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Hungary and North America: Links and Interactions 1850-2010

Edited and introduced by

Nándor Dreisziger

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Articles by

ISTVÁN KORNÉL VIDA
SUSAN GLANZ
THOMAS SAKMYSTER
MYRON MOMRYK
KATALIN PINTZ
JUDITH GALÁNTHA HERMANN
LEE CONGDON

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Preface

Our journal is fortunate enough to present another volume of essays dealing with contacts and interactions between Hungarians and North Americans, and Hungary on the one hand and the United States and Canada on the other.[1] The time-span covered is more than a century-and-a-half, from the early 1850s almost to the present. The authors in this volume represent a good mix of scholars based in the United States, Canada and Hungary. By background they are mainly, but not exclusively, Hungarian. In terms of expertise, most of them are historians, but some of the authors represent other disciplines.

More than half of this volume is devoted to themes of Hungary-USA interactions as well as links between Hungarian and American politics and cultures especially in America, in particular in the Hungarian-American immigrant communities.

The first paper in this first part of the volume is by István Kornél Vida and deals with a hitherto neglected aspect of Lajos Kossuth's visit to the United States in the wake of the Hungarian struggle for independence in 1848-1849: the reactions to the Hungarian statesman's tour and his reception by some of the outstanding figures of contemporary America's literary renaissance. From this study it becomes evident that America's writers were just as divided about Kossuth and his cause as was the American public, especially as the initial great enthusiasm which he was greeted with began to wane. In the end Kossuth left America as a disappointed man who achieved none of his major expectations.

The second paper, by Susan Glanz, also deals with the American tour of a prominent Hungarian, though not nearly as prominent as Lajos Kossuth. This Hungarian was Imre Széchényi and he, in the company of several of his aristocratic relatives and friends, made a grand tour of North America (he visited Manitoba, Canada also) in 1881.

It is interesting to compare these two American tours. Of course, their context is very different. Kossuth was an exiled leader of a Hungary under renewed foreign (Habsburg) domination. Two decades later Imre Széchényi came as an unofficial representative of an autonomous, almost independent Hungary. In terms of success, as we have mentioned above, Kossuth's tour was near-total failure, while Széchényi must have been quite satisfied with the results of his time spent in America. Yet, in the long run, Széchényi also failed to achieve his aims. He had hoped to implement modern agricultural practices he had seen in America in his native land, but very little came of these expectations.

The next paper, by Thomas Sakmyster, deals the interactions of the Stalinist dictator Mátyás Rákosi's Hungarian Communist Party with the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA). It shows how the meddling by Rákosi in American communist affairs, in particular the false accusations he made against Hungarian members of the CPUSA, in the long run discredited him and Stalinism in the eyes of many American communists, caused much soul-searching for many of them and, together with the events of the autumn of 1956 in Hungary, helped to accelerate the decline of the communist movement in the United States. The story told documents in great detail the gradual disillusionment in the communist ideal of many of the first-half-of-the 20th century's left-leaning newcomers to America from Hungary, and more importantly, of their American ideological soul-mates. Sakmyster's overall conclusion is that Rákosi's machinations and meddling in American communist affairs "contributed to the shattering of the CPUSA" a few short years later.

While Professor Sakmyster tells the story of a part of the communist movement in the United States, Myron Momryk recounts the sad fate of a Hungarian immigrant to Canada who, under the difficult circumstances of the Great Depression, was driven into the arms of that country's Communist Party. For this choice Canada's authorities deported him from Canada, but before he could be delivered to his native land, he escaped and ended up in the Soviet Union — where he became a victim of Stalin's purges.

The last paper in this volume to deal with the Hungarians of the United States is by Katalin Pintz. This exhaustive study traces the history of the efforts of the Hungarian-American communities of New Jersey, especially of the city of New Brunswick, to maintain the Hungarian culture, especially the Magyar language. Pintz finds that heritage maintenance was quite suc-

cessful here, partly because this part of the American East-coast had always been multi-ethnic, and partly because there had been, since the beginning of the 20th century, a solid Hungarian presence in the region. Another factor that makes for the continued survival of the Hungarian culture here is the fact that New Brunswick has been receiving immigrants, as well as visitors who often come for long stays, from Hungary — even in recent decades. According to the author, most of the work of culture maintenance has been carried out by the Hungarian institutions — social clubs, ethnic schools, cultural organizations and the immigrant churches — of New Brunswick and neighbouring municipalities. Despite the enviable success of these communities in heritage maintenance, the forces of assimilation have been felt here too. Especially sad in this respect is the fate of Hungarian-language services in the local Magyar churches — which have all been cut back and are nowadays threatened with disappearance.

The following paper, by Judith Galántha Hermann, chronicles the story of the Hungarian voice of Radio Canada International, an institution that was born in the aftermath of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and lasted till the birth of the post-communist era in Hungary. The story is a chapter in the history of the Hungarian ethic group in Canada. It is not surprising that the RCI's Hungarian voice coincided with what has been called the "golden age" of this immigrant group, an age that lasted from the late 1950s to the early 1990s.[2]

The next item in our volume is a book review section. Two of the works reviewed here (the ones discussed by Lee Congdon) relate to the theme of "links and interactions" between Hungary and Hungarians on the one hand and North America on the other. The last two books reviewed are about unrelated themes. The penultimate item in the volume is an obituary of the author of the last book review in this section. This book review is probably the last of Mark Pittaway's many publications relating to Hungary and/or Hungarians.

NOTES

[1] In 2003 and 2004 we published two special volumes of our journal entitled *The United States and Hungary in the Twentieth Century Part I* and *Part II* (volumes 30 and 31 respectively). The 2003 volume contained articles by Tibor Frank, Judith Szapor, Kenneth McRobbie and others, while the 2004 volume featured papers by

Tibor Glant, Gergely Romsics, Kálmán Dreisziger, Stephen Beszedits and others. The combined bulk of the two volumes was over 300 pages.

[2] See chapter seven of my book, *Struggle and Hope: The Hungarian-Canadian Experience* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), "Toward a Golden Age: The 1950s."

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"A Foil'd European Revolutionaire": The American Literary Renaissance Meets Lajos Kossuth

István Kornél Vida

The events of the revolutionary wave of 1848-49 in Europe were closely observed in the United States. The early republican phase of the revolutions met with the sympathy of the American public, which took pride in the Old World's apparent imitation of the American type of democracy. Particularly the fight for national self-determination and unity in Italy, Bohemia and Hungary was supported with enthusiasm, as it reminded Americans of their forefathers' fight for independence. In a few months, however, they were in for a bitter disappointment: conservatism and the restoration of monarchical rule prevailed in all countries — and soon only the Hungarians and Italians still stood fighting desperately for their independence. The American press rejoiced when the Hungarian republic was proclaimed, especially when they learned that the American Declaration of Independence was used as a model when wording its Hungarian counterpart.[1] The American government was seriously considering the recognition of Hungary as an independent state, but by the time Special Emissary Dudley A. Mann arrived in Vienna, the fate of the Hungarian freedom fight had been sealed by the coalition forces of the Habsburgs and the Russian Tzar: the Hungarian troops surrendered on August 13, 1849.

Lajos Kossuth, the charismatic leader of the Hungarian freedom struggle, became the emblem of the fight for national self-determination, as well as that of political and constitutional reforms and lifting feudal burdens. Massachusetts Governor George S. Boutwell wrote about Kossuth's growing popularity in the United States: "Hungary was only a marked spot on the map of Europe, and the name of Kossuth, as a leader in industrial and social progress, had not been written or spoken on this side of the Atlantic; but [after 1848]

there was no other person of a foreign race and language of whose name and career as much was known."[2]

The collapse of the Hungarian dream of freedom and democracy came as a shock to the American public. Kossuth, fleeing Hungary in order to escape Habsburg retaliation, was soon transformed from the Hero of Democracy to the Martyr of Democracy, further elevating his popularity overseas.[3] Despite his internment in Asia Minor in the Ottoman Empire — which was aimed at protecting him from the Habsburgs who were demanding that the Sultan extradite him — American newspaper readers did not lose sight of Kossuth. In politics, the so-called Young America movement urged that the United States should reconsider her traditional isolationist foreign policy, in order to, as historian Henry Meyer put it, "assume the form of a revised doctrine of Manifest Destiny whereby the onward tide of civilization (with all the millennial and perfectionist overtones) was most felt in these revolutionary advances of freedom and self-determination."[4]

Congress passed a joint resolution authorizing the president to provide transportation for Kossuth and his group and invite him to the United States as the "Nation's Guest." Accepting the invitation (with the permission of the Sultan who was relieved to finally get rid of the Hungarian exiles, since they caused diplomatic tension), Kossuth boarded the *U.S.S. Mississippi* on September 10, 1851, first traveled to Britain, and after a highly successful one-month tour, set foot on American soil on December 6, 1851.

The Kossuth craze in America knew no boundaries: the country had not seen anything comparable to his visit since the similar reception welcoming Lafayette in 1824-25. The Kossuth hat became the fashion of the day, a newly-founded county in Iowa was named after the Hungarian revolutionary, along with thousands of babies, as their parents demonstrated their sympathy for Kossuth by naming them after him. In order to "translate the nation's sympathy into economic and military support for the European rebels," as historian David S. Spencer interpreted his mission,[5] Kossuth toured the country extensively, was the honoured guest of hundreds of receptions and banquets, and gave some 600 public speeches in front of huge audiences.[6] He was invited to deliver a speech at the joint session of Congress, the second foreign citizen to do so, again Lafayette being the first, and he was also received in the White House by President Fillmore.

Despite the interest and sympathy of the overwhelming majority of the American public, Kossuth failed to achieve his major goal: to secure American intervention in a renewed Hungarian freedom fight he was sure would commence in the near future in order to prevent the intervention of Russia. Such American diplomatic intervention did not materialize — the isolationist tradi-

tions of American foreign policy proved to be too strong, for the time being at least. Kossuth also made many enemies: Catholics saw the anticlerical revolutionary in him, and Southerners were convinced that this champion of freedom was secretly planning to bring about the end of slavery in America. In vain did Kossuth refuse to interfere in American domestic politics, all he "achieved" was that even the abolitionists turned against him for keeping silent about slavery: both William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Philips condemned him for this. Having lost not only the support but the interest of the American public as well, on July 14, 1852 the disappointed Kossuth left the United States for good and returned to Britain.

Although more divided than the general public, the American intelligentsia, particularly the literary circles, showed great interest in both his figure and the cause he represented.[7] Kossuth's *Tour de America* coincided with the *anni mirabiles* of the American literary renaissance, roughly the first half of the 1850s when such literary masterpieces were published as Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* (1850), Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851), Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851-52). New England was the geographical center of the literary movement, and, since Kossuth visited the region between April 22 and May 18 in 1852, it constituted the most significant point of encounter between the Hungarian revolutionary leader and the representatives of the Romantic Period in American literature. What follows is a study how some of the key figures of the American literary renaissance related to the cause of Hungarian freedom and to the persona of Kossuth.[8]

* * *

Harriet Beecher Stowe is undoubtedly the most significant representative of the movement in popular women's domestic romances that coincided with the classical American Renaissance. Her *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly,* published in 1852, is among the most influential books ever written in American history. It was the best-selling novel of the 19th century, and the second best-selling book of that century, surpassed in the number of copies sold only by the Bible. Stowe's sentimental novel had a profound effect on how African-Americans and the institution of slavery were perceived; it definitely gave a momentum to the abolitionist movement fighting against the territorial expansion of the "peculiar institution" in the short run, and hoping to rid the country of the blemish of slavery in the long

run. The influence of the book on shaping American public opinion in the ever growing sectional strife between free and slave states was considered so significant that upon meeting Stowe in the first year of the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln reportedly greeted her: "So, you are the little lady who started this great war."[9]

Harriet Beecher Stowe was a strong supporter of Kossuth and the cause of Hungarian liberty. She took special interest in the "great controversy now going on in the world between the despotic and the republican," which she called "the great, last question of the age."[10] Her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, the prominent Congregationalist clergyman at Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, put his church at Kossuth's disposal. When introducing Kossuth, he called on his congregation to "Bear witness to me how often from this place prayers have been offered and tears shed when we have heard of the struggles of Hungary."[11] He supported other Hungarian refugees as well: Col. Nicholas Perczel and his wife, for instance, stayed at Beecher's house for several weeks and the clergyman assisted Perczel in setting up a small academy where he taught German and French to upper-class students.[12]

On October 23, 1851, when it seemed certain that Kossuth would visit the United States, Beecher published his "Liberal Meditations – Kossuth and Cotton" in the religious anti-slavery newspaper, *The Independent*. This was an imaginary conversation between the American clergymen and the Hungarian politician in which Beecher "caustically depicts the absurdity if not hypocrisy of pretending to honor the champions of Liberty in other lands while upholding Slavery and such acts as the Fugitive Slave Law in our own,"[13] as the abolitionist journalist Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, pointed out. To illustrate this dichotomy, Beecher makes the clergymen tell Kossuth that he, as a white man, has the right to run away, but they deny this right to African-Americans.[14]

As an ardent abolitionist, Harriet Beecher Stowe also regularly contributed to *The Independent*. She wrote her maiden essay in defence of Kossuth when the *New York Observer* attempted to ruin Kossuth's reputation by presenting his exorbitant tavern bills with the conclusion: "Like DIVES in the Gospel, he fares sumptuously every day, while his poor country, like LAZARUS, lies bleeding, licked by dogs."[15] In her essay, Stowe defended Kossuth whom she called the "great Apostle and martyr of Liberty and Christianity" and scorned the "petty scandalmongering" of the *Observer*.[16]

Stowe was working on the second half of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* during Kossuth's tour in America (the story was being serialized in the *National Era*), and one of her primary goals was to gain sympathy for the African-American

race in general, and those in bondage in particular. In an eye-opening attempt to prove the humanity of the coloured people, she made extensive use of comparisons, most of which are just as readily understandable for today's readers as they were for her contemporaries. Just to mention one example, the universal nature of the parallel may easily be seen between Mrs. Bird losing a child and the brutal separation of little Harry, sold down the river by his master, from his mother, Eliza. Other comparisons, however, are not so straightforward for today's reader who lacks background knowledge of history: among them are the novel's two allusions to the ill-fated Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in 1848.

The first allusion to Hungary occurs when Phineas Fletcher, a Quaker, leads George Harris and his runaway group to a secret mountain hideaway to protect them from the slave hunters, Tom Loker, Marks, his partner, and the justices.[17] When one of the justices orders the fugitives to surrender, George refuses. He replies that he would not accept the authority of the laws of the country which does not accept him as a citizen, and takes a wow to fight for his freedom. Stowe demonstrates the gallantry of George Harris, who has "just made his declaration of independence," by comparing him to Hungarian freedom fighters:

> If it had been only a Hungarian youth, now, bravely defending some mountain fastness the retreat of fugitives escaping from Austria into America, this would have been sublime heroism; but as it was a youth of African descent, defending the retreat of fugitives through America into Canada, of course we are too well instructed and patriotic to see any heroism in it; and if any of our readers do, they must do it on their own private responsibility. When despairing Hungarian fugitives make their way, against all the search-warrants and authorities of their lawful government, to America, press and political cabinet ring will applause and welcome. When despairing African fugitives do the same thing, it is – what is it?[18]

This comparison might not be obvious today, but surely it was for contemporary readers. As Larry J. Reynolds notes, Stowe "drew upon contemporary interest in Kossuth and the Hungarian cause to add unity and force to her novel" and she "used revolution in Europe as an ominous backdrop for the novel, one portending the possible apocalyptic uprising of the oppressed masses at home as well as abroad."[19]

The second allusion to Hungary in the novel is in connection with what many Americans, including Stowe, considered the greatest achievement of the Hungarian revolution: the fact that Hungarian noblemen voluntarily lifted the

feudal burdens of their peasants. The abolitionists clearly saw an obvious parallel between Hungarian serfdom and American slavery. In the novel, the benevolent St. Clare follows the Hungarian example when, after the death of Eva, he decides to free all his slaves:

> "Do you suppose it possible that a nation ever will voluntarily emancipate?" said Miss Ophelia.
> "I don't know" said St. Clare. "This is a day of great deeds. Heroism and disinterestedness are rising up, here and there, in the earth. The Hungarian nobles set free millions of serfs, at an immense pecuniary loss; and, perhaps, among us may be found generous spirits, who do not estimate honor and justice by dollars and cents."[20]

The liberation of slaves becomes just as sacrificial an act as the emancipation of serfs by Hungarians noblemen: St. Clare is stabbed shortly after his "great deed." His heroism is linked to George's heroism as well as to the contemporary political events in Hungary.

One of Stowe's main concerns was the idea that individuals would willingly sacrifice some of their personal and collective interests for the common good, and she set them, as well as the American Founding Fathers, as examples for the present generation. In her *House and Home Papers* (1865), Christopher Crowfield (Stowe's pen name) says: "The women of Hungary and Poland, in their country's need, sold their jewels and plate and wore ornaments of iron and lead. In the time of our own Revolution, our women dressed in plain homespun and drank herb-tea."[21]

Stowe was disappointed when she saw that the enthusiasm of the Americans had evaporated, and Kossuth left the country without achieving his goals, particularly when she read the allegations in the press that Kossuth had pocketed American donations and used them for his personal purposes. When she traveled to Europe in 1853, she made sure to visit Kossuth in his "obscure lodging on the outskirts of London," as she noted in her diary, and remarked: "I would [sic] that some of the editors in America, who have thrown out insinuations about his living in luxury, could have seen the utter bareness and plainness of the reception room, which had nothing in it beyond the simplest necessaries."[22]

Similarly to Harriet Beecher Stowe, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow also joined the Kossuth frenzy and could not understand those who remained untouched by the importance of the issues at stake and the grandeur of Kossuth's personality. On October 25, 1851, he recorded in his journal "[It is] disheartening to see how little sympathy there is in the hearts of young men

here for freedom and great ideas. Instead of it, quibbling and criticising style and phrase of Kossuth's address to the democracy of France."[23] He followed the events of Kossuth's visit in New York City with keen interest, and, having read his first speeches in America, acknowledged: "Kossuth's power of oratory and the pleading of a sincere heart," yet, referring to the nation-wide mania surrounding the Hungarian governor's tour, he grumbled: "why need people go clean daft?"[24] Longfellow was well aware of the major tenet of American foreign policy in the past half a century or so, and that this was the greatest obstacle standing in the way of the Hungarian politician; "He [Kossuth] has begun here with a stirring speech, but will he have power enough to make us abandon an old policy of non-intervention?" — pondered Longfellow in his letter to John Foster.[25]

It was in April 1852 in Boston that Kossuth and Longfellow met for the first time. Longfellow recorded this in his diary: "We were struck with his dignity. He received us very cordially; took my hand in both of his and said: 'Though I am not a man of genius myself yet I know how to appreciate one. I am very glad to see you.'"[26] He was also impressed by the two-hour speech the Hungarian politician delivered at Faneuil Hall: "Wonderful man! to speak so long and so well in a foreign tongue. He was not impassioned this evening but rather calm and historic."[27]

On the occasion of Kossuth's visit to Harvard, Longfellow, who had held a professorship there since 1836, was one of the hosts. Kossuth gave a short speech in front of the students and the members of the faculty, and received a long applause. Longfellow was deeply moved by the tragedy of the Hungarian people and recorded his sympathy for Kossuth and his fellow refugees: "What a sad fate! I am sorry for all the unhappy ones; but I have more pity for those, who, torturing themselves in their exile, see their homeland only in dreams."[28] He remained perhaps the most ardent friend and supporter of the Hungarians in Boston: he signed up for János Kalapsza's riding school and made a large purchase of Hungarian wine from a Hungarian refugee engaged in importing Tokaji wine. (This wine was his personal favourite, and he kept mentioning it even 20 years later.)[29]

The defining moment of Kossuth's tour in New England was his visit to Concord in Massachusetts, the scene of the first battle of the American War of Independence. The city was not only of historical importance but it rose to being probably the most important literary center in the country as well when Ralph Waldo Emerson moved there in 1835 to become its most prominent citizen and the leading figure of a group of Transcendentalists, with Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry David Thoreau among them. No wonder that Kossuth's visit to the city affected all three of them, although in quite different ways.

Emerson, as his son, Edward, recalled, "to all meetings held in Concord for the cause of Freedom, spiritual or corporal, felt bound to give the sanction of his presence."[30] It went without saying that he would act as a host for the Hungarian exile, and he delivered the speech welcoming the illustrious guest in one of the shrines of American history. He expressed his sympathies with the Hungarian cause and reminded Kossuth that "everything great and excellent in the world is in minorities."[31] Referring to the mission of the Hungarian revolutionary, he pointed out: "The man of freedom, you are also the man of Fate. You do not elect, you are also elected by God and your genius to the task."[32] Nathaniel Hawthorne, highly critical of the press ruled by the Kossuth-mania, congratulated Emerson for "having said the only word that has yet been worthily spoken to Kossuth."[33]

In his response to Emerson, Kossuth made it clear that it was men and arms what he sought in America: "The doors and shutters of oppression must be opened by bayonets, that the blessed rays of your institutions may penetrate into the dark dwelling-house of oppressed humanity."[34] Emerson entertained the Hungarian guests in his house for a short time after the festivities, and then Kossuth left Concord for good. For the rest of his life, Emerson referred to the Hungarian revolutionary as "one of the great men of the age."[35]

In contrast, Nathaniel Hawthorne remained disinterested in the Kossuth-craze. In 1852, in his letter to Edwin P. Whipple, a Massachusetts essayist, he wrote: "Are you a Kossuthian? I am about as enthusiastic as a lump of frozen mud, but I am going to hear him at Charlestown, tomorrow, in hope of warming up a little."[36]

His son, Julian, however, was eager to see the Hungarian freedom fighters. Half a century later he recalled having seen Kossuth as a child: "The excitement was not confined to persons of mature age and understanding; it raged among the smaller fry, and every boy was a champion of Kossuth."[37] He also noted the extraordinary nature of Kossuth's tour in America: "Not since the visit of Lafayette had any foreigner been received here with such testimonials of public enthusiasm, or listened to by such applausive audiences," yet he also pointed out to the relative fruitlessness of it: "certainly none had ever been sent home again with less wool to show for so much cry."[38]

His father nevertheless remained apolitical and this conservative political quietism characterized him in the turmoil surrounding the "Nation's Guest." His work, *The Blithedale Romance* (1852), nicely illustrates his aloofness: he has the unreliable narrator, Miles Coverdale, say:

> Were there any cause, in this whole chaos of human struggle, worth a sane man's dying for, and which my death would benefit, then –

> provided, however, the effort did not involve an unreasonable amount of trouble -- methinks I might be bold to offer my life. If Kossuth, for example, would pitch the battle-field of Hungarian rights within an easy ride of my abode, and choose a mild, sunny morning, after breakfast, for the conflict, Miles Coverdale would gladly be his man, for one brave rush upon the levelled bayonets. Farther than that, I should be loath to pledge myself.[39]

In a later phase of his life, however, Hawthorne moved beyond this ironic allusion to Kossuth and the Hungarian cause. In 1855, serving as American consul in Liverpool, he was frequently approached by Hungarian refugees living in Britain, and in a letter to Catharine Sedgwick he expressed his wish that the President would find "some way of affording [them] our national protection," since "these exiled Hungarians are in a very bad condition, being absolutely without a country." He added that several Hungarians visited him, "having never been to America, with only the plea that they have no claims on anybody else, and therefore must have claims on an American consul." (Indeed, during the first half of the 1850s, many Forty-Eighters decided to migrate to America.)[40] Hawthorne concluded: "All exiles — all poor and oppressed peoples — claim our country for their own and most certainly they do honor us thereby," yet he admitted that, as a consul, he found "this kind of citizenship very difficult and perplexing to deal with."[41]

The sympathy he expressed in this letter, nevertheless, proved to be short-lived. In the "Consular Sketches" of his *Our Old Home* (1863) he recalled that [to his Consulate] "came a great variety of visitors [...] especially the distressed and downfallen ones like those of Poland and Hungary, Italian bandits, (for so they look) proscribed conspirators from Old Spain[...] in a word, all sufferers, or pretended ones, in the cause of Liberty." As for his own attitude towards the refugees, Hawthorne wrote that he was not of a "proselytizing disposition, nor desired to make his Consulate a nucleus for the vagrant discontents of other lands."[42] It is clear, however, that whatever little sympathy he felt towards the refugees, as a consul he had very limited room to provide actual assistance.

Among the literary figures responding to Kossuth, Henry David Thoreau was without doubt the most rejective to the fuss and feathers surrounding the Hungarian revolutionary's American tour. Unlike his mentor and friend, Emerson, Thoreau believed that the news of the European revolutions intruded too extensively into the American media. In his journal he grumbled, "It is a strange age of the world this, when empires, kingdoms, and republics come a-begging to our doors and utter their complaints at our elbows. I cannot

take up a newspaper but I find that some wretched government or other, hard pushed and on its last legs, is interceding with me, the reader, to vote for it, — more importunate than an Italian beggar."[43] He addressed the events of contemporary politics and their corrupting influence: "You cannot serve two masters[...]To read the things distant and sounding betrays us into slighting these which are then apparently near and small. [...] All summer and far into the fall I unconsciously went by the newspapers and the news, and now I find it was because the morning and the evening were full of news to me. I attended not to the affairs of Europe, but to my own affairs in Concord fields."[44]

Thoreau's rejection of Kossuth widened his separation from Emerson. Thoreau remained disinterested even when the Hungarian freedom fighter visited Concord. He wrote in his *Journal*: "This excitement about Kossuth is not interesting to me, it is so superficial. It is only another kind of dancing or of politics. Men are making speeches to him all over the country, but each expresses only the thought, or the want of thought, of the multitude.... So superficial these men and their doings, it is life on a leaf or a chip which has nothing but air and water beneath."[45] Thoreau attended neither Kossuth's lecture nor the reception Emerson held in honour of the Hungarian politician. In the midst of the excitement in Concord, all he noted in his journal was: "P.M. — Kossuth here."[46] Even a decade later he dismissed the Kossuth phenomenon and its significance downright: "For all the fruit of that stir we have the Kossuth hat."[47] Still, in the Appendix of *The Maine Woods* Thoreau actually listed an "Old Kossuth hat" among the essential items to be taken for an excursion in the Maine woods longer than 12 days.[48]

Despite Thoreau's refusal to get involved in political issues and his rejection of the Kossuth mania, his philosophical thinking was very much influenced by the media attention the Hungarian politician received. He returned to the manuscript of *Walden*, which he had earlier declared unpublishable, and started to revise it. The writing of the fourth draft of his masterpiece coincided with Kossuth touring the country, and the newly-added segments clearly reflected his denunciation of the public obsession with European revolutions as well as his indifference towards contemporary politics: "I delight to come to my bearings not walk in procession with pomp and parade... but to walk even with the Builder of the Universe, if I may, — not to live in this restless, nervous, bustling, trivial Nineteenth Century, but stand or sit thoughtfully while it goes by."[49] His observation from a distance, "from a place to sit far above men and their doings," is dramatized in *Brute Neighbors*, the classic battle of ants, which was arguably the most famous addition to the manuscript in 1852. Describing the two opposing sides in the conflict, "the red

republicans and the black despots or imperialists," Thoreau clearly referred to contemporary events: during Kossuth's visit to Washington the American press was extensively debating the very nature of European revolutions in general and that of the Hungarian War of Independence in particular. Thoreau observes the combating ants under a magnifying glass, and the isolated picture of the black "imperialist" ant severing the head of the red "republican" ants is a clear reference to the fate of the European republican movements. He, however, did not know, or care for, either the cause of the ant war or the outcome of it, and this ironic presentation, as Larry J. Reynolds points out, is "diminishing the importance, not of the ants, but of the men they resemble."[50]

Thoreau was not the only one who refused to support Kossuth: there were some who heavily criticized him, even among the Transcendentalists. Orestes Brownson, a New England preacher, publicist, and editor of the *Boston Quarterly Review*, was very much against the Revolutions of 1848 in general — he saw them as "work[s] of one vast satanic conspiracy, hatched by modern liberalism and aiming to destroy law, order and religion," as his biographer Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. put it.[51] He considered European revolutionaries "foes of Christianity," who "shouted 'liberty! liberty!' although true liberty lay in obedience to God."[52]

In light of the above, it is no wonder that Brownson had a very low opinion of Kossuth, who, he wrote, "advocated conspiracy against all legitimate authority, against all religion except an idolatrous worship of what is blasphemously called the God-People or the People-God, against all morality, all law, all order, and indeed society itself."[53] He was fiercely against the official welcome of Kossuth to the United States. He was convinced that Kossuth was insignificant and would not leave a lasting impression: "We shall have a good time with him, feast ourselves, have our own jollification, let him laugh a little at us in his sleeve while we laugh a good deal at him in ours, and then — cast him off."[54] The attention Kossuth received during his visit outraged him: "Our people have shown their usual bad taste in attempting to make him the object of their hero-worship.... in Kossuth they have selected a second rate revolutionist."[55]

Displaying a surprisingly conservative disposition for a mind-nineteenth century American intellectual, and thinly veiled hatred for European revolutionists, Brownson was more than willing to jump on the bandwagon of anyone attacking Kossuth and his followers. The public opinion in the United States was generally favourable for Kossuth, yet, as time passed, the initial enthusiasm faded/waned. Public celebrations honouring him served different purposes: some saw a new prominent U.S. citizen in him, others hoped to capitalize on the prospect of advancement of republicanism in

Europe. Kossuth, however, made it clear that he did not intend to settle in America (to "end his days in philosophical retirement,"[56] as many newspapers predicted) and that he represented the cause of Hungarian freedom only. The disappointment of Kossuth's former supporters, diversely motivated as they were, added up to open attacks against him in a series of articles. Beside the previously-mentioned charges of isolationists, slave-holders, and, ironically, abolitionists, several articles expounded on Kossuth's perceived arrogance. They quoted, among others, Attorney General John C. Crittenden, who, referring to Kossuth and other European Forty-Eighters, warned his audience: "Beware of the introduction or exercise of foreign influence among you [Washington's words], We are the teachers, and they have not or will not learn, and yet they come to teach us!"[57]

Having read some articles in the American press accusing Kossuth and the Hungarian revolutionaries of nourishing hopes of creating a nation state in which all other ethnic groups were to be subjected to the Magyars, Brownson became even more hostile towards them. He interpreted the events of 1848-49 in Hungary as follows: "The Magyars were the oppressors, not the oppressed, and while they were seeking to render themselves independent of the empire, they were fighting to keep eight millions of Hungarians of other races in subjection to themselves."[58]

Brownson was largely influenced by the anti-Kossuth articles of Francis Bowen, a philosopher and educator, who was reviewing Auguste de Gérando's[59] *De l'esprit public en Hongrie, despuis la révolution francaise* [The Hungarian public spirit since the French Revolution] and concluded that the Hungarian freedom struggle was more a war of races than a Hungarian fight for liberty. He argued that the Magyars declared their independence only after Emperor Francis Joseph had granted a liberal Constitution allowing Croatians and other races privileges equal with those of Hungarians and they "assumed the position of a nation striving to impose or to continue the yoke upon the necks of their own dependents, instead of laboring to throw off a yoke from their own shoulders."[60] Bowen concluded that Kossuth was nothing but a dictator.

Bowen underestimated the strength of the pro-Kossuth sentiments of the public, and his articles prompted many prominent Americans to criticize him. Mary Lowell Putnam wrote an article for the *Christian Examiner* in response to Bowen. In this she defended Kossuth and the Hungarians claiming that there had not been racial discrimination in Hungary as far back as the rule of King St. Stephen.[61] Bowen in his reply called Putnam ignorant and accused her of misrepresenting her sources.[62] This article, however, turned Mrs. Putnam's brother, the Romantic poet and social reformer James Russell Lowell,

against him. Similarly to his sister, Lowell also showed great concern over the cause of Hungarian freedom, and as early as January 1849 he called for American financial assistance to be given to Hungary, which he considered to be "a debt owed by the Lovers of Freedom to those who had fought for it."[63] He published a series of articles in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard of New York* and a poem as a tribute to Kossuth, as well. In this he makes the Hungarian champion of liberty say about his mission: "I was the chosen trump where through/ Our God sent forth awakening breath;/ Came chains? Came death? The strain He blew/ Sounds on, outliving chains and death."[64]

The outraged Lowell wrote two articles in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* in defence of his sister, harshly attacking Bowen.[65] This and Bowen's notorious anti-Kossuth sentiments probably played a major role in his tentative appointment as McClean Professor of History at Harvard not being approved by the Board of Overseers, making him, as Lean Howard put it, the "first professor of history in the United States to lose his post because the conclusion to which he was led by his historical perceptions did not correspond with those indicated by popular prejudice."[66]

Like Lowell and Mrs. Putnam, John Greenleaf Whittier, the influential Quaker poet and ardent abolitionist, endorsed the cause of Hungarian liberty and enthusiastically supported Kossuth. He was, however, very explicit about the controversial nature of welcoming a foreign champion of liberty while passing the Second Fugitive Slave Act and upholding the institution of slavery in his own country. In his poem, *Kossuth* (1851), he wrote: "Who shall give/ Her welcoming cheer to the great fugitive?/ Not he who, all her sacred trusts betraying,/ Is scourging back to slavery's hell of pain/ The swarthy Kossuths of our land again!"[67]

Thoreau was not entirely right about the Kossuth phenomenon being quickly forgotten in the United States. The image of the Hungarian freedom fighter was imprinted in the American public mind, and Kossuth was listed among the greatest politicians and orators of the age. His name became inseparable from the idea of fighting against oppression worldwide; so much so, that when slavery was finally abolished by the 13th Amendment (1865), Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, an educator and Transcendentalist writer, saw it as the very fulfilment of Kossuth's efforts: "His 'Future of the Nations' is realized — even in his life-time. America is now truly the land of the brave and the home of the free," she wrote to Horace Mann.[68] She actually referred to Kossuth's lecture delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle in New York on June 21, 1852, before his departure for Europe in which he warned that "as long as the principles of Christian morality are not carried up into the international relations — as long as the fragile wisdom of political exigencies

overrules the doctrines of Christ, there is no freedom on Earth firm, and the future of no nation sure."[69]

Similarly to Peabody and Harriet Beecher Stowe, Walt Whitman remembered Kossuth even after he had left America and the general public lost sight of him. In 1856 he wrote a poem "To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire," in which he regretfully acknowledged the failure of the European republican revolutions, obviously referring to Kossuth himself: "The great speakers and writers are exiled, they lie sick in distant lands,/ The cause is asleep, the strongest throats are choked with their own blood." Despite the apparent hopelessness, Whitman's message to those having fought for their freedom is optimistic: "Liberty is to be subserv'd whatever occurs; That is nothing that is quell'd by one or two failures, or any number of failures."[70] Whitman kept mentioning Kossuth among the greatest historical figures of the nineteenth century for the rest of his life. In "Broadway Sights" of *Specimen Days* (1882) he listed the Hungarian politician among the most influential people he had had the chance to see: "I knew and frequented Broadway — that noted avenue of New York's crowded and mixed humanity, and of so many notables. Here I saw, during those times, Andrew Jackson, Webster, Clay, Seward, Martin Van Buren, filibuster Walker, Kossuth, Fitz Greene Halleck, Bryant, the Prince of Wales, Charles Dickens, the first Japanese ambassadors, and lots of other celebrities of the time."[71]

* * *

Lajos Kossuth's tour in the United States is undoubtedly one of the most significant events in the history of Hungarian-American links and contacts, which largely contributed to shaping the American public perception of Hungary. It marked the culmination of the responses the revolutionary wave of 1848-49 in Europe enticed among American political and cultural leaders as well as ordinary people. The overwhelming majority of these responses were of positive nature in the two latter groups, whereas the political reactions, despite the enthusiasm of the Young America movement, often reflected unreceptiveness and exaggerated caution. Intellectuals, among them literary circles, paid special attention to the European revolutions. This is often ignored although, as has been demonstrated, the European events had a profound impact on American thinking, and the European revolutionary, of which the figure of Kossuth became the perfect embodiment, was frequently depicted in literary works. This adds an intriguing international dimension to the American literary renaissance, as the question necessarily arises: what made the Forty-Eighters appealing in the eyes of American writers and poets?

Besides the obvious and simplistic presentation of the European revolutionary conflicts as those between "Good" and "Evil" and the necessary parallels many Americans drew between their own Founding Fathers and the European freedom fighters, many intellectuals hoped to find the values they feared had long been lost, and which they had earlier considered to be genuinely American. As a consequence, their reactions to the European revolutions were often triggered by their own worries about the political and social problems of the United States, providing an explanation why the initial enthusiasm and support Kossuth (as the key representative of European Forty-Eighters) had received, seemed to fade away by the second half of his American tour, and why some became disappointed either with him or with the cause they believed he represented.

Regardless whether the responses were positive or negative in literature, the European revolutions were by all means "quickening the American literary imagination and shaping the characters, plots and themes,"[72] as Larry Reynolds points out. The image of Kossuth and the Hungarian freedom fighter in particular captured the American literary imagination, and this can arguably be the most lasting influence of Lajos Kossuth's visit on the American cultural sphere.

NOTES

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[1] The Hungarian Declaration of Independence followed the logic of the Declaration of Independence of the United States by listing the grievances of the Hungarian people caused by the mistreatment of power on the part of the Habsburgs. Its first sentence imitates the starting sentence of the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States. For the English translation of the original text of the original document see, Henry M. De Puy, *Kossuth and His Generals* (Buffalo: Phinney & Co., 1852), 202-225.

[2] George Sewall Boutwell, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs.* 2 vols. (New York, 1902), 1:184.

