had come to the conclusion that they wanted to be good and would evacuate Salgótarján at noon on the eleventh instant. It was therefore decided to notify the Hungarian government of this action and to telegraph the Supreme Council accordingly.

General Graziani suggested, and very wisely, that we send word to the Roumanian Headquarters that it was desired, in view of its international importance, that the radio station at Budapest, prior to the departure of the Roumanians, be turned over to the Hungarian government, and that we send an Allied officer to take charge of the same.

It also afforded me much pleasure to read to the Mission the correspondence that I had had with General Mardarescu relative to the incident at the Telephone Station. Both Graziani and Mombelli kept their pencils busy making notes while I was reading it.

A red-hot letter was received from Mardarescu complaining bitterly of the conduct of our Committee in

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investigating prison camps. He reported that everything was beautiful and serene, and that our Committee had grossly maligned the humane and civilized Roumanians. It was noted, however, that the beautiful conditions to which he referred were all included between dates subsequent to our investigation of the camps.

Pursuant to promise, all my officers and myself chased over to the Roumanian Headquarters at the Hotel Gellért at one o'clock and went through the torture of an official luncheon with General Mardarescu and his bunch of forty thieves. It was certainly trying to have palatable food placed before you and have to sit facing Mardarescu and at the same time to be sandwiched in between Mosoiu and Serbescu. Fortunately Diamandi with his gargoye face was not there; so matters were not as bad as they might have been.

During the day, I received a code telegram from Mr. Polk, which indicated that the French are up to something. They are apparently against Horthy as Commander of the Hungarian Forces and against Friedrich. For some reason or other, the French and the Italians are not working together. It will now be up to us to see just exactly what the cause of the separation is.

At eleven o'clock Prime Minister Friedrich, accompanied by Count Somssich, called and asked to see me and we spent about an hour and a half discussing the general political situation. Friedrich stated that the whole country depended upon him; that his party comprised between 80 and 90 per cent of the entire

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Hungarian population; that they had absolute confidence in him; and he insisted that he remain at the head of the government. He said that personally he was perfectly willing to resign, but in case he did so chaos would result. I told him I wished to talk to him in a purely personal manner: that he knew or should know that America had nothing whatever to gain over here in the way of indemnity or territorial acquisitions, but that we were interested in a square deal for everybody, in having peace ratified between Hungary and the United States, and in having a well-organized government in control of the destinies of the country, and that I proposed to speak to him frankly and in the manner that one gentleman of intelligence should address another. I stated:

I do not propose to defend the feeling in the Supreme Council or in any of the Allied countries and I shall grant you that they are all wrong, but you must bear in mind that the two great democracies, America and England, will look askance upon the reorganization of a government which would appear to be dominated by the Hapsburgs, and that France and Italy are likewise in opposition. Now, undoubtedly, if given sufficient time, a year or two, you could by propaganda and by a demonstration of your own worth convince the American and British people that you are right, but in the meantime where in Hell would Hungary go to? I consider that you are confronted by a condition and not a theory, and that every patriotic Hungarian must be prepared to sacrifice something at least along the lines of personal ambition. It is up to you Hungarians now to cooperate with Sir George Clerk and organize as quickly as possible a government that will be acceptable to the Entente, so that you can be recognized and have elections, and reorganize your country. Once that is done, it will not matter what party is in power.

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Friedrich stated he thought it was the policy of the Supreme Council to allow the Hungarian people to do what they wanted, and that they should have their own way. I asked if, during the months of the Roumanian occupation, he had had very much of his own way; if the Hungarians had had their own way in letting the Roumanians run away with their railroad stock, clean out their machine shops, and loot all their farms. He said that would not have happened if the Entente had put an end to Béla Kun. I asked him why go into ancient history, why bring up the question as to why Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt; and that we could likewise ask, why had the Hungarian King fled, why had the Hungarians allowed Károlyi to come into power, why had they allowed Béla Kun to succeed Károlyi, and that all this was begging the issue; that there was no use crying over spilt milk and that the condition was exactly as I had placed it before him, that the Entente would not recognize a government in which he, as the representative of the Hapsburg dynasty, was at the head; that as long as he was Prime Minister, even though an election were held and resulted triumphantly for him, nothing would convince the Entente but that such election result was due to the fact that he was in power. I advised him to give up his job as Prime Minister and to accept some other cabinet portfolio. He said even if he did, he would still run the cabinet. I told him that was another proposition; that if he amounted to a damn I thought he would; but what they must all do, and do quickly, was to turn out some government which the

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Entente would recognize, and thus enable us to clear up the whole situation. When he left me, he said he would go over and see Sir George Clerk and talk the situation over with him.

Later in the evening I saw Sir George Clerk and let him read the code telegram I had received from Mr. Polk, and asked him also about his interview with Friedrich. He said that Friedrich was still somewhat stubborn, but he thought that my talk with him had rather weakened his props, and he was optimistic as to a satisfactory outcome.

From there I went over, had a late dinner, and for once was able to stay at home with my official family.

*November 8, 1919.* When we first arrived in Budapest, I engaged a large building for the quarters of my detachment and, as it was too large, I suggested to General Gorton of the British Army that we put our two detachments together, and he gladly accepted the suggestion. Later on Admiral Troubridge asked, through our Captain Gregory, if I would object to having some officers pertaining to the Commandement du Danube, located in the same building. I likewise acquiesced to this. Two or three times, our British naval brothers-in-arms have been a little bit condescending about allowing us in the building, and matters came to a climax on the sixth, when a British naval officer told Captain Gore he would like to have us move our detachment out of the building. On the seventh, a British officer directed our detachment to vacate, and on the same date Ad-

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miral Troubridge's Chief of Staff, Colonel Stead, sent a note to Colonel Loree asking him if he could not without too great inconvenience move the American detachment from the building, as it was needed by the British. I immediately drafted a slightly sarcastic note to Admiral Troubridge, but decided to see him personally, which I did this morning. The Admiral had already heard of the matter, said of course the building was ours by right of first occupancy, and that to suggest we leave the building was equivalent to the way in which the Roumanians had been firing the Hungarians out of their houses; that he regretted the entire incident and had told his men if they needed more room to get it elsewhere. He told me he did not blame me for sitting as tight as a drum, and that he hoped we would have more men instead of less. So this incident was ended.

We decided to give a party tonight, and accordingly invited the son-in-law and daughter of Count Edelsheim, the family of Count Szirmay, a number of young Hungarians, and also General Mombelli and his family, to come in after dinner and see what we could do in the way of an extemporized dance. We engaged a fine Hungarian Gipsy band, which could not show up, however, until half past ten. It was the original intention to begin at 9.30 and stop at 12, but it appears that Hungarian custom is opposed to any such early termination. The result was that festivities were continued until about 3.30. Anyway the party was a success and everybody seemed to enjoy himself.

## November 10, 1919

*November 9, 1919.* Today, being Sunday, bade fair to be very quiet, until my Falstaffian friend, General Mo-soiu, rolled in about noon to give me in large and bull-like tones a report on a trial of a Hungarian judge for alleged maltreatment of Roumanian prisoners two or three years ago. To impress me with the popularity he had attained among the Hungarians, he told me that they had given him a big banquet when he left the town of Czepléd, and had him photographed by the moving pictures.

*November 10, 1919.* General Gorton presided at the meeting of the Mission this date, and we had a big session with a Roumanian representative who came to explain the details of the proposed evacuation. They have agreed to begin on the thirteenth with their withdrawal, when they will retire to the outskirts of Buda, going over to the Pest side of the river. At eight o'clock the Hungarians will come into Buda, and Inter-Allied troops will guard the various bridges until 10 o'clock. Before 10 o'clock, the Roumanians will entirely quit the city of Pest, at which hour the Hungarians can enter and occupy. From that time on, the evacuation will proceed by daily stages until the line of the Theiss has been reached, where the Roumanians will establish with five bridgeheads, including the important centers of Szolnok and Csongrád. We called Colonel Dimistrescu's attention to the fact that the Supreme Council had notified the Mission that all occupying forces, whether Roumanians, Jugo-Slavs, or Czecho-Slovaks, were to be

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required to retire at once to the lines of demarcation prescribed by the Peace Conference, and asked him to have us furnished with the least possible delay with a schedule for the Roumanian retirement from the Theiss River to their line of demarcation. He replied that as yet they had received no instructions from Bucharest relative to retirement beyond the Theiss. We next asked him what the Roumanians proposed to do in regard to the temporary bridges across the river, and he stated that, as he understood it, if they retired from the river all such bridges would be removed. He was told that it was our desire that they remain, not only on account of their necessity for the organization of eastern Hungary, but also in Roumanian interests, to perfect liaison.

I then brought up the question of prisoners-of-war and said I had two questions which I wished to ask. The first was whether the Roumanians had as yet furnished the Hungarians with a list of prisoners-of-war; and the second, why in the past few days the prisoners at Czegléd had been reduced from 10,000 to 5,000. Colonel Dimistrescu stated that they were preparing the lists of prisoners, but had not yet finished them. I told him that our Committee wanted a list to verify the transfers and that, in regard to the depleted camps between the Danube and the Theiss, I wanted to know in addition if they were removing all the more important prisoners and were leaving only physical derelicts and Bolshevists to be turned over to the Hungarians. He said that he was sure nothing was happening, except that of course they were retaining Transylvanian prisoners. I told

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him that I knew they had just recently received at Brasó a number of Hungarian prisoners from Czepléd, and that I did not like the appearance of the situation.

I afterwards helped General Gorton draft a telegram to the Supreme Council, calling attention to the fact that the Roumanians were preparing to evacuate only to the Theiss, and that they were apparently transferring to the east all their more important prisoners-of-war; and recommending that they be obliged to continue with their retirement to the line of demarcation, and to liberate immediately all prisoners-of-war, giving the latter the option of remaining as Hungarian citizens, or becoming Roumanian citizens, and not obliging them to become the latter on account of possessing property in Transylvania.

Prime Minister Friedrich called to see me again about 5 o'clock this afternoon and I am not yet decided as to what his object was unless to suggest that he thought that Sir George Clerk was overly intimate with the Social Democrats.<sup>55</sup> He started in by saying that he was in touch with the situation in Austria, which he thought was on the verge of a revolution, and the restoration of the monarchy under the kingship of Otto, the son of the former Emperor Karl, with Archduke Eugen as Regent. He stated furthermore that King Karl had never resigned as sovereign of Hungary and that he was still considered by the people to be such; that he had it from reliable authority that Karl was contemplating a return, and was afraid that in case he should re-

<sup>55</sup> Compare n. on Sir George Clerk, on p. 167.

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turn the people would shout "Vive le Roi!" He wanted it understood that he was against the restoration of the Hapsburgs under such conditions, even to the extent of going to Transdanubia to oppose Karl.

He then launched on another subject and stated that all the bourgeois parties had come to him and expressed a desire to collaborate with him and his party, that all prospects along these lines were bright, but that the Social Democrats were blocking the proposition. He said that he had offered to meet Garami, the leader of the Social Democrats, but that Garami had refused; that he had had an engagement to meet two of the other Social Democrats at 6 o'clock this date, but that they had sent word that they preferred to write him a letter instead of coming. He said the Social Democrats insisted on several portfolios, in particular those of the Interior and of Commerce, which they could not have; but that he was willing to concede them two portfolios, those of Labor and People's Welfare, and a third cabinet position without portfolio. I repeated to him what I had said at our previous interview, that it was up to the Hungarians to organize some cabinet that could be recognized by the Entente, and that the Entente certainly would not stand for the return of Karl or for the immediate restoration of any Hapsburgs.

*November 11, 1919.* Yesterday afternoon while down town, I called upon Count Szirmay's family, and while there the Countess Teleki, daughter of the owner of our house, came in and remarked upon the delightful

*November* 11, 1919

time they had had at our party. Knowing that she had been very strongly impressed by one of our officers, I asked her if she did not think that Colonel Sheldon was a delightful gentleman. She said: "Yes indeed, he is, and I do so like that young boy, Captain Gore, with his pink baby face." Evidently Colonel Loree and myself made no impression.

Just as we were finishing dinner last night, an urgent letter came in from Count Somssich, brought by a gentleman and a lady, who had just received word that three members of their family, including a three-year-old child, had either been killed or badly wounded by the Jugo-Slavs. Human life seems to have lost all its sacredness in this section of Europe. All I could do for these two poor people was to give them a letter to my friend, the Serbian Minister, asking him to do everything within his power to help them get to their family.

After Prime Minister Friedrich left me yesterday afternoon, I went over to see Sir George Clerk and gave him in detail my whole conversation with Friedrich, in order that he might not be hampered in his work. This morning Lieutenant-Colonel Causey came in from Vienna and told me that the situation in Vienna, as regards food and fuel, was far worse than in Budapest and was really critical. He was also interested in the Hungarian political situation, as he knows the Social Democratic leader, Garami, very well. He promised to see him and try to bring him to reason and to form some understanding with Friedrich.

*November 12, 1919*

Despite their oft-repeated and solemn promises, the Roumanians continue to steal property right and left. It is simply impossible to conceive such national depravity as those miserable "Latins" of southeast Europe are displaying.

*November 12, 1919.* This morning's session of the Mission was held at General Graziani's headquarters, owing to the fact that we have no fire in the Palace. In this connection, it might be added that although this is the twelfth of November, and it has been damnably cold, I have been able to have a fire in my room only one day.

When I arrived at the French Mission, General Graziani met me, rubbing his hands and shivering, and stated that, although yesterday they had had plenty of heat, their supply of firewood had given out since then and unfortunately our session would have to be held in a room as cold as any in the Palace.

Right off the bat we had a beautiful little evidence of the "fine Italian hand." At the previous meeting, we had sent a communication to the Roumanian Headquarters directing them to turn over to the Inter-Allied Military Mission the big Hungarian wireless station during the Roumanian evacuation, and between ourselves we had arranged that the only wireless expert with the Mission, an Italian officer, should be placed in charge of it until the Hungarians occupied the city. General Mombelli, before we had hardly got started on the session this morning, stated that he was now pre-

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pared to take over the wireless station and would establish an office at his own headquarters where he would be very glad to have the members of the Mission send any wireless messages which they wished to have forwarded to Paris or elsewhere; that fortunately he had an expert and was well prepared to run the wireless station. I told him that all this sounded sweet and alluring, but asked by what authority we proposed to take over the wireless station; that we were not an occupying army; that the Berlin station and the Vienna station had not been taken over; that if we took over the wireless station, we should also take over all the Hungarian telegraph and telephone stations, which we could not do; that my understanding was that we take the station over only during the evacuation by the Roumanians, and that it then be restored unconditionally to the Hungarians. General Graziani heartily accorded with my views, and then and there ended the Italian dream of monopoly of aërial communication in Hungary.

General Mombelli then stated how he had been informed that the Hungarians proposed to give a big manifestation, including the presentation of a bronze bust and the freedom of the city, and a number of other things, to the Italian Colonel Romanelli, on account of his services during the Bolshevist régime;<sup>56</sup> how he had

<sup>56</sup> During the Bolshevik régime, the Italians maintained suspiciously friendly relations with the Bolshevik government. They furnished Béla Kun arms and ammunition in exchange for breeding horses, jewelry, etc. When Béla Kun escaped to Austria, the Italian Military Mission gave him an escort, thus guaranteeing him and his company safe conduct. The head

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frowned upon this, and that now they were proposing to give a manifestation at some theater, which, according to his views, might result in a counter manifestation by the Roumanians, and was, therefore, not advisable. This brought out more clearly than usual the fact that for some reason or other there is friction between Mombelli and Romanelli, the latter being on more of a diplomatic than a military mission. However, everything considered, it would be most inappropriate at this time, despite our hostile feelings towards our allies, the Roumanians, and our friendly feelings towards our enemies, the Hungarians, either to participate ourselves or to allow any of our subordinates to participate in public demonstrations, and we decided that nothing of the kind should be allowed.

We directed the President of the Day to send a communication to the Hungarian government, to the effect that we desired to have submitted to us a list of all the prisoners-of-war liberated by the Roumanians, against whom the Hungarians proposed to institute proceedings either criminal or for treason. This was done because undoubtedly there will be many attempts on the part of the Hungarians to even up personal and political matters whenever they can get their hands on

of the Italian Military Mission was then Colonel Romanelli. He often used his influence with the Hungarian Soviet government to make it act more humanely in the treatment of its adversaries at home, and he frequently secured the pardon of condemned political prisoners. See Cecile Tormay, *An Outlaw's Diary*, New York, 1924, pp. 175 and 185. The relationship of Italy to Hungary was guided by her interests in the Fiume question. She apparently liked to see her other allies in trouble, so that their attention would be diverted from the Dalmatian coast.

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certain of their compatriots, now held as prisoners by the Roumanians.

I brought up again the Roumanian complaint against our Committee that investigated their prison camps, and proposed that we write the Roumanians a letter acknowledging receipt of their communication; informing them that it was noted that all the good conditions which they described as existing in their prison camps covered dates subsequent to the time of our investigation; that we were glad there had been any improvements; and that many of their statements, among which was one to the effect that our Committee had been accompanied by a Hungarian interpreter, were based upon false premises or were entirely groundless. The object of this letter was to show on our records that we had received the Roumanian letter and replied thereto, as otherwise they would make the statement that they had given us a reply that was simply incontestable. It was then decided to send a copy of the Roumanian reply to the Supreme Council and enclose therewith a copy of Colonel Sheldon's critique on the same, which is drawn up on the plan of the deadly parallel.

We also sent a telegram to the Supreme Council recommending that the Roumanians be required to return a specified amount of rolling stock, including motor trucks.

Yesterday afternoon, accompanied by Colonel Sheldon, I went over to see that miserable little scalawag, Diamandi, to intercede for a Hungarian judge named

*November 12, 1919*

Miskos, who had formerly been in charge of Roumanian prisoners-of-war in Hungary, and whom the Roumanians were now swamping under a deluge of preposterous charges. The miserable little rascal, knowing that he had me on the hip, said of course he could not tolerate any interference with the sovereign rights of the Roumanian government to try its prisoners, but if I were asking it as a favor of course it would be gladly granted, and he would take the matter up with General Panaitescu. Colonel Sheldon and I therefore accompanied him downstairs with some other new arrivals, and cooled our heels in the corridor for ten or fifteen minutes while Diamandi and Panaitescu held a star-chamber session. They then came out and stated that General Mosoiu would be over very soon to see me about it and Panaitescu immediately plunged into a characteristically Roumanianesque circumlocutory dissertation on court-martial in general and on the Miskos case in particular. It took the combined efforts of Colonel Sheldon and myself for some minutes to succeed finally in choking him off and telling him we did not give a damn about that; that it would be discussed with Mosoiu when necessary, and we wished to know why in Hell the Roumanians, in violation of their solemn promises, were seizing all the tobacco stored in Budapest. He then stated that he had given orders to have it stopped and to take only what was actually necessary for their troops, and he would see that all requisitions were stopped. This being about the four-thousandth time that some Roumanian high official has made this

*November 13, 1919*

statement, it had a corresponding effect and, so as to avoid giving them the satisfaction of keeping me waiting for Mosoiu, I left the building.

Later on, Mosoiu came over to my office and fortunately I was out, and Colonel Loree told him if he wanted to see me he would have to come the next day.

About noon today he came in, puffing and blowing, rolled up to me, spit in my eye, told me how much he admired and loved Americans in general and myself in particular, assured me that he was a thorough and honorable soldier, that he had won the love and admiration of the town where he had been stationed before, that it was a public calamity that he had not been earlier placed in command of Budapest, and assured me that Judge Miskos and his companions would receive only the best and kindest of treatment, and then whispered to me, in a voice that made the Palace tremble, that he was sure that Judge Miskos would be liberated in a few days. I then spit in his eye, wished him "au revoir," and the session ended.

*November 13, 1919.* Shortly after arriving at my office this morning, Colonel Dimistrescu came in to say "Good-bye" and, while I was giving him my opinion about various kinds of conduct on the part of the Roumanians, Colonel Loree burst through the door to tell me that one of the Roumanian companies in town was engaged at that minute in breaking into and pillaging houses. This started my visitor off on a new tack, and he promised to get busy immediately with his head-

*November 13, 1919*

quarters and stop the looting. While he was talking the matter over in Colonel Yates' office, I received word that the Roumanians were violating a safeguard and were robbing a farm; so I went out where the Roumanian was talking to the others, and told him in rather forcible language that I was now put to the necessity of telegraphing Paris that the Roumanians, on the verge of the evacuation, were beginning to pillage and loot like a band of robbers.

Yesterday Colonel Sheldon went out to one of the prison camps, in connection with the turning over to the Hungarians by the Roumanians of prisoners-of-war, and found that practically no arrangements had been made for this work. Today they are to take over some sick prisoners whom the Roumanians have been keeping in a Hungarian hospital, attended by Hungarian doctors and at Hungarian expense.

Yesterday morning there appeared in the papers a notice from Roumanian Headquarters that they proposed to distribute large quantities of food to the inhabitants of Budapest. Then in characteristic Roumanian style, they broke into the food depôts belonging to the Hungarian government and distributed these supplies right and left, thereby completely upsetting the ration system of Budapest, but during the process being photographed as international philanthropists. It is understood that that little rascal, Diamandi, was present himself at one place where they turned out some company kitchens, then robbed a near-by restaurant of food supplies and called together a lot of chil-

*November 14, 1919*

dren in order to be photographed while feeding the poor. As no wood was handy, they got some newspapers, crammed them into the stove and, while they were burning, had a rapid photograph taken in order to complete the picture.

*November 14, 1919.* Late yesterday afternoon, Colonel Sheldon had called up Colonel Dimistrescu to tell him that it was reported that the Roumanians were threatening to bombard the town of Kecskemét because the body of a Roumanian soldier had been found near that place, and to tell him that such action was contrary to international law and to the customs of civilized warfare. In view of the fact that Dimistrescu asked Colonel Sheldon three times whether the protest was being made in the name of the Inter-Allied Military Mission or in the name of the American Mission, about 9.30 I went over with Colonel Sheldon to the Hungaria Hotel, routed Colonel Dimistrescu out to inform him that whenever any member of the Inter-Allied Military Mission sent a message to Roumanian Headquarters it was necessarily in the name of the Mission, and then asked him what he meant by asking if the protest emanated from the American Mission, and what he would have done had he been told that it was only the American Mission. He squirmed around and lied like a true Roumanian and said that his question had really meant nothing, but in their records they kept track of the various Missions separately and it was solely for that purpose that he had made the inquiry.

*November 15, 1919*

This morning before daylight, the Roumanians pulled out and the Hungarians came in, at least to the west portion of the town, the City of Buda, where detachments lined up at the bridges to wait until the signal after 10 o'clock for crossing the Danube and occupying likewise the city of Pest. The whole evacuation of Budapest by the Roumanians, and its reoccupation by the Hungarians, bids fair to pass off without noteworthy incident.

At the session of the Mission this morning, at which General Mombelli presided and which on account of the cold in the Palace was held in the Italian Mission, we brought up the question of Roumanian liaison, and General Graziani stated that Colonel Dimistrescu had told him that he thought for a few days at least it would be inadvisable for any Roumanian officer to remain behind in Budapest, all of which speaks well for the courage of the Roumanians.

I suggested we notify the Hungarian government that, in view of several inquiries received by individual members of the Mission, this Mission exercised no control over private property in any of the museums and the Hungarian government was free to restore any such in its own judgment.

*November 15, 1919.* Today was a disagreeable, nasty day, with some snow and slush under foot.

The Hungarians continued to come into the city and are in actual occupation.

Yesterday afternoon I went over to the Hungarian

*November 16, 1919*

National Museum and returned to them the key which I had taken possession of on October 4, and I removed the seals from the doors. They gave me a receipt for the key and asked permission to retain, as a historic document, the seal from one of the three doors upon which they were placed. I gave them one, retained one for myself and gave the other to Colonel Loree.

As we were barred from attending the big celebrations given by the Hungarians in honor of the Roumanian evacuation, we accordingly invited a number of people, including General Gorton, General Mombelli and his family, our host Count Edelsheim, and the families of Count Szirmay and Teleki, and had a little dance.

*November 16, 1919.* This is the great day for the entry of Admiral Horthy's army, and the bells began to ring early to indicate the arrival of the troops. Unfortunately, none of us could witness this for fear of international complications, so we worked as usual. They were to have a big public mass in front of the Parliament Building. Tonight they are to have some kind of big celebration at the opera, to which, of course, none of us can go, for the same reason that kept us away from the parade.

Mr. Dubois, representing the United States Department of State, called this morning to explain that he was on a mission to endeavor to compile a report on the political situation of Central Europe, and asked for my assistance in getting together data and in preparing

*November 17, 1919*

his report in general. This of course I was very glad to furnish him, as he will undoubtedly be able to check up many of the reports that come to me.

*November 17, 1919.* Yesterday was a big day in Budapest and fortunately everything passed off with dignity and decorum. There was a cold rain in the morning, which rather dampened the ardor of those participating in the public mass, but it cleared up in the afternoon and at night, I understand, the Opera House was packed. Although no members of the Inter-Allied Military Mission were in attendance, the British Admiral Troubridge and the French Admiral on duty in Budapest both, accompanied by their staffs, occupied conspicuous boxes, thereby making the rest of us conspicuous by our absence.

I presided at this morning's session of the Mission, and in view of the fact that Sir George Clerk is wiring the Supreme Council scare-head telegrams, we decided to send a report to the effect that conditions in the city of Budapest and vicinity, since Hungarian reoccupation have, everything considered, been excellent; that Admiral Horthy's troops have shown themselves to be well-disciplined and under control. I also sent a personal report of attendance at the opera of the British and French admirals.

Sir George Clerk is still much concerned about his work, and properly so. He does not seem to be able to handle these people at all and keeps on paying over-much attention to the complaints of Garami and the

*November 18, 1919*

other Socialist leaders.<sup>57</sup> As a result of all this, Friedrich is proceeding serenely on his way and paying very little attention to anybody else. Some of the Hungarians have made the statement that, as long as the Entente cannot force the Italians out of Fiume<sup>58</sup> and could not even oblige a little nation like Roumania to obey its orders, there is no reason why Hungary should be unduly concerned about such a feeble combination.

Just before General Mardaescu left Budapest, General Gorton and I went to see him and he promised faithfully to leave behind fifty-three motor trucks for the distribution of food. When our men went to get the trucks, instead of fifty-three, they found only thirty-six, not one of which was serviceable and most of which were lacking in wheels, motors, or something equally important; and then when Mardaescu left, he even took these along. We have, therefore, wired the Supreme Council recommending that the Roumanians be required to return the fifty-three trucks which they took.

*November 18, 1919.* This has been the coldest day that we have had. It froze hard all day and at night a heavy snowstorm began.

I was down in the city, both in the forenoon and in the afternoon, to see how matters were progressing, and everything is remarkably calm.

<sup>57</sup> Compare n. on Sir George Clerk, on p. 167.

<sup>58</sup> Gabriele d'Annunzio had seized Fiume on Sept. 13 and Zara on Nov. 4, in defiance of the decision of the Allies.

