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Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies, Vol. V, No. 1 (Spring 1978)

CONTENTS

Articles

Review Articles

Special Section

Book Reviews

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(continued on page 88)

Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies, Vol. V, No. 1 (Spring 1978)

Metafiction in the Modern Hungarian Novel: Non-Conventional Fiction-Making in Endre Fejes and Gyula Fekete*

Steven C. Scheer

> "Once we knew that fiction was about life and criticism was about fiction . . . now we know that fiction is about other fiction, is criticism in fact, or metafiction."
>
> Robert Scholes, *Structural Fabulation*

Recent years have seen a decidedly new development in literary criticism, one aspect of which is the "disintegration of the paradigms of realism under the impact of structural linguistics."[1] Structural discourse seems to rely on some version of Kantian epistemology, and has been practiced by many writers recently both within and outside such self-conscious "movements" as the French *nouveau roman*. One of the most conspicuous assumptions in recent criticism is that "in the 'new novel'... reality and imagination are fused in such a way that it is not only impossible to distinguish between reality and the play of the imagination, but (according to the new esthetic) . . . it is the imagination that creates reality, reality, objectively, does not exist."[2] In structural criticism this assumption is readily apparent whenever a writer's "work is studied as a vehicle of an implicit theory of language or of [some] other semiotic systems and is interpreted in those terms."[3]

Implicit in much recent criticism, then, is the idea that the language of fiction is a species of double-talk, because the story discloses something about reality while, albeit unintentionally, it also relates the story about the story, or meta-story. This criterion decidedly pertains to all overtly self-conscious metafictions with a "keen perception of paradox in the relationship between fiction and reality. . . . If human reality is itself a dizzying kaleidoscope of individually improvised fictions . . . a novel is

*A version of this paper was presented to the Modern Language Association of America in New York City, December 27, 1976.

fiction at a second remove, a manifest fabrication about fabrications."[4] But many novels are not overtly metafictional, nor do they explicitly unmask themselves or their own creative processes. They subtly convert explicit metafiction, or fiction about itself, into implicit metafiction, or fiction which addresses itself to the role of fiction-making in the realm of real life. Implicit metafiction insinuates that the prototype of conventional fiction is non-conventional fiction-making, because life itself is life as it is interpreted, explained, or rendered meaningful by those who participate in it.

This study explores two recent examples of implicit Hungarian metafiction — not because Hungarian literature shuns the explicit variety (Kálmán Mikszáth's *Két választás Magyarországon,* or Sándor Márai's recent *Ítélet Canudosban* are obvious examples), but because "socialist realism" is not conducive to its production. Of course the examples chosen in no sense attempt to subvert "socialist realism." But they do transcend it by transcending themselves. Authentic literature has either never been written with doctrinaire preconceptions in mind, or it has always excelled them. One means of surpassing doctrinaire preconceptions is through metafiction. The term may be new, but the sense in which it is employed (conventional fiction about non-conventional fiction-making) is at least as old as *Don Quixote.*

All stories wishing to expose certain individual or collective fictions are at least implicitly metafictional. What is new in structural or quasi-structural criticism is the emphasis. The "universal truth," or the recent critical preoccupation with the fictionality of the real as well as of the fictive world is decidedly not new. Aladár Schöpflin remarked more than fifty years ago that "Mikszáth loves characters whose lives are based on a lie in such a way that the lie emerges as their subjective truth." This was a precursor of more recent structural criticism: "When lies thus become an important ingredient of human life, the distinction between a truth and a lie, between what is real and what is imagined, itself becomes faint . . . if what is but the offspring of imagination can thus become true, is not what we take to be reality in general itself but the offspring of imagination?"[5]

The Fejes and Fekete novels imply that Schöpflin's observation has more substance than meets the eye. The readings or interpretations are self-justifying precisely in accordance with the idea that the theme of significant conventional fiction may at least partially deal with the role of non-conventional fiction-making, in which man renders the reality he inhabits intelligible. These novels also imply that the meaning apparently generated by life has in fact been imposed upon it. Each novel is

conventional fiction about non-conventional fiction-making; in each, the form of the content deals with the content of the non-novelistic or extra-novelistic form. In each, ultimately, metafictional double-talk justifies its own statements about reality. Each implicitly dramatizes the distinction between the reality generated by conventional fiction and the reality of the non-conventional fiction-making, of which each novel is a subtle duplication or imitation.

> "They wanted facts. Facts! They demanded facts from him, as if facts could explain anything."
>
> Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim*

Endre Fejes's *Rozsdatemető* (Junkyard, 1962) appears to be a straightforward novel, realistic in form and content. Its narrator reports a homicide and investigates its cause. He interviews many of the characters who will later appear in the narrative, including the killer. The narrative consists of an apparently factual account of nearly three generations of the killer's family. The novel is divided into two untitled and unnumbered parts. The first part narrates János Hábetler, Jr.'s killing of a factory hand (his ex-brother-in-law, as it turns out). In order to trace the cause or causes, the narrator investigates the Hábetler family's background. A relentless reporter, he interviews many people, and broods over his notes. He arranges and rearranges them, trying to fit each new piece of information into its proper place. When the whole account is in sequence, the narrator visits Hábetler in jail, and demands the "junkyard, the last act." Hábetler refuses. He has, in fact, persistently refused to talk to the authorities as well. The narrator thereupon threatens to "make public" his narrative. At first Hábetler taunts the narrator: "Do what you will. Write the story! [much of the story is already written]... What do *you* know? You know nothing"[6] (pp. 9, 10, italics mine). But finally Hábetler provides an apparently satisfactory account of the "junkyard, the last act." The narrator claims it his "duty to speak the truth and nothing but the truth at the time of the trial." He believes there were things Hábetler "did not understand, that's why he was so frustrated" (p. 10).

The second part is one uninterrupted "chapter," a kind of cinematographic montage, a series of vignettes or slices of life in rapid chronological succession. This section is littered with dates of marriages, births, divorces, and deaths. There is neither commentary nor transitions. One paragraph terminates one thread, another picks up another, only to be

dropped, so that a new thread might be picked up or an old one continued. Nonetheless a realistic story slowly emerges. The gradually aging characters become transparent; each personality emerges as a kind of stable theme; each new episode provides the reader with a new manifestation.

The narrative proper transports the reader to the end of World War I. It chronicles Hábetler, Sr.'s courtship of Mária Pék, their marriage, the births and deaths of their children (three girls and one boy survive), their life in interwar Hungary, the coming of World War II, Hábetler, Jr.'s participation in it, his captivity in Russia, his return to Hungary, only to learn that his Jewish sweetheart, together with their illegitimate daughter, had perished in Auschwitz. Meanwhile the Hábetler girls are courted until each weds, one a drunkard, another an unfaithful man. The third is herself unfaithful. By the time young Hábetler weds, his sisters' marriages are either foundering or have already terminated. The novel compares the first generation, which tended to stay married, and the second, which did not. Young Hábetler's marriage might have been the only exception, but the killing of his ex-brother-in-law (the drunkard) apparently dashes that.

The killing itself is an accident. Throughout the narrative, Hábetler, Jr. is portrayed as having a volatile temper, mitigated by a desperate sort of self-righteousness. But his anger apparently stems from a deep-seated intolerance of human frailties or imperfections, particularly of moral blemishes. The brother-in-law's speech that provokes the fatal blow is bitterly antagonistic, but there is some truth in it. He claims that the Hábetlers are wanting in morals and culture, that they are hypocritical, and that the daughters — all divorced by this time — are being prodigal with their respective alimonies. Finally, the ex-brother-in-law disparages Hábetler's long dead sweetheart. Having delivered the fatal blow, Hábetler is horrified. The next paragraph resumes the Hábetler chronicle some months after the killing, which occurred in the spring. It is now July, and various family members are departing for their vacations. Old Hábetler mutters something about his having served in the Red Army, because he hopes his pension would be increased. These final paragraphs ignore Hábetler, Jr., but presumably the reader is left to believe that the family regards the entire episode as rather disrespectable.

Fejes's *Rozsdatemető* is clearly a distant cousin of Conrad's *Lord Jim*. Both novels deal with young men who under ambiguous circumstances and in response to irresistible temptation and undue provocation commit unlawful acts. But here the similarities apparently cease. Conrad's novel fails to provide a chronologically rearranged narrative

that would explain Jim's inscrutable act of cowardice. Conrad conveys not so much the product but the process of the search for an adequate explanation. The first part of Fejes's novel hints at such a quest, but the second part is merely its product. Whereas Conrad's novel seems to imply that facts never explain anything, Fejes seems to offer nothing but facts, as though facts were the sole satisfactory grounds for any explanation. Fejes never questions his facts, whereas in Conrad "there shall be no message, unless such as each of us can interpret for himself from the language of facts, that are so often more enigmatic than the craftiest arrangement of words." But here the dissimilarities cease. Fejes's language of facts does explain Hábetler, Jr.'s act, though only on its own level. The real explanation is not even implicit in the narrative proper, except that perhaps at the end, circumstances seem to extenuate the fatal blow.

The clue to the novel's meaning is provided in the inscription:

> Man is but a reed, the most feeble thing in nature, but he is a thinking reed. The entire universe need not arm itself to crush him. A vapor, a drop of water suffices to kill him. But, if the universe were to crush him, man would still be more noble than that which killed him, because he knows that he dies and [because he knows] the advantage which the universe has over him; the universe knows nothing of this.
>
> All our dignity consists then in thought. By it we must elevate ourselves, and not by space and time which we cannot fill. Let us endeavor then to think well; this is the principle of morality.[7]

What Fejes's language of facts demonstrates is that no one in the narrative attempts to organize experience through thought. The principal characters fail to discern the entangling details which might render them intelligible. Herein lies the metafictional nature of *Rozsdatemető*. The novel exposes the lives of a "typical" family, whose members refuse to bother to evaluate the significance of their experiences. They apparently assume that by procuring the bare necessities of life, they have explored its possibilities. This is why when Hábetler, Jr. is confronted with hostility, he cannot respond with words, only with a fatal blow. The meta-story (the implicit double-talk of the novel) resides in the carefully explored absence of an interpretative scheme, in the context of which Hábetler, Jr. (or perhaps some other important character) might have mastered the frustration which eventually triggered a meaningless act of violence. But the "fact" that life is by and large meaningless (or that its bare necessities exhaust its meaning), apparently Hábetler's sole conscious interpretation, is itself a fiction. This, in fact, is the non-conventional fiction the novel exposes.

". . . to name a thing at all is to turn it into a fiction."
Wilbur Marshall Urban, *Language and Reality*

Gyula Fekete's *A hű asszony meg a rossz nő* (The Faithful Wife and the Bad Woman, 1963) is constructed as a thematic double plot which explores the conflict between collective and individual fiction-making. The investigation also embraces authentic and inauthentic fictions, implying that all public or social fictions fit into the second category. The title turns out to be misleading for one character in the novel as well as for the reader. The labels "faithful wife" and "bad woman" are earned by the respective women to whom they apply, but how they are earned is itself questionable. The labels represent convenient categories into which it is all too easy to force individuals whose surface behavior is the sole evidence that they do in fact fit. The basic plot involves a childless married couple and a divorced woman with three children, each by a different man. The surface of the text shimmers with discussions about the decline of morality reminiscent of Heidegger's "idle talk." Morals in fact do occupy the center of the novel's thematic attention, but the allusions by idle talkers constantly contradict the novel's own discourse about them. Imre Östör, the "faithful wife's" husband, becomes the hero of this conflict as he gradually discovers the authentic "bad" woman, for whose sake he eventually sheds his former inauthenticity.

Just as Fejes, Fekete, too, is interested in the meaning of life, but in *A hű asszony* what is really meaningful is artfully contrasted with what is only apparently meaningful by the hero's intellectual awakening. This creates a double contrast, the implications of which are unmistakably metafictional. The first contrast is the adverse judgment society passes upon Östör; the second contrast is the judgment the reader passes on the novel's social judgment, which is clearly superficial and false, in fact, highly ironic.

As the novel opens, the Östörs are depicted as a nice couple, with no ironic imputations. When the "bad woman," Klári Palócz, moves into the building where the Östörs and their landlady reside, the immediate or surface context seems to support the new tenant's unsavory reputation. Klári has been frequently forced to change jobs because of her questionable moral practices; the wives of a number of her ex-fellow-workers have accused her of husband-stealing, and have seldom shied from labeling her a "whore."

This estimate of the "bad woman" changes from the reader's point of view. Although the process is gradual, it is not quite as slow as it is for Östör. Even when consciously reflecting that the "woman is not bad,

only her reputation," he remains ambivalent towards her even after having spent a night in her arms[8] (p. 134). The reader can discern sooner than the hero just exactly what is amiss in his life. Time and again Östör feels that life is empty, that something vital is missing. Time and again he agonizes over his accomplishments, and time and again he responds obliquely. The dog he obtains for Klári's children to keep them quiet and the house he builds for the animal are the sole achievements that ironically bolster Östör's self-esteem (pp. 111 & 143). Explicit in Östör's reflections is the distinction between labor performed for money and labor performed for its own sake. Only the latter seems really valuable and authentic (p. 111). This distinction also persists, albeit implicitly, in Östör's internal questionings about the source of happiness. Östör soon realizes that material possessions cannot fill the essential void in one's life, but not until much later does he realize that his "faithful wife" is a materialist, whereas the "bad woman" is not (pp. 94 and 142–143).

Labor performed for its own sake, as well as the sense or awareness that non-material values are the real treasures in life, are omens that Östör is ready to move from the inauthentic to the authentic plane. This movement occurs with Östör's recognition that his "faithful wife" is an abortive person, whereas the "bad woman" is a life-giver. Irén Östör knows that her husband is slipping away, and she hopes that a new car might re-cement their ever-loosening bond. She is about to inherit a substantial sum of money, but an unwelcome pregnancy seems to block their renewed happiness. While the "faithful wife" is collecting her inheritance, Östör stumbles into bed with Klári. Fekete treats this scene with great delicacy. Östör has been good with Klári's children and he has slowly come to see the "bad woman" as a victim rather than as a victimizer. This particular physical contact results in pregnancy. The "faithful wife" seeks an abortion, whereas Klári, whose last husband is suing for custody of her last child out of sheer spite, is too busy to get rid of her new child in time. When Östör discovers that his "faithful wife" had aborted their baby for the sake of a new car, and that the "bad woman" is carrying his child, for which she is willing to assume total responsibility, the stage is set for his intellectual awakening.

Östör "read once somewhere that while some men look for lovers, and some seek spouses, wives, most are searching for both, and it is the unusually lucky ones who find the two in one person." Later he thinks it possible that he had never read this, but has merely "invented it, in the midst of his broodings." In any event, Östör suddenly discovers that "today belongs to the lovers, while the wife-oriented women deny today so that they may win tomorrow; without them there is no continuity, out of

their flesh and blood issue the generations of the future" (pp. 153–154). Just before his final decision to leave his "faithful wife" and cleave unto the "bad woman," Östör once again reflects that

> the whole world was empty — he had never before felt just how empty the world was. This queer feeling had taken him by surprise; up to now — for thirty-two long years — it had never occurred to him, and now, from one moment to the next, he saw with utter clarity and with absolute certainty that life was meaningless. Days pass by inexorably, the most beautiful days pass away, and they leave nothing behind. Nothing, nothing remains of them (p. 171).

The day after these reflections Östör moves out. The "bad woman" had already departed, and Östör will join her. The concluding paragraph reverses the significance of the title: "for a long time . . . [the whole] neighborhood discussed this affair, that Aunt Orsi's tenant — although he looked like the decent sort — had left his pretty, faithful, devoted wife on account of a bad woman" (p. 174).

But only the reader sees this significant reversal, whereas the "neighborhood" still agrees with the most literal implications of the title. From the neighbors' point of view Östör had left a faithful wife for a bad woman, hence his act must be deplorable and is, in fact, another manifestation of the recent decline in morality. In other words, the idle neighborhood gossips turn Östör's authentic impulse into an inauthentic cliché. Fekete's novel reverses this process; it takes a cliché and turns it into authenticity. In other words, the feigned reality of the novel's fiction exposes the fictitious reality of the non-novelistic or extra-novelistic pretense at reality. Herein lies its special species of metafictional double-talk.

> "The critic's interpretation is fiction too."
> J. Hillis Miller, "The Fiction of Realism"

When critical language, which can be just as elusive as the language of fiction, receives a "more open and inquisitive attention," its "self-reflexive qualities" can emerge. "Criticism then becomes a conversation about itself, though a conversation that has to guard against becoming an obsessive soliloquy."[9] The claim that recent Hungarian novels are covertly metafictional, might itself be a species of double-talk, the significance of which has been mentioned in the beginning of this discourse. It would be self-referentially inconsistent to insist that one's own language can escape fiction-making. It does not. The critic's rejoinder to the writer's statement, which in turn is a reaction to the mind's response

to life's impressions, is merely another layer of words. We live in layers upon layers of words, and re-wording a layer already re-worded is the best we can do to squeeze intelligibility out of what would otherwise remain unintelligible. If it is true that while studying anything we are merely studying our own works, then to claim that the "study of criticism is necessarily also the study of ourselves as critics, just as the study of literature is also the study of ourselves as readers,"[10] is really to divulge as much as needs disclosing.

One final point: how valid is the claim that the Hungarian novel of recent years is covertly metafictional? Phrased differently, would other recent novels also benefit from a structural or quasi-structural analysis? At the risk of venturing an unqualified generalization, the answer is yes. The two examples discussed here may not be typical in terms of their specificities, but it would be unreasonable to assume that the kind of preoccupation with the thematics of non-conventional fiction-making to be found in them is somehow an exception to the rule. Undoubtedly, specific readings of several novels would reveal other versions of metafiction. Perhaps it would be appropriate to interpret various recent or even older Hungarian novels along these lines.

NOTES

1. J. Hillis Miller, "The Fiction of Realism: *Sketches by Boz, Oliver Twist,* and Cruikshank's Illustrations," *Charles Dickens and George Cruikshank,* ed. Ada B. Nisbet (Los Angeles: University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1971), p. 1.
2. Miklós Magyar, *Regény vagy "új regény?" Regénytechnika és írói magatartás a francia "új regényben"* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), p. 21.
3. Jonathan Culler, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics, and the Study of Literature* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 98. The relationship between German Idealism and Structuralism has never been established, but it is clear that Kant's insistence on the mind's creative role in knowing (especially with regard to the "synthetic a priori") is assumed in almost all instances of structuralist discourse. The model of structural discourse is, of course, Ferdinand de Saussure's influential *Cours de linguistique général* (Paris, 1916), translated into English by Wade Baskin as *Course in General Linguistics* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959). Of immediate importance is Saussure's contention that as a system of signs, language shapes or even creates significant human reality.
4. Robert Alter, *Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-Conscious Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 129-30.

5. *Magyar írók: Irodalmi arcképek és tollrajzok* (Budapest: A Nyugat Folyóirat Kiadása, 1919), p. 51.
6. All references to *Rozsdatemető* in my text are to the eighth edition published by Magvető Zsebkönyvtár. This novel is available in English under the title of *Generation of Rust*, trans. Sanford J. Greenburger and Terance Brashear (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970).
7. W. F. Trotter's translation of Pascal's *Thoughts*, Section IV, #347.
8. All references to *A hű asszony* in my text are to the third edition published by Magvető Zsebkönyvtár.
9. Gary Nelson, "Reading Criticism," *PMLA*, 95 (1976), 805.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 813.

Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies, Vol. V, No. 1 (Spring 1978)

American Influences on Hungarian Political Thinking from the American Revolution to the Centennial

Anna Katona

From about the end of the eighteenth century until the War of Independence of 1848–1849, the United States provided a model for Hungarians seeking national independence. Progressive intellectuals and politicians attacking feudal conditions in Hungary also looked with interest and enthusiasm to the American example.

In the eighteenth century, Hungary resembled the Young Republic in at least three different respects. After the Turkish occupation, when all the waste land and depopulated areas had to be reconquered and resettled, Hungary was something of a frontier on a minor scale. Encouraged by the Habsburgs, German settlers came to the abandoned land, and various other ethnic groups settled on territories formerly inhabited by Magyars. Historians later described the recapture of the land as a development on the American scale. In 1844, Wilhelm Richter, a German traveller, compared pioneering in America and in Hungary: "No able bodied man with capital who likes work and is mentally alert need to go to North America; he can make his fortune much nearer home, in the forests and steppes of Hungary."[1] The country's numerous peoples and the many religious denominations resembled America's ethnic groups and her variety of religious sects. Above all, the colonial status of Hungary under the Habsburgs invited comparison with the Young Republic that had gained its independence from the British crown. As a matter of fact, an anonymous poem in 1790 cited with sarcasm the British king grieving over the loss of America.[2] The success of the American Revolution inspired the patriotic Hungarian nobles, whose main concern was to gain their country's independence, while the young nation's democratic institutions appealed to the progressives dedicated to the modernizing of Hungary along the lines of Enlightenment ideals. In a broader sense, these aspirations included economic progress and many related issues; however, this study will investigate only questions of political democracy.

The distant, unknown, new country became a source of inspiration in Hungary soon after its birth. In 1789 Sándor Szacsvay, editor of *Magyar Kurir,* praised the Young Republic: "Since America became a free society after shaking the English yoke off her neck, all nations are yearning for the same liberties." Szacsvay also explained the decisive influence of "Washington's philosophy" on events in France,[3] thus combining the concern of both nationally-minded patriots and democratically-minded progressives.

This same interest and enthusiasm explains János Zinner's earlier enterprise, a book for which he asked Benjamin Franklin to provide accurate data.[4] Zinner, who signed himself as Prefect of the Royal Academy of Buda, promised Franklin "to give public manifestation of his true feelings." But the book was cautiously worded and did not predict the outcome of the revolutionary struggle. The letter, however, leaves no doubt about Zinner's personal sympathies: "I look upon you and all the chiefs of your new republic as angels, sent by Heaven to guide and comfort the human race."[5] Zinner's intentions were clear. If American "guidance" was to become effective in Europe, American ideas had to be propagated.

His example caught on. During the short-lived optimistic boom of political activity in the early 1790's, leading Hungarian politicians and intellectuals seized every opportunity to acquire and circulate information about the Young Republic, and to oppose Hungarian conditions by citing the American example. Such was the case when the historian Alajos Belnay reminded Hungary's aristocracy, which refused to surrender its privileges, of the American revolutionary example.[6]

The Hungarian Jacobin conspiracy of 1794–1795 was Central Europe's first political movement inspired by the French Revolution. France's geographical proximity alone explains its overwhelming impact. However, Ignác Martinovics, József Hajnóczy, and the other leading figures in the conspiracy, were thoroughly acquainted with American ideas as well, and attempted to apply them to Hungarian conditions. But the issues were rather confused, as were most political practices in eighteenth-century Hungary. Martinovics tried to accommodate his personal ambitions for a brilliant career with political activity, in conformity with the democratic ideals of the Enlightenment.[7] Other participants, such as Hajnóczy, the prominent progressive intellectual, the best-trained and most informed individual among the leaders, were torn by the confusing nature of the Hungarian political scene and their own duties as enlightened humanitarians and patriots. Hajnóczy was also an excellent legal scholar whose constitutional

proposals derived from sound research. A letter written by Konrad Bartsch, a junior civil servant at the Viennese Treasury, suggests that Hajnóczy had inquired for sources on the American Constitution. Bartsch disclaimed knowledge of any available edition of that document but promised to keep searching.[8] Hajnóczy's awareness of American conditions was certainly extensive, notwithstanding the difficulty of obtaining outside information in Habsburg-dominated Hungary. When Hajnóczy urged religious tolerance and legal rights for Hungary's underprivileged Protestants, he cited the American "Status of religious freedom" of 1786.[9]

Gergely Berzeviczy, the first person to attempt a vindication of the defendants' goals after the trial, received a hand-written Latin translation of the Declaration of Independence from Pál Czindery, the alleged translator of Rousseau's *Social Contract*.[10] Hajnóczy had experienced difficulty procuring a text of the American Constitution, even with Viennese friends to help him. Czindery's copy was evidently transmitted to Berzeviczy through secret channels. All this activity testifies to Hungarian eagerness and ingenuity to acquire these documents, even under the most unfavorable conditions. Freemasonry was one of the few open channels through which American ideas flowed. In January 1792, Martinovics informed the Viennese police that neophyte Masonic members had sworn an oath to "defend the present conditions in France and America in writing, orally, or even with a sword in their hands against all tyrants."[11]

Martinovics had translated Thomas Paine's works from the French, and he and others frequently cited the American Founding Fathers and their ideas in various contexts. The Austrian authorities recognized the danger arising from these American philosophical sources. Their fear was borne out during the final conspiracy trials, when the mere possession of Paine's books or identification with Franklin's ideas was considered evidence of guilt, as with Michael Verhovácz, bishop of Zagreb, Jacob Szecsenacz, a chamber councillor, and Paul Lukács, a lawyer.[12]

It may be true that the conspiracy involved relatively few people. But within three days of its publication in 1790 Martinovics's most important anonymous pamphlet[13] had sold more than five thousand copies,[14] an amazingly copious distribution at that time. In it, Martinovics tried to promote the enlightened social and educational reforms of Joseph II (1780–1790), and cited the "immortalis Americae Republica" [immortal American Republic] as an example for the Hungarian nobility to emulate. Very much like Belnay did at about the same time, Martinovics also encouraged aristocrats to introduce changes "ad

normam pensylvanorum" [in the Pennsylvanian way], as he described the American democratic system.[15] He praised both the Americans and the French: "Adora Philadelphiae coetum; extolle ad sidera sapientes Gallorum cervices." [I adore the Philadelphia convention and praise to the skies the Gauls' wise brains].[16] In two different works, Martinovics ranked America among the few free countries in the world.[17] Since Martinovics considered America a symbol of hope and daring, he glorified "immortalis Columbus, Americae inventor" [immortal Columbus, America's discoverer].[18] Though he also feared the distant country, at his trial he proposed to seek asylum there, if pardoned.[19] The request was denied.

The most striking evidence of the early American impact on Hungary emerged in two contemporary constitutional proposals, neither of which referred to America specifically, though both aired Hungarian variations of the federal principle. Martinovics elaborated his constitutional plan in an anonymous pamphlet in 1793.[20] He would restrict the central government's powers to defense and foreign relations, and would establish autonomous "provinces" for minorities. He devoted one chapter to the "federalization of the nation," in which the right of each province to promulgate its own constitution was firmly established.[21] The other document addressed the estates of county Zemplén.[22] This rather sketchy plan proposed that Hungary's counties, each under a governor, would be independent and would unite only for defensive reasons. The major differences separating the two contemporary proposals indicate the divided nature of contemporary Hungarian political aspirations. Martinovics envisaged a republic ruled by the Habsburgs, a sort of odd contradiction in itself; but then, he was interested in a more enlightened government, not in national independence. The Zemplén appeal reflected the aspirations of the patriotically-minded feudal gentry, whose only concern at that time was to attain national independence and to preserve their privileges. Their constitutional proposal incorporated elements reminiscent of the American Declaration of Independence: "Each county should be in full agreement with all the others about abolishing the tyrannical Dynasty."[23] The two documents demonstrate that both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were known in Hungary — which is the more remarkable since copies were not easily obtainable.

The conspirators were executed or imprisoned, but their ideas continued to inspire Hungarians. America remained alive, at least in the dreams of poets. Mihály Vitéz Csokonai, the most illustrious poet of the Hungarian Enlightenment, expressed both despair and hope in a 1795

letter to Sándor Bessenyei in American terms: "And I, an exile in my own country," he wrote after his expulsion from the College of Debrecen, "carry on my days in boredom. I am happy only when I can find a New World for myself, and build there a Republic, a Philadelphia — at least there like Franklin — eripio fulmen coelo sceptrumque tyrannis" [I snatch lightning from heaven and the sceptre from tyrants].[24] The easy, matter-of-fact way in which both Martinovics and Csokonai alluded to Philadelphia, or to Pennsylvania for that matter, without further elucidating their significance, is sufficient evidence that at the end of the eighteenth century those were household words with very specific connotations among Hungarian progressive intellectuals. Dániel Berzsenyi, another important poet of the age, also described his idea of democracy in American terms: "Our democracy should not be that of lawlessness or recklessness, but one of wisdom and human understanding like that of George Washington. This is the first victory of civilization, something for which writers should furnish the ground, provided they wish to be the schoolmasters of humanity."[25]

Sándor Farkas Bölöni, scion of a Transylvanian middle stratum noble family, "the Columbus of Democracy,"[26] realized Berzsenyi's dream and produced a textbook on democracy based on American principles. His republican political ideas and his membership in the Unitarian church made him *persona non grata* in a Roman Catholic monarchy. On a 1831–1832 voyage to the United States, Bölöni discovered America both for himself and for Reform Age Hungary. In 1834 he made his findings available to all "open-minded compatriots."[27] Unlike Martinovics, Bölöni was attracted to the distant land and felt at home in the Young Republic. Amidst the awakening of backward Hungary in the 1830's and 1840's, America functioned as a model of "material, spiritual and moral" modernization, to cite an 1834 article in *Tudománytár*. Bölöni's travelogue, together with Gábor Fábián's Magyar translation of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* in 1841, rapidly became a textbook of political and economic progress, a treasury of democratic ideas frequently cited in political debates at all levels. The significance of those books on Hungarian political thinking cannot be overemphasized.[28] In Count István Széchenyi's view, no one had ever honored Hungary "with a more useful and more beautiful present," than Bölöni.[29]

In Bölöni's opinion, the two most impressive features of the young country's political life were "Liberty and Equality." He praised the personal freedom of Americans, their maturity in political matters, the fact that in America public elections were every citizen's concern,

responsibility and right.[30] When he claimed that "the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are the political Bible of the Americans" and that "these are indispensable furniture in all households and the reference book of all citizens,"[31] he most certainly wished to set a standard for his own compatriots. Native of a country with very strict class distinctions, Bölöni was swept away by the equality enjoyed by the American citizen: "The clergy and the army, the police and the judges, the scholars and the bankers, these are also common, equal citizens."[32]

Bölöni's book, preceding by one year Tocqueville's *Democracy in America,* has a special significance as a pathbreaking description of American democratic institutions. No comparable Central European or even Russian travelogue preceded it. Previous Russian or Bohemian books failed to match the accuracy of Bölöni's informative statements nor did they contribute commensurately to the proliferation of American ideas. The Russian Pavel Svinin, though his status as a diplomat placed him in an excellent position to collect facts about the workings of American institutions, described the new country rather inaccurately.[33] Karl Postl of Prague knew the United States from first-hand experience, and as Charles Sealsfield he even became a citizen. However, he maintained that American principles could not be applied to European conditions.[34] Perhaps he was overly cautious, aware of Metternich's hostility to the United States. Unlike Postl, Bölöni was not cautious. Not only did he strongly believe in the adaptability of American ideas to European political problems, he also daringly advocated this faith. This made him an early nineteenth-century pioneer of American democracy in Central Europe.

Bölöni was convinced that a free press, good public libraries, a decent educational system, and the political maturity of a nation were interdependent variables. Everything, including the right to education, hinged on political freedom. The Americans "know that where the knowledge of sciences and law is limited to a certain class or to the few, the more learned can easily rule over the less learned."[35] No wonder that with this understanding of the importance of cultural factors for political progress, Bölöni later played a major role in the Hungarian Academy's effort to establish links with the American Philosophical Society.

Hungarian cultural centers collaborated on all levels with liberal politicians to propagate American ideas and information about the United States. The first Hungarian map of North America ("Oskolai uj magyar Atlas" [A New Hungarian School Map]) was prepared at the College of Debrecen in 1804. Significantly, it was drawn by three

students, Gábor Erőss, József Papp, and Dávid Pethes, all of them close friends of Csokonai, under the guidance of the famous Ézsaiás Buda, one of Csokonai's professors. The map featured both present-day Canada and the United States, which was termed the "Egyesült Szabad Társaságok" [United Free Societies]. Hungarians were undecided at that time about the new country's proper name. The two most common designations were "Észak Amerikai Szabad Státusok"[North American Free States] and "Észak Amerikai Egyesült Státusok"[North American United States]. The first name betrayed obvious political bias, because it emphasized the country's independence.

The College of Debrecen also published Hungary's first history textbook dealing with the American Revolution by József Péczeli, which showed evidence of censorship.[36] In 1843, the College of Sárospatak produced the first Magyar world history text,[37] which described the thirteen United States as "happy provinces," where pressure on the conscience and restriction on the liberty of the press did not exist.

Hungary's principal cultural organization, the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [Hungarian Academy of Sciences], was also eager to establish links with America. Political considerations prompted the Academy's desire to communicate with a kindred body in such a distant part of the world, even before establishing contact with European institutions.[38] In 1831 Bölöni visited the Philadelphia Philosophical Society. On his return, he promoted collaboration between the two scholarly bodies through Gábor Döbrentei, one of Hungary's first anglophiles. Hungarians attached great importance to this cultural exchange. Károly Nagy, a member of the Academy, was dispatched to Philadelphia to establish contact, and as soon as the Academy's first yearbook appeared, it was speedily transmitted to Philadelphia.

The impact of American political ideas in Hungary culminated with István Széchenyi and Lajos Kossuth, the two leading figures in the Age of Reform. Széchenyi first learned about America in a Pest high school course on Universal Geography and World's History of the Continents Outside Europe, and he also became acquainted with Benjamin Franklin's ideas in his father's library through Zinner's book. Franklin, the cautious, middle-of-the-road, compromising, but successful politician, became Széchenyi's life-long model.[39] His greatly-desired visit to the United States never materialized because Metternich feared the proliferation of what he termed "evil doctrines and pernicious examples,"[40] but Széchenyi's fascination with the new country, the "werdende Land" [the country in the making],[41] as he called it, never diminished. He described America thus: "America is the country where

people's rights are the most equal, where the constitution is the best, and since I have dedicated my life to such a noble endeavor, I consider it my duty to pay a visit to that source from which the substance of justice flows."[42] His interest in the United States earned Széchenyi the nickname "der Americane" [sic].[43]

The climax of American influence in Hungary was reached on 19 April 1849 in Debrecen's Nagytemplom [Great Church], when the "Függetlenségi Nyilatkozat" [Declaration of Independence] dethroned the Habsburgs. In January 1853 Kossuth, then in exile after the War of Independence had been lost, visited Congress in Washington. In an address at a congressional banquet he summed up the essence of several decades of radical Hungarian hope that the American model could be adapted to the old continent. "Now matters stand thus: that either the continent of Europe has no future at all, or its future is American republicanism."[44] Kossuth's visit to the United States Congress marked the end of a period of almost a century of unique, intense impact of American political thought in Hungary. Never since has American political philosophy had such a strong, decisive, and shaping influence on Hungarian political life.

In the 1850's, the so-called Bach-period, a time of political repression and censorship following Hungary's defeat, the propagation of American political ideas was out of the question. Still they continued to command respect and admiration, and visits to America by Hungarians were prompted by "common anxiety" for Hungary's political future, as Béla Széchenyi, son of the great national figure, expressed it.[45] Such was the case with the author of the first Hungarian scholarly travelogue on the United States. Károly Nendtvich, professor of technology at the University of Budapest and a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, visited America in 1855.[46] He was immensely impressed with the political maturity of the American people and with the achievements of primary education in the New World. Very much like Bölöni, Nendtvich did not fail to point out the connection between politics and culture. Wisely and cautiously, to evade censorship, he shunned allusions to Hungarian conditions. Instead, he discussed Europe in general terms, a politically less controversial topic in the eyes of the censors. In Nendtvich's view, Europe feared an enlightened people and preferred to keep the masses in intellectual darkness. Americans had no such apprehensions, because all of them could entertain "political and social careers."[47] The professor discussed political issues cautiously. Far from describing the American Constitution admiringly as Bölöni had, he avoided discussing such a potentially "dangerous" document entirely,

and cleverly analyzed the constitution of Ohio instead. He noted "the almost unlimited rights" of Ohio citizens and their "unmatched self-restraint." Nendtvich predicted: "Such freedom joined to such political maturity could turn the desert and the wilderness into a civilized modern country in a short period of time."[48]

Europe's fascination with American political democracy began to wane in the second half of the century, as the United States entered a new phase of development. Pride in political democracy and in the unique American phenomenon of the shifting frontier gradually yielded to pride in the nation's unprecedented industrialization. With the Gilded Age, America became associated in the European mind with material wealth, but political corruption cast a shadow over the early ideals of democracy. Under the new circumstances, interest in America's rapid rate of industrial and economic development replaced interest in political democracy all over Europe. This preoccupation was not entirely new in Hungary. Owing to the country's backwardness, concern with economic questions had dominated radical Hungarian thought for several decades. Ágoston Mokcsai Haraszthy, a Bács County lawyer, visited America in 1840 to investigate the possibility of establishing trade links between the two countries. He later returned and settled in California. His book[49] attempted to convince Hungarians that political freedom and economic well-being complemented each other, and that favorable political conditions created an atmosphere conducive to prosperity. Thus, Haraszthy buttressed the importance of political democracy with economic arguments in order to promote the Hungarian radical cause. The American entrepreneur intrigued him: "The immense country is open before him . . . he has to ask for no permit if he wants to build railroads, canals, steamboats, power stations, factories or anything else."[50]

America's economy preoccupied all radicals before the War of Independence, but by the end of the century it became almost the only issue of interest. The reasons are obvious. Not only had the United States metamorphosed, conditions in Hungary had changed as well. In 1867, a political compromise was reached with the Habsburgs, and consequently, simultaneously with the Gilded Age in America, Hungarian radicals lost interest in the democratic model-state promoted earlier in *Tudománytár*. Hungarians also became more critical of the American political scene.