[3] Kossuth himself emphasized the self-sacrifice of all Hungarian freedom fighters. In a letter written from internment in August 1850 he wrote about his fellow-

exiles: "They are firmly and unitedly resolved to continue in the *thorny path of martyrdom* — a convincing proof that their love of country is still pure and steadfast." Quoted in (among many other newspapers) *Albany Evening Journal*, September 3, 1851, 2.

[4] Henry Mayer, *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 416-417.

[5] Davis S. Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America: A Study of Sectionalism and Foreign Policy, 1848-1852* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977), 10. Hereafter cites as Spencer, *Kossuth and Young America*.

[6] For a detailed analysis of Kossuth's American tour see, John H. Komlos, *Louis Kossuth in America, 1851-1852* (Buffalo, NY: East European Institute, 1973).

[7] In his Bibliography on Kossuth's American tour, Joseph Szeplaki found that some 250 poems, dozens of books, hundreds of pamphlets, and thousands of editorials were written in response to his visit. See, Joseph Szeplaki, *Louis Kossuth, the Nation's Guest: A Bibliography on his Trip in the United States, December 4, 1851- July 14, 1852* (Ligonier, PA: Bethlen Press, 1976).

[8] It is noteworthy that this subject has avoided the attention of even Hungarian scholars, although the literary scene of the era has been thoroughly studied. The definitive source to consult: László Országh and Zsolt Virágos, *Az amerikai irodalom története* [A history of American literature] (Budapest: Eötvös József Könyvkiadó, 1997), 67-102.

[9] For a long time, this anecdote was taken as carved in stone both by Lincoln and Stowe scholars. Contemporary Lincoln scholars like Stephen B. Oates, David Herbert Donald and Mark Neely seem to agree that its historical validity is questionable. For a detailed analysis see, Daniel R. Vollaro, "Lincoln, Stowe, and the 'Little Woman/Great War' Story: The Making, and Breaking, of a Great American Anecdote," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, 30, 1 (Winter 2009): 18-34.

[10] Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin; Presenting the Original Facts and Documents upon which the Story is Founded* (1854, rpt, New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968), 237-238.

[11] Quoted in Lyman Abbott, *Henry Ward Beecher* (Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1903), 214.

[12] Stephen Beszedits, "The Life and Times of Nicholas Perczel," *Vasváry Collection Newsletter* (2006/1) (35) http://www.sk-szeged.hu/statikus_html/vasvary/newsletter/06jun/perczel.html (Accessed on May 5, 2010).

[13] *The National Era*, November 6, 1851, 1.

[14] Henry Ward Beecher, "Liberal Meditations – Kossuth and Cotton," *The Independent*, October 23, 1851.

[15] Reprinted in *New York Daily Times*, May 18, 1852, 2. The story is about a rich man ('dives' in the Latin Bible) and a poor beggar, Lazarus. The rich man lived in luxury, while the beggar was starving and the sores covering his whole body were

licked by dogs. When both of them died, the rich man got into Hell to spend his afterlife in agony, whereas the angels carried Lazarus to Heaven to Abraham's side.

[16] Quoted in Joan D. Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe. A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 227.

[17] The hotly-debated Second Fugitive Slave Act was part of the Compromise of 1850 and declared that each runaway slave was to be taken back to their masters. Any person assisting a runaway slave was subject to a 1,000-dollar fine or 6 months' imprisonment.

[18] Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962), 203. Hereafter cites as Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

[19] Larry J. Reynolds, *European Revolutions and the American Literary Renaissance* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988), 153-154. Hereafter cited as Reynolds, *European Revolutions*.

[20] Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* , 321.

[21] *The Writings of Harriet Beecher Stowe. House and Home Papers* Vol. VIII. (New York: Houghton and Mifflin, 1896), 102.

[22] Charles Edward Stowe, *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1891), 237.

[23] October 25, 1851. Quoted in Robert L. Gale, *A Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Companion* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2003), 134. Hereafter cites as Gale, *Longfellow Companion*.

[24] December 19, 1851. Quoted in Gale, *Longfellow Companion*, 134.

[25] Longfellow to John Foster, December 7, 1851.In: *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 3: 317. Hereafter cites as *Letters of H.W. Longfellow*.

[26] Longfellow's Journal. April 30, 1852. Manuscript. Quoted in *Letters of H.W. Longfellow,* 3:342.

[27] Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (S.I.: s. n., 1992), 221.

[28] The original was written in Italian: "Di tutti is miseri m'increscе; maho maggior pietá di coloro, i quali, in esiglio affliggendiosi, vedono solamente in sogno la patria loro!" Longfellow to Charles Sumner. May 13, 1852. *Letters of H.W. Longfellow,* 3: 344.

[29] Frank Preston Stearns, *Cambridge Sketches* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1968), 23.

[30] Edward Waldo Emerson, *Emerson in Concord* (Boston and New York, 1890), 87.

[31] Quoted in Gay Wilson Allen, *Waldo Emerson* (New York: Viking Press, 1981), 563.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 4: 292.

[34] Cited in *The New York Weekly Tribune*, May 22, 1852, 6.

[35] Reynolds, *European Revolutions*, 160.

[36] Hawthorne to Whipple. May 2, 1852. *Letters, 1843-52*, eds. Thomas Woodson et al (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1984), 16:536.

[37] Julian Hawthorne, *Hawthorne and His Circle* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1903), 48.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Blithedale Romance* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1852), 2: 284-285.

[40] For a detailed analysis see, István Kornél Vida, "Extra Hungariam Non Est Vita, Si Est Vita, Non Est Ita: The Hungarian Diaspora in the Antebellum United States," in *European Migrants, Diasporas, and Indigenous Ethnic Minorities*, ed. Matjaz Klemencic and Mary N. Harris (Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2009), 37-53.

[41] Unpublished letter quoted in: James L. Machor, "Hawthorne and the Hungarians: A New Hawthorne Letter," *The New England Quarterly*, 77, 4 (December 2004): 646-647.

[42] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Our Old Home* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1864), 4-5.

[43] *The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau* eds. Torrey Bradford and Francis H. Allen, 14 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906), 2:101-102. Hereafter cited as Thoreau, *Journal*.

[44] January 20, 1852, Thoreau, *Journal*, 3: 208.

[45] May 4, 1852, Thoreau, *Journal*, 4: 15-16.

[46] Thoreau, *Journal*, 4: 16.

[47] "Life Without Principle" *The Thoreau Reader. Annotated Works of Henry David Thoreau*. See: http://thoreau.eserver.org/lifewout.html (Accessed on July 2, 2010).

[48] Henry David Thoreau, *The Maine Woods*. See online: http://thoreau.eserver.org/woodsapx.html#6 (Accessed on July 5, 2010).

[49] *Walden, and other Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (Ed. Brooks Atkinson) (New York: Modern Library, 1950), 293.

[50] Reynolds, *European Revolutions*, 169; For a study on Thoreau working on the successive versions of Walden see, J. Lyndon Shanley, *The Making of Walden* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 30-31.

[51] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Orestes A. Brownson* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1939), 207.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Quoted in Henry Francis Brownson, *Orestes A. Brownson's Middle Life From 1845-1855* (Detroit: Brownson, 1899), 422.

[54] *Brownson's Quarterly Review* (January, 1852), 139.

[55] *Works of Brownson*, 16: 213.

[56] *Daily Scioto Gazette*, October 18, 1851. Quoted in Spencer, *Kossuth and Young America*, 49.

[57] Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events from the Commencement of Mr. Monroe's Administration, in 1817, to the Close of Mr. Fillmore's Administration, in 1853* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1875), 2:381.

[58] *The Works of Orestes A. Brownson* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 16:213. Hereafter cited as *Works of Brownson*.

[59] August De Gerando (1819-1849) married the Hungarian Countess Emma Teleki. De Gerando settled in Hungary and published a series of articles about the country in the French newspaper *Le National*. He supported the Hungarian revolution of 1848, and fought in the battle of Győr.

[60] Francis Bowen, "The War of Races in Hungary," *The North American Review*, Vol. 70, No. 146, (January 1850): 80. Bowen's work is riddled with historical inaccuracies. In reality, Hungary's position within the empire was determined by the reform legislation passed by the Hungarian Diet in April 1848, signed into law by the Emperor Ferdinand V. After the abdication of Ferdinand V, the new emperor, Francis Joseph I, refused to be bound by the April Laws, for which Hungarians did not consider him to be legitimate king until the Compromise of 1867. On March 4, 1849 Francis Joseph I issued his Olmütz Constitution, in which he indeed guaranteed certain individual rights, yet made an attempt to turn the various ethnic groups of the Empire against the rebelling Magyars. Eventually it never went into effect. For a detailed study see, István Deák, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-49* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001).

[61] Mary Lowell Putnam, "The North American Review on Hungary," *Christian Examiner*, (March 1851): 279-352.

[62] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 28, 30, 1851.

[63] Lean Howard, *Victorian Knight-Errant. A Study of the Early Literary Career of James Russell Lowell* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952) Hereafter cited as Howard, *Victorian Knight-Errant*.

[64] *The Complete Writings of James Russell Lowell* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 16:283-284.

[65] "Mr. Bowen and The Christian Examiner," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, (December 28, 1851 and January 2, 1852).

[66] Howard, *Victorian Knight-Errant*, 305.

[67] *The Complete Writings of John Greenleaf Whittier* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), 4:72.

[68] Letter to Horace Mann, Jr. February 25, 1865. In *Letters of Elizabeth P. Peabody*, ed. Bruce A. Ronda (Middletown, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1984), 325.

[69] Louis Kossuth, *The Future of Nations: A Lecture* (New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1854), 39.

[70] Walt Whitman, "To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire," in *The Portable Walt Whitman*, ed. Michael Warner (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 153.

[71] Walt Whitman, "Broadway Sights" in *Specimen Days. See online, http://www.bartleby.com/229/1012.html (Accessed on June 15, 2010).*

[72] Reynolds, *European Revolutions*, 207.

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"American Letters" Imre Széchényi's 1881 Tour of America

Susan Glanz

Under the heading "Hungarian Nobles travel to America," the March 27, 1881 issue of the Budapest-based weekly *Vasárnapi Újság* [Sunday paper][1] reported somewhat belatedly that five young aristocrats arrived in New York City. The article informed its readers that the goal of the noblemen's trip was to study American wheat markets, wheat exports and the issue of immigration. Indeed, five young nobles from Austria-Hungary completed a study tour of the USA in 1881. The members of the group were the Count Imre Széchényi and his brother Géza, (aged 23 and 21), Count Ernst Hoyos (25), Count Géza Andrássy (25) and Baron Gabriel Gudenus. The group was lead by the 42 year-old, German journalist/ economist, Rudolf Hermann Meyer.[2] The five young aristocrats were related to each other. Meyer viewed Count Hoyos and Baron Gudenus as Austrians and the other three as Hungarians. The group's arrival was also noted by the March 6, 1881 issue of the *New York Tribune,* which listed their coming under the heading "prominent arrivals" and gave their lodgings as the Grand Central Hotel. An interview with Géza Andrássy, the spokesman for the group, was published on page 8 of the *New York Tribune* the following day. Andrássy stated the one of the purposes of the group's trip was to study cattle breeding and agriculture in America. The reporter mistakenly identifies the Széchényi brothers as the "sons of the great Hungarian patriot of that name, who together with Kossuth, opposed the Hapsburg monarchy in 1849."[3]

After the tour Imre Széchényi and Rudolf Hermann Meyer published books about their American experiences and observations. Széchényi's book was written under the pseudonym I. Somogyvári and was titled *"Amerikai levelek" egy hosszabb zárszóval* [American letters with a longer postscript], while Rudolf Meyer's was titled *Ursachen der amerikanischen*

Concurrenz [Causes of American Competition]. Chapter 39, of the 42 chapters in Meyer's book discussed public administration in America and was written by Géza Andrássy.[4] While Meyer's book was long, 832 pages, Széchényi's was a mere 132. Both books were published in 1883. Meyer published a second, more than 600-page book in the same year, titled *Heimstätten- andere Wirthschaftsgesetze der Vereiningten Staaten von Amerika, von Canada, Russland, China, Indien, Rumänien, Serbien und England* [Homestead and economic laws in the USA, Canada, Russia, China, India, Romania, Serbia and England].In his first book Meyer mentions the trip and his companions several times, while on p. 513 of this second book, he again mentions the study trip he completed with the five aristocrats.[5]

Imre Széchényi spent about eight months in the US, from March to October 1881, and his travels took him to places throughout the USA. His book is composed of three parts, the first part is a collection of the letters that he sent to the Hungarian papers while in the USA, and the headings of the letters were indications of where they were written; New York, Washington, Florida, New Orleans, San Antonio, Kansas, Albuquerque, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, Winnipeg (Canada), and Chicago. The second, briefer part of the book is a collection of drawings, prints and explanations of the workings of new American agricultural machinery that he saw in the US. The third section, his postscript, was where he compared Europe's vs. America's advantages in agriculture and offered solutions for Hungary so that Hungarian agriculture could increase its competitiveness in world markets. We know from Meyer's book that Széchényi visited several other places in the USA, e.g. Yellowstone River and Las Vegas, but these side-trips could be classified as tourist visits and he did not write about these places.

In the book's foreword Széchényi states that his goal for writing the book was not only to write a travelogue but also to observe "the reasons behind the threatening American competition." In the postscript Széchényi predicts that in the European markets competition will increase, as "in addition to exports from the United States, Canadians exports will grow, Australia recently started, India just entered, and Mexico will enter the marketplace in the near future...." He goes on to say that in his summary of the competitive advantages of the United States he will exclude those that are "due to the constitution and geography" and will concentrate on those that can be copied by Hungary.

Table 1. Széchényi's summary of the agricultural advantages of each continent (p. 92).

	Europe's advantages	America's advantages
1.	Low interest rates	Majority of land is cultivated by owners.
2.	Inexpensive labour	Cheap land prices and fertile soil.
3.	Geographic proximity to markets, thus shorter transportation routes	Inexpensive building construction.
4.	More controlled social relations (?)*	The elimination of middlemen and warehousing costs due to grain elevators.
5.	Greater application of scientific knowledge in agriculture	Cheaper transportation.
6.		Lower taxes.
7.		Larger landholdings.
8.		Use of machinery.
9.		Better educated and more intelligent farmers.
10.		Security of landownership.

*(?) in the original

The Economic background

In the 19th century, Hungary, like most other countries on the continent, was a predominantly agricultural society. According to Scott Eddie's calculations,[6] Hungary's agricultural population in 1869 was 75% of the total population. In 1880 this percentage dropped only to 74%, and in 1890 to 72.5%. Agriculture employed most of the country's labour; 75% of the labour force worked in agriculture in 1869, 71% in 1880, and 69.9% in 1890. The distribution of landholdings in Hungary has been studied by Eddie.[7] It is summarized in the Table 2 below. The 1867 distribution of holdings was published by Károly Keleti in 1873 and is also quoted by Széchényi (p. 108). As the table shows, the majority of landholdings were very small.

Table 2. Distribution of landholdings

Size of units (holds)	1867		1885
	Properties in 1,000s	Area 1,000 ha	Area 1,000 ha
0-5	1,444	3,801 (14.2%)	9,368 (33.2%)
5-30	904	4,847	

		(18.1%)	
30-200	119	3,879 (14.5%)	4,262[+] (15.1%)
200-1,000	13	3,833 (14.3%)	3,529 (12.2%)
1,000-10,000	5	8,195 (30.6%)	8,511 (30.2%)
Over 10,000	0.2	2,262 (8.4%)	2,539 (9%)
Total	**2,486**	**26,817**	**28,209**

[*]0-35 holds; [+]35-200 holds (One hold = 1. 42 acres = 0 .575 hectares)[8]

On the political front, the Compromise of 1867 (the *Ausgleich*), which created the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, gave autonomy to Hungary to deal with internal affairs but provided for a common external policy, including the continuation of the customs union that had been established in 1850. The agreement on the customs union was renewed every ten years, until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of World War I.

Austria was the largest buyer of Hungarian crops (70%) and Hungary was significant destination for Austrian exports (40%).[9] Similar results were shown by calculations completed in the 1880s; that is, 86.5% of wheat export went to Austria, 7.52% to Germany, 5.9% to Switzerland; while 55% of the flour export went to Austria, 20.6% to Great Britain, 8.33% to Germany, 5% to Italy, and 4.23% to Switzerland.[10] The period between 1866 and 1872 can be described as a period of increasing free trade in Europe. The reversal began in 1873 and lasted until 1879 — and in many countries even longer. The economic depression began with financial failures in Vienna that spread to most of Europe. It also affected the American banking system starting in late 1873. A liberalized incorporation law in Germany led to the founding of new enterprises, such as the Deutsche Bank, as well as the incorporation of established ones. Euphoria over the military victory against France in 1871, combined with the influx of capital from the payment by France of war reparations, encouraged stock market speculation in railways, factories, docks and steamships. On May 9, 1873, the Vienna Stock Exchange crashed, no longer able to sustain false expansion, insolvency, and dishonest manipulations. A series of Viennese bank failures resulted, causing a contraction of the money available for business lending. In Berlin, the railway empire of Bethel Henry Strousberg crashed, bursting the speculation bubble there. The contraction of the German economy was exacerbated by the termina-

tion of war reparations payments by France in September 1873. The reaction to the depression was protectionism and an increase in tariff rates.

Széchényi's answers

Széchényi feared the loss of the European, especially the German market, the British flour market and possibly the loss of the Austrian market for Hungarian agricultural products. Why? When Austria lost the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and Austria was excluded from the German *Zoll-verein* system (customs union), Austria and Hungary became viewed as outsiders, that is, tariffs were applied to them. As Széchényi said "one of the reasons for our loss in sixty-six was the disparity of our arms."[11] To prevent the repeat of such defeat, "we also purchased breech-loading rifles! We must do the same with [agricultural] competition from America." (p. 92) Hungary must adopt strategies and tools used by the US, as the price of American agricultural products, including the cost of transportation, was below that of many European producers' prices.

While the total wheat export from the USA in 1850 was 792,768 bushels, 0.8% of all exports, by 1867 it had grown to 6,192,371 bushels, or 4% of all exports. In 1850 2,431,824 barrels of wheat flour were exported, by 1878 exports of wheat flour had increased to 3,947,333 barrels, a 60% increase. Based on the *US Statistical Abstracts,*[12] the table below summarizes wheat produced and exported from the USA (pp.124 and 126).

Table 3.
American wheat production and exports 1869-1878 (in bushels)

	Total production (domestic and imports)	total exports	% of wheat in total exports
1869	225,407,093	17,907,442	7.94
1870	260,998,226	36,996,585	14.18
1871	236,601,879	34,797,215	14.71
1872	232,269,023	26,999,985	11.62
1873	251,473,604	39,591,451	15.75
1874	282,900,792	71,833,749	25.39
1875	308,405,747	53,327,474	17.29
1876	293,704,558	56,441,828	19.22

1877	289,685,406	40,790,064	14.08
1878	365,545,154	73,654,621	20.22

The largest markets for US grain were England, Ireland, France, Belgium and Germany. For Hungary to be able to compete, Széchényi called for government action and intervention. The first step in this process, Széchényi argued, should be the improvement of the living standard of the farmers/landowners. A landowner (*földbirtokos*) is a person according to Széchényi, "who can support himself and his family without having to look for outside employment" (p. 109) As table 2 above shows, the amount of land owned by the majority of Hungarian peasants was small and subject to further subdivision, so government intervention was needed to prevent the further division of land. The biggest advantage American producers had over Europeans, according to Széchényi, was the fact that in the US the cultivators of the land were the owners of the land. Ownership made "better farmers" who can "react to changes in market conditions quickly." (p. 93) A stable landowning class is "ready to protect its property." (p. 94) One big factor for the stability of American landownership was the Homestead Act. This Act was a federal law that gave an applicant freehold title to up to 160 acres (1/4 section, 65 hectares, 37.4 holds) of undeveloped federal land. The law required three steps: filing an application, improving the land, and filing for deed of title; which was meant to protect the farmers' property. Homestead laws were designed to protect the farmer's home from creditors, and provided the right of occupancy to a surviving spouse, minor children, and unmarried children of a deceased owner. It also afforded reduced property tax treatment for the farmer. "Homestead exemption" refers to the tax exemption or reduction, and the exemption from debts or execution for the payment of debts. However, the exemption does not mean that landowners could not lose their home to creditors or that a lien could not be placed on the home. If the farmer borrowed money with the home as collateral, the mortgage holder could foreclose and the exemption had no effect. If an unsecured creditor sued and obtained a judgment, the creditor could enrol the judgment as a lien on the property. In most states there was a homestead exemption of between $300-$500, meaning that creditors could not execute on the homestead and take the home. In a way this concept is opposite of the ideas of Sándor Matlekovits (1842-1925),[13] a prolific writer on economic issues. His 1865 book, *A földbirtok: a nemzetgazdaság jelenlegi álláspontja szerint rendezve* [Land ownership: in light of the current

state of the economy],[14] argues against government intervention on property size (p. 39) and this was a book that Széchényi may have read.

Contrary to Matlekovits, Széchényi does not only see the role of the state in determining the minimum size of property, he also assigns several other roles to the state. If farms are small, economies of scale in production cannot be achieved by individual farmers, but with the state's help, transaction costs can be reduced and *network externalities* can be achieved. Based on his American experiences Széchényi urged that, to reduce transaction costs, the Hungarian state should: 1. Provide regular and reliable information and statistics, i.e. price discovery methods, and 2. Extend educational opportunities to all.

According to Széchényi each state in the US had a department of agriculture and there was also a federal department of agriculture. In his book he describes the federal Department of Agriculture, headquartered in Washington DC and surrounded by an agricultural experimental station as well as a model garden. The department is charged with publishing statistics, new findings in agriculture, and publishes crop reports. Széchényi was most impressed with the experimentation carried out in the basement of the department with new machinery. He praises the department for mailing out seed packets and information free of charge, and also for sending students to the best European schools to study. He reports that the department also has agents in Europe who are charged with finding markets for American products. The departments of agriculture in each state, naturally see their role as helping the local farmers and they achieve this by publishing annual and monthly statistical reports. These state agricultural departments also provide weather predictions by flying colour-coded flags, and organize county-wide agricultural fairs. Széchényi concludes that both the "federal and the state governments do everything in their power to help improve the welfare of the farming community." (p.117) This is because the various government departments bear the cost of providing information, the farmers' productivity increases. Széchényi argues that the work carried out by both the federal and state departments of agriculture is one that drives the growth of the agriculture sector, as it impacts productivity, reduces costs and improves the standard of living for farmers.

Today we would probably judge parts of a subheading in Széchényi's book politically incorrect. The subheading reads "the better education and higher intelligence level of the farming classes" (p.112) and deals with the education and reading abilities of various ethnic groups. There were three reasons why Americans are better educated than their Hunga-

rian counterparts according to Széchényi. There are the schools themselves, the press, and active participation by Americans in public affairs. As for the school system itself, though schooling is not compulsory, American education is superior to the Hungarian system as it is free. In new states, schools are funded by revenues from sale of property donated by the federal government.

At the time Hungarian literacy or, rather, illiteracy rates were quite appalling. According to historian István György Tóth, in 1880 "42.6 percent of the population [in Hungary] aged fifteen to nineteen was illiterate, this proportion among the age-group over sixty was 58%."[15] Széchényi wrote that most blacks were literate (p. 13), US statistics of the period say otherwise. According to these in 1880 "only" 17% of the total population was illiterate, and 8.7% of the white native-born and 12% of white illiterates were foreign born; but 70% of the blacks were illiterate.[16]

The American press is criticized by Széchényi for going after sensational news, but is praised for providing the readers with lots of practical information, and even detailed market reports. These reports are a component of public education as they add to the knowledge of the farmers. He reports that "the freedom of the press is more perfect [than in Hungary], as editors do not have to worry about the terror of various organizations of journalists." (p. 118)

The educational value of participatory government is praised by Széchényi. He refers to Géza Andrássy's detailed notes on various levels of government in the state of Michigan. These notes became the chapter on public administration in Meyer's book. Széchényi comments that many positions in public administration are elected positions and that the majority of the officials elected receive only small compensation. The two advantages of this electoral system with minimal compensation are, according to Széchényi, the facts that running the government is inexpensive and the "bureaucrat" must maintain his farm to survive. With this description of the American local government Széchényi implicitly criticizes the Hungarian system. In that system, to use the words of historian László Kontler, most districts were the "patrimony of local potentates and political groups, elections were, as a rule, managed, and there was large-scale patronage at all levels of administration." While in the US, with the passage of the 15th amendment in 1870, all males could vote, even after the passage of electoral reform of 1873 in Hungary only about 6% of the adult male population could vote, as voting was based on property qualifications.[17]

Széchényi summarizes the differences between Europeans and Americans by their respective answer to the question, "why do you do this, this way, instead of that?" In most cases a European will answer "my father, my neighbour does it this way." If the same question is posed to a Yankee, the answer is "I do it this way because I want to achieve this or that, this way." (p. 120) The point that Széchényi makes, is that the Americans always think about their goals. To transfer this goal-oriented mentality to Hungary, he proposes that the Hungarian county governments should encourage the acquisition of these American attitudes.

Széchényi praises American ingenuity when he writes that most of the machinery that was imported from Europe to America in a short time became modified and transformed into more useful and more efficient machinery. The reason for this is the fact that American ingenuity was aided by protection by the patent of office — and the high cost of labour. All these factors together create efficient farms. As new land is added and methods of farming become more efficient, production grows and American agricultural exports will reach more and more European countries.

In economics and business, a network externality (or effect) is the effect that one user of a good or service has on the value of that product to other people. When network effect is present, the value of a product or service increases as more people use it. This is not the same as the concept of economies of scale, which means that making many copies of something is cheaper, per item. Network externalities means that there are benefits if increasing number of people use the same thing. Széchényi lists two examples where adopting the American usage would lead to network externalities for Hungary. These are: 1. standardized wheat grades and 2. the use of grain elevators to store the wheat. Using standardized wheat grading system helps to ensure that producers get paid maximum value for their grain according to the quality of the grain, reliable grading helps attract and keep customers who buy grain for its consistent quality and lastly graded grain allows the use a bulk handling system that helps keep handling and transportation costs low. This last advantage is connected to Széchényi advocating the use of grain elevators. He describes that in Hungary each producer's grain was kept separate, while in the US transportation was in bulk, as grading occurred at grain elevators near railroads. Through grading, grain with similar qualities received from different producers is combined into larger lots for more efficient handling and transportation. Széchényi acknowledges that Hungary had taken steps in this direction after the visit to America of Ödön Miklós (1857-1923) to

study grain elevators, and the subsequent building of grain elevators in Budapest between 1880 and 1883.[18]

Among other American advantages that Széchényi discussed were in the realm of construction. In the US farmers could order ready-to-assemble buildings. These were delivered by railroad and reduced the cost of the construction of farm buildings. He also advocated the use of warehouse warrants in Hungary. In America a warehouse warrant was a receipt for the deposit of goods/wheat in a warehouse or grain elevator. This receipt represented a title of ownership to the goods deposited and could be sold as such on a commodity exchange as well as used by farmers as loan collateral.

Széchényi's book created quite a stir in Hungary. Within three years of its appearance two books were published to refute some or all of his arguments. In 1885 Zoltán Bosnyák (1861- 1948),[19] a playwright and an employee of the Ministry of Interior, published his criticism of Széchényi's work in a book titled *A birtokminimum mint agrárreform Magyarországon* [Minimum landholding as agricultural reform in Hungary]. The book argues against Széchényi's goal of terminating the continuous break-up of smaller properties, suggesting that state intervention would create not a more productive agriculture but more waste (and communism). According to Bosnyák the whole idea of preserving properties originated with Rudolf Meyer (see p. 5 of Bosnyák's book).

Jakab Pólya's (1844-1897)[20] *Agrár politikai tanulmányok: Minimum. Homestead. Öröködési jog* [Studies in agricultural politics: Minimum, homestead. Right of inheritance][21] was published in 1886. It mentions Széchényi's proposals in a positive light (p.26). But Pólya disagrees with Széchényi's conclusion, namely that tiny holdings near large estates "breed passionless lives and unemployment (poverty)," and argues that poverty in the Hungarian countryside was due to ignorance, the peasants' lack of ambition, and their lack of opportunities to improve their standard of living. Pólya argues that the legal system could not deal with the minimum land-holdings issues, only additional bureaucracy would be created with the passage of such laws (issues like determining minimum by land quality, access to water, etc). While Bosnyák's book centered on trying to disprove Széchényi's logic, Pólya's book started with the discussion of methods employed by other states (e.g. the 1825 law in Bavaria, the1827 law in Sweden, and the 1843 law in Poland) to achieve the goal of property size maintenance. Pólya argued that plots too small to provide sustainable income will encourage the creation of larger estates and thereby increase poverty. In certain areas, Pólya added, namely in those that are

capital and labour intensive — like the growing of grapes, flax, hemp, rice, and in horticulture — small plot size was an advantage. Another place where there should be small holdings, according to Pólya, was near factories as this type of ownership would "increase the independence of the working class … and increase [the workers'] diligence."[22]

Although nothing came in Hungary of Széchényi's suggestions regarding minimum landholdings, the issue did not disappear. As he wrote nearly two decades later in his foreword to the first volume of János Baross's *Agrár öröklési jog* [Agricultural inheritance law], there had been several books published opposing his ideas. In this foreword Széchényi defined his original goal of writing his 1881 book as "to help the deteriorating position of the middle and small propertied class."[23]

Conclusions

Neither Széchényi nor Bosnyák discussed how the termination of the further subdivision of landholdings was to be achieved, whether everyone who desires to own land should receive some holdings and from where would this land come from, or what was to happen with those who did not have enough land. According to Pólya, Széchényi believed that land between 10 -160 hold (the equivalent of 14.2- 270 US acres) should not be allowed to be subdivided, but neither Széchényi nor Pólya explained by what method this could be achieved. (Pólya, p. 25)

The seminal work on Hungarian visitors to the US in the 19th century was written by Anna Katona in 1971 and 1973.[24] She examined at the publications of 21 writers. She divided their writings by date, 10 writers visited the US before the Civil War and 11 between 1877 and 1900. The pre-Civil War writers were members of the "radical and the most intellectual part of Hungarian nobility" who described the US as a "New Paradise and a model to go by." She summarized the works of the second group of writers as "grudgingly admiring the US, at the same time being critical of the US," describing the US as hectic and a money-centered place. Majority of the writers in this group were scientists. Katona placed Imre Széchényi in this second group, as his visit was in the post-Civil War period. Imre Széchényi's book represents more of a transition between the first group and the second. Széchényi was an aristocrat (just like his distant cousin, Béla Széchenyi, who wrote about his trip to America in 1862) who admired what he saw in the US and wanted his country to imitate the United States. And, just like most of the travelogues written by the first group, his book used statistics to prove his points.

An unanswerable question is how much was the young Imre Széchényi influenced by Meyer's opinions and political views; the similarities of the two authors' observations in several places are striking. Meyer (1839-1899) studied history, philosophy and economics in Berlin. In 1864/65 Meyer worked as a tutor in Hungary, which is where he probably met some of the families whose sons he accompanied. The organization and the style of Meyer's book is similar to Széchényi's. Both arrange their chapters according to the places visited and support their arguments with statistics. Although Széchényi refers to Meyer in his book only once, (see Meyer's book, p. 80) Meyer mentions Széchényi and his travelling companions a number of times, and refers to their discussions. Meyer relates for exapmple that he and Imre Széchényi compared notes (p. 123) and even quotes Széchényi's remark that the Red River Valley near Fargo was similar to the Bánát region of Hungary. (p. 617) The success and the wealth of American farmers (and his political disagreement with Bismarck which resulted in his inprisonment) convinced Meyer to emigrate to the US and to start a farm. This farm was successful, and Meyer returned to Europe only in 1897.

The American belief in the importance of education, the practice of participation in local and national politics, the use of modern agricultural techniques in the US, made lasting impressions on the young Széchényi. After his return to Hungary he did try to transplant some of what he had learned during his American tour to his native country. In his later life Széchényi donated large sums to local public elementary and secondary schools. He was active in local and national politics. He served on the boards of Hungary's Agricultural Industrial Corporation, the Hungarian Industrial and Agricultural Bank, and the General Hungarian Creditbank. He was a director of the Hungarian Mortgage Institute and was the deputy director of the Hungarian Athletic Club. He also founded the Somogyvár kindergarten and was the author of three further books: a monograph on Somogyvár published in 1892, a book entitled *Teleiitési Törekvések Németországban* [Efforts to establish settlements in Germany] (1893), and still another book called *Egyke* [Only child] (1906).[25]

It might be added as a kind of a postscript that Imre Széchényi, just like his distant cousin Béla,[26] referred to meeting Hungarians in the US only once. Both wrote about the unfortunate immigrants who were forced to leave Hungary because of economic hardships. Imre Széchényi praised the US immigration system for helping new arrivals. It is interesting to note that the September 25th and October 23rd (1881) issues of the *Vasárnapi Újság* [Sunday paper] reported that the Széchényi

brothers, Imre and Géza, and Count Andrássy were made honorary members of the San Francisco Hungarian Benevolent Club, but there is no mention of this meeting in Imre Széchényi's book. Széchényi mentioned meeting Slovaks (*felvidéki tótok*) in Kansas who were then employed by the railroads but were saving money in hope of buying a homestead. (p. 31) He also quoted an unnamed American-Hungarian housewife who supposedly said that "good cottage cheese strudels cannot be made from American wheat as the dough cannot be stretched." (p. 20)

NOTES

[1] http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00030/01412/pdf/01412.pf (see page 205, bottom of column 2).

[2] Dr. Rudolf Hermann Meyer (1839-1899) studied history, philosophy and economics in Berlin. In 1864/65 Meyer worked as a tutor in Hungary, which is where he probably met some of the families whose sons he accompanied. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudolf_Meyer_(Publizist)

[3] 1881, March 7, *New - York Tribune* (1866-1899), 8. Retrieved May 17, 2010, from ProQuest Historical Newspapers The New York Tribune (1841-1922). (Document ID: 1340962882). The other stated goal was to look into the economic conditions of emigrants.

[4] The chapter was also published in *Vaterland*, a periodical Meyer was associated with.

[5] András Vári, "Fenyegetések földje. Amerika a 19. század második felében — Magyar szemmel" [The land of threats. America in the 2nd half of the 19th century — through Hungarian eyes] in *Korall, Journal for Social History*, issue: 26/2006. http://epa.oszk.hu/ 00400/00414 /00018/pdf/153vari.pdf. According to Vári, amongst themselves the group's members spoke German, but Imre Széchényi spoke English as well.

[6] Scott M. Eddie, "Agriculture as a Source of Supply: Conjectures from the History of Hungary, 1790-1913," in *Economic Development in the Habsburg Monarchy*, ed. John Komlos (Boulder, Co.: East European Monographs, No. CXXVIII, 1983), 101-117.

[7] Scott M. Eddie, "The Changing Pattern of Landownership in Hungary, 1867-1914," *The Economic History Review,* New Series, 20, 2 (Aug. 1967): 293-310.

[8] http://www.unc.edu/~rowlett/units/dictH.html

[9] D. Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750-1914* (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1984).

[10] Lajos Thallóczy *(Strommer)* (1856–1916), historian, member of the HAS and president of the Hungarian Historians Society. http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thall%C3%B3czy_Lajos; Lajos Thallóczy, *Oroszország és hazánk* [Russia and our country] (Budapest: Athenaeum R. Társulat, 1884).

http://books.google.com/books?id=TV1IAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Lajos+Thall%C3%B3czy,+Oroszorsz%C3%A1g+%C3%A9s+haz%C3%A1nk,+,1884&source=bl&ots=JXsyEad5OR&sig=1EoU7aHzZqX4ct4PIT2OkRupCuE&hl=en&ei=JiTHTPzaNIqusAOcot2NDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&sqi=2&ved=0CBMQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false

[11] The Austro-Prussian War (Seven Weeks War, the Unification War) was a war fought in 1866 between the Austrian Empire and its German allies on one side and the Kingdom of Prussia with its German and Italian allies on the other, resulting in Prussian dominance over the German states. In the Italian unification process, this conflict is called the Third Independence War. The major result of the war was a shift in power among the German states away from Austrian and towards Prussian hegemony, and impetus towards the unification of all of the northern German states. It saw the abolition of the old German Confederation and its partial replacement by a North German Confederation that excluded Austria and the South German states. The war also resulted in the libartaion of Venetia from Austrian rule.

[12] http://www2.census.gov/prod2/statcomp/documents/1878-01.pdf

[13] http://www.kislexikon.hu/matlekovits.html Sándor Matlekovits, *A földbirtok: a nemzetgazdaság jelenlegi álláspontja szerint rendezve* [Land ownership: in Light of the Current State of the Economy] (Pest: Kugler Adolf, 1865). http://www.archive.org/details/ afldbirtokanemz00 matlgoog

[14] István György Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Hungary* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), 200. http://books.google.com/ books?id=icGSKXVSwIwC&pg=PA200&lpg=PA200&dq=literacy+rates, Hungary,+1880&source=bl&ots=PTcSH5tmGd&sig=7yRNLPIGzslbPjp-rsNduiXUEL8&hl=en&ei=r2DtS_PbBYH6lweotZm1CA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=6&ved=0CDAQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=literacy%20rates%2C%20Hungary%2C%201880&f=false

[15] http://nces.ed.gov/naal/lit_history.asp

[16] László Kontler, *A History of Hungary* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 281.

[17] http://www.kfki.hu/physics/historia/localhost/egyen.php?namenev=miklos

[18] http://netlexikon.hu/print.php?fn=1&id=2156&tn=yrk_Ryrgenwm

[19] Jakab Pólya (Pollák) (1844-1897). Economist, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1893.

