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JULIANNA PUSKÁS

FROM HUNGARY TO THE UNITED STATES (1880—1914)

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by

Julianna Puskás

Who were the people who left Hungary for the U.S.A.? How many of them were there, and what made them take the step? How did this movement tie in with the great migrations of Europeans across the Atlantic that had been going on throughout much of the 19th century?

It is these questions that the author seeks to answer in presenting the Hungarian model of international migration. Not content to treat only the causes and characteristics of emigration, she follows the emigrants to their new environment, showing us where they settled, what jobs they took, how their communities and organizations grew, and what difficulties and conflicts attended all this. Relying on a great variety of sources and using the comparative method, the author presents a vivid picture of the economic, social, and ideological changes involved in the migrants' gradually breaking loose of one community and culture to become integrated in another.

The issues raised and the sources presented will certainly prove thought-provoking reading to everyone interested in this area so little explored as yet.

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ
BUDAPEST

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PART II

INTRODUCTION

Between 1821 and 1924, fifty million Europeans migrated overseas, thirty-three million of them to the United States. This enormous migratory movement, the "modern exodus", is one of the most significant socio-historical events of the modern age. The "fever of overseas migration" first appeared in Western Europe, in England and Ireland, and was most intense in the 1840s and 1850s. From there, migration spread to the Scandinavian countries of Norway and Sweden, where it reached peak intensity at the end of the 1870s and in the 1880s. The peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe, primarily those living in Italy, in the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, and in the Western and Northwestern regions of Russia, were caught up in the great migratory wave during the 1880s, and, even more, in the 1890s, so much so that at the turn of the century the majority of immigrants into the United States originated from these countries.

Within the affected countries, the contemporary debate on overseas migration was vehement. Arguments for and against it gave rise to extensive political pamphleteering. However, as soon as the migratory wave had receded, no further interest was taken in the social phenomenon that earlier had caused so much agitation. Social scientists, with a few exceptions, had no interest in examining it. Most standard summaries of European national histories treat the questions of the great migrations in the section on economic pressure on half a page or so.

In the United States the study of international migration and immigration began to gain importance only with the mass appearance of the so-called "new immigrants", at the time when conflicts sharpened in American society between the earlier settlers and the new arrivals. Contemporary literature in the United States was characterized more by prejudice and bias than by the intention of understanding the development of this social phenomenon. And when finally social scientists rather than journalists came to deal with immigration, the first analyses were from a

sociological point of view rather than from a historical. Researchers concentrated on studying the problems connected with the processes of settling, adapting, and assimilating and the conflicts that the immigrants met with. In this respect American sociological research made some important contributions to the social sciences. However, this sociological approach emphasized the sociological aspects of immigration to the detriment of its historical context: the European background was neglected, which in turn made a more thorough understanding of the immigrants impossible.

Professional historical research on the questions of migration began relatively late in the United States, too. According to Professor Edward N. Saveth, it was only after 1925 that a few historians chose the history of migration for their research topic.[1] However, they, also, generally focused on immigration, the second phase of the process. The first, the European phase was traditionally looked upon as obviously a matter of escaping from the "Old World" to the "Land of Opportunity". It was Marcus Lee Hansen who first argued that immigration into the United States could be understood only by understanding the European circumstances and that the migration movement was much more complex than what could be expressed in terms of a simplified model stressing, on the one hand, the poverty of the European peasantry, and on the other, the attractions of the opportunities America offered.[2]

It was the English historian, Frank Thistlethwaite, speaking in 1960 at the World Conference of Historians in Stockholm, who first called historians' attention to the topic. Strongly criticizing the earlier lack of interest among European historians, he attributed it to the fact that, for Europe, emigration was basically a negative phenomenon. "It was above nations in its expression. It means such a drain, such a loss for the nation, that it is impossible to assess... For a researcher into a nation's history, emigration is a topic best left alone."[3]

After criticising the lack of European interest and the America-centered approach of American social scientists, he outlined the new perspectives for research, adding that new and better results required new methods of approach from new points of view. Research could not be restricted to the continent of origin or to the country which finally admitted the immigrants; instead of thinking in terms of emigrants or immigrants, it was the

[1] Edward N. Saveth (1948).
[2] Marcus Lee Hansen (1940a, b).
[3] Frank Thistlethwaite (1960), pp. 32–60.

whole process of migration that needed to be examined as a series of experiences during which the individual moved from one social identity to another. He also indicated that the process of international migration was more complex than just migration overseas. To understand it, it was necessary to study the development of migration within Europe and to explore the correlation between internal and outward migration, between continental and intercontinental migration, between permanent and seasonal migration, and the relationship of all of these to social mobility in general. Research had to address itself also to the questions of remigration and to the effects of migration on the country of origin.

The 1960 Stockholm World Conference was a significant and direct stimulant of the historical research that began and gained momentum from the 1960s on throughout Europe. This upsurge of research on migration was accompanied by the use of new research methods and new sources by economists, demographers, sociologists, and even economic historians. The development and refinement of statistical methods, together with the aid of computers, made possible the creation of various models of migration. Economists, demographers, and sociologists were the first to use quantitative methods and create models. Among historians, the recognition is gradually gaining ground that successful research into the topic depends largely upon the degree to which they are able to adopt the new, effective research methods of the other social sciences. The problem of migration is a *par excellence* example of where the comparative approach is not only beneficial but practically necessary; and the level of research that has been reached provides conditions that favour closer international cooperation.[4]

In studying the history of international migration from Hungary, I have tried to keep all the above theoretical and methodological considerations in mind.

My main goal was to introduce the model of Hungarian emigration, and to trace the Hungarian emigrants in their new environment, to study the factors that determined the geography of their settlements, influenced the development of their communities, and inspired or discouraged their group conflicts.

As has already been noted, most of the works dealing with the history of the immigrants who came to and settled in the United States disregard the immigrants' European background, or describe it very schematically. The histories written by the immigrants themselves tend to emphasize the

[4] Sune Akerman (1975).

"heroic", romantic aspects of the immigrant past, to concentrate on the outstanding individual achievements. It is characteristic of these chronicles that they all trace the group's American roots, the group's "historical continuity" in the United States as far back as possible, and put the past in the most favourable light. As one noted American sociologist writes, almost every ethnic group has discovered an "ancestor" on Columbus' boat.[5] Each group tends to idealize its own impact on American society, and to regard the activities of other groups with prejudice, and disparage these.

The primary goal has not been the realistic, many-sided analysis of the historic past in order to learn from it, but self-praise, "self-celebration". The chroniclers of the various ethnic groups have vied with one another in "proving" who has contributed the most to the United States, and who has played the greatest role in its history. Naturally, this competition among the ethnic groups has led to a deformation of proportions, with the consequence that the idealized and romantic accounts of the "past" have left little room for the stark reality.

In the case of the immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, these idealized accounts cannot—as we shall see—be easily condemned. Their role was not necessarily harmful, since they contributed to strengthening the self-confidence and ethnic consciousness of the immigrants.

For my own part, however, I would like to join forces with those researchers who insist on historical facts, for I, too, believe that in ethnic studies, unbiased scientific analysis is a *sine qua non*. At the same time, I realize that this is no easy task, especially as emotional reactions are part of the material that must be submitted to critical examination.

A realistic evaluation of the work and activities of these generations of Hungarian immigrants requires that we keep in mind the forces that determined their fate. We will find few achievements as spectacular as those that can be attributed to Hungarian intellectuals in the most varied areas of cultural, technical, and artistic life who settled in the United States from the 1920s on. But we must remember that it was the physical efforts of the working masses that helped create the capitalist economic base which has proven so conducive to intellectual accomplishments in the United States.

It is not easy to reconstruct the history of the immigrant groups for the sources are scattered and fragmentary. The various ethnic groups of immigrants did not form independent societies, not even in the sense that European ethnic minority groups did. The method of historical study

[5] Nathan Glazer–Daniel P. Moynihan (1963), 2nd ed, 1970, p. XXXIII.

that is required is further complicated by the fact that while immigration is, naturally, a part of American history, the immigrants' old-country background has always affected its precise nature. Today, as has already been noted, it is still the sociological, rather than the historical approach that determines the direction of ethnic research especially in the United States, where there is a long tradition of such sociological studies. Historians interested in immigration are still experimenting and searching for the best methods and for the relevant sources, amidst continuous debate about how best to cultivate with scientific exactitude this complicated and difficult territory of social history.[6]

*

Besides the historical literature, I have studied a variety of sources and have made use of the most varied kinds of information.

To study the process, scope and characteristics of emigration and immigration, and the geography of the Hungarian settlements in the United States, I examined first of all the statistical sources: the Hungarian emigration statistics, the U.S. immigration statistics, the published census figures of both countries, and the reports of the Dillingham Commission sent out by the United States Congress to study the problems of immigration. The latter, in spite of their biased grouping of the data, contain numerous interesting pieces of information regarding the economic circumstances, working conditions, wages, and lifestyle of the immigrants. For an insight into the questions of emigration and re-migration, and the Hungarian governments' emigration policies, I studied the published records of the Hungarian Parliament (Minutes of the House of Representatives), the minutes of various conferences on emigration, the extant documents of the Ministry of the Interior, and the documents on emigration of a few counties (Zemplén, Szabolcs, Abaúj), primarily the reports of the subprefects and the district administrators.

I have looked at the relevant material in the archives of the joint Foreign Ministry in Vienna, at the papers of the Prime Minister's office in Budapest, have examined the archives of the Prince Primate in Esztergom, and the American material in the archive of the Calvinist Presbytery in Budapest. My primary sources from the joint Foreign Ministry papers are

[6] Rudolph J. Vecoli (1970). On the significance of ethnicity, and the importance of historical research into ethnicity, see Rudolph J. Vecoli (1973), pp. 82–112; Mark Stolarik (1976), No. 1, pp. 82–102; Rudolph J. Vecoli (1969), pp. 99–145; Robert F. Harney–H. Troper (1976).

the reports of the Austro–Hungarian ambassadors to Washington. These give information primarily on the non-Magyar immigrant movements, as do the Hungarian Prime-Ministerial documents which also discuss the measures taken in response to these movements. From them, we also learn about the Magyar immigrant communities, their organizations, their living and working conditions, as well as about the various governments' emigration policies, and the forces behind them. Besides the information to be got on church connections in the various church archives in Hungary, the most valuable part of the American material is the letters written by the priests and ministers working in the United States reporting their first-hand experiences of the problems of adaptation and of ethnic conflicts.

Among the most important sources of information about the Hungarian communities in America and their organizations are their own publications: yearbooks, jubilee yearbooks, almanacs, pamphlets, and even literary works. Each anniversary year, every small community and institution summed up its activities and results. They were inspired to do so not only by the desire to leave a mark on their quickly changing history and leave some sign of their transient community, but also by the wish to add to the income of their organizations by selling these publications. Naturally, these focused on their accomplishments, and in light of the self-adulation they reflect, must be treated critically and with reservation. Nonetheless, these publications registered real events, and as such provide indispensable and invaluable information on the past, as well as serving as signposts for our reconstruction of it.

Periodicals, the Hungarian–American press and its almanacs, are an even more indispensable historical source for the problems and conflicts of adaptation.

These numerous yearbooks, anniversary volumes, memorial books, periodicals, and newspapers can be found in libraries partly in Hungary, partly in the Hungarian collections of American libraries, as well as in the possession of Hungarian organizations, institutions, and private individuals. It is only since the 1960s that libraries in Hungary and in the United States have seriously turned to collecting them, with the necessary cooperation among the individuals and institutions concerned only now taking shape. In the course of my research, I have found the Széchényi Library in Budapest to be the greatest depository of Hungarian–American newspapers; the collection is far from complete, but it is still incomparably richer than anything in the United States.

Other libraries and museums besides the Széchenyi Library also keep periodicals, Hungarian–American publications, and other historical docu-

ments, the second richest collections being in the Sárospatak library and in the Munkásmozgalmi Múzeum.

In the United States, I studied the following Hungarian collections: the Hungarian material in the Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minn., that in the American Hungarian Research Center of New Brunswick, N. J., the documents and publications stored in the Bethlen-Otthon (Bethlen-Home) of the Amerikai Magyar Református Egyesület (Hungarian Reformed Federation of America) in Ligonier, Pa., and also the Hungarian–American material in the library of Lajos Szathmáry of Chicago, Ill.

I have made use of the data to be found in the letters the immigrants sent home during the period under examination; this type of source material, however, I have been able to find only occasionally. I have also interviewed numerous first and second generation Hungarians, workers, church and social leaders, intellectuals, successful businessmen and their children, as well as old remigrants now living in Hungary.[7]

Although I have, thus, made every attempt to exploit a multiplicity of sources, I by no means regard this study as the final word on the basis of the material available. It is the task of the future to include the sources to be found in the archives of American government, social, and church organizations, to consider the data of the immigration offices, and the records of the American Roman Catholic Church, for example. In many cases, I have arrived merely at the point of being able to ask the relevant question, and of recognizing similarities among types of sources.

*

For the support given my research in the United States I would like to thank the director and researchers at the Immigration History Research Center of the University of Minnesota, all those who made their Hungarian collections available to me, and all who, by the information they gave and the sources they allowed me to use, significantly aided the completion of this work.

[7] I have placed the material of the interviews—which are partly in manuscript, partly on tape—in the archives of the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Hereafter, this material will be referred to as "J. P. interviews".

PART I

MIGRATION AND EMIGRANTS

THE PROCESS AND INTENSITY OF EMIGRATION

Researchers throughout Europe rely primarily on statistical data when exploring the development, extent and characteristics of migration.[1] The difficulties of analyzing statistical data are well known: differences in the techniques that were used to collect the data, the incompleteness and inconsistence of the records all hinder the task of reconstructing the historical process of migration. However, research conditions vary greatly from country to country. In Sweden, for example, detailed statistical data, quite satisfactory for every kind of research on emigration, are available for as far back as 1850, and village registries make it possible to trace geographic mobility at least 200 years back.[2]

Researches generally meet fewer obstacles when studying migration from the countries of Western Europe than they do working on that from Eastern Europe; the population of the former was, by and large, ethnically more homogeneous, and the national boundaries more stable. In Eastern Europe, the ethnic boundaries did not coincide with political boundaries. Thus, studying the migration of individual ethnic groups from Eastern Europe is complicated by the fact that the statistical records for these multi-national states do not indicate—at least not for the beginning of the period of overseas emigration—the ethnic identity of the emigrants. Even after the authorities began asking for this information, there was no guarantee that the answers given were accurate. If an immigrant lacked ethnic consciousness, he might name the country he came from rather than the ethnic group he belonged to. Research is further hindered by the fact that certain ethnic groups lived under the authority of several countries.

[1] Cf. the studies on international migration prepared for the international symposium of historians (Wuppertal 1974), which were published in 1980 in Paris by the Commission Internationale d'Histoire des Mouvements Sociaux et des Structures Sociales under the title "Historical Studies of External Migration"; see further Sune Akerman's historiographical review (1975).

[2] See, for example, Lars-Göram Tedebrand (1976), pp. 94–106, and Ferenczi–Willcox (1929), vol. I. pp. 716–717, for the value of Swedish statistical sources in the study of migration.

For example, the immigrant Poles could come from one of three different states and were registered in their new country as the citizens of those states.

Why need we mention all this? Currently, mass emigration from the territory of the former Austro–Hungarian Monarchy is being studied in numerous countries: Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Romania. We will find the literature dealing with the topic to diverge greatly in evaluating statistical data, partly because of differences in the points of view, partly because of the difficulties referred to above. For all that, we can discern two main ways of approaching the topic. The one examines the process of migration within the framework of some unit such as historical Hungary or Austria; the second analyzes the migration of ethnic groups, for instance the Croats, the Slovaks, or the Poles.[3]

Both approaches risk being one-sided. The danger of examining emigration from a multinational geo-political unit is that, wittingly or unwittingly, one looks at the matter from the viewpoint of the country's ruling ethnic group. Thus, for example, contemporary accounts in Hungary, with a strong nationalistic bias, emphasized the losses to the "Magyar" population through emigration. Poetic exaggerations like "The Magyars have dwindled as if they had never existed" set the tone of most of the publicity the matter got, and made a lasting impression on Hungarian public opinion. The effect is yet to be felt in the identification of the million and a half Hungarians who emigrated overseas as ethnically Magyars.

The prejudicial and one-sided contemporary views on emigration have had effects in the countries neighbouring Hungary, too. Even in the more recent historical literature, there is a tendency to relate emigration directly to the unresolved political and ethnic problems of the period.[4] Recognizing the multi-national composition of the emigrants, researchers have concentrated on the emigration from Hungary of the non-Magyar groups, but have often exaggerated the share of their own ethnic group within the total number of emigrants, trying to correct for statistical deficinecies and errors with estimates. Such exaggeration must be objected to; for if these

[3] For the territorial approach to the history of migration, see, e.g., Hans Chmelar (1974), I. Rácz (1965 and 1980), J. Puskás (1975); for the ethnic approach, see the works of Celina Bobinska (1975) and A. Brozek (1977), F. Bielik (1969 and 1980), I. Čizmič (1973–1974) and G. J. Prpic (1971), which deal with the Polish, Slovak and Croat ethnic groups respectively.

[4] The one-sidedness of historical research into this matter and the viewing of emigration as a social phenomenon peculiar to the Monarchy and especially Hungary is sharply criticized from the Slovak point of view by M. Glettler (1980). See the chapter "Überblick über den Forschungstand", pp. 31–38.

"corrections" are permitted to stand, we find the number of non-Magyar emigrants to the United States not only to add up to but even to exceed the total number of emigrants from the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy. On this basis, it would be logical to infer that there is no point in looking for Magyar immigrants in the United States before World War I. The existence of Magyar settlements whose formation and characteristic social life we can reconstruct from rich historical sources, however, argues against this inference, as do the American immigration and census data.

The need for a quantitative examination of emigration, one that will enable us to outline the scope and character of the emigration process more realistically than has so far been done was, thus, obvious. Promising aids to this end appeared to be the examination of the comparative studies that have been done in the area bearing in mind the international ramifications of the migratory process, the critical use of sources, and the introduction of control data where these were available.

Three kinds of statistical data have bearing on the process, size, and character of the emigration process: the official records of the authorities of the country of origin; the records of the host country; and the records of the European seaports where the overseas emigrants boarded ship.[5] The introduction of these data, their examination and evaluation will be one tack that we will follow. This, however, is by no means to say that we shall neglect the descriptive historical sources. However, for our quantitative estimates, the control data, too, have been taken primarily from statistical sources, especially the census figures.

Table 1 gives the statistical data available on emigration from Hungary to the United States for the period under consideration.

Data for the longest time period are provided by the European seaports. According to these accounts, more than 2 million passengers sailed overseas from Hungary in the 44 years between 1871 and 1913.[6] Because the shipping companies registered passengers, not emigrants, on each trip they were listed individually, regardless of whether they had already been to America or not. If the same individual went back and forth several times, he was recorded as a passenger each time. The number 2 million, consequently, shows overseas traffic, and is not identical with the actual number of emigrants.

[5] See the chapter "A kivándorlás megállapításának módszerei és a kivándorlás statisztikájának forrásai" (The methods of describing migration and the sources of migration statistics) in G. Thirring's book (1904); see also I. Ferenczi (1929) and Ferenczi–Willcox (1929).

[6] For the annual data, see the statistical tables in MSK vol. 67.

Table 1

The number of overseas emigrants from Hungary, 1871–1913[7]

Year	Source		
	Hungarian Statistical Office	US Immigration office	Seaport statistics
1871–1879	–	5,597	7,862
1880–1889	–	109,992	164,119
1890–1899	–	235,895	261,414
1900–1909	880,979	1,053,533	1,171,758
1910–1913	315,498	410,480	433,230
1871–1913	–	1,815,117	2,038,383
1900–1913	1,196,477	1,463,633	1,604,988

The United States Immigration Office began to register immigrants arriving from Hungary in 1861. Between 1892 and 1904, however, they did not distinguish between immigrants from Hungary and those arriving from other parts of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, registering them in a single group under the heading "Immigrants from the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy". We cannot, thus, derive annual data from the American statistics as accurate as those from the records of the seaports. The deficiencies in the records can be compensated for by estimates. The immigration authorities registered about 10 per cent fewer people than the seaport authorities. Calculations based on these figures produce the estimate that one and a half million immigrants arrived in the United States from Hungary between 1871–1913.[8] This number, too, represents overseas traffic rather than the actual number of immigrants. The possibility of the multiple registration of a person by the United States authorities must also be considered when looking at these records. The tendency among emigrants to sail back and forth was so well known among their contemporaries that it earned them the name "American birds of passage".[9] According to contemporary estimates, at least 23–25 per cent of the emigrants from Hungary travelled overseas and back at least twice.[10] This number must be deducted from the number of those

[7] Sources of Hungarian data: MSK vol. 67, Table 42, pp. 50–51; for the United States immigration data, see the annual reports of the United States Immigration Office, published in Ferenczi–Willcox (1929) vol. I, pp. 402–431; for the data of the seaports, see MSK vol. 67, Table 36, p. 47.

[8] Cf. Englisch's (1913) and Klezl's (1931) estimates of emigrants from different ethnic groups migrating from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to the United States.

[9] Ferenczi–Hoffmann–Illés (1913), p. 16.

[10] As the American statistics show, 23 per centof the emigrants from Hungary had already been to the United States before and it is likely that this percentage but grew. G. Thirring (1931), vol. II, p. 418.

registered in order to arrive at the actual number of emigrants. That these calculations are realistic, and that the number so arrived at still overestimates rather than underestimates the actual number of emigrants we shall try to prove in what follows.

In Hungary the official registration of emigrants began in 1899.[11] Hungarian emigration statistics for the years 1899–1913 contain remarkably detailed information about the emigrants. However, until now less attention has been paid to this fact than to the deficiencies of the statistics, the circumstance, for example, that those who left without permits were not included, with the results that the statistics do not show the total scope of emigration. The number of emigrants the Hungarian records show for this period is 15 per cent smaller than that indicated by the United States records. Thus, given the 23–25 per cent that we need to deduct for multiple registration from the United States statistics, 10 per cent can be deducted from the Hungarian numbers in order to estimate the actual number of emigrants.

By distinguishing overseas traffic figures from the number of the emigrants, and by balancing the diverse records of the three statistical sources, the actual number of immigrants to the United States for the examined period can be estimated to be 1,200,000 at most. That this number is not identical with the net population loss owing to emigration will be discussed later on. First, however, we would like to show the development of the emigration process.

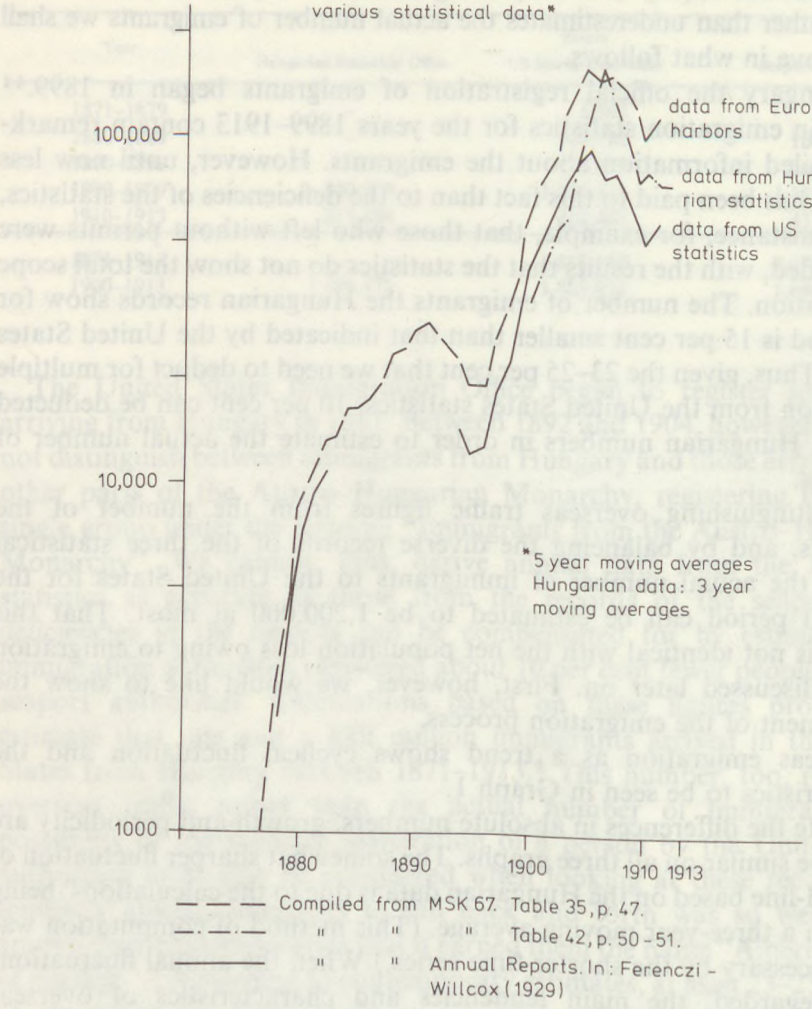
Overseas emigration as a trend shows cyclical fluctuation and the characteristics to be seen in Graph 1.

Despite the differences in absolute numbers, growth and periodicity are seen to be similar on all three graphs. The somewhat sharper fluctuation of the trend-line based on the Hungarian data is due to the calculations' being based on a three-year moving average. (This method of computation was made necessary by the shorter time series.) When the annual fluctuations are disregarded, the main tendencies and characteristics of overseas emigrations are seen to be the following:

[11] The Hungarian authorities were not obliged to register emigrants before 1899. Certain counties did collect such data, presented them at the county meetings, and published them in the annual report of the county's sub-prefect. Such reports, however, were neither general nor systematic. Continuous data exist from 1879 on in one county, (Zemplén), but even these are incomplete. Records concerning the remigrants are especially sketchy. The systematic collection of emigration and remigration data was begun in 1899, and published annually in the *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv* (Hungarian Statistical Yearbook). The data for the years from 1899 to 1913 and the available foreign data were published in a separate volume (MSK vol. 67) in 1918. This volume, with its detailed county by county record stood out among European migration statistics.

Graph 1

Trends of emigration from Hungary based on various statistical data*



Mass emigration from Hungary to the United States began in the 1880s.[12] There had been scattered instances of emigration earlier, and these can be considered as the forerunners of later mass movements; but emigration to the United States was not a typical socio-geographic movement in pre-1880 Hungary.

[12] The introduction of MSK vol. 67 also emphasizes that migration became a mass movement in the 1880s. G. Thirring's (1929) study, published in English, dates the beginning of modern international migration to the 1880s. In: Ferenczi–Willcox (1929), pp. 411–439.

The emigration process had three phases: the preparatory phase, extending up to the 1880s; the laying of the groundwork to the turn of the century; and the full-fledged mass migration that lasted until 1914. World War I disrupted Hungarian emigration at its peak, so that the fourth phase, when emigration slows down, was never arrived at. For by the early 1920s, when the malaise of war, revolution and territorial changes had subsided enough for emigration to start up anew, the United States had already locked its doors to the "undesirable" peoples of East-Central Europe.

The phases and scope of the emigration from Hungary were by no means independent of the various phases of Hungarian economic development. However, the cycles, the short-term waves of emigration, the fluctuations in the annual number of emigrants show much closer correlation to the ups and downs of the American economy than the Hungarian.[13] The two significant breaks in what is otherwise a constant increase in emigration were due to the American depressions of the mid-1880s and of the years 1907–1908.

The first question concerning emigration that arises is that of how to evaluate the phenomenon once its precise dimensions are known. The question needs to be dealt with, for during the past fifty years the same emigration statistics have been used in the literature both by way of warning, and of reassurance as to the effects of the movement on Hungary.[14]

In order to answer the above question, we need first of all to place the annual number of emigrants in the context of the total population of Hungary (See Table 2).

Three years stand out during this period of mass emigration from Hungary: 1905, with 7.9 emigrants per thousand inhabitants; 1906, with 8.1, and 1907, with 9.3. When we consider the total number of emigrants (not just those who went to the United States), the numbers are barely higher. In other words, between 1899 and 1913 the overwhelming majority of the emigrants, 85 per cent of the total, sailed to the United States.

To understand the scope of emigration from Hungary, we need to compare these frequency indicators with those of other European countries. In relation to the total population, emigration was more

[13] It was H. Jerome (1926) who first proved the cyclical nature of the process. Gábor Deák (1964) seeks a connection between the peak years of the migratory wave between 1905–1907 and the Russian revolution of 1905.

[14] See, e.g., the estimates of G. Thirring, A. Kovács, I. Rácz, and J. Puskás on the scale of the emigration from Hungary.

Table 2

Emigration to the United States compared to the total population in the years 1899–1913[15]

Year	Emigration per 1,000 inhabitants from	
	Hungary	Hungary with Croatia
1899	2.0	2.0
1900	2.1	2.0
1901	2.8	2.9
1902	3.1	3.3
1903	3.2	3.5
1904	3.8	3.5
1905	7.9	8.2
1906	8.1	8.3
1907	9.3	9.4
1908	2.6	2.6
1909	5.4	5.4
1910	4.4	4.6
1911	3.0	3.1
1912	4.8	5.0
1913	4.4	4.5
1899–1913	4.5	4.6

intensive from Sweden where, calculated per thousand inhabitants, 9.7 left the country in 1882; this rate rose to 10.8 in 1887. However, the emigration intensity indicators for Germany in no year come near the figures for the peak years of Hungarian emigration, although in absolute numbers a great many more Germans emigrated to the United States than Hungarians.

The wave of emigration for economic reasons started in Germany in the 1850s and quieted down only in the 1890s. Emigration was the most intensive in 1854, when there were six emigrants for every 1,000 inhabitants. During nearly half a century, the frequency index rose above five only once more, in 1882, when there were 8.48 emigrants to the United States for every 1,000 Germans. The German emigration movement, though it involved much greater absolute numbers than the Hungarian,

[15] See "A kivándorlás a lélekszámhoz viszonyítva törvényhatóságonként" (Emigration in relation to the total number of inhabitants by municipalities between the years 1899–1913), Table 2 of MSK vol. 67, pp. 6, 7. The table contains the yearly emigration total as a percentage of the population for Hungary and Croatia. In these years the overwhelming majority of the emigrants headed for the United States, so the frequency indicators of emigration to the United States alone barely differ from the above frequency indicators. The fact that these frequency indicators contain both the Croatian and the Hungarian figures somewhat modifies the proportions. The emigration ratio from Croatia per 1,000 inhabitans was 5.2.

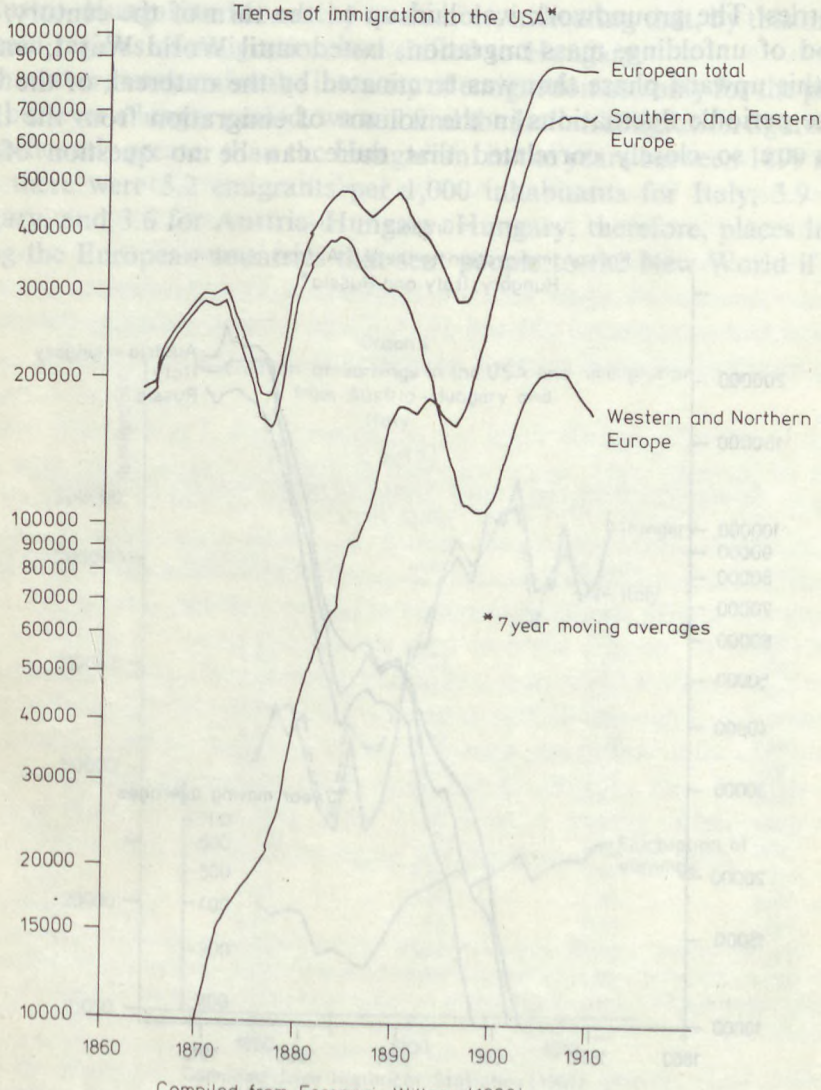
took place over a longer time, and thus, given the total population, was an emigration process of lesser intensity.

From the 1880s on, the emigration movement gradually shifted from Western Europe to Central and Eastern Europe. (See Graph 2.)

In 1870, the Southeastern Europeans represented barely 3 per cent of the immigrants to the United States, and even in the 1880s they made up only

Graph 2

Trends of immigration to the USA*



Compiled from Ferenczi - Willcox (1929)

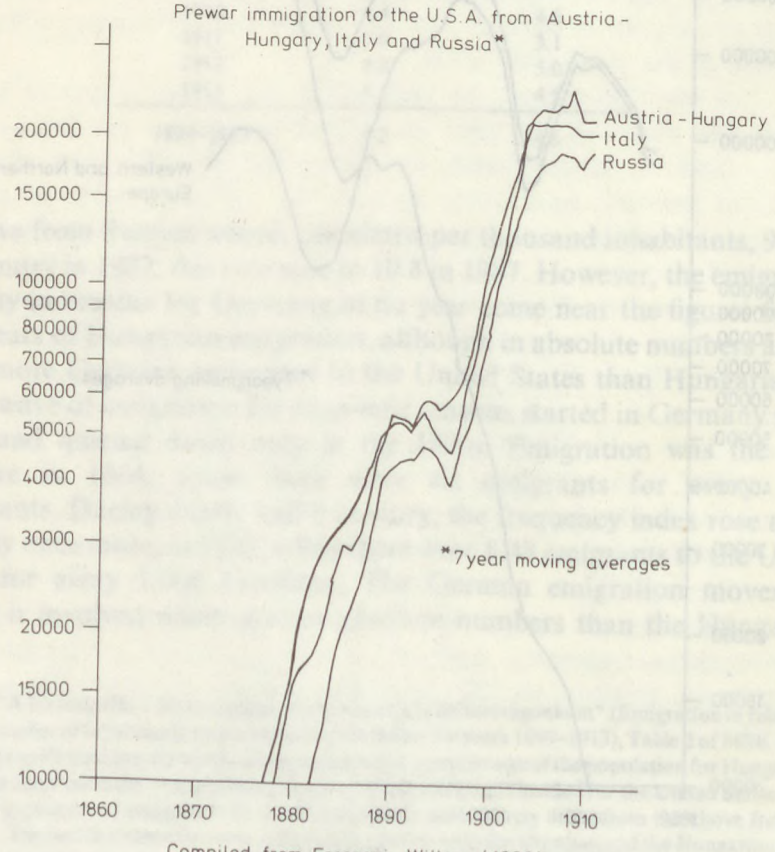
10 per cent of the total. From the turn of the century on, however, 70–75 per cent of all immigrants to the United States came from the countries of Southeastern Europe, 25–27 per cent of them from the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy. In the decades preceding World War I, Italy, Austria–Hungary and Russia became the main regions of overseas emigration. (For the details, see Graph 3.)

In all three countries, the migratory wave reached its zenith between 1905 and 1907. The process followed similar patterns in these three countries. The groundwork was laid up to the turn of the century; the period of unfolding, mass migration, lasted until World War I; and it was this upward phase that was terminated by the outbreak of the war.

The periodic fluctuations in the volume of emigration from the three areas are so closely correlated that there can be no question of the

Graph 3

Prewar immigration to the U.S.A. from Austria - Hungary, Italy and Russia*



Compiled from Ferenczi - Willcox (1929)

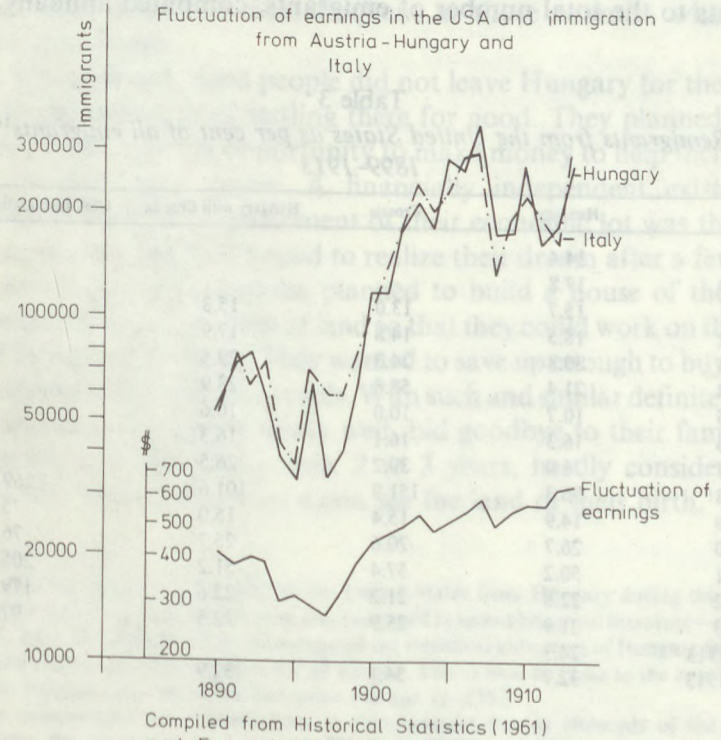
American business cycles' being the major formative influence. (See Graph 4.)

The number of emigrants to the United States per 1,000 inhabitants for the three years was 6.4, 7.8 and 8.0 respectively for Italy; 7.9, 8.1 and 9.3 respectively for Hungary alone, and 4.0, 4.7 and 4.8 respectively for the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy. According to these frequency indicators, emigration from Hungary between 1905 and 1907 was slightly more intensive than from Italy. Emigration indexes are considerably lower for the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy as a whole, indicating that, by this time, the main regions of emigration had shifted to Hungary.

If, however, we examine the intensity of emigration not only for the peak years but over a longer period, we will find the Italian emigration figures to be significantly greater than the Hungarian: in the years between 1899 and 1913, there were 5.2 emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants for Italy; 3.9 for Hungary, and 3.6 for Austria–Hungary. Hungary, therefore, places high among the European countries that sent people to the New World if we

Graph 4

Fluctuation of earnings in the USA and immigration from Austria-Hungary and Italy



Compiled from Historical Statistics (1961) and Ferenczi - Willcox (1929)

look at the peak years of 1905 to 1907, but has a middling place if the process is examined over a longer period.

The range and intensity of Hungarian emigration cannot be compared with that from Ireland, much as contemporaries were fond of the analogy. In Ireland, from the middle of the 19th century, emigration took on dimensions that not only slowed down and then put a halt to population growth, but also resulted in serious population loss. Irish census figures tell a shocking story: while in 1841 the country's population was 8,105,000, by 1901 it had been reduced to 4,705,000. In Hungary, by comparison, emigration cancelled the natural increase in only one year, 1905. Seventy-five per cent of the natural increase was lost through emigration during the peak years (1905–1907), but only 31.1 per cent between 1908 and 1913, and 20 per cent between 1899 and 1904.

But neither the absolute numbers of the emigrants nor even the frequency indicators of emigration can be used as proof of population loss, for the increase in emigration was accompanied by a growing remigration. Hungarian records show 290,145 persons as having returned from the United States between 1899 and 1913. Table 3 below contains the ratio of remigrants to the total number of emigrants, computed annually.

Table 3

Remigrants from the United States as per cent of all emigrants[16]
1899–1913

Year	Hungary	Croatia	Hungary with Croatia	USA Immigration Statistics
1899	14.4	–	–	
1900	17.8	–	–	
1901	15.7	13.0	15.3	
1902	18.5	14.8	17.9	
1903	30.8	24.3	29.5	
1904	21.4	58.8	23.9	
1905	10.7	10.0	10.6	
1906	16.3	16.1	16.3	
1907	26.0	30.2	26.5	
1908	96.3	151.9	101.6	269.0
1909	14.9	15.4	15.0	75.4
1910	26.7	20.6	25.7	76.4
1911	50.2	57.4	51.2	205.9
1912	22.8	21.2	22.6	179.7
1913	21.9	25.9	22.5	97.7
1899–1913	24.3			
1908–1913	32.7	34.1	32.9	

[16] MSK vol. 67, 38; and Ferenczi–Willcox, p. 472.

In reality, the proportion of returned emigrants was higher in every instance than is shown by the table.

The Hungarian statistical publication on the basis of which the above table was computed emphasizes that its data on remigrants was the most deficient, being "mostly symptomatic in showing, as far as possible, the broader outlines and general trend of return mass migration".[17] Beginning in 1908, the United States immigration authorities also registered the number of returning immigrants. Their figures show that between 1908 and 1913, 38 per cent of all immigrants from Hungary returned home.[18]

Indeed, the main characteristic of emigration from Hungary to the United States is to be found in the great differences between the numbers of emigrants, that is, the emigration traffic, and the numbers that in fact settled there.

Remigration, too, was influenced by the movements of the American economic cycle. The greatest number of remigrants, 53,770, is to be found for 1908 — in this year, more returnees were registered than emigrants. Without a doubt, the economic depression that began in America at the end of 1907 caused this great wave of remigration. Remigration varied by regions as well, being the most frequent in those counties where mass emigration first began.

Before World War I, most people did not leave Hungary for the United States with the intention of settling there for good. They planned to stay temporarily and to use the opportunity to make money to help them out of financial troubles back home. A financially independent existence in Hungary or at least the improvement of their economic lot was the desire of most emigrants, and they hoped to realize their dream after a few years' work in America. Young couples planned to build a house of their own, others wanted to buy a few acres of land so that they could work on their own instead of hiring out to others. They wanted to save up enough to buy a small store or a shop and the necessary tools. With such and similar definite goals in mind, young men, frequently newly wed, bid goodbye to their families for what they knew to be a long time, 2 to 3 years, hardly considering the possibility that they might never again see the land of their birth.[19]

[17] MSK vol. 67, p. 36.

[18] Of the 585,344 emigrants who went to the United States from Hungary during this time, and 221,596 returned. These records—which have also been used in recent historical literature—escaped the attention of I. Rácz. In his work (1980), he compared the statistical indicators of Hungary for the years 1899–1907 with the remigration indicator for all Europe. This is how he came to the conclusion that remigration to Hungary was below the European average. (p. 230.)

[19] See the debates and the interpellations in *Képviselőházi Naplók* (Records of the House of Representatives), the minutes of the emigration conferences and also J.P. interviews.

The plan to stay only temporarily, then to return and establish an independent existence, gave them the strength to put up with a living standard below even the one they had left behind in order to save the most money possible. Only the passing of years changed what unquestionably had been the purpose of the majority who had left their homes. As time went by, the influence of the new environment or their failure to achieve their initial goals gradually undermined their plan to return home, pushed the decision to do so further into the future, and made it more and more illusory. For most emigrants, then, the decision to settle for good was not made at the time of their departure. At times, they returned to Hungary before finally settling in the United States, for it took the conflicts of readjustment to the old environment for these emigrants to decide to leave their homeland forever.

THE ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE EMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, AGE, AND SEX

One of the most conspicuous characteristic of the emigrants from the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy is their multinational composition. From no other European country—including Czarist Russia—did such a diversity of ethnic groups migrate to the United States.

The ratio of the various ethnic groups within the total number of emigrants is shown by Table 4.

Table 4

The ethnic distribution of the American immigrants in per cent, 1899–1913[20]

Ethnic group	From Austria–Hungary		From Hungary
Polish	18.7		–
Slovak	15.4		26.8
Magyar	14.2		26.3
Croat-Slovene	14.0		16.6
German	11.4		15.0
Czech-Moravian	4.3		–
Jewish	7.5		3.7
Ruthenian	7.2		2.1
Bosnian	2.7	Serbian Bulgarian	2.4
Romanian	3.1		6.9
Italian	0.8		–
Others	0.6		0.3

[20] Annual Report 1899–1913—in Ferenczi–Willcox (1929) Table XIII, pp. 460–470; MSK vol. 67, Table 46: The Hungarian and Austrian emigrants to the United States, differentiated according to their

Between 1899 and 1913, the largest ethnic group to arrive to the United States from Austria–Hungary was the Poles. They made up almost one-fifth of all the emigrants. Numerically, the Slovaks were the next largest group. The Croats were in third place, along with the Magyars in almost equal numbers. The other ethnic groups of the Monarchy were represented in much smaller numbers. Czech and Moravian emigration—they had been the pioneer emigrants from the territory of the Monarchy—had by then declined; by 1899, Ruthenians and Jews were emigrating in greater numbers. (The United States immigration statistics, unlike the Hungarian emigration statistics, registered Jews as a separate ethnic group.)

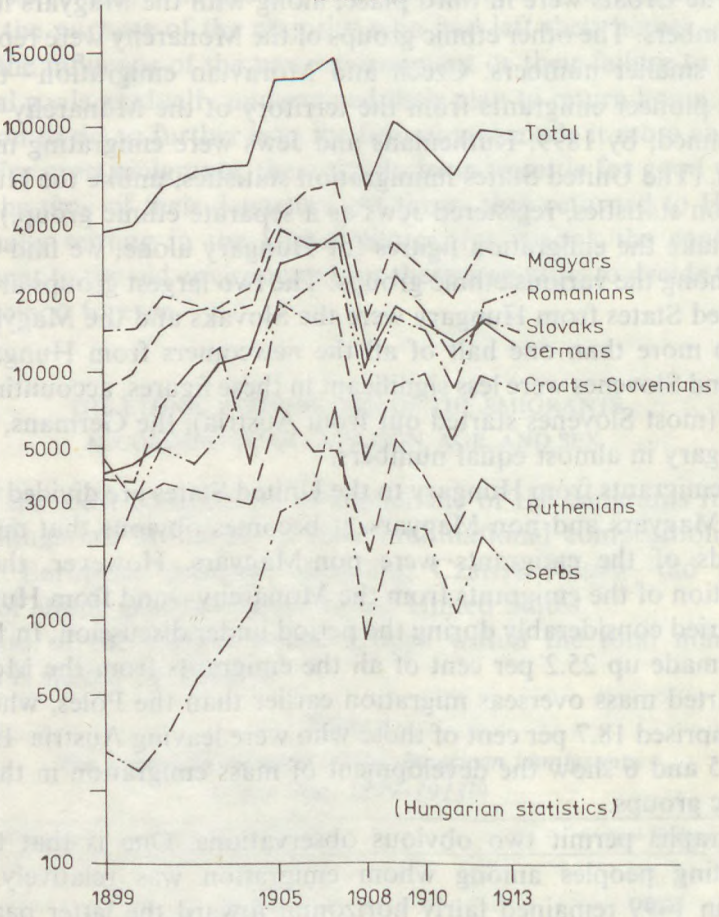
If we take the emigration figures for Hungary alone, we find different ratios among the various ethnic groups. The two largest groups arriving in the United States from Hungary were the Slovaks and the Magyars; they made up more than one half of all the newcomers from Hungary. The Croats and Slovenes were less significant in these figures, accounting for 15 per cent (most Slovenes started out from Austria); the Germans, we find, left Hungary in almost equal numbers.

If the emigrants from Hungary to the United States are divided into two groups, Magyars and non-Magyars, it becomes obvious that more than two-thirds of the emigrants were non-Magyars. However, the ethnic composition of the emigrants from the Monarchy—and from Hungary as well—varied considerably during the period under discussion. In 1899, the Slovaks made up 25.2 per cent of all the emigrants from the Monarchy. They started mass overseas migration earlier than the Poles, who at this time comprised 18.7 per cent of those who were leaving Austria–Hungary. Graphs 5 and 6 show the development of mass emigration in the region by ethnic groups.

The graphs permit two obvious observations. One is that the lines representing peoples among whom emigration was relatively intense already in 1899 remained fairly horizontal toward the latter part of the period. For example, the absolute number of Slovak emigrants per annum—discounting cyclic fluctuations—barely rose; as a consequence, the proportion they comprised of all emigrants fell during the period under consideration. The emigration of the Magyars, on the other hand, was

mother tongue, p. 56. The data on the emigrants from Hungary are based on actual records for the years 1904–1905, 1907–1908, 1912–1913; for other years, we have only estimates. In the Hungarian statistics the percentage of the Hungarian speaking emigrants is higher: 30–32 per cent after the turn of the century. The two reports give almost identical data on the Hungarian-speaking emigrants. The Hungarian statistics give a smaller total for all emigrants, and a smaller number of non-Magyars among them than the U.S. figures, probably due in part to the fact that the non-Magyar groups, especially the Slovaks, were more experienced in migration, and so could more easily evade inspection.

Graph 5
Emigration from Hungary to the U.S.A.
by ethnic groups,
1899-1913



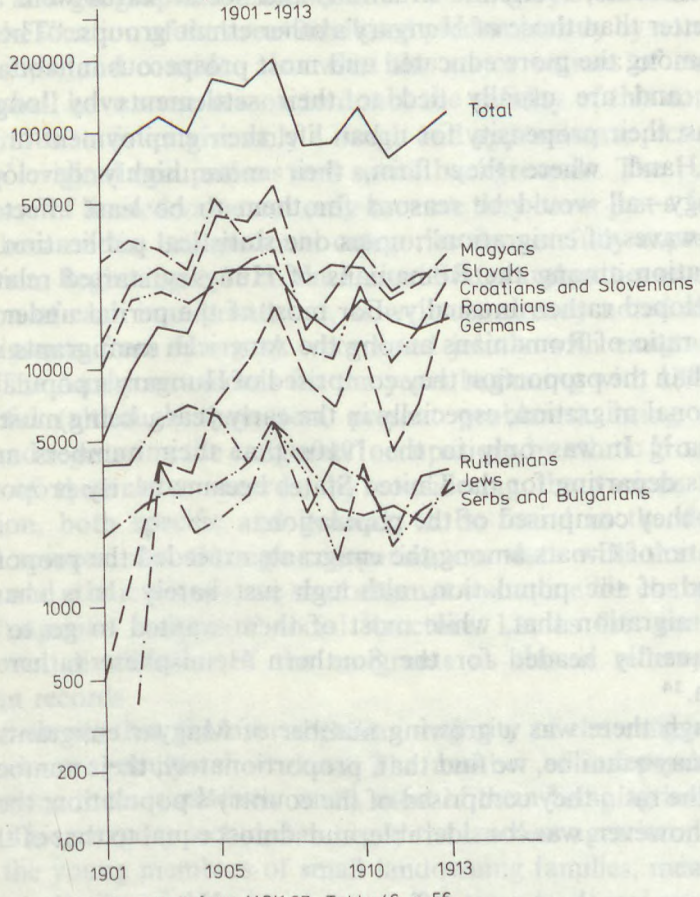
Compiled from MSK 67, Table 46b, p. 56.

increasing at just this time, so that their proportion also grew significantly.[21] The second obvious observation is that the fluctuations in immigration are parallel for all the ethnic groups from Hungary, and can, thus, be attributed with a fair degree of certainty to the fluctuations of the American economy.

[21] MSK vol. 67, p. 11, Table 17.

Graph 6

Hungarian immigration to the U.S.A. by ethnic groups, 1901-1913



Compiled from MSK 67, Table 46, p. 56.

When emigration ratios are compared with domestic population ratios, it is clear that every non-Magyar ethnic group emigrated in numbers greater than the proportion they comprised of Hungary's total population would have warranted, although the percentages naturally varied greatly from group to group. Outstanding in this respect were the Slovaks, whose number among the emigrants was often more than double their proportion in the total population.

The ratio of the Ruthenian emigrants was also much greater than the proportion they comprised of the total population. The Germans, too, left in surprisingly large numbers; in the years between 1902 and 1907, the

proportion they comprised of the emigrants was almost twice their domestic population ratio. This is all the more unexpected a finding as their settlements, economic situation, and social status were all significantly better than those of Hungary's other ethnic groups. "The Germans belong among the more educated and most prosperous inhabitants of the country, and are usually tied to their settlements by long-standing traditions; their propensity for urban life, their employment in trade and industry, and, where they farm, their more highly developed farm technology—all would be reasons for them to be least affected by the swelling waves of emigration", notes one statistical publication.[22]

Emigration among the Romanians of Hungary started relatively late and developed rather unusually. For most of the period under examination, the ratio of Romanians among the American immigrants was much smaller than the proportion they comprised of Hungary's population, their international migration, especially in the early years, being mostly toward Wallachia.[23] It was only in the 1910s that their numbers among the emigrants departing for the United States became nearly proportional to the ratio they comprised of the population.

The ratio of Croats among the emigrants exceeded the proportion they comprised of the population, although just barely. It is characteristic of their migration that, while most of them wanted to go to America, they frequently headed for the Southern Hemisphere rather than the Northern.[24]

Although there was a growing number of Magyar emigrants, for any year we may examine, we find that, proportionately, their numbers fell far short of the ratio they comprised of the country's population; the absolute number, however, was considerable, and almost equal to that of the Slovak emigrants.

When one sees these great differences among Hungary's ethnic groups, it is only natural to wonder how far the unresolved ethnic problems influenced emigration. What were causes of migration? Was it the tensions of a multinational environment, or was it rather geographic and other local factors and the socio-economic differences that they resulted in?

A number of researchers have emphasized the oppression suffered by the various ethnic minorities as one of the "push-factors" of emigration, seeing

[22] MSK vol. 67, p. 26 ff.