Hungarian reportage on the American Centennial illustrates these changing attitudes. Responding to the ever-present European curiosity in American conditions, Hungarian periodicals as well as popular

magazines did their best to provide adequate information on the Centennial in serials or occasional articles. The centenary coverage also produced the best Hungarian book on the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. In its astonishing insights Aurél Kecskeméthy's travelogue[51] ranks only with Bölöni's enthusiastic textbook on American democracy. But Bölöni, unlike Kecskeméthy, was a radical republican who wished to discover American democracy. In the Young Republic he found the ideal country he had sought, to serve as a model for Hungarian radicals. Kecskeméthy was a brilliant but rather sceptical, aristocratically-minded journalist. He was biased against democracy, and in Centennial American political life he found his prejudices justified. He had never believed that the American system could be transplanted to Europe, but what he discovered in the United States convinced him that the system failed to serve even American interests. Moreover, his visit was not political but a government mission to report on the American economy. Despite the temporary economic stagnation, Kecskeméthy was amazed and favorably impressed by America's material progress; however, unlike Bölöni, he did not attribute economic success to the country's political institutions but to the fact that the new republic had been able to make a completely new start under conditions suggesting a *tabula rasa* situation on a virgin continent.[52]

The Centenary inevitably prompted reporters to assess the achievements of a country that had raised unprecedented hopes in Europe's millions. Many Hungarian journalists still saw the United States as the nation inseparably linked with the idea and practice of liberty. Samu Fischer, one of these reporters, attributed the wealth he saw displayed at the Philadelphia exhibition to political freedom and the love of work.[53] The emphasis on the importance of work struck a responsive chord in Hungary. The twin-struggle against apathy and idleness was an essential aspect of the political message in the Reform Age as well as after. Bölöni had praised the responsibility of American citizens who "consider the common good their chief purpose."[54] Practical Haraszthy angrily assailed Hungarian complacency and idleness.[55] Nendtvich indirectly yet bitterly indicted Hungarian indifference to academic activity in his praise of American generosity in the publication of scholarly works. He was even more outspoken in his flattering comments about the New York Mercantile Library Association: "It would be difficult with us to raise sufficient money among certain classes for a society founded for the purposes of spiritual and academic interchange."[56] Béla Széchenyi was the most explicit critic on the political implications of this issue. He

visited America in 1863, and published his impressions on his return. He had two main objectives in drawing attention to the American attitude toward material improvement and progress. First, "We must renounce idleness, which has almost become a second faith with us." And then, we must abandon false pretenses. Instead of always appealing hypocritically to patriotism, we should adopt a more rational view, he emphasized.[57]

Though all these reporters concurred that America's material development was astonishing, they conceded the unfortunate fact that Centennial America possessed not only wealth and progress but that it also bred election scandals and political corruption. The periodical *Magyarország és a Nagyvilág* described political life in Centennial America as the "mockery of the most beautiful rights of the citizen."[58] Most Centennial reporters' evaluations merit attention because they sharply contradicted the discoveries of earlier visitors. Bölöni had rhapsodized about the Americans' respect for human personality and liberty, and he had appreciated the absence of customs inspection in New York harbor. But Pál Liptay, a reporter for the *Fővárosi Lapok,* and Kecskeméthy bristled on their arrival at the insolence of American officials.[59] Whereas Bölöni had admired the simplicity of the presidency, including the ease of access to the chief executive, Kecskeméthy was dismayed to find that this easygoing practice generated disrespectful behavior.[60] Bölöni had considered the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as sacred documents, the ideal safeguards of political freedom and democracy; for Kecskeméthy the Constitution was far from perfect.

The eminent economist István Bernát, who visited the United States in 1884–1885 and published his findings, shared Kecskeméthy's misgivings.[61] Both criticized the inherent weaknesses of the Constitution — a far cry from Bölöni's devotion. Kecskeméthy blamed the American government's lack of control on several factors: the Constitution, which limited the government's effectiveness in many ways; the independence which state governments refused to sacrifice in favor of greater federal power; the lack of continuity in government; and the fact that the whole system was a profit-seeking power-game run by "professional politicians" instead of an institution serving the people's interest.[62] Both Kecskeméthy and Bernát considered the masses unfit for decision-making in political questions — and hence unsuited for democracy, because they were easily manipulated by dishonest politicians. Kecskeméthy believed that his conservative and aristocratic prejudices were vindicated by the overwhelming corruption he found in Centennial

America, and that his misgivings about the viability of democracy were justified. He fiercely opposed universal suffrage, which gave the vote to a mass of people who were "intellectually unprepared and morally unworthy."[63] His views are supported to some extent by William Pierce Randel's recent conclusion: "Corruption in public life was pretty much taken for granted as a price that had to be paid for the democratic system."[64] Apparently, Centennial American democracy was a far cry from the perfect system early nineteenth-century European liberals had hoped it would become. Kecskeméthy lamented: "Indeed, today's America is not the Ideal which a Franklin, a Washington, a Lafayette hoped to realize." This criticism did not necessarily imply that Kecskeméthy rejected the entire American democratic experience. Indeed, he emhasized that rejecting America could by no means be the last word.[65]

Puzzled and disillusioned Hungarian reporters published articles resembling the one in *Divat-Nefelejts,* which commented on the enthusiastic reception given by Americans to the Emperor of Brasil; the reporter called the hosts "a degenerated democratic people for whom democracy seemed to have become irrelevant."[66] But Kecskeméthy was not content merely stating disappointing facts; he tried to find a cause for the great disillusionment. He concluded that "today's America is only the immense embryo of a new world," and that the contrast in size between the two continents made it very difficult to understand America because its natural immensity influenced all aspects of life. "The good and the bad, the right and the wrong take exceptional dimensions," as he cleverly expressed it.[67] Hence, any assessment had to be carefully rendered, because the size of the phenomenon observed might lead to distortions. Kecskeméthy's judgment was sober but hopeful. He accepted the uniqueness of the American experience in human history as a starting point for criticism. European hopes in the ideal American democracy had to be disappointed, because nothing human was ever perfect. But Kecskeméthy's insight into the American experience as something unfinished, something evolving continuously, opened up a new perspective. No wonder that in the early twentieth century the editor of his diary, Miklós Rózsa, reassessed Kecskeméthy's American impressions. He claimed that the journalist returned from his American journey a changed man. His conservative attitudes had metamorphosed, and only his sudden death prevented the elaboration of a new political philosophy.[68]

The change in Hungarian attitudes was not unique; on the contrary, it fitted perfectly into the general European pattern. In the heyday of the Young Republic, European politicians journeyed to America to ob-

serve, and to decide which of the American political experiences could be applied to their native lands. Paul Janet commented on Tocqueville in 1861: "It is certain, it is evident, that the problem that disturbed M. de Tocqueville and brought him to the United States, is the problem of European democracy."[69] Most of the useful American travelogues also cited conditions in the home-land. Many immigrant writers observed the missionary élan of the new nation, creator of a democratic, prosperous, and free society. All these influences promoted progressive development in the home-country. According to Sigmund Skard, "the reports of the immigrants with their democratic optimism worked as a liberal impulse in Europe."[70]

By the time of the Centennial, America had ceased to serve as Europe's political model, admired with almost religious devotion; moreover, the European situation had changed. Tocqueville and his contemporaries had gone on pilgrimages to study democracy; this was not the case with Centennial visitors. They wanted to find out what had happened to the promises of a perfect democracy. Instead of mouthing admiring statements, they emerged with questions. What the Englishman Thomas Henry Huxley said in one of his Centennial addresses is indicative of the radical change in the European view of America: "I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness or your material resources, as such. Size is not grandeur, and your territory does not make a nation. The great issue, about which hangs a true sublimity and the terror of overhanging fate, is what you are going to do with all these things?"[71] In other words, what is going to happen to a country still in its embryonic stage, as the perceptive Kecskeméthy had summed it up. Instead of considering America as a "fixed" model in a static condition of perfection, Europeans including Hungarians began to see America as a country embarked on the road towards something as close to perfection as humanly possible. Admiration was thus replaced by scrutiny. This late nineteenth-century image of America as something unfinished, as something in the making, corresponds accurately with the spirit of American dynamism, with the character of a country that in Hart Crane's words is still journeying to "endless terminals."

NOTES

1. Sándor Domanovszky, ed., *Magyar művelődéstörténet* [Hungarian Cultural History] (Budapest: n.d.), 4: 189; Wilhelm Richter, *Wanderungen in Ungarn und unter seinen Bewohnern* [Wanderings in Hungary and among its Inhabitants] (Berlin: 1844), p. 115.
2. Kálmán Benda, ed., *A magyar jakobinusok iratai: Naplók, följegyzések, röpiratok* [The Hungarian Jacobins' Documents: Diaries, Notes, Leaflets] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1952–1957), 1: LXX.
3. *Magyar Kurir,* 27 May 1789.
4. János Zinner, *Merkwürdige Briefe und Schriften der berühmtesten Generäle in America, nebst derselben beygefügten Lebensbeschreibungen* [Noteworthy Letters and Writings of the Most Famous Generals in America, with Added Biographies] (Augsburg: 1782); Zinner to Franklin, letter of 26 October 1778, in Jared Sparks, ed., *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Boston: Tappan and Whittemore, 1844), v. 8.
5. Franklin, *The Works,* 8: 303–304.
6. Alajos Belnay, *Reflexiones cunctorum Hungariae civium non nobilum* [Reflexions of Hungary's Non-Noble Citizens] (Pest: 1790); see George Barany, "Hoping against Hope: The Enlightened Age in Hungary," *American Historical Review,* 76 (April–June 1971), 354.
7. Benda, *Jacobins' Documents,* 1: LXX. The widely-travelled Martinovics, formerly a professor in Lemberg [Lvov], whose checkered political career as an Austrian informer and Hungarian revolutionary needs more clarification, was an adventurer, as Kálmán Benda correctly described him.
8. *Ibid.,* 1: 46–49.
9. Hajnóczy, *Ratio propendarum in comitiis legem* [Essence of the Proposed Legislation in the Oncoming Diet], in Benda, *Jacobins' Documents,* 1: 326.
10. Éva H. Balázs, *Berzeviczy Gergely, a reformpolitikus, 1763–1795* [Gergely Berzeviczy, the Politician of Reform, 1763–1795] (Budapest: 1967), p. 189, note 20.
11. Benda, *Jacobins' Documents,* 1: 581.
12. *Ibid.,* 2: 279, 359, and 705.
13. *Oratio ad proceres et nobiles regni Hungariae* [Address to Hungary's Aristocracy and Nobility].
14. Béla Dezsényi and György Nemes, *A magyar sajtó 250 éve* (Budapest: Művelt Nép Könyvkiadó, 1954), p. 30.
15. Benda, *Jacobins' Documents,* 1: 147.
16. *Ibid.,* 1: 125.
17. "Status regni Hungariae 1792" [The State of the Hungarian Kingdom, 1792], in Benda, *Jacobins' Documents,* 1: 780; "Mémoires philosophiques" [Philosophical Memoirs], in Benda, *Jacobins' Documents,* 1: 27.
18. *Ibid.,* 1: 126.
19. *Ibid.,* 2: 419.
20. *Entwurf einer neuen für Ungarn bestimmten Konstitution* [Plan of a New Constitution for Hungary].
21. *Plan of a New Constitution,* in Benda, *Jacobins' Documents,* 1: 907.
22. *Felhívás Zemplén megye egybegyűlt rendeihez hogy rázzák le az ausztriai ház igáját* [Appeal to County Zemplén's Assembled Estates to Shake off the Austrian Dynasty's Yoke] (May 1794), signed "Igazi hazafi azaz Patriota" (A True Patriot).

23. *Appeal,* in Benda, *Jacobins' Documents,* 1: 1041.
24. Mihály Vitéz Csokonai, *Minden munkája* [Complete Works], ed. Balázs Vargha, 2 vols. (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1973), 2: 809 810.
25. Dániel Berzsenyi, *Munkái* [Works] (Pest: Heckenast, 1864), 2: 202.
26. Lajos Hatvany, *Egy székely nemes, aki felfedezte a democráciát* [A Szekler Nobleman who Discovered Democracy] (Budapest: Káldor, 1934), p. 67.
27. Sándor Farkas Bölöni, *Utazás Észak Amerikában* [A Journey in North America] (Budapest: Officina, 1943).
28. Anna Katona, "Hungarian Travelogues on the Pre-Civil-War U.S.," *Hungarian Studies in English,* 5 (1971), 51-94; indeed, "it was the Constitution and the social order of the United States which had the more lasting influence in the final formation of the Hungarian political ideal." Lukinich, "American Democracy as Seen by the Hungarians of the Age of Reform," *Journal of Central European Affairs,* 8 (1948): 281.
29. Hatvany, *A Szekler Nobleman,* pp. 31 38.
30. Bölöni, *A Journey,* p. 171.
31. *Ibid.,* p. 85.
32. *Ibid.,* pp. 53-54.
33. Pavel Svinin, *Opyt zhivopisnago puteshestvia po severnoi Amerike* [Picturesque Journey Through North America] (St. Petersburg: 1815).
34. *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* [The United States of North-America], publ. anonymously, 1827; then, Charles Sealsfield, *The United States of North America as They Are,* 1828; see Christian Feest, "Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)," in *Abroad in America: Visitors to the New Nation 1776-1914,* ed. Marc Pachter (Reading, Mass.: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1976), pp. 23-31.
35. Bölöni, *A Journey,* p. 51.
36. József Péczeli, *Summarium Retentioris Europaeae a Detectione Americae ad Revolutionem Gallicum* [A Summary of European Events from the Discovery of America to the French Revolution] (Debrecen: Ferencz Tóth, 1827). A full line dealing with the lack of a standing army in the United States was eliminated.
37. József Csengery, *Az egyetemes történelem vázlata* [A Sketch of Universal History] (Sárospatak: András Nádaskay, 1843).
38. Francis S. Wagner, "The Start of Cultural Exchange Between the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the American Philosophical Society," *Hungarian Quarterly,* 5 (April-June, 1965): 91.
39. Anna Katona, "The Hungarian Image of Benjamin Franklin," *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies,* 4 (Spring, 1977): 43-57; Gyula Viszota, "Gróf Széchenyi István a gimnáziumban" [Count István Széchenyi at the Gymnasium], *Századok* (1907), 915; István Gál, "Széchenyi and the U.S.A," *Hungarian Studies in English,* 5 (1971), 95 119.
40. Halvden Koht, *The American Spirit in Europe. A Survey of Transatlantic Influences* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 32.
41. István Széchenyi, *Naplói* [Diaries], ed. Gyula Viszota (Budapest: 1926-1939), 1: 612.
42. *Ibid.,* 3: 486.
43. *Ibid.,* 2: 135.
44. Quoted in Dominic G. Kosáry, *A History of Hungary* (New York: Arno Press, 1971), p. 266.
45. Anonymus (Béla Széchenyi), *Amerikai utam* [My American Journey] (Pest: Emich, 1863), p. VI.
46. Károly Nendtvich, *Amerikai utazásom* [My American Journey] (Pest: Heckenast, 1858).

47. *Ibid.*, 1: 127.
48. *Ibid.*, 2: 105–107.
49. Ágoston Haraszthy, *Utazás Éjszakamerikában* [A Journey in North-America] (Pest: Heckenast, 1844), 2 vols.
50. *Ibid.*, 1: 3–4.
51. Aurél Kecskeméthy, *Éjszak Amerika 1876-ban* [North-America in 1876] (Budapest: Ráth Mór, 1877).
52. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
53. *Fővárosi Lapok* (1876), 1: 137.
54. Bölöni, *A Journey*, p. 69.
55. Haraszthy, *A Journey*, 1: 1–2.
56. Nendtvich, *My American Journey*, 1: 122 and 2: 108.
57. Anonymus, *My American Journey*, pp. 81 and 92 95.
58. *Magyarország és a Nagyvilág* (1876), 52.
59. Bölöni, *A Journey*, pp. 46–47; *Fővárosi Lapok* (1876), 1: 142; Kecskeméthy, *North-America*, p. 38.
60. Kecskeméthy, *North-America*, p. 60.
61. István Bernát, *Észak-amerikai közgazdasági és társadalmi vázlatok* [North American Economic and Social Sketches] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1886), p. 218; see Anna Katona, "Nineteenth-Century Hungarian Travelogues on the Post-Civil War U.S.," *Hungarian Studies in English*, 7 (1973), 35–52.
62. Kecskeméthy, *North-America*, pp. 197–198 and 319.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
64. William Pierce Randel, ed., *Centennial American Life in 1876* (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1969), p. 206.
65. Kecskeméthy, *North-America*, pp. 414–415.
66. *Divat-Nefelejts* (1876), 23–24.
67. Kecskeméthy, *North-America*, p. 418.
68. Kecskeméthy, *Naplója* [His Diary], ed. Miklós Rózsa (Budapest: 1909), introduction.
69. Paul Janet, "A. de Tocqueville et la science politique au XIX^{e} siècle" [A. de Tocqueville and Political Science in the Nineteenth Century], *Revue des deux mondes* (1861), 101.
70. Sigmund Skard, *The American Myth and the European Mind* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1964), p. 3.
71. Randel, *Centennial American Life*, p. 65.

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Social Change in Post-Revolutionary Hungary, 1956-1976*

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By November 7, 1956, the guns on the streets of Budapest were still. János Kádár, a few of his friends and colleagues were in power, backed by the USSR and its determination to maintain Hungary as a part of the Soviet bloc. Whatever Kádár's claim to legitimacy later had been, the simple fact was that in November, 1956, he was the unelected, unwanted and despised leader of a country whose people by and large regarded him as a traitor.

He inherited the leadership of a country that suffered from the worst effects of a Stalinist rule that lasted from 1949 to 1956. It was, in a sense, a classical Stalinist rule replicating the pattern of dictatorship that existed in the Soviet Union and all over Eastern Europe during the days of rapid and forcible collectivization and industrialization. But it was also a fact that Hungary was undergoing a process of modernization as well. In 1938, for example, 58 percent of the country's gross national income came from agriculture. By 1950, that figure had shrunk to 48 percent.[1] In 1938, the agrarian population of the country was a whopping 56 percent of the total population; by 1949, it had decreased to 30 percent.[2] Simultaneously, the percentage of population employed in industry had grown by approximately the same proportion.[3] Urbanization also advanced significantly: between 1938 and 1955 the population of urban centers grew by nearly two million people.[4]

But the changes which occurred in Hungary in the economic setting were small when compared to the social dislocation of the people during the same years. Between 1945 and 1952, the forced transformation of society resulted in the "disappearance of the former ruling classes" in their entirety; by conservative estimates, between 1945 and 1952, 350 to 400 thousand families lost their earlier position and were forced to

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become members of a new social stratum[5] as a result of the social engineering of the regime.[6]

The people who were forced into new social strata were the rich peasants, members of the former aristocracy and upper bourgeoisie, both the small and large shopkeepers, the managers and economic experts, and even the mid-level administrators of the former state bureaucracy. A total proletarianization best characterizes this period: only one class, the working class, was praised, glorified, and supported — at least in theory. The peasantry, due to the very anti-peasant nature of Marxist theory and to the actual policies of the regime, was belittled, viewed as a temporary social category and mercilessly exploited; urbanization and industrialization after all had to take the best and the brightest of the young peasantry.

In contrast to the broadly exploited workers and peasants, at the same time there existed a separate very thin layer of society, consisting of the administrative decision-making and cultural elite of the country. It was not a new "class" as Djilas has regarded it, for there were very few beneficiaries as far as the total number of people were concerned.[7] In fact, it would be safe to say that the newly emerged power elite was a thinner stratum of rulers and beneficiaries than had ever existed in Hungarian history.

It is important to recall that the splendor and luxury of this new administrative stratum, their luxurious villas and sealed-off streets, the expropriated wealth from the former ruling classes that graced their tables laden with quality goods purchased in the special stores, contrasted sharply with the actual life-style of Hungary's working classes. The new industrial proletariat and *lumpenproletariat* forced into the new or newly rebuilt cities frequently lived in miserable workers' hostels, ten, twenty, to fifty people crowded in a room, their coats and hats hanging from a single nail pounded into the wall, and possessing perhaps nothing more than the clothes on their backs. Often four or five workers' families were crowded into expropriated apartments, bickering, fighting, standing in line for hours waiting for food that was inadequately produced in that socialist paradise. The peasantry with their most productive members driven off the land as a result of the collectivization, burdened with forcible quotas and expropriation of the produce, was further alienated from the political elite, from the urban centers which it had hated throughout so many centuries, and from the working class which it perceived to reap the benefit of the new social order.

The year 1956 saw a purifying storm. The revolt attempted to resolve

the contradictions created by the policies in force since 1949, but little could be accomplished during the few days of revolutionary activities. Even the most radical desiderata failed to address the question of social transformation. Of the Petőfi Circle's Ten Demands, for example, only point three attempted to assert vaguely that the Central Committee and the government adopt "every method possible to ensure the development of socialist democracy, by specifying the real functions of the Party, asserting the legitimate aspirations of the working class and by introducing factory self-administration and workers' democracy."[8]

The task that befell Hungary's new leaders after 1956 was to solve the problem of social transformation and change of the previous eight years. Consciously or unconsciously — and there is some debate whether the "social engineering" of the post-revolutionary period was planned or accidental — they had to create a new Hungarian social equilibrium. The confusing and sometimes clearly contradictory policies of the last twenty years had all served that end.

The Kádár regime's new policies were not outlined immediately; in fact, the regime itself was not certain in which direction it wanted to go. Only two years after the revolt did the government begin to recollectivize the farms, without the terror unleashed nearly a decade before. But by 1960, the first phase of the regime's social and economic policies began to be very clear. The recollectivization of agriculture was intended as a basis for the future; emphasis upon increment took place through small but deliberate steps and by 1968, Kádár could correctly point to the beginning of a trend of significantly rising agrarian incomes all over the countryside.[9]

The changes in industry and industrial activity in general began to be implemented in 1968 with the introduction of the New Economic Mechanism.[10] This is not the place to evaluate the successes of the NEM. One of the greatest accomplishments of the reform movement was to allow greater uniform earning potential for industrial laborers. Although management reaped the greatest benefits of the reform, the industrial workers also benefited significantly. In short, both the agrarian and the industrial population could say that during the last twenty years the regime's policies have benefited them to a very great extent.

Much has been made of the fact that the socialist transformation and the policies of the Kádár regime caused a social stratification into a fairly distinct and highly stratified social system.[11] According to official Hungarian sources, there are three distinct strata of society consisting of mental laborers, manual laborers, and the peasantry; a significant por-

tion of each stratum has been a beneficiary of the developments since 1956.[12] The first category includes such persons as party leaders, doctors, teachers, managers, writers, artists, in short all those who are not employed in some type of physical labor. The distinction between the peasantry and manual industrial laborers is somewhat more fuzzy. After all, a repair mechanic working in agriculture is only slightly "different" from a tractor driver if he is "different" at all. The distinctiveness of the social strata, consequently, appears to exist only on paper: the growing complexity of both urban and agrarian life rendered social differences based on occupation and outmoded class categorization rather meaningless. The increased availability of technological marvels such as radio — which increased from 660,000 in 1950 to more than two million in 1975, television — which increased from 16,000 in 1958 to more than one and one-half million in 1975, and private automobiles — which increased from 30 thousand in 1960 to five hundred thousand in 1975, has done much to minimize the differences between the traditional social strata of Hungary.[13] Furthermore, the large number of commuters estimated at well over one million has brought urban and rural life styles closer together. The fact that the families with dual incomes today account for well over ten percent of the total number of households additionally indicates the mixing of urban-rural industrial social strata.[14]

Other factors have also begun to obliterate differences between agrarian-industrial or rural-urban life styles. Among these factors one must mention the historically unparalleled riches of the Hungarian village and rural life in the 1970's. As a result of the regime's policy, the income of the peasantry has increased enormously, in fact, exceeding that of a great proportion of industrial workers. The peasant has learned to utilize collective farming to his advantage; in good collective farms his work is rewarded by higher remuneration and doubled by his ability to raise animals for a subsidized state market or produce for a generally supply and demand farmer's market. Even in the weaker collectives the peasant's attention is turned toward producing on his own household plot and engaging in productive activities on his own.

Furthermore, some collective farms have also diversified their activities to the point where agrarian production has assumed secondary importance; producing buttons or frisbees, sewing dresses for West Germany or embroidering blouses for American export hardly seems to be agrarian activities. As a result of these policies, for the last three years more industrial laborers returned to the village than agrarian manpower left for the cities, a development unique at the stage of modernization

that characterizes Hungary. Consequently, in 1976, one-third of all collective farm members were under thirty years of age, the overwhelming majority of whom were skilled workers.[15] The regime has been having serious problems with the older members who prefer not to maintain their own private plots but to work only a forty hour workweek, taking well-deserved vacations, and traveling leisurely from Paris to Moscow, from Oslo to Athens.[16]

The unprecedented wealth of the village shows up not merely in the equalization of life-styles, the increasing use of indoor plumbing in new houses that boast garages instead of barns, and ugly, modern looking early Sears and Roebuck-type modern furniture, but also in the exhibition of traditional riches, such as the elaborate banquets and dowries given to the newly married. Once again the parents seem to be expected to *give* a house to the daughter, a car to the son of marriageable age and provide the young couple with a lavish wedding reception; thirty, forty and fifty thousand forints dropped into the hats at the bride's dance are not unusual. Weddings where a hundred chickens, two pigs, *and* a cow are slaughtered to feed the guests, where two hundred liters of wine, fifty liters of palinka and untold quantities of beer are consumed, have once again begun to appear.[17]

While the village thrives in unprecedented wealth, the same cannot be said of the urban-industrial sector to the same extent: the brutal truth of the matter is that the New Economic Mechanism has benefited only a minor segment of industrial laborers. The skilled laborers in some professions and the industrial managers have been the clear beneficiaries of the reform as a whole. Their incomes have risen from the egalitarianism of the 1960's by three to four fold as they are able to take advantage of second jobs and of some notable benefits that accrue from increased employment opportunities. In addition to the highly skilled laborers and the managers of the factories, the greatest benefits of the NEM were accrued by unskilled laborers, construction workers and employees in the scarcity service sector. The scarcity of labor in these fields, the possibility to charge what the tariff will bear, the absolute craze for private construction of primary or secondary dwelling units and the incredible neglect by the state of such tertiary sectors as plumbing and home repair industries have contributed to the enormous increase in the price of labor; a bricklayer or a painter, a carpenter or a plumber, working privately makes as much one weekend as he earns in his official state employment job during an entire month. The still existing scarcity of apartments and the fact that forty thousand apartments are expected to be built annually during the next decade, renders the price of the

privately engageable construction worker sky-high and sends his income zooming. Indeed, one of the most curious developments is the creation of a large number of "private" cooperatives consisting of individuals banding together for reaping maximum private profit through officially sanctioned forms. When coupled with the entrance of many cooperative farms into the construction industry, it becomes very clear that the price of these laborers will continue to remain enormously high.[18]

In addition to the rich peasantry and the narrow segment of the workers just discussed, the third group of clear beneficiaries of the last twenty years of the Kádár regime's policies are the urban stratum that earns its existence from sources other than industrial or agrarian work. This is the most mixed group consisting of small shopkeepers who peddle plastics, or reap the reward of a knit goods cottage industry, as well as those intellectuals and administrative decision makers who can reap higher and higher incomes from secondary and tertiary sources. The first group of people is generally referred to derogatively as "those skillful ones" and it includes such divergent examples as the man who bought the cherry pits that were discarded by a cherry canning factory and used them to create a profitable cherry tree nursery, as well as the young graduate of a technical high school who set up a plastic converter machinery in his family's apartment and made a mint by producing scarce plastic milk holders which fit into refrigerator doors.[19] But it also includes editors, authors, and writers who produce for every magazine, every journal, who translate or edit material from every conceivable source, professors and research workers who frequently hardly have time for their own scholarly field because of the lectures here and there and everywhere, and for the academicians who prepare summaries or lengthy textbooks for one of the many outlets not directly related to their work.

All in all, the beneficiaries of the new social system clearly are the people we have mentioned above. In a sense they belong to the "have class" along with those of the ruling administrative stratum who no longer possess the same kind of privileges their own predecessors flaunted. The Mercedes-Benz of the leading political stratum — except for its color — is hardly distinguishable from those of the private sweater maker or of the well-known actor. It is practically a financial-statistical term which one can use to define this new group of beneficiaries; they are the people whose monthly income exceeds ten or fifteen thousand forints and who can afford the available luxuries. They cannot be called a *class* because the Marxist term is meaningless in

today's Hungary; after all the relationship to the means of production of everyone appears to be the same. They are not a class in the historical sense of the term because they have not inherited the "wealth" from their parents, but attained it on their own. They are just as likely to have had grandparents or parents who were workers as having had parents and grandparents who were aristocrats or peasants. Whatever they are, they became during the life of this postwar generation and, therefore, no longer carry with them either the burden or the glory of their prewar origins.[20]

While the beneficiaries of the system are easy to point out, we would be biased if we did not single out those who have not profited equally from the changes of the last two decades. First and foremost, we must point out that in the rural area the differentiation between rich and poor once again has reappeared. The poor peasant, to be sure, does not have to take the back pew in the church like in the prewar era, nor does he have to "rent" his child out to the rich peasant for labor. But the poor peasant, nonetheless, must be taken into account. He exists in many forms, colors, and shapes. He is as likely to be the hard working stubborn farmer working on poor land belonging to a poor collective and struggling from dawn to dusk, as the village drunk who beats his wife and children and attempts to work as little as possible. While reaping some of the benefits of the system, he fails to partake in others. He views with envy the new house built by his neighbor, the new car possessed by the agronomist, and abhors the social stratum in which his place is still at the bottom.

The industrial worker for whom, supposedly, the system has existed and continues to operate, but who happens to be the possessor of an occupation that is not the most highly remunerable — a man working on assembly lines, a woman sewing or ironing dresses, sales persons in stores or post offices, workers with no skills that can be privately peddled on the weekends — have not reaped what they regard to be the equitable benefits of the system. Their monthly incomes of 2,000 to 4,000 forints are rarely supplemented from other sources, and for them the hope that they, too, will be able to make it big is rapidly fading. Their last stand against the inequality of the system inherent in modern productive activities, which served to curb the NEM between 1972 and 1975, did not attempt to slow down the growing distinction between them and the richer workers.[21] In spite of this "last hurrah," here too we must observe a growing differentiation between the rich and the poor worker. The differentiation obviously is not based on class considerations: they are all workers. It is just that some of the workers reap the benefits of a modern industrialized system more than others.

And finally we must observe the differentiation that exists among the mental laborers, the administrators, the intellectuals, and the party leadership as well. Here, too, the lowly secretary working in the cadre office and earning 1,500 to 2,000 forints a month, the post office employee sifting and sorting mail, has very little in common with the prime minister, or party secretary riding in his Mercedes, or the well-paid editor living in his lavish new house. The clerical employees of the trade unions, the hundreds of thousands of middle-level administrators, the pensioners who still struggle to live on their measly retirements awarded to them ten, fifteen, or twenty years ago, the people who have to make contracts for their very maintenance in exchange for their apartment's future inheritance by those with whom the contract is made, have very little in common with the rich director of the factory.

In short, it is safe to say that Hungarian society seems to present a melange to the interested observer.

> Today Hungary is a people's republic, its social system is socialism. Among the most well known features of socialism one can count the fact that the means of production are in the hands of the state and thus the exploitation of many by man ceased to exist. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the majority, of the working classes over the minority of the former oppressors. This classic thesis in its practical functions, however, has been altered considerably as the former ruling class disappeared. The remainder of the former "exploiters" have found a place in the society and the new money makers (like the sweater-makers in the Kígyó street of Budapest) cannot be regarded as exploiters . . . Today in Hungary there are no bankers . . . , landlords . . . , starving pariahs . . . , and proletar-peasants possessing only one robe . . . At the same time, in Hungary today there are trust-directors and European-famed soccer players, engineer-deputy-ministers and small shopkeepers . . . , party-secretaries and cooperative farm directors, Catholic priests who are active in the People's Front, American businessmen . . . , and camouflaged prostitutes actively engaged around the most famous hotels, girls working at heavy construction and existing in barracks and hovels at Tiszaszederkény and students from acting schools who have just returned from a study tour in France . . . , workers from the Angyalföld district who live in brand new apartments they own, and workers from Angyalföld who live in damp basement hovels. There are crowded dormitory rooms and parties in half-lit rooms, construction camps of the Young Communist League and trips abroad, second and third jobs held by the same person and schools in isolated farmsteads, world famous research institutes, bad cooperatives and many other pictures. . .[22]

While the regime during the last twenty years has succeeded in bringing unprecedented wealth to significant parts of the Hungarian

population and while as a result of this policy there are many people who live extremely well in Hungary, the greatest claim of all Marxist socialist regimes, the complete abolition of alienation between man and man has not been effected. It is, however, not an alienation of one class from another, of the people in general from the regime, but the alienation that has always existed between the rich and the poor. Regardless of social origin, that alienation remains, and in spite of the great accomplishments of the Kádár regime, it is this alienation that continues to haunt the regime.

Twenty years after he came to power, Kádár can look with pride upon his accomplishments. He is regarded as a legitimate leader who brought social peace if not independence, stability if not political freedom, and unprecedented wealth, even if it has not yet reached the level of wealth possessed by the citizens of the richer Western states. He has presided over the transformation process that depoliticized the Hungarian political arena and created Hungarian socialism with a bourgeois face.[23] While it is safe to say that the foremost goal of the revolution, the creation of a truly independent and democratic political system, has not been reached, the goal of providing Hungary with a satisfactory standard of living and adequate relations among the various social strata has been met with success. And perhaps it is safe to say that given Hungary's geographical-historical circumstance, the accomplishments of Kádár and his regime with all its faults and shortcomings must still be applauded.

NOTES

1. *Statistical Pocket Book of Hungary, 1975* (Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó, 1975), p. 9.
2. Iván T. Berend and György Ránki, *Gazdaság és társadalom* [Economy and Society] (Budapest: Magvető, 1974), p. 523.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 525.
5. Mátyás Rákosi, "A Magyar Dolgozók Pártja Központi Vezetőségének beszámolója és a Magyar Dolgozók Pártja feladatai" [Report of the CC of the Hungarian Workers Party and the Tasks of the H.W.P.] in *A Magyar Dolgozók Pártja III. Kongresszusának Rövidített Jegyzőkönyve* [The Abbreviated Report of IIIrd Congress of the HWP] (Budapest: Szikra, 1954), p. 14. Berend and Ránki, *Gazdaság és társadalom*, p. 523.

6. Ernő Gerő, *Harcban a szocialista népgazdaságért* [Fighting for the Socialist Peoples' Economy] (Budapest: Szikra, 1950), pp. 400–417.
7. In fact, Djilas attempted to caution in some of his writings against the use of the term "class," arguing cogently that the Marxist content of the term was far too restrictive to describe the phenomenon of the creation of a bureaucratic ruling elite. See, for example, his "League or Party" in *Anatomy of a Moral* (New York: Praeger, 1959), p. 139.
8. Quoted in Melvin J. Lasky (ed.), *The Hungarian Revolution: A White Book* (New York: Praeger, 1957), p. 47.
9. János Kádár, *A szocialista Magyarországért* [For Socialist Hungary] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1972), p. 107.
10. The literature of the reform is so broad that many pages could be devoted to listing the major titles. The interested reader should consult two major English language sources: William R. Robinson's *The Pattern of Reform in Hungary* (New York: Praeger, 1973) and *Reform of the Economic Mechanism in Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972).
11. András Hegedűs, "A szocialista társadalom strukturális modellje és a társadalmi rétegeződés" [The Structural Model of Socialist Society and Social Stratification], *Valóság,* 5 (1964), 1–15 and "Társadalmi struktúra és a munkamegosztás" [Social Structure and the Division of Labor], *Valóság,* 8 (1966) and his *A szocialista társadalom struktúrájáról* [Concerning the Structure of Socialist Society] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971). Cf. János Blaskovits, *A munkásosztály fogalmáról* [Concerning the Concept of the Working Class] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1968); Antal Böhm, *A középrétegek helye a társadalomban* [The Place of the Middle-Strata in Society] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1974); Zsuzsa Ferge, *Társadalmunk rétegeződése* [The Stratification of Our Society] (Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1969) and Ádám Wirth, *Mi a társadalmi struktúra* [What is the Social Structure] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1972).
12. Mrs. Sándor Ferge, "Társadalmi rétegeződés Magyarországon" [Social Stratification in Hungary], *Valóság,* 10 (1966), 26–27 and Mrs. Aladár Mód, "Társadalmi rétegeződés Magyarországon" [Social Stratification in Hungary], *Társadalmi Szemle,* 5 (1967), 15–33.
13. The number of privately owned automobiles is, of course, much smaller than the number of privately *used* automobiles, as approximately 50,000 officials and managerial personnel have "automobile use" privilege.
14. *Statistical Pocket Book, 1975,* p. 163.
15. *Népszabadság,* April 6, 1976.
16. *Ibid.*
17. For a fascinating collection of articles that detail the beginning of the slow embourgeoisement of the village see Erzsébet Galgóczi, *Nádtetős szocializmus* [Socialism under Thatched Roofs] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1970) and János Gyenis and János Söptei, *Új falu, új emberek* [New Village, New Men] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1970).
18. In fact, the problem of co-operatives entering into the construction business has become so serious that in 1976 the regime was forced to issue a number of executive orders prohibiting some of the most flagrant abuses of the laws regulating the construction industry.
19. The Hungarian term "ügyeskedők" can carry both negative and positive connotations. In the officially sanctioned use of the term, it is regarded as a negative term, while in public use it carries at best a value-neutral, or value-positive connotation.
20. Even among the administrative structure of the ruling elite this "changing of

the guard," from old-timers who carried with them the conviction of their past and the burdens of a previously dominant society, is vividly noticeable since 1974. The appointments of Lázár, Huszár, Szekér, Romány and others into leading positions of the state apparat and the rejuvenation of the Politburo by such individuals as Lázár, Huszár, Óvári, Maróti, are the official recognition of the role the younger generation is expected to play. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Kádár does not wish to cling to power at any cost, but (in the opinion of this writer) would like to see an orderly transition of power to the representatives of this new generation.

21. In spite of official claims to the contrary, and in spite of the official attempt to slow down the tempo of the NEM, the average worker did not succeed in stopping the growing wage differentiation during the XIth Party Congress. In fact, while paying lip service to and attributing the slow-down of the NEM to the egalitarianism demanded by the trade-union-conservative opposition, it is clear that the deterioration of Western trade relationships that resulted from the economic recession in Western Europe played a greater role in the economic retrenchment than any perceived egalitarianism on the part of the political leadership.
22. Mihály Sükösd, "Értelmiség a küszöbön" [Intelligentsia at the Doorstep], *Valóság*, 3 (1965), 36.
23. Ivan Volgyes, "Limited Liberalization in Hungary," *Current History*, March, 1976, 107.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

The World of Hungarian Populism

S. B. Vardy

Der ungarische Populismus [Hungarian Populism]. By Gyula Borbándi. (Studia Historica. Schriften des Ungarischen Instituts München, No. 7). Munich: Aurora Bücher, 1976. 358 pp. *The Rise and Development in Hungary of the So-Called "Popular Movement" (1920–1956).* By Emmerich András. (UKI Reports 1973/1-3). Vienna: Hungarian Institute for Sociology of Religion, 1974. 251 pp.

In the course of the past century or so, populism had swept through many lands, from Russia to France, from the United States to Hungary, from Roumania to Cambodia. As such, populism became almost a universal movement. Yet, it appeared in many different forms. In some instances it manifested itself simply as a literary or intellectual movement among a select group of the intelligentsia (*e.g.,* Roumania and Czechoslovakia). At other times it appeared as a violence-prone revolutionary movement with the goal of overthrowing the existing political system, or even of remaking the whole of society at whatever human cost (*e.g.,* Russia and Cambodia). At still other times it emerged in the form of a broad reform movement, which hoped to effect meaningful social transformation through literary propaganda and through legitimate political activity, with the primary aim of improving the lot of the economically and socially exploited masses, and of effecting also a qualitative change in society — as was the case in Hungary.

The roots of populism — like the roots of all reform and revolutionary movements — stemmed from basic dissatisfaction with the existing order of things. But in the populist movement, which generally styled itself as a third alternative between capitalism and communism, we also find elements of anti-urbanism, as well as a degree of "*Volk*

mythology." For the populists did in fact display some distrust toward the urban-industrialized society, and they also attributed certain ethical and national "regenerative powers" to the allegedly morally and culturally "uncorrupted" agrarian masses. Populism, therefore, appeared as a strange mixture of the desire for social change, and a lesser or greater degree of *Volk*-worship or *Volk*-heroization — a phenomenon that also holds true for the Hungarian version of this movement.