[20] http://books.google.com/books?dq=birtok%20torveny%201883&q=Szemenyi&id= JroLAAAAYAAJ&ots=SGtzY6z1jn&output=text&pg=PA29

[21] In his review of the minimum landholdings debate in Hungary, Pólya dates the idea to István Széchenyi, who when giving instructions to the representatives of the county of Pest argued for a minimum of 30 hold (42.6 acres) for the nobility in 1831. According to Pólya, István Széchenyi's argument was based political goals, on building the 'Hungarian nation', for in "Széchenyi's time the nobility and the peasants were Hungarian, while the bourgeoisie was German. His

idea was to force the lesser nobility to become craftsmen and merchants." (p. 24)

[21] János Baross (1875-1926), http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/BarossJ% C 3% A1nos http://books.google.com/books?pg=PP1&lpg=PA75&dq=szechenyi+ foldbirtok&id=x6tLAAAAYAAJ&ots=ATNuCAL7BV#v=onepage&q&f=false

[22] Anna Katona, "Hungarian travelogues on Pre-civil War America," in *Angol Filologiai Tanulmányok*, 5 (1971): 51-94. Anna Katona, "Hungarian travelogues on Post-civil War America," in *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok*, 7 (1973): 35-52.

[25] http://mek.niif.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC14240/14621.htm, also at http://www.mtda.hu/books/az_egyke_szechenyi.pdf

[26] Tibor Glant, "Fájdalmas küldetés: Gróf Széchenyi Béla amerikai útja 1862-ben" [Painful mission: Count Béla Széchenyi's American trip in 1862] in *Gyarmatokból impérium. Magyar kutatók tanulmányai az amerikai történelemről*, [From colonies to empire. Hungarian researchers on American history], ed. Frank Tibor (Budapest: Gondolat, 2007), 88-103.

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Mátyás Rákosi, the Rajk Trial, and the American Communist Party

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On May 12, 1949 Noel Field, an American citizen who had worked intermittently for Soviet intelligence agencies over the previous fifteen years, was arrested by the Czechoslovak secret police in Prague and handed over to representatives of the Hungarian state security agency (the AVO). He was immediately whisked off to prison in Budapest, where over the following months he was subjected to brutal interrogation and torture by AVO and KGB agents. Field's arrest was the opening act of a Hungarian Stalinist-type "show trial" that took place later that year.[1] It had been decided by Joseph Stalin and his acolytes in Budapest that Noel Field was to play a central role in the Hungarian show trial (which the Hungarians called a "koncepciós per"). According to the script, or "concept," of the trial that was being developed in Moscow and Budapest, Field was to confess, falsely, that he had long been an American agent in the service of the OSS (Office of Strategic Services) and of Allen Dulles's CIA; that during and after World War II he had worked with and coordinated a network of Titoites, Trotskyites, and other deviationists; and that he had recruited László Rajk, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, and numerous other Hungarian Communists to participate in a plot to overthrow the Hungarian communist regime and assassinate its leaders.[2]

The role that Noel Field played in the Rajk trial and in other East European show trials has recently received considerable attention from historians.[3] But the Rajk trial had another American connection that has gone almost completely unnoticed. Noel Field was deeply committed to the communist cause, but he had never been a formal member of the American Communist Party (hereafter CPUSA). However, a number of Hungarian Communists who had been, or continued to be, active in the American communist movement were also implicated in the alleged Rajk conspiracy. A study of how and why these émigré Hungarians became victims of government-sponsored terror in Hungary provides insights into the nature of the Rajk show trial, the motives

and methods of its chief Hungarian instigator, Mátyás Rákosi, the willingness of American Communist Party leaders not only to approve the methods used in the Stalinist show trials but to offer up additional victims, and the long-term impact of these events on the American and Hungarian communist parties.

Several developments in the preceding two years had set the stage for the Rajk trial, the first major Stalinist show trial since the 1930s.[4] The willingness of the Hungarian communist regime to use the most ruthless methods to defeat and degrade its opponents had been demonstrated in February, 1949 at a public trial of Hungary's most prominent religious figure, Cardinal Mindszenty. After weeks of physical and psychological torture by state security agents, Mindszenty had been forced to confess to trumped-up charges of espionage and treason.[5] Yet Mindszenty had in fact been a vociferous opponent of the regime, unlike László Rajk and his alleged accomplices at the Hungarian show trial later in 1949 who were all in fact dedicated Communists and had never engaged in anything resembling oppositional or traitorous activity. That they were nonetheless swept up in a wave of terror had much to do with the decision Stalin had made in 1948 to launch a full-scale attack on the communist regime in Yugoslavia. Marshal Tito, who during World War II had been acclaimed in the Communist world as one of the great heroes in the anti-fascist struggle, was now denounced by Moscow as a traitor to Communism and a tool of the imperialists. "Titoite" and "Titoism" now became terms of abuse, to be linked with that previous amorphous category of enemies, the "Trotskyites."[6]

Stalin soon made it clear to Rákosi and the leaders of the other "People's Democracies" that vigorous steps needed to be taken to uncover and eradicate the "Titoist cliques" that had supposedly developed in each of the East European communist parties. Rákosi, who styled himself as Stalin's "best pupil," was eager to take the initiative in this campaign and stage a show trial along the lines of those Stalin had masterminded in the 1930s. It remains unclear whether the decision to target Rajk was made in Moscow or Budapest, but it certainly suited Rákosi's purposes.[7] He regarded Rajk as a political rival, and for some time had been seeking to diminish his importance in the Party and the government. Rajk was arrested on May 30, and soon dozens of his "accomplices" joined him in the AVO prisons. In planning the Rajk trial Rákosi worked closely with Gábor Péter, head of the secret police. How did Rákosi and Péter proceed in identifying the "Titoites," "Trotskyites," and "agents of American imperialism" who had allegedly embedded themselves in the Hungarian Communist Party? Like his mentor Stalin, Rákosi was driven by an obsessive suspiciousness and the inclination to believe that any Communist who spent an extended period of time in the West must have

become "contaminated."[8] Thus there was a definite pattern that knowledgeable observers at the time could discern in the arrests of Rajk's alleged accomplices. Those most vulnerable were Communists who had spent considerable time in the West, for example as functionaries in Western communist parties or, like Rajk, as volunteers in the Spanish Civil War. Anyone who had come into contact with Noel Field or had collaborated with Yugoslav Communists during World War II was almost certain to be arrested. Equally suspect were those who had had worked with Earl Browder, who headed the CPUSA for most of the 1930s and 1940s. Such individuals were believed to have been tainted by the heresy known as "Browderism." Communists of petit bourgeois and/or Jewish origin were also in danger, for such a background made them vulnerable to the charge of being "Zionists" or "cosmopolitans."[9]

The initial "concept" of the Rajk conspiracy required a sizable cast of characters, and the dynamics of all the Stalinist show trials were such that those who confessed their crimes (as almost all those arrested eventually did) were prompted to name others with whom they had collaborated. The prisoners were required to write and re-write personal statements in which they listed all the Communists they had ever collaborated with in their Party activity in the West. These statements were scrutinized by the Hungarian and Soviet interrogators to determine how individuals named could be drawn into the evolving "Titoist plot."

Because he wished to boost his own importance as Stalin's surrogate in the supervision of the Rajk trial, Rákosi insisted on taking a direct role in selecting the victims, studying the text of the interrogations and the written statements of the defendants, and refining the script. In addition, he sought to spur other communist parties to action, citing the Hungarian party's policy of vigilance as a model. In a public speech in Prague in June, he declared that the Hungarian CP had been found to be ridden with "spies and provocateurs," but that the government was now waging "a campaign of destruction with an iron hand."[10] Privately Rákosi urged the Czechoslovak leaders to carry out a similar purification of their party, since evidence gained through interrogation of Rajk's "accomplices" suggested that some Czechoslovak Communists were implicated in "Titoite" activity.[11] Rákosi sent a similar warning to leaders of other communist parties, including the CPUSA. Because he spoke excellent English and had visited the United States in 1946 and met many leaders and members of the American Communist Party, Rákosi thought of himself as an expert on American affairs. It seemed self-evident to him that there would be "spies and saboteurs" in the cohort of Hungarians who were returning to their native land from long years of Party work in the United States.[12] Some time in early summer of 1949 Rákosi alerted Gene Dennis, general secretary of the

CPUSA, to the escalating campaign in Hungary against agents of American imperialism. To assist the Hungarian Party he asked Dennis for a report on the Communist movement in the United States, with comments on the role and political reliability of Hungarian Americans comrades, both those who remained in the United States and those who had returned to Hungary. This task was assigned to the most prominent Hungarian in the CPUSA, Louis Weinstock, whom Rákosi had met in New York in 1946. Weinstock dutifully prepared a long report that he personally delivered to Rákosi in August, 1949.[13]

Weinstock, who was a great admirer of Rákosi, must have sensed that if he made a negative evaluation of any of his Hungarian-American comrades, they would possibly be placed in great personal danger. Thus, he was careful to avoid incriminating some of the individuals he mentioned. The most prominent individual on his list was József Péter, who under the name J. Peters had been during the 1930s a very influential member of the CPUSA leadership and a collaborator of Soviet intelligence agencies in espionage work. Concerning Péter, Weinstock merely noted that, on the advice of CPUSA leaders, he had left the United States in May, 1949 as a result of the deportation proceedings against him. On the other hand, Weinstock named several Hungarian-born Communists, including Mózes Simon (a British citizen) and John Lautner (an American citizen,) who, he claimed, had engaged in activities that had raised some suspicions among American communist leaders.

Rákosi apparently paid little attention to the distinctions Weinstock tried to make. In fact he soon convinced himself that every Hungarian communist mentioned by Weinstock in his report, and even Weinstock himself, was a traitor or FBI spy.[14] He thus ordered the AVO into action against those individuals mentioned by Weinstock who were then residing in Hungary. Mózes Simon had returned to his native land in 1948 from many years abroad in Great Britain and the United States. He had been made a legal advisor in the Hungarian National Bank and served as the Party's liaison with all returning communist émigrés. He seemed to have a good working relationship with Rákosi and other Party officials.[15] Nonetheless, he was arrested in September, 1949 and accused of being a British spy and one of Rajk's accomplices. As happened all too often in the hysterical atmosphere of the East European show trials, Simon's wife assumed that her husband was guilty and denounced him: "Good riddance, he is gone. They took him away."[16]

Apparently Rákosi contemplated a move against József Péter as well. Péter certainly fit the profile of émigré Communists that Hungarian

leaders imagined to be likely accomplices of Rajk. The numerous autobiographies that Péter had been required to submit to the Party since his arrival in Hungary in May, 1949 may have suggested to suspicious minds that in his career he had displayed certain "petit-bourgeois tendencies." For example, he had studied to be a lawyer and during World War I he had served as an Austro-Hungarian infantry officer. As a CPUSA functionary he had likely had contacts with Noel Field and worked closely with Earl Browder, thereby becoming infected with "Browderism."[17] In the United State Péter had supposedly been hounded and arrested by the FBI and INS. But how was it that in the end he was allowed simply to leave the United States voluntarily? Might he have made a deal to cooperate with American police or intelligence agencies? Even more suspicious was his friendship with Mózes Simon and John Lautner. Finally, Péter's Jewish origins and long years spent in the West placed him squarely in the category of Communists likely to have become "cosmopolitans" and "Zionists."[18] For a time in late 1949 Péter thus remained under surveillance and was denied a Party position that had been promised to him when he returned to Hungary.[19] In the end, however, he managed to escape arrest, perhaps because the KGB advised Rákosi that Péter had supervised a successful espionage operation in Washington that had greatly aided Soviet Intelligence.

The case of John Lautner was a different matter. Rákosi had met Lautner briefly during his visit to New York in 1946. But he knew little about him, except for the negative comment Weinstock had made in his report. However, Rákosi soon discovered that one of Rajk's alleged accomplices, Sándor Cseresnyés, had mentioned Lautner's name while being interrogated. Cseresnyés had been arrested in June and charged, falsely, with being a British spy. After several weeks of torture, he concluded that the only way to save his life was to capitulate and cooperate with his interrogators. In one of the many autobiographical statements that he was required to write he apparently mentioned that he had met a number of American soldiers, including John Lautner, while they served together in the Allied Psychological Warfare Branch during World War II in Bari, Italy.[20] He had become particularly friendly with Lautner, and they had continued to correspond after the war when Cseresnyés returned to Hungary. Most likely it was Rákosi who, while reading through the interrogation file of Cseresnyés, noticed the mention of Lautner and decided on a way that he could be introduced into the Rajk conspiracy. Having already agreed to implicate Rajk along the lines demanded by his interrogators, Cseresnyés was now induced to confirm his interrogators' suggestion that while serving in Bari he had been introduced to agents of

Marshal Tito by John Lautner, whom he knew to be an American espionage agent.[21]

At the public Rajk trial in September, 1949, Cseresnyés testified merely that while working for the "British espionage service" in Bari in 1944, he had come into contact with Yugoslav spies, but did not mention John Lautner or the role that he allegedly played.[22] This was a deliberate omission, for any mention of Lautner at Rajk's trial would have thwarted Rákosi's plan, which was to lure Lautner back to Hungary, where he, like Mózes Simon, could be arrested. As Louis Weinstock prepared to return to the United States in October, Rákosi informed him that conclusive evidence had been uncovered that demonstrated that Lautner was an American intelligence agent who was involved in Rajk's "Titoist plot." Weinstock, like most Communists worldwide, believed that all the defendants in the Rajk trial were guilty as charged. Thus, he had no compunction about cooperating with the Hungarian leader. Upon his return to the United States in November, he passed on to the CPUSA's leaders Rákosi's message and copies of the recently published English language transcript of the Rajk trial. All the American Communists thus informed, even several who had been longtime personal friends of Lautner, immediately accepted the idea that he was an enemy agent who must be sent to Hungary to receive his just punishment. Apparently no one had any hesitation in implicitly trusting the word of the leader of Communist Hungary, even though, as one Party leader later conceded, Rákosi's warning had been no more concrete than a "veiled reference."[23] In fact, so alarmed were CPUSA leaders by Rákosi's message that they immediately drew the conclusion that all Party members who had served in the OSS or military intelligence during World War II had to be identified and purged, for they were likely to be secret Titoists and imperialist agents.[24]

Lautner himself, being a loyal Communist, obtained and read the English-language edition of the transcript of the Hungarian show trial and concluded that Rajk and his "accomplices" had truly been guilty of the crimes to which they had confessed.[25] Nor did the report that his former associate, Mózes Simon, had been arrested as a British spy create any doubts in his mind. Thus, when Louis Weinstock suggested to Lautner that he should take a trip to Hungary and get a first-hand experience of the building of socialism there, Lautner was willing to comply, especially since, as Weinstock assured him, all his expenses were to be paid by the CPUSA and a Hungarian trade union. Other Party leaders also urged him to go, assuring him that he could be spared for such an important assignment: "Have a good time," they told him, "have a good vacation."[26] However, Lautner was unable to obtain a passport, since the State Department had placed a temporary ban on travel to Hungary.

This placed the CPUSA leadership in a dilemma. Soon after Weinstock had returned from Hungary with Rákosi's urgent message, Party leaders had begun an internal investigation of Lautner. The purpose was not to discover if he in fact had been a spy, for that was now taken as a given. Rather, the investigation was intended to find evidence that would demonstrate the nefarious work Lautner had supposedly carried out for many years as an FBI informant. Since Lautner had in fact never had any contact with the FBI, the only evidence uncovered was trivial or insubstantial. But Party leaders soon realized that Lautner would make a convenient scapegoat for certain recent lapses in Party security. During the Smith Act trial of eleven Party leaders in 1949, the U.S. government had called as surprise witnesses several individuals who had worked undetected for many years in the Party as undercover agents for the FBI. Party officials now agreed among themselves, despite the lack of any real evidence, that this embarrassing situation was the fault of Lautner, who, as head of security for the New York district, had deliberately failed to follow up leads that would have led to the uncovering of the nest of FBI informants.[27]

Since Lautner could not now be sent to Hungary to face Rákosi's "people's tribunals," CPUSA leaders were confronted with the decision of what to do with a Party member whom they were convinced was a despicable traitor. Perhaps there were some in the leadership who thought it would be best simply to denounce him publicly and immediately expel him from the Party. However, the constitution of the CPUSA stipulated that members threatened with expulsion were entitled to a hearing at which the accused would be given a chance to defend himself or explain his actions. In practice, such hearings were not always held and when they were they were typically haphazardly organized and seldom allowed for an impartial judgment of the evidence.[28] Nonetheless, Gil Green, the CPUSA national secretary, Alexander Trachtenberg, chairman of the National Control Commission (the Party's disciplinary body), and John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, apparently decided that there should be some sort of trial at which Lautner would be confronted with proof of his guilt and would be threatened "with his life unless he would tell us the truth."[29] Accordingly, early in January, 1950, Jack Kling, the Party's treasurer, a member of the National Control Commission, and a leading organizer in the Midwest, was given the assignment of luring Lautner, who at this point was still unaware of the accusation that Rákosi had made against him, to a house in an unsavory part of Cleveland, Ohio. Lautner was to be told that he had been selected to replace Kling as a member of the National Control Commission and needed to consult with some Midwestern Party leaders on security matters. Since Lautner had for some time been eager

to join the National Control Commission, he complied willingly with the request that he travel to Cleveland with Kling.[30]

Instead, in the unheated basement of that house Lautner was confronted by several physically intimidating Party members who apparently had been instructed to apply what they imagined to be the "Bolshevik" methods that had convinced the "Titoite" defendants at the Rajk trial to confess their guilt. Lautner was forced to strip naked and was subjected to abuse and psychological pressure from his interrogators, who carried long, sharp knives, pointed a pistol at the back of his head, and brandished rubber truncheons, which they constantly banged against the table and walls.[31] One of them, waving a copy of the published Rajk trial proceedings in Lautner's face, shouted: "We know you! We know who you are!" In the vilest language they could muster Lautner's inquisitors called him a spy, traitor, stool pigeon, Trotskyite, and Titoite. He was, his tormentors insisted, an F.B.I. and C.I.A. agent who had worked with the nefarious Noel Field and had consorted with agents of Marshall Tito during World War II. When Lautner, bewildered and shocked by what was happening, replied in tears that they were making a "terrible mistake," he was warned that unless he "came clean" he would not leave the building alive. To induce him to speak the truth, a primitive (and transparently bogus) lie detector was set up. A tape recorder was on hand to record Lautner's confession, though it malfunctioned. Nonetheless, Lautner continued to insist on his innocence. Finally, after several hours of abuse and fearful for his life, Lautner agreed to write out in his own hand a dictated confession in which he admitted his "crimes" and declared that he had received a "fair and impartial hearing."[32] His ordeal over, Lautner was blindfolded and dropped off otherwise unharmed in an industrial part of Cleveland.[33]

When he returned on his own to New York several days later, Lautner still clung to the hope that either a dreadful mistake had been made, or that perhaps the episode had been some sort of test to see if he could withstand the kind of pressure that the government might inflict on Party members who were being interrogated. But he quickly learned that his fate had been sealed. The *Daily Worker* of January 17, 1950 announced that, on the basis of a recommendation from the National Review Commission, John Lautner had been granted a hearing and been expelled from the Party as "an enemy agent of long standing."[34] For any dedicated Communist who had devoted most of his adult life to the Party, expulsion was truly a devastating personal blow. Desperate to argue his cause, Lautner attempted to contact Alexander Trachtenberg and other Party leaders, but his letters went unanswered. His former friends in the Party leadership, including Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, refused to have any contact with him. Perhaps the cruelest blow was the reaction of

Lautner's wife, who was told by Party leaders that unless she denounced Lautner, she too would be expelled from the Party. As a loyal Party member, she concluded that she could not accept her husband's protestations of innocence. She thus told him that she could no longer live with him because he had brought disgrace on both herself and their daughter. She thereupon left him and demanded a divorce, which was granted several months later.[35] In other words, literally overnight John Lautner had become, in the eyes of the Party, a loathsome creature, a pariah with whom no member should have any contact.

Thus, although Mátyás Rákosi had not succeeded in luring Lautner to Hungary to share the fate of other "accomplices" of Rajk, he had provided the information that led to Lautner's humiliating expulsion from the Party. Yet Rákosi seemed to regret that he had not yet been able to ensnare one of the other Hungarian Americans he suspected of being a "traitor," Louis Weinstock. It is possible that Rákosi had been mulling the idea of having Weinstock arrested during his several months visit to Hungary in late 1949. At the time Hungarian trade union officials learned, presumably from Rákosi, that "not everything was in order" with Weinstock.[36] Nonetheless, Weinstock had been permitted to return home so that he could persuade Lautner to visit Hungary. It appears that early in 1950 Rákosi sent word to Weinstock that he would like to confer with him again in Budapest, but Weinstock, as a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA, was too busy to make another visit to Hungary so soon after his previous one. In any case, since he was facing probable arrest and prosecution by the government, it was unlikely that he would be permitted to leave the country. However, by chance, his wife, Rose Weinstock, who was also a Hungarian by birth, traveled to Hungary in October with their eleven year old daughter. Both of them were American citizens. Rose Weinstock was a delegate to the world congress of a communist women's group. After the congress she intended to remain in Budapest for several months, contributing in any way she could to the work of the Hungarian Party.

Unable to take action against Louis Weinstock himself, Rákosi apparently decided to punish his family. In November, 1950, about a month after the arrival of Weinstock's wife and daughter in Budapest, several Hungarian secret police agents appeared at their apartment and ordered them to leave. Without any explanation, they were exiled to Nagyléta, a small town on Hungary's eastern border, where they were forced to live in primitive building that a friend later described as a "cowshed."[37] Soon thereafter the daughter became severely ill with influenza. When Louis Weinstock learned of this development through a cautiously worded letter from his wife, he

immediately wrote to Antal Apró, a leading trade unions official, whom he perhaps felt would be more sympathetic and helpful than Rákosi himself.[38] But Apró, aware that Weinstock was regarded by the Hungarian Party leadership with suspicion, merely passed on Weinstock's message to Rákosi, assuring him that "naturally we will not respond to this letter."[39] In fact, no explanation was ever given to Weinstock for the treatment of his wife and daughter, whose exile and house arrest in Nagyléta ended only in 1955, when they were finally allowed to return to Budapest and, eventually, to the United States.

Mátyás Rákosi's scheme to bolster his own self-image as the arbiter of the fate of Hungarian Communists who had been connected with the CPUSA had certainly succeeded in the short term. He had arranged for the arrest, torture, and long-term imprisonment of Mózes Simon and perhaps other innocent Hungarian American Communists living in Hungary. On Rákosi's suggestion John Lautner had been subjected to psychological torture and summarily expelled from the CPUSA. Louis Weinstock's wife and daughter had been dealt with severely and arbitrarily by the Hungarian secret police. In the long-term, however, Rákosi's megalomania contributed to developments that were detrimental to both the CPUSA and the communist regime in Hungary. In particular, the repercussions of what came to be called the "Lautner affair" were certainly not what Rákosi or CPUSA leaders had anticipated.

Unlike many other American Communist Party members who had been unjustly expelled, John Lautner did not simply fade away quietly, perhaps with the hope that things might change and in the future he might gain re-admission to the Party. For several months he brooded over the treatment he had received, especially the brutality of his "trial" in the Cleveland basement. When in August, 1950 he received word that the divorce demanded by his wife had been granted, Lautner felt that he had suffered the final indignity. Convinced now that he had wasted his entire adult life in serving a political movement that "had no respect for the dignity of the human individual," he decided to launch a personal counter-attack. In September he addressed a letter to J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, in which he offered to give his "fullest cooperation to the aims and objectives of your organization."[40] Lautner soon became in reality what the CPUSA had falsely accused him of being: a government informant, a "stool pigeon." In the following months Lautner met frequently with FBI agents and provided valuable insider information about the leaders and inner workings of the CPUSA. But the greatest blow he dealt to the Party was the testimony he gave as a government witness at a series of Smith Act trials in the 1950s, at which Communist Party leaders were charged with advocating the violent overthrow of the American government. He

appeared at over twenty such trials and hearings all across the country, the most important of which occurred in New York in 1952. Among the defendants at this so-called Foley Square trial were his former friend Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and several of those responsible for his expulsion, including Louis Weinstock, Mark Trachtenberg, and Jack Kling (as a co-conspirator).

The defendants at the Foley Square trial regarded John Lautner as a truly sinister figure, looking "vengeful, grim-faced, with tinted glasses that concealed his eyes," even though privately some of them admitted that his testimony relating to Party structure and practices was "essentially true."[41] To their dismay Lautner proved to be a very effective and believable witness. He seemed to have a prodigious memory and related his experiences in the Party in a straightforward and fluent manner, though at times he came off as a bit pedantic. Unlike many other ex-Communists who became government informants, Lautner refrained from histrionic condemnations of Communism and was relatively cautious about identifying individuals as Communists. Although he monotonously emphasized his belief that force and violence were intrinsic to the communist movement, in general he lacked the "zeal of the reformed sinner."[42] Lautner's chief contribution to the prosecution's case was the evidence he offered that the CPUSA engaged in a variety of conspiratorial activities that belied the democratic provisions of the Party's constitution. The lawyers for the defendants at the 1952 Smith Act trial, who apparently accepted as true all the allegations against Lautner made by the Party at the instigation of Rákosi, did their best to discredit him as a witness. They brought up a few incidents where Lautner may have been embellishing the truth or suffered from a faulty memory,[43] but they were unable to offer any credible evidence he had previously been an FBI informant, let alone that he worked with American and "Titoite" intelligence services during World War II. Therefore they had to rely on the tactic of emphasizing that since Lautner was being paid by the government for his testimony, he would tell whatever lies his masters required. Lautner's vivid account of the "trial" to which he was subjected in Cleveland posed a particular problem for the defense lawyers, since they realized that the story would likely have a strong impact on the jury.[44] Yet here too they had no evidence to bring forward that would discredit Lautner's dramatic account. Moreover, they were doubtless reluctant to call as witnesses those Party leaders, such as Trachtenberg and Kling, who had knowledge of Lautner's treatment by the Party, since they would then be subjected to cross-examination that could be damaging to the case of the defendants.

John Lautner's testimony thus went largely unchallenged, and it appears that it carried a good deal of weight with the judge and jury. Early in

1953 all the defendants were found guilty and sentenced to prison terms of 1-3 years. In 1954 when a U.S. Court of Appeals affirmed the convictions, the judges cited Lautner's testimony as particularly persuasive in supporting the government's argument that the CPUSA was not an ordinary political party, but functioned "in a covert, deceptive, violent, and highly disciplined manner, such as might be expected of a revolutionary organization."[45] Throughout the period of the Smith Act trials, and especially once it became clear that Lautner's testimony was playing a key role in the conviction of many Party officials, the ex-Communist was vilified in CPUSA publications as a loathsome creature who testified falsely against his former comrades purely for monetary gain.[46] At least a few Party leaders knew, of course, that Lautner's account of the "Cleveland incident" was not a fabrication, but other officials, including most members of the National Committee, were apparently never apprised of this. This seems the only explanation for Lewis Weinstock's willingness to focus on the "Cleveland incident" in his public condemnations of Lautner. In a *Daily Worker* article in the summer of 1952 Weinstock sarcastically described Lautner's account of what happened in Cleveland as an "idiotic concoction," a ridiculous "cloak and dagger tale" based on cheap Hollywood gangster movies and the "best comic book tradition." This was the kind of fantasy, Weinstock observed, that one would expect from a "cheap stoolpigeon, labor spy, and provocateur."[47]

Yet even as Weinstock and other CPUSA officials continued to fulminate against Lautner in the summer of 1952, a few Party leaders had begun to have some misgivings about the "Lautner Affair." Among them was Joseph Starobin, foreign affairs editor for the *Daily Worker*, who early in 1951 passed through Budapest on his way to interview Soviet leaders in Moscow. During a conversation with Rákosi Starobin asked for an elaboration on the evidence for the charges against Lautner. The Hungarian leader could offer nothing more than what he had told Weinstock: that Lautner had been implicated by one of Rajk's accomplice. To Starobin's amazement Rákosi then went on to volunteer his belief that Weinstock was also not to be trusted, that he too was a government agent. How else could it be explained, for example, that after his visit to Hungary in 1949 Weinstock did not accept the invitation for a return visit in 1950, but instead had sent his wife? In insisting that this was highly suspicious behavior, Rákosi cited an old Hungarian saying: "When you don't have a horse, send an ass."[48]

That Rákosi could make such a vulgar and capricious accusation against Weinstock, one of the most respected leaders of the CPUSA, greatly shocked Starobin, who would no doubt have been even more disturbed if he had been aware of the action that had been taken only a few months earlier by

the Hungarian secret police against Rose Weinstock. He nonetheless returned to the United States with the conviction that an "extraordinary paranoia" prevailed in Hungary and that the leader of the Hungarian CP was not trustworthy. This led him further to conclude that John Lautner had been "framed:" he had not been a government agent, but "his own comrades made him one."[49] Starobin must have sensed that giving an accurate report to the CPUSA National Committee on his encounter with Rákosi and his misgivings about the "Lautner affair" (and perhaps the Rajk trial as well) might have undesirable repercussions, given the fragile state of the Party and the prevailing revulsion towards Lautner as a "stool pigeon." Furthermore, Starobin knew that some Party leaders already regarded him as too independent a thinker and a potential "deviationist."[50] Thus, he seems to have related his experience in Budapest and the conclusions he had drawn only to a few close associates, including George Charney, John Gates, and possibly Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.[51] Other Party leaders, including Louis Weinstock, apparently remained unaware of what Rákosi had told Starobin, and the campaign of vilification of Lautner continued unabated.[52] Typical of this attitude were the views privately expressed in 1954 by Betty Gannett, a member of the National Committee. In explaining to a Party member (who happened to be an FBI informant) what the "Lautner affair" was all about, she assumed that Lautner was guilty but otherwise gave an accurate description of his "trial" in Cleveland. She stated that Lautner had been stripped, beaten, and tortured, but had refused to confess and had been released. That was a mistake, she suggested, and in the future once the Party learned the identity of a spy, he would not be allowed to walk out alive.[53]

For the next few years those in the CPUSA leadership who had concluded that Rákosi had misled them in the "Lautner affair" turned to other urgent matters confronting the Party. The process of de-Stalinization that slowly began to develop in Eastern Europe not long after Stalin's death in 1953 did not receive much scrutiny by American Communists until events in Moscow and Budapest in 1956 riveted their attention. Historians have tended to concentrate on the traumatic effect that Nikita Khrushchev's "secret speech" of February, 1956 had on members of the CPUSA,[54] but months before the full text of that speech became available to Party members in June an intense debate had already been triggered by rumors about the speech and by developments in Hungary. In the three years after Stalin's death Rákosi had had to contend with growing pressure for de-Stalinization coming from both Moscow and from factions within the Hungarian Communist Party. Finally, in a desperate move to dissociate himself from his former mentor, Rákosi announced in March, 1956 that László Rajk had been rehabilitated. Though

refusing to take any personal responsibility for what had occurred, he admitted that the defendants at the 1949 trial had been innocent "victims of a frame-up" and that there had been no vast "Titoist" conspiracy.[55]

Rákosi's speech naturally had an electrifying impact in Hungary, but it also was a great shock to many American Communists, especially those who even earlier had suspected that they had been duped by Rákosi in 1949. Among those on whom the news had a profound effect was John Gates, who could justifiably feel that in the "Lautner affair" he and other CPUSA leaders had been personally manipulated by and lied to by Rákosi. Compared to more orthodox members of the CPUSA leadership, Gates and his fellow editors of the *Daily Worker* "felt a greater sense of guilt for the past and a greater sense of responsibility to alter the public image of the party."[56] As chief editor of the Party newspaper Gates was in the position to express the outrage that he and many other American Communists felt. As a rule no communist newspaper ever criticized the leaders of other communist states, except as part of a campaign inspired by Moscow. For this reason an editorial in the *Daily Worker* on April 2, entitled "The Rajk Case," astonished many readers of the newspaper. The editorial bemoaned the fact that a socialist government had employed "the age-old capitalist method of frame-up, sending innocent persons to their death or to prison." The public had a right to know how such a "terrible miscarriage of justice" could have happened and who had instigated it: "Not one, not some, but all those responsible should be brought before the bar of justice."[57]

Since early in 1956, when the news of Khrushchev's indictment of Stalin first reached the CPUSA leadership, there had been an increasing willingness on the part of the editors of the *Daily Worker* to allow a relatively free and open discussion of issues in letters to the editor, called the "Speak Your Piece" section of the paper.[58] After the April 2 editorial there appeared many letters from Party members, most of whom expressed support for the position taken by the *Daily Worker* and asserted that they were exhilarated by the chance finally to voice opinions that they had long held but previously were fearful of expressing.[59] The name of John Lautner, who at this time was still serving as a government witness at trials of Party leaders, was of course never mentioned. But at least some of the letter writers seemed to know, or suspect, the true circumstances surrounding Lautner's expulsion, including the false information that had been supplied by Mátyás Rákosi. The writer of one letter argued that it had been a mistake to blindly accept everything that had come from prominent European Communists: "Not only did we actively defend abuses where we had no proof of guilt, merely a statement from the Soviet party, unsubstantiated by fact — where, with perhaps some justifica-

tion, we gave the leaders the benefit of the doubt and assumed they had good reasons why they couldn't make such proofs public — but we even went so far as to defend things that we knew were outright lies."[60] Others demanded explanations not just from the Hungarian government, but also "from the leaders of the American Communist Party." A few, including a journalist who had attended and reported on the Rajk trial, confessed their gullibility and their blind willingness to "accept the mere accusation as justice" and "to shun anyone who dared protest." One writer even suggested that the time had come for a re-examination of the cases of those who had previously left the Party and "yes, even some of the expulsions."[61]

Not all leaders of the CPUSA approved of the audacious opinions expressed by John Gates and his like-minded colleagues at the *Daily Worker*. They might agree that the actions of the Rákosi government had been deplorable, but nonetheless questioned why the CPUSA should meddle in the affairs of the fraternal party in Hungary when American Communists had very pressing problems of their own, including continuing prosecutions of Party leaders by the government. In fact, even as debate about the crimes of Stalin and Rákosi raged in the pages of the *Daily Worker*, those Party leaders who had been tried in 1952 were undergoing a re-trial in New York. But the perspective of a few of them had been changed by the shocking revelations of the past months, and at least one of them was undergoing a political crisis of conscience. At his first trial in 1952 George Charney, despite certain misgivings, did not believe that Lautner's testimony could be true. In any case, "he was a rat and deserved no consideration." By his second trial in 1956, however, the revelations from Budapest and the memory of what Rákosi had said to Joseph Starobin in 1951, convinced Charney that Lautner had been and was now telling the truth. This created in him a "feeling of guilt," for he could only conclude that Lautner's experience in "the dark cellar in Cleveland" formed "a link with the frameups, the darkness at noon history of Stalin's party." The CPUSA had subjected Lautner, an innocent man, to a "horrible nightmare" and pressured his wife to abandon him, which forced Charney to ask himself: "What kind of morality was it that allowed an institution to blot out family integrity and the lives of people?"[62]

For some CPUSA leaders and members like George Charney and John Gates, the discovery of the truth behind the "Lautner affair" contributed to their growing disillusionment with the Party. Their disgust over the crimes and duplicitous behavior of the regimes presided over by Stalin and Rákosi began slowly, and imperceptibly, to erode their commitment to the Communist Party. The events that unfolded in Hungary in the autumn of 1956 reminded them once again of the iniquity and treachery of the Rákosi government. In

their reaction to the Hungarian uprising many CPUSA leaders were ambivalent and preferred to remain silent until it was clear how the Soviet government would react. But members of the "John Gates wing" of the Party, who had for some months been feuding with those whom they considered to be too wedded to the Stalinist past, did not hesitate to express sympathy for and encouragement of the Hungarian insurgents.[63] Editorials in the *Daily Worker* declared that the Hungarian people were justified in seeking "changes to democratize their country and improve the standard of living." What was happening in Hungary was not, as some Communists were arguing, a "counter-revolutionary plot" but "primarily a people's upheaval arising from the failure of Hungarian socialism to base itself on the people." Thus, the Hungarian uprising was not to be explained as a plot manipulated by outsiders, but as the inevitable result of the failure of Hungarian communist leaders to dissociate themselves from the repressive methods of Rákosi and his Stalinist comrades.[64]

When in early November Soviet troops were dispatched to crush the insurgency in Hungary, the response of the editors of the *Daily Worker* was unprecedented. In a November 5 editorial the Soviet intervention was condemned as retarding rather than promoting the development of socialism in Hungary, since "socialism cannot be imposed on a country by force."[65] Inspired by a group of editors who, partly because of their personal experience of Rákosi's malevolence, had come to loathe the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Hungary, the *Daily Worker* thus became the only communist newspaper in the world that denounced the Red Army's military suppression of the Hungarian uprising.[66] This editorial greatly exacerbated the rift in the CPUSA leadership, for many Party veterans regarded such criticism of the Soviet Union as reprehensible and unacceptable.

