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Jugoslav government to prevent anything in the way of a demonstration. All large political parties of Croatia, although differing between themselves, have shown united antagonism against the restoration of the Hapsburg in Hungary. There is, of course, a very insignificant local party, known as the Frank Party, a small faction of which is flirting with the reactionary elements in Budapest and Vienna with a view to realizing the return of a Hapsburg monarchy.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
Alfred R. Thomson¹⁶⁷
Alfred R. Thomson,
Consul.

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ART/mwv

28. 1921., srpanj 14., Izvješće Olivera Fosa Faya, američkoga časnika pri Misiji u Budimpešti o stanju u Jugoslaviji i mogućnosti povratka Karla IV. (I.) na mađarsko prijestolje. Odnoseći se na Hrvatsku istaknuto je da je čak i „republikanac Radić sada Karlist“, te da je „u Hrvatskoj raspoloženje protiv Srba toliko ogorčeno da bi se bez pretjerivanja moglo reći da bi i najžešći bivši republikanac (...) prihvatio Karla otvorenih ruku“.

NARA, M 358, R 2, 860h.00/123

BUDAPEST

No. 1571

July 14th, 1921.

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith, for the information of the Department, a copy of a REPORT FROM THE OFFICE OF THE MILITARY OBSERVER, PREPARED BY MR. OLIVER FOS FAY, A HUNGARIAN SUBJECT, for many years

¹⁶⁷ Vlastroučno.

resident in the United States, and who was assigned to (...) ¹⁶⁸ the Military Observer attached to this mission recently, by the authorities at Coblenz. The report deals with the PROBABILITY OF THE ATTEMPTED RESTORATION OF EX-KING CARL, by way of Agram, the capital of Croatia, which place he would be suspected to reach, travelling incognito, from Switzerland via Trieste, by the Simplon Express.

The contention between the eastern and western portions of Yugoslavia are represented by the Serbs on the one hand and the Croats on the other, would be unquestionably a factor in favor of the success of any such scheme, as, likewise, doubtless the fact that the inhabitants of those provinces of Yugoslavia which were formerly under the Habsburg Monarchy, find their present co-partnership with the Serbs much of a fiction, and that, in fact, they have exchanged a comparatively gentle master for a brutal one. Whatever may be said with regard to the former rule of the Habsburgs in those territories, safety of life and property were insured to anyone who refrained from political intrigue. Conspirators, however, were summarily dealt with, and their treatment sometimes brought forth protests from other countries. The Serbs, however, being a rough peasant people, have not, as yet, developed beyond the stage where brutality is the rule rather than the exception, in dealing with persons under arrest. An enlightening remark was made recently by the Serbian Representative at Budapest, who, in reply to a Hungarian who expressed regret that the ex-King had returned to Hungary in April last, and the fear that he would continue to cause trouble to the country, asked why they did not kill him when they had him in their power.

In discussing the possibility of a rising in Slovakia and Ruthenia in aid of the restoration of the King in case he should approach from the south, the writer of the report seeks to have overlooked the important fact that, although there is mutual dislike between the Czechs and Slovaks which extends also to the German population, the Socialist of the three nationalities stand together as opposed to the bourgeois and the landlords, because of the conviction that thereby they will share in a division of the spoils to be realized through the partition of the fortunes of those who are better off. I am not aware to what extent that applies to the populations of Yugoslavia, but am inclined to believe that no inconsiderable proportion of them would be found opposed to any restoration of the ex-Monarch, from the certainty that, should he return to power in Croatia and as well as in Hungary, no land reform on the scale or under the conditions they desire would be carried out.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant
U. Grant Dull¹⁶⁹

C-S

Ec.

File 800

¹⁶⁸ Nečitko.

¹⁶⁹ Vlastoručno.

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Enclosure:

1) Report re attempted restoration of existing Carl, dated July 21th, 1921.

AMERICAN MISSION

BUDAPEST

Enclosure No. 1

Despatch No. 1571

Dated July 14th, 1921. COPY

RLF

5 copies Milstaf

1 copy File

1 copy Prague

1 copy Coblenz

1 copy Belgrade

1 copy U.S. Commissioner

THE STRONG POINT OF CARLIST STRATEGY,
CROATIA OR SLOVAKIA

Monograph report

Political factor

Hungary

335 July 9, 1921.

(58) other

The Carlist question must now after the Easter fiasco been looked at from a different angle.

If Carl should "come in" through Croatia or Slovakia the whole aspect of the situation appears as new as it is complicated.