[23] See I. Rácz's references (1980), p. 102, to the literature on Romanian emigration; also the speeches of Loránt Hegedüs delivered in the House of Representatives, December 16, 1902–172, OKN vol. X, pp. 69–79.

[24] MSK vol. 67, p. 28 (see the text).

this oppression as directly responsible for the relative economic backwardness of the non-Magyar areas of Hungary.[25] However, if we look at the economic and geographical endowments of Hungary's different regions, consider the location of the areas inhabited predominantly by non-Magyar ethnic groups, and consider also what the major regions of emigration were, we shall have some reason to doubt the validity of this correlation.

The various statistics give only a rough and approximate picture of the emigrants' original occupations and social backgrounds. The Hungarian accounts are of limited value not only because they cover just a few years, but also because the occupational categories do not fully express social stratification. Beginning in 1821, the United States authorities recorded the occupation of each immigrant, but, as we have already noted above, for years emigrants from Hungary were listed jointly with emigrants from Austria. The American records for the years beginning with 1899 are the most useful (although they, too, present problems), being relatively detailed and registering the emigrants' occupations by ethnic groups. With the help of these later records, by considering the various kinds of information, both specific and general, to be found in the descriptive historical sources, and through comparing our data with that of other countries and ethnic groups, we shall attempt to outline the characteristics of the Hungarian emigrants' social structure. Let us first consider the occupational distribution of the emigrants as this is reflected in the Hungarian records.

Table 5 shows that the overwhelming majority of the emigrants from Hungary were agricultural workers. The number of independent landowners among them is relatively small, most of them being agricultural day laborers. This category included not only the landless agrarian proletariat but also the young members of small landowning families, men who did not yet have a plot of their own.

It is interesting to note that the occupational structure varied significantly from one ethnic group to another. A further point to note is that within a relatively short time the occupational composition of the emigrants had changed so that by 1911–1913 the number of independent landowners and independent craftsmen had increased considerably. Yet the agrarian character of emigration left so strong a stamp upon public

[25] This is especially emphasized in works and dissertations published in the United States, e.g. the works of G. J. Prpic (1971) about the Croatians, of K. Dyrud (1978) about the Ruthenians, and of M. Stolarik (1976) about the Slovaks. Examples could also be quoted from the migration literature of the neighboring countries.

Table 5

The emigrants' occupational distribution[26]
1905–07 and 1911–13
(Heads of families and single persons)

Occupation	1905–1907		1911–1913		as per cent of Hungary's
	Total	per cent	Total	per cent	population in 1910
Agriculturists	76,834	17.0	41,817	21.0	41.3
Agricultural and day laborers	233,882	51.6	94,447	47.4	20.4
Miners and mine laborers	5,429	1.2	1,888	0.9	0.8
Industrial workers	9,946	2.2	5,925	3.0	5.5
Tradespeople	1,137	0.3	842	0.4	1.5
Ind. and commercial help and day lab.	51,021	11.3	16,759	8.4	13.7
Professionals	2,203	0.5	1,374	0.7	4.5
Day laborers, not further specified	43,010	9.5	20,323	10.2	2.6
Domestic servants	23,463	5.2	10,549	5.3	4.4
Other occupations	5,763	1.2	5,385	2.7	5.3
Total	452,688	100.0	199,309	100.0	100.0

consciousness that it was generally considered to be a peasant movement. And so it was, in spite of the fact that before the turn of the century, the non-agricultural element had played quite a significant role in initiating the emigration movement, in organizing it, and in mediating to those still at home the attraction of the United States. For the first to venture on the great trip were not peasants.[27] It was the shopkeepers and artisans whose livelihood was threatened by emerging capitalism who were most receptive to the idea of emigration, who first took the remnants of their possessions and set out for overseas. The characteristic 1870s emigrants are the rather

[26] MSK vol 67, p. 35, Table 19.

[27] "The decline of the famous Saxon industry of yore made many of our Saxon citizens leave for America from the 80s on". MSK vol. 67, p. 26. See also L. Hegedüs (1899), pp. 61–70, and the 1881 debate on the bill concerning "A kivándorlási ügynökökről" (On emigration agents). The Minister of the Interior, in circular number 62867/1875, had reminded the municipalities that "numerous Hungarian and Austrian subjects, especially craftsmen, emigrate to North America in the hope of being employed there as artisans and workers, for higher wages". See "A magyar kivándorlás története 1875–1909" (History of Hungarian emigration, 1875–1909), which contains mainly ordinances from the Ministry of the Interior and the main episodes of negotiations with shipping companies: April 7, 1886–22, OKN Vol. XI. pp. 141–143.

prosperous German bourgeoisie from the western and southeastern parts of the country, and miners from the north. The latter first came into contact with emigration agents looking for cheap European labor for the frenetically developing American industries in the coal, salt, and petroleum regions of Galicia.[28]

By the terms of the contracts that were made, the first miner immigrants could get out of the Pennsylvania coal mines only if they got someone to replace them; this need to find a substitute played a great role in their urging others to emigrate. From the 1880s on, bankrupt artisans (tanners, weavers, tailors, blacksmiths, cutlers, etc.), appeared alongside the miner emigrants in annually increasing numbers. Initially, relatively few of those who emigrated were from among the totally destitute day laborers; they had not the means to pay for their passage. But as competition among the shipping companies led to the reduction of fares, and as the earlier immigrants—still few in number—began to send money and boat tickets home, more and more people were able to undertake the trip. The emigration agents promoted the mass exodus of day laborers and agricultural workers not only by promises of job opportunities and work contracts, but also frequently by lending the money to pay their fares. Soon usurers, banks and loan associations also recognized the possibilities inherent in such loans to would-be emigrants, and this type of credit operation became a booming business especially in Northern Hungary.[29]

The first groups to emigrate, then, were miners and artisans. They were joined by young day laborers and jobless journeymen who could not find work in small industry or in the depleting mines. Later, and in ever increasing numbers, came the agricultural day laborers, cotters, and servants, and the bankrupt small landowners. After the turn of the century, the occupational distribution of the emigrants tipped heavily toward agricultural day laborers, who made up a much greater proportion of the emigrants than they comprised of the Hungarian population. The skilled industrial workers by this time comprised a smaller proportion of the immigrants than they did of the total population. It was the migratory movement of artisans and craftsmen joined by the agricultural population

[28] For the details, see the minutes of the emigration conferences (1902).

[29] Report of Sáros county's sub-prefect to the Minister of the Interior. September 23, 1881. O.L.BM. 1882. III. 17–8078. 47.377. Report of Zemplén county's sub-prefect to the Minister of the Interior. April 5, 1881. O.L.BM. 1882. III. 17–6078. Gyula Margittay's interpellation in the House of Representatives "Az emberrel való kereskedés tárgyában, amelyet a nép kivándorlásra való csábításával követnek el" (On the subject of selling human beings, through luring the people to emigrate). April 7, 1886–22, OKN. XI, pp. 141–143.

Table 6

The emigrants' occupational distribution by ethnic groups 1905–1907 and 1911–1913

Occupation	Magyars		Slovaks		Germans	
	1905–1907	1911–1913	1905–1907	1911–1913	1905–1907	1911–1913
Agriculturalists	7.2	10.4	17.6	21.0	6.0	10.9
Agricultural and day laborers	56.8	52.2	46.1	40.2	46.8	42.7
Miners and mine workers	0.9	1.0	1.4	1.8	1.9	1.7
Industrial workers	3.0	4.5	1.8	2.2	3.4	5.0
Tradespeople	0.4	0.8	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.7
Ind. and commercial help and day lab.	15.3	10.9	8.7	6.7	19.9	14.3
Professionals	0.9	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.6	1.0
Day laborers not further specified	8.8	10.6	16.2	18.4	8.9	10.9
Domestic servants	5.0	5.7	6.7	7.0	10.5	9.3
Other occupations	1.7	2.9	1.3	2.4	1.6	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

that grew into a mass migration movement. Thus, although mass emigration from Hungary was without a doubt a rural movement, it would be a mistake to overemphasize the social homogeneity of the emigrants.

The varied occupational background of the non-agricultural population is illustrated by the records of the United States Immigration authority. According to the records, in the years between 1900 and 1913, among the Hungarian-speaking immigrants there were 272 mechanical engineers, 257 musicians, 203 teachers, 175 clerics, and 26,786 skilled workers.[30] The largest groups in the latter were as follows: 3,526 carpenters, 3,511 tailors, 2,523 blacksmiths, 1,860 locksmiths, and 1,088 masons.

As Table 6 shows, the occupational distribution of the emigrants from Hungary differed according to ethnic groups.

The proportion of independent farmers was highest among the Croats, Ruthenians and Slovaks, and lowest among the Germans and Magyars.

[30] Figures based on the data of Table 20. of MSK vol. 67, p. 36.
[31] MSK vol. 67, Table 5, p. 9.

Romanians		Ruthenians		Croatians		Serbs		Not specified	
1905–1907	1911–1913	1905–1907	1911–1913	1905–1907	1911–1913	1905–1907	1911–1913	1905–1907	1911–1913
10.6	15.3	21.7	26.0	50.2	54.5	39.3	53.1	15.7	21.1
71.4	65.5	49.5	55.6	34.2	22.9	49.1	32.9	49.5	42.7
0.9	0.5	5.8	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	1.0	0.2
0.8	1.2	0.5	0.3	1.5	2.0	1.5	1.9	2.6	3.2
0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.9
3.5	3.4	1.4	1.5	9.4	10.7	5.0	3.5	11.8	12.5
0.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.3	1.0	0.4	0.5	0.3	1.4
8.5	8.6	17.0	13.0	2.0	1.3	3.2	3.4	12.3	8.6
3.3	3.7	2.9	2.4	1.0	2.5	0.6	0.8	5.5	7.1
0.6	1.2	1.0	0.8	0.9	4.8	0.7	3.5	1.0	2.3
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

However, the proportion of emigrants working in areas other than agriculture (i.e. independent tradesmen and artisans, and their assistants) was higher among the Magyar than in any other ethnic group, a circumstance in part due to the fact that the Hungarian statistics relied on here registered the Jews, most of whom were not employed in agriculture, along with the Magyars in this group.

Basically, the changes in occupational distribution among Hungarian emigrants to the United States during the period of emigration were similar to those to be found for other European emigrant groups.[32] Throughout Europe, the handicraftsmen and village artisans were the archetypal pioneer immigrant, with emigration becoming a mass movement only with the participation of the agrarian population. But as the waves of emigration subsided, the proportion of the agricultural population among the emigrants likewise fell. In Western Europe, this was to be seen already

[32] Ferenczi–Willcox (1929), vol. I, pp. 215–223.

in the 1880s; what the occupational structure of the American immigrants from Southeastern Europe reflects at any given time is mainly a phase shift. The differences are illustrated in Graph 7.

If we look at the immigrants from the various countries and ethnic groups we find variations also in the immigrants' distribution by sex. The man-woman ratio among the immigrants is a good indication of the changes in the character of overseas migration, i.e. of when the idea of settling permanently came to replace that of a temporary stay. Among the early emigrants, there were almost as many women as there were men. As the wave of emigration gathered momentum, for a while men comprised the great majority. As the movement proved to be a lasting one, the proportion of women among the emigrants grew.

The United States immigration statistics provide information about the distribution by sex of emigrants from Hungary during the period prior to mass emigration. In the small groups that immigrated in 1878 and 1879, women account for over 40 per cent of the immigrants.[33] The sexual distribution of the emigrants from Hungary for the period between 1899 to 1913 is shown in Table 7.

In the unfolding, and then especially in the peak periods of emigration, the men predominate. Then, after 1907, the proportion of women increased again, and actually soared in the years before World War I, so that there were more women emigrating in 1913 than men. It was probably news of the Balkan Wars that gave urgency to the immigrants' efforts to reunite their families.

Among the immigrants coming from Western Europe, women represented the majority of the overseas migrants even before the turn of the century. Between 1896 and 1900, 54.7 per cent of the emigrants from Ireland, and 52.6 per cent of those who left Sweden were women, compared to the little over 30 per cent we find for Hungary at that time.[34] Clearly, emigration here had reached a later phase. The man-women ratio reflects the lasting, or temporary nature of the emigration envisaged. In the Hungarian data, we find that the proportion of women rose first and most significantly in Szepes and Sáros counties, the oldest centers of mass emigration.[35]

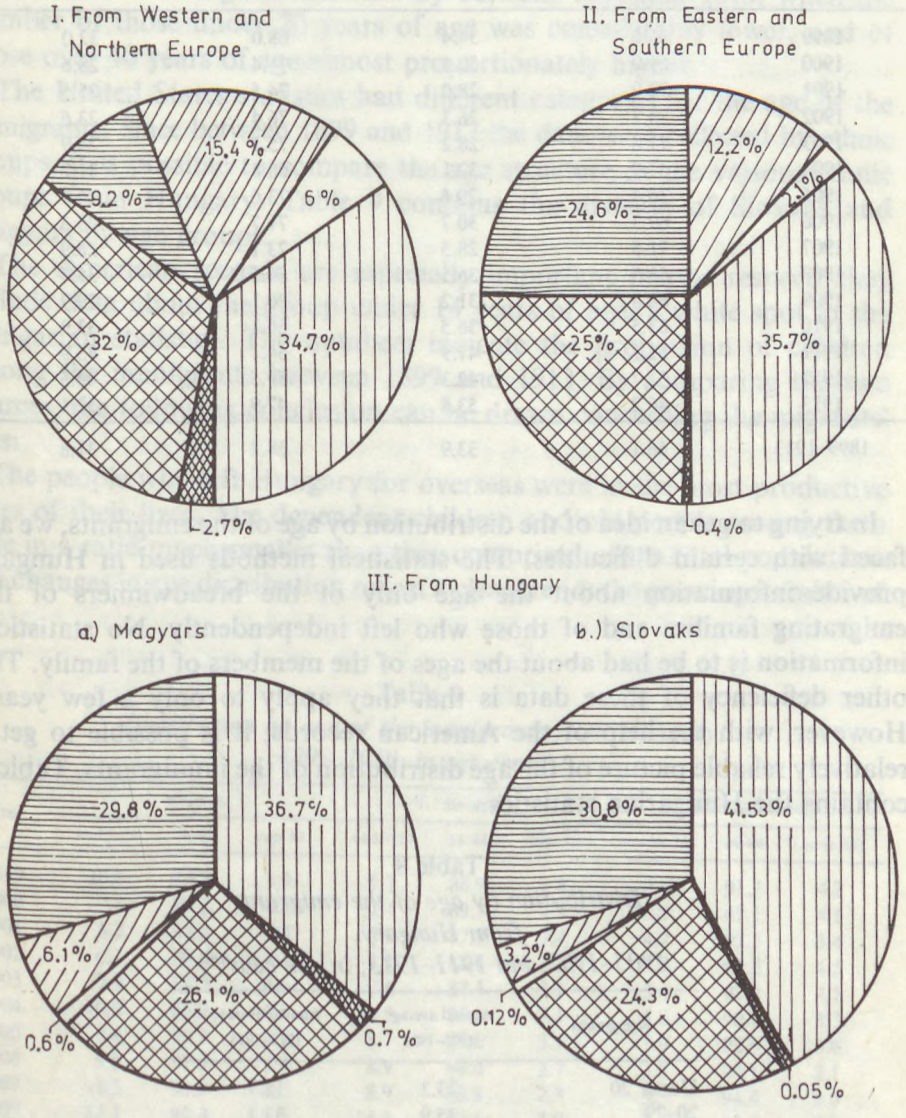
[33] In 1878 42 per cent of the emigrants were women, in 1879 42.1 per cent. Immigration to the USA... in MSK vol. 67, Table 40, p. 40.

[34] See Ferenczi–Willcox (1929), p. 215.

[35] See "Férfiak és nők kivándorlása a Magyar Birodalomból törvényhatóságok szerint az 1899–1913 években" (The emigration of men and women from the Hungarian Empire by municipalities between the years 1899–1913). MSK vol. 67, Table 7, p. 12.

Graph 7

The occupational distribution of immigrants to the United States 1899-1915



Compiled from Ferenczi - Willcox (1929)

Table 7
Distribution of the emigrants by sex, in per cent 1899–1913

Year	Hungary without Croatia		Hungary with Croatia	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1899	65.6	34.4	68.0	32.0
1900	69.9	30.1	71.4	28.6
1901	72.0	28.0	74.5	25.5
1902	73.7	26.3	76.4	23.6
1903	71.8	28.2	75.1	24.9
1904	67.9	32.1	68.8	31.2
1905	70.4	29.6	73.6	26.4
1906	69.3	30.7	71.7	28.3
1907	71.5	28.5	73.1	26.9
1908	63.5	36.5	64.5	35.5
1909	68.8	31.2	70.1	29.9
1910	63.5	36.5	66.1	33.9
1911	52.1	47.9	54.1	45.9
1912	57.7	42.3	59.5	40.5
1913	46.2	53.8	47.9	52.1
1899–1913	66.1	33.9	68.2	31.8

In trying to get an idea of the distribution by age of the emigrants, we are faced with certain difficulties. The statistical methods used in Hungary provide information about the age only of the breadwinners of the emigrating families and of those who left independently. No statistical information is to be had about the ages of the members of the family. The other deficiency of these data is that they apply to only a few years. However, with the help of the American records, it is possible to get a relatively reliable picture of the age distribution of the immigrants. Table 8 contains the Hungarian statistics.

Table 8
Distribution by age of the emigrants from Hungary, 1905–1907 and 1911–1913, in per cent[36]

Age groups	Annual average 1905–1907	Annual average 1911–1913
Under 20	23.3	15.7
20–29	35.9	33.7
30–39	25.6	23.7
40–49	12.6	19.5
over 50	2.6	7.4

[36] The emigrants' age; Ibid. 23*.

Young people dominated among the emigrants especially between 1905–1907, and to such a degree that almost 60 per cent (59.2 per cent) of those who left were under 30 years of age. The age distribution of the emigrants had changed somewhat by between 1911 and 1913, when the number of those under 20 years of age was considerably lower, and of those over 40 years of age almost proportionately higher.

The United States statistics had different categories for the age of the immigrants. Since between 1899 and 1913 the data were collected by ethnic groups, it is possible to compare the age structure of the various ethnic groups from Hungary. Table 9 contains the division of Slovaks and Magyars by age groups.

The American records are especially important in one respect: they include data about the group under 14 years of age, a white spot in the Hungarian statistics. The numbers indicate the proportion of children among the immigrants between 1899 and 1913. By comparing the two sources, the following conclusion can be drawn concerning the migrants' ages:

The people who left Hungary for overseas were in the most productive years of their lives. The dependent children and old people among them were in a ratio much smaller than they comprised of the total population. The changes in age distribution reflect a clear trend: the growing number of

Table 9

Distribution by age of the immigrants from Hungary 1899–1910, in per cent[37]

Year	Magyars			Slovaks			Croatian-Slovenes		
	under 14	14–44	over 45	under 14	14–44	over 45	under 14	14–44	over 45
1899	10.4	85.7	3.9	9.7	86.9	3.4	4.6	91.2	4.2
1900	7.4	88.3	4.3	7.4	89.7	2.9	3.9	42.1	4.1
1901	8.3	87.3	4.4	8.8	87.8	3.4	4.2	92.5	3.4
1902	6.2	89.6	4.2	8.1	88.6	3.3	3.3	92.2	4.5
1903	7.9	87.5	4.6	9.6	87.3	3.1	3.4	92.6	4.1
1904	10.2	85.2	4.6	11.9	85.0	3.1	5.8	90.9	3.3
1905	8.4	86.7	4.9	8.7	87.6	3.7	3.9	92.5	3.6
1906	9.0	87.5	3.5	8.9	88.4	2.7	3.8	94.1	2.1
1907	7.3	90.0	2.7	8.9	88.8	2.3	3.5	94.4	2.0
1908	14.1	82.4	3.5	14.4	82.6	3.0	7.7	89.5	2.9
1909	10.5	84.7	4.8	9.5	87.5	3.0	6.2	90.0	3.7
1910	13.4	81.1	5.5	8.6	88.0	3.4	4.7	92.1	3.2

[37] Annual Report. In: Ferenczi–Willcox. (1929) Table XI, pp. 444–449.

children and older people indicates that the immigrants had decided on permanently settling and sent for their families.

Attention should be called to the differences in the age distribution of the Magyar and the Slovak immigrants. The age structure of the longer-standing Slovak migration does not indicate a more advanced, family-type migration. There were no more children under 14 among them than among the Magyars; as for the older generation, they were less numerous than among the latter. The proportion of breadwinners among the Slovaks, and even more so among the Croats, was higher than among the Magyars.

The immigration statistics of the United States provide detailed information on the age distribution of women between 14 and 44 years of age. It was considered important, given the serious shortage of women in the years of mass immigration, to know how many of the immigrant women were of marriageable age, and capable of having children. The records show that 73.7 per cent of the Magyar immigrant women were between 14 and 21 years of age; 19.7 per cent were between 22 and 29; 5.8 per cent were between 30 and 37; and 1.2 per cent were in the 38–44 year-old category. The age distribution of the immigrant women differed by ethnic groups. The youngest, the 14–21 year-old age group, was everywhere predominant, but while among the Slovaks, for example, the 14 to 21 year-olds made up 84.6 per cent of all immigrant women, and those between 38 and 44 only 0.3 per cent, the ratios for the same age groups among the Germans were quite different: 57.0 per cent, and 3.4 per cent, respectively.[38]

We can get some picture of the elementary education of the American immigrants from the data of the American Immigration Office and from the American census figures (see Table 10).

Table 10

The proportion of the illiterate among immigrants to the United States[39]

Period of immigration	Illiterate adult immigrants, per cent	Year of census	Illiterate foreign population, per cent
1893–1899	23.1	1890	13.1
1901–1910	27.5	1900	12.9
1911–1920	21.5	1910	12.7
		1920	13.1

[38] Ibid., in MSK vol. 67, p. 87*.

[39] Ferenczi–Willcox (1929), p. p. 119.

These data are for all immigrants, not only for those coming from Hungary. The proportion of the illiterate shown by the records of the Immigration Office is much greater than in the census figures. The difference between the two sources is most probably due to the multiple registration of those migrants who travelled back and forth between the old country and the new and were registered each time. This "duplication" was eliminated in the census figures; indeed, it is very likely that here we must allow for just the opposite margin of error, on the hypothesis that some immigrants in various states were left out altogether. Let us compare the above figures with the data on the immigrants from Hungary (see Table 11).

We should note that of all the immigrants from Hungary, the Germans had the highest rate of literacy. However, since the United States immigration statistics did not distinguish the Germans coming from Hungary from the other German immigrants, they are not included in the above figures. The Magyars ranked next, with the illiteracy ratio being considerably higher among the other ethnic groups. Literacy rates show improvement for all ethnic groups of immigrants for the years 1910–1911 and 1912–1913. Thus, the proportion of literate immigrants varied not only by ethnic groups but also by the periods examined.

When compared with the census figures for Hungary, the above data indicate that literacy was much more common among the emigrants than

Table 11

Literacy among the various ethnic groups of immigrants from Hungary, 1899–1910[40]

Ethnic group	Immigrants over 14 years of age	
	Literate	Illiterate
Magyar	88.6	11.4
Slovak	76.0	24.0
Romanian	65.0	35.0
Croat-Slovene	63.9	36.1
Ruthenian	46.6	53.4

[40] The Immigration Commission, the so-called "Dillingham Commission," compiled these data based on the data of the Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration (1899–1910). The task of the Commission was to examine the economic effects of immigration. Mark Stolarik made an interesting comment (1977) p. 105 on the statistical data on Slovak literacy. According to him, 88 per cent of the Slovaks were literate in 1885, and this figure fell to 76 per cent by 1911 as a result of forced Magyarization. The weakness of his argument is obvious, since by the time forced Magyarization began in the Slovak elementary schools the pre-1911 emigrants to the United States were already adults.

among the population as a whole. For example, the literacy rate of the Romanian emigrants was 31 per cent better than the literacy rate the census figures show for Hungary's Romanian population. The difference was 20 per cent for the Croat-Slovenes, 12 per cent for the Slovaks, and 10 per cent for the Magyars. The higher the illiteracy rate of an ethnic group on the whole, the more the literacy rate of its emigrants surpassed it.[41]

The rate of literacy among the emigrants gradually became higher, not yet owing to the demands of United States immigration laws, but rather because, generally speaking, primary education in Hungary had made great strides forward during these decades.[42]

[41] MSK vol. 67, p. 88.

[42] For details, see L. Katus (1970) and *Magyarország története* (History of Hungary), (1978): "Elemi szintű népoktatás" (Elementary education), pp. 877–879.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CAUSES OF EMIGRATION FROM HUNGARY

THE DEMOGRAPHIC PRESSURE

In the view of most scholars dealing with the subject, it was the population explosion, the unprecedented demographic revolution that took place in Europe along with the economic development seen by certain countries during the first third of the 19th century that was the primary cause of the unprecedented geographic mobility, of the modern "mass migrations" which were, for the most part, directed overseas. To see how far this explanation holds true of Hungary, let us examine the country's population growth for the relevant period.

Table 12

Hungary's population (in 1,000s)

Year	Hungary without Croatia	Hungary with Croatia
1857	12,124	13,768
1870	13,644	15,512
1880	13,834	15,739
1890	15,262	17,464
1900	16,838	19,255
1910	18,737	20,866

From the beginning of the second half of the 19th century to World War I, the population of Hungary increased by 54.5 per cent. The annual growth rate was between 0.82 per cent and 0.79 per cent. An examination of the growth rate by 10 year intervals reveals the following changes:

Table 13

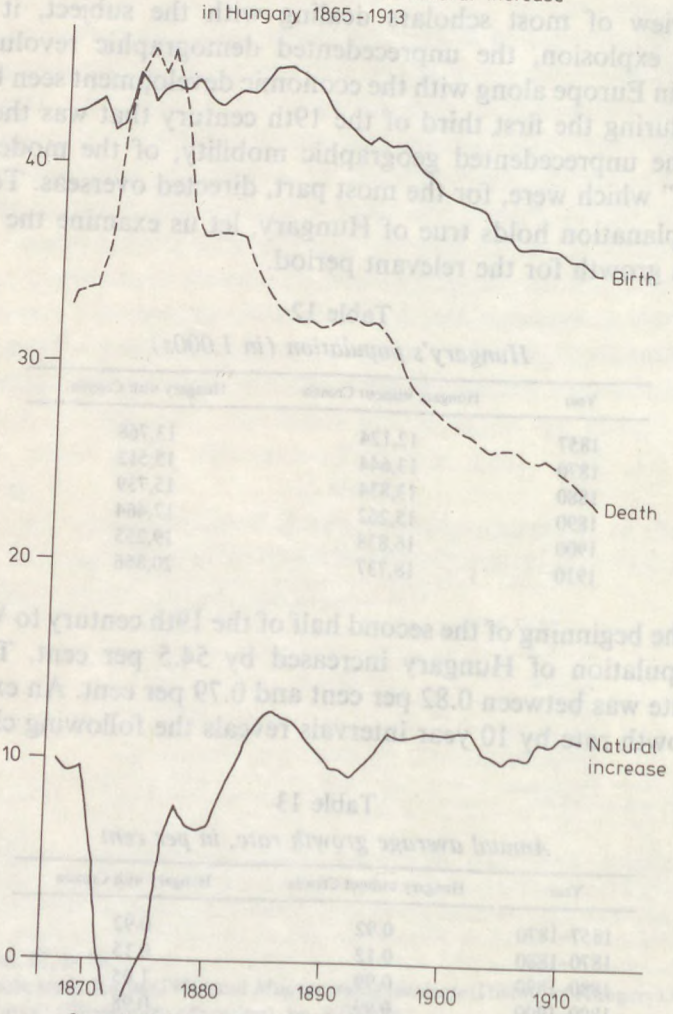
Annual average growth rate, in per cent

Year	Hungary without Croatia	Hungary with Croatia
1857–1870	0.92	0.92
1870–1880	0.12	0.15
1880–1890	0.99	1.05
1890–1900	0.99	0.98
1900–1910	1.07	0.82

These figures show first of all that population growth in Hungary was much slower than in Western Europe during the same period. However, it is not enough just to consider average population growth when seeking to clarify its role as a cause of emigration. At best, it can be a starting point; what needs further to be examined are the two factors governing population growth, the birth and death rates. A look at Graph 8 will show that these disclose more clearly the signs of a demographic revolution in Hungary as well.

Graph 8

Birth rate, death rate and natural increase in Hungary 1865 - 1913



Compiled from Lajos Thirring (1963)

The figures show that in Hungary, the birth rate continued to increase with some fluctuation as late as the mid-1880s; from then on, it began to decline. The decline in the death rates—which began earlier, in the 1860s—was temporarily halted by the cholera epidemic in the early 1870s. The 1880 census graphically shows how the last great attack of this medieval disease slowed down population growth. (According to some sources, it claimed half a million victims, with the death rate in 1873 exceeding the birth rate.) The death rate began to fall again only in the 1880s, but from there on, reduced death rates characterized the entire period.

In Hungary, the middle period of the demographic revolution—when birth rates remained stable, death rates decreased, and the consequent rapid population growth was tantamount to a population explosion—was barely a decade, the years between 1875 and 1885. By the turn of the century and the early 1900s, the high birth rate of this period had brought significant changes in the composition of the increased population. One conspicuous change was the sudden rise in the numbers of the young people of working age. Between 1890 and 1900, the number of 15–19 year-olds had grown by a record 26.4 per cent, compared to the 1.4 per cent increase in the same age group between 1880 and 1890. Within a few years, the number of 15–19 year-olds had grown as much as it had in the previous 20 years. The growth in the number of 20–24 year-olds was also noteworthy: 11.9 per cent compared with the 1.4 per cent of the preceding decade. The greatest increase in emigration from Hungary occurred in the years of a sudden surplus of young manpower on the job market.[1]

There is, thus, a demonstrable correlation between the growth of emigration and the rise in the birth rates. But if we consider that Hungary's demographic revolution was more moderate than that of Western Europe, that numerically, population growth reached but a moderate rate, and that Hungary was not, as were some Western countries, heavily settled, then we must conclude that the demographic pressure was not as significant a cause of emigration as in the countries of Western Europe. There is every reason to suppose that in Hungary the demographic revolution was only one of a group of factors making for emigration, one that was effective only when and where these other factors also promoted emigration.

[1] A. Kovács (1910), pp. 44–54.

THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR MOVING FROM AGRICULTURE INTO INDUSTRY, AND THE BARRIERS TO SUCH CHANGE

The historic turning point of Hungary's modern capitalist transformation was the Revolution of 1848–49. It was this that abolished serfdom and the privileges of the nobility, introduced equality before the law, and gave commoners the right to hold office and to possess land. However, the new social and economic legislation did not, by any means, bring about immediate change. Many old institutions lived on, and for a long time the traditional customs and behavioral forms continued to shape the relationships between the social strata. Even the new bourgeois system of landowning left the former manorial lands in the hands of the feudal upper classes, for the free peasants could acquire only the former socage lands. This method of dividing the land resulted in extreme inequalities of distribution. An intensely polarized agricultural society resulted: landowners holding huge tracts of land, the latifundia, on the one hand, and on the other, the smallholder peasants and the enormous masses of landless peasantry. As the population increased, the small peasant holdings further dwindled in size, and the number of the landless grew. By the turn of the century, the landless agrarian proletariat represented more than one-fourth of the total population, the vast majority (73.27 per cent) of them itinerant day laborers living in complete insecurity. The other significant stratum of the agrarian population (15.2 per cent) owned tiny parcels of land which provided only a part—and an ever dwindling part—of their livelihood. Only 30 per cent of the Hungarian peasantry owned enough land to assure an independent existence through the labor of the owner and his family.

Hungary, therefore, stood out not only in the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, but also in East-Central Europe, so great was the predominance of the large estates and so high the proportion of the agrarian proletariat.[2]

This peculiar structure of the agrarian population meant that there was a very large reserve labour force for industry, especially given the population increase from the 1880s on. Agricultural production was being progressively modernized, and the development of technology, and the increasing use of agricultural machinery, cut into the need for manpower. Since extensive agriculture and free-range animal husbandry by and large dominated, technological progress had the result of making agricultural

[2] For more details, see T. Kolossa (1962) and Iván T. Berend–M. Szuhay (1973).

work even more seasonal than before, thus shortening the time during which the agricultural population was employed. By the first decade of the 20th century, agricultural employment had reached the saturation point. The most conspicuous feature of the Hungarian countryside at the time, especially in certain areas, was relative overpopulation, and chronic unemployment.

Although in theory industrialization is a natural safety-valve for the surplus agricultural labor force, Hungarian industry was unable to syphon off this excess. For why this was so we need to consider some of the peculiarities of Hungary's industrialization.

Industrialization in Hungary began in the second half of the 19th century, and real advances were made only from the 1880s on. However, it was an industrialization that had no historical "foundations". In Hungary, for example, unlike in most Western countries, there had been no industrial population worth mentioning during the pre-industrial periods. There had been no manufactories, and in the mid-19th century, Hungary was still so much an agrarian country that 80–85 per cent of its population found its livelihood in agriculture. The country partook in capitalist world trade with its agricultural produce mostly with the Monarchy's mediation. Within the Monarchy, Hungary's role was, till the end, to provide agricultural raw materials and food products to the industrially developed areas. This is why the food industry was the first industry to develop in Hungary, and it maintained its leading position throughout the entire process of industrialization.[3]

Although new research in economic history has found the annual growth of Hungarian industrial production between 1870 and World War I to have been dynamic, it was an industrialization with a narrow productive base and one that operated—because of the division of labor existing within the Monarchy—with a structure that was limited and one-sided from the point of view of the Hungarian economy.

All this affected the movement of the rural agricultural population from the agricultural to the industrial sector, and continued to make for considerable tensions between the two, tensions caused by the non-coincidence of the amount and kind of industrial employment available and the size and kind of the surplus agrarian work force looking for jobs.

The following figures show the growth of Hungary's industrial population:

[3] See Berend–Ránki (1972), pp. 65–66.

Table 14
The industrial work force (in 1,000s)

Year	All industrial workers	Factory workers
1880	400	–
1890	488	165
1900	718	320
1910	978	510

Table 15
The growth of the industrial work force, in per cent

Year	Growth, in per cent	Annual average growth rate
1880–1890	22.0	2.01
1890–1900	47.1	3.94
1900–1910	36.2	3.14

Within thirty years, the number of industrial workers grew almost two and a half times, and the number of the factory workers almost tripled. The rapid growth rate of the factory workers is especially conspicuous. Their numbers increased by 93.9 per cent between 1890 and 1900, an average annual growth rate of 6.85 per cent; between 1900 and 1910, the net growth was 54.4 per cent, an average annual growth rate of 4.77 per cent.

The average growth rate of Hungary's industrial workers was no slower than that of other countries at the same time. However, we must beware of drawing conclusions merely from the growth rates and the relative numbers, especially for the early phase of industrialization. If we examine not only the growth rates, the percentage indicators, but also the absolute numbers, and make our comparisons on this basis, we find that while the agrarian proletariat dominated Hungary's agricultural population in the first phase of industrialization, the industrial proletariat was extremely small. How far this was so is underlined by the fact that in 1900, the workers employed in both small and large industry represented no more than one-tenth of the country's wage-earning population.

During the decades between 1880 and 1910, the growth rate of the industrial workers was the most dynamic between 1890 and 1900. Although growth was a bit slower just after the turn of the century, we find the following figures for the period: the total number of wage earners in industry and mining increased by 32.5 per cent between 1880 and 1890, by 25 per cent between 1890 and 1900, and by 29 per cent between 1900 and

1910. On the basis of other indicators, however, e.g. those showing urbanization and internal migration (moving away from one's place of birth), the decade between 1890 and 1900 was the most dynamic period. The English economist Brinley Thomas, in his study of England and Western Europe, concluded that internal and outward migration were interdependent: when one grew the other declined.[4] The observation holds true for Hungary, for during the peak ten years of emigration, internal mobility slowed down somewhat. However, this slowing down was not nearly so significant nor so unequivocal as to be the cause of the upward swing of overseas emigration at the turn of the century. In the case of Hungary, it is more the limited possibilities of inner mobility which need to be noted as factors of emigration abroad rather than its speeding up or slowing down. How little internal migration, for all its relatively fast rate of growth, changed Hungarian society is indicated by the following figures: the census of 1880 registered 74.5 per cent of the total population as still living at their places of birth; in 1890, the figure was 73.4 per cent; in 1900, 70 per cent; and in 1910, 68.6 per cent.

The territorial concentration and peculiar structure of whatever industry Hungary had further limited the agrarian population's chances of moving into the ranks of the industrial workers. The division of labor within the Monarchy favored the development of the food, iron, and machine industries; the manpower demands of the latter two were for the most skilled laborers of the time, while certain branches of the food industry needed a small permanent work force and a great number of seasonal workers. Hungarian industry could not recruit skilled industrial workers from among the agricultural population, and the scattered groups of domestic craftsmen and artisans were also an inadequate source. Recruits were sought in the more highly developed industrial regions of the Monarchy. For the Czech, Moravian, and Austrian skilled workers who migrated to Hungary we have only partial figures: in Budapest, for example, in 1875, foreigners constituted 25 per cent of the factory workers and 35 per cent of the iron and machine workers. (These branches required the most highly skilled labor.) With the progress of industrial development, the proportion of foreign skilled workers declined, and after the turn of the century, so did their absolute numbers.[5]

The shortage of skilled workers was so typical of Hungary's attempts at industrialization that when industrial development slowed down after the

[4] B. Thomas (1954).
[5] Berend–Ránki (1972), p. 91.

turn of the century, contemporaries attributed it mainly to an inability to overcome the shortage.

Industrial development in Hungary could bring about no organic social development of the kind that had occurred in Western Europe. There was a surplus of agricultural workers at the same time that industry was struggling with a chronic lack of manpower. The unemployed agricultural workers' drifting into industry was no solution, for this provided only unskilled and non-permanent labor, the indigent rural workers being most likely to go into those branches of industry that were closer to agriculture and seasonal in nature (milling, breweries, brick factories, etc.). The next step would have been employment in the more highly organized permanent industries, which, however, made demands that were inconsistent with a semi-agricultural way of life. Rarely did the road lead from agricultural to urban day-laborer, then road builder or construction worker, up into the ranks of the skilled industrial workers.[6]

In most cases, the indigent worker was trapped between agriculture and industry, and when the first great impetus to infrastructural development had abated, there was even a regression, as significant masses were forced to return to agriculture. How unlikely one was to make the change from agriculture to industry can be well seen if we compare the absolute numerical increase in industrial workers with the number of emigrants. While the number of industrial workers grew by 88,000 between 1880 and 1890, by 230,000 between 1890 and 1900, and by 260,000 between 1900 and 1910, more than one million emigrants left the country between 1900 and 1903 alone. Even supposing that the total increase in industrial workers came from agriculture—which, by the way, is improbable—the ratio of industrial workers to emigrants is 1:4.

However, the peculiarities of Hungarian industrialization do not explain all the barriers and frustrations of the movement between the two sectors. Clearly, there were also other impediments to agricultural workers' moving into industry: the weight of Hungary's agrarian structure and civilization—the differences between the urban and the traditional rural forms of human intercourse, between the customs, the systems of norms, and the cultures. The exact nature of these ties is yet to be discovered. But it seems quite clear from the contemporary literature on the subject that what tied an individual to an agrarian form of life was less restrictive of emigration to the United States than of migration to a city within

[6] M. Lackó (1961 and 1968) and *Magyarország története* (1978).

Hungary. This apparent contradiction is resolved when we consider that going overseas attracted people precisely because it was consistent with the hope that they would not be leaving their original surroundings for good. The absence was to be temporary; they would soon return with the money made overseas to make a better life for themselves in the environment they were attached to, the place where they *wanted* to live. And given the enormous difference in the wages that could be made in American industry and in Hungarian agriculture and industry alike, these hopes did not seem too far-fetched.

DIFFERENCES IN OPPORTUNITIES TO EARN MONEY: THE APPEARANCE OF THE "PULL" FACTORS

People were attracted to America by the promise of much higher wages and permanent employment, hopes raised in Hungary by the few emigrants who had left earlier, and by the information distributed through the fairly numerous emigration agents. Newspapers in Hungary also wrote about the favorable job opportunities in America; even the paper published by Hungarian organized labor, *Népszava* (People's Voice), frequently published articles on the economic advantages of emigration.

The changes in wages—especially real wages—and in the cost of living in Hungary during the period under examination have yet to be investigated by economic historians. The evidence available indicates that a great many unknown factors still hinder any appraisal of the changes in real wages. It seems that nominal wages were stagnant during the first half of the 1890s, while real wages tended to rise slightly in both industry and agriculture due to decreases in the price of foodstuffs and industrial products alike. Beginning in 1895, nominal wages began to rise in industry, but in agriculture this took place only after the turn of the century.[7] A considerable increase in nominal wages came during the first decade of the 20th century, when wages increased by 40 per cent in industry and by 80 per cent in agriculture.[8] This change notwithstanding, real industrial wages fell because of overall price rises; the cost of living was going up faster than wages. It is much harder to assess the changes in real agricultural wages. Judging by the wages, there should have been an improvement in the living

[7] *Mezőgazdasági munkabérek Magyarországon* (Agricultural wages in Hungary), (1906), pp. 3–28.
[8] L. Katus (1978), pp. 263–269.

standards of the agricultural workers, since wages rose faster than prices.[9] However, there is no way of knowing to what extent higher wages were counterbalanced by factors such as shorter periods of employment and the reduction of wages paid in kind. Throughout the decades that followed the emancipation of the serfs, this latter form of payment—various forms of sharecropping—is known to have been an important means of livelihood.[10] The sharecroppers cultivated the fields of the large estates for a half, a third, or some other fixed portion of the yield, particularly in hoed crops. At this time, payment in kind for harvesting was still a general practice. These forms of agricultural production were gradually displaced by technological developments and by wage labor, most significantly during the two decades preceding World War I.[11] Next to unemployment, it was these changes that contemporaries saw as most responsible for the economic tensions of this period.[12]

An interesting feature of Hungarian emigration, and one noted at the time by the economists compiling the relevant statistical records, was that "the greatest waves of emigration from Hungary coincided almost completely with an improved economic situation". If we look at the reasons for emigration, at first glance the domestic economic conditions of around 1905 seem to contradict the abnormally high rate of emigration. The harvest in 1905 was fairly good; in 1906, it was exceptionally so, with agricultural wages steadily improving. Banking and credit—in spite of the domestic political troubles—were developing satisfactorily. However, by this time the idea of emigration had become so fixed in the minds of the people, and the conviction that the emigrants would find a better living, a more permanent income, and speedier advancement in America had become so profound, that the improvement in the domestic economy that

[9] The rise in the cost of living is shown by László Katus's calculations:

Changes in prices in Hungary, in per cent

	1867/71; 1892/96	1892/96; 1911/13
Vegetable products	−24.2	+53
Meat products	− 1.5	+61
All agricultural products	−12.8	+58
Industrial consumer goods	−40.0	+58
All industrial goods	−38.0	+54

[10] For more details, see P. Sándor (1951) and Gunst–Hoffmann (1976), pp. 66–73.

[11] Berend–Szuhay (1973), pp. 68–69.

[12] For further details, see F. Pölöskei–K. Szakács (1962) and L. Für (1976), in Gunst–Hoffmann (1976).

there was failed to produce the results that at first glance might have been expected. Moreover, the great economic boom starting in the United States proved to be a formidable adversary to all domestic efforts to halt emigration.[13]

The great difference between the job opportunities and wages available in Hungary and in the United States takes first place in the list of reasons that explain the origins and scale of the prewar emigration from Hungary. The pull of American wages is better understood if we consider that in the Hungary of the 1880s agricultural wages were so low and the cost of living so high that in less fertile regions poor harvest meant not only hard times for the population but actual starvation as well.

The rise in Hungarian agricultural wages relieved but did not fundamentally change the invariably precarious circumstances in which most of the agrarian population struggled to make both ends meet. On the basis of the data that we have on the economic and social conditions of the agricultural population, the question is more that of why emigration was not even wider-spread. Detailed analysis by geographic regions leads us to the conclusion that emigration became large-scale only in regions where the push and pull factors reinforced one another. The pull of America mobilized considerable masses only in areas where there had been geographic mobility even before mass emigration started and mobility had gained acceptance as a possible pattern of behavior, that is, in areas where the success of the first emigrants was incontrovertibly proved by the dollars sent home or by their purchases of well-equipped properties. These, and the homesteads of those who had returned after making their "fortune" were mute, but also the most eloquent advocates of emigration. Professional agents, too, knew that it paid best to head for those regions where they could refer to local examples of successful emigration, or where some tradition of an itinerant life-style had already developed.

As regards the actual differences between American and Hungarian wages, the figures available for comparison (the wages of mine workers, for example) reveal that on an average, American industrial wages were five or six times higher than agricultural wages in Hungary. Though there was some fluctuation, this difference obtained throughout the entire period, since after the turn of the century, both Hungarian and American wages tended to increase. Thus, the Hungarian emigrants, secure in the knowledge that in an American mine they could earn in a single day as much as they could get for a week's work at home, and at a steady

[13] MSK vol. 67, pp. 14–15.

job at that, did not stop to consider the unforeseeable—and as yet imponderable—difficulties that they might come up against.

Further study will be needed for us to evaluate the precise role of demographic pressures, the push and pull of economic and social factors, the relation between them, and their reciprocal influence in shaping emigration. Before such quantitative investigations can be carried out, a number of technical and methodological questions will have to be answered. What is already clear, however, is that the model of emigration from Hungary cannot be accounted for in the narrow terms of the law of labor supply and labor demand. Numerous other factors also played their parts in the mechanism of emigration, factors not so much economic but rather social and psychological in nature, and these by and large elude quantification.

THE EMIGRATION REGIONS

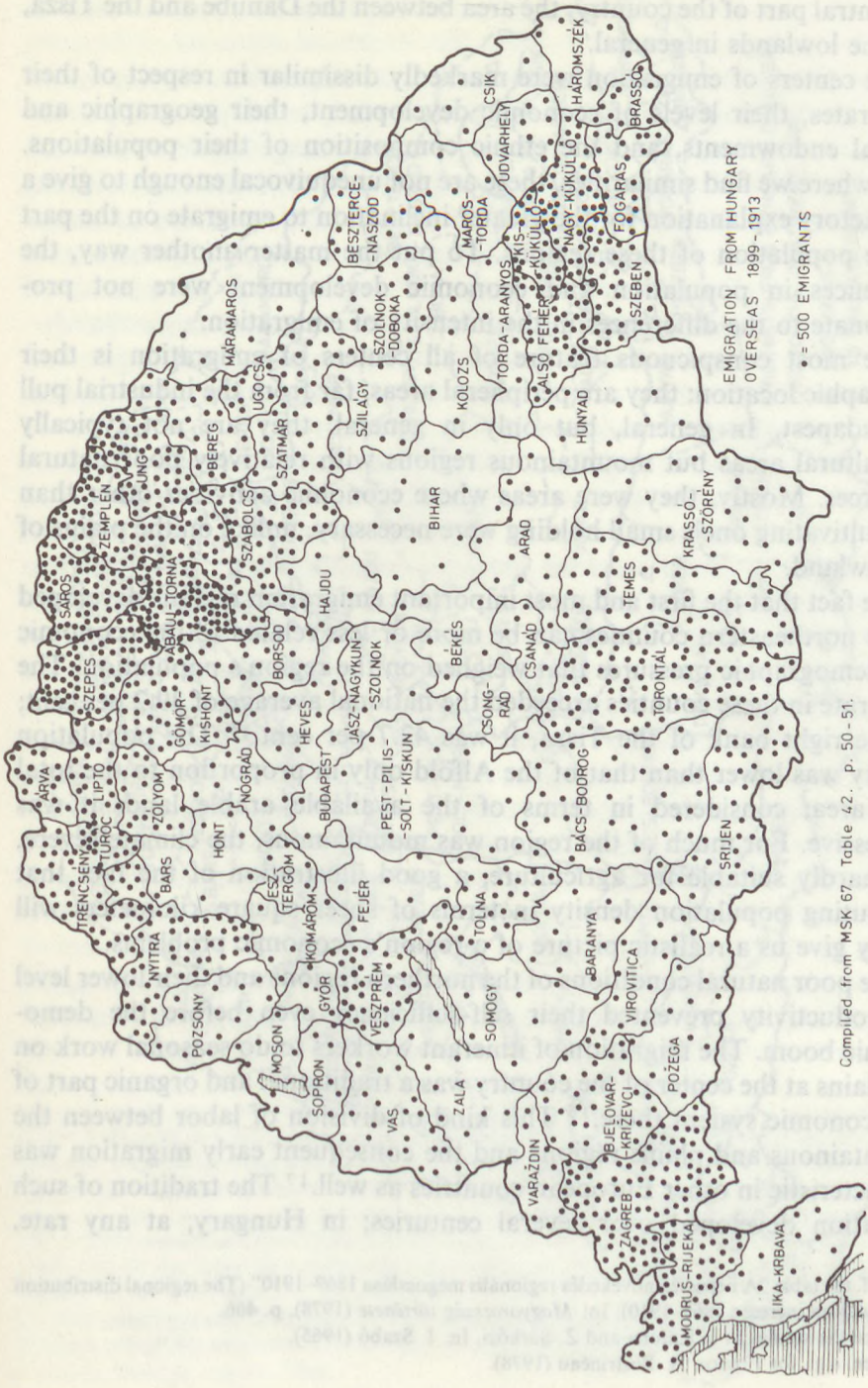
If we look at the distribution of emigration, throughout Europe we find it to have been regional in nature.[14] The satistical data available for Hungary permit us to delimit these regions, or at least to show how much the intensity of the "emigration fever" varied from one section of the country to the other. (See Fig. 1 for the number of emigrants by counties.)

The most important center of overseas emigration developed in the northeastern counties of the country. At the peak of mass emigration, nearly one-third (29.2 per cent) of the emigrants to the United States originated from the eight counties in the northeastern part of Hungary: Sáros, Szepes, Zemplén, Abauj, Bereg, Borsod, Gömör-Kishont, and Ung, all on the right bank of the River Tisza. The concentration of emigrants from this region was even greater just before the turn of the century.

Of the 23,366 people who left the country in 1899, 19,242 started out from the northeastern counties mentioned above. Besides this major area of emigration, a few minor centers, more or less circumscribed geographically and seemingly not connected with each other, can also be pointed out. These were around Veszprém in Transdanubia, Torontál in southern Hungary, Szabolcs-Szatmár in the lowlands, Nagyküküllő in Transylvania, and Fiume and Zagreb counties in Croatia.

Although there was overseas emigration from all counties especially as migration got into full swing, we can barely speak of mass emigration from

[14] See the maps in H. Runblom–H. Norman (1976), Reno Kerő (1974), Celina Bobinska (1975), and Hans Norman (1976), pp. 149–175.



Compiled from MSK 67. Table 42. p. 50-51.

Fig. 1

the central part of the country, the area between the Danube and the Tisza, and the lowlands in general.

The centers of emigration were markedly dissimilar in respect of their birth rates, their levels of economic development, their geographic and natural endowments, and the ethnic composition of their populations. Even where we find similarities, these are not unequivocal enough to give a satisfactory explanation for the greater inclination to emigrate on the part of the population of these regions. To put the matter another way, the differences in population and economic development were not proportionate to the differences in the intensity of emigration.

The most conspicuous feature of all centers of emigration is their geographic location: they are peripheral areas, far from the industrial pull of Budapest. In general, but only in general, they are not typically agricultural areas but mountainous regions with relatively poor natural resources. Mostly, they were areas where economic activities other than just cultivating one's small holding were necessary, unlike on the plains of the lowland.

The fact that the first and most important emigration regions developed in the northeastern counties can be more or less related to the economic and demographic pressures that weighed on the region's population. The birth rate in these counties exceeded the national average of 39.2 per cent; on the right bank of the Tisza, it was 42.7 per cent.[15] The population density was lower than that of the Alföld only in proportion to the total land area; considered in terms of the available arable land, it was impressive. For much of the region was mountainous, the climate severe, and hardly suitable for agriculture, a good illustration of the fact that computing population density in terms of sheer square kilometers will hardly give us a realistic picture of a region's economic problems.

The poor natural conditions of the northern regions and their lower level of productivity prevented their self-sufficiency even before the demographic boom. The migration of itinerant workers to do seasonal work on the plains at the center of the country was a traditional and organic part of the economic system there.[16] This kind of division of labor between the mountainous and plains regions and the consequent early migration was characteristic in other European countries as well.[17] The tradition of such migration developed over several centuries; in Hungary, at any rate,

[15] Cf. the table "A népesség növekedés regionális megoszlása 1869–1910" (The regional distribution of population increase 1869–1910). In: *Magyarország története* (1978), p. 406.

[16] See the studies of I. Katona and Z. Sárközi, In: I. Szabó (1965).

[17] See, e.g., for France: A. Postrineau (1978).