While Hungarian populism has often been compared to its late nineteenth-century counterpart, the Russian *narodnik* movement (*narodnichestvo*), the two movements are in fact very dissimilar. Contrary to its Russian predecessor, Hungarian populism was neither a revolutionary, nor a conspiratorial undertaking, but simply a progressive literary and social reform movement. Moreover, it contained more of the idealization of the peasant than did its Russian version. Thus, the Russian *narodniki* of the late nineteenth century viewed the Russian peasant (*muzhik*) largely as a passive instrument of social revolution in their drive toward a classless and stateless communistic society. To the Hungarian populists of the interwar period, on the other hand, the exploited Magyar peasants constituted the backbone of the nation, and the fountainhead of a future national, cultural and ethical regeneration.

The origins of Hungarian populism are lost in the mist of history, although we know that in the course of its development it went through several evolutionary stages. There are some scholars who try to find these roots in the Hungarian Reform Period (1825–1848), and more specifically in the folk-oriented poetry of Sándor Petőfi (1823–1849) and of his disciples. Most of the researchers, however, go back only to the intellectual turmoils of the early decades of the twentieth century; more specifically to the early writings of Endre Ady, Zsigmond Móricz and Dezső Szabó, to the simultaneous search for original Magyar folklore and folksongs by Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, and to the contemporary agrarian social movement connected with the activities of András Áchim (1871–1911). Most of the latter scholars agree that the heyday of Hungarian populism was in the period between the two world wars, and that during that quarter of a century, the movement went through three distinct phases.

During the first of these phases in the 1920s, Hungarian populism was by and large a literary movement; during the second phase in the 1930s it became increasingly sociological and sociopolitical in its orientation; while during the third phase (1938–1944) it became largely a political movement. This politicization of Hungarian populism came largely through the increased activism of its proponents, and it manifested itself

partially in the founding of the first populist party (the National Peasant Party), and partially in the participation of the populists in the activities of a number of other political parties that were geared toward the transformation of Hungarian society. Thus, it was during this third phase of the movement's interwar history that individual populists began to move apart on the political spectrum, and became associated with various radical political orientations — from the Far Left to the Far Right. For this reason, historians generally have the tendency to discuss the populist movement under such categories as "Left," "Right," and "Center" — even though these categories are too rigid for the movement whose basic unity has never been broken.

During the Coalition Period (1945–1948) that followed World War II, most of the populists who had not compromised themselves through association with the Radical Right, became active in the National Peasant Party. Their immediate political role was limited by the fact that the majority of the non-communist forces rallied themselves around the Smallholders Party. But their ideology permeated much of the fabric of postwar Hungarian society and intellectual life. This was the very reason why their influence had to be undercut, and their organizations had to be destroyed. With the rise of Rákosi's monolithic dictatorship, the spokesmen of Hungarian populism either left the country, withdrew into silence, or were forced into collaboration with the regime. And while the spirit of populism continued to linger on, only those in exile were able to speak up and keep the flames alive.

Although populism was one of the most significant intellectual and social forces in twentieth-century Hungarian life, and although many have written about various aspects of this movement, with the exception of a few unpublished dissertations,[1] not until recently did this movement find competent monographers who were willing to undertake the goal of summarizing and evaluating populism as a whole. This delay was due to at least two reasons. First, until recently the study of populism was taboo in Hungary, which prevented native Hungarian scholars from engaging in research on this topic.[2] Second, many of the prominent exponents and participants of this movement are either still alive, or are only recently deceased, and this made it extremely difficult to deal with this topic. After decades of silence, however, suddenly two separate volumes appeared on the scene — both of them in German. One of these — which simultaneously also appeared in an English translation — was written by Emmerich András, a Jesuit and the director of the Vienna-based Hungarian Institute for Sociology of Religion; and the other one by Gyula Borbándi, a prolific publicist and historian, the

editor of the Munich-based journal *Új Látóhatár* [New Horizon], who himself grew out of the Hungarian populist movement.[3] Of these two works, Borbándi's is the more comprehensive, more substantial one, while András's is somewhat more analytical — a fact that undoubtedly stems from the former's historical, and the latter's sociological approach.

* * *

Entitled *Der ungarische Populismus,* Borbándi's work is a meticulous major synthesis that covers virtually every conceivable aspect of the populist movement in Hungary, from its roots to and beyond its reemergence in the Revolution of 1956. Starting out with an overview of the historical evolution (Ch. I) and the socio-political structure (Ch. II) of interwar Hungary, Borbándi continues with the discussion of such related questions as the agro-socialist movement of the late dualist period (ca. 1890–1918), the bourgeois radical movement of the early twentieth century and its relationship to the peasant question, the problem of land reform during the interwar period, and finally the role of the so-called "critical intelligentsia" and its attitude toward social reform in general (Ch. III). Only after having laid the foundations in three lengthy chapters does Borbándi undertake to discuss the rise, development, achievements, and demise of the Hungarian populist movement. In his discussion of the origins, Borbándi distinguishes clearly between Hungarian populism and the German *völkisch* movement with its racial overtones, as well as between true populism (*népi mozgalom*) and pseudo-populism (*népies mozgalom*). Moreover, he also makes an effort to demonstrate the uniqueness of the Hungarian movement by pointing out those of its features that separate it from its foreign counterparts (*e.g.,* Russian, Roumanian, Czech, French, and American).

Having clarified the nature of Hungarian populism, Borbándi continues with the discussion of the most significant intellectual fathers of this movement (*e.g.,* Endre Ady, Zsigmond Móricz, Dezső Szabó, Béla Bartók, and Zoltán Kodály), as well as its most noted literary and sociological exponents (*e.g.,* József Erdélyi, Gyula Illyés, László Németh, István Sinka, János Kodolányi, Géza Féja, and Imre Kovács). He also makes an effort to discuss the somewhat ambiguous relationship between the "populists" and the "urbanists," but unfortunately without paying adequate attention to the so-called "Jewish question" that often played into, and at times strained this relationship.[4] (Most of this strain

was the result of the populists' natural and almost exclusive attention to the rural or peasant question, while some of it stemmed from the various shades of anti-Semitism that generally colored the thinking of the majority of Central and East European intellectuals.)

Having discussed the roots and emergence of Hungarian populism, Borbándi turns his attention to the developments of the 1930's and 1940's, and more specifically to the movement's various literary, social and political manifestations. These included the so-called "village explorer" movement among the youth of that period, the birth of the great sociographies on the life and problems of the Hungarian peasant masses, the foundation of a number of cultural circles and scholarly centers that were meant to deal with the peasant problem, and the burgeoning of numerous populist or populist-oriented newspapers, journals and publications, all of which were involved in the spread and popularization of the populist ideology.

Borbándi's treatment of the literary, scholarly and sociological manifestations of populism is followed by a similar treatment of the movement's politicization. In this connection the author discusses such significant developments as the birth of the "New Spiritual Front" and the "March Front," the role of the so-called "Reform Clubs," Győrffy Colleges, and the Hungarian populist youth organizations of Transylvania ("Transylvanian Youth") and Slovakia ("Sickle"), the noteworthy populist conferences during World War II (*e.g.*, Szárszó I and II), as well as the foundation and functioning of the National Peasant Party, established for the purpose of serving as the political arm of the whole populist movement.

The next few chapters of Borbándi's work are devoted to the discussion of the developments following World War II, including the populists' participation in postwar reconstruction, their gradual defeat and elimination from positions of influence, and their split into three factions: those who chose to collaborate, those who went into "internal exile," and those who opted to leave the country so as to keep the flames of populism alive. The ranks of the latter included young Borbándi, as well as his co-editor and publisher József Molnár, whose journal *Új Látóhatár* is still the main forum of Hungarian populism; but a populism that is heavily tinged both by humanitarianism, as well as by Western liberalism.

In the last two chapters, Borbándi deals with the temporary rebirth of Hungarian populism during and after the Revolution of 1956 (*e.g.*, the Petőfi Party), and then with the final assessment of the overall achievements and failures of this movement. In his final chapter he also tries to

assess the current and prospective influence of populism in Hungarian intellectual and social developments. With respect to the movement's past, Borbándi found that — while less than fully successful as a political movement — populism was quite successful as an intellectual force. It permeated and still permeates much of Hungarian thinking, and — so he claims — it will also serve as a source of inspiration for a number of generations in the future. Moreover — given favorable political developments — populism may again be put forth as a viable and desirable alternative (the "Third Road") to capitalism, as well as communism.

Gyula Borbándi's *Der ungarische Populismus* is a major achievement in Hungarian historical scholarship. It is the first really comprehensive treatment of this significant movement in Hungarian history; and what is equally important — notwithstanding the author's personal involvement and convictions — it is an enviably detached and scholarly treatment. Thus some suggestions for improvement are made in the hope that the next edition of this work will be even more thorough and free from errors.

Not counting minor details and a few unavoidable factual mistakes, we feel that for a foreign audience some of the sections of this otherwise worthy volume are a bit too detailed, too encyclopedic in its coverage, particularly when it comes to the listing of the names of the participants in various manifestations of Hungarian populism. (As an example, not counting duplications, page 142 contains at least 25 names. Duplications raise this number to well over 50.) Although included in the name of fairness and completeness, some of these listings are not always essential; or if essential, they could have been placed into explanatory footnotes. Such a solution would have made Borbándi's book more readable, and would have also made it easier for the uninitiated to follow the flow of events. We also have the feeling that Borbándi's interpretations of Hungarian populism is rather generous in its inclusiveness. He tends to include persons, institutions and movements that normally would not come under the heading of "populism." We grant that this more inclusive approach does have its merits, as opposed to a more exclusive approach of previous studies. But if inclusiveness was the author's intention — and perhaps even without it — he certainly should have included a brief treatment of the historian Elemér Mályusz (b. 1898) and of his well-known Ethnohistory School (*népiségtörténeti iskola*), which had close intellectual links, as well as a number of direct connections with the populist movement in interwar Hungary.[5] In point of fact, Mályusz's comprehensive work on the nature and needs of Hungarian historical studies (*A magyar történettudomány*, 1942)[6]

appeared in the series ("Bólyai Könyvek" — "Bólyai Books") that Borbándi listed as one of the important monographic series of the populist movement (p. 148). But above and beyond this fact, Mályusz's Ethnohistory School — contrary to Gyula Szekfű's more universal, subjective and also more influential *Geistesgeschichte* School[7] — did in fact place considerable emphasis on the *people,* as opposed to the *state,* and also sought to find the native roots of Hungarian cultural, intellectual and social evolution, with considerable attention to the creativity of the "Magyar folk spirit" — very much in line with some of the ideas of the Hungarian populists.

In addition to the role of Elemér Mályusz and of Hungarian ethnohistory, Borbándi also might have mentioned the role of István Gál (b. 1911), the spiritual father of "New Humanism," and the founding editor of this movement's journal, the *Apollo* (1935–1939).[8] Gál's role was all the more important as, in addition to popularizing the populists in non-populist circles, he also tried to serve as a link between the populists and the urbanists in the spirit of the new humanist orientation that he fathered in that age of growing intolerance.

* * *

Emmerich András's *The Rise and Development in Hungary of the So-Called "Popular [sic, Populist] Movement" (1920–1956)* — which appeared simultaneously in German and English editions — is a shorter and less comprehensive work than Borbándi's, but it too has its special merits.[9] Although covering basically the same territory as Borbándi, András's approach is different; this stems largely from the fact that he is a sociologist and not a historian. The result is that his work is often more analytical than descriptive. This is particularly evident in the initial three chapters, where András renders a vivid, and often remarkably frank view of Hungary's political, social and economic development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and of the resulting "feudal-capitalistic" social system that characterized not only Hungary, but also much of East Central Europe. Thus, whereas in Western Europe the struggle between feudalism and capitalism (economic liberalism) ended in the latter's victory, and resulted in the evolution of a type of society that became responsive to the economic and cultural needs of the masses, in East Central Europe this did not come about. Here, the clash between feudalism and capitalism — which was considerably delayed — did not produce a clear-cut victory for either side. Instead it produced a hybrid society that was heavily burdened with the remnants of feudalism

right up to the end of World War II. This was equally true for Hungary, where social and economic differences among the various population strata were not only great, but were virtually fossilized and embedded into sacrosanct values inherited from the past. In this society, where one's position was usually connected with one's birth, lineage, as well as hereditary and non-hereditary titles, social mobility was rare and difficult. And even when becoming more common — such as during the turbulent 1930s — this mobility was largely a one-way street. This meant that unless one was willing to accept the tenuous position of the literary intelligentsia on the peripheries of "society" proper, the newcomer or *homo novus* was obliged to acclimatize to the mentality and way of life of his new social class. Thus, instead of injecting fresh spirit into his new social milieu, such a newcomer merely swelled the ranks of those who perpetuated this archaic social system. And while the various youthful reformers — both of the populist and non-populist variety — managed to make a few dents in this archaic façade of interwar Hungary's "neo-Baroque" society, not until after World War II was it swept away, along with every other aspect of the traditional world.

András's portrayal of this archaic society — although based largely on the works of interwar historians, sociologists and populist authors — is both revealing and convincing. Perhaps he should have made a greater effort to study and to use also some of the more recent (mostly Marxist) works on this topic and period — as did Borbándi. But not even greater reliance on more recent scholarly literature would have changed the general picture considerably.

András's coverage of the Hungarian populist movement (which, unfortunately, is always mis-translated as the "popular movement") is quite good, but much more traditional than Borbándi's — at least in the sense that the former sticks to the discussion of the generally accepted populists and populist institutions, and does not try to deal with persons whose populist interests were only peripheral. Even so — in our view — András too should have paid some attention to Elemér Mályusz's Hungarian Ethnohistory School, which was the only orientation in Hungarian historiography that concentrated primarily on the people and on the various history-shaping manifestations of the folk culture.

* * *

These observations notwithstanding, both Borbándi's and András's works can be regarded as major scholarly studies which will undoubtedly serve as handbooks of the Hungarian populist movement for

some time. They are works that deserve the attention and respect of the scholarly world, and should secure for the authors well-deserved scholarly recognition.

Both works are supplemented by useful biographical sketches and bibliographies, but in Borbándi's work both of these are more extensive. Moreover, Borbándi's work also contains an annotated list of populist and populist-oriented newspapers and periodicals, as well as an excellent name index. It is also beautifully printed — as are all books published by Aurora of Munich.

Unfortunately this is not true for András's book, which is typed. It also has an unusual chaptering system, which makes it more difficult to follow. Nor is its bibliography arranged alphabetically, again posing problems for someone searching for a specific work. The translation, however, which generally (but not consistently) follows the American usage, is quite good. It is regrettable that the most important word in this volume — "populist" — was mis-translated as "popular."

NOTES

1. Some of the relevant dissertations include: Karen Brockmann, *Populist Literature in Hungary*. Columbia University, 1966; Charles G. Gati, *The Populist Current in Hungarian Politics, 1935-1944*. Indiana University, 1965; Marian A. Low, *László Németh: A Study in Hungarian Populism*. Harvard University, 1966; and Asher Cohen, *Le populisme hongroise avant la deuxième guerre mondiale*. University of Paris, 1973.
2. Examples of recent monographs dealing with aspects of the populist movement include: István Tóth, *A Nemzeti Parasztpárt története, 1944-1948* [The History of the National Peasant Party, 1944-1948]. Budapest, 1972; and Gábor Tánczos, editor-in-chief, *Népi kollégisták útja, 1939-1971* [The Path of the People's Collegians]. Budapest, 1977. Short summaries of the populist movement can also be found in the two representative Marxist syntheses, dealing respectively with the literary and the historical aspects of this question: *A magyar irodalom története* [The History of Hungarian Literature], editor-in-chief István Sőtér, 6 vols. Budapest, 1964-1966, vol. VI, pp. 290-311, 646-691; and *Magyarország története, 1918-1945* [History of Hungary, 1918-1945], editor-in-chief György Ránki. Budapest, 1976, pp. 839-846. The latter work is the first published volume of a projected ten-volume history of Hungary.
3. The *Új Látóhatár* [New Horizon], which is not only a populist, but also the most highly regarded Hungarian language journal in the West, was founded in 1950 under the title of *Látóhatár* [Horizon]. After a series of changes in its title, it assumed its present title in 1958. Cf. *Repertorium Új Látóhatár, 1950-1975* [The New Horizon Index]. Munich, 1976.

4. The so-called "Jewish Question" has generally not been discussed or treated in Hungary since 1948 when István Bibó wrote his searching essay that tried to discuss this question in a warm human tone. Cf. Bibó's study in his *Harmadik út* [The Third Road]. London, 1960. The ice remained unbroken until recently when György Száraz came forth with his interesting and sensitive study, *Egy előítélet nyomában* [In the Path of a Prejudice]. Budapest, 1976, which created quite a stir. See also George Bárány's "Magyar Jew or Jewish Magyar?" *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, vol. 8 (1974), 1 44; and S. B. Vardy, "The Origins of Jewish Emancipation in Hungary," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* (Munich), vol. 8 (1977), 137–166, which has an extensive bibliography on this question.
5. On Elemér Mályusz and the Hungarian Ethnohistory School see Steven Bela Vardy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*. Boulder and New York, 1976, pp. 102–120; and *Album Elemér Mályusz. Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions*. Brussels, 1976, pp. ix–xxiii.
6. Elemér Mályusz, *A magyar történettudomány* [Hungarian Historical Sciences]. Budapest, 1942.
7. On Szekfű and the *Geistesgeschichte* School see Vardy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, pp. 62 101; and *idem, Hungarian Historiography and the Geistesgeschichte School*. Cleveland, 1974.
8. On Gál and the *Apollo* see Jaroslava Pašiaková, "Apollo," in *Tanulmányok a csehszlovák-magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok köréből* [Studies in the Area of Czechoslovak-Hungarian Literary Relations]. Budapest, 1965, pp. 439 450; and Steven Bela Vardy, "The Development of East European Historical Studies in Hungary Prior to 1945," *Balkan Studies* (Thessaloniki), vol. 18, no. 1 (1977), 51 90.
9. The German version of András's work is entitled: *Entstehung und Entwicklung der sogenannten Völkischen Bewegung in Ungarn, 1920–1956*. Vienna, 1974.

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Fermentation and Ossification in Hungarian International Law

Barnabás A. Rácz

Nemzetközi Jog [International Law]. By György Haraszti, Géza Herczegh and Károly Nagy. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1976. Pp. 491.

Political events in the seventies show that international conflicts have been increasing; nevertheless, growing global inter-dependence and expanding international intercourse have had a vitalizing effect upon international law in general. The Soviet Bloc is no exception, and the recently published volume is an expression of this growing interest in international law in Hungary. The new university textbook, written by the three leading professors in the field,[1] is the second edition of a work published by the same authors in 1971.[2] Even though there are no major structural differences between the two editions, the present work enlarges on some important topics, reorganizes some other parts successfully, and incorporates the most current material.[3]

The authors cover the traditional areas of international law and present the material with a double objective: the book is written both as a textbook as well as a handbook for those who have a practical interest in the discipline.[4] The nature and characteristics of international law are discussed exclusively on a Marxist theoretical basis. However, in the historical part the political approach is somewhat reduced; for example, the "imperialist" and "capitalist" phases were combined and some Lenin quotations were omitted. In the area of inter-state cooperation, emulating Soviet doctrine, the authors stress the legal nature of international cooperation, invoking especially Articles 1(3) and 55 of the United Nations Charter and the 1970 General Assembly resolution regarding friendly relations among states.[5] According to the latter, cooperation between states must be carried out without discrimination, "irrespective of the differences in their political, economic and social systems" (Ch. III; pp. 93-94). In sharp contrast to this position and the concept of

peaceful coexistence, but with the usual indifference to the contradiction, wars of national liberation are extended legal status, which is a standard Soviet position (p. 91).[6]

The territorial questions are examined carefully, particularly the rules of territories under special status; for example, the arctic areas, territories under international administration, and outer-space.[7] The law of the sea gained new attention, and the growing debates regarding the legal regime of the territorial sea, the continental shelf, and the 200-mile special fishing zones, received up-to-date analysis. An entirely new section (Ch. V, p. 17) examines the environmental issues as being increasingly subject to the realm of international law. This is a new sign of awareness in the Socialist states, which until recently were largely indifferent toward the economic and legal implications of the rising global environmental problems. Hungarian interest in the question is easily understandable, considering that the country is extremely poor in natural resources, shown by the example that 94 to 96 percent of its total surface water originates from abroad. Although the authors, conforming to Soviet doctrine, emphasize the importance of the domestic jurisdiction in this issue *de lege lata* (current law), they also stress the desirability of international regulation *de lege ferenda* (future law).

The position of the individual under international law is adequately covered, but this part is heavily influenced by ideological considerations (Ch. VI). The growing legal protection of human rights is discussed in a historical perspective, ranging from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 to the most recent Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.

The exhaustive analysis of international treaties is one of the best parts of the entire work. It was written by György Haraszti, the most outstanding scholar of international law in Hungary today. His contributions, especially in the area of international treaties, are widely known.[8] He bases the discussion on customary international law as the prime source of the treaty law, and also examines in depth the extensive codification efforts culminating in the Vienna Convention on the Law of the Treaties in 1969. Haraszti maintains that the latter is not operational yet, but it represents a consensus of the international community. New or enlarged topics in this part deal with the capacity to contract, the nullity and voidability of treaties, the legal consequences of the lack of validity, and the modification and termination of international agreements (Ch. VII, pp. 217–20; pp. 226–27; pp. 237 and 248).

A significant portion of the volume is devoted to the discussion of

international organizations (Ch. IX and X), written by another eminent scholar, Géza Herczegh, whose studies are also known in the West.[9] The material about the United Nations has been enlarged, and the analysis of many aspects of the organization is more thorough than in the former edition. In the latter the method of approach was mostly structural and descriptive, but now there is a stronger emphasis on the functional analysis of the organization. The history and background of the United Nations are explored in greater depth, including information about the Dumbarton Oaks Consultation and Proposals. The presentation of the structural material has improved considerably, together with the political analysis. The latter, however, has remained ideologically colored (Ch. X, pp. 294–95).

With respect to the infrastructure of the General Assembly, a comprehensive examination of the committee system opened up hitherto unknown areas. Careful attention was given to the main and *ad hoc* committees, as well as to the subsidiary organs of the Assembly. Furthermore, the peacekeeping operations, including the most recent ones,[10] received a more elaborate treatment. The scholarship has improved, insofar as the presentation is less biased.[11] The material dealing with the Economic and Social Council underwent significant modification. Greater attention to this agency does better justice to a neglected area in the former edition, and it also reflects the more active participation of the Council of Mutual Economic Cooperation[12] in the non-political activities of the United Nations.

The legal aspects of the international organizations unaffiliated with the United Nations are treated in a new, independent chapter (Ch. X). There is a clearer classification of these organizations, corresponding to the economic and political systems of the member states. The authors divide these institutions into three groups: organizations of the socialist states; developing countries' organizations, and capitalist organizations. Some of these are mentioned only briefly, whereas the COMECON, understandably, receives elaborate treatment, together with "other organizations of the socialist states with an economic character" which aim at the coordination of commercial and business activities in certain specialized sectors of the COMECON (pp. 331–35).

The questions of legal liability in international law are explored in a new part of the volume (Ch. XI), written by Károly Nagy.[13] The analysis focuses on the nature and concept of international legal liability, as well as on the consequences of the violation of legal norms and on the subjects of such liability. The historical material includes excellent examples, unlike other parts of the work, and there is an absence of

politically tinged cases, although there would have been ample opportunity for this. Nagy incorporates references to recent codification efforts and some Western theories, but without providing explicit documentation.[14]

The discussion of the legal regulation of war and neutrality is heavily influenced by ideological and diplomatic considerations (Ch. XIII). Following Soviet doctrine, the authors claim that wars in general are outlawed by the United Nations Charter as a matter of positive law, with the exception of national liberation wars. The presentation of the legal issues relating to aggression is detailed, culminating in the General Assembly resolution which approved the definition of aggression as recommended by the Special Committee.[15] The authors assert with some justification that the end product of the United Nations Codification efforts reflects Soviet influence to a large extent (p. 405).

The earliest Marxist international law text published in Hungary[16] still showed the spirit of Stalinism and was heavily beset by political influences. The first edition of the present volume represented a significant departure from this work. It had de-Stalinized international law, but kept the Marxist-Leninist theoretical basis. The 1976 edition retains the main orientation of the first publication, but improves on the quality. The analysis is more scholarly in some areas and the political material has been further reduced. It is a positive achievement that the authors systematically used the extensive recent codification efforts throughout the different United Nations agencies. Although some of these did not yield significant results at the time of writing, the proceedings generally furthered the cause of legal order in the world, and their discussion contributes to the comprehension of international law. Likewise, the inclusion of the United Nations Charter and the Statute of the International Court of Justice, as well as the index, has improved the quality of this well organized and well-written volume.

Nevertheless, some of the earlier edition's serious deficiencies still remain. The lack of documentation and footnoting, as well as the absence of a bibliography, is unacceptable. There are only scant references to cases dealing with international law issues, and even the most celebrated cases are frequently not cited. These shortcomings create a distorted view of international law, resembling those Western works which largely disregard the importance of the Soviet doctrine. The presentation of Western theories and the views of non-Soviet writers is painfully inadequate, as they are almost exclusively referred to in a critical context.

Hungarian international law, in general, shows no significant depar-

ture from Soviet doctrine.[17] However, a wider and more diversified selection of topics has engendered a larger number of publications and some valuable contributions in recent years. This book is a product of that new vitality, and although the authors' efforts demonstrate that the discipline shows some scholarly growth, it still remains politically constrained.[18]

Beginning with the 1974 Central Committee Resolutions, and continuing with the Eleventh Party Congress in 1975, the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party[19] initiated a new centralizing policy, particularly in the economic organization and to a lesser extent in the political-cultural life. Even if this re-centralization did not affect international law as a discipline crucially, it did contribute to the thwarting of the forward momentum which the early seventies produced. Expectations regarding a more liberal research orientation did not materialize completely, and there is considerable ossification in Hungarian international law today. Short of basic changes in the Hungarian regime, the politically sensitive field of international law is unlikely to break completely with the Soviet theoretical model; but it might produce a somewhat more empirical and less ideologically influenced scholarship.

NOTES

1. University Professor György Haraszti, Doctor of the State and Law Sciences, authored Chapters I, III, VII, and XII; University Docent Géza Herczegh, Candidate of the State and Law Sciences, wrote Chapters II, IX, X, and XIII; Docent Károly Nagy, Candidate of the State and Law Sciences, wrote Chapters IV, V, VI, VIII, and XI. Haraszti also edited the volume.
2. Haraszti, *et al., Nemzetközi Jog* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1971), paperback.
3. For a short review in Hungarian by István Timár, see *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), July 29, 1976.
4. There is no other comprehensive work on the market in Hungary today.
5. Res. 2625 (XXV) and ANNEX, entitled "Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations," see *United Nations Yearbook* (New York: Office of Public Information, United Nations), Vol. XXIV (1970), pp. 788–792.
6. See, for example, Grigorij I. Tunkin, *Questions of Theory of International Law*, in Hungarian (Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1963).
7. This question has strategic significance and hence it is an especially sensitive area. For a Hungarian contribution in space law, see Gyula Gál's excellent work, *Space Law* (Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1964).

8. See György Haraszti, *The Termination of the International Treaties* (Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1973), and also his *Fundamental Questions of the Interpretation of International Treaties* (Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1965).
9. See, for example, Géza Herczegh, *General Principles of Law and the International Legal Order* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969), in English.
10. For example, the United Nations peacekeeping operations on the Golan Heights and in the Sinai Peninsula.
11. See, for example, pp. 308–309 of the reviewed work.
12. Hereafter abbreviated as COMECON.
13. See also Károly Nagy, *Questions of Analogy and Gaps of Law in International Law*, Papers published on the 50th anniversary of the professorship of László Buza (Szeged, 1958).
14. For example, references to Anzilotti and Guggenheim, p. 359.
15. See Res. 3314 (XXIX), 2319th Plenary Meeting, December 14, 1974.
16. László Buza and Gyula Hajdu, *Nemzetközi Jog* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1954; fourth edition in 1968).
17. The most influential Soviet writer appears to be Grigorij I. Tunkin. See *op. cit.*
18. See Barnabás Rácz, "The Changing Status of International Law in Hungary," *East Europe*, 21 (July–August, 1972), 11–22.
19. In Hungarian, Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt (MSZMP).

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SPECIAL SECTION

Toldi

An Epic Poem (1846)

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(continued from Vol. IV, No. 2)

CANTO EIGHT

"The monarch thought it pitiful indeed
That Nicholas, kept at home, belied his breed."
— Ilosvai

Meanwhile George Toldi had devised a scheme
(If I may set some order on my theme),
Devised a scheme, I say, contrived a plan
His younger brother's fortunes to unman.
Therefore in haste to Buda did he fling,
To dig a pit and trap him with the King.
He sought the latter out, his greetings bade,
And started in about the hapless lad:

"Your Majesty, I find it bitterness
To tell you what I must, in due duress;
Bitter it is, for blood can be no other;
For sure, a younger brother is a brother."
He left off here, as if in utter grief.
And pressed his eyelids with a handkerchief;
From being rubbed, his eyes quite red might be,
But not a teardrop could the monarch see.

Then the King spoke discreetly to the other:
"I never heard you had a younger brother.
Why have you never brought him to my court
To introduce him here in seemly sort?"
And George replied: "My Master and my King,
Great shame and grief to me the affair would bring.
But (and he fetched a deep sigh on this 'But')
My brother from your favour would be shut.

"When Nicholas was but ten, our father died,
And he was left an orphan by my side.
I sought to act the father, as was right,
And bring him up to be a worthy knight.
But he turned out a rake, and dull for sure;
So he stayed home, a bounder and a boor,
Though he was of incomparable strength.
But what's the use, when folly rules at length?"

The good King answered: "Why, a fearful pity!
Yet you were wrong to keep him from the city.
You speak of powers in his thews uniting.
I wonder if he has a mind for fighting.
  But what is past does not from interest free him.
Bring him to me, I pray, that I may see him!
He'll learn the art of warfare in my school,
And be a common soldier if a fool."

— "Thanks, many thanks, for all your kindness, Sire!
And for my brother your esteemed desire;
Alas, it is too late, the lad is lost,
Having committed murder, to his cost!
  Alack, that I must utter such a charge!
He killed a servant, and is still at large."
George sank, with groans, upon a statue's base.
The King grew grave, to watch his lying face.

Why the King put on such a serious mask
He did not tell, nor did the other ask.
Thereafter, for a long time, neither spoke;
Then the King's Majesty the silence broke:
  "There's still a way my pardon to obtain:
Here let him hasten in, with might and main.
Upon a Danube isle a great Czech fights
And has already slain my bravest knights.

"Here let your brother come with valiant breath:
Either he'll beat him, or will meet his death.
If he should win, with pardon he goes hence;
If not, he shall have doom for his offence."
  So spoke the King, but not to George's relish,
For the kind brother sighed with malice hellish:
"Why, even this solution comes too late.
He roams the country in an outlaw's state.

I don't know where he is, for secretly
He slipped from home and took no leave of me.
Far off, upon an unknown track he sped;
God only knows if he be live or dead."
  Thus George lamented with perfidious art,

False to the very centre of his heart.
Nor did he scorn his real aim to betray
And turned his discourse still another way.

"My brother's done for, by all human law;
His rightful heir am I, without a flaw.
I could take over, with presumptive claim,
If I were minded to pursue that aim;
  But some, perhaps, might afterwards declare
I had been hankering for Nicholas' share,
That having chased him out with harsh command,
I came back home and took away his land.

"But God forbid that I should be his heir
And add the people's slander to my share.
And who could guarantee he might not come
And kill me for the estate I barred him from?
  I don't want that; the title I disown,
And lay it at the footstool of your throne.
You'll know some worthy man, of gentle station,
To whom to give it as a royal donation."

So spoke George Toldi, with obeisance deep;
But the King's thoughtful mind was not asleep.
With perfect ease the dark intent he found
That George had covered up without a sound, —
  To get a Royal grant, without a doubt,
More easily to drive his brother out,
If Nicholas should be cleared, by any chance,
And come to claim his true inheritance.

The King caught Toldi with a chilly smile,
By his own words, in colloquy of guile:
"Well, I accept your brother's property.
Since you most worthy of the grant must be,
  I'll make it yours, if you in single fight
Tomorrow kill the Czech, that fearful knight,
And pin his head upon this battlement.
That action wins my seal and royal assent!"

Red as a parboiled shrimp turned Toldi's face;
The day was bright, but shadows filled the place;
The statues danced about him for a spell;
Giddiness seized him and he almost fell;
  He sweated, yet his body felt a chill;
His face turned pale, as if surpassing ill;
His blood-stream would not service, most and least,
One sole mosquito for a single feast.

At last he started speaking for the nonce
And sadly to the King's words made response:
"My brother's lot, I said, is not my goal.
I turn it down, lest it oppress my soul."
  He spoke, and bowing to the King with care,
Went home, and started in to tear his hair
And beat his brows: his servants stood behind him
And darkly wondered if they ought to bind him.

CANTO NINE

"The tether broke, the bull went running wild. . .
They threw the lad some liver as they smiled."
— Ilosvai

The moon shone brightly on the streets of Pest
And all the chimneys with its radiance dressed.
Brown shingle-roofs cringed humbly lower down
And covered half the house-walls of the town.
  You'd think most people high in attics dwelt,
And therefore garret upon garret knelt;
To-day the storeys stand up, wall on wall,
But then the double-roofs soared high and tall.

Weary of wandering without aught to eat,
Young Nicholas sought a bench beside the street;
The gentlefolk strolled by him, fair to view;
He gazed at them until he weary grew.
  He bent his head; his fortunes seemed to mock it,
With not a farthing in his empty pocket.

For four long days he'd eaten not a thing
But mushrooms, picked up in his wandering.

A sudden noise broke out and shrieks rose higher.
Was there a siege, a flood, perhaps a fire?
There was no fire, nor siege, nor yet a flood;
Yet peril now drew nigh with thundering thud:
  A great, wild bull ran down the narrow street,
Loose from a slaughter-house in frenzied heat;
His roars and bellows the dark blood protest
That from his ear was trickling down his breast.

Each butcher's helper bore a length of rope,
But ran to safety in a craven lope;
Each sought protection for his own dear hide
Yet from his corner to the dogs he cried.
  Six mighty mastiffs there proved dutiful
As the men set them on the frantic bull;
The dogs then plied their task, devoid of fears,
In going for his withers and his ears.

Whenever dogs, in rushing to and fro,
Bit the bull's ears and caused him bitter woe,
The bull would roar and shake the mastiff free
Thus flinging off his "ear-rings'" misery.
  The dogs were scattered in a snarling clump,
And fell against the house-walls with a thump.
Should any ear-shred in their mouths remain,
They chewed it spitefully in rage and pain.

The butchers' helpers kept on shouting "Catch him!"
But as the mad beast wheeled, they could not match him;
Those dogs, indeed, who ventured close to fight,
His horns tossed upwards, in an unbought flight.
  In a nearby courtyard, one of them lay spattered;
Another's bowels by his horns were scattered;
The butchers' lads — what else could they have said? —
Kept urging still the dogs who now were dead.

But the bull bellowed like a thunderstorm;
And sweeping from his path the human swarm,

He charged at all he met, with snorting breath;
Everyone ran away, to shun sure death.
The women screamed to heaven in their despair;
The men yelled "Stop him!" but not one man there
Would seek to check the bull, with dauntless soul;
Each would have hidden in a gimlet-hole.

Young Toldi did not run; he left his seat
And waited in the middle of the street.
"What are you up to, lad? Does madness stun you?
A furious bull is bearing down upon you!"
He saw him well enough. How should he not?
"Why, let them shout!" he murmured. And I wot
He judged their words inept and fanciful,
For first of all, he had to mind the bull.

The latter, at this adversary found,
Gave a tremendous roar and pawed the ground.
His horns threw up the dust, as chaff might soar
In forking straw upon a threshing-floor.
Then, as he tensed the muscles of his back,
He lowered his great horns for the attack.
"He's lost! Ai, ai!" the people shrieked distressed
From every window of that street in Pest.

He lost? Not he! Stamping defiance stout,
With his tremendous voice he gave a shout.
By this device he gave the bull a fright —
Then by his two great horns he held him tight;
By those same horns he dragged him to his pen.
He asked assistance from the butchers' men;
But it was long before they dared appear,
Bringing strong ropes and poles and other gear.

To a great beam the captive bull they tied,
His horns strapped to his legs on either side;
The crowd dispersed; and to a nearby shed
The butchers' men retired and went to bed.
Nicholas sat down beside the abattoir,
And sought with sleep his body to restore;
Beneath his head a rafter is his pillow;
And moonlight blankets all his form embillow.

But butchers turned him out from this retreat,
Cast a big chunk of liver at his feet
And told him, in a manner far from civil,
To clear right out and hasten to the devil.
"For having saved the people by the score,
Shall liver be my pay, and nothing more?"
— Thought Toldi, and he let the liver lie;
Nay, gave it to a dog that wandered by.

He sought the street. His ears a whisper caught:
"This was the man who with the mad bull fought."
And many a human face he saw, alack,
That from a window or a door drew back.
Then window-shutters closed, all down the block,
And creaking keys were turned in many a lock.
Silence set in, cold to the human race.
"Where shall I find," said he, "a fireplace?"

How many things there were that crossed his mind!
His mother's image hovered, sweet and kind,
Looking as when he went to say Farewell;
Her embrace and kiss within his memory dwell.
That night had been of just as soft a tone,
The moon above them just as brightly shone.
Then, too, had all men shut him starkly out,
And shelter for the night was all in doubt.

Forsaking for a while his mother's face,
His thoughts turned to the widowed lady's grace!
How she had wept, how she had wrung her hands,
Since her sons' blood had stained the island's sands!
His vow came to his mind. What was his plan? —
"How can I fight tomorrow with that man?
Where can I come by buckler, mail and sword?
And will the Czech accept my warlike word?

"Perhaps he will not heed me, when he eyes me,
Will laugh and scoff at me, and will despise me.
Perhaps men will not even let me near:
'Be off, you scamp!' They'll say, when I appear."
Nicholas with such dark thoughts could not compete;

Heaving deep sighs, he roamed about the street.
Sometimes he paused, and gazed upon the ground,
As if some precious thing might there be found.

Then he looked up, and brightness filled his face;
You'd think he ran, so speedy was his pace.
He sought the cemetery, fresh and green,
Where he the mourning widow late had seen:
"With ease I'll hit the mark at which I aim.
Surely her sons had war-gear for their game.
I'll put that on." He felt a flush of joy —
That bitter disappointment would destroy.