*November 19, 1919*

Sir George Clerk, in evident fear that he is not going to be able to accomplish his mission, sent some scare-head telegrams to Paris, which apparently gave the impression that Admiral Horthy and Friedrich were arresting all of their political opponents. As a matter of fact, the arrests that were made were practically insignificant, and none were made that were not perfectly justifiable. Under the circumstances, I was obliged to telegraph the American Commission accordingly, in addition to which Colonel Loree left Budapest last night for Paris in order personally to explain the situation, as they are apparently bewildered by the conflicting telegrams from Sir George Clerk and the Inter-Allied Military Mission.

This evening we had for dinner Major Moffat of the American Red Cross, Captain Weiss, formerly on duty with Mr. Hoover and who is now about to return to the United States, and Captain Richardson, who is in charge of the American organization for feeding children. At present he is feeding daily in Hungary 33,000 children, over half of whom are in Budapest, and he expects soon to increase the number to 100,000.

*November 19, 1919.* It snowed good and hard last night and early this morning, with about four inches of snow on the ground, and it snowed practically all day. As a result many sleighs were in evidence.

At the session of the Mission this morning, General Gorton presided, and showed a telegram, which by courtesy of Sir George Clerk had been handed to him,

*November 19, 1919*

giving the decision of the Supreme Council in regard to the various Hungarian boundaries. Among other things, it stated that the Supreme Council was still considering the question of the exploitation of the coal mines at Pécs by the Serbians. As a result of this, we directed the President of the Day to telegraph to the Supreme Council, informing them how we had received this copy of their telegram, deprecating that they had not seen fit to advise us directly in regard to a matter so essentially military, and requesting that they sustain our action in requiring the Serbians to evacuate immediately all of the district of Baranya.<sup>59</sup> One letter, received sometime ago from the Serbians in regard to the evacuation, contained the statement that in view of the fact that the Entente had not forced the Roumanians to evacuate, they could see no reason why they should pay any attention to such requests.

As our good friend, Sir George Clerk, had been apparently badly rattled over prospective arrests during the first days of the Hungarian reoccupation, and had apparently thought that the blame lay a good deal with the police, which was under the supervision of Colonel Yates of the American Army, I submitted to the Mission some statements in regard to actual conditions during the evacuation, and the Mission decided unanimously to congratulate Colonel Yates on the excellent manner in which everything pertaining to the police situation had been handled.

<sup>59</sup> The main city of this district is Pécs, or Fünfkirchen.

*November 19, 1919*

As a telegram of the day before yesterday from Mr. Polk indicated that Sir George Clerk's scare in regard to the outcome resulting from Hungarian reoccupation had permeated to the Supreme Council, I went over this morning and had a personal interview with Sir George, showing him Mr. Polk's telegram, telling him our wires had undoubtedly got crossed, and that if any such idea obtained in the Supreme Council as the retention of the Roumanians in Hungary, I considered that results would be most disastrous. Sir George promised me to telegraph immediately to the Supreme Council, stating that everything was lovely and that prospects were most encouraging.

At the session on the seventeenth, there had been presented by the French Mission a proposition for the turning over to the Roumanians of three batteries of four guns each, of 10.4 centimeter howitzers, in exchange with the Roumanians for an equal number of 8 centimeter guns. The whole proposition looked a little bit fishy, especially in view of the fact that sometime before, when General Gorton was President of the Day, a communication was sent to the Roumanians stating explicitly that this deal was off. It appears that the whole proposition was a little private transaction between Lieutenant-Colonel Berthon, French, and Colonel Dimistrescu, Roumanian. At the session this morning, we received a protest from Admiral Horthy in regard to such a transfer, and it was decided that it would not take place. Later on, a telephone message was received from the Roumanians insisting that such

*November 20, 1919*

a transfer should take place not later than the twenty-first. They will be politely invited to side-step to Hell.

At noon Admiral Horthy called upon me and we spent about an hour in conversation. He is a fine-appearing, intelligent-looking officer, and I believe is sincere in his desire and intention to do everything for the best. He deprecated Friedrich's obstinacy and I think is afraid that he may have to remove him sooner or later by force, although at present it looks as though some sort of an agreement could be arrived at. The Admiral promised me that it would be his constant and earnest endeavor to prevent any excesses on the part of his countrymen or the pulling off of any stunts that would affect the situation.

*November 20, 1919.* It continued to snow all day, and sleighs were in evidence throughout the city.

Owing to the coal shortage, all the street cars have stopped running and the electric current has been reduced by 50 per cent.

In the evening at 6 o'clock, accompanied by Colonel Sheldon, I called upon Admiral Horthy and went into considerable detail concerning the situation. I also informed him of the rumor that we had heard that the Supreme Council had sent a final ultimatum to Roumania, giving her eight days for reply, and demanding that she reply affirmatively without quibbling, equivocation or prevarication, to the various points presented to her, and requiring that she immediately evacuate all of Hungary and sign the Peace Treaty, including its Minority clauses.

*November 20, 1919*

From all word received, it is apparent that the Roumanians are seriously contemplating progressing directly east of the Theiss River, instead of stopping there as they had originally determined.

The Admiral informed me that he would probably remain with his headquarters as at present at the Hotel Gellért, in the same place where General Mardarescu had had his headquarters, that he would then move for a short time up to the War Office, and would eventually establish headquarters outside the limits of the city of Budapest.

During the day, I arranged to send Lieutenant-Colonel Moore to southeastern Hungary, to that portion of Baranya where the Pécs coal mines are, to investigate as to conditions. When he approached the Serbian Minister in regard to the matter, that poor little toy balloon nearly burst and did all sorts of vehement protesting, stating that he could not visé any passports or anything of the kind. As the territory Colonel Moore is to visit is, according to the terms of the Armistice, to be permanent Hungarian territory, I gave Colonel Moore a letter of instruction informing whom it might concern that he was proceeding on this duty by order of the Inter-Allied Military Mission, which in giving its orders was acting in strict conformity with its authority from the Supreme Council. We will now await developments.

We had no guests tonight and spent a quiet evening in our quarters.

## November 21, 1919

*November 21, 1919.* During the evening the snow turned into rain and fog, and today it is indescribably disagreeable. There is slush everywhere and, owing to the stoppage of the street cars, the streets are full of struggling pedestrians.

The meeting of the Mission was held at General Graziani's quarters, in the house which is owned by the Countess Széchényi, the sister of my friend, General Cornelius Vanderbilt. They had hoped that the American Mission would occupy the building, and we really had first choice at it. I decided, however, that I did not want to have Neily Vanderbilt chasing me up afterwards and asking me what I had done with any property that might be missing from his sister's home.

At the session, General Gorton and I in turn explained what we had gathered from Colonel Moore's verbal report on conditions at Szolnok, to the effect mainly that he had gathered from Colonel Dimistrescu, not by a direct statement, but from his general conduct and bearing, that the Roumanians were apparently going to continue their evacuation up to the line of demarcation; but adding that these signs might mean nothing, seeing that they came from Roumania.

I then explained Colonel Moore's experience of last night with the Serbian Minister, and stated what I had done in this case. It was approved by the Mission. It was further decided to telegraph the Supreme Council requesting that the Serbians be required to evacuate immediately all portions of Hungary they were holding and retire behind their line of demarcation, and it was

*November 22, 1919*

added in particular that it was recommended that they be required to withdraw from the town of Pécs. It had been intended to include this in the telegram of the day before yesterday, but through error it had been omitted.

Colonel Yates stated this morning that he thought the Hungarians were making far more arrests than they were reporting, and I instructed him to investigate and see whether or not they were emulating the illustrious example of the lying Roumanians.

*November 22, 1919.* Last night we entertained the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the Inter-Allied Military Mission, meaning thereby our old friend, Dr. Lazar Baitch, his colleague Major Body, and Mrs. Body. We also had Colonel Yates and Major Moffat of the American Red Cross. The Hungarian champagne warmed up the cockles of Lazar Baitch's heart to such an extent that he was soon waltzing with Colonel Yates while Colonel Sheldon played the piano, and later on wound up with a skirt dance.

At noon today there was a big meeting at one of the schools, to which I was invited as the senior American representative, and where we listened to several most eloquent addresses in Hungarian. The eloquence was to be judged only by the gesticulations, as Hungarian is a language which no one can read or understand without swallowing a paper of fish hooks. Before we wound up, a little girl came up and made some remarks

*November 23, 1919*

in what purported to be English. Anyway she handed me a big bouquet of chrysanthemums, and I kissed her on the right cheek, to the accompaniment of vociferous applause.

I have acquired a new Hungarian valet, who speaks only German and Hungarian, and forces me to go back to my childhood of forty-five or fifty years ago, when German was almost as easy as my native tongue. He insists on making me do a great many things that I do not want to do. Among others, he tries to force me to take a warm bath in the morning when I am determined to take a cold bath. However, when his back is turned I let the hot water out and turn the cold water in, so I am able to circumvent to a certain extent his devilish intentions.

We just received word today from our beloved allies, the Roumanians, that they have decided to remove the pontoon bridge at Szolnok, all this despite their solemn promises that they would leave it. The Roumanians are really the most reliable people in the world when it comes to depending upon their breaking any promises they make.

*November 23, 1919.* Last night Colonel Sheldon, Captain Gore and I were guests at dinner at the house of Baron von Groedel, and while there we met young Baron Weiss, whose family is the wealthiest in Hungary, and whom the Roumanians robbed of eight hundred million kronen worth of property.

Yesterday morning a staff officer from the French

*November 24, 1919*

Admiral called at my quarters to say that three weeks ago he [the Admiral] had called upon me and left his card. He was wondering if I had received it as I had never returned the call. So later in the afternoon, accompanied by Captain Gore, I went to the Admiral's quarters, found him in, and told him that within twenty-four hours his call had been returned and my card left at his quarters, but I wished that there should be no misunderstanding and therefore I had come personally this time to make sure that there could be no mistake. Not to be outdone, he called upon me again at my office early this morning, so that we are now quits.

The newspapers announce that the Hungarians at last have formed a new cabinet with Huszár<sup>80</sup> as Prime Minister and Friedrich in charge of the War portfolio. It is to be hoped that Sir George Clerk's labors are now approaching their end and that he can proceed to his proper station as Minister to Czecho-Slovakia.

*November 24, 1919.* Last night we entertained Admiral Horthy, General Soós, Count Edelsheim, General Gorton, and Colonel Yates at dinner, and our chef absolutely surpassed himself.

At this morning's session at the Italian Mission, where of course General Mombelli presided, General Graziani gave us a report of Colonel Berthon's trip to Szolnok, by which arrangements were made for internationalizing the railroad bridges across the Theiss River; and

<sup>80</sup> Karl Huszár, a Christian Socialist.

November 24, 1919

we were informed that the Roumanians had already removed the pontoon bridge at Szolnok.

General Graziani also read from the Hungarian papers a retraction which had been made by the Hungarian Colonel Lehár, of the ridiculous statements attributed to him in a previous issue of the *Pester Lloyd*, in which he was quoted as having said that Hungary had the only disciplined army in all Central Europe.

Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, of my Mission, was later brought in, having just returned from a trip to the Pécs coal mines where the Serbians are in occupation. He stated that the Serbs were running rampant through the whole section, that even many kilometers beyond Pécs, which is itself about thirty kilometers inside the Hungarian lines, the Serbians had established complete civil government, and were intimating in no uncertain terms that they proposed to stay permanently. The troops that they had in garrison were in a rotten condition of discipline, and conditions on the whole were most unfavorable. He reported that of the one hundred and fifty carloads, of ten tons each, that were turned out daily by the Pécs coal mines, about one hundred and twenty carloads were taken over by the Serbian government and the rest only was used for local consumption. The Serbs had even gone so far as to demand verbally, as a tax, 20 per cent of all the private deposits in the banks.

After the meeting, I went with Captain Gore and Major Moffat to see the American Red Cross at work and was very much gratified. In one place they were

*November 25, 1919*

systematically issuing to the poor large quantities of clothing in appropriate individual lots, and in another place they were furnishing food and clothing to infants. It is work of this kind that immensely raises the prestige of the American name.

*November 25, 1919.* Yesterday afternoon was a very busy afternoon, owing to the fact that our courier was leaving for Vienna, which, taken in connection with the morning session of the Mission, jammed things all together in the last half of the day. Unfortunately this courier business does not mean much because, although leaving here Monday evening and arriving in Vienna Tuesday morning, our mail will lie over there until Friday before going on to Paris.

This morning I received several telegrams from Colonel Loree, among others, word to the effect that he had seen General Bliss and Mr. White of the American Commission and explained to them that it would hardly be advisable to continue this Mission in case the American Commission to Negotiate Peace were permanently dissolved.<sup>61</sup> This was absolutely along the lines of my instructions to Loree before his departure, and likewise strictly in accord with my own personal ideas. When I mentioned the matter, however, to one or two Hungarians, the first one being Count Somssich, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he simply collapsed and said the mere fact that an American Mission was here gave them confidence in the future, and assured them

<sup>61</sup> On Nov. 19 the United States Senate had definitely rejected the Treaty of Versailles.

*November 25, 1919*

of a square deal. He assured me it would be nothing short of a calamity in case we left here before the elections in January and the establishment of a permanent government. I interrogated him and several others and told them plainly that I had no delusions of grandeur, was not a megalomaniac, and wanted to know whether they were trying to tell me things which would be most grateful to hear, or whether they were really sincere in their belief that the American Mission should continue for a while longer, and that in any event I should remain on account of my knowledge of the situation, absorbed from nearly four months' stay. Their protestations that it was necessary that the Mission, as now organized, remain, were undoubtedly sincere, so I felt obliged to telegraph Colonel Loree that the Hungarians felt that their main guarantee for a square deal lay in a continuation until after election of the American Mission, but I added that, personally, the sooner I could go home the better I would be pleased. It will now be a question of waiting two or three days to learn what the final decision is.

The Roman Catholic Cardinal, who is called the Prince Primas of Hungary, called upon me this morning, accompanied by a bishop as interpreter, to thank me, not only for what I had done for Hungary, but in particular for having saved most of his treasures which were in the Museum that the Roumanians were going to rob. Like all high functionaries of the Catholic Church, he was a jolly old fellow, and I enjoyed his visit very much.

*November 26, 1919*

*November 26, 1919.* At this morning's session of the Mission, at which I presided, General Mombelli was very sore because Sir George Clerk had not sent notice to the Mission of the fact that he had recognized the new Hungarian government under Huszár. As a matter of fact, Sir George did notify us, but through rather devious channels. He sent a letter to the Italian counselor giving a list of the ministry and telling him he had recognized the new cabinet, then sent General Gorton a copy of the same and asked Gorton to let the rest of us have copies. In view of the fact that the Italian counselor had not a damn thing to do with the government or anything else, neither Mombelli nor Graziani could understand why Sir George had adopted such a peculiar method. I don't think he meant anything by it, but just didn't know any better.

It was decided to send another telegram to the Supreme Council, calling attention for the third or fourth time to the fact that the Serbs had planted themselves in the Baranya district apparently for life, and also to the fact that the Supreme Council had never yet given us any decision as to whether or not the Serbians were to remain or to beat it. We therefore asked specifically for a statement that the Serbians were immediately to evacuate territory which did not belong to them, or that the territory was to be given to them.

The day before yesterday I was the recipient of a long tale of woe from Baron Than, representing the Archduke Joseph, to the effect that the Czecho-Slovaks were seizing the private property of his estate in Czecho-

November 26, 1919

Slovakia, including his wife's personal letters, and were proposing to sell the whole thing at auction. I immediately telegraphed our Minister at Prague that it was inconceivable that any civilized nation could be guilty of such rotten conduct, informing him that I had likewise notified the American Commission in Paris. At the same time, I sent a copy of the telegram to General Mombelli, who was President of the Day, and he put in a vigorous protest with Minister Hodza, the Czecho-Slovak representative in Budapest. The whole situation throughout southeastern Europe seems to be a "go as you please" game.

As a report had been received that the Roumanians, despite the fact that an Armistice was in existence had shelled the defenseless town of Tokaj, killing several of the inhabitants, it was decided to call upon the Roumanians for an explanation of their peculiar yet characteristic conduct, and also to invite their attention to the fact that they were still raiding private estates.

A commendatory letter was drafted and given to Major Edward Borrow, of the British Army, for his excellent services, particularly in connection with keeping track of the rolling stock that the Roumanians had seized.

Yesterday afternoon I went down town and had some dental work done by a Hungarian dentist named Dick, who had been a student of Dr. Brophy in Chicago. Colonel Sheldon and I both went to see him again this afternoon.

## November 27, 1919

Owing to the coal shortage and the early nightfall, all stores now close at either three or four o'clock, and the city is decidedly gloomy by mid-afternoon.

*November 27, 1919.*<sup>62</sup> General Gorton told me this morning that, having heard of the possibility that my Mission might close up shop and leave in a few days, he had wired the British Commission in Paris protesting and requesting that we remain here until after the Hungarian elections.

Some way or other, the Hungarians today found out that it was our Thanksgiving Day and I received large bouquets of flowers with cards from the Archduke, from Cardinal Csernoch, the Prince Primas of Hungary, from the Prime Minister, from various other cabinet ministers, from Admiral Horthy, from General Soós, from the Mayor and Council of Budapest, and many others. The Cardinal came over about noon with a big flock of counts and barons, countesses and baronesses, and we had quite a celebration. The Prime Minister also came in, not only to felicitate us on our national holiday, but to express his thanks for the justice and sincerity with which the American Mission had operated from the beginning, and for the interest that it had displayed in unfortunate Hungary. I told him that neither my country nor myself had anything to gain whatever, that we desired nothing but fair play, that America has always sympathized with and endeav-

<sup>62</sup> On this day the Treaty of Neuilly was signed with Bulgaria. The Roumanians and the Jugo-Slavs were not permitted to sign it until they had signed the Treaty of St. Germain, with its Minorities provision.

*November 27, 1919*

ored to aid unfortunate nations and people, and that if I had succeeded in impressing them with that idea, I had really accomplished my mission; that the various expressions of thanks and appreciation from all Hungarian officials I accepted, not as coming personally to me, but as coming to my country.

About 6 o'clock a code message came from Colonel Loree to the effect that the American Commission would meet tomorrow and decide whether or not the American Military Mission should continue, whether I should remain with a small body as an observer, or whether we should entirely quit Hungary.

In view of the fact that it was Thanksgiving Day, I gave a dinner at my quarters to all the American officers in Budapest, those attending being Colonel Sheldon, Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, Captain Shafroth, Captain Gore, Captain Weiss, Major Moffat of the American Red Cross, Captain Richardson of the American Children's Welfare Association, and my Hungarian Aide, Lieutenant Count Teleki. Before the dinner, most of them attended the Grand Opera which was turning out a musical enigma called the "Magic Flute." Captain Gore and I did not arrive until within about three-quarters of an hour of the conclusion of the performance, because we were obliged to remain at home to decode Colonel Loree's telegram. However, we saw too much of the performance even at that late hour. All that I could gather was that a gray-headed young man with robust body and spindle-shank legs had to go through seven kinds of Hell in order to win a little

*November 28, 1919*

squirt of a prima donna with a face like the head of a tobasco bottle. Some of the dancers in connection with the opera might have been worth going through one or two Hells for, but only a lunatic would have gone through seven for the prima donna.

Our chef, in a strenuous effort to turn out a real American Thanksgiving dinner, turned out the rottenest meal since we have had him. He asserted in raucous tones, interpolated with the usual number of Hungarian consonants, that he knew how to make a pumpkin pie and he did. It was pumpkin all right, and it was pie, but it was the same kind of a crust that we had on our chicken potpie, and the pumpkin was chucked into it in cubes about an inch square. Another time we will limit him to his well-known repertoire.

*November 28, 1919.* As General Gorton left last night for Vienna to meet Mrs. Gorton, who is expected to arrive there in a day or so, General Graziani presided and we met at the French Mission. General Graziani read a translation from one of the Hungarian papers of what was supposed to be a report on an address by Friedrich to the Christian-National Party, of which he is the head, and which contained one particularly strong sentiment as follows:

I state frankly that we cannot and must not have confidence in the Entente.

It was decided to write Herr Friedrich a letter, calling his attention to this, and requiring an explanation and a retraction in the paper.



**AMERICAN MILITARY MISSION**  
**BEFORE THE ROYAL PALACE IN BUDAPEST**

**LEFT TO RIGHT: LIEUT. L. M. HAMILTON, LIEUT. COL. C. B. MOORE, COUNT TELFKI, COL. JAMES T. LOREE,  
GENERAL BANDHOLTZ, CAPT. E. B. GORE, COL. HALSEY F. YATES AND CAPT. WILL SHAFROTH**



## *November 29, 1919*

Telephone reports came in yesterday that, whenever a Hungarian appeared at the bridge at Szolnok he was promptly shot at by the Roumanian sentinels on the other side, despite the agreement the Roumanians made that the bridges at Szolnok and elsewhere would be opened to traffic for the Hungarians. This is the usual Roumanian style of keeping a promise.

We also received word that the Serbians were retiring from Pécs and pulling off all sorts of rotten stunts. Therefore it was decided to send a committee of four officers, one from each Mission, immediately to Pécs to investigate and handle the situation.

While I was attending the session of the Mission, Colonel Kelly of the U. S. Engineers, called, and Colonel Sheldon very properly invited Kelly and Mrs. Kelly to informal luncheon.

*November 29, 1919.* Last night we had Colonel and Mrs. Kelly to dinner, and they left this morning by boat for Belgrade.

I recently received a clipping from a Roumanian paper, which in big headlines had the following:

A reply from General Mardarescu.

The following was sent to Vienna from Budapest.

The conduct of the Roumanians with regard to the Hungarians and the Allies is best characterized by the reply of General Mardarescu as given to the protest of the Inter-Allied Military Mission against requisitions:

"Gentlemen, you have four telephones but I have 80,000 bayonets."

Of course the old scoundrel never said such a thing or we would have choked him on the spot, but the worst

*November 29, 1919*

part of it is that if he had said it, it would have been the truth, which is still further proof that he never said it.

Last evening I received a very touching telegram from Mr. Halstead, of the American Mission in Vienna, in which he stated:

Regret exceeding carelessness of a clerk this Mission caused pouch for your Mission to be returned to Paris and your pouch for Paris remain here. Greatly chagrined. Pouch be returned from Paris by courier leaving there Monday and sent down by Thursday train first available.

Halstead.

His chagrin was nothing compared to our disgust.

I also received a telegram from Mr. Polk in which he asked me to telegraph him fully as to whether or not it was still necessary to keep up the Inter-Allied Military Mission, adding that he desired to withdraw all Inter-Allied Military Missions as far as possible, in order not to become too deeply involved in European politics, and to avoid any criticism from Washington. He suggested that I should remain as High Commissioner until the arrival of the American civil representative. I replied that in my opinion the Inter-Allied Military Mission could well be dispensed with, as it had carried out its instructions as far as possible. I might have added that it had never received any backing from the Supreme Council all the time it was here, although my people always backed me to the limit. I also suggested that I reduce my force to about one-half of what it has been in the past.

*November 30, 1919*

By the same messenger, I received a cable from the United States which was the best that I have received since being over here. It was from my young friend Littwitz, who sent only three words:

Wife improving splendidly.

It is a pleasure to be of service to anyone as appreciative as Littwitz has been of the few things I did for him.

*November 30, 1919.* This morning, accompanied by Colonel Sheldon, Mr. Zerkowitz and my Hungarian Aide, Lieutenant Count Teleki, I called upon His Excellency, Prime Minister Huszár, and we were received with all the pomp and circumstance with which Hungarian officials delight to surround themselves. A magnificent major-domo all dolled up like one of the old time drum majors, met us at the entrance and led us by a whole line of obsequious flunkies, each of which was shining with oriental splendor. By a circuitous route, so as to take in all the swell rooms, they led us to the reception room, where the Prime Minister met us at the entrance.

It then became evident that I need not have brought Mr. Zerkowitz along as interpreter because there was a young man named Bárczy who came forward, and who had the most beautiful flow of English I have ever heard, at least as far as the flow is concerned. His Excellency would spout and spit Hungarian for about one minute, then M. Bárczy would open the floodgates of his eloquence and spit ornate and flowery English for fifteen minutes. It was all to the effect that the Hunga-

November 30, 1919

rians appreciated all that the Entente had done for them and, of course, in particular America. They wanted us to stay by them until after the elections, of course again in particular America, and most particularly myself. I responded with like hyperbole, and after half an hour the meeting terminated and His Excellency escorted us all the way out to the head of the stairs. He greatly admired my heavy riding crop, and wanted to know if it was the same one with which I had driven a company of Roumanians out of the Palace courtyard, and which had been my sole weapon when I stood guard over the government office when the Roumanians were threatening to come up and arrest the whole cabinet. Upon my replying in the affirmative, he asked that I turn it over to their National Museum, so I suppose that will be the end of my fine old riding crop, which I shall miss damnably.

Colonel Sheldon has been bitten by the philatelic microbe and his case, for the present at least, seems to be more hopeless than my own. If he is introduced to a high official, the first thing he says is:

Has Your Excellency any stamps in his pants?

and the inquiry has become so stereotyped that I am afraid he will address it to the countesses and baronesses who seem to be flocking into his office, but of whom he allows none to penetrate into my sanctum unless they are older than the devil or as ugly as Hell, in this respect emulating the example of one Colonel Taber Loree.

## December 1, 1919

*December 1, 1919.* Last night Colonel Sheldon and I dined with our dentist, Doctor Dick, and had a horrible time. It was one of those occasions during which the host and hostess are so annoyingly attentive, and so insistent upon one's making a garbage can out of one's self, that much of the joy of the occasion is lost. After the dinner we adjourned to a sitting room, where some she-musicians piled on agony, and one of them in particular fiddled out a lot of dirges.

This morning the Mission met at General Mombelli's quarters, with him presiding, as General Gorton had not yet returned from Vienna. I read to them Colonel Yates' report to me, to the effect that General Mardarescu maintains that he has no instructions about retiring beyond the Tisza;<sup>63</sup> that he thinks he should remain there until a treaty of peace is signed with Hungary, in order to keep an obstacle between himself and the Hungarians; that he sees no necessity for a liaison officer, as he understood that the Inter-Allied Military Mission was to arrange only for the evacuation from Budapest to the Tisza.<sup>63</sup> Mardarescu's statements are always so palpably lies that there is never any use discussing them. However, he clearly outlined the plans of the Roumanians.

I then informed my colleagues that last night Colonel Moore had called me up by telephone from Pécs and had told me that the Serbs declined to recognize any commission from the Inter-Allied Military Mission, stating that they had received no orders from their

<sup>63</sup> Or Theiss.

*December 1, 1919*

government and could not discuss evacuation or anything of the kind; and that I had, therefore, ordered Colonel Moore to return.