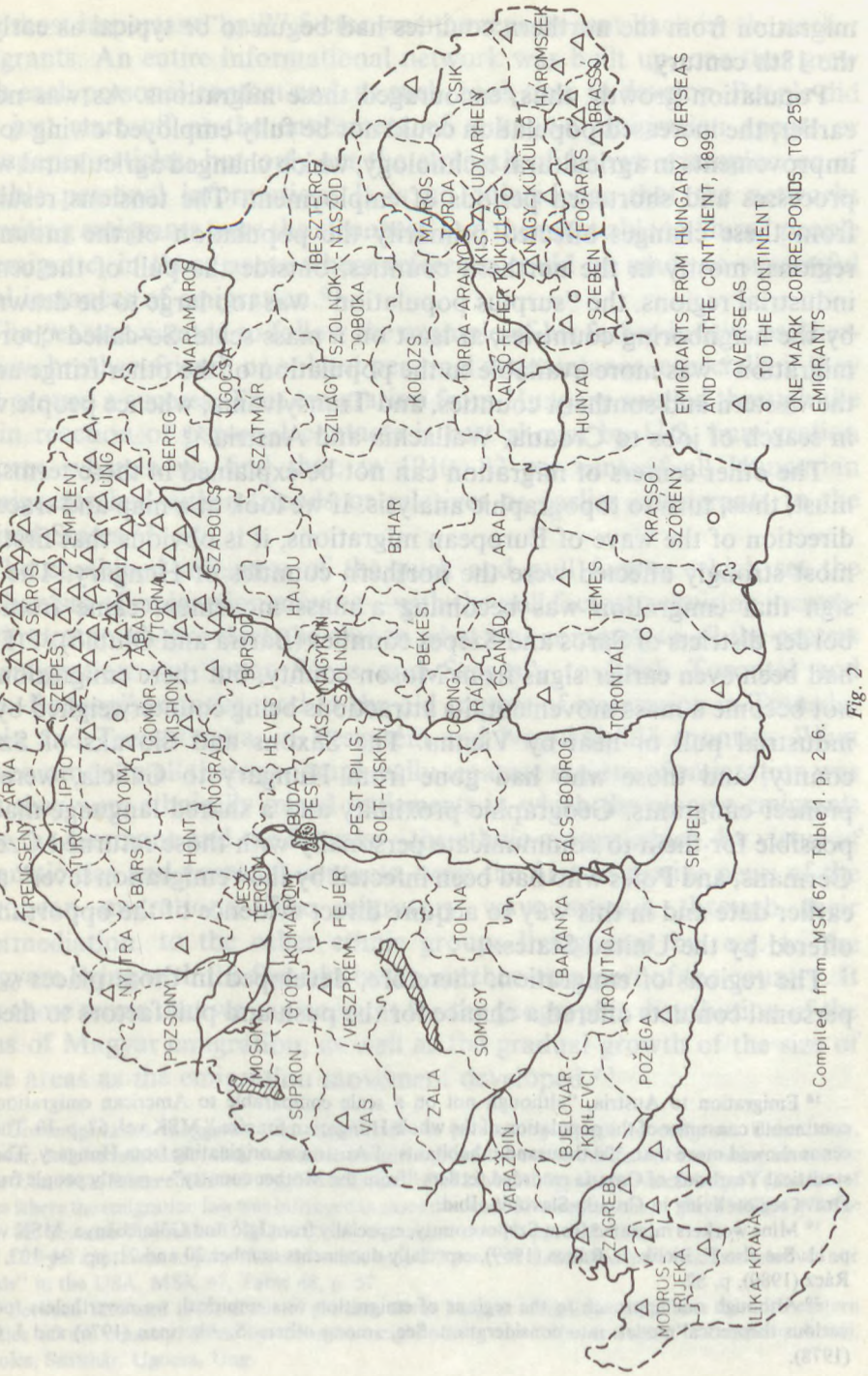

ÁRVA
TRENCSÉN
NYITRA
POZSONY
TURÓCZ
LIPTÓ
ZÓLYOM
BARS
HONT
NÓGRÁD
SZEPES
GÖMÖR-KISHONT
ABAUJ-TORNA
BORSOD
ZEMPLÉN
SÁROS
UNG
BEREG
SZABOLCS
MÁRAMAROS
UGOCSA
SZATMÁR
HAJDÚ
HEVES
JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK
SZILÁGY
SZOLNOK-DOBOKA
BESZTERCE-NASZÓD
BIHAR
KOLOZS
MAROS-TORDA
TORDA-ARANYOS
CSIK
KIS-UDVARHELY
ALSÓ-FEHÉR
NAGY-KUKULLÓ
KUKULLÓ
HÁROMSZÉK
BRASSÓ
FOGARAS
SZEBEN
HUNYAD
ARAD
TEMES
KRASSÓ-SZÖRÉNY
TORONTÁL
CSANÁD
CSONGRÁD
BÉKÉS
PEST-PILIS-SOLT-KISKUN
BUDA-PEST
FEJÉR
KOMÁROM
GYÖR
MOSON
SOPRON
VESZPRÉM
VAS
ZALA
SOMOGY
TOLNA
BARANYA
BÁCS-BODROG
SRIJEN
VIROVITICA
POŽEGA
BJELOVAR-KRIŽEVCI
VARAŽDIN
ZAGREB
MODRUS-RIJEKA
LIKA-KRAVA
EMIGRANTS FROM HUNGARY OVERSEAS AND TO THE CONTINENT, 1899
△ OVERSEAS
○ TO THE CONTINENT
ONE MARK CORRESPONDS TO 250 EMIGRANTS
Compiled from MSK 67. Table 1. p. 2-6.

Fig. 2

migration from the northern counties had begun to be typical as early as the 18th century.

Population growth, thus, encouraged these migrations. As was noted earlier, the increased population could not be fully employed owing to the improvements in agricultural technology, which changed agricultural work processes and shortened periods of employment. The tensions resulting from these changes affected primarily the population of the mountain regions, mostly in the northern counties; outside the pull of the central industrial regions, the "surplus population" was too large to be drawn off by the neighboring countries, at least on a mass scale. So-called "border-migration" was more available to the population of the other fringe areas, the western and southern counties, and Transylvania, whence people went in search of jobs to Croatia, Wallachia and Austria.[18]

The other centers of migration can not be explained in these terms; we must, thus, turn to topographic analysis. If we look at a map and trace the direction of the wave of European migrations, it is obvious that first and most strongly affected were the northern counties of Hungary. The first sign that emigration was becoming a mass movement came from the border districts of Sáros and Szepes counties (Bártfa and Ólubló).[19] There had been even earlier signs from Moson county, but there emigration did not become a mass movement, its attractions being counterweighed by the industrial pull of near-by Vienna. The Saxons and Slovaks of Szepes county, and those who had gone from Hungary to Galicia, were the pioneer emigrants. Geographic proximity and a shared language made it possible for them to communicate personally with those returned Czechs, Germans, and Poles who had been infected by the "emigration fever" at an earlier date and in this way to acquire direct evidence of the opportunities offered by the United States.

The regions of emigration, therefore, developed in those places where personal contacts offered a chance for the push and pull factors to meet.[20]

[18] Emigration to Austria, "although not on a scale comparable to American emigration, is a continuous consumer of the population of the whole Hungarian Empire." MSK vol. 67, p. 10. The 1910 cenus showed more than 300 thousand inhabitants of Austria as originating from Hungary. The 1905 statistical Yearbook of Croatia recorded settlers "from the Mother country"—mostly people from the Drava region living in Croatia-Slavonia. Ibid.

[19] Mine workers migrated from Szepes county, especially from Igló and Gölnicbánya. MSK vol. 67, p. 11. See also F. Bielik–E. Rákos (1969), especially documents number 20 and 21, pp. 94–103, and I. Rácz (1980), p. 82.

[20] Although our approach to the regions of emigration was empirical, we nevertheless took the various theoretical models into consideration. See, among others, S. Akerman (1976) and J. Gellén (1978).

The most important "pull" factor was the reports sent back by the earlier emigrants. An entire informational network was built up, one that grew with each personal contact and, as such, took time to develop. People did not just start off at the enticement of unknown emigration agents or newspaper articles, but only on the strength of known examples, or of reliable personal information. It is no coincidence that the networks recruiting emigrants were the strongest, and the most able to "lure" people to emigrate, in those areas where reference could be made to successful local instances of emigration.[21]

The peasant wanted to follow the example of his father-in-law, brother-in-law, brother, friend, or at least personal acquaintance, especially if they had proved a success. That emigration from Hungary swelled through the chain reaction of personal contacts is best shown by U.S. immigration reports, wherein we find that, in 1910, 82 per cent of all Hungarian immigrants had either friends or relatives as earlier immigrants to the United States.[22]

The combined influence of the push and pull factors which set the mechanism of emigration moving—with the pull factors acquiring increasing importance—provides the clue to what was common to all the centers of emigration: to "poor Sáros and Szepes", to "rich Torontál and Bács–Bodrog" counties, and to the old centers of emigration in Transdanubia and Transylvania, in Veszprém and Nagyküküllő counties. What was common to all these geographically separate regions of emigration was that they were ethnically mixed settlements in which the pioneer emigrants were the Germans and the Slovaks—the ethnic groups which, by virtue of linguistic ties and personal contacts, were the first to receive news of the European migrations. The migratory wave spread, through their intermediation, to the other ethnic groups living near by, e.g. to the Magyars living with the Slovaks in the northeastern part of the country. It is in these terms that we can account for the geographic distribution of the areas of Magyar emigration, as well as the gradual growth of the size of these areas as the emigration movement developed.[23]

[21] Contemporaries exaggerate the agents' role in persuading people to emigrate. There were, however, definite reasons for their success in certain regions and not in others. An interesting source for this is "Az 1913. évben elítéléssel végződött kivándorlási kihágási ügyek elkövetési helye". (The list of places where the emigration law was infringed in cases that ended in convictions in 1913) MSK 67, Table 82, p. 82. See also F. Bielik–E. Rákos (1969) document no. 79, pp. 218–220.

[22] 17.8 per cent went to join "friends" while only 2.2 per cent claimed to have "neither relatives nor friends" in the USA. MSK 67, Table 48, p. 57.

[23] Between 1899 and 1913, about 40 per cent of the Magyar emigrants came from the northeastern counties of the country, from the counties neighbouring the "Slovak region": Zemplén, Abaúj, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Ugocsa, Ung.

For the Slovak or Ruthenian peasant, traditionally used to a life of itinerant labor, or for the younger sons of German peasant families where the oldest inherited all the land intact, the idea of moving about seemed a necessary part of life, and going overseas often meant little more than a trip longer than customary. It is in this sense that we can speak of variations in the various ethnic groups' willingness to emigrate. In places where migration had a history, had become a tradition, it was easier to make the decision to emigrate overseas, and the practice spread faster than it did among the less mobile, more closely structured peasant villages.

The regional differences in emigration from Hungary, therefore, derive from the above-mentioned characteristics of the migratory mechanism, from the necessary combination of push and pull factors. It is not clear, however, that the ethnic problem can be considered such a determining factor. Emigration spread in the form of similar chains or centers of emigration in the ethnically more homogeneous countries of Europe, too, such as the Scandinavian countries,[24] or Italy, or Germany. Everywhere, mass emigration first began in regions far from the industrial centers, in those lacking in natural resources, and in regions in some way more open to areas and peoples already familiar with emigration. Since these regions in Hungary were inhabited mostly by non-Magyar ethnic groups, and since the Magyars lived mostly in the country's central, more enclosed plains, it was geographic location, the proximity of areas where emigration had occurred, which primarily account for the differences in the Magyar populations' inclination to emigrate. (Such a topographic analysis calls attention to the necessity of looking beyond economic determinants when trying to find an explanation for the intensity of emigration from the various areas.)

The circumstance that the push factors did not affect the entire country in the same way is not enough to account for the pattern that did develop.[25] The fact is that the economic factors determining the emigration process did not operate mechanistically; how far they did not is shown by the great differences we find in the number of the emigrants from villages which in other respects were characterized more by similarities than by differences. Necessity often had the air of chance when it came to any given instance of emigration, which was much influenced by the success or failure of the neighbours who first sailed overseas. Good luck

[24] See, e.g. the mapped results of the topographic study of emigration. In: H. Runblom–H. Norman (1976), R. Kerő (1974), and C. Bobinska (1975).

[25] Cf. I. Rácz (1980), p. 113.

motivated others to follow their example, while bad luck weakened the desire to try.

Nowadays sociologists and psychologists pay great attention to the factors governing an individual's decision to migrate.[26] From the information I myself have gathered in the course of personal interviews, it seems likely that the most important were the socio-psychological factors, especially the strength or weakness of family ties, and the conflicts arising from this. Almost everyone questioned said that his or her decision had to do with the conditions within the family. They mentioned bad treatment by a step-parent; the sense of being a homeless orphan; some were urged to emigrate by some beloved sibling, aunt, uncle, or god-parent; others were escaping from emotional or marital problems, or from the prospect of a forced marriage; still others felt they had been wronged by parents or siblings in the course of their dividing up an inheritance, etc.[27]

It would be mistaken to emphasize only the fact that it took a man of some quality to make the decision to leave, in other words, to insist that it was always the most talented of the village or given social group who emigrated. What seems, rather, to have been the case is that the decision to emigrate was made by those who, for whatever reason, refused to accept their lot, who had a strong desire for change, and who consequently found it easier to make up their minds when the chance to emigrate presented itself.

[26] S. Akerman (1975), and (1976).

[27] J. P. interviews.

THE REPERCUSSIONS OF EMIGRATION ON HUNGARIAN SOCIETY

DEMOGRAPHIC REPERCUSSIONS

Migration, along with birth and death, is the third factor in demographic change. Emigration reduces population growth, immigration increases it. The latter must also be taken into account for an estimation of the number that staid abroad permanently; however, we have no statistical data for Hungary on this.

From census figures indirectly indicating migration (i.e. the number of those born outside the country) we can conclude that though there was immigration to Hungary at this time from other parts of the Monarchy (from Bohemia and Galicia), its dimensions were dwarfed by emigration. (Relatively large-scale immigration characterized earlier decades, primarly the 1850s and 1860s.) That immigration was not significant in this period we can conclude also from the fact that contemporary statisticians ignored the question of immigration in evaluating the demographic effects of emigration.[1]

The estimates of the population loss due to emigration from Hungary vary greatly. Leaving aside the exaggerations of contemporaries motivated by the political considerations of the day, we shall correlate our quantitative evaluations only with the estimates that can be found in the more recent literature. The method of evaluation I find acceptable and have used can be found in *Magyarország története 1890–1914* (History of Hungary 1890–1914). Our findings coincide for the given period. The fact that the authors nevertheless say that "a loss of about 1.2 million through emigration cut into the country's population growth" is due to the fact that they took a longer period for their statistical survey, the years between 1869–1910.[2] I have disregarded the population loss indicators of 1869–1880 for two reasons: one is that mass emigration to the United States as a regular, continuous process evolved only in the 1880s; and the

[1] See the statistical studies of G. Thirring (1904) and A. Kovács (1910).

[2] *Magyarország története* (1978), p. 405.

second is that I have doubts about the accuracy of the figures for the decades 1860–1880.[3] The salient figure of a loss of 310,372 seems groundless, and is not supported by other historical sources.

The population loss through emigration is put high by other authors as well. It is difficult to check their estimates because either their time boundaries are not definite or their methods of evaluation are not clear. Another criticism of their estimates is that they calculated population loss using only the records of emigration traffic, and were inclined to equate absolute demographic loss with the number of people who emigrated. They did not use the available control data, such as the American records on remigration, and the Hungarian census figures.

The first statistical estimate is associated with the name of Gusztáv Thirring, who put at half a million the demographic losses caused by emigration up to the turn of the century. The most recent assessment can be found in the work of István Rácz, who puts the number of emigrants at 2 million and the remigrants at 400–500 thousand. Rácz, accepting Thirring's calculations, supplements these by deducting the final demographic loss from the combined figures of emigration and remigration. It is not entirely clear just what time boundaries he uses when calculating the population loss of one and one-half million; presumably, it is the period indicated in the title of his work (1849–1914).[4]

My own study of the demographic effects of emigration is chronologically more restricted and uses different methods of assessment and evaluation. I have tried to use as many control data as possible and always to consider the subject under study from the perspective of how the whole is related to its parts.

[3] The devastation of the cholera epidemic of the 1870s may have caused inaccuracy in the survey data.

[4] Rácz, in his earlier works, gave a higher estimate for the number of emigrants and for the "population loss" due to emigration. In his more recent work he has paid more attention to the problem of multiple counting. Correcting for this possible source of error he has arrived at a 1.5 million figure. The problem, however, is that while he seems to be speaking of the total population loss due to migration, his method of calculation implies that the number in fact refers to the number of those who migrated overseas. See (1980), pp. 81–84.

F. Szászi (1972) has made calculations to determine how many people emigrated from Szabolcs county. In my opinion, his figures for the "emigration loss" are unrealistically high. While he put the number of emigrants higher than the numbers officially registered as leaving (in the records of the passports issued), he accepted the official data on remigrants, although the data on remigration are admittedly the weakest point of the official statistics, underestimating the number of remigrants by 40 per cent if we compare them to the number recorded at the European seaports, and by not much less if we compare them to the records of the United States port authority.

Let us briefly look at the most important of the statistical indicators of the demographic effects of emigration given in the censuses.

There was a difference of 886,072 between births and actual population growth in Hungary during the three decades between 1880 and 1910. This gives us the number of emigrants, the "emigration remainder", the actual demographic loss out of the migration traffic of nearly 2 million.[5] Multiple journeys by the same person back and forth, the high ratio of those who returned home permanently, and immigration into Hungary from other parts of the Monarchy resulted in great differences between the emigration traffic figures and the actual demographic losses. We must emphasize that the above number refers to outward migration on the whole and not just to the United States. It is impossible to know exactly what percentage of this permanent demographic loss settled in the United States. Hungarian statistical figures concerning the destination of all emigrants give a reasonable indication of the ratios: according to these, from 1899 on, 80 per cent of all emigrants sailed for the United States. American census figures give only approximate information about the number of those who staid permanently because of the obvious deficiencies in the registration of immigrants (in 1910, the number of people from Hungary was shown to be 495,600).[6]

Demographic losses by decades were the following:

Table 16

"Migration remainders" between 1880 and 1910[7]

Decades	Hungary	Croatia	Hungary and Croatia together
1880–1890	−207,110	+ 23,421	−183,689
1890–1900	−151,639	− 15,107	−166,746
1900–1910	−527,329	−119,211	−646,540
Total	−886,078	−110,897	−996,975

[5] Data on Hungary without Croatia. MSK vol. 67. For the national and municipal differences in the emigration data, see MSK vol. 67, V. 96.

[6] It is especially difficult to use the 1910 United States census as control. After examining the data on the emigrants from Hungary by ethnic groups, and comparing this data with that given for Austria, it turns out that the census did not make a consistent distinction between the peoples arriving from the two countries. For example, the number of Slovaks and Croats emigrating from Hungary is unrealistically low, which clearly indicates that many of them were registered as coming from "Austria". I believe we are not far from the truth if we put the number of those coming from Hungary at 120–150 thousand more than the number of those registered.

[7] See MSK vol. 67, Table 97, p. 96.

More than half the loss, 59.5 per cent, was during the peak period of the emigration wave, the first decade after the turn of the century.[8] To estimate the demographic losses, we need first to look at the indicators of Hungary's actual population growth. In the above three decades, the population increase was 10.32 per cent, 10.35 per cent, and in the first decade of the 20th century, 8.47 per cent. Demographic losses due to emigration slowed down the rate of population growth from the turn of the century on. During these three decades, births minus deaths resulted in a population growth of 5,318,098; the demographic loss caused by emigration reduced this number by one-fifth. The following indicators show similar results: natural population growth between 1880–1910 was 39.3 per cent; the actual population growth, however, was 32.6 per cent, a difference of 6.7 per cent.

Since the emigrants were recruited largely from among the young and able-bodied, the effects of emigration on the demographic structure must be examined by age groups. How justified is the emphasis on the "aging" of society as a consequence of emigration? The proportion of those 20 to 39 years of age in the total population was 27.8 per cent in 1900, and 27.7 per cent in 1910. At the same time, the proportion of those 40–50 years of age also decreased by only 0.1 per cent.[9] According to these figures, the nationwide numerical indicators do not show significant shifts in the age structure of the population. If we recall the demographic trend of the 1880s, and that it was the generation of this baby boom that reached maturity by the early 1900s and went away, the minimal change in the population's age structure becomes understandable.

Another putative demographic consequence of emigration deplored by contemporaries and by more recent writers was the feminization of society: the emigration of men, it has been claimed, significantly increased the surplus of women.[10] Let us look at the national indicators describing the ratio of men to women in the total population, as based on the Hungarian censuses. (See Table 17).

A review of the men to women ratio over a longer period shows that a surplus of women was a feature of Hungarian society earlier than emigration really got under way. The explanation, then, must be sought elsewhere. The early periods of emigration did not modify the demo-

[8] Ibid.

[9] MSK vol. 67, Table 100, p. 99. The population's age distribution by municipalities according to the 1910 census, p. 98. For more details, see G. Thirring (1904) and I. Rácz (1980).

[10] See G. Thirring (1904). Rácz, for example, does not give the national data on the number of "surplus" women, and does not compare regional and national figures. (1980), pp. 232–233.

Table 17
Ratio of men and women in the population 1869–1910[11]

Years	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910
Number of women to every 1,000 men	1,014	1,018	1,015	1,009	1,015

graphic trend that resulted in an overall gradual decrease in the surplus of women. It was only after the turn of the century that this trend was reversed under the impact of emigration, and the data of the 1910 census reflect a relative increase in the proportion of women in the total population.[12] In absolute numbers the surplus of women rose from 90,000 in 1900 to 200,000 in 1910. Looking back at the preceding decades, we see that, as a result, there were proportionately the same number of women to every 1,000 men in 1910 as there had been in 1890.[13]

The picture changes if we study the demographic indicators by smaller geographic units, such as regions, counties, districts, and especially villages. Between 1890 and 1910, the actual population increase had fallen well behind the national average on the so-called "right bank of the Tisza" and in the counties of other emigration regions. It was in these areas that the difference between the birth rate and the actual population increase was the greatest.[14]

Figure 3 shows the enormous differences in the ratio of emigration to natural population growth in the various counties.

The rate of emigration—or more precisely, of migration, computed as an average between 1899 and 1913—exceeded the natural population growth in six counties (all of them centers of American immigration): Szepes, by 159.2 per cent; Abaúj, by 157.7 per cent; Ung, by 132.8 per cent; Zemplén, by 118.9 per cent; Árva, by 116.1 per cent; and Nagyküküllő, by 109.6 per cent.

It was in these areas that the proportion of those 20 to 39 years of age fell below the national average.[16]In 1910, this age-group comprised 27.7 per cent of the population on a national average; in Sáros, it constituted only

[11] Data of the 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910 censuses in *Népszámlálás*.

[12] See the ratio of men to women in the total population by municipalities according to the 1880–1910 census. MSK vol. 67, Table 99, p. 98.

[13] Census 1910.

[14] Ibid., and *Magyarország története* (1978), vol. II.

[16] See the population's age distribution by municipalities according to the 1900 and 1910 censuses. MSK vol. 67, Table 100, p. 98.

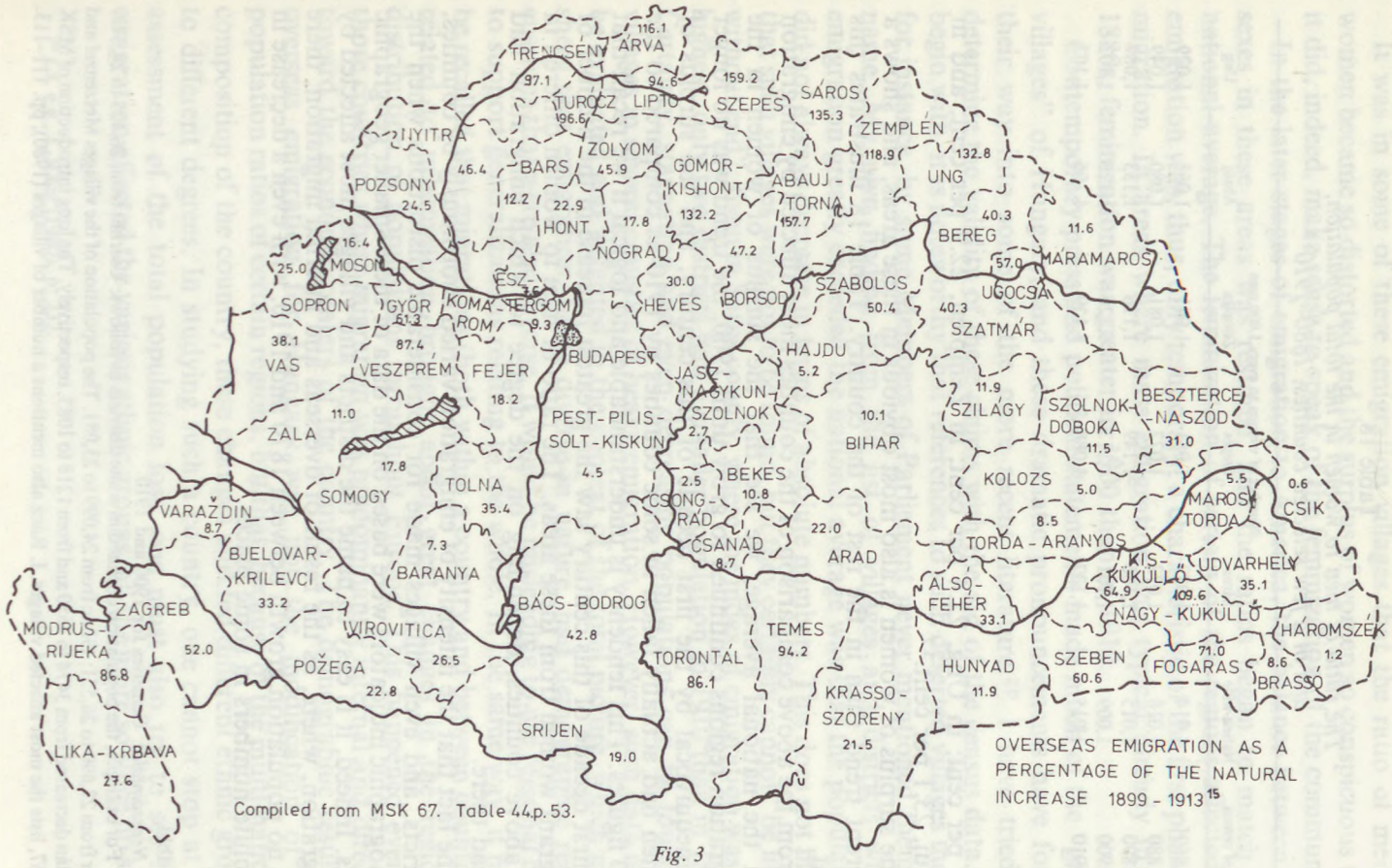


Fig. 3

[15] The gross migration figures have been used here; the real ratios will be somewhat lower.

Table 18

The ratio of men to women in the total population, and in a few selected counties, 1880–1910[18]

Year of census	Number of women to every 1,000 men					
	Nation-wide	Sáros	Szepes	Zemplén	Abaúj	Ung
1869	1,014	1,029	1,061	1,041	1,065	1,029
1880	1,018	1,072	1,072	1,081	1,080	1,049
1890	1,015	1,166	1,149	1,116	1,133	1,087
1900	1,009	1,161	1,113	1,126	1,123	1,103
1910	1,015	1,137	1,088	1,129	1,106	1,103

21.1 per cent; in Ung, 22.4 per cent; in Zemplén, 22.9 per cent; and in Abaúj, 23.1 per cent.[17]

The surplus of women is also most obvious in these areas, and shows a different trend than in the rest of the country. Table 18 illustrates this point.

From the above comparison of the counties most affected by emigration with the national average, we see that the surplus of women in the emigration regions continued to grow until 1900; the trend was no longer so unequivocal by the first decade of this century, and the surplus of women had actually fallen in some counties by 1910 as compared to the 1900 figures. This tendency is understandable and logical if we recall that the first decade of this century saw the greatest increase in the number of emigrant women from these areas. The ratio of men to women differed in the above counties, depending on the degree to which emigration had spread there.

The fact that the intensity of emigration varied enormously by counties, districts, and even villages made for considerable distortions when the demographic indicators were based on the data of these smaller geographic units. Indeed, it is easy to name the districts and villages most affected by emigration, where, as the result of overseas and internal migration, there was no population growth between 1870 and 1910, with even a decrease in absolute numbers in some places.[19]

[17] Ibid.

[18] *Népszámlálás:* Censuses for 1900 and 1910.

[19] For example, the population declined in some districts as follows: Cserhát from 26,425 to 24,643; Füzér from 27,690 to 26,551; Gönc from 24,099 to 23,081. The population of the villages Metzenzef and Buzitán decreased from 3474 to 2650 and from 1218 to 1083, respectively. The long introduction of MSK vol. 67, lists the most affected villages. I. Rácz also mentions a number of villages (1980), pp. 111–113.

It was in some of these emigration villages that the ratio of men to women became so distorted and the surplus of women so conspicuous that it did, indeed, make sense to speak of the feminization of the community.

In the later stages of emigration to America, the balance between the sexes in these areas was restored, and the ratios began to match the national average. The feminization of certain of the regions affected by emigration was, thus, only temporary, a characteristic of the first phase of migration. In areas where mass emigration was typical already in the 1880s, feminization was greater in 1900 than in 1910.

Contemporary press and political statements made much of the "ghost villages" of Hungary, and these dramatic pronouncements have found their way into some of the more recent literature.[20] I have tried to determine the validity of these claims with the aid of the census data. To begin with, it is noteworthy that references to such deserted villages made, for instance, by some Members of Parliement never mentioned them by name. My own finding from the list of villages and districts where emigration greatly exceeded the national average was that the population did not always decrease in terms of absolute numbers. This does not mean that such villages were not to be found, but they certainly cannot "be listed without end". Even in Sáros county, where the index of emigration was the highest, only two districts had a smaller population in 1910 than in 1860. Certainly, stagnating and even decreasing populations can be found in villages in several counties of heavy emigration. However, such data must be evaluated and weighted in the context of the total picture, which must show that emigration, being diverse in nature, had demographic repercussions that were also diverse. It would be misleading to use regional data to support generalizations relating to the whole. In the same way, it must be recalled that migrations (both within a country and between countries) related to urbanization brought about great changes in the regional distribution of populations throughout Europe. This happened even in those countries where migration was predominantly internal and directed toward the economic centers of the country. The demographic result of overseas emigration for Hungary was not the modification of the population ratios of certain regions, but that, because of the multi-national composition of the country, these changes affected different ethnic groups to different degrees. In studying such a country, one cannot stop at the assessment of the total population loss; one must also try to see how emigration affected the various ethnic groups, all the more so since no such

[20] Cf. e.g., I. Rácz (1980), p. 232.

analyses are to be found in the more recent literature on the subject. There are no studies showing what sort of changes in the ethnic composition of the population overseas and domestic migration caused in multi-national Hungary during the years preceding World War I.

Because emigration centers first developed along the non-Magyar border areas and spread from there to the areas inhabited by the Magyars, the impact was much greater on the non-Magyar groups than on the Magyars. Census figures show that between 1880 and 1910, population growth in the country varied greatly by ethnic groups, with the consequence that the proportion of the total population represented by each ethnic group changed significantly, as Table 19 shows.

The shift in the ethnic composition of Hungary's population was caused by the increased numbers of those who identified themselves as Magyars in the censuses between 1880 and 1910. The numbers rose from 6,404,070 to 9,944,627, an increase of 3.5 million people, or 55.3 per cent. Before the turn of the century, the Slovak and German population scarcely grew at all, and between 1900 and 1910 their numbers decreased.[22] Altogether, the

Table 19

Hungary's population growth by ethnic groups, 1880–1910

(Croatia not included)[21]

Ethnic group	Increase in absolute numbers	As a proportion of the overall increase, in per cent			
		1880	1890	1900	1910
Magyar	3,513,941	46.6	48.6	51.4	54.5
German	33,480	13.6	13.1	11.9	10.4
Slovak	90,915	13.5	12.5	11.9	10.7
Romanian	545,151	17.5	17.1	16.6	16.1
Ruthenian	71,548	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5
Croat			1.2	1.2	1.1
Serb	24,369	4.6	3.3	3.1	3.0
Other*	190,052	1.6	1.7	1.4	1.7
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Gypsy, Polish, Bulgarian, Italian, Wend, Serbian (Catholic), Czech-Moravian.
Source: the 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910 censuses.
History of Hungary, 1890–1914, pp. 414.

[21] The data agree with the figures of *Magyarország története* (1978) on the changes in the ratio the individual ethnic groups comprised of Hungary's population: p. 404.

[22] The number of Slovaks was 1,870,772 in 1880; 2,002,165 in 1900; and 1,946,357 in 1910. The numbers of Germans in Hungary during the same decades were as follows: 1,870,772, 1,999,060, and 1,903,357. (*Magyarország története*, 1978, p. 414.)

growth of every non-Magyar ethnic group was much slower than that of the Magyars.

During these three decades, then, the proportion of those identifying themselves as Magyars in the areas outside Croatia grew by 7.9 per cent, giving the Magyars an absolute majority. Recent historical literature attributes this shift in proportions to three major factors: to the relatively high birth rate among the Magyars, to their smaller losses through emigration, and finally, to their assimilation of the non-Magyars.

Because domestic migration too, often brought about the migrant's assimilation to the group dominant in the new environment, the non-Magyar ethnic groups lost not only those who sailed overseas and staid there permanently, but also those who migrated within the country from agriculture to industry, settling in the cities, principally Budapest. And so the non-Magyar population loss was, directly or indirectly, the consequence of the repercussions of overseas or domestic migration. The assimilation consequent on urbanization was the social development of the period; consequently, political factors cannot be assigned much importance in bringing it about.

Assimilation was, thus, a very important aspect of urbanization and social development in Hungary,[23] one whose significance is being increasingly recognized by Hungarian researchers. László Katus[24] was the first to study the assimilation process. He calculated the natural growth of the various ethnic groups of Hungary between 1880 and 1910 on the basis of the birth and death rates. From this he deducted the number of emigrants, that is the loss through emigration, and then compared the results with the actual population figures. The differences showed the losses various ethnic groups suffered through assimilation, and the scope of the assimilation process. According to his calculations, the loss through assimilation of the German ethnic group between 1880 and 1910 was 395,000, of the Romanians, 300,000, and of the other ethnic groups, approximately 50,000. About 190,000 Jews registered as Magyars.[25] Therefore, the number of those assimilated during this time can be estimated to be a little over one million at a time when some 450,000 Magyars emigrated from Hungary.

[23] See P. Hanák (1974), pp. 513–536 and *Magyarország története* (1978) for the chapter entitled "Magyarország társadalma a századforduló idején" (Hungarian society at the turn of the century), pp. 403–516.

[24] L. Katus (n.d. manuscript).

[25] L. Katus's calculations are published in *Magyarország története* (1978). See pp. 416–417. This also contains the quantative indicators of Hungarian assimilation for the period from the census under Joseph II to World War I. The estimate is 2.5–3 million people. Ibid.

It is the task of further research to analyze in detail the process of assimilation which came about with industrialization in Hungarian society, and to examine conflicts that inseparably attend such a process. Analysis in this area is very difficult, since it is hard to pin down the various phases of this long and complicated process with even approximate exactitude. Furthermore, it is not easy either in Hungary or in the neighboring countries to face certain facts, such as that urbanization and upward mobility into the middle class were accompanied not only by forced Magyarization but also by a natural assimilation. Similarly, it is hard to judge realistically the conduct of some Magyar social groups in the disorder of assimilation, and during the conflicts originating from it.

However, the analysis of these problems exceeds the framework of the present topic. Here we can only refer to those connections which inseparably accompanied the repercussions of the emigration process.

Finally, our experience in analyzing the history of Hungarian emigration supports the already-quoted theoretical and methodological recommendations made at the Stockholm World Conference of Historians, namely, that for reliable emigration research, one must keep both the outward and domestic migration processes in mind, in other words, consider the impact of emigration together with that of the geographic rearrangement of the population, i.e. urbanization. On this basis, we can conclude that in the period under examination, the Magyars both lost people through emigration, and gained through internal migration, while the non-Magyar ethnic groups only suffered losses. The demographic repercussions must be judged against this background; only thus will the *idée fixe* of "the alarmed flight of the people of the Magyar plains"[26] be done away with, and give way to an understanding of the characteristic effects of population mobility in a multi-national country. It is only by correlating all the various types of moving going on (sometimes in opposing directions) that we can hope to resolve the contradictions in the

[26] See I. Kovács (1938), who saw in emigration the destruction of the "Magyar race". Marxist social historians cannot agree with such contemporary opinions, with the slogan of "one and a half million Magyars", not only because our research can stand up to international scrutiny only by keeping historical reality in mind, but also because only thus will we be able to give an acceptable evaluation of the later population movements of the Danube Valley. In our opinion Rácz's most vulnerable point is that he at times uncritically accepts the contemporaries' terminology and fails to give proper weight to the already mentioned factors of geographic mobility in a multinational population. His failure to do so has given rise to some unfortunate, and by no means merely stylistic exaggerations. See: (1980), pp. 132–133.

evaluation of the effects of emigration on Hungary.[27] Today, with the benefit of hindsight we can approach the topic more realistically, and thus gain experience for a more objective evaluation of demographic movements in general.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

"The economic effects of emigration can, in some places, be called positively beneficial." This evaluation, based on the official reports, is given in the introduction to the 1891 census. It is worth quoting from this introduction in some detail if we want to understand the shifts in emphasis and differences in opinion that later characterized contemporary evaluations.

"Reports on emigration have unanimously to admit the favorable changes that emigration has wrought in the situation of the destitute; as for the regions where sudden and general economic catastrophes have struck, such as many of the grape-growing districts of Abaúj–Torna and Zemplén counties, hit by phylloxera, or most regions of Sáros county, frequently visited by poor harvests, emigration has appeared as a veritable benefit. It has conducted the impoverished to where they have found a good source of income, while the situation, earnings, and living conditions of those left behind have undeniably improved with the rise in wages and the insignificant financial aid ranging between 300,000 and 1,500,000 forints a county given annually, so that the emigrants' relatives have, in many instances, cleared their debts, and many have even purchased land. The favorable terms on which the emigrants have rented the lands they left behind have improved the living conditions of the poor who have staid at home, while the influx of American money has kept the prices of land from going completely down, so that in most places land prices have actually risen significantly; as for the returned emigrants, they have bought more and better agricultural equipment with their saved-up capital, and have frequently created a flourishing economy for themselves; their attitudes

[27] Cf., e.g., the works on population loss by I. Čizmič, G.J. Prpic, M. Stolarik, Celina Bobinska, István Rácz, Julianna Puskás, Hans Chmelar. See bibliography.

The view emphasizing "Hungary's singularity" in respect of her overseas migration has gained ground especially in the works of Slovak historians. For example, according to Julius Meszaros, the scale of emigration from Hungary is the best reflection of how the Magyars oppressed the Slovaks. A similar point is being made by Prpic, who writes that the influx of the ruling Magyars and Germans "pushed out" the Croats from Croatia. This one-sidedness is criticized by Monika Glettler (1980).

have, in most cases, changed for the better; and their love of labor and working skills have generally grown.

There is, however, also a darker side to the coin. In addition to those pitiful cases, who, after having failed to succeed, return home penniless and broken in body and spirit, there is a sad change noticeable in most returned emigrants—a change that must be considered a serious disadvantage of emigration—even in those who have succeeded financially in America and have brought back with them a considerable amount of money. The exhausting work that they have had to do in America has consumed their energies, and they return to their families completely drained, health undermined and gloomy in spirit.

All in all, the favorable effects of emigration upon the financial situation of the emigrants and their families, and upon the destitute in general, differs fundamentally from the effects of emigration on the overall economic conditions of certain areas. In places where the movement has overstepped the desirable proportions and has drawn away workers in too great numbers it has had detrimental effects on the economic life of the region. Intensive agriculture is generally impossible, so that in many places the fields are carelessly cultivated or left completely fallow; wages are generally too high; the availability of household help has taken a turn for the worst, etc. It is especially middle-sized holdings that have been the most seriously affected."[28]

The literature on emigration that grew up at the turn of the century and contemporary debates all focused on the economic effects of the emigration to America. On this matter, too, opinions varied greatly, and the evaluations given of the value and yield of the work force that flowed out of the country followed various trends. A balanced picture was especially difficult and complicated to arrive at because of that new phenomenon of international migration, temporary absences overseas.[29]

In discussing the process of migration, we, too, have emphasized the purposiveness of overseas migration, namely, that most people—at least when they started out—had the idea of earning money to improve their lot at home. This is why sending savings home was part of the emigration process from the start. The influx of money from America much intrigued contemporaries; the most varied efforts were made to ascertain its amount. Because the savings arrived either by post or were brought back by the

[28] Census 1891 *Népszámlálás*, I. pp. 109–110.

[29] Felix Klezl (1931) takes this into account in his new method of evaluation. In: Ferenczi–Willcox, pp. 404–405.

returned emigrants themselves, there were many obstacles to determining its precise amount. This situation, of course, left room for the most extreme appraisals. In the 1910s, the money sent home was evaluated to be somewhere between 150–400 million crowns. Within these limits, the amount that was claimed depended not on the method of evaluation, but rather on what suited the assessors's personal views on the entire problem of emigration. In my opinion, the most realistic assessments are those that put the amount of money sent home at about 10 million crowns at the beginning of the 1890s, at 50 million around the turn of the century, and at about 200 million during the 1910s.[30] It is these numbers that correlate most closely with the number of emigrants (and, in addition to their numbers, their distribution by sex and age), with the proportion of permanent or temporary migrants, and, not least of all, with the indicators of their earnings and the possible rate of their savings in the United States. American evaluations also approximate the above.[31] And the United States figures were obviously not underestimates, since what they aimed to prove was the undesirability of the new immigrants precisely because a large portion of their wages went outside the United States.

None of the contemporaries denied that the amount of money being sent home was gradually increasing; the debate on just how much this was reached its most acrimonious over the question of whether this money made up for the manpower lost. During the first decade of the 20th century, emigration experts emphasized that the compensation was, on balance, insufficient.[32] However, the very starting point of these cal-

[30] The assessment of the amount of money sent home is based primarily on Fellner's estimate (1908), pp. 112–113. See also *Magyarország története* (1978). Kertész (1910), evaluated this amount to be 400 million annually; pp. 107–108. According to Rácz, Kertész's estimate was the most realistic, "but even his basically very high estimates can be regarded as the lower rather than the upper limit", since in Rácz's opinion the majority of the contemporary estimates of the amount of money sent or brought home clandestinely were unjustifiably low. (1980), p. 177. We must keep in mind, however, that American estimates have put the money sent back to the entire Austro-Hungarian Monarchy at 7.5 million dollars per annum. For the money sent back from the United States, see also the estimates of L. Hegedüs (1899), p. 13., S. Szathmáry (1905) and J. Pivány (1944). The latter was a banker who had spent many years in the United States. According to his calculations, "the amount of money sent back to the mother country by the Hungarian–Americans rose from 37 million in 1900 to 208 million in 1907 and to 198 million in 1913." p. 16. For the increase in the amount of money sent back to Szabolcs county, see F. Szászi's (1972) figures for 1907; pp. 112–113.

[31] Cf. Klezl (1931), p. 405, Bartsch (1911), Dillingham Commission.

[32] Representative Lajos Beck emphasized the economic loss, putting the annual wage at 400 crowns and its capitalized total at 8,000 crowns. "Given 700,000 Magyars, this means a loss of 6 billion 600 thousand crowns of national wealth." November 12, 1908–367. OKN. XXI. 64. L. Hegedüs (1899) also emphasized the economic loss: "The fatal error is that the main factor is left out of calculation. Besides the money we take into America, we send there the work force which, while growing up, consumed our national wealth, and when reaching maturity, spends the capital invested in it overseas and spends its

culations was mistaken, for even those that did not overestimate the domestic price of labor figured it as *employed* labor. The Hungarian reality, namely, that employment was limited by the lack of job opportunities, was left out of consideration, as experts put into the "losses" column, along with the money taken along, travel expenses, and so on "the average earning power of the emigrants" expressed in terms of earnings at full-time jobs.[33]

Working out the exact balance of positive and negative economic factors would require very complicated computations indeed, one we cannot undertake to give. We shall, however, try to show some of the major trends. It seems that the money sent home did have a beneficial effect on the economic life of the country. Emigration became one important factor in capital formation. It contributed to the fact that Hungary's balance of payments was good throughout this period. Throughout the 1890s, Hungary paid 70–80 million crowns to foreign countries in capital installments, interest, and dividends; at the turn of the century, these payments were 100–110 million, reaching 170 million before World War I. However, the positive balance of trade and capital exchange offset and even exceeded these payments, which meant that foreign imports could grow faster than exports. Before World War I, there was a growing foreign trade deficit, so it was the money sent back by the emigrants that helped balance the payments.[34] The direct economic advantage of emigration is, therefore, incontestable, even when one considers that the American labor market also syphoned off manpower that could have been utilized by domestic industry, for instance, skilled workers whose number among the emigrants was few, though still significant, from Hungary's point of view.[35]

It was in the emigration regions that the savings sent home by the emigrants brought about a visible, direct, and positive improvement in the standards of living. Those contemporaries who emphasized that emigration was an advantageous use of manpower gave enthusiastic descriptions

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earnings there. If we want to measure this loss, as does Becker (Becker: Unsere Verluste durch Wanderung. Schmoller: Jahrbücher XII. pp. 780ff.), then approximately 350 forints would express the amount of energy expended by each Magyar working in America." p. 14.

[33] A special literature developed, primarily from the point of view of the countries of origin, in order to work out the indicators—expressed in terms of money—for the work force lost or gained through emigration and immigration, and to evaluate capital loss through loss of manpower. See Neményi (1911).

[34] Cf. Fellner (1908), p. 103., *Magyarország története* (1978), p. 288, and Bartsch (1911).

[35] The 26,785 Hungarian-speaking skilled workers who emigrated to the United States in the first decade of the century meant a loss to the evolving Hungarian industry. MSK vol. 67, Table 90, p. 275.

of the positive manifestations of material prosperity. Here is a quotation from one of them:

"Here at home the savings of the American emigrant practically works miracles. It produces economic benefits unmatchable by Hungarian capital. It makes the villages bloom, covers the lovely thatched houses with tile roofs, brings machinery to an agricultural production that earlier had subsisted on the most primitive tools. It provides the poor with their own lands and houses. Whence this miracle? True enough, America gains by us, it uses up a part of the energies of our people, but it is a truth proved long ago that the gain of one does not necessarily mean the loss of the other. Here too, both parties are benefiting. Because America, in using up a part of the energy of Magyar hands multiples the value of the remaining part. America pays back only part of what it gets from our country, but it pays it in its own money. If, for example, a Magyar emigrant works a year overseas, he makes America richer, yet he still has more to bring home than he would have been able to earn for himself here. Here again we come up against the magic dollar, and see supported the popular conviction that they can pay with it instead of forints overseas, and can still exchange it for 2.5 forints back home. This is why we stand to gain on America. . . "[36]

To support his claims, the author cites his personal experiences with a few emigrant villages:

"Tőketekeres: before the stream of emigration began the village was poor, and consisted of old, dilapidated huts. Today hundreds of modern houses line the streets, tile roofs outside, practical, modern furnishings within. In recent years, villages like Tőketekeres have multiplied and developed in a truly 'American' fashion. The houses go up so quickly that it seems they have sprung from the ground, and they show not only American money but some traces of the American spirit of enterprise as well. If one travels by train, one sees such villages all over the country, and it is evident that these villages were recently built. And it is a good bet that 99 out of 100 were built with American money."[37] This contemporary observation is like many others—it contains some realistic elements and some refutable exaggerations. For a more balanced picture, let us look at a statement about the changing Hungarian villages at this time taken from one of the newest Hungarian syntheses on the period: "In the wake of the agrarian boom that started at the turn of the century, the traditional picture of the villages also changed, but slowly. The houses, made

[36] B. Nemény i (1911) pp. 46–47.
[37] Ibid.

of wood or mud and thatched with straw or reed, were replaced in the more developed areas by the brick and stone building with tiled roofs of the landed peasantry. Between 1890 and 1910, the population grew by 20 per cent; the number of homes by 35 per cent, the living areas by 37 per cent."[38]

In the so-called "emigrant villages" the houses of the "Americans" can still be seen, their size and novel form making them stand out among the other houses. These houses are the most conspicuous and longest-lasting material mementos of the American money.[39]

However, both contemporaries and the recent literature emphasize primarily the American emigrants' purchases of land. They list many individual examples of land purchases of various sizes.[40] There are no statistical data available on the extent of "American" land purchases. Local investigations, however, give us some realistic idea of the chances to purchase land provided by staying and working in America. We can conclude that the purchase of 2–5 cadastral acres was most typical. Few people could buy more than that, and even fewer could buy properties of over 20–25 cadastral acres in size.[41]

The size of the land purchased correlated with the length of time spent abroad; the majority of the returned emigrants spent less than five years in the United States. Those who bought 20–25 acres did so after long stays of 15–20 years abroad, and generally they returned only in the early 1920s.[42]

Although they were few in numbers, we must mention also those whose savings were put into paying off debts and heirs and not into buying new land.[43]

[38] *Magyarország története* (1978), p. 383.

[39] J.P. interviews; Z. Fejős (1980); Lajos Beck's speech in the House of Representatives, November 12, 1908–367. OKN. XXI. 64.

[40] B. Nemény i (1911), I. Rácz (1980), F. Szászi (1972), Julianna Puskás (1975). I. Ferenczi–G. Hoffmann–J. Illés (1913), p. 27: "The emigrants invested their savings primarily in land purchases. As the influx of American money into the country began, many of the indebted middle and large land owners put part of their land up for sale."

[41] J.P. interviews. In the northeastern emigration region of the Magyars—in the villages of Szatmár–Szabolcs–Heves–Abaúj–Zemplén counties—usually 3 or 4 of the well-to-do peasants got the money to buy their property from work done in the mines of Pennsylvania. Among those who purchased between 25 and 50 cadastral acres, the average length of time spent abroad was 12–15 years.

[42] It has to be considered that the majority of the remigrants (76.3 per cent) staid overseas for less than 5 years, 19.7 per cent of them staid from 5 to 10 years, and only 0.4 per cent staid for 15 to 20 years. MSK vol. 67, Table 64, p. 74. From the data he collected in Fiume Harbor Neményi concluded that "most staid abroad for a very short time, for one or perhaps two years". See his statistics (1911), pp. 60–61.

[43] Some emigrants returned to their families without money, at state expense; later the obligation of returning the needy free of charge was part of the government's contract with the shipping companies.

It is interesting to see who the returned emigrants bought their lands from, especially as various authors see strong correlations between "American" land purchases and the subdivision of the land. In our opinion, this is generalizing from a few cases. To get a better picture, let us look at the reports of the Ministry of Agriculture, which show that between the years 1890 and 1910 about one million cadastral acres were subdivided. According to the reports made by agricultural experts and sent to the Minister of Agriculture, only 55 per cent of the properties that came into being through subdivision was smaller than 100 acres in size, and even among these the average size was 17 acres. The majority of the buyers were already landed; and given that most of the available holdings were medium-sized, the emigrants did not have enough money to buy them. This is what led Ferenczi to the conclusion that "the returned emigrant workers had to go back empty-handed".[44] Another point is that there was no significant subdivision of land in the emigration regions; this also would lead one to be wary of insisting on a direct connection between the banks' land-dividing activities and the "Americans'" land-buying.[45] The peasants who returned or intended to return stubbornly clung to the villages of their origin, wanting to get land in the place from which they emigrated. It appears from research done at various localities that "American" land purchases were instances of peasant property changing hands, that is, they primarily bought parcelled-out land from each other. To the question of "Who did you buy your land from and how?" we usually got the answer: "From a relative"; or "My wife wrote that the so-and-so's land is for sale and asked if she should buy it". Since the emigrant knew the lands of his village and the difficulties of finding purchasable land there, the answer in general was "yes" even in cases when the necessary money was not yet together. At such times—and this was to become fairly customary among the emigrants—they turned to each other and helped each other out with their savings. Land purchasing was also conducted abroad among the emigrants; those who had decided to settle for good in America sold their earlier purchased parcel of land to their returning fellow villagers—and this money staid in America.[46]

The circle of land buyers, however, was definitely wider than that of the returned emigrants. Some of those who later on decided against returning

[44] I. Ferenczi–G. Hoffmann–J. Illés (1913), p. 31.

[45] The report of the "Kivándorlási Ellenőr" (Emigration Inspector) is not typical; rather it can be looked upon as an extreme case. What is typical is that the report was not supported by concrete data—says Rácz (1980), p. 178. This is not to say that (the mainly private) land-dividing activities had nothing to do with the "Americans'" land-buying, but simply that they were not typical.

[46] J.P. interviews.

also augmented their holdings back home. They usually rented these properties to relatives or close acquaintances, or members of their family who had staid behind used it in exchange for some favor in return.[47]

Only a part of the "American" capital was directly invested productively and increased the national wealth. The other part, that used for land purchases, cannot be considered productive investment. It was only rarely that the remigrants invested with the purpose of increasing production. If, in addition, we consider that the land prices were continuously rising and that these strips of land were obtained at increasingly higher cost, we might well question the use the "American" money was put to from the point of view of the economy as a whole.

We must also recall here that the economic development and marketing opportunities found in the emigration regions continued to be determined by their peripheral location. Rising land prices can be connected primarily with the capitalist development of agriculture. The growing land shortage was in no small part due to the extremes the system of land tenure permitted and the peasantry's age-old hunger for land, but it was undoubtedly aggravated by the purchases made by the "Americans".[48] Most of the recent literature on the period, and even some contemporary accounts, have held the purchase of strips of land with money earned in America to have had negative effects in the long run.[49] For it was only a minority of the returned "Americans" who were able to enlarge their holdings so that working it meant full employment, who could modernize their property and break out of the drudgery of the small landed peasant's existence. Remigration, the continuation of this peasant existence, undoubtedly helped conserve this lifestyle. However, we cannot disregard the context of the alternatives believed to be available in that concrete

[47] There were people—and not just a few—who gave the title to their land to their relatives only after World War II. J.P. interviews.

[48] Contemporary literature emphasizes that the rise in land prices was due to the "Americans'" demand for land. "Land prices have risen to unreachable heights in certain parts of the country, in some places reaching as much as 5000 crowns an acre. Naturally, with prices like that, the remigrant cannot help running into debt before he can start investing, or else will not have enough floating capital to insure satisfactory production. His land will be auctioned off and purchased by a new remigrant, if it's not incorporated into the neighboring large peasant holding." Ferenczi–Hoffmann–Illés (1913), p. 27.