For vainly did he search the graveyard o'er:
He found no living soul there any more;
Where should he find the widow's place of rest?
A hundred thousand lived in Budapest.
He knew at last his good intent was shaken,
That his strong vow was to no purpose taken,
That he was but a toy, and at its whim
Fate, like a child, had only played with him.

And since the living would not give him aid,
He went to rest where the cold dead were laid;
The funeral mound was wet with tears of dew
Which the cold night had wept in sorrow true.
Nicholas looked up, to view the Milky Way,
And grieved that as an outlaw he must stray;
While like a bird, that on far flight would start,
Hope fluttered in his dark, despondent heart.

CANTO TEN

"George Toldi's mother bade the servant speed
And give the bread to Nicholas in his need."
— Ilosvai

Capricious Hope, whose total lack of care
Had driven hapless Nicholas to despair,

Sent sleep to soothe his eyes and dreams to bless
His spirit in its deep unhappiness.
The Czech's defeat these charming visions bring,
And pardon, for his murder, from the king.
His hands held costly weapons, pearl-beset;
With tears of joy his mother's eyes were wet.

The sudden thud of hoof-beats broke his rest;
Toldi looked up; moonbeams the night invest,
Helping his view, and close at hand it showed —
A rider past the cemetery rode.
Who was the horseman? Past all hope, of course,
He recognized old Ben upon the horse:
"Hello! Who's there? Old Ben, can it be you?
Oh, what a priceless chance, if this be true!"

In vain the old retainer would have said
He was not Ben, but someone else instead;
For Nicholas dragged him from his saddle's base
And kissed away all dust-specks from his face.
The only sense to Ben that all this gave
Was that a ghost had seized him from the grave;
And Nicholas had to make a long oration
Before the old man grasped the situation.

But when he caught the meaning of it all,
That moment till his death he could recall,
The good soul so remembered his great fright
And then the mighty sequel of delight;
He hardly could believe his own two eyes
And touched his bones, his senses to apprise;
Then from his eyes the tears poured out in crowds,
Like showers of rain from one of God's own clouds.

The joy and lamentation lasted long.
For Nicholas had to tell his tale of wrong;
Yet pauses in the telling brought another
Concern of his, the welfare of his mother:
"How is she then? I hope she is not ill.
And is she sorry for her lost child still?
Did George stay on, and does he riot gladly? —
For surely he would treat poor Mother badly!"

Then cheerfully old Ben to Nicholas spake:
He need not sorrow for his mother's sake
George left next day, and gave that much relief,
Nor was her spirit agonized by grief.
A glimpse of Nicholas was her dream of mirth —
If Ben could find him on this whole broad earth,
She promised faithfully to come and meet him,
Even if fifty miles she walked to greet him.

"Nor did she, my dear Nicholas, send me out
Merely to find you, but without a doubt
To stay with you as faithful aide and valet
And even, at need, in your defence to rally.
Where'er you turn, I shall be at your side,
And help to you in danger shall provide . . . ."
All this was said by Ben, and many times
As much as anyone could put in rhymes.

There for the night they purposed to remain.
Ben gave his horse a good repast of grain,
For oats and bread alike the pommel bore —
Of shame for such a load he kept no store.
It also bore a satchel from the farm,
And in this, elbow-deep, he thrust his arm,
And drew out something, saying: "Here you are,
A loaf of bread from home you'll not debar.

"Your lady mother had this wheat-bread planned,
Kneading and baking it with her own hand;
And I to strict instructions must submit,
To hand it to you without cutting it."
He gave him loaf and breadknife in due course,
And Nicholas tried to cut with all his force.
But it was not the loaf that gave and broke —
The strong knife shattered at the lusty stroke.

The old man wondered: "In the devil's name,
Was it through wind the bread thus dry became,
Stored in the double folds of the valise?"
He took the knife and fitted piece to piece
And thought: "How nice if I could this repair!"

While Nicholas almost melted in despair,
Fearing to starve while bread his hopes impel,
When lo, a piece of iron from it fell.

Ben picked it up and found, in paradox,
It was not just some iron, but a box.
He opened it — no lock its contents pent —
And gazed inside it with astonishment.
  Coined gold lay there, not two or three small doits,
But all through life and all of his exploits
(Not even food had given him such pleasure),
He never had beheld so large a treasure.

Was Nicholas at this fortune not delighted?
Of course he was, abundantly excited;
He danced for joy at his release from sorrow,
And pondered much his projects for tomorrow:
  How he'll buy weapons! How well-dressed will tread!
How he'll cut off that Czech's defiant head!
And how of this and that? In fact, it seems
There was no limit to his glorious dreams!

When they had both gazed long, in pleasure sunny,
They sat down on a grave to count the money;
Then Nicholas, one by one, takes out the coins,
And Ben his two old hands together joins.
  Said he: "Old palm, you've surely struck it rich!
Today you really could afford to itch!
But hush, I must not speak and spoil the count!"
But no, an even hundred was the amount.

"Now listen to my words, good servant mine:
Put carefully away these ninety-nine;
The hundredth we'll dispose of easily,
For I'm in famous spirits for a spree!"
  Old Ben at such proposals might have cavilled,
But his own flask had dried out as he travelled.
The outside had been moistened by the dew,
But dry inside, it could strike sparks for you.

Not far they hunted on the roads around,
For near at hand a poorish pub they found.
Dirty and shabby was that ancient inn;
On the Hortobágy it could indeed have been.
A melancholy well-sweep stood in front;
Ben tethered here the charger, with a grunt;
Nicholas went in; in darkness did he tread,
And on the lintel low he hurt his head.

"Innkeeper, hey! Where are you? Devil take you!
Are you asleep or dead? A light! Awake you!",—
"Oh, I'm awake! (Whom has the storm blown here?)
Here's light, and wine! How much would make good cheer?"—
"Nor cup nor pint could satisfy a man.
Just give us nothing or the whole damned can!"
The landlord cleared his throat. ("Aha," he thought,
"Tonight a mighty drinker I have caught!")

Ben in the meantime brought the knapsack in,
And welcome to the lad it must have been:
He gulped provisions down, with such a feat
Three men would not be able to compete.
The big can came. He rolled his shirt-sleeves high,
As if a wrestling-match he could espy;
Then down his gullet half the tankard sped.
Quoth Ben: "Good heavens! It will turn your head." —

"Head or no head, I don't care very much.
What's your concern, how large a can I clutch?
If you are glad, a burden is't to think.
Bury your reason. Here is wine. Now, drink!"
So saying, he transferred the can to Ben,
Whose old hands shook, again and yet again;
Nor had he nerve the tankard high to tip —
He counted secretly his every sip.

While at the board their laughter was resounding,
Beside the stove a cymbal started sounding;
There in the nook lay an old cymbalist,

Who woke, the guests with music to assist.
  Then Toldi took the tankard in his hands;
Ready to dance, upon the floor he stands.
He drank, and danced, and made the whole house shake,
While Ben kept saying: "Stop, for mercy's sake!" —

"Whether it hurts or not, I will not stop!" —
He drained the tankard to its final drop. —
"Leave sorrow to your horse! Its head is big.
Not for long years have I had such a jig.
  Tapster, a can for me! And for my man
A cupful, for he cannot hold the can."
The landlord promptly served the liquor up.
The lad drank deep, while Ben sipped from his cup.

"Hurrah, I say! Grief to the grave consign!
Our landlord's sleepy. Let us drink his wine!
Drink, cymbalist! Or else on you I'll throw it." —
"In me, not on me, Sir, I pray, bestow it." —
  "Drink from your own for love! Tapster, d'ye hear me?
At least pretend to drink, or else you jeer me.
If more you cannot swallow, by my star,
May the earth drink the rest. Ah, there you are!"

He poured the wine out on the tavern floor;
Ben shook his head, this folly to deplore.
But Toldi went on dancing, full of steam,
And heaved his head up to the girder-beam.
  In bursts of joy, he'd give a mighty roar,
Then drank, then danced, then drank his fill once more,
But his old pal forbore, and from his cup
Only by small sips drank his liquor up.

At last old Ben was still, and ceased to frown.
His head grew heavy and sank slowly down.
The big stove slipped away; and from his seat
The old man fell in weariness complete.
Through Toldi's frame a like exhaustion spread:
He sat, and on his arms he laid his head
(Bare arms they were, on which great veins deploy);
So fell asleep, so slept, the mighty boy.

CANTO ELEVEN

"One of us two today will die, you'll note.
A dead man surely does not need a boat."
— Ilosvai

Dawn donned a red cape in its proud ascent,
And with it covered half the firmament;
But in its velvets it was not too vain
To peer in through a broken window-pane
Into the bare old inn; it only noted
The cymbalist asleep; outside, devoted
Old Ben was working in the morning hush,
Busy attending to the charger "Thrush."

The dawn then looked on Buda and on Pest;
Its own face in the Danube it addressed:
Red turned the river then, a-foam and brimming,
And near the middle was a brown boat swimming.
None else than Toldi was the oarsman there,
Making wide ripples on the river fair;
His oars the Danube with fine drops bedower,
As if red pearls were falling in a shower.

Swift was his course; it was not long before
He moored his wherry on the farther shore,
Then disembarked and went with eager speed
In quest of all of which he stood in need —
Gilt weapons for himself, and suits of plush,
And gay new harness for his good steed, "Thrush";
Since "Thrush" at home his favorite horse had been
Old Ben had brought him for his paladin.

A wished-for shield he purchased, broad and fair;
The tailor on his coat no spot left bare,
But dressed it, every whit, with golden braid;
Armor he bought, a mace with handspikes made,
A sword and javelins of high renown,
Made by the finest armourer in the town;
Fringed gold and silver to his harness cling —
What did he buy? He bought just everything.

Back at the inn, in brilliant style he stands
And whirls the mighty mace in mighty hands.
As the sun rose above the eastern rim,
Its eyes were drawn by the array of him.
"Thrush" from last night was changed in every way;
Then mud and dust had turned his coat to grey,
Now black he was, black as a beetle rare,
And glittering sunbeams glanced along his hair.

And when they put his stylish harness on,
How well it fitted him, and how it shone!
When Toldi mounted, in his elegance,
The steed looked proudly and began to prance.
Then like the wind, at such a moment freed,
The horse took Toldi off at topmost speed.
Ben followed him, a teardrop in his eye,
Because his master had not said Good-by.

Meantime, on Buda's bank, pray, what befell?
That also, if you listen, I shall tell.
There men the monarch's royal tent had pitched;
Of pure blue silk its awning had been stitched,
And dangling down, its beauty to assist,
Were golden tassels bigger than my fist.
Though tents of nobles all about it thronged,
You'd know that lodging to the King belonged.

Upholstered couches, spread with wealth untold,
Embroidered velvet and most glorious gold,
Within the tent in beauty were arrayed —
A fairer spectacle was never made.
Set in the middle stood an old arm-chair,
Fully adorned with gems in brilliance rare;
Its feet with golden clutches clawed the ground
Where rugs of silken tapestry were found.

Around the tents a barrier was built —
No boor might pass it with his blood unspilt —
And there armed soldiers and a crowd immense
Were gazing keenly at the empty tents.

Down to the Danube's edge the barrier stretched;
Within, an empty space was plainly sketched,
So wide, it could a cattle-mart have been
Had men but let the cattle come therein.

Down on the bank, a mighty flag flapped high;
Tied to its pole, a gay boat floated nigh;
Across the stream at Pest, the same things show —
There is a flag above, a boat below.
The river seemed a broad street, fenced with folk;
In mid-stream stretched the island, no mere joke
But murderous: for a week its thirsty beach
Had lived on blood like some blood-sucking leech.

Then down from Buda's castle came the Czech,
Making his big horse dance and toss its neck;
The tide of his abuse in torrents swept,
Since none was there his challenge to accept.
But suddenly, upon the bank at Pest,
A throb of hope is pulsing in each breast:
An unknown champion on a coal-black steed
Announces he is ready for the deed.

His helmet's front was lowered altogether;
Above it fluttered high a gay blue feather.
Toldi (he was the knight) the feather took
And gave it to the heralds. All men look
While they, as was their duty, sought the bank
Where the big Czech in all his insults, stank.
His plume was pink; this he for Toldi's changed, —
A sign that single combat was arranged.

Swift runners told the matter to the King,
Who came, and many lords with him did bring,
While the two champions each set out by boat
And quickly to the place of battle float.
Nicholas had hardly landed, when he gave
His boat a push upon the Danube's wave;
As if it skated on the river's crest,
It bore its prow into the bank at Pest.

The Czech knight asked the reason for the act.
Said Nicholas: "I have done it, since in fact
A single boat is all that one man needs
And one of us must die in this day's deeds.
A dead man in a boat takes no delight.
The feather that I chose is blue, not white."
So answered Toldi, and with earnest steven
He sent a fervent prayer to God in Heaven.

Then said he: "Knight, let us shake hands adieu:
You never harmed me, nor did I hurt you!
Even if wroth, you've not one hour to live;
And on his deathbed, who would not forgive?"
The Czech his mail-clad fingers did expand,
Meaning to crush to pulp young Nicholas' hand;
But Nicholas was aware of his intent,
And sought that loving gesture to prevent.

Gathering fully his enormous might,
He squeezed with power the fingers of the knight;
The latter's glove gave way, of form bereft,
And all the fingers of the Czech were cleft.
As when in springtime, as the sun is felt,
The icicles on houses start to melt,
So blood from every finger dripped away.
The Czech at Toldi's strength knew dark dismay.

Then Toldi with his bare hands seized the Czech
And shook him by the ankle and the neck.
He cracked in Toldi's hands, he seemed to melt,
And presently for Toldi's grace he knelt:
"I beg you, my dear son, don't seek my death!
I offer you with this, my failing breath,
All I possess, twelve vassal knights to boot,
A nobleman, your fortunes I'll recruit!"

The heart of Toldi softened at this plea:
"Let all be as you offer it," said he.
"I take your wealth, but take it for another:
You've killed two knights, I'll give it to their mother.
For charity, I give you back your life,

But you must promise, without doubt or strife,
That though the sea engulf your fatherland,
Again on Magyar soil you'll never stand."

The champion, in his terror, gave assent,
And so together to the boat they went.
But suddenly the big Czech, base of mind,
Sought falsely to stab Nicholas from behind.
  Toldi perceived it, mirrored in the stream,
And caught the fellow's hand with strength supreme.
The Czech knelt down again: " Have mercy, pray!" —
"Go, ask it now from God! I'll show the way!"

Then with the sword, wrenched from the treacherous Czech,
He gave him grace by cutting through his neck.
The mighty sword turned scarlet with the gore;
Then on the sword-point high the head he bore.
  Tumult arose on both the river's banks;
Men roared, waved flags, applauded in their thanks;
The Magyars yelled as though their lungs would crack,
And the high hills of Buda echoed back.

CANTO TWELVE

"The King calls him to court, and there endorses
Allowances to feed a dozen horses."
— Ilosvai

When Toldi's fingers gave his foeman hell
And down upon his knees the Czech knight fell,
His majesty rejoiced in glad surprise.
And tears of joy came welling in his eyes.
  Then to his lords he spoke, all far from sorrow:
"That Czech, it seems to me, won't fight tomorrow;
Now he has met his match, who'll teach him plain
Not to curse Magyars in this place again.

"Who may our champion be? George Toldi, say!
In vain I've scanned his size and style today.

There are no knights who in my country dwell
Whom I don't know, whose names I cannot tell.
But such great strength as in this knight I scan
I never saw in any living man.
I fear he won't be Magyar, and 'twere shame
If other folk must guard our nation's fame.

Whate'er he is, Hungarian or German,
He's saved the Magyar land from dreadful vermin;
On him a lapsed estate I shall confer,
George Toldi's brother's, the young murderer."
On hearing this, George Toldi's cares were stirred;
He looked around to see if others heard,
And saw them smile in joy to one another
That he should have a murderer as his brother.

When Nicholas now had cut the Czech in two
And lifted up the head for all to view,
The King gave orders for this paladin
That twelve gilt-coated knights should bring him in.
These men departed on a flag-decked barge
And brought him to the Monarch in their charge.
The King said: "Raise your visor, with good grace.
Tell us your name, and show your knightly face!"
Then Nicholas fell before his Monarch's feet,
And said: "Alas, an outlaw you must greet.
How such I came to be, the Lord can tell,
Nor do I know how I to murder fell
Nor why my brother turned me out of doors
To where the angry tempest raves and pours;
And now I come my misdeeds to lament
And wait for pardon or for punishment."

Frankly he spoke to him who ruled the realm,
And then pushed up the visor of his helm.
His face is pale and then to pink it burns
As grief and joy flood over it by turns.
The King was pleased to see his fair young face,
And therefore questioned him with friendly grace:
"Are you not Lawrence Toldi's younger son?"
And Nicholas bowed assent when he was done.

At this the King addressed his gentlefolk
And in a speech as follows to them spoke:
"Gentles, brave knights, pray hearken and draw near,
Because it is no trifle you will hear:
  This valiant youth is George's younger brother,
And George has dug a pit, the lad to smother,
To bar his brother from their joint estate,
Proscribed by all the family in their hate.

"I know his tricks; I've searched the matter out.
I tell him to his face, past any doubt:
A peasant he would make the lad at length
Through jealousy of his enormous strength,
  Lest mighty Nicholas should achieve great fame
And overshadow his own paltry name.
I'll not go on — his bad soul only knows
The reason for the hatred that he shows.

"I've found that it was he, some days ago,
Provoked the lad a mighty stone to throw;
His servants have confessed how George had planned
To kill his brother with a hunting band.
  Is that not true, George Toldi? That is true.
A King must know what all his subjects do.
Who on a brother would such slander cast,
A brother marked for fame by strength so vast?"

The Monarch's speech met universal praise,
Especially for the wisdom of his ways.
George Toldi hung his head, so shamed in soul
He could have hidden in a rabbit-hole.
  The King to Nicholas then his eyes transferred,
Patting his shoulders with a gentle word:
"Rise up, my gallant brave! Though once your clever
Old brother sold you, that is done forever!

"Lo, I forgive you, as your earthly King!
Pray God as well for His high pardoning.
Enjoy possession of your lands in peace,
As they from let and hindrance find release.
  Since time began, they've had no better master.

And since a grudging neighbour brings disaster
Your elder brother, of his own free will,
Gives you his share, true justice to fulfill.

"Should not, George Toldi, this to Nicholas go?"
George stood and gaped. He did not dare say No.
For the King's brow grew dark, his eyes flashed fire.
"Good," said the King, "This too is your desire,
  I'll have you this same day, to serve my need,
Confirm the transfer with a formal deed.
And since your nature foul I see too plain,
I will not have you at my court again!"

Then Nicholas spoke: "My King, most kind to me,
I do not crave my brother's property,
Nor yet my own. Brother, I give it you!
So let your stingy heart's desire come true!
  Rather, my King, this thing I covet most —
Accept me as a private in your host!
God is most merciful, a gracious Lord:
He'll let me make my living with my sword."

The great King answered: "Don't be such a child.
Why a mere private should I have you styled?
I shall enroll you in my Household Forces:
Henceforth you'll get allowance for twelve horses."
  So saying, from his waist he did untie
A mighty sword, gorgeous and coloured high;
Adorned with diamonds was the sheath of gold.
"Buckle it on," said he, "to have and hold."

Nothing the King could offer to the boy
Could give the heart of Toldi greater joy.
No wealth on earth could tempt his spirit pious,
Not ev'n the treasure of old King Darius.
  To thank the King with words his soul was stung,
But they were slow in coming to his tongue;
Nor from him did the King seek courtiers' arts,
For well he knew how mute are honest hearts.

That Nicholas' joy might not be incomplete,
That all he dreamed of might his longings greet,
As in another dream his mother dear
Approached him, from the barrier drawing near.
  Forgetting everything, he ran to meet her;
Within his steel-clad arms he did entreat her.
But neither of them spoke, nor laughed, nor cried;
Only old Ben his teardrops could not hide.

At last the joy that on their spirits lay
Into a heavy rain-cloud made its way
And tears fell in a tempest from their eyes.
Then to his mother's lips these words arise:
  "My gallant darling boy, my prince of men,
How glad I am to see your face again!
How fine you look, how well that air befits you!
As made for soldiering the world admits you."

Said Nicholas: "Had you not my prophecy
That, soon or late, a soldier I would be?
Not by my strength have I this pathway trod
But through the gracious clemency of God.
  We'll interchange with George my life's career:
He'll go to Nagyfalu, while we live here.
Perhaps he will grow friendlier, as time flies;
If not, let him be jealous till he dies."

Great was the love the hero bore his mother;
The shafts of Cupid drove him to no other —
No love of woman touched him anyhow,
And never did he voice a marriage vow.
  A god of war he was, through battles borne;
Foes fell before him like ripe ears of corn.
King, country and the weak all praised his prime —
His exploits stud the annals of his time.

No warrior with his anger could contend;
He'd gladly give his shirt to help a friend;
And when the country had no foes to fight,

With jolly fellows he would find delight.
No cattle, land or gold he left, perchance;
No children fought o'er his inheritance;
But as a finer crown of his endeavor,
His fame has lasted and will last for ever.

Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies, Vol. V, No. 1 (Spring 1978)

BOOK REVIEWS

Louis Kossuth and Young America: A Study of Sectionalism and Foreign Policy, 1848–1852. By Donald S. Spencer. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977. Pp. viii, 203. $12.50.

In this well-written volume, Donald S. Spencer recounts the visit of Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, to the United States in 1851–52 to secure men and munitions to renew his desperate fight against the Habsburg Empire and its Russian allies. The eloquent Magyar arrived in America at a time when many citizens were convinced that God had entrusted to their republic the mission of waving the banner of freedom over the entire civilized world. The European revolutions of 1848 had stimulated "Young America's" self-image of altruism, nationalism, and progress. Proponents of spread-eagled Americanism exalted Kossuth wherever he traveled, for his presence invited comparison between American and European conditions, and stimulated within the United States the feeling of assured superiority over, as well as sympathy for, less favored peoples.

Kossuth's was a difficult task. He had captured the hearts of most Americans, but winning their minds was another matter. In order to convince Washington to abandon its long-standing principle of non-intervention in order to defend the principle of non-intervention in Europe (a nice paradox), he sought to penetrate the "doctrinal myth" of George Washington's Farewell Address. Kossuth lectured his hosts as he would a world power. The time had come for the nation to flex its muscles on behalf of freedom. Advances in communications and steam technology had rendered isolation obsolete. America should not abandon the Monroe Doctrine but extend it to the portals of St. Petersburg. Kossuth suggested four specific steps that would allow the nation to direct its new energy into a vigorous foreign policy committed to liberalism, democracy, and the global struggle against Russian tyranny: Washington should recognize Hungarian independence; President Millard Fillmore should warn the Tsar that another act of aggression

would lead to American intervention; the U.S. navy ought to patrol the Mediterranean to protect vital trade routes from Russian interference; and, finally, Americans should fill his coffers and flock to his banner.

As Spencer reveals, however, the rhetoric of "Young America" could not keep up with reality. Despite his skill as a public speaker, Kossuth's cause was wrecked by domestic politics — sectionalism born of the slavery question — which forced political elites to confront the logical thrust of the adventurous rhetoric of their chauvinistic countrymen.

Radical Garrisonian abolitionists withdrew their support when Kossuth failed to condemn Negro slavery, hoping not to alienate the South. His neutrality implied support for the status quo, and in 1851, concludes Spencer, the status quo was the South's own program. Conversely, leading Southern politicians may have desired to uplift the peoples of the Caribbean, but the South lacked sympathy for the utopian vision of "Young America." Southerners rejected the assumption that moral force alone could liberate the Old World and pictured Kossuth as part of an abolitionist conspiracy against their peculiar institution.

National leaders, meanwhile, recognized the political dynamite inherent in Kossuth's appeal, arguing that to create policy out of sentiment was at best quixotic and dangerous to the national interest. Daniel Webster, who had done much to generate the original Hungary fever with his famous note in 1850 to Chevalier J. G. Hülsemann, chargé at the Austrian legation, admitted that the ensuing patriotic outburst aimed more to reunify a dividing America than to support a revolutionary Hungary. By March 1852, despite support from such leading Democrats as Lewis Cass of Michigan, Pierre Soulé of Louisiana, and Robert F. Stockton of New Jersey, support for interventionism had collapsed. Spokesmen for *realpolitik,* including John C. Calhoun and Whigs Henry Clay and William H. Seward, had informed Kossuth that sympathy could not be synonymous with policy. President Fillmore also remained aloof, proving more interested in promoting commercial interests in the Pacific and laying the groundwork for a transcontinental railroad.

This was cold cheer for Kossuth, who soon left America for exile in England, leaving behind him (in the felicitous phrase of Professor Thomas A. Bailey) "Kossuth beards, Kossuth hats, Kossuth overcoats, Kossuth cigars, the Kossuth grippe, and Kossuth County, Iowa."

Superseding previous studies of Kossuth's American journey, Spencer's volume is significant on three levels — as an account of the visit itself, as analysis of the conflict between idealism and realism in the

heyday of "Young America," and as evidence of the growing influence of the slavery controversy upon foreign policy. Nevertheless, the reviewer found it strange — and indicative of the author's tendency to stress politics at the expense of the American diplomatic tradition — that no mention was made of the pertinent controversy surrounding the celebrated visit to the United States in 1793 of "Citizen" Edmund Genèt of France. Spencer might also have accorded greater significance to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams' role in cooling American passions for intervention and recognition during the Greek rebellion and Latin American wars for independence during the early 1820s. Given this diplomatic tradition of non-intervention, one feels that Kossuth would have failed in his quest even had the whirligig of domestic political strife not confronted him. In terms of the domestic context of Kossuth's failure, finally, one wonders whether the Garrisonian wing of the abolitionist movement was as important by 1850 as Spencer thinks. According to Aileen Kraditor, for example, Garrison's radicalism had made him a pariah, and the movement had gone beyond him, into politics. If so, the shrewd Kossuth should have worried less about offending the abolitionists than Spencer argues. These questions of emphasis, and a few typographical errors, in no way detract from the author's demonstration that in the person of Louis Kossuth "Young America" confronted its own image — and ultimately recoiled.

Queen's University Geoffrey S. Smith

The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe. By Peter Brock. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976. 104 pp. $12.50.

Professor Brock's essay on the Slovak national awakening is a welcome and important contribution to Western writings on the Slovaks. The author has left very few stones unturned in his research, examining not only available primary sources, but also the broad spectrum of essays and studies mostly in Slovak, that have appeared inside and outside Czechoslovakia in the last half-century.

Professor Brock has not written a complete history of the Slovak national awakening, but rather, as he indicates in his preface and subtitle, an intellectual history. In a way this is a pity, for as a result his essay raises a number of questions on the role and importance of intellectual movements in a predominantly agrarian society. This is best

illustrated by the importance he gives to the Czechoslovak idea in the Slovak national awakening and in the development of the Slovak nation.

The first problem lies in the fact that the author does not define the Czechoslovak idea, nor does he attempt to dissociate it from the ideology of "Czechoslovakism" that the first Czechoslovak Republic had propagated. He writes: "The emergence of a Czechoslovak state in 1918 and its reinstitution in 1945 reflected the vitality of the Czechoslovak idea" (p. 36). From this the reader gets the impression that the Czechoslovak idea of Kollár and Šafárik (Brock uses the Czech rather than the Slovak version of this latter Slovak's name — an unfortunate and unscholarly usage) are directly linked with the ideology of the First Republic in both form and content. The ideology of Czechoslovakism was a Czech creation that arose out of a calculation made by the Czech elite that the Slovaks could and would be quickly assimilated, a calculation which they saw would also justify the creation of a centralized state which the Czechs would control and whose destiny would respond to Czech needs. Neither Šafárik nor Kollár suggested anything resembling this notion. Šafárik's Czechoslovak idea arose as a result of his being employed in Bohemia where he was under the influence of a few Czech intellectuals who argued for the unification of both nations in order to better withstand the centralizing tendencies of the Habsburg Monarchy. There are letters by Šafárik which refer to his unhappiness with this pressure which went against his earlier research and conclusions. Kollár on the other hand was more dedicated to the idea of the unification of the Czech and Slovak languages primarily on linguistic and religious grounds, namely the fact that Slovak Lutherans used Biblical Czech in their liturgy rather than the vernacular that the Catholics used. The fact that his writings were a mixture of both Czech and Slovak also militated against his accepting the decision of Štúr and his young generation to re-codify the Slovak language on the basis of central Slovak dialects. Kollár's Czechoslovak idea arose at a time when the whole of Slavdom was awakening and when in fact the notion of being a Slav seemed for a moment more important than the kind of Slav one was. His Czechoslovak idea was influenced as much by this notion as by the presence of the Kralice Bible in Lutheran liturgy. But ultimately the lack of understanding from the Czech side, about which Kollár and Šafárik complained and which Brock documents, indicated the fragility of the Czechoslovak idea and certainly its lack of link with the ideology of the First Republic.

The Czechoslovak idea was merely an alternative that in fact had little

hope of being adopted, especially in the final codification of the Slovak literary language. Bernolák's codification of the Slovak language in 1790 was based on more solid grounds; his problem was that he had chosen Western Slovak dialects rather than central ones as the basis for his codification and thus launched the debate of the 1830's and the 1840's. Štúr merely picked up from Bernolák's effort. The Czechoslovak idea was thus no more than a theme in an intellectuals' debate and decidedly not deserving the importance Brock has given it in this essay. Štúr's recodification of the Slovak language on the other hand was anchored in the linguistic reality of Slovak society.

Intellectual history is especially meaningful when it is set in the socio-economic context of the period. The debate over the Slovak language was important especially in view of the magyarization policy of Budapest. It was also important in terms of the language the Slovak people spoke. This is to a great extent adumbrated in this essay by Brock's emphasis on the Czechoslovak idea. Furthermore there is very little in the essay that sheds light on these problems; yet they were important if only because they rendered impossible any Czechoslovak linguistic and cultural unity. Count Zay's decision to magyarize the Lutheran Church in all of Hungary seems somewhat insufficient as the major explanation for Štúr abandoning the Czechoslovak idea to which he had temporarily adhered at first.

Kollár's and Šafárik's idea was resurrected after 1918 in Prague's attempts to put across the ideology of Czechoslovakism. It failed however to take root, especially among the overwhelming majority of Slovaks. And until 1939 the Slovaks were for the Czechoslovak Republic, but it was an allegiance that had little to do with the ideology of Czechoslovakism or with the Czechoslovak idea for that matter. Even ulterior developments point to the relative unimportance of that idea.

Professor Brock was however right to have examined the Czechoslovak idea as one of the themes in the debate during the Slovak national awakening. Not to have done so would have been wrong. It is unfortunate he chose to exaggerate its importance. Despite this, his essay, together with its excellent bibliography and extensive footnoting, should be received as a welcome scholarly contribution to East European history, particularly the history of national movements.

Glendon College, York University Stanislav Kirschbaum

Hungary in Early 1848: The Constitutional Struggle Against Absolutism in Contemporary Eyes. By Edsel Walter Stroup. Foreword by Steven Bela Vardy. Buffalo, New York – Atlanta, Georgia: Hungarian Cultural Foundation, 1977.

"Unmöglich," exclaimed General Hoffmann in 1918 at Brest-Litovsk on hearing Trotsky's proposal of "neither war nor peace"; and the Hungarian-speaking reader of Mr. Stroup's book is likely to cry *"hallatlan"* when he discovers that 1848 was not a turning point in Hungarian history, that rather than being a revolution it was a mere constitutional struggle against illegal Habsburg absolutism; that "thanks to the Hungarian nobility's alert guardianship of the Constitution over many long and difficult decades, the 1848 demand for an independent and responsible Ministry under the Palatine was solidly based on law" (p. 125f) like the Golden Bull which according to the author was a manifestation of national consciousness; that the Magyar 1848 differed from its western counterpart in lacking intemperance and violence in mid-March. Professor Vardy, in his foreword, could not resist remarking, in all earnestness, that the reader "will *detect* the scholarly *effort*" (both emphases are mine) in Stroup's work.

But in all fairness to the author, these theses are not entirely *unmöglich.* In the 1840's Kossuth and his followers branded the rule of Vienna over Hungary illegitimate and blamed all the woes of Magyardom on Habsburg domination and misrule. The echoes of Kossuthite propaganda were last heard in the writings of Hungarian historians of the early 1950's. Kossuth was rebuffed by Széchenyi who viewed the country's Constitution not as a fortress of liberty but as a prison. Recent studies by G. Spira, J. Varga and I. Deák have contributed much to our understanding of the role of various social classes in the Revolution and the brilliant political maneuvers of Kossuth and his party while correcting the falsifications of the 50's.

The very existence of the active Diet in Hungary in the *Vormärz* casts doubt on Stroup's labelling of Vienna as absolutist. The impact of violence on the streets of Paris, Vienna, the constant threat of violence in Pozsony and Pest-Buda, the lingering ghosts of jacquerie in Galicia and Northern Hungary cannot easily be discounted and replaced by the image of a benevolent gentry and a peaceful constitutional deal between Austria and Hungary. Neither can one find national consciousness in Hungary before the reign of Joseph II or consider Hungary, regardless of the Law of 1790/X, "an independent kingdom."

It is unfortunate that Stroup did not bother to counter the arguments

of Kossuth's contemporaries and twentieth century historians. He might at least have commented on Varga's thesis of the Great Fear (*A jobbágyfelszabadítás kivívása 1848-ban.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971) rather than giving an inconsequential quotation, since Varga categorically denied the unselfish motives of the nobility. True, the author was unable to do research in Hungary; however, the materials for a good constitutional history of Hungary are available on this continent. An impressive collection on the subject is held at the University of Illinois. At least the parliamentary papers (Arch. Regn. Diaeta anni 1847/48) should have been made use of.

Hungary in Early 1848 may be a labour of love, as Dr. Vardy claims, but it is not a noteworthy piece of scholarship. Maybe Stroup deserves more than the critic's ire. Graduate schools should protect their students from the unpleasant consequences of premature publication.

Dawson College, Montreal P. I. Hidas

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British and American fiction and critical theory. He is the author of *Kálmán Mikszáth* (Twayne Publishers, 1977) and is now at work on another book dealing with aspects of metafiction in the American novel of the nineteenth century.

IVAN VOLGYES, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Graduate Program on Comparative Rural Transformation at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln, received his Ph.D. at the American University in Washington, D.C. He is the author or editor of eight volumes on Eastern Europe, the USSR and Hungary. His most recent volumes, *Politics in Hungary* (written with Peter A. Toma) and *The Liberated Female: Life, Work and Sex in Socialist Hungary* (written with Nancy Volgyes) were published by Freeman (San Francisco) and Westview (Boulder, Colorado) Presses. Professor Volgyes has also published nearly three dozen articles in such journals as *Problems of Communism, Journal of Military and Political Sociology, Armed Forces and Society,* and *Social Science Journal.*

ANNA KATONA (Professor of English at the College of Charleston), S. B. VARDY (Professor of History at Duquesne University) and BARNABÁS A. RÁCZ (Professor of Political Science at Eastern Michigan University) have each contributed to our journal on previous occasions.

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CONTENTS

Articles

Papers*

Review Article

Book Reviews

*The papers presented here were read at the 1977 convention of the American Hungarian Educators' Association.

Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies, Vol. V, No. 2 (Fall 1978)

István Bethlen and Hungarian Foreign Policy, 1921-1931

Thomas Sakmyster

Of all those who helped shape Hungary's foreign and domestic policies after the political turmoil of 1918-20, Count István Bethlen was undoubtedly among the most influential. Prime Minister from 1921 to 1931 and throughout the 1920s a trusted advisor of the Hungarian head of state, Regent Miklós Horthy, Bethlen was in the position to establish guidelines in the formation of foreign policy that would have a lasting impact. His imprint is thus to be found not only on Hungary's foreign policy in the "Bethlen era," from 1921 to 1931, but also in the later years up to and including World War II.

A member of one of the great aristocratic families of Transylvania, Count Bethlen seemed destined to play an important role in public affairs.[1] As a member of the Hungarian Parliament before World War I, he gravitated to the political camp hostile to the *Ausgleich* with Austria. In the revolutionary events after the war he assumed direction of a counterrevolutionary Hungarian group in Vienna called the Anti-Bolshevik Committee. In this position he made vigorous efforts to bring Hungary's plight to the attention of Entente representatives,[2] an activity he continued as a member of the Hungarian peace delegation at Paris. Finally, after several short-lived governments, Regent Horthy appointed Bethlen prime minister in April, 1921. This post he held for over a decade, more than sufficient time to mold Hungarian political life along the lines of his conservative political philosophy.