I then informed my two Latin colleagues that I had got damn sick and tired myself of having two miserable little misfit nations like Roumania and Serbia insult the United States of America through its unworthy representatives; that I was equally sick and tired of sending urgent telegrams to the Supreme Council with the strongest possible recommendations, without even receiving the courtesy of a reply; and then I suggested that we consider the advisability of informing the Supreme Council that in our opinion our usefulness had practically ended, and the relief of the Mission was advisable. They all solemnly concurred in my remarks, but thought the question of taking up the matter with the Supreme Council should receive a little longer consideration. I learned afterwards that both the French and Italian officers are receiving as allowances several times what their pay would be in case they were relieved and returned to France and Italy, all of which accounts for their reluctance to give up a remunerative job.

General Graziani confirmed the reports that I had received in regard to the Czecho-Slovaks, and seemed to be of the opinion that things were in a ferment over there and that something would pop before long.

We received characteristic letters from Mardaescu, stating that he would now allow the bridges to be repaired at Tokaj, Szolnok, and Csongrád; that he

*December 2, 1919*

proposed to return, on the sixth, 1,840 Hungarian soldier prisoners-of-war and 886 officers, and that he would like to have arrangements made so that goods en route through Hungary to Roumania would not be delayed.

After the meeting of the Mission, accompanied by Colonel Sheldon and Captain Gore, and likewise by Major Foster, representing the British in General Gorton's absence, we went to the reception given by Dr. Baitch, the Serbian Minister. Here we went through some kind of ceremony on the anniversary of the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croates and Slovenes in succession to the Kingdom of Serbia. Eventually, toward noon, we escaped from the Serbian Mission, and then after lunch loaned all of our cars to the English Mission because one of their captains, named Graham, is going this afternoon to marry the Hungarian Baroness Podmaniczky.

*December 2, 1919.* This morning I sent a car down to meet Colonel Causey, who was returning from Vienna with General Gorton. Colonel Causey is still left by our government as adviser to the Austrian government on railroad and other similar matters, and he reports conditions in Vienna to be most deplorable. He doubts if there will be an outbreak of Bolshevism, despite the fact that there is dire distress from shortage of both fuel and provisions. We had Colonel Causey to luncheon and invited him to dinner also, but he had a previous engagement with General Gorton.

*December 3, 1919*

In the forenoon I went to the city and attended an art exhibit and arranged for the purchase of a couple of paintings, which I hope to be able eventually to install in Constantine, Michigan.<sup>64</sup>

In the afternoon General Gorton called upon me and I gave him a résumé of what had happened during his absence of a few days in Vienna to meet Mrs. Gorton. He retaliated by inviting me to dinner tomorrow night and I accepted on condition that I be allowed to tell Mrs. Gorton all that I knew of his horrible derelictions prior to her arrival. He tried to buy me off but the price was not high enough.

*December 3, 1919.* General Gorton having returned from Vienna, the Mission met in his office with him in the chair, and it was one of the most unimportant sessions that we have had, with practically no business before us.

The Hungarians sent in a request that certain persons, whom they desired to place on their list of peace delegates, were in Roumanian occupied territory and they were very anxious to have arrangements made so that these persons could come to Budapest and proceed with the Hungarian delegation. All the Mission could do was to repeat their request to the Supreme Council.

General Graziani tried to calm me down and told me to be patient, that we had done a great deal here after all, and that there was no occasion to get worried,

<sup>64</sup> General Bandholtz' residence in the United States.

*December 3, 1919*

but that we should bide our time and all would be well. I told him that sounded bully, but that I couldn't see why four generals should be hanging around Budapest and practically doing nothing; that I was of course willing to wait for instructions, which I was now doing.

Last night there was a report current that Minister Friedrich had been implicated as accessory to the murder of Count Tisza. This morning the report is denied.

A Mrs. French, from California, who is over here on some sort of a suffrage proposition, was in to tell me about a meeting that took place in Budapest and, if all her statements are true, there is still a wild-eyed bunch of fanatics who will have to be skinned before much progress is made in Hungary. She said that a Catholic priest, at a public meeting on the thirtieth of November, said:

The Bible tells us we must forgive our enemies. I say we can personally forgive our enemies as Christians, but not as Hungarians. The Hungarian people must never forget and the Jews must be punished. They say it is shameful to have pogroms, but we say it is just as shameful to have communism in the twentieth century, and we had it.

The second speaker was a professor by the name of Zarkany, who after giving some left-handed compliments to the Entente, stated:

The Jewish question is a national one for the Hungarian people to settle and we will settle it.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Before the World War and the rule of Bolshevism, there existed no anti-Semitic movement in Hungary to speak of. Hungary contained in its population a relatively large percentage of Jews, but they felt as strongly Hungarian as the old German Jews felt German. In contrast to their racial

December 4, 1919

December 4, 1919. Things are getting quieter and quieter. Now that the Roumanians are out of Budapest and have practically cut all communications, there is comparatively little doing. A French officer, however, came over today to say that General Graziani could communicate by telegraph direct to the Roumanians in very few minutes, so it would appear that, although the latter do not care to establish liaison with the Inter-Allied Military Mission, they are doing so with the French mission, which, when everything is considered, is not to be wondered at.

confrères in Roumania and Russia, Hungarian Jews did not suffer from persecution or exceptional legal treatment.

But a disproportionate number of Jews participated in establishing Bolshevism in Hungary and they were its most cruel exponents. Ninety-five per cent of the Communist leaders were Jewish, and, of the twenty-six Commissars, eighteen were Jews, though there were only one and a half million Jews among the twenty million inhabitants of Hungary. Furthermore, a very large number of the Jewish Bolshevik leaders had immigrated into Hungary only recently and could really not be called Hungarians in any true sense. The conservative and national Jewish-Hungarian element despised these foreigners as much as did their Christian compatriots. Unfortunately, however, the despicable behavior of many of the Jewish Communists caused the Hungarian people, after the overthrow of the Bolshevik rule, to turn against *all* Jews.

It is deplorable, but quite natural, that the reaction against the Red Terror was accompanied by excesses and persecution of the Jews though the account of it is generally greatly exaggerated. The attitude of the better element is expressed in the following words of Count Paul Teleki: "I should like to say that it is a mistake to think that the anti-Jewish movement, which really existed and which still exists in Hungary, is one against the Jewish religion or Jews in general. If I had to characterize it as a historian it would be rather with the words 'anti-Galician movement.'" *The Evolution of Hungary and its Place in European History*, New York, 1925, p. 141.

A few examples of the anti-Semitic feeling and actions in Hungary are given in this Diary.

December 4, 1919

Count Somssich came in to see me and I arranged with him to send a telegram to the Supreme Council from the Hungarian government, acknowledging receipt of the invitation to send peace delegates to Paris and explaining how impossible it was to make satisfactory arrangements while the Roumanians were still occupying one-third of Hungary.

As previously stated, I had permanently assigned to me the Royal Box in the Opera House, but in view of the fact that there is now a recognized government in Hungary, I sent the following letter today:

To His Excellency, the Hungarian Prime Minister.

The undersigned is deeply grateful for the courtesy and the honor conferred upon him by the assignment of the large central box at the Opera House. As long as there was no government in Hungary that had been recognized by the Allied and Associated Powers, there was no apparent impropriety in the use of this box as assigned. Now, however, that the Government of which Your Excellency is the honored Minister President has been duly recognized, and as it is understood the box in question is the one usually reserved for the Head of the State, the undersigned, with sincere thanks and grateful appreciation of the past honor conferred upon him, desires to relinquish the box in question, and with assurances of the highest respect and esteem begs to remain,

Most respectfully.

If this currency keeps on tumbling, it will not be worth the paper it is printed on. The krone, which in ante-bellum days was worth 2 1½ cents, is today worth just 8 mills or 4⁄5 of a cent, and today I converted a few dollars at the rate of 125 kronen to the dollar.

*December 5, 1919*

*December 5, 1919.* This morning's session was held at my quarters and I presided, and we had a hot old time.

General Gorton stated that last night he had received a communication, as President of the Day, from the diplomatic representative of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croates and Slovenes, complaining that Hungarian regular troops to the number of one thousand had crossed the Serbian line, attacking the Serbian forces and capturing prisoners in the vicinity of Redics; asking that the Hungarians be required to release the prisoners immediately, and that a committee be sent from this Mission at once to investigate the facts in the case. We asked the Hungarian Prime Minister to send an authorized officer to explain this matter to us, and accordingly General Soós reported at 10.15, bringing with him maps and all data in connection with the incident, which occurred on November 29.

It appears that there are no Hungarian regular troops in the vicinity mentioned, and only one company of seventy gendarmes. These gendarmes were going through military exercises near the Serbian line, and the Serbian soldiers got scared and came out and surrendered to them, thinking the Hungarians were preparing for an attack. The people of the town, at this, came out and, on account of the repeated Serbian atrocities, begged the gendarmes to go to the neighboring town as there were no Serbians there. However, upon arriving in this town, the Serbians at long range opened fire with infantry and artillery, at which the Hungarians, although two of them were wounded, withdrew without

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replying. The Hungarian commander investigated the matter and sent a messenger with a flag of truce to the Jugo-Slav commander, explaining that the whole incident was due to a misunderstanding and was a mistake.

It was accordingly decided to send a letter to the diplomatic representative of the Jugo-Slavs, giving him a synopsis of General Soós' report, calling his attention to the fact that all of the incident had occurred on purely Hungarian territory from which the Serbs had been repeatedly requested to withdraw by this Mission, and adding that in view of the fact that a committee, sent by this Mission to Pécs, had been refused recognition as representative of the Supreme Council by any of the Serbian officials or authorities, it would not be practicable to send any other such committee until assurances had been received from the Serbian government that any committee from this Mission would be recognized as authoritative and would have its labors facilitated in every way possible.

A telegram was also sent to the Supreme Council to the same effect, and adding that General Soós had stated that unless the Entente required the Roumanians and Serbs to withdraw immediately beyond their line of demarcation, it was manifestly only just and proper that the Hungarians be allowed to defend themselves against the pillaging, murders and other atrocities committed by occupying forces.

All the way through, this has been a hectic day. I was not only President of the Day of the Mission, but

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our mail came in with a whole raft of official and other letters to be signed.

This afternoon the Prince Ferdinand Montenuovo called upon me to make complaint about the Serbians robbing his property, and several counts and a few barons were floating around, in addition to much lesser fry.

Tonight we are invited to dinner with Baron Weiss.

*December 6, 1919.* Last night Colonel Sheldon, Captain Gore and I dined with the family of Baron Weiss, and had a very delicious dinner. The Baron is about the wealthiest man in Hungary, owns immense factories and has other large interests. The Roumanians looted from his various plants property to the value of eight million dollars, but he still seems to have enough for turning out a square meal.

After the usual routine in the morning, and when things were beginning to look as though we would have a quiet day, a code message was received from Mr. Polk, informing me that the Supreme Council had decided to relieve the Inter-Allied Military Mission, but that I would be left by my government as the United States representative in Hungary until the arrival of Mr. Grant Smith, who had been sent by the Department of State and who was due to reach here in three or four weeks. The telegram wound up with the statement that the American Commission thoroughly approved my entire administration of affairs while on my present duty.

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Later in the afternoon, a couple of fine-looking young Jewish boys were brought in, who had been beaten up by Hungarian soldiers at the railroad station, so I sent for General Soós, who promptly came over, and told him that I was damned sick and tired of any such conduct; that although I could understand how the Hungarians would naturally feel sore over the fact that most of the Bolshevist leaders had been Jews, nevertheless, neither America nor England could understand any such barbaric conduct; that one of England's greatest Prime Ministers had been a Jew, and the present Chairman of the Military Committee in the American House of Representatives is a Jew;<sup>66</sup> that if reports got out that Hungarians were lapsing into the same form of barbarism as the Russians, it would seriously affect their whole future; that I could now give him a concrete case and information as to who the responsible Hungarian captain was who had been guilty of such brutal conduct, and I wanted him punished. I also informed the General that other reports had come to me from the outlying districts, and I gave him the minutes of a meeting which had taken place in Budapest, where pogroms were openly advocated. He promised me that he would take immediate and drastic action to cut short this growing evil.

One of my office force brought me in a translation of an article in one of the Budapest papers, which is as follows:

<sup>66</sup> The late Julius Kahn, of California.



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Statements of General Bandholtz to the Representative of the *Pesti Napló*<sup>67</sup> on the future of Hungary.

In the apartment of Queen Zita, the walls of which are covered with silk and adorned with beautiful pictures and Gobelins worth a fortune, I had an opportunity of conversing with Harry Hill Bandholtz, General of the United States Army. This General of world fame has been entrusted with a very difficult military and diplomatic task, that of representing the United States in Budapest during Hungary's most trying time. How energetically, successfully, and at the same time how tactfully, he fulfills this mission, could best be told by the members of our government. They could tell how uplifting was the message of General Bandholtz sent through Premier Huszár, which ran as follows:

"It is now that we are beginning to appreciate you," said the American General to the Premier. "I have just read your history and am becoming acquainted with the Hungarian nation. A nation that appreciates itself, must needs obtain the general appreciation of the world. We see that your nation is a martyr and the sympathy of America is now with you."

These noble words of the General have induced me to call on him concerning our misery and our future. General Bandholtz was busily engaged when my arrival was announced, but he immediately stopped work and received me with an extremely obliging kindness. The General, to whom I was presented by Ministerial Councilor Emil Zerkowitz, was sitting at a desk, putting in order a batch of papers, telegrams, reports, letters, and petitions. When I entered, he arose, came quickly towards me, shook hands in a friendly manner and offered me a seat.

General Bandholtz is a man of middle size, his head is getting bald, his moustache is white, his look friendly and candid. His age may be about fifty. If I wanted to characterize him in a brief manner, I should say he is kind and human. In his work, he is guided by a thorough impartiality, for he considers him-

<sup>67</sup> The *Journal of Budapest*, a Liberal morning daily.

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self not only the representative of America, but also one of the delegates of the Allied Powers. He does not look upon the future of Hungary from the viewpoint of a rigid soldier, but with the feeling and understanding soul of a man. He is indeed watching the state of affairs in Hungary with the cleverness of a diplomat; he has learned to understand the history of this thousand-years-old nation, so full of sad and glorious events, and his friendly feelings are not merely grounded on the sympathy of the kind man, but on the American tradition that always takes the side of the friendless and the weak.

The uniform of General Bandholtz was ornamented by three rows of decorations, on the collar of his coat we see nothing but the two letter "U. S." The General is a veteran soldier. He was one of the first leaders of the Philippine war, where he also rendered extremely valuable service to his country as governor. American punctuality and readiness for work are characteristic of him. His working capacity is unparalleled. In his office, that occupies fifteen rooms in the Royal Palace, punctuality is the motto, but with his subordinates he is a commander only while matters strictly official are being handled. The next minute he talks to everybody who works with him in the most amiable manner. He has smiling brown eyes and a serene temper. After work, he likes to mix with the distinguished society in Budapest; you can frequently see his limousine in the Váci-utca where he does some shopping. He is an enthusiastic stamp collector and a great art patron. He likes Budapest very much and everybody can see that he is very happy amongst us.

I had a formidable array of questions ready for the General, but with the skill of a practiced diplomatist, he picked out those questions that he could properly answer. My attack on some of the most important questions was repelled by General Bandholtz with a cruel persistency.

"I beg your pardon, General, but this question is of great military and political importance for us; you would oblige me extremely by giving further information. Hungary is about to hold elections and in the territory which the Roumanians occupy and where they are requisitioning mercilessly, there lives

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a pure-blooded Hungarian population. We must know about the Roumanian withdrawal."

He replied: "I must remind you that the Entente has given orders for Roumania to retreat as far as the line of demarcation. Naturally the Entente will not tolerate that the Roumanian Army remain for any length of time on this side of the line of demarcation, in contravention of orders."

I mentioned to the General the latest action of Food Commissioner Hoover, the essence of which is that America is ready to despatch foodstuff to Hungary, especially to Budapest, providing sufficient official guarantees are forthcoming from the state, and that America is ready to facilitate this transaction as regards the rate of exchange, adding that the dollars intended to be sent home by the Hungarians living in America would considerably facilitate this arrangement.

General Bandholtz showed great sympathy in this matter, and said: "Upon request of Charles Huszár, Premier, I recently forwarded a telegram to the Hungarian Relief Committee in New York. In this telegram, the Premier expressed his thanks to the Committee for the support given by the relief funds collected by the Hungarians, and begged the Hungarian brethren living in America not to forget those that are suffering want in Hungary. I forwarded the telegram with the greatest pleasure, and I am always ready to help to alleviate suffering and to give my support to humanitarian institutions."

At this moment my glance fell on the General's desk, and I was touched to see a scroll sent by a Hungarian peasant woman to the kind-hearted General of the United States Army. The lines were scribbled on a large white sheet and I committed the impropriety of reading a few lines.

The letter began: "Blessed be Jesus Christ!" followed by the address: "Right Honorable Mr. General!" Then a long epistle. The letter was signed: "With the deepest respect and hope, dated: Hahót, 27th Nov. 1919. Mrs. Stephen Horváth."

What a world cataclysm must have taken place to make it possible for Mrs. Stephen Horváth, from a small thatched cottage at Hahót, to have anything to do with the Royal Palace and with General Harry Hill Bandholtz!

Miklós Vécsei.

## December 7, 1919

*December 7, 1919.* Last night Colonel Sheldon, Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, Captain Gore and myself attended a large reception given by the Prime Minister, and the friendliness of the Archduke and the Archduchess, of the Prime Minister, of Admiral Horthy, and others, towards the American delegation was most marked and conspicuous.

It appears that the former Prime Minister, Friedrich, is completely at outs with the present Prime Minister. Friedrich openly advocates a postponement of peace negotiations, because he says that the Entente can do nothing with Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, and Jugoslavia, and can, therefore, do nothing with Hungary; that the three small nations first mentioned, are now on the verge of an upheaval and will probably split into separate parts, so that all that Hungary should do is to bide her time and take advantage of the upheaval.

Huszár, on the other hand, although also of the opinion that the upheaval referred to will take place, advocates conservatism without reaction; a prompt conclusion of a peace treaty with the Entente, which will then back Hungary in her just ambitions and desires, enabling her to gain more from any upheaval among her neighbors than she would by antagonizing the Entente.

This morning I received a long telephone message from Colonel Causey in Vienna, complaining that the Czecho-Slovaks would not allow timber or dynamite to be sent to the Tata-Bánya mines, where it was badly needed, as otherwise the mines could not operate. He

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repeated that the Czecho-Slovaks had absolutely no use for the timber or the explosives, and needed the money badly, but were acting like a herd of swine, which conduct has characterized them in practically all their relations with their neighbors.

While at the Prime Minister's reception last night, I took my colleague, General Mombelli, "apart" and gave him a hint that the days of the Inter-Allied Military Mission were numbered, and he nearly collapsed. I have not yet broken the sad tidings to my other colleague, General Graziani, but shall probably do so tomorrow at our session, which I hope will be the last one. It will be much more convenient for me to work as a free lance here and to coöperate with General Gorton. It will not only give us more time, but it will also give us greater freedom of action.

*December 8, 1919.* At the meeting today, I submitted a letter written by Lieutenant-Colonel Moore explaining the necessity for obtaining clothing without delay for the Hungarian police, and it was decided to notify the Hungarian government that this Mission would approve of the purchase of such clothing wherever it could be found.

As there is a steady flow of complaints about the Serb's seizures and general misconduct in the vicinity of Pécs, it was decided to send for the Serbian diplomatic representative, Doctor Baitch, to be present at the next meeting of the Mission, which will be held at the French Headquarters. General Graziani was rather

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reluctant to have this occur when he was chairman, but he was forced to yield to a majority vote and finally consented to send for Baitch.

There were also received several complaints of abuses on the part of the Hungarian "White Army" and others towards Jews, and it was decided to refer all of these to the Prime Minister of Hungary, with the statement that it was understood that he would immediately take suitable action.

On November 25 the Supreme Council sent *another last* ultimatum to the Roumanians.<sup>68</sup> In general, Roumania was invited to take without discussion, reservation, or conditions, the following resolutions:

First. To evacuate entirely Hungarian territory, without drawing within the definite frontiers fixed by the Conference.

Second. To accept the constitution of the Inter-Allied Commission provided for to decide, control and base judgment upon the requisitions made in Hungary since the beginning of the Roumanian occupation.

Third. To sign the Austrian Treaty and the Minorities Treaty under the conditions indicated by the note of the Supreme Council of October 12, 1919.

The Roumanian government was first given eight days in which to send an answer, but as there was some delay in transmission of the message, the time was extended, and on the last day it is understood they signed the treaties, but so far no information has been received

<sup>68</sup> This was in fact the last and definite ultimatum, the fourth. It was accepted by the Roumanian government, which, on Dec. 10, signed the treaties with Austria and Bulgaria, containing the Minority Clauses so obnoxious to them. The signatures were affixed to these treaties just after the American delegates had left Paris.

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that would indicate any intention on their part to abandon the line which they are holding on the Theiss so I telegraphed the American Commission to that effect this date.

In conclusion the ultimatum of the Supreme Council stated:

Should this reply not be satisfactory to the Supreme Council of the Allies the latter has decided to notify Roumania that she has separated herself from them. They shall invite her to recall immediately her delegates to the Peace Conference, and they will also withdraw their diplomatic missions at Bucharest. As the questions concerning the settlement of boundaries are still to be made, Roumania will thus by her own action deprive herself of all title to the support of the Powers as well as to the recognition of her rights by the Conference. It would be with the profoundest regret that the Supreme Council of the Allies should see itself forced to sever relations with Roumania, but it is confident that it has been patient to the very last degree.

The communication also contained the following paragraph:

In short the Roumanian Government has continued for the last three and one half months to negotiate with the Conference from Power to Power, taking into consideration no other rights or interests than her own and refusing to accept the charges of solidarity although she wishes to enjoy the benefit of them.

And then continued:

The Conference wishes to make a last appeal to the wisdom of the Roumanian Government and of the Roumanian people before taking the grave resolution of severing all relations with Roumania. Their right to dictate rests essentially on the fact that Roumania owes the priceless service of having reconstituted her national unity, in doubling her territory and popula-

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tion, to the victory of the Allies. Without the enormous sacrifices consented to by them at the present time Roumania would be decimated, ruined and in bondage without any possible hope. Roumania entered the struggle for her freedom at the end of the second year of the war, making her own conditions; it is true she made great sacrifices and suffered heavy losses, but she finally consented to treat separately with the enemy and to submit to his law; her liberty and her victory, as well as her future she owes to the Allies.<sup>69</sup> How can such a situation be lost sight of and so soon forgotten by the Roumanian statesmen?

*December 9, 1919.* It is a pretty cold day when I am not photographed by a new royal photographer. As near as I can ascertain, all the photographers in Budapest spent most of their time photographing royalty, and they are now concentrating on the poor defenseless members of the Inter-Allied Military Mission.

The newspapers have also begun their interviews and I have so far waded through five. As it is understood that there are seventy-six such newspapers in Budapest, the beginning has hardly begun.

The following is an extract of an article which appeared in the *Pester Lloyd*<sup>70</sup> of December 5, 1919.

General Bandholtz on Hungary

Budapest, 4th December.

The statements made by Brigadier General Bandholtz, the worthy leader of the American Military Mission, to Prime Minister Huszár at the celebration of Thanksgiving Day and later

<sup>69</sup> The truth is that the Allies had not kept their promises when the Roumanians entered the War on their side, and had left the Roumanians in a bad military situation. They could hardly do anything else but conclude peace. It cannot be denied that the Roumanians had a right to harbor a bitter feeling against their allies in this respect.

<sup>70</sup> A well-known Liberal newspaper written in the German language.

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during the visit paid to him by the Premier, have made a deep impression on the whole country. These statements are further proof of the fact that the fate of Hungary is duly appreciated by the United States and that the American Mission in Budapest, of all others, has studied and grasped thoroughly our position and thus greatly contributed to putting right the erroneous opinions existing with regard to our country. Nearly four months have now elapsed since General Bandholtz has started his work in Budapest. His arrival coincides with the darkest days in Hungary's history; the country and the capital had hardly recovered from the terrors of Bolshevism, when armed hordes of foreign troops of occupation invaded Hungary. In consideration of the modesty of General Bandholtz, we dare not yet adequately appreciate what he has done for us during this period. The time will come when we shall be able to give a more detailed account of his work, of that of the American Military Mission under his charge, and also of the Claim Office within its sphere of action. Then the public will be able rightly to appreciate this work.

Our reporter has today called on General Bandholtz in the apartment of the former Queen at the Royal Castle, or National Palace, as it is at present called, where the General's offices are. The General had just returned from a meeting of the Inter-Allied Military Mission when our reporter was introduced to him by Ministerial Councilor Zerkowitz.

Although the General was engaged and very busy, he has had the goodness to reply to the following questions:

The well-known leader of the American Army in the Philippine War continued to converse without restraint with our representative concerning the position of Budapest, making some enthusiastic remarks about the beauties of the capital, expressing warm feelings for the population, and speaking with confidence about the future of the country. We have found in General H. H. Bandholtz a true friend of Hungary and an impartial and just leader of the American Mission.

## December 10, 1919

*December 10, 1919.* Yesterday afternoon at 4.30, accompanied by Colonel Sheldon, I went over and took tea with my old friend "Joe," always alluded to here with much kotowing and genuflexioning as the Archduke Joseph. Although I had called on "Joe" some time ago with Colonel Loree, the Palace had not then been in shape, on account of the fact that the Bolsheviks had removed most of the furniture. This is all back now, and it really is a magnificent building. When we arrived at the antechamber, I didn't know whether the gorgeous personages awaiting us were generals or flunkies, but I thought I would wait to see whether they offered to shake my hand before making the first step myself. As they offered to help me off with my coat, I compromised by letting them keep it. We then entered a beautiful room and ran into a small flock of little "archduchesslets" and the young "Archdukelet." "Joe" then advanced smilingly to meet us and we were escorted into a room pretty well filled with the *crème de la crème* of Hungarian nobility, and including General and Mrs. Gorton. It was noted that no members of the French or Italian Missions were present.

I got planted next to Countess Somssich, the wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and was buzzing her good and plenty when "Joe" came over and insisted that I give the Archduchess the benefit of some of my conversation, so I approached the royal presence in the usual humble American spirit and turned my buzzing apparatus loose on "Augusta." It took her a little while to get on to the American pronunciation, as she

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spoke only English, but after a while I was able to produce several giggles and we had a genuine good time until the meeting broke up, when most of the party went down to the opera, which was of such political significance that we could not attend; while Colonel Sheldon and I went down to see a Jewish printing office that had been wrecked by a mob.

The Mission met this date at the French Headquarters, with General Graziani presiding.

There was first brought up the question of whether or not members should accept an invitation from the Archduchess Augusta to a cinematograph performance to be given in the Archducal Palace for the benefit of widows and orphans of the Hungarian National Army. In view of the fact that this invitation was of a semi-personal nature, it was decided that each member could follow his own inclination.

It was noted that General Graziani had received many messages from the Roumanians, which showed conclusively that the French and Roumanians are in very close touch, as no one else was receiving any such messages.