[49] Cf. the Italian material in the first chapter: "However, we must state that when the method of land cultivating is extensive, the increasing number of small holdings does not increase agricultural job opportunities, instead it decreases them. The general view is that what is needed is a state-led agrarian reform in the interest of limiting emigration, of using successfully the money returned from abroad, and of keeping home the remigrants." The preliminaries, progress, and results of the Land-policy Investigations of 1910/1911, conducted by the Hungarian Social Science Association. Quoted by Ferenczi–Hoffmann–Illés (1913), pp. 31–32.

historical situation; it is too much to expect that the remigrants, glad of the savings that enabled them to buy a few acres, should spontaneously have recognized that they were becoming enmeshed in the uncertain lifestyle of the small landowners.[50] After all, they did enjoy the advantages of living in their own houses, of being free of oppressive debts, and of having got slightly ahead within peasant society, even if, in most cases, the money was not enough to permit a change to more intensive agriculture. Of course, there were individuals who were able to make this change, but they were exceptional rather than typical.[51]

Without pretending to have drawn the conclusive balance of the effects of emigration, we are inclined to think it positive. Among the negative features, we would emphasize not so much where and how the emigrants were cheated, but rather the characteristics of the economic and social structure of the time. The ruling classes and state structure of the capitalizing Hungary of the time were in the position to demand a high price from the emigrants for the privilege of clinging to the peasant lifestyle, especially since they possessed the means of taking for their own purposes the lion's share of the fruits of the peasants' labor. The validity of this conclusion is underlined—and all students of emigration agree upon this point—by the fact that the land purchases of the "Americans" did not significantly change the peasant land structure.[52] We might add that they did not change it significantly even in the emigration regions, perhaps only slowing down the proletarization of the peasants and increasing the number of the small landowners. However, since property was changing hands with ever greater frequency, precisely because of the economic burdens heaped upon the peasantry of the time, the purchases made by the "Americans" were exchanges rather than gains from the point of view of peasant land holdings on the whole.

The economic effects of emigration showed up in the modification of the domestic labor supply and demand as well. The significant rise of agricultural wages cannot be attributed completely to emigration, but

[50] "... A peasant family cultivating 8–10 acres with traditional, primitive methods makes less money however hard they work than does a working-class family of the same size because of the expensive conditions of production and of the great tax burden." Ibid.

[51] In Mándok (Szatmár county), there was a known business venture by remigrants, who organized a cooperative to buy threshing machines. J. P. interviews.

[52] Cf. the quoted works of I. Rácz (1980), p. 236, F. Szászi (1972) and Z. Fejős (1981). The latter is worth quoting: "... The amount of money, significant in itself, did not result in real changes among the peasantry; it was invested only in certain cases and only temporarily. We could say, and no pun intended, that the money showed on the village but not in the village, changed the face of the village, and some people's lives, but it did not fundamentally change lifestyles." p. 320.

there is no doubt the emigrants contributed indirectly to this favorable change in the situation of those who staid at home.[53]

Finally, our analysis of the economic effects of emigration has provided support for the supposition that this itinerant movement was originally goal-oriented in character. It keeps one from concluding, for example, that only the "successful", or only the "unsuccessful" returned home: obviously, these are not the relevant categories. What does emerge is the relevance of the question of why the others staid abroad. What influenced the majority of the emigrants to give up their original intention of returning? An analysis of their life in America will give the answer to these questions.

CHANGES IN THINKING AND ATTITUDES

Some interesting observations were to be made in Odelberg, the Prussian transit station, where the masses of emigrants heading overseas and those returning were milling about. A correspondent of the *Schlesische Zeitung* summarized his observations as follows: "There is little to be seen of the dirt and stupid indifference characteristic of most emigrants on those returning home. They move about more purposefully and freely and feel more equal to their social superiors than they did before emigration".[54]

The following quotation comes from a 1904 report of the sub-prefect of Heves County:

"... The international ideals of the New World corrupt the moral purity of decent Hungarians, reshape their typical character, destroy their sober common sense, their respect for others and their self-control. Familiarity with the more efficient and highly developed government of America, greater individual rights, more efficient bureaucracy, and smaller tax burdens make them dissatisfied with what they find here on their return, and it is to be feared that if they come back for good they will become the incendiaries of passions and disaffections, enemies of law and order; the foreign spirit consumes the emigrants' soul in secret, and at home the family hearth becomes a wasps' nest."[55]

Such and similar opinions could be quoted at length from the pronouncements of contemporaries. They were given in official reports, at

[53] Agricultural and nominal wages almost doubled between 1901–1910, in the period of mass emigration. According to the authors, "without emigration the situation of the population as a whole would have developed less favorably". Ferenczi–Hoffmann–Illés (1913), pp. 24–25.

[54] *Huszadik Század* (Twentieth Century), Jan–June 1908, p. 294.

[55] G. Farkas is quoting from the 1902 report of Heves country's sub-prefect. (1969), p. 99.

conferences on emigration, at parliamentary debates, in the reports of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy's ambassador to Washington, and in the reports submitted by his colleagues sent out to study the Hungarian settlements.[56] The officials, for the most part, viewed the changes as negative: "they have no respect for authority", "they urge people to rebel and emigrate", "they do not want to work", "they are unpatriotic", "they do not go to church", "they spread Pan-Slav ideas", "they praise American democracy and say that there everyone is 'Mister' ". Positive evaluations were much rarer, although these, too, could be heard about the notable change in the thinking and attitudes of the returned emigrants. It is unlikely that Ferenc Kossuth voiced only his own opinion in Parliament when he stated that "the emigrants return with higher ideals and a better idea of the world, and their experiences expand the horizons of those around them".[57]

Journalists and various political groupings saw an even more differentiated picture, and evaluated the cultural and social effects of remigration negatively or positively on the basis of the individual cases they encountered. For example, certain members of the Hungarian labor movement—especially those who for a shorter or longer time had come into contact with groups of emigrants while still in America, and had seen the changes in their attitude and thinking—placed great hopes in the returned emigrants. It is worthwhile quoting in this respect the opinion of one of the editors of a Hungarian–American labor newspaper:

"... The returned emigrants, who have already had experience of an industrial society, are especially valuable... These are hardened masses, who have learned their own strength in the fight with an industrial great power and have learned the value of culture and greater freedom of movement; and once their economic interests, once the dialectic of economic development ties them to this country, they will demand here the living conditions that they have become accustomed to overseas. Then those who have heard the extempore street orators in America, and saw how the police made sure that they were not insulted, will not tolerate the prohibition of political rallies in Hungary. Those who have participated in the revolutionary movements of the industrial workers of the world abroad will be able to defend their labor organizations from arbitrary dissolution;

[56] See, among others, the Austro-Hungarian Embassy Staff reports: Desseffy (1895), Hengelmüller (1895), Griska (1904), Ambrózy (1908), and E. Zerkovitz: A Magyar Kereskedelmi Minisztérium kiküldöttjének útibeszámolója, 1908. (Report of the envoy of the Hungarian Ministry of Trade, 1908.), in SA PA W XXXIII, USA.—I. 63. Nr. 6; I. 63, Nr. 12; I. 71, Nr. 35; I. 71, Nr. 1270; I. 84, Nr. 3862.

[57] December 16, 1902–172. OKN. vol. X, p. 79.

those who have learned overseas that the expression of opinion in words and in writing is part of cultural development will not be silenced by an over-zealous bureaucracy; and those who once enjoyed the blessings of industrial development, steam-heating, electricity and department stores will not be willing to renounce all this just because their demands might affect the annual profits of the landowners.

The new, modern Hungary expects the returned emigrants to demand great social reforms; to the extent that conditions are getting more complicated in America, so will a strong and unified peasant class develop here, one that can support, with strength and a sense of purpose, the struggle of the urban industrial workers for culture and freedom."[58]

It is very difficult, on the basis of the various contemporary opinions, to give a realistic answer to the question of the degree to which the experiences of emigration affected the thinking and attitudes of people in Hungary's villages. What did the information about the New World, about the American way of life—so different from the Hungarian—that arrived in the form of correspondence and personal accounts really mean? Did world travel and the new experiences modify the former lifestyle and attitudes of the returned emigrants—and if so, were the effects temporary or lasting? Did they bring back and adapt the new customs to the culture of their home, or did the reassimilating power of the old environment prove stronger? We are only beginning to examine these questions. That here we will nevertheless attempt to formulate some sketchy and conditional answers results from the wish to share the information already at hand, and from the desire to call attention to sources and research methods that promise to be useful for a more detailed and fundamental analysis of these very important questions.

Recourse to "oral history" and more extensive research on location promise to be the most fruitful. We have visited villages whence we had heard that many people left and then returned home. Our purpose was to gather information from still living "Americans" and from their immediate families and personal acquaintances, to do interviews whenever possible. Based on the results of our research to date,[59] it is our conviction that interviews, investigations into local history, and the personal recollections of emigrants and returned emigrants will give us a more precise and more rounded picture of their various types, and enable us to arrive at a more realistic evaluation of the effects of emigration.

[58] E. Bolgár (1908), pp. 498–499.

[59] J. P. interviews (Gönc, Göncruszka, Telkibánya, Szamosszeg, Bodony).

Based on information gathered so far, it appears that the optimism of certain labor leaders regarding the returned emigrants was excessive, although it also contained some realistic elements. It is, of course, true that only a few of the returned emigrants had become experienced in the American labor movement, and they were insufficient in numbers to become the moving force behind those social forces that in 1918–1919 fought for the democratization and socialization of Hungary. However, it is not by chance that research into local history reveals that the "Americans", that is, the returned emigrants, are always to be found among the local activists during the revolutionary times of 1918–1919.[60]

The image of bourgeois democratic America, based primarily on the personal stories of the returnees, but also on correspondence with the emigrants, definitely contributed to the development of the critical sense of the rural population, and made them less tolerant of the half-feudal conditions in Hungary, with the demands for servile obedience. With historical hindsight, it is clear that although contemporaries exaggerated the transforming influence of American democracy—thence the expressions of alarm—there still were realistic aspects to what they said. The emigrants' life as American workers, although temporary, still provided a chance to get acquainted with the ideas of the labor movement, at least as these were to be found within the Hungarian groups. Surely, as local research widens, recollections will be gathered in many more villages about "Americans" who, during the years they spent in America, became followers of the Hungarian democratic opposition, of Mihály Károlyi and the Social Democratic Party.

Today still there are those who remember the conflicts experienced by some of the remigrants in their efforts to readjust to their original surroundings. Hearing of these conflits we saw confirmed the observation that the decision to settle in the United States for good was often preceded by futile attempts to readjust to the old environment, or at any rate, was strongly motivated by such failures.[61] In the recollections of those who came back and then left again, we often find incidents of the "Americans'" clashes with local authorites. But we also get a characteristic picture of another group of returned emigrants—and very likely they were in the majority—those whose American lifestyle and new way of thinking were quickly worn away by the old environment.[62] Those who had spent their

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid. Photographs also demonstrate the extent to which peasant work, lifestyle, and the village community drew the remigrant back to his former life even in his outward appearance: they soon

few years of emigration in the mines, or at the furnaces of foundries or of steel mills, did not gain experiences that they could have used at home in agricultural production. The environment proved stronger at reshaping them than they were in changing the environment. Soon, they did not differ in any way from their fellow villagers, and what remained of their American memories existed in the form of stories resembling fairy tales, about sorrow and happiness in a faraway land, told on winter evenings to those gathered at the spinnery.[63]

One inhabitant of a fairly typical emigration village summarized his memories about the "Americans" as follows:

"I, too, saw a great many returned emigrants in my village as a child. What did they do at home? They bought the land that, during the depression, had slid from under the feet of those who had staid home. They fell back into the very heart of backwardness. They never wanted to leave the village. At the most, they went to the tavern more often, and wore wide-legged "American" trousers. And when their money and clothes had got used up, nobody could tell that they had spent 20–25 years in America. The revolutionary spirit had gone out of them."[64]

Recently ethnographers have started to study emigration and re-migration as an example of mutual cultural influence. A study based on one of the most central areas of northeastern Hungarian emigration also emphasizes the reclaiming power of the old environment.[65] If we further differentiate among the various groups of returned emigrants, we can mention other "American" types as well. Those, for example, for whom the most lasting influence of America was religious, who became acquainted there with new denominations and sects, and after their return became Baptist missionaries and preachers of that indigenous American religion, Seventh-Day Adventism.[66]

Modern historical literature identifies as "conservative" those returned emigrants whose main wish was to continue the old life they had left behind, though under much better economic circumstances.[67] The at-

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changed the city clothes they wore on their return and "got back into" the peasant attire. For example, the women who returned to Bodony began to wear their folk costumes again. J.P. interviews, photograph collection. See also Z. Fejős (1980).

[63] J.P. interviews—the stories told by the returned "Americans" are still vivid memories of the author's childhood.

[64] G. Farkas (1969), p. 100.

[65] C.f. I. Balassa (1975) and Z. Fejős (1980).

[66] J.P. interviews, especially at Telkibánya, among old "Seventh Day Adventists";and L. Kardos (1969) on sectarianism among the American remigrants.

[67] Cf. Lars-Göram Tedebrand (1976), pp. 218–219.

titudes of these remigrants, therefore, were shaped not only by the length of time they had spent in America, but also by their reasons for having been there. This explains why some of the emigrants who had spent a long time in America and thereby rose among the well-to-do peasantry could evidence democratic and class-conscious attitudes, while others became more conservative. Knowing this, it comes as no surprise that some of the more prosperous of the returned emigrants were more eager to educate their children than peasants richer than they who never had left the village, while others stubbornly tried to tie their children to the peasant lifestyle, and to the land they had bought with their American savings.

These are the more tangible tendencies that emerge from the multi-colored reality that the evidence hints at. We feel that all the above might serve as the starting point or ordering principle of further research. However, historical accuracy demands that all phenomena be considered in their chronological and geographic contexts, that generalizations take account of these, and that what was experienced locally not be projected onto the national screen.

Our own investigations have been confined to the emigrant villages presently located in Hungary. Of course, it is well-known that most people left from the non-Magyar ethnic regions that now lie outside it, and that the channel of information between those in the United States and those still in Hungary flowed widest there. It seems probable, therefore, that attitudinal changes were the greatest, at least quantitatively speaking, among the non-Magyar ethnic groups that we have not investigated. The effects of emigration from Hungary have been interpreted from different points of view in the international literature on the subject. Some authors[68] lay great emphasis upon the correlation between emigration and national movements; others[69] deny its existence, and see no connection between emigration and awakening ethnic consciousness—at least not so far as it affected the masses.

If the effects of the American experience are not arbitrarily measured solely in terms of becoming active in political movements, but if other aspects of developing national identification are also admitted, then we can conclude that the greatest change in the emigrants' thinking appears to be in their developing consciousness of their national or ethnic identity. It was in the course of emigration that people from the villages rose above local

[68] Cf. I. Čizmić (1977).
[69] Monika Glettler (1980).

patriotism and local solidarity. (This topic will be discussed in greater detail later on in connection with the associations and community organizations established in the United States.) Their confrontations with a variety of ethnic groups in their new environment raised for them, more strongly than ever in the old country, the questions of who they were and where they belonged. Isolated in the midst of a prejudiced and antagonistic environment, depending on each other, the emigrants discovered the cohesive power of a group solidarity based on ethnicity; it was this that became the instigator of their ethnic awakening, and even nationalism. At the same time, conflicts in the new environment increased tensions among the various ethnic groups from Hungary. Their new situation and the unresolved ethnic problems of the old country—acting together and reciprocally, and charged with strong emotion—developed the national consciousness of the Magyars, Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Croatian emigrants. The clarion call issued by the ethnic and national movements was more likely to affect the returned emigrants and, in general, those who had come into direct or indirect contact with America.

There remains the very important question of how emigration contributed to the formation of the home folks' ideas about the United States. The problem of emigration directed public attention to this far-away country, with the consequent stream of information about it in newspapers, books, studies, and travelogues.[70] Naturally, many false pictures and illusions developed in Hungary about America, "the land of opportunity". The main illusion makers were the emigrants themselves. Many things led them to paint a rosy picture of the opportunities they had had for those who had stayed home. Explaining, proving that one's personal venture and decision had been correct is a general human characteristic. And creating illusions was absolutely necessary to successfully recruiting emigrants. For example, one of the agents' methods was to photograph (in elegant urban clothing) the emigrants already overseas and to send the pictures to the relatives along with the letter of invitation. Tavern keepers, shopkeepers, notaries, and such composed letters to be sent home in the name of those who could not write, and since they, too, were interested in recruiting emigrants, they were not sparing in attractive descriptions of the American scene. The emigrants also felt compelled to

[70] Among others, Kálmán Mikszáth, who, in his novel titled *A Noszty fiú esete Tóth Marival*, presents the "Americans" who returned with money and democratic ideas as the positive counterpole to the gentry, who want to succeed without work.

cover up the real conditions because they did not want to sadden their relatives at home with the grayer and often barely tolerable facts of reality. They painted their American life as beautiful, although frequently the situation was quite the contrary. This contradiction became one of the main themes of the emerging Hungarian–American literature and humor.[71]

[71] See here the works of E. Rickert, J. Kovács, I. Balassa, M. Körmendy, and D. Nagy in the bibliography.

FREE EMIGRATION — WITH RESTRICTIONS

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT'S EMIGRATION POLICY

Historically, the emigration policy of the European countries has had three phases. The mercantilist policy was to restrict emigration, for population growth was considered to be an especially important source of national wealth. Consequently, governments looked askance at emigration abroad, and brought legal restrictions to prevent it. In the 19th century, industrialization and a demographic boom brought relative overpopulation and mass poverty; population policy changed, and so did the emigration policy. Malthus's theory, which first gained currency in Western Europe, looked upon emigration as a cure for overpopulation and mass poverty. In addition, the economic liberalism which gained ground with the development of capitalism held that the free exchange of capital and goods assures the greatest profit for industry and other enterprises. And as the free exchange of goods and capital leads to the greatest efficiency and prosperity, so the free flow of manpower, namely, of the population, leads to similar benefits. Thence the necessity of the freedom to emigrate. The emigration policy of the 19th century was influenced—besides overpopulation and the theories of economic liberalism—also by the Enlightenment, which emphasized the individual's right to decide his own destiny, which included the freedom to choose where he wanted to live. Liberal thinking opposed governmental interference with individual decision in this area. In countries where fear of overpopulation was strong, the state not only encouraged emigration, but urged it and actively participated in arranging for it. For example, in England and Ireland, the state subsidized emigration, or on occasion even used force to free itself from its surplus and dangerous indigents. It may be surprising, but even Switzerland was no stranger to forced emigration. In other countries, even if the government did not force emigration, it certainly looked upon mass emigration with great equanimity, and laid down the individual's right to emigrate in the constitution.

The national work force acquired greater importance from the end of the 19th century on, when the "surplus" populations were already safely overseas, and imperialism, the growth of nationalism, and war preparations were all very much in the air. From this time forward, while maintaining their citizens' right to emigrate, more and more European countries used measures that in practice restricted emigration. For example, the governments of almost all countries tried to hinder, in one way or another, men of conscriptable age from emigrating, and they tried by various social measures to keep their work force as well.[1]

Let us now examine the Hungarian government's emigration policy. The Hungarian authorities kept their eyes on the emigration process from its very beginning. For example, as early as 1875 a memorandum of the Minister of the Interior called upon the sub-perfect of Moson county to report the circumstances and measures causing the wave of emigration from the county.[2]

At the first signs of mass emigration from the northeastern counties (Sáros and Zemplén), the county authorities sent petitions to Parliament.[3] As the representatives of the landowners of the county, they demanded that the government bar emigration through draconian laws that would divest those who intended to emigrate of the right even to free movement and of freely seeking employment. In the beginning, they claimed that the enticement of the emigration agents was responsible for the interest in migration, and grossly exaggerated the dimensions of emigration. The Interior Minister "bowed to the general will" and, in 1881, presented Parliament with a bill concerning the "emigration agents".[4]

The general reasoning of the proposed bill throws light on the circumstances of its creation, and on governmental policy regarding emigration. It is worthwhile quoting a few paragraphs from it:

"Many complaints have recently been made that there is mass emigration from certain regions of our country, especially among the working class. Even if there is much exaggeration in these complaints, it is also undoubtedly true that large-scale emigration does exist, and that this

[1] For details, see Ann-Sofie Kälwemark (1976), pp. 94–113; for the emigration laws of the various European countries, see Srbik (1911).

[2] OL BM No. 21366/1875.

[3] Interpellation of Jenő Hendry M.P. on the question of the Magyars emigrating from Sáros Country, at the 266th session of Parliament (May 22, 1880), OKN XIII. 93. For Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza's reply, see OKN XIII, pp. 225–228. See also the memorandum of Sáros Country (May 29, 1880) asking for an end to illegal emigration, and for aid to those who want to return. No. 3898, OKJ. III. 11.

[4] At the 386th session of Parliament, on April 25, 1881, OKN vol. XVIII. p. 290.

circumstance warrants a great deal of attention in a country where the problem in general is not overpopulation but rather population scarcity, and thus, expensive labor." Then the bill goes on: "According to the ideas of the present age, it is impossible to prohibit emigration, for we know that the right to emigrate is guaranteed in the constitutions of certain countries. . . . Nor would prohibition have much effect, since almost every country in the world can be visited without a passport, so that those who want to emigrate could depart unnoticed simply on the pretext of going to the neighboring country on business or on a private matter, and the authorities would learn about such emigration only when it was beyond their power to prevent it.

However, after examining the matter of emigration, I have had to conclude that emigration in most cases is not a result of the individual's decision, privately arrived at; rather, the emigrants have been convinced by the persuasion, the callous enticements, of certain agents and speculators, who either then get the meager property of the emigrants for less than nothing, or receive a commission for every emigrant, so that with no good reason, and without considering the sad fate frequently awaiting the emigrants, they talk them into leaving their country."[5]

Consequently, the bill restricted the activities of the emigration agents by requiring them to get permits to operate, and stipulated the sanctions to be used against agents who operated without them. In reality, the government's purpose in passing the bill was to disarm the counties' demands for the restriction or prohibition of emigration, and to reiterate the government's support of free emigration. Understandably, the law did not satisfy the county authorities, so that between 1881 and 1900 county authorities and associations of landowners repeatedly sent memoranda urging the government to take steps to impede the increasing spread of emigration.[6] The authorities of Sáros and Zemplén counties naturally led in making such requests. The former passed a "statute" to punish those who emigrated without permission. The emigrant who left without a

[5] Preamble to the bill on "emigration agencies", No. 1074 OKI. vol. 24, pp. 242–245.

See also the administrative committee's report on the bill on "emigration agencies", OKI, vol. 24, pp. 315–316; the bill itself, ibid., pp. 316–318; the bill as accepted by Parliament, ibid., pp. 325–327; and the 1881/XXXVIII statute "On the emigration agencies" in *Magyar Törvénytár* (Hungarian Legal Code), 1881, pp. 165–167.

[6] For example, see the petition submitted on March 18, 1882 by the communities of the royal free borough of Szatmár-Németi and Zemplén County concerning the implementation of measures to restrict emigration and to do away with its causes OKN IV, p. 224.

Concerning the representations and petitions, see OKI VII, pp. 66–67; ibid., vol. XII, p. 162, F. Bielik–E. Rákos (1969), pp. 93–102, 107–117, 117–118.

passport and was arrested en route was, according to the statute, to be returned to his place of residence and punished with a fine of 2–50 Forints, or with imprisonment, or, "in circumstances deserving more serious consideretion, he could be both fined and confined immediately".[7]

Sáros County considered the enticement to emigrate, and lending or giving money for this purpose, to be violations of the above law, and punishable as described above. Furthermore, it threatened to punish those "village magistrates who knew when one or more individuals were planning to leave the village and emigrate to America or were actually leaving, and who failed to report this to the county's chief constable without delay".[8] Finally, the statute obliged the districts' chief constable and the chief of police to be on the alert in the matter of emigration, to urge the police to arrest those leaving without a passport, and to find the agents who had incited them to emigrate.[9]

In 1883, at the urging of the landowners, the Minister of the Interior brought an ordinance for the identification of emigration agents in compliance with Bill 38 of 1881.[10] Soon afterward, he notified the railroad authorities to issue tickets to America only to those who presented their passports.[11]

At the turn of the century, in early 1899 and 1900, the county authorities again turned to the Ministry of the Interior and asked that steps be taken to stem the tide of emigration. On July 5, 1900, the Minister of the Interior replied to their petition in an expansive circular. In this he again stated that emigration would not be hindered by force; to do so would be contrary to the recognized, fundamental civil rights; at any rate, he felt that the roots of the trouble could be cured only through appropriate economic and administrative measures. Until such measures were taken, however, he gave orders to track down emigration agents and to confiscate their pamphlets and advertisements. He ordered that earlier regulations regard-

[7] OL BM 199/213–1886 and the 1888 Sáros County by-law on the subject of penalizing illegal emigration to America.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] No. 1883. VIII. 1752. decree of the Ministry of the Interior: its short résumé is in OL BM 1928 K 150. XI. 8. (unnumbered), *The history of emigration*, which presents the regulations of the Minister of the Interior and the municipal documents on emigration, both in chronological order. Since part of the archives of the Ministry of the Interior was destroyed, this became one of the most important sources for surveying the evolution of the central regulations.

[11] 18690/1897. BM and KM. decree, in K. 150. 14.

ing emigration be renewed, and finally gave extensive instruction to prevent passport abuses.[12]

Up to the turn of the century, then, the counties' demands led only to the issuance of some regulations by the Ministry of the Interior. Emigration was treated simply as an administrative affair: the Minister of the Interior tried to prevent emigration without a passport, to restrict the activities of emigration agents and the representatives of foreign shipping companies through regulations, and thereby calm the disgruntled landowners.

In reality, however, the government did not really disapprove of emigration. Confidential reports emphasized mostly the advantages of emigration. Some of them expressed the view that, with the emigration of the non-Magyars, the proportion of the Magyars in the total population would grow favorably; emigration could become the means of letting off social and national tensions. However, under the circumstances, the government could not give voice to this opinion; officially, it had to take a stand against emigration from the very first.[13]

After the turn of the century, during the period of mass emigration, the Hungarian government also became more active. By then, the numerical growth and geographic spread of emigration had caused an atmosphere of near panic in certain regions. County authorities besieged Parliament with letters demanding government intervention and the further regulation of emigration. Furthermore, economic and social organizations, the OMGE above all, set up emigration committees and organized inquiries and conferences in order to compel the government to pass laws and regulations.[14]

[12] 6676 BM. and KM. in: OL BM 1928. K 150.14. The municipalities were directed to the effect that "tickets for through travel to America" may be issued only to those individuals who are able to show passports certifying their having procured the necessary permits authorizing travel to the states of said continents.

[13] From the 1880s on, most national newspapers published articles against emigration. Some of the reports in the *Pesti Napló* (Pest Journal) are listed below: 5 Aug. 1880: "Emigration to America", Nov. 13, 1880: "Desperate emigrant family", Nov. 29, 1895: "Ill-starred emigrants", March 28, 1901: "Fleeing back home". A letter, published in the journal, *Hazánk* (Our Homeland), titled "American horrors" has the same objective in describing the situation of Hungarian emigrants in America, claiming that in the Richmond lead factory many Hungarians die from the 100–117°F heat. According to the article "Agrarians" in *Népszava* (People's Word, Sept. 1, 1903), the daily wage in lead factories was $1.20 for 12.5 hours' work.

[14] Early in 1900, the Országos Magyar Gazdasági Egyesület (Hungarian National Economic Association) proposed the organization of a major social movement to rectify problems concerning emigration and to reduce its volume. It was for this reason that the OMGE organized the following congresses on emigration in 1902: May 31—June 1 "Northern Hungarian emigration congress" in Miskolc, June 28–29; "Transdanubian emigration congress" in Siófok, on August 11–12; the "Székely congress" in Csíktusnád; and finally, the closing congress in Pozsony (Bratislava) on Sept. 9–10. For details, see the Bibliography, Kivándorlási kongresszusok dokumentumai.

Because public opinion pressed for the creation of an emigration law, in 1902 the government prepared a bill regulating emigration; it was presented to Parliament for debate by the Minister of the Interior on November 2, 1902. Referring to the economic conditions that inevitably made for emigration, the bill restated that the Hungarian government had neither the intention nor the power to stop emigration. The government's goal with the proposed bill was to oversee and direct emigration and thus to control its scope. Thirty-five of the 52 articles of the bill dealt with the question of the transportation of the emigrants, and with the sanctions to be used against unlicensed agents and emigrants who tried to leave without permits. The bill reduced the regulation of emigration to the problem of transportation and governmental inspection. The argument in favor of the bill at the time of its presentation went as follows: "The purpose of the proposed bill is to ensure that the entrepreneurs who handle the transportation of the migrants be subject to the strictest control and work under the inspection of the Hungarian authorities."[15]

In the course of a later debate, Prime Minister Kálmán Széll was quite unequivocal as to the reasons for the legal regulation of emigration:

"As far as the heart of the matter, Fiume, is concerned, let me state that my main purpose in regulating emigration was to channel the migratory process, which today is flowing toward German harbors, into our harbor, Fiume. And this is right there in the law. It is clearly stated that the government will grant easier terms only when emigration is in a certain direction. And so that no doubt will be entertained in this regard by the Gentlemen of the House, although Fiume is not mentioned directly, I declare that indeed I always did plan that the emigrants who until now have enriched the German seaports were no longer to do so but were to go instead to Fiume and to travel from our own harbor, on our own means of transportation, so that all that was jeopardized or had been lost to us economically and even nationally, should now benefit our harbor."[16]

During the debate over the bill, several members suggested that the most expedient means of limiting emigration, of "conducting it into the right channel", was to contract with foreign shipping companies for the emigrants' transportation. This would provide opportunities for inspection (and in this way, for discovering people leaving without permits) and

[15] See the introduction of the Bill on regulating emigration in Parliament Dec. 3, 1902. OKN. IX. pp. 271–272. OKI VII. pp. 256–265.

[16] Prime Minister Kálmán Széll's answer to Ferenc Buzáth's interpellation. See OKN XV. pp. 274–275 and the supplement to document No. 195. Preamble to the Bill "On the regulation of emigration". OKI. VII. pp. 265–284.

insure that the emigrants were channelled toward Fiume, the Hungarian seaport. Getting the consent of Parliament to the government's contracting with the shipping companies was one—probably the main—motive behind proposing the legal regulation of emigration. The 1903 law set stricter limits to the activities of the emigration agents and stipulated harsher sanctions against unlicensed agents than did the 1881 law. Yet already in the course of the debate on the bill it became evident that the new regulations might encourage rather than bar emigration.[17] And indeed the rocketing number of emigrants from 1904 on proves that the measures of the law availed nothing against mass emigration. Even men of military age had the chance to get emigration permits from the local authorities.

COMPETITION WITH FOREIGN SHIPPING COMPANIES

Passenger traffic from Europe to the United States—which was largely the transportation of emigrants at the turn of the century and the decades following it—was handled by three large shipping companies: the Nordatlantischer Dampferlinien Varband or "Continental Pool", which under German leadership, embraced the five largest European companies; an American capitalist concern, the International Mercantile Marine Company; and the British Cunard Lines[18]. From the beginning of the 1900s, competition among them was strongly influenced by the Hungarian government's efforts to guarantee Hungarian capitalist circles at least part of the profit derived from the transportation of emigrants. The Hungarian government hoped that Hungarian financiers, with the help of foreign capital, might be able to create an independent Hungarian–American line between Fiume and New York. When this plan proved to be unrealistic, the Hungarian government first tried to come to terms with two of the biggest German shipping companies belonging to Continental Pool, the ones that had been transporting Hungarian emigrants for some time. The condition was that the emigrants were to be transported from Fiume under the supervision of the Hungarian government. Negotiations, however, broke down when the Hungarian government refused to guarantee the companies the subsidy of 3.5 million crowns and the annual transport of 35,000 emigrants and 7,500 remigrants.

[17] See the material of the debate on the Bill concerning emigration regulations. Dec. 17–18, 1902. OKN. X. pp. 61–128.

[18] For more details on the "Alliance of the Atlantic Shipping Companies" for the years 1902–1903, see OL BM 1928. K 150 pp. 25–37.

Several times in the course of 1903, the Foreign Tourism and Travel Agency of Budapest approached the Hamburg–Amerikanische Packetfahrt Actien Gesellschaft through the Interior Ministry. At the same time, there were negotiations with the Magyar Folyam- és Tengerhajózási Rt. (Hungarian River and Ocean Shipping Company) for the state to buy the company's shares and invest them in the Magyar–Amerikai Vonal (Hungarian–American Line).

However, these negotiations soon proved to have come too late. The British Cunard Steamship Company, learning about the failure of the Hungarian government's negotiations with the rival German companies, petitioned the Hungarian Interior Ministry through the Adriatic Hungarian Ocean Shipping Company for permission to transport the Hungarian emigrants along the Fiume–New York route (October 23, 1903). The negotiations were successful, and in November of 1903 the Cunard Lines started the Hungarian–American Line from Fiume with the provisional permission of the Interior Ministry. The temporary contract was signed in March of 1904.

The other shipping companies did not welcome the contract between the Hungarian government and the Cunard Lines.[19] It was especially the German shipping companies who earlier had enjoyed a practical monopoly of the overseas transportation of Hungarian emigrants which attacked it in the press, and applied diplomatic and economic pressure. Their stakes in the matter grew as the emigrants' numbers also grew by leaps and bounds. The spring of 1904 was marked by discussions and negotiations as the Hungarian government had to deal with competing shipping companies, and ward off the international complications of their contract with the Cunard Lines: the congestion and delays along the Fiume route, and the hostility of the foreign companies. The systematic and detailed analysis of this situation would fill volumes; here we shall refer to just the most important incidents.

In the summer of 1904, the competing shipping companies began the great price war. Ticket prices plummeted from 250 crowns to 150, 100, and even 90 crowns, as the German shipping companies sold tickets under cost. The price war forced Cunard to reduce its fares to 120 crowns; and, by the time it stopped temporarily at the end of 1904, the German companies were estimated to have lost 8.5 million marks.

The Hungarian government left itself open to attack when it guaranteed, in one section of the temporary contract, to send 30,000 adult, third-class

[19] Ibid. pp. 36–37.

passengers from Fiume to New York annually, and to pay 100 crowns to the Cunard Lines for each missing passenger if, in any given year, the actual number of passengers did not reach 30,000. All of this caused domestic and foreign public opinion to conclude that the Hungarian government regulated emigration only to provide a good deal for its business partner, the Cunard Lines, and to recruit emigrants for them. Companies competing for Hungarian emigrants convinced both the European and American press to buy this line, thus putting the Hungarian government's emigration policy into a very unfavorable light in the United States. The American press insinuated that the Hungarian government had made a contract with Cunard in order "to remove without difficulty the undesirable elements, especially criminals, lunatics, and proletarians in order to be rid of them".

To calm agitation at home and abroad over the contract with the Cunard Lines, Loránt Hegedüs, M. P., an expert on emigration, sent a memorandum to Count István Tisza, who was both Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior.[20] He asked for information on the contract, referring to *The New York Herald Tribune*'s claim that since the Hungarian emigration law had been passed and the contract with Cunard signed, the number of emigrants had grown; the Hungarian government, the *Herald* charged, was trying to get rid of its "surplus" and "poor quality" population. In his answer the Prime Minister outlined the unsuccessful negotiations with the German shipping companies and the advantageous conditions of the contract with Cunard. He mentioned the sections containing the conditions of guarantee and liability. He defended them by claiming that in 1903 the number of emigrants already had exceeded 100,000. He also pointed out that while the contract was for ten years, it could be cancelled at the end of the third year if the number of emigrants should fall below 50,000. The Hungarian partner, therefore, would at present suffer liability only if the annual number of emigrants did not exceed 27,300.[21]

The Prime Minister's explanation failed to calm tempers either at home or abroad. Daily telegrams arrived from the joint Foreign Minister, informing the Hungarian government of American public and government opinion, culled from the reports of the American–Hungarian Ambassador to Washington. (Among other things, they spoke of American resentment

[20] Loránt Hegedüs' interpellation "On the Subject of the Implementation of the Emigration Law" April 13, 1904. OKN. Vol. XXIV. pp. 34–36. See also OKJ. Vol. II. p. 703.

[21] Count István Tisza's reply to the interpellation April 13, 1904. OKN Vol. XXIV. pp. 36–40.

at the fact that American shipping companies had not been given preference.)

In the United States, where by this time antagonism to the so-called "new immigrants" was increasing, the Cunard contract and the emigration policy of the Hungarian government provoked strong protest. This was expressed, for example, by the fact that the Dillingham Bill (Senator Dillingham had submitted a bill to restrict emigration) was given an appendix which proposed: 1. to fine immigrants arriving in ships subsidized by foreign countries thirty dollars each; and 2. to prohibit the landing of emigrants whose trip was supported by foreign countries through contracts with shipping companies.[22]

The American–Hungarian newspapers (such as "Szabadság" (Liberty), Tihamér Kohányi's newspaper, and the "Bevándorló" (Immigrant), dr. Mihály Singer's newspaper) also attacked the contract and prepared to organize a boycott of the Cunard Lines. Simultaneously, the Hungarian government received word from the ambassador to Berlin and from the general manager of Norddeutscher Lloyd (both acting on behalf of the Continental Pool) that the German companies would like to negotiate and that the government should not conclude the contract with Cunard, or at least, should delay signing it. They sent a memorandum to this effect to the Hungarian Prime Minister through the Missler Agency. However, the Hungarian government's hope of forcing the German shipping companies to a contract as advantageous as the one with Cunard was frustrated, and the final contract was signed with Cunard Lines on June 4, 1904.[23] Due to diplomatic pressure, the paragraph guaranteeing 30,000 emigrants annually was left out. The final contract contained the following major conditions: Cunard guaranteed to send at least 3–4 steamships directly from Fiume to New York every two weeks. Third-class fares were to be 180 crowns for emigrants over the age of 12, 90 crowns for children between 1 and 12 years of age. It guaranteed to bring back 500 indigents annually for 50 and 25 crowns, and to put 100,000 crowns security money into the Emigration Fund along with 10 and 5 crowns for each emigrant and 7.5 crowns for every returned emigrant. Officials of the Hungarian state were to receive 25 per cent reductions on first and second class fares. Cunard was to buy the necessary food supplies in Hungary, even at 10 per cent higher prices than on other markets. The emigrants

[22] OL BM 1928. K 150 pp. 37–38.

[23] For the text of the contracts involving the Cunard Steam Ship Company Ltd. of Liverpool, see OFI XXI. 1910–1915. pp. 308–321.

were to be transported according to the regulations prescribed by Hungarian law; in regard to its business representation in Hungary, Cunard was to accept the supervision of the Hungarian authorities and employ mostly Hungarian citizens in its organizations and offices. Hungarian businessmen were to participate in its managerial affairs. The Fiume–New York route for transporting passengers, mail, and goods was named the "Cunard Amerikai Magyar Vonal". The Adria Rt. (Adriatic Company) became Cunard's subsidiary in Hungary, so that in reality, it was the Adriatic Company—with state help—that contracted with Cunard for the division of the profit to be obtained from emigration.

For all the rumors to the contrary, the Hungarian government accepted the Cunard contract for lack of anything better. It did its best to safeguard its interests and leave the door open to a possible better deal later on. Knowing the scope of the emigration movement, the Hungarian government was sure that Cunard lacked the capacity to conduct the entire traffic alone. It also knew that the German shipping companies were dangerous competitors and that it would not be easy to neutralize their great experience and extensive network of agents for handling Hungarian emigration.

The traditional route for emigrants to the United States was through Bremen and Hamburg, in the ships of the Norddeutscher Lloyd or its subsidiary, the Missler Agency. Both these names and the German route were well known in Hungary. Consequently, after the Cunard contract had been signed, one of the most important tasks was to channel the emigrants to Fiume. Government agencies tried to achieve this by promising and giving concessions through administrative interference, and occasionally by force of arms. The 40,000/1904 decree of the Ministry of the Interior, which contained the executive order of the 1903 emigration law, provided the legal grounds for such actions. To increase the attraction of Fiume, the MÁV (Hungarian National Railroads) gave a 50 per cent reduction in the case of ten passengers. It was rumored among the emigrating peasants that anyone who recruited twelve emigrants would get a free ticket to America. Passports were given only to those who were headed for Fiume. Tickets bought from other shipping companies or sent from the United States were confiscated. The status of "vorgebuchtem Passagier" (pre-booked passenger) was not accepted. The local authorities required that the emigrants buy their tickets only from the licensed shipping companies. The confiscation of the tickets sent by relatives from abroad caused great indignation in the United States, and again threatened diplomatic complications. At the same time, Cunard did not send enough ships to transport the emigrants who

had been driven to Fiume. Beginning with the fall of 1904, the emigrants crowding the seaport for days or weeks were taken on the train to Antwerp, from there on small boats to Cardiff, from there again by train to Newcastle, and from there on large steamships to America. One is hard put to imagine the hardships of such a journey.[24]

Diplomatic pressure increased from the German side also. For example, in the fall of 1904, in the course of economic negotiations, the German government forced the reciprocity agreement that "no government shall bring regulations barring individuals who want to emigrate, and who have the right to do so according to the existing laws, from emigrating through the territory of the German Empire".[25]

This agreement—rather than the complaints about the conditions in Fiume—was instrumental in bringing about a contract in November, 1904, between the Adriatic Company and the Continental Pool.[26] After that the emigrants who were unable to sail from Fiume were sent to the North-western seaports, which made the chaos and confusion complete and left great scope for abuses.

Forcing emigrants to take the Fiume route increased conflict to such a degree that finally the Hungarian government had to give up its ambitious plans. Reality thwarted the hopes of the Hungarian capitalists to monopolize, together with Cunard Lines, the transportation of Hungary's emigrants, and to pocket the profits derived from it. They had to permit a number of the emigrants, and a significant number at that, to buy their tickets from the companies of the Continental Pool, and to travel on their ships to the United States.[26] The Continental Pool, unlicensed by the Hungarian authorities, and their agents harrassed, nevertheless processed 70 per cent of the emigrants. On the ships of Norddeutscher Lloyd alone, more Hungarians left Europe (38 per cent of all the emigrants) than on the ships of the Cunard Lines.[27]

The Hungarian government had got into a peculiar position. On the one hand, it had tried to put a stop to "the enticements" of the foreign subsidiaries of the Continental Pool, and to get the better of their attemps

[24] For details, see OL K 150 pp. 42–44, MP Károly Hencz's interpellation, and Minister of the Interior, Count Gyula Andrássy's reply. Nov. 21, 1908. OKN. XI. pp. 202–206.

[25] Report of the Hungarian Prime Minister in his capacity as Minister of the Interior, No. 248, OKI 1910–1915, Vol. IX. pp. 169–172.

[26] OL K 150 pp. 43–44.

[27] See the detailed statistical reports on "The role of Fiume and the shipping companies in transacting emigration" on the basis of the data collected by the Royal Hungarian Commissary Office of Emigration. MSK 67. III. pp. 71–81.

to evade Hungarian governmental supervision. On the other hand, it had agreed that the same shipping companies it was at loggerheads with should transport some of the emigrants (those who had passed inspection) to America.

In 1905, the reception given in Hungary to the inspector sent by the New York Immigration Authority, who published his experiences, caused a great newspaper scandal and started further diplomatic complications. He arrived in Hungary with the assignment of investigating the reasons for the rapid increase in Hungarian emigration. He was further to see whether the new emigration law and the government's contract with the shipping companies did not encourage emigration, and whether the new program the Hungarian government started up for its American emigrants did not impinge upon the interests of the United States. (We shall return later to this program, the so-called "Magyar Akció" (Magyar Action)). The Hungarian authorities tried to curb the activities and movements of the Inspector of the New York Immigration Authority. This circumstance naturally contributed to the unfavorable reports the inspector gave of the dealings of the Hungarian government, and on his return to the United States he described for the press in detail the unpardonable ways in which he had been obstructed.[28] The report came handy to the American and other newspapers for arousing hostility toward Hungary and the emigrants from there. And the written diplomatic exchanges on the matter swelled into huge volumes.

In the Hungarian Parliament and press, too, there were a growing number of exposés of the "business background" of the shipping contracts and of the methods used by the Adriatic Company to increase its profits and defraud the emigrants. It became public that Cunard agents received not only a salary but also a commission of 4–5 crowns on every emigrant, so that recruiting emigrants was a matter of personal interest to them. The Menetjegyiroda (Travel Agency) and the Idegenforgalmi és Utazási Vállalat Rt. (Foreign Tourist and Travel Company) to which the Adriatic Company had farmed out the bookings came under attack especially frequently. The travel Agency committed a great many abuses especially in the matter of the "vorgebuchten" passengers. Employees of the Agency attempted to prevent their travelling to the seaport in spite of their passports, even when they were scheduled to take the same route as the Agency would have offered, all so that the emigrants would be forced to buy their tickets from them, and they would receive their commissions.

[28] See Marcus Braun (1906).

They often cheated the emigrants in exchanging their money, giving fewer dollars or marks to the crown than the official rate of exchange.

The debates between the various interest groups (agrarians and mercantilists) brought to light the behind-the-scenes secrets of the emigration trade, the intertwining of capitalist interests and the methods of dividing the profits of emigration. Two questions in Parliament in particular, the one by Ferenc Udvardi in 1905, the other by Károly Hencz, a member for the People's Party, in 1908, stirred up a grat deal of dust.[29] The demagogic phraseology aside, some of the facts listed by the two men were so close to the truth that the ministers could not deny them, only attempt to explain them at length. For example, the Minister of the Interior himself admitted that the Travel Agency entrusted with the processing and transportation of the emigrants was collecting a commission of 18 crowns for every emigrant, with some agents receiving special premiums as well; furthermore, there undoubtedly were occasional abuses involving the exchange of money.[30] In the course of the debates, the public also learned that the commissions were divided among the Adriatic Company, the Hungarian Bank of Commerce and the Travel Agency.

Between 1904 and 1910, the government's representatives conducted a series of negotiations with the Continental Pool. Only a few details trickled out of the strictly confidential discussions, or rather were leaked by government officials in their statements.

In 1908 a new emigration law[31] was presented in Parliament. Its purpose was to correct the deficiencies of Bill 4 of 1903, and provide more effective supervision to control emigration. The most important motive instigating the new law was the desire to promote negotiations with the Continental Pool, and to put pressure on the shipping companies through the stricter measures. The new law, which was ratified in 1909, laid down that licenses to transport emigrants would be granted only to companies submitting to Hungarian laws and allowing Hungarian supervision in the harbors. The law contained stricter regulations regarding emigration agents operating without licenses. They could be punished by up to a year in prison and a

[29] F. Udvardy's interpellation on May 27, 1905, OKN I, pp. 348–349. See also Sándor S. Simonyi's motion "on the Amendment of the Emigration Law of 1903" on May 5, 1905. OKI Vol. I, p. 80. Ferenc Hencz's interpellation. Nov. 21, 1908, OKN Vol. XXI, pp. 202–206.

[30] Minister of the Interior Count Gyula Andrássy's reply to Károly Hencz's interpellation. Nov. 25, 1908, OKN Vol. XXI. p. 272.

[31] The Bill was introduced by the Minister of the Interior, Count Gyula Andrássy, on May 9, 1908. For its text and appendix "Preamble to the Bill on Emigration" see OKI Vol. XXIII, pp. 415–428; ibid. pp. 429–449.

fine of up to 800 crowns. The law ordered the representatives of Cunard and its subsidiary, the Adriatic Company, to give up their recruiting agencies and instead to set up emigration offices in Budapest and at border crossings. The prohibition of commissions (the Travel Agency's employees were to be strictly salaried) aimed at reducing the areas open to attack.

The 1909 emigration law stated anew that emigration could not be prohibited; the goal was its stricter regulation through more effective measures. The law allowed the emigration of men of military age with permits granted by the Ministries of the Interior and of National Defense. The granting of permission was "conditional upon the deposit of 100 to 1,000 crowns caution money". Those who tried to emigrate "illegally", by avoiding the authorities, could, when captured, be punished by two months in jail and a fine of 600 crowns.[32]

However, even this law made barely a crack in the armor of free emigration. "Money took care of everything", commented the old emigrants, when questioned on how they got their passports.

In 1910, the almost a decade of negotiations with the Continental Pool ended in a contract, a compromise for the Hungarian government, which had to accept the fact that it could supervise the transport these companies offered only at Hungary's border, and not in the harbors.

The main argument of the attacks on the contract with the Continental Pool was that it was a "betrayal of Hungarian interests", and a surrender to the German companies. The agrarians, such as OMGE, the National Union of Agricultural Associations, and their county representatives, spoke against it the most strongly. They objected especially to article 4 of the contract, according to which Hungarian supervision of the emigrants did not extend to the harbors. They accused the government of renouncing the chance of establishing an independent Hungarian–American line, and of accepting Fiume's relegation to the background.[33] The contract, they argued, gave the Continental Pool unpardonable advantages over Cunard, since for 50 crowns per person, these five companies had to transport no more remigrants than Cunard did alone.

[32] See Article 1909/II. "On Emigration" in *Magyar Törvénytár* (Hungarian Legal Code), 1909.

[33] MP György Szmrecsányi's interpellations. Dec. 21, 1910. OKN pp. 233–237, Jan. 18, 1911. OKN pp. 327–334. Barna Budai (1911) I. See also *Pesti Napló:* "The Cunard, the Hungarian Emigrants and the Pool" Jan. 18, 1911, "Emigration and the Pool" Jan. 21, 1911, "What is in the Pool Contract?" March 23, 1911, "The Accepted Pool Contract" March 30, 1911. "The Pool Contract and OMGE" Apr. 2, 1911, "The Secrets of the Pool Contract" Apr. 30, 1911.

The parliamentary debate on the Pool contract, giving the ministerial, the committee and the minority reports was held only on July 18, 1913.[34] The government defended the contract, claiming that Cunard alone was unable to effect the emigrants' transportation. The majority of the emigrants were already leaving without permits on the ships of the Continental Pool; the contract provided for state control at least on Hungarian territory. The contract had already been in effect two years when Parliament confirmed it, but the attacks against it continued, with the agrarians demanding its dissolution. Considerations of military interest came increasingly to the fore in criticisms of the government's emigration policy. One speaker at a meeting of the OMGE expressed his concern as follows: "I would consider dangerous, nay, criminal a state policy which, while it demands great sacrifices of blood and money for the development of the country's military strength ... looks with indulgence on the activities of resourceful peddlers of human beings, who annually deplete Hungary's armed forces by as much as two battles of Mohács would."[35]

The preparations for war, the mood of nationalism were threatening the freedom of migration. Before, however, the matter could be settled with legal regulations, World War I broke out and put an end to emigration.

The emigration policy of the Hungarian government has been criticized both by contemporaries and modern researchers for a variety of antithetical reasons. Some see it as having hindered emigration, others believe it to have failed to discourage emigration, and even to have actively encouraged it.[36]

The real nature of the policy becomes clear when the propaganda is viewed separately from the action actually taken, when the latter is examined in the context of the times and of the contemporary international situation, and when we recall that emigration policy has always and everywhere been part of the population policy, its peculiarities being determined by the given demographic conditions.

The emigration policy of the Hungarian government, from the beginning of the time examined to World War I, was basically directed in the

[34] Permits of the shipping companies in the Norddeutscher Dampferlinien Verband (Continental Pool) to transport emigrants. Report to the Parliament by the Hungarian Prime Minister in his capacity as Minister of the Interior. 1910–1915, OKI Vol. IX, pp. 169–172.

[35] Barna Budai (1911).

[36] See the previously mentioned memoranda of the Administrative Committees of Sáros and Zemplén counties between 1880–1882. According to the assessment of Hans Chmelar (1974) it was the 1909 Emigration Law, which, "Von allen europäischen Gesetzen bot es der Regierung die meisten Möglichkeiten, die Auswanderung zu unterdrücken." p. 140.

spirit of economic liberalism. The government, in direct opposition to the demands of county authorities and various social organizations of great landowners, always favored free emigration and enacted this preference in the emigration laws. Government propaganda spoke out against emigration from the beginning, but this was a concession aimed at the landowners, a tactical move to disarm their opposition. However, whenever county authorities hindered free emigration by local legislation, the government immediately moved against them.

The laws enacted after the turn of the century did not aim at limiting the freedom of emigration but were efforts to force the foreign shipping companies to share the profits made on the transportation of the emigrants.

Behind the violence and greed of the efforts to make Fiume an important emigrant seaport we should see the Adriatic Company and its related capitalist interests; it was these that forced the Hungarian government to enter a competition that had unforeseeable consequences. Likewise, it was the nature of doing business and not a direct political decision that led to the contradiction that while the 1903 emigration law and the contract with Cunard were attempts to limit and supervise emigration, in reality they stimulated it. There can be no doubt that the sudden increase of emigration throughout Europe from 1904 on was related to the price war going on among the shipping companies, that is to say, to the significant reduction in overseas fares.

The Hungarian government's largely "laissez faire" emigration policy was influenced by the fact that the country was not heavily populated. The population increase was slower than in Western Europe and the "surplus population" not large enough to justify active government support of emigration. At the same time, the moderately growing population was composed of many ethnic groups, and the progress of embourgeoisement tended to polarize the population: Magyar nationalism grew in strength as did the national movements of the non-Magyar population. When mass emigration first began, it appeared in the form of the geographic movement of certain ethnic groups. Its effects seemed to coincide with a population policy that sought, above all, the relative growth of the Magyar population. (For this reason alone, the government would not allow local interests to interfere with emigration.)

After the turn of the century, there were changes which induced the government to adopt a selective emigration policy: the number of Magyars among the emigrants had grown by leaps and bounds, and Magyar nationalism, grown stronger with the advent of Hungarian imperialism,

reacted forcefully to the danger that Magyars were being lost through emigration. There were changes in population policy and, consequently, in emigration policy in other European countries as well. Imperialism, the war preparations, rearmament, and the renewed emphasis on military strength meant more decisive moves to keep the national work force at home and to limit emigration everywhere.

However, the measures to limit emigration in Hungary were no stricter than in other European countries after the turn of the century (e.g., Italy or Sweden).[37] It was only on the eve of World War I, during the Balkan Wars, that the issuing of permits for men of military age to emigrate was suspended in Hungary. Otherwise, the emigration of this age group was tied to paying caution money; in other words, to taxation.

The summary effect of Hungary's emigration policy, a combination of liberal theory and state supervision inspired by capitalist interests, was that it compounded the emigrants' travel difficulties. The chaotic and contradictory situation that it brought about gave full play to the intermediaries, the various profiteers on emigration—the local authorities, the emigration agents, the shipping companies and their Hungarian representatives.