Bethlen brought a considerable reservoir of experience and intelligence to the task. Having entered Parliament in 1901 at the age of twenty-seven, he had had the opportunity to observe the possibilities and limitations of that historic body. Extensive travel through Europe had added a touch of cosmopolitanism. Above all, Bethlen was a most effective representative and interpreter of traditional Hungarian conservative thought. Highly suspicious of the notions of social and political democracy that the French Revolution and the upheavals of the nineteenth century had produced, and confirmed in this suspicion by the results of Mihály Károlyi's republic of 1919, he sought, as did other

Hungarians of his social and political background, to return to pre-war conditions. On only one major point was he amenable to change. The breaking of the bond joining Hungary to Austria he regarded as irreversible and desirable. Other changes, particularly those involving broadening of the franchise or land reform, he accepted only with utmost reluctance and trepidation. Yet it was one of the characteristics of his successful career that he invariably sensed when changed conditions made a certain position untenable. When this occurred, he would work with consummate skill to minimize the ground that had to be conceded.[3]

The long-term program envisioned by Bethlen was bold in conception: the establishment of a great and powerful Hungary, with the Magyars once again in their rightful place as the dominant nation in the Danubian basin. Here he was at one with virtually all politically active Hungarians in the period between the wars. But Bethlen, in contrast to some of his colleagues on Hungary's radical right wing,[4] saw the true implications of Hungary's defeat in war. Surrounded by the hostile Little Entente, confronted by a powerful alignment of Great Powers supporting the status quo, and enormously weakened militarily and economically by the war and revolutions, Hungary, in Bethlen's view, was totally incapable of conducting an active, dynamic foreign policy. This was the blunt message to his countrymen in his maiden speech to the National Assembly in 1921.[5]

Bethlen's scheme for Hungarian recovery involved a patient, long-term effort by a united nation, and it was based on the conviction that the "prerequisite of a correct foreign policy is a correct domestic policy."[6] Unity — this was the concept he extolled above all in the first years of office, and it was the keystone in what he considered a "correct domestic policy." It implied, above all, the gathering of all the national energies and the rejection of extremist, disruptive movements of any kind, whether emanating from the Right or the Left. To achieve this aim Bethlen fashioned a political system of remarkable inconsistency: true liberal practices were tolerated as well as occasional terror and political oppression.[7] Although the political process precluded all but the "government party" from forming a majority, and the authorities were not averse to the sporadic use of telephone surveillance and electoral intimidation, there nonetheless lingered the legacy of a kind of Whig-Liberalism that allowed for the maintenance of a parliamentary system embracing parties of the Left as well as the Right. With the vital stipulation that the fundamental tenets of the counterrevolutionary regime were not to be called into question, a relatively open expression of political ideas and thought was permitted in the press and literature.[8]

Once order and authority could be reestablished at home, Count Bethlen was prepared to forge a foreign policy predicated on the realities of Hungary's exposed position. The goal, restoration of a large and powerful Hungary, remained constant, but the tactics were made to correspond to the extent of Hungary's recovery and changes in the European balance of power. But as early as 1921 he made it clear to his colleagues that only one approach was conceivable for Hungary: she had to cling tenaciously, if at first unobtrusively, to her demands until a more suitable European diplomatic constellation arose. Underlying this perseverance was the familiar belief, deeply embedded in the thinking of Hungarian statesmen, that the Magyars were predestined by geography to play the leading role in the Danubian region.[9]

This assumption naturally led Bethlen to deduce that conditions in East Central Europe were artificial and transitory. All the new countries, not only Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, but truncated Hungary and Austria as well, were incapable of prolonged life. Thus, Bethlen argued, it was senseless to seek a *rapprochement* with Hungary's new neighbors. They would use all the resources at their disposal to defend their new gains, and even in the unlikely event that minor territorial revision were offered by one or another of the Successor States, this would have to be refused, since it would make it all the more difficult for Hungary to achieve more extensive gains at some future point.[10] Accordingly, Bethlen rejected all schemes for a wider collaboration, such as a Danubian Confederation, which, he averred, would merely lead to Hungarian submission to Slav domination.[11]

Yet at the outset Bethlen saw no alternative to a "policy of fulfillment" of the Treaty of Trianon. Hungary simply could not achieve the desired financial stabilization and economic recovery without the support of Western Europe and the resumption of normal trade with the Successor States. To lure badly needed capital investment into the country, Hungary had to demonstrate to the satisfaction of Western bankers and statesmen her acceptance of the peace settlement. Disruptions, such as anti-Semitic excesses or armed band activity in the Burgenland,[12] could no longer be condoned. Blatant violations of the military clauses of Trianon had to be avoided, and Hungary would have to promote her political rehabilitation by gaining admission to the League of Nations. An assiduous effort along these lines by Bethlen produced fairly rapid results. In September, 1922, Hungary won admission to the League, after having been rejected in its first bid a year earlier. In early 1924 the support of Great Britain enabled Hungary to secure a badly needed loan and a moratorium on reparation payments.[13] In return, Hungary, at the insistence of the Little Entente, was compelled to promise "in accor-

dance with the stipulations of the Treaty of Trianon, strictly and loyally to fulfill the obligations contained in the said Treaty, and in particular the military clause, as also the other international engagements."[14]

Bethlen's strategy proved highly effective. Hungary's currency was soon stabilized, Western capital began to flow in vigorously, and, buoyed by high world wheat prices, the economy by 1928 was flourishing.[15] Even Hungary's radical right-wingers, who had opposed Bethlen's "policy of fulfillment" as a "sell-out" of Hungarian interests, were silenced by the speedy recovery.

Bethlen's successes were widely admired in Great Britain as well, even though most Britons, if we are to believe a popular jingle of the 1920s, preferred to

> "let the hairy Magyar
> Stew in his horrid juice."[16]

Sentiment in the Foreign Office was quite favorable to Bethlen, who came to enjoy a reputation as a "straightforward, honest, intensely patriotic man . . . with whom it's easy to do business."[17] A measure of his acceptance by the British political establishment was the granting of an audience with the king in 1930, thus making him the first leader of a defeated Central Power to be so honored. Bethlen carefully nurtured this image of a responsible and moderate statesman by frequently affirming his respect and admiration for England[18] and by giving public and private assurances that, though he regarded eventual revision of the Treaty of Trianon as essential, he would employ only peaceful methods to achieve this goal.[19]

The assiduous efforts of Count Bethlen to ingratiate himself with the English political and financial establishment might lead one to conclude that he believed that among the Great Powers Britain was the most likely and most important champion of Hungary's revisionist cause. Yet the evidence would not sustain such a conclusion. It is true that Bethlen, like so many of his contemporaries of similar social and political background in Hungary, was an Anglophile and naturally would have been delighted to accept a British offer of help in redrawing the borders of Danubian Europe. Yet Bethlen was nothing if not a realist: though at one point he seems briefly to have indulged in wishful thinking about a radical change of course in London's continental policies,[20] in general he harbored no illusions about the possibility of direct British support for Hungarian revisionism. It was quite clear to him that the pro-Hungarian utterances of former prime minister David Lloyd George, the newspaper magnate Lord Harold Sidney Rothermere, and a small but vigorous contingent in the House of Lords did not count for much in the

arena of international relations.

Far more significant was the fact that the British government, wedded as it was to the status quo and the concept of collective security, could not in the foreseeable future openly champion, or even acknowledge the validity of, Hungary's territorial claims. At no point in the 1920s did London ever express even limited approval of Hungary's efforts to undo the Trianon treaty. Lord George Curzon, British foreign secretary in the immediate post-war period, had enunciated in 1920 a principle that remained at the core of Britain's Danubian policy for most of the interwar period. Hungary's hope for prosperity, he had asserted, could be based only on the "abandonment of such dreams as Hungarian political parties seem freely to indulge in of recovering the position that Hungary formerly held in Central Europe."[21]

Of course, this "dream" of restoring Magyar hegemony in Danubian Europe was fundamental to Bethlen's foreign policy in the 1920s. That he continued to court the British government in spite of the bleak prospects for any concrete dividends reflected not only his recognition of the key role that Western capital had to play in Hungary's economic recovery but also a political pragmatism that formed part of his Transylvanian heritage. A review of Transylvania's rather successful diplomatic balancing act between the Turks and the Habsburgs in the 16th and 17th centuries may well have suggested to Bethlen that a skillful, realistic foreign policy that left open a multitude of options could bring remarkable rewards for a small and essentially weak East European state.

It was this tradition that seems to have enlightened Bethlen's policy toward France and the Anglo-Saxon powers in the 1920s. Though to many Magyars it seemed unlikely, some day in the future, in a diplomatic context that statesmen in the 1920s could hardly envision, one or more of these more remote powers might be persuaded to champion Hungary's revisionist cause, or at least to give tacit approval to territorial changes in Danubian Europe. Thus, Bethlen apparently reasoned, nothing should be done unduly or capriciously to alienate the British or French; no opportunity neglected to erode, however imperceptibly, the commitment to the status quo; no compunction be felt about offering assurances of Hungary's pacific intentions, even though secretly the use of force was far from ruled out. It was in line with this thinking that Bethlen's foreign policy retained sufficient flexibility so that there always remained a possibility of a *rapprochement* even with France, the main buttress of the peace settlement and the patron of the Little Entente.

In the mid-1920s, however, when the Allied military control in Hungary was reduced and the opportunity for Hungary to pursue an "active policy" seemed to be unfolding, Bethlen's search for allies among the Great Powers led him not to Paris or London, but to Rome and Berlin. The first tasks on the agenda, so Bethlen wrote to Horthy in 1926, were to escape from the diplomatic isolation that had been imposed on Hungary and to split the Little Entente. This would be the prelude to a liquidation of Trianon, a task that, in Bethlen's optimistic estimate, could possibly be achieved "in about four or five years."[22]

It was obvious to Bethlen that overt support for the program he was sketching could hardly be expected to come from France or England. Indeed, it would have been highly injudicious and self-defeating to inform the chancellories of Western Europe of his goals. Since 1925 the French and British had been urging Hungary to follow Germany's example and join her neighbors in a kind of "Eastern Locarno" pact, whereby the countries of Danubian Europe would pledge to resolve their differences peaceably and enter into a new era of reconciliation and fruitful cooperation. In response Bethlen had stated, somewhat disingenuously, that he favored "some sort of conciliation" in Danubian Europe, although he believed that formidable obstacles impeded progress in that direction.[23] For the specific idea of an "Eastern Locarno" the Hungarian leader had only disparaging words. It would be wishful thinking, he asserted, to believe that Hungary might negotiate an agreement with the Little Entente similar to that which Germany had arranged with France, in which Berlin had been required to renounce revision on her western but not her eastern frontiers. Germany was a powerful country, Bethlen pointed out, and France had made an agreement with her out of fear. But Hungary's neighbors made it absolutely clear that a Locarno-type agreement in Danubian Europe was possible only if Hungary renounced forever revision of any of her frontiers. This, of course, was impossible, since "the Hungarian nation would nail to the gate any statesman who would sign a second Trianon."[24]

Given the assumptions and objectives of Count Bethlen's "active policy" of the late 1920s and the realities of European international relations, it was only logical that he should solicit support from those countries and political groups that were dissatisfied with the Paris peace settlement and might be willing to contribute to its disruption. Like the pragmatists in the German Foreign Ministry, Bethlen's initial thought early in the 1920s was to pave the way for Hungary's emergence from isolation by a pact with the pariah of Europe, Soviet Russia. But the stubborn anti-Bolshevism of Admiral Horthy stymied all efforts in this

direction and the less spectacular aim of undermining the Little Entente by wooing away Yugoslavia was undertaken. With Horthy's approval, negotiations began in 1925 and continued through the next year.[25] The unexpected result was a pact concluded in 1927 with Italy, not Yugoslavia.

Hungary's interest in a *rapprochement* with her southern neighbor had drawn the attention of Mussolini, who at the time was seeking to counter France's position of strength in Eastern Europe by staking out an Italian sphere of influence in the Balkans and along the Danube. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation thus admirably served the interests of both parties: Italy gained an East European ally around which an anti-French bloc might be built; Hungary, for her part, succeeded in demonstrating that, though weak and reduced to the status of a pawn, she could still play a role on the diplomatic chessboard. Though the clauses of the treaty were quite innocuous and were similar to those Italy concluded with Romania, Bulgaria, and Turkey during the 1920s, in a secret and simultaneous exchange of letters, Bethlen and Mussolini pledged to cooperate closely and consult beforehand on "all questions that might in any way touch on the present cordial relationship."[26] The treaty of 1927, the only bilateral agreement Hungary was to make with a Great Power until her adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1939, opened an era of intimate relations with Italy that was to extend to the final years of the next European war.

The treaty with Italy was the major diplomatic triumph of Bethlen's career. It won for Hungary the important, if somewhat boisterous, support of Mussolini for the revisionist campaign. A dutiful patron, the Duce did not fail to make ebullient references to Hungary's cause in his speeches and pronouncements. In concrete terms, the forging of close Hungarian-Italian ties greatly increased Budapest's room for maneuver in such matters as military rearmament and efforts to disrupt the Little Entente. However, there is much evidence to support the argument that though Bethlen valued the support of Italy, he doubted that the treaty of 1927 could alone serve as an adequate framework for a successful Hungarian revisionist policy. Perhaps, like many Hungarians, he could not completely overcome a fundamental distrust of Italy as an ally, a distrust stemming from what could be regarded as Italy's perfidious conduct during the Great War. More likely, Bethlen simply shared the skepticism of some other prescient European statesmen about Italy's ability in the long run to sustain the role of a Great Power in Europe.

In any case, Count Bethlen made it clear privately, though never publicly, that the natural and necessary complement to Hungary's treaty

with Italy was a similar arrangement with Germany.[27] Both powers were desirable allies for Hungary, he argued, since each, albeit for different reasons, was disenchanted with the status quo and desirous of certain revisions in the peace treaties. In fact, it seems most likely that of the two possible partners, Germany loomed as the more important in Bethlen's calculations. As early as 1921 he had justified his temporary "policy of fulfillment" by explaining that only a rejuvenated Germany could provide the "favorable European constellation" for a successful revision of the Trianon treaty.[28] Once Italy had been won over to the support of Hungary, there thus remained the pressing task of enlisting Germany's assistance as well.

Because evidence pertaining to the most secretive elements in Bethlen's foreign policy has become available only in recent years, Western historians have generally erred in their interpretation of Bethlen's policies in the 1920s, especially on the question of Hungary's relations with Italy and Germany. Bethlen himself greatly obfuscated the issue when, in later years and in a greatly changed Europe, he suggested that his pact with Italy had been aimed "even more against Germany than against the Slavs."[29] Such less than candid statements served to buttress the widely held notion that it was one of Bethlen's successors as Prime Minister, Gyula Gömbös, who was the author of a Hungarian foreign policy based on a Rome-Berlin "Axis." Yet, even while Gömbös was toying with this idea in an obscure Hungarian journal, Bethlen as Prime Minister was attempting to set the foundation for a Hungarian foreign policy based in part on this orientation.

In 1926 Count Bethlen told a confidant that "the axis of my policy is mediation between Italy and Germany."[30] Accordingly, after conclusion of the treaty with Italy the Hungarian leader worked assiduously, though in vain, to facilitate an Italian-German *rapprochement* that would set the stage for a German-Italian-Hungarian alignment. Although on several occasions in the 1920s Count Bethlen emphasized to German diplomats his belief in a "community of fate" between their two countries and the need for collaboration in a revisionist program,[31] a close political relationship between Berlin and Budapest proved elusive. Economic and ideological differences, as well as friction over the treatment of the German minority in Hungary, prevented the forging of intimate political ties.[32]

Yet Bethlen was not daunted; indeed, it seems that when he spoke of a community of interest between Magyars and Germans, Bethlen was referring not so much to those Germans who had created the Weimar Republic and remained committed to it, but rather to those, particularly of the National Right, who in spirit were hostile to the political and

social reforms enacted in Germany after the war. It is characteristic that the German with whom Bethlen seems to have maintained the most cordial relations and discussed his most secret plans was not Gustav Stresemann but General Hans von Seeckt, Chief of the Army Command until 1926. Moreover, several German political groups antagonistic to the Weimar experiment, most notably the Stahlhelm, were the beneficiaries of fairly substantial subsidies from Budapest during the Bethlen era.[33]

It is from the records of Bethlen's candid conversations with General von Seeckt and Mussolini (and, to a lesser extent, Ignaz Seipel, the Austrian chancellor, and Mustafa Kemal, president of Turkey) that the outlines of his ambitious revisionist program may be discerned. This evidence suggests that he believed that once the proper diplomatic constellation was formed in Central Europe (the nucleus of which would be Germany, Italy, Austria, and Hungary, with Bulgaria, Turkey, and Poland playing supportive roles, and Great Britain a neutral but benevolent observer), an opportunity would arise for the dissolution of the Little Entente and for significant territorial changes in Hungary's favor, though not necessarily a complete restoration of the Kingdom of St. Stephen as it existed before the war.

Although Count Bethlen dreamed of regaining for Hungary certain territories in each of the Little Entente countries, the necessity of a confrontation with Czechoslovakia seemed to dominate his thoughts from the start. As he graphically explained to Mussolini in 1927, "so long as the Czech frontier is thirty kilometers from Budapest, Hungary is not capable of action."[34] Having received the Duce's encouragement and the promise of Italian arms to prepare for a possible military conflict in Central Europe, Bethlen proceeded to consult with General von Seeckt about the logistical and organizational problems that the Hungarian army would face. Bethlen spoke bluntly, though it seems more in a theoretical than in a practical sense, of Hungary's firm resolve to attack Czechoslovakia and, if possible, destroy it. The goal, he explained, was the reannexation of Slovakia, where Czech rule had not taken strong roots.[35] In Bethlen's plans this revisionist triumph in the North was to be complemented by restoration of certain lost territory in the South. Bethlen reasoned that Yugoslavia, like Czechoslovakia, would eventually break up into its constituent parts, at which time the Magyars would press the Serbs back over the line formed by the Danube and Drava rivers. The Bánát would be restored to Hungary, and Croatia, though established as an independent state, would enter into close political and economic relations with Hungary.[36]

The future of Transylvania naturally remained a special concern of

Count Bethlen throughout the interwar period. From his private comments it can be deduced that the political solution he envisioned for Croatia would apply to Bethlen's native province as well. If possible, Hungary would reannex its former territory up to the historic frontier of Transylvania, but the province itself would survive as an independent state on the Swiss model, with complete autonomy for all minorities.[37] Whatever Bethlen's precise plans in this matter, he apparently felt that for the time being, at least, a *rapprochement* would have to be pursued with Romania. Indeed, in 1928 he suggested to Mussolini that Italy assist in the formation of a Central European bloc consisting of Hungary, Austria, Romania, and Italy. This diplomatic arrangement, Bethlen asserted, would disrupt the Little Entente and give Hungary a free hand to deal with her neighbors to the North and South.[38]

Briefly stated, then, Bethlen's program for territorial expansion and the reestablishment of Magyar hegemony in Danubian Europe seems to have been aimed at the eventual recovery of the Bánát, Slovakia, Ruthenia, and a strip of territory in Western Romania, all territories containing large, though not always preponderant, Magyar populations. Though nominally independent, Croatia and Transylvania would, in effect, become Hungarian protectorates. However, aside from his apparently hypothetical remark to von Seeckt that Hungary was intent on attacking Czechoslovakia, there are few clues to indicate what means Bethlen proposed to employ to achieve these goals.

It has been suggested that Bethlen's "active policy" after 1927 was synonymous with an "aggressive policy."[39] Yet there is no firm evidence, in the form of specific military plans, for example, to sustain this judgment. The only concrete steps undertaken during the Bethlen era, aside from a modest attempt at surreptitious rearming, involved clandestine financial and political support for separatists in Slovakia and Croatia, in the hope that civil order would be disrupted and Hungary could take advantage of the subsequent turmoil. This, of course, represented blatant interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and greatly contributed to the poisoning of the political atmosphere in the Danubian world. Still, it is worth noting that, though future disruptions of the status quo were intrinsic to the foreign policy plans of Bethlen and his colleagues, Hungary concluded no pacts of an aggressive nature in this period. The same could not be said of some of her neighbors, who at various times were willing to contemplate and plan for an unprovoked, preemptive attack on Hungary.[40]

In any case, sufficient time was not available to Bethlen to act on his ambitious goals. Unable to cope with the growing economic crisis, he

was compelled to withdraw from office in 1931. The legacy of the Bethlen era in Hungarian foreign policy was thus an ambiguous one. On the one hand, his rejection of a moderate revisionist policy limited to the recovery of territory in which Magyars were in the majority, his willingness to contemplate the use of offensive military force, and his emphasis on the need for Hungarian cooperation with a fascist Italy and a rightist Germany seemed to set the foundation for an alignment on the side of the Axis powers before and during World War II. On the other hand, Bethlen had imparted to Hungarian policy a strain of pragmatism that permeated his political thinking and strategy. In 1931 Hungary still seemed to have many options open to her; in certain conditions an alignment even with the West European powers was not precluded.

Though hostility toward Hungary was strong in the capitals of the Little Entente countries, there remained in London a reservoir of genuine, if usually muted, sympathy for the Magyars. Moreover, Hungary was a member of the League of Nations and was not tied by military pacts to any country. Indeed, the country's freedom of maneuver was sufficiently broad that, in the year after Bethlen's resignation, a distinct improvement in relations with France occurred, and in the early 1930s Bethlen himself, as a private citizen, several times met with the French Minister in Budapest and sketched a program of Hungarian territorial revision and creation of a pro-French Danubian bloc that could serve as a barrier against German expansion.[41] And when later in the 1930s Hungary began to move into the orbit of Nazi Germany, Count Bethlen, who remained quite influential in Hungarian political life, emerged as one of the chief opponents of a close alliance with Hitler's Germany. During the war he must have come to the bitter conclusion that the "community of fate" between Hungary and Germany that he had proclaimed in the 1920s did not imply the benefits and successes he had foreseen.

NOTES

1. No scholarly biography of Bethlen has been written. For Bethlen's foreign policy in the late 1920s, see Dezső Nemes, *A Bethlen-kormány külpolitikája 1927–1931-ben* [The Foreign Policy of the Bethlen Government, 1927–1931] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1964). Nemes presented much new material, but operated within a severely restricted ideological framework. More recently new evidence has become available in a collection of Bethlen's papers: *Bethlen István titkos iratai* [István Bethlen's Secret Papers] eds. Miklós Szinai and László Szűcs (Budapest: Kossuth, 1972) (cited hereafter as *Bethlen Papers*).

2. Eva S. Balogh, "The Road to Isolation: Hungary, the Great Powers, and the Successor States, 1919–1920" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1974), p. 40.
3. C. A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth. A History of Modern Hungary, 1929–1945,* 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961), 1: 37.
4. A small but vigorous radical right-wing movement had developed in Hungary in the convulsive period at the end of the war. Fore details, see Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, *The Green Shirts and the Others. A History of Fascism in Hungary and Rumania* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1970), pp. 49–82.
5. István Bethlen, *Bethlen István gróf beszédei és írásai* [The Speeches and Writings of Count István Bethlen], 2 vols. (Budapest: Genius, 1933), 1: 156–68 (cited hereafter as *Bethlen Speeches*).
6. *Bethlen Speeches,* 1: 287.
7. György Ránki, "The Problem of Fascism in Hungary," in *Native Fascism in the Successor States,* ed. Peter F. Sugar (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1971), p. 68.
8. Hugh Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe Between the Wars* (1945; reprint ed., Hamden: Archon, 1962), pp. 190–91.
9. *Bethlen Speeches,* 2: 185.
10. Gusztáv Gratz, "Ungarns Aussenpolitik seit dem Weltkriege," *Berliner Monatshefte* 19 (1941): 11.
11. *Bethlen Speeches,* 1: 231.
12. Early in 1921 armed bands were dispatched by the Hungarian government into the Burgenland with the purpose of fomenting a rebellion. For details, see Katalin Soós, *Burgenland az európai politikában (1918–1921)* [Burgenland and European Politics, 1918–1921] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), pp. 135–69.
13. English financial circles showed a marked sympathy for Hungary and proved most forthcoming in meeting Bethlen's requests for economic and political support. For a detailed treatment, see Ozer Carmi, *La Grande-Bretagne et la Petite Entente* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1972), pp. 88–115.
14. Macartney, *October Fifteenth,* 1: 63.
15. C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and Its Consequences, 1919–1937* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 465–66.
16. From a jingle by A. P. Herbert, "Foreign Policy: or, the Universal Aunt," cited by Martin Gilbert, *The Roots of Appeasement* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), p. 122.
17. Marginal note by M. W. Lampson, a Foreign Office official, on a report of March, 1924, London, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), FO 371, C4501/21/21.
18. In 1923 Bethlen told Sir Thomas Hohler, the British Minister in Budapest, that London was the "only capital where the Hungarian question appeared to be considered purely on its own merits and without any *arrière pensée.*" Hohler to Curzon, May 26, 1923, PRO, FO 371, C9296/942/21.
19. One historian characterizes Bethlen's diplomacy vis-à-vis the Western powers in this period in this way: "Bethlen's wooing of the West represents one of the cleverest public relations achievements in postwar Europe." Thomas Spira, *German-Hungarian Relations and the Swabian Problem. From Károlyi to Gömbös, 1919–1936* (Boulder: East European Quarterly, 1977), p. 121.
20. In 1924 he told Ignaz Seipel, Chancellor of Austria, that he gained the impression while visiting England that London might be preparing to organize a new European diplomatic constellation aimed at France. Seipel's memorandum of February 8, 1924, Vienna, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Neues Politisches Archiv, K879/99-102 (cited hereafter as HHS).

21. Curzon to Hohler, November 27, 1920, PRO, FO 371, C11889/283/21.
22. Bethlen to Horthy, September 24, 1926, *The Confidential Papers of Admiral Horthy*, eds. Miklós Szinai and László Szűcs (Budapest: Corvina, 1965), p. 42.
23. See Bethlen's conversation with Sir Austen Chamberlain in December 1925 at Geneva, Great Britain, Foreign Office, *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1946-), series Ia: 1: no. 137.
24. *Bethlen Speeches,* 1: 198–212.
25. For the details, see Gyula Juhász, *Magyarország külpolitikája, 1919–1945* [The Foreign Policy of Hungary, 1919–1945], 2nd ed. (Budapest: Kossuth, 1975), pp. 104–06.
26. Juhász, p. 115.
27. He told the German Minister in Budapest, Hans von Schoen, that "Hungary can fulfill its future wishes only on the side of both great powers, Italy and Germany." Cited in Wulf-Dieter Schmidt-Wulfen, "Deutschland-Ungarn, 1918–1933. Eine Analyse der politischen Beziehungen" (doctoral diss., University of Vienna, 1965), pp. 408–09.
28. Minutes of a Cabinet meeting of August 1, 1921, cited in the introduction to the *Bethlen Papers,* p. 57, n. 80.
29. Macartney, *October Fifteenth,* 1: 136, n. 3.
30. Extract from the diary of Miklós Kozma, as quoted in Sándor Kónya, *Gömbös kísérlete totális fasiszta diktatúra megteremtésére* [Gömbös's Attempt to Establish a Totalitarian Fascist Dictatorship] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968), p. 125.
31. For example, he told the German Minister in 1925 that he was convinced that Hungary's resurgence could occur only in tandem with Germany. Even if the two countries for the time being could not officially become allies, nonetheless "the old 'Bundesgenossenschaft' remained firmly anchored in the heart of every Hungarian patriot." Johannes von Welczek to Austwärtiges Amt, March 6, 1925, Washington, National Archives, Germany, Foreign Ministry, Microcopy T-120, S6146/E460142.
32. For a detailed treatment of this question, see Spira, pp. 95–131.
33. For the details on this, see *Bethlen Papers,* pp. 43–4.
34. Bethlen's memorandum on his conversations with Mussolini, April 4, 1927, in *Iratok az ellenforradalom történetéhez, 1919–1945* [Papers Relating to the History of the Counterrevolution, 1919–1945], eds. Dezső Nemes and Elek Karsai (Budapest: Szikra, Kossuth, 1953-), 4: no. 22 (cited hereafter as IET).
35. von Seeckt's diary entries for October, 1927, as cited in Hans Meier-Welcker, *Seeckt* (Frankfurt: M. Bernard U. Graefe, 1967), pp. 373–75.
36. This program Bethlen had adumbrated to his colleagues at a Cabinet meeting already in 1921. *Bethlen Papers,* p. 57, n. 80.
37. See Bethlen's memorandum of his conversation with Mustafa Kemal, November 7, 1930, *IET,* 4: no. 265a. For Bethlen's later thoughts on the future of Transylvania, see N. F. Dreisziger, "Count István Bethlen's Secret Pan for the Restoration of the Empire of Transylvania," *East European Quarterly* 8 (1975): 413–22.
38. Bethlen's memorandum of his conversation with Mussolini, April 2, 1928 *IET,* 4: no. 103.
39. Nemes, *A Bethlen-kormány külpolitikája,* p. 7.
40. For example, the June 1920 treaty between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia was accompanied by a secret military convention in which each party promised to support the other should it launch an attack on Hungary. Magda Ádám, *Magyarország és a kisantant a harmincas években* [Hungary and the Little Entente in the 1930s] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968), p. 19. By 1934 the

military chiefs of the Little Entente formally agreed that if a military conflict occurred in Danubian Europe, the first order ot business would be to attack and subdue Hungary, even if Budapest declared its neutrality. Rudolf Kiszling, *Die militärischen Vereinbarungen der Kleinen Entente, 1929–1937* (Munich, 1959), pp. 58–59.

41. See the reports of Louis Mathieu de Vienne on his talks with Bethlen in the period 1932–1934, in France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Documents diplomatiques français, 1932–1939* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963–), series I: 1: no. 225; 3: no. 50; 5: no. 230.

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The Rákóczi Insurrection and the Disruption of the Grand Alliance

Linda Frey and Marsha Frey

In June 1703 Hungarians rose against Emperor Leopold I of Austria and King of Hungary (1655–1705). The insurrection, led by Prince Ferenc II Rákóczi of Transylvania (1676–1735),[1] lasted eight years and ended in a compromise settlement. Although Hungary had been devastated in the struggle and Habsburg power seemed triumphant in East Central Europe, the Rákóczi insurrection had grave consequences for Vienna's international ambitions during the general struggle raging in Europe during the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714). The conflict helped to undermine the Anglo-Dutch-Habsburg Grand Alliance against the powerful and ambitious Louis XIV of France.

The alliance between the House of Habsburg and the so-called Maritime Powers, England and the United Provinces, had been forged to prevent the union of the Spanish and French realms under one dynasty. But the alliance was incohesive from the start. The allies' differing views concerning the Rákóczi insurrection enhanced the Grand Alliance's weakness, and the increasingly bitter quarrels over Habsburg policy in Hungary led to a steady erosion of confidence among its members. In particular, the Maritime Powers' attempts to intervene in the quarrels between the Habsburgs and their Hungarian subjects from 1703 to 1706 accelerated the deterioration of Austro-allied relations, and even caused the recall of England's ambassador from Vienna. As in any alliance, the misunderstandings and problems stemmed from its members' conflicting interests, goals, and strategies.

England entered the War of Spanish Succession neither primarily to champion Habsburg claims to the Spanish inheritance nor to support an abstract conception of the balance of power, but to protect its own Protestant Succession, and to ensure England's national security and trading concerns in Europe and overseas. The United Provinces entered the conflict to secure a "barrier" of fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands against France and to protect their commercial interests in the Spanish empire. Austria, however, joined the fray to secure the Spanish inheritance for Emperor Leopold's son, the Archduke Charles.

Throughout the war, England and the United Provinces consistently foiled Austria's policies and disregarded her strategic interests. The Maritime Powers ignored the Habsburgs' claim to inherit the entire Spanish empire, and they tried to barter away parts of the inheritance in Italy and in Spain to Bavaria, Savoy, and Portugal in order to gain more allies. They also begrudged Austria's preoccupation with Italy and refused to dispatch their fleet to assist the emperor's Italian campaign. More importantly, however, they transgressed the Habsburgs' vital interests by intervening in the Hungarian insurrection.

In 1703, Ferenc II Rákóczi urged Hungarians to fight for "God, Fatherland, and Freedom."[2] The insurrection aimed to curtail Habsburg domination by restoring Hungarian estates constitutionalism. This conflict between the emperor-king and Rákóczi exemplified the struggle between the powerful absolutist Austrian realm and its member states, which tried to retain and/or recover their constitutional liberties and privileges. Rákóczi represented the particularistic interests of the Kingdom of Hungary, whereas Leopold strove to establish a centralized empire by increased absolutist control from Vienna.[3] Leopold never intended to honour Hungarian constitutionalist demands; he negotiated with the insurrectionists only to gain time for a military solution. He never agreed to grant the Hungarians concessions which would diminish and/or endanger Habsburg power in the Danubian monarchy.

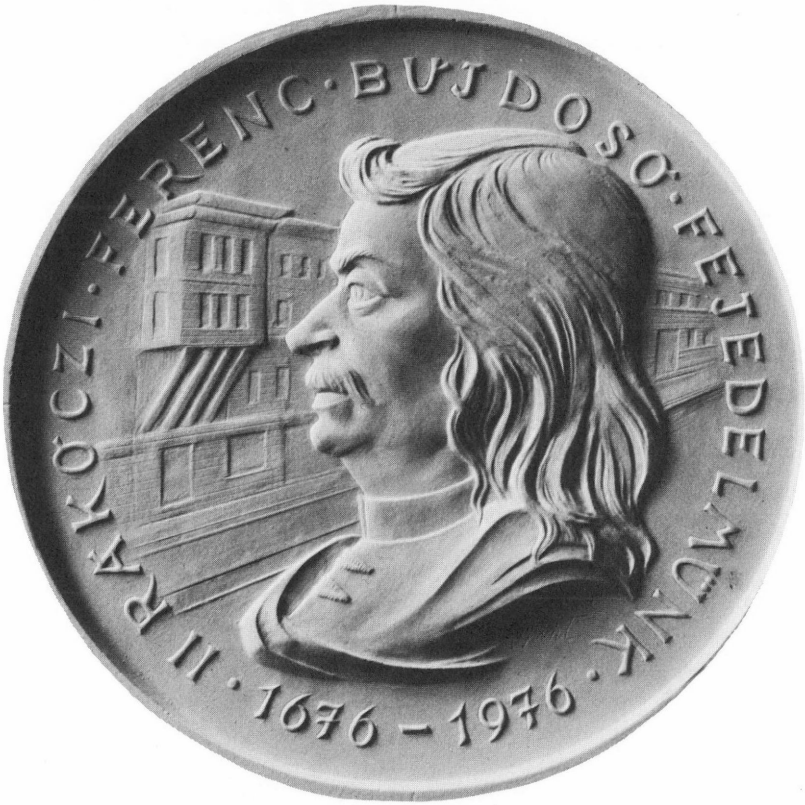
Leopold was indecisive, vacillating, monkish, typically Habsburg in appearance and action, a man with more faith in God than in himself. Trained for the clergy, Leopold had an unshakable conviction that God favoured the House of Habsburg. He had a keen sense of the imperial dignity and of his duty towards God, family, and empire.[4] He would be abrogating that commitment if he agreed to the insurrectionists' conditions. Leopold had reconquered Hungary from the Turks, incorporated Transylvania into the Austrian realms, achieved recognition of the male Habsburg line in primogeniture as the Hungarian kings at the Diet of Pressburg (1687), and ended the Turkish threat to the Holy Roman Empire. These gains would be either lost or seriously endangered if Leopold acceded to the insurrectionists' demands.

Throughout his reign, Leopold I sought to consolidate Habsburg power by extirpating Protestantism, eliminating elective monarchy, and extending his central authority. Leopold's attempt to crush Hungarian constitutionalism and to amalgamate Hungary into the Austrian state system exemplified this policy. In the seventeenth century, Hungary had been a buffer state fought over by the emperor and the Turks, who had occupied most of Hungary since 1526 and even threatened Vienna in

the 1520's and 1680's. Thanks to imperial victories from 1683 onward, Leopold was able to terminate elective monarchy in Hungary and abolish the Hungarian nobles' *ius resistendi,* or their right to remedy grievances by resorting to arms (1687). By the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) the Turks relinquished most of Hungary, along with Croatia and Transylvania. Thus Leopold held Hungary effectively under Habsburg rule; he quartered troops on the country, levied taxes, confiscated land, and persecuted Protestants. Many Hungarians became convinced that Leopold was trying to crush the Hungarian constitutional government and replace it with imperial absolutism, as an earlier Habsburg regime had done in Bohemia after the battle of the White Mountain. Leopold's subsequent attempts to amalgamate the Hungarian administration with that of Vienna only reinforced this fear. When the Hungarians finally revolted, they were exploiting Leopold's preoccupation with the struggle for the Spanish empire, the War of the Spanish Succession.

When the Hungarian insurrection began, the Maritime Powers were neutral. Allied sympathy for the rebels, anxiety that the emperor would withdraw troops from the war effort in order to suppress the uprising, and fear that the Turks would assist the Hungarians, however, prompted the Maritime Powers to intervene in their Habsburg ally's Hungarian affairs. Sympathizing with the Hungarians' loss of their constitutional and religious liberties, the Allies concurred with Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, that "a spirit of bigotry, tyranny, and of avarice" had caused the troubles in Hungary.[5] The Whigs in particular denounced Leopold's alleged cruelty and his persecution of the Protestants. Even a far from impartial Tory, Jonathan Swift, indicted Leopold for choosing to "sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passion by entirely subduing and enslaving a Miserable People who had too much provocation to take up Arms to free themselves from the Oppression under which they were groaning."[6] The English and the Dutch appreciated the growing strength of the insurrectionists, who mustered more than 30,000 men by the end of 1703, and they recognized the efficacy of France's diplomatic, military, and financial assistance to Rákóczi. They attempted to compel Leopold to accede to the Hungarians' demands and thereby end the insurrection.

The Allies feared that the emperor's dispatch of troops to Hungary would prolong the war with France. The Imperial circles of Swabia and Franconia complained vehemently that troop withdrawals left them defenseless against the French.[7] The ease with which Maximilian II, the elector of Bavaria, seized Passau, strategically located at the confluence of the Danube, the Inn, and the Ilz (January 1704), seemed to substan-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tiate the Maritime Powers' view that Leopold could not wage war in Italy, the Rhineland, and Hungary simultaneously.[8] Allied anxiety that the emperor would withdraw troops from the war effort in order to suppress the revolt, and fear that Turkish aid to the rebels might ignite another Austro-Turkish conflict prompted the Maritime Powers to intervene in Hungarian affairs.

Louis XIV believed that the Hungarian insurrection would create difficulties in the Habsburg realms and foment dissension among the Allies. Louis practiced "la diplomatie l'argent";[9] he subsidized Rákóczi with funds (about 30,000 livres monthly for the first two years, later increased to 50,000), and even provided officers, but not troops. Louis also tried to dissuade Rákóczi from settling with or even negotiating with the Habsburgs.[10] Dependent on Louis XIV, Rákóczi ignored an imperial diplomat's warning about Louis' faithlessness to his allies: "Prince, you have confidence in the promises of France: France is the graveyard of princes; you will add to their number and finish your career there."[11]

France also attempted to involve the Turks in the Hungarian conflagration. Louis did not accord formal recognition to the rebels, but he urged Turkey to do so. Although Ibrahim Effendi, the Turkish representative at Vienna, assured the emperor that the sultan wanted to keep the peace, Turkish involvement remained an everpresent threat.[12] Though Robert Sutton, the English ambassador at Constantinople, maintained that the Turks would probably not overtly assist the insurgents, he feared that the Turkish military leaders wished to intervene. Continued Hungarian success might force the Turkish government to change its policy and help the Hungarians.[13]

The Allies had good reason to persuade Leopold to end the Hungarian conflict. But the emperor's seeming vacillation was the result of conscious policy. The unquestionable superiority of the Maritime Powers made Leopold financially and militarily dependent on them.[14] He was, therefore, unable to influence allied policy decisions effectively. For the Habsburgs, this dependence often necessitated abandoning their strategic concerns. Leopold's only recourse was to vacillate or to

Illustration on opposite page: Prince Ferenc II Rákóczi. Medal designed by Dóra de Pédery-Hunt. Photographed by Elizabeth Frey of Toronto. Courtesy of the Rákóczi Association (Toronto, Canada).

procrastinate. By employing delaying tactics, Leopold hoped to safeguard Habsburg interests and defer accepting the unpalatable decisions which were often thrust on him, as in the Hungarian embroglio. Clearly, Leopold hoped to gain sufficient time to suppress the insurrection.