Reports keep coming in that the Serbs in Pécs are acting along the same lines as the Roumanians have done heretofore and are still doing east of the Theiss. While we were discussing this proposition, Baitch, the Serbian Minister, came fox-trotting in, and General Graziani, as President of the Day, explained to him that we could not send any committee, as he requested, to investigate the reported incident at Redics, on account of the

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fact that the Serbians had not recognized the committee that we had previously sent to Pécs. Graziani then went on to tell about the complaints we had had of Serbian seizures, etc., in Hungarian territory still held by them, and wanted to know when the Serbs were going to evacuate and carry out the instructions given them. Little Baitch gave us a characteristic diplomatic smile and said that he had noted in the Paris papers and elsewhere that *the Serbs were charged with appropriating property*; that he had called the attention of the Belgrade government to this matter, and that they had replied, telling him to deny this absolutely as being without foundation. As it was about time that I had an inning, I stated that I should like to address a few remarks to the diplomatic envoy of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croates and Slovenes, and as little Baitch and I are boon companions and as he understands English fairly well, I looked him in the eye and said:

My dear Doctor, why in Hell do you insist on imitating the Roumanians in everything? We know that your people are requisitioning and seizing property around Pécs; you know that *they are doing it; and the proofs are right here before you.* Now, why imitate and blindly follow Roumanian tactics, and try to lie out of it under all these circumstances?

He smilingly admitted that the Serbs were following a bad precedent, and that he would look into the matter.

The Mission then adjourned.

Upon driving back at the Palace, I had a talk with General Gorton and, while there, a Canadian officer

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who is attached to the British Food Commission, reported that the Serbs were making a big hullabaloo about the Redics incident, that they had had a special session of the Parliament, and that they had decided in view of this that no food would be allowed to cross the Hungarian boundary line until reparation had been made for same.

After considerable difficulty, the Captain got in touch with a high ranking officer in Belgrade and got him to consent to lifting the embargo on exportation of food into Hungary if the Hungarians should voluntarily comply with the following conditions:

1. Apologize for the incident;
2. Set free unconditionally any Serbian prisoners who had been taken;
3. Pay the families of any Serbs who had been injured, according to amount fixed by an Inter-Allied Committee;
4. Give assurance that there would be no repetition of the incident.

As General Soós had already practically complied with these conditions through the Inter-Allied Military Mission, General Gorton and I sent word to the Hungarian Premier suggesting that he act likewise directly through the Serbian diplomatic envoy.

Before leaving the session of the Mission, in view of the food crisis now existing in Budapest, I insisted that the Mission telegraph the Roumanians to the effect that the present situation in Budapest was primarily due to the damned-fool requisition methods of

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the Roumanians in the beginning, and was intensified by the fact that they, despite their repeated promises, had sent no food supplies into Budapest.

General Graziani apparently did not like to send the message, and dislikes exceedingly to give any bad-tasting medicine to either the Roumanians or the Serbs.

Today I received from the Hungarian Prime Minister a reply to my letter returning the Royal Box, and his reply read as follows:

Hungarian Prime Minister

Budapest, the 9th of December 1919

To his Excellency

General H. H. Bandholtz

Chief of the American Mission to Negotiate Peace

Budapest

Sir

In reply to your kind note of the 4th of December in the matter of the Opera box I beg most respectfully to ask you to keep the box in question in the future as well.

It caused me as well as to the other members of the Government real pleasure to give you by offering you the box, another sign of the respect and esteem we are feeling towards your Excellency as to a real and sincere friend of the Hungarians and a protector of our just interests.

Believe me Sir

very respectfully yours

[Signed] Huszár

Prime Minister

Today we received a telephonic message from Colonel Loree, who is now as far back as Vienna on his return. Owing to the congestion in passenger transportation, it will probably be three or four days before he can make the short run from Vienna to Budapest.

December 11, 1919

In reply to Prime Minister Huszár's letter I sent the following:

Budapest, Hungary  
10th December 1919

To His Excellency  
M. Charles Huszár,  
Prime Minister of Hungary

My dear M. Huszár:

Your characteristic letter of the ninth instant insisting that I retain the large central box at the Opera has affected me more than I can express. I shall consider this act as being intended to indicate the most kindly feeling towards my country and I cannot do otherwise than gratefully accept your repeated offer.

Most sincerely,

H. H. Bandholtz

*December 11, 1919.* Last night the Count and Countess de Troismonts gave what they called a "nine-thirty o'clock tea," which was in reality a sort of at-home *thé dansant*. The crowd was decidedly mixed; practically all of the French officers and Italian officers were there, and a scattering of Hungarians, with Captain Gore and myself from the American Mission, as Colonel Loree had not yet returned and Colonel Sheldon was somewhat under the weather. It was noted that no British officers were present. The little "Archdukelet" was there, having the time of his life, and danced considerable attendance on one of my adopted daughters.

The room was so full of wood smoke from the stoves and tobacco smoke from cigarettes, that fortunately one's eyes were considerably dimmed, and a young lady who was dancing in what looked like a very décolleté

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nightdress, did not attract as much attention as might otherwise have been the case.

This afternoon is the cinematograph affair that the Archduchess is giving, and I have sent my regrets, as one cannot be chasing around with royalty all the time and likewise attend to one's business.

This morning, in view of the fact that the food situation in Budapest is rapidly approaching a crisis, I went down and saw my boon companion, little Lazar Baitch, the Serbian Minister.

Bringing up the subject of the Redics incident, mentioned before, I told Baitch that I was astonished that the Serbs were falling into the horrible error of blindly imitating the Roumanians in their rotten traits. I repeated the talk I had given him yesterday at the session of the Mission and told him that the Roumanians had lost the chance of a lifetime in not handling their occupation of Hungary properly, and that I did not want the Jugo-Slavs to make a similar mistake.

I then whispered in his ear that there was now in Budapest the representative of one of the great New York dailies, and asked him how he would like to have scattered broadcast through the United States in large headlines, something to the following effect:

Serbians worse than Roumanians. Using a trivial frontier incident as pretext, they proceed to starve 2,000,000 people.

all to be followed by the harrowing details which only newspaper correspondents know how to bring out. I told him it was all right to demand an apology from the Hungarians, and a promise of punishment to the guilty,

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and of adequate arrangements for the prevention of a repetition of similar incidents, but that they ought now to break their necks to let into Hungary immediately the five thousand carloads of provisions which they were holding up and which, worst of all, the Hungarians had already paid for. He promised me that he would telegraph his government immediately. I then suggested to him that in view of the fact that both Roumania and Italy were both already hostile to Serbia, I thought it almost suicidal for her to force Hungary into a similar position, whereas by retaining Hungary as a friend she could separate the Italians and the Roumanians. He agreed likewise with this.

I then went over to Admiral Horthy's Headquarters, finding him out; but did find General Soós, to whom I gave friendly advice in the way of immediately apologizing to the Serbs for the Redics incident, in order to admit food. After General Soós I went to see Count Somssich, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and had a similar talk with him. He promised to take up and push the matter immediately.

In the afternoon Mr. Arno Dorch-Fleurot, the *New York World* representative referred to in my conversation with Baitch, came in to say good-by, as he was on his way through Belgrade to try to get into Southern Russia.

About noon I received a code telegram in Mr. Polk's name, stating that Grant-Smith was due to arrive in about two or three weeks and would have a party of seven with him. I was asked to arrange for quarters,

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food and fuel for the party, to leave two automobiles for them and to transfer chauffeurs, and it was added that no reason was known why they should not continue with the offices and quarters that I was now occupying. It is most apparent that Mr. Polk himself never saw the telegram, and I replied as follows:

Budapest, Hungary  
11th December 1919

American Embassy  
Paris

Number E 5 Polk from Bandholtz. Replying to your 132 of December 9th. Quarters now occupied by me are part of Count Edelsheim's house which he does not care to rent after my departure. Offices are in part of Royal Palace which our occupancy saved from Roumanian looters but which would not be appropriate for permanent representative. I shall take immediate steps to make tentative arrangements for suitable quarters. There are now here three Cadillac automobiles, two limousines and one touring car, and all are understood to be State Department property. Unless contrary instructions are received they will be left here. They were all received in bad condition and two at a time usually undergoing repairs. To do my work it was necessary constantly to hire two to three other cars. An effort now being made completely to overhaul Cadillacs. My American chauffeurs are all soldiers who do not desire to remain. I have also hired Hungarians when necessary and will try to have two or three trained on Cadillacs. It is suggested that one or more American chauffeurs of mechanical training accompany any new party, that a complete set of spare parts, extra tubes, tires, etc., be brought, and that another carload of gasoline be sent to arrive here by January 20th. Contract for fuel will be made, but a general food supply for at least three months should be brought along. Local prices are exorbitant.

Bandholtz

*December* 12, 1919

Budapest, Hungary  
11th December 1919

American Embassy  
Paris

Priority Number E4. Polk from Bandholtz. Your number 132 answered in detail by my number E5. As Commission is supposed to sail on thirteenth I shall consider myself automatically relieved as member of Inter-Allied Military Mission on that date unless contrary instructions are in meantime received. Please inform me as to my official designation.

Bandholtz

*December 12, 1919.* The Mission met this morning at the Italian Headquarters, with General Mombelli presiding. Considering my telegram of yesterday, this undoubtedly was my last sitting with the Mission as a member. I could not, however, as yet, notify my colleagues of this fact, and took the same apparent lively interest in the proceedings that I have taken heretofore.

I called their attention to the fact that the Roumanians had received an ultimatum in regard to the immediate evacuation of Hungary, signing all treaties, etc.; that they had signed the treaties, so I understood, but were still hanging on to eastern Hungary. Generals Mombelli and Graziani both said they had heard nothing of such an ultimatum, and that they had never seen it. I told them I had seen it, had a copy of it, and would be glad to furnish them one the next day. It was decided, therefore, to telegraph the Supreme Council along the lines indicated. It is frequently commented upon that the Supreme Council has practically forgotten our existence. As near as I can make out from tele-

*December 12, 1919*

grams from my own Mission, we really do not exist, at least officially, but the Supreme Council has neglected to notify us that we have petered out. As the others are having so much fun about it, I decided to let them plug on and enjoy themselves, but on Sunday, the fourteenth, unless I receive contrary instructions in the meantime, I will inform them that I can no longer sit as a member.

When I got back to my office after the session, General Soós, came in to tell me that his government had complied with my suggestion and had sent its regrets through the Serbian Minister for the Redics incident. I complimented him on the wisdom of the policy they had pursued, and hope that there will be no more difficulty about getting in the five thousand carloads of food from Jugo-Slavia.

Colonel Loree arrived about 10 o'clock this morning from Vienna, which did not surprise me, as I knew that he would be on the train if it was humanly possible for anybody to get on.

Colonel and Mrs. Kelly arrived in Budapest this morning, on their return trip from Belgrade and Bucharest. Colonel Kelly states that he found both places to be just about as I had described them; that the Roumanians were decidedly inhospitable and did not care to see Americans; that Roumania was full of loot, sidetracks were filled with cars which they had not yet had time to unload, and in general the whole country showed that the Roumanians were utterly lacking in system and organization as well as in decency. We had

## *December 13, 1919*

Colonel and Mrs. Kelly to dinner, but they left early as they had had a very hard trip.

*December 13, 1919.* This morning, Colonel Loree, Captain Gore and myself tried to do a little Christmas shopping, but there was mighty little to be bought.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hume, of the Army Medical Corps, who is our senior Red Cross representative in Serbia, came up to see me, being en route from Paris to Belgrade by automobile with his wife, who just recently arrived from the United States. We therefore had them to luncheon. It was fortunate that he arrived, because Colonel Sheldon is somewhat under the weather and it is a comfort to feel that we have an American medical officer to look him over. Colonel Hume states that at any time we need anything of the kind he will send, if necessary, both a doctor and a nurse from Belgrade, as he considers it is more important to look after Americans than anybody else.

As on this date, per my telegram to Mr. Polk of yesterday, I shall automatically cease to be a member of the Inter-Allied Military Mission, I drew up several letters, signed them and will deliver them tomorrow. These letters were as follows. To Generals Graziani, Mombelli, and Gorton, I sent each the following letter:

My dear General:

It is with a feeling of real regret that I am obliged this date, as per my official communication to the Inter-Allied Military Mission, to sever for myself the close and harmonious official relations that have from the beginning existed between me and my colleagues of the Inter-Allied Military Mission.

*December 13, 1919*

My association for four months with three generals of international fame has been for me a great honor, a privilege and an education.

Your patience under the steady fire of my Americanisms has been admirable, but has also been appreciated. I shall ever retain most pleasant and affectionate recollections of each and all of you.

Very sincerely,

H. H. BANDHOLTZ  
Brig. Gen., U. S. A.

13th December 1919

From: Brigadier General H. H. Bandholtz, U. S. A.  
To: Inter-Allied Military Mission  
Subject: Change of Status

1: In compliance with telegraphic instructions from the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the undersigned this date ceases to be a member of the Inter-Allied Military Mission.

H. H. BANDHOLTZ

Budapest, Hungary  
13th December 1919

From: American Military Representative in Hungary  
To: Hungarian Prime Minister  
Subject: Information as to change of status

1: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that on this date, pursuant to instructions from the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, I shall cease to be a member of the Inter-Allied Military Mission, but shall remain temporarily in Hungary as American Military Representative [should have read "Commissioner"].

H. H. BANDHOLTZ  
Brig. Gen., U. S. Army

Just as things were going along swimmingly in the automobile line, we ground out another axle bearing

*December 14, 1919*

in one of the limousines, so that both of them are now in the shop and we are plugging around in open cars.

At present everybody seems to be out of gasoline except ourselves and our popularity is as great as it is undesirable. It will be a pleasure to accommodate Colonel Hume and people who have been nice to us, and it will be likewise a pleasure to be unaccommodating to a few others.

*December 14, 1919.* Last night Colonel Loree, Captain Gore and myself attended the opera, having with us the Szirmay family and Colonel and Mrs. Hume, who were mentioned yesterday as being en route to Belgrade. The opera was "Rigoletto" and it was the best that I have yet seen. My taste along the lines of grand opera, however, is so depraved that whatever I like is probably inferior. Still our musical expert, Captain Gore, admitted that it was very well presented.

This morning I dropped in to see General Gorton and, as he will be the President of the Day of the Mission for tomorrow, I handed him my letter notifying the Mission that I was ceasing to function as a member thereof. He stated that he had talked the matter over the night before with General Mombelli, and Graziani thought that my notice to the Hungarian government of my ceasing to be a member of the Mission should be sent through the Mission. I told General Gorton that, with all due respect to General Mombelli's astuteness, he was off his nut; that I did not recognize the Mission and never had recognized it as being my superior; that

*December 15, 1919*

I had been relieved by my own commission and I recognized no other channels.

Colonel Sheldon is laid up in bed with an attack of tonsillitis, which, however, has not yet reached a serious stage, and we hope to have him cured up in a day or so.

*December 15, 1919.* It is very annoying to be quite as much in demand as the American Mission now seems to be in Budapest. The fact that I bought a painting at the exhibit has been pretty well advertised, and I never imagined that there were so many paintings in the world as are now being offered me. The newspaper articles have also given us a widely circulated advertisement and there is a steady stream of invitations to attend all sorts of openings, meetings, celebrations, etc.

Then for the evening I was invited by the officers of the British Mission to be their guest at an opera and dinner party. Not having one of those technical ears that listen for beautiful notes in the bell-like tones of sopranos and the bull-like tones of basso profundos, I arranged to arrive at the opera about half an hour before its conclusion. They intended to give "The Flying Dutchman," but I saw in the paper that it was to be "Lohengrin." My timing was accurate, as the opera begins at six and ordinarily ends at nine, so I arrived at about 8.20, but it appears that "Lohengrin" is a musical endurance test and the damned thing lasted until after 10 o'clock.

We then went with the British officers to their "B" Mess, where we had a delicious dinner to the tune of

*December 15, 1919*

"Cigány"<sup>71</sup> music. After dinner they prepared to do what the British called "take the floor," which means to dance. This latter began about midnight and my party beat it at one o'clock.

It seemed good to be able to come to my own Headquarters this morning and tackle my own work without being obliged to waste the whole forenoon with an emasculated Military Mission that could issue instructions and ultimata and get snubbed for its pains.

Yesterday afternoon the young Archduke called up a friend of mine and said that he was in a Hell of a fix, or words to that effect; that he and his sister had been invited to General Bandholtz's birthday party on December 18, but that Papa Archduke and Mama Archduchess had not been included; that papa and mama were crazy to come, but were a little bit afraid of General Bandholtz and did not know how he could be approached, and would my friend be so kind as to try to arrange the matter?

Accordingly, accompanied by Colonel Loree, I went over to see his Royal Highness at half past twelve, told him that I had seen his son enjoying himself at Count Troismont's dance, and had therefore asked the young Archduke and his sister to come over to my birthday party; that I was not sure whether their Highnesses would themselves care to attend such a function, and I had, therefore, come personally to ask him, with one lady in waiting, to butt in on the scene in case they cared to come. "Archie" was tickled to death and showed

<sup>71</sup> Gypsy.

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it, and said he sure would be there with the whole Arch-  
ducal family.

During the course of the conversation he spoke about my length of stay, and I told him I was very anxious to get home, that although I had only a son and a daughter-in-law in America, with seven daughters in Budapest—at which he interrupted me, with admiration marking his entire pose and expression, saying: "What already!" I then explained to him that they were all adopted and were from families of friends of his, at which his admiration passed away to a certain extent, and I was no longer the wonder he thought I was.

Count Apponyi, who is to be chairman of the Peace Delegation to Paris,<sup>72</sup> came to see me and ask if I could help him get to his estate, in territory now occupied by the Czecho-Slovaks, for the holidays and then return. The Czecho-Slovaks had announced that they would either not let him come, or if he did, that they would

<sup>72</sup> Count Albert Apponyi. From 1906 to 1910 he was Minister of Education in the Wekerle cabinet. He succeeded Francis Kossuth as president of the party of Hungarian independence and was an advocate of the introduction of universal suffrage in Hungary. During the War, he was a loyal supporter of the government. After the outbreak of the revolution in 1918, he retired to private life. In 1919 he was elected a non-partizan representative of the National Assembly. He developed more and more as a man above the parties, and enjoys today great prestige as the Grand Old Man of his country.

He has been Member of Parliament for more than fifty years and has been Speaker of the House of Representatives. When in Washington in the year 1911, he was honored by being asked to address the House of Representatives, an honor previously conferred only upon Lafayette and Kossuth.

The other leading members of the Hungarian Peace Delegation were Count Paul Teleki and Count Bethlen.

*December 16, 1919*

not let him return here. I told him that I would send a telegram to Prague which I thought would fix the matter, but I suggested that he come with me to the Mission, which was in session. I called General Gorton out of the meeting, explained the situation to him, and left them together. The Count later returned to me and said that the Mission would back him, and with my backing also he now felt safe to go home for the holidays.

Count Andrassy came in, likewise, to see about getting passes to Czecho-Slovakia and return, so I gave him the same kind that I gave to Count Edelsheim two or three months ago, in the shape of a letter, stating that he had been of service to the Mission, and we trusted that he be extended every courtesy in his contemplated journey to and from Czecho-Slovakia, the passes being written in English, German, French, Hungarian, and Czech.

Colonel Sheldon came down to dinner tonight with his usual appetite and now seems well on the road to recovery.

*December 16, 1919.* General Gorton came in this morning and said that he had been mistaken about Mombelli thinking that my notice to the Hungarian government in regard to separation from the Mission should have been sent through the Mission, but that he referred to the telegrams which had been received by me from the Supreme Council for the Hungarian government and which I had delivered directly.

*December 16, 1919*

I told General Gorton that this was the characteristic Italian way of doing things; that instead of coming to me and making his complaint he went to someone else, and I was going right down to see General Mombelli and tell him that when he had any growls coming that I wished he would growl at me and not do it vicariously; that the telegrams which I had delivered to the Hungarian government did not come to me from the Supreme Council, but came to me from the American Committee, with instructions to deliver to the Hungarian government; and that I did not give a whoop in Hell how many Italians, French, and others felt hurt, and that I proposed to carry out my instructions.

I then chased down to the Italian Mission to say the same thing to General Mombelli, but found him away on a hunting expedition, so it will be reserved for another occasion. At the time I did not know that he was away hunting, but thought he was simply out of his office; so I went to the French Mission to see General Graziani, and was told by his aide de camp that the Italian General was with General Graziani. He asked me if I would wait. I said that I would not, but that I would be very glad to have him send my name in to General Graziani and see what the result would be, this mainly with the idea of seeing both Graziani and Mombelli together.

I was immediately ushered in and found out that it was not Mombelli, but another Italian General, who had been sent here on the Reparations Commission. He promptly beat it on my arrival, so I had a little chat

*December 16, 1919*

with Graziani. It appears that at their meeting yesterday they were somewhat concerned as to how they might use the American telegraph line and as to whether or not it would be necessary to write me a request for general use or for each time. I told General Graziani for Heaven's sake to come off his perch, that I was here to do business and not to spend all my time in reading and dictating letters, that the line was at the disposal of the Mission exactly the same as it had been when I was a member thereof, that my relations with my former colleagues would continue on the same amicable footing, and that I would coöperate to the fullest extent.

I then told the General that I was going to have a birthday in Budapest on the eighteenth and would like to have him and his Chief of Staff attend. He said he would be charmed, and I beat it.

In view of the fact that my separation from the Mission seemed to cause some uneasiness in the city, and to prevent any misunderstanding, I then drew up for publication, and sent each of my former colleagues, a copy of the following notice:

CHANGE IN THE INTER-ALLIED MILITARY MISSION

It has been known for some time that the American Commission to Negotiate Peace would leave Europe early in December, the original date for their departure being scheduled for December 5. The Commission, however, did not sail from France until December 13, 1919.

As a natural result of the Commission's departure, General Bandholtz, the American representative on the Inter-Allied Military Mission, was automatically relieved as a member there-

December 16, 1919

of. It is understood, however, on the best of authority that this change in the Inter-Allied Military Mission has no material significance. The remaining members will continue as heretofore, and General Bandholtz will remain temporarily in Budapest as American Military Representative and, although no longer a member of the Inter-Allied Military Mission, his relations with his former colleagues will be those of the representative of one of the Allied and Associated Powers with the representatives of other such Powers, and he will cooperate with the Mission in every way practicable.

Later in the day I received a letter from General Gorton, of which the following is a copy:

16th December 1919.

My dear General Bandholtz

The letter which you have sent to the Interallied Military Mission announcing the termination of your membership therein, contains sad news for us all, but for none more than for your British colleague.

I take this opportunity of expressing my admiration for your energy and ability which have inspired our meetings, as much as your flowers of speech and elegancies of metaphor have enlivened them.

I should like also to say how proud I am that the relations between your Mission and mine have been of so pleasant a character. We could not have been more in unison had we been comrades of long association instead of newly-found cousins.

Accept, my dear General, my best thanks for the ready assistance and kind fellowship for which I and my officers are indebted to you and yours, and believe me to remain,

Yours very sincerely,

R. S. G. Gorton

I knew damned well what he alluded to by "my flowers of speech and elegancies of metaphor," and rather think he enjoyed my frequent breaks into the stilted

*December 16, 1919*

and ordinary conversation of a Mission of distinguished generals.

When I arrived at home I found waiting for me a letter from General Graziani, of which the following is a free translation:<sup>78</sup>

Budapest, 15th December 1919

My dear General:

Like you, I shall ever retain pleasant memories of those four months of collaboration, which has always been marked so plainly by harmony, cordiality and frankness. It was perfectly natural that each one of us should, in our discussions, be influenced by his temperament, but we were always soldiers, talking to other soldiers, and we were, therefore, always on the ground of perfect understanding.

I regret greatly your withdrawal, but fortunately it is only relative since, although you leave the Mission, you do not leave Budapest.

Believe me, my [dear] General, with most cordial and sincere sentiments.

[Signed] General Graziani.

<sup>78</sup> Budapest, le 15 - XII - 19

Mon cher Général

Comme vous, je garderai un souvenir ineffaçable de ces quatre mois d'une collaboration qui a toujours été marquée au coin de la bonne harmonie, de la cordialité et de la franchise.

Il était très naturel que chacun de nous apportât, dans nos discussions, son tempérament; mais nous étions des soldats parlant à d'autres soldats et nous devions, dès lors, trouver toujours un terrain d'entente.

Je regrette beaucoup votre éloignement mais il n'est, heureusement, que relatif puisque, si vous quittez la Commission, vous n'abandonnez pas Budapest.

Veuillez croire, mon cher Général, à mes sentiments très cordialement dévoués.

[Signed] G<sup>l</sup>. Graziani

December 16, 1919

In view of the fact that General Mombelli had gone hunting and I could not see him today, and that there would be a meeting of the Mission tomorrow, I decided to send a formal communication concerning the criticism which had been made in regard to my transmitting telegrams directly to the Hungarian government. The following letter was therefore dictated and sent to the President of the Day.

Budapest, Hungary  
16th December 1919

From: American Military Representative  
To: President of the Day—Inter-Allied Military Mission  
Subject: Criticism of Procedure.

1: There has come to my attention the fact that I have been criticized for transmitting to the Hungarian government telegrams that it was thought should have been forwarded through the Inter-Allied Military Mission.

2: As this happened repeatedly while I was a member of the Mission I cannot understand why the criticism was not then made.

3: While regretting that my action may have created doubts in the minds of any of my former colleagues, I must add that I did and do consider it to have been perfectly proper under all the circumstances.

4: The telegrams which I transmitted to the Hungarian government were all of the same general form of arrangement and composition, which in effect was as follows:

"General Bandholtz  
Budapest

You will please deliver the following message to the Hungarian Minister President:

[here would follow the message, usually from Clemenceau]  
[Signed] Polk Ammission."

5: My letter of transmissal was invariably limited to the customary stereotyped form, embodying the message.

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6: Each entire transaction was one in which the American telegraph line had been utilized, and in which I received and obeyed orders from my immediate superiors, and it was one in which the Inter-Allied Military Mission had no direct concern or control.

7: I fear that the exaggerated headlines and distorted versions that appeared in the local press in regard to such telegrams, and for which I was in nowise responsible, gave an entirely erroneous impression which could have been quickly cleared away by a few words at the time.

8: I repeat that I regret exceedingly that any doubts whatever should have arisen in the minds of my former colleagues, whose good will and opinion I so highly prize, and I trust that the foregoing explanation will be satisfactory. If I have not made myself perfectly clear, I shall be pleased to go into further detail either verbally or in writing.

With assurances of the highest esteem and respect, I am,

Very sincerely

H. H. Bandholtz

Brig. Gen., U. S. A.

*December 17, 1919.* Last night Colonel Loree, Captain Gore, and myself were again the guests of Count Edelsheim at the Nemzeti Casino, the finest club of Budapest. The Count explained that in view of the fact that I was daily meeting diplomats, politicians and military officers, he would try and give me as brother guests civilians only. I cannot recall the names of other Hungarian guests, but they were all very charming gentlemen, and we had an excellent dinner and a pleasant evening.