EMIGRATION AND HUNGARIAN PUBLIC OPINION

In respect of the scope and frequency of emigration, Hungary had a middling place among the countries of Europe. About one-third of the emigrants were Magyars, the rest belonged to other nationalities. At first glance, therefore, the extremely strong and emotionally charged nationalist reactions against emigration from all segments of Hungarian society—political parties (Parliament and press included) literary men, and the public at large—seems quite inexplicable. Even more important and interesting is that the exaggeration of the scale of emigration was common to otherwise very different, and even antagonistic social layers, political parties, and other groupings.

The issue of emigration lent itself to exploitation remarkably well. It tied in with all the accumulated social and political tensions that had become built into Hungary's socio-economic development by the first decade of the 20th century, tensions due to the extreme inequalities in the division of land and the consequent landlessness, the ethnic problems, the structural backwardness of society, the pressures of a semi-feudal system of land

[37] Cf. the collection of the Emigration Bills (Srbik 1911).

ownership, the difficulties of industrialization and of modernization in general, the legal ties with Austria, and so on. The debate over emigration addressed almost every problem of the times, and as such, could become after the turn of the century a direct and effective political tool in the day to day power struggles of Hungary's various parties and opposition groups. The goals of these struggles, the social aspirations they expressed either pointed far beyond or fell far short of the actual issues of emigration, its scale, its causes, and the realistic evaluation of its economic and social effects.

The scale of the emigration movement was exaggerated by the big landowners and big industrialists primarily in defense of their economic interests.[38] It was their fear of losing cheap labor that inspired the emigration conferences held on the initiative of the OMGE, that gave them a stake in finding the "reasons" for it, and the ways of keeping the necessary labor force in the country. In speaking of the causes of emigration, the landowners mentioned only the unscrupulous agents "who lured the gullible people to emigrate", "the trade in human beings", and "the lack of patriotism" that led people to emigrate "with no concern for God or country, only for making money". Later on, after the turn of the century, the administrative problems, the high taxes were added to the list of malefactors responsible for emigration.[39]

The shortage of workers in industry and the attacks of the agrarians called the big industrialists' attention, too, to the emigration problem. In a series of conferences, the GYOSZ also sought answers to the question of what caused emigration and how to resolve the problem. The minutes of these conferences are excellent documents of the Hungarian ruling classes' inability to comprehend the cause and effect of emigration.[40] The majority of their recommendations are demands for administrative regulations: stricter measures against the agents; greater efforts to catch people leaving without passports; propaganda activity and moral education to remind people of their patriotic duties, and so on.

The debates also furnish quite a lot of useful information on the social and economic conditions of the time. While the big landowners blamed industry for its limited capacity to absorb manpower, the big capitalists saw the causes of emigration only in the internal problems of agriculture,

[38] See e.g., the material of the debate on the Bill concerning the regulation of emigration. Dec. 16–17, 1902, OKN. Vol. X, pp. 61–128; and the minutes of the Emigration Congresses held in 1902.

[39] Ibid.

[40] See the minutes of the GYOSZ (National Association of Industrialists) meeting in the Bibliography.

for example, the practice of entailment. These mutual accusations, though made in the heat of battle, nevertheless shed a great deal of light on the working conditions in both industry and agriculture.

Among the political parties, it was the Independence Party that most emphasized the destructiveness of emigration from the point of view of the nation—the Magyars, that is. In their role as opposition party, they had used the issue as one evidence of the fact that the government, by its lack of concern, was allowing the nation to go to its destruction. The wave of emigration, however, reached its peak just when the Independence Party became part of the coalition government. Although the party did not cease to lament over emigration, it offered no effective social program for counteracting it. Its concern was nationalistic both in content and origin. "Our people (read: the Magyars) is dwindling daily, the number of the newborn cannot keep pace with the number of emigrants. If emigration continues at this rate, in ten years Hungary will have bled to death". "Draw out the bloody sword and toll the alarum". Such and similar dramatic pronouncements could be quoted without end from the orations delivered during the parliamentary debates, with the extreme nationalist members juxtaposing the departure of the "racially pure Magyars" with the contemporaneous influx of the "Galicians".[41]

Some economic and socio-political measures to discourage emigration were, in fact, taken, such as the so-called Ruthenian relief action,[42] various public work projects and famine relief. These, however, were inadequate both quantitatively and qualitatively to really improve the circumstances of the agricultural peoples living even in Northern Hungary. Thus the lamentations over the "bleeding of the nation" seem more like political grandstanding than actual concern. This, however, does not explain the vehement contemporary reactions to emigration. Nor must we forget that the dramatic newspaper reports about the "poverty caravans", the shocking statistical data and personal experiences had made the question of emigration a central public concern; it was an every-day issue that gave rise to real and sincere anxiety in the minds of those honestly feeling responsible for the nation's fate. The struggle for national survival was an organic part of Hungarian history, dating back several hundred years. The country and its people had been devastated by Tatars, Turks, and Germans, and these dramatic historical turning points had etched a

[41] MPs' contributions to the Bill introduced in 1902. Dec. 16–18, 1902, OKN. Vol. X. pp. 61–128.

[42] For details, see J. Rácz's (1980) work on "Futile Social Welfare Initiatives" pp. 167–172; Ede Egan (1900).

profound sense of insecurity into the consciousness of the best of Hungary's public figures. Less than a century and a half had passed since the desolate territories had been repopulated when mass emigration became a constant topic of newspaper leaders. In Hungary, the "Malthusian evil of overpopulation" took the form not of explosive population growth, but rather of the social problems caused by the economic structure. All those fighting against economic backwardness and the existing social order found the fact of emigration a grave witness for the prosecution. It was this sensitivity, and his hatred of the "genteel" Hungary that put the country's future in jeopardy rather than contemplate change that moved Endre Ady, for instance, to write one of the most beautiful poems about emigration.[43]

The Social Democratic Party, the party of Hungarian organized labor, considered the stand it took on the issue of emigration to be a weapon in the class struggle. It also exaggerated the dimensions of emigration, although on different grounds and for different purposes than did the ruling class. Its newspaper, *Népszava,* regularly published news about the emigrants. Here, e.g., are a few quotations from the September 21, 1902, issue: "Those who do not rely on the occasionally published bits of data from official statistics, but are familiar with the situation from their own research, know that emigration to America is taking on proportions never dreamt of." From 1904: "Every third man in Bodrogköz is called an 'American'."[44] Also from 1904: "People are escaping from this country where they cannot find a living not in groups, but in masses."[45] Numerous articles described in vivid colors the highhandedness of local authorities, for example how the police return those who had planned to emigrate but lacked permits. A column entitled "Here you must starve to death" enumerated the instances when emigrants were not allowed to leave. The Social Democratic Party strongly criticized the government's emigration policy, especially when the 1902 emigration bill was presented. The *Népszava* interpreted this law as having no other purpose than "to increase the people's burdens and simultaneously guard the border with a whip".[46] The law meant the "legal termination of personal freedom", and was "the beginning of the end".[47] In the course of the debate over the bill, the newspaper recommended laws guaranteeing job security and the intro-

[43] Endre Ady, "Ülj törvényt Werbőczy."
[44] *Népszava,* June, 11, 1904.
[45] Ibid., Nov. 26, 1904.
[46] Ibid., Nov. 8, 1902.
[47] Ibid.

duction of universal manhood suffrage as ways to stop emigration. According to the *Népszava,* the way the ruling class was handling the question of emigration (police and administrative violence, the confiscating of letters, forcefully frustrating the cultural and organizational demands of the people, etc.) "is driving the people toward a new, horrible Dózsa revolt".[48] Behind the slogans of the ruling classes about "lost brothers, and perishing Magyars", were the landlords' disaffection with the higher wages they had to pay, the merchants' and industrialists' concern that they had fewer customers to sell to, and, the state's dissatisfaction that it had fewer tax payers to tax. The paper published articles exposing the business deals between the government and the shipping companies and how, in the hope of rich profits, the government agencies had acted as emigration agents. The *Népszava,* to demonstrate the backwardness of the Hungarian economic and social systems, published numerous articles comparing Hungarian and American wages, and American democracy with feudal Hungary, pointing out the glaring differences.

In speaking and writing about the problems of Hungarian emigration, thus,[49] the Social Democrats time and time again laid the blame on the "semi-feudal system of landownership, which forces millions of workers to emigrate". This was their consistent view throughout the period, though later—with the mass remigration and seeing the experiences that were acquired by the Hungarian labor movement in America—the Hungarian Social Democrats came to place some hopes in emigration. They hoped that with the more democratic American conditions for labor organizing, the emigrants would more rapidly acquire the necessary political experience, and, returning home, would benefit the Hungarian working class still struggling for universal suffrage and political democracy.[50]

The Bourgeois Radicals also exaggerated the dimensions of emigration to underline their point about the social problems and tensions besetting Hungarian society. As one of them put it: "It is not emigration itself that is the problem—this is only a symptom of the nation's other, greater troubles. Emigration is the fever showing the doctor that the nation is ill... a sickness... We say that emigration is a cleansing process, which, when sufficiently advanced, will, by the strong reactions it provokes, create social conditions that will be unbearable for the masses."[51] In their evaluation of

[48] Ibid., June, 5, 1902.
[49] Ibid., Dec. 1, 1902. Jakab Weltner's motion to prevent emigration.
[50] Elek Bolgár (1908) p. 271.
[51] *Huszadik Század* (Twentieth Century), July, 1904, p. 303.

emigration, those advocating a bourgeois democratic solution concentrated their attention only on the backwardness of the social structure and its symbol, the great landholdings of feudal origin. A more thoroughgoing economic analysis of emigration was given in the evaluation of the Bourgeois Radicals. A quotation from the *Huszadik Század* (Twentieth Century) reads as follows: Emigration is nothing other "than the emancipation of labor from its condition of being earthbound. It has nothing to do with patriotism, because the economically oppressed masses are not suffering for their country; rather, they are being murdered by a mistaken and sinful social policy. We can ask that citizens make sacrifices for their country, but we can not demand the lives of our citizens for the mistakes, sins, and impotent dilettantism of an inexperienced and ignorant economic policy. As capital finds its best investment on the international money market, as raw materials and industrial goods find the best markets in international trade, so the only wealth of the poor man, his ability to work, goes to the market best for him. Quod uni justum alteri aequum."[52] The Bourgeois Radicals did not share the anxieties about emigration, and did not cry out against the "destruction of the Magyars", of "the nation".

The views of the various social classes, strata, and parties, thus—while they agreed in exaggerating the scale of emigration—differed significantly in explaining its causes and effects. It is easy to agree with the observation of the *Népszava* that "Everyone looked for the scapegoat in someone else": the government in the foreign shipping companies, the agrarians in the mercantilists and vice versa; the opposition groups (the Social Democrats and the Bourgeois Radicals) in the conditions of a semi-feudal Hungary. The debates about emigration brought the social problems of contemporary Hungary into sharp focus, and gave new urgency to the demands for the democratic transformation of the country. A great many of the plans, suggestions, and demands aimed at providing the landless agrarian proletariat with land and finally resolving the land problem were inspired in part by mass emigration.[53] The exaggerations of the dimensions of emigration in the air at the outbreak of World War I continue to live on today in Hungarian public consciousness, conceiving of the movement as a social phenomenon peculiar to conditions in Hungary, and one that resulted in unparalleled population loss. Since the multi-national character

[52] Ibid. p. 332.

[53] See e.g., the debate of the Hungarian Social Science Association on emigration and remigration. *Magyar Társadalomtudományi Szemle* (Hungarian Sociological Review), 1908, Vol. I, p. 281.
Cf. K. Virtanen's (1979) evaluation of emigration from Finland, pp. 186–191.

of this emigration has faded from memory, we still bewail the loss of "one and a half million Magyars", and quote the powerfully descriptive lines of Attila József about "One and a half million of our men staggered out to America" even though its accuracy is not borne out by historical facts.

To avoid being misunderstood, I should like to emphasize that I have no intention of attempting to belittle the importance of emigration as a social phenomenon in pointing out that the facts of the matter do not square with the contemporary views interpreting these facts. However, this difference does demonstrate that political thinking is prone to place contemporary social phenomena into the sphere of direct and daily politics and to conclude that phenomena which developed organically within a much broader context result from the peculiarities of a given situation rather than from the laws governing social development. We see this same mistake being made in other European countries as well in regard to emigration. They were even more likely to be made in Hungary, where, by the time of mass emigration, economic and social tensions had grown very acute indeed, and—because of the conditions described above—had given rise to conflicts that were more complex than they were in most European countries.

AMERICAN IMMIGRATION POLICY[1]

By the time the gigantic Statue of Liberty, the symbol of freedom and of America's welcome to the immigrants was raised on Bedloe's Island in 1885, the United States government had already begun to relinquish its former liberal immigration policy.

From the beginning of the 19th century to the 1870s, the states and various private organizations alike were busy enticing the people of Western Europe to immigrate with a variety of offers. The federal government spent a great deal of money to attract immigrants. Great quantities of advertising material were printed and distributed, and agents were sent to Europe, especially to the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia, to recruit immigrants.

Behind all this activity was the desire to promote economic development and to settle the unpopulated areas as quickly as possible. The railroad companies were the most active and most successful in this; they offered free homesteads and handed out boat and railroad tickets at reduced prices. They organized entire settlements, especially in the Midwest, by guaranteeing long-term loans. In 1864, to promote immigration, the government legalized the practice of entrepreneurs recruiting European labor by offering contracts.

The first uniform and overall regulation of immigration, however, was the 1882 immigration law. Its major points were the following: each immigrant was to pay a 50 cent tax on entry; convicted criminals, the mentally ill, the mentally retarded, and all those who might be unable to support themselves were to be denied entry. Three years later, in 1885, yielding to the pressure of organized labor, Congress passed a bill prohibiting the immigration of workers under contract. For it was widely believed by the labor organizations that the industrialists' agents were

[1] I have relied in this chapter principally on the works of John Higham (1975) and M. A. Jones (1960); see Bibliography.

recruiting masses of "contract laborers", especially from Southern and Eastern Europe to use them as strikebreakers. What gave grounds for this accusation was the use of immigrants newly arrived from Italy and Hungary (the latter were mostly Slovaks) as strikebreakers in Pennsylvania in the 1880s. (Most of these men had immigrated on their own and were not on contract labor.) It is significant that the industrialists did not protest against the prohibition; they knew full well that the contract laborers comprised only a small group in the influx of immigrant manpower.

These laws did not yet reflect a concerted effort to limit immigration. Even those who urged their passing were only trying to resolve what they saw as special problems, and to satisfy specific demands, never dreaming that these regulations were the beginning of a whole process of limitations. A statement made in 1885 by a defender of the new law was very likely an expression of the general view: no attempt was being made to limit free immigration; the thought of doing so would be repugnant to the American people, and rightly so.

The situation, and consequently the attitude to immigration, began to change significantly in the second half of the 1880s. The economy became less stable: depression, industrial strikes, and social tension characterized the decade beginning in 1885. The growing social inequalities and sharper class divisions of a highly industrial society, and the disappearance of the frontier caused a new upsurge of xenophobia. Quite a few people responded to the explosive situation with outbursts of nationalism and the revival of the nativist movement, seeking the solution to the economic and social crisis in isolation from foreigners and in the overall restriction of immigration. More and more Americans saw immigration not as a precondition of progress but rather as a problem requiring speedy and drastic remedies.

The workers' disaffection, the economic struggles, the strikes became increasingly connected with the influx of foreigners in the public mind. Although fear of an "imported revolution" had been expressed already in the 1870s in the mining regions of Pennsylvania and during the great railroad strikes, Americans came really to dread it only after 1886, when an anarchist's bomb exploded at the Haymarket in Chicago. From that time on, anxiety grew about the "wild-eyed foreign radicals" intent on undermining American society.

From the end of the 1880s, patriotic veterans' organizations and fraternal associations sprang up everywhere. Their members were recruited mostly from among the intellectuals, the clerical workers, the small shopkeepers, the technicians, and so on, all groups that had been

unfavorably affected by the status revolution, and therefore reacted with special sensitivity to economic and social changes.

The labor organizations increasingly closed ranks with the above-mentioned groups in demanding that limitations be placed on immigration. Although the first mass labor organization in the United States, the "Knights of Labor", had fought already in the 1880s for the prohibition of the immigration of contract labor, at that time it did not yet advocate a general restriction of immigration. At the end of the 19th century, trade unions were still unlikely to support demands for the restriction of immigration; their members were still too close to their own immigrant past. Thus, the American Federation of Labor, with its large immigrant membership, and international outlook, refused to support the "literacy test"—designed to limit immigration—until 1897, and even then only after much bitter debate. All in all, however, as the last two decades of the 19th century wore on, even the employers, the main opponents of restricting immigration, began to give more weight to the supposed radicalism of the immigrants than to their contribution to the economy.

From the 1880s on, the antagonism and hatred of the American nationalists concentrated on the new immigrants, who seemed to them a yet more worrisome group than the old immigrants. The Italian, Slovak, Polish, and Magyar peasants from beyond the Alps were still much closer to serfdom than the peoples of Northern and Western Europe. Jews from Galicia, Russia, and Romania were seeing the world outside the ghetto for the first time. By Western European standards, the new immigrant masses appeared bizarre in their attire, and socially backward. Crowded into the slums of the cities of the Eastern industrial states, increasing in numbers and thus becoming more conspicuous as a group, they became the target of the nativists' attacks.

The tendency of American immigration policy to differentiate among various groups of immigrants first occured in the campaign to prohibit the entry of contract laborers. It was then, for example, that the Knights of Labor gathered evidence of the low standards of living among the immigrants come to America on contract from Italy and Hungary. Although by 1890 it was being claimed that the new immigrants represented a special danger, a line of demarcation between "old" and "new" immigrants, to the advantage of the former, was not drawn until after the turn of the century. Besides thinking in ethnic stereotypes, the nativists held the Southern and Eastern Europeans to be miserly and likely to commit violent crimes. By 1890, there were violent attacks upon them: a nativist militia opened fire on Austro–Hungarian immigrant strikers in the

Pennsylvania coal-mining region, and in 1891 an outraged mob lynched a group of Italians accusing them of the murder of a New Orleans police captain. Anti-Semitic riots broke out in various parts of the South and in numerous Northern cities. The monomania that the new immigrants were the "murderer breed of Southern Europe" and threatened the basis of American society was widely spread. However, it was only a small group of racist New England intellectuals who spread the doctrine of the racial inferiority of the new immigrants in comparison to the old. Their pride in their English origin and in the Anglo-Saxon origin of American institutions became especially strong in the 1880s, at the time when native culture began to decline. As the process accelerated, the emphasis on the importance of the Anglo-Saxon traditions grew, in the effort to mask the growing skepticism of the Yankee patricians concerning the country's ability to continue to emancipate the immigrants. The economic value of immigration was made the object of "scientific" study, and "Ancestor Experience" was stressed as the criterion of the immigrants' value.[2] On this basis, the categories of "desirable" and "undesirable" immigrant were formulated. A great stir was created by the demographic study proving that the birth rate of the native population had declined because of the competition from the immigrants. The new immigrants, thus, were not an addition to the old population but its replacement.

In 1894 the New England intellectuals formed the Restriction League to protect the future of the "Anglo-Saxon race" and of their class. For the next 25 years, the League headed every movement for the restriction of immigration. The armory of their intellectual weapons built up gradually. In the 1890s they did not yet commit themselves to an expressly racist immigration policy. The campaign then was for the "literacy test" bill which they hoped would, as law, exclude the undesirable classes of Southern and Eastern Europe. The "literacy test" bill was first submitted to Congress in 1896 by Senator Cabot-Lodge.[3] Its essence was to deny entrance to the United States to anyone who could not read at least 40 words in some language. Congress rejected the bill on the grounds that it would be an ineffective measure, and that to pass it would be to deny America's historic role as an "asylum to the oppressed". Later attempts to get the bill passed in 1898, 1902, and 1906 met a similar fate at the hands of an adamant Congress.[4] And when supporters of the bill finally succeeded

[2] Richard Mayo-Smith (1890)
[3] J. Pivány (1914), pp. 184–205.
[4] Ibid.

in getting a Congressional majority to pass the measure, it was presidential vetos that frustrated their efforts (Taft's in 1911 and Wilson's in 1913).

In 1896, those demanding the restriction of immigration were still convinced that they were in the majority and that the failure to get the bill passed was an insignificant and temporary setback. In fact, however, twenty more years had to pass until, in 1917, the League's campaign to limit immigration by introducing a literacy test finally met with success.

At first glance, this series of failures on the part of the nativists to restrict immigration is rather baffling. However, it becomes understandable when the factors influencing their activities are considered. The periodic ups and downs of the movement must be noted first of all, and the fact that the intensity of their activities was not caused by outside factors (the swelling of the wave of migrations), but by changes in American internal affairs. The intensity of anti-immigration activity lessened during times of economic prosperity, and grew at times of economic depression. It should also be noted that various organized groups opposed the nativists. Big industrialists, interested in the free influx of cheap labor, hindered their efforts to curtail immigration, their organizations, especially the "National Association of Manufacturers", continually lobbying in Washington against the restrictions. Effective opposition was organized among the immigrant ethnic groups themselves. Although the literacy test bill was clearly intended for use against immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, it aroused the opposition of every immigrant group. However, it was the newest groups of immigrants, especially the Russian Jews, who protested against it most vehemently and steadfastly. The "National Liberal Immigration League", which functioned under Russian Jewish leadership, did much in 1906 and the years following to organize resistance to the demands for a literacy test. Important organizations of the old immigrant groups, such as the "Ancient Order of Hibernians" and the "German–American Alliance", were also opposed to any kind of restriction on immigration (e.g., during the 1907 campaign). Their protest carried a great deal of weight, since, as their members were moving into the middle class, their support had become important to the political parties. And naturally, their vote went to the political party that promised to support their special interests. The Republican Party, which for over a decade had demanded the restriction of immigration, dropped it from its platform between 1904 and 1913. Accordingly, during these years, the Italian, Slav, and Jewish voters were more inclined to vote Republican than Democrat.

During the twenty years preceding World War I, movements to restrict immigration had little effect upon the shaping of immigration laws and regulations. Although Congress kept enlarging the list of those not be admitted to the United States, this did not affect the foundation and real framework of free immigration. For example, the law of 1891 prohibited the entrance of paupers, polygamists, and people with venereal and infectious diseases. Then, in 1903, exclusion was extended to epileptics, prostitutes, and professional beggars. And when the anarchist, Leon Czolgosz, wounded President McKinley, the list was further extended to include anarchists and persons who might want to overthrow the government of the United States. Imbeciles, tuberculars, criminals and the morally unfit were added to the list in 1907.[5]

With the growth of the list of those excluded, the entrance tax also grew from 50 cents to 4 dollars between 1882 and 1907. There were also new measures for the stricter supervision of the immigrants. In 1891 immigration was placed under the authority of the Federal Government. The law became more strictly enforced, although really effective supervision of the immigrants was practically impossible. The authorities were unable to examine thoroughly the ever-swelling crowds that arrived at the harbors; and immigrants who thought they could not pass inspection came to the United States through Canada.

The opponents of immigration seeing that the series of mild regulations had hardly stemmed the tide were not pacified. The greater success of their campaign against admitting Chinese immigrants was no adequate compensation. In fact, in 1902, the United States temporarily suspended Chinese immigration. Of course this did not entirely stop the Chinese, as many of them entered illegally through Mexico. However, the hatred they encountered and the various discriminatory measures taken against them compelled many of the Chinese to return home. On the West Coast, the protest against Japanese immigration also grew in intensity after the turn of the century. The labor organizations led the actions taken against both the Chinese and the Japanese immigrants, charging that cheap Chinese and Japanese labor endangered the living standard of American workers.

The anti-Japanese hysteria at the beginning of the 20th century is an important chapter in the history of not only the West Coast. West Coast anxieties over the loss of white supremacy were the preliminary to a wholesale attack on the new immigrants. Racist feelings aroused by the "yellow peril" and belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority—strengthened

[5] Ibid.

by imperialism and justified by the new immigrants' difficulties in adapting—all favored the spread of the nativist point of view. Among the New England patricians and intellectuals, racial theories grew into a uniform ideology, as the romantic cultural nationalism of the earlier period gave way to biological determinism. The development of European natural sciences provided additional ammunition for this theory, along with Darwin's theory of natural selection and the development of modern genetics—especially in its emphasis on inherited charcteristics, traits that were beyond the environment's power to change. Belief in genetic determinism is expressed in the works of the social scientists writing at this time on the question of immigration. For example, in 1906 John R. Commons stated that even in America the immigrants could hardly overcome the handicaps of their heritage.[6] And Edward A. Ross[7] spoke of the Southeastern European immigrants as the "beaten members of beaten breeds". Both relied in their theorizing on the work of the economist, William Z. Ripley: *The Races of Europe* (1899). He introduced Americans to the concept of physical anthropology, which divided the peoples of Europe into the following types and races: the Northern or Teutonic race and the Southern or Mediterranean race, each with their separate and unchangeable physiological characteristics.

Nevertheless, in spite of the enormous quantity of effective nativist theory, the time for restricting immigration on racial grounds came only after World War I.

All the above notwithstanding, the racist content of early 20th century nativist theory should not be overestimated. The new racial ideology was peculiar to only a handful of intellectuals. Organized labor, which, by the first decade of the century, was steadfastly demanding the restriction of emigration, gave primarily social and economic reasons for their concern. The AFL's support of the literacy test after 1906 was the expression of opposition by trained, skilled workers to the widespread employment of untrained immigrants. The coalminers of Pennsylvania rejected the Italian, Magyar, and Polish workers who came among them by arguing that they were members of an inferior, servile class, and that their presence neutralized efforts to win better wages and working conditions. It was these arguments that economists and a growing number of labor leaders transformed into a more general call to defend "the American way of life". They demanded a selective immigration policy: in other words, that only

[6] John R. Commons (1900–1902), pp. 320–324.
[7] Edward A. Ross (1914), p. 146.

those people be admitted who could rise to the living standards of the American workers. Otherwise, the native American living standards were in jeopardy.

Similar thinking prevailed on the United States Immigration Commission, which sent delegates to the countries of Eastern Europe—to Hungary among others—to study conditions there, and the causes and circumstances of mass emigration, including the governments' emigration policies.[8] Marcus Braun, inspector of the New York Immigration Authority, and members of the Dillingham Commission, travelled to Hungary within the framework of this program. Between 1907 and 1911, the Immigration Authority organized a comprehensive research project to get statistics on the circumstances of the various immigrant groups. When submitted to Congress, their findings filled 41 volumes,[9] more than half of which contain information about the economic effects and results of immigration. When it came to drawing conclusions, however, the commission juggled the data to support its own prejudices. Comparing the various ethnic groups between 1899 and 1909, they tried to document the qualitative differences between the new immigrants and the old. They divided the immigrant groups into two categories, "old" and "new" immigrants. Western and Northern Europeans made up the former group, Southern and Eastern Europeans the latter. The committee showed that the proportion of men, of unskilled workers, and of the illiterate was higher among the new immigrants, and that the majority of them did not intend to stay permanently in the United States. They gave a detailed report of the role of the shipping companies and the emigration agents, emphasizing that because of their activities an unnatural emigration had developed in the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe, especially in the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy and Russia. And the commission listed the data giving statistical proof of the new immigrants' unfavorable classification.

Progressive American historical scholarship has already pointed out the commission's prejudicial handling of the data and the forced comparisons they made in order to be able to draw the desired conclusions. They noted, too, the committee's failure to consider that the various phases of emigration from different countries took place at different times, and that there were changes in the immigrants' social composition and skills during the various phases of mass emigration. Indeed, the commission had given a

[8] Marcus Braun (1906).

[9] Reports of the Immigration Commission (1970).

synchronic comparison of all groups, disregarding the fact that they were then passing through different migratory phases. Sexual distribution, too, as we have seen, depended on when the given ethnic group had joined the stream of international migration: at the beginning of mass emigration, the proportion of men was always greater than in later phases. The situation is similar when we look at the immigrants' distribution by skills: at the peak of mass migration, the number of unskilled peasants was always greater in every ethnic group than in the first phase, or after the peak of the migratory wave. As for the "temporary" nature of the new immigrants' stay, the revolution in transportation which had shortened to about ten days the two or three months' sailing of yore, to say nothing of the significant reduction in fares that the steamships had brought, created a basis for seasonal migration the like of which had been a technological impossibility in earlier periods.

The commission was much concerned with the Magyars, and with the immigrants from Hungary. The fact that after the turn of the century the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy had become one of the centers of emigration had drawn attention to the country, as had the press campaign waged by the competing shipping companies, to say nothing of the ensuing diplomatic complications.

The commission, in its "Brief Statement of the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Immigration Commission, 1910" recommended the further restriction of immigration.[10] Their recommendation, however, was based not so much on racial prejudice but rather on the consideration that the admission of foreigners must be contingent on its promoting the economic and business interests that guarantee American prosperity. Whatever the considerations that convinced the members of the commission of the undesirable nature of the new immigrants, the fact is that they recommended the introduction of the literacy test as of utmost necessity for the immediate restriction of immigration. However, six more years had to pass before the commission's recommendation became law. The groups favoring restrictive immigration were able to get enough Congressional support to override the President's second veto only on the eve of World War I.

The immigration policy of the United States before World War I, in spite of a growing number of limitations, was essentially an "open door" policy created by the demands for cheap labor of a rapidly expanding industry. The only source of this cheap labor was the mass of unskilled

[10] Ibid.

immigrants of peasant background, men willing to take on the most strenuous, the most physically demanding jobs, jobs that no American worker was willing to do. The immigrant peasant and worker masses of Central and Eastern Europe accelerated the social mobility of the native Americans; their presence on the job market freed native manpower from the inferior jobs. Thus, the children of the earlier immigrants could move up more easily on the social and occupational ladder, where, forgetting their parents' past, they looked down on the newcomers with considerable distaste. For the time being, economic and social interests pushed the growing hostility to the newcomers into the background, but the tensions that crystallized in the debates about immigration foreshadowed the future, the selective admission of immigrants. At this time yet, the native population expressed its anxieties by isolating the newcomers; separate and secure behind its wall of prejudice, it could look down with the superiority of the insider. There can be no doubt that the social atmosphere around the new immigrants was frozen. Fortunately, most of them were still so tied to the old country, lived their lives so much within their own ethnic groups, that little came through to them from the opinions formed about them, and if some of it did, the effect was mitigated by its having come from a foreign source.

PART II

IN THE UNITED STATES

ON THE EDGE OF TOWN: SETTLEMENT, WORK, LIFESTYLE

When we look at the map of the United States to see where the emigrants from Hungary ended up, and when we consider the immense size of the country and its great geographic distances, the question automatically arises as to what forces and individuals played a role in forming these settlements. As we have seen, many already were in groups when they left their villages for the great trip. Relatives, acquaintances, and friends joined together, and if someone happened to leave the village alone, he joined others in Budapest or at the harbor or on the ship. The agents of the shipping companies also organized the emigrants in groups, then directed them through various stages of the journey, providing them with written instructions or other signposts so that they could find or be shown their way more easily. And as emigration became a mass movement, most of the emigrants had the American address of a relative or a village acquaintance in their pockets.[1]

Many personal accounts are available of the trials of ocean travel, of what it was like to experience seasickness, the crowded quarters, and in general, the discomforts of third-class or steerage travel.[2] The luckier ones crossed the ocean in ten days, but the less fortunate tarried for days or even weeks at one or another station or harbor.

When the emigrants stepped ashore on Ellis Island, their hopes and expectations turned into anxiety and fear. There the emigrant masses, worn out by the long journey, frightened by the prospect of crossing into an unknown world, had to go through the increasingly strict inspection of the American authorities. And always there were some whose hopes were

[1] J. P. interviews; "At home as well as abroad eight people out of ten told me that they left their home village on the basis of information from relatives." L. Hegedüs (1899), p. 74.

[2] See, for example, L. Hegedüs (1899), pp. 2–17.; Á. Pásztor (1927); T. Kompolthy (1890).; S. Tonelli (1929). In 1907 S. T. travelled steerage to America on the Cunard Line's steamship, Ultonia, in order to make a sociological study of emigration. His book gives interesting source-material. See also J. P. interviews.

shattered; the immigration laws and the health inspectors barred their way from Ellis Island to the "promised land".[3] However, for quite a long time, the rejected made up only a small percentage of the immigrants. The rest of them passed the screening by the immigration authorities, left the harbor, and still in groups, travelled for days by train until they reached their final destination. The American railway employees shepherded them in the right direction by reading the addresses pinned to their clothing. Often, the recruiting agents were still with them on this stage of the journey, and of course charged them extra for providing all extra information.

It would be hard to count up all the settlements of the Hungarian immigrants, and even harder to give an idea of the actual number of immigrants in the various settlements. The data of the United States Census Bureau are only approximate indicators, for, because of the complicated ethnic relations of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, there are difficulties with the registration by nationalities.

Fortunately, the contemporary Hungarian–American newspapers and almanacs contain much information about the Magyar settlements, and though the numbers they give tended to be exaggerated, they give us a fine picture of the characteristic types of the scattered Magyar settlements, and help us reconstruct their development.[4]

In Hungary, emigration had begun in non-Magyar areas, and the first to start out on the great journey en masse were the Slovaks. The first settlements of the immigrants from Hungary were identified as "Slovak". The Magyars joined the Slovaks, following the route they had travelled. Most of them headed for the Eastern industrial states, principally Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, New Jersey, and Illinois, and, in the beginning, the mining regions of West Virginia, that is to say, the same places as the rest of the "new immigrant" groups had gone or were to go.

[3] According to the Hungarian–American newspaper *Előre* (Forward) (January 17, 1914), they no longer even looked for reasons at Ellis Island when rejecting emigrants. Another article (February 6, 1914) reports that when a Hungarian immigrant became indignant over the rudeness of the examining doctor, the doctor declared him insane. According to the statistical records of the Immigration Office, the number of the rejected was increasing. See also E. Steiner (1906), pp. 63–64.

[4] To trace the settlements of the Hungarian immigrants, I used the statistical data of the United States Immigration Office, United States census figures, the records of Hungarian–American associations and churches, almanacs, anniversary publications, and newspapers. The primary sources are: "Amerikai magyar kolóniák" (Hungarian–American colonies), *Szabadság*, 10th anniversary ed. pp. 17–20; "Magyar telephelyek" (Magyar settlements), "Magyar települések" (Magyar colonies), *Szabadság Naptár*, 1905, 1908; Károly Rácz Rónay (1922–1923); also the local histories of Magyar settlements.

According to the Immigration Office, the destinations of immigrants from Hungary in the period between 1898–99 and 1912–13 (as counted by fiscal years) were as follows:

Table 20

Hungarian immigrants to the USA 1898/99–1912/13[5]

State	Absolute number of immigrants	per cent
Total	411,550	100
Pennsylvania	123,216	29.9
New York	77,336	18.8
Ohio	70,302	17.1
New Jersey	61,656	15.0
Total in the four states	332,510	80.8
Illinois	18,446	4.5
Michigan	9,368	2.3
Indiana	10,054	2.4
Wisconsin	4,645	1.1
Missouri	3,199	0.8
Minnesota	1,050	0.3
California	498	0.1
Scattered in other states	31,780	7.7

As we can see, 80 per cent of the immigrants arriving at Ellis Island had the first four states as their destination.

On the basis of the information currently available, we can sum up the characteristic types of Magyar immigrant settlements and their development as follows:

"Magyar America" developed in the form of industrial workers' settlements scattered over a large area. Agricultural settlements formed but an insignificant fraction, and contained only 1 per cent of the immigrants. The industrial settlements were shaped by the dynamic economic development of the United States, by the changing demands of the industrial labor pool, by the immigrants' intentions and by the difficulties they had in adapting. Although centers of settlement did develop, in spite of continuing mass emigration there grew up no ethnically homogeneous and relatively large colonies such as the settlements the earlier immigrants from Western and Northwestern Europe had formed.

[5] For a more detailed annual report, see "Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration." In: MSK vol. 67, Table 47, p. 56.

Because they were dispersed geographically, the Magyars did not form a majority in any single city and remained only a small group within the total population in most areas and cities. In the 1910s, even in Cleveland, their largest and most homogeneous settlement, they comprised only around 10 per cent of the population. In sum, the Magyar immigrant settlements were typically widely scattered small groups that staid together though moving from place to place; they staid in each location only temporarily, and there was considerable fluctuation among the members of the group, especially during the first years of mass immigration.

American observers emphasized the concentration of the new immigrant groups in the big cities, more precisely, on the outskirts, the shanty fringes and slums of the big cities. This settlement pattern was somewhat typical of the Magyars as well, although not nearly so definitively. Two of the largest settlements were in big cities, in New York and Cleveland; still, the majority of the settlements were formed in small industrial towns and, especially during the first years, on the outskirts of industrial and mining towns. At the turn of the century, almost 50 per cent of the immigrants were registered as living in rural, non-farm areas, and the 1910 census listed 35 per cent of them as rural, non-farm residents.

Where a Magyar immigrant was likely to head for once in the United States depended on the time and purpose of his immigration, as well as his social background. Skilled workers, artisans, shopkeepers, the small number of intellectuals, and the déclassé elements all headed for New York City, Chicago, and the western half of Cleveland.[6] The socially more homogeneous group of rural immigrants were more likely to go to the outskirts of industrial towns and mining villages. The immigrants who were not peasants by origin could mingle more easily with other nationalities in the cities, while the immigrants of peasant origin preferred to stay close to each other, no matter how small and confined the settlement was.

No walls divided the communities of the various nationalities arriving from Hungary, even in the most closed settlements. The barriers were put up between the new immigrant groups of various nationalities, the "foreign settlements", and the communities of the native Americans.[7] The former lived in the poorer sections, on the industrial outskirts of the city, worlds apart from the neighborhoods of the native Americans.[8]

[6] 173rd session, Dec. 17, 1902, OKN. vol. X. pp. 85–109. K. Káldor (1937), pp. 240–241. N. Árvaházi (1917). On the McKeesport settlement, see pp. 144–150.

[7] G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 36; Steiner (1906), pp. 238–251.

[8] Ibid.

The nuclei of the various immigrant settlements were formed—especially at the beginning—by relatives and acquaintances from the same region or village. Most Hungarian villages came to have a "traditional" meeting ground in the United States, the place where the emigrants of the village could find each other.[9] But moving around in the United States as they did, an immigrant community was unlikely to stay homogeneous for long. Like real itinerant workers, they changed their jobs frequently, either by their own decision or under compulsion by their employers. The chain of small Magyar settlements stretched out and multiplied along the route of the geographic expansion of certain large factories and mining companies. The immigrants, mostly young men, rallied together in ever newer and newer groups and often went on from one area to another after having picked up only a few paychecks. "... They came and they went, wandering from place to place, in hopes of better work and more pay", writes a contemporary reporter. "Of course they were often disappointed, having left security for uncertainty. Every move was a loss, and if they could not get work at the new place, they had to keep going, to keep wandering, sometimes on foot, sometimes by train, sometimes hitching a ride, in empty box carts, or on top of full coal carts. When, after several hundred miles, they got to their destination, they were as black as gypsies, so that brother could not recognize brother, nor good friend a good friend. They were drenched by rain, dried by wind and sun, and wearied by hunger; their bodies were maimed in tunnels and on railroad bridges. Many lost their lives in trying to conquer this new country, while those who survived kept on going until they had found rest, built a new nest, and started a new family or sent for their loved ones at home. Those who did not, kept on wandering until they got the wages they wanted, worked for a few years, set aside a few dollars, and then went home."[10] Numerous similar descriptions of their wanderings in the United States can be read in the Hungarian–American newspapers of the time. Data on known individuals likewise document this wholesale moving about: for example, the accounts we have from 143 old Hungarian miners of their various workplaces. Almost all of them worked in many different mining camps,[11]

[9] Hegedüs L. (1905)

[10] *Szabadság* 1901, 10th anniversary ed., p. 17; see also E. A. Steiner (1906), the chapter entitled "Drifting with the Hunkies", pp. 213–224.

[11] See *Magyar Bányásznaptár* (Hungarian Miners' Almanac), 1940, pp. 271–291.; the 50th anniversary edition of *Szabadság* (Liberty), 1940, published in the United States gives about 354 settlements and more than 2000 biographies, and documents their wanderings.

until, in their old age, they either settled somewhere in the United States or returned to the place of their birth.

The incentive in their wanderings was to earn money in the shortest time possible by work no matter where or how hard, to get the money necessary to realize their dreams and plans so that they might then return to their families. In explaining their moving about, however, the contemporary sources also call attention to the difficulties the immigrants had in adjusting to the new and unfamiliar working conditions and to the strange environment. "Most Hungarians find their pleasure in making the railroads rich. The Hungarian who at home took days to get ready for the market is now looking for jobs a thousand miles away, and thinking nothing of it. The slightest cause, an ecouraging letter from a good friend, for example, convinces him to give up his good job. Today he is around New York, the day after tomorrow he is to be found in Ohio, 1500 miles away. One reason for this is the epidemic travel fever which is practically in the American air. The other is the fact that the majority of our people do not want to adjust to the conditions here, do not like it here, yet do not want to return home since they know that they would not find the conditions—neither working conditions nor other—which they now need to be able to stay there permanently."[12]

Their wanderings within the United States and their repeated returns to Hungary were also the source of population fluctuation in their settlements, especially in the early years. They moved about primarily within the above-mentioned six industrial states, over a territory several times larger than that of historic Hungary. They generally started out in groups even within the United States, but newly formed friendships and acquaintances changed the personal composition of their groups. With the passing of time, the population of certain Magyar settlements might grow considerably more comprehensive as people from more and more parts of Hungary came to work there.

Here is the place to refer to one of the most debated problems of the American literature on immigration, that of the meaning of the settlement structure of the "new" immigrants. What do the network of Magyar immigrant settlements, the types of communities formed tell us? Did they become people cut off from their original communities, from their roots, people no longer tied together by intimate ties as Oscar Handlin would have it, seeing them as victims of alienation? Or did those emigrating from the same village continue to stay together in the new environment, to settle in

[12] *Szabadság* 1901, 10th anniversary ed. p. 17.

the same geographic area, and thus maintain the continuity of their original community, and through it, preserve their ethnicity? This latter point of view, as already mentioned, was first presented by the historian Rudolph Vecoli, who uses the example of the Italian emigrants to make his point.[13] A detailed analysis of the Magyar emigrant settlements and of the personal composition of certain settlements indicates that there were indeed people from the same village (relatives, friends) who staid together; yet along with these small groupings, dispersion is also conspicuous.[14] For one thing, the geographic background of the emigrants was relatively far flung in relation to their numbers. From most villages, fewer than one hundred people left for the United States, and this includes the villages in the emigration regions. The purpose of most of this migration (the Magyars were "target migrants") was to stay only temporarily; the life-style of an itinerant worker, however, was unlikely to keep together even those who had arrived together (e.g. relatives). The groups mingled again and again, as those who had emigrated together and those who had come to join each other separated in consequence of new acquaintances and new job orientations, or because of conflicts that arose, perhaps only to come together again somewhere else.

Therefore, the communities growing up in the various settlements were not simply the old communities placed into a new geographic setting. Rather, they were newly organized communities whose supporting pillars were more the past all had in common—the shared language and the common old country—than the ties to a particular village or region, although this, too, was a cohesive force for quite some time.

Although Magyar immigrants were to be found in every branch of industry where unskilled workers were employed, three types of jobs stand out: the mines, the iron mills, and the steel mills. The jobs open to them were the hardest, the dirtiest, and the most demanding physically, jobs no native-born American worker wanted to do, so much so that they were even called "foreign jobs".[15]

[13] R. J. Vecoli (1964).

[14] Several anniversary books of churches (see, for example, the "Családi Album" (Family Album) of the Magyar Reformed Church of South Side, Chicago, 1912–1942, compiled by Dienes Barna) not only contain information on the name, birth place, time of immigration, and family status of the emigrants, but also provide the name and birth place of the wife, and the time and place of marriage. These data prove that while it was typical in Hungary to marry from the same village, to do so was already a rarity in America.

[15] Swiatkowski (1975), pp. 145–153.

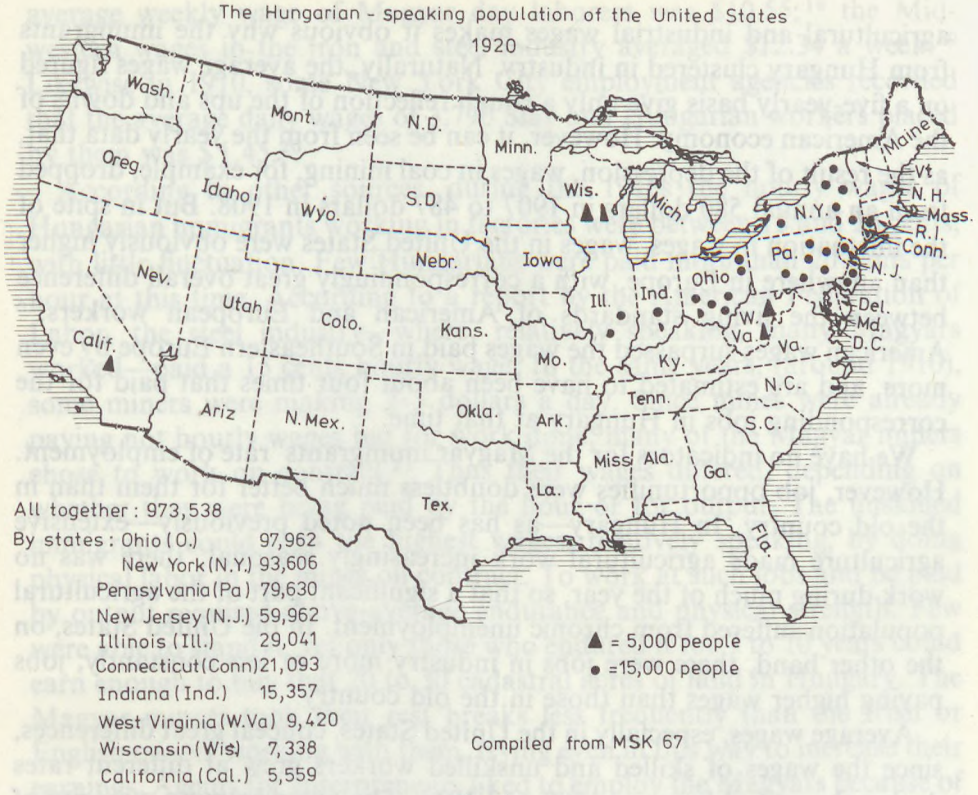

Fig. 4

As far as the opportunities to make money, we can use the United States statistical data on wages as a starting point to figure the average yearly income of the agricultural, mine and factory workers.

The data in Table 21 clearly indicate the differences in nominal wages by branches of production, and they also show the tendency of wages to increase from the turn of the century on. The great difference between

Table 21

Wages in the United States between 1890 and 1913
(average annual income in dollars)

Year	Bituminous coal miner	Factory worker	Agricultural worker
1890–1894	370	442	231
1895–1899	310	417	225
1900–1904	477	417	267
1905–1909	525	516	318
1910–1913	589	561	345

agricultural and industrial wages makes it obvious why the immigrants from Hungary clustered in industry. Naturally, the average wages figured on a five-yearly basis give only a rough reflection of the ups and downs of the American economy. However, it can be seen from the yearly data that, as the result of the depression, wages in coal mining, for example, dropped from an annual 580 dollars in 1907 to 487 dollars in 1908. But in spite of the fluctuation in wages, wages in the United States were obviously higher than anywhere in Europe, with a correspondingly great overall difference between the living standards of American and European workers.[16] American wages surpassed the wages paid in Southeastern Europe by even more, and are estimated to have been about four times that paid for the corresponding jobs in Hungary at that time.

We have no indicators for the Magyar immigrants' rate of employment. However, job opportunities were doubtless much better for them than in the old country. In Hungary—as has been noted previously—extensive agriculture made agricultural work increasingly seasonal; there was no work during much of the year, so that a significant part of the agricultural population suffered from chronic unemployment. In the United States, on the other hand, there were jobs in industry more or less constantly, jobs paying higher wages than those in the old country.

Average wages, especially in the United States, conceal great differences, since the wages of skilled and unskilled workers grew at different rates during the period between 1890 and 1914. The overwhelming majority of the Magyars were not skilled workers, so that the data that indicate wage increases among the unskilled workers give us a better picture of the changes in their situation. For while the average wages of all workers rose by 54 per cent between 1890 and 1914, the wages of skilled workers rose by 74 per cent, and the wages of unskilled workers by only 31 per cent. The wage difference between the two groups increased continuously, but especially after 1907.[17] There are no statistical data about wages paid specifically to Magyar immigrants. There are only scattered figures, based on individual pieces of information and the assessment of the Dillingham Commission. For example, in the early 1910s, in Cleveland and its surroundings, the

[16] In his study W. Sombart (1906) compares European and American working conditions, and marshals a wealth of data to support his thesis that the reason the American worker did not save more of his wages was that he lived like his well-off bourgeois contemporary in East-Central Europe.

[17] See the calculations in A. Dawson's (1978) study (manuscript); on the changes in real wages, see also A. Rees (1961) and P. H. Douglas (1930); average industrial wages between 1890 and 1914 increased from 100.84 to 154.06 (Rees); the wages of unskilled workers from 100 to 130.61 (Douglas); and of skilled workers from 99.35 to 173.73 (Dawson 1978, 9a.).

average weekly wage of Magyar day laborers was $10.55;[18] the Midwestern wages in the iron and steel industry averaged $12.34 a week.[19] Likewise in 1910, some New York City employment agencies recorded that the average daily wages of 3,790 Slav and Hungarian workers placed by them was $ 1.45.[20]

According to other sources, during the 1910s the hourly wages of Hungarian immigrants working in factories were between 15 and 20 cents, with little fluctuation. Few Hungarians were paid more than 20 cents per hour at this time. According to a report by the American Federation of Labor, the steel industry—where, relatively speaking, many Magyars worked—paid a 15 cents hourly wage. In the same years, (around 1910), some miners were making 2–3 dollars a day. Since mines were already paying not hourly wages but for work done, many of the Magyar miners chose to work on contract.[21] Thus their wages differed, depending on whether they were being paid by the hour or for output. The unskilled immigrants could earn the highest wages, relatively speaking, by doing physical labor in the mines on contract. To work at such jobs and be paid by output required above-average endurance and physical strength. Few were able to stand it, yet only those who endured it for 7 to 10 years could earn enough to buy that 20 to 30 cadastral acres of land in Hungary. The Magyar miners took their rest breaks less frequently than the Irish or English miners working with them, trying even in this way to increase their earnings. Agents for enterpreneurs liked to employ the Magyars because of their "drive", but the same drive fed the antipathy of the native-born American workers toward them.

The national records of average wages and average hourly wages give us just as little information about the working hours of the Magyar immigrants. From the turn of the century, they worked 60 hours a week in industry, and, from 1903, 52 hours a week in the bituminous coal mines. In New Jersey, between 1902 and 1908, the average day in industry numbered 9.5–10 working hours.[22] Contemporary Hungarian–American newspapers

[18] D. E. Weinberg (1977), p. 177.

[19] Senate Documents 1909–1910. vol. 71, p. 21.

[20] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor No. 72., Washington, D. C. 1910, p. 426. Quoted by Hoffmann (1911), p. 60. See also Ferenczi (1909). He gives a more or less detailed listing of the workplaces and average earnings of the Hungarian immigrants for the years 1907 and 1908.

[21] "They earn the most in the mines, although often the wages are not equal to the work performed. Still, the Hungarian immigrants—with a few exceptions—after living here for a few years, acquire quite a nice capital considering the circumstances and wants of the old country, a sum which there can serve as the foundation of their success." AMN Album 1909, p. 41. See also G. Hoffmann (1911), pp. 70–71.

[22] G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 59.

also mention 10 hours as the average working day, with half a day off on Saturday. However, they often rounded off the information with the remark that the latter was often not granted by the factories employing new immigrants. Day laborers in these factories worked 12 hours a day. According to the records of the American Federation of Labor, in the steel industry the work day was 12 hours, seven days a week. When the labor unions called attention to the low wages, and especially to the long working hours and Sunday work in the factories of the steel trust in the 1910s, it created such an outcry that the government ordered an investigation of these conditions.

Wages, working hours, and working conditions in general received a different evaluation when viewed from the Hungarian angle. Although the Social Democrats in Hungary sharply criticized increased work intensity, Sunday work, the system of paying low wages plus premiums for greater production, the role of the foreman in dictating the work tempo, etc., they still came out in favour of the American conditions when compared to the Hungarian.[23]

The Magyar immigrants judged the American working conditions on the basis of their experiences in the old country. Forgetting that the value of money was different in the city than in the village, and figuring their dollar wages in the currency of the old country (1 dollar: 5 crowns), they generally overestimated their real wages. In the beginning they usually did not object to the long work hours, since, in this respect, most of them had gained their experience in agriculture, where—when they did work—their hours lasted from dawn to dusk. A contemporary writes: "I have talked to a number of men who have been to America, and found the work there incomparably easier than the work at home; they complained bitterly that here they have to leave the village for the fields at 2:30 a.m. and not get home until 9: 30 in the evening."[24] In general, the freer social conditions of

[23] *Népszava* (People's Voice), the newspaper of the Social Democratic Party in Hungary, also contains much information about the wages in Hungary and in America, emphasizing the difference between the two. See *Népszava:* "A bácsmegyei munkanélküliségről" (Unemployment in Bács county), March 10, 1900; "A salgótarjáni bányászok munkabéreiről, munkaidőről" (Wages and working hours of the Salgótarján miners), July 9, 1903; "Kivándoroltak levelei megélhetési viszonyaikról" (Letters of immigrants about their living conditions), July 16, 1903; "Amerikai munkabérek" (American wages), April 12, 1904; "The daily wage of the North American unionized worker is 2.5 dollars—in Hungary it is 62 fillérs daily; The working day is mostly 9 hours", we read in the article "A 8,8,8 diadala" (The triumph of the 8,8,8) of May 1, 1906; "Amerikai és magyarországi munkabérek" (American and Hungarian wages), based on a letter of a Hungarian worker in St. Louis, November 16, 1907; "Az átlag munkabérek Magyarországon" (Average wages in Hungary), October 15, 1907.