By late 1703, however, the Maritime Powers were urging Leopold to reach an agreement with Rákóczi. But the emperor wanted not mediation, but military and financial aid to terminate the uprising. Leopold's heir Joseph I (1676–1711) and Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736), one of Leopold's most able commanders, had also decided to quell the insurrection by force. Notwithstanding their friendship with John Churchill, the duke of Marlborough, commander of the allied forces, they strongly resented Anglo-Dutch interference. Prince Eugene in particular regarded Rákóczi's behavior as treasonous.[15] Most of the imperial ministers advised energetically suppressing the insurrection. Count Peter Goes, the imperial representative at The Hague, expressed the consensus of the imperial court when he told Alexander Stanhope, the English representative, that the "interposition of any Protestant power" would make the rebels, whom he disparagingly termed mere "canaille," more obdurate than ever.[16] Frederick, the Elector Palatine, one of Leopold's chief advisers, considered it dishonorable for the emperor to "condescend so low" as to even treat with the "rebels." He told George Stepney, England's envoy to Vienna, that once the danger from Bavaria was past, the emperor had every right to withdraw approximately 20,000 troops from the war effort in order to quell the insurrection.[17] The outlook, however, was bleak; the emperor wanted to crush the uprising, but he had neither money nor troops to do so. Meanwhile, the insurrectionists' strength increased daily.[18]

Leopold and his ministers resented allied "meddling" in Hungarian affairs, convinced that the Maritime Powers were too partial to the insurrectionists.[19] Nevertheless, in February 1704 the emperor accepted the Maritime Powers' mediation offer because his financial and military dependence demanded it, and because the involvement of other powers, such as Poland, Prussia, or Sweden, was even less palatable. Throughout the negotiations, Leopold's belief that both Stepney and Hamel Bruynincx, the Dutch representative at Vienna, favored the rebels, obstructed progress.[20] Ironically, neither Rákóczi nor his close friend, the proud arrogant Count Nicholas Bercsényi (1655–1725), wanted the mediation of the Maritime Powers, whom they distrusted as the Habsburgs' allies. Rákóczi, in fact, had advocated mediation by Sweden, Poland, Prussia, or Venice.[21]

Under the auspices of the Maritime Powers, the Habsburgs negoti-

ated with the rebels intermittently from the spring of 1704 through Leopold's death to the summer of 1706. The Hungarians shrewdly guessed that Leopold only wanted a truce in order to rest his beleaguered garrisons and gather more troops.[22] The ambiguous wording of the proposed armistice instrument only augmented Hungarian fears of possible imperial chicanery. The Austrians also doubted the rebels' sincerity, convinced that they were negotiating only in order to gain time.[23] The quibbling over various conference sites and the wording of the assorted terms and credentials further intensified mutual suspicions.[24]

General Siegbert Heister, commander of the imperial army in Hungary, also impeded the negotiations. His policy of "sword, rope, and fire," and his allusion to the Hungarians' "perfidious crimes" and "detestable obstinacy" increased the insurrectionists' obduracy. His ruthless military actions, such as the destruction of the neutral city of Veszprém in May 1704, augmented Rákóczi's following and further diminished the possibility of a peaceful settlement. A worse selection as commander than Heister could hardly have been made. Although brave and energetic, he was also obstinate, cruel, and unable to cooperate with his subordinates or his fellow commanders. Heister had neither military nor diplomatic skills, and proved to be as great a scourge to his own troops as he was to the Hungarians.[25]

Even allied victories, such as Blenheim (August 1704), which effectually dashed any Hungarian plans for a possible Bavaro-Hungarian invasion of the empire, only increased allied tension. Once the imminent danger had passed, Leopold broke off negotiations with the Hungarians at Selmecbánya (Schemnitz) and attempted to suppress the insurrection by force. Ironically, Marlborough's victories exacerbated Austro-allied relations by encouraging Leopold's chimerical hopes that the Maritime Powers would provide both military and financial assistance to quell the uprising.[26]

Under pressure from the Allies, Leopold and later Joseph empowered commissioners between 1703 and 1706 to negotiate with Rákóczi, and periodically to conclude truces. This stratagem enabled the emperor to gather more troops and supplies.[27] Leopold insisted on the abolition of elective monarchy and the right of resistance, but agreed that his heir would reside in Hungary; that triennial convocation of the Hungarian diet would be assured; that certain institutions, such as the Hungarian Chancellery would be maintained; that damages perpetrated by imperial troops would be redressed; and that salt taxes would be reduced. He also agreed to submit such questions as the expulsion of the Jesuits and

tax reduction to the diet, and he pledged that the independence of the Hungarian treasury would be subject to the Hungarian diet alone.

Rákóczi and Bercsényi wished to obtain an international guarantee of the agreement, to be secured by Poland, Sweden, Prussia, or Venice. They also wanted the various Hungarian abbeys and benefices illegally seized by the Jesuits returned, elective kingship and the right of resistance restored, all imperial troops evacuated, and Rákóczi's election as the Prince of Transylvania recognized.[28] Leopold thought the rebels' demands exorbitant. Rákóczi's insistence on a foreign guarantor remained the chief obstacle to a settlement.[29] Whereas Rákóczi had a longstanding distrust of the Habsburgs and regarded the guarantee as a necessary safeguard for the preservation of Hungarian liberties,[30] Leopold regarded a foreign guarantee as an open invitation to foreign intervention in the Habsburg empire. Leopold would not accept the abolition of hereditary succession, and he refused to recognize Rákóczi's election as the Prince of Transylvania. Both concessions would threaten his own sovereignty in Hungary. Should the Hungarian throne become vacant, a new election would be held, and possibly the Habsburgs would not be re-elected.[31] Leopold also adamantly refused to evacuate all imperial troops from Hungary, because the Habsburgs could not govern such a people who so strongly demanded constitutional government and forcefully opposed Habsburg absolutist policies. Rákóczi and Leopold castigated each other for the abortive negotiations.[32] The Maritime Powers deplored the impasse, blaming both sides. The Maritime Powers' insistence that Leopold grant the Hungarians civil and religious liberties further deepened mutual animosities and threatened to disrupt the precarious alliance.

Leopold I died on 5 May 1705. Throughout his reign he had always placed the interests of the House of Habsburg above all else, including Hungary. Joseph I's succession to the imperial throne raised new hopes for a Hungarian settlement. Joseph advocated conciliation; he promised to grant the insurrectionists amnesty, to re-establish the Hungarian constitution, to recognize all Hungarian laws and privileges, to assure triennial convocation of the diet, and to relegate certain grievances to the next diet. He would not, however, countenance what he termed the "rebels'" exorbitant demands; he would not sanction a foreign guarantor of the agreement, nor would he abolish hereditary monarchy in Hungary, or evacuate all Habsburg troops.[33] The failure of both sides to moderate their demands stalemated the negotiations.

By the summer of 1706, the Maritime Powers saw little hope of persuading the emperor to reach an accommodation with the Hungar-

ians.[34] The negotiations were broken off in July 1706, whereupon the emperor dispatched four regiments from the Rhine to Hungary in order to extinguish the insurrection. This action prompted a storm of protest from his allies. The Rhine front was already weak and the troop withdrawal would only give Prince Louis of Baden, the imperial commander, an excuse for lapsing into inactivity.[35] Count Wratislaw, an imperial minister, rather ingenuously told Marlborough that the Allies should not protest. The common cause would only be served if the Hungarian insurrection terminated abruptly.[36] Once the Habsburgs suppressed the Hungarians, imperial forces might concentrate their efforts against France.

The Maritime Powers' intervention only exacerbated their relations with the Habsburgs and resulted in George Stepney's recall from Vienna. From 1703 to 1706 Stepney had persistently begged to be summoned home from Vienna, "which is now the most disagreeable station we have in Europe."[37] His attitude in 1706 contrasted sharply with his sentiments in 1701 when he said he "would not quit this post for any in Europe."[38] Stepney's change of heart epitomized the gradual deterioration of the alliance. On 30 August 1706 Stepney received his letters of revocation, and on 22 and 23 September he took his audiences of congé. His recall was an ominous portent for Austro-allied relations. If any man could have united the Maritime Powers and the Habsburgs it would have been Stepney, who had an unrivalled understanding of German affairs. From September 1706 to June 1707, in the midst of a hard-fought war, England had no permanent representative in Vienna, the capital of her chief ally.[39]

The insurrection dragged on until 1711. Although an able leader, Rákóczi ultimately failed. The Hungarians' inability to defeat the imperial army, and vice versa, paved the way for the Treaty of Szatmár (spring of 1711). By this settlement, Emperor Charles VI (Charles III of Hungary) ensured that Hungary would remain a Habsburg kingdom. But he did agree to grant amnesty to all rebels who swore an oath of allegiance within three weeks, to respect Hungary's religious and constitutional liberties as enunciated in the Diet of 1687, and to convoke a future diet to discuss other grievances. Rákóczi refused to accept the settlement, which had been arranged in his absence, and sought exile abroad. The insurrection left Hungary devastated and depopulated: 410,000 men died of the plague and another 85,000 in battle. By 1711 Hungary's population numbered only two and a half million, reduced by more than fifty percent since the fifteenth century.[40]

The insurrection also fractured the already weakened Grand Alliance.

The Maritime Powers entertained unrealistic hopes by expecting the Habsburgs to accede to the insurgents' demands, and to relinquish their alleged rights in Hungary, for which they had fought many centuries. After 1706, the gradual erosion of confidence in the alliance continued. Eventually, Johann Wenzel, Count Gallas, Austria's representative in England was expelled from Queen Anne's court (autumn of 1711). The conclusion of separate peace treaties by England and the United Provinces (Utrecht — 11 April 1713) and Austria (Rastadt — 7 March 1714 and Baden — 7 September 1714), was the final blow to the fragile alliance.

NOTES

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4. For Leopold's character, refer to Arnold Gaedeke, *Die Politik Österreichs in der spanischen Erbfolgefrage,* I (Leipzig: Duncker und Humboldt, 1877), 265; Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Wien und Versailles, 1692–1697* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1944), pp. 26–27; Nana Eisenberg, "Studien zur Historiographie über Leopold I," *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung,* LI (1937), 359–413. Also refer to The Hague, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief Heinsius 764, Bruyninx to Heinsius, Vienna, 26 November 1701, Archief Heinsius 709, Bruyninx to Heinsius, Vienna, 18 December 1701; Great

Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch-Queensbury*, II, part 2 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903), 670–671, Stepney to Shrewsbury, Vienna, 18 August 1703, hereafter cited as HMC: HMC, *Bath MSS*, III, 3, Stepney to Trenchard, Vienna, 20 October 1693; and P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 80/22/146, Stepney to Hedges, 29 December 1703.

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6. Jonathan Swift, *The Conduct of the Allies and of the Late Ministry in Beginning and Carrying on the Present War* (London: John Morphew, 1711), p. 21. For the English and Dutch opinion of the rebellion consult the Journals of the House of Lords and Commons for the years 1703 and 1706 and the Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief Staten Generaal, Lias Engeland 5928–5930, 6007–6008 and Lias Duitsland 6637–6638, hereafter cited as Alg. Rijks., Arch. Staten Generaal; Archief Anthonie Heinsius 72–90; Lady Mary Wortley Montague, *Works*, II (London: Richard Phillips, 1803), 62; Arthur Wellesley, Second ed., *Defoe's Review*, IX (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 10, 111.
7. B.M., Add. MSS. 31, 132, f. 37, Raby's Circular Letter of 26 January 1704 and f. 39, Raby to Hill, Berlin, 26 January 1704; Alg. Rijks., Archief Staten Generaal 6857, Bruyninx Report of 19 February 1704.
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10. Onnon Klopp, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, X (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879), 291; Arsène Legrelle, *La diplomatie française et la succession d'Espagne*, V (Paris: A. Dullé-Plus, 1892), 120–9; Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Torcy, *Mémoires*, I (The Hague, 1757), 221–2.
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12. P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 80/23/200, Sutton to Stepney, Pera of Constantinople, 21 June 1704; British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 21, 551, f. 23, Sutton to Stepney, Pera of Constantinople, 26 March 1704, hereafter cited as B.M., Add. MSS.
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16. P.R.O., S.P. Holland, 80/226, Stanhope to Hedges, The Hague, 1 January 1704.
17. P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 80/23/348 and in S.P. Germany, 105/72/196, Stepney to Harley, Vienna, 25 July 1704.

18. Redlich, *Österreich,* pp. 162-5. The Hungarian campaign cost Leopold more than four million florins annually. See B.M., Add. MSS. 37, 353, ff. 350-1. Whitworth to Hedges, Vienna, 9 January 1704; Klopp, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart,* XI, 46-8.
19. P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 80/24-4, *passim.* and Alg. Rijks., Archief Staten Generaal, Lias Duitsland 6637, *passim.*
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22. B.M., Add. MSS. 37, 353, f. 455, Whitworth to Harley, Vienna, 4 October 1704 and in Add. MSS. 37, 352, f. 280; B.M., Add. MSS. 37, 353, ff. 337-8, Bruyninx and Whitworth to Szirmai, September 1704; Add. MSS. 37, 351, f. 429, Whitworth to Hedges, 30 January 1704; P.R.O., S.P. Germany 80/28, Stepney to Harley, Vienna, 12 May 1706. For detailed discussion of negotiations see P.R.O., S.P. Germany 80/18-28, *passim;* S.P. Germany, 104/38, *passim;* S.P. Holland, 104/72; Alg. Rijks., Archief Staten Generaal, Lias Engeland 5928, 6007 and Lias Duitsland 6637, 6638.
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27. P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 105/71/94, Whitworth to Hedges, 23 January 1704, S.P. Germany, 80/23/88-89, Stepney to Hedges, Vienna, 15 March 1704, S.P. Germany 80/24, Stepney to Harley, Vienna, 20 and 27 August 1704, S.P. Germany, 80/25, Stepney to Harley, Vienna, 24 January 1705; B.M., Add. MSS. 37, 351, Whitworth to Hedges, 3 January 1704, f. 429, Whitworth to Hedges, 30 January 1704, Add. MSS. 7058, f. 26, Marlborough to Stepney, Blenheim, 16 August 1704, Add. MSS. 37, 353, ff. 337-338, Bruyninx and Whitworth to Szirmai, September 1704; Alg. Rijks., Arch. Staten Generaal 6587, Bruyninx Memorial to Emperor of 22 August 1704 and Arch. Heinsius 919, Stepney and Bruyninx Memorial of 27 August 1704.

28. Alg. Rijks., Arch. Staten Generaal 6587, Bruyninx Report of 31 March 1704 and report of 14 April 1704; P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 105/71/325, Stepney to Hedges, Vienna, 12 March 1704 and S.P. Germany 80/22/194-195, Whitworth to Hedges, Vienna, 2 February 1704; B.M., Add. MSS. 37, 352, ff. 4-5, Whitworth to Hedges, Vienna, 2 February 1704, ff. 170-193, Letters and Observations on the Hungarian Negotiations, March 1704.
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31. Redlich, *Österreich,* pp. 170ff; P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 80/23/320, Stepney to Hedges, Vienna, 14 June 1704.
32. P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 80/24, Stepney to Harley, Schemnitz (Selmecbánya), 3 November 1704.
33. P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 80/25, Heinsius to Bruyninx, The Hague, 15 May 1705; B.M., Add. MSS. 9098. ff. 58-60, Stepney to Marlborough, Vienna, 9 May 1705; Alg. Rijks., Arch. Staten Generaal 6588, 27 June 1705; P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 80/25, Stepney to Harley, 16 May 1705.
34. B.M., Add. MSS. 9100, f. 76, Marlborough to Sunderland, Meldert, 7 July 1706, f. 16, Godolphin to Marlborough, 5 July 1707, f. 61, Marlborough to unknown official, Meldert, 27 July 1707.
35. P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 104/73/120, Harley to Stepney, Whitehall, 14 June 1706; B.M., Add. MSS. 9096, ff. 174-5, Harley to Marlborough, 13 August 1706; Add. MSS. 7058, f. 58, Marlborough to Salms, Helchin, 26 July 1706.
36. B.M., Add. MSS. 9096, f. 180. Halifax to Marlborough, The Hague, 18 August 1706. Also refer to B.M., Add. MSS. 9096, ff. 168-9, Salms to Marlborough, XI, 179; Öst. Staatsarchiv, England, Kart. 38-40, *passim.*
37. B.M., Add. MSS. 7075, f. 59, Stepney to Raby, The Hague, 2 December 1706. Also refer to P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 80/18/28, *passim,* B.M., Add. MSS. 7058-9, 37, 155-6, *passim.*
38. P.R.O., S.P. Germany, 105/63, 214-5, Stepney to Halifax, Vienna, 17 August 1701.
39. Sir Philip Meadows subsequently replaced Stepney. He served as envoy extraordinary to the emperor from June 1707 to August 1709.
40. Béla K. Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century, The Decline of Enlightened Despotism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 5.

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A Woman's Self-Liberation: The Story of Margit Kaffka (1880-1918)

Dalma H. Brunauer

Ellen Moers, in *Literary Women,*[1] commented on the importance of money and jobs in the lives of female authors. Margit Kaffka's career offers a good example of this observation. Her story also traces the role of husband and environment in the day-to-day activities of a working woman. Further, the lives of Margit Kaffka and Willa Cather, the American writer, present many similarities, although any suggestion of "Parallel Lives" is unintentional. But chiefly, Margit Kaffka's professional history reveals the crucial function of at least *one* sympathetic editor — Miksa Fenyő — and of at least *one* truly superior publishing outlet — *Nyugat* (*West*).

Back in 1910, when Willa Cather was managing editor of *McClure's,* she had herself photographed. With her good figure, attractive face, poise, self-confidence, and the sumptuous hat which only a woman of the world would have dared to display, she presented the very image of the successful career woman. She was thirty-seven, and — having enjoyed a respectable journalistic career — she had authored just one slim volume of poetry and some short stories. But soon thereafter, in the spring of 1912, Cather took the plunge, encouraged by changed circumstances at *McClure's.* She resigned her position which had ensured worldly success and financial security, and staked her future on her ability to write and publish fiction. Her first novel, *Alexander's Bridge,* appeared in 1912.[2]

During the same period the Hungarian authoress, Margit Kaffka, endured both similar and different experiences. She had also begun writing poetry, and she continued producing short stories. Her first novel, *Színek és évek* (*Colors and Years*),[3] was also published in 1912, though it had appeared serially in 1911. The other works followed in rapid succession; by the end of 1918, when Cather had just begun to taste success with her fourth novel, *My Antonia,*[4] Kaffka, who was seven years younger, had published five novels and one novelette.[5] She was

enthusiastically planning a *magnum opus,* which unfortunately never materialized.

Born in 1880, Kaffka was descended, on her mother's side, from generations of by then impoverished Hungarian gentry. Her father, a lawyer of Moravian ancestry,[6] died when she was six. Kaffka obtained training as a teacher by exchanging a tuititon-free education for promising to teach gratis for one year.[7] Subsequently, she enrolled at one of Hungary's finest women's educational institutions, the *Erzsébet Nőiskola* in Budapest. She obtained a certificate enabling her to teach at the *polgári iskola,* an institution designed to provide a solid, practical, secondary education to middle class children. Altogether, she devoted more than fifteen years to full-time teaching; Cather abandoned *that* grind after only five years.[8] While studying for a higher degree, Kaffka started writing poetry; her editor, Oszkár Gellért of *Magyar Géniusz* (*Hungarian Genius*), collected and published her poems, apparently without even consulting her![9] A similar "trick" was perpetrated on Cather. She was a young pre-medical student at the University of Nebraska in 1891, when one of her professors, Ebenezer Hunt, submitted her essay on Carlyle to a local newspaper. The shock and pleasure of seeing her name in print as an author lost the world a female doctor but gave it a great writer.[10]

Soon after obtaining her advanced degree in the fall of 1903, Kaffka began teaching at the provincial Hungarian town of Miskolc. Like Cather, she was loved and respected by her students. She attracted a small coterie excitedly discovering Endre Ady, whom Kaffka had known in their native Eastern Hungary. This predated Ady's appearance on the Budapest literary scene by three years. She met and in 1905 married a young forestry engineer, Brunó Frőlich, who became the father of her only child, Lacika. (In this respect she differed from Cather, who had vowed never to marry and kept her resolve.) But in the same year, Kaffka wrote a spirited essay defending a woman's privilege *not* to marry.[11]

That year witnessed a very remarkable event. This young woman with a demanding career, and a husband and a household to look after, might have been satisfied being moderately successful as a "poetess" of charming though rather old-fashioned lyrics. But Kaffka became obsessed with the ambition to produce better prose than had any other Hungarian woman before her — and she succeeded. Within five years, she had completely altered not only her literary style, but her lifestyle; in the process she became "liberated." This came about because her dislike of living in Miskolc prompted a move to Budapest. One of her earlier biographers described this period in her life:

> In Budapest a different kind of life awaits them (her husband gets a job in the Ministry), and this life is more disorganized, hectic, demanding. They move to Újpest, because this is where she is teaching. Living in a big city brings to the surface previously hidden emotional conflicts, makes them conscious of the fact that they are incompatible. Being both intelligent, sober human beings, they separate in peace and quiet. . .[12]

This was all the outside world knew, all it was permitted to know until very recently. The actual process of Margit Kaffka's "liberation" was not so simple. Now we know much more about what transpired than either Ágoston or anyone else could have known then, thanks to the recently published correspondence of Miksa Fenyő, former editor of the journals *Figyelő* (*Observer*) and *Nyugat* (*West*).[13] After a long and productive career as a Hungarian businessman and as one of the world's most prominent literary editors, Fenyő fled the Nazi tide. In 1944, the daily papers revealed that his former home had been searched and his collection of manuscripts confiscated. After the war, in 1945, he recovered the collection but many irreplaceable pieces had meanwhile mysteriously disappeared. In 1948, he left Hungary for Paris, and eventually arrived in the United States. He wrote: "When we moved from Paris to New York, in the sixth-rate hotel, where we stayed, we were checking our luggage, when we discovered with horror that the case with the letters in it was missing. . ." "With sorrow and shame I am contemplating my loss, the loss of Hungarian literary history. . ."[14]

But buried among the copious notes of a recently published book was the following information:

> The story of the "lost" manuscript was told in 1970 by M. Fenyő in the following words: 'When we arrived in New York and were settled in the Hotel Wales, I noticed that the suitcase filled with manuscripts is missing. I telephoned all over, but it did not turn up. Three days later, we found it in the hotel basement, where there were hundreds of stray pieces of luggage. Oh yes, but by then the story had gotten out that the suitcase was lost. Then I said, "Let's keep up this myth; otherwise, once word gets out that it turned up, we'll never have a moment's peace. Journalists will come and make demands — and rightfully so — and articles will be published, all in the name of literary history. Let's leave it at this, that it is lost, and when the time comes, we'll come before the public with it".' The time came (comments the editor of Fenyő's literary estate) in August of 1970. The whole collection was placed in the Petőfi Literary Museum.[15]

Only one side of the Kaffka-Fenyő correspondence is available because Fenyő failed to copy his own letters. Thus, we are unaware how

the letter exchange started, only that he had initiated the correspondence. She was encouraged by his letter, as her reply of June 11, 1905, suggests, but was concerned whether she would be able to write anything "good." She lamented her ignorance about getting her stories published; she had enough material for a volume. But she had absolutely no access to good books in the cultural wasteland of Miskolc and solicited Fenyő's help and advice. She signed her name, "Frőhlichné" (Mrs. Frőhlich). Most of her subsequent letters soon after her marriage were signed similarly, with a sprinkling of "Frőhlichné Kaffka Margit."

Fenyő's advice and help must have kept her ambition alive. Within two weeks, she had written three more letters. On June 27, she mentioned, as an interesting fact, that she had never been compensated for her author's expenses, such as paper and stamps, although she had published in newspapers commanding sufficient funds. "I'm doing it for the pleasure of it — but I would love to be able to buy an occasional not-budgeted-for 'silly' thing — take a coach-ride, buy a nice fan, book, or picture without being considered an extravagant spendthrift by my husband and by others."[16] In referring to her husband, she never used the literal equivalent *férjem* but the semi-feudal *uram,* "my lord," and sincerely, seriously, as befitted a good Hungarian wife. She described their married life as "not bad," adding, "both of us are working at steady jobs, and 'my man' (*az emberem*) is thrifty, home-loving, but still young, a beginner, and he would feel obliged to object to this sort of thing, were I to use regular funds for it..."[17] She was also upset because a submitted work of hers was left unacknowledged for a whole week! She mentioned her husband fondly, telling of their occasional walks in the early morning, his "dear, layman's clinging to beautiful and good things in spite of his being a scientifically trained person."[18] Apparently, he tried to shelter her from the effects of exposing her inner feelings in public, for she wrote: "My husband is right; poems written to please strangers aren't worth what they cost in loss of health."[19]

She continued hating Miskolc with a passion. Asking Fenyő to visit them, she wrote:

> Please come, for I am so frustrated with this limited, uncouth, backward and miserable backwater (*ebbe a korlátolt, otromba, elmaradt és nyomorult Mucsába*) that I'm a nervous wreck. . . Even writing nauseates me. In the school, my colleagues, the good mummies, are always sounding off, saying that every woman writer would do better if she would pluck chickens or embroider pillowcases instead. . . Please come and bring news of the outside world. . .[20]

She begged Fenyő to arrange for payment *now* — she wanted to use the money for a trip "up" to the capital, trying to arrange for a transfer to a Budapest school. (Budapest is always "up" in Hungarian idiom.) She penned this revealing passage:

> Your sober arguments, dear friend, did not ruin my determination, I *must* go up, and I *will* go up, whatever the cost. I'm glad I see clearly and that you were so frank (presumably trying to warn her of the possible consequences of her planned trip) but I will go up, for this here is worse. If my husband loves me truly, he will not stay here out of sheer prejudice. Maybe my fate will take a turn for the worse, but isn't life like that? An alternation of good and bad. Your part in the tragedy is an elegant one: you are the 'warner' before the crisis, making the audience believe that it is possible for the heroine to turn back. But I must take flight now, or else the door may open too late, when I no longer will have wings to fly with.[21]

This letter was dated January 8, 1906 — barely six months after the start of their correspondence. Apparently, in all this time, she never met Fenyő in person. As "corresponding editor" of *Nyugat,* he had become her faithful confidant, a position of honor, incidentally, which he held for many other authors as well, both male and female. And he did all this while occupying a full-time position as a member of the Hungarian business elite.

In February of 1906, she congratulated Ady on his epoch-making volume, *Új versek* (*New Poems*), and asked for a copy. On August 2, 1906, still from Miskolc, she notified Fenyő of the birth of her son. In September, she was hatching plans to further the cause of her Budapest transfer. By now, she believed that spending another year in Miskolc would drive her mad. She knew she would inevitably be disappointed, but "that's how it must be."[22]

But her husband, Brunó, dragged his feet. On September 20, 1906, we read:

> My dear hubby is giving me much trouble now. He has excellent connections (in the Ministry) and could easily get transferred . . . but he is hesitating, saying that in Budapest I will be even less of a wife to him than here . . . that he will lose his travel allowance, and that it makes no difference to him that *I* will make more money there. He has no inclination to reduce his own expectations of life to suit the ideas of another person, ideas which mean nothing to him — all this is natural and understandable.[23]

But she hated her job and knew she could not continue in it. By January 2, 1907, Brunó had decided to transfer. She hoped *he* might precede her— she was not worried lest another woman snag him in the big wicked city. Although not jealous, she was far from indifferent; she spoke fondly of him now. She wrote proudly of her little son, and discussed books avidly. By March 6, 1907, Brunó had moved to the capital.

Her last letter from Miskolc was written in the spring of 1907. She was happy to be able to work with Fenyő again. Her request for sick leave had been rejected, and she quoted the letter from a councillor notifying her of this fact: "It's nice to be scribbling some verses, but one can't get leave of absence while one is healthy."[24] But she was *not* healthy; her difficult pregnancy and delivery had impaired her health, and she had the medical reports to support her claim. Yet her *real* need was of the soul. "How can I write? Three classes, with seventy papers in each, every two weeks."[25]

The next letter came from Újpest, a Budapest suburb, in January of 1908. She was loaded down with work. She planned to write for *Nyugat,* which had just started operations. (Her previous correspondence with Fenyő was written while he was still editor of *Figyelő* [*Observer*].) Then in October, she complained that for the past two months she had not even taken pen in hand, partly because of illness, partly because of overwork. Anticipating Virginia Woolf by twenty-one years, Kaffka wrote wistfully: "Maybe now it will be a little better; my grandmother will come to keep house, and in the new apartment I will have four walls of my own, (each of them one meter long!) among which I can huddle with some sense of privacy. . ."[26]

In November of 1908, she provided the following insight into her life, presumably in response to Fenyő's reproach that she was neglecting the journal: "As for your accusations, nothing interests me more than *Nyugat* — and the only reasons I'm not present every third day and in every other issue are household cares, paper-grading, the task of moving house, and other beauties in life. . ."[27]

Late in 1909, Kaffka wrote to Fenyő: "I'm so glad about my book,"[28] which was published in 1911 and may have been at the printer's. Henceforth, she signed her name as plain "Margit Kaffka." Her divorce came in 1910, but just at this time, an interval of several years interrupted the correspondence, except for a few lines written in August of 1911. Full connections resumed in March of 1913. No wonder she lacked time for letters. This was her most fruitful period: she published

two volumes of poetry, two collections of short stories, and two of her best novels, *Színek és évek*[29] and *Mária évei.*[30]

This copious output was produced — in contrast with Cather's relative leisure as a freelance artist — under adverse conditions which stagger the imagination. Kaffka left a vivid account in her poem, "Örökkön a mérlegen" ("Forever in the Balance").[31] Each of its three longer stanzas describes one of the three careers she was trying to pursue simultaneously, balancing them like a juggler. The first stanza evokes the soul-killing robot of her daily travel to school, teaching the unruly youngsters, and dragging herself home again in the afternoons. The second stanza records the conflict between her attempts to write and her desire to spend time with her son. The third stanza provides a moving insight into her writing career. It shows her struggling with difficult materials late into the night, until her strength gave out. The poem ends abruptly with a couplet:

Sötét hajnalba ébresztőóra csereg.
Robotolni megyek.

In the dark dawn an alarm-clock rings,
I go off, roboting.

In a letter to Ady, written during this period, she complained: "For five months now, I've been getting four hours of sleep nightly."[32] Luckily, in 1912, she was granted a two-year leave of absence at the behest of the renowned mayor, István Bárczy, of Budapest.

After four years of solitary living and caring for her boy, she met her only great love. In 1914, she fell in love with Ervin Bauer, the younger brother of Béla Balázs, one of her literary friends. The young man was a medical doctor and several years her junior. Like a schoolgirl in love, she let herself be swept away to Italy. Her next letter to Fenyő, written on July 20, 1914, from Florence mentioned her third full-length novel, *Állomások* (*Stations*),[33] published serially in 1914, but in book form only in 1917. Two collections of short stories had appeared in between. The outbreak of World War I a week later found the pair in Perugia.

In her poem, "Záporos folytonos levél" ("Rain-like, Continous Letter"),[34] she recalled the sequence of these events:

"Most boldog vagyok!"— ott mondtam; te tudod, hogy először
/ mondtam.
Te szeretőn betakartál, mert hirtelen zizzent hűvös szél;
És reggelre jött a hír, menned kell, zajlik a világ,

Lavina indul, orkán zúg, delirizál az élet.
(Lásd, szó köztünk maradjon: megmondom, mért volt az egész,
Mert életemben egyszer én: "Boldog vagyok!" — ezt mondtam.)

"Now I am happy!" — I said it there; you know that I said it
for the first time.
Lovingly, you covered me, for suddenly hissed a cool wind;
And in the morning came the news, you must go, the world erupted.
An avalanche rolls, hurricane swirls, life suffers deliriums.
(Please, keep my secret! I'll tell you why it all happened.
Because for the first time in my life I had said, "I am happy.")

Ervin was immediately mobilized. They returned home, married in August of 1914, but had only a few days together before he went on active duty. Twice, he was returned home wounded; on both occasions she hurried to his bedside and nursed him back to health but suffered agonies of worry. These concerns are documented in her short novel, "Lírai jegyzetek egy évről" ("Lyric Notes About a Year")[35] a little masterpiece much ahead of its time. Another anti-war novel, *Két nyár* (*Two Summers*), was published in 1916.[36]

Toward the end of the war Ervin was transferred to a Temesvár military hospital and she joined him there whenever she could. In his laboratory, where she liked to assist him, the couple had themselves photographed. The officer's insignia are protruding over the collar of his medical smock; she is gravely, expertly adjusting a microscope. (Like Cather, she was fascinated by medicine.) The white smock covers all but her beautiul, eloquent hands and her lovely, serious face. In her last letters to Fenyő, she mentioned her husband's medical discoveries in the same breath with her own plans for her last full-length novel.[37] Her husband was doing important work on the adrenal gland; if she sold her new novel, she would buy a good, genuine Zeiss microscope for her poor "lord." Love, money worries, concerns about obtaining food, were all blended with admiration for Mihály Babits' translation of Tennyson's "Maud." Grief over dead friends and relatives, and hopes for the coming of peace dominated her letter, but now, at last, she had some free time in which to write. She was more businesslike now; she knew her worth.[38]

Her last letter to Fenyő was dated April 23, 1917, a year and a half before her death. It was all harried business about a projected collection of poems; one publisher, the best (Kner), had no paper . . . Translations of her works into German were proceeding . . . She stopped, as if for a pause — and that ended her letters to *Nyugat*.[39] For the rest, we must turn to other sources. We know that finally, in the fall of 1918, just a few

months before the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Margit and Ervin moved to Budapest. Little Lacika, then twelve, went to live with them. (He had been in a Transylvanian boarding school.) During this time she dedicated some of the most beautiful love poems in Hungarian literature to her husband.[40] Ervin was assigned to the new Pozsony clinic, but before he had a chance to assume his new duties, the Czechs occupied the city. So, torn between hope and discouragement, they anticipated war's end.

On the last Sunday of November, 1918, Aladár Schöpflin, the renowned literary critic, visited Margit Kaffka at home. She welcomed him hospitably. For the first time in her life she was approaching a "still point," her marriage happy, her son with her, the war, with its terrors, over. She eagerly anticipated the future. An ambitious novel about Josephus Flavius had been fully researched and only needed to be written. While they were conversing, Lacika complained of a headache, and his mother immediately put him to bed. Schöpflin left the Kaffka home with a wonderfully warm feeling. She was so happy, so serene... The next day, he and their literary friends were shocked to learn that mother and son had been hospitalized with a raging fever. It was the dreaded Spanish influenza. Exactly a week later, the sad news reached the authors assembled for the founding meeting of the Vörösmarty Society: Margit Kaffka was dead. Lacika followed the next day.[41] The funeral was held at Farkasrét Cemetery in the afternoon of December 4. One of the farewell addresses was to be delivered by Dezső Kosztolányi. At one o'clock he and his wife were both felled by the epidemic, which nearly claimed their lives.[43] Endre Ady, Hungary's great poet, was on his deathbed and died during the next month. Kaffka's funeral orations were delivered by Hungary's two most prominent literary figures who were not themselves sick, the poet Mihály Babits and the novelist Zsigmond Móricz.

When Kaffka died, Cather still commanded only a relatively small audience. *My Antonia,* eventually a recognized classic, had a poor sale.[44] Success was still remote, awaiting the publication of *One of Ours* in 1922, and the Pulitzer Prize in 1923.[45] Thereafter, Cather enjoyed more or less clear sailing. She wrote seven more novels, several more collections of short stories, and reached a serene, prosperous old age, with death claiming her at seventy-four.

It is idle to speculate what Kaffka might have achieved had she lived longer. At the time of her death she was only thirty-eight. Yet some of Hungary's most prominent writers had recognized her as their equal, and as Hungary's most talented female author. With her modern,

impressionistic style, she had re-vitalized the Hungarian novel at a time when all her male contemporaries, with the exception of Zsigmond Móricz, were still shackled by old-fashioned nineteenth-century models.[46] Now, almost seventy-five years after her first appearance on the literary scene, her reputation in Hungary is as solid as it is shining. Her novels have been translated into four languages, some of her stories into seven. Regrettably, English is not among them.[47]

NOTES

1. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1976), "Money, the Job, and Little Women: Female Realism," Chap. 4, pp. 67–89.
2. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912).
3. (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1912).
4. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918).
5. *Kaffka Margit regényei* (*The Novels of Margit Kaffka*), (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1968).
6. The word "Kaffka," originally spelled "gawga" and more frequently "kafka," means "magpie" in Czech.
7. At a charity convent at Szatmár and Miskolc. Her student years form the basis of her novel *Hangyaboly* (*Ant Colony*). See note 37.
8. E. K. Brown, *Willa Cather: A Critical Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 95.
9. *Versek* (*Poems*), (Budapest: Róbert Lampel, 1903).
10. Brown, *Willa Cather,* p. 57.
11. *Hullámzó élet* (*The Waves of Life*), (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1959). That essay, her maiden effort in journalism, would do credit to any feminist author writing today. ("Azért sem az utolsó szó." "No, not the last word").
12. Julián Ágoston, *Kaffka Margit,* (Budapest: J. Heinrich, 1934), p. 4.
13. All of Kaffka's letters are cited from this edition. The story of these letters is so interesting that it will be worth a digression to piece it together here from scattered notes throughout the recent book, Erzsébet Vezér, ed., *Feljegyzések és levelek a Nyugatról* (*Notes and Letters Concerning Nyugat*), (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975).
14. He indulged in another paragraph of breast-beating. *Ibid.,* p. 82.
15. The book was published in 1975, and I was able to obtain it in 1976. There were hundreds of letters, from practically every major contemporary literary personage, but my discussion will be limited to the treasure trove of Margit Kaffka's letters to Miksa Fenyő. *Ibid.,* p. 468.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 391. His monthly salary of 80 forints was considered excellent pay for those days.
17. *Ibid.,* p. 392.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.,* p. 395.
20. *Ibid.,* p. 396.
21. *Ibid.,* p. 397.
22. *Ibid.,* p. 401.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 402.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 406.
25. *Ibid.*,
26. *Ibid.*, p. 409. Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* was published in 1929.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 440. Ellen Moers quotes a similarly revealing letter by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Moers, *Literary Women*, pp. 3–4.
28. M. Fenyő, *Feljegyzések*, p. 411. Presumably, Kaffka meant her first volume of short stories, *Csendes válságok* (*Quiet Crises*), (Budapest: Politzer, 1911).
29. See note 3.
30. (*Mária's Years*), (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1912).
31. *Válogatott művei* (*Selected Works*), (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1956), pp. 52–53.
32. Jenő Dóczy and Gyula Földessy, eds., *Ady-Múzeum* (*Ady-Museum*), (Budapest, Athenaeum, 1924–25), pp. 11 and 202.
33. (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1917).
34. *Válogatott művei*, pp. 72–76.
35. *Nyugat* (XIX, 1915).
36. (Budapest: Nyugat, 1916).
37. *Hangyaboly* (*Ant Colony*), (Budapest: Nyugat, 1917).
38. M. Fenyő, *Feljegyzések*, p. 418.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 424.
40. "Záporos folytonos levél," "Te színed előtt," "Litánia," Kaffka, *Válogatott művei*, pp. 72–77 and 80–81.
41. Aladár Schöpflin, "Kaffka Margit most tíz éve halt meg," ("Margit Kaffka Died Ten Years Ago"), *Nyugat* (XXI, 1928), 710–712.
42. Her husband left Hungary in 1919 and moved to Leningrad. His successful biomedical researches have brought him belated recognition. He disappeared during the Stalinist purges. (Personal communication to author by György Bodnár).
43. Mrs. Dezső Kosztolányi, *Kosztolányi Dezső* (*Dezső Kosztolányi*), (Budapest: Révai, 1938), p. 227.
44. Brown, *Willa Cather*, p. 213.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
46. This passage was translated by the author from Dr. György Bodnár's Postcript to the 1973 paperback edition of *Színek és évek*. Dr. Bodnár, member of the Institute for Literary Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, is an authority on Kaffka.