Yesterday four communists, who had smuggled themselves in some way or other from Austria to Hungary, endeavored to blow up the Gellért Hotel, where Ad-

*December 18, 1919*

miral Horthy has his Headquarters. Fortunately they were discovered and apprehended before they did any damage. In this connection it might be mentioned that today we received several seats for the hanging of twelve Bolsheviks, which is to take place in a day or so.

Now that I no longer have the sessions of the Mission to attend, and there is no Supreme Council or American Commission to Negotiate Peace to whom I can send frequent reports, my work has fallen off materially, but we still have a great number of visitors who seem to think that the American Mission can accomplish results when all others fail.

*December 18, 1919.* My birthday today seems to have been pretty well advertised on account of the little celebration we are giving at our mess.

Admiral Horthy sent over his aide with his best compliments, and the Mayor of the City sent me the following letter:

Budapest, the 18th of Dec. 1919.

Dear General,

I have the honour in the name of the City-Council to deliver our best wishes at the occasion of your birthday. May the Lord grant you a long, happy and sorrowless life.

Permit us to hope, dear General, that you will preserve for our unfortunate Country and City the greatly appreciated sympathy and attachment which you have always so kindly shown to us.

Yours truly,

[Signed] D. Bódy

Mayor of the City of Budapest.

December 18, 1919

The Prime Minister came in person to offer his congratulations and to pay the respect of the Hungarian government.

The largest paper here, the *Pester Lloyd*, burst into melody of which the following is a translation:

*Harry Hill Bandholtz*: Tomorrow, the eighteenth of December, is the birthday of Brig. Gen. Harry Hill Bandholtz, U. S. A., the leader of the American Military Mission to Hungary, who won fame in the Philippine war. It is not essential for us to know where he was born and what age he will be tomorrow, as we respect in this son of the great Union only the noble, energetic, kind-hearted, and strong man, who combines the virtues of the old soldier with the qualities of a most capable diplomat.

Yes, we love and honor General Bandholtz, who visited Budapest as the first representative of the United States, thus awakening within us those sympathies which we have ever harbored since the beginning of the War, for the nation of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson. He has since done everything to increase this enthusiasm and sympathy. We owe this noble man a great debt of gratitude for his work of mediation, which he is doing for us in all quietude, but none the less energetically in our much-trying country. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to express to him the warmest wishes of every Hungarian and trust that he may live to see many a happy return of this day, in good health and good spirits.

One gentleman sent me a beautiful gold cup; my British colleague sent me a fine silver dish; and in fact all of the birthday presents of my past brief existence combined would hardly come up to what has been showered upon me today.

While the Prime Minister was here, he also discussed the political situation, explained that he was having a

*December 18, 1919*

great deal of difficulty in keeping the extreme Right factions and the extreme Left factions from clashing constantly, and that as a result the anti-Semitic group had separated from the Christian-Socialist party.

He stated that one of the papers yesterday came out in an editorial strongly advocating pogroms and persecution of the Jews, and that he was having the editor punished.

He seems to be of the opinion that the Socialist members of the Cabinet will resign at an early date because they have been unable to push through many of their communistic schemes. He says he himself has been threatened many times, but is paying very little attention to it; that he recently went to investigate the abuses reported from Kecskemét and that he put a stop to them; that he was going to leave again at an early date for Csongrád, which is the Socialist center, and he hoped to be there nominated for Parliament and to beat the Socialists out of business.

He then went into details about how the Roumanians are completely gutting the country east of the Theiss in absolute defiance of the Entente, and in total noncompliance with the ultimatum of November 5. I included the substance of his remarks in a telegram to the American Embassy in Paris, adding that fourteen Bolshevists were hanged this morning in Budapest, and that instead of all four of the party who came from Vienna to blow up the Gellért Hotel having been captured, only one of them had been captured, but that the plot had nevertheless been frustrated.

*December* 18, 1919

In the evening we had some of my adopted family to dinner and then wound up with a dance. The Archduke, the Archduchess, their two children, General Gorton, and wife, General Mombelli, his wife, daughter and aide, and General Graziani with aide, were also present. By special request of Her Royal Highness, the Archduchess Augusta, they danced a Hungarian dance called the "Csárdás." In this, you face your partner squarely, the lady puts both arms upon your shoulders and looks soulfully into your eyes, you place both hands on her hips and ditto the soulful stunt. You then wiggle back and forth to the right and left with a couple of side jumps, occasionally intermingled with a hundred-yard dash speed on a ring-around-the-rosy with your partner. After watching the celebration for some time, I got the step and when the elder Countess Teleki ambled up, dazzling my eyes with her tiara of two hundred and ten big diamonds and her ten-carat diamond earrings, we took a catch-as-catch-can hold and then showed the Archduke and assembled multitude how the Csárdás should be danced. "Joe" applauded vigorously and General Gorton nearly cracked his monocle by his rapid change of facial contortions. The Archduchess had intimated in the beginning that she wanted to be treated in a strictly American manner and she surely got it.

We tried to close up the party about half past two, but my young Hungarian aide, Lieutenant Count Teleki, under the inspiration of several libations of Küm-mel, etc., and some of the others, having got started,

## December 19, 1919

could not shift their gears, and it was only at 5.30 A.M. that we were able to stop the formation by use of the emergency brake. All participants voted the affair a grand success.

*December 19, 1919.* In view of last night's celebration, this forenoon was practically used up. However, I rose at 10 and the others got up at 11.30.

The newspaper people came in to offer belated congratulations, and several others who had not known of my approaching birthday did likewise.

I sent a telegram to the American Embassy to the effect that Sir George Clerk, when here, had in the name of the Supreme Council promised the Hungarians immediate Roumanian evacuation, in case they would organize a coalition government as he desired; adding that the Hungarians assert now that they have complied in the spirit and in the letter with all of their instructions, but that the Supreme Council has not complied with its promise to force the Roumanians to evacuate the country immediately, and that the latter were still on the banks of the Theiss and had already done incalculable harm.

During the day the following letter was received from the Hungarian Prime Minister:

Hungarian Prime Minister.

6703

M. E.

To his Excellency General

H. H. Bandholtz

American Military Representative in Hungary

Budapest.

December 19, 1919

I am thanking you for your note of the 13th Dec. a. c. informing me that you ceased to be a member of the Interallied Military Mission.

I take this opportunity of expressing in my own name as in that of the whole government my most sincere thanks for the friendly and appreciative attitude your Excellency has taken towards Hungary in these sad days of her trials. I can assure your Excellency that the country will remember with gratitude your noble and valuable activity.

It causes me great pleasure that your Excellency will still remain in Budapest as the American Military Representative in Hungary and I beg to express my hope that your Excellency will stay in our midst for an extended period.

Believe me Sir

Most faithfully yours,

[signed] Huszár

Prime Minister.

The following letter was also received today:<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Commissione Militare Interalleata  
Delegazione Italiana

Il Generale.

Budapest, 17 Décembre 1919

A Mr. Le General Bandholtz

Chef de la Mission Militaire Américaine  
Budapest

Mon cher Général Bandholtz,

C'est avec le plus grand regret que j'ai appris que vous avez cessé de faire part de notre Mission Militaire Interalliée.

Votre collaboration a été très efficace et votre activité ainsi que votre fermeté ont été toujours hautement appréciées.

Veuillez vous rappeler de moi avec le même souvenir amical et reconnaissant que je garderai toujours de vous et permettez moi d'exprimer à vous ainsi qu'à tous les Officiers de votre Mission mes sentiments de sympathie la plus sincère.

Très cordialement à vous.

Le Général de Division

[Signed] Mombelli

*December 20, 1919*

Inter-Allied Military Mission Budapest, 17th December 1919  
Italian Delegate

To General Bandholtz

Chief of the American Military Mission  
Budapest.

My dear General Bandholtz,

It is with the greatest regret that I have learned you have ceased to form part of our Inter-Allied Military Mission.

Your collaboration has been very efficient and your activity as well as your firmness have always been highly appreciated.

Please remember me with the same amicable and grateful recollection I shall always have for you and permit me to express to you as well as to all the officers of your Mission my most sincere sentiments of friendship.

Very cordially yours,

The General of Division  
Mombelli.

*December 20, 1919.* Yesterday I received word from Count Apponyi that the Czecho-Slovaks had sent him intimation that in case he ever showed up again in their territory he would be immediately arrested.

All this billing and cooing at the Peace Conference has apparently resulted—instead of leaving a whole dovecote of peaceful little squabs—in leaving a ravenous flock of turkey buzzards. Each one of these miserable little countries down here is utterly and absolutely devoid of all sense of international decency, and spends most of its time in devising schemes for robbing and irritating its neighbors. If the three great powers had been able to keep armies and could have sent them immediately to any place where trouble was brewing, it would have been entirely different, but the Supreme

*December 20, 1919*

Council's prestige went aglimmering when a steady stream of ultimata had no effect whatever upon that miserable little nation of Roumania. The Hungarians, although down and out on account of Bolshevism, are a much more virile nation than any of the others, and it would not astonish me at any day to see them turn and lick Hell out of the Czechs, aided and abetted by the Poles, who would probably attack the Czechs on the Northeast, and then turn back on the Roumanians.

The Serb, although as unprincipled a looter as any of the others, is a mighty good fighter, and in all probability the Hungarians and the Serbs will some time or other get together and be a hard combination for the other weaklings to go against.

Today Colonel Sheldon and I got inveigled into a tea, and although I attended I did not do any tea lapping. It was a sort of farewell tea given by my protégés, who tomorrow start for the country to be gone over the holidays. It appears that anybody in Budapest who has any social standing whatever must go out to the country and have a family reunion in some miserable cold hole in order to hold his own in the upper crust of society.

A cablegram was received from Secretary of State Lansing, asking me to leave here at Budapest the two State Department automobiles for the use of my State Department successor, Mr. U. Grant-Smith, who is scheduled to arrive about January 22. This is the nearest to any definite date that we have had in regard to Mr. Grant-Smith's arrival. He is surely welcome to the two old arks that were left here by General Jadwin.

## *December 21, 1919*

Both of them have gone through every possible stunt in the way of breakdowns that an automobile can go through with.

*December 21, 1919.* This is supposed to be the shortest day of the year and I am thankful for it. After having been freer from colds than ever, I am now coming down with a miserable one which makes days seem longer whether so in reality or not.

We have pretty good information that, although it was expected that the Hungarians would be limited to an army of between twenty and thirty thousand, they already have about eighty thousand, which is rather confirmatory of my belief that they are getting in shape to take a fall out of the Czechs and then the Roumanians.

Yesterday the Roumanian Commander of the Army of Occupation in Hungary sent word to the Inter-Allied Military Mission that he did not care to receive any more messages from the Mission, as he considered that their relations had ended when he crossed the Theiss, and that in the future he desired to have such communications sent to Bucharest, all of which was in direct contravention and disregard of the explicit instructions from the Supreme Council. Fortunately I am no longer a member of the Inter-Allied Military Mission, and this latest Roumanian insult passes me by.

I have also just received a telegram from the American Embassy in Paris to the effect that my automatic relief of myself from the Inter-Allied Military Mission,

*December 22, 1919*

on December 13, was approved. As a matter of fact, they could not do anything else but approve it.

In acknowledgment of the beautiful silver dish that General Gorton presented me with on my birthday, I sent him the following note:

Budapest, Hungary  
21st December 1919

My dear Gorton:

In proper acknowledgment of that "pipkin" of a birthday present, as scintillatingly substantial as your attractive self, I have endeavored anon and again to indite a touching epistle that would induce the weeps and melt your tinkling monocle, and which, in return for the oft-repeated and outrageous verbal assaults committed against my archducal dignity, would be as coals of fire upon your stiff and bushy pompadour.

And now, in despair at doing the subject justice, I will simply say, many many thanks and God bless you and yours.

Your devoted friend,

H. H. Bandholtz

General R. St. G. Gorton

*December 22, 1919.* Thanks to a liberal supply of adrenalin, with which I have been spraying my mouth and throat at frequent intervals, my cold seems to be decidedly better, and was put to a severe test because I went up for my first sitting at the studio of the celebrated artist, Gyula Stetka, who is going to paint my portrait.

In the news summaries from Vienna, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*<sup>75</sup> of the seventeenth of December, gave the Americans honorable mention, and among other things said:

<sup>75</sup> Organ of the Social Democratic party. It has a wide circulation.

December 22, 1919

An American Commission which visited Kecskemét found sixty-two corpses lying unburied and hanging on the trees of a neighboring forest. This paper is in position to prove by an official document that this wholesale murder was committed by order of the functionaries of the Hungarian state, with the knowledge of the highest authorities and of the Ministry of Justice, and that it was hushed up, though the number of victims is said to be about five thousand.

The Allied Powers are about to conclude peace with this government of murderers and thus to receive them into the community of civilized humanity. The Roumanians kept these men in check, but hardly had they left when the slaughtering began. English, French, and Americans did not permit them to protect the lives of these miserable people. The American Colonel Yates undertakes the supreme control over the *Brachialgewalt*, that is, the new forces. Now, under the Stars and Stripes of the United States, who could hold back these monsters, the murderous work will go on.

The above translation was sent me by Mr. Halstead, the American Commissioner in Austria, and immediately upon receipt I telegraphed as follows:

Budapest, Hungary  
22nd December 1919

Mr. Halstead,  
Vienna.

B 225 Reference your Press Summary Number 81 your regrets about action of Vienna press apply particularly to article from *Arbeiter Zeitung* of December 17 quoted in your Press Summary Number 85. Every statement in this article as received and regarding Americans is false. No American Commission visited Kecskemét. Colonel Yates returned to his permanent duties in Roumania over three weeks ago. The American member of the Inter-Allied Military Mission was relieved from same on December 13. Report that Colonel Yates undertakes supreme control over the new forces and that murderous work is going on under the Stars and Stripes of the United States is

## December 23, 1919

inexpressibly false and libelous and it is requested that prompt and efficacious action be taken adequately to punish the perpetrators, to force the *Arbeiter Zeitung* to retract its false statements, and to prevent a repetition of such a scurrilous publication. B. 225.

Bandholtz.

*December 23, 1919.* In order to complete the portrait painting sooner, I went to M. Stetka's studio at half past ten and stayed until about noon, when the light played out. The old duffer says that he is putting his soul into the portrait and I am curious to see what sort of a composite will result from my physiognomy and his soul.

The people in this section of the world remind me so frequently of my old friends, the Filipinos. They do not and cannot look at things the same as we do. I was approached by a proposition to arrange for the entry into Hungary of six carloads of sugar from Czecho-Slovakia, the proposition being that if I could arrange and guarantee the return to Czecho-Slovakia of six empty cars for the cars bringing the sugar, there would be no difficulties. This I did; then to my surprise found out that a contract was being made between the sugar people and the American Mission by which the American Mission engaged to use six carloads of sugar at a value of about twenty thousand dollars for its own use. This meant that I was to be a party to the contract and then turn the sugar over to somebody else to dispose of. Quite naturally I stepped on the proposition good and plenty. If they want to bring the sugar in to relieve suffering, which I understood was the case, I am

*December 24, 1919*

for it. But getting mixed up in any kind of a private deal is a little bit too much.

Another thing, before my favorite adopted daughter, Juliska, had left for the country, I noticed that she frequently referred to individuals as being "damned fools" and damned things pretty generally. I must caution Colonel Loree, Colonel Sheldon, and Captain Gore to be more particular in their conversation. Young men are so prone to be thoughtless in the selection of their adjectives.

Last night Colonel Loree and I went to the opera to see what we thought was going to be a ballet. Instead of that, it was a combination of babes being lost in the woods, angels coming down the ladder, witches riding broomsticks, and children burning up witches, explosions, animated toys, etc. In addition to Colonel Loree, there were hundreds of other children in the Opera House.

*December 24, 1919.* Again I reported at ten-thirty at the studio for my daily sitting, and found the rotund little artist chasing back and forth across the room with an overcoat on and a muffler around his neck and no fire. He explained that there would be no fuel until Saturday, and the best he could do would be for me to come again next Sunday and resume the sittings.

I met Captain Gore just in front of the studio, so we went down town to look at Christmas presents and found that during the past few days practically everything had doubled in price.

*December 24, 1919*

A short time after arriving back at the office, I received a call from Count Apponyi, who has been previously referred to as the chairman of the Hungarian Peace Commission which is to be sent to Paris. It appears that Count Apponyi, owing to the recent change in boundaries, had his estate shifted out of Hungary into Czecho-Slovakia, where he was residing when he received an urgent appeal from the Hungarian government to come to Budapest with a view to helping out in the organization of the new Cabinet and ultimately to becoming chairman of the Peace Commission. He was assured protection by the Inter-Allied Military Mission and the message was delivered by a Czech officer who courteously escorted him across the border.

The Count would now like to return to his home for the holidays, but the Czechs refuse to allow him to return, and stated that if he once arrives there he will be arrested. On the other hand, the Countess Apponyi, who was left behind in Czecho-Slovakia, is not allowed to leave the country. The Czechs give as their reason that a person who is commissioned to represent the interests of Hungary at the Peace Conference against those of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, cannot be allowed to sojourn in the territory of the latter. This is such a peculiar attitude that it is impossible to analyse the thought that produced it. All I can do, of course, is to report the matter to Paris where, I know, nothing will be done.

The whole trouble is that Czecho-Slovakia is entirely dominated by the French. The French papers have

*December 24, 1919*

lately come out in strong opposition to Count Apponyi being a member of the Peace Commission, and they are, therefore, using their puppets, the Czechs, to make it uncomfortable for the Count.

When the American Army was in France and we heard so much of the Czecho-Slovaks, we formed a very high opinion of them, but I am afraid that this opinion was based entirely on propoganda, because, in all the asinine and ridiculous stunts lately pulled off in this corner of Europe, the Czechs have been ahead of all other small nations.

There is no question, however, but that they are going to get theirs good and plenty and before long. The Slovaks are determined to separate from them, and would make a move now, were the Hungarians ready to help them out. When they do move, the Hungarians and the Poles will combine with them and it will all be up with the Czechs. At the same time, we know that there is a delegation of Croats trying to get in touch with the Hungarians with a view to separation from Serbia and reunion with Hungary; and to complicate the situation still further, the Serbs are flirting with the Hungarians with the object of an offensive and defensive alliance against the Roumanians. It looks as though, if the Hungarians were shrewd and played first one and then the other, that they would rapidly be able to get back all that they lost by the War.

It is rather remarkable that we are at war with Hungary, because our troops never faced each other and we had no hostility whatever against this little country

*December 25, 1919*

and, had they not been a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, we would still be at peace with them the same as with Turkey and Bulgaria.

My sugar-contractor friend came in this afternoon, so I called Colonel Loree in to be a witness to our conversation. I told the gentleman in question, a Mr. Guthard Imre, that the proposition as advanced to me was simply to guarantee to the Czechs that the Hungarians would return six good empty cars in exchange for an equal number that would bring in the sugar; that when it came to being a party to a contract in which the American Mission guaranteed to use the sugar exclusively for its own purposes, I must decline to have any participation. He said that it was intended to use the sugar entirely for distribution by the Hungarian government among the families of employees of the railways, posts and telegraphs. I told him this was a most praiseworthy object and that I would be perfectly willing to undertake to assure the sugar company of the Czecho-Slovaks that the sugar would be disposed of for that purpose, but that there was nothing doing on any contract in which the American Mission was a party of the first or the second part. He left, assuring me that he would see the agent of the sugar company and try to have the matter adjusted.

*December 25, 1919.* This morning I spent over at the office, from ten o'clock until noon, to get off a memorandum on traffic control which had been requested by Colonel Youngberg of the Engineers.

*December 26, 1919*

Late in the afternoon Captain Aitken, of the British Mission, came over to invite all of us to come to the British "B" Mess about ten o'clock and celebrate with them. As I knew I could not, with the damned cold, do myself or the subject justice, I sent Colonel Loree and Captain Gore to represent us. They found the representation apparently quite pleasant, because it was well towards morning when they returned. I understand that one of the favorite beverages of the evening was a "Black and White" whisky high ball in which flat champagne was substituted for water. After a few libations they indulged in playing charades, blindman's buff and other childlike games.

*December 26, 1919.* Mr. Zerkowitz, the Hungarian gentleman who from the beginning attached himself to this Mission and has rendered us such valuable service, induced my old portrait painter, Stetka, to transfer his operations from his atelier to my office. So he rolled in this morning with canvas, easels, tubes of paint, brushes, etc., and got ensconced in the corner where I had always kept my desk, promptly ranking me out of this location, but thereby assuring the completion of the portrait before we finally leave Hungary. The various amateurs who have dropped in and seen the old man's work all have criticisms to make; some say the nose isn't right; some that the face is too broad; others that it is too narrow, etc. It is probably all of these and results from his trying to make a composite of his soul and my face. However, as he has the reputation of

*December 27, 1919*

being one of the best painters in Europe, I think it will eventually turn out all right.

*December 27, 1919.* Last night when I went over to the Post after five o'clock, there were evidences everywhere that the Hungarians were laying off for the holiday week, the same as the Filipinos, and they certainly do resemble the Filipinos when it comes to laying off for holidays. All the way from Buda to the Elizabeth Bridge, which is usually a very busy thoroughfare, I met only three vehicles.

This morning my old friend, the painter, showed up on time and I had three hours of very tedious sitting.

This afternoon I sent for Mr. Unger, who is representing the Czecho-Slovak sugar concern and told him that, while I was interested in any humanitarian movement, I could not and would not make any contract in the name of the American Mission by which sugar would be bought solely for the Mission's purposes; that I was willing to arrange for the return of the empty cars and to supervise and do my best to see that the sugar upon arrival in Hungary was turned over as represented to me, for the use of the families of employees of the railways, posts, telegraphs and telephones, instead of being allowed to fall into the hands of profiteers. He said that this was perfectly agreeable to him and that he would endeavor to ship the sugar along these lines.

*December 28, 1919.* For sometime past, the city of Budapest has been placarded with posters protesting

*December 28, 1919*

against the dismemberment of Hungary, and as a result a society has been formed called the "Association for the Preservation of the Old Hungarian Boundaries"—or words to that effect. This morning a delegation of several hundred people came up to the Royal Palace in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and called for Count Apponyi, who will be Chief of the Hungarian Peace Commission to Paris, and implored him to use his utmost endeavor to preserve Hungary in her original entirety. In a speech which he made from the balcony, he pledged himself to do his utmost. In view of the fact that Hungary is already practically dismembered I am afraid his utmost cannot amount to very much.

In the afternoon, I had a meeting with Mr. B. A. Unger, representing George Morgensen of 50 Broad Street, New York City, which firm has loaned to the Czecho-Slovak state one hundred million dollars in raw materials and taken as security the Czecho-Slovak sugar crop. There were with him Mr. Imre Guthard, who is negotiating for the six carloads of sugar before referred to, Mr. Zerkowitz as interpreter, and Colonel Loree. To clarify the situation, I handed Mr. Unger a letter, of which the following is a copy:

Budapest, 27th December, 1919.

Mr. B. A. Unger  
Prague, Czecho-Slovakia

My dear Mr. Unger:

Relative to the six carloads of sugar which are to be shipped into Hungary, the understanding is that there is no contract

*December 28, 1919*

in which the American Mission enters at all. In the interest of humanity and with a view to relieving suffering, I will, however, do my utmost to facilitate the transaction.

There is enclosed herewith a copy of a communication from the *Hungarian Railroad Commissioner* agreeing to turn over at Szob Station six empty cars immediately upon the arrival of the six cars loaded with sugar.

In addition to this, I shall be glad to arrange for the delivery of this sugar to the proper person, for distribution, as I have been given to understand, among the officials and employees of the Hungarian railways, posts and telegraphs.

With this understanding, you may ship the sugar addressed to the Mission and arrangements will be made for turning over as above outlined.

H. H. Bandholtz  
Brig. Gen., U. S. A.

I then informed Mr. Guthard that he must bring to me a communication from the Food Minister designating him as the person to receive the sugar for distribution among the employees of the railway service and posts, telegraphs and telephones. This he agreed to do, and the matter was ended.

During the day, Colonel Loree brought in a communication asking for twenty-five carloads of sugar for distribution among the various other governmental employees, and I told Mr. Unger that I would be very glad to help in any such matter, under the same conditions as indicated in his letter.

A few days prior to this, one of my stamp friends, who is a journalist, informed me that the journalists of Budapest and their families, representing some eight hundred people, had contracted in Jugo-Slavia for fifteen carloads of supplies which the Serbs were hold-

*December 29, 1919*

ing up, and he implored me to use my influence with the Serbs to induce them to allow the food to enter Hungary. This occurred some time before Christmas. So I took the gentleman in to Colonel Loree, told him to give the data to Colonel Loree, and I would send him immediately over to see the Serbian Minister. My stamp friend then said that he could give it himself, but that the director of the association would have to furnish it, and in view of the fact that the Holidays were approaching, he did not think much of anything could be done until after New Year's. Colonel Loree informed him that we were not starving and, if they were not sufficiently interested to bring it up before New Year's, it made no difference to us. Everything in this neck of the woods must make way for holidays.

*December 29, 1919.* Shortly after arriving at the office, General Mombelli called informally, just to talk things over. He said things were very quiet at Mission meetings now and that they missed very much my occasional thumping of the table and saying, "I'll be damned if I'll do it." He also said that he understood that a British diplomatic representative was due to arrive to take charge of the diplomatic situation, thereby relieving General Gorton from the same. The Italian representative is already here, the American representative is expected, but we have had no word yet in regard to a Frenchman.

I received a short letter from my adopted family, stating that they hoped that the "damned cold" was

*December 30, 1919*

better. It is astonishing how rapidly young Hungarians take up English.

*December 30, 1919.* Today in order to make sure of getting rid of the damned cold, I also stayed in and am feeling decidedly better.

*December 31, 1919.* According to the doctor's advice, I am still hanging on to my room for today in the hope that when New Year's breaks tomorrow I shall be able to get out and raise Hell with the boys.

Yesterday I received a cablegram from Mr. Polk stating that Mr. Grant-Smith had already sailed from the United States and suggesting that I communicate with him in Paris. This opens up the field a little and it looks as though we can begin to see the end of our Budapest tour of duty. I imagine, however, that Mr. Grant-Smith will stay in Paris for a week or two before coming down here, and I shall have to stay a week or two after he gets here. So we probably will depart early in February.

*January 1, 1920.* Today is another day like yesterday, with fog banked up so thick that one cannot see across the street. I was not feeling fit to receive callers, but there certainly was a raft of them, and I have a pack of cards several inches high.

A telegram was received from our Embassy in Paris, stating that Grant-Smith had sailed from the United States on the seventeenth and that they would advise me when he arrived in Paris. As he has had more than

*January 2, 1920*

ample time, had he gone direct to a French port, it is presumed that he stopped in England en route, and my original schedule about getting away from here about February 1 will undoubtedly be carried out.

Mr. de Pekár, the former Hungarian Minister of Liaison, insisted on seeing me today and gave me one of the medals of the National Museum with a dedication on it to myself from the grateful Museum. This honor was conferred upon me on account of my having saved the Museum from being looted by the Roumanians.