[24] B. Nemény i (1911), p. 37.

a bourgeois democracy, unshackled by traditions and a feudal past made a great impression upon the immigrants. One of them put the difference between their Hungarian past and American present like this: "I finish my work, get dressed and I too am a gentleman"—unlike in Hungary. Many of them also judged the tone between boss and employee on the job to be much more informal and therefore humane than in Hungary.[25]

In spite of all this, the peasants, used to seasonal work, had trouble adjusting to the daily drudgery, to the rhythm of industrial work.[26] Their difficulties in adapting contributed to their moving about on a conspicuously large scale in the United States. It was their conviction that this situation was only temporary, and that they would eventually return to the old country that helped them to endure the unusual work and the strange environment. The immigrants lived in the future, and to secure it, they were willing to suffer the trials of the present and accept its difficulties. Most of them did not then consider the possibility that perhaps they would never break free of the monotonous rhythm of industrial work.

The working conditions of the Magyar immigrant women developed characteristically. Young girls usually began by hiring out for 10–20 dollars a month as servants to American families, or occasionally to Hungarian saloon keepers, shopkeepers, and so on. In Hungary, too, the main road to the city for peasant girls had been a job as a servant. Most looked upon "being a servant" as a temporary condition, a chance to earn a dowry before getting married. Generally, they did not remain servants for long in the United States either, not only because they married quickly (there was a great deal of "wife seeking" among immigrant men) but also because, as they became better informed, they looked upon work in the factory as something more advantageous than being a servant. While factory work was financially less favorable, still it promised, and gave, more freedom. Their views were also influenced by the Americans' distaste for all servile work, and after a while they, too, felt that to be a servant was humiliating. The women were employed mainly in the silk, undergarment, clothing, tobacco, and cigar factories as daylaborers and unskilled workers. In these places their wages averaged 4 to 6 dollars a week, so that they became the most poorly paid working group.

The types of jobs at which the new immigrants could work, especially those from Hungary, were always the most dangerous in every industrial

[25] J. P. interviews.

[26] H. G. Gutman (1973), pp. 555–554; J. P interviews.

state.[27] It is well known that the mining and the metal industries take the greatest number of victims. The basically dangerous work areas became doubly so for the immigrants. They did not speak the language, so did not understand verbal warnings, while posted notices about danger meant nothing to them. These factors were partly responsible for the shockingly frequent industrial accidents; the other was the system of industrial organization in the United States.[28]

Factories, work places, and labor safety regulations made no provision for the immigrant's ignorance of the dangers of the new environment, and paid no heed to his requiring increased protection and safer working conditions. In fact, employers often did not observe even those labor safety regulations which were prescribed by law. Compensation laws in case of accident were built on the theory of individual responsibility, and common law held only its direct contriver responsible for the accident. Even in states where the provisions of the common law with reference to industrial accidents had been modified, only general compensation was provided for: the worker had the right to sue, that is, to try to get compensation through the courts. But this method of getting redress was rarely used by the immigrants, who did not speak the language and were on unfamiliar grounds. At any rate, the courts that heard the evidence on mine explosions that had caused mass accident or death rarely held the mine owners responsible. The accident-compensation law of Pennsylvania—where the Magyars worked in the largest numbers—did not cover the worker's family, left without its breadwinner, in Hungary.

It is yet to be ascertained what percentage of the Hungarian immigrants lost their lives, or were crippled or maimed simply because they were unorganized Eastern Europeans with whom neither their employers—greedily getting richer—nor the organized American workers felt a sense of community. The accident rate was inordinately high among the immigrants: for example, in the Carnegie South Works of Pittsburgh, 25 per cent of the new immigrants suffered injuries or were killed every year between 1907 and 1910.[29] From 1904 on, the almanac of the Hungarian–American newspaper, *Szabadság*, always had a chapter headed "Fatal accidents" and "Mine disasters". The following summary is based on newspaper reports of some of the catastrophes. "A terrible mine accident took place in the morning of January 25 (1904) in the Harwick coal mine of the Allegheny

[27] G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 48.
[28] Ibid.
[29] H. G. Gutman (1973), p. 553.

Coal Company, in Cheswick, 15 miles from Pittsburgh... Shortly after 187 men went down into the mine to work, the pit gas exploded; all of them suffocated." An investigation found that no one was responsible. "It seems that these investigations in America are just like the ones at home", commented the newspaper. Then it continues: "The terrible catastrophy at Cheswick is the darkest page of Magyar–American history. More than fifty men met their death in the mine, not including their Slovak compatriots, who were, however, much fewer in number. Only a very few of these workers, who died such a dreadful death, had life insurance, so that the widows and orphans, in addition to their irreplaceable loss, are facing a very uncertain future... They buried the dead in a common grave, dug next to the mine..."[30]

In the *Szabadság Naptár* of 1908, we can read: "The past year holds extremely woeful memories for Hungarian–Americans. Great is the number of those valiant Magyars who fell on the battlefield of labor, who were killed by the mine, were crushed by rocks, torn to pieces by machines, and burned to death by molten steel. How often the mail man brought the sad letter with the news that, in one place or another, Hungarians are being destroyed. The mournful list will have no end. Labor is taking its toll by the hundreds, and we stand before the burned and mutilated corpses terrified by the knowledge of our utter helplessness."[31]

The *Népszava* writes: "At the end of the year, just before the season of joy, two indescribably awful mine catastrophes destroyed many fine Hungarian miners. Twenty-four Magyar miners fell victim to the mine explosions in Arnold City, and almost a hundred Slovak miners from Hungary, and a lot of Magyar miners, fell victim to the mine catastrophe at Monongahela". There was an explosion in the Dare shaft of the United Coal Company of Pittsburgh in which supposedly 400 Hungarians (i.e. men from Hungary) lost their lives.[32]

The registers of the Hungarian–American churches also contain shocking data about mass mine accidents, and about the victims of mine explosions and industrial accidents. For example, a Calvinist minister from

[30] *Szabadság Naptár* 1905, pp. 225–229.

[31] *Szabadság Naptár* 1908, pp. 207–209.

[32] *Népszava*, December 21, 1907. From the turn of the century *Népszava* frequently gave news of the accidents suffered on the job by Hungarian immigrants. For example the article "Magyar munkások pusztulása Amerikában" (The destruction of Hungarian workers in America), of Feb. 18, 1902, was about a mine explosion: "In the Cost Check coal mine of Iowa, 21 miners, including some Hungarians, lost their lives." See also July 18, 1905: "Statisztika a halálos balesetekről" (Some statistics on fatal accidents).

around Pittsburgh, in Homestead, put down in his church register the ages of those he buried and the causes of death. Between 1903 and 1914, the most frequent causes of death were "mine explosion", "deadly contusion", "burns", "hit by train", "typhoid", "dysentery". The majority of the victims were young men.[33]

Among the immigrants from Hungary it was especially the mine that became a concept associated with fear and horror. Most of the accidents happened in the mines. "The mine killed him", said the old Hungarian–Americans with the same resignation as if they had been speaking of a bloodthirsty monster, against whom man would struggle in vain. The weight of these experiences in the mines is indicated by their incorporation into songs originating in the old country, and by their becoming the main theme of the evolving American working-class poetry and literature.[34]

The wages, high compared to those in Hungary, were so low by American standards that they barely met the official minimum. How could the immigrants live on such wages and even save? Only by maintaining a living standard far below that of the American workers.

From the end of the 19th century on, the new immigrants became the favorite subject of American sociologists.[35] They were especially assiduous in examining the mining camps of Pennsylvania, and published alarming data concerning the living standards of the Slavs—among whom they included the Magyars. They took the immigrants to task for being unassuming, for depriving themselves of comforts and even adequate nutrition, to say nothing of entertainment and culture. According to the sociologists, they economized at the expense of their health, in order to be able to return to their village with some savings. They disapproved even more of the drunkenness of the immigrants, the disproportionate number of their pubs, their high crime rate, especially violent crimes. They reproached the immigrants from Southeastern Europe for their insensitivity to external beauty and cleanliness, and demonstrated with pictures the difference between their homes and the homes of American and Irish miners.

Hungarian embassy and consular reports also spoke darkly about the lifestyle, dietary and living conditions of the immigrants from Hungary,

[33] See the notices in the death registry of the Magyar Reformed Church of Homestead, Pa.

[34] For more details, see E. Rickert (1920); J. Kovács (1977); D. Nagy (1978); G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 234.

[35] See, e.g. P. Roberts (1912) and (1904); F. J. Warner (1905); W. F. Gibbons (1895), pp. 315–323.

and the contemporary Hungarian–American newspapers contained similarly sharp criticism for the same reasons.[36] At the focus of all this criticism were the "boarding houses" or, as the immigrants called them, the "burdos házak", and the peculiar lifestyle of the communities that grew up there. It is worthwhile quoting at length from contemporary reports based on the information collected in 1890 by a United States Department of Labor commission on the lifestyle of Slovaks and Magyars in 16 iron and steel factories of the state of Pennsylvania: "The workers employed here are almost all Hungarians, and the majority of the married ones left their families in Europe. They are unassuming. They generally keep 40 dollars in ready cash on themselves for times of sickness or other unexpected occurrences. They send their savings back to their families regularly. They resolve their lodging collectively: 20–45 men find a suitable house together and elect a *burdos gazda* (usually a man with a wife). His job is to get provisions, pay the rent, and keep the accounts. At the end of each month all members of the group pay their part of the total expenses, plus 1.5 or 2 dollars for the wife of the *burdos gazda,* who cooks and cleans. Besides this, they pay 50 cents to the *gazda* if he spends all his time taking care of the business of the collective; but if he is a worker who lives on his wages, then he too is a member of the collective and pays his part of the common expenses. The aim is not to exceed 9 dollars a month as the total expense for food and lodging per capita, and if, at the end of the month, they find that they have overstepped this sum, they have a meeting and cut the food, in order to reduce expenses. Everyone provides his own bedding. The furniture is poor, consisting of home-made tables, benches instead of chairs, and beds fabricated out of old boards, and the only well-equipped piece of furnishing in the entire house is the stove they cook on. The houses are chock full: those working the night shift alternate in using the same rooms with those working the day shift; 4–10 men sleep in a room. Once a month, on pay day, they collectively buy a barrel of beer for 3 dollars, if there are 20 of them to do so, and drink it up together. But if there are fewer than 20 men, then they do not buy together, because then the expense for each is too much. They usually have one decent suit besides their work clothes; each spends an average of 18 dollars on clothes annually."[37]

Married women had a harder time getting factory jobs, especially in small mining camps where work opportunities for women were few. Most

[36] Study-tour reports submitted by the Austro-Hungarian Embassy staff, e.g. Griska (1904), and Ambrozy (1908) in SA PA W; also AMN Album 1909, p. 41.

[37] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor. Washington, D.C. No 72. September 1907, pp. 474–482.

of them undertook to keep house for the *burdosok* (boarders). The employment of married women in industry in the United States was minimal, 3 per cent according to the 1900 census. There are no statistical data on the employment of the Magyar women, but from numerous contemporary sources it appears that a significant number of the married women at this time worked as a *burdos asszony*. They had no easy time of it. They washed and ironed the clothes and underwear of 10–15 men, which, without a washing machine, was in itself no easy task. They cleaned the rooms and cooked for the men, even filling individual orders on demand. The common meals were called *compánia koszt* (company food) and were paid for collectively by the boarders. The *burdos asszony* prepared the food packages for the men working on the different shifts. They kept the company's book and handled the money the men left with them rather than put in a bank. The women's job was to carry water, to prepare the baths, and in some places, when the men returned pitch-black from work, even to scrub their backs with the barrels full of hot water that they prepared for them.[38]

That the wife of the *burdos gazda* lived together in the same household with a group of lonely young men, far away from home, loosened the strict norms of matrimonial fidelity that obtained in the old country.[39] At times, jealousy, fights, family dramas, gave rise to scenes ending in murder or suicide. As a Magyar immigrant who lived through those times observed, "The roots of all the murders that took place among the Magyars, and there were quite a few, were always in the *burdos* houses".[40]

The boarding-house system had a number of variations and was most widely spread in the state of Pennsylvania. The most uncongenial types were those outside the cities, in factory or mining camps, in settlements generally consisting of only 100 to 200 houses;[41] here, the boarding house was usually company property. In some places, the company compelled the married workers to keep *burdos* houses by way of payment to the company for their own housing. At industrial and mining camps the stores were owned by the company, and the workers had to shop there. They received so-called "company books" for keeping account of the goods purchased; the total cost was deducted from their pay at the end of the month. This system of

[38] A. Vázsonyi (1976), pp. 695–793. The account given the author by two old women on Cleveland's East Side about the duties of the "burdos" women, including the "back washing," coincided with this almost verbatim. (J. P. interviews).

[39] For more details, see A. Vázsonyi (1976).

[40] F. Bilkei (1910), p. 79; L. Epstein (1914).

[41] G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 37.

credit raised prices and was a form of the workers' exploitation, for company stores, having no competition, sold poorer quality products at higher prices.[42]

Emigration from the village led to the disintegration of the old family framework, of the norms of a patriarchal way of life. However, living away from one's family in groups in a common household was not completely unknown to the immigrants even back in the old country.[43] When agricultural workers contracted to do seasonal work away from home, especially harvesting, they tried, just as they did in America, to save as much of their pay as possible, and to provide some kind of a substitute for the family community they had left behind in the form of a "pseudo-family" recruited from relatives and friends. In the communal household of the *burdos* house, it was primarily acquaintances, relatives, friends, or immigrants from the same village who got together—at least initially.[44]

This framework, then, was natural and necessary in the circumstances in which the immigrants found themselves. In fact, there was little else the non-English speaking immigrants could do. Native-born American families did not like to give lodging or even rent a room to them. They had to find a dwelling among their compatriots, with acquaintances, if possible. The strangeness of the environment, their yearning for the family back home, all increased the need for "homey" surroundings. However, the *burdos* lifestyle developed not only because of the need to save money, or to find a substitute family, but also because of the rapid geographic expansion of industrialization. Employing an immigrant work force had the additional advantage for the industrialists of making unnecessary the communal investments that normally went with industrial expansion. To expand production, it was enough to establish factories and, right by them, workers' dormitories and *burdos* houses. The development of urbanization has covered up this past, and from a distance of half a century, the recollections of the surviving members of this generation of their former way of life might seem quite incredible to us, their descendants.

This lifestyle gradually changed when the women came to join the immigrants. As more and more men set up their independent family households, the *burdos* houses lost their importance. Still, according to the

[42] Ibid., pp. 62–63.; *Népszava*, November 2, 1905.
[43] Z. Sárközi (1965) II., pp. 321–381.
[44] See J. P. interviews.

Dillingham Commission's report, even in the 1910s 53.6 per cent of the Magyar married couples kept *burdos* houses in the Midwest.[45]

The Magyars, like the other new immigrants, joined the marginal groups of the American working class. Their mass immigration took place at a time when American capitalism was entering a new phase. By the 1880s, finance capital had pervaded the entire country, and the development of monopolies had begun. Consequently, significant organizational changes were taking place in the economy and in society alike, changes in the structure of the American working class, and in their degree of activism. The unions were developing rapidly. Their national organization, as has been mentioned, the "Knights of Labor", was formed in 1869; the American Federation of Labor is its descendent. The network of associations formed to safeguard the interests of the workers was built by experienced, second-generation, skilled, industrial workers, who also fought bitter wage wars and organized strikes for better pay and shorter working hours.[46]

The East–Central European masses who immigrated after the economic depression of 1870 swelled the available labor pool and thus posed a threat to the wages and hard-won gains of the native American workers and earlier immigrants. The employers also tried to use the newcomers as strikebreakers against the organized workers, replacing activist workers by new immigrants willing to work for lower wages or, more precisely, obliged to, in order to survive. The newcomers, most of whom did not know the language or understand what was going on, failed to realize that they were being used as strikebreakers. A bitter struggle ensued between the various layers of the working class. From this time on, the organized workers saw their interests threatened on two fronts. In their unions, they tried to buffer themselves against the immigrants: the American Federation of Labor prescribed conditions of membership—high entrance fees, United States citizenship—that would serve to keep out

[45] Documents. 61st Congress No. 67., p. 182. R. F. Harney (1978), pp. 79–101, gives an interesting analysis of the peculiar lifestyle—the boarding house and the padrone system—of the Italian immigrants. He suggests that a comparative analysis of the women's role in the "burdos" houses among the Magyar, Slovak, and Italian immigrants would be most useful. Such a study would certainly broaden our knowledge of the characteristics of the new immigrants' basically common fate, and also of the peculiarities originating in their European traditions. The in-depth analysis of the boarding house system is necessary not only from the point of view of various ethnic groups and settlements, but also of historical development: how the initially communal housekeeping, organized completely on the basis of equality, gradually turned into a family "enterprise", when the keeping of boarders increasingly became the source of separate income and a way of acquiring a house.

[46] See "Radicalism in United States History" (1979).

the newcomers. The unions also aimed at making as many factories as possible a closed shop, thus keeping even skilled immigrant workers from being employed in jobs suited to their training. Continuing immigration meant greater stratification and made for a more divided working class in the United States than in Europe. A significant barrier between the native-born and the immigrant workers was their lack of understanding of each other's languages and their aversion to each other's customs. The native-born skilled worker, who felt at home in his industrial society, looked down on the immigrants, considered them to be members of a lower species because most of them came from pre-industrial villages and were inexperienced in industrial work. The American workers maintained a most rigid social isolation between themselves and the immigrant workers. The American Federation of Labor, although claiming to represent all workers, in fact represented only one, increasingly exclusive layer, that of the native-born skilled workers. It did not try to organize the "new" immigrants, did not try to represent their interests or get to know them. The core of its efforts and program was to get the biggest share possible for its members from the ever increasing national wealth. It made no political demands; on the contrary, it sharply opposed the workers' parties that advocated socialist ideals. Such attitudes on the part of the unions did not inspire the immigrant workers to solidarity with them. Even the skilled workers among the immigrants did not hesitate to work during strikes, whenever they were able to get employment in their trade. However, with the passing of time, some of this hostility began to subside.

It was in the mining areas that national and racial prejudices first began to let up enough for cooperation with the immigrant workers to become more or less possible. The first union to open its gates to the new immigrants was the United Mine Workers of America. Work in the mines, because of its peculiarities, provided less of a chance for a workers' aristocracy to develop, unlike in certain branches of industry. The common danger, the greater numbers of immigrants among the miners, and the tendency for them to stay at one job for a longer time all created more favorable grounds for their getting to know and understand each other and thus to learn to cooperate. At any rate, the demands formulated by the mining unions in 1902 took the needs of the immigrants into consideration, and tried to draw them into the economic struggle. The United Mine Workers of America organized most actively in Pennsylvania, Indiana,

Ohio, and Illinois, that is in states where most of the immigrant Magyars worked.[47]

In the successful strikes, the Southeastern Europeans (Italians, Slovaks, Magyars) generally stood out as steadfast fighters. The Magyar miners were prominent, for example, in the strikes led by the Western Federation of Miners. During the strike of 1912 in Calmeton, Michigan (where a great many Magyars worked), "the Magyar miners stood the fight with admirable tenacity. They gave life to this unforgettable, great struggle. Whenever the strikers held a demonstration, the Magyars always led it with the Verhovay flags".[48] And the strikes, along with the mine disasters, became the subjects of their songs, and of Hungarian–American lyric poetry.[49]

However, the majority of the Magyars, especially those not working in the mines, were not unionized. In the steel industry, for example, the AFL decidedly closed its gates to them. One usually thinks of strikes and wage wars in connection with organized workers and unions. One might, thus, conclude that the unorganized immigrants, isolated from the unions, did not participate in the struggle for improving the living standards of the American workers. The earlier literature on the American unions also emphasized only the strikebreaking activities of the immigrants. More recently, however, historians of the American working class have begun to point to those wage wars and strikes that became increasingly frequent especially from 1905 on, strikes fought by the "new" immigrants who were mostly outside the unions, and occasionally fought in spite of the unions' expressed opposition.

[47] G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 87. For more details, see the chapter "Strike," pp. 98–122. Hungarian immigrants had already participated in strikes in the 1890s: for example, in the steel workers strike in Homestead, Pa., July 1892, and in strikes at the Pullman factory in Illinois, June 1894, and at Hazelton, Pa., July 1897. Concerning the latter *Népszava* writes the following in "Latimeri vérfürdő" (Bloodbath in Latimer): "The strikers are almost all from Hungary... 18 dead and more than 40 wounded lay all over the place, mostly on their faces, as a crying symbol that the cowardly murderers (Sheriff Martin and his colleagues, paid by the mine owners — J. P.) had shot them all in the back." Not only the Latimer demonstration had its victims, but the previously mentioned strikes as well. The majority of the victims from Hungary were Slovaks, but the newspapers also mention Magyars among them. *Szabadság*, 10th anniversary edition, 1901.

[48] L. Tarcai (1936), p. 58.; on the strikes of immigrant miners, see e.g., Report on the Miners' Strike in the Bituminous Coal Fields in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, in 1910–1911. Washington, 1912; V. H. Greene (1968).

[49] Such for example is the following:
"Mister pitboss we won't work
We are striking to a man
We are striking to show you
that we won't load the coal!"
Zs. Móricz (1921), vol. I, No. 4, p. 250.

Between 1909 and 1912, the period of "great eruptions", the Magyars fought in the ranks of the striking workers in the bitter and bloody strikes at McKeesport, Pa., South Bethlehem, O., and Bridgeport, Conn.[50] Géza Hoffmann has compiled a list of more than 70 great strikes between the years 1905 and 1910 in which Magyars also participated.[51] And his list is by no means complete. The details of the McKeesport and South Bethlehem strikes can be found in Hoffmann's book, so rather than examining them here let us look at the peculiarities of these strikes. One is that the marginal status of the immigrants determined the nature of their economic struggle within the American working class. Their strikes differed from the classic wage wars of the organized workers. The spontaneity and fierce violence of their actions, their festive demonstrations with flags were more like a peasant revolt than class-conscious workers' action. Wages concerned them the most. They either demanded higher wages or protested against reduced wages and reduced job opportunities. Longer working hours and poor working conditions were less of a consideration. According to one noted historian of the American working class, the forms and characteristics of the new immigrants' strikes seemed a cultural anachronism not only to Theodore Roosevelt or Elbert Gary but to Samuel Gompers as well.[52] None of these, of course, bothered to consider that the peculiarities of the immigrants' economic struggles were determined not only by their old country inheritance and peasant background, but also by the indifference of American society, which paid attention only to conspicuous expressions of their wild despair—and which, even then, instead of feeling sympathy toward them, disapproved of these "foreign disturbances". Under such circumstances, with no one to represent their interests, only a few of their lone strikes produced immediate economic results.

No detailed statistical data are available for analyzing social differences and social mobility among the Magyar immigrants. In occupational breakdowns of the American population, the Magyars are included in the

[50] See the description of various strikes by F. Thomson (1955). The so-called "Unknown Committee" decided during the McKees Rock strike (August 1909), after a striker, István Horváth, was killed, that for every striker killed they would take the life of one of those fighting against them. p. 43.

"On August, 20 the state troopers, who were called 'the Cossacks of Pennsylvania' by the workers, attacked the living quarters—sneeringly called 'Hunkyville'—of the Hungarian strikers and started shooting there. The strikers, as good as their word, used weapons in self defense." J. Geréb (1921), p. 85.; for the steel strikes of 1909–1910, and the "new immigrants" determined participation in it, see D. Brody (1960), pp. 123–146. See also M. Dubofsky (1969), p. 204–209.

[51] See the chapter "Strike" in G. Hoffmann (1911), pp. 98–122.

[52] H. E. Gutman (1973), p. 580.

category of "others". Only computerizing of the individual data sheets of the Magyar organizations (e.g. churches and fraternal societies) will give us the starting point for a more reliable analysis of their social mobility. However, we can learn a great deal from the Hungarian–American newspapers, the accounts of contemporaries, the various official reports and annual publications, from individual biographies, and, last but not least, from advertisements; all these will serve to give an outline of the main trends.

As we have seen, the overwhelming majority of the immigrants came from the poor sections of Hungarian society. They were village people, craftsmen, small shopkeepers. A much smaller, but not negligible group consisted of the déclassé members of the middle class, of people who had got into trouble, of intellectuals and clerics. At any rate, we must remember that the emigrants from Hungary had much more varied social backgrounds than was recognized by their contemporaries either here or in Hungary.

In the United States, a peculiar form of social mobility evolved among the Magyar immigrants, although it is likely that this model is similar to that of other "new" immigrant groups. Most of them, when they got on the ship to cross the ocean, left behind not only their geographic and social environment, but their occupation as well. The motive of their going abroad—that is, their original intention of staying in America only temporarily—explains the conspicuous difference that existed, especially during the first years, between their wages and their lifestyle. The demand for workers in an expanding industrial economy, along with the loosening of old, traditional ties, enabled them to take on jobs that would have seemed impossible within the value system of their original environment. Nothing impeded them in their determination to make the most money possible no matter how and no matter how "lowly" the job.

In the beginning, immigrants with the most different social backgrounds came together in more or less homogeneous groups based on their places of work and living conditions. The "greenhorns", working together in the mines and factories were peasants, miners, town clerks who had skipped out to avoid being caught for embezzlement, or down-and-out gentry who had lost all to their creditors.

Since the Hungarian immigrants started their employment in the New World at the bottom rung of the occupational ladder, the period following their arrival—descriptively named the "dog years"—meant making an especially great effort for most of them. Naturally, the number of years spent in this way varied greatly by individuals, groups, and age groups.

The relatively homogeneous society of manual laborers soon became differentiated as some of them began to serve the daily needs of the immigrants by providing goods and services. There was a need for a Magyar grocer, butcher, tailor, shoemaker, undertaker, journalist, banker, and priest. The Magyar settlements, at least the larger ones, became self-sufficient ethnic communities, a "mini-society". Their special wants and needs gave impetus to men learning occupations that in the old country they had had no skill in or had not even heard about.

For most of them, there was no chance to rise economically or socially from their status as physical workers, and they lived till the end as unskilled industrial workers. However, as they gained know-how and information, quite a few of them left the mines for more suitable work in other branches of industry. The more fortunate Hungarian immigrants, by dint of strenuous work, diligence, and strict frugality, were able to save up sums of money the like of which they could only have dreamt of in the old country. Some of them, especially the skilled workers, were able with their savings to get away from heavy industry and to turn their former trade to something more profitable. For the tinsmith this might be a hardware store, for the farm worker, a grocery store or a butcher shop, for the carpenter a small construction company. Some of them used their savings to buy land and became dealers in real estate, which was good business in the rapidly developing areas.[53]

The men who married were the first to give up the life of an itinerant worker. They did not yet talk about staying permanently, but clearly had this in mind when they bought their lots and began to build their small family homes. No statistics exist to show the process of their starting to purchase small property such as houses, but there are indications that this was already going on in the years preceding World War I. According to the mayor of Norwalk, Conn., 200 Magyar immigrants already owned houses in town in 1912, and the bank records list 220 Magyars who had taken out house-building loans. One hundred and sixty-two Magyars had savings accounts, a total of 22,115 dollars, an average of 136.5 dollars a person. The bank teller declared that the "Hungarians pay up right on time and are excellent business partners in every respect".[54] There are similar accounts available from some other Magyar settlements as well. For example, in Delray, Mich., 30 Hungarian families owned property by 1905.[55]

[53] D. E. Weinberg (1977), p. 188.

[54] A. S. Glenn (1913), pp. 91–92.

[55] Malvina Hauk–Abonyi (1976), p. 25; Important information can be found on social mobility in G. Hoffmann (1913), pp. 309–325, 393–407.

Immigrants who were skilled workers to begin with could, when the demands of an expanding industry coincided with their particular craft skills, earn an income which, for those with enterprise and initiative, made it possible in time to become independent tradesmen and even to become entrepreneurs. However, artisans in traditional and, in America, obsolete crafts, for instance, tanners, could rise from the status of unskilled day laborer into that of skilled worker only slowly, and usually only by learning a new trade.[56]

Those who had initially worked in commerce, as village grocers or shop assistants, could change the laborer's job for a peddler's. The next step from there was to open an independent "Magyar bolt" (Hungarian store).[57]

The unskilled, déclassé members of the middle class and the intellectuals driven to the United States by some break in their life either assimilated to the working classes and continued to work as laborers or, in time, succeeded in rising back into their original class, or into one close to it. For example, many Hungarian newspapermen or the officials and office workers of the various Hungarian organizations came from among them.[58]

These were the major tendencies of occupational and social mobility among the Magyar immigrants. There were, of course, careers which showed success at climbing not just one but several steps up the social ladder. Some peasants, too, became grocers or some other small entrepreneur, often butchers, saloon keepers, and less frequently, real estate or even travel agents.[59] The opportunity to become members of the middle class, therefore, was greater in the United States than in the old country.

A detailed historical analysis of the activities of immigrant women and girls, and the peculiarities of their lives, would be a separate research topic. The special job opportunity for married women already discussed—that of keeping the *burdos* houses—although hard and diverse work, offered a good chance to economize, and save money. Keeping boarders, at least for

[56] See E. D. Beynon's works, especially (1936).

[57] On the basis of Hungarian–American newspapers and anniversary publications, we can conclude that Hungarian Jewish immigrants who already had been engaged in commerce in Hungary made up a significant portion of Hungarian shopkeepers. See the advertisements in the anniversary publications listed in the bibliography, such as, for example, AMN Album, 1909, pp. 353–404. See also Paula Benkart (1980), p. 466.

[58] This is proved by the careers of Tihamér Kohányi, Géza D. Berkó, Márton Himler, and Márton Dienes, among others—indeed by the careers of most Hungarian–American newspapermen.

[59] For example, the owners of two "notarial" travel agencies were peasant lads from Szatmár county. See also the 50th Anniversary Album of *Szabadság*, 1940. The voluminous publication contains a number of biographies of immigrants, which prove the points mentioned.

a time, seemed to be the relatively shortest road for young married immigrant couples to acquire their own homes. The sequence of occupational mobility for most immigrant women and girls was, thus, a brief period of domestic service, then factory work, then marriage and the keeping of boarders. And if the woman possessed entrepreneurial skills in addition to physical endurance, she could, by opening a store or buying a farm, rise from wage earner into the status of independent small proprietor. The known data concerning individual careers unquestionably proves that the inspiration, the initiative in such undertakings in upward-moving families always came from the women.[60]

After the "dog years", bigger careers were generally made by those who already possessed some skills and higher education, and primarily by those with commercial and business experience. Those who succeeded in mounting several steps up the social ladder usually came from this group. The so-called "bankers" conducted the affairs of the non-English-speaking, inexperienced immigrants, did everything from job hunting to arranging for travel, from buying boat tickets to sending money to Hungary. The word "banker" is an umbrella term, for the activities of the bankers were very diversified: they helped out not only in finding jobs and in money matters, but also acted officially in all other of the immigrants' affairs. As immigration expanded, taking care of the immigrants' business made the bankers' job a good way of making money even for those committed to decent business practices. However, especially in the beginning, the bankers often defrauded their inexperienced compatriots. "Runaway bankers", those who embezzled the money that they had collected from the immigrants and ran off, reappeared year after year in the Hungarian communities. "It is a sad chapter in the history of the Hungarian–Americans that gives an account of the ruffianism of the 'runaway bankers'."[61] Such are the words introducing a contemporary press report on runaway bankers, giving their names and the amount of the money embezzled.

In spite of the frequency of these abuses, abuses which did become rarer with the passing of time, the bankers fulfilled an indispensable social

[60] I spoke with many older families in East Chicago and in New Brunswick, N. J. In their reminiscences the idea of "buying a farm" or "opening a saloon" originated with the women, who had more both of energy and ideas.

[61] See the chapters "Futó bankárok" (Runaway bankers) in the *Szabadság Naptár* for the years 1904–1913. See also the sketches of György Kemény in the AMN Album 1909, pp. 220–222. G. Hoffmann (1911), the chapter on "A bankár" (The banker), pp. 314–320; and G. Hoffmann (1913), p. 397.

function among the immigrant Magyars. They replaced the officials and the authorities, and in general provided the connecting link between the immigrants and both the Hungarian and the American authorities. There was always a banker in the Magyar settlements, one banker in the smaller, several in the larger settlements. By World War I, several of them had already become wealthy men. In the 1910s, for example, János Németh and Emil Kiss were well-known Magyar bankers in New York.[62] Generally the steps up the ladder to a banking career were the following: working as a day laborer, then as a peddler, then as store or saloon keeper, and then, either simultaneously, or after the latter occupation, establishing a travel agency or a bank. The attempts made by Hungarian financial circles to take part in these transactions prove that the handling of the immigrants' money was indeed a good source of income.[63]

In the Magyar immigrant communities the "intellectuals" were mostly the churchmen, the ministers and priests, and the newspapermen. This layer was also formed by the peculiar social movement. Few among the immigrant intellectuals, except for the clergymen, were able to use their original training, and even being a pastor to the Magyars was often a way of climbing back from physical to intellectual work for people who initially had a different intellectual pursuit. As for the Hungarian–American newspapermen, most of them had had nothing to do with the press in Hungary. Mostly newspapers were begun, often after a stretch as physical laborer, by a declassed member of the middle class, for instance, someone with a law degree, or by someone without a skill but with higher education, a diploma from the *gimnázium,* or, by a skilled worker, especially a printer.

The priests and newspapermen, understandably, were strongly community oriented; their very livelihood, after all, depended on the strong ethnic

[62] János Németh was a typical self-made man, with a peasant background. He had a "money-sending" and travel agency first in Hazleton, then Wilkesbarre, and then in New York. The bank of Emil Kiss was in New York: AMN Album 1909; as early as the turn of the century, people were advertising their banks. For example, G. V. Hámory in the cities of Sharon, Pa., and Youngstown, O., and József L. Szepessy his money-changing and notary office in Cleveland, O. *Szabadság* 10th Anniversary edition, 1901. For the advertisements of Hungarian bankers in Chicago, see *Chicagoi I. Magy. Társ. E.* 1916.

[63] "A share company, the Hungarian–American Bank Company was founded around 1910 in New York, but it gave up the struggle in a couple of years. Finally, in 1918, after much travail, a new Hungarian–American Bank, called the Transatlantic Trust Company, was formed in New York by the 'Magyar Általános Hitelbank' (Hungarian General Credit Bank), 'Pesti Magyar Kereskedelmi Bank' (Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest), and 'Magyar Leszámitoló- és Pénzváltó Bank' (Hungarian Discount and Exchange Bank). This was a trust company with a one million dollar capital; and it was a trust company licensed by New York State and thus received sizeable deposits not only from Hungary but from the state of New York as well." J. Pivány (1917), p. 9.

consciousness and community solidarity of the group. They became the main propagators and teachers of ethnic consciousness along with those more bourgeois individuals, the bankers and saloon keepers, whose economic interest also tied them more closely to their narrower ethnic group. They were few in numbers, since the scattered small settlements of Magyar immigrants could not support a large bourgeois group. In larger settlements a few doctors and lawyers who got their patients and clients from among the Magyar immigrants joined the community.

A few highly qualified Magyar intellectuals appeared in the United States even in the early period of economic migration.[64] Their outstanding individual achievements made them names on the American technical, scientific, and artistic scene. Their work and lifestyle separated them from the physical workers, and they did not participate in their community life.

The social structure of the Magyar immigrant settlements, thus, was totally different from those of the larger European ethnic groups or of the Americans. With the exception of a small fraction, they were a society of manual workers, and an overwhelming majority of them were unskilled laborers. They were really an "incomplete working class", as Géza Hoffmann called them in the title of his sociological analysis. The bourgeoisie was missing or was very few in number. Because of this situation, the chance to rise economically and socially was provided within the ethnic group, and some immigrants took advantage of these circumstances. The more immigrants crowded into a settlement and the more disoriented they were, the better a chance a few of them had to make money enough to lay the foundations of a bourgeois occupation and a bourgeois lifestyle.

The situation of the Magyar migrant workers to America was special, for, besides the general exploitation of their class, they suffered "additional" burdens as well. As emigrants, they had had to pay the village authorities to get them to process their passports , and had had to pay the agents of the shipping companies to get them tickets as immigrants, they had to pay the employment agent and the banker—that is to say, they had to pay everyone who conducted their official business. And the rates of payment were determined not by market prices but by the individual decency of the agents and the extremity of the immigrants, and by what it was that they could pay.[65]

[64] Their achievements are described by E. Lengyel (1948), pp. 13–95.

[65] Robert F. Harney (1978) came to a similar conclusion about the Italian emigrants.

SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

THE FIRST COMMUNAL ORGANIZATIONS— THE FRATERNAL SOCIETIES

The Magyar immigrants' coming to form a community and the phases of their adaptation to their new environment can best be shown in the mirror of the history of their organizations. For although I do not quite subscribe to the claim often made by the old *Amerikás Magyarok* that the history of their organizations, societies, churches, and Hungarian-language press simply *is* the history of the Hungarian–Americans (there are too many other aspects as well) there is no doubt that understanding these gives a direct insight into the communal, social, and political aspirations as well as the major ethnic problems of the immigrants.

The Magyars, most of whom had immigrated for economic reasons, organized benefit associations even before they organized churches. As early as 1882 a small group of Magyars and Germans established the "Első Magyar Betegsegélyező Egylet" (First Hungarian Sick Benefit Society) in Newark, N. J. This was followed in 1884 by the "New York Társalgó és Betegsegélyező" (New York Social and Benefit Association) and, in Freeland, Pa., by the "Pennsylvaniai Első Magyar Betegsegélyező Egylet" (First Hungarian Sick Benefit Society of Pennsylvania).[1] All we know about the latter from the sources is that "it was established mostly by educated people", 18 of them, and the charter specified that the organization was to be "exclusively a benefit organization". These first organizations were really only experimental. Their organizers could not

[1] Hungarians who had emigrated to the United States after the 1848 revolution and War of Independence had already formed associations, such as the "Magyar Egylet" (Hungarian Society) and, within it, "Magyar Műkedvelő Társaság" (Hungarian Literary Society) and later "Magyar Zenekedvelők Egyesülete" (Hungarian Association of Music Lovers). AMN Album 1909, p. 61. We know of some temporary social organization in the 1860s and 1870s, when scattered groups (mainly artisans, merchants, and intellectuals) from Hungary settled in the United States. The main goal of their social organizations was to satisfy their desire for Hungarian culture. Thus the character and goals as well as the social composition of their organizations differed from those of the peasant and working class immigrants. See for example *Amerikai Magyar Képeslapok* (Hungarian–American Magazines), November 1895–January 1916.

recruit a sufficiently large membership, and the necessary material basis was also lacking. Conflicts among the leaders contributed to the quick dissolution of these associations, except for the New York Social and Benefit Association.

Two new organizations were established in 1886. One was the "Scrantoni Első Magyar Betegsegélyező Egylet" (First Hungarian Sick Benefit Society of Scranton, Pa.).[2] The few workers who started this organization took their inspiration from the example of the Slovak associations already in operation for some time. The other organization was also in Pennsylvania, in the mining camp at Hazelton, and became known as the "Verhovay Betegsegélyező Egyesület" (Verhovay Aid Association). With its foundation the Hungarian fraternal societies began to flourish. Its principal organizer and first president was a miner (originally a journeyman carpenter), and the consultant to the founders, the man who also formulated the organization's by-laws, was an intellectual (a priest of a teaching order).[3]

In Bridgeport, Conn., a group of Magyar and Slovak immigrants joined to lay the foundation of the "Rákóczi Magyar Betegsegélyező Egylet" (Rákóczi Hungarian Aid Association) in April 13, 1887. Its members came from Northeastern Hungary, from the old Rákóczi estates, and were 23 in number.[4]

The "Magyar Betegsegélyező Egyletek Szövetsége" (American Hungarian Aid Society) was also organized in Bridgeport, Conn., on September 4, 1892, uniting in the act several already existing organizations that together gave the new society nearly 100 founding members. At the constituent meeting, the organizers outlined the society's purpose and the direction of its future acitivities as follows: "To bring all Magyars into our camp regardless of religious affiliation, since the main purpose and sacred duty of our organization is to unite all decent Magyars and to win the Americans' respect and honor for the thousand-year old glorious Magyar name! Furthermore, our goal is to bring into our organization all the existing Magyar societies doing charitable work in

[2] In 1924, the 25th anniversary issue of AMN published an appreciative article with pictures of the first officers of the association.

[3] V. L. anniversary issue 1936, p. 25.

[4] Rákóczi Magyar Betegsegélyző Egylet, 1889–1913, (1913), p. 31. The peasant descendents of the serfs still honored Ferenc Rákóczi II, the leader of the war of independence at the end of the 17th century, and named their association after him (at first the outsiders called it "association of peasant cowherds"). Much useful information is given about the history of the association by the 25th anniversary volume of the association, 1888–1913, also by the *Rákóczi Aid Association Golden Anniversary Book* (1958).

America, and to concentrate and strengthen all the forces that provide assistance, so that when misfortune strikes, the future of the widows and orphans may be assured."[5]

In 1896, in Trenton, N. J., six Hungarian Calvinist ministers and a few lay people laid the foundations of the "Amerikai Magyar Református Egyesület" Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.[6] The organization began its actual work somewhat later, after the founders were able to recruit 320 members. From the beginning, the organization consciously tried to include Magyar immigrants as far and wide as possible. Its denominational character was expressed mainly in its by-laws, which, in addition to stating the organization's goals and the method by which it would give assistance, called for the moral and financial support of the Hungarian–American Calvinist mission. In the beginning, the majority of the members were recruited from the Calvinists of Abaúj, Zemplén, Szabolcs, and Ung counties, the area called Bodrogköz; however, even then the organization did not exclude people of other denominations, and the proportion of the latter grew increasingly with the passing of time.

There are data from as early as the 1890s concerning Magyar Socialist skilled workers and artisans organizing in the form of fraternal societies.[7] We might recall here that the occupational distribution of the emigrants from Hungary varied by nationalities; the number of skilled workers was the highest among the Magyars (approximately 10 per cent). As mass migration gained impetus, there were those among the immigrants who already in Hungary had gained experience in the labor movement and were attached to unions or to the Social Democratic Party. As a result of the peculiarities of industrialization in Hungary and the development of the Hungarian working class, most of them also spoke German, which made it easier for them to communicate with German or German-speaking

[5] *Szabadság* 10th anniversary edition 1901, "A magyarok egyleti élete" (The associations of the Hungarians), pp. 21–24. The three divisions of the organization, which had 106 members, were formed from 3 small benefit associations: Bridgeporti Első Magyar Betegsegélyző Egylet (First Hungarian Benefit Association of Bridgeport), 22 members; Bridgeporti Rákóczi Egylet (Rákóczi Association of Bridgeport), 57 members, who later withdrew; Bridgeport Erzsébet Királynő Egylet (Queen Elizabeth Association of Bridgeport), 27 members. Its first president was Pál Szabó, the secretary was András Figlár, the treasurer, Dániel Steferák. See Bridgeport 50th anniversary album 1942, p. 13.

[6] See the by-laws of the "Magyar Református Egyesület" (Hungarian Reformed Federation)—"American" was added to its name later, according to S. Kalassay (n.d. manuscript) p. 250.; S. Kalassay's book (n.d.) gives detailed information about the first conventions of the association, and so does the newspaper *Őrálló* (Guardian). Surviving issues of the paper, which was published by the association, are in the Sárospatak Collection.

[7] G. Hoffmann (1911), in the chapter entitled "A magyarok szocialista mozgalma" (The socialist movement of the Hungarians), pp. 133–136; I. Bárd (1911), pp. 298–309.

workers among the other nationalities, and learn from them about American working conditions, unions, the labor movement, and the political parties. They soon saw the rigid exclusiveness with which the unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor treated even the skilled workers among the immigrants, nor could they help noting the antagonistic attitude of the native-born American workers. Those who had been union members in the old country had to wait for years in the United States to meet the requirements of union membership (United States citizenship, high membership fees).

The socialist-minded industrial workers first grouped according to trade. In 1892, in New York, Magyar furriers formed the first Hungarian trade association. They were followed by tinsmiths, mechanics, wood-workers, metal-workers, iron-workers, and painters. They liked to call their trade associations "unions", but their small gatherings, their "trade associations", were unable to represent them in their economic demands; they were social and cultural gatherings, rather than organizations safeguarding their interests.

The Marxist trend began to gain ground in the American labor movement in the 1870s, with the foundation of the Socialist Labor Party. Its members were primarily recruited from among German immigrants. Socialists who arrived from the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy were also drawn to this workers' party and began to establish their own "language unions" or "branches", groups more or less closely connected to the Socialist Labor Party. A Magyar section of the SLP was already in operation in New York in 1892, while in 1898 the "Első Magyar Munkás Betegsegélyező Egylet" (First Hungarian Workers Benefit Association) was formed in Brooklyn, N. Y. New York thus became the first place where "Hungarian-speaking socialists" assembled, and it became the center of their labor-movement activities.[8] By and large, the group consisted of skilled workers, artisans, craftsmen, shopkeepers, and "shipwrecked" intellectuals.

Another early center of Magyar Socialism developed in Cleveland. The "Petőfi Sándor Szocialista Munkásegylet" (Sándor Petőfi Socialist Workers' Association) began its activity in 1894.[9] Its members even tried to publish a newspaper. After a single, lithographed edition of the *Bunkó* and

[8] See "Huszonöt küzdelmes esztendő" (Twenty-five years of struggle), on the occasion of the anniversary of the "Munkás Betegsegélyző és Önképző Szervezet" (Workers' Benefit Association and Literary Society). Uj EN 1926. p. 91.; the article "Úttörő" (Pioneer) in I.W.O. Naptár (Almanac), 1937.

[9] *Amerikai Népszava* (American People's Voice), October 15, 1895.

Népjog, they put out the *Hajnal* and the American *Népszava* (American People's Voice); the latter they were able to keep up for years.

In the 1890s small groups of the Socialists began to organize into communities in several other Hungarian settlements. In 1896, workers' organizations were forming in the towns of Newark, Bridgeport, New Haven, and Danbury. In addition to the need to help each other and their desire for comradeship, the Socialists were moved by their commitment to self-education among the workers, to internationalism, and to the ideals of socialism.[10]

In the beginning, outward signs of group identification—the organization's pins, flags, uniforms, caps, and seals—were very important in every fraternal society. The officers of the organizations were elected, and initially, received no pay. For all that, the number of offices within the organizations continued to grow, indicating the members' desire to hold office and thus to play a public role. Besides the leadership—president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer—many other offices were introduced in the fraternal societies: sick visitor, flag-bearer, sergeant-at-arms, entertainment director, and so on.

Generally, dues were around 1 dollar a month. Everyone paid the same amount regardless of age. The health care and life insurance dues were voted on by all the members, and the organization's leaders assessed the membership and collected the payments.

The process of developing the framework of the organizations and their community activities was accompanied by debates, mistakes, and misapprehensions which often shook the very foundations of the organizations.[11] Mistrust of the office holders and accusations against them were common, and so, consequently, was the rapid turnover in these positions. Understandably enough, especially when we consider that the members and occasionally even the organizers and leaders of these first organizations were men who, in the land of their birth, had never heard of organizations, monthly dues, funeral-cost insurance, the way to run a meeting, to keep accounting books, and so forth. In the early days, most organizations rigidly tried to exclude the "learned" people, the "gentlemen" from membership. For example, the Federation of the Hungarian Benefit Associations (The Bridgeport Federation) put into a resolution

[10] See *Amerikai Népszava,* 1895–1897.

[11] The minutes of the Bridgeport, Rákóczi, Verhovay, and Reformed associations testify to these personal conflicts, to quarrels among the leaders. The quoted anniversary issues published excerpts from the minutes: e.g. Elek Csutorás "To the members of the Hungarian Reformed Association!" (a circular) and the minutes of the Cleveland meeting in 1899 in print (Szatmáry Collection).

during its 1897 convention that "only workers, that is only those who were known as workers in the old country, too, can be elected to the post of officer in the organization."[12]

The organizing of associations got into full swing at the turn of the century. Newer associations developed in one of two ways: the increase in the number of immigrants in certain settlements caused further organizing; or some older benefit societies outgrew their local framework and tried to develop a "national" network by creating so-called "branches" in other parts of the country. In such cases, they generally classified the first association as the "parent-society" and designated the societies that joined it or were organized under the same name by the name of the settlement and a serial number indicating its order in the growth of the association (e.g., The 13th New Brunswick Branch of the Rákóczi Aid Association). The immigrants' wanderings throughout the United States facilitated such a form of organization and made it seem natural. Organization members discovered comrades and recruited members at their new places of work and when the membership grew to 18–20, they formed a "branch".

Hungarian newspapers also helped to organize associations. The beginning of "real Hungarian–American newspaper publishing" is generally dated to 1883, when the *Amerikai Nemzetőr* (Hungarian–American National Guard) first appeared. There had been even earlier experiments—the *Magyar Száműzöttek Lapja* (The Hungarian Exiles' Paper) published in 1853 by the political emigrants of 1848—but the *Amerikai Nemzetőr* was the first to recruit its reading public from the "economic" immigrants, from among peasants and workers, and was the first to accommodate to their needs and demands both in its style and in its content.

In the first decade of the 20th century three Hungarian-language newspapers rose to become "national" dailies: first among them was *Szabadság* (Liberty), then *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* and the Socialist paper, *Előre* (Forward). In them the immigrants could read about the significance of the benefit associations, of the importance of organizing and the best ways to do it, and from them they could also find out what was new in the various organizations. From the 1890s on, the "Organization Directory" became a permanent feature of the Hungarian–American newspapers. At this time, the space bought by the organizations to publish

[12] At the 1909 convention of the Verhovay Association, one branch suggested that "no cleric, banker, newspaper editor, or businessman who could gain profit from the association (by making flags, hats, pins, etc.) is to be elected as an officer". The meeting decided that all those with business connections to the association could not be major office holders. G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 177.

their news was still an important contribution to the financial resources necessary for the papers' existence. There was keen competition among newspaper publishers to become the official newspaper of one or another association. The papers' readers were recruited primarily from among the members of the fraternal societies, and a mutually supportive stance was in the interest of both the organizations and the newspapers.

Branches of fraternal organizations began to form in neighboring or near-by Magyar settlements in the 1890s, but most of the "national network" was organized during the first decade of the 20th century, when the following developed into national organizations: the Magyar Betegsegélyező Egyletek Szövetkezete which, by 1909, had 245 branches and 10,114 members; the Verhovay Betegsegélyző, which spread mostly throughout Pennsylvania and Ohio, and by 1909 had 169 branches and 8,883 members in more than 150 Magyar settlements. Similarly, the Rákóczi Betegsegélyező recruited a populous camp on the Eastern seaboard, primarily in Connecticut and New Jersey. The Amerikai Magyar Református Egyesület gained ground much slower than the above-mentioned organizations, but by 1909 this organization also had 93 branches and 2,500 members, mostly in the Magyar settlements of Pennsylvania and Ohio.[13]

The Socialists' expanding of the network of their organizations by the 1910s also deserves attention. Two national organizations headed the list: "Munkás Betegsegélyző és Önképző Egylet" (Workingmen's Sick Benevolent and Educational Federation) and "Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség" (Workingmen's Sick Benefit Federation). The former had 33 branches and 990 members; the latter, 55 branches and 1170 members, their centers being in New York and Pittsburgh, respectively.[14]

A few other fraternal societies also stepped outside their local boundaries and organized branches in nearby settlements, although on a much more humble scale than the above. Such were the Roman Catholic St. Elizabeth Organization and the Greek Catholic St. John Organization, and in Detroit, the "Kossuth Lajos Magyar Férfi és Női Betegsegélyző és Temetkezési Egylet" (Lajos Kossuth Hungarian Men's and Women's Benefit and Burial Society).

All national fraternal societies spread primarily geographically. The "branches" were generally made up of 25–30 people, small local com-

[13] The data for 1909 are in the AMN Album 1909, in the chapter "Egyletek" (Associations), pp. 44–45.

[14] See the column "Egyleti Kalauz" (Association Guide) in the newspapers *Előre* and *Népakarat* (1909).

munities of friends; in other places, the boarders of a *burdos* house or "company house" made up an organization. Personal contacts among the leaders of local communities and local organizations became regular with the development of the "national" network, and consciousness of a common cause grew as "Rákóczi"-ists, "Verhovay"-ists, socialists, and others exchanged experiences and information at annual conventions held in the beginning at a different Magyar settlement each year. Leading personalities rose from the local communities through organizational work and came to represent the group at large along with the religious leaders and newspapermen, thus becoming part of the "ethnic elite".

With the multiplying of the "branches" and the broadening of the networks, the nation-wide benefit societies were able, in cases of death or accident, to pay larger sums to their members than purely local associations. The consolidation of the national organizations at this time was expressed primarily by the increased amounts of aid paid out to members. During the years before World War I, there were no qualitative changes in either the theory or the practice of their functions.

Among the Magyar fraternal societies that mushroomed during the first decade of the century, three types can be distinguished according to their program and character:

1. Religious fraternal societies, i.e. denominational organizations (Calvinist, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Baptist, Jewish). The primary and direct aim of these organizations was the creation, maintenance and support of a local church community.

2. Secular fraternal societies, whose main goal was to aid the sick and satisfy social needs, so that they generally were not concerned to pursue religious or political activities. The Socialists called these organizations "patriotic" or "bourgeois" organizations.

3. Socialist workers' organizations, which were set up by Magyar immigrants connected with various groups in the American labor movement (Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party, Industrial Workers of the World) or who sympathized with some of their goals. It was these organizations that tried to shape the conscious political views of their members.

Table 22 shows the distribution of these various types of organizations in 1911.