Looking first at Croatia we find a strong Legitimist current throughout the whole country. Even RADICH, the Republican agitator, is now said to be a Carlist and is credit with having his trusty man with Charles. In Croatia the feeling against the Serbs is so bitter that one may say without exaggeration, that the ground – even amongst the formerly most rabid Republicans – is well prepared for the possibility of receiving Carl with open arms there. The differences between Croats and Serbs have become so acute of late that the former, good soldiers of the former Austro-Hungarian (chiefly HONVÉD)

Army, would mobilize at the first possible chance against the Serbs. The Croats are, it must be added, well organized. Their passions are, quite aside from purely political and economic reasons, roused by a strong Clerical Catholic movement against the elbow spreading Greek Orthodox Church. The inhabitants of Croatia, viz. Croats, Slovenes, Hungarians and Germans are mostly Catholics and their movement may justly be called (...)¹⁷⁰. The person of "the most catholic monarch" must, under the circumstances, exercise a strong incentive on a population very much under a predominant. The Vatican is not to be believed idle; its attitude is surely rather Platonic, but just as surely it inspires active movements. Very broadly speaking, a strong Catholic wedge in a growing world of Greek orthodoxy and Protestantism is too elementary an interest of the Church, not to make her observe her opportunities, discretely and diplomatically of course, but consequently.

If the news should suddenly spread that Charles, having come from Switzerland via Simplon Express straight to Agram (Zagreb) the capital of Croatia, he is likely to find powerful national enthusiasms, the Croat and Hungarian, meet in one great wave carrying him on its current.

The situation on the whole is very much similar in Slovakia, on the public spirit, the popular mind is very favorably inclined toward Carl. The Slovaks savage hatred of the Czechs, the Prague administration's "taking away of their God" (Proslav agitation, etc.) and all the never before experienced predicaments in Slovakia are most inducive to a Carlist movement. If the bearers of the Carlist flag understand to have it figure in the minds of the Slovak and Ruthenian population of Slovakia as the symbol of liberation from the Czech visitation, they will rally under it, Slovaks, Ruthenians, and eo ipso Hungarians and Germans. It is more than doubtful if under such conditions the Czechs will "march", Little Entente or no Little Entente. One might remember here the witty remark of the American Military Attaché in Prague "The Czechs will fight to the last Serb soldier!"

As far as Hungary proper is concerned the situation has been fully discussed several times before. Summing it up one might repeat that there are Legitimists and anti-Carlists. The latter, as everyone in Hungary, think first and foremost of the ever present Great Question, territorial integrity, even these then, should Charles bring it or at least "anything resembling it, would immediately welcome him with enthusiasm, irrespective of his personality and past sins. One might go one step further and say that even Anti-Monarchists would "take anyone" as a King if he will bring territorial integrity. A very indicative argument for this statement was the tendency in Hungary some time ago to even enter into an arrangement of a Personal Union with Roumania, because it was hoped to thereby create some possible basis in the Transylvania Question.

It must never be forgotten, furthermore, that the oligarchs of the King factory (the National Club) and all those innumerable people who have something to expect from Carl would welcome him with open arms even if he didn't bring integrity. With integrity he would be idolized, /canonized! One might sum up in saying that Carl, coming with integrity direct or indirect, would find all Anti-Carlist elements dissolved in enthusiasts.

¹⁷⁰ Nečitko.

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If we now look toward the effect of a Carlist deus ex machine materialization through Croatia or Slovakia we will most likely find that Benes and Jonescu and the others have overestimated that range of the Little Entente Artillery. A Czech mobilization will in all probability find a Slovak flank movement and a Hungarian other hand will have to cope with a Croat flank and a Hungarian frontal attack; the Roumanian Army as a strategic factor may be listed as rather problematic. Moreover the Transylvanian population. Roumanian included, will probably stand up like one man against it. This whole inductive of the praemiseae are hard and fast facts and several of the deductions are extremely probable, the scheme appears decidedly practicable.

It may be added that Italy as a protector of the Little Entente or a part of it may not be counted upon.

29. 1921., listopad 28., Dodatak izvješću br. 1073 Henryja Percivala Dodgea State Departmentu: Izvješće konzula Alfreda Thomsona iz Zagreba poslaniku Henryju Percivalu Dodgeu o „političkoj situaciji u Hrvatskoj“ u kojem govori o stajalištima Hrvatskoga bloka i njihovoj spremnosti na pregovore s predsjednikom vlade Stojanom Protićem o izmjeni Vidovdanskoga ustava, te da „hrvatska javnost u većini gaji velike nade u politiku i djelovanje gosp[odina]. Stojana Protića, jer vjeruje da bi njegovim ostankom na vlasti moglo doći do radikalnih promjena u srpsko-hrvatskim odnosima.“

NARA, M 358, R 2, 860H.00/129

Enclosure No. 3. In Despatch No. 1073 of November 12, 1921.

AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE

Zagreb, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

October 28, 1921.

SUBJECT: Political Developments in Croatia since the Promulgation of the Constitution (June 28, 1921).

Honorable H. Percival Dodge,

American Minister,

Belgrade.