Debates among CPUSA factions continued to rage through the first half of 1957, with the "Hungarian question" often the focus of controversy.[67] In June the orthodox wing of the Party was bolstered by the appearance of a book entitled *The Truth About Hungary*, written by Herbert Aptheker, a noted Marxist historian. Aptheker, who did not read Hungarian, had no first-hand knowledge of Hungarian affairs, and viewed Hungarian history through a Stalinist prism, fully backed the interpretation of the Hungarian uprising that had been proposed by Moscow and the Soviet-backed regime in Budapest. The events in Hungary, he argued, had been a counter-revolution fomented by Western imperialists and fascists. Apetheker conceded that one of the sources of popular discontent that led to the uprising of 1956 was the "violation of socialist law" that had occurred in the late 1940s, but he dealt with this topic very briefly and insisted that "such inhumanity was alien and hostile to

Socialism."[68] Aptheker's conclusions were challenged by a reviewer in the *Daily Worker*,[69] but spokesmen for the orthodox wing, which now seemed to be in the ascendancy, came to his support. Among them were Rose and Louis Weinstock, who apparently bore no resentment over the persecution that Rose and their daughter had suffered in Rákosi's Hungary. Indeed, they insisted that they had had "the good fortune" to visit Hungary and were first-hand witnesses to "the great transformation that took place during the first five years after fascism was crushed." They acknowledged that some "mistakes, shortcomings, [and] violations of socialist law" had occurred under the Rákosi regime, although the authors of course made no mention of the fact that Louis Weinstock had collaborated with the Hungarian leader in identifying Rajk's alleged accomplices in 1949.[70]

These developments were dispiriting to members of the "John Gates wing," who now began to leave the Party in large numbers.[71] But even as ex-Communists some of them continued to feel a sense of guilt over the "Lautner affair" and its ramifications. They realized that none of the leaders of what remained of the CPUSA were ever likely to give an accurate account of the "Lautner affair," let alone rehabilitate him. Thus, the first public explanation of how and why Lautner had been expelled from the CPUSA came in George Charney's memoir, published in 1968. Charney expressed shame that he had been a loyal member of a party that had employed such Stalinist methods. Yet he could not forgive Lautner for having offered his services to the FBI in order "to destroy the party that had destroyed him" and to enjoy his "brief moment of revenge and infamy."[72] John Gates proved more forgiving. At a university conference that both attended in 1969, Gates sought out Lautner and apologized for the role he had played in his expulsion from the Party.[73] Gates' last act of atonement came in 1973, when in a nationally broadcast television interview on NBC, he admitted that Lautner's account of his expulsion had been accurate and that he was ashamed of his role in organizing the "Cleveland incident."[74]

After 1957 most of the other Party leaders who were responsible for the "Lautner affair" remained loyal to the CPUSA, which was shrinking rapidly in membership and becoming an inconsequential political factor. None of them ever acknowledged the truth of Lautner's story or expressed any regret over their role in his expulsion. As late as 1985, when his memoirs were published, Jack Kling continued to insist that the Party was justified in taking action against Lautner because it had received incriminating evidence "through various channels." He acknowledged that Lautner had been lured to Cleveland, but gave no details about his "trial" except that "the facts at our disposal were so complete that the trial committee voted to expel him from the

Party as a government agent."[75] Kling, like so many of his comrades, could never bring himself to admit publically that the party to which he had dedicated his life had employed what George Charney had called "darkness at noon" methods.

During the Smith Act trials of the 1950s CPUSA officials had argued that theirs was an independent political party that did not receive its marching orders from Moscow. Yet the actions of the CPUSA leadership at the time of the Rajk trial demonstrated otherwise. In the late 1940s CPUSA leaders joined without hesitation in the campaign against "Titoism" that Stalin launched. They accepted at face value the preposterous accusations made against László Rajk and his "accomplices." At the snap of Rákosi's fingers they offered up for sacrifice several Hungarian Communists who had worked in the United States. On the flimsiest of evidence provided by Rákosi they convinced themselves that John Lautner, a loyal Party official, was in fact an imperialist agent and "Titoite." When by chance Lautner was able to avoid the horrible fate awaiting him in Budapest, they felt justified in applying their own version of "Bolshevik justice" in a Cleveland basement.

Yet, as has been seen, Rákosi's political machinations had consequences that neither he nor his CPUSA collaborators could have imagined. Completely shattered by his brutal expulsion from the Party, John Lautner was in time emboldened to offer his services to the FBI. In part because of his persuasive testimony and dramatic recounting of the "Cleveland incident," several of the Party officials who had organized his expulsion were found guilty in Smith Act trials and received prison sentences. Later, when some more independent-minded CPUSA leaders learned of Rákosi's duplicitous methods in the Rajk trial and his regime's repressive policies, they were able to persuade themselves that the Hungarian uprising of 1956 was not an "imperialist plot" but a genuine popular revolt against Stalinist tyranny. As a result the *Daily Worker* was the only communist newspaper in the world to endorse the motives of the Hungarian insurgents and condemn the Soviet military intervention. The bitter debates among American Communists about the "Hungarian question" contributed to the shattering of the CPUSA. This was the final result of Rákosi's attempt to act as "Stalin's best pupil" and to persuade American Communists to help him find additional victims for the Hungarian show trials.

NOTES

[1] For a discussion of the Hungarian leadership's understanding of the nature of the "koncepciós per," see Martin Mevius, *Agents of Moscow. The Hungarian Communist Party and the Origins of Socialist Patriotism 1941-1953* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 243-44; and István Rév, "Indicting Rajk," p. 26, http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/slavic/events/slavic_symposium/Comrades_Please_Shoot_Me/Rev_Rajk.pdf.

[2] For the Rajk trial, see George Hodos, *Show Trials. Stalinist Purges in Eastern Europe, 1948-1954* (New York: Praeger, 1987), pp. 25-72; Tibor Hajdu, "A Rajk-per háttere és fázisai" [The background and phases of the Rajk Trial], http://www.rev.hu/sulinet45/szerviz/szakirod/hajdutib.htm; and Árpád Pünkösti, *Rákosi a csúcson, 1948-1953* [Rákosi at His Zenith] (Budapest: Európa, 1996), 174-75.

[3] See Mária Schmidt, "Noel Field – The American Communist at the Center of Stalin's East European Purge: From the Hungarian Archives," *American Communist History*, 3, 2 (2004): 214-45; and Hodos, pp. 24-32. For Field's career in general, see *Der Fall Noel Field*, vols. 1 and 2, ed. Bernd-Rainer Barth, Werner Schweizer, and Thomas Grimm (Berlin: Basis Druck, 2005-07).

[4] A small-scale trial was staged in Albania in May-June, 1949, but it was conducted behind closed doors and was limited in its objectives. Hodos, pp. 5-12.

[5] Mátyás Rákosi personally intervened in the drawing up of Mindszenty's confession, insisting that the cardinal admit to having engaged in "monumental espionage" to aid American imperialism. Mevius, pp. 238-39.

[6] Mevius, pp. 242-43.

[7] Mevius, p. 243; Mária Schmidt, *Battle of Wits. Beliefs, Ideologies, and Secret Agents in the 20th Century* (Budapest: XX. Század Intézet, 2007), 171.

[8] Ironically, Stalin was suspicious even of Rákosi, in part because of his Jewish origins, but specifically because he had once been shown a U.S. newspaper photo of Rákosi, during his visit to the United States in 1946, sitting at a table with President Truman. Both men were caught laughing about something, and for Stalin this was evidence that Rákosi was possibly an American spy. Paul Lendvai, *One Day That Shook the Communist World. The 1956 Hungarian Uprising and Its Legacy* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 2008), 33.

[9] Tibor Hajdu, "A Rajk-per," p. 2,

[10] "200,000 Expelled in Hungary Purge," *New York Times*, June 24, 1949, p. 8.

[11] Rákosi's letter of Sept. 3, 1949 to Klement Gottwald, cited in Igor Lukes, "The Rudolf Slánský Affair," *Slavic Review*, 58, 1 (1999): 172.

[12] Rákosi's trip to the United States is described in his autobiography, *Visszaemlékezések, 1940-1956* [Recollections, 1940-1956], vol. 1 (Budapest: Napvilág, 1997), 284-85. At the time he met Gene Dennis and many Hungarian-born comrades.

[13] Weinstock's memo of Aug. 8, 1949, Magyar Országos Levéltár (hereafter MOL), MszMP, 276-G5, pp. 1-15.

[14] In September Rákosi had a conversation with János Szánto (John Santo), perhaps the only Hungarian American he trusted. Rákosi asserted that Lautner, Péter, Simon, and Weinstock were all "spies placed in the Communist Party of the United States by the Government of the United States, by the FBI." When Szánto responded that surely this could not be the case, the Hungarian leader told him he was naïve and not privy to certain confidential information. Weinstock, for example, was a heavy drinker and it was inevitable that the American secret service would blackmail him and force him to become a spy. House Committee on Un-American Affairs, *A Communist in a Workers' Paradise, John Santo's Own Story* (Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1963), 19-20.

[15] During Rákosi's visit to New York in 1946, Simon served as his liaison with CPUSA leaders. Testimony of Paul Nadányi, Sept. 28, 1949, "Communist Activities among Aliens and National Groups," *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization*, Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, 81st Congress, Part 2 (Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1950), p. 9440. See also Simon's memo of May 19, 1949 to Rákosi on the question of Hungarian government subsidies that were provided to support the newspaper *Magyar Jövő*, which was published in New York. MOL, MszMP, 276-G5, 216.

[16] Santo, *A Communist in a Workers' Paradise*, pp. 17-18. Simon was finally released from prison in 1956, but the years of torture and isolation had taken their toll. He spent the last years of his life in a mental institution.

[17] On "Browderism" in the Rajk trial, see Schmidt, "Noel Field," p. 218.

[18] Though he himself was of Jewish origin and Rajk was not, Rákosi nonetheless professed to see the Rajk affair as a kind of Jewish conspiracy, as can be seen in a report he gave to the Political Committee of the Hungarian Workers Party in February, 1953: "Since there are Jews everywhere, it was inevitable that Zionism should come to the forefront as an espionage network. This happened here already in connection with the Rajk case, where most of those condemned to death were … petit-bourgeois Jews." Cited in Schmidt, *Battle of Wits*, p. 194.

[19] "Péter József visszaemlékezése" (Memoir of József Péter), Politkatudományi Intézet (Budapest), 867, f. p-235, Part 2, p. 40. For more information on Péter see my article "Sándor Goldberger/J. Peters és az amerikai kommunista mozgalom" [Sánor Goldberger/J. Peters and the American Communist Movement], *Századok*, vol. 141, no. 1 (2007): 185-202; and my forthcoming book: *Red Conspirator: J. Peters and the American Communist Underground* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011).

[20] Cseresnyés was certainly a tempting target for those organizing the Hungarian show trial. He had fought in the Spanish Civil War and had met Rajk at that time; as an interpreter in the British army during World War II he had come to know several members of Tito's partisan army; and after the war his career as a

journalist in Hungary had been facilitated by Rajk. After several weeks of torture he came to the conclusion that the only way to save his life was to cooperate and make a full confession to the fictitious crimes he was being accused of. He thus agreed to offer evidence against Rajk and other individuals. See Tibor Hajdu, "Júdás mindig velünk van. Két különös karakter; Stolte István és Cseresnyés Sándor" (We Always Have Judas Among Us. Two Unusual Characters, István Stolte and Sándor Cseresnyés), *Valóság*, 35, no. 12 (1992): 52-64.

[21] Hajdu, p. 60.

[22] *László Rajk and His Accomplices Before the People's Court* (Budapest: Budapest Printing Press, 1949), 217. In fact, the allegation that Lautner was an imperialist spy and an accomplice of Rajk was never made in any Hungarian newspaper or public forum.

[23] George Charney, *A Long Journey* (Chicago: Qaudrangle, 1968), 219; Junius Irving Scales and Richard Nickson, *Cause at Heart. A Former Communist Remembers* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1987), 269.

[24] Dorothy Healey and Maurice Isserman, *Dorothy Healey Remembers. A Life in the American Communist Party* (New York: Oxford U.P., 1990), 131.

[25] Ironically, Lautner also procured several copies of the transcript for use by Party leaders. Lautner's testimony at a hearing of the Subversive Activities Control Board, Jan. 22, 1952, *Records of the Subversive Activities Control Board*, Part 1 (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1988), reel 17, 9308. Cited hereafter as SACB.

[26] SACB, 9294-9295.

[27] Lautner had in fact declined to take severe action against one of the Party members, Angela Calomiris, who later turned out to be an FBI informant. Calomiris had been accused at the time by a local Party functionary not of being a government agent but of being a "sexual pervert" who consorted with lesbians and "bisexuals" in a way that was damaging to Party interests. Lautner later explained that he was not prepared to "destroy an individual" on the basis of such an accusation. See Lautner's testimony, Feb. 11, 1952, SACB, reel 17, 9999-10007. Calomiris gave her account in Angela Calomiris, *Red Masquerade. Undercover for the F.B.I.* (New York: Lippincott, 1950), 222-26.

[28] Earlier in 1949 Bella Dodd, a noted educator and member of the CPUSA National Committee, was summarily expelled on spurious charges and denounced as anti-Negro, anti-Puerto Rican, anti-Semitic, and anti-labor,. She described the bizarre nature of her hearing in her memoir, *School of Darkness* (New York: P. J. Kennedy, 1954), 217-19.

[29] Helen C. Camp, *Iron in her Soul: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the American Left* (Pullman: Washington State U.P., 1995), 238.

[30] Jack Kling, *Where the Action Is: Memoirs of a U.S. Communist* (New York: New Outlook, 1985), 47.

[31] Lautner later related this event on numerous occasions, but most fully in his testimony before the SACB in September, 1952, reel 17, 9301-9323. A summary of his various accounts can be found in Herbert L. Packer, *Ex-Communist Witnesses. Four Studies in Fact Finding* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1962), 193-95.

[32] "Ex-Red Says Party Threatened Death. Confessed to Escape Beating, Former Communist Official Tells Federal Panel," *New York Times*, Jan. 23, 1952, p. 8.

[33] Lautner was instructed to return the following day to an agreed-upon meeting point, at which he would be taken to a continuation of his "trial." Remarkably, Lautner, still believing that in a calmer atmosphere he could straighten out the apparent misunderstanding, showed up as instructed. When after a time no one else did, he left and determined to resolve the matter at Party headquarters in New York. Packer, pp. 194-5.

[34] "John Lautner Expelled by CP as a Traitor," *Daily Worker*, Jan. 17, 1950, p. 2.

[35] FBI report on interview with Lautner, Sept. 25, 1950, FBI FOIA file on John Lautner, 100-16177 (cited hereafter as Lautner FBI File.)

[36] Letter of Antal Apró, Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (Szakszervezetek Országos Tanácsa) to Rákosi, Dec. 5, 1950, MOL, MszMP, 276-G5, p. 26.

[37] Santo, *A Communist*, p. 33.

[38] Weinstock's letter to Apró, Nov. 28, 1950, MOL, MszMP, 276-G5, p. 27,

[39] Apró's letter of Dec. 5, 1950 to Rákosi, MOL, MszMP, 276-G5, p. 26.

[40] Lautner's letter to Hoover of Sept. 14, 1950, in Lautner FBI File; FBI interview of Lautner on Sept. 20, 1950, in Lautner FBI File; and Lautner's testimony, SACB, reel 17, 9974.

[41] Charney, p. 219; Scales, p. 269.

[42] Packer, p. 216. Packer, who made a careful study of the testimony of ex-Communists, concluded that Lautner was, "on a fair appraisal," a reliable witness. (p. 219).

[43] For example, at a trial of leading Communists in California, the defense insisted that Lautner's account of having demonstrated to Dorothy Healey a portable mimeograph machine that was designed to be used in underground operations was a lie. Healey insisted that she had never been shown such a machine by Lautner. Healey, pp. 140-41.

[44] Defense lawyers succeeded at some of the Smith Act trials (but not at the New York trial in 1952) in persuading the presiding judge to declare testimony about the "Cleveland incident" to be inadmissible.

[45] Decision of the United States Court of Appeals Second Circuit on United States vs. Flynn, 216 F.2d 354 , No. 150, Docket 22763, Oct. 14, 1954, p. 6, found at http://openjurist.org/216/f2d/354/united-states-v-flynn.

[46] Typical of this attempt at character assassination was an article in the *Daily Worker* in which Lautner was described as a person who "exuded hate as a snake does venom." He was a "small and seedy" man who was active in the "shady, international world" of Horthites, Titoites, Trotskyists, blackmailers, and imperialist spy agencies. Richard O. Boyer, "The Real Portrait of a Spy," *Daily Worker*, July 11, 1952, pp. 4 and 6.

[47] Louis Weinstock, guest column of June 20, 1952, *Daily Worker*, pp. 5, 8. Weinstock's willingness to believe, on the basis of the information he had received from Rákosi, that Lautner had long been an imperialist agent and FBI informer was apparently not diminished by the arbitrary and brutal way in which his wife and daughter were being treated by the Hungarian regime.

[48] Joseph R. Starobin, *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957* (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 1972), 218-19. Actually, the Hungarian saying would best be rendered as: "If you don't have a horse, an ass will do." István Rév cogently argues that Rákosi's seemingly illogical reliance on such a linguistic formulation of the problem "exemplifies the logic of how the political trials were scripted." Rév, p. 25.

[49] Starobin, p. 219.

[50] In fact, Starobin's general disillusionment and growing belief that the CPUSA was too subservient to Moscow led him to resign from the Party in 1954.

[51] Charney who knew Weinstock as "one of the most popular mass figures in the party" rejected Rákosi's accusation out of hand. Like Starobin, he now began to have serious misgivings about the original accusations against Lautner. Charney, p. 222. At her trial in 1952 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn challenged Lautner's testimony on several points, but she did not dispute his account of the "Cleveland incident." In a private letter in 1955 she accused Lautner of being a "Judas," but did not repeat the earlier accusations about his alleged collaboration with American and Yugoslav intelligence agencies. See Flynn's letter of Dec. 2, 1955 to Clemens France, in Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall (ed.), *Words on Fire. The Life and Writing of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 251-52.

[52] When Lautner appeared at a session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in March, 1957, an attack on him in the *Daily Worker* was accompanied by an unflattering caricature. Virginia Gardiner, "Open Witchhunt here with Paid Witnesses," March 13, 1957, p. 1.

[53] Gannett's comments, made in December, 1954, were recorded in an FBI report of Feb. 2, 1955, in Lautner FBI File. Gannett was one of the few Party leaders who had learned the full story of the "Cleveland trial," including the identity of Lautner's inquisitors (Klug, Wellman, Brandt).

[54] Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party during the Second World War* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1993), 249-50.

[55] "Hungary Clears Hanged 'Traitor;' Socialists Freed," *New York Times*, March 30, 1956, pp. 1, 4; "Hungary Says 5 CP Leaders Were Executed in False Accusation," *Daily Worker*, March 30, 1956, p. 2.

[56] Charney, p. 275.

[57] "The Rajk Case," *Daily Worker*, Apr. 2, 1956, p. 5; John Gates, *The Story of an American Communist* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1958), 162-63.

[58] Charney, pp. 256-57; Irving Hower and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History (1919-1957)* (Boston: Beacon Hill, 1957), 484.

[59] There were, however, a few letter writers who were critical of the April 2 editorial, arguing that the evidence was not clear and Rajk and his accomplices might still be guilty of some of the crimes for which they were tried. Others maintained that the editorial of April 2 was a betrayal of "working-class internationalism." See "Letters on the Rajk Case," *Daily Worker*, Apr. 6, p. 4; and Gates, p. 163.

[60] Letter of A.G., "Respect But Not Blind Faith," *Daily Worker*, Apr. 2, p. 4.

[61] Unsigned letter, "Was in Hungary During Rajk Trial," *Daily Worker*, Apr. 9, p. 4; "Would Re-evaluate Expulsions," Apr. 23, p. 4.

[62] Charney, pp. 221-22.

[63] David A. Shannon, *The Decline of American Communism. A History of the Communist Party of the United States Since 1945* (Chatham, N.J.: Chatham Bookseller, 1959), 301-02; 309-13.

[64] "The Events in Hungary," *Daily Worker*, Oct. 25, 1956, p. 5; "Popular Upheaval in Hungary," Oct. 30, 1956, pp. 1, 5.

[65] *Daily Worker*, Nov. 5, 1956, p. 5.

[66] Gates, pp. 179-80.

[67] Shannon, pp. 342-43. Dorothy Healey later wrote that in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Hungary "the arguments grew shrill and the forces pulling the Party apart increased geometrically." Healey, p. 160.

[68] Herbert Aptheker, *The Truth About Hungary* (New York: Mainstream Publishers, 1957). Aptheker noted that "terror appeared" in the late 1940s, but devoted only two pages (150-52) to this topic, mentioned the Rajk trial only in passing, and suggested that although Rákosi had committed and confessed to serious "errors," he had otherwise accomplished much in his long career as a "staunch Communist leader." (p. 152).

[69] Robert Friedman, DW, June, 19, 1957, p. 6.

[70] Rose and Louis Weinstock, "In Praise of Aptheker's 'Truth About Hungary,'" *Daily Worker*, July 23, 1957, p. 6.

[71] From 1956 to 1958 Party membership dropped more than 85%. Shannon, p. 360.

[72] Charney, p. 221.

[73] Starobin, p. 306, fn. 7.

[74] Camp, p. 238.

[75] Kling, p. 47.

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From the Streets of Oshawa to the Prisons of Moscow: The Story of János Farkas (1902-1938)

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The Depression of the 1930s shattered the hopes and dreams for a new life in Canada for many immigrants who arrived in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Recent arrivals from central Europe were faced with much more than the usual challenges of establishing themselves in a new country. In addition to the initial problems of new immigrants — learning a new language, familiarizing themselves with the popular culture and establishing networks of contacts and friends — they had to compete with other immigrants and the Canadian-born for the increasingly rare 'pick and shovel jobs' which were the entry-level employment of many immigrants. As the Depression deepened in the early 1930s, they endured long periods of unemployment and, if they found occasional work, it was often as poorly paid manual labourers under very difficult working conditions. With no hope in the foreseeable future for gainful employment and a new life, the unemployed immigrants tried to cope as best they could while others returned to Europe.

Many immigrants, radicalized by their situation, participated in left-wing political movements, became active members in unemployed associations and took part in protest marches and demonstrations. In some cases, they joined the Communist Party of Canada and, inevitably, came to the attention of the Canadian law enforcement authorities. As a result, a few of these immigrants became enmeshed in judicial and administrative proceedings with unexpected and unforeseen consequences. János Farkas was among these immigrants.

János Farkas was born on September 4, 1902, into a peasant family in Gellénháza, Zala County, Hungary. He had completed 'middle school' and worked as a clerk in a business from 1922 until 1926. His first contact with the Communist movement was during the Communist government in Hungary under the leadership of Béla Kun. At this time, his father was arrested.[1]

Farkas arrived in Quebec City from Antwerp on the ship *SS Minnedosa* on 23 July, 1926. He paid for his own passage and, on arrival, had $27.00 in his possession. On the ship passenger list, Farkas stated that his nationality was Hungarian, his occupation was 'farmworker' and his destination was Vonda, Saskatchewan.[2] Farkas worked as a farm labourer near Vonda until winter. He then worked in a meat packing plant and in a coal mine.[3] From February, 1928, he was living in Oshawa, Ontario and he worked at the General Motors plant. Farkas became an active member of the local Hungarian community in Oshawa.[4] By 1929, he had become a member of the Hungarian section of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC).[5] Farkas became an organizer for the Workingmen's Mutual Sick Benefit Society. He was also among the first initiators of the Hungarian-language newspaper, *Kanadai Magyar Munkás*. For his union organizing work among the plant workers, János lost his job and was placed on a 'black list.'[6]

He became a partner with J. Carney in a grocery store in Oshawa. Eventually the store went bankrupt because Farkas and his partner had extended credit to the unemployed who could not pay their bills.[7] He and his partner lost approximately $3,000.00 in their failed business venture.[8]

As the number of unemployed grew, speakers from the CPC visited Oshawa. During the federal election campaign in the summer of 1930, the CPC claimed that there were 250 present at a meeting in Memorial Park in downtown Oshawa.[9] The local CPC attempted to hold a rally in Memorial Park on July 22, 1930, but protests from the local veterans obliged them to move the rally to the Labour Temple.[10] In late September, 1930, Eddie MacDonald led a demonstration of 300 unemployed through downtown Oshawa to attract attention to their situation.[11] MacDonald was an immigrant from England and a leader of the local unemployed. His involvement in political debates, local elections and physical confrontations with members of the general public were reported in the local press. However, he was wary of the influence of the Communist Party of Canada in Oshawa and accused some individuals of being 'communists'.[12] As the number of unemployed grew, Tom Ewen, a national leader of the CPC, visited Oshawa in July, 1931 and "spoke to the foreigners in their hall on Bloor Street."[13] Unemployment was a serious and growing problem among workers including recent immigrants. By August, 1931, there were over 2000 registered as unemployed in Oshawa.[14]

In 1931 Farkas became involved with the Canadian Labor Defense League as well as the Unemployed Workers' Association — and he was already identified as one of the leaders of the local unemployed in Oshawa.[15] At a protest meeting of the unemployed held in the Memorial Park on July 24, Farkas quarrelled with Eddie MacDonald. The quarrel led to a fist fight and

both were taken to the police station.[16] Both were charged with disorderly conduct and their trial was adjourned until August 21, 1931. A book entitled "Banish God from the skies and capital from the earth" was seized by the police at the fight.[17] Farkas claimed that MacDonald had borrowed this book from him and refused to return it. The police kept the book as evidence against Farkas. At the conclusion of the trial, both Farkas and MacDonald were charged with disorderly conduct and fined $5.00.[18]

Already in the local administration there was some discussion of Farkas's deportation.[19] In a letter of August 17, 1931, J.A. McGibbon, the County Crown Attorney, wrote to the Hon. W.H. Price, Attorney General, that "... I think probably too that they all ought to be deported and then you would be surprised how quickly the whole thing will end. You will remember the famous Emma Goldman when she got back to Russia, how quickly she changed."[20] According to 'An Act to Amend the Immigration Act, 6 June, 1919', foreign nationals may be expelled who 'advocate in Canada the overthrow by force or violence of the Government' without the need for a court hearing.[21] This Act was passed when the Canadian authorities genuinely feared the threat posed by the new Bolshevik Revolution. Communism was perceived as 'foreign' and introduced to Canada by 'foreigners'. Membership in the CPC would certainly qualify a recent immigrant for deportation to his country of origin. Communists were considered as a detriment to Canadian 'nation-building'.

The leaders of the CPC, Tim Buck and Tom Ewen, were arrested on August 11, 1931 under section 98 of the Criminal Code as members of the CPC, an illegal organization. They were tried and convicted in November and sentenced to five years in the Kingston penitentiary. Along with other CPC members arrested at that time, they became known as the 'Kingston Eight' and the Canadian Labor Defense League (CLDL) mounted a national campaign to free them.[22]

At that time, Farkas was living with Alex Cziraska and his family as a boarder. Cziraska owed him $100.00 and, in this manner, he was repaying his debt. After his confrontation with Eddie MacDonald, Farkas lived a relatively quiet life. Although he took part in local unemployed demonstrations and made speeches in Hungarian, he did not take an active leadership role. Also, Farkas had applied for Canadian naturalization.[23]

On May 5, 1932, four members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) came to interrogate Farkas in his room. Farkas thought that they had come to give him his naturalization papers. He was interviewed by the police and asked if he was a Communist. Farkas replied, "You would be too if you had been out of work for a year." The police searched his room and

found a newspaper and a book which they suspected were Communist publications and then they searched the entire house.[24] When the police asked him if he wanted to go to Russia, Farkas replied, "I can't go too soon. I only wish I had the money and I'd go tomorrow." The police took him away by automobile to Toronto. The 'communistic book and newspaper' were also taken by the police.[25] There was already speculation in the local press that Farkas may be deported.[26]

Farkas was taken into custody by the RCMP at the same time as several other members of the CPC across Canada. Farkas became a member of the 'Halifax Ten' who were held in Halifax for deportation to Europe. The other members of the 'Halifax Ten' were Conrad Cessinger, Dan Chomicki (Holmes), Iwan Sembaj (John Sembay), Martin Parker (Pohjansalo), Hans Kist, Arvo Vaara, John (Toivo) Stahlberg, Gottfried Zurcher and Stefan Worozcyt.[27] This period is noted for the deportation of thousands of Canadian residents who were not naturalized. When CPC members were arrested by the police for various reasons and found that they were not naturalized, they were prime candidates for deportation. However, those who were naturalized or born in Canada could not be deported. Other Canadian residents without naturalization were arrested and deported for a number of crimes and violations. In the 1930s, several thousands were deported as public and medical 'charges' and suffering from mental illness.[28] Between January, 1932 and March, 1933, at least thirteen Oshawa residents who were not naturalized were deported for being 'Public Charges' and 'Medical Charges'. Among these were two Hungarians.[29] The Canadian Labor Defense League (CLDL) led campaigns to free these individuals and to prevent their deportation to their countries of origin where the CLDC claimed they faced long terms of imprisonment or capital punishment.

The arrest of CPC members by the RCMP immediately raised protests from various sources.[30] In the House of Commons, J.S. Woodsworth, member for Winnipeg North Centre, asked under whose authority were the 'Deportation Cases' arrested, under what charges and when would they be taken to trial.[31] The Hon. W.A. Gordon, Acting Minister of Immigration and Colonization replied:

> ... A complaint is made and then the inquiry is set on foot. After the case is heard pro and con, a report is made to the Minister, and if in the Minister's judgement the board of inquiry has come to the proper conclusion and if the person whose case is being investigated has rendered himself liable under the provisions of the statute to being returned to his country of origin, appropriate action is taken.[32]

The CLDL made a determined effort to defend the 'Halifax Ten' and to introduce their case in court. In almost every issue of the CLDL newspaper, *Canadian Labor Defender*, the detention of the Halifax 'prisoners' was publicized and included protest articles and editorials.[33] The desperate situation of János Farkas was reported in the Hungarian-language newspaper, *Kanadai Magyar Munkás* on May 12 and 19, 1932.[34] Letters of protest were sent to Prime Minister R.B. Bennett by CLDC Branches from various parts of Canada. On August 25, 1932, a letter of protest was also sent to the Prime Minister from the Oshawa Branch of the CLDC.[35] A letter of protest regarding the detained was received from as far away as Sofia, Bulgaria.[36]

Various legal appeals were launched on behalf of the prisoners but all were unsuccessful. An appeal with the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia was dismissed on June 11, 1932. All ten detainees were ordered to be deported according to the findings of the Court of Inquiry sitting in Halifax. The applicants were all arrested under warrants issued by the Deputy Minister under Section 42 of the Immigration Act pursuant to complaint in writing made under Section 41 by the Commissioner of Immigration. The Board of Inquiry in each case found "...the facts alleged in the Complaint to have been duly proven and ordered the deportation of all the applicants."[37] A further appeal on October 13, 1932 with the Supreme Court of Canada was also dismissed.[38] On November 17, 1932, the *Kanadai Magyar Munkás* published a statement from Farkas with his photograph: "To Munkás: I am sending proletarian greetings to the Canadian Hungarian Workers on the date of the 15th anniversary of the proletarian revolution. J. Farkas"[39]

In the November issue of the *Canadian Labor Defender*, the newspaper pleaded for "Amnesty for the 10 Halifax prisoners' who were detained for almost six months.[40] In December, 1932, appeals pending to the Minister of Immigration and Colonization against deportation were dismissed and the deportation orders were implemented.[41] Dan Holmes and Stefan Worozcyt offered to pay their own way to the Soviet Union rather than be deported to Poland.[42] Conrad Cessinger, Hans Kist and János Farkas were placed on board the ship, SS Dresden traveling to New York and then to Bremen, Germany. The *Canadian Labor Defender* of January-February, 1933 published a letter dated December 19, 1932 and co-signed 'Always for the class struggle, Comradely Yours' by Conrad Cessinger, Hans Kist and Jánms Farkas while on board the ship, SS Dresden.[43] They described their departure from detention in Halifax while singing the 'International' to the remaining comrades.[44] Arvo Vaara and Martin Parker (Pohjansalo) were scheduled for deportation to Finland, Dan Chomicki (Holmes) and Stefan Worozcyt to Poland, John (Toivo) Stahlberg to the United States, Conrad Cessinger and Hans Kist to

Germany, Gottfried Zurcher to Switzerland and Iwan Sembaj (John Sembay) was still in Halifax waiting for deportation to the Soviet Union.[45]

Eddie MacDonald, leader of the unemployed in Oshawa, was deported to England.[46] When he immigrated to Canada, he had omitted to mention on his immigration application that he had been a patient in a mental institution which was a violation of the Immigration Act. He was also convicted of stealing railway ties as fuel for a needy family in Oshawa.[47]

After he disembarked in Bremen, Farkas managed to escape the final leg of his journey to Hungary. As several other deportees before and after him, Farkas made contact with the Red Aid of Germany in Bremen. This was an organization founded by the Communist International (Comintern) to assist political prisoners. With their assistance, Farkas traveled to Berlin.[48] From there, he was able to travel to the Soviet Union as a 'political emigrant' arriving in May, 1933.[49] Martin Parker and Arvo Varro were also able to make their way to the Soviet Union. John (Toivo) Stahlberg was deported to the United States and eventually emigrated to Soviet Karelia. In Moscow, foreign 'revolutionaries' became the responsibility of the International Organization to Aid Revolutionaries. After he arrived in the Soviet Union, Farkas, along with John Sembay and Martin Parker, applied to transfer their membership from the CPC to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.[50] Farkas completed a questionnaire and submitted a one-page autobiography of his involvement with the Communist Party of Canada and his deportation. It is interesting to note that Farkas did not make any mention of his business career as a storekeeper in Oshawa. His request submitted on May 15, 1933, was endorsed by Norman Morgan, who was a Canadian representative at the Comintern in Moscow. G. Williams, also a representative of the Communist Party of Canada in Moscow, recommended on September 19, 1936 that Farkas should be allowed to remain in the Soviet Union.[51] Farkas became a member of the exile Hungarian community in Moscow and in his autobiographical note, claimed that he knew Lajos (Louis) Bebrits, former editor of the Hungarian-language newspaper, *Új Előre* in the United States. Bebrits was also deported to the Soviet Union in 1932.[52] In early 1938, Farkas was working as a chauffeur for the firm "Miasokombinat' in Moscow and his address was Granitnii Prospekt, Building 4, apartment 12.

Farkas was arrested on February 26, 1938 and charged with espionage and as a member of a counter-revolutionary nationalist group. During this period, NKVD distrusted 'foreign communists' and those who were arrested did not have much opportunity to defend themselves against these charges. Those who were under investigation by the NKVD were often obliged among other things to confess their 'crimes'.[53]

Tom Ewen was released from the Kingston Penitentiary on October 3, 1934 and Tim Buck, the leader of the Communist Party of Canada, was released on November 24, 1934 and resumed their political activities both in Canada and abroad. Eventually all of the 'Kingston Eight' were released.[54] Tim Buck was in Moscow in May, 1938 'to observe the Moscow Trials of 21 Right Trotskyist conspirators.'[55] However, it is doubtful if he knew of János Farkas's predicament.[56] At this same time, Tom Ewen, wrote an article 'Traitors All' in the CPC newspaper, *People's Advocate*, condemning all those accused by the Soviet authorities.[57] Farkas was sentenced on July 29 and executed (shot) on August 20, 1938. He was buried in the Moscow region.[58]

This period was marked by 'purges' and political show trials as Joseph Stalin sought to further consolidate his political position as supreme leader of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Armed Forces, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bureaucracy lost countless thousands of members to these purges and political trials. In addition, unknown numbers of ordinary citizens were executed or spent many years in the Siberian gulags. According to information in NKVD archives, 779,056 people were arrested for 'counterrevolutionary crimes' and 353,074 were executed in 1937 and 593,326 people were arrested with 328,618 executed in 1938.[59]

Members of the foreign exile communities were particular targets for arrest. Many members of the Hungarian Communist Party living in exile in Moscow in the 1930s were arrested and at least twenty of their leaders were executed or died in Stalin's prisons.[60] Among those who were arrested was Béla Kun, a founder of the Communist Party of Hungary and head of the Communist government in Hungary in 1919. He was arrested on June 28, 1937, tried and executed on August 29, 1938.[61] The Soviet secret police were congratulated on their vigilance against 'foreign spies'. In one report, it was noted that "...the NKVD has also accomplished much in inflicting a crushing defeat on espionage-subversive agents of foreign intelligence services transferred to the USSR in great numbers from abroad under the guise of so-called political émigrés and deserters..."[62]

The Hungarian Communist Party and its leadership were in a state of permanent crisis in the 1930s. In May, 1936, the Comintern dismissed the entire Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party.[63] The lack of confidence in the Hungarian Communist Party by the Comintern may have affected the status of individual members of the exile Hungarian community including János Farkas.

John Sembay had earlier met a similar fate. He was deported from Canada on April 23, 1932. With his wife and daughter, he received permission to travel to the Soviet Union. Not very long after he arrived, Sembay was

arrested and charged for 'counter-revolutionary activity' and as an 'enemy of the people'. He was sent to Astrakhan in the interior of the Soviet Union where he died on June 19, 1934 supposedly killed by bandits while working outside the prison.[64] John Stahlberg was deported to the United States but he later emigrated to Soviet Karelia. According to one report, he 'perished in a labor camp'.[65]

Some of the other 'Halifax Ten' were more fortunate. On his way to Finland, Martin Parker managed to escape in Copenhagen, Denmark and make his way to the Soviet Union. He became a Soviet citizen and was a staff writer for the newspaper *Moscow News*. He also wrote for other periodicals and retired in 1987. He died on June 8, 1989 in Moscow.[66] Arvo Varro worked as a supervisor in a lumber camp and died in the Soviet Union 'sometime before 1952'.[67]

Dan Holmes was deported to Poland where he languished until the outbreak of the Second World War in September, 1939. His Canadian-born wife and daughter decided to remain in Canada because he had no means of supporting them in Poland. Shortly after the occupation of eastern Poland by the Soviet military in 1939, he became a member of the Soviet administration. In the years after 1941, he was a member of the Soviet Army then transferred to the Soviet-led Polish Army. He died in Warsaw with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in July, 1957.[68]

Gottfried Zurcher was deported to Switzerland where he became a leader in the Communist Party of Switzerland.[69] The fate of Stefan Worozcyt and Conrad Cessinger after their deportation to Europe is unknown.