Most fraternal societies functioned independently of the churches. This does not mean, however, that the secular organizations held completely aloof from the activities of the church communities. With the exception of the Socialists, the organizations in the Magyar settlements corporately

Table 22

Magyar immigrant fraternal societies in 1911[15]

	Benefit Association	Benefit and Social Association	Benefit and Literary Society	Social and Literary Society	Other	Total
Religious	314	2	1	13	52	382
Secular	516	108	14	50	78	766
Socialist	58	–	33	6	94	191
Total	888	110	48	69	224	1,339

supported the Magyar churches irrespective of their denomination. These organizations gave to build the Catholic as well as the Calvinist Church, and sent representatives to the various religious festivities of the different denominations. Although the great majority of the organizations (888 out of 1339) advertised themselves only as benefit societies, their communities were in fact the centers of social life. By the 1910s, there had grown up alongside them several hundred expressly social and literary associations.[16] The differentiation of these activities and the development of the different kinds of organizations show the growth of the immigrants' social and cultural needs, and at the same time, show their diversity as well.

Among the organizations of the Socialists, it was the "Általános Magyar Munkás Betegsegélyző" (Hungarian Workers' Benefit Association) that rose to the level of a national organization. In 1902 its name was modified to "Általános Munkás Betegsegélyző és Önképző Egyesület" (Workingmen's Sick Benevolent and Educational Federation) to emphasize the cultural and educational activity of the organization in addition to the aid that it provided the sick. Its members, especially the skilled workers, had, at the time of their emigration, been on a much higher cultural level than the emigrants with a peasant background, so that they were able to move easily and more courageously in the foreign environment. Much conflict accompanied the development of the Munkás Betegsegélyző és Önképző Egyesület. Ideological and political differences were added to the usual initial difficulties of organizing, the former being the first expressions of the

[15] G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 139.

[16] For more details, see I. Bárd (1911), pp. 298–309; also the chapters "A magyarok szocialista mozgalma" (The socialist movements of the Magyars), and "Egyleti Élet" (Social life), as well as "Szellemi Élet" (Intellectual life) in G. Hoffmann (1911); F. Paál (1911), p. 121. See the History of the United States, translated from Russian, by Mihály Siklósi (1964): Worker, Socialist and Farmer Movements in the 20th century. vol. I. pp. 309–324.

conflicts that, after the turn of the century, were to lead to the rupture of the American labor movement.[17]

From the end of the 1870s, the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) represented the Marxist trend in the American labor movement. The main characteristic of this organization composed largely of German immigrants was that, although by the turn of the century it had gained some ground among them, it could not get close to the masses of native-born Americans. The debate among party members over the connection between economic and political struggles grew sharp by the turn of the century. Those who advocated struggling only for reforms in the hope of gaining the support of the unions, i.e. of the American Federation of Labor, at first formed an opposition group within the party, then later broke away and joined the Social Democratic Party founded by E. V. Debs. Thus was formed the Socialist Party (SP), which, at its organizing convention in 1901, stated its general purpose as follows: "to conquer the sovereign power of the state and use it to change the present system of private ownership and distribution of the means of production into a system of collective ownership by the entire people."[18] This goal, however, was put off into the distant future, and demands for political reforms were placed in the forefront. To achieve these, the Socialists were willing to deal with even the bourgeois parties. The orthodox members of the SLP rejected this struggle for political reforms and turned away completely from the AFL which was expressly hostile to the workers' party. They emphasized that organizing by trades was no way to fight wage wars; the economic situation of the United States demanded that workers organize by industrial branches, and they urged the joining of all the workers within a branch of industry into one union irrespective of what their individual trade happened to be.[19] The difference between the two workers' parties during the first decade of the century can, therefore, be summed up as follows: the SLP was for syndicalism, while the SP was for reformism.

The American syndicalist movement created its independent framework in 1905. Those dissatisfied with the existing unions founded, with the encouragement of the SLP, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which, unlike to the workers' trade-union organizations, called for

[17] M. Cantor (1978), pp. 17–50. For details about the history of the Socialist Party, see D. Shannon (1967).

[18] W. Z. Foster (1953), p. 112.

[19] F. Paál (1911).

organizing by industrial branches.[20] The leader of the SLP, Daniel De Leon, was also among its founders. In the beginning, the leaders of the new organization claimed to be Marxists. However, the IWW can really be looked upon as the national alliance of unions opposed to the AFL, an alliance of conservative-minded unions operating on "business" principles led by Samuel Gompers. The followers of the IWW emphasized the importance of direct action in the economic struggle and also believed that industrial organizing prepared workers for eventually taking possession of the means of production. They formulated this idea in their "declaration of principles" as follows: "There is no common interest between the working class and the employers. The historical calling of the working class is to end the wage system. The army of producers must be organized not only to fight the capitalists, but also to continue production even after the destruction of the wage system. By industrial organizing, we are building the structure of a new society within the framework of the old one."[21]

Although the IWW groups did not have a big membership, their network was geographically wide spread, and, especially during strikes, they brought new color into the history of American radicalism with their combative activism and solidarity with their "new" immigrant coworkers. Their songs of protest against existing working conditions became famous, and their recruiting song, "Solidarity Forever", the fighting song of radical workers, became known in the workers' movement throughout the world. It is not possible to summarize here the various ideological trends of the SP and the IWW. It is sufficient to note, however, that the IWW gained some members from the left wing of the SP and that at least some members of that wing sympathized with the strike-organizing activities of the "Wobblies". Nor did the agitation of the SP fall onto completely barren ground in some of the AFL unions, for by the 1910s some unions had taken positions opposing the conservative leadership and supporting class war and socialist ideals. Soon, in the IWW, battle lines were also drawn between the supporters of the SLP and the anarcho-syndicalists. The break between them came in 1908, and the rise of the anarcho-syndicalists to positions of leadership forced Daniel De Leon to leave the IWW.[22] From the rivalry of the two workers' parties the SP emerged the victor, the number of its

[20] For further details see M. Dubofsky (1969); E. Hestus (1938); F. Thomson (1955); A. Graham (1966); J. Geréb (1921), pp. 67–95. For the publications of the Hungarian language group of the IWW, see D. De Leon (1909).

[21] IWW "One Big Union" (n.d.).

[22] For more details, see M. Dubofsky (1969).

members increasing continuously until the SLP—which had few members anyway—became completely insignificant by the 1910s.[23]

Only by considering their European background and the various trends in the American labor movement is it possible to understand the organizations and communities of the immigrant Magyar Socialists. Initially, the small groups that were organized were independent, with some of them being drawn to the SLP. At all events, they tried to remain neutral in the debates wracking the American workers' parties. Soon, however, the differences of opinion became sharp enough to threaten the framework of the Általános Munkás Betegsegélyző és Önképző Egyesület, as the representatives of the various trends vied for control of the organization. The most public scene of the struggle was the Hungarian newspaper, *Népakarat* (The Will of the People), first published on May 1, 1903, under the editorship of József K. Szabó. On April 3, 1904, the Magyar socialist camp was rent with the formation of the Amerikai Magyar Szocialista Munkásszövetség (Hungarian–American Socialist Workers' Federation), which espoused the SLP platform and continued to publish the *Népakarat*.[24] The minority, which continued to support the SP, left the Federation the same year and began to organize as an independent group. It started its own paper, *Előre* (Forward)[25] in 1905, and in 1908 formed the central "Amerikai Magyar Szocialista Szövetség" (Hungarian–American Socialist Federation).

The Munkás Betegsegélyző és Önképző Egyesület also broke up at the 1905 convention. Those who supported the SLP's program and viewpoint left the organization and founded a new sickness benefit organization under the name of Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség (Workingmen's Sick Benefit Federation).

From the turn of the century, but especially from 1904 on, the central questions for this group, too, were the possibilities and forms of connecting political action with economic struggle and that of their relations with the unions.[26] Their "new" immigrant status strongly influenced their views and ability to judge the situation. From the letters and reports they sent to Hungary, it is clear that the American labor movement was unfamiliar to them and that they had a hard time finding their way among its different

[23] I. Bárd (1911) notes regarding the membership of the Socialist Party: "In 1908, exactly ten years after the split, the SP had more than 430,000 members, while the Socialist Labor Party could barely claim 14,000." p. 307.

[24] See the articles reporting on the debate in *Népakarat* from 1904 on.

[25] *Előre;* started in New York, September 15, 1905.

[26] See the debates in *Népakarat* and *Előre* from 1906 on.

trends.[27] After their experiences in Europe they found it incomprehensible that the unions and the workers' parties should be travelling on completely different paths, and looked askance at the "practicality" and "ideological poverty" of the American workers' movement. "As for the multitude of socialist papers, they are simply pouring out their ideological stupidities. One does not know whether to be angry or just write off the entire American socialist movement" wrote one of them. The situation in Hungary was so different, the Hungarian labor movement was shaped by such different slogans, that "to create a movement here with the slogans brought from home is impossible".[28]

Even those Magyars who were members of the SP regarded the social composition of the party with suspicion. "The Socialist Party, to take the intellectuals first, is a conglomeration of people of every ideology and trend. There is everything from Christian Socialists to radical bourgeois scholars among them. The thing that unites them is the name. Socialism means one thing to some, something else to others. The Party does not care much at all about ideological conviction,"[29] wrote one Magyar Socialist who belonged to a group in the SP.

The rebuff with which the SP in turn met the new immigrants offended the Magyars' sensibilities. This is one reason why during the first decade of the century they did not follow the American movement. The majority of them, at least until 1910, were drawn to the SLP, which was rapidly declining nationally. They argued that "its ideological stands are closer to the Magyars' and, in general, to the immigrant workers". They felt that "the SP exhausts all its efforts in election campaigns", and, since few of the Magyars were citizens, they could not get involved in this activity. "The SLP, on the contrary, holds that its most important task is to organize on economic lines based on the class war". "And in this work even immigrant workers can participate... Through the economic organizations, the foreigners really can become an organic part of the American workers' movement".[30]

These attacks were not easy for the followers of the SP to refute. They pleaded the peculiar nature of the American conditions and the realities of the American party, and argued that the Magyar immigrants would find their way in the workers' movement only after they had Americanized,

[27] I. Bárd (1911); F. Paál (1911); J. Jemnitz (1963); pp. 179–214.
[28] I. Bárd's letter to E. Szabó. The correspondence of E. Sz. (1978), p. 671.
[29] Ibid.
[30] F. Paál (1911), p. 122.

after they had assimilated to the American movement. And the only way to this, they insisted, was through the SP and the AFL, even if they did not represent the interests of the immigrants directly. The definitely European-type program of the SLP might be more congenial, but was not suited to American conditions. They excused the unions and claimed that the unions were moving towards class warfare and would change their attitude to the new immigrants as well.

The SP's concerted attempts to Americanize[31] them repulsed rather than attracted the Magyar Socialists. The "language alliances" had to belong directly under the branches of the SP and had to pay dues to the mother party. The Magyar branches of the SP "cannot practice any kind of national policy; they are under the discipline of the SP in every respect, so much so that the Socialist Federation is only a federation in name, and its main function is to recruit the Magyar workers and to agitate among them". Under such circumstances, "belonging to the SP had a paralyzing effect among the Magyars, in the strictest sense of the word",[32] reported the editor of *Előre*.

The Magyar groups which sympathized with the SLP operated within a looser organizational framework and more independently. They did not belong to the American mother party, although they accepted its ideological and tactical program. Seeing the failures of the SLP, they increasingly emphasized their independence, and at the 1910 convention of the Hungarian Workers' Federation, the majority openly broke with the SLP and declared their organization and newspaper, *Népakarat,* neutral. Only a minority remained within the SLP, and gave voice to its ties through a new paper, the *Munkás* (Worker).

The new, "independent" stance of the Hungarian Workers' Federation and its newspaper created a more favorable atmosphere for unifying the scattered groups. The Magyar branches of the old SLP felt that the time was ripe for the creation of a "Független Magyar Munkás Szövetség" (Independent Hungarian Workers' Alliance). The program proposed that the alliance organize the immigrant workers on economic grounds and instruct them in the spirit of socialism, in order to strengthen and unite the oppressed Magyar immigrants in the face of American capitalist exploitation in every area. The Magyars, as the program put it, had no need of politics, or, more precisely, no need of the SP, since the majority of them

[31] For the ethnic conflicts within the party, see: Philip S. Foner (1972) and I. Kipnis (1952).
[32] I. Bárd (1911), p. 35.

had no political rights in the United States, not being citizens and therefore being unable to vote.

The attempt to unite the groups in 1909 did not meet with success. However, the Socialists did join in the "Egyesült Magyar Szocialista Szövetség" (United Hungarian Socialist Federation) in 1911, and united their newspapers (the *Népakarat* and *Előre*) under the title *Testvériség* (Brotherhood).[33] This was made easier by the temporary rapprochement among the groups within the American workers' movement, resulting in the Chicago congress, where, in the interest of unity, Debs and De Leon shook hands. However, the ideological differences remained, the debates soon flared up again, and, in 1912, there was a new break. By this time, the SP had somewhat modified its attitude toward the new immigrants, attributing more importance to them than it had formerly. With this, the number of Magyar Socialists in its camp increased significantly.

The propagandists of the IWW primarily moved in on those Magyar immigrant groups who were attracted to the SLP, but the program of organizing by industrial branches ("One Big Union") and the activity of the "Wobblies" won Magyar immigrants even from among the followers of the SP. The Magyar sections of the IWW were shaped from 1911 on by the impetus of the 1909–1911 strikes, and by the conflicts and divisions of the Magyar Socialists. The center of their activity was Chicago, where they published the Hungarian-language newspaper, *Bérmunkás* (Wage Earner), and put out brochures. Although we have little information about the first organizers, we do know that some of them had been students of Ervin Szabó before their emigration.

Although the immigrant Socialists' contact with the Social Democratic Party of Hungary was loose and haphazard, the exchanges of information and the guidance received through personal channels—meetings, and correspondence—cannot be underestimated.

There was a great deal of fluctuation among the various labor movement trends within the ranks of the Magyar Socialists, with many changing groups frequently, "not really knowing why they choose one group over another".[34] The irresolution and uncertainity of their orientation reflect the degree of their isolation in spite of their growing contacts with the American labor movement as a whole, and indicate the difficulties they had in adapting to circumstances so different from those in Europe.

[33] See for details *Testvériség* (Brotherhood) April 5, 1911.
[34] I. Bárd (1911), p. 356.

A more detailed acquaintance with the nature of the Magyar Socialist groupings and the way they were formed would provide useful insights for a better understanding of the American working class and labor movement as a whole. At any rate, it seems certain that we need to give more serious consideration to the experience the so-called "new" immigrants brought with them from Europe; and that the circle of class-conscious, radical workers in the United States expands considerably if our historical analysis extends to those workers whose "new immigrant" status has kept them in the background.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The fraternal societies were the framework of social life for the Magyar immigrants, the leaders of their communal activities, places of entertainment and self-education, places to spend their free time. Although they became full-fledged organizations only in the larger settlements, their communal importance was great everywhere, especially in the small, scattered settlements where they were the only forum of group activity. Initially, the social life and entertainment of the young immigrants hardly differed from what it had been in the villages. The environment, the scene, however, had changed. They did not meet in the village tavern, or in someone's home, but in the *burdos* houses or saloons of mining camps or the industrial fringes of towns. They got together after work to talk, drink, sing, play music, and dance—"just like at home". However, sharing their plans for the future and cheerful sing-songs with friends mitigated only in part the pain of loneliness for their families, their longing for the loved ones at home, and they often sought oblivion in drink. The loud bravado and drinking of the young men, most of them suffering the tensions of living without their women, often scandalized the native-born Americans, who did not recognize this as the necessary concomitant of their uncertain, temporary way of life. Often, especially on pay-day, the sheriff's men took the drunk and rowdy "Hunkey" from the saloon, locked him up in jail, to let him out in a few days on bail or on surety.[35]

The formation of fraternal societies did not change this situation from one day to the other, but they still proved to be stronger influences on the men's behavior than the foreign regulations. Through their social gatherings, the more purposeful planning of entertainment, and at times, through

[35] G. Hoffmann (1911), J. P. interviews in New Brunswick, N. J.

threats of excluding them from the community for bad behavior, the organizations paved the way for the immigrant's adjustment to his new environment.

At larger Magyar settlements, where the ratio of men and women was somewhat more favorable, Saturday night dances soon became regular. These, besides being good entertainment, also made for group cohesion. The new goals—"we're organizing a dance to broaden the financial base of our society and to strengthen the organization"—became the catalysts of more constructive activity and more acceptable behavior.[36] As the organizations consolidated, more varied forms of social life and entertainment developed, naturally at a rate and of a variety depending on the composition of the community. The program of dances was augmented by poetry recitals, the performance of comic routines, of plays, and choir singing. At this time, amateur acting groups and choirs were still organized within the framework of the fraternal societies, or at least, with their material support. Behind every such group there were a few enthusiastic artisans or intellectuals. The first play with a Hungarian–American theme, *Greenhorn,* was written and directed by a newspaperman, Tihamér Kohányi, and was put on in Cleveland at the end of the 1880s[37]. A few years later, in 1894, the players of the "Petőfi Sándor Szocialista Munkásegylet" (Sándor Petőfi Socialist Workers' Organization) of Cleveland performed a play called *Csodatükör* (Magic Mirror), by the worker-writer Ádám Abet.[38] Sándor Kalassay, a Calvinist minister, also wrote plays with Hungarian–American themes: *Az Igaz Győzelem* (The Real Victory) in 1898, and *Strike* probably in 1907. Both were performed in many places in Magyar America.[39]

Inspired by these examples, after the turn of the century, almost every larger organization formed its own little theatre or patronized an independent amateur organization. The idea of a permanent Hungarian Theatre originated from an organization in New York made up of groups of urban, bourgeois immigrants. They formed a theatre committee in 1906 for the purpose of organizing the company and directing its activities. The idea of creating an independent Hungarian theatre company was suggested by the numerous amateur performances organized by the Magyar fraternal societies. According to the sources, there was hardly a week (at least in

[36] V. L. anniversary issue, 1936.

[37] *Szabadság* 20th anniversary edition, 1911, (Reminiscences of Tihamér Kohányi).

[38] *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* 1894, J. Kovács (1977), p. 48. The first Hungarian worker poet was a tailor, as was M. Rosenfeld.

[39] *Emlékkönyv* (Memorial album) 1940, Ed. Sándor Tóth, p. 333.

New York) without a Magyar amateur performance; with little experience but great enthusiasm, the amateurs performed Hungarian plays to their work-worn and culturally deprived compatriots. The independent Hungarian Theatre group at first held performances every Saturday, then later on every Saturday and Sunday. The group sought out the Hungarian settlements surrounding New York as well. The Hungarian Theatre of New York also received guest actors from Hungary, e.g. Ilona Pálmay, a famous actress of the time, who appeared in *Nebántsvirág* (Mimosa) and *Tót leány* (Slovak Girl). However, financial difficulties and discord put an end to the independent Hungarian Theatre after one year of existence.[40]

The amateur theatre group "Előre" (Forward) began its performances in 1909, under the aegis of the New York Socialists.[41] Its activities and repertoire reflect the cultural demands of the Magyar Socialists. Besides performing folk-plays and other light entertainment, they also did modern plays containing social criticism—among others Gorky's *The Night Lodgings*.

In addition to the little theatres, it was the choirs that propagated the Hungarian-language culture. Group singing had been an organic part of working-class culture in Hungary as well. The first Magyar choirs were formed in New York in 1895, and in Cleveland in 1897. From the turn of the century on, choirs were formed in rapid succession in the larger Magyar settlements. The most famous among them, by the 1910s, was the "Munkás Dalárda" (Workers' Choir) of Cleveland. The first nation-wide competition among Magyar choirs took place in New York in 1907. By 1909 there were about 120 Hungarian choirs in the United States.[42]

The community life of the fraternal societies was congenial soil for the development of individual talent. Within the intimate atmosphere of the small groups, the desire and the opportunity to perform in public put the desirability of culture and education in a new light. There were immigrants who learned to read and write at society evenings, while those who had stopped reading books altogether after grade school were inspired to read regularly and to see learning as a continuing process. Some even tried their hand at writing. The comic routines performed at social functions were usually written by a member; others tried writing plays. The themes of

[40] AMN Album 1909, p. 62. Members of the Theatre Committee were: Béla Perényi, Gyula Róth, Gábor Ágoston, and Géza D. Berkó.

[41] History of the "Előre Műkedvelő Kör" (Forward Literary Society), New York, 1923, in J. Kovács (1977).

[42] AMN Album 1909, p. 50. The idea of a singing contest was first proposed by the newspaperman Sándor Károly.

their literary attempts were the experiences gained during their wanderings, the adventures they had had, the homesickness, and the conflicts of a "divided heart", expressed comically or satirically with bitter irony, or emotionally with a melancholy romanticism. Through such plays, some immigrants became more or less successful Hungarian–American writers.

The programs put on by the amateur groups of these fraternal societies provide a wealth of source material to researchers of social and cultural history. By examining these programs, it is possible to trace the most important moments in the development of "Hungarian–American culture". The literature it gave rise to, (of interest here not from the aesthetic but from the historical point of view), the social events it records are our greatest help in learning about the strange social world of the Hungarian immigrants, a world the immigrants commonly referred to as "Magyar America" and which they saw as resting on the twin pillars of the churches and the fraternal societies.

The peculiarities of the cultural life of the various groups that comprised Magyar America came from the synthesis of the old-country heritage in the new environment. In spite of the social differentiation brought from home, there came about an amalgamation of the value systems and behavioral norms of three social groups: the peasants, the industrial workers, and the middle class (mostly intellectuals). Naturally, the nature of the social activity within the immigrant community was based at the beginning on the experiences each social group had brought from the old country. However, the various groups' living near each other in similar circumstances was quick to have effect in the form of the direct confrontation of one value system and behavioral norm with another. One result—especially in the larger settlements where economic opportunities were greater and the restraints on behavior less binding—was an unbridled imitation of the social layer above one's own in the old country. The other—polar—effect of this clash of value systems was an insistance on the superiority of one's own norms, and a wholesale resistance to all others.

However, most immigrant groups, as most immigrants, could not escape the process of adaptation. During the first phase of their American experience, the period of ethnic separation and the forming of groups, the immigrants took on each other's customs and values. The influence of the new environment began with their adoption of its formal elements, which they tried to fill with old-country content.

Dependence upon each other, the sense of belonging to and helping each other, personal closeness, emotional ties and ties of friendship all received great emphasis in the immigrant organizations, and were given expression

by the most spectacular outward signs. This is how the ornate organization pins became important: they were the "collective representation" of the society's activity. For example, the organization appeared as a group at members' funerals (they wore a black ribbon on their pins at such times) and placed their wreaths. They appeared as a body at the various events in the local Magyar community: at the laying of church cornerstones, at the consecration of the bells, at the closing ceremonies of summer schools, and so on. For all this, friendship, kinship ties, the emotional expressions of belonging together, indulging in the village entertainments and hospitality of old was much more important in their social gatherings than the explicitly educational programs.

The amateur theatrical groups, as we have already mentioned, preferred folk plays, comic routines, and, in general, the lighter forms of entertainment. The repetition of certain plays became traditional. For example, the Rákóczi Society little theatre regularly performed *A fejedelem* (The Prince) on each anniversary of the organization's founding, thus keeping alive the memory of Ferenc Rákóczi II.[43] As their economic situation improved and social differentiation set in, the wealthier immigrants looked to the revels and balls the Hungarian gentry held in the provincial casinos as a model for their own social evenings. It was this group just entering the middle class which paid especially great attention to the exterior pomp and splendor of their organization's gatherings.

National consciousness among the immigrant peasants was much stronger than among those who had staid in the old country. Forming ethnic groups was the first step in the process of adaptation, and it was here that many immigrants first became really aware of their Magyar consciousness. In the strange environment, under the pressures of the prejudices of American society, national holidays such as March 15 and October 6, the days sacred to the memory of the 1848 War of Independence were celebrated with greater introspection than they were in the villages of contemporary Hungary.[44] (At least, this is what we can conclude from the reports of the Hungarian–American newspapers of the time.)

[43] For more details, see the 25th and 50th anniversary publications of the Rákóczi Association. Old "Rákóczi-ists" enthusiastically recalled memories of these performances (J. P. interviews, New Brunswick, 1977).

[44] See the reports from as early as the 1890s in Hungarian–American newspapers: e.g. "Szabadságharc jubileum Amerikában" (Anniversary of the War of Independence in America), *Egyetértés* (Unity), Április 5, 1898. For the first March 15th celebration, see Detroiti Kossuth Egylet 20. jub. alb.

On the jubilees of Hungarian history or of their own community, the Magyar immigrants paraded in imposing processions, with flags,[45] perhaps with loud brass bands, sometimes with a detachment of hussars or other mounted escorts, and, if possible, in the streets inhabited by Americans. They carried their beautiful and sometimes very expensive flags, the Hungarian and the American, side by side. Acquiring a flag was the fervent desire of each organization, even at the price of several hundred dollars. The emphasis on outward appearances did not originate simply from a desire to show off. The immigrants felt that they had no role to play in American public life, and could expect no recognition for the hard industrial labor which was making others millions of dollars of profit. Their processions were a way of trying to force the "world", that is the American environment, to pay attention to them, and consequently perhaps dispense with some of the unjust prejudices harbored against them. With these outward signs, they wanted to demonstrate that the Magyars were not a "knifing, drunken, dirty mob", as they were often referred to by the Americans. Numerous reports testify to these attempts to prove self-worth: "... The ignomy that had been smeared on the Magyar name had to be washed off, the Americans' prejudices against the Magyars had to be dispersed. For this reason ... the fraternal society, in the second year of its existence, planned a huge celebration. An imposing procession preceded the celebration." (Quoted by Hoffman from an article in the *Amerikai Magyar Népszava.*)[46]

Another Hungarian newspaper wrote the following about a flag consecration ceremony: "Before there was a Magyar fraternal society in ..., before the Hungarian flag embraced the American star-spangled banner in the streets of ... under the Lord's free sky, it often happened that the Magyars had rocks thrown at them and were derided. But once the St. ... organization was formed, and the sun first shone on the now tattered, but then brand new first two flags—the Hungarian and the American—respect for the Magyars grew apace. The rock throwing and mockery stopped and the Magyars began to enjoy respect ..."[47]

The leaders of fraternal societies were eager to be the bridge between the Magyar community and American society. They tried to establish contacts

[45] The Kossuth Association of Detroit announced a contest for designing the Hungarian flag, which they ordered from a Pest company for 1200 crowns. The flag and the duty on it cost the then relatively young association 388 dollars, and was described by them as a "beautiful heavy silk" flag, "with a picture of Kossuth..." Detroiti Kossuth Egylet 20. jub. alb. p. 57. "A zászló kérdése" (The question of the flag).

[46] G. Hoffmann (1911), pp. 147–148.

[47] Ibid.

with the representatives of American institutions, and to this end gave banquets and dinners to which they invited the American town notabilities—mayors, Congressmen, judges, and so on. The toasts and mutual expressions of good will also showed the wide gulf separating the immigrant Magyars and the host society. For example, in their toasts the American guests frequently confused Kossuth, the symbol of Hungarian freedom, with Kosciusko, the national hero of the Poles.

The leaders of the Magyar communities and institutions used these occasions to try to convince their guests of the significance of the group (often by exaggerating their numbers), and, at times of elections, of the importance of winning their support.

The Democratic and Republican clubs also grew out of the fraternal societies. Initially, the members were mostly intellectuals, small groups of middle-class people or those moving into the middle class. The first Democratic club was organized in New York by a lawyer, Mór Cukor. The members of the Magyar Republican Club participated in the 1900 election campaign of Theodore Roosevelt, and a few of them (e.g. Marcus Brown) received recognition from the President.[48]

The centennial of Lajos Kossuth's birth in 1902 activated the Magyar fraternal societies of Cleveland. Their effort to erect a Kossuth statue, while also aimed at awakening ethnic consciousness, was addressed to the American environment. The Hungarian fraternal societies of Cleveland collected the means of financing it.[49] It is interesting to note that at this time there was no Kossuth statue in Hungary, as yet, and no national organization thought of sending a representative to the unveiling of the statue put up in Cleveland.

The immigrant Magyars, and the leaders of the communities in particular, wished to call the old country's attention to themselves, too, through their associations and newspapers. Hungarian organizations first contacted the Hungarian–American fraternal societies in 1902, when the Magyar Nemzeti Szövetség (Hungarian National Federation)[50] sent a Hungarian challenge flag to the American organizations with the inscription "Hazádnak rendületlenül légy híve ó Magyar" (Be steadfastly loyal to your country, Magyar). The first to receive the national flag was the largest Magyar fraternal society at the time, the Bridgeport Federation.

[48] AMN Album 1909, p. 207.

[49] G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 164.

[50] This social organization held together the Hungarian cultural groupings with some strong programs of Magyarization.

The flag was passed on to another Magyar organization each year, until, after a while, it was completely forgotten. The non-Magyar nationalities living in the United States looked upon this flag with its inscription as a provocative expression of Magyar nationalism, and a number of the various ethnic communities demonstrated against it, while their leaders detailed, in a memorandum sent to the American Government, how the nationalities were being oppressed in Hungary.[51]

It was the Hungarian–American fraternal societies that financed the statue of Washington erected in the Városliget in Budapest, in 1906. A delegation from the United States, led by the newspaperman Tihamér Kohányi, came for the unveiling ceremony[52] of this first statue in memory of Washington put up in Europe.

The public demonstrations of Hungarian patriotism, the insistence on national independence, the strong anti-Habsburg sentiment, the devotion to the memories of Lajos Kossuth, of the 1848 Revolution and War of Independence, the cult of the war of liberation led by Ferenc Rákóczi to be found among the Magyar immigrants were not entirely original to the immigrant masses with their peasant background. They reflect, rather, the viewpoint of the predominantly middle-class intellectuals, newspapermen, and clerics who influenced the communities' ideology. It is their direct or indirect influence that can be recognized in the ways campaigns were conducted for leadership of the big, national fraternal societies. Members campaigned for their candidate in the style used to win parliamentary seats in the old country, the leaders of the organizations, in order to get their man in, using the obstructive tactics favored by the opposition in the Hungarian parliament—they walked out of the convention.

On the whole the immigrant Magyars, in spite of the differences among them, opposed the political status quo in Hungary on liberal, bourgeois democratic grounds. It was this that inspired one of the major opposition figures in Hungarian politics, Count Mihály Károlyi, to visit the bigger Magyar emigrant communities in 1914 with some leading social Democrats to ask their financial and moral support for the "Függetlenségi és 48-as Párt" (Independence and '48-er Party) in the elections about to be held in Hungary.[53] The idea was given by the example of the emigrant

[51] The flag's inscription seems ironic when we think of the economic reasons for emigrating and the contemporary situation in Hungary. Even the Washington Embassy of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy thought that sending the flag was rather unfortunate (see the report of Ambassador Hengelmüller on the topic), SA PA W. XXXIII. USA. 481a, No. 241, Sept. 8, 1902.

[52] Reminiscences of Tihamér Kohányi. *Szabadság* 1911, 20th anniversary issue.

[53] See the speech of Mihály Károlyi to the Hungarian Americans, delivered at the meeting held in Harlem River Park. AMN April 7, 1914.

Irish, who were, at this time, effectively participating (primarily with their money) in the political struggles being waged in their homeland.

Károlyi himself wrote the following about his American propaganda tour: "Our policies were clear and well worked out in every detail, and in no country could we have found a better ground for the propagation of our ideals than in the democratic United States with its large Magyar colonies. Our party had to break out of its provincialism and passivity and become a factor to be counted with. The great majority of the half million Magyars living in the United States are people who were forced to emigrate or whose parents had been because of the unbearable social conditions at home. We could be certain that they were no adherents of the existing Hungarian social order."[54]

The Hungarian–American population received and celebrated Mihály Károlyi in a way it had never celebrated anyone before nor is likely to in the future.[55] The slogan "For an independent, democratic Hungary" inspired not only enthusiasm among the communities, but also their readiness to make serious financial sacrifices. For example, the convention of the Verhovay Organization elected Károlyi as honorary chairman and voted a contribution of one dollar per member to the Károlyi Foundation. However, the realization of the project was stopped by the outbreak of World War I.

Perhaps it is worth saying a few words about what the representative Magyar immigrant societies—the "patriotic" organizations—considered to be the par excellence expression of their "Magyar character". It was not the traditions, customs, and folk costumes of their peasant or worker heritage, but the egret-feathered hat, the braided coat, and even the fur-lined and gold-braided gala dress, traditional to the Magyar landed gentry. In 1908, at the Hudson Fulton celebration in New York, where more than 30 immigrant groups appeared, the Magyars received second prize as the "most original, most impressive participants". Photographs of the procession printed in the jubilee album of the *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* show that a number of the marching Magyars wore the *díszmagyar*.[56]

The immigrants quickly gave up wearing the peasant clothes they had arrived in, and in which they had been targets of ridicule in the American environment. However, they did try to recreate the customs of the old community in the new one. The ritual visits paid the women at Easter tide,

[54] M. Károlyi (1977), pp. 78–79.
[55] G. Kende (1927).
[56] AMN Album 1909, p. 71.

the caroling on Christmas Eve, the Nativity plays, the weddings in the "old country style" (with a witty best men and a bridal dance), the parties at pigkilling time, the harvest dances all still flourished on the eve of World War I.[57]

For the peasant immigrants, the fraternal societies were the forums of self-education and the schools of democracy. No wonder that the Magyar clerics complained a great deal about the changes in their parisheners' behaviour, their growing independence, and pointed to the societies as the ones responsible for the change. "At the monthly meetings of the benefit associations, they learned to put forward a proposal, to orate, to vote, to build and to destroy: they would like to see the same forces at work in parish affairs as well"[58] wrote a Roman Catholic priest.

The socialist workers' organizations were more deliberate in choosing both the forms and the activities of their organizations. Those heading them, educated artisans and class-conscious skilled workers, were able to give a more definite, more purposeful profile to community activities than the former peasants. In their fraternal organizations, acquiring the materialist world-view, culture and education were, from the start, of great importance, and had equal weight with the desire for sociability and entertainment. But even the socialists liked to celebrate anniversaries such as March 15 or October 6, in their commemorative addresses focusing, however, not on the idea of independence, but on that of progress, on the need to propagate the ideas of socialism, and criticising the semi-feudal social conditions of Hungary. They, too, reacted strongly to political events in the old country, joining in the demand for universal manhood suffrage in the first decade of the century, and giving financial and moral support to the Hungarian labor movement and the Social Democratic Party. In the book recounting his personal experiences during the first decade of the century, the Hungarian Vice-Consul, Géza Hoffmann, observed that the socialist workers' organizations scored high above the other Magyar fraternal societies in respect of their support of education, of furthering learning, and of organizing informative debates.[59]

For example, the branches of the socialist societies built up a small, well-equipped library, where even the more exacting members could find the

[57] J. Makár (1966), pp. 82–83; P. J. interviews; contemporary photographs; M. Hauk-Abonyi (1976), pp. 33–35.

[58] Memorandum 1913. Included by the parish priest of South Bend: "Javaslataim a toledoi nagygyűlésen" (My suggestions at the assembly at Toledo). *Családi Lapok* (Family papers), January 13, 1913.

[59] G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 219.

English and Hungarian books they were looking for. At their poetry evenings, from the 1890s on they recited the poems of Sándor Petőfi, the great 19th-century Hungarian poet and revolutionary, "Akasszátok fel a királyokat" (Hang the kings) among them. The socialist workers' organizations were also the first to include the poems of Endre Ady in their programs, poems such as "A grófi szérűn" (In the count's threshing yard), written at the sight of the sad plight of agricultural workers and servants. Their amateur theatrical groups usually performed modern plays dealing with social problems.[60]

Naturally, there was no sharp division between the immigrant peasants' and workers' societies. Peasants also joined the socialist workers' organizations, while some skilled workers joined the peasant-bourgeois organizations. However, though there was some mixing, there was a clear tendency to separation as well. For although the experiences of American life brought the immigrant workers and peasants closer to each other, they did not completely resolve the differences rooted in their old-country past.

The attempt to unite all Magyar immigrants under one large umbrella society was in the air from 1885 on. The goal was to create an organization fit to represent the immigrants both to the American and to the old country communities. It was primarily middle class intellectuals who felt the need for this kind of organization. The ones that were started up, however, never managed to function effectively nor for long. The rigid, caste-like isolation the various social groups brought with them from the old country worked against it, and even their common fate in the new environment failed to create a sense of community strong enough to bridge the gaps. Slogans such as "the need for cultural unity" and "the safeguarding of the Magyars' interest" failed to mobilize the masses even temporarily. The "Magyar Testvéri Szövetség" (Hungarian Brotherhood Federation) established in Philadelphia in 1882 with the leaders of 22 fraternal societies participating never really got off the ground. The "Magyar Művelődési Szövetség" (Hungarian Cultural Federation) founded in 1903, in Trenton, N. J., was but short-lived, as was the "Magyar Nemzeti Szövetség" (Hungarian National Federation), established in 1901 in Cleveland. A relatively more successful and lasting organization was formed in 1906, when events in Hungary gave a direct impetus to organizing in the United States.[61]

The crisis which shook the Hungarian government in 1905–1906 created a stir of feverish activity among the Magyars in the United States, or

[60] Amerikai Népszava 1897. Népakarat 1911.
[61] J. Pivány (1944), p. 40.

rather, among the Magyar organizations. It was especially the leaders of the "patriotic" organizations who were fired with enthusiasm, their anti-Habsburg sentiments flaring up anew. They wanted Hungary to become independent. The societies' and community leaders called a Magyar rally in Cleveland, on February 27, 1906, with the slogans "Away from Hungary!" "Long live independent Hungary!" The purpose was to create the "Amerikai Magyar Szövetség" (Hungarian–American Federation), and the program was "the permanent uniting of all Magyars living in America according to the laws, institutions and spirit of the United States, their safeguarding against all injustice, and the promotion of Hungary's independence by all possible means, in the spirit and with the ideals of the freedom-loving American people".

It was a time of much intense patriotic feeling and nationalism among most Magyar immigrants. The recruiting slogan "The homeland is calling!" aroused strong emotions across the ocean. "Meeting follows meeting in every part of the country, branches are formed at every larger settlement, and thousands and thousands of Magyars are wearing the enamelled shamrock—the symbol of the Federation." Four thousand dollars were quickly collected for the "Independence Foundation". It was the first time that the middle-class Magyar immigrant groups had managed somewhat to activate the immigrant masses for the purpose of influencing the development of political events in Hungary.[62]

The government crisis in Hungary was temporarily resolved and the former opposition party, the Independence Party, became part of the coalition government. In the Hungarian fraternal societies, patriotic enthusiasm quickly subsided with a certain sense of disappointment over the events in the old country. The 1907 program of the Hungarian–American Federation put primary emphasis on safeguarding the Magyar immigrants' interests. It defined its future goals as follows: "To direct emigration, to support the immigrant Magyars morally and financially, to give regular employment service, to provide legal counselling on a broader basis, to support education and culture, to educate the second generation in Hungarian, to establish Hungarian branches in public libraries, to hold readings and lectures, to support parishes, churches, and schools, to build Magyar hospitals, to do charitable work, to help those who came to stay permanently assimilate into the middle class, to take a stand against laws harmful to the Magyars, to continuously inform American public opinion about the affairs of the mother country, to direct

[62] *Szabadság*, Feb. 28, 1906.

American travellers to Hungary, to promote closer economic ties between Hungary and America, to defend Hungary against all attacks and to establish a permanent contact between the Federation and the relevant national reference-group in the mother country".[63]

The program of the Hungarian–American Federation was full of ideals and far-reaching goals that testified to a lack of contact with the prosaic reality, and to a disregard for the needs and possibilities of the average Hungarian–American worker. No wonder, therefore, that the great majority of the immigrants looked upon the activities of the Federation as something foreign to them, the doings of the gentlemen. "It is difficult to stir enthusiasm in most of our compatriots by goals that appear to be purely idealistic. They are enthusiastic about one goal or another if it is presented in an acceptable form, as applicable to a definite place or to a certain city",[64] noted one of the leaders of the Federation.

In 1908 the Hungarian–American Federation published a monthly, the *Bulletin of the Hungarian American Federation*. It included essays by Count Albert Apponyi, an M. P. for the Independence Party in Hungary, by William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate, by immigration commissioner Robert Watchson, and by other well-known public figures. The monthly published the historical study "Webster and Kossuth", by Jenő Pivány, the first analysis of the relationship between the two statesmen. The Hungarian–American Federation also published a second essay by Jenő Pivány entitled "Kossuth and America", the first in the series of Kossuth studies in Magyar America.

The publications of the Hungarian–American Federation were not favorably received by the Magyar immigrants at large; only a small group of intellectuals and middle-class people showed any interest. Even their enthusiasm subsided rapidly, and by the outbreak of World War I, the Hungarian–American Federation existed only in name, on paper.

[63] G. Hoffmann, (1911).
[64] Ibid.

THE MAGYAR CHURCHES

THE BEGINNING OF THE ORGANIZATION OF CHURCH COMMUNITIES

Prewar Hungary's population was one of the most diverse among the countries of Europe, not only in respect of ethnicity but of religion as well. The Hungarian emigration statistics give us the following data on the religious distribution of the emigrants:

Table 1

The distribution of Hungary's emigrants by religious affiliation

Denomination	Year	
	1905–1907	1911–1913[1]
Roman Catholic	52.6	48.3
Greek Catholic (Uniate)	12.3	16.1
Calvinist (Presbyterian)	7.7	8.4
Lutherans	9.7	8.1
Greek Orthodox	14.4	15.8
Unitarian	0.3	0.3
Jewish	2.9	2.9
Other	0.1	0.1

The statistics apply to all emigrants from the Kingdom of Hungary—Hungary and Croatia—and therefore include the non-Magyar nationalities as well. We know that it was the Ruthenians and the Romanians who adhered to the Greek Orthodox faith, few among the Magyars did. The Uniates were also unlikely to be Magyars, and were mostly Ruthenians. The German and Slovak emigrants were Lutherans in fairly large numbers.

We cannot conclude much from the above statistics with regard to the denominational distribution of the Magyar emigrants. The census data on

[1] The distribution of Hungary's emigrants by religional affiliation in the years 1905–1907 and 1911–1913. MSK vol. 67, table 18.

the religious affiliation of Hungary's population by ethnic groups provides a better starting point.

The 1900 census gives the Magyars' religious affiliation as follows:

Table 2
Distribution of Hungary's Magyar population by religious affiliation in 1900[2]

Denomination	per cent
Roman Catholic	58.69
Calvinist (Presbyterian)	25.76
Greek Catholic (Uniate)	3.06
Jewish	7.00
Lutheran	4.19
Greek Orthodox	0.40
Unitarian	0.78

Baptists, Nazarenes, and members of other sects and atheists together amounted to a fraction of one per cent.

The proportion of the Calvinists, at any rate, must have been higher among the emigrants than within population of Hungary as a whole. Different denominations dominated in different parts of the country, and it must be kept in mind that one of the main centers of emigration, the Northeastern part of the country, the Bodrogköz, was by and large a Protestant region, and that those who left there for overseas were mostly Calvinist Magyars.

The immigrants' first step in founding a church community was the creation of the so-called "Parish Societies". These worked to consolidate the church communities, prepared the way for the building of the church, and guaranteed its financial backing: supported the minister or priest and met the other expenses of the parish.

The history of the Magyar parishes and churches begins in the 1890s. It was the Protestant Magyars who started organizing the most energetically. This can be explained in part by the Protestant churches' traditions of patriotism and ethnic consciousness, and in part by their using a vernacular liturgy, which made organizing ethnic churches more urgent. The other main impetus was rooted in America: by the time of the migrations from Hungary there were already great and wealthy Protestant

[2] *Népszámlálás:* Census 1900. Denominational distribution of the Hungarian-speaking population.

parishes in the United States; their "home-missionary" activities had no small part in the establishment of the Protestant parishes and churches of the immigrant Magyars. Furthermore, the Protestant communities' traditions of independent self-government also made it easier for them to organize their parishes than it was for the Roman Catholics.

The first Magyar Protestant community was formed in Cleveland in 1890, where Hungarian-speaking peasant immigrants had already gathered in large numbers. The organizing of the parish was directed by the "Reformed Church in the United States", a denomination of German origin.[3]

It was the general assembly of the Reformed Church that invited the first Magyar Protestant minister to Cleveland to do missionary work, offering him travel expenses and salary. It is from his writings that we know how much hardship attended the organizing of the Cleveland parish. The young immigrants, wandering for the most part without their families, were reluctant to become church members. "The parishioners were distrustful of the missionary authorities... A bigger problem was that relatively few were willing to become regular paying church members". To the appeal that they join the church, "many responded that they had come to America for only a short time, and would soon go home; meanwhile they were paying church taxes at home". In Cleveland "the minister could convince only 50–60 Magyars out of the 100–150 who came to the first Sunday service to become regular, that is, paying members of the church". And when the minister spoke at a meeting of the fraternal society "whose members were Protestants without exception", and asked them to join the church, they hardly welcomed him. "There were some who openly demanded what the minister wanted there, and there were members of the organization who allowed themselves even greater discourtesies."[4] Finally, the minister, in order to make the organizing easier, announced that "those who joined were not obliged to pay membership dues right away, but only when they could afford it".[5]

[3] The beginning of the Reformed Church in the United States goes back to the early 17th century. The first governor of New York (then New Amsterdam) was mentioned as a presbyter of the local Reformed Church in the third decade of the 17th century. But the church really became organized a century later when the German Protestant immigrants formed assemblies. They accepted the Heidelberg Confession as their central dogma. For a while they were under the authority of the church of the Netherlands. They became independent in 1893, when, in Lancester, Pa., they organized the synod of the Reformed Church. By the 20th century, this church had assimilated to such a degree that it counted as an American church. The Pittsburgh Synod directed the Hungarian Church, which functioned under its jurisdiction. For details, see S. Harsányi (1911).

[4] *Emlékkönyv* 1940, p. 54.

[5] Ibid., p. 54.

A significant element in the organizing of the Magyar parishes was the formulation of the church constitutions. The first clause in the constitution of the Cleveland Magyar Protestant parish specified the name, the creed, and the affiliation of the Church. The parish took the name "Clevelandi Magyar Evangéliumi Reformált Egyház" (Hungarian Evangelical Reformed Church of Cleveland). Its leaders also put down in writing that the church was "an organic part of the Reformed Church in the United States, although it still considered itself a member of the Evangelical Reformed Church community of Hungary and would always be united in spirit with it."[6]

The circuit for which the first Magyar Protestant minister of Cleveland was responsible included the entirety of the States of Ohio and Michigan. He was the only minister to serve the Magyars scattered all over this huge area. He had to visit 18–20 settlements under circumstances much resembling those of the first apostles. "He set out for the great plains with a Bible, a book of psalms, and his cloak in his bag", and went to the "Magyar camps" one after the other, holding services for the believers, who gathered together at the designated place from far and near on foot, on horse back, or in carriages.[7]

The organizing of the second Protestant community in Pittsburgh came three months after the first one in Cleveland. Again, it was the Board of the Home Missions that invited a reformed Protestant minister from Hungary to do parish work among the Pittsburgh Magyars. The second Magyar minister arrived in the United States in September of 1891 and quickly broke up the Slovak–Magyar church communities which had been organized earlier. For a Slovak–Magyar Protestant fraternal society had been set up in Pittsburgh in 1889; and its members had taken turns reading the services in Hungarian and Slovak each Sunday. The break was caused mostly by the indelicate, nationalistic comments of the clergyman. As a consequence, the members of the organization divided up the money they had collected for building a church and continued to build up their parishes separately. The Hungarian Reformed Church of Pittsburgh was dedicated in 1893, and was the first Reformed church in the United States built by the Magyar ethnic community.[8]

The third Magyar Protestant parish was organized in South Norwalk, in 1893. The founding members had immigrated there from Abaúj County

[6] *Emlékkönyv* 1929.
[7] Árvaházi (1917).
[8] *Szabadság* 10th anniversary volume, 1901, pp. 25–26.

and invited their village teacher to come and be their minister.[9] Other Protestant parishes were formed in Bridgeport, Conn., in 1894, and in New York City, in 1895. This latter group passed the resolution that the community be formed not on religious but on ethnic grounds, so that any Hungarian immigrant, irrespective of denomination, could become a member so long as he gave his support to the noble cause. As a result, there was even a Jew among the first presbyters.[10]

The circumstances and history of the organizing of the Mount Carmel, Pa. parish of the Hungarian Reformed Church are very illuminating. In this little town, it was the Slovak immigrants who started to organize a parish. The Magyars joined them, and together they had built up a church by 1893. Their first minister had held services in two languages, but his successor did not speak Slovak. The parishioners—most of them Slovak in nationality—could not acquiesce in this. They protested against the minister's Hungarian-language sermons, and the conflict degenerated into shouting matches even during church services.[11] Finally, the Magyar minister, with a small group of his parishioners, had to leave the church to the Slovaks.

To the end of the century, three more Protestant Magyar parishes came into existence with the help of the Reformed Church in the United States: one in Trenton, one in Chicago, and one in Phoenixville.

The Magyar immigrants of the Roman Catholic faith had a much harder time getting permission to build their own churches than the Protestants. Its universal nature and international ecclesiastical hierarchy made the Roman Catholic Church less receptive to the idea of ethnic parishes than were the American Protestant churches. Irish bishops held most of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical offices in the United States, and they were among the most impatient to see the assimilation of the East-Central European immigrants. They did not, to say the least, encourage the formation of ethnic parishes; the immigrants, however, were obliged to get episcopal permission to be able to do so.

The situation of the Magyars was made more difficult by the "American bishops' ignorance of the nationality problems within the Monarchy, so that some bishops refused to understand why there was need for a Magyar pastor" especially when there already was a Slovak or other priest from Hungary working in the area.[12] The differences between the would-be

[9] South Norwalk, Conn. 1944.; See also S. Kalassay (n.d.), pp. 40–98.
[10] *Egyházmegyei N.* for the year 1911.
[11] S. Kalassay (n.d.), p. 10.
[12] PL. E. Memorandum 1913.

organizers of Magyar Roman Catholic parishes and the Irish bishops grew ever more acute; suspicion and mistrust was to be found on both sides, and the propaganda campaign against the Magyar priests conducted by the equally nationalist Slavic priests, who were often Pan-Slav in sentiment, only added fuel to the fire. "No other nationality gave nearly so much trouble to the bishops all over the country as did the Magyars",[13] recalled the first Magyar Roman Catholic parish priest in the United States in the memorandum he wrote for the Cardinal of Hungary. "It took years for most Magyar Roman Catholic settlements to make the local English-speaking priest or the bishop believe that they were determined to have a priest who spoke their own language."[14]

The first Slovak–Magyar Roman Catholic parish had been established in the 1880s, in Hazelton, Pa. The mine owners forced all immigrants from Hungary, regardless of denomination, into the same parish. On pay-days they deducted 50 cents for the building of a church. For a while, Slovak missionaries visited them to hear confessions and say Mass.[15]

Similarly, it was Slovaks and a considerably smaller number of Magyars who together built the "Szent László" Catholic Church on Corvin Street in Cleveland. Church services were held alternately in Slovak and in Hungarian. Ethnic tensions exploded at the consecration of the flag of the "Szent Imre" fraternal society, when the priest said the blessing in Slovak. The ceremony ended in a scandalous fight and the separation of the two groups became inevitable.

The first Magyar Roman Catholic priest, Károly Bőhm, arrived in Cleveland in 1892; after he had been briefed on the situation, he put the following advertisement into the *Szabadság:* "The next mass will still be held in the Szent László church which we share with the Slovaks, but after that the Magyars no longer have a place there... We need to raise a church by our own strength so that we might call it Magyar, so that it might function as a Magyar parish church, and so that its members might represent the Magyar nation to the world unadulterated."[16]

Under the guidance of Károly Bőhm, the community soon built up "Szent Erzsébet" church and then a Magyar elementary school. In addition, Károly Bőhm organized a Catholic fraternal society and started a newspaper, first under the title *Szent Erzsébet Hírnöke* (St. Elizabeth's

[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] PL. E. CD. pp. 181–189.
[16] *Szabadság* December 25, 1892.

Messenger) and then as *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja* (Catholic Hungarians' Sunday).[17] (One of the oldest Hungarian-language newspapers, it is still published today.) Father Bőhm's organizing activities extended over several Hungarian settlements.

The second Roman Catholic parish was formed in South Bend. Initially, the Magyars had joined a German parish and their eventual separation from it took place amidst considerable ethnic tension.

It was in 1894 that the Catholic parish was formed in Bridgeport. The founders collected the money to be used for constructing a common Hungarian church with the help of a society founded for the purpose, but dissension and ethnic conflicts intervened in Bridgeport as well.

There are only five known Magyar Roman Catholic parishes before 1901, many fewer than Protestant parishes.[18] The Catholics named their churches after the canonized greats of Hungarian history.

The most conflict was caused by the Greek Catholic's efforts to found their own churches.[19] Between 1880 and 1900, the American bishops would not hear of giving jurisdiction to Greek Catholic priests. Unfamiliar with the rites of the Greek Catholic Church, the American bishops were scandalized by the priests' status as married men. They turned to the Roman Apostolic See with their complaints; and the Pope instructed the bishops of Hungary to recall the married priests and to send only unmarried or widowed priests to the United States. There were other problems as well. Consular reports informed the Monarchy's authorities that the Ruthenes of Galicia and of Hungary were uniting on ethnic grounds, and that Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox believers were building their parishes together or, as the report put it, had changed over to the "Russian religion". This, namely, the joining of the Ruthenes of Hungary and of Galicia in the Greek Orthodox Church, the Hungarian government wanted to prevent at all cost. There is extensive archival documentation of the long wrangling between the Hungarian government and the Foreign Ministry of the Monarchy on the one hand, and the Vatican on the other, for permission for an independent Greek Catholic vicariate in the United States.

[17] For details, see the anniversary publication of the Cleveland Catholic Church, 1942.

[18] *Szabadság* 10th anniversary edition, the article "Magyar templomok és iskolák" (Hungarian churches and schools), pp. 26–27.

[19] See, e.g., the documents concerning the affairs of the Hungarian–American Greek Catholic Church. OL ME K 26 XXXI. 650.

The Hungarian Greek Catholic parishes were non-Magyar or ethnically mixed, the first being likewise formed in Cleveland, in 1892.[20] Its organization began with the setting up of the "Szent Mihály" Benefit Association; it was at its initiation that the "Szent János" parish was established, the church being built in 1893.