The whole situation is beginning to get on the nerves of all of us, and we shall all be mighty glad to get headed towards home. I hope this time I will not be held up at the eleventh hour and stuck off on some other skunk-skinning detail.

*January 2, 1920.* This morning I rose at six o'clock, feeling much refreshed after a cold bath, had breakfast at seven, and Colonel Sheldon and I took a special train at eight for Dunatetétlen, where we arrived at 11.10.

After arriving at the house and lunching, I assembled my whole adopted family to the number of about fourteen, including servants, etc., got them to the railroad station and started exactly on time, at four o'clock. After leaving our protégés at their house in Budapest, Colonel Sheldon and I immediately came up to our quarters, where we had dinner and all retired fairly early.

Word was received that Colonel Yates and Colonel Poillon had arrived, the former on his way to the Unit-

January 3, 1920

ed States and the latter from Bucharest in order to see me and talk over the Roumanian situation. I shall, therefore, see them tomorrow and hope to be able to start Colonel Poillon off right as regards those liver-complexioned Roumanians.

*January 3, 1920.* Most of the morning was spent at the office catching up with back work, and in an effort to start in well with the New Year.

This afternoon I spent in winding up private affairs.

*January 4, 1920.* This morning, being Sunday, I went to my office at 9.30 and had been there but a short time when General Bridges, of the British Service, came in with the new British High Commissioner to Hungary. Apparently the latter had been instructed to get in close touch with me and has made several appointments for interviews before my departure.

Colonel Poillon later came in and we had quite a conference, during which he informed me that the Queen of Roumania had told him that I was a Jew, that Colonel Loree was a Jew, that my aides were all Jews, and that everybody about the office was a Jew; that we were buying up a vast quantity of articles, which was a very bad policy; and, in general, good Queen Marie gave us Hell and repeat.<sup>76</sup> I gave Colonel Poillon considerable information on the general situation and in particular about the Roumanians, and had him to lunch, after which we continued our conversation for two or three hours.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. p. 71.

January 5, 1920

In the evening Colonel Loree and I were invited as guests to a dinner, given by General Bridges and Mr. Hohler, the British High Commissioner,<sup>77</sup> to General Franchet d'Espérey, at the Hotel Ritz. The other guests present were Generals Graziani and Mombelli, each with a staff officer. The dinner was rather elaborate, and either it was decidedly heavy or sitting opposite one Frenchman, with another one on my left, gave me the first attack of acute indigestion I have had in months.

While at coffee, the British High Commissioner asked me to talk over the situation with him, which I did in as much detail as possible under the circumstances, and he has arranged to come and see me daily in order to get wise to what has occurred in the past.

*January 5, 1920.* Today I received confidential reports from Admiral Horthy, covering the Bolshevist activities in this section of Europe. It appears that the Communists have a well-perfected organization in Vienna, which has become the center of their activities, and their plan is in February or March to have general uprisings in Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and Italy. They feel confident that they will be most successful in the last-named country.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Thomas Beaumont Hohler was appointed High Commissioner of Great Britain in Hungary on January 5, 1920. During his stay in Hungary, he became very sympathetic towards the problems of the Hungarians. Charles à Court Repington says in his diary, *After the War* (Boston, 1922): "I saw Hohler after lunch. He is fully of opinion that great injustice has been done to the Magyars under the Treaty" (p. 165).

<sup>78</sup> It will be remembered that Italy was then actually menaced very seriously by Bolshevism and that it was saved from this calamity by the establishment of Fascism.

*January 5, 1920*

Their plans were obtained from the confessions of a party of four or five who were sent over to Budapest from Vienna for the express purpose of blowing up Admiral Horthy's Headquarters, the Royal Palace where General Gorton and myself are located, the Government Building, the Coronation Cathedral and the Opera House. Fortunately this little bunch was spotted and arrested before they did any damage and, as a result of their confessions, it is believed that much danger may be averted. I am having copies of all their confessions made and forwarded for the information of our State and War Departments.

This afternoon I received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Moffat, the American Red Cross representative in Budapest, enclosing a cablegram from the United States in which I am asked to make recommendations in regard to the continuation of Red Cross activities in Budapest. In compliance with this I sent the following letter:

Budapest, 5th January 1920

From: American Military Representative in Hungary  
To: American Red Cross  
Subject: Conditions in Budapest and Hungary

1: The Roumanian military forces occupied practically all of Hungary from early in August until November 14, 1919, upon which latter date they evacuated the city of Budapest. Their requisitions and seizures, by which names they dignified their general looting, were about as systematic as the antics of a monkey in a cabinet of bric-a-brac. They took machinery and instruments that were ruined beyond repair the moment removed from their locations; they seized and removed practically all available food supplies, even to the last animal and

January 5, 1920

the seed grain from many farms; and their general conduct and procedure were in violation of international law, the customs of war, and the requirements of decency and humanity.

2: The result of all this has been a sadly impoverished and destitute Hungary which, instead of being an indemnity asset for the Allies, is, owing to the act of one of them, Roumania, a sadly stricken poverty patient.

3: While in Bucharest in September I saw a Red Cross organization and equipment out of all proportion to existing or possible future needs in a country which, while already well supplied with food, was running in thousands of carloads of necessities from her prostrate neighbor. Despite the ultimatum of November 16 from the Supreme Council for Roumania to evacuate immediately all of Hungary, the Roumanians still occupy all of the country east of the Theiss and are continuing their barbarous methods even to the seizure of seed grain.

4: As we were apparently powerless to prevent our Roumanian associates from creating the conditions above described, it becomes in my opinion our imperative duty to alleviate them in every way possible.

5: I recommend that the American Red Cross organization in Budapest not only remain, but that it be enlarged to cover all of Hungary now free of invaders, and that it then gradually expand as long as necessary to meet the increased difficulties now being prepared by the Roumanians east of the Theiss.

H. H. Bandholtz  
Brig. Gen., U. S. A.

These colds that one has in Europe seem to be caused by a different bug, which gives a good deal of the effect of the "flu" and leaves one like a dishrag for several days after the cold seems to have left. It does not leave one's nerves in the best condition. This condition is *not improved by having a pleasant-faced valet like Lugubrious Luke, who comes in like a cloud of gloom every morning and disturbs my room. He speaks Hun-*

*January 6, 1920*

garian, German, and I believe French, fluently and understands absolutely nothing.

Yesterday a party came up into our offices and dumped down four hundred thousand dollars in American currency, with the request that I send it to Trieste to purchase lard from Swift and Co. As we have no means for sending such a small sum, and as we do not care to keep it in our possession, we had them lug it back, and we shall try to make arrangements through our Vienna Mission to handle the matter.

*January 6, 1920.* This morning I came to the office and got my work well under way, and then I went down to the old painter where I spent the whole forenoon.

In the afternoon Colonel Poillon and Colonel Yates came to the quarters, and we spent considerable time going over the situation, after which I came to my office and spent most of the time at my desk, except for a short conference with General Gorton and the new British High Commissioner, Mr. Hohler, to whom I have loaned temporarily the use of one of my office rooms.

*January 7, 1920.* Last night Colonel Sheldon and I went to the opera, lured by the understanding that, in the Hungarian production of "Carmen," the prima donna in the last act pulls a corset string up out of her bosom and chokes herself to death. As this was rather a novel finale, we decided to go and see it, but were disappointed.

*January 7, 1920*

This morning, like yesterday morning, I came first to the office, got my work going and then went out and sat the whole forenoon for the old artist, who encouraged me by saying that he was sure the picture would not be dry enough to be taken inside of a month and ought not to be moved inside of a year. He admitted, however, that, although he was experienced in painting, he knew damned little about packing paintings, in which I agreed with him.

Upon returning to my quarters from the artist's, I found that Admiral Horthy had been over to see me and was desirous of making an appointment. Accordingly I went over to his Headquarters in the afternoon and spent about an hour and a half with him. He went into great detail in explaining the Bolshevist situation in this part of Europe. He repeated what I already knew, viz., that four Bolshevists who came over from Vienna had come for the purpose of blowing up his Headquarters, blowing up the Royal Palace with General Gorton and myself, the Prime Minister's, the Government Building, the Coronation Cathedral and the Opera House.

The Admiral is satisfied that the Austrian government, as now existing, is almost in the hands of the Communists and that Béla Kun and many of his confrères, although supposed to be interned at Karlstein, are given every conceivable liberty, at least as regards correspondence. He is also sure that the first outbreak will be in Czecho-Slovakia, and he expects them to turn loose in Prague during the month of February. I ex-

January 7, 1920

plained to him that the United States had already deported 250 Bolshevists, and recently in one night's roundup had arrested 5,000 more who would be deported as soon as found implicated in the movement.<sup>79</sup>

We then shifted to the other issues, and he told me that he considered that former Prime Minister Friedrich was a political adventurer, his speeches were incendiary and were of a type to which very ignorant hearers would be glad to listen, but which any sane man, not ill advised on the doctrines, would find impossible of execution. He wanted to know what the status of our government was as regards the Hapsburgs, and I told him that could best be determined by the message which the Supreme Council had sent to the Archduke Joseph when he was at the head of the Hungarian government. The Admiral further stated that he had been approached by men in all positions and advised that he take over dictatorship. This, he said, he did not personally want to do, but was wondering, in case it were necessary, how our government would look at it. I told him, of course, this would require an inquiry before I could answer.

He is positive that Friedrich will be elected by a large majority and made Prime Minister, and that one of his first acts will be to put in the Archduke as palatine, to be followed shortly afterwards, if possible, by

<sup>79</sup> Without proper information, General Bandholtz refers here to the shameful persecution of radical-minded and liberal people in the United States by the Attorney General Mitchell Palmer. A scathing condemnation of it may be found in the book of the Undersecretary of Labor at that time, Louis F. Post, *Deportations' Delirium of 1920*. See also H. P. Fairchild's *Immigration*, p. 427.

*January 9, 1920*

his coronation. It is believed in some quarters that the Admiral is thinking of the King job for himself, but whether he is or not, the Archduke Joseph certainly has the bee buzzing loudly in his own bonnet.

*January 8, 1920.* I am getting to be quite an opera fan and may as well keep it up as long as the Royal Box is available, because one cannot always disport oneself amidst such regal surroundings.

In the afternoon, after going through routine work, I had a long conference with Mr. Hohler and discussed with him the various propositions given me by Admiral Horthy, without letting him know from whom I had received them.

A courier arrived with a few letters today. Fortunately one of them was from my young friend and former chauffeur in the New York Division, Lieutenant Littwitz, who wrote me more in detail about Mrs. Bandholtz's condition than anything that I have had in months. It seems good to have somebody that can sympathize with me in my situation here and give me the kind of news that is most needed.

*January 9, 1920.* Last night I went to see a snappy little opera called "Don Juan" which, not by actual count but from estimate, had forty-eight osculation scenes. A rooster-legged galoot with a face like a Wah-wah monkey and omniverous as regards females, was the main guy. All the girls looked alike to him; whenever he saw a skirt he would run her down, scratch his wing at her, claw the dirt and then bite her in the face. One

*January* 10, 1920

female who was trying to be the bride of another ass, was repeatedly bitten and seemed to like it.

Things got so animated that even a statue came to life and coughed up a lullaby. In the final scene Don Juan got drunk, the singing statue came in à la Spook, coughed up another lullaby and things got so hot that the house caught fire and Don Juan was asphyxiated in his own gas, and responded to three encores.

This morning I went to old Stetka again with Count Teleki, my aide, for what I supposed to be my last sitting, and as I was feeling a little bit cranky, it kept the old fellow busy saying:

Exzellenz, bitte ein wenig freundlich.

When we finished for the morning, he told me that this last sitting was like a last ultimatum to the Roumanians; he would like to have me come again. So I agreed to come Sunday.

This being the day upon which our courier arrives from Vienna in the morning and goes back in the evening, I was kept busy all the afternoon in the office, getting out my memoranda to the State Department and shipping off the completed pages of my journal.

*January 10, 1920.* After winding up last night all business connected with the courier, I saw that there was still time to go to the opera, so Colonel Sheldon and I left about 6 o'clock to see "La Bohème."

The afternoon was all spent in my office and Count Széchényi,<sup>80</sup> the husband of Gladys Vanderbilt, came in and spent about an hour with me.

<sup>80</sup> Count László Széchényi, at present Hungarian Minister at Washington.

## January 11, 1920

*January 11, 1920.* Last night we had as our guests the entire Szirmay family, including Count and Countess Szirmay, and the Countesses Juliska, "Electricity," Puszi and Mani.

This morning was to be my last day with the old artist, so I went down to his atelier accompanied by Count Teleki at 10.30 and stayed with him until about 1.30. He asked me to come again tomorrow, but I told him I'd be damned if I would. So he went on trying to put a little more intelligence into my forehead and touching up my hands, and finally said that he would not need me again.

After lunch I came right over to the office and had a conference with Colonel Poillon, who had just returned from Vienna, and then I had a long talk with Count Somssich.

The Count stated that he had received a telegram from Count Apponyi, the head of the Hungarian Peace Delegation, requesting information as to the kind of representation of the United States in the Supreme Council, and asking as to whether or not he should furnish copies of all papers, memoranda, etc., to the American Ambassador. I sent a code telegram embodying this information to the American Embassy in Paris.

During the conversation, I catechized the Count in regard to his opinion as to the outcome of the election, and he is not so certain that Friedrich will be elected. He says that Friedrich has pulled off so many asinine stunts that the people are beginning to lose confidence

January 11, 1920

in him and doubt if he is the type of man which they want at the head of the government.

The Count, like all other Hungarians, is of the firm opinion that sooner or later Hungary will have to be a kingdom, and he is in hopes that there will be something in the peace terms which will authorize the restoration of a monarchy, but which will forbid a Hapsburg from sitting on the throne of Hungary. He says there are three Hapsburgs who will be pretenders, the first being the present King Karl, the second the Archduke Joseph, and the third Prince Albrecht. Karl could say to the Hungarians that in case they recalled him, he would bring Croatia with him, because Croatia is fanatically loyal to him. Prince Albrecht, on the other hand, has large holdings in the north and could make a like promise in regard to Slovakia if he were elected. The Archduke Joseph, the count considers to be an honest, capable and brave man and well qualified for the regal honor; but he is afraid that should any one of the three be put in power, there would always remain too many pretenders as long as a Hapsburg dynasty reigned. Most of the Hungarians would like a King of the English royal blood, or some one selected by the English, in order to have British backing.

The Count also related portions of a conversation he had had with the French General Franchet d'Espérey,<sup>81</sup> on the occasion of the latter's last visit to Budapest. The Count says, that assuming an attitude that

<sup>81</sup> At the end of the World War, Commander in Chief of the Southern Army of the Allies. Cf. Introduction.

*January 12, 1920*

Hungary placed her faith in the League of Nations, he had discussed the prospect of treaties, etc., when the Frenchman waxed furious and said that the League of Nations was worthless; that France, owing to Wilson, had received an execrable peace; that France needed, ought to have, and would have had, the left bank of the Rhine, but that Wilson prevented it. The Count is of the opinion that the peculiar French attitude of favoring Roumania and being invariably anti-Hungarian, is more or less on account of a desire to oppose England and make it difficult for the latter to gain headway in this section of Europe.

*January 12, 1920.* Last night Colonel Sheldon and I went to the opera to see "The Masquerade," not expecting to see very much, but stayed through the last act and were simply delighted with it.

The plot is based on a governor who is in love with his secretary's wife. The Serbian attaché, who came into our box, assured us that it was purely a Platonic love affair, but as such there was surely a hell of a lot of squeezing and biting in it.

This afternoon I was called upon by a Colonel Vina, who said he was representing the Italian government in settling the frontier between Austria and Hungary. It took about ten minutes to air the room out after he left, and he will probably vote for whichever party turns out the most champagne.

Mr. Zerkowitz came in and I gave him instructions to go over to the Prime Minister and deliver to him the

January 13, 1920

following letter, and to tell the Prime Minister that I was disgusted with some of the members of his cabinet:

Budapest, 12th January 1920

From: American Military Representative in Hungary  
To: His Excellency the Hungarian Prime Minister  
Subject: Attitude of Food Ministry on Importation of Supplies.

1: In order to alleviate in a slight degree the shortage of foodstuffs in Hungary I recently consented to aid in the importation of sugar from Czecho-Slovakia for the use of officials and employees of the posts, railways, telegraphs, telephones, and banks.

2: I considered it necessary, however, to require a guarantee that the sugar imported would be used for the purpose stated, that there would be no profiteering, and that the fixing of prices and distribution of the sugar would be under the supervision of the appropriate Ministry.

3: I am now informed that the required guarantee has been refused by the Food Ministry, and under the circumstances I am regretfully obliged to withdraw my support from the entire transaction in question which appeared to be at the time a most praiseworthy enterprise.

H. H. Bandholtz  
Brig. General, U. S. A.

January 13, 1920. It is a great comfort to have no more visits to pay to the old artist, and it enables me to catch up on all my back work.

In order to cinch the sugar deal, I sent for Mr. Zerko-witz and had him accompany me over to the Prime Minister's, and translate for me to the Prime Minister my opinion of the whole sugar deal, which was about as follows:

On account of the acute suffering in Hungary for lack of both sugar and fats, I had been approached by

January 13, 1920

persons requesting that I aid them in importing into Hungary from Czecho-Slovakia, thirty carloads of sugar for officials and employees of the posts, telegraphs, railways, and banks, and requesting in particular that I assure the Czecho-Slovak authorities that empty cars would be returned, or others substituted for them on the border. This I had consented to do, but in view of the fact that the American Mission, neither collectively nor individually, was allowed to engage in any business transactions, I insisted that I receive a letter from the appropriate government Ministry to the effect that this importation was for the purpose stated and that no profiteering would be permitted.

I had received a proper communication from the Food Ministry in regard to twenty-four carloads intended for the banks and was assured that a satisfactory contract had been made by the importer with the Hungarian government, and I therefore notified the bank that the transaction could proceed.

I told the Prime Minister that, however, I was now informed that the contract with the government required the importers to deliver six carloads of this sugar to the Food Minister at about  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent below cost to them, as a result of which they were authorized to sell, at about three times cost, the remaining eighteen cars; that I considered this a most reprehensible transaction and that I would not be a party to it; that the whole proceeding must be absolutely clear and above board, and uniform prices throughout. I told him also that in the case of the other six carloads of the thirty,

*January 14, 1920*

the Food Minister had required a deposit of fifty thousand crowns as a guarantee that the sugar would be imported with the penalty of forfeiture of the same in case the sugar had not arrived within six weeks. I added that in view of the fact that the American Mission was protecting the enterprise, this was an insult to me, and in any event it had the appearance of graft, and I would not stand for it.

His Excellency explained that the present Food Minister, who had been forced upon him by Sir George Clerk, was of the peasant type, that he was utterly unqualified for the position, and that he had not the slightest idea of what his proper functions were. He assured me that there would be a new Minister by the twenty-fifth of the month and begged me to suspend action, and he could have the matter adjusted and bring it before the first meeting of the Cabinet.

*January 14, 1920.* After clearing up what little desk work there was in the forenoon, I went down town with Colonel Sheldon to do some shopping and returned about noon. I got word from the Foreign Office that Mihály Károlyi, who had turned over the Hungarian government to Béla Kun and who is now in Czecho-Slovakia, was planning to go to America in disguise and under an assumed name for the purpose of spreading communism there, and that the Czecho-Slovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bénéš, was going to arrange for the passports. I therefore sent a cipher telegram to the American Minister at Prague and also to our

January 15, 1920

State Department, to advise them of Károlyi's intentions.<sup>82</sup>

In the afternoon I was called upon by a delegation of bishops and others, consisting of Bishop William Burt, Bishop William O. Shepard of Wichita, Kansas, Doctor John L. Nuelsen, Resident Bishop in Europe, Mr. A. J. Bucher, editor of the *Christian Apologist* from Cincinnati, and Mr. Hanford Crawford, all of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

I gave these gentlemen an idea of what had happened during the Roumanian occupation and arranged to do my best to send them on their way, and invited them to lunch tomorrow.

January 15, 1920. After cleaning up the work at the office, Colonel Loree and I went to see the paintings which I had purchased, and to attend to one or two other down-town affairs. Then I came home for our lunch with the bishops.

I had planned an interview for them with the Prime Minister at 12.15 and then sent Captain Gore to get them. As was to have been expected, when he arrived at the hotel there were difficulties. The bishops were having a meeting and had given orders that they were not to be disturbed. However, he disturbed them. When they came down to get started, one of their number was missing. They finally located him. When they landed up at the government building, they were between twenty minutes and half an hour late, and the

<sup>82</sup> It will be remembered that Károlyi has on later occasions been refused admission to the United States.

*January 16, 1920*

Prime Minister had gone on with his other audiences. The result was that instead of showing up at the house for lunch at one o'clock, it was after two when they arrived. They were very contrite, but laid the delay all upon the fact that they had been detained by the Prime Minister, ignoring the fact that the initial guilt was theirs.

We gave them a square meal which they seemed to appreciate. Finally we sent them on their way rejoicing, arranging first to have the two ladies of the party come to lunch with us tomorrow.

The work is falling off so that if we do not get away from here soon, we shall all of us certainly get into mischief.

*January 16, 1920.* Rumors of Bolshevist uprisings are persistent and seem to be fairly well founded. Although the Hungarians will not give us the details, we know that there was a so-called attempted Bolshevist uprising a few days ago near the Ganz-Danubius Works, and it is understood that about twenty Bolshevists were killed in its suppression. We have it pretty straight that recently Bolshevism reigned for about two hours in the town of Szolnok, which is on the Theiss River about thirty miles east of Budapest, but that it was vigorously and thoroughly suppressed by Horthy's troops, who killed several hundred Bolshevists and had only four of their officers killed.

A telegram was received from Mr. Grant-Smith, indicating that he will arrive in Vienna about the twen-

*January 17, 1920*

tieth, and that he will there await his supplies and then come to Budapest. This again leaves us up in the air as to our plans, because it may take several days before his supplies reach him. Like the watched pot which never boils, the last days of our stay seem to be interminable.

*January 17, 1920.* This morning I received pretty definite information that the Bolsheviks in Vienna are planning an uprising to take place on Thursday the twenty-second, and that there will be a sympathetic one at the same time in Budapest. The authorities here are well prepared to suppress anything that may occur, but none of the people in Vienna seem to have the slightest idea of what is going on in their midst.

The Hungarians today received information in regard to the peace terms, and although they have known almost definitely for months just what these peace terms would be, the blow, when delivered, like the death of a long-suffering invalid, has come as a shock. All of the public buildings and many other buildings are draped in mourning and black flags are flying everywhere. It is understood that there are to be three days of this kind of mourning before normal life will be resumed. Incidentally, it gives another excuse for laying off work. If the Hungarians were a trifle more industrious and energetic, they would have less cause to complain of Jewish domination.

*January 18, 1920*

*January 18, 1920.* Last night Colonel Loree, Colonel Sheldon, Captain Gore and myself attended a dinner given by our old friend, Dr. Lazar Baitch, the Serbian Minister, and the Serbian Military Representative, Major Body, and Mrs. Body. The other guests present were General and Mrs. Gorton and Major and Mrs. Foster, of the British Service, Count and Countess de Troismonts, of the French, and some nondescript whom I could not locate.

As invariably happens on such occasions, Doctor Baitch, after one sip of champagne, got communicative; after two he became confidential; and after three, affectionate and cuddlesome. During the dinner he had much more than three sips, so when he rolled up to me I was prepared for all sorts of confidences, which came. He cussed the French in fluent and voluble French, could not do the Italians justice in any language, was warm in his praise of the British, and demonstrative as Hell when it came to America.

He said that Serbia and Hungary must get together and combine against Roumania,<sup>83</sup> and that Greece and Serbia should likewise get together on account of Bulgaria. He told me that the Greek representative on the Reparation Commission, who arrived here a few days ago, had come and told him that his government had instructed him to follow the lead of the Serbians in everything on the Reparation Commission.

<sup>83</sup> How differently international relations have developed! But it must be remembered that the relations between Roumania and Serbia were very strained on account of the situation in the Bánát.

*January 19, 1920*

About half past ten, with our tummies filled with food and our eyes filled with cigarette smoke, we pulled out for our quarters and played four different kinds of solitaire until bedtime.

The Danube is apparently on a rampage, and I understand it is the highest it has been since 1827. Of course these people, before they began to try to save any of their property, allowed the water to get up into their storehouses and flood them. Too bad they are such procrastinators.

This morning I had planned to go over and see Admiral Horthy and have a plain talk with him in regard to his soldiers again becoming active and assuming a strong anti-Semitic attitude. He also wants to buy my car when I leave, and I thought I would show it to him by daylight. I found, however, that he was away on a hunting expedition with Mr. Hohler. That left me with practically nothing to do.

In the evening Captain Gore and I went down to the telegraph office to get telegrams now coming over our lines for the Hungarian government, and then called on the Szirmay family.

*January 19, 1920.* The Danube today practically reached high-water mark, has flooded a good many houses, and is causing some damage. It is understood, however, that from now on it will begin to recede and that there is no serious danger.

*January 20, 1920*

*January 20, 1920.* In the afternoon, by appointment, I called upon Admiral Horthy, told him that I wished to call his immediate attention to the case of the American citizen Black, who had received ill treatment at the hands of Hungarian officers on December 31; that I hoped that he would give this matter his immediate attention, as it would do a great deal to prejudice American feeling against Hungary should the incident be published. He promised that he would take it up immediately.

I then told him that I was sure it would appeal to him as being advisable to be frank with me in regard to any Bolshevist uprising, or anything of the kind; that I had repeated and almost confirmed rumors of the killing of some Bolshevists at the Ganz-Danubius Works in Budapest, and of an incipient Bolshevist uprising at Szolnok. He appeared astonished at this information, and said positively that he had never heard anything of the kind; furthermore, that he had just come from Szolnok within the past twenty-four hours. He then called in his Chief of Staff, who substantiated everything that the Admiral had said.

The natural inference is that these persistent rumors of Bolshevist uprisings and killings in Hungary are due to unfriendly propaganda, but it is hard to tell just who starts it.

*January 21, 1920.* As the days roll by and the end of our stay approaches, the monotony becomes more deadly and the work more uninteresting, and we are all anxious to get away.

*January 21, 1920*

Most of the day was spent in routine work, but I had a short talk with General Gorton, during which he told me that the worm, in the shape of the Inter-Allied Military Mission, had finally turned. They had decided to send a telegram to the Supreme Council informing that honorable body that it was the opinion of the members of the Inter-Allied Military Mission that the Mission had been treated with superciliousness and contempt almost from the beginning, and then to give the concrete cases of telegram after telegram containing inquiries, requests for decisions, etc., which had been addressed to the Council and which never had even been acknowledged. I told General Gorton I was glad to see that they were finally getting a little ginger, but it had taken them about six weeks after I left the Mission, practically for that same reason, for them to show any pep.

Hardly a day passes now but that I receive several letters offering me valuable collections of carved ivory, Gobelin tapestries, rare old paintings, antiquities, etc. The prices for the collections range all the way from five thousand dollars up. The ivory, I remember, could be purchased for the mere pittance of fifty thousand dollars, and they are sure to mention dollars, because at this writing it takes two hundred Hungarian crowns to equal one dollar, whereas before the War two hundred crowns equaled forty-three dollars.