> In the longer prose genres, the Hungarian literature of the turn of the century reached only an experimental stage... The true turning point in this genre (the novel) was represented by Zsigmond Móricz, simultaneously with Margit Kaffka. I want to anticipate the charge of hairsplitting, and my witness is Zsigmond Móricz himself who received *Színek és évek* with the enthusiasm of a brother. He was the first to declare about it, "A critic of society can draw many more conclusions from it about the workings of society than from life itself." Thus, the steps taken by these two in the writings of novels must be considered a contest among comrades, not antagonists. In this spirit, we can state objectively that *Színek és évek* was preceded (among the novel of Móricz) only by *Sárarany* (1910), retained in memory as an immature masterpiece. The first full-valued novel of Móricz, *Az Isten háta mögött*, appeared in 1911, at a time when Kaffka's great novel was already published serially in *Vasárnapi Újság*... Of course, the value of *Színek és évek* is not determined by its chronological precedence — that

would merely ensure it a place as a pioneering historical document. Even a reader who is ignorant of the context of literary history recognizes this novel as one which is both rich and perfect (pp. 239-240).

Nothing was further from my mind than to imply that Kaffka was a better novelist than Móricz. Móricz was the most illustrious novelist Hungary produced in the twentieth century — possibly ever. I was merely stressing Kaffka's chronological precedence.

47. An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Hungarian Educators Association at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana, in April, 1977. The following questions regarding Kaffka have been asked of me since:

Q 1 /What work or works of Kaffka ought to be placed into the hands of the English-speaking reader first? A. The ideal solution would be a modest volume, *The Portable Margit Kaffka.* This should include, first and foremost, *Színek és évek,* in a good translation, followed by the other members of the trilogy, either *in toto* or in generous excerpts (*Mária évei, Állomások*). Secondly, absolutely essential is *Lírai jegyzetek egy évről,* a pacifist and feminist document of the first order of magnitude. The other short novels are optional. Thirdly, I would include her free-verse poems — or at least some of them — and perhaps a few others in the traditional modes, for comparison. Lastly, a number of short stories and a few essays. . . a much needed volume.

Q 2 /With what other twentieth-century woman writers can she be compared? Specifically, which of her works would most nearly parallel which works of Cather? A. There is — to my knowledge — no twentiety-century woman writer with whom Kaffka could be compared without doing injustice to both. The references to Cather were made to provide contrast as much as to provide comparisons. Cather was so much more *fortunate,* having lived in America, than a Hungarian, before and during an eventually lost war. Specific comparisons between individual works may be made, always keeping in mind the differences, however. Of Cather's books, the one closest to *Színek és évek* would be *Sapphira and the Slave Girl* (1940). Only toward the end of her long life did Cather reach back into the history of her family — mother, grandmother, great-grandmother — ; Kaffka did it in her first book. Consequently the effect is very different. Cather's is the final note of summing up, Kaffka's the clarion call, the hoisting of the flag. Similar comparison-contrasts may be made with *The Song of the Lark* and *Állomások,* and several other pairs of works as well.

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A Hungarian View of the World, Expressed in a Faustian Tragedy: Some Considerations upon Madách's *The Tragedy of Man*

Esther H. Lesér

> Olvasd újra művét, s úgy fog hatni reád, mint valami véres aktualitás, korod és életed legégetőbb problémáival találkozol; szédülten és remegő ujjakkal teszed le a könyved. A versek, amik nehézkesek és avultak voltak megírásuk napján, frissek ma, mintha tegnap keltek volna.
>
> Mihály Babits

For someone desiring an objective insight into the Hungarian mental climate, Imre Madách's *Az ember tragédiája* is an ideal choice. Its translation into various languages has proved its wide appeal, and Hungarian scholars have acclaimed it as one of the masterpieces of their country's literature. This work conveys the spirit of the Hungarian *Geist* admirably, while simultaneously it reflects Western European cultural trends. It typifies, to some extent, Western literature involving one nation's absolute rule over another with an independent cultural heritage of its own. Both intellectually and spiritually, Hungary has belonged to a Western world which seldom thought of it as a member of its cultural body. This study will attempt to show that Hungary has been part and parcel of Western culture for some time, by analyzing the connections linking Madách's *Az ember tragédiája*, Goethe's *Faust*, and Hegel's "Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte."

At the start of the nineteenth century, Hungary floundered in backward conservatism, a situation unrelieved by the spate of revolutions in 1830. By 1837, when Madách began his studies in Pest under the tutelage of the progressive professor, Antal Virozsil, the spirit of modern enlightenment[1] and nationalism had gripped Hungary's young intellectuals. They were influenced by three leading figures of this movement:

Count István Széchenyi, Lajos Kossuth, and Ferenc Deák. Each disagreed on the means by which Hungary should reach its goal of independence. The aristocratic Széchenyi believed in a spiritual revival, opposed radicalism, and attempted to raise Hungary's social, economic, and cultural levels. Kossuth, a member of the middle nobility, was an unusually gifted orator and became the trusted idol of both the intelligentsia and the peasantry. He demanded Hungary's unconditional freedom from the Habsburg monarchy. Deák, a member of the lower nobility, advocated passive resistance, while he worked toward reestablishing Hungary's constitutional rights within the monarchy. Deák's goal was achieved in 1867, whereas Széchenyi succumbed to pressure and committed suicide in 1860. Kossuth died an exile in 1894.

Madách felt most at home among Kossuth's followers. Devotion to Hungarian independence, the most pressing concern of his life, was reflected in his poems and student works, "Csak tréfa" and "Csák végnapjai." He began to practice law in the early 1840s under István Sréter, who shared his views, and married what he thought was his "ideal woman," Erzsike Fráter. He believed she did not subscribe to the "marriage market" mentality typical in small-town society, to which he alludes in the London scene of *Az ember tragédiája*. Madách was to be bitterly disappointed in Erzsike, a blow which deeply influenced his artistic concept of woman.

The brief and tragic revolution led by Kossuth's followers in 1848–1849 was defeated through Russian intervention. Haynau, called the Hyena of Brescia because of his atrocities in Italy, executed Count Lajos Batthyány, the prime minister, and thirteen officers in Arad on October 6, 1849, a day of Hungarian national mourning ever since. The incarceration of more than a thousand officers reintroduced Habsburg despotism. Others, Kossuth among them, fled into exile. Madách's poetry burned with emotion at this time; he had not fought, but he had been jailed in 1852–1853 for protecting a participant, János Rákóczy. Madách's family was shattered by conflicting loyalties. When he emerged from prison, his estranged wife Erzsike rejected him. During those bitter days in prison Madách studied Goethe's *Faust*.

Madách was a writer with varying strains in his literary heritage. He qualified as a Romantic, though his Romanticism was not modelled on the neo-Platonic school of Novalis. Madách was firmly rooted in this earth, though his fiery emotionalism suggests the *Sturm und Drang* poets of the preceding century. He also knew the major Western writers, especially Shakespeare, Byron, Hugo, Lamartine, Dante, Schiller, Goethe, and Hegel; among the contemporary German poets he favoured Heine.

During the writing of *Az ember tragédiája,* in 1859–1860, Madách was ill. Depressed about the fate of his country, humiliated at her defeat, and separated from his wife, he urged, along with Kossuth, that Hungary not yield an inch from her 1848 demands to Vienna. He dispatched his finished manuscript to the greatest contemporary Hungarian poet, János Arany, who returned it with nearly one thousand corrections and praise. *Az ember tragédiája* was first published in January 1862.[2] It was presented on stage in 1883, nineteen years after Madách's death.[3]

At first glance, the work resembles a Faustian tragedy. Elements of the God/Devil/Man perspective; the theme of human striving; Man's relation to Woman; Man's wandering through the universe; as well as God's positive intervention at the end, all seem to indicate that the work was structured on the model of Goethe's *Faust.* Indeed, Madách did not hesitate to adapt materials from other authors. The heavenly choruses; the jewel motif in the London scene; the secondary plot of Lucifer and Eve analogizing Mephistopheles' and Martha's scenes, are indeed all derived from Goethe's *Faust.*[4]

Close examination reveals, however, that these similarities pertain mainly to setting and method of presentation rather than to substance. Madách's concept of the theme and expression of his message differed greatly from Goethe's. First, the *Weltbild:* in *Faust,* the three-dimensional God/Man/Devil trilogy closely resembles the central concept of a mystery play. God is obviously omnipotent and omniscient regarding His creations, including Man, and even Mephistopheles. But Mephistopheles is a higher creation than Man; he has wider insight than Faust; Mephistopheles is the catalyst who challenges Faust's free will. In Goethe's work, Faust's surviving capacity for love is of the greatest importance, whereas Mephistopheles has rejected love and is thus incapable of love, God's principal quality. Goethe shows God addressing Mephistopheles as follows:

> Nun gut, es sei dir überlassen!
> Zieh diesen Geist von seinem Urquell ab,
> Und für' ihn, kannst du ihn erfassen,
> Auf deinem Wege mit herab,
> Und steh beschämt, wenn du bekennen musst:
> Ein guter Mensch in seinem dunklen Drange
> Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst.
> (*Faust,* p. 18, 323–9)

This passage in Goethe's *Faust* shows man's position; although he is mortal and incapable of seeing beyond his human boundaries, he has

God-given capabilities which enable him to meet Mephistopheles' challenge, a challenge that is simply an appeal for fair play:

> Solang' er auf der Erde lebt,
> Solange sei dir's nicht verboten
> Es irrt der Mensch,
> Solang' er strebt.
> (*Faust*, p. 18, 315–9)

Faust's final attainment is unselfish love, the means of gaining eternal life. The existential theme and setting in Goethe's *Faust* are aimed at the three dimensions of the Divine (Heaven), the Mephistophelian (Hell), and the Faustian (Earth).

In *Az ember tragédiája*, after the introductory chorus of the angels, the scene between God and Lucifer reveals a basic difference between Goethe's and Madách's work; here Lucifer is "a tagadás ősi szelleme," and is actually one of the components of God's nature itself; Lucifer's existence is the negative aspect of the Divine. God's responses to Lucifer are rather unconvincing arguments. He appears as an oppressive, absolute ruler rather than as an omnipotent Lord. Lucifer defines his own nature:

> Győztél felettem, mert az végzetem,
> Hogy harcaimban bukjam szüntelen.
> De új erővel felkeljek megint.
> Te anyagot szültél, én tért nyerék,
> Az élet mellett ott van a halál,
> A boldogságnál a lehangolás,
> A fénynél árnyék, kétség és remény.
> Ott állok, látod, hol te, mindenütt,
> S ki így ösmérlek, még hódoljak-e?
> (*Az ember tragédiája*, I, p. 14)

Lucifer's negative, cynical character and his spirit of rebellion in many ways parallels Adam's — and/or Madách's — view of the world; Lucifer addresses God:

> Nem úgy, íly könnyen nem löksz el magadtól,
> Mint hitvány eszközt, mely felesleges lett.
> Együtt teremténk: osztályrészemet

and he goes on:

Fukar kezekkel mérsz, de hisz nagy úr vagy —
S egy talpalatnyi föld elég nekem.
Hol a tagadás lábát megveti,
Világodat meg fogja dönteni.
(*Az ember tragédiája*, I, p. 15)

Typically, God has no rebuttal to this; it is the faithful angels who sing out their curse on Lucifer to end the first scene.[5] Since Lucifer represents negation and is part of an original element of the universe, his significance is quite different from that of Goethe's Mephistopheles. Madách's Lucifer represents a dialectic antithesis to God the ruler, having an equal chance to rule the synthesis of the outcome of existence.

The yearning of the two heroes also bears examination: Goethe's Faust is an elderly scholar who has learned all he could from books, yet who years to learn more: "Dass ich erkenne, was die Welt / Im Innersten zusammenhält" (*Faust*, p. 20, 382–3). To attain this goal, he places a bet with Mephistopheles:

Weird' ich beruhigt je mich auf ein Faulbett legen,
So sei es gleich um mich getan!
Kannst du mich schmeichelnd je belügen,
Dass ich mir selbst gefallen mag,
Kannst du mich mit Genuss betrügen,
Das sei für mich der letzte Tag!
Die Wette biet' ich!
(*Faust*, p. 57, 1692–8)

This passage parallels God's earlier dialogue with Mephistopheles. No marvel may ever overshadow Faust's God-given capacity to strive; in each phrase, Faust's striving, however unconscious, encompasses the three dimensions of God's Universal Creation.

Since Faust was a human and an earthling, Goethe did not have to make his God face the embarrassment of being betrayed by man in Paradise, and so Faust never rebels against God directly. Madách's Adam, however, was full of ambition for knowledge and eternal life. His eagerness was so intense that Madách failed to invest Eve with her traditional role as temptress. Like a rebellious Prometheus, Adam grasps the apple, the first tool of independence, without intending to share it with anyone, not even Eve. He desires self-identity, and the right to live or die as he wishes; he never repents his sin against God; all he demands from Lucifer constantly is his rightful share of wisdom.

Here, the traditional God is crippled by the existence of Negation (Lucifer), and is consequently half disabled in all his manifestations. Actually, Adam's character stands closer to Negation (Lucifer) than to God, because of his desperation over his own limitation as a man. He is unable to give or to receive love before having achieved self-liberation.

Goethe's God said of Man, "Es irrt der Mensch, so lang er strebt." "Ember: küzdj' és bízva bízzál!" were God's last words to Madách's Adam. These lines show the basic difference between the two works: "streben" means "to strive" — "igyekezz" in Hungarian means honest endeavour whereas "küzdj" means "to fight and struggle." Adam's desperate struggle must be carried on, chaining him to an endless earthly existence because, limited by the hopelessness of his task, he stubbornly focuses upon the sole issues of self-liberation and identification. This passionate desperation has much in common with Lucifer's, except that Adam is not pure negation, as Lucifer is. Hope, even against all logical odds, remains a dialectically extant possibility for Adam. Goethe's *Faust* therefore offers a conclusion, a restful final message, whereas Adam's restless spirit is constantly present on earth, dramatically pursuing his yearning.

Madách's Eve does not parallel Adam's qualities. Representing the fluctuation of the human mob, she declines into subhumanity in scene 14 with the rest of mankind. In 1857, years before composing *Az ember tragédiája,* Madách wrote to his friend Szontagh: ". . . és Ádám a teremtés óta folyvást más és más alakban jelen meg, de alapjában mindig ugyanazon gyarló féreg marad a még gyarlóbb Évával oldalán."[6] His contemporary Károly Bérczy quoted Madách: "Anyámnak köszönheti Éva, hogy kihívóbb színekben nem állítottam elő."[7] Still, Eve is limited to strictly sexual and maternal roles, and these clearly do not resemble the role of Goethe's Gretchen.

The formal presentations of *Faust* and *Az ember tragédiája* are similar; the protagonists wander in the universe with the "Siebenmeilenstiefeln" of the Romantics, and the reader is able to visualize the message of each actor by the various episodes. Goethe retains neither chronology nor historical authenticity in his scenes. He maintains the same limitless focus as does the whole God/Mephistopheles/Faust complex. The logical and historical chronology of the visions in *Az ember tragédiája* focuses upon its own hidden message, which is completely unrelated to and even unconcerned with the universal message of Goethe's *Faust.*

Madách's depression over personal and national problems, combined with his reading of Hegel, especially the "Vorlesungen über die Philo-

sophie der Weltgeschichte," reinforced his ideal about the unification and liberation of a nation through a strong leader. But he did not accept Hegel's notion of the leader's loss of individuality by immersing it in the *Volksgeist.* A summary of these Hegelian concepts is germane here:

> Kant's Republic of Wills, the English concern with individual rights — all this betokens for Hegel the fragmentation that is the death of a culture. . . . Individualism is for Hegel a symptom of a nation's decline.
>
> The greatness of a nation begins with its unification as a nation — that is the only way it can acquire a *Volksgeist* with which to participate in the development of World-Spirit. Such a unification is possible only with a strong leader . . .[8]

Madách's refusal to accept Hegel's formulations completely was expressed throughout his entire life and work. One Hegelian point he found most incompatible was the rejection of Kantian individualism. This is indicated very strongly in the phalanster scene of *Az ember tragédiája.* Whereas for Faust people gain importance in his last moments of life, Adam is intensely involved with people in all scenes, from four through fourteen, and he strongly expresses his disdain for the mob. Adam's feelings here echo Madách's own, since he and his friends felt paralyzed in their attempts to help their people owing to the lack of popular support. He wrote: "Gyáva nép, megvetlek, átkozott! Szégyen fejedre. Te igának születtél, igában görbede fejed, midőn először láttad a napvilágot, én veled többé semmit sem akarok. Elhagyva állok, híveim sehol."[9]

Some Hegelian concepts were nonetheless deeply rooted in Madách's mind; he preferred the qualities of the crowd to the virtues of the leader, in terms reminiscent of the Hegelian dialectic. This pattern gives meaning to scenes four through fourteen, as well as to his concept of the triangularity of the God/Lucifer/Adam relationship. Madách's, or Adam's, fervour also evokes Hegel's reference to the leader's ardour in liberating the *Volksgeist:* "So müssen wir überhaupt sagen dass nichts grosses in der Welt ohne Leidenschaft vollbracht worden ist."[10] This line, translated into Magyar, repeatedly occurs in Madách's personal writings. This urge toward achieving self-identity and to bestow identity on his characters became both Madách's goal in life and the message of his art. In a speech, "A nemzetiségek ügyében," written in 1861 but never delivered, he said,

> Minden újonnan feltűnt megítélésében tehát, vajjon a kornak vezéreszméje-e és, mi értelemben, egyedüli mértékül annak képessége szolgálhat, a szabadság ügye előmozdításában.[11]

Madách's concept of "haladás" (progress) is also dialectically stimulated toward a synthesis of achieving "szabadság" (liberty); he explained in a letter to János Erdélyi:

> Ádám mindenütt megbukik ugyan . . . de bár kétségbeesve azt tartja, hogy eddig tett minden kísérlet erőfogyasztás volt, azért mégis fejlődése mindig előbbre s előbbre ment, az emberiség haladt, ha a küzdő egyén nem is vette észre. . . . Az Eszme folyton fejlik s győz, nemesedik.[12]

This idea conforms to dialectical logic only if the concept of Hope is kept credibly relevant.

Madách thus sees that "küzdés" (struggle), having the goal of "haladás" (progress), ultimately equals "szabadság" (liberty). He defines "szabadság" in these terms: "A szabadság alatt értem hazám minden beolvasztástól megóvott integritását." Whereas Goethe, the Westerner, permitted his Faust to consume his entire existence by traversing the three dimensions of the Universe, Madách, the Hungarian freedom fighter, knew that such an approach would be aimless before attaining the initial platforms of self-identification and self-liberation. Thus he dispatched his Adam on an aimless, paradoxical earthbound life-voyage, with only the words of a distant God to sustain him: "ember: küzdj' és bízva bízzál!" This trust or hope was to be the source of his strength in his determination to struggle onward.

After writing *Az ember tragédiája,* Madách became more hopeful. His last work, *Mózes,* showed a more conciliatory mood to Hegel's concept of the hero. Indeed, one passage in *Mózes* might be taken as the last message from Adam in his earthly wandering:

> . . . kit az Úr választ eszközévé,
> Az megszűnt lenni többé önmagáé,
> S a nép szívében ver csak élete.[13]

Madách was a poet of ideas, but not a philosopher; a romantic with a powerful sense of realism; and a Western European intellectual continually striving for freedom. To grant him his identity as belonging to the West, means to understand in part the prototypical "Hungarian Tragedy."

NOTES

1. This term is often described as "liberal," but it should not be confused with current connotations.
2. This edition is dated 1861; the second edition, 1863.
3. Imre Madách, *Az ember tragédiája* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1972) is the edition used in this study.

4. J. W. von Goethe, "Faust," vol. 3, *Goethes Werke* (Hamburg: Christian Wegner Verlag, 1964), is the edition used here.
5. Madách's best friend, Pál Szontagh, was described by Károly Balogh: "Szontághban két tulajdonság uralkodott: nagy műveltséggel párosult értelem és a páratlan cinizmus." [Károly Horváth, "Madách Imre," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 62 (1958): 460.] Leading Hungarian scholars have suggested that Madách modelled Lucifer on his friend Szontagh.
6. Horváth, "Madách Imre," p. 473.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Leo Rauch, *The Philosophy of Hegel* (New York: n.p., 1955), p. 88.
9. Horváth, "Madách Imre," p. 473.
10. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte," in *Sämtliche Werke,* 20 vols. (Stuttgart: Fr. Frommann Verlag, 1961), 11: 52.
11. Horváth, "Madách Imre," p. 491.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Madách, *Mózes,* I, 737, quoted in Horváth, "Madách Imre," p. 500.

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Gyula Illyés' Poetry of Hope

Károly Nagy

Gyula Illyés is only two years younger than the twentieth century, yet ever since the mid-1940s he has been considered one of the "Great Old Men" of Hungarian literature. His immense prestige and increasing world renown is due to his abilities to integrate within himself the philosophies and traditions of the East and of the West of Europe, the views and approaches of the rational intellectual and of the lyric dreamer, the actions of *homo politicus* and *homo aestheticus.* In an interview Illyés confided: "With all the literary genre with which I experimented I wanted to serve one single cause: that of a unified people and the eradication of exploitation and misery. I always held literature to be only a tool." Five sentences later, however, he exclaimed: "I would forego every single other work of mine for one poem! Poetry is my first, my primary experience and it has always remained that."(Edit Erki, ed., *Látogatóban [Visiting],* Budapest: Gondolat, 1968). The committed, the engaged spokesman of his people coexists in Illyés with the poet. It is, therefore, the concerned intellectual leader as well as the artist who has to be considered when Illyés writes, when he articulates some vital issues in his poems.

One of Illyés' important themes since the mid-1960s has been the redefinition of human weakness as potential strength. There may be strength in the weakness of individuals, small groups, and communities. This apparent drawback may yet provide mankind with the hope of surviving absolute powers, impersonal and dehumanized institutions, even atomic annihilation. The title poem of his 1965 volume, *Dőlt vitorla* is a first attempt to define this hope of the weak:

Swaying Sail

The yard, the long sailyard
crackles and sways,
it almost mows the foams
while the bark — dashes ahead!

Look: when does the mast
and sail fly forward
most triumphantly?
When it heels the lowest!

The ancient Aesopian parable about the reed which bows to the wind and survives, while the proud oak tree breaks and dies, is given an extra dimension in this poem: the boat flies forward while it heels low. Relating to the ruling power structure, surviving sometimes unbearable dictatorial pressures, being able to fulfill oneself in spite of authoritarian inhumanities, is a traditionally significant problem in Hungary, where there have been so many foreign and domestic despots to relate to, survive, and spite throughout the centuries.

A further, fuller, lyric unfolding of the theme: strength in weakness, is Illyés' *Dithyramb to women,* which first appeared in the June 1967 *Kortárs,* and then in his 1968 volume, *Fekete — fehér* [Black and white]. In this poem he contrasts the hard, enduring, sharp, monumental, and fiercely strong and proud forms of being and behaving with the fragile, the yielding, the small, the simple and softly opening forms, and finds that the latter are stronger.

Dithryamb to Women

(excerpts)

1

Not stone and not metal.
Not those which can weather the storm of times!
But rush, reed, bark.
Not the accomplices of the
eternal-life-promise. Not the reserved ones.
But the fragile, the yielding:
grass, loess, sedge
became the protest.
Those which disappear when they've done their work.

2

Not stone and not metal.
Not the Assyrian, not the Sumerian columns,

measuring millennia with their ringed base,
not the basaltic pyramid roofs,
but the dried leaves, the underbrush, wood:
those who wave yes, already from afar.
Not those which are hard
but those which can be spun and woven,
those watching the working hand
with the eyes of a dog, —

Long, long ago
even before all the gods —

4

The perishable ones. Seaweed, moss.
The passing ones. Pellicle, Flax twine.
Not the original somebodies but those who break
yet laugh in a moment
because they can be put together again,
those who thus endure and do not yield.
The peel of the branch, goat-hair, raffia
became our fellow travellers
Harboring, by the destiny of some distant
— how should we say — ideology?
future itself.

5

Long before metal and stone
took power.
Those who can be bent, flexed,
the tenaciously gentle,
the answer-giving-soft to the finger,
those who never strike back
gave a quiet signal — hand to the hand —

the Earth is with us!

9

Not the fortress, built of rock blocks
tied together only by the mortar of sheer weight.
Not the gates of pride
but chaff, wicker, fluff,
the strength of the twig, wax, pen
carried us so far —

Yes, these:
the softly opening became the strongest.
Like the loins and breasts
in the bone and muscle castle
of your bodies, women.

Like those who overcame time.

10

Not the angles, not the edges,
not the piercing and shooting weapons,
not the kings and military leaders
but the clay-mud, which became
smarter sooner than the dog,
fur, and hide
became leaders, shaping the hands of
— not the men, but those
who have eyes everywhere:
the women.

14

. . . . . .
Not the thunders but the songs,
not the swords, the sheaths, the armour,
but the shirts, the kerchiefs, the garters,
not the lightnings, not the volcanos,
glowing roaring light through reddened windows,
spitting the fury of the depths onto the skies,
but the heroic nipples,
protecting those running to them for safety
bravely
stiff, inflamed.

Dedication

Not the curb bits, the clangors
but the handle on the basket;
not the assaults, the encirclements
but the coral chain around the neck
and the chairs around the fireplace;
not the storms, the stallions, the cries of victory,
but the pats on the sieve
when the flour curdles,

but the wordless looks through the
wintery window from behind a curtain;
not the snow-capped alps, icy abyss
but the embroidering green crops on the land,
but those who are spinning even on Sundays,
but the swaying of infants,
but the chattering rivulets,
not the commands: "Charge!" and "Attention!"
But the turned-over pillow.

In a 1972 poem about Hungarian language, the language of the faithful and the free, but also of the trembling, the old, the fearful, the oppressed, and the beaten, titled *Koszorú* (Wreath), he talks about the enduring, the "stone-biting force" of the root hairs of his beloved mother tongue. In still another poem: *Hunyadi keze* (The Hand of Hunyadi) he emphasizes:

Declare: cowardly is the people
which is protected by martyrs alone:
not heroic deeds, but daily daring,
everyday, minute-by-minute courage
saves men and countries.

This motive of quiet everyday courage and work gives new dimensions to Illyés' theme of strength in weakness, it provides content to the idea, it almost furnishes instructions on how the weak can be strong. This new dimension is further developed in another long poem, written in 1967, entitled *Az éden elvesztése* (The Loss of Paradise). This poem is a modern oratorio, a moral-political passion play about the chances of the average, weak, and powerless human individual to avoid the impending atomic cataclysm.

The Loss of Paradise (excerpts)

40

. . . . . .

Exactly the unavoidability of trouble calls for a struggle against it, a struggle to the degree of self-sacrifice if needed: that is the final chance. And just because a bad power is tremendously high above me, it doesn't mean that I can't attack it, can't get to it. True: I cannot reach the top of the tower by my hands, but it's not true that I cannot get there by climbing up the stairs inside it, for example. Every power is a human creation, and is continuous. It is in human hands, in our hands too, even in the most modest of hands.

41

You are in our hands,
conceited powers over our fate!
It isn't true that we can't
get to you to bend your knees,
to ground your shoulders,
to strike on your mouths
to step on your fire
to save our roofs.

42

To reach from Somogyjád, even if only to the degree of a protesting waving finger, to an all-generals committee of the U.N. in New York?! Of course it sounds absurd. But even more absurd — and inhuman — is the thought that anyone, anywhere, from any heights could decide about the fate of just one man in Somogyjád against his will. And they want to decide! Millions of wills are circulating in the World, faster than the millions of drops when the water begins to boil. Not only from up to down. Also from down upward.

48

. . . . . .
The day of fury may come,
the atom may explode:
but exactly in the knowledge of our fate
let us, faltering people down here,
do resolutely
that more and more human work of ours
in this wide world

because our gods are dying.

And exactly because every power
when it petrifies into a formidable rock,
can be broken only my miniscules
drop-by-drop edging into the cracks;

and exactly because miniscule villages
may have to perform divine tasks:

49

As Jonah from the innards of the whale
we are stepping forth from death

from death's alarming embrace,
and exactly because we speak
from the wavering barge of a
bloodlost, forsaken little nation
do we roar an ancient message:

50

The day of fury may come,
the atom may explode,
but exactly because its horror
subdues the little as well as the big
and because pine and weed,
the beautiful and the ugly may collapse together,
the good and the bad may die together:
it all comes to the same thing;
so honor and faithfulness almost
becomes our shelter, indeed,
stealing a smile unto our bitter lips
it can even be our weapon:

52

. . . . . .
When the day of fury comes
because it may come,
when the atom explodes,
because piled in stacks it waits
for a hand here and there,
although the atom explodes,
on that final day,
before that terrible tomorrow
people, let us dare to do the
greatest deed:
let us being here, from the depths
by the strength of our faith,
step by step as possible
but up, up, upward,
let us begin life anew.

To offer hope to a small, "bloodlost, forsaken little nation" is a conscious act on the part of Illyés, the poet-statesman. He views his role as that of a researcher of the future. He professes allegiance with those creators, who are groundbreakers, those poets, who research with "an

ultraviolet light that will be the imperatives tomorrow." He does this in an "ars poetica" written around 1965, titled *Óda a törvényhozóhoz* (Ode to the Lawmaker).

Ode to the Lawmaker

(excerpts)

The Law would be good and equitable
if we the people would be manufactured
like brick which is turned out
by the machines uniformly every time.

But that cannot be.

Every heart has a different will.

And since long ago we are not merely
clay or matter!

I will be exact as the writer always is
when the scientist or the judge writes the poem.

This is our new song.

Make laws, but living laws so that
we wouldn't constantly collide,

so that everybody would fit his
part-truth into the collective truth,
and yet: so that we would stay human
without stiffening into clay and bricks,
without circling like atoms or nuclei;
so that we would stand fast yet run free.

Let life, not death create order!

Give rights, therefore, to the shadings
in which, maybe, our future is drawn
and to the exception
which may be the rule tomorrow;
rights — so he could experiment —
to the poet, the chief researcher.

Because it doesn't take greater talent
or zeal to find the cure for cancer,
to harness the strength of the atom

to fly through space,
than to show what the future ripens

in the hearts,

than to uncover with an ultraviolet light
what will be the imperatives tomorrow
among us, people;

what is that which approaches in our nerves

from the distance of aeons
toward the distance of aeons.

Rights to the dissectors!
The surface-, the epidermis-, the appearance-destructors
who separate, minute by minute, the bad
from the good;
the constantly correcting reconstructors
who show, minute by minute: from what point is
the murderer a murderer,
the thief a thief,
already grotesque what's beautiful,
beautiful which was grotesque before,
the hero: a henchman,
and: who really is the one who leads —

because there is no free pass
to progress correctly with your era;
because there are times — and we have seen it often —
when the mute speaks,
the one who chases really flees,
the harlot is immaculate,
the virgin: filthy.

Not every creator is such but
they who work thus — the progressive,
the fighter, the ground-breaker —
are the ones I profess as examples!
They are the ones who signal
the direction toward a tomorrow!
. . . . . .

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*translation by Károly Nagy

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Hungarian Language Research in North America: Themes and Directions

Andrew Kerek

The Hungarian language is popularly — and rightly — regarded by many of its speakers and supporters in North America as the main symbol of a cultural heritage that ought to be preserved and perpetuated within the encroaching English-speaking environment. Much less aware is the same public of another role that the language has played for several decades as the object of scattered yet extensive and fruitful scholarly research by linguists in the United States and Canada. Some of this work has been specifically concerned with social and cultural aspects of language survival — a notable example is J. A. Fishman's excellent sociolinguistic survey of the status of Hungarian in America (*Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States,* 1966) — or else formed a part of, or aimed to facilitate the preparation of, effective language teaching materials, such as Hungarian textbook-grammars, English-Hungarian contrastive analyses, or studies in cross-language interference in language learning. On the other hand, many products of this nearly half a century of research have dealt more directly with problems of linguistic description, in part contributing to a better understanding of the Hungarian language itself, and in part making Hungarian language data available in published form to linguists for further analysis and interpretation.

My purpose here is to sum up very briefly the thrust of this work both by outlining the main thematic directions in which it has proceeded and by noting the individual contributions that have shaped its course. This summary is based on my "Bibliography of Hungarian Linguistic Research in the United States and Canada" (*Ural-altaische Jahrbücher* 49 [1977]), which provides a comprehensive alphabetical listing of some 250 pertinent publications, some trivial, some highly significant. By "pertinent" I mean any published material that bears upon some aspect of a scientific study of Hungarian. Given this limitation, the bibliography excludes several categories of publications or commercial

products that serve primarily as aids to language learning rather than resulting directly from research; such excluded materials may be word lists, dialogs, phrase books, readers, dictionaries, tapes, and records, as well as pedagogical textbooks, unless they supply explicit information on grammar and other aspects of language structure. The bibliography represents the works of American and some Canadian linguists regardless of places of publication or dissemination. For precise references, which will not be given here, the reader should consult the complete bibliography.

To begin with a statistical overview, the bibliographical entries reflect a wide array of "genres" that includes some 20 monographs and books (about half of them pedagogical grammars), 130 articles, 45 reviews, and about 25 miscellaneous items such as notes, films, obituaries, and contributions to encyclopedias. In addition, the bibliography identifies 11 master's theses (this figure may be incomplete), produced at Columbia (7) and Indiana (4), as well as 19 doctoral dissertations, divided among Columbia (4), Indiana (4), California at Berkeley (4), Princeton (2), McGill (2), Harvard (1), Louisiana State (1), and California at San Diego (1). These figures, incidentally, well reflect the significant role that Columbia and Indiana Universities in particular have played in stimulating academic and professional linguistic interest in Hungarian. Nearly 100 people have published on the language, with an average output of two and a half publications per author. But the average is misleading, because actually some have contributed one or two items, while a few have published extensively. The late Professor John Lotz of Columbia University, for example, authored or co-authored over 40 publications, and a further 70 pieces have been produced by just four other researchers. Finally, about 60 percent of the names listed in the bibliography suggest the authors' Hungarian ethnic background, but these have produced some 85 percent of all the books, articles, theses, and dissertations. It seems, then, that while some significant work has been done by linguists who may not have close ethnic ties to Hungarians, a sizeable majority of those with an active scholarly interest in the language have been of Hungarian descent.

In a paper presented at a conference of Hungarian linguists in Debrecen back in 1966, John Lotz cited three decisive factors to explain the American interest in the Hungarian language: the large number of Hungarians living in America, the rapid growth of American structural linguistics after World War II, and the National Defense Education Act of 1958. In retrospect, it seems that this summative review by Lotz more or less marked the end of one major phase of American Hungarian

language research and the beginning of a new one. In many ways the continuity of this tradition is of course obvious, and one can at best suggest a tenuous dichotomy. But the changing conditions in the mid-nineteen sixties did bring about something of a turning point. For one thing, to take Lotz's three points in reverse order, government support for the study of "critical" languages — including Hungarian — began to decline and was soon reduced to a trickle. The Uralic and Altaic Program of the American Council of Learned Societies, for example, terminated in 1965, after enjoying half a decade of generous funding from NDEA Title VI grants both for basic and applied research, and for the establishment of language institutes, such as at Columbia, Berkeley, Colorado, and Indiana, which included Hungarian in their programs.

Then at about the same time postwar structural linguistics was giving way to the transformational-generative school, a shift that changed the character of linguistic research in some fundamental ways and brought new questions, a new point of view, and new names into the study of Hungarian as well. And even the Hungarian immigrant community was ceasing to be the stimulating factor that Lotz justifiably claimed it to be, at least insofar as, by the latter part of the decade, the earlier active if sporadic interest in a systematic study of the community's speech patterns or "dialectal" characteristics apparently all but disappeared. In view of these facts it is not too far-fetched, then, to speak for convenience of an earlier period of research, roughly embracing the work Lotz reviewed in his 1966 paper and preoccupied with such pursuits as immigrant dialectology, phonetic experimentation, but above all structuralistic approaches to phonology and grammar, and on the other hand of a later period focusing more on phonology and grammar within the framework of transformational-generative theory, in addition to approaches to Hungarian from the viewpoint of newly emerging subdisciplines such as computational linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and generative metrics. Some paths, of course, cut across these periods — most notably the work of John Lotz, which does not lend itself to such a division. Also, historical and comparative aspects of Hungarian, but especially contrastive studies of the linguistic systems of Hungarian and English, have been pursued throughout this history of research — the latter perhaps because of the importance of such studies in a close language-contact situation like ours in North America.

The earliest American interest in the Hungarian language was apparently limited to collecting lists of words and expressions from the dialect of Hungarian immigrants, and to some random remarks about its grammatical peculiarities, such as those included in books by G.

Hofmann (1911) and H. L. Mencken (1937). A more elaborate and systematic attempt to describe the "Eastern" variety of this dialect was made in a little-known dissertation of the postwar period by P. Szamek (Princeton, 1947), and in another dissertation, P. Nelson investigated the English speech of a small Hungarian community in Louisiana (Louisiana State, 1956). Plans for an extensive Hungarian dialect survey in the United States, publicized by E. Bakó through several forums in the early sixties, have apparently failed to materialize. Nor has, regrettably, the large corpus of taped dialect material collected more recently by L. Dégh and A. Vázsonyi in the Calumet (Indiana) region and among Hungarian settlers in Canada, as yet found its way into print. Recent papers dealing with the Hungarian language in North America are few indeed — the output by Americans barely matching, if at all, the attention given it by some linguists in Hungary (see, for example, B. Kálmán's detailed description in *Magyar Nyelvőr* [1970]); two brief studies of Hungarian place names in the U.S. by Z. Farkas (1971) and by I. Janda (1976), and a conference paper by V. Makkai comparing the forms of greeting and address among Hungarians in the U.S. and in Hungary, go a long way accounting for the American contributions. In 1966 Lotz pointed out that an all-encompassing synthesis dealing with the Hungarian-English "symbiosis" within the American "diaspora" — such as that worked out by Haugen for Norwegian, for example — was yet to appear. As of 1977, it is still nowhere in sight.

From the outset American linguists were more interested, in fact, in the standard variety of the language as it is recognized and used in Hungary. R. A. Hall's well-known *Hungarian Grammar* (1944), together with an earlier version of the same monograph (1938), was the first — and turned out to be the only — attempt to offer a detailed scientific description of Hungarian grammar using the methodology of American structural linguistics. Several early (1943) papers by T. A. Sebeok applied this approach to Hungarian phonology — papers on the vowel system, the problematic /h/ phoneme, and the vowel morphophonemics of suffixes, a topic also discussed by P. Garvin (1945). R. Austerlitz's M.A. thesis (Columbia, 1950) analyzed the Hungarian phonemic system in terms of several alternative structural approaches. John Lotz in particular, in a series of articles spanning three decades and focusing especially on questions of morphology and semantics, applied to Hungarian a different (European) concept of structuralism, one that, incidentally, also formed the theoretical basis for his significant but now almost inaccessible *Das ungarische Sprachsystem* (Stockholm, 1939).

Lotz's plans to rewrite this book from the point of view of American structuralism were stymied by his untimely death.