Hans Kist, who traveled with János Farkas to Bremen, Germany was arrested and imprisoned in a concentration camp in Germany. He was executed on February 21, 1935.[70] According to the available information, he was the only one who met the fate feared by the CLDL and his supporters in the CPC. Other than Hans Kist, the fate of the other members of the 'Halifax Ten' was not mentioned by the CPC press. The CLDL continued to publicize the attempted deportation of other members of the CPC.

There were other cases of Canadians and former Canadian residents who perished in the Soviet Union. Louis Black, born 1910, was a former university student from Winnipeg who lived and worked in Moscow. He was arrested on March 17, 1938, and was accused of membership in a 'Latvian spy-terrorist organization'. He was executed on August 20, 1938 and buried in the Moscow Oblast.[71] He was a nephew of Jacob Penner, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Canada. Despite various inquiries with Soviet authorities over the decades, Penner and members of his family were never informed about the fate of his nephew.[72]

Myroslav Irchan, who immigrated to Canada in 1923, was a leader and organizer in the Ukrainian Canadian left-wing community. He decided to return voluntarily to the Soviet Union in 1929. He was arrested in 1933 and executed on November 3, 1937.[73] There were several hundred Finns from the United States and Canada who immigrated to Soviet Karelia in the early 1930s and who also perished during this period in the Soviet Union.[74]

János Farkas was rehabilitated in the Soviet Union in November, 1957.[75] Myroslav Irchan was also rehabilitated but the status of the others who perished in the Soviet Union is unknown. Eddie MacDonald, who was deported to England, was able to return to Canada during the Second World War as a Canadian soldier.[76]

Deportation was certainly viewed by some segments of the Canadian law enforcement authorities as a solution to the threat posed by the political and labour activities of members of the Communist Party of Canada. This was part of a larger movement in the 1930s to rid Canada of 'undesirables' who threatened the political stability of the country and who were a 'burden' on the public purse. Among the other countries with large populations of immigrants, Canada was perhaps the most active in deporting the 'unwanted'.

In reviewing the deportation case of János Farkas, it may be argued that the administrative actions of the Canadian law enforcement authorities were arbitrary and were intended to intimidate members of the CPC. The Canadian authorities were determined to deport Farkas and the other members of the CPC as an example and a threat to other CPC members.[77] But those who sought refuge in the Soviet Union faced the most arbitrary actions by the Soviet authorities. During the Stalin Terror, some of the deportees were arrested and executed, a fate totally unexpected for the dedicated militants in the Canadian Communist movement.[78] However, others were allowed to pursue their careers.

The administrative measures by the Canadian federal government can be contrasted with the arbitrary actions of the Soviet government. Basic issues that can be considered are the democratic versus the Soviet totalitarian political systems, legal procedures, role of the law enforcement authorities and the perceived real and imagined internal and external threats to those who held power. Perhaps the most important distinctions were the fundamentally different societies and the phenomenon of Stalinism. The reasons for these arbitrary actions concerning the fate of individuals in the Soviet Union of the 1930s continue to be the subject of study.

The János Farkas story describes the fate of a Hungarian immigrant who sought a new life in Canada but became enmeshed in the radical politics of the Depression. The process to deport Farkas for his political activities led

him from the streets of Oshawa to the prisons of Moscow. In Moscow, he became a victim of the internal politics of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Stalin Terror. How many other Canadians or former Canadian residents traveled this road to seek sanctuary in the Soviet Union and perished in the Soviet gulags of the 1930s remains unknown.

NOTES

[1] Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (hereafter RGASPI), Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opis 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas. The questionnaire and autobiographical note were completed by János Farkas in Moscow.

[2] Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Passenger List, RG76, Series C-1-9, Volume 1926 (Volume 10) page 138. Microfilm reel T-14724. In most Canadian documents and newspaper articles, he is referred to as John Farkas.

[3] RGASPI, Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opis 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas

[4] Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. II, *Population by Area* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1933), p. 417. According to this census, there were 236 Hungarians living in Oshawa and of these, 201 were born in Hungary.

[5] For historical information on the left-wing movement among Hungarians in Canada during the 1930s, see N.F. Dreisziger with M.L. Kovacs, Paul Body and Bennett Kovrig, *Struggle and Hope: the Hungarian-Canadian Experience* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982) especially the chapter, "A Decade of Setbacks: The 1930's." See also Carmela Patrias, *Patriots and Proletarians. Politicizing Hungarian Immigrants in Interwar Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) and Myron Momryk, "Hungarian Volunteers from Canada in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39," *Hungarian Studies Review*, 24, 1-2 (1997): 3-14.

[6] RGASPI, Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opis 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas.

[7] James A. Pendergest, Labour and Politics in Oshawa and District, MA thesis, Queen's University, 1973, p. 86.

[8] *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 6, 1932

[9] *The Worker*, July 30, 1930.

[10] *Oshawa Daily Times*, July 23, 1930.

[11] *Oshawa Daily Times*, September 26, 1930 quoted in Pendergest, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[12] *Oshawa Daily Times*, August 12, August 17, August 20, 1931.

[13] He was also known as McEwen. The hall was the Ukrainian Labour Temple on Bloor Street.

[14] *Oshawa Daily Times*, August 22, 1931.

[15] Archives of Ontario, RG22 D11 Case File NU3188 Communist Party Trial Appeal 1931 (Reel 38); Letter 30 L 0831 (August 17, 1931).

[16] *Oshawa Daily Times*, July 24, 1931 "Eddie MacDonald at Fight in Park'; *Globe and Mail*, July 25, 1931 "Communist Beaten by Workers' Head'; *The Toronto Daily Star*, July 24, 1931: Unemployed and Communist Come to Blows in Oshawa; Archives of Ontario, RG22 D11 Case File NU3188 Communist Party Trial Appeal 1931 (Reel 38).

[17] Archives of Ontario, RG22 D11 Case File NU3188 Communist Party Trial Appeal 1931 (Reel 38); *Oshawa Daily Times*, July 25, 1931, "Communist Literature Responsible for Fight is Being held by Police." According to the story in the Globe and Mail July 25, 1931, another version of the title of the book was "Sweep God From the Skies and Cut the Throats of the Capitalists."

[18] *Oshawa Daily Times*, August 21, 1931.

[19] The threat of deportation on political grounds was used earlier by Canadian federal authorities to control the 'Bolshevik threat' in 1919-1920. See Vadim Kukushkin, *From Peasants to Labourers, Ukrainian and Belarusan Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 181-182.

[20] Archives of Ontario, RG22 D11 Case File NU3188 Communist Party Trial Appeal 1931 (Reel 38); Letter 30 L 0831. Emma Goldman (1869-1940) was deported to the Soviet Union from the United States in 1919 but became disillusioned with the new Soviet regime. She immigrated to Canada in 1926 and died in Toronto in 1940.

[21] *Statutes of Canada, 1919*, Volume 1.

[22] The Kingston Eight were Tim Buck, Tom Ewen, Sam Carr, M. Bruce, A.T. Hill. M. Popovich, J. Boychuk and Tomo Cacic.

[23] *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 7, 1932.

[24] Pendergest, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[25] *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 6, 1932; *The Oshawa Daily Times*, May 7, 1932; also Pendergest, *op.* cit., p 86.

[26] *The Oshawa Daily Times*, May 7, 1932; "Local Communist May be Deported."

[27] Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came, Deportation from Canada 1900-1935* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), 142-145.

[28] LAC, RG26 Volume 16; Public Charge Deports 1931-1937; See also, Henry F. Drystik, "'The Simplest and Cheapest Mode of Dealing with Them' Deportation from Canada before World War II," *Social History*, 15, 3 (November, 1982): 407-441.

[29] LAC, RG26, Volume 16, File: Public Charges Deports 1931-1937.

[30] *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 7, 1932, "Number of arrests, nature of charges, remain a mystery"; *The Canadian Forum*, May 1, 1931, Vol. XI no. 128, Political Deportations.

[31] *Oshawa Daily Times*, May 7, 1932; Drastic Action to Deport Reds is Protested in House of Commons; Dominion of Canada, *Official Report of Debates House of Commons*, Volume III, 1932, (Ottawa, 1932), p. 2658.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 2659.

[33] *Canadian Labor Defender*, May, 1931 to January-February, 1933.

[34] *Kanadai Magyar Munkás*, May 12 and 19, 1932.

[35] LAC, R.B.Bennett Papers, MG26-K, August 25, 1932.

[36] LAC, R.B.Bennett Papers, MG26-K, May 31, 1932, P.93110; July 23, 1932, P. 93183.

[37] LAC, RG13, Volume 371, file 1161 (1932) Stefan Worozcyt *et al.*, July 7-11, 1932 Halifax.

[38] LAC, RG26, Volume 172, File 3-10-11, Pt.1, Communist name cases. The judgment stated that "... the various organizations, of which the Appellants were shown to have been members, were, in fact, controlled by the Communist Party and that, due to such control, their aims and purposes were similar to the 'parent' organization."

[39] *Kanadai Magyar Munkás*, November 17, 1932. These were greetings on the anniversary of the October Revolution of 1917 by the Bolsheviks in Russia.

[40] *Canadian Labor Defender*, November, 1932

[41] LAC, RG76, Volume 738, File 513057 Deportations of Members of Communist Party.

[42] Deportees must go to native land, *The Evening Citizen* (Ottawa), January 16 and January 27, 1933.

[43] *Canadian Labor Defender*, January-February, 1933.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Canadian Labor Defender*, October 1932.

[47] Pendergest, *op. cit.*, 77; *Oshawa Daily Times*, May 23, 1931; October 8, 1931.

[48] RGASPI, Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opis 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas.

[49] Tomo Cacic described his escape in Vienna in the article, "I escaped the Jugoslav Hangman," in *Canadian Labor Defender*, March, 1934.

[50] LAC, Communist International, MG10 K3, Fond 495, Opis 72, Delo 289 (Reel K-270)/Transfers ready to be sent to the Central Committee, CPSU/ (undated).

[51] RGASPI, Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opis 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas

[52] RGASPI, Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opis 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas. Lajos Bebrits (1891-1963) survived the Stalin Terror and in 1945 returned to Hungary. He held several senior administrative and diplomatic posts during his career in Hungary. See entry for Lajos Bebrits *in Új Magyar Lexikon* (A-C) (Budapest, 1961) and *Magyar Nagylexikon* III (Budapest, 1994).

[53] Peter Huber, "The Moscow Headquarters of the Comintern, Departments, Leading Organs, Soviet Influences and Decision Making," in *Mechanisms of Power in the Soviet Union*, ed. Niels Erik Rosenfeldt, Bent Jensen and Erik Kulavig (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), 77.

[54] Despite efforts to deport some of the 'Kingston Eight', only Tomo Cacic was deported to Europe. He was able to escape to the Soviet Union. He later served in the International Brigades in Spain and with Tito's Partisans during the Second World War, The story of Tomo Cacic and the attempts to deport him are found in the article by Dennis G. Molinaro, "'A Species of Treason?': Deportation and Nation-Building in the Case of Tomo Cacic, 1931-1934," *Canadian Historical Review*, 91, 1 (March, 2010): 61-85.

[55] Robert C. Tucker and Stephen F. Cohen (eds.), *The Great Purge Trial*, (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1965). The trials took place from March 2 to 12, 1938.

[56] *People's Advocate*, March 11, 1938.

[57] *People's Advocate*, May 20, 1938.

[58] Zhertvi politicheskogo Terrora v SSSR [Victims of political terror in USSR] http://lists.memo.ru/index21.htm-Farkash, Dzhan Iosikovych (last accessed 19 Nov. 2010).

[59] J.Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, *The Road to Terror, Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 527-528. This information is based on documents from the Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Recent History (RTsKhIDNI) of the State Archival Service of Russia.

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[73] Peter Krawchuk, Marshall A. Ney, Mary Skrypnyk, *The Unforgettable Myroslav Irchan: pages from a valiant life: dedicated to the 100th anniversary of his birth, 1897-1997* (Edmonton: Kobzar Pub. Co. 1998); Also, *Review*, Plenum Issue, July 1935, Vol. 3, No. 6, P. 43.

[74] Among other publications, see *Karelian Exodus: Finnish Communities in North America and Soviet Karelia during the Depression Era*, edited by Ronald Harpelle, Varpu Lindstrom and Alexis E. Pogorelskin (Beaverton, Ontario: Aspasia Books Inc., 2004), and Sevander, *Red Exodus*.

[75] Zhertvi politicheskogo Terrora v SSSR. http://lists.memo.ru/index21.htm - Farkash, Dzhan Iosikovych

[76] Pendergest, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[77] Emphasis on this aspect of the deportations is found in Roberts, *Whence They Came*, and more recently in the article by Molinaro, 'A Species of Treason?'.

[78] News of the treatment of M. Irchan and J. Sembay by the Soviet authorities created a serious division within the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association in Canada and a faction split from the Association under the leadership of Danylo Lobay. See entry for Danylo Lobay in the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Volume III (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 178.

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Hungarian Heritage Maintenance in the USA:
New Brunswick, N. J., as a Magyar Ethnic Island

Katalin Pintz

One reason why the East Coast United States is so attractive to visitors from abroad is the diversity of traditions and customs that immigrants from faraway lands have brought with them to the new homeland. In this part of the country, ethnic communities and people's ties to their mother country are particularly strong even today, more than a century after the formation of the major ethnic settlements along the East Coast. Among the numerous ethnic groups that have retained their original culture are the Hungarian Americans, who have not only maintained their national identity, but have also preserved the language, customs, and traditions of their ancestors to a surprising level. At the same time, they have also become successful American citizens. Today, they form an integral part of the country's economic, cultural and social life.

It is interesting to ask the question what it is that makes a person living in the USA an Irish, an Italian, a German, or a Hungarian American? Depending on the birth-place or the ethnicity of the person who is asked, one might get different answers to this query. Some consider themselves Irish Americans, or German Americans, because they or their ancestors came from Ireland or Germany, although by now most of them do not speak the language or dialects of their elders. Likewise, Italian Americans may not speak Italian any more; nevertheless, they may have kept other aspects of their culture such as Italian cuisine or the Roman Catholic religion. The term Hungarian American might also have various meanings. For some, anyone whose ancestors came from Hungary and feels some loyalty to the mother country is considered a Hungarian American, independently of the person's knowledge of Hungarian. Simultaneously, others, who are members of the still active Hungarian communities, claim that in order for one to be called a Hungarian, the person

should be closely acquainted with Hungarian culture and speak the language with a high degree of fluency.[1]

Among those who feel this way are the Hungarian Americans of New Jersey who had established strong ethnic communities in the cities of Garfield, Passaic, and New Brunswick. Although the Hungarian ethnic institutions in these cities were originally founded by the "old" immigrants from Hungary around 1900, the people who are still active within these communities at present times are mainly the children and the grandchildren of the post-World War II immigrants and of the 1956 refugees. By today, most Hungarian Americans have left the traditional Hungarian neighbourhoods and moved to the more affluent suburbs; nevertheless, Hungarian Americans continue to gather in their historic centres on a regular basis. In these centres and in some other cities of the East Coast United States, as in Washington D.C., and New York City, — as well as elsewhere such as in Cleveland, Ohio, and in Toronto and Montreal in Canada — Hungarian culture has been kept alive with the help of various immigrant institutions: the ethnic churches, and lay organizations such as the Hungarian schools, Hungarian scouts, and cultural as well as the sports clubs. With the help of these establishments, second and third generation Hungarian Americans (and in Canada, Hungarian Canadians) have been given the chance of acquiring the values, customs, traditions, culture, and language of their ancestral homeland. Besides passing on Hungarian heritage, the parents and educators of these communities also pass on an incredible amount of love and appreciation to young children for the culture they have inherited. Since most of these parents are educated and successful members of American society, who have reached a high level of fluency in English, their children look proudly at their parents, rather than shunning them as it sometimes happens to many second generation children who are eager to discard their parents' culture. This positive attitude of preserving national identity is also helped by the diversity of the region.

As the daughter of a mathematician who was a visiting professor of Rutgers University in the academic years of 86/87 and 99/00 and a visitor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton in the year 90/91, I had the opportunity to get a closer insight into the life of the Hungarian American community of New Brunswick. From the age of five, I attended the services of the Hungarian Catholic church with my family, besides the weekly meetings of the Hungarian scouts during our successive stays in the United States. After my graduation from high school in 1999, I returned to New Jersey to accompany my family and was able to take an active part in the life of the Hungarian community by attending its scout meetings, the Saturday classes of the Hungarian community school, Hungarian folk dance lessons, the poetry events

organized in the Hungarian Heritage Center, along with the feasts and celebrations of the New Brunswick community. In August-September 2008, I spent six weeks in the New Brunswick area with the purpose of conducting a sociological and sociolinguistic research among the active members of the Hungarian communities of New Brunswick, and to a lesser extent, Passaic-Garfield, New Jersey. Therefore, in the following, I would like to give an outline of my own experience, as well as a detailed account of Hungarian community life based on interviews, a questionnaire, a research log, personal communications, and published materials.

Changes within the Past Decade

Despite the fact that the forces of assimilation are almost as strong among the Hungarian communities of the East Coast as they are in most ethnic communities in the United States, there is a minority of Hungarian immigrants who have been very successful in the areas of language and cultural maintenance. Nevertheless, according to my observations based on my visits to New Brunswick in the years 1999/2000 and in September 2008, within the last ten years there has been a significant decrease in the level of Hungarian spoken by students in general at the Hungarian Saturday School in New Brunswick. The children who attend the Hungarian Saturday School and the scouting activities are often children born to ethnically mixed families. A considerable number of these children are not the descendants of the 1956-ers and the post-World War II "displaced persons" or DPs, as it used to be ten years ago.

The level of Hungarian language skills is the highest among the children who attend the Hungarian Montessori Preschool (Aprókfalva Mindennapos Magyar Óvoda). However, a considerable number of the students who attend the Hungarian Saturday School do not speak Hungarian at a native level, unlike the children of the Hungarian Montessori Preschool, which is an every-day preschool. It is also worth mentioning that the students of the Hungarian Saturday School show a great variation among themselves, regarding their level of spoken Hungarian.

As most immigrants of any other nationality, many grown-up Hungarians who emigrated after the fall of the Communist regime in the hope of making a better living have had difficulties with the English language. Some of these people seem to fear that their children will also experience the same difficulties. Since their broken English often presents itself as a handicap to them, they are eager to avoid their children having to go through the same experience. Consequently, even though their English may be fragile, they still

tend to use English with their children rather than Hungarian. The situation was different in the case of the earlier arrivals. Most parents who came to New Jersey during the early Cold War and after the 1956 Revolution usually had a strong sense of ethnic identity and were very eager to maintain the use of Hungarian within the family home. Until their children reached the age of going to school, they tried to speak only in Hungarian to them, but often later as well.

Those who are still active within the Hungarian community and who are keen on actively preserving their heritage, form only a minority among the people of Hungarian descent. There are; however, a few families that are closely knit together and who live in each others' vicinities in the suburbs of New Brunswick, in Somerset, NJ. These families have a tendency to speak Hungarian as much as they can among themselves and to their children. Many of them watch DVDs, television shows and the news in Hungarian through cable TV or the internet. It is also an important factor for them to find a Hungarian spouse. Nevertheless, they cannot and they do not want to exclude themselves from the American cultural sphere. In fact, they say that today it is necessary for their children to know English before they start school, in order for them to be able to enrol into the good elementary schools and to receive higher grades. It is interesting to mention that the knowledge of English was not a basic criterion in most elementary schools about twenty years ago, and that the parents of the children who started Kindergarten in those times usually only spoke Hungarian to their children until they reached the age of five.

Several people have mentioned that they had gone through many difficulties when their parents made them speak Hungarian strictly, on a regular basis. One of the interviewees said she and her sister waited for their parents to leave the place where they were together, and later they would discuss in English what they wanted to say to each other. Another person said she and her siblings would get a slap on their ears if they spoke English, and another three people asserted that they were often reminded to speak Hungarian by their parents with the words "*Magyaruuul*!" [in Hungariaaan!]. Nevertheless, being grown-up people today, they all value this kind of parental education, for they would also like to pass on their mother tongue to their children. László Varga says this is similar to receiving piano lessons, with which small children or teenagers tend to struggle, but once they grow up, they are grateful for having had the chance to learn to play the piano.

Within the course of the interviews, several young people of approximately 35 years of age stated that as teenagers and during their twenties they often mixed Hungarian with English, and that they owe their ability to speak Hungarian today to their parents' constant nagging and high expectations. It is

interesting to note that some young couples, start speaking Hungarian with their spouse and/or their friends many months before having their first child, in order to improve their fluency and be able to pass on their mother tongue to their future children.

Relating to America and to Hungary

Many Hungarians who were born in America seek to find the roots of their folk culture in Hungary. They often hold an idealized image of Hungary, which has been passed on to them by their parents and grandparents, many of whom had left their homeland by force and who could not return to the mother country for several decades. As in the case of someone who tends to look back on the past events of his or her life by remembering only its nice happenings, some immigrants also tend to forget the dark aspects of life in Hungary. Therefore, it was often a shock for many children to see the reality with their own eyes when they realized; for instance, the dark side of life in Hungary in the presence of bad behaviour or in the fact that there are homeless people living there.

Today the ties of the Hungarian Americans with their homeland are rather close, perhaps closer than ever been before. After the fall of communism, Hungarian Americans were again free to travel, and many of them took advantage of this. Most of the Hungarian Americans who are active in the community try to spend a part of their summer in Hungary at least every second year. This is partly to preserve family ties, but also because parents want their children to have a direct Hungarian experience. Katalin Balla, who lived in New Brunswick for eleven years, said she knew several families who send their children home to practice Hungarian every summer. A considerable number of these families have relatives there, either grandparents or cousins with whom they keep in touch through emails and telephone calls. Other children, who do not have relatives in Hungary, travel there for summer camps and bicycle tours with the scouts, or visit the traditional Hungarian regions of Transylvania. Hungary and the historic Hungarian regions that lie outside the borders of present-day Hungary are among the favourite meeting points of Hungarian scouts who come from various countries of the world.[2]

Many of the Hungarian Americans of New Jersey have also made long visits to Hungary. They often complain that they cannot come to common terms with Hungarian-born people, mostly because they feel that these Hungarians do not value their heritage as much as Hungarian Americans do. For example, most of them are not as interested in folk culture and do not

cherish the events of the 1956 Revolution as much as the active members of the Hungarian American communities on the East Coast do. Besides their own relatives, the circle of friends of the younger generation of Hungarian Americans who are living in Budapest usually consists of other Hungarian Americans as well as other newcomers to Hungary. For them the situation is similar to that of the United States, for they say they can relate easier to other American-born Hungarians or to the Hungarians who come from the Hungarian minorities of the Carpathian Basin.

The circle of friends of New Brunswick's Hungarian-American children who attend school, ranging from elementary school to high school, are usually made up of Americans and Hungarian Americans. After graduation from high-school many of these children choose to study at Rutgers University in order to stay close to their families. This practice makes it somewhat difficult for them to find American friends at the university. Among the members of the generation of Hungarian Americans who are approximately 35 years old, several people have only Hungarians as very close acquaintances. However, others have stated that their closest friends are American and that they are also in a close relationship with the other young Hungarian Americans with whom they had grown up together. Given that they are in an American atmosphere at their workplace, their friendships with Americans are mostly formed there. A few retired Hungarians, whose spouses are also Hungarian and who speak English at a native or near-native level, have noted that ever since they have retired, they have fewer opportunities to speak English than they previously had.

The Hungarian-American image of America and of Americans — that is, what America means to Hungarian Americans and how they view Americans — is also worth discussing. A large number of people responded to a questionnaire saying that for them America is the country that welcomed Hungarians and where they found political freedom. However, during private interviews many of them said that they see the average American as a person who has no real hobbies and who sits in front of the TV-set, eating hamburgers all day. Some interviewees have stated that Americans who come from ethnically mixed suburban towns tend to be more tolerant towards people of other ethnic or racial backgrounds. Still other Hungarian Americans have said that for them it is easier to relate to those Americans who also come from a immigrant backgrounds and who are eager to maintain their immigrant heritage. A few people have mentioned that they are also more open towards those who have a special interest or hobby; for example, music, drama, or sports.

The number of intermarriages among Hungarians and Americans has increased in the last two decades. This phenomenon is rather characteristic of the people who arrived after the 1990s. The children of the DPs and of the 1956 immigrants seem to have been more likely to marry Hungarians, mostly Hungarian Americans. According to the interviewees, one's difficulties increase significantly when marrying a non-Hungarian speaker, if the person wishes to pass on the Hungarian language.

The Role of Education in Language Maintenance Among Children and Young Adults

Most Hungarian Americans consider education essential for their children. Most of the children and grandchildren of the 1956 and post World War II immigrants are college- or university-educated professionals. The location of Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey which has its campuses in New Brunswick and in the neighbouring suburbs, is especially beneficial to the local Hungarian community. Young Hungarians attending Rutgers are geographically close enough to participate in the activities of the city's Hungarian community — from organizing scouts meetings for small children to attending the folk dance rehearsals in the Hungarian American Athletic Club. They can also attend Sunday services in their local Hungarian churches.

Besides having one of the most active Hungarian-American communities, New Brunswick is also known for the high level of Hungarian that is spoken there. The main reason for this is the fact that the members of the community form a closely-knit unit based on friendships and family ties. They organize cultural events several times a week, ranging from scouting to Hungarian language education and dance classes. The members of the community are usually active in several Hungarian organizations simultaneously, which means that the above mentioned activities are often attended by the same people.

In earlier times many children who had grown up in New Brunswick's Hungarian community learned English only after they had started school, at the age of five. Many first, second, and sometimes even third generation Hungarian Americans did not consider it a disadvantage to send their children to elementary school without any knowledge of English, because their experience had shown that children could acquire a new language quickly and without any difficulties.

Today the situation is somewhat different. In most schools, especially the better ones, American-born children are required to know English before

they are admitted. In view of this situation some parents take their children out of the all-day Hungarian preschool a few months before they would start regular school, in order to place them into an English speaking environment, in an American preschool.

It is interesting to reflect on the bilingual character of the people who are approximately 15-38 years old and who were either born in America or left Hungary at an early age. Although their level of fluency in Hungarian may vary from person to person, depending on the generation they belong to or whether both of their parents are of Hungarian origin, most of them feel confident with the Hungarian language. The language they prefer to speak among each other is a mixture of English and Hungarian, but almost never exclusively English. Even those who are not confident enough to speak only Hungarian use certain words always in Hungarian. Examples for this are the words pertaining to scouting activities or to the Hungarian school as *cserkészet, őrs, őrsvezető, csajka, sátor* or *magyar iskola*. The younger generations also like to switch from Hungarian to English and back and forth without any given order: they might start a sentence in English and finish it with a Hungarian syntax. According to Anna Borbély, this linguistic behaviour called code-switching is characteristic of bilingual communities, and is only in use among people who belong to the community.[3]

The Hungarian Montessori Pre-school

As mentioned before, the level of Hungarian spoken among children is the highest among those who attend the Hungarian Montessori pre-school in Piscataway. In fact, a native speaker could barely notice that these children did not grow up in Hungary. The parents of the preschoolers have either recently arrived from Hungary or are mostly of Hungarian descent from both sides. The institution has permission to accommodate only eight children even though there would be demand for more spaces. Among the preschoolers of the year 2008/2009, only one child came from an ethnically mixed background, although her level of Hungarian is almost as outstanding as that of the other children, because her mother, who is an American, had lived in Hungary and knows some Hungarian.

According to Enikő Gorondi, the pre-school's head-mistress, the great turning-point in the life of Hungarian-American children arrives when they start school. Since they are under the influence of the English language during the entire day — when they do their homework or engage in sports — and since most of their experience comes from an English-speaking environment,

when they recount the happenings of their day in Hungarian they start to translate from English or use English words. Enikő Gorondi stated that it is natural for small children to be able to speak better Hungarian than it is for older children or teenagers. She also mentioned that it is a common tendency among the Hungarians who actively preserve their heritage to speak a more correct and pure form of Hungarian when speaking to small children, as opposed to when communicating with adults.

The Széchenyi Hungarian Saturday School and Kindergarten

Ethnic weekend schools or Saturday schools, founded by immigrants, have a long tradition in the United States. As in the case of other ethnic groups, Hungarian immigrants were also eager to teach their children not only the basics of their spoken language, but also reading and writing, besides religious subjects. These earliest Saturday schools were in fact mostly run by religious institutions and had the objective of passing a basic knowledge of religion to the immigrant children of the ethnic communities. The tradition of Hungarian Saturday schools was established by protestant congregations. Originally, they also served the purpose of securing a place for children to stay at on the weekends or in the summers in the form of summer schools, while their parents were working.[4]

Besides weekend schools and summer school, weekday afternoon schools and all-day schools also have a long tradition in North America. Linguist Joshua Fishman, coauthor and editor of the book *Language Loyalty in the United States*, studied the language maintenance efforts of various ethnic groups and found that the weekend schools were generally the most successful ones in maintaining cultural heritage. Chapter 5 of this book, written by Fishman and Vladimir Nahimy, compares the various kinds of ethnic schools and concludes that unlike the weekend school, the "All Day School is far less embedded in ethnicity, and, therefore, far less concerned with language maintenance than any other type of ethnically affiliated school."[5] The authors also mention that all-day schools are usually run by Catholic parishes of both Western and Eastern Rites, and that their educators and students are the most Americanized. Interestingly, there used to be a Hungarian Catholic everyday school in New Brunswick until the 1990s, the Saint Ladislaus School, which also offered Hungarian classes in its curriculum. Although the Hungarian classes were reintroduced only in 1971, my Hungarian acquaintances who came into touch with the school have stated that

it was considerably less efficient in passing on Hungarian language and culture than the Hungarian weekend or Saturday schools of the city.

I recall that in 2000 when I started to attend the school together with my sister Agnes, upon the invitation of Katalin and Zsolt Balla who hoped that our presence would improve other students' motivation, the school was very useful in having children and young students gain interest in topics related to Hungarian culture. Students usually had a good relation with the teachers of the school and often knew them personally, which enhanced the efficiency of the classes. As a student who had already graduated from high school in Hungary the year before, I especially enjoyed the history classes of Zoltán Koller, who spoke to us about the events of Hungarian history, as the Tartar invasion, for instance, in such a detailed and accurate way that I had never heard before. This was also true of the classes held by Katalin Balla, who gave lectures on the geography and folk art of Hungary and of the neighbouring countries where Hungarian minorities are found. For instance, I remember a class she held on the various types of *fejfa* (carved wooden poles used in the graveyards of Székelyföld, a region in Transylvania) and *székely kapu*, (wooden gates carved with a similar technique as used for the *fejfa*) which are unique forms of artwork in Transylvania.

At that time, the school also offered a matriculation exam for the students who were in their last year of high school according to the American school system. Although this exam was not equivalent to its counterpart offered in official Hungarian schools, it did expect students to have a basic knowledge on Hungarian culture, mostly history and literature. Regrettably, the contemporary teachers of the Széchenyi Hungarian school have mentioned that today's students do not seem to be interested enough to continue their studies at the Hungarian Saturday school after they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen.

As it has been mentioned previously, I have noticed other differences as well between the present-day situation of the school and that of eight-ten years ago. My observations, which have been confirmed during a conversation with Juan Gorondi (who was serving his second term as the principal of the school at the time), have been the following. The majority of the children who attend the school are not the offspring of the 1956-ers or of the Displaced Persons, as they used to be. Many of them come from post-1989 immigrant families, and a number of them were born from ethnically mixed marriages. Juan Gorondi also stated that the students generally show a difference from the point of view of their religious background as well. Whereas the descendants of the 1956 and post-World War II immigrants have mostly received a Christian upbringing, the number of students who are of a Christian back-

ground has significantly decreased. This is partly due to the effects of Communism, which prohibited religious education in Hungary, but also to the diversity of the immigrants who arrived in the USA after the Cold War. Today, it is more common to have students who are atheists or agnostic or Hungarian students of a Jewish origin.

At the present time, the curriculum of most ethnic Hungarian Saturday schools on the East Coast United States does not offer religious education, although the schools are under the custody of the churches. The main objective of these schools today is founded partly on the non-denominational educational principles initiated by the Hungarian Alumni Association and the Anyanyelvi Konferencia (Native Language Conference), and partly on Christian traditions. The primary goal of the Hungarian Saturday School, sponsored by the Hungarian Alumni Association, was to pass on Hungarian cultural heritage without offering any kind of religious education, whereas its successor, Széchenyi Hungarian Saturday School and Kindergarten was also based on religious principles. Although the latter institution, along with St. Stephen Hungarian School of Passaic, the other Hungarian Saturday school in New Jersey, are strongly supported by the Roman Catholic Church and the Magyar Reformed Church, as well as by the Hungarian Scout Association Abroad; the present day curriculum of these schools does not involve religious education. What has remained of religious education; however, is a non-denominational prayer said before the first lesson of the day. Since a large number of the students who presently attend the school have not received any religious upbringing, Juan Gorondi believes that in this way, non Christians, Jewish students for instance, are not excluded from the prayer, and those who are non-believers are not forced to say it either.

The curriculum offered by the previously mentioned Saturday schools of New Jersey includes Hungarian language and literature, history and geography, some folklore, besides reading and writing in Hungarian. Classes take place on Saturdays from 9.00 a.m. until 1.00 p.m. Hungarian dance lessons were reintroduced in Passaic in 2001. The New Brunswick students may also attend folk dance classes after school, on Saturday afternoons. Recently, Hungarian as a Second Language was re-introduced to Széchenyi Hungarian Saturday School and Kindergarten once again, after an absence of several years.

I have noticed a great difference among the language skills of those who attend the Montessori School and the students of Széchenyi Hungarian Saturday School and Kindergarten. As mentioned earlier, many of the students who attend the Hungarian Saturday School are not able to speak Hungarian at a native level, and show a great variation according to their level of Hungari-

an. A number of students who come from an ethnically mixed background have difficulty in expressing themselves in complete sentences, and they often use words pertaining to a basic vocabulary. At the same time, there are also American-born students whose parents had immigrated at a young age and who speak Hungarian almost at a native level. It is often a challenge for the teachers of the school to organize classes in a way as to have students of the same age group and of similar language skills placed together, as well as to find suitable text books created for the purpose of teaching second or third generation immigrant children. Nevertheless, the educators' optimism and dedication creates a friendly and enjoyable atmosphere for students, which is exactly what they would like to achieve. In fact, their motto is that they cannot teach students everything on a weekly basis of four hours, wherefore their goal is to have children become interested in Hungarian culture and to have them start reading in Hungarian by themselves. They also stress the importance of the family in encouraging the daily use of Hungarian at home.

The Hungarian Scout Association Abroad

One of the most important organizations that has great influence on Hungarian language maintenance, besides the instruction provided by Hungarian Saturday schools, is the Hungarian Scout Association Abroad (*Külföldi Magyar Cserkészszövetség*). Besides having a crucial role in language maintenance, it also provides children with a basic knowledge of Hungarian history and culture, and some religious education. The Hungarian Scout Association Abroad serves as a movement that holds together the Hungarian scouts of not only the United States, but also of other countries with significant Hungarian minorities.

The Hungarian Scout Association Abroad owes its existence to the Hungarian post-World War II refugees. Before they could enter the United States, they were temporarily housed in barracks in Austria and in West Germany, sometimes even for eleven years. It was in these barracks already in 1945 that Hungarian Scout leaders privately started organizing Hungarian education for their children by teaching Hungarian folk songs and history in addition to reading and writing. This, in fact, had a double purpose—to have their children's thoughts occupied and to make sure that they spent their time usefully.[6]

As it has been mentioned earlier, the main objectives of the Hungarian Scout Association was to transmit Hungarian language and culture to the younger generation and to maintain Hungarian scouting in the world. Regard-

ing the preservation of the Hungarian language, Gábor Bodnár, the founder of the Hungarian scout movement in America, also introduced a special requirement for those who wanted to participate in the movement. He decided that only those could become Hungarian scouts who could speak Hungarian.[7]

When children are in the Hungarian Saturday school or in the Teleki Pál Scouting Home in New Brunswick, they are not allowed to speak English. Scout meetings are held regularly, once a week. They are organized by the younger generation; mostly by those who are between their late teens and early thirties. The main purpose of Hungarian scouting in America is to preserve and pass on Hungarian language and customs through folk songs, games, and various other activities, including drawing. Through scouting, children can also learn about important events in Hungarian history. On the anniversaries of the 1848 and 1956 revolutions it is common for them to act out famous historical events.

Summer camps organized by the Hungarian scouts have an especially valuable influence on the linguistic behaviour of children. During these camps, which are usually ten days long, children are only allowed to speak Hungarian. Tamás Tamás, who formed the first Boy Scout troop in New Brunswick, and his son Péter, who is presently the scoutmaster of Bornemissza Gergely Boy Scout Troop of New Brunswick, have both mentioned that they have seen young children, who usually speak English to each other, start conversing in Hungarian after spending several days in camp.[8]

Although Gábor Bodnár's decision has had a clearly good impact on the language maintenance efforts of Hungarian Americans, there are people who do not fully agree with this requirement. They believe that besides having its positive effects, the exclusion of those who are not fluent in Hungarian may lead to the loss of otherwise valuable members of the community. This general issue regards not only the members of the scout movement, but also of other local organizations in New Brunswick. In some instances, one can hear of people who do not speak Hungarian at a very good level. These people often receive criticism for their poor level of Hungarian, while those who speak it well receive praise, as valuable members of the community. I have also noticed a similar kind of attitude towards some children who come from ethnically mixed families, and who were not able to acquire the language as well as children whose parents are Hungarian on both sides.