It is, thus, very hard to pinpoint the date when the first Magyar ethnic churches were organized. Most of them, as we have seen, were ethnically mixed initially: they were church communities of Slovaks, Magyars, and Germans. The first Pittsburgh parish gave expression to this in its very name: "Magyar és Tót Ev. Ref. Egyházközség" (Hungarian and Slovak Evangelical Reformed Church). In some parishes designated as Magyar, the Slovaks were, in fact, the majority, and the "Magyar" character was lent mainly by the priest.[21]

The Americans, at a loss to figure out the ethnic and denominational diversity of the immigrants from Hungary, either listed the Slovaks as Magyars or the Magyars as Slovaks. But they used the name "Hunky" for all of them. The immigrants from Hungary tried to shrug off the burden of prejudice by accepting the censure coming from the American environment as applicable only to the other nationality, and even blamed each other for bringing that burden on their backs. Therefore, the conflicts that attended their formation into communities were rooted not only in the old country, but also in the antagonistic attitude of the American milieu.

The churches of the immigrants from Hungary were "mixed" also in respect of the original religious affiliation of the members. For example, in many settlements the Protestant minister became the pastor of the majority of the Magyars, regardless of denominational differences, conducting church services, officiating at baptisms, marriages and burials.[22]

The Magyar Catholics preferred joining the churches of the Protestant Magyar immigrants to joining the Catholic Churches of the Americans. The creation of the new communities thus went hand in hand with the felling of some old-country barriers, the cohesive force being the Hungarian background and the common language.

In the 1890s, the Lutherans of the Augustan Confession (most of them Slovak and German immigrants, with only a sprinkling of Magyars) were content to join the Magyar Reformed parishes. However, as time went on and other denominations organized parishes, the old country's denomi-

[20] See the 75th anniversary album, 1967.
[21] *Emlékkönyv* 1929, p. 19.
[22] *Szabadság* 10th anniversary edition, p. 25. 1901.

national squabbles and competition for members sprung up on American soil as well. Relations between the first two Magyar pastors in Cleveland, the Catholic Károly Bőhm and the Presbyterian Sándor Harsányi, were especially acrimonious. The Catholic priest launched a sharp attack on the methods of church organizing used by the Protestants. The fruit of the debate was the first religious book in Hungarian to be published in America, *A protestáns hit védelme Amerikában* (The defense of the Protestant faith in America), written by Sándor Harsányi. Such interdenominational controversy further divided the Magyars and weakened their ability to take a stand as an ethnic group. As early as the 1890s, the Magyar Protestant ministers, claiming that certain denominations greatly mistreated the immigrants, turned to the Reformed Church missionary authorities for redress of their grievances. In the interest of counteracting these abuses, they asked permission in 1896 to establish the Hungarian–American Reformed Diocese.[23] This, however, by no means squared with the program of Americanization envisioned by the American Protestant authorities; they wanted no centralized, ethnic church organization, and refused to consider the request of the Magyar ministers. The Magyar ministers had also concurrently sent a memorandum to the Universal Convent of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Hungary. Hoping for support and recognition, they gave an account of their work and of the Magyar parishes set up in the United States. However, at that time the mother church in the old country was not yet interested in ministering to the immigrants, was in no way supportive.

So the problems kept on growing. Because of their dissimilar traditions, there were conspicuous differences between Hungarian Calvinism and American Protestantism. One American church authority summed up this difference as follows: "The Hungarian Reformed Church and the Slovak Calvinist Church were of utmost interest to American Protestantism, and yet it is hard to imagine anything more foreign to American Protestantism than they are... Their church service is cold formalism from beginning to end, and as soon as the sermon is over, the parishioner is free to do anything his heart—uncleansed from sin—dictates to him."[24]

The difference raised from the very beginning the question of whether the teachings and the constitutions of the two churches were compatible. Pioneer Magyar Protestant ministers got together in Pittsburgh in 1896 to

[23] Memoirs addressed to the Universal Convention of the Reformed Church of Hungary by the Hungarian reformed missionaries working in the United States, 1896. In: S. Kalassay (n.d.), p. 104.

[24] D. L. Marsh (1917), chapter II. Quoted by A. Komjáthy (1962), pp. 55–56.

discuss the question, among others, and it was only after lengthy debate that they all agreed that the two Protestant churches—the American and the Hungarian—were basically identical, their articles of faith being the same, although there were some differences in their institutions. This, however, settled the matter only for a time; and a few years later, the controversy continued even more vigorously.[25]

The Hungarian immigrants' attempts at church organization gained momentum after the turn of the century, with the result that the 14 years before World War I can be regarded as the peak time in the establishment of ethnic churches.

One more Protestant denomination joined in organizing Magyar churches, the Presbyterian Church. Anglo-Saxon in origin and founded by English Puritan immigrants, by this time it had grown into the largest and richest Protestant church in the United States. Its first missionary activities among the Magyars began in the hard-coal regions of Pennsylvania.[26]

The Baptists, and the members of various sects such as the Seventh Day Adventists, the Sabbatarians, and the Pentecostals also began to form smaller parishes among the Magyar immigrants around the turn of the century.

The first Magyar Baptist assemblies were formed with German and American support in Cleveland, Homestead, and Bridgeport.[27] In spite of this help, however, no friendship could develop between the American and Magyar Baptists because of linguistic and other differences—so we read in a history of the Hungarian–American Baptists.[28]

The main organizer of the Hungarian Baptist communities and assemblies, the preacher László Zboray, oversaw the building of 9 churches in 9 years and founded the "American–Hungarian Baptist Seminary" in Scranton. In 1914, Cleveland became the headquarters of the seminary. The Hungarian–American Baptist Federation was founded in Homestead, Pa., in 1908. In June 15, 1908, the literary society attached to it started the

[25] For a detailed report, see G. Antal (1908).

[26] For the ecclesiastical work carried on by the Presbyterian Church among the Hungarians, see J. Dikonics (1945), p. 65. He mentioned two organizers of church work: Géza Kacziány, a teacher, and Gusztáv Hámory, a businessman. The author attempts to put his own church activity in the most favorable light, but even so his references to historical events betray the church's attempts to force assimilation.

[27] *Az Amerikai Magyar Baptisták Történelme, 1908–1958* (History of the Hungarian–American Baptists, 1908–1958), 1958; E. L. Kautz (1946).

[28] One of their preachers, Bila Szilard, was a Romanian but spoke Hungarian perfectly. *Amerikai Magyar Baptisták Történelme, 1908–1958* (1958), p. 12.; About the Seventh Day Adventists, see AMN 25. anniversary edition 1924.

publication of the first Baptist newspaper in Hungarian, the *Evangéliumi Hírnök* (Evangelical Messenger).

The Hungarian–American Baptist Federation registered a total of 1,127 members in 1918. Some assembly members had become Baptists already in Hungary, others converted under the influence of the new environment. Initially, immigrants of all nationalities from Hungary together made up the Baptist communities. However, the peaceful coexistence of the Magyars and the bilingual non-Magyars was broken up by nationalism especially after the outbreak of World War I. The Baptists' history reads as follows: "Those who earlier had felt at home as Romanians, Slovaks, Croats, etc. among the Magyars now quietly began to leave and join their own nationals."[29]

The Lutherans of the Augustan Confession began organizing their independent parishes in 1906, under the guidance and jurisdiction of the United Lutheran Church of America.[30] Seven Magyar Lutheran parishes are known to have been formed before World War I. The first was organized in Cleveland at the assembly held on October 5, 1905. The Magyar Lutheran parishes were also ethnically mixed and were composed mainly of Wends and Magyars.

To date, there is little information available on the religious communities of the Hungarian Jews. Sources indicate that from the turn of the century on, they, too, attempted to organize parishes in New York, Bridgeport, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and St. Louis, and in some other, smaller places.[31] However, the Hungarian Jewish churches were the shortest-lived, melting into the larger American-Jewish religious communities relatively quickly.[32]

RIVALRY AMONG THE CHURCHES

The beginning of the Presbyterian Church's mission to the Magyars marked the end of united church-organizing activity among them. The American missionary churches competed for the Magyars' souls, as the ministers under their authority squabbled over real or imagined dogmatic and ethnic differences, not infrequently driven by personal interest. The

[29] Ibid., p. 18.
[30] See 50th anniversary album, 1956; Mrs. I. Ruzsa (1967).
[31] AMN 25th anniversary edition, 1924, Apr. 24.
[32] K. Káldor (1937), p. 246.

competitors looked for supporters wherever they could find them, and one group of Hungarian–American Protestant ministers turned to the mother church in Hungary to settle the questions of dogma.

The Reformed Church in Hungary began to show active interest in the "spiritual guidance" of its American immigrants at just the right time. Behind this changeover from its earlier passivity was the Austro–Hungarian government's—and most of all, the Magyar leading circles'—determination to influence the immigrants' communities and organizations so as to preserve their "loyalty" toward Hungary. The churches seemed to be the best channels of influence and surveillance. Suddenly church leaders and newspapermen became important as contact men. The motive, method, and effect of the old country's intervention in the immigrants' church communities and institutions can be outlined as follows:

From the middle of the 1890s, the ambassador to Washington of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, Hengelmüller, regularly informed his superiors in the joint foreign ministry of the nationalist movements, anti-Habsburg sentiment, and ever spreading Pan-Slav ideas among the Monarchy's immigrants to the United States.[33] At first, the old-country government was not unduly concerned. It was only after the turn of the century that the Hungarian government especially became sensitive to the issue, as Magyar nationalism and the various non-Magyar national movements gave rise to a series of incidents. As emigration became a mass movement and the anti-Magyar propaganda of Hungary's ethnic minorities in the United States began to reflect back on the old country, the Hungarian government saw the time ripe—in the "higher interests of the Hungarian State"—to institutionalize the "nation's care" for the emigrants.

For this purpose they worked out a comprehensive action-program, with theoretical and practical directives.

It is worth quoting from these "strictly confidential" general directives on the "American Action", giving as they do a candid view of the government's position on emigration and its motives for establishing contacts with the immigrants.

[33] See the reports of the Washington ambassador and consuls of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy between 1895 and 1914. For example, in 1895 the ambassador sent the following report: "Über panslavistische Agitation unter in den Vereinigten Staaten sich aufhaltenden Slovaken" Nr. sect. 14. July 7, 1895; "Über die Lage der slovakischen Arbeiter-Bevölkerung in Pennsylvanien und die unter ihnen betriebene panslavische Agitation" Nr. 19. b. October 25, 1895; "Die orthodoxe Propaganda unter unseren griechisch-kath. Immigranten" Nr. 16. A-B. November 28, 1896. SA PA W XXXIII. USA.

"In view of the ethnic problems involved in emigration, the action directed at the emigrants from Hungary cannot be organized uniformly; rather, the overseas population has to be divided into two large groups: Hungarian-speaking and non-Hungarian-speaking. The non-Hungarian-speaking emigrants have to be treated according to their racial character and religion, and especial care must be taken to maintain the existing differences among these non-Hungarian-speaking emigrants who belong overwhelmingly to the Slav race, and thus counteract the idea of Pan-Slavism, i.e., the complete integration of the various Slav tribes.

. . . The Magyars have no related races living in larger numbers in other countries; it is, thus, natural that the outward gravitation which is, alas, increasingly manifest among some Slav peoples of the Monarchy should be quite unknown among them. And because the Magyars, relatively few in number, stand completely isolated in the middle of Europe, it is only natural that every Magyar of sound mind seek support and reinforcement in the strength and great historical traditions of the greatest dynasty. Under such circumstances, anti-state and anti-dynastic sentiments can have no natural soil among the Magyar race, either at home or abroad.

Furthermore, the facts that more than 50 per cent of the country's population was Hungarian-speaking by the 1890s, and that the natural reproduction rate of the Magyars is most significant, as well as the fact that the intelligentsia and propertied classes are predominantly Hungarian-speaking make Hungary a nation-state, especially since the emigration of the non-Hungarian-speaking minorities has affected a number of the non-Magyar groups on the lowest cultural level. And the natural duty of every nation-state, while dealing fairly with all loyal nationalities, is nevertheless to work primarily for the development and strengthening of the race that preserves it.

Therefore, both from the standpoint of demography and in the interest of the development of the Hungarian nation-state, the preservation for the nation of the Hungarian-speaking emigrants is by far the most important part of the American Action. The activity directed toward them aims primarily at the return of the Hungarian-speaking emigrants in as great a number as possible.

The non-Hungarian-speaking emigrants, the majority of whom belong to the Slavic race, are to be judged from a completely different point of view. For, judging by the reports of our diplomats and by the information received from home, they have come under the influence of bad-intentioned leaders, and have become corrupted from the national point

of view. However regrettable, therefore, the great population loss that burdens the Hungarian state as the consequence of the mass emigration of the Slovak and the Russian-speaking population, the return of the Slavs to the Felvidék, after they have been corrupted in their national feelings, cannot be desirable.

But because we are unable to prevent the return of the Slavs, and because it is to be feared that, after the economic depression that is likely to occur in America, great numbers of Slovaks and Ruthenians will return, and that their hostility to the dynasty will cause much trouble and danger to the state, we cannot abandon the national care of the Slovak and Russian-speaking emigrants. On the contrary, we must most emphatically continue the actions we have taken against Pan-Slavism. However, this branch of the American Action must be basically of a different character than the nurturing of the Magyars' national sentiments. The latter we are trying to preserve for the country, the former we are trying to protect from damaging political influences. The first is definitely a positive, the latter is rather a negative type of action."[34]

On the basis of these general guidelines a program was worked out for the three main areas (Magyar, Slovak and Ruthenian), based partly on the recommendations of the ambassador to Washington, and the information he provided on, for example, the communities and organizations of the Monarchy's emigrants to the United States. The various provisions of the American Action outlined the practical means—making contact with churches, supporting clerics and influencing them, if possible, subsidizing schools and newspapers—which it was hoped would promote the theoretical goals of the program. Because the immigrants' parishes and churches offered the primary field of activity for the American Action, the Prime Minister's office initiated the program through the Ministry of Religion and Education, in conjunction with, and guiding and encouraging, the activities of the chief ecclesiastical authorities of Hungary—the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Episcopacy and the Presbyterian Convent.[35]

The international hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church set limits to the Hungarian government's action program. Canon law, for instance, dictated that parishes belong under the sole jurisdiction of their respective

[34] OL. ME. K 26 "Amerikai Magyar Akció" (Hungarian–American action): directives. March 17, 1903; see also G. G. Kemény (1964), III. pp. 222–240; Monika Glettler (1980), the chapter entitled "Die Amerikanische Aktion", pp. 109–139; and Bielik–Rákos, No. 90, 91, 92, pp. 238–262.

[35] See the minutes of the meetings of the episcopacy, entitled "Az amerikai magyar katholikusok lelki gondozása" (The spiritual guidance of the Hungarian–American Catholics): October 18, 1902; March 31, 1903; November 12, 1910; March 6, 1911; January 22, 1913; November 7, 1913: PL. E.

episcopates. This made it impossible to draw the Magyar Roman Catholic parishes formed in the United States under the authority of the episcopates of Hungary. All the Prime Minister could do was to ask the Hungarian bishops to send priests who were deemed "reliable from the patriotic point of view" to the United States to work among the immigrants. This, and the fact that the government financed their fare obviously contributed to the speeding up of the organizing of Roman Catholic Magyar parishes in the United States after 1904.

Its American Action program impelled the Hungarian government to more vigorous diplomatic action in the interest of creating an independent Greek Catholic episcopate on the territory of the United States. The efforts to do so went back to the 1890s.

The endeavours to organize a Greek Catholic vicariate and then an independent episcopate and the conflicts between the American and Hungarian governments that attended them graphically demonstrate how greatly religious matters were subordinated to Hungary's national policies. The Greek Catholic problem is primarily related to the history of the non-Magyar immigrants to America, and we cannot undertake to discuss it here. Suffice it to quote from a letter written in 1906 by the Hungarian Prime Minister to the Prince-Primate of Hungary concerning the progress of the diplomatic negotiations held with the Holy See in the matter of establishing an independent Greek Catholic episcopate in the United States:

"Knowing that the Greek Catholics who have emigrated to the United States are subject to great temptations both in their religious faith and in their love for their country because of the propaganda disseminated by the schismatic Russian church on the one hand and the urban Galician priests independent of Rome on the other, the Royal Hungarian Government has always recognized its duty to try to end the ecclesiastical disorganization of this emigrant population, by urging the organizing of an independent Greek Catholic episcopate with authority over the entire territory of the United States. The diplomatic activites carried out in Rome for this purpose have already resulted in the agreement in theory by the Holy Apostolic See to create an episcopate... In the course of the diplomatic negotiations, the Royal Hungarian Government had at all times placed the greatest emphasis on the right of the Cardinal of Hungary to recommend candidates for the episcopate, in order to ensure that the choice in case of future vacancies would be made to suit not only ecclesiastical specifications but also Hungarian national interests. We have, however, failed to make the Roman Curia agree to the principle that the episcopate in question be

regularly filled by the candidate of the Cardinal of Hungary. In practice, however—as we learn from our ambassador to the Vatican—the Holy Apostolic See has satisfied the request of the Royal Hungarian Government in so far as it is turning to Your Excellency for recommendations concerning a suitable candidate for the episcopate. As far as I am concerned, I have not yet been informed who Your Excellency recommends..., and to avoid a situation in which Your Excellency supports one candidate, and the Government through the embassy, and the most concerned of all, the Greek Catholic bishops of Hungary, another, I turn to Your Excellency with the request to let me know the names of your candidates and also to inform me, from impressions possibly gathered in Rome, which of your candidates seems to have the best prospect of success..."[36]

In contradistinction to the Catholic Church, the Protestant churches' independence made developing stronger ties with the mother church in Hungary possible. Earlier, the Reformed Church of Hungary had made no use of this opportunity and had attached no importance to ecclesiastic care of the American immigrants. The first to come to see the immigrant Magyars was the lay president of the Reformed Church of Hungary, Count József Degenfeld, in 1904. Speaking to a few Protestant ministers, he conveyed the invitation of the Reformed Church of Hungary that the Magyar Reformed parishes and institutions to be organized in the United States join it, and place themselves under its authority. In return, he offered the moral and, more importantly, the financial support of the Reformed Convent of Hungary in the form of contributions to the salaries of Hungarian–American ministers and of loans for building Magyar churches. He promised to send sufficiently-trained ministers to America, and to allow Hungarian–American ministers to compete for jobs in Hungary, and enjoy the same benefits as were offered the retired Protestant ministers who had worked at home.

As a result of these discussions, the first American diocese of the Reformed Church of Hungary (belonging directly under the Danube Basin Synod) was formed in New York on October 7, 1904; it united six churches and was named "Amerikai Magyar Református Egyházmegye" (Hungarian–American Reformed Diocese). The main reason for its creation was given by the leader of the diocese as follows: "In the interest of their national and spiritual life, the Hungarian–American Protestants had to find a way to nurture their sense of national unity and Magyar

[36] PL. E. CD 5838. November 2, 1906.

Protestant faith."[37] From this time on, the ministers and parishes who accepted the Reformed Church of Hungary were called "the joiners", and those who did not "the non-joiners".

The creation of the Hungarian–American Reformed Diocese further divided the Protestant communities. The hostility among the church communities—and primarily among the ministers—formerly bilateral, now acquired yet another dimension, for there were "the joiners", the "non-joiners", and the "presbyterians". The conflict was given expression in press polemics and in floods of pamphlets written in both Hungarian and English. "There were some who pointed a finger at 'the joiners' and their church delegations as at political agents", recalls one source.[38] The "joiners", however, called the "non-joiners" traitors to the Magyars, who had sold their Hungarian nationality for the alms of the Americans. The flood of personal abuse even led to some libel suits.[39]

The "Magyar Action" that was directed at the non-Magyar nationalities had even less success. The nationalist movements and anti-Habsburg sentiments of the emigrant nationalities far from abating were becoming more energetic from 1906 on, the time the program was actually put into practice. The nationalities gave much publicity to the Hungarian government's putative political intentions, and the misunderstandings that the actual and imagined goals of the program gave rise to caused much annoyance and diplomatic complications to the Hungarian government.

A special study would be needed to analyze in detail the complicated ramifications of this American action program. The present work will deal only with those aspects that affected the fate of the Magyar's communities and institutions in America. However, a realistic evaluation of every aspect of the "Action" would be most timely, for the works published in the United States, often disregarding the context, and overheated by emotion, are more likely to feed ethnic tension than to help understand this complicated historical situation.

The Reformed Church of the United States and the Reformed Church of Hungary came into conflict over the issue of jurisdiction over the Magyar

[37] The Hungarian–American Protestant ministers tried to induce the Reformed Convention to handle the matter in unison with the American Reformed Church. "Az Észak-Amerikai Egyesült Államok területén működő magyar ev. ref. lelkészek és egyházak többségének a magyar ev. ref. egyházakhoz való csatlakozása tárgyában készített memorandum." (Memorandum prepared in the matter of the majority of the Hungarian Reformed Churches and ministers working in the United States of North America joining the Reformed Churches of Hungary.) Editor: S. Kalassay, 1904. Quoted by A. Komjáthy (1962).

[38] *Emlékkönyv* 1929, p. 19; Z. Kuthy *(Egyházmegyei N. 1911), pp. 33–40.*

[39] S. Kalassay (n. d. manuscript).

immigrant parishes. The Reformed Church contested the Magyars' right to secede and made claim to their ecclesiastical property for the benefit of those who remained under its authority. For example, its spokesmen emphasized in a pamphlet sent to all the American churches that "the movement aimed at creating a Hungarian–American Church was irregular, anti-constitutional, revolutionary, and demoralizing". They questioned the sources of the financial aid offered by the Reformed Church of Hungary, stressing—quite rightly—that the spiritual care of the Magyars living in the United States was not motivated by religious concern but by nationalist political interest.[40]

Naturally, the Reformed Church Convent of Hungary did not disclose all the details of the American Action program even to those ministers who had joined it. The wave of protest and counter-propaganda from America did not deter it, nor even the threat of diplomatic complications.[41] Thus, the number of parishes belonging under the Hungarian church authorities grew, partly because the former "non-joiners" rethought the matter, and partly because new parishes, the so-called "counter-churches" were set up with the secession of some members of already existing parishes. By 1911, the number of "joiners" had risen to 18 parishes.[42] The split within the communities caused a series of lawsuits over the ownership of church property; the records of 18 such lawsuits are known from the pre-1914 period.

The immigrants started to build new churches in many places with loans received from Hungary, the ministers' "church-building fever" often becoming a considerable burden to the "joiner" parishes.[43]

The Convent's successes in winning churches were undoubtedly helped by the offers of financial support, by the various concessions granted the ministers which confirmed their interest in maintaining good relations with the old country—few of them at that time seriously considered settling in the United States—and, last but not least, by personal conflits and

[40] Pamphlet entitled "Our Statement," 1904. One copy is in the author's collection.

[41] See 314a/1906 in the Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltár (Archives of the Reformed Synod), Budapest.

[42] *Egyházmegyei N. 1911*, p. 41. Statistical report.

[43] See the documents concerning loans to the American-Protestant Churches OL. ME. K 26—1908: West Cleveland—860. XXI.-74.; Delray—XXI.-77.; South Bethlehem—XXI. 78.; Perth Amboy—861. and 79.; Phoenixville—81.; Alpha—148.; Windber—862. XXI.-149.; Trenton—190.; Pittsburgh—217.; Carteret—863. XXI.—219.; Bridgeport—632.; documents on the disposition of loans to the Hungarian Reformed Church of Passaic: 772.; the credit account of the Hungarian–American Reformed Church: 862. XXI. and 150.; the affairs of the reformed branch of the Hungarian–American schools: 861.; on various affairs of the Hungarians living abroad: 864 XXI.

rivalries. On the whole, the very real sacrifices made by the immigrant communities notwithstanding, the history of the Magyar Protestant churches is rather colored by the principle of "whoever gives more is the one we'll join". Such changes in loyalties, by the way, are typical of small, scattered ethnic groups, whose meager financial resources put them much at the mercy of circumstances. Still, the call of the Reformed Church of Hungary was lent strength by the ties they felt to the mother country, by the immigrants' loyalty to the special historical traditions of the Hungarian Calvinist Church. In addition, a natural defense reaction to the efforts of the American Protestant churches to assimilate them also came into play in the immigrants' choice.[44]

The leaders of the Magyar Protestant parishes of all denominations were much preoccupied with the issue of which church authority would best guarantee them three features considered to be as indispensable as they were inseparable: to be at once Protestant, Magyar, and American. All groups argued well for their position and against the position of the others,[45] and the debates gave rise to much unnecessary discord.

In spite of its successes, the Reformed Church of Hungary failed to win all the Magyar Protestant parishes in the United States to joining it. It was the parishes already on their way to assimilation, with ministers who had not been trained in Hungary and who consequently feared to lose their jobs to the Hungarian church authorities (many ministers working under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, for example) who were most likely to refuse.

For the ministers had a leading role in determining with whom the congregation should affiliate. Those among them who had stronger ties to the new environment (especially those who spoke English), whose future plans included settling permanently, or whose more democratic thinking and sense of social responsibility removed them from the "mother church"

[44] For details about the prejudices of American church leaders and about forced Americanization, see the 1962 dissertation of A. Komjáthy. He quotes the statements by leaders of the American Protestant Missions, among others that of Dr. Charles Schaffer, who said: "'80% of them could neither read nor write. The church stank like an immigrant wagon.' They thought the Hungarians dirty on the basis of the syllogism that new immigrants were dirty; the Hungarians were new immigrants, therefore the Hungarians were dirty." pp. 50–51. "... They impressed upon the ministers and the immigrants that their religious traditions had to disappear, since they were un-American and thus un-Christian. This was not the private opinion of only a few extremists—the prominent leaders of various Protestant denominations professed such opinions, e.g. at the symposium which dealt with the problems caused by the new immigrants in the city of Pittsburgh." Ibid., 54. For a similar report on forced assimilation and prejudices against the Italian immigrants, see M. S. Seller (1978); R. J. Vecoli (1969), pp. 217–268; R. M. Miller-Thomas Marzik (1977).

[45] Gy. Borsy Kerekes (1930), pp. 17–18.

of Hungary, preferred to choose the authority and support of the American Protestant churches.

The parishes operating under the aegis of the Presbyterian church were the first to break away from ethnic traditions, for the Presbyterian Church urged assimilation more forcefully than the Reformed Church. From the very first, it was averse to hiring ministers trained in Hungary. In its own seminaries, or at quick training courses, the missionaries were instructed to help speed up assimilation. Generally, the educational level of the "Magyar Presbyterian Ministers" was lower than that of the other groups, a situation that became the source of much debate and criticism.

The parishioners understood the significance of organizational affiliation very little or not at all. For most of them, the authority of the Church of Hungary seemed natural, since at this time they were, in spirit, still in the old country, and their hopes also kept them turned homeward. The important thing for them just then was to keep the observances they had become accustomed to in the old country. This they demanded of all ministers, regardless of denomination, a number of them (e.g. the parish being organized under the authority of the Presbyterian Church of Johnstown) setting down in their by-laws that the minister was obliged to conduct church services according to the Hungarian customs.

At this time, there was as yet no significant difference between parish life in the American Magyar churches and in the old country. The language of the services was exclusively Hungarian; the Lord's Supper and the hymns sang were determined by Hungarian traditions,[46] with debates flaring up at times in the parish when emigrants who came from different regions insisted on different traditions. The first noticeable innovations, the first "American feature", was the Sunday School, the placing of the children's religious education within the framework of parish work.

THE ETHNIC FUNCTIONS OF CHURCH COMMUNITIES AND INSTITUTIONS

In spite of the desire for things to remain constant and the attempts to transplant church traditions, the new environment and the new conditions from the beginning modified not only the organizational forms of the churches, the church government, but the function of the church communities and institutions as well.

[46] D. A. Souders (1922), pp. 91–97.

In most of the countries of Europe at this time, Hungary included, there was not yet a separation of church and state. The financial security of the church was guaranteed primarily by the state. It was done not only by land-grants going back to the Middle Ages, but among other things by the assessment of church taxes and their official collection. Under such circumstances, church institutions were fairly independent of the desires and aims of the population. Indeed, their existence and activities were hardly influenced by the needs of the community. The individual was born into a religion, and it bound him all through life, as an active or passive member of the church.

In the United States, on the contrary, church and state were already completely separated, or, more precisely, had never been connected. Individuals freely chose the denomination, the church organization with which they affiliated. They also decided for themselves if they wanted to shoulder the financial burdens of church membership and, if so, to what degree. There was no system of compulsory church taxes as in the old country, only voluntary giving. Although the leaders of the parish could set a so-called church membership fee, they could compel no one to pay it: therefore the salaries of ministers and priests were not as assured as they were in Hungary. There was no parochial land, benefice, or long-service allowance. A clergyman's salary, that is to say, his livelihood, was determined by the number of his parishioners, their income and financial ability, and, most of all, their willingness to pay. The clerics depended upon the assembly and were often exposed to the whims of their parishioners, a significant difference in the relation of the priest or minister to the members of his church. The simplest immigrants soon recognized that these were changed circumstances, and quickly modified their behavior toward their church leaders. In the villages they came from, the priest or minister had been a "gentleman"; a great social gap had divided the faithful from the churchmen. This great gap ceased to exist in the new country. The former "gentleman" moved closer to the members of the parish community in every respect.

The clergy, accustomed to the conditions of the old country, had a hard time getting used to the changed behavior of their parishioners. This was especially so in the case of the Catholic priests, who in Hungary, in the more rigid ecclesiastical hierarchy, had led their "flock" with almost unlimited authority. The parish priest of South Bend described the situation (as he saw it) in the following report:

"It is a big problem that the majority of our priests, and the best among them, have had their fill of being Hungarian–American priests, and if the

situation becomes just a little more tolerable back home, they will leave America. It can truly be said that many Hungarian priests are kept in America only by prayer. One outstandingly devoted and really saintly priest told me the other day: 'I believe that the Lord Jesus will not leave me for long as a Hungarian priest in America!' And nobody who is familiar with the situation can be surprised at this. A decent and consequently self-respecting priest has to be fed up with the American Misters, who, not having the cane of the *szolgabíró* (district administrator in Hungary before 1945) behind their backs, allow themselves every kind of churlish brutality toward their ordained priests. Those meetings that they forever trouble the priest with, those pettinesses and stupid hair-splittings, the insulting mistrust the priest encounters on the part of the parishioners must fill the priest, who is after all a feeling and educated individual, with loathing and nausea. Only a ruffian priest can tolerate such things calmly and with indifference: not a good priest, whose soul is gentle and whose feelings are refined."[47]

At the same time the faithful were also depending more on the clerics under the new circumstances than in the old country. Besides ministering to their religious needs, the clergy also played a principal part in arranging their wordly affairs. Often the clergyman was the only learned person who they could turn to with their problems and who, as the intellectual of the ethnic group, they could ask for advice. It also became the task of the clergy—as well as of the newspapermen—to try to mitigate the prejudices of the American environment and to parry the attacks against the group. The articles that appeared in the English language papers about the Hungarian immigrants with pleas for a more sympathetic view of their lives, their thinking, their social background, and their goals issued principally from clerics' pens.[48] Because of this new mutual interdependence, the members and the ministers of the churches got to know each others' lives more intimately. Their contacts became more humane, but were also the sources of constant friction. Thus, from the first, the tasks and activities of the immigrants' clergy grew beyond holding church services and other more narrowly conceived ecclesiastical functions.

The life of the pioneer Magyar clergyman was not easy. The difficulties dispirited some of them so throughly that they returned to the old country

[47] PL. E. Memorandum 1913; Várlaky's article is attached.

[48] See the publicistic writings of Sándor Harsányi in the English language press of Chicago, e.g. his article "Flag is respected," in the *Home Press* June 27, 1903, and other articles, e.g. in *Ref. Church Messenger* April 9, 1903.

or quit their profession. Those who staid with it often changed parishes or congregations, so that parishes already established were frequently left without a cleric. It was the squabbles between the parishioners and their minister and the lure of more prosperous congregations that caused such large-scale movement among the clergy. These were conditions that did not attract those who already possessed reliable incomes in Hungary; the Magyar parishes, thus, especially the Roman Catholics, were constantly struggling with want of clergy. To their repeated requests for pastors, the Hungarian bishops most frequently responded that "they cannot send qualified clergymen because there is a shortage of these in Hungary also".[49]

The question thus arises: who were these men who, in spite of all the problems, took on ecclesiastical work among the immigrant Magyars? From what group did the first Hungarian–American priests and ministers come? It has been possible to collect detailed data about the life and activities of most of them. From this it appears that the pioneer clerics came from the ranks of restless and rather rootless individuals whose careers in the old country had, for some reason, not flourished.

However, there were also among them individuals who were more than equal to their calling, possessing considerable literary talent, good organizing ability, missionary zeal, and a sense of social responsibility. These were the organizers, the effective contributors to all the community activities of the immigrants, even those outside the social activities of the church. They played a great role in the preservation of ethnic consciousness, and in the dissemination of historical, literary, and political culture. Living among physical laborers, many of them identified with their social struggles and not infrequently encouraged them during strikes, giving advice or even conducting the negotiations between workers and employers.[50]

Of course, there were also among them ministers who had neither the disposition nor the necessary training to lead the immigrant parishes, men who had joined the clerical profession because of secular interests, and in the hopes of exploiting its new opportunities. As Károly Bőhm wrote to the Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy: "It is a sad fact that here the 'culpa' is not infrequently on the priest's part. They abuse the people's trust and cause them financial losses."[51]

[49] Minutes of the meeting of the Episcopacy, March 31, 1903, PL. E.

[50] G. Hoffmann (1911), p. 275. See also the letter of the Hungarian Prime Minister to the Foreign Minister OL. ME. 3719-I. 554—October 22, 1902.

[51] PL. E. Memorandum 1913.

The social function of the church was important from the start. The Magyar churches, the parishes became the centers of social activity much more than they had been in Hungary. The Hungarian church, in many places, constituted the sole "Magyar territory" that the immigrants could claim as their own, the one place where they felt "at home", where they could live according to their customs and national folk traditions. Church services that had some sort of patriotic connotation served to awaken group consciousness and national identity, which is why these parishes celebrated Hungarian national holidays with such ardor: the Protestants, March 15 and October 6, in memory of the 1848 revolution; the Catholics, August 20, in memory of St. Stephen, the first Hungarian King. In letters written home, both the Protestant and the Catholic churchmen stated repeatedly that the impetus to organize Magyar churches in the United States was patriotic more than religious in character. The Roman Catholic priest of Cleveland wrote to the Cardinal of Hungary: "There can be no doubt that our people can be kept loyal to our Holy Mother the Church only if we show and nurture expressly Magyar sentiments. As a 'Magyar', he is quick to become enthused and build a church. Whatever he has accomplished so far, he has done it as a 'Magyar'."[52] Another Magyar parish priest, commenting in 1901 upon the circumstances surrounding the building of the first Roman Catholic churches, emphasized that "every one of them was created by Magyar national pride wounded to the quick by insults".[53]

The churches of the Magyars were the connecting links between the old and the new countries, both of which sought contact with the immigrants primarily through their churches.

The churches of Hungary tried to stem the process of natural assimilation, while the American church authorities tried to force it. "Their final goal is to speed up amalgamation through the utmost neglect of the nationality factor, thus to free themselves of the troubles caused by the disagreeable foreigners." Such and similar complaints arrived repeatedly to the church authorities in Hungary about the impatience of the Irish bishops.

Both religious leaders in Hungary and the Hungarian–American clergy suspect that "the American church authorities were trying to get rid of the Magyar clergy and replace them with Pan-Slav or American clergy who speak some Hungarian".[54]

[52] Ibid.

[53] *Szabadság* 10th anniversary edition, 1901, p. 35.

[54] PL. E. Minutes of the Episcopacy, January 22, 1913.

In their turn, the non-Magyar immigrants repeatedly raised their voices to the American bishops in protest against the efforts of the Hungarian church authorities to permit only those reliable from the "patriotic point of view" to do church work in the United States. They complained that the clerics sent from Hungary spread propaganda in support of the Hungarian state, preached in Hungarian, and urged the Magyarization of the non-Magyar nationalities even in the United States.[55]

Some of the non-Magyar clerics sent to the United States to do pastoral work caused no small consternation to the Hungarian church authorities; sent because of their pro-Magyar stand, they definitely broke with their past in the United States, becoming activists in the non-Magyar nationalist movements. Uncertain and apprehensive, the bishops of Hungary used the shortage of clerics as an excuse to avoid having to send clerics to parishes petitioning them from the United States. For experience showed that the Slovak clerics on their way to Magyarization woke to national consciousness only in the United States, in some cases compensating for their past of alienation from their ethnic group by extreme nationalism.

Many kinds of pressure, as we have seen, were working on the parishes and institutions of Hungary's immigrants to America. The unsolved ethnic problems of the old country became more acute in the freer, more democratic environment. These conflicts contributed to the development of the ethnic characteristics of their church institutions as nationalism became an ever stronger force in every ethnic group.

EFFORTS TO PRESERVE THE LANGUAGE

It became the task of the churches to develop the institutionalized forms of teaching the Hungarian language to the second generation, and to provide the rudiments of Hungarian history. The first Hungarian schools in the United States were set up in 1893. A Hungarian day school opened in a Roman Catholic parish of Cleveland; American nuns instructed the children, and the parish priest taught Hungarian. The first weekend and summer school opened for Protestant children in Bridgeport the same year. Following their example, Hungarian schools opened under church auspices soon after in the larger settlements, somewhat later in the small ones. After building the rectories and the churches, there came the building of the schools. The sources show that three Catholic elementary schools were

[55] Ibid.

operating at the turn of the century.[56] In two of them, the emphasis was already on English-language instruction, prompting the *Szabadság* to launch a sharp attack against English-language instruction in the Magyar schools. The newspaper urged that non-denominational schools be set up with the financial support of the Hungarian government, since the "Magyars do not now, and never shall have the means to build and maintain such schools".[57] However, requests and suggestions of this kind found little response on the part of the government in Hungary. It made vague promises of some financial help only if the number of students should reach fifty.[58]

The principal period for the establishment of Magyar schools was the first decade of the century. At this time, a few Catholic parishes organized regular Magyar day schools. Similar efforts by the Protestants, however, had no lasting success. They too tried, especially from 1904 on, to set up day schools, but they failed to maintain them even in parishes which functioned under the authority of the Reformed Church of Hungary.[59] The only Magyar day school that managed to maintain itself for a few years at the price of unbelievable effort and financial sacrifice was in the small Protestant parish of Detroit. In the Perth Amboy Protestant school Magyar children were instructed in the Hungarian language one hour daily; on the East Side of Cleveland, daily instruction in Hungarian was organized for children under six, that is, for those not yet of school age.[60]

The Hungarian-language instruction of the second generation generally took place in the so-called weekend schools and summer schools, that is, at times when there was no instruction in the American schools. The American Protestant church authorities were more tolerant toward the

[56] *Szabadság* 10th anniversary edition 1901, pp. 25–31, "Magyar templomok és iskolák".

[57] Ibid.

[58] The Prime Minister stated the official Hungarian point of view: "On the basis of rather unfavorable experiences with the Hungarian schools organized in the United States of America, we have come to the conclusion that we cannot make greater sacrifices for the establishment of regular Hungarian day-schools, but rather should try to establish so-called Saturday, Sunday, and vacation-time schools, where the children can learn to read and write and get acquainted with conditions in Hungary (by learning about Hungarian geography, Hungarian history, and the Hungarian constitution), so their parents will not be kept from returning by the idea that their children will not be able to get ahead in Hungary. As we set no store by the return of non-Magyars, we provided no schools for them." OL. ME. K 26 From the "Magyar Akció" program, 1903, XVI. 79.

[59] *Egyházmegyei N. 1911*, vol. II; the chapter entitled "Iskola" (School), p. 111.

[60] AMRL June 23, 1917. The daily Hungarian language program for kindergarten age children in the Detroit Diocese first started on October 11, 1911. A Hungarian day-school opened on September 20, 1914 with two Hungarian teachers and one American. 10th anniversary book of the Detroit church, 1914, p. 143.

Magyar summer schools than the Catholic Church. Only the larger churches were able to hire special teachers. In a few Catholic parishes, friars and nuns also taught along with the parish priest. The Hungarian nuns of the order "Isten Megváltó Lányai" (Daughters of the Lord Redeemer) began their activities in McKeesport, Pa., in 1912. Like itinerant teachers they went around the various Magyar settlements, gathered the Magyar children who were attending American schools, and taught them Hungarian. Their first mission was in Elizabeth, Pa., where they worked for ten years, going out regularly to teach in twenty settlements.[61]

According to most contemporary reports, the schools were, from the start, unpopular among the children. As for the parents, they could not see into the future. They did not think that the American schools would change the behavior and personality of their children, and that these changes would sharpen the conflicts in the family and deepen the gulf between the first and the second generation.

What was reality like for the immigrants? The parents were simple people who did hard physical labor and worked from dawn to dusk. The illusion of returning to the old country continued to live within them in one way or another. They looked upon their being Magyars as natural, and they took it as a matter of course that their children were also Magyars, although they were speaking English. In most families the language spoken was exclusively Hungarian. The earlier second generation definitely started out speaking Hungarian as their mother tongue, and at the larger, more closed settlements, where the children found playmates only among themselves, they came in contact with the English language only in the free public elementary schools, where the parents were likely to send them even in more populous settlements where conditions were more favorable for operating a Hungarian school. Most of them failed to realize the importance of the Hungarian school in forming their children's personality and ethnic consciousness. In most Hungarian settlements, however, because of their dispersion and denominational division, the immigrants did not possess the necessary means to maintain Hungarian day schools, and under the circumstances, the hope of a bi-lingual education was illusory. From this standpoint, the Magyars were in a worse position than the emigrant groups coming to the United States in greater numbers, e.g.,

[61] The Irish bishops did not welcome those Hungarian nuns and monks who came to the United States to teach Hungarian, especially in the 1910s. PL. E. The Prince Primate's letter to the Prime Minister (copy) 1914, III. 13.

the Poles and Italians,[62] who were able to operate a great many more church schools.

A comparative study of the efforts to preserve their language in the new environment might be made of the Magyars and the Finns, who immigrated in more or less similar numbers. From the scanty information we have, it appears that the Finns' efforts to pass their language and traditions on to their children were made with greater national consciousness and solidarity.

At first, the churches obtained the books for the Hungarian instruction of the second generation from Hungary. Hungarian primers were advertised in the church newspapers. However, it became ever more difficult for children born into a totally different environment than these books reflected, and learning under very different conditions, to use these books; thus, books suited to American conditions soon appeared.[63]

The Magyars' day schools and summer schools were both a great deal criticized. Those already urging adaptation and even assimilation looked upon these efforts to preserve the native language as excessive, hopeless, and mainly unnecessary. The conservatives, those who rejected assimilation, the dreamers who believed that the immigrants could be isolated from the influences of the new environment thought that not nearly enough was being done. A number of the churches organized summer language schools not from inner conviction, but under the pressure of denominational rivalries and of criticism. Under the circumstances, they chose the easy way out, preparing the children only for the examination. In other words, "they taught the child—who did not really speak Hungarian—to learn, like a parrot, a poem or two, to read a few pages from his primer, to be able to copy from a book, but to feel and think in Hungarian, not that! True enough, a hot summer day is very short for learning to feel and think in Hungarian, but if this is how it is, why does not every parish do as they do in Perth Amboy? Every servant of the church should teach the lambs of his flock for an hour or so a day. How it would pay! No doubt about it, the child belongs to him who struggles, exerts himself, and is ready to make every sacrifice for him."[64] Such and similar

[62] The Slovaks were able to set up many more regular day-schools. See the data in the book of J. J. Barton (1975).

[63] Sándor Kalassay is known as the author of the first Hungarian–American-primer. In 1917 the newspaper of the American Reformed Church advertised the Hungarian school textbook compiled by Sándor Harsányi as one "containing the most beautiful poems, prayers, biblical and patriotic stories". AMRL May 15, 1917.

[64] Ibid.

criticisms were frequent in the Hungarian–American newspapers. The result was that by the 1910s, most larger parishes were holding some form of education in Hungarian.

Since the Hungarian government was guided by direct political goals in the "national care of the emigrant Magyars", it had worked out no long-term plans for the second generation. Especially as reports came back of the quick progress being made by the second generation on the road to assimilation, Hungarian officials grew ever more sceptical of the possibility of keeping the second generation loyal Hungarians.[65]

The teaching of Hungarian in the United States on the college level began in 1904 at the Bloomfield theological seminary,[66] when the first Hungarian department was set up for the purpose of training ministers. Here, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, taught János Dikovics, a Protestant minister who earlier in Hungary had been a Catholic priest. A number of Hungarian ministers were ordained in the Bloomfield seminary, who then worked under the authority of the Presbyterian Church.

Naturally, the "joiners" had sharp criticism for the work being done by the seminary, for the allegedly poor theological training of its graduates. There can be no doubt that their criticism was much exaggerated and often unfair. The fact is, that just then the Presbyterian Church was training Hungarian-speaking ministers at the Bloomfield seminary not because there were Magyar parishes without a pastor, but because it wished to replace ministers trained in Hungary with ministers trained in America, in this way, too, to speed up the Americanization and assimilation of the Magyar churches. For the Presbyterian Church leaders were convinced that "the strongest and most active bad influence on the immigrants comes from the imported ministers and the Hungarian National Reformed Church."[67]

Although new parishes were formed even later on, the foundation of the Magyar immigrant churches were laid basically between the years 1890 and 1914. Altogether 117 Magyar church communities are known to have been set up by 1914. The list is incomplete since it does not include the Baptists, the Hungarian Jews, and the communities of other smaller

[65] According to the personal experiences of L. Hegedűs (1899), by the turn of the century the second generation was already refusing to speak Hungarian.

[66] For over forty years, the Bloomfield Theological Seminary was the Alma Mater of the German Protestant ministers flooding into the United States. After German mass emigration abated, in 1904, the school opened its doors to the new immigrants, the Eastern Europeans. AMRL November 1, 1917.

[67] A. Komjáthy (1962), p. 176.

denominations (e.g. Sabbatarians, Pentecostals, Seventh Day Adventists). The Protestants organized 60 mother churches and almost the same number of affiliated churches in barely fourteen years,[68] the "counter-churches" set up on the occasion of the nationalist breaks within the communities contributing to the relatively high numbers.

The memorandum sent to the Cardinal of Hungary by Károly Bőhm, Roman Catholic parish priest of Cleveland in 1913 lists 37 Roman Catholic Hungarian parishes,[69] some of them, as we learn, ethnically mixed. Some had priests who were not Hungarians but had learned the language, more or less successfully. Twenty of the 37 parishes had been set up within three years 1904, 1905, and 1906, the years when the Hungarian Church was urging the organization of Magyar Roman Catholic churches within the framework of the American Action.

By 1914, the number of Magyar Roman Catholic parishes and churches had risen to 39, still conspicuously fewer than the Protestant churches, although the number of Roman Catholic immigrants then, too, already must have exceeded the number of immigrant Protestants. The reasons for this were given by one of the Magyar parish priests in the 1920s as follows:

"1. Magyar Catholics received no financial support whatsoever in the building of their churches either from the mother country or from the American Catholics.

2. Because of the incomprehensible lack of concern on part of the Episcopacy of Hungary, which seems to be almost antagonistic, Magyar Catholics even today cannot get a priest sent even to places where, in addition to a sufficient number of parishioners, there is also enthusiasm and good will."[70]

The Hungarian–American newspapers of the time kept track of ten Greek Catholic parishes. The 1913 memorandum of Károly Bőhm mentions only four, and notes that even among these one is a "Hungarian–Russian" parish. Bőhm's information seems to be the more accurate, since the nationalistic Hungarian newspapers had a tendency to list some of the Roman Catholic parishes of the non-Magyar nationalities among the "Magyars".

The "Hungarian" churches of the Lutherans of the Augustan Confession numbered eight by 1914. These, however, were also ethnically

[68] S. Harsányi (1911), pp. 134–148.
[69] PL. E. Memorandum 1913.
[70] AMN 25th anniversary edition 1924.

mixed, being communities of Germans, Swabians, Slovaks, and Magyars who had emigrated from Hungary.

From the 1910s on, we hear more about the spread of Seventh Day Adventism, a typically American denomination. No doubt the organizing of other sects and religious groups also further modified the denominational distribution brought from the old country.

For lack of statistical data, it is impossible to know the precise proportion of the Hungarian immigrants who did become members of the various parishes. A comparison of the list of parishes and of Magyar settlements indicates that from the start many of the small, scattered settlements had no ethnic church organization. Furthermore, the information available (jubilee yearbooks and the records of several larger parishes) indicates that even in settlements where parishes were set up, only a minority of the Magyar immigrants had become "regular, namely paying church members" by the 1910s. The reasons given were the ones we have already had occasion to mention: their stay in the United States was only temporary, that they were paying church taxes in Hungary, and so would not pay again in the United States. Therefore, the care of the immigrants' parishes was made up of small but very active groups, of whom the following was written: "How much these tired, worn-out men did for their religion, for their race... after returning from a hard day's work, they would not allow their bodies their well-deserved and necessary rest, but went instead to dig the church's foundation, to build the rectory, to repair the school, or erect a fence, and they staid on as long as it was light, sometimes even after."[71]

Others used the services of the church only occasionally (at baptisms, weddings, burials) and went to church only on feast days. This is hardly surprising, since most of the immigrants at the time were of the age group that did not go to church regularly back in the old country either.

Denominational heterogeneity and a multi-national background, thus, made the process through which Hungary's immigrants developed their communal organizations a complex and peculiar one. The common language (not always the mother tongue, but learned in Hungary) was such an important cohesive force that—especially in the beginning—it overruled ethnic and religious allegiances. Only when the tide of emigration had swelled did the assertion of ethnic consciousness strengthen to such a degree that denominational and ethnic divisions were able to break up the heterogeneous church communities. It was because of the initial mixing

[71] *Emlékkönyv* 1940, p. 51.

that the churches and parishes could become the main battle grounds of ethnic—and religious—rivalry and conflict. Not all the originally "mixed" parishes broke up, however, so that, for example, some Magyar, and Hungarian-speaking Slovak Catholics continued to belong to some Magyar Protestant churches, and there were other variations as well. The uniting of immigrants from different parts of Hungary in one parish, each group bringing its own traditions with it, brought to an end the impenetrable cultural homogeneity typical of rural communities in the old country.

In the American literature on the subject, we find emphasis sometimes on the strengthening, sometimes on the waning of religious sentiment as a consequence of emigration.[72] In regard to the Hungarians, it seems that church membership should not necessarily be considered the expression of religious feeling. True, there were some whose church affiliation became lax or ceased completely as a consequence of emigration, just as there were some who fled to religion from the hardships and stresses of the new environment. For most of the immigrants, however, the parish church meant ethnic social life at least as much as it meant the chance to express religious feelings. Individuals switched denominations more easily and married people from other regions and of other faiths relatively more frequently than in the old country. There was good reason for the Protestant church leaders' complaints of the attraction that various sects had for the immigrants from Hungary, and for the Catholic clergy's displeasure at the frequency of mixed marriages. In other words, emigration weakened the bonds of tradition and custom. At the same time, the fact that emigration had been undertaken in the first place with the intention of returning strengthened the influence of the communities the emigrants had left behind, and even strengthened the influence of the official Churches of Hungary, and extended their authority overseas. Thus, the peculiarity of the emigrants' situation reinforced the contrary influences at work on them. On the one hand, their existence as itinerant workers in small settlements with meager financial resources impeded the continuation of their traditions; on the other, their sense of the temporariness of their American stay, their looking homeward, intending to return, made them redouble their efforts to assert their customs and preserve their old way of life.

One might well emphasize the growing part the immigrant laymen had in founding and shaping the new parishes, and this has indeed been done in

[72] For more details, see G. S. M. Shaughnessy (1925).

the more recent literature.[73] However, we must be careful to keep in mind the direct and indirect pressures brought to bear on them both by the American churches and by the churches of Hungary. We must not forget that the task of "taming" the new immigrants, of herding them into the great melting pot, was considered to be of vital importance by the social institutions and organizations of America, and pre-eminently, by the American churches.[74]

Initiative and necessity, old and new influences all worked together to shape the characteristics of the parish communities described above. To overly emphasize the role played by one factor or the other narrows our chances of understanding the conflicts of a socio-economic process that attended the transplanting or, more precisely, the rebuilding of originally rural church communities within an environment that was foreign not only in its language but in its demands, the demands of an urban industrial society.[75]

The outbreak of World War I brought the first phase of international migration and of the history of Hungary's immigrants to America to a close. From the 1920s on, the conditions of the international movement of labor were considerably modified. For the first time, limits were set by the so-called "host" countries. For example, the United States passed the laws of 1921 and 1924 which were the first to put "quotas" on the number of immigrants allowed to enter from certain countries and ethnic groups; this practically terminated mass migration from the countries of East-Central Europe, thus from Hungary as well. The world depression that followed soon cut international migration down to a minimum.

For those who staid in the United States, the greatest change was the decision to settle permanently—the "target migrants" had become immigrants. After 1914, thus, individuals and communities alike became much more open to the new environment. The decades between 1880 and 1914 had principally been times of moving about for the immigrants (not only within the United States but between the old and new country also); they were also the years of ethnic grouping. The 1920s, however, and even more the 1930s were characterized by the quickening of Americanization, by the breaking-up of closed communities, by bi-lingualism, and changing traditions.

[73] The laymen's activities in forming religious communities is emphasized, among others, by T. L. Smith (1971).

[74] For details on the American churches' attempt at Americanization, see A. I. Abell (1943); R. Cross ed. (1967); R. M. Linkh (1975).

[75] R. M. Miller–Th. D. Marzik, eds. (1977).

This study has been an attempt to outline the charcteristics of the first period. Though the last word cannot yet be pronounced on every question, we are certain to be on the right path in having sought to discover, on the basis of the greatest number of available facts, the motives of the emigrants, and their goals in migrating. These, more than anything else, determined the relationship of the immigrants both to their old country and to their new environment and shaped their attitudes as well.

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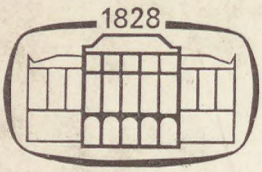

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