I received a telegram this date from Mr. Halstead, stating that Mr. Grant-Smith had arrived there and would remain probably a few days.

*January 21, 1920*

Owing to the difficulties of railroad transportation at present on account of the coal shortage, I had originally planned to secure a special car, have it run over to Szeged and attached to the Simplon Express, and go through that way. However, in view of the fact that the Hungarian Peace Delegation is to leave here about February 7 by special train directly to Paris, and because they have expressed not only a willingness but a desire to take my entire party on that train, we shall probably go that way and reach Paris earlier than we would the other way by starting on the fourth.

These poor simps, instead of tightening up their belts, gritting their teeth and bucking into things, spent three days in idiotic mourning when they heard the peace terms announced, having known for the past six or eight months just what these peace terms would be. No dancing, operas, or anything of the kind is permitted, and now that Count Apponyi has returned with the peace treaty to discuss the terms, they have decided to have another day of useless mourning tomorrow, when all stores will be closed and all business suspended. This eternal crying over spilt milk does not appeal to an American. I guess, however, with the type of peasant they have in the country and the lower classes in the city, it is necessary to pull off these stunts, the same as it was in the Philippines.

This afternoon Count Apponyi called upon me and spent about an hour in describing his experiences in Paris. He seemed very much encouraged over the fact that he had actually been given a hearing and

*January* 21, 1920

felt that to a certain extent he had impressed his listeners.

He said when they first arrived in Paris he was subjected to considerable rudeness from M. Clemenceau who, however, later on appeared to be very much mollified.

After having been at the Château de Madrid some days, the Count says that they had their own credentials returned to them as being satisfactory. They then received the credentials of the representatives of the other powers, among which, however, the credentials of the American representative were missing. The messenger informed them that they were to be ready to accept the peace terms on the following day. The Count, thereupon, wrote to Clemenceau that it would be most difficult for them to go over the credentials of the Entente Powers and to be prepared in such a short time to receive the peace terms. He requested that there be a delay of at least one day, incidentally calling attention to the fact that the credentials of the American representative were missing and requesting information as to the manner in which they were to negotiate with the United States.

M. Clemenceau replied promptly and brusquely to the effect that he was astonished that the Hungarian Delegation should resort to any such puerile excuse; that the peace terms would be ready to be delivered at the time prescribed and that if the Hungarian Delegation was not then ready, it would be construed as a refusal to receive the peace terms, in which case there

*January 21, 1920*

would no longer be any reason for their remaining in Paris; that the fact that an American representative was not present at the conclusion of the terms with Germany, did not prevent the conclusion of the terms with Germany and did not prevent the conclusion of a treaty with that power. The Count called my attention to the fact that nothing had been said in his communication to M. Clemenceau as regards Germany.

To this communication, Count Apponyi replied, in effect, that the specific object of the journey of the Hungarian Peace Delegation to Paris had been to receive the peace terms and that, therefore, they would receive them, whenever given to them; that in the meantime he had received the credentials of the American Ambassador, which relieved the situation in that respect, and that he would be very glad indeed to do his utmost to facilitate matters.

He then wrote, through M. Clemenceau, to the representative of each power, stating that he felt, in justice to his country, he should request that he be allowed to present his case properly before the Supreme Council, but, should this not be possible, he would respectfully request each individual representative to give him a personal hearing. The Count thought that the result of this was the compromise granting him permission to address the Supreme Council, with the understanding that there would be no discussion. He said, however, that when he was through speaking, Mr. Lloyd George asked him for several additional explanations, which really amounted to a discussion, and that during these

*January 22, 1920*

explanations he was able to present many things in a different light from that in which they had formerly appeared to the Supreme Council.

I asked what effect he thought the withdrawal of M. Clemenceau<sup>84</sup> would have upon the Hungarian case, and he said he was afraid that it might make matters worse; that Clemenceau, true to his name of "The Tiger," and being very much embittered, would probably do his utmost to even up scores; and that whoever succeeded him would be afraid of his attacks. I asked if, on the other hand, in view of the fact that Clemenceau had been defeated, this did not show that his opponents were no longer afraid of him and that they would now show like independence of action toward the Supreme Council. He said that he had not thought of this point of view, but hoped that it was so, and that he felt sanguine of at least a modification in the severe terms to Hungary in case Mr. Lloyd George should become President of the Supreme Council and the sessions should be adjourned to London.

*January 22, 1920.* This date I was in telephonic communication with Mr. Grant-Smith in Vienna. He expects to arrive in Budapest on the morning of January 27, awaiting his supplies here instead of in Vienna. As I had arranged to remain one or two weeks with Mr. Smith in order that he might absorb the situation instead of endeavoring to swallow it at a mouthful by one

<sup>84</sup> On January 17, Paul Deschanel had been elected President of France, defeating Clemenceau, who thereupon resigned with his Cabinet on the following day.

*January 23, 1920*

interview, and as the return of the Peace Delegates to Paris early in February will synchronize with my departure, Count Apponyi invited my party and myself to return on their train. There will also be a British representative and a French representative on the train, and, as it will assure our staying here a sufficient length of time to turn affairs over to Mr. Grant-Smith and to arrive in Paris without difficulty, I accepted the invitation with cordial thanks.

*January 23, 1920.* Last night was the five-hundredth presentation of the popular Hungarian light opera, "János Vitéz," and about the four-hundredth appearance in it of their favorite actress, Fedák Sári. I received a complimentary box with an urgent invitation to attend, so I took the damned thing in.

*January 24, 1920.* Yesterday all the stores were closed as threatened, and a general day of mourning was again observed.

In the forenoon General Soós, accompanied by Count Anton Apponyi, a nephew of the statesman, came to see me about arranging for the purchase by the Hungarian government of a large quantity of supplies which had been sold by the United States to the Ukrainian government and which the latter, being practically already defunct, could not pay for. They brought in a telegram from a commercial representative of the United States Liquidation Commission, recommending that negotiations be entered into with Hungary for the purchase of the supplies which Ukrainia could not take. I

*January 24, 1920*

sent the telegram and added likewise the information as to the quantities and where they were. It appears that there is enough hospital equipment for five large hospitals at Marseilles; that there is over five million dollars' worth of clothing and supplies at Bordeaux; and about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of automobiles and motorcycles at Langres.

As Count Apponyi has been in America and talks English fluently, I lit into him about the slowness of the Hungarian government in acting upon complaints of abuses of American citizens. He became very much interested, took down all the data and said he would personally push the matter through with both the Hungarian Commander in Chief and the Prime Minister.

Last evening I called on the Szirmays, but I sent Colonel Sheldon to the opera with them to see the "Troubador," in the last act of which there is much crude and brutal slaughtering, to which, being a soldier, I am naturally opposed.

This morning I was called upon by a delegation of Slovaks, who protested earnestly against the treatment they have been receiving at the hands of the Czechs. They voiced an appeal from the various minorities in the countries now lost to Hungary, stating that they had been condemned unheard at Paris; that they had been separated from a country to which they had been joined for a thousand years; that they had been annexed to nations of lower culture and despotic and violent characteristics; that they had been treated, not as human

*January 24, 1920*

beings, but rather as chattels or currency, and had been given as such to the Roumanians, the Czechs, and the Serbs.

They implored the Supreme Council to give them a plebiscite, and gave warning that in case the present plans were carried out, the treaty of peace would not result in peace, but in war.

The gentlemen who called upon me were representatives of two thousand who met in Budapest, practically spontaneously, without any encouragement or assistance from the Hungarian government.

They also brought up the question of the separation in Czecho-Slovakia of the church from the Church of Rome,<sup>85</sup> and wished to go to America so that the Czecho-Slovak government and people could not spread unfavorable propaganda among the Slovaks in the United States.

After these gentlemen departed, accompanied by Count Teleki, my aide, I visited first the Museum of Posts, Telegraphs, and Transportation, which is very interesting; and then the Agricultural Museum, which is one of the most celebrated of its kind in the world.

<sup>85</sup> One of the chief causes of discontent on the part of the Slovaks is the fact that many Czechs are freethinkers and agnostics, and offend the devout Roman Catholic Slovaks by passing laws unfavorable to the free exercise of their religion.

## January 26, 1920

*January 25, 1920.* Today is the election, which is going to last two days.<sup>86</sup> All women over twenty-four years of age are required to vote, under penalty of four thousand crowns' fine and imprisonment for three months and loss of franchise for the ensuing year. The weather today, as during the past three days, is beautiful, which would seem to indicate a Republican victory, although there are no such things in Hungary.

The river has gone down appreciably and all danger of a flood has been removed.

*January 26, 1920.* This morning, accompanied by my aide, Count Teleki, I went down to the Parliament Building, where I was met by a guide and a governmental representative who took me all through the building. It is not quite as ornate as capitol buildings usually are, but it is most appropriate and is really a magnificent edifice. That these people can get excited

<sup>86</sup> As a result of these elections and by-elections of February 10, the following parties were elected:

National Christian Union	68
Christian Socialists	5
Economic Christian Socialists	4
National Christian Party of Small Landowners	3
Christian Party of Small Landowners	4
National Party of Small Landowners	71
National Democratic Party	6
Non-Partisans	3

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The Social Democrats refrained from voting. The Károlyists did not elect a single candidate. An interesting chart of the Hungarian parties may be found in Malbone W. Graham's *New Governments of Central Europe*, New York, 1924 (p. 242).

*January 27, 1920*

is shown by the fact that they showed me the bullet holes in the Speaker's desk, where a member of the opposition, in 1913, shot at Count Tisza who was then presiding. For the past year there has been no assembly, and the building has not been utilized for its ordinary purposes.

*January 27, 1920.* Mr. U. S. Grant-Smith, Colonel C. B. Smith, Colonel Nutt, Lieutenant-Colonel Causey and Consul Hatheway, who accompanied Mr. Grant-Smith, all arrived in Budapest this morning and came up to the office about 11 o'clock. After a long talk, I took them to the house, where we had lunch. After lunch, they were shown over the Royal Palace and then scattered to keep various appointments.

This is the second day of the Hungarian election and everything is proceeding as quietly as could be expected. The Christian Nationalist party, of which Friedrich is the head, is apparently in the lead and will win a majority throughout the country without the necessity of fusion with the next stronger party, called the "Small Farmers."

*January 28, 1920.* Last night, as there was a first presentation of a short opera, I decided to attend, and it turned out to be a sort of a three-ring circus, starting in first with an opera called "The Last Dream," then a ballet, and then another opera, the translation of the title of which was "The Harlequin."

This morning Mr. Grant-Smith came over about 11 o'clock, and at 11.15 we went to see the Prime Minis-

*January 28, 1920*

ter, Mr. Huszár, who started by giving me a hell of a big send-off, explaining what a debt of gratitude all Hungary owed me and a lot of similar rot. Mr. Grant-Smith, not to be outdone, said that this was realized by our State Department, who had looked upon my administration here with admiration and respect. The Prime Minister then started to ask a few favors and Mr. Grant-Smith immediately told him that any such things must be given to General Bandholtz, who would be absolutely in charge until his departure; that he, Mr. Grant-Smith, was here to learn the situation and absorb what he could in the interim between the present and my departure.

After quite a little session we departed, and Colonel Loree, Colonel Sheldon, Captain Gore, Colonel C. B. Smith, Colonel Nutt, Lieutenant-Colonel Causey and myself went down to the Hotel Pannonia, where we were the guests at lunch of the Bürgermeister Bódy. It was really a very good lunch and very little talking. The Bürgermeister toasted "His Excellency, General Bandholtz, and the other Americans," to which I responded with a toast to "The future of Hungary, and may it be prosperous, successful and tranquil."

I arrived back at the office at three-thirty and was called upon by a staff officer from the War Ministry to ascertain whether or not there had been any reply received from the telegram sent in regard to purchase by the Hungarian government of supplies that the Ukrainians had not been able to pay for.

*January 29, 1920*

*January 29, 1920.* Last night Colonel Sheldon, Colonel Loree, Captain Gore and myself took dinner with Count and Countess Szirmay and my adopted family. Three or four young Hungarian counts, who are scratching their wings at the girls, were also there as guests.

In the afternoon Mr. Grant-Smith was in the office for some time, going over my memoranda and getting posted on the situation. He asked me if I knew that, since early in December, instead of being just the American Military Representative in Hungary, I was the United States Commissioner in Hungary. I told him I did not, that they had never told me what the devil I was. So I had simply wired that, if no objections were offered, I would designate myself as American Military Representative in Hungary; that no objections had been received, and, therefore, I had so designated myself.

I received a cablegram from Washington, stating that through some clerical error my recommendation for Distinguished Service Medals for Generals Graziani, Mombelli and Gorton had not been immediately forwarded, but was coming now and they trusted that action would be taken on the same in the very near future.

I also received a telegram from Colonel Harry Howland in Paris, stating that the sailing date of the "Adriatic" had been postponed from February 25 until March 3; that he had reserved a suite of two rooms for four passengers, at a total cost of three hundred thirty-

*January 30, 1920*

eight pounds, eight shillings; that no first class single rooms were available; and that he desired confirmation of the reservation at once. We decided to make the reservations on the "Adriatic," so at this writing we should sail from France March 3, which, I suppose, will land us in New York somewhere around the tenth. It would probably be much cheaper to remain here in Budapest for some weeks, but on the other hand there is no telling what railroad difficulties we may be up against. Therefore we decided to go to Paris, get our stuff together, and be robbed by the French once more.

If there is time, and the expense involved is not too great, I may take a trip to Spain, as I have never yet been there and am anxious to see the Spaniard at home, having known him so well in other countries.

*January 30, 1920.* Last night I went to see the opera "Aïda," but it was another of those endurance tests, and I left after staying three hours. The stage effects were magnificent and the little cockeyed gazelle who took the part of Aïda, in a red chemise, had a beautiful voice. As I understand the last act is devoted to a suffocation scene, in which they keep on howling even after they should have been properly gassed, it was probably just as well that I missed it.

This noon I gave a luncheon to Mr. Grant-Smith, having as other guests General Gorton and Major Foster, of the British Service, Mr. Hohler, Count Széchenyi, and Consul Hatheway.

*January 31, 1920*

Our last few days here are practically a struggle for existence in the way of getting gasoline. It is now costing us only a small matter of \$1.50 per gallon. As a result, practically everybody is walking.

*January 31, 1920.* Count Somssich called upon me this morning to discuss the situation. He said that a clash was imminent between Friedrich and Huszár, owing to the fact that the former maintained that when he quit the Premiership at the request of Sir George Clerk, it was understood that he would return to office after the elections. The elections now being through, he maintains that he should again be the head of the state. Huszár is determined to combat this, and it is believed that Admiral Horthy will support Huszár.

I pointed out to Count Somssich, as I did to Huszár the other day, that Friedrich's political utterances during his political campaign had done the country incalculable harm. He had given his constituents what he thought would please them, rather than what they ought to have. He invariably referred to the Hungarian Army as being the best army at present in Europe, well disciplined, well trained, well armed and well equipped, capable of expelling the Roumanians and of thrashing the Czechs and Serbs combined; whereas we all know that, in its present condition, the Hungarian National Army could not lick a chicken with the pips. These speeches, however, were practically the only ones that were repeated in the French and other foreign papers and naturally interested foreigners ac-

*February 1, 1920*

cepted the utterances of a former Prime Minister as being authentic, which gave them the feeling that there was no necessity for doing anything for Hungary except to crush her still more.

I had Mr. Grant-Smith come in and meet Count Somssich, who shortly afterwards departed.

This noon Colonel Loree, Colonel Sheldon, Captain Gore, and myself were entertained at luncheon at the Ritz Hotel by Mr. Grant-Smith, after which we returned to the Palace.

Yesterday there were being distributed handbills, of which the following is a translation:

Hungarian Brother!

Join our party, because our country will be strong only if we have a National King.

There is only one royalist party, which wants a National Kingdom, vidz.:

The Hungarian National Royalist Party.

Every real Hungarian who is not ashamed to be Hungarian, should join us. If you do not want to fall into darkness, join our party, which fights for the one ideal.

Long live the candidate of the Hungarian National Royalist Party:

His Royal Highness Archduke Joseph,  
the future King of Hungary!

Hurry into our camp, because the time to act has arrived.

The Hungarian National Royalist Party.

*February 1, 1920.* This being Sunday, it afforded us an opportunity to go over to the office and clear up on back work.

## February 2, 1920

*February 2, 1920.* Last night I went to the Royal Opera House to see a light opera, called "The Bat."<sup>87</sup> It was supposed to have received its title from a gentleman in masquerade costume, dressed up to represent a bat. He had to spend all night outdoors, returning in broad daylight in his costume. As a matter of fact, it deserved the title, because every actor and actress was certainly on one Hell of a bat. Such a *mélange* of intoxication would be difficult to beat. Ladies and gentlemen were indiscriminately soused, which, however, did not interfere with their lung power. There is this much to be said for it, there is no stabbing or kicking the bucket as is usual at the Grand Opera House.

This morning Count Albert Apponyi called upon me, and we spent about an hour talking over the situation and what the Hungarian Peace Delegation proposed to do. The Count said that there were four distinct points which they wished to insist upon:

(1) That no territory be separated from old Hungary until after a plebiscite; that this plebiscite should be held only three months after the present Roumanian, Serb and Czech troops of occupation had withdrawn from the occupied territory and after this territory had been occupied by neutral troops. In this connection, he stated that he had no objection to American or British troops occupying territory supposed to be given to the Czechs, but that he did not want them [the Czechs] in territory, on account of Latin brotherhood. As to the French, he did not want

<sup>87</sup> "Die Fledermaus," by Joseph Strauss.

February 2, 1920

them in any territory.<sup>88</sup> He stated that only by such procedure would a plebiscite express the free will of the people, and that, with such a plebiscite, the Hungarians would pledge themselves to abide by its decision, whether favorable or unfavorable.

(2) That there be geographical continuity of new Hungary to include the two million Magyars who had been torn from Hungary and thrust under other domination, although the country they inhabited was contiguous to and continuous with Hungary.

(3) That whenever any territory was annexed to the other small nations created by the Peace Conference,

<sup>88</sup> It was, of course, well known to the Hungarians that the French were extremely sympathetic to all the enemies of Hungary and that no fairness could be expected from them. The attempt of the French brothers Tharaud to whitewash their government in its actions against the Hungarians is futile and will not deceive anyone familiar with the facts, no matter how cleverly and how charmingly the book is written. (Jerome and Jean Tharaud, *When Israel is King*. English translation, New York, 1924.)

Compare the reference in Ray Stannard Baker's book. Baker shows that the affairs of Eastern Europe were in the hands of the French militarists and that they should be mainly held responsible for conditions in Hungary. He says that "every evidence in these secret documents [*i.e.*, contained in his book] goes to prove clearly that the French military and diplomatic authorities not only welcomed but stimulated this outcome with the idea of forcing military action and military settlements" (Vol. II, p. 30). General Bliss recommended that it should be made clear to the French that the United States did not approve of it (Vol. III, p. 244). Herbert Hoover was in favor of establishing the hunger blockade, for the purpose of overthrowing Bolshevism in Hungary and encouraging a counterrevolution (Vol. II, pp. 351, 352).

When the brothers Tharaud write that "it was to be foreseen that the Roumanians would not comport themselves with the forbearance of the soldiers from Touraine or Burgundy" (p. 217), it sounds like a bitter joke to the people who had to suffer from the French troops of occupation. Count Apponyi knew very well why he did not want the French in any Hungarian territory.

*February 3, 1920*

there be absolute minority protection, because he well knew that neither the Roumanians, the Serbs, nor the Czechs were paying the slightest attention to the minority clauses in the present treaties of peace.

(4) That in order to insure a gradual adjustment of conditions, there be economic unity for two years of the various sections, affected by the Peace Treaty, which had formerly been under one government. He explained that the sudden rupture of all economic and other relations could not result otherwise than in confusion.

The Count then repeated his invitation for us to accompany him on his train and stated that the train would leave Budapest at 8.40 on Monday morning February 9, arriving in Paris at the same hour on February 11, exactly six months to a day from the time of our arrival in Budapest.

Owing to our departure, we have all our dates filled from now until next Saturday, the seventh. Tomorrow I shall give a luncheon to all of my former colleagues of the Inter-Allied Military Mission. On the fourth we shall be the guests at luncheon of General Graziani of the French Mission. On the fifth we shall be guests at luncheon of General Mombelli, on the sixth we shall lunch with Mr. Hohler and on the seventh with General Gorton.

*February 3, 1920.* This morning I spent until 10 o'clock at ordinary office work and then, accompanied by Mr. Grant-Smith, I called upon Admiral Horthy at his

February 4, 1920

Headquarters at the Hotel Gellért. Admiral Horthy in his talk practically covered the same points that he had covered with me on my last interview with him, calling particular attention to the inadvisability of allowing the Hapsburgs back on the throne of Hungary<sup>89</sup> and to the charlatan methods of Friedrich.

Before leaving, I told him that I wanted a report of the investigation of the alleged mistreatment of the American citizen, Mr. George G. Black, on a steamer in Budapest, December 31. I called particular attention to the fact that if something were not done about this promptly there would undoubtedly be distorted versions of it in the papers of the United States, and that serious harm would be done the Hungarian cause.

February 4, 1920. This morning, accompanied by Mr. Grant-Smith, I returned Count Apponyi's call. As the papers had contained the statement that the Archduke Joseph had renounced his candidacy to the Hungarian throne and that Admiral Horthy would become the head of the state,<sup>90</sup> this question was naturally brought up and was confirmed by the Count. He said that the result would be an indefinite continuation of the *status quo*,<sup>91</sup> that very few people understood the Hungarian mentality, and that it would be impossible for them to

<sup>89</sup> On February 2 the Allies had issued a formal declaration against the return of the Hapsburgs. Huszár had openly declared for a restoration of the monarchy on January 29, the Archduke on January 30.

<sup>90</sup> Admiral Horthy was elected Regent on March 1, 1920, with 131 out of 138 votes cast. Huszár resigned as Prime Minister.

<sup>91</sup> Marginal comment by General Bandholtz: "And there has been!"

*February 4, 1920*

have any king in Hungary as long as Karl was alive, owing to the fact that he had been crowned. The Hungarians, he said, held in reverence and placed a halo about the head of any anointed king, and that, whether Karl reigned or not, he would always be considered by them as their king.<sup>92</sup>

He explained that although there were many reasons why it would have been advantageous for him to have remained in Budapest and presided at the first session of the National Assembly, nevertheless he felt it to be his duty as head of the Peace Commission to be present in Paris and conclude the labors of that body. The Count in his previous conference with me had stated that he was afraid that Mr. Grant-Smith was anti-Hungarian and I had assured him at that time that I was sure he was mistaken.

Colonel Sheldon, Mr. Grant-Smith and myself had lunch this noon with General Graziani at the Széchényi Palace.

The afternoon was spent at the office winding up my affairs, including the drafting of letters to the Prime Minister and Admiral Horthy, announcing that the American Military Mission as such would terminate its labors and leave Budapest on February 9, giving up my offices in the Royal Palace, and the Royal Box at the Opera House.

<sup>92</sup> Count Apponyi has been and is today the leader of the Legitimist Royalists who desire to see the old line of Hapsburgs on the Hungarian throne.

*February 5, 1920*

*February 5, 1920.* Our departure is scheduled to take place at 8.40 A.M. on the ninth. We shall be about three hours in Vienna that evening and should arrive in Paris about 8.30 on the morning of the eleventh. A suite has already been engaged for me on the SS. "Adriatic," which is to sail from Cherbourg on March 3. What we shall do in Paris for three weeks is a question which is mainly a financial one. It will probably cost me less to take a trip to Spain and return than to pay Paris hotel bills. I might also take a run back to Coblenz and stay a few days with my old friend, General Allen, who was my predecessor as Chief of the Philippine Constabulary and who now commands the American Forces in Germany.

While we shall all be glad to be homeward bound, yet we cannot but feel some regrets at leaving Hungary. Personally I came here rather inclined to condone or extenuate much of the Roumanian procedure, but their outrageous conduct in violation of all international law, decency, and humane considerations, has made me become an advocate of the Hungarian cause. Turning over portions of Hungary with its civilized and refined population will be like turning over Texas and California to the Mexicans. The great Powers of the Allies should hang their heads in shame for what they allowed to take place in this country after an armistice. It would be just as sensible to insist also that Switzerland, on account of her mixed French, German, and Italian population, be subdivided into three states, as to insist upon the illogical ethnographic subdivision

*February 6, 1920*

and distribution of the territory and people of old Hungary. It is simply another case of the application of long-range theory as against actual conditions.

The Hungarians certainly have many defects, at least from an American point of view, but they are so far superior to any of their neighbors that it is a crime against civilization to continue with the proposed dismemberment of this country.

*February 6, 1920.* Yesterday afternoon I was urgently requested to come some evening to the Otthon Club, which is the gathering place of all the Budapest journalists, and corresponds here to the Lamb's Club in New York City. I told them that the only evening I could show up would be tonight, and I agreed to go between 10 o'clock and midnight. Early in the evening Colonel Sheldon and myself, with a party, saw "Madame Butterfly" at the Opera House. Then we went home for dinner and afterwards to the Clubhouse, where we found a big gathering. They were most vociferous in their applause and planted us immediately at a large banquet table despite the fact that we had just arisen from our own dinner. During the afternoon, they had telephoned around to the best-known actors and actresses and musicians in town and the whole bunch was there. It was one A.M. before we could get away. We had all sorts of dances, songs, vaudeville performances, speeches, etc. I was obliged to respond, with Mr. Zerkowitz as interpreter, but warned them that nothing that was said could be allowed to be published.

*February 7, 1920*

*February 7, 1920.* All my officers and myself were entertained at dinner by Prime Minister Huszár. All of the prominent Cabinet Ministers and many of their wives were present, as were also Count and Countess Apponyi, and Admiral and Madame Horthy. During the dinner, Count Apponyi made a most eloquent address in beautiful English. The main point was thanking me for what I had done for Hungary and requesting my continued assistance. I was obliged to respond in like strain, concluding with the hope that I might sometime return to Hungary under such conditions that I could say all that I felt. The Count prefaced his remarks by referring to the fact that I was among technical enemies, but that that made no difference. To this I responded that the Bible had instructed us to love our enemies, and that I was endeavoring to carry out the Biblical injunction.

Today will be spent in closing and vacating our offices at the Royal Palace, tomorrow we shall close up and vacate the house, and at 8.40 o'clock Monday morning we are due to leave on the train of the Hungarian Peace Delegation.