Besides taking into consideration the usefulness of the enforced use of Hungarian from the point of view of language maintenance, one has to mention that it does cause difficulties for Hungarian American scouts. Since most of the young adults who become scout leaders are second, third, and sometimes even fourth generation Hungarian Americans, at times it happens

that younger children, who have recently arrived from Hungary, speak a better Hungarian than their older leaders.[9] For the same reasons mentioned earlier, teaching reading and writing has also become more difficult for current scout leaders than it had previously been. Therefore, according to a new law that concerns Hungarian American Scouts, scout leaders are now also required to pass a test based on reading and writing skills in Hungarian, in order to receive their certificates.

Even today, it is Hungarian scouting that holds together the Hungarian diasporas of various countries as Argentina, Venezuela, Germany, United States, and Canada. The Association provides regular opportunities for children and young people to meet through excursions and camps. Marriages are also common among Hungarian scouts who were born outside of Hungary, for instance, among the members of the New Brunswick community and those of Canada or Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The other merit of the Hungarian Scout Association Abroad has been the assistance its members gave to the Hungarian scouts of the Carpathian Basin at the rebirth of Hungarian scouting in post-Communist countries after the fall of socialism. As Hungarians living abroad, they could especially assist Hungarian scouts of the neighbouring countries of Hungary, who were also struggling to preserve their cultural identity.[10]

Cultural and Educational Organizations of Adults

Besides the activities organized for children and teenagers of New Brunswick's Hungarian community, its adult population can also participate in several interesting pursuits. For example, they can attend poetry events organized by Vers Hangja Hungarian Poetry Club, or the meetings of the Rutgers Alumni Association (Bessenyei Kör), or the Bolyai Lecture Series on Arts and Sciences. These gatherings are held at the Hungarian Heritage Center on Somerset Street. There is also the Hungarian language radio program (The Hungarian Hour) broadcast by Rutgers University every Sunday afternoon. In addition there are the friendly gatherings and folk dance rehearsals that are held regularly at the Hungarian American Athletic Club (HAAC). Commemorations of the national holidays and the celebrations of the Annual Hungarian Festival also take place in the building of the HAAC. Recently, a summer university, American Hungarian Collegium, has also been organized by Hungarian American university professors for Americans of Hungarian descent, with the participation of eminent scholars of Hungarian origin.

The Hungarian American Athletic Club (HAAC)

The Hungarian American Athletic Club, founded nearly a century ago by the pre-World War I Hungarian immigrants, was originally established for purely athletic purposes. Although presently it does not function according to its original goals, it is one of the most important gathering places not only for the Hungarians of the New Brunswick area, but due to its location and uniquely modern facilities, also for those who are living in Central New Jersey or in the New York-New Jersey-Pennsylvania area. Dinners, celebrations of national holidays, and dances are held here, besides bingo games and the rehearsals of the Hungarian dance groups. HAAC was established in 1913 in order to enable young Hungarians to practice sports: mostly baseball, but also wrestling, track, and bowling. In the later decades, fencing, soccer, and karate were also introduced. Today, fencing is the only kind of sports activity offered by the HAAC, besides the various Hungarian folk dance activities, which draw a large number of people to the club.

Although it has always been centered in the heart of the Hungarian American community in New Brunswick, the Club has been relocated several times over its history. Shortly after its foundation, it operated in the gymnasium of Saint Ladislaus School with pool tables and bowling facilities.[11] The Club also held cultural events already during this period, as a drama club, for instance, along with the joint HAAC-Saint Ladislaus Choir: both were initiated in 1914.[12]

In 1921 a new house was bought on Somerset Street (no. 198), which served as a home to the HAAC until 2006. Thirty years after its purchase, plans were initiated for the reconstruction of the building. With the coming of the new immigrants due to the 1956 Revolution, the Club's life was revitalized again. Soccer games, which had been extremely popular in the mother country, were introduced among the athletic activities offered by the Club.[13] Citizenship classes were also organized and attended by the newly arrived Hungarians, with more than 600 participants.[14] The new immigrants also started a fund raising program for the reconstruction of the building, and finally, in 1959, the HAAC was able to repay the remaining loans.[15]

The early 1990s were especially active years in the Club's life. A scholarship program was initiated in 1991 to fund the studies of talented college and university students of Hungarian origins. With the help of this program, the HAAC supported 34 college students. In 1992, the Hungarian Folk Dance Ensemble of New Brunswick was established, which incorporated dance groups for people of various ages, ranging from kindergarten to

university level. The older members of the ensemble later created a separate group together with the older Hungarian scouts, the Csűrdöngölő [barn-stomping] Folk Dance Ensemble, which holds its rehearsals and performances in the building of the HAAC even at the present time. The folk dance ensemble of the HAAC is still active and serves as a recruit for the Csűrdöngölő Folk Dance Ensemble. A prominent cultural organization, the Széchenyi Kör, which conducted a series of oral history interviews among Hungarian Americans, also found its home in the building in 1993.[16]

Already in 1992, the neighbouring Robert Wood Johnson Hospital advised the Club to initiate negotiations, for due to the expansion of the hospital, the territory of the HAAC on Somerset Street was needed by the hospital. After several years of talks between the hospital representatives and the committee set up by the HAAC[17] the new building was planned. It finally opened on October 7, 2006 at 233 Somerset Street, very close to the previous site and to the other historic buildings of the Hungarian neighbourhood.[18] The members of the Hungarian community are very pleased with the new site, for it resembles the old building from the inside; nevertheless, it is more spacious and was built according to modern needs. In fact, they are proud to have one of the most elegant Hungarian clubhouses of the area. The Mayor of New Brunswick, James Cahill, was also very supportive of the construction plans and still maintains good relations with the Hungarian community. It is partly due to his help that the new building could be completed in one year. László Strasz, a former president of the HAAC, mentioned that the mayor's wife is of Hungarian origin.[19]

The older members of the Club usually meet twice a week in the evenings. Friday evenings are especially lively for the members of the Club, for these are the occasions when both the younger and the older members of the community gather. The older members usually meet in the bar of the Club to play cards and have a drink or dinner together. During these evenings, Hungarian television programs, as Duna TV, a television channel that serves also Hungarian minorities, are often on the air. Simultaneously, the younger members hold dance rehearsals on the second floor of the building, making the clubhouse live with folk music.

The American Hungarian Foundation (AHF)

The American Hungarian Foundation (AHF) is one of the most significant Hungarian cultural institutions in the United States, as well as a basic gathering point not only for the Hungarians of New Brunswick, but also for

those of other areas of New Jersey and the neighbouring states. Located in New Brunswick, in the heart of the historic Hungarian neighbourhood on Somerset Street, the Foundation maintains good relations with the nearby Rutgers University as well as with scholars and cultural and educational institutions in Hungary. As stated among its primary goals, it serves as a bridge between the Hungarians of the mother country and those of the American immigrant communities.[20]

Although founded in the 1950s, the origins of the Foundation can be traced back to earlier times, to the beginning of a Hungarian studies program at Elmhurst College, Illinois.[21] It was at this college where the first Hungarian studies program was established in the United States, under the guidance of the Barnabas Dienes, a Calvinist professor, who was asked to offer the first Hungarian courses by the Evangelical and Reformed Church in 1941.[22] In 1952 Molnár started teaching Hungarian language in addition to his regular world history course. The aim was to give an opportunity to second generation Hungarian Americans to continue their education in Hungarian language and culture at the university level.[23] When Professor Molnár began teaching at Elmhurst College he had only one student in the Hungarian program, for after Professor Dienes left the institution in 1947 the number of students who attended the Hungarian program decreased rapidly. Therefore, Professor Molnár's main function became the recruiting of students. In an interview made in August 2008 he mentioned that within two years he managed to increase the number of students to about 20 or 30. Already at that time, in the 1950s, he had conceived of the idea of establishing a foundation that would enable Hungarian students to enrol into the Hungarian programs of higher-level educational institutions with the help of scholarships. He raised money to fund Hungarian studies not only at Elmhurst College but also at other colleges and universities.

The American Hungarian Studies Foundation, which was later renamed American Hungarian Foundation, was established shortly afterwards, in 1955. The original plan was to establish a library, a museum and archives, to collect materials on the history of Hungarian Americans: all that the Foundation was able to carry out in the later years. Their primary means of collecting money was through correspondence and advertisement. August J. Molnár recalls:

> We had big plans: to have perhaps a great concert in Carnegie Hall, where we would present Hungarian music and the works of Hungarian composers. And I went to talk about this with Antal Doráti, (I first wrote to him), the conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and he was happy to hear about this,

> and advised that this should be a kind of concert where all of the works presented would be by Bartók, and that this should be the first concert based entirely on the works of Bartók in Carnegie Hall. He also said we would invite Yehudi Menuin to present the piece that Bartók also composed for him.

Molnár had been discussing this project with Doráti already in 1954 and 1955, years ahead of the concert, in order to think of how to fill the concert hall that could accommodate 2500 people. They owed the success of the concert, which was finally held in February 1957, to the fact that the money raised at the concert was donated to Hungarian refugees a few months after the Revolution broke out. At that time, there was much talk about the Hungarian Revolution in America; therefore, the American public was happy to sponsor this event, which also helped to spread the name of the Hungarian American Foundation.

The Foundation, which celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2005, has been active in countless other programs ever since its beginnings. One of these is the organization of the Annual Festival of Trees, which can trace its traditions to the years at Elmhurst College. Along with those representing other ethnic groups, Professor Molnár and his students had been invited each year to a Christmas festival held at the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, in order to decorate a Hungarian Christmas tree, which stood among the Christmas trees of various other nations. With the help of his wife, Piroska, they prepared traditional Hungarian cookies called *mézeskalács*,[24] which they used as decorations.

This tradition was continued after Molnár's arrival at Rutgers University in 1959; however, not in a museum, as it was the custom in Chicago, but at the Professor's home, where he invited his students, both Americans and Hungarians, to decorate a Hungarian Christmas tree. Professor Molnár says that his students tell him even today, after twenty, thirty or forty years, that they have a small Christmas tree in their homes with *mézeskalács* on it.

After the opening of the Museum of the Foundation in 1989,[25] they decided to organize a Christmas tree festival similar to the one that was annually held in Chicago. The festival, which is open each year from the first Sunday of December to the last Sunday of January, is attended by the representatives of fifteen nations, among them the Italians, the Danish, the Swedes, Estonians, Irish, and other ethnic groups. The sister cities of New Brunswick are also involved in the festivities: Christmas decorations are sent from Debrecen, Hungary, two cities of Japan, along with one city in Ireland. Choirs made up of Polish children; Ukrainians and Belorussians perform songs on these occasions along with the Choir of Saint Ladislaus Catholic

Church. Children brought by parents or schools also attend these celebrations, as well as with people of the various ethnic groups.[26]

Simultaneously, the Foundation also remembers the feast of Hanukah, which is held in the same period as Christmas. In fact, the main goal of the Foundation is to involve other nationalities in these celebrations, in order to become more open. "Hungarians have" Molnár said, "always been living together with people of other nationalities. Therefore, we ought to get to know them, as they should also get to know us. They are very happy to come and are glad to present their Christmas traditions. This event plays an important role in the life of the Museum for two months."

The American Hungarian Foundation was also active in supporting research related to Hungarian studies at several universities. In 1959, the American Hungarian Foundation moved to Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, and established the American Hungarian Institute, to which the later created Hungarian Studies Institute at Rutgers owes its existence. Dr. Mason Gross, the president of the university, welcomed the idea of the program. Between 1959 and 1962 the Foundation sponsored courses in Hungarian literature, history, and culture with a sum of $20,000, with the help of churches, organizations, and individuals.[27] Refugees of the 1956 Revolution were also offered special scholarships and grants to various universities. Besides Rutgers University, the American Hungarian Foundation also supported Hungarian Studies programs taught at Columbia University, Western Reserve University, Northwestern University, Loyola University, University of Chicago, and Elmhurst College.

The American Hungarian Foundation was also successful in establishing good relations with famous scholars. Among them are sociolinguist Joshua Fishmann, author of *Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States* (1966), who headed the Survey of Language Resources of American Ethnic Groups, and with whom the Foundation cooperated in the project regarding the language, history, and culture of Hungarian Americans. Guest lecturers were also invited to the American Hungarian Institute of Rutgers University: Dialectologist Elemér Bakó and Nobel laureate Eugene Wigner held a series of lectures in 1961-1962.[28]

The present day home of the Foundation, located at 300 Somerset Street, houses a museum, a library, and the archives. The Library, consisting of 60,000 volumes (including printed books that are 500 and 400 years old)[29] is an affiliate library of Rutgers University: the volumes of the Foundation's library are listed on the online catalogue of Rutgers University (IRIS); nevertheless, the institution is not funded by Rutgers, and is therefore independent of the university.[30] The archives of the Foundation hold treasures of

Hungarian cultural history, as letters written by Lajos Kossuth, Count István Széchenyi, and poet Attila József.[31] Fulbright scholars from prominent Hungarian institutions, as the National Széchenyi Library and Eötvös Loránd University, are granted scholarships to do research in the archives of the foundation. The cataloguing of the Bethlen collection, which consists mostly of documents and yearbooks of Hungarian Reformed churches related to Hungarian life in America, was also done by three of these scholars, Ilona Kovács, András Csillag and Nóra Deák, with the contribution of the librarian of the American Hungarian Foundation, Margaret Papai.[32]

The Museum of the Foundation also leads significant activities. Over the last twenty years, since its opening, it has received over 80,000 visitors. Among the most memorable art exhibits of the Museum were Munkácsy in America (2000), Herend-Hungarian Porcelain at its Finest (2000/2001), and the photo exhibition of the famous photographer, Stephen Spinder, Through My Lens: Budapest and Transylvania (2003).[33] Among the recent (2007-2008) exhibits are Dynamic Color, which presented paintings by Joseph Domjan, a highly celebrated artist among Hungarian Americans; and that of Gyuri Hollósy, who has his studio at Grounds for Sculpture (NJ), entitled Hollósy: 40 Year Sculpture Retrospective with Paintings and Drawings, in 2008/2009. The well known artist, Victor Vasarely, also exhibited his work at the AHF.

Presently, the Museum houses Hungarian Folk Art Collection-Magyar Népművészet (April 19, 2009-February 28, 2010). The exhibit, which mostly concentrates on the Matyó, Mezőkövesd, and Kalotaszeg styles, presents Hungarian folk art through the display of carved furniture, embroidered clothing, pillows and other textiles, as well as glazed pottery. The former curator of the Museum, Patricia Fazekas, said that this was an exhibit that many Hungarian Americans had been wishing to have at the Foundation for many years, for they wanted to show their American friends and relatives the aspects of Hungarian culture which they are especially proud of.

The Hungarian Alumni Association

The Hungarian Alumni Association, also known as the Magyar Öregdiák Szövetség – Bessenyei György Kör is one of the most active Hungarian organizations in the United States. Ever since its beginnings in 1960, it has served the Hungarian community of New Brunswick in several ways: it initiated the Hungarian Saturday Classes (*Hétvégi Magyar Iskola*), a lecture series and an oral history program, History Makers Testify (*Tanúk – korunkról*).[34] The Alumni Association also held close relations with the Native

Language Conference (Anyanyelvi Konferencia), an association that collaborated in the creation of the first textbooks for Hungarian minority students.

Prior to the Hungarian Alumni Association's establishment in 1960 there had also been a student organization, Hungarian Students at Rutgers University, which recruited members for the Alumni Association. The organization, also known as Magyar Diákok a Rutgers Egyetemen [Hungarian students at Rutgers], was founded in 1958, mostly by 1956-ers.[35] Their mission, as one of its founding members, Károly Nagy has mentioned in an interview, was to spread the message of the Revolution: "We decided that we had to do something: to spread the message of the Revolution, because it seemed to be that one of the reasons why America had left the 1956 Revolution on its own was that people were minimally informed about Hungary, the Carpathian Basin, Hungarian minorities. People had hardly any knowledge about Hungary, for high schools did not offer even Geography."

Tamás Tamás, who was also among the founding members of the student association along with his wife Mária, stated that the students who were active in the association started to organize exhibitions. The first such project was an exhibition on folk art, which displayed the works of Joseph Domjan. The collection of the artist was housed in the Ledge, which served as the Student Center of the University. In an interview in September 2008, Tamás asserted: "this, of course, to put it that way, energized Hungarians a lot, and thus we got to know countless people: they came to help or offered us materials for exhibitions."[36]

The organization was in operation until the graduation of its founding members, who later on joined the already existing Hungarian Alumni Association, which was largely made up of DPs and also functioned at Rutgers University. The first President of the Hungarian Alumni Association, Béla Gyengő, was a post-World War II immigrant and a prominent member of the Hungarian community of New Brunswick. Among the main goals of the Alumni Association were the preservation of Hungarian language and culture abroad, besides the review and the presentation of crucial issues related to Hungary and to the Hungarians.[37]

One of the most important activities initiated by the Hungarian Alumni Association was the Hungarian Saturday Classes (Hétvégi Magyar Iskola), which operated between 1960 and 1986. Károly Nagy stated that the more the 56-ers founded families and started having children, the more they felt that they had to keep their Hungarian heritage. For this reason, Nagy, who had previously been a schoolteacher in Hungary, distributed a questionnaire among the churches as well as in the newspapers, asking parents if they were interested in organizing Hungarian Saturday classes. Surprisingly, a large

number of parents were interested in the idea.[38] Rutgers University provided free classrooms until the beginning of the 1980s, when the school found its new place in one of the buildings of the Magyar Reformed Church. Classes were held on Saturday mornings from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. in four to five classes consisting of 30 to 50 children and adults. The curriculum involved the basics of music, reading-writing, composition, literature, history, folk songs, folk arts; besides Hungarian as a Foreign Language for mostly adult students.[39]

The school, however, faced several difficulties: without proper textbooks, it was difficult for teachers to collect the materials for teaching and to photocopy them week after week. Therefore, Károly Nagy conducted a survey among 26 Hungarian Saturday schools in order to exchange their experiences in teaching, and sent the findings to some of the most prominent figures and educators of Hungarian cultural life: Gyula Illyés, Zoltán Kodály, and Mihály Váci, whose collaboration led to the founding of the Native Language Conference (Anyanyelvi Konferencia) in 1970 in Debrecen and in Budapest.[40] After many years of struggles and cooperation with Hungarian textbook authors, who were asked to create the appropriate textbooks for these schools, the new books were finally ready. Their uniqueness consisted of the fact that they lacked all kinds of political and religious propaganda, while at the same time concentrating on the works of all Hungarian authors, including those of the minorities of the Carpathian Basin, as well as the Western authors. Musical and drawing activities were also present in these textbooks in connection with Hungarian historical events, including Petőfi and Kossuth songs. Professor Nagy, who taught sociology at several colleges, asserted in this regard: "Language is culture. There is no language without culture. There is no culture without language. Furthermore, Latin became famous, because there is a culture behind the language: language transmits culture."[41] Tamás Tamás, who taught Hungarian history and geography for eight years in this school, besides being its principal for a period, stated that the school had played a significant role in the preservation of the Hungarian language within the community.[42]

The Hungarian Alumni Association has been active in countless other projects besides the operation of the Hungarian Saturday Classes. Although these classes ceased to function in 1986, Széchenyi Hungarian Saturday School and Kindergarten has carried on its work with similar methods of instruction and has continued the education of Hungarian children up to present times. Nevertheless, the Alumni Association continued its regular lectures and conferences, which are held even today. After the establishment of the Hungarian Institute at Rutgers University in 1991, the Hungarian Alumni Association often held joint lectures with the Hungarian Institute. The

language of these events was usually Hungarian, except on the occasions when they were organized jointly with the University.[43]

The most significant project of the Hungarian Alumni Association was an oral history project, History Makers Testify (Tanúk-korunkról). It was launched in 1977 and held its lectures on a monthly basis. Among the prominent invitees had been Nobel Prize winner Eugene Wigner, who gave a presentation on his role in the Manhattan project and the invention of the atomic bomb. Zoltán Nyeste gave a lecture on his experience as a victim of a Communist political prison camp in Recsk, and Miklós Duray of Bratislava (Pozsony) of his imprisonment by the Czechoslovak Communist government for organizing a committee in defence of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia in 1978. Sándor Püski, one of the best-known publishers of the populist movement, was also an invitee of the oral history project. In addition, thirteen of the twenty-three lectures were held by participants of the 1956 Revolution: Miklós Vásárhelyi, Sándor Kopácsi, Péter Gosztonyi, and Sándor Rácz gave first hand accounts of their experiences during the Revolution.[44] According to Károly Nagy, the stories told by these active participants in Hungarian history significantly helped many people of Hungarian origin to maintain their Hungarian pride and cultural heritage.[45]

Hungarian Studies at Rutgers University

Although the Institute for Hungarian Studies at Rutgers University was founded only in 1991, it owes its existence to the Hungarian studies program that had been set up in 1959 at the same university. It was a continuation of the Hungarian studies program that had been initiated in 1954 at Elmhurst College, near Chicago. Its founder was August J. Molnár who after his years at Elmhurst College, started teaching at Rutgers University in the same year.[46] At that time, both regular and evening courses were offered in Hungarian.[47] During this period in the Cold War, several other universities established Hungarian Studies programs. Among them were Columbia University in New York and Indiana University in Bloomington. Besides Rutgers, there were also other universities that offered minors in Hungarian: Berkeley, UCLA, Cleveland, Duquesne, Stanford and Portland.[48] According to Steven Béla Várdy, the main reasons for the creation of these programs were the evolution of the Cold War and the establishment of Soviet, East European, and Uralian studies centers at American universities. Other events were the birth of the National Defense Education Act, after the launch in 1958 by the Soviets of *Sputnik*, the first satellite to be put in the Earth's orbit. Another important factor, according

to Várdy, that contributed to the establishment of these programs was the ethnic revival of the 1960s, which gave a new impetus to the study of the cultures of ethnic minorities in North America.[49] Some of the famous professsors who taught at these educational centers were linguist János Lotz and historian István Deák at Columbia University; and linguist Tamás Sebők, anthropologist Linda Dégh, and historian Denis Sinor at Indiana University.[50]

The Hungarian studies program at Rutgers underwent many hardships during its existence. The 1960s were not only the decade of ethnic revival, but also of student unrest. In an interview made in August 2008, August J. Molnár recounted that the students demanded that the two-year obligatory language instruction in Hungarian or other languages be cancelled. He recalled that for this reason there was no obligatory language teaching for about two or three years, which meant that there were no Hungarian language courses offered. This, of course, was a serious disadvantage for the instructors of Hungarian language and culture as well as for teachers of other languages and cultures. Finally, in the 1970s, courses in Hungarian and on Hungary were reintroduced.

Katalin Miklóssy, a Hungarian Fulbright scholar at Rutgers University in 2008/2009, said that the great turning point in the history of Hungarian education at Rutgers came in 1991, after the fall of Communism. It was in this year that Géza Jeszenszky, the Hungarian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, signed an accord with Rutgers University according to which the Hungarian state would send a jointly paid Hungarian Fulbright visiting instructor to Rutgers each year. The instructor is shared by the Institute for Hungarian Studies and Rutgers University's Department of Germanic, Russian, and East Eastern European Languages and Literature.[51] The courses offered by the instructor concern Hungarian language and literature, and are attended mainly by students who have some connection to Hungary, such as a Hungarian spouse or Hungarian ancestors. Besides the courses offered by the Hungarian Studies Department, students can also attend those offered by the Institute for Hungarian Studies, for instance on the history of Hungary. Students can choose to take courses related to Hungarian culture either in English or in Hungarian; however, English language courses are preferred by students, according to Professor Paul Hanebrink, the Institute's director.[52]

The Role of the Churches

It is a well known fact that the ethnic churches have played a vital role in the survival of ethnic communities. This was also the case for the Hungarians of

New Brunswick, a city that is characterized by the presence of various American and ethnic denominations. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were 20 churches in New Brunswick, including several Catholic ones, and two synagogues.[53] The extent to which the ethnic churches among these were able to preserve their special character varies. It seems to be that among the Christian congregations, the orthodox ones have been the most successful in language maintenance, while the Roman Catholic parishes have been less effective in this regard. The reason for this seems to be that, while the hierarchy of the Orthodox churches usually helped in the endeavour of the local parishes to preserve their ethnic heritage that of the Roman Catholic Church did not. In fact, after the initial help given to new immigrants to establish their own parishes, they were soon put under the pressure of Americanization by the local Roman Catholic hierarchies.[54] Many Hungarian R.C. parishes in the United States are now struggling to keep up their ethnic character, even Saint Ladislaus Parish, which used to be a viable Hungarian Catholic center in New Brunswick.

The situation of Hungarian-American Jews used to be similar to that of Catholics. Hungarian Jews, as in the case of Hungarian Catholics, were encouraged to identify with each other more on a religious than on an ethnic basis. The anti-Semitism Jews experienced in Hungary during World War II was also influential in their decision to avoid association with other Hungarian Americans.

The role played by the Protestant churches in the preservation of ethnic heritage varies a great deal. The success of these churches often depends on their numerical strength. The largest Hungarian-American Protestant church is the Hungarian Reformed Church which has been the most successful in the preservation of Hungarian heritage. The other Protestant churches — as well as the Greek Catholics — have been less successful. This is probably due to their small numbers, both in the Carpathian Basin as well as in New Brunswick. Many of their congregations have lost their ethnic Hungarian character by now.[55] In New Brunswick these are the Bayard Street Presbyterian Church (established in 1903), the Ascension Lutheran Church (established in 1913), St. Joseph Greek Catholic Church (founded in 1915), as well as the High Street Baptist Church (which dates from 1918).[56] The same is true for the Hungarian Jewish immigrants to New Brunswick, who initially made Hungarian the official language of their Orthodox synagogue (Ohav Emeth), but later on decided to change it to English, in order to become open towards Jews of non-Hungarian background.[57]

Due to the large percentage of Roman Catholics and Calvinists among Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, most Hungarians of the New Brunswick

area form part of either Saint Ladislaus Church or the Magyar Reformed Church. Both are found on Somerset Street, in the heart of the historic Hungarian neighbourhood. They have been important centers of the local community and have aided its members in several ways, ever since the beginnings. The pastors of these congregations have welcomed new immigrants in various periods of their arrivals, especially after the outbreak of the 1956 Revolution. The pastor of the Magyar Reformed Church, Reverend Zsolt Ötvös said that his congregation is also dedicated to helping new Hungarian immigrants to get adjusted to life in America.

Among the various ethnic churches founded by Hungarian immigrants in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the only ones that offer services in Hungarian nowadays are the Magyar Reformed Church and Saint Ladislaus Church. The pastor of the Magyar Reformed Church, the above-mentioned Reverend Ötvös, holds one Sunday service entirely in Hungarian and another one in English for the descendants of earlier immigrants who do not speak Hungarian. The Roman Catholic mass at Saint Ladislaus is offered only partly in Hungarian. Father Capistran, an American-born priest of Hungarian descent, delivers the sermon in English, while the rest of the mass, along with the singing, is in Hungarian.

There was a time when Hungarian American parishes had a thriving ethnic and community life. Nowadays many of them are having difficulties recruiting priests who are native-speakers of Hungarian. Saint Ladislaus Church, which used to be under the jurisdiction of Hungarian Franciscan friars, now belongs to a local American diocese, led primarily by Italian Americans. As a result, the recruitment of Hungarian priests becomes increasingly difficult. In fact, the pastor of Saint Ladislaus Church, Father Capistran who grew up in the Hungarian neighbourhood of New Brunswick hearing Hungarian but not speaking it, started learning Hungarian in order to be able to serve the local Hungarian community.[58] Until recently, even the St. Joseph Greek Catholic Church offered services in Hungarian; however, due to the declining number of Hungarians at the parish and the increasing age of the pastor, the situation hanged. The priest moved to Hungary. Services are still held at the church but not in Hungarian.

Folklore and Music

For the Hungarian Americans of New Jersey, passing on Hungarian language and culture is considered essential. Other aspects of Hungarian culture they cherish include Hungarian folk art and folk traditions. As a young person

coming from Hungary, I was amazed by the fact how much these American-born Hungarians knew about the culture of a country that I, as a native-born Hungarian, was expected to know better. Nevertheless, my experience has shown that most children who attend the Hungarian scouting events were significantly more familiar with folk songs, folk customs and Hungarian dances than the average Hungarian child who grew up in Budapest. In New Brunswick, I have seen even grown Boy Scout leaders help children with embroideries, because for these Hungarians, everything pertaining to Hungarian folk traditions is a peculiar feature of Hungarian culture that is to be preserved.

The preservation of Hungarian folk culture has a long tradition in New Brunswick and in the other communities of the East Coast. Although nearly ninety percent of the later Hungarian immigrants to New Brunswick came from urban areas, Ágnes Balla, whose family immigrated to New Jersey in the early 1970s, stated that the political refugees of 1956 and post-World War II were especially eager to retain their national culture. They did everything to remain Hungarian, for they did not choose to leave their homeland. As people belonging to communities in exile, they dearly held on to the values and the distinctive features of a culture that was uniquely Hungarian.

Even today, second, third, and fourth generation Hungarian children learn traditional Hungarian dances, which they perform in authentic clothing. Boys wear typical Hungarian boots and hats usually purchased in Hungary, while girls' outfits must also include all the necessary elements of traditional style clothing. On the occasions that I was performing with the younger dance group of the HAAC, we could borrow original costumes made in Kalocsa, the ones that are the most expensive due to their elaborate hand-made embroideries. In 2000 each of these dresses cost nearly 500 dollars, which was and is an expensive price even today for the Hungarians of the United States; nevertheless, they are willing to spend even significant amounts of money for such worthy purposes.

It is interesting to note that native Hungarians or Americans who are familiar with present-day Hungarian culture often look with bewilderment on the admiration of folk culture on the part of Hungarian Americans. To those who do not belong to the Hungarian American communities, it seems as if in the eyes of these Hungarian Americans time had remained still, as if they were living in a time that was brought to them by their ancestors. This is partly true; nevertheless, as stated above, most of these people, who are presently active among the Hungarian American communities in New Jersey, do not have ancestors who originated from villages or rural areas. Rather, they cherish a kind of idealistic culture that has been passed on to them probably by the

generation of the post-World War II immigrants through the 1956-ers and through the scouting movement.

As it is in the case of ancient Greek arts and literature, which has influenced Roman, and later European artistic movements and writing, people have often identified peasant life in Arcadia with an idealistic lifestyle. One can find the same motifs in Hungarian folk culture as in the case of ancient Greek art: ceramics with flower motifs, as well as shepherds with flutes. Birds, heart motifs, and the use of colors are also common features of Hungarian folk art, which are symbols of warmth, and the hearth of family life. It is probably also for this reason that I have seen many homes of Hungarian Americans decorated with these folk motives. For instance, I have seen heart shaped chairs in these homes, which have an especially homely character, and show the idealistic aspect of peasant life, as it is described in the collection of short stories entitled *Tót atyafiak* by the famous Hungarian writer, Kálmán Mikszáth.

Several people I have encountered have told me that folk culture is not what could be considered the most characteristic aspect of Hungarian culture today. They have often asked me the question how well young Hungarian Americans are acquainted with contemporary Hungarian culture. Although it is difficult to give a precise answer to this question, basically, one could say that Hungarian Americans do have frequent relations with Hungary. Many families try to send their children on vacation to Hungary to meet relatives or to scout camps, which are a great opportunity to get to know the country, if one does not have family in Hungary any more. Nevertheless, countless people have told me in New Jersey that the first encounter of their children with Hungarian reality was disappointing. The negative experience might be explained with the strong idealistic image of Hungary that has been passed onto those children by their parents. Despite this fact and their initial disappointments in Hungary, many young Hungarian Americans choose to come to study to Hungary for a longer period. One of the opportunities they find especially useful are Hungarian language and cultural programs offered by the Balassi Institute for students coming from abroad. This is an especially useful opportunity for them to learn the language at a higher level and to pass on the knowledge they have acquired to other members of their communities at home. I have personally met several people in New Jersey who have made use of this possibility.

Among the most significant representatives of folk culture in New Jersey are the Életfa Hungarian Folk Band and Csűrdöngölő Folk Dance Ensemble. The members of folk band and the dance ensemble are in close contact with each other and often perform together. They have earned not only

a nationwide success in the United States, having performed at various ethnic and inter-ethnic festivals and prestigious American theatres, but also participate regularly in musical and folk dance festivals in Hungary. The dances and music they perform has become widely appreciated and well known through the Annual Hungarian Festival of New Brunswick.

Conclusions

Although it is evident that the forces of assimilation in the United States are particularly strong even today, at the present time it is easier to keep one's heritage than it had been before the ethnic revival of the 1960s. The ethnic diversity of New Jersey and of the East Coast area also helps many Hungarians and people of other ethnicities to maintain their language and identity, for in today's American society people are proud of where one's family came from. This is especially true of most Hungarian Americans, while a few, who wish to belong to prestigious American social and economic circles, are less interested in the local Hungarian communities.

The Hungarian-American communities of New Brunswick are made of immigrant families and their descendents who arrived in different periods of Hungarian history. The descendants of the "Old" pre-World War I immigrants have mostly assimilated by now, even though many of them remember the stories of their grandparents and do speak a few words of Hungarian. Only a few people are alive among the post-World War II immigrants, mainly those who had arrived as children. They had acquired an excellent command of Hungarian from their parents, and were often able to pass it on to their children as well. The people who immigrated after 1956 are mostly still active and energetic and continue to take part in the life of New Brunswick's Hungarian-American community. The younger generation of this community is made up of the descendants of the previous two immigrant waves, was well as the people who arrived after the fall of communism.

The image that Hungarian Americans have formed of Hungary and of its people often seems biased to outsiders. One can often hear of strong negative opinions voiced by older Hungarian Americans of more recent immigrants. This has been true of the previous immigrant waves as well, and is caused by the fact that Hungary is constantly changing, and so do the values and norms that the new immigrants bring with them.

Nevertheless, it seems to be that in New Brunswick the members of these different immigrant waves have had fewer conflicts than many other Hungarian-American communities. The new immigrants also form a diverse

group, ranging from people who have come to work in the country as au-pairs, to those who are staying in the United States illegally, and the people who form the intellectual circles of researchers and university professors. The people belonging to each of these circles can find their place among the many Hungarian organizations of New Brunswick, although the members of these organizations often complain that those belonging to the other groups or their leaders are not as cooperative as they would like them to be.

Although the English language influences the speech patterns of the American-born generation in several ways, many families have been able to maintain the use of Hungarian in their everyday communication. Moreover, in the most well known Hungarian centers of New Jersey, as Passaic-Garfield and New Brunswick, Hungarian is taught in an institutionalized form as well, among the scouts and at the Hungarian Saturday Schools. Regarding the Hungarian-born generation, their level of Hungarian also seems to be considerably higher than that of those who lost touch with other Hungarians in the United States. The numerous activities organized in Hungarian by different organizations that serve the various cultural needs of the Hungarians of New Brunswick undoubtedly favour the language maintenance efforts of the community's members.

In many cases, the Hungarians of New Brunswick hold strongly on to the use of Hungarian and try to enforce it among their families and local Hungarian institutions. It is difficult to determine whether this has positive or negative effects on the survival of the immigrant community, which needs both the use of the language as well as enough members for the community to survive. In New Brunswick, however, the constant arrival of the new immigrants may mean a solution to this problem.

People are curious to know what Hungarian life in New Brunswick will be like in the future. It is difficult to estimate this, for it both depends on changes in American society as well as on those that characterize Hungarian society. However, a positive sign towards the survival of the Hungarian community and that of the Hungarian language in New Brunswick seems to be the determination of young Hungarian Americans to pass on their mother tongue to their children. Although as teenagers they had opposed their parents' authoritative methods of enforcing the use of Hungarian within the family, now, as young parents, many of them have consciously decided to speak less English and to speak only Hungarian in front of their children.

This endeavour is also helped by the opportunities of the new era that followed the demise of communism in Hungary. Now, people are completely free to travel and many young people have taken advantage of this possibility. Relations between the host country and the mother country have become

especially good among American-born Hungarians and Hungarian-born individuals. People can also come from Hungary much more freely than before whether to do research or simply to try their luck in America, as the Italian expression *fare l'America* says it, to improve their prospects.

More than a hundred years after the arrival of the first immigrant masses from Hungary in the USA, Hungarian culture still flourishes in the city of New Brunswick. Due to their outstanding achievements in preserving Hungarian culture both at the present and in the past, the Hungarians of New Brunswick deserve praise. They have not only contributed to the cultural diversity of the East Coast United States, but have also helped countless Hungarians recognize the values of their own heritage, which have already been forgotten by many in their homeland. Moreover, they have not only opened the eyes of native-born Hungarians, but with their solid presence in New Jersey, they have also brought fame to Hungarian culture among Americans and people of various ethnicities.

NOTES

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[1] Csilla Bartha, "Nyelvhasználat, nyelvmegtartás, nyelvcsere az amerikai magyar közösségekben" [Language use, language maintenance, language shift among Hungarian-American communities], in *Tér és terep. Tanulmányok az etnicitás és az identitás kérdésköréből,* ed. Nóra Kovács and László Szarka (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 2002), 132.

[2] Katalin Balla, telephone interview, 9 Dec. 2006.

[3] Anna Borbély, "Kétnyelvűség és többnyelvűség" [Bilingualism and multilingualism], in *Magyar nyelv* [The Hungairan language], ed. Ferenc Kiefer (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006), 606-613.

[4] Szilvia Németh, "Hétvégi magyar iskolák az USA-ban – 2008" [Hungarian Saturday schools in the USA – 2008] in *Beszédből világ. Elemzések, adatok amerikai magyarokról* [A world recreated from words: Analyses and facts about Hungarian Americans], ed. Attila Papp Z. (Budapest: Magyar Külügyi Intézet, 2008), 264.

[5] Joshua A. Fishman and Vladimir Nahimy, "The Ethnic Group School and Mother Tongue Maintenance," in *Language Loyalty in the United States,* ed. Joshua A. Fishman (The Hauge: Mouton, 1966), 95.