In his papers on Hungarian grammar, some collected in the unpublished ACLS Research Report *Hungarian Structural Sketch* (1965) and several of them written in or translated into Hungarian for publication in Hungary, Lotz dealt with a range of topics including the semantics of nominal bases (1949) and tenses (1962/1966), aspects of the verbal paradigm (1949), specifically the imperative (1960) and the implicative -LAK suffix (1962/1967, also discussed by K. Keresztes [1965]), inflectional questions of common and proper nouns (1966) and of the noun suffix -É (1968), as well as models (1967) and categories (1967, 1974) of Hungarian grammar. Additionally, Lotz was involved, directly or indirectly, in several phonetic experiments conducted in the early sixties under the auspices of "ACLS Research Projects." These projects included a tape-cutting experiment on the perception of English stop sounds by speakers of several languages including Hungarian (1960), X-ray films on Hungarian speech production (1965/1966, 1967), as well as some of the work reported by Nemser (1961).

Much like Lotz's publishing career, studies in contrastive linguistics form somewhat of a bridge between the earlier and the later phase of Hungarian language research. Lotz himself had a continuing interest in such studies, as shown by the several phonological papers he contributed (*e.g.*, on obstruent clusters [1966/1972] and glides [1969]), but even more so by the crucial role he played in setting up the Hungarian-English Contrastive Linguistics Project, co-sponsored by the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, of which for several years Lotz was the Director, and the Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. So far seven volumes of the Project's monograph-size *Working Papers* have appeared, under the joint editorship of L. Dezső (Hungary) and W. Nemser (U.S.). Contributions to this series from the American side include two papers by Lotz (Volume 1), a study on language typology co-authored by Nemser (in Volume 4), and most recently a lengthy study by K. Keresztes on *Hungarian Postpositions vs. English Prepositions* (Volume 7). Besides his other work in contrastive phonology (with F. Juhász, 1964) and in contrastive semantics (with E. Stephanides, 1974), Nemser's research in interference, reported most fully in *An Experimental Study of Phonological Interference in the English of Hungarians* (1971) (a revision of his Columbia dissertation of 1961), deserves notice. Other English-Hungarian contrastive studies include, besides short papers by A. Katona on grammatical difficulties of Hungarians learning English (1960) and A. Bálint on time indication

(1966), also Indiana M.A. theses by M. Reynard on English equivalents of Hungarian *már* (1968) and by L. Kazár on expressing the idea of "ability" (1972), as well as two doctoral dissertations: P. Madarász has dealt with pedagogical applications of contrastive analysis (Berkeley, 1968), and R. Orosz has analyzed the category of definiteness (Indiana, 1969). Various problems of definiteness in Hungarian, by the way, have been addressed by several others as well (S. Houston, 1968; R. Hetzron, 1970; A. Kerek, 1971).

Historical and comparative studies of Hungarian, like contrastive analyses, appear to span across the two phases of research. Such studies have been relatively immune to the theoretical upheavals in linguistics that so profoundly affected synchronic description, and consequently do not readily support the chronological division that I have suggested. Interestingly, a couple of early papers on historical topics — J. Prince's studies on Slavonic (1935) and Turkic (1936) loan material in Hungarian — appear to be the first American linguistic publications concerned with standard Hungarian. Along the same line, nearly three decades later N. Poppe wrote on Altaic loanwords (1960) and J. Lázár produced an M.A. thesis on Roumanian loanwords (Columbia, 1962). In two further Columbia theses, C. Szigeti analyzed Hungarian onomatopoeic words (1968), and G. Mészöly discussed the internal reconstruction of vowel rules (1976), elaborating elsewhere on the origins and effects of vowel epenthesis in Hungarian (1976).

Historical research of a comparative nature also reaches across the entire time spectrum. On the one hand, etymological notes range from Tihany's (1940) through contributions by T. Sebeok (1946), J. Lotz (1956), and D. Sinor (1961, 1962, 1973) to a recent paper by R. Austerlitz (1975). On the other hand, more importantly, several substantial studies spread out across the decades have dealt with Finno-Ugric affinities of Hungarian. T. A. Sebeok's dissertation (Princeton, 1945) compared the Finnish and Hungarian case systems using Roman Jakobson's descriptive approach. K. Keresztes's monograph, *Morphemic and Semantic Analysis of the Word Families: Finnish ETE- and Hungarian EL- 'fore'* (1964), was based on the author's M.A. thesis (Columbia, 1963); his doctoral dissertation on the derivation of Hungarian *-l* and *-z* verbs (Columbia, 1969) further contributed to research in historical morphology. C. Carlson's Indiana thesis (1967) explored Hungarian words of Ob-Ugric origin, and his dissertation gave a semantic analysis of Proto Finno-Ugric (1971). Essays by D. Sinor (1967, 1969, 1974) and by A. Raun (1967, 1974) have also dealt with — or touched on — historical-comparative aspects of Hungarian.

Before turning to the more recent stage of research, let us note in passing several representative examples of "textbook grammars" produced before the mid-sixties (none, to my knowledge, has been published since then). Although concerned primarily with language teaching rather than with novel linguistic analyses, such texts often discuss important points of grammar and pronunciation. A good example is C. Wojatsek's *Hungarian Textbook and Grammar,* now in its third revised edition (1962, 1964, 1974). Others include texts by L. Tihany (1942), I. Alszeghy et al. (1958), and I. Átányi (no date), as well as better known but in this context perhaps somewhat less relevant materials such as T. Sebeok's *Spoken Hungarian* (1945), A. Koski and I. Mihályfi's *Hungarian Basic Course* (1963–1964), and the volumes prepared at the Defense Language Institute at Monterey, California.

The late sixties marked the beginning of a highly productive period of research in basic Hungarian linguistics, *i.e.,* phonology and grammar, stimulated especially by the dramatic emergence of the transformational school in American linguistics. At no other time have so many contributions to the scientific study of Hungarian been generated at North American universities as the flood of dissertations, theses, and articles produced within the past decade. Phonological topics in particular have attracted much interest; though by no means are all products of this period generative in methodology, it seems that — for complex formal and technical reasons — certain interesting morphological characteristics of the language such as vowel harmony and alternations in noun and verb stems have lent themselves especially well to generative treatment. L. Rice's M.A. thesis (Indiana, 1965) discussed some rules of vocalization, and his dissertation (1967), later published as *Hungarian Morphological Irregularities* (1970), was apparently the first major study to apply to Hungarian the generative notion of distinctive features. Dissertations by M. Esztergar (San Diego, 1971) and R. Vago (Harvard, 1974) focused on the phonology of nouns and vowel harmony; theoretical questions of vowel harmony in particular, also approached from different non-generative points of view by J. Lotz (1972) and by V. Makkai (1972), have been further pursued in a number of significant papers by Vago (1973, 1976, 1977), who has also contributed on the topics of rule ordering (1974) and the hierarchy of boundaries (1977), and is writing a book on the sound pattern of Hungarian. J. Jensen's main interest, discussed at length in his dissertation (1972) and in several subsequent papers (some of them co-authored by M. S. Jensen), has been the issue of constraints on phonological theory, as well as of the abstractness of phonological representations. In a lengthy

article R. Hetzron discussed some special problems of Hungarian morphophonology (1972); some of the same questions were taken up by T. Arkwright, whose dissertation (McGill, 1974) presented a computer program for automatically generating phonetic (pronounced) forms from phonemic representations. In a joint paper with A. Kerek, Arkwright subsequently showed how his model can be used to convert Hungarian script to phonetic notation (1972), a process J. Lotz had also described in a less technical context. The consequences of speech style for phonological processes were explored by A. Kerek in a study of consonant elision in casual speech (1977). Research on the "prosodic" elements of Hungarian includes F. Juhasz's dissertation (Columbia, 1968), which, as his earlier M.A. thesis (1961), analyzed stress and intonation in a non-generative framework; these topics have been addressed also by R. Hetzron in a paper on accent (1962) and in brief remarks on the intonation of reclamatory sentences (1972). A. Kerek has approached secondary word stress both descriptively, applying the concept of transformational cycle (1968), and experimentally (with R. Gregorski, 1971).

Besides phonology, American transformational linguistics has also aroused new interest in the study of Hungarian syntax, a subject previously ignored (a rare exception: T. A. Sebeok's paper on equasional sentences [1943]). The contributions of R. Hetzron to this line of research have been especially noteworthy. Hetzron has published on a wide variety of Hungarian syntactic topics, including the expletive adverb *ott* (1966), obligatory complements (1969), non-verbal sentences and degrees of definiteness (1970), presentative constructions (1971), conjoined structures (1972, 1973), rule ordering (1973), surfacing (1973), *-ik* verbs (1975), and the syntax of the causative verb (1976). M. Szamosi has been interested in complementation (1971), syntactic typology (1972), the problem of surface constraints (1971, 1976), as well as verb-object agreement in Hungarian (1974), an issue also discussed in a different context by S. Jones (1970). Finally, Sz. Szabó's dissertation (Berkeley, 1971) demonstrated the application of computational linguistics to the description of Hungarian syntax.

During this period, as American linguistics itself has branched out in numerous directions and as new sub-disciplines have emerged, research on Hungarian has been enriched by the investigation of new topics, or perhaps the investigation of old topics in a new light. For example, psycholinguistics has directed new attention to the acquisition of language by children. How Hungarian children learn to speak was the topic of B. MacWhinney's dissertation at Berkeley (1974); in several papers

grown out of this research (1975, 1976), he elaborated on the acquisition of morphology and syntax. In contrast, A. Kerek has discussed the phonological rules that characterize the speech patterns of young Hungarian children and the implications of these rules for Jakobson's concept of "sonority hierarchy" (1976), extending the topic to the study of baby talk as a source of nicknames (1977). Combining psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic interests, M. Hollos has contrasted the cognitive development (1974) as well as the logical and role-taking abilities (1975) of Norwegian and Hungarian children, and has investigated the social rules determining pronoun selection by Hungarian children (1975). S. Gal's dissertation (Berkeley, 1976) explored the sociolinguistic effects of language change on language maintenance in the German-Hungarian bilingual community of Oberwart (Felsőőr) in Austria. J. Fishman's monograph on Hungarian language maintenance in the United States has already been mentioned; a study by V. Fischer (1971) on the effects of childhood bilingualism on the educational achievement of urban Hungarian-American children fits into the same general context. Other researched topics include English-Hungarian and Hungarian-English lexicography (dictionary-making), critically reviewed by A. Balint in his Columbia dissertation (1968), as well as metrics, approached in a traditional way in a couple of short articles by Lotz (1952, 1972), and within the framework of generative metrics by Kerek in *Hungarian Metrics: Some Linguistic Aspects of Iambic Verse* (1971), based on an Indiana dissertation (1968), and in related articles (1972, 1974).

So far I have ignored book reviews, although they, too, can be regarded as products of linguistic interest; at any rate, they reflect the reviewers' desire to keep track of and call attention to relevant publications in North America and elsewhere, notably in Hungary. Furthermore, even if by publishing only reviews of books dealing with Hungarian, some linguists have at least to that extent shown their interest in the language. Here I shall merely enumerate by subject matter the authors (with dates) of the books reviewed by American or Canadian linguists, and name the respective reviewer(s): on grammars, Hall 1938 (Tihany, Szenczi, Bence), Hall 1944 (Bergsland), Tihany 1942 (Sebeok), Lotz 1939 (Sebeok), Sauvageot 1953 (Sebeok), Sauvageot 1971 (Hetzron, Moravcsik), Tompa 1972 (Vago); on semantics, Károly 1970 (Sebeok); on textbook grammars, Wojatsek 1962 (Murphy), Bánhidi et al. 1965 (Tikos, Kerek); on phonetics, Laziczius 1947 (Sebeok); on intonation, Elekfi 1962 (Juhasz), Magdics 1969 (Johnson & Hetzron, Lehiste), Fónagy & Magdics 1967 (Hetzron); on comparative linguis-

(Lotz); on onomastics, Ladó 1971 (Rudnyćkyj, Kázmér & Végh 1970, Kálmán 1973, Hajdú 1974 (Kerek); on dialects of Hungary, Végh 1959 (Keresztes), Arany 1967 (Hetzron); and on the whole language, Benkő & Imre 1971 (Jensen, Hetzron). Although not strictly reviews, we shall mention in this context non-technical summary descriptions of the Hungarian language contributed to several encyclopedias by R. Austerlitz and T. Sebeok, both of whom, incidentally, have also written obituaries, including ones in memory of John Lotz.

It is nice to be able to open up an introductory linguistics text Monday morning and occasionally have a "Hungarian problem" stare one in the face. Or to hear the familiar — if often broken — ring of Hungarian examples thrown around in heated corridor-arguments at linguistics conferences. How much of — and in what ways — the research summed up here is significant enough to advance the understanding of the Hungarian language per se, the reader — and our colleagues in Hungary — are invited to assess. Perhaps limited in scope and modest in results if compared to the extensive work carried on in Budapest or Debrecen, this research can nevertheless boast of one accomplishment uniquely its own: it has placed the Hungarian language on the professional "map" of American linguistics. If research is self-generating, then perhaps in our Monday-morning introductory classes we are already harboring a new generation of American linguists who will some day find Hungarian an exciting and gratifying language to explore.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

The Poetry of Contemporay Hungary

Enikő Molnár Basa

Modern Hungarian Poetry. Edited, and with an Introduction by Miklós Vajda. Foreword by William Jay Smith. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977. 286 pp.

This anthology, comprising nearly 200 poems from forty-one authors is, on the whole, the best collection of Hungarian verse available in English. The translations are enjoyable as English poetry while they reflect accurately the original. In most instances, the problem of recreating the meter and rhyme is handled in a logical rather than pedantic fashion: the English verse aims at capturing the essential sound and feel of the original without trying for precise equivalencies which might have led to distortions of sense or of the modern American idiom into which it is rendered. The success of this approach was reflected in the warm reception of the parallel readings held by four of the poets in the anthology (Ferenc Juhász, Amy Károlyi, István Vas, Sándor Weöres) and two of the translators (Daniel Hoffman and William Jay Smith) at the Library of Congress. Even those in the audience who understood no Hungarian could appreciate the poetry in both the original and the translation as they listened, because the tonal qualities *were* reproduced.

Such accuracy is understandable if the genesis of these translations is considered. They are the result of ten years' work and are culled from the pages of the *New Hungarian Quarterly*, the English-language journal whose literary editor is Miklós Vajda. Furthermore, the work involved close cooperation between poet and translator, achieved through both extensive correspondence and personal meetings. The use of literal prose versions and of well-marked texts and tapes of the original to ensure proper sound-qualities, is one that has been found the most effective for verse translations. Thus, in the "Foreword," William Jay Smith stated, "I firmly believe that only poets should translate poets, but

how does one translate from a language of which one knows not a word? It may seem madness, and probably is; but poets are not to be put off by madness." Yet, he could conclude: "Although after several visits I still know little Hungarian, I do have the mad confidence shared by the other poet-translators of this volume that most of the poems assembled here by Miklós Vajda are of a rare beauty in the original and deserving of the best life they can be given in English."

The organization and purpose of the volume is given in Miklós Vajda's "Introduction." This clearly demonstrates the limits and even shortcomings of the anthology: all of the poems having been culled from the pages of the *NHQ*, they reflect a certain propagandistic stance. Vajda's introductory survey of the last 500 years of Hungarian history and poetry is naturally guided by these same principles. Yet, it would not be fair to condemn the book for failing to be wholly representative when such is not its ultimate aim. Nor would it be fair to condemn Vajda for a too-simplistic view of Hungarian letters since, obviously, he could not give a detailed survey in the approximately fifteen pages allotted for the introduction. On the other hand, the essay serves its purpose and does not only place the various poets in an appropriate tradition but also shows the affinities between these contemporary writers and those of the past.

It is most enlightening to become acquainted with these poems in the framework provided by Vajda. He groups the poets into four generations, though it is clear that the generations overlap considerably. Lajos Kassák (1887–1967) and Milán Füst (1888–1967) are labelled the "great forebears who were followed by the poets who began publishing before or during World War II. Still strongly socialistic in their themes are those who, though born before the Second World War, did not begin to publish until after the conflict. The political concerns of these poets (at least as exhibited in these poems) are intense and personal. The "poets who grew up under socialism" are not apolitical, yet the difference of their experiences and expectations clearly marks their poetry.

The forerunners, Kassák and Füst, are represented by both personal and political poems. "Craftsmen" (1918) from the former looks forward to better times; later poems capture personal moments. "If my Bones must be Handed Over" (1933) and "Old Age" (1940) represent the poet's attempt to come to grips with cosmic forces: life and time. Lőrinc Szabó, who died in 1957, might best represent the next group, and the poems included in this collection suggest a highly personal poet. Thematically, however, the majority of the poets included in the anthology belong here. Many wrote both before and after the war, and their themes,

outlook and preoccupations reflect the changes in Hungary during these last fifty years. It would be inaccurate to classify Gyula Illyés strictly as a poet representing the revolutionary socialism of the 1930s or to consider István Vas *merely* as a representative of a new cosmopolitanism. Above all, the selection makes no claim to being representative of the work of the individual poets, and so the generalizations stated in the Introduction should be taken with more than the usual grain of salt. These should, in short, be interpreted carefully.

To mention briefly the poets represented by one or two works, Zoltán Zelk experiments with verse forms and sounds: his free-associative verse is among the most interesting in international terms. Anna Hajnal, who died in September of 1977, responds sensitively to both exterior phenomena and her rich inner life; Amy Károlyi, an admirer and translator of Emily Dickinson, shows similar concern for symbolism and meaning in ordinary things in "The Third House," while László Kálnoky and György Rónai are represented by poems wrung from personal despair.

The nineteen poems from Gyula Illyés span a broad range of themes and represent a career of half a century. "The Wonder Castle" (1937) is a low-keyed yet all the more effective commentary on social injustice, but "Aboard the Santa Maria" suggests disappointment with the "new order" and a deadening loss of goals. The more recent "Tilting Sail," on the other hand, suggests hope sprung of compromise or adaptation. His tribute to the Hungarian language, "A Wreath," is one of the most memorable poems in the anthology.

The cosmpolitanism of István Vas and the linguistic virtuosity of Sándor Weöres are equally representative of modern Hungarian poetry. "Budapest Elegy" (1957) is a poignant tribute to the city just emerging from the aftermath of the Revolution. In "The Etruscan Sarcophagus" Vas gives a sensitive and personal reaction to an ancient work of art which means to him the eternal validity of human values. This is the theme of his personal reminiscence, "Boccherini's Tomb" and even of the pseudo-historical poem, "Nagyszombat, 1904."

If any one poem in the collection can be called representative of the variety that is Sándor Weöres', it might be "The Lost Parasol." Through this ordinary object, Weöres creates an image of change and evolution that encompasses life, and which is, in fact, life itself. Narrative and lyrical passages alternate in this "song,/ sung for my only one." "Monkeyland" and "Variations on the Themes of Little Boys," display mastery of words: in both poems the music of the words carries more import than their meaning. It is interesting to note that even a

predominantly non-Hungarian-speaking audience at the Library of Congress was able to respond to such verbal tricks when Mr. Weöres regaled them with a selection.

Zoltán Jékely, László Benjámin, Gábor Devecseri, Imre Csanádi, György Somlyó, Sándor Rákos and János Pilinszky belong to the generation that reached manhood shortly before or during the War. Each is represented by several poems, but for once, in "Holiday-Afternoon Rhapsody" by Csanádi, the translator seems to miss both the poetry of the first stanzas and the accurate rendering of the imagery. Csanádi can also be regarded as the spokesman of the new generation who, in his "Confession of Faith" gives a somewhat grudging and reserved tribute to socialism. Metrical innovations are represented by György Somlyó. János Pilinszky is the most mystical of the poets in this book. A Catholic, he approaches the great medieval mystics in an international or supranational spirit: sin, suffering, love, grace, and eternity are his themes.

Ágnes Nemes Nagy, another important woman poet, exhibits some of T. S. Eliot's intellectuality in her poetry. István Kormos' (1923–1977) poetry is more personal, and in these selections, he laments the lack of hope in a future. This theme forms an increasingly important motif in the poems of the younger generation, and even in the more recent work of the older men. The "chroniclers" of the postwar years, Mihály Váci, István Simon, József Tornai, Gábor Görgey, Gábor Garai, István Eörsi, Ágnes Gergely, Márton Kalász, István Csukás, Dezső Tándori, István Ágh, Miklós Veres, György Petri, and Szabolcs Várady, each represented by one or a few poems, show a candid view of contemporary Hungary as they see it. László Nagy is a master of this in poems such as "The Coalmen" or "The Bliss of Sunday," in which everyday life is captured in easy pentameters ably translated by Tony Connor and Edwin Morgan respectively.

Richly imaginative poetry with no obvious "ulterior" motive is found in the selections of Margit Szécsi and Sándor Csoóri. Mihály Ladányi's poetry contains some interesting observations with a skeptical motif, yet he seems unaware of the challenge these doubts could pose to the socialist system he does endorse. Ottó Orbán recalls the war years in vivid imagery ("Gaiety and Good Heart" and "Concert"), and Judit Tóth comes closest to representing an important segment of Hungarian literature — that written abroad.* Married to a Frenchman, her home is in Paris, and her Hungarian poems represent a gentle sensitivity which touches the essential yet small things of life. The poems included here spring from personal experience, yet they are concerned with universal

values: childbirth and children, infant death (through abortion or miscarriage), new beginnings — these are the themes ably interpreted by Laura Schiff.

Ferenc Juhász, whose highly allegorical and symbolic poetry is represented here by "Power of the Flowers," "The Boy Changed into a Stag Cries out at the Gate of Secrets" and several shorter pieces, shows the power of Hungarian poetry when welded to Hungarian folklore. The poet's peasant background allows him to feel the traditions yet he can also recognize the need to accept the changes which have come in the life of the village. Tradition and technology clash in these poems — yet in the end, a *modus vivendi* emerges. Because he accepts the benefits of industrialization as well as the need for it, Juhász leaves the reader with a positive attitude. Without sacrificing depth, he makes a positive statement on the emergence of a new, industrial society in a traditionally rural culture.

Several themes can be isolated by way of summary: loneliness, despair, a sense of isolation, the futility of goodness or of steadfastness to an ideal, even the vanity of suffering under a senseless horror which can be discerned in Pilinszky's poems. There are, on the other hand, few direct references to the explicitly Hungarian themes of earlier poets (the guidelines of the selection as well as the policy of *NHQ* might have influenced this). The tone is modern, however, and historical-political concerns are obliquely treated. Often there is a sense of *dèja vu:* the injustices invoked have happened before. The poets' reaction to these concerns, however, is one of calm resignation and pity. While anger might be expressed, hate seldom is.

Other poems reflect the beauty of life, of the landscape, or of special moments. They are intensely emotional, regardless of the particular feelings expressed. Finally, while many of the poems reflect a quest for peace, few find spiritual solace, though some of the poems hint at an eternity that is peaceful. This should not, however, be interpreted as a traditional Christian theme. Nor is it necessarily a religious Eden that these poets seek; yet, the poetry can not be called irreligious: it reflects the questioning of modern man. Above all, these poems reflect a desire *to be.* The restlessness and the individualism of modern existential man can be seen in these selections.

The supplementary material contributes to the usefulness of the book. Miklós Vajda's introduction is generally helpful, though some of the more rabid propaganda statements (*e.g.*, a paragraph on p. xxviii) are unnecessary. The "Biographical Notes" following the text give important information on the poets' backgrounds and interests and helpfully

cite their international achievements as well as translations of their works. Finally, both the twenty translators and ten co-translators (who supplied the literal versions to the American, Canadian and English poets) are remembered. The portraits of the poets represented enhance the reading of their works.

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* The literature of the emigré authors, or of authors living outside the borders of present-day Hungary are not included in the anthology; this is not a shortcoming so much as a result of the editorial policy of the *NHQ* and the aims of the anthology.

BOOK REVIEWS

Egy előítélet nyomában (*In the Wake of a Prejudice*). By György Száraz. (Budapest: Magvető, 1976). 285 pp.

"It is a disgrace that there should be a Jewish question in Hungary," wrote Lajos Kossuth, Hungary's celebrated governor during the 1848–1849 War of Independence. The letter from his Italian exile was prompted by the infamous 1883 Tiszaeszlár ritual murder trial. In his play *Tiszaeszlár* (1967) Iván Sándor viewed the trial as a prelude to the holocaust. In his *A vizsgálat iratai* (*Documents of the Inquest*) (1976) Sándor argued that Tiszaeszlár and the holocaust were bred by the same manipulative technique — mass psychosis.

In the Wake of a Prejudice is the extended version of a similarly titled 1975 article published in *Valóság*. Száraz believed the time ripe to re-examine Hungarian anti-Semitism because his generation was the last one to have personal memories of the Nazi era, and because the Jewish question was a special issue. Száraz of course implied that the ghost of prejudice still lingered in Hungary. He therefore focused on the perennially delicate Jewish question. But "delicate is only that which is not being talked about," wrote Pál Pándi defending the performance of Sándor's play. The Jewish problem was once again current in Hungarian press and letters. That socialism had been ineffective in eradicating anti-Semitism was now admitted.

Száraz's work was inspired by Mária Ember's *Hajtűkanyar* (*Hairpin Bend*) (1974), one of the numerous recent novels based on the holocaust. Ember, like a number of other authors, merely chronicled events. Others, such as György Moldova, Hungary's most popular writer, proffered judgments: "Nowhere else have I seen such zeal and cruelty in the treatment of the Jews." This view, expressed by one character in *Szent Imre induló* (*Saint Emery March*) (1975), was challenged and moderated elsewhere in the novel by another character: "A few murderers do not represent the entire nation." Other writers have focused on the predicament of the returnee: "Do you know what persecution is?" asked Ágnes Gergely's *A tolmács* (*Interpreter*) (1976). "You too stayed alive only by chance. What keeps you in this country?" In other words:

why return to Hungary, the population of which on the whole tacitly supported Jewish deportations and accorded a less than cordial welcome to the survivors? In *Csodatevő* (*Miracle Maker*) (1966), András Mezei questioned the wisdom of saying anything at all: "Never remind people of their past, of things they would rather not talk about." In *Terelőút* (*Bypass*) (1972), György Gera shared the Hungarian-born Elie Weisel's attitude; he could neither hate nor forgive. The narrator, suffering the "curse of double identity," encountered indifference and hypocricy all around.

Száraz suggested a remedy for this alienation. Why indeed should one be burdened permanently with a split personality? Why not become a Hungarian without repudiating the traditions of the old Jewish culture? Száraz's proposition appears to be a realistic alternative in contemporary Hungary because Kádár's liberal socialism permits the preservation of minority cultures.

This is the most important Hungarian work on Jewish persecution since István Bibó's long 1948 essay in *Válasz*, "Zsidókérdés Magyarországon 1944 után" (The Jewish question in Hungary after 1944).

Many observers consider Bibó to have been one of Hungary's finest intellectuals, a representative of the so-called "third road." Bibó, like Száraz many years later, addressed his countrymen on the uncomfortable subject of their share of the responsibility for the war crimes committed against the Jews. In discussing the guilt and culpability of Hungary's political, administrative, religious, and intellectual élite, Bibó pointed out that only in a sick society could anti-Semitism become a crucial social problem. He challenged the official view, readily seconded by the masses, that Jewish losses merely represented a small part of the overall sufferings of the Hungarian people at the hands of the fascists. Bibó described as "frivolous" and "dishonest" the convenient view that equated Hungarian with Jewish losses. Detecting manifestations of recurring anti-Semitism, Bibó pleaded for vigilance and a spirit of responsibility. He advocated a humane approach based on equality and free of prejudice. Alas, Bibó's remarkable essay remained a lonely voice in the wilderness. In the following twenty years or so, by mutual agreement of both Jews and Gentiles, the word "Jew" seldom found its way into print. Jews were cited tactfully as the "persecuted." Silence may have its merits but it solves nothing.

Space prohibits a detailed commentary on Száraz's historic data. He emphasized that while Jewish massacres were a common occurrence in Western Europe during the Crusades and plague years, Hungarian Jews enjoyed a relatively favoured status up to the second half of the

fourteenth century. Indeed, Hungary often served as a haven for Jews escaping persecution. In 1361, during the reign of Louis the Great, Jews were expelled from Hungary for the first time. Száraz noted the Italian — *i.e.,* foreign — origin of this king. He also observed that, although isolated charges of ritual murder were levelled against Jews as early as 1494 (Nagyszombat) and in 1529 (Bazin) the popular misconceptions and superstitions rampant in Western Europe during the Middle Ages were echoed in Hungary only at the time of the Tiszaeszlár trial. The author attributed extremism and Hungarian anti-Jewish measures to foreign elements or influences, illustrated by countless examples. In the 1848 revolution anti-Semitic fervour gripped only Hungary's German population; and a similar wave engendered by Jewish immigrants escaping Russian pogroms Száraz once again described as a foreign import.

In the Middle Ages Hungarian Jews were largely spared persecution because "backward" Hungary was slow to adopt Western European practices. But this anachronism created severe problems for Hungarian Jews later, when anti-Semitism finally arrived from the West. Száraz quoted Engels who disagreed: "Anti-Semitism is always a sign of a backward culture." Hungarian Jews became emancipated in 1867 which enabled them to play a decisive role in the development of capitalism in Hungary, a country hitherto lacking a sizeable middle class. At the same time, and, paradoxically, due to their mobility, sensitivity to new ideas, and a highly evolved social conscience, the Jews became the avant-garde of progressive ideas and culture. "They were talented and good allies of real talent," noted the author. The ill-fated Soviet Republic (1919) was followed by the White Terror, which exacted its toll mostly among the Jews, allegedly for being Bolsheviks.

The author systematically analysed the various economic and socio-political reasons for the growth of Hungarian anti-Semitism. Száraz understood that Christian ostracism prompted the Jews to adopt a "ghetto mentality;" that long years of persecution caused Jews to become hyper-sensitive, which only resulted in the development of more prejudice. Like Bibó, Száraz saw the evolution of a vicious circle, in which Christians and Jews were poisoned by mutual suspicions. The remedy for this evil rested in the hands of those in power. Száraz blamed the intensification of Jewish persecution in twentieth-century Hungary on historic forces. The aborted Bolshevik revolution followed by counter-revolution, and the spirit of Trianon all bred the Hungarian tragedy which also became the special tragedy of the Jews. Invoking Marx, Száraz stated: "A nation which oppresses others in turn becomes

oppressed." One might add that a nation itself struggling to survive is unlikely to be sympathetic to the plight of its minorities.

The most important part of this book deals with Hungary's treatment of the Jews in 1944. The author agonized: "Was this a fascist nation? No, it was not. How then could this happen? How could the 'jovial' anti-Semitism of the *fin de siècle* lead to this?" The question, "how could this happen?" emerged repeatedly. "It was not us," the author maintained. "We did not do it. The fascists did it. The Arrow Cross men. The Germans. The Gendarmes. We only put up with it. Only looked on. I know when 500,000 dead tip the scale there can be no room for argument, no room for excuses." But Száraz was primarily interested in the attitudes of the average Hungarian. "The mob. The spectators. We felt sorry for the Jews. We sheltered them or denounced them, smuggled food to them or ridiculed them, protected them or stole their belongings." István Vas, who has dealt extensively with this problem in the pages of *Kortárs,* and of whom Száraz speaks "with respect and gratitude," came to the rescue. He explained that, whereas in "more fortunate lands" the safeguarding of the country's independence coincided with democracy and the protection of human rights, in Hungary, with its tradition of autocracy and foreign oppression, the situation was not so unequivocal, and the defenders of freedom could not rise to the occasion.

It follows from Száraz's discussion of Jewish policies in neighbouring countries that, despite the severe restrictions imposed on Hungary's Jews, they were, at least for a while, in an "enviable" position compared to some of their co-religionists elsewhere. Hungary agreed to deport its Jews en masse only when the Germans seized the country in March of 1944. But with the exception of Northern Transylvania, which was reannexed to Hungary in 1940, the Jews of Rumania and Bulgaria fared much better than Hungarian Jews. Moreover, Hungary established Jewish auxiliary labour batallions as early as in 1939–40. 50,000 Jewish men were dispatched to the Russian front in 1942. The savage cruelty inflicted on these labour brigades, resulting in a staggering loss of life (42,000 by 1944), was to a considerable extent the responsibility of Hungarian officers. Unfortunately, Száraz analyzed the degree of Hungarian complicity simplistically. He also ignored the plight of 35,000 Jews expelled from Carpatho-Ruthenia in 1941. The deportation of these wretched people, mostly non-Hungarian refugees, was initiated entirely by the Hungarian authorities. About 20,000 of them were shipped to Galicia, where about 15,000 were murdered at Kamenets-Podolsk, with the participation of Hungarian troops.

In Holland one can hear Jews praised for their role in making Amsterdam what it is. Similar expressions of appreciation are less likely to be encountered in Hungary. But Száraz did notice a widespread feeling of guilt in Hungary among those who witnessed the events of 1944. Unfortunately, guilt easily blocks reconciliation. Summing up present Hungarian attitudes, the author had to concede that a barrier separating Jews and Gentiles still remained. One manifestation was the irresponsible telling of cruel and tasteless jokes. "One can survive anything. See, some people survived even Auschwitz." The myth lives on.

Bibó wrote his essay while the survivors still mourned, while wounds were fresh, and while injuries were vividly remembered. Bibó's voice was statesmanlike and his indictment seemed harsh. Thirty years later, in a different, more consolidated Hungary, the mood understandably must be different, though neither less committed nor less passionate. Száraz's voice does compel the reader to face the shame of this "conspiracy of silence" which had made the tragedy possible.

In the Wake of a Prejudice is a candid and courageous book, 50,000 copies of which were sold out immediately — an unprecedented sale for a study of this kind. Száraz's work begins with the epigraph from Mária Ember's *Hairpin Bend:* "The Jewish fate is not the subject of this book. The subject of this book is Hungarian history." One can only hope that this timely work will find a sensitive and appreciative audience.

Carleton University Paul Várnai

The Baranya Dispute 1918-1921: Diplomacy in the Vortex of Ideologies. By Leslie Charles Tihany. Boulder: East European Quarterly, 1977. Distributed by Columbia University Press. 138 pp.

Leslie Tihany's second book, unlike his first — an ambitious undertaking encompassing the history of Central Europe "from the earliest times to the age of the world wars," concentrates on a very small, self-contained, and largely unknown episode: the Yugoslav occupation of the greater part of the Hungarian county of Baranya and its capital city of Pécs between November 1918 and August 1921. The Yugoslav troops arrived in Pécs three days after the Belgrade Military Convention established an armistice line on Hungary's eastern and southern borders. Although the Treaty of Trianon later fixed the political border between Hungary and Yugoslavia in this particular region farther south, the Yugoslavs refused to leave. It took considerable pressure from the

Great Powers to convince Belgrade that neither economic nor political arguments could change the *status quo* laid down in the final treaty. The book is about Yugoslav efforts during the three years of occupation to remain permanently in Baranya and Pécs.

The Baranya Dispute 1918–1921: Diplomacy in the Vortex of Ideologies is an elegantly written little essay with a well-formulated and internally consistent thesis. Tihany's interpretation of Yugoslav policy is tight and convincing. In the beginning, when a communist regime ruled Budapest, the occupying forces cooperated with the local members of the *ancien régime,* who were grateful for the protection the presence of the occupying forces offered. When, however, the Béla Kun regime fell, the Yugoslavs changed tactics; they relied on the local left which were no longer sanguine about being incorporated into a now white Hungary. Their final and desperate act, only a few days before the evacuation, was the establishment of the Pécs-Baranya Republic. Tihany's corollary thesis, however, is less convincing: the Allies took Hungary's side in the dispute because of their fear of Bolshevism and because of their strict adherence to the notion of the *cordon sanitaire.* In reality, Hungary's future borders had been decided by April 1919, i.e. during the existence of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and the Allies' insistence on adhering to their original decisions simply reflected their reluctance to change the existing treaties (a move which would have opened a veritable pandora's box since none of the small nations was entirely satisfied with its new borders) and their unwillingness to reduce further the size of Trianon Hungary.

Having given due praise to what is admirable in this book, one must mention its very serious shortcomings. The problem is quite fundamental: it is underresearched. To start with the documentary evidence, Leslie Tihany's claim that it was "the opening of long-sealed archives by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1972" which made the appearance of this book possible is not really accurate. All the Entente Powers were involved in the Baranya dispute, and accordingly all their archives are rich sources for the subject. The Pécs Municipal Archives have very few documents (most disappeared in the chaos of evacuation), but Tihany did not even use those which were published a few years ago in two volumes. Even more startling is his neglect of the National Archives in Washington which has considerable material on the first Allied fact-finding mission dispatched from the Allied Military Mission in Budapest. Although Tihany consulted the published State Department documentary series on the Paris Peace Conference, he failed to use

the British series on the interwar years in which he would have found the proceedings of the Conference of Ambassadors which dealt with the whole problem at length. In vain one looks for General Harry H. Bandholtz's valuable diaries during his stay in Budapest as the American member of the Allied Military Mission. If Tihany could not use the Yugoslav archives, at least he should have read Vuk Vinaver's article, "Jugoszlávia és Magyarország a Tanácsköztársaság idején," published in *Századok* (1971) which is based on Yugoslav archival material. He might also have supplemented the limited secondary literature on Pécs politics (a volume of memoirs written by one of the participants almost forty years after the events and a collection of articles by local historians) with research from local newspapers.

The Baranya Dispute is based on a woefully inadequate bibliography of secondary sources. For the period as a whole, the available historical literature both on Hungary and on European diplomacy is enormous, but most of the material was ignored by the author. Although one could cite title after title, perhaps enough is said if one mentions that the memoirs of Mihály Károlyi's wife is Leslie Tihany's only source for Hungary's first democratic revolutionary period. The communist interlude does not fare much better; besides a reference book (*Magyar történelmi kronológia*) Tihany bases his evaluation on a rather specialized volume in English on the role of the Communist Party in the regime's coalition government.

The research methods employed by Tihany are also questionable, and at times they lead to inaccurate data and information. A good example of this kind of problem is the first chapter on Baranya and its people. By using the 1911 edition of the *Révai Nagylexikon* instead of the actual census figures, Tihany is convinced that there was such a thing as a 1911 census. Moreover, since the 1911 edition of the *Révai Nagylexikon* was published almost simultaneously with the statistics of the 1910 census, the encyclopedia's figures — and Tihany's — partly reflect the 1900 census (for the county) and partly the 1910 statistics (for the city of Pécs). By using the census, Tihany could have avoided another erroneous statement: that the population of Baranya "was decreasing owing to overseas emigration, mostly to the United States." The census data prove just the opposite: between 1900 and 1910 the population of the county (including the city of Pécs) rose by five percent. Prior to that date the increase was even greater. The population of the county in 1910, by the way, was not 299,312 as Tihany claims, but 352,478 out of which only 1,114 people lived abroad.

It is fortunate that the Baranya dispute was rescued from oblivion. One only wishes that the rescue operation had been undertaken with greater historical apparatus. If Tihany had done so, he would have written an excellent book on an interesting topic.

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*a review article