# Appendix I

## *Chronology of Events Affecting Hungary*

1919

- August 6 Julius Peidl government overthrown by a coup d'état. Archduke Joseph assumes power as Regent with Stephen Friedrich as Prime Minister.
- " 7 King Ferdinand of Roumania arrives in Budapest. The Roumanians ignore the demands of the Inter-Allied Peace Council that they withdraw.
- " 14 Mr. Lovászy forms a new cabinet in Hungary.
- " 15 The Peace Conference informs the Roumanians that it, not the government of Roumania or its Army, will take care of the Hungarian readjustment.
- " 22 The Supreme Council informs the Archduke Joseph that he must resign his position of leadership.
- " 23 Archduke Joseph abdicates and Friedrich resigns.
- " 27 Friedrich forms a new cabinet.
- September 10 Peace Treaty of St. Germain with Austria signed. The Roumanian delegates refuse to accept the treaty.
- " 13 The Roumanian Cabinet under Premier Brătianu resigns because of complications in foreign affairs.
- " 13 Gabriele d'Annunzio assumes control of Fiume, in defiance of Allies.
- October 11 Roumanian troops withdraw from territory west of the Danube.
- " 25 Sir George Clerk arrives in Budapest as special delegate of the Supreme Council. He forms a new coalition government, which includes some Socialists.

## Appendix I

- November 4 D'Annunzio seizes Zara.
- " 7 The Supreme Council demands for the fourth time the withdrawal of Roumanian troops from Hungary.
- " 13 Roumanian troops evacuate Budapest. Admiral Horthy enters Budapest with Hungarian troops.
- " 19 The Senate of the United States, after months of debate, rejects the treaty of Versailles.
- " 23 Karl Huszár becomes Minister President after Friedrich's resignation.
- " 24 The Jugo-Slavs demand of the Supreme Council that it should take action against d'Annunzio.
- " 27 Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria. Roumania and Jugo-Slavia are not permitted to sign until they have signed the treaty of St. Germain.
- December 9 American delegates join in signing an agreement of the Allies with Roumania concerning the withdrawal of Roumanian troops from Hungary.
- " 9 Members of the American Peace Delegation depart from Paris.
- 1920
- January 5 The Hungarian Peace Delegation leaves to receive the peace terms from the Allies.
- " 15 Peace terms handed to the Hungarians.
- " 17 Paul Deschanel elected President of France, defeating Clemenceau.
- " 18 Clemenceau resigns with his cabinet.
- " 25 Millerand forms new cabinet in France.
- " 25 First elections for a National Assembly in Hungary.
- " 27 Jugo-Slavia accepts the Allied Fiume settlement.

## Events Affecting Hungary

- February 23 Hungary responds to treaty proposal; demands plebiscites in territories to be ceded to Austria and Roumania; protests against economic terms.
- “ 28 Provisional Constitution accepted by National Assembly (convened February 16).
- March 1 Horthy chosen Governor. Huszár resigns, and Alexander Simonyi-Semadam forms an Agrarian-Christian Nationalist cabinet, with Count Paul Teleki as Foreign Minister.
- “ 23 Horthy proclaims Hungary a kingdom and assumes the title of Administrator of the Realm, or *Reichsverweser*.
- June 4 Treaty of Trianon signed.
- November 13 Treaty of Trianon ratified by Hungary.

## Appendix II

### *Supreme Council's Instructions to the Inter-Allied Military Mission to Hungary*

It will be the object of the Mission:

1st: To get into communication with the Hungarian Government with a view to insuring the observation of the armistice and rendering the disarming effective.

To this end it will be obliged:

(a) To fix the *maximum number* of effectives of the Hungarian army to be maintained under arms, with the sole object of insuring order in the interior:

(b) To proceed to the *disarming* of all the demobilized units and to the dissolution of the depôts or mobilizing centers:

(c) To insure the surrender to the Allies of the *arms, munitions and war material* in excess of the material necessary for the units kept under arms; to include the material coming from the Mackensen Army:

(d) To regulate, in accord with the Allied commands, the distribution of this various material among the Allied Powers interested, taking into account the military effort furnished by each, and the present war situation:

(e) To stop immediately the production of the arsenals and the war manufactories:

2nd: To make a report on the present condition of this matter and its probable outcome:

3rd: To establish liaison with the Commander in Chief of the Roumanian and Serbian armies, in order:

(a) To prevent on the part of the victorious armies all measures which would tend to excite the national sentiment in Hungary or which in any way might prolong the troubled situation in this country and retard the conclusion of peace:

(b) To determine according to the situation of the moment the effectives and the emplacements of the Roumanian and

## *Military Mission*

Serbian troops that it will be necessary to maintain on Hungarian soil to guarantee order and the execution of the armistice:

(c) To regulate with the Roumanian and Serbian commands the withdrawal of the excess Roumanian and Serbian troops:

The Mission is informed for its further instruction:

1st: That the frontiers of Hungary having been defined already by the Conference and communicated directly to all the Governments concerned, it is the policy of the Conference to withdraw all foreign troops from this country, avoiding all unnecessary delay. It must be noted that the Roumanians have promised to withdraw their armies as soon as the disarming of the Hungarians is accomplished, and in accord with the armistice terms:

2nd: That orders have been given to raise the blockade against Hungary and to proceed to the immediate importation of food stuffs of the most urgent nature:

3rd: That the maintenance of these new conditions will depend on the conduct of the Hungarian Government toward the Allied and Associated Powers:

4th: That these Powers have not the least desire to interfere in the interior affairs of the Hungarian nation concerning the choice of their government, but that at the same time they cannot treat with any government which they cannot trust to carry out fairly its international obligations.

## Appendix III

### *Appointment of General Bandholtz to the Inter-Allied Military Mission*

American Commission  
To Negotiate Peace

Paris, August 6, 1919

Brigadier General H. H. Bandholtz, U. S. A.,  
Paris, France.

Sir:

By direction of the American Commissioners I have to inform you that you have been named the American representative on the Inter-Allied Military Mission to Hungary, established by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference.

A copy of the instructions to the Mission as agreed upon by the Council is enclosed herewith for your information and guidance.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant

[signed]

Diplomatic Secretary

General Headquarters  
American Expeditionary Forces

France, August 9th, 1919

Special Orders  
No. 210

[Extract]

10. Brigadier General Harry H. Bandholtz, U. S. Army, is relieved from assignment as Provost General, A. E. F., and will

## *Appointment of Bandholtz*

report to the Assistant Secretary of State, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, Paris, for duty.

By Command of General Pershing:

James G. Harbord  
Chief of Staff

Official:

Robert C. Davis  
Adjutant General.

Bureau of Accounts,  
Department of State,

Washington, D. C.

March 23, 1920

H. H. Bandholtz,

Brig. General, U. S. A.

American Military Representative in Hungary.

Dear General:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your final account dated February 17, 1920, for expenditures amounting to \$2,536.68.

I enclose herewith a copy of the above account which I have approved as suggested by you.

I wish to state that your accounts have been checked and approved as submitted by you, and that there is no balance due to or from you.

Thanking you for the prompt and properly prepared accounts, I am,

Respectfully yours,

H. R. Young

Disbursing Officer,

American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

## Appendix IV

### *General Bandholtz*

BY EMIL ZERKOWITZ

[This article appeared in the *Pester Lloyd* of January 31, 1919]

Having fulfilled his Mission, Harry Hill Bandholtz, Brigadier General of the United States Army, the leader of the American Military Mission, will shortly leave Budapest and return to his country and to his home after an absence of nearly two years. The noble-minded and brave General leaves us after having done his work, and we must say that he could not have won a nobler, a more uplifting and happier victory than the one he achieved in Budapest. He conquered the hearts of millions, the love and gratitude and appreciation of the Hungarian nation accompany him on his journey, and we tie a wreath of victory for him out of the flowers of love.

When he arrived in our midst, in the dreary days of the month of August, the country had hardly had time to regain consciousness from a stupor caused by a period of terror when the darkness of renewed horrors covered our souls; the Hungarian capital, occupied by foreign troops, was turned into a death chamber. Armed guards were watching over the down-trodden and tortured national conscience, on the eve of a frightful ordeal. We could not raise cries loud enough, we could not speak openly, for even the winking of our eyes was regarded with suspicion. How could the wide world, the foreign nations and the few friends that we had left and who still retained some humane feeling after a war of five years, a chaotic compound made up from mutual hatred, get to know in what plight we were and what fate was in store for us?

But lo! the world was moved and with it the conscience of triumphant victors. The great powers of the Entente delegated a mission of Generals to Budapest; American, British, Italian and French Military Missions with a general at the head of

## *General Bandholtz*

each of them, who met every day to discuss the position of the occupied country. This was an essentially military function, but it could not maintain its rigidly military character for long. In order to investigate into the damages caused by Roumanian occupation, a Claim Office was set up by the council of the four Generals and placed under the control of the American Mission. In such manner, the American Mission developed into a Mecca, as it were, of the suffering Hungarian pilgrims. It must be admitted that this was a practice that had been adopted by the sufferers long before the Claim Office was brought into being. They hurried to the American Mission hoping for assistance.

Their hopes were not in vain. General Bandholtz, the hardy and brave soldier, was a warm-hearted guardian of the sufferers, the impartial and inexorable judge of injustice, whom nothing could keep from acting, if something was to be done in the interest of a just cause. He persecuted all excesses with unbounded energy and investigated all complaints with inexorable impartiality. He rigorously combated injustice and relieved all innocent sufferers with happy contentment.

He carried into practice all the principles of the much advertised modern diplomacy. He made no secret of what was in his mind, but openly stated his opinion. He was ever ready to discuss matters of importance, but, what is more, he acted. His door was open to all; he received everyone and heard all who wanted to speak to him. This is how he gained a deep insight into the Hungarian soul. He did not limit himself to the study of books or of historical documents, but he turned for information to the data supplied by real life. He made the acquaintance of Count Albert Apponyi, the greatest of our political leaders and often, after discussing with him for hours such questions as were most intimately connected with our very existence, he heard the complaints of some poor farmer, turned out of his property by the troops of occupation. Having been at work all day, he hurried on one occasion late at night to the

## Appendix IV

National Museum to seal its doors with his own hands, thus saving the most valuable treasures of the nation, the precious memorials of its culture and civilization.

He knew us in our suffering and so became the true friend of our nation. It is not mere pity that made him our friend. He proved, by persevering at our side even in our direst catastrophe, a true friend who did not abandon us, but who exhorted our nation to work, our only salvation and the only means to forget. When doing so, he called to our memory our glorious past, and taught us that this nation could not fall a victim to destruction, filled as it is with a keen desire of life, this being the lesson taught by our national history of a thousand years. This is what he said to many of our statesmen and to many journalists who interviewed him, and whoever had an opportunity to get in touch with General Bandholtz could see that his words were prompted by sincere conviction. He will herald these ideas of his, even when he has left the Hungarian capital and when he returns to independent America, his country and the land of George Washington, its Father, of Abraham Lincoln, the liberator of the slaves, and of Thomas Jefferson, the advocate of true democracy. He returns to America, the country where Louis Kossuth, the greatest son of oppressed Hungary, was received in 1851 more warmly and more enthusiastically than any other foreign statesman before or since. America is the country where nearly two million fellow countrymen of ours have found work and a warm reception, the majority of whom have been granted citizens' rights, and where the Magyar is being appreciated, not only for his physical work, but also because of the true virtues of every Hungarian. In America, where there is such a fertile soil for the love of our country and for sympathy, General Bandholtz is sure to become an advocate of our true cause, of our desire to live, and of our faith in the future. His brave collaborators will assist him in his pioneer work. Colonel Loree, who is an incredibly hard worker, an indefatigable, excellent man, who was working for us

## *General Bandholtz*

day and night with love, willingness and self-denial, will be at their head, and so will Colonel Sheldon, this soldier inspired by truly humane ideals, the supporter of all needy people.

The Chief of the Military Mission surrenders his post to the Representative of the American Foreign Department, the Chief of the American Mission, who has just arrived, Mr. U. Grant-Smith. This excellent diplomatist, who worked at Vienna in the service of diplomacy for a number of years, knows our position thoroughly. While taking leave of General Bandholtz with feelings of appreciation and of respect, the public of the country warmly welcomes Mr. Grant-Smith, to whose future work the nation looks with fullest confidence.

And yet our hearts are pained in parting from the General. It is with painful feelings that we see him depart, him, the noble-hearted, excellent gentleman, who, although a soldier, was the first man to make us forget that nations faced each other with arms in hand, nations who used to be united by the traditional feelings of brotherly love, by a community of souls, and by the most glorious human ideals. We want to forget and we are going to forget. But we cannot possibly forget all that we owe to the glorious and noble work of General Bandholtz. On all his ways, our gratitude and undying love will accompany him.

The following is a translation of an article that appeared in the *National Journal*, Budapest, January 28, 1920:

"This forenoon the American High Commissioner, Mr. Grant-Smith, and General Bandholtz, called on Prime Minister Huszár, who described to them the political and economic situation of the country.

"At 1.30 o'clock General Bandholtz and his officers lunched at the Hotel Pannonia as the guests of the Mayor of the City, Mr. Bódy.

"General Bandholtz and the American Military Mission will leave Budapest at the beginning of February. We Hungarians

## Appendix IV

will always gratefully remember General Bandholtz, because we have so much to thank him for. During the Roumanian occupation, he protected us against the Roumanians' injustice, and it is mainly due to him that they evacuated the country between the Danube and Tisza and also that they did not rob our museums. The General himself sealed the National Museum and it was the American Mission that prevented the Roumanians from delivering the Bolshevists.

"It is General Bandholtz also who revived interest in charity work in Hungary."

The following is a translation of an article which appeared in the Hungarian newspaper *Uj Nemzedék*, January 29, 1920.

"The members of the American Military Mission and their chief, General Bandholtz, are soon leaving our capital, probably about the fifteenth of February. The affairs of the Mission are now being handed over to the American High Commissioner. The Magyars will always remember General Bandholtz with the feelings of deepest gratitude, as there is such a lot we must be thankful for to him and to the Mission. In the days of our profound sorrow, during the occupation of our country by the Roumanians, it was he who stood up for our righteous cause, and we don't know of any instance when he did not defend us. General Bandholtz persuaded the Roumanians to evacuate Transdanubia and the territories between the Danube and the Theiss, and it is owing to him that the Roumanians did not pillage our museums. The General personally sealed the entrance of our National Museum. Also we owe it to the energetic intervention of the Mission, that the Roumanians' endless efforts to liberate arrested Communists were frustrated. It was General Bandholtz who initiated the American actions of benevolence and hereby dried a sea of tears on the Hungarian faces."

## Appendix V

*Confidential Memorandum from Mr. Rattigan to  
Earl Curzon, Followed by a Critique on the  
Same by General Bandholtz*

*South-Eastern Europe.*

*Confidential*

Mr. Rattigan to Earl Curzon—[Received October 15.]

Bucharest, October 8, 1919.

My Lord,

The relations between this country and the Allies appear to me to be reaching so serious a stage that I venture to draw the attention of your Lordship to certain aspects of the situation which are perhaps easier to comprehend here than abroad.

I cannot help thinking that an atmosphere has been created by a chain of extraneous circumstances which is *obscuring* the main issue. It would seem that the first question we should ask ourselves in deciding upon our policy in the Near East is "What are the chief elements of order upon which we can rely to carry out that policy?" Roumania is, in my opinion, the first of such elements, if not the only real one. The fact that the country has for some time past been exploited by a gang of unscrupulous politicians is apt to blind the eyes of the average foreign observer to the real qualities of this people. The mass of the population, and especially the peasant classes, are simple primitive people, with many of the virtues one would expect to find in such conditions as exist here. They are, for example, sober, hard-working, easily contented, fairly honest, and above all orderly. These characteristics make Roumania very unfruitful soil for the propagation of the new communo-socialism. In fact, the peasants are fiercely hostile to the idea of communism. They are, on the whole, contented with what they have got, but are determined to retain it, and will oppose with all their

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power any attempt to pool their small properties. In these circumstances there is little doubt that Roumania may be relied on to resist any Bolshevist wave which may advance either from the east or west. A glance at the map will show that she stands as a rock in a sea of actual or potential Bolshevism.

If, therefore, it is once admitted that Roumania may be regarded as the most reliable weapon to our hand for the carrying out of the policy of law and order, based on such ideas as the League of Nations, as opposed to the Bolshevist tendencies of the surrounding Slav, and possibly Magyar races, then it seems to me that we should attempt to do all in our power to conciliate her and bring her back into the fold from which she is in danger of being severed. She will then inevitably develop into the outpost of Western civilization against the disruptive tendencies of Bolshevism.

I do not for a moment suggest that Roumania has not brought upon herself much of the treatment with which she has met. Her choice of representatives at the Paris Conference was undoubtedly unfortunate. M. Bratiano is certainly a patriot, but his character lacks the pliancy necessary for such work, and he apparently succeeded in exasperating all those with whom he came in contact by the excessive nature of his claims and the somewhat arrogant and unbending manner in which they were presented. Naturally this state of things reacted very unfavourably upon the Roumanian case. Moreover, it created an atmosphere of suspicion, in the light of which the actions of Roumania, even when possibly of an innocent character, were looked upon, not unnaturally, with a grave mistrust.

To take a case in point, presumably no reasonable man would now maintain that her action in resisting the Hungarian Bolshevists' wanton attack upon her, defeating it, and pursuing the remnants of the beaten enemy to Budapest, was anything but justifiable. Yet it must be admitted that at first, at any rate, the Conference was inclined to take the view that she was entirely at fault, and that she was openly flaunting the Allies.

## *Rattigan Memorandum*

Surely nothing could have been further from the truth. She was in fact accused of disregarding an armistice in which she had taken no part, which had not protected her from attack, and which the Allies themselves could not have regarded as still in existence by the fact that they had asked for Roumanian co-operation in the event of an Allied advance on Budapest. This is, of course, past history, and I only venture to bring it before your Lordship in illustration of the atmosphere of suspicion to which I have referred above.

From the moment of the Roumanian entry into Hungary proper the question entered on a new phase. Anyone with a knowledge of the Roumanian character could not but be aware of the fact that there would be abuses. As I had the honour to report to your Lordship, I lost no time in endeavouring to impress both on M. Bratiano and the King the vital importance of doing nothing further to shake the confidence of the Allies. I implored them to show all possible moderation in the way of requisitions, &c. I strongly advised M. Bratiano to tell the Conference frankly that, though he accepted the principle of the common property of the Allies in respect to goods taken from the enemy, yet that the critical situation of Roumania obliged him to remove certain quantities of railway material, &c., without waiting for its eventual distribution amongst the Allies. He should at the same time make a full return of all that he had been obliged to take, and ask that it should be set off against the share to be apportioned eventually to Roumania. This M. Bratiano would not agree to do. The real reason for his refusal was that he was well aware of the disfavour with which Roumania was regarded at Paris, and was consequently afraid that any such proposal would be rejected.

Thus the elements of discord and suspicion were sown at the very outset. It must be remembered that there is much of the naughty child in the Roumanian character. Conscious that he is doing wrong, and frightened at the impending punishment, he becomes almost impossible to deal with. In such conditions

## *Appendix V*

there is need of the greatest tact to prevent the situation developing along fatal lines. Unfortunately this tact has been throughout conspicuous by its absence. The Allied generals, with all their many qualities, are necessarily inexperienced in diplomacy or statecraft. I venture to state, upon the fullest reflection, that they entered upon their duties in a wrong atmosphere, and that their focus became more and more distorted with the progress of events. They are necessarily dependent to a very large extent for their views on elements frankly inimical to the Roumanians. Most of their agents are of course Hungarians. The more the latter perceived that reports hostile to the Roumanians were acceptable, the more violent were the reports they made. There was of course sufficient material of a true nature to serve as a basis for these stories. Large numbers of the governing classes of Roumania are corrupt, and it was not to be expected that there would not be many abuses. But I cannot help thinking that more could have been done to combat these abuses by a spirit of friendly advice and co-operation than by the methods employed.

I had the honour to recommend in my dispatch No. 168, that, in view of the above circumstances, it might be advisable to replace the four Allied Generals by one high civil functionary representing the Conference. This would have the advantage of making the Roumanians understand that the Allies have one single policy. At present it cannot be said that the four Allied Generals are entirely "solidaires," and the Roumanians are consequently inclined to try to play off one group against the other. As your Lordship is aware, the French by their attitude here give the Roumanians the impression that they are really on their side, but are obliged to yield to Anglo-American pressure. Presumably the same impression is given at Budapest. If one civil representative of the Conference were appointed, and he combined the requisite qualities of tact and firmness, there would be every hope of a speedy and satisfactory solution of the present difficulties. Possibly it might be ad-

## *Rattigan Memorandum*

visible to appoint a mixed commission, under the presidency of the representative of the Conference, to enquire into the whole question of requisitions. The Roumanian authorities profess themselves ready to place at the disposal of an Allied delegate full information in regard to everything requisitioned or removed by them. They indignantly deny that they are responsible for the starvation of Budapest. On the contrary, in response to the representations made by me on receipt of your telegram No. 410, they informed me that they had sent 3,000 waggon loads of cereals to Budapest and two trains of wood fuel to Kes Kemet.<sup>1</sup> The 3,000 waggon loads of cereals had been requisitioned from the district between the Theiss and the new Roumanian frontier—a district which, it is alleged, is overflowing with food—and had been promised to the Transylvanians and paid for by them. In spite of the protests of the latter, these cereals had been sent to Budapest. With regard to the wood they informed me with some truth that Bucharest itself is almost completely destitute of wood fuel, but that in spite of this they had handed over the two trainloads in question to the Hungarian authorities.

There appears to be almost a deadlock in regard to certain questions at Budapest. For example, the Roumanian Government claim that they have an absolute right to co-operation in the formation of a Hungarian Government in so far as to ensure that no Government hostile to themselves is installed. Again, with regard to the evacuation of Hungary by their forces, they maintain that what is asked of them is entirely unreasonable. They assert that they themselves are anxious to leave. The Friedrich Government has also expressed a wish for their withdrawal. The Allies, however, they allege, desire them to remain until a Government which is hostile to Roumania is firmly established in the saddle. They maintain that they are most anxious to co-operate loyally with the Allies in settling the Hungarian imbroglio, and that they are ready to extend their

<sup>1</sup> The proper spelling is Keskemet.

## *Appendix V*

support to any Government chosen by the Hungarian people and acceptable to the Allies, provided this Government is calculated to restore order and is not imbued with hostile sentiments towards Roumania. But the Allies can, they say, hardly ask them to assist a Government which is openly hostile to themselves. With regard to the demand of the Allied Generals for the handing over of 10,000 rifles for the use of the Hungarian police force, they say that they had a right to ascertain, before handing over these rifles, what were the numbers of the armed forces in Hungary over and above these 10,000 police troops. To meet the wishes of the Allies they have, however, now waived their objections and delivered the required quantity of rifles.

Whatever the real rights and wrongs of all these questions may be, they would appear capable of adjustment if handled with tact and goodwill on both sides. In Budapest, however, at present these qualities are, as I have said above, conspicuous by their absence. I do not suggest that firmness is not also needed in our relations with the Roumanians. On the contrary, I consider that in dealing with them it is essential to exercise great firmness so as to make them understand that no nonsense will be tolerated. But it should be possible to combine firmness with an attitude of friendliness and goodwill.

In view, therefore, of the considerations which I have ventured to emphasize, I would respectfully suggest that some such solution as that proposed above is necessary, and that the whole question of our policy towards Roumania may be examined from the standpoint of her importance to us as the representative of law and order in this part of the world.

I have, &c.,

F. Rattigan.

## Appendix V

### *Critique by General Bandholtz on Mr. Rattigan's Confidential Memorandum to Earl Curzon*

Budapest, Hungary

13th November 1919

There must be something besides mixed metaphor in the Roumanian "atmosphere created by a chain of extraneous circumstances" that obfuscates even strong mentalities. Mr. Rattigan is of the opinion that we should "do all in our power to conciliate" Roumania, but unfortunately he does not go into details as to what further conciliatory offerings should be made, in addition to the great gobs of soft-soap conciliation already thrown at our Ally, and which, to continue mixing metaphors, it has been almost impossible to deliver telegraphically.

Next he accuses M. Bratiano of being a patriot, one who truly loves and serves his fatherland. "Nuff sed." Then in Bratiano's own words, we have a sophistical explanation of the occupation of Budapest, followed by an ingenious defense of the principle of Roumanian seizures, and the condensation of the whole situation into the statement, "It must be remembered that there is much of the naughty child in the Roumanian character. Conscious that he is doing wrong and frightened at the impending punishment, he becomes impossible to deal with." Beautifully euphemistic but decidedly un-John Bull-like. What today would have been the situation in India, Egypt and South Africa if other naughty children had been coddled and cuddled as has been naughty little Roumania with her hands and clothes all daubed with grease from locomotives and machinery stolen from the assets of her Allies, her face smeared with loot jam and her belly distended from gorging on supplies that her Allies will have to replace? What she needed was to have the shingle of common sense vigorously applied to her.

## Appendix V

"The Allied Generals, with all their many qualities [fortunately not enumerated and blushes thereby spared] are necessarily inexperienced in diplomacy or statecraft." To which charge, considering the international fame of their accuser, they must plead "guilty" and throw themselves on the mercy of the court. However, when Mr. Rattigan "upon the fullest reflection" locates the Generals' distorted "focus," makes definite statements as to their sources of information, and begins to think, all bets are off, he in effect confesses that he knows as much about the Budapest situation as does an Ygorrot dog-eater about manicuring.

"The Roumanian authorities *profess* themselves ready to place at the disposal of an Allied delegate full information in regard to everything requisitioned or removed by them. They indignantly deny that they are responsible for the starvation of Budapest. . . . The Allies, however, they *allege*, desire them to remain until a Government which is hostile to Roumania is firmly established in the saddle," etc., etc., "Can you beat it? 'Nem, nem sabat!'" Verily a personification of Roumanian veracity would make Baron Münchhausen or St. Ananias look like a glorified George Washington.

"It cannot be said that the four Allied Generals are entirely 'solidaires.'" Nevertheless fifty per cent of them, "not mentioning names," have displayed a fine example of solid cohesion. "One high civil functionary," especially one experienced like Mr. Rattigan in diplomacy or statecraft, would have been the solution and he would have had a carnival of effervescence trying to precipitate in himself the closely allied interests of the Allies in the land of Hunyadi János.

Passing from the Rattigan solution, which should have been received with paeans of joy, and adopted with alacrity by a brain-fagged Supreme Council, we then come to a well-rounded and fitting climax: "Whatever the real rights and wrongs of all these questions may be, they would appear capable of adjustment if handled with tact and goodwill on both sides. In

## *Bandholtz Critique*

Budapest, however, at present these qualities are, as I have said above, conspicuous by their absence." The Gospel truth! Every effort humanly possible has been made by an Inter-Allied Military Mission, with the patience of a setting hen on a nest of china eggs, to coax Roumanian Headquarters into carrying out the expressed wishes of the Supreme Council or into keeping any of its solemn promises. The goodwill was one-sided with a vengeance.

Judging from the Roumanian occupation of Hungary, our little Latin Allies have the refined loot appetite of a Mississippi River catfish, the chivalrous instincts of a young cuckoo, and the same hankering for truth that a seasick passenger has for pork and beans.

Referring to the first sentence hereof, it would seem that the writer of the original monograph on South-Eastern Europe had become a Rattigianu instead of remaining a British chargé d'affaires.



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