[6] Agnes Balla, personal interview, 7 Oct. 2006.

[7] Károly Nagy, personal interview, 15 Sept. 2008.

[8] TamásTamás, personal interview, 3 Sept. 2008.

[9] Gábor Tarján, "Nemzedékváltás az amerikai magyarságnál" [Succession of generations among Hungarian Americans] *Magyar Szemle Online*, 20 Aug. 2003. Website accessed 2 Nov. 2009.

[10] Judit Némethy Kesserű, "Magyar oktatás a Külföldi Magyar Cserkészszövetségben" [Hungarian language education within the Hungarian Scout Association Abroad], in *A magyar nyelv és kultúra megtartása az Amerikai Egyesült Államokban 1997* [Preserving the Hungarian Language and Culture in the United States 1997], ed. Károly Nagy and László Papp (Budapest: Anyanyelvi Konferencia, 1998), 55.

[11] Judit Prékopa, *Hungarian Immigrants in the United States: New Brunswick* (Budapest: ELTE, 1997), 28.

[12] Hungarian American Athletic Club (hereafter HAAC), *The Hungarian American Athletic Club, A brief History 1913-2008.* Accessed on the web.

[13] Prékopa, p. 28.

[14] Hungarian American Athletic Club, "The Hungarian American Athletic Club, A Brief History, 1913-2008," See the HAAC website, accessed 11 Nov. 2009. Cited hereafter as HAAC.

[15] Prékopa, p. 28.

[16] HAAC.

[17] The building committee was headed by Joseph Vargyas.

[18] HAAC.

[19] László Strasz, personal interview, 12 Sept. 2008.

[20] American Hungarian Foundation (hereafter AHF), "Chronicling the Hungarian Cultural and Historical Heritage in the United States," Web. 11 Nov. 2009.

[21] Ilona Kovács, *et al.*, eds., *The Hungarian Legacy in America. The History of the American Hungarian Foundation. The First Fifty Years. 1955 – 2005* (New Brunswick, NJ: American Hungarian Foundation, 2007) 4.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

[23] August J. Molnár, personal interview, 27 Aug. 2008.

[24] Resembles honey-cake or gingerbread.

[25] AHF.

[26] Molnár interview.

[27] Kovács, p. 69.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[30] Molnár interview.

[31] AHF.

[32] Molnár interview.

[33] Kovács, pp. 200-207.

[34] Károly Nagy, *Emigránsok Küldetésben: Magyar Öregdiák Szövetség – Bessenyei Kör, Hungarian Alumni Association 1960-2000* [Hungarians on a mission:

the Hungarian Alumni Association 1960-2000] (Debrecen: Csokonai Kiadó: 2000), 123-127.

[35] Among the founding members were Tamás Tamás, Gyula Vámos and Károly Nagy.

[36] Tamás interview.

[37] Nagy, p. 18.

[38] Nagy interview.

[39] Nagy, p. 23.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[41] Nagy interview.

[42] Tamás interview.

[43] Béla Várdy, *Magyarok az Újvilágban* [Hungarians in the New World] (Budapest: A magyar nyelv és kultúra nemzetközi társasága, 2000), 599.

[44] Nagy, p. 131.

[45] Nagy interview.

[46] Várdy, p. 596.

[47] Molnár interview.

[48] Várdy, p. 596.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 595-596.

[51] Katalin Miklóssy, personal interview, 15 Sept. 2008.

[52] Information from Paul Hanebrink.

[53] Julián Füzér, *A Catholic Hungarian Community in America. Saint Ladislaus Parish New Brunswick, N.J.* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), 4.

[54] András Prékopa, personal interview, 28 Oct. 2008.

[55] Zsolt Ötvös, telephone interview, 4 Nov. 2008.

[56] August J. Molnár, "Hungarian Pioneers and Immigrants in New Jersey sine Colonial Days," in *The New Jersey Experience*, ed. Barbara Cunningham (Union City, N.J.: Wm. H. Wise & Co., 1977), pp. 260-266.

[57] Tamás Tamás, "Education of a Global Community: New Jersey Hungarians in a Trans-National Ethnic Network," in *Internal Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society,* 10, 4 (winter, 1977): 633.

[58] Capistran Polgar, personal interview, 28 Aug. 2008.

Appendix

Notes on research methodology and the speech of Hungarian Americans

During my stay in New Brunswick in August-September 2008, I conducted 46 personal interviews and four group interviews with families. The number of hours I have recorded is 30, most of them being in depth interviews and a few shorter ones. Additionally, I also made three interviews of approximately two and a half hours length in October and November 2009 during my five-week stay in New Brunswick. Two of them are personal interviews and one is a telephone interview. Among the 49 interviewees, 24 people were born in Hungary or in its neighbouring states; 20 of them in the United States; and five people in present-day Slovakia, Serbia, Germany, and Argentina. Among the American-born subjects, three people were second-generation American-born Hungarians, and three of them were Americans who do not have Hungarian ancestors, but who studied in Hungary and participate in the activities of Hungarian-based organizations in New Jersey.

Concerning the age of the informants, four people were under the age of 20, sixteen of them were between 20 and 40 years of age, eight people between 40 and 60, and twenty-one people were over 60 years old in 2008. A considerable number of people among my interview subjects were leaders or previous leaders of Hungarian-American organizations that have lead an active role within the Hungarian community of New Brunswick. Besides interviewing those who have taken an active part in the life of the community as its leaders, I also wished to speak with those who took an active part in the social life of the community as members of any of, or often several of these organizations. Above all, I was most interested in the motivation of those who are eager to pass on their cultural heritage, including the Hungarian language, to their children and grandchildren.

Regarding the purely linguistic aspect of the interviews, several observations can be made. Nearly all of them reflect the bilingual character of the members of the speech community, as well as the influence of English on their native language.

I have found several similarities among the speech patterns of present-day Hungarian Americans, mostly American-born individuals, with those mentioned by sociolinguists Miklós Kontra and Anna Fenyvesi. For instance, regarding phonology, in his study on the speech patterns of bilingual Hungarian Americans of Southbend, Indiana, Kontra mentions the aspiration of the

sounds p, t, and k. He also mentions that geminate consonants and the rules of vowel harmony are difficult to learn for the American-born generation. I have noted the same difficulties in the case of American-born Hungarians in New Jersey. Two examples for vowel harmony violations I have noticed in New Brunswick are feet-ot, *koncertok*, instead of feet-et (feet in the Accusative form) and *koncertek* (concerts), while an example for the problem of making a distinction between geminate and simple consonants are the spelling of *kelet volna* instead of the correct form of *kellett volna* (should have).[1]

Regarding morphology, Kontra mentions the use of city names with the case endings -on/-en/-ön, as New Brunswick-on (meaning in New Brunswick — literally translated: on New Brunswick), for instance. This and other similar examples I have heard (Cleveland-on, Garfield-on, Passaic-on) with the names of other Hungarian immigrant centers are very commonly used form in New Jersey, whereas according to the rules of Standard Hungarian, one would have to use New Brunswick-ban. Kontra asserts that Hungarian city names often take the endings -on/-en/-ön, and that the endings -ban/ -ben are usually used with foreign cities. Kontra and other scholars agree that immigrants consider these cities their hometown and not a foreign city anymore.[2]

Regarding syntax; syntactic calques, sequence tense deviations as well as communicative interference and failure are also characteristic of Hungarian-American speech, and reflect the influence of the English language. Examples I have heard in New Brunswick for syntactic calques are *leesni* used instead of *elesni,* which in English both mean to fall down, used, for instance in case a person falls to the ground. Another interesting example I heard was the phrase: *Ne rendetlenkedj a kazettámmal*! (Don't mess with my tape!), instead of which native Hungarians would use the following in slang: *Szállj le a kazettámról*! (Get off my tape!). A third, frequently used expression of this kind is *kijátszani*, which in Standard Hungarian would be equivalent to trick someone. Hungarian Americans, on the other hand, use it in sense of to act out (a play). An example of sequence tense deviation I have recorded is *Nem is tudtam, hogy magyar voltam* (I did not even know that I was Hungarian). Here, one should use the verb *voltam* (I was) in the present tense, according to Hungarian grammar. Regarding communicative interference and failure, a common example that Hungarian Americans frequently use when referring to a habit or an act frequently repeated in the past is *szoktam*, which in Hungarian American means I used to, whereas in Standard Hungarian it is used when speaking of a habitual act done in the present.[3]

Anna Fenyvesi's findings in connection with the Hungarians of Toledo, Ohio also concern the influence of English in Hungarian speech. For instance, in her study "A toledói magyarok nyelve. Nem standard nyelvhasz-

nálat vagy a nyelvkontaktus hatása?" the author mentions the lack of possessive suffixes (*birtokos személyjel*) in Hungarian-American noun phrases and the plural use of nouns after quantifiers. An example I have heard for the previous phenomenon is *Nekünk nincs gyerek* (We do not have any children), whereas for the second type I have heard *egy halom ifjú magyar gyerekek* (A heap of young children), besides *sok éveken keresztül* (throughout many years). Instead of using the Hungarian equivalent for children and years in the plural form as in English, one should use these nouns in the singular form, according to Standard Hungarian grammar.[4]

The speech of some older members resembles the Hunglish described by linguists in the case of other communities, for they use many English words in their Hungarian speech. However, one has to say that most Hungarian immigrants in New Brunswick were able to maintain their knowledge of Hungarian at a considerably higher level than other immigrants who live in isolation, and that many people in their native land are surprised at the good level of Hungarian they speak even after fifty years.

Code-switching, on the other hand, is a characteristic aspect of the speech patterns of young Hungarian Americans. Only those members of the community use it who are confident in speaking English as well as Hungarian, and speak English at a native level. Code-switching is characteristic only of those individuals who grew up in a bilingual environment. According to Anna Borbély, not all bilingual individuals are capable of using it, for it has specific grammatical rules and its use depends on the situation in which its speakers find themselves as well as on the interlocutors who take part in it. Moreover, only those members of the community use it who are familiar with each other or share a common background.[5]

For instance, during Hungarian activities, for example in the Hungarian Saturday school or during scouting activities, people are more likely and are also required to use only Hungarian; whereas once they find themselves in an informal situation outside these institutions, they will normally start to speak according to the rules of code-switching. An example for this I have heard is the sentence The *piros esernyő* is in the way, where *piros* means red and *esernyő* stands for umbrella. Another one is Let's take a picture with all of these *zászlók*. It is interesting to note that the word *zászló*, meaning flag, is used in the plural form, according to the rules of Hungarian grammar.

Elemér Bakó's findings were also useful for me from the point of view of dialectology. In American Hungarian Dialect Notes, published in 1962, Bakó mentions that the speech patterns of Hungarians in the United States often resemble dialectal features of the Hungarian language. He asserts that this is true even of the generations born in America, for they have

acquired the language from their parents and grandparents. The author states that besides the dialects, Standard Hungarian also influenced these linguistic styles, due to the popularity of Hungarian newspapers written in Standard Hungarian. At the time of his study, most Hungarian Americans belonged to the group of the Old Hungarians or their descendants.[6] Although today the members of this group do not constitute the majority of Hungarian Americans, one can still hear dialectal expressions in New Brunswick and in the Passaic-Garfield community. Examples I have heard from a third-generation descendant of Old Hungarians are *értékülték* (valued), instead of the standard form, *értékelték; gyüttem* (I came) and *gyüttek* (they came), as opposed to *jöttem* and *jöttek* in Standard Hungarian. The expression *nem-e* (isn't it?) is also frequent in dialects, similarly to the word *aztat* meaning that in the Accusative case, instead of its standard variant, *azt*. The latter ones are still in common use among young Hungarian Americans.[7]

Notes to the Appendix

[1] Miklós Kontra, *Fejezetek a South Bend-i magyar nyelvhasználatból* [Chapters of Hungarian language use in South Bend] (Budapest: Az MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézete, 1990), 182-183.

[2] *Ibid.*, p.184.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 185-197.

[4] Anna Fenyvesi, "A toledói magyarok nyelve. Nem standard nyelvhasználat vagy a nyelvkontaktus hatása?" [The language usage of the Hungarians in Toledo. An effect of non-standard language use or of interference?] in *Tanulmányok a diaszpóráról,* ed. Nóra Kovács (Budapest: Gondolat, MTA Etnikai-nemzeti kisebbségkutató Intézet, 2005), 58-73, especially pp. 66-67.

[5] Anna Borbély, "Kétnyelvűség és többnyelvűség" [Bilingualism and multilingualism] *Magyar nyelv* [*The Hungairan language*], ed. Ferenc Kiefer (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006), 606-613.

[6] Elemér Bakó, *American Hungarian Dialect Notes 1. Goals and Methods of Hungarian Dialectology in America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: American Hungarian Studies Foundation, 1962), 5-12.

[7] *Ibid.*

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Remembering the Hungarian Voice of Radio Canada International 1956 -1991

Judith Galántha Hermann

As time goes by memories fade away. The memories of the existence of Radio Canada International's Hungarian Section also faded away from the collective memory since its closure in 1991. So much so that today even the mainstream of the Hungarian community in Canada do not remember about its existence. As the 50th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian revolution and freedom fight already passed — the Hungarian Section was born in Canada during those tumultuous days in Hungary — it is time to put personal recollections on paper while it is not too late, before they really fade away into the mist of time. It seems to be an urgent task since the members of the former staff are not getting younger and sadly some of them are not even with us anymore. The reason behind the political tale that follows is to enlighten future generations about some of the Canadian consequences of the Hungarian revolution and freedom fight of 1956.

Once upon a time but not so long ago the world was divided into two political entities: the capitalist world and the communism world. Life was not perfect in either of these realms but capitalism seemed to offer more to its citizens than communism. While capitalism states progressed by leaps and bounds after World War II, people in the communist camp seemed unable to improve their lot at all in spite of working hard day and night. Communism was another form of slavery sanctioned by the Communist Party. People in communist countries were slim, trim and relatively healthy. Hungarians of the times were happy to have a piece of bread and a pot full of beans with a trace of some meat or bacon. For them there were definitely "more days than sausages" as the popular adage went. The government certainly did not fatten people up on the abundant quantity of slogans at the centrally ordered meetings and forced participations in pro-communist demonstrations of the early 1950s.

Communism was paranoid and full of institutionally-generated fears. There was the fear of external attacks by the capitalist enemy as well as supposed counter-revolutionaries at home. In reality, however, what the Communists feared most was their subjects. During the "Era of Personality Cult" communist idols wanted to be as popular and revered as Gods among the people — consequently they forbade religions. This was also the time when walls had "ears" and nobody knew whom to trust. Fear was everywhere among the people too. Fear of the state security agents who could at any time come and pick them up for whatever concocted reasons. This could be followed by forced deportation, show trials, or re-education — for cruelty was the communists' game. It is not surprising under these circumstances eventually a wildfire of rebellion swept over the Communist camp in Europe.

In Hungary it happened in October 1956. Hungarians could not take it anymore and spontaneously revolted against their cruel communist government backed by the mighty Soviet Union and its massive military force. Although Hungarians did not want to resurrect the previous regime they didn't want the existing one either. They dreamed of a world of peace and plenty a world without cruelty and external political influences — a world of democracy.

During those glorious fall days of 1956 Hungarians fervently listened to radio programs broadcast from the Capitalist West. Among those the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe's programs in Hungarian were the most encouraging but became a source of great disillusionment later. Canada's newly-created Hungarian voice was always distinctly balanced, different, unique, and popular with the listeners until the very end of the total collapse of Communism in Europe in 1989. During its entire history Canada's Hungarian Voice was always credible — distinctly Canadian representing a Canadian point of view and not serving any émigré or other political interests. What follows is a chronicle of the Canadian International Service's Hungarian Section.

The Origins of Radio Canada International

Public radio broadcasting in Canada was born in the 1930s out of fears that private broadcasting would contribute to the domination of Canadian culture by American media. Just as Canadian cinemas were increasingly dominated by Hollywood, Canadians were listening more and more to American private radio broadcasts, and when Canadian entrepreneurs went

into radio broadcasting, they were often bought out by their American competitors. There was also a problem of stations, usually American ones, interfering with the broadcasts of Canadian stations. Out of this situation was born a movement for public broadcasting in Canada. It has been said that this movement was motivated not so much by socialist ideology but by nationalist concerns.[1] Great many hurdles had to be overcome before a solid beginning to public broadcasting could be made. These included a court case to determine whether the Canadian federal government had jurisdiction over the airwaves. With the case settled in favour of the government in Ottawa, the way was cleared for the establishment in 1932 of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission or CRBC. The commission's chief functions were to promote Canadian "national consciousness" and to foster Canadian "national unity."[2] Not all radio stations in Canada became public but the CRBC was given a mandate to regulate private broadcasting ventures throughout Canada, regardless of their ownership.

The CRBC, having been created during the early years of the Great Depression, had a limited budget. It was also faced by a host of other problems. As a result, lobbying started for the creation of a stronger agency with greater income and a higher degree of independence from the government. As a result, in 1936 the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation or CBC replaced the CRBC. The new agency inherited the CRBC's mandate, received an income independent of the national budget, and continued to regulate private radio broadcasting in the country.

The Second World War brought changes to the CBC, as it changed many other things in Canada. First to emerge was the idea of an overseas radio service the aim of which would be to inform Canadian troops serving in Britain and elsewhere of events in Canada. By 1941 the CBC had its own News Service broadcast over short-waves overseas, which became known for its impartiality. Next came the suggestion that there should be a multi-lingual news service for the numerous immigrant groups in Canada to be informed of the progress of the war as well as to counteract extremist (mainly leftist) propaganda. At first such a service functioned only for the printed media — and not through the CBC but within the newly created Nationalities Section of the Department of National War Services.[3] Also during the war the consensus emerged that Canada needed a radio service to publicize the Canadian point of view to the world. Out of these concerns arose, at the end of the war, a multilingual international service, sponsored jointly by the CBC and the federal government. This service later became Radio Canada International (RCI).

The first couple of years were taken up with such basic issues as where to locate the studios and transmitting facilities. It took about two and a half years to set up the studios in downtown Montreal and the transmitters at Sackville, New Brunswick. Montreal, being already a cosmopolitan city, seemed to an ideal location since the CBC there had an extensive production facility and plenty of available broadcasters who could handle several languages. By the end of 1944 everything was ready for test broadcasts to Europe. During the next two months a small but regular audience of Canadian troops still overseas and European listeners developed. Following these successful tests it was announced that the CBC International Service would go on air with its first real broadcast on February 25, 1945. And it did.[4]

At first Canada's voice was heard in three languages: English French and German. All transmissions were targeted to Great Britain and Western Europe providing a total of six hours of daily programming. By 1946 the International Service had expanded to include regular transmissions in Czech and Dutch.[5] Beginning of July of the same year a special once-a-week program was broadcast to Scandinavia in Swedish and Danish and later in Norwegian as well. In November, daily broadcasts started to the Caribbean region in English. Sunday night programs were added aimed at Cuba, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador in Spanish and to Brazil in Portuguese. Daily transmissions in Spanish and Portuguese began on July 6, 1947.[6]

The International Service became involved with the newly-formed United Nations. As one of only a handful of international broadcasters at that time, the International Service was asked to provide transmission facilities for daily UN broadcasts. These programs were produced at the UN radio facility at Lake Success, NY in the USA and fed by phone lines to Sackville, New Brunswick. These transmissions continued until November 29, 1952 when they were transferred to larger short wave facilities run by the Voice of America.[7]

RCI's English service to Australia and New Zealand began in mid-1947. Italian programming started in January 1949 while a once-a-week service in Finnish began in December 1950. With the onset of the Cold War, the Russian Service was established in January 1951, followed in September 1952 by the Ukrainian and a year later by the Polish Service.

By May 1953 the "Voice of Canada" was heard in 15 different languages daily on short wave practically all over the world. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation International Service as it was called then, beamed programs to Europe, Latin America, the Caribbean region, and

also to the South Pacific: Australia and New Zealand. It had special transmissions for the Canadian Armed Forces stationed in Korea and Europe at the time.[8]

With the mandate to "inform the world about Canadian life and culture" Canada's Voice was a great source of other valuable information. It provided uncensored news, comments and reports in native languages for those listeners behind the Iron Curtain who otherwise had no other sources to vital information. For Central and Eastern European listeners this was the most important aspect of the Canadian short wave programming.

The Hungarian Service: Program Format and Content Highlights

Radio Canada International added the Hungarian service to its line-up in 1956 in the wake of the Hungarian uprising and freedom fight. "Itt a Kanadai Rádió Montreálból" ("Here is Radio Canada from Montreal") was heard the first time on November 12, 1956. It was a 10 minute long newscast inserted into the Polish program broadcast twice a day, five days a week. In the beginning there were no transmissions in Hungarian on weekends. Within weeks, however, a full-fledged Hungarian Service was inaugurated with its own 15 minutes-long daily broadcast. This was increased to a 30 minutes-long daily broadcast in the fall of 1976 and stayed that way until its termination in 1991.

During its existence the set-up of the Hungarian program followed RCI's guidelines coupled with liberty of artistic, political or religious adaptation to target area needs. The program was divided into three blocks of equal length. Five minutes each in case of 15 minutes-long broadcasts although the political segment actually added up to about 10 minutes daily. Subsequently this was upgraded to 10 minutes each when the broadcast length was raised to 30 minutes daily. By general classification it can be said that the content covered only two topics: political events and magazine type items related to any other subjects than the daily political arena.

The program always began with a centrally provided newscast followed by commentaries and press reviews picked up from different Canadian newspapers also made available centrally by RCI's own Newsroom. They were adapted and translated into Hungarian daily. The choice was always at the discretion of the producer providing translation to this program segment. For many years Mr. Imre (James) Végh was doing this with great passion. Later this workload was divided more or less equally

between all the staff members in spite of some protests by the male colleagues. Eventually the female team proved able to deal with political subject matters just as successfully.

A colourful magazine followed the daily news and political events. At first due to a shorter broadcast time this program segment was only 5 minutes long but it was still full of information on business sports cultural and religious news and events. Some associated with Hungarians living in Canada, some connected to purely Canadian events home or abroad. In spite of its short duration there were interviews with prominent Hungarian-Canadians or visiting Hungarians from abroad. Later bilingual interviews with important Canadian artists, musicians and politicians also appeared in the program.

To mention a few major events such as Canada's centennial year festivities Expo 67, the 1976 Olympic games in Montreal, or the Commonwealth games in Winnipeg and Edmonton. Pope John-Paul II's first cross-country visit to Canada was extensively covered. So much so that a copy of related documents were requested by the Catholic Church and sent to Hungary. Cardinal Mindszenty's visit to Canada was also reported in detail but no one had asked for that coverage as far as we know. Canadian universities requested other programs and some of the major productions of RCI's Hungarian Service were deposited in key Hungarian, French and Canadian archives.

Listeners especially liked programs related to Canadian history with Hungarian links. And there were some... Beside Hungarian connections to the discovery of Canada the East Coast provided many stories of ghost ships and famous treasure hunts although not necessarily related to anything Hungarian.

Among those was the story of a mysterious woman from "Hungarian Land" Roza Braun who gave up the secret location of a gold field in Ontario to Harry Oaks. Or the story of the famous Houdini whose roots were in Hungary and a museum is dedicated to him in the province of Ontario at Niagara Falls. Then there was Blondin the ropewalker that biked over the Niagara Falls on a rope. He also visited Hungary and did the same over the Danube between Buda and the Marguerite's Island but there with Barocala on his back. Blondin founded the Városligeti Cirkusz (Circus of Városliget) in Budapest as aptly described by co-author Iván (Ivan) Fehérdy in the *Canadian Travelogue* (Kanadai útikönyv) published by Panorama in Hungary in 1985.

There were recording tours to the West coast the Canadian Prairies and the Northern regions of the country where native Canadians the

Indians and Inuit live. This is the land of the Midnight Sun the Aurora Borealis and also the great Klondike gold rush of 1896. Many programs resulted from several visits to the northern regions of Canada. There were interviews with Hungarians living in the Yukon Territories. Among them was a gold miner — did very well financially I might add — a restaurant owner and a copper miner turned lumberjack. The list is too long to mention all. These were unique experiences not only for the listeners but also for the reporters.

The history of the Canadian Prairies has numerous Hungarian connections. Hungarians who worked the land and made the region prosper settled the area of Esterhazy (Saskatchewan) in the 1880s where the Kaposvár settlement was located. The descendents of those settlers — if speaking Hungarian at all — still have the original accent of their ancestors' homeland. Visits to the area resulted in a number of popular programs and documentaries.

Alberta, the "land of the cowboys" and oil fields and the Rocky Mountains, and the province of British Columbia provided many interesting subjects from animal husbandry and the oil industry to commercial fishing at the lush Pacific shoreline and the natural beauty of the Rockies. On those trips there were some unexpected revelations like the dry sandy cacti growing region the abandoned gold mines and ghost towns on the eastern slopes of the Coastal Range in British Columbia and the related stories from famous treasure hunters and infamous ghosts of the West.

There were extensive live reports from Expo 86 that commemorated the city of Vancouver's centennial. The main theme of that world exposition was "World in Motion, World in Touch". It also featured the next-to-last appearance at a world's fair by the Soviet Union. It was also the last world's fair in North America to date and proudly showed to the world that such an event could still be financially viable on the North American continent.

By the nature of the beast the short wave medium is not associated with music. Regardless the Hungarian broadcast always featured some music in the daily broadcast. At times to illustrate a punch line or underline a point or the musical piece had some kind of Hungarian connection. Such was the case of jazz guitarist Gábor (Gabriel) Szabó or Joe Murányi, member of Louis Armstrong's band.

Celebrated Hungarian classical musicians and conductors working in North America and such Hungarian-Canadians as Márta (Martha) Hidy conductor or Zsuzsa (Susan) Reményi harpist were featured on the Hungarian program often. One of the highlights among many was the cere-

mony of Zoltán Kodály receiving an honorary doctorate at the University of Toronto followed by a concert of Kodály's *Missa Brevis* performed by the Canadian organist of the University.

Famous Canadian composers and musicians were also presented in the Hungarian broadcast. To mention only one related tidbit is that Oscar Peterson the world-renown jazz pianist studied the "Liszt style" from professor Pál (Paul) Márki at the Université de Montréal.

The list of all the interviewees would be too long for a short presentation especially that every staff member had his or her favourites. Hence is my asking for my former colleagues forgiveness to mention only a randomly picked few. Suffice to say every strata of the Canadian society were represented from the simplest corner newspaper vendor to the most highly educated and decorated ones.

Among so many interesting encounters perhaps the most memorable were with Cardinal József (Joseph) Mindszenty, anthropologist Gyula (Julius) László, world renown humorist György (George) Mikes, writer Ephraim Kishon, the Hungarian-born successful Canadian publisher Anna Porter, composer Jenő (Eugene) Horváth, football star Ferenc (Francis) Puskás and Jenő (Eugene) Tihanyi trainer of Olympic gold medallist swimmer Alex Baumann.

Sports-related news and reports were regularly broadcast in Hungarian. Among them was the extensive coverage of the 1976 Olympic summer games in Montreal and the 1980 Olympic winter games at Lake Placid, N.Y. the Olympic winter games in Calgary and the British Commonwealth Games in Winnipeg and later in Edmonton. Our sport reporter Mr. Károly (Charles) Hlatky unexpectedly met Prince Philip at the Edmonton games and had a chance to exchange greetings when the Prince visited our studio. These were truly the golden days of glory of sport broadcasts at RCI's Hungarian Section.

There were many other programs. Again, it is just impossible to mention them all. Without exception they were all close to the heart of the reporters or producers in one-way or another. Some were easy to do others needed delicate approach but the staff always rose to the daily challenges.

Target Audience and Milestones

The Hungarian program reached not only its target area Hungary but also the Hungarian minorities of the Carpathian Basin in neighbouring Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Subcarpathia, once a part of the for-

mer Soviet Union, now part of Ukraine. As audience mail revealed Hungarians residing in Western Europe, Israel, Latin America and Australia also listened regularly. At the same time there was a large audience in Canada and the United States.

In the early 1960s interest in Canada was growing leaps and bounds especially that a great number of listeners had family ties in Canada. Although the RCI's Hungarian broadcasts were "never jammed,"[9] only regularly monitored there was a time when Hungary's communist government banned personal contacts between its citizens and their friends and relatives living in Western countries. As time passed this ban became obsolete and by necessity gave way to a more open society.

Canadian experiences of modern production lines were regularly reported in the Hungarian language program. At the time this business angle generated interests in higher Hungarian political circles in regards to the new economic system being set up in the middle of 1960s. Hence foreign experiences and personal contacts deemed to be useful again.

The audience mail clearly confirmed this political change. While in 1963 there were only 50 letters from our main target area, two years later this reached 800; but it increased to 1,000 following the events of the Prague Spring of 1968.[10]

A statistical breakdown of the audience mail shows that all levels of society were involved but students and the over fifty generation were most prominent in numbers. This is somewhat related to parents listening on behalf of their children occupying key positions in Hungary needing regular information on Canada for it was still not really politically correct to listen by themselves.

In the 1980s Cold War seemed on its way out and Détente was the order of the day. As a result the RCI's Hungarian Section became a revolving door by having more direct contacts with visiting listeners from Hungary due to Expo 67 the 1976 Olympic games, as well as Canadians returning from trips to Hungary or the neighbouring areas. This brought in some interesting intelligence from behind the Iron Curtain and widened our own knowledge on many levels.

In view of growing Canadian trade relations with Eastern European countries the Hungarian broadcast regularly presented new Canadian products, publicized Canada's participation at International Book and Trade Fairs — in Budapest, Zagreb, and Brno — to name only a few. We presented important Canadian exhibitors. Among them was the famous Bombardier of Montreal, Balthes Farm Equipment of Ontario, Sicard Co. from Quebec, and MacPhar Geophysics of Ontario. According to reliable

feedbacks visitors flocked to the different Canadian exhibits following our broadcast presentations.

At that time the CBC was still the main source of information for Hungarians for the Canadian ambassador to Hungary was based in Prague. Thus Hungarians avoided direct contact with the small embassy personnel in Budapest. This resulted in a large number of requests for documentation on Canadian products. As trade relations between the two countries increased from $3 million in 1969 to 7 million dollars in 1970 while import from Hungary represented $9 million the same year the demand for product information grew accordingly.

In the 1980s RCI's Hungarian Section also provided assistance and documentation to visiting producers from Hungarian Radio and Television and to visiting Hungarian journalists. The Section regularly contributed key information and live programs on Hungarian subjects to the Canadian English and French Radio and Television networks and helped to organize interviews with visiting prominent Hungarians.

The first shipment of program exchange with the Hungarian Radio was dispatched in 1965. The Hungarian Radio called it a "gift program" from Canada. In the summer of 1966 the section head Mr. János (Jean) Mezei officially visited Hungary. The Department of External Affairs, the budgetary authority of the International Service at that time, approved his trip. Mr. Mezei discussed the problems of program exchange with the Hungarian Radio and TV authorities. They showed great interest in broadcasting more Canadian programs although not necessarily those made by the Hungarian Section. Nevertheless during the Centennial and Expo years the Hungarian Section sent 41 items of spoken word and music programs and also 20 segments for TV transmission.

One of the most important contributions provided a major input into a 2-1/2 hour program on Hungarian Radio. That included, among others, English and French Canadian poems translated by Hungary's best poets. "With this broadcast we wanted to underline the importance of the opening of Expo and our good relations with Canada" wrote Mrs. Szarka, head of Foreign Relations at the Hungarian Radio at the time. Every July 1st the Hungarian Radio broadcast a special Canada Day program prepared by RCI's Hungarian Section since 1966. The closure of the Hungarian Service most likely negatively influenced this tribute.

From 1968 on, a regular monthly musical program prepared by Mr. Károly (Charles) Hlatky was sent to Radio Budapest at their request. Many of these exchange programs were supplemented by printed documentation related to the subjects. The Hungarian Radio always recip-

rocated our shipments with contributions to the Canadian national English and French Radio network programming – in 1969 the CBC dispatched 38 hours of recorded music to Budapest while Hungary sent back 103 hours of music.

Some of RCI's major Hungarian programs to name only a few such as the one on Marius Barbeau's Canadian folk music, the first Hungarian settlements of the Canadian Prairies, or Zoltán Kodály's visit to Toronto, and others were deposited by the Hungarian Radio into the Archives of the Hungarian National Museum.

This trend continued well into the 1970s and 1980s. Family ties and such major events as the 1976 summer Olympic games in Montreal were still the most important factors in steadying our target area listeners. A five and a half hour Canadian program on Hungarian TV also generated interest in RCI's Hungarian broadcast. In spite of the wind of change short wave was still the only means to reach people in far away corners of the Carpathian Basin with unbiased news.

By now the initial daily 15 minutes program was expanded to 30 minutes. It was still the same format of a news line up, commentaries and press reviews coupled with features often in form of interviews gathered during recording tours all over the country. The newly created 30 minutes-long broadcast in 1976 although kept the same format lent itself to more details in every program segment. This was also the time when the International Service of CBC officially became Radio Canada International to distinguish between national and international radio services.

The program exchange with the Hungarian broadcasting agency continued as did the reporting and publicizing Canadian participation at different world fairs; trade shows, cultural and scientific or religious events. Providing support to visiting Hungarian professionals and dignitaries also continued.

By this time institutions in charge of Canadian-Hungarian cultural and trade relations in both countries often turned to the Hungarian Service for assistance. At times the Hungarian Section was called to render translation services for visiting Hungarian TV and radio delegations and the author was delegated to do simultaneous translations on several occasions in English and French. Among the services many were related to Place des Arts' musical programming and the Montreal International Film Festival. There was always a strong Hungarian participation at these major Canadian venues and events.

Canadian universities used some of the Hungarian Section's major documentaries in their Social Studies curriculum while Ottawa's Museum

of Man and the Musée de l'Homme de Paris, France also became depositories of RCI's most relevant Hungarian programs.

During the last 15 years of its existence the Hungarian Service also had its ups and downs, just as the RCI did. While the broadcast time was expanded to 30 minutes daily, the RCI faced financial uncertainties due to the recession. In spite of this it was the "golden era" under the directorship of Betty Zimmerman (1923–2009).

The Coming of the End

In January 1989 the dynamics of the program were radically changed under Mr. Andrew Simon's directorship. The Hungarian-born Simon, a forceful character, by his own admission was kind of a trouble-shooter,[11] a broadcast repairman but at RCI there was little need for fixing. Nevertheless in the short-lived Simon era all RCI programs became fast-paced and animated due to more live reporting and much shorter interviews and magazine segments than before.

Other than that Mr. Simon's short rule was full of crises — mostly self-created ones. He was definitely "problem-prone."[12] Although his intentions were good, he did not get far with them. Nevertheless the commotion he created resulted in a negative and stressful working environment for all employees at RCI.

The collapse of Communism in 1989 led to dramatic political and economic transformations in Central and Eastern Europe and shook international broadcasting to the core. By now the RCI's days were numbered again — although for different reasons. The wind of political change blew RCI into a debate about the changed role of international radio broadcasts by smartly initiating in 1990 a decade of biennial conferences "Challenges for International Broadcasting". Six volumes of proceedings published in partnership with several Canadian universities between 1991 and 2001 provided a dynamic record of the industry's evolution during these crucial years.

Amidst of an already brewing financial turmoil the RCI started broadcasting in Arabic in 1990 as a response to the first Gulf War. Later in the same year the agency faced its toughest financial challenge. With the Canadian economy in recession the federal Conservative government made sweeping cuts to all its departments and RCI faced the serious possibility of termination.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the eventual reunification of Germany were factors in External Affairs' decision to postpone an earlier plan of closing the German Section. As the last drop into the proverbial cup Mr. Andrew Simon inadvertently created an embarrassment for then External Affairs Minister Joe Clark by his insistence on unusual alternate funding — one that never materialized. This affair resulted in the elimination not only of the German but also of the majority of RCI's other language sections, Hungarian included.

In the whole process what was perhaps the most upsetting was Mr. Simon's behaviour towards the Hungarian Section: he offered it practically on a plate as one of the first candidates for elimination.[13] At that moment the Hungarian staff became totally devastated. Morally the members of the Hungarian Section expected much more from a fellow countryman.

Unfortunately during its entire existence Radio Canada International was always in the middle of a financial tug-of-war between the Department of External Affairs and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In the end, the federal government placed RCI again under the exclusive aegis of External Affairs — with funding being allocated for a period of five years. The amount was significantly less than previous grants and Canada's international voice was almost silenced. Not so long ago it had survived yet another financial crisis thus the Voice of Canada remains at least for the time being.

Conclusions

We all experienced the revolution of 1956 differently depending on age and personal involvement. To some it was a life and death defining moment, for others it was a scary event underlined by a staccato of periodic gunfire. For most Hungarians it was a milestone, a short-lived total freedom for a few weeks, a bloody but bittersweet experience. The population was divided into two factions: those who would never leave the country in spite of the real possibility of grave reprisal and punishment, and those who choose freedom and the world at large. Those who left found a new home in their chosen country all over the world, Canada included.

For better or worse, the Hungarian refugees had to re-establish themselves and adopt a totally new lifestyle unknown to them until then. In spite of language difficulties most made it good in the new land. Slowly

but surely they prospered and contributed greatly to the economy and culture of their new country as the refugees became full-fledged citizens and melted into the social and economical fabric of their new homeland.

The beginning of the end for Canada's Hungarian Voice was those incredibly exciting events of 1989 when the Communist regimes crumbled and disintegrated one after the other in Europe. After that historical moment it took only two short years for the RCI's Hungarian Language Service to disappear. During this time however the Hungarian Voice of Radio Canada International significantly contributed to the development of democracy in Hungary by conveying its Canadian model to Hungarians.

The Hungarian Section existed for 35 years in glory where the employees had unconditional trust and faith coupled with unlimited creative powers as defined by RCI's mandate and guidelines. During its entire history Canada's Hungarian Voice was always credible. It was specifically Canadian, representing Canadian interests and not serving any émigré or other political causes.

We can all be proud of the Hungarian Language Service's accomplishments. It grew up, became a strong and successful Voice although — in my opinion — it came to its end prematurely. Still it provided important and at times vital information for 35 years!

It was a great privilege to work for RCI. To work day in day out in one's mother tongue to inform Hungarians living everywhere from Europe to Australia, Latin America and Asia was a very satisfying experience. I truly feel blessed to have worked with our small crew of usually four people and an ever-changing number of outside contributors. Thank you all for the great experience.

Unfortunately even in-house publications barely mention RCI's Hungarian language service. If they do it is in regards to the first broadcast of 1956, and the last one in the spring of 1991, but nothing in between. This Final Report should fill the gap.

Perhaps the gap is there because we dealt with our differences privately and discretely. There were no scandals and juicy stories to remind colleagues and management of our existence, even after we were long gone. We didn't have spies among us and didn't make self-serving political waves. We simply registered moments in time for posterity.

Like "minstrels" of the 20th century as broadcasters of our modern era we faithfully recorded and communicated in Hungarian what happened between 1956 and 1991. We provided vital information, Canadian style. RCI's Hungarian programs were about as much of political happenings as people — their lives, their struggles, sorrows and happiness — as integral

part of the political, cultural and religious fabric of Canada. Too bad it had to end most prematurely.

NOTES

I would like to thank Elzbieta Olechowska, former Manager of the RCI's Central and East European Section, for providing assistance with the research for this account of the history of the RCI's Hungarian Section. My thanks also go to Mr. Bill Westenhaver at RCI's Audience Relations for his gracious help by providing important resource material. Also, many thanks to Mr. Jean Mezei and Mr. Charles Hlatky for their time and help with important details. Hopefully future generations will appreciate and acknowledge not only our collective hard work as a labour of love but also as a historical depiction of those 35 fateful years between 1956 and 1991.

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Hungarian Studies Association of Canada Toronto, Ontario, in May, 2006. Later it appeared in the Association's Lectures and Papers series.

[1] John Herd Thompson with Allen Seager, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), 299.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[3] N.F. Dreisziger. "The Rise of a Bureaucracy for Multiculturalism: The Origins of the Nationalities Branch, 1939-1941," in *On Guard for Three: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945,* ed. Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan and Lubomyr Luciuk (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988), 1-29.

[4] Andrew K. Finnie, *Radio Canada International 51st Anniversary 1945-1996; Canada's International Voice for 51 years* (Montreal: RCI, 1996).

[5] Arthur Siegel, *Radio Canada International: History and Development* (Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 1996), 68.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[7] Finnie, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Jean Mezei, *Highlights 15 Years of the Hungarian Section, Radio Canada International* (Montreal, 1971).

[10] Jånos (Jean) Mezei, *Twenty Years of the Hungarian Section of Radio Canada International* (Montreal, 1976), 3.

[11] Siegel, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

[12] *Ibid.*, 74.

[13] Minutes of the first staff meeting concerning the possibility of elimination in early 1991.

Appendix

Notes on the Staff and Free-Lancers of the RCI's Hungarian Section

János (Jean) Mezei was the Hungarian Service's first member and head who actually set up the section and organized its program. He was asked to do it on November 11, 1956 by Charles Delafield, director of the International Service. At that time Mezei was working for the Canadian government at the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. At first he was on loan to RCI from November 11 1956 to January 1, 1957 when he was formally released from his duties to continue to work for the International Service.

Mezei single-handedly organized and set up the Hungarian Section in 1956. The Hungarian Voice of Canada went on air first on November 12, 1956. For a time he was a one-man-show and carried on for almost three decades as section head. He very much liked simple stories, stories close to the listeners' heart. At the same time he was not a stranger to the political aspects of the work and recorded interesting conversations with all kinds of people. His name is forever stamped on some major documentaries of the Hungarian Section. After almost three decades he was promoted and moved over to the French Radio Services of the CBC's national network. Eventually he retired and lives in the Montreal area.

Edit (Edith) Kovács was the Hungarian Section's first female reporter who also did some secretarial work then moved on as a newspaper journalist to the field of the written press. Years later she was diagnosed with lung cancer and she died in Montreal.

Less than a year after the Hungarian Section's establishment Imre (James) Végh joined it. He was hired in September 1957. Originally he was a journalist with his own Hungarian newspaper in the province of Ontario. As a former military man he was the political pillar of the Hungarian Section for many years. He edited the news commentaries and press reviews with great passion. At times he wrote other stories and did inter-

views but he rarely touched sports and never handled music. Following Mr. Mezei's departure he became head of the section. He retired from this position in 1985 but he stayed active and worked for the Canadian government as a free-lance interpreter. He also published a book, *Magyar otthon: Foyer Hongrois* (Montreal: Transatlantic Kiadó, 1992) that tells the story of Montreal's seven-story Hungarian seniors' residence. Végh's life was cut short by lung cancer; he passed away in 1996.

Mr. Károly Hlatky became member of the Hungarian Section in 1962. With his journalistic background he did excellent work especially in the field of music and sports. His program segments and varied interviews were always as amusing as serious as the need dictated. His unique flair made him an all time popular communicator with the staff and listeners alike. He also regularly produced exchange programs for the Hungarian Radio and produced and co-produced some of the Hungarian Section's major documentaries. During his long and successful career with RCI Mr. Hlatky also invented and taught a "how to" seminar about magazine type programming for RCI's in-house producers. For a time he was heading not only the Hungarian but also RCI's Polish Section. He retired from RCI in 1987, edited and published a book (*A halál közelében, Hlatky Endre naplója, 1944. október 16 – 1945. május 2* [Budapest – Montreal, 2003]) and lives in Montreal.

Zsuzsi (Susan) Stano followed Edit (Edith) Kovács as the Hungarian Section's first real administrative secretary in 1966. Susan's great gift of communication made many friends for the Hungarian Section all over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Ms. Stano remained with the Hungarian service for about ten years. In 1976, just before the Olympics, she moved over to RCI's Commentary and Script Department, then to the Newsroom. Eventually Ms Stano ended up being the administrative secretary of the Central and Eastern European Section. Following the 1991 cuts she worked for CBC's Canadian Armed Forces broadcast unit (abolished in 1998) as production assistant. From this position she returned to RCI and as a production assistant to care for two years of the Mailbag program targeted to Africa and Asia. She retired in 1997. She lives in Montreal.

Veronika (Veronica) Bognár Ludmer was hired in the fall of 1976 following the program increase to 30 minutes daily. Ms. Bognár was employed as secretary and production assistant. Eventually she became a full-fledged announcer-producer. She produced interesting entertainment stories and had a great knack for interviews. She went to work for the Voice of America and moved to Washington, D.C. in the summer of 1985. Cancer also cut Veronika's life short — she died in 2000.

Judit (Judith) Galántha Hermann, a former announcer of the Hungarian State Radio and author of this paper, joined the Hungarian Section in 1976. She very much enjoyed the travel aspect of the job and meeting people. She always brought in not only interviews but also impressions of the visited regions. These stories were favourites with all. Her programs were always illustrated by local musical talents, anecdotes and other amusing or important information conveyed often in form of bilingual interviews. She was just as interested in working with the news and local national and international political cultural or business events. Following Mr. Hlatky's retirement in 1987 she became head of the Hungarian Section and held that position until the very end. She had the dubious honour of saying the final good-by to the listeners on the fateful day of March 22, 1991. A few months later Radio Free Europe's Hungarian Service hired her as a free-lance contributor on Canadian affairs. She worked for them for two years until the closure of the Hungarian Section at RFE. Not long after she became a contributor to the *Encyclopeadia Hungarica*. She is also contributor-translator to the *Encyclopaedia Hungarica* (the English edition) and chief translation contributor to the *World Hungarian Encyclopedia*. She is member and former president of the Hungarian Studies Association of Canada. Her 21-year-long research about Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, the founder of modern Tibetology, led her on important field trips all over Asia and to international recognition. She lives in the greater Montreal area.

János (John) Szanyi joined the Hungarian Section at first for a short period of time in 1976 as a production assistant. In the summer of 1977 he was re-hired as an announcer-producer-summer relief. In time he became a permanent employee and worked as an announcer producer until the closing of the section. Sports, political- and business-related features and such cultural happenings as music and film festivals were Mr. Szanyi's main fields of interests. He is a distinguished playwright. His film script of "Revolution's Orphans" was nominated for Gene Award (1980) as "Outstanding Screen Play". He published several dramas, among them "Szigizmund és Kunigunda (Sigismund and Kunigunde) "Balassi Concerto" and "Nincs új a hold alatt" (There is nothing new under the moon). He is still with the CBC French TV network. For a period he was very much involved with the Hungarian civilization and language courses offered at different times by different departments of McGill University. He lives in the greater Montreal area.

Gábor (Gabriel) Méhes was hired when Mr. Végh retired in 1985. His preference was also the political arena but he successfully dealt with

other type of stories too. He authored and co-authored several scholarly books and studies mostly in the field of psychology and sociology. After the closure of RCI's Hungarian Section he left broadcasting but still lives in the Montreal area.

Judit (Judith) Jobbágy (nee Szántó) got her broadcasting experience at the Hungarian State Radio in Budapest where she was working as an announcer. She was hired by RCI in 1986 and came from Toronto in view of the anticipated retirement of Mr. Hlatky in 1987. Ms. Jobbágy was quite versatile and a good interviewer. Subsequently she moved to Washington, D.C. to work for the Voice of America. Following the closure of VOA's Hungarian Section apparently she returned to Hungary.

RCI' Hungarian Section was lucky to have had a large number of contributors on a free-lance basis and could heavily rely on those professionals from practically all over Canada. The number of contributors fluctuated from the beginning. Some worked more than others and they were always generously remunerated. Usually they were commissioned to do reports and interviews but at times they came up with their stories and reports on their own. There was always a close relationship between the Hungarian Section and its free-lance staff.

To cover an enormous-size country such as Canada free-lance contributors were very much needed. There were several reporters in British Columbia. The first one among them was József (Joseph) Sallós, former conductor of the Hungarian Choir in Vancouver. Mr. Sallós steadily provided interesting stories and interviews for many years. Starting with 1988, the talented Vancouverite Györgyi (Georgina) Hegedős — a former Hungarian actress, singer and choreographer, Gene Award nominee (1983) and successful author — provided over 300 witty reports from the West Coast. Thanks to her artistic talents even the dullest subject became an entertaining story.

From Alberta there was Tom Kennedy (Tamás Keresztes) an all time favourite contributor with the listeners and staff alike. For years he covered every interesting event possible, especially the world-renown Calgary Stampede and the 1988 Calgary Olympic winter games. He also worked hard to convey even the heaviest oil industry related subjects in a light-hearted way. Due to his strong Hungarian accent at times he was downright funny but credible, always in an amusing way. He was a professional through and through — a great communicator. He moved back to Hungary some years ago but his life was cut short by a road accident in 2005.

Winnipeg, with a relatively large Hungarian population, supplied only one contributor — and that only for a short period of time. Unfortunately his name is forgotten by now. He distinguished himself with one tape only that featured the voice of the late Professor Watson Kirkconnel, a well-known English translator of Hungarian poems.

The province of Ontario provided a number of contributors among them Andor Sima who reported from Ottawa. For many years Magda Zalán was most prolific. She lived in Toronto. Ms. Zalán was most interested in literature, theatre and the entertainment industry in general. Her interviews were so popular with listeners that they wrote praises among others from Brazil and Israel. Later Ms. Zalán moved to Washington D.C. and worked for the Voice of America for years. Now she lives in Hungary.

Zoltán Böszörményi was a former local broadcaster in Toronto. He worked for RCI's Hungarian Section as a contributor from that great Canadian city. Originally he was from Romania's Transylvanian region where he tried to establish himself as a writer and published short stories in Transylvanian newspapers. His first book of poems was published there in 1979 followed by another one in 1981. In 1991 he produced a third volume of his poems. Mr. Böszörményi had wide interests and was always eager, enthusiastic and diligent about the work at hand. His reports and interviews were fast paced and so much to the point that his reports rarely needed adjustment. After the closure of the Hungarian Section, Zoltán left broadcasting altogether and became a savvy businessman. Today Mr. Böszörményi is a true citizen of the world with homes in Romania, Hungary, Monaco and Canada. He still keeps in touch with some former members of RCI's Hungarian Section.

Mária (Maria) Papp worked as a contributor only for a short period of time. Her reports and interviews covered mostly the Hamilton area of the province of Ontario. One Christmas we got into hot water with some listeners because she used a communist-era expression for Santa Claus by calling him Father Winter and this gave a great boost to our audience mail... From 1991 on she studied theology and became a Protestant minister in the St. Catherines, Ontario area where she settled.

Péter (Peter) Sipos is a successful composer, arranger, bandleader and music producer. From 1981 he regularly contributed for about five years to our weekly musical program. He was the Hungarian Section's music man. Since his arrival to Canada Péter was always deeply involved with the Montreal Jewish community's musical events as a composer, musical director, arranger, conductor or producer. Celine Dion picked up one of his songs "Pour Vous". He produced and orchestrated the world-

renown mezzo soprano Julia Hamari's record "Mozart Rock". He composed underscores for stage plays and large scale Broadway style musicals. He still lives and works in Montreal.

Keeping with traditions RCI inserted a Romanian newscast into the Hungarian program for a brief period of time during the Romanian uprising of 1989. This segment was translated and read by Péter (Peter) Pusztai, a talented and successful graphic and photo artist originally from Transylvania who was our listener for many years before he became a Montrealer in 1982.

The Rev. Dr. Aladár Komjáthy was not on staff but a minister of the First Hungarian Reformed Church of Montreal. He was RCI's Hungarian Section's resident expert on religious topics. His regular contributions mostly related to important religious historical events in Canada but at times he reached into his own experiences as a minister dealing with a beautiful but often difficult job. His book *„A kitántorgott egyház"* [The church that staggered out] was published in 1984; it dealt with the history of the Hungarian Reformed church in America. Around the time of the Hungarian Section's closure he moved to the USA. He passed away in Pittsburgh, PA in 1998.

Iván (Ivan) Fehérdy was a local free-lance contributor in Montreal between 1980 and 1985. He mostly presented regional events related to history and culture often with a Hungarian underlining. Our listeners always enjoyed his descriptive style. He is still in Montreal.

László (Ladislas) Kemenes Géfin — educator, poet and essayist — was an infrequent literary contributor to RCI's Hungarian program in the 1980s. Born in Hungary, he came to Canada after the 1956 Revolution and settled in Montreal. He completed his university studies at the Loyola College and McGill University, where he earned his Ph.D. in 1979. He taught English and contemporary literature at various schools, including the Concordia University until his retirement. He has published poems, essays and articles in several periodicals in Western Europe, Canada and Hungary. He is co-editor of *Arkánum*, a periodical for avant-garde authors. Eventually he moved to the Netherlands.

Members of the Hungarian Section usually covered Eastern Canada. There were no local contributors due to the region's small Hungarian population. Even today only a handful of Hungarians live in Newfoundland and not too many more in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

Louise Fabrizzi was indirectly but almost on a daily basis in contact with the Hungarian staff. She was heading RCI's research department,

took care of staff participation in press conferences and got accreditations to major events. She always knew what was going on and where to look for specific information and how to go about it. Her contribution was always ready for our asking. Eventually she married a colleague, Imre Vegh, and retired from RCI. She lives in Montreal.

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Book Reviews:

Beginning Again and Again: Hungarians in Exile

Lee Congdon

Tibor Frank. *Double Exile: Migrations of Jewish-Hungarian Professionals through Germany to the United States, 1919-1945*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2009. Exile Studies, volume 7. 501 pages. Paperback. $85.95.

Kati Marton. *The Great Escape: Nine Jews Who Fled Hitler and Changed the World*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006. 271 pages. $27.00.

Exile is one of the master themes of the cultural/intellectual history of modern Europe, not least that of Hungary. There is no greater evidence of this than the experience of the "Great Generation," many of the members of which (b. 1875-1914) made international reputations after emigrating from Hungary; it is important to note at the outset that the majority of them were of Jewish origin. No one knows this better than Tibor Frank, Professor of History and Director of the School of English and American Studies at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. In this thoughtful and meticulously researched study, Frank presents Jewish-Hungarian emigrants "by way of *prosopography*, a vision of a group rather than just a series of personal biographies." (p. 13)

One of the most important facts about members of the group, as Frank points out, is that they were more Hungarian than Jewish. Perhaps it is because she chose the foreboding *Great Escape* as her title that Kati Marton, herself born in Hungary to assimilated Jews, refers to her Hungarian-born subjects as "Jews." Marton, who comes by journalism honestly — her parents Endre and Ilona worked for the AP and UPI respectively — writes engagingly about illustrious figures, virtually all of whom, by her own account, identified themselves as Hungarian. "We called ourselves 'Magyars,'" the Nobel-Prize winning physicist Eugene Wigner remembered, "and this word had magical

properties." (p. 35) The legendary photographer André Kertész, Marton writes, "regarded himself simply as Hungarian." (p. 50) He once told a young friend "if you want to understand me, you must read the poetry of [Endre] Ady," (p. 216) that most Magyar of Magyars. All nine of her subjects looked back on their pre-World-War-I lives in Budapest with nostalgia. "All that is treasured in my life," Kertész once declared, "had its source in Hungary." (p. 51)

There was, Frank observes, a "social and intellectual chemistry" (p. 14) in *fin de siècle* Budapest that brought the best out of a generation, even if it cannot account for the appearance of genius. After making a serious attempt to explain the large number of superior minds born in the same place at about the same time, Frank wisely concludes that Michael Polanyi, the distinguished scientist-philosopher of Jewish-Hungarian origin, was right when he observed that "the work of genius offers us a massive demonstration of a creativity which can never be explained in other terms." (cited on p. 433) Still, he is right to call attention to the energies of what, at the turn of the century, was the fastest growing metropolis in Europe.

Everywhere the people of Budapest looked, they could see new thoroughfares, new bridges spanning the Danube, and new edifices such as the splendid Opera House and imposing Parliament. They could take pride in the continent's first subway and share in the excitement generated by the modern culture taking shape in the city's democratizing coffeehouses and bustling editorial offices. Marton puts it this way: "The city of their youth, pulsing with energy and in love with the new, and however briefly, secure but not smug, marked them for life." (p. 7)

The fact that so many of the distinguished emigrants came from assimilated Jewish homes was itself of no little significance. Such homes placed a high value on culture and learning. Edward Teller's earliest memories of his mother, for example, were "intertwined with Beethoven's sonatas," and he himself was an accomplished pianist.[1] "Leo Szilard's elders," Marton reports, "created a perfect environment for raising exceptional children.... Leatherbound copies of Goethe, Schiller, and Heine filled his parents' library." (p. 37)

Frank stresses the shaping force of German culture and the German language, spoken in almost every Jewish-Hungarian home. Perhaps most important was the German influence on Budapest's *Gymnasia,* where the faculties were composed of teacher-scholars more than the equal of contemporary American university professors. The "Model" *Gymnasium,* founded by Mór Kármán, educated, among others, Theodore von Kármán (Mór's son),

Teller, and Polanyi. The "Lutheran" could boast of having prepared Wigner, the philosopher-literary critic Georg Lukács, and John von Neumann, the mathematical genius, formulator of game theory, and pioneer of computer science.

Not without reason, Frank stresses the mathematical and scientific education these unapologetically elitist schools offered, but such disciplines were always placed in a broader cultural context. Brilliant students such as Wigner, von Neumann, Polanyi, and Szilard were not trained as narrow specialists; in addition to their scientific studies they read widely in the classics and humanities. "For the rest of his life," Marton writes, "von Neumann could quote Thucydides in Greek, and Voltaire in French." (p. 42) Michael Polanyi made the transition from physical chemist to philosopher smoothly. Frank tells us that George Pólya, author of the pedagogical classic *How to Solve It*, "liked to show his erudition by quoting Socrates, Descartes, Leibniz, Kant, Herbert Spencer, Thomas Arnold, J.W. von Goethe." (p. 360n.)

Profound familiarity with German culture and, often, advanced study at German universities, made Germany the obvious destination when, after what Frank calls "the Hungarian Trauma" of 1918-1920 — the lost war, the Soviet Republic, the White Terror, the *Numerus Clausus* — many Jewish-Hungarians chose emigration. Polanyi and von Kármán had already established themselves in the Weimar Republic and helped to pave the way for others; "cohorting" and "networking" became of critical importance. Hungarians settled in more than one German city, but Berlin was the choice of most. During the 1920s, the German capital underwent an extensive Americanization that proved to be of benefit to resident Hungarians, especially those of Jewish origin. After Hitler's *Machtergreifung*, the latter set their sights on the United States.

For a number of understandable reasons, gaining entry into America was not, at the time, without its difficulties, but many Hungarians, especially those who could offer the New World useful expertise, succeeded. Because of their names or the fact that they were arriving from Germany, not a few Hungarians were mistaken for Germans, and Frank poses an interesting question: was it "their country of origin or that of their training that determined their national connection?" (p. 321) The importance of formative years would seem to tilt the scale in favor of the former.

Both Frank and Marton write at some length of Szilard, who conceived the idea of a nuclear chain reaction and, through Einstein, alerted President Roosevelt to the possibility of an atomic bomb — though he subsequently regretted having done so. Both praise him for his efforts to warn of

a nuclear holocaust and contrast them with the enthusiastic efforts of Teller and von Neumann to advance research toward the development of still more terrifying weapons of mass destruction. There were many reasons for their differences with Szilard, but a greater fear of communism was the most important. "*Darkness at Noon*," Teller wrote in his memoirs, "brought together and crystallized the objections to the methods of control used by Russian communism, which had been forming and accumulating in my mind for fifteen years." (Marton, p. 140) The author of that famous novel was, as everyone knows, Arthur Koestler, another of Marton's subjects.

That so many Hungarians played pivotal roles in America's World-War-II effort was a result, Frank maintains, of their proclivity for problem solving, which he attributes to an art of survival developed over centuries of political domination by foreign powers. That may or may not be so, but there is no doubt that an interest in and talent for solving problems is evident in the lives of many of his and Marton's subjects.

Kati Marton is primarily interested in telling a good story, and while there is nothing wrong with that, her book is less important than Frank's more searching and knowledgeable study. When she strays from the lives of her subjects to Hungarian (and European) history, she is out of her element. She thinks, for example, that Hungary was "fascist" throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Frank recognizes the essential decency of István Bethlen's government (1921-31) and writes that "it must be noted that from the late 1920s through 1938 [note that this includes the years that the national socialist Gyula Gömbös wielded power], Hungary proved a relatively peaceful haven, a quasi-tolerant island in Europe." (p. 327) The book to be read, then, is Frank's masterly account of a greatly gifted generation, most of the members of which had twice to begin their lives anew in foreign lands.

NOTE

[1] Edward Teller with Judith L. Shoolery, *Memoirs: A Twentieth-Century Journey in Science and Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Publishing, 2001), p. 6.

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Hungarian *Fin-de-Siècle* Woman Writers

Judit Kádár

Agatha Schwartz: Shifting Voices. Feminist Thought and Women's Writing in Fin-de-Siècle *Austria and Hungary*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. 277 pages. ISNB: 978-0-7735-3286-1. $80.00.

Owing to the efforts of the Canadian scholar Agatha Schwartz, the transparency of the wilderness of Eastern European feminist thinking has significantly grown. Her latest book helps trace the main fields of Austrian and Hungarian feminist theory and fiction at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. She divides the development of feminist thought in the two constitutional parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy into two phases or "waves" (roughly the 1880s and the 1900s). Schwartz surveys the main goals of the bourgeois women's movements in the two "very patriarchal societies" (p. 17) and using some, mainly Bakhtinian terms such as "internally persuasive discourse" and "heteroglossia" she illuminates the presence and shiftings of different approaches ("voices") of women writers to such questions as women's rights to higher education and economic independence, sexual happiness and their rejection of the moral double standard.

Schwartz's accomplishment is particularly remarkable as her investigation has been set back by the lack of (basic) research, especially with regard to Hungarian women writers. (In the ex-communist countries feminist research of the past started only in the 1990s.) However, the choice of the subtitle also might have hindered the scope of the investigation to some extent. No doubt, it is the cultural achievements of the *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, with names such as Sigmund Freud and Gustav Klimt, among others, that have been treasured in modern cultural history. However, the restriction of monitoring the years between the 1880s and the 1910s results in the neglect of the radically new political circumstances after WWI even though some oeuvres Schwartz analyzes belong to both the pre-war and the post-war period. Also the inclusion of the biography and works of some important authors from the 1920s-1930s could have better explained some shiftings of women's voices –

even if these uncertainties Schwartz carefully analyzes characterized the writings of the previous era. Maybe it would have been more fruitful to extend the period to the beginning of WWII as Sigrid Shmid-Bortenschlager and Hanna Schnedl-Bubeniček did in their *Österreichische Schriftellerinnen 1880-1938* who closed their bio-bibliography with the year of Austria's occupation by Nazi Germany which was followed by the outbreak of the war only a year later. Thus their periodization included the decades following the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, which did not put an end to feminist writing in either country, although it deeply affected some writers' thinking. (Surprisingly enough, the Austrian and Hungarian women's movements developed autonomously even under the fifty years of common government of the Dual Monarchy. As Schwartz points out, communication was restricted to "occasional reports on each other's activities and publications in their respective journals." (p. 16)

Auspiciously, Schwartz has transgressed the self-imposed *fin-de-siècle* time constraint occasionally; one of the Hungarian novels she found worth analyzing was published in 1923. Renée Erdős's *The Big Scream* indicates a certain change in the author's thinking that could have been more thoroughly understood if the readers had been aware of the post-war political and cultural atmosphere. At the beginning of her career in the 1900s, the young writer made a name for herself by her subversive poems in which the female counterpart of the Nietzschean "Overman," her (unmarried) "Overwoman" openly expressed female sexual desire. By the 1920s Erdős had rejected her bold poetry and in her novels she identified herself with the patriarchal standpoint of the Catholic Church. Although her orientation toward a conservative concept of women's role started already in the 1910s, it gained strength after WWI, in connection with the growing anti-Semitism in Hungary that blamed the Jews for the heavy (territorial) losses of the war. (Born in an orthodox Jewish family she even converted to the Catholic faith.) The words of the bishop in *The Big Scream* who warns the young, newly married female protagonist "that women's sexual thirst is unquenchable unless it is sated by a higher calling, namely, motherhood" (p. 179), represent one viewpoint among many in the heteroglot dialogues of the novel, as the Canadian scholar states. However, the fact that Erdős puts those words into the bishop's mouth has bearing on the understanding of one of Schwartz's most noticeable observations. According to her findings, some of the Austrian writers described self-seeking positive heroines who had taken into consideration self-realization before motherhood (e. g. Grete Meisel-Hess in her novel *Fanny Roth: Eine*

Jung-Frauengeschichte published in 1902). Meanwhile, in spite of their struggle for independence, the protagonists of the most popular Hungarian women writers finally got at childbirth as redemption in spite of their dissatisfaction with patriarchal society. (Maternity as solution seems to have become a dominant discourse in the novels published after the Great War.) In connection with this phenomenon Lola Réz Kosáryné's absence from the volume is regrettable, so much the more as after the publication of an essay on feminism in 1914 she became a highly acclaimed woman writer in her country between the two world wars, not irrespectively of her Catholicism. In her early essay she supported the educational and professional rights of women but in the same writing she emphasized that a woman's most important task is motherhood, and in her main work, a feminist historical novel tetralogy published during World War II, while reproving the oppression of women she maintained the idea that for the sake of children mothers should submit themselves to their husbands' patriarchal rule. Her feminism that was strongly influenced by her Catholic belief seems to contain the fundamental inconsistencies of feminist thinking in Hungary in the first half of the 20th century.

The strengthening of the position of the (always dominant) Catholic Church in post-war Hungary that had gradually lost its influence in Austria might also explain the relative lack of such topics as women's right to sexual happiness and lesbian relationships in Hungarian women's literature. These themes were present in the literature of the era (and not only in literature: the scandalous lawsuit of the leader of the conservative women's organization, the writer Cecile Tormay who had been accused of homosexuality got wide publicity in the 1920s), but women authors did not write about them as openly and directly as the Austrians, as Schwartz states in her book.

The biography of some Austrian writers Agatha Schwartz has included in her comparative study raises a peculiar problem: three of the Austrian feminist authors (Franziska von Kapff-Essenther, Maria Janitschek and Grete Meisel-Hess who certainly belonged to the radical wing of feminism) spent a considerable part of their life in Berlin, one of the intellectual centres of the contemporaneous world. The unquestionable influence of this progressive milieu renders it difficult to decide to what extent their achievements belong to (without them doubtlessly more conservative, less complex) Austrian feminism.

The book contains a "Bibliography of Hungarian *Fin-de-Siècle* Woman Writers" compiled by the author that lists some writers who wrote their main works following the First World War (e. g. Mária Berde, Mariska

Gárdos), however their inclusion in the appendix is more merit than fault. Agatha Schwartz's bibliography is the first such compilation made after WWII and with the whole book it will certainly prove to be a solid base for further study.

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The Shoah in Eastern Europe

Mark Pittaway

Tamás Krausz. *The Soviet and Hungarian Holocausts: A Comparative Essay*. Translated from the Hungarian by Thomas J. DeKornfeld and Helen D. Hiltabidle. CHSP Hungarian Authors Series No. 4, Social Science Monographs, Boulder CO. Pp.136 + ix. ISBN 0-88033-569-6.

For many years the historiography of the Holocaust in the west has centred on the German experience; over the past three decades questions of domestic responsibility in a number of western European states, from Austria to France, and from Italy to the Netherlands, have come to the fore. Yet the issue of the Holocaust in the territories where most Jews were murdered in the early 1940s, namely in contemporary Poland, and the western territories of the former Soviet Union, remains understudied. In some of the work that has been published in recent years by English-speaking historians this "wild east" has been represented as a unique zone of violence, a place where in view of its multi-ethnic (and anti-Semitic past) Nazi violence acted as a spark which ignited a maelstrom of ethnic violence that had been ready to explode. Such work seems to this reviewer too inspired by the post-war hegemony of nationalism studies within the academic, with its post-Yugoslav inspired stress on simplified notions of ethnic cleansing, which often serve to orientalise Central and Eastern European history to a degree which is unwarranted, often clashing with a rich tradition of social and cultural history of the region in earlier periods that suggests multi-ethnic societies were viable, and apparent "ethnic hatreds," even anti-Semitic ones were often contained. Furthermore, the anti-Communist climate of the 1990s — Arno J. Mayer's flawed attempt to raise the question of the links between anti-Communism and anti-Semitic strategies of extermination notwithstanding — has prevented many from answering questions about the political environment in which the Holocaust occurred.

Tamás Krausz's book is terser, better focussed and more historically precise than Meyer's. Its great strength is that it raises the same set of questions; questions which are difficult to confront in the current political climate in the region. Krausz is an outstanding intellectual historian of late imperial and early Soviet Marxism, and is Hungary's best historian of the twentieth-century Soviet Union. As a resident of Hungary, a country where the memory of the Holocaust domestically and its place in the country's twentieth century tragedy has formed a central plank in the "cold civil war" between left and right since 1989, the question of political context — the issue of the link between Communism, Nazism and genocide — is crucial to him. In order to unpick this political context and to inform us historically he focuses on the Holocaust as a question in the history of the Soviet Union, setting the events of the early 1940s in a longer *durée*, and considering them in the light of Soviet policies towards Zionism and Soviet Jews both before and after. He is at his most convincing in explaining why an anti-fascist state in the late wartime, and postwar years allowed anti-Semitism in Soviet society to persist by restricting discussion of the Holocaust, where such discussion would hinder the creation of a cohesive and unified Soviet citizenry.

There are two critical points that can be made about the book; one less important, and one more so. The first point to make is that this is an historical essay rather than a polished monograph, and should be regarded as a first word, and a stimulus to debate. Perhaps if he had produced a more polished monograph Krausz might have avoided unnecessary attacks on his ideas. The second point is that he does not perhaps state the links between anti-Communism and political anti-Semitism in the inter-war period that made anti-Semitism so poisonous and so dangerous to Jews in the former Soviet Union and East-Central Europe. As we know from discussion of the right-radical ideologies which stressed "Judeo-Bolshevism," and the close linkages between the extremist anti-Semitism of the Nazis and their desire to wipe the Soviet state from the face of the earth, these notions were closely connected. Furthermore, the anti-Communism of the 1950s, especially in Western Europe, aided the conspiracy of silence about the Holocaust. In an era in which western, liberal intellectuals have come to blame the left itself for the marginalization of the Shoah in cultural and political debate in the post-war years, making this point is today very urgent.

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Obituary

Mark Pittaway
1971-2010

Mark Pittaway, a native of Wakefield, England, was one of the best historians of 20th century Hungary of the generation that began to work after 1989. He died at the young age of 39. His studies dealing with the complexities of Hungarian society under Communist rule — one which went beyond the simplistic approaches provided by "totalitarianism" — coupled with his work on the Burgenland, especially his recent research on the history of National Socialism there, greatly increased our knowledge of the second part of the 20th century in Central Europe. Mark was also a great teacher, a thoughtful advisor, a brilliant organizer and an energetic contributor to the ongoing cultural and political discourse on Hungary. The shocking news of his untimely death came as a blow to a community of scholars and friends in Hungary, England, the United States, Canada, Germany, Austria, and other parts of the world. With so many of his colleagues and friends looking forward to hearing more about his newest research, and to discussing recent academic and political developments, his death overshadowed the 2010 National Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (formerly the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies) in Los Angeles. His generous spirit and thoughtful insights on a wide range of topics were definitely missed.

It might be that Mark's inclination for topics like the one chosen for his dissertation which focused on the conflicts between factory workers and the state in socialist Hungary had to do with his early experiences of the sharp class conflicts during the Thatcher years of the 1980s, especially in his native Yorkshire. But it would be an unfair and simplistic reduction of the immense

curiosity he showed for all kinds of topics in history, culture, society, and sports (not only for Leeds United!), if we would consider this his main source of motivation and interest. Mark wanted to understand the complexities of the relationship between the powerful and the powerless. The Hungarian working class of the 1950s and 1960s was a particularly interesting example because it was oppressed by people who claimed to represent the workers' state. His doctoral dissertation, soon be published by the Pittsburgh University Press under the title *The Workers' State: Industrial Labour and the Making of Socialist Hungary, 1944-1958*, also demonstrates how the communist party and state depended on the good-will of the workers, findings that are similar to research that has been done on East Germany and Poland. But what makes Mark's work especially noteworthy is that it didn't conceal the inconsistencies and inner conflicts of the working class, like, for example, the problem that male workers had with accepting new roles for female workers in the factory. His openness to cultural approaches to history, and his ability to relate these new insights to political and social history, is what makes his work, and in particular his book *Eastern Europe 1939-2000* (Arnold 2004), extremely valuable.

Next to his eye for the often-neglected struggles of ordinary people, his studies also made use of numerous local archives and collections that he often discovered. Mark had a rare ability to find materials in remote places. Like a gold miner who was also a goldsmith, Mark created precious things. This was particularly true of his last research project, which focused on National Socialism in the Burgenland province of occupied Austria. By using source materials untouched before, he explained to a spellbound audience at the AAASS conference in Boston in 2009 how the ethnic cleansing of Croats and Magyars was initiated by the local elites who resumed the struggles that their forefathers had fought for German cultural dominance in the region. This ground-breaking study on Nazism in Austria after the Anschluss was part of a larger, even more fascinating project that Mark was working on when he died. He had planned to study how changing patterns of governance-influenced cultural and political identities in the Austrian and Hungarian borderlands between 1938 and 1960. This project included local studies on both the Nazi movement and the Stalinist dictatorship, illustrating how their respective impact on the border region led to the strict division by the Iron Curtain. It is a tragedy that we will never know what he would have discovered about one of the most complex borderland regions in Europe.

Though short, Mark's academic career was impressive. After his undergraduate studies at the University of Warwick, Mark finished his PhD at

the University of Liverpool in 1998. He worked at Edge Hill College of Higher Education — now Edge Hill University, before moving to the Open University in 1999 as Lecturer in European Studies in the Department of History, becoming Senior Lecturer in 2005. Between 2005 and 2007 Mark served as Associate Dean for Learning and Teaching in the Faculty of Arts. He won the article prize of the American Association for the Study of Hungarian History in 1999, was a Visiting Fellow at the National Centre for Research on Europe at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand (2004) and spoke at numerous events and conferences in Hungary, England, and Canada during the fiftieth anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in the autumn of 2006. His article: "The Revolution and Industrial Workers: The Disintegration and Reconstruction of Socialism, 1953-1958," appeared in volume 34 (2007) of our journal, a special volume entitled *1956 in Hungary*.

Árpád von Klimo
University of Pittsburgh

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

LEE CONGDON is Professor Emeritus of History at James Madison University and the author of a trilogy on the Great Generation: *The Young Lukács* (1983), *Exile and Social Thought* (1991), and *Seeing Red* (2001). He has also published many papers on Hungarian émigré intellectuals. His first article in our journal appeared in 1975 and dealt with the thought of the Hungarian émigré philosopher-scientist Michael Polanyi.

In 1976 JUDITH GALÁNTHA HERMANN joined the Hungarian Section of Radio Canada International and a decade later became its section head. She has diverse scholarly interests much of which focused on the travels and work of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös (1784-1842), the founder of modern Tibetology. She has been a long-standing member of the Hungarian Studies Association of Canada and served at one point as the association's president.

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