

# HISTORICAL, LITERARY, LINGUISTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON HUNGARIAN-AMERICANS

## A Historiographical Assessment

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American scholarship has made the historiographical study of the humanities and the social sciences an increasingly popular endeavor in recent years. This does not hold true, however, for Hungarian studies. This complex discipline—made up of such fields as Hungarian-American history, literature, language, culture, social life—is still at a relatively early state of its development, and its historiographical assessment is even less advanced. A number of earlier evaluations of some of its fields do exist, but these are few in number and cover only a few of its achievements.\* As an example, besides a number of essays on the development of Hungarian studies in general (Sinor, Várdy),<sup>1</sup> we have only a few articles on the results of Hungarian-American linguistic research (Lotz, Kerek),<sup>2</sup> two assessments on the accomplishments of Hungarian-American ethnographic research (Voigt, Gunda),<sup>3</sup> some studies on the desirable approaches to folklore research (Dégh),<sup>4</sup> an appraisal of Hungarian immigration research (Bódy),<sup>5</sup> and an earlier general assessment of Hungarian-American historical and cultural research (Várdy—Huszár Várdy).<sup>6</sup>

While historiographical studies are rare and scanty, we do have a number of recent bibliographies which are partially or wholly devoted to Hungarian-American studies. The former include E. Bakó's *Guide to Hungarian Studies* (1973), A. Tezla's *Hungarian Literature: An Introductory Bibliography* (1964) and *Hungarian Authors: A Bibliographical Handbook* (1974), I. Halász de Béky's bibliographies on the Hungarian Uprising (1963, 1967, 1976), and the Horecky-edited handbook on American archival and library resources entitled *East Central and Southeast Europe* (1976).<sup>7</sup> The most important among those devoted specifically to Hungarian-American studies include F. Vitéz's *A Bibliography of the Hungarian Reformed Literature in the United States* (1965), I. Kovács's *The Hungarians in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography* (1975), and J. Széplaki's *Hungarians in the United States and Canada: A Bibliography* (1977c).<sup>8</sup> Széplaki and Halász de Béky have also published a number of smaller and more specialized bibliographies, including—among others—Széplaki's list of North American doctoral dissertations concerning Hungary and the Hungarians,<sup>9</sup> and Halász

de Béky's various compilations on the related holdings of the University of Toronto Library.<sup>10</sup> The Hungarian collections of some of the major academic and public libraries have also been examined, either in the form of complete bibliographies, as in the case of Harvard (1974), or in descriptive essays, as in the case of Indiana (1978, 1979).<sup>11</sup> A number of shorter assessments also exist on many of the other Hungarian collections in other academic and public libraries.<sup>12</sup>

Mention should also be made of the most significant bibliographies of Hungarian newspapers and periodicals abroad, including Hungarian-American and Hungarian-Canadian publications.\* The two most significant of these are: M. Németh's *Title Index and Reference Data of Magyar Language Newspapers and Periodicals Abroad, 1945-1970* (1975), and K. Mildschütz's *Bibliography of the Hungarian Emigré Press, 1945-1975* (1977).<sup>13</sup> Not as recent, but also significant is Iván Nagy's *Hungarian Press Abroad* (1943),<sup>14</sup> which, in addition to an annotated list of Hungarian newspapers in various sections of the world, contains also a brief history of the development of this press beyond the borders of Hungary.

While the above-mentioned specialized historiographical studies and specialized bibliographies do exist and are very helpful to the researcher, to the best of our knowledge—outside our own earlier attempt—no effort has as yet been made to summarize and to assess the accomplishments and present status of research in Hungarian-American studies from the very beginning to our own period. Thus, in conjunction with its earlier, preliminary version, this study is probably the first of such efforts, with all the limitations that such a pioneer work implies. All we can really do is to point to some of the significant or interesting students of the Hungarian-American past, to identify a few of the main trends in the related fields of study, and to register the strengths and weaknesses of these efforts. As such this essay is closer to an initial guide, than to an in-depth analytical study of the century-old effort to portray the Hungarian-American past and of the constantly changing present. But it is a start, which—hopefully—will be followed by a number of other related studies enriched both by the observations of our colleagues, and by our own efforts to deal in greater depth and detail with the various earlier and ongoing scholarly efforts in this area.

#### *The General Characteristics of Early Hungarian-American Studies*

There were chroniclers of the Hungarian past in America as far back as the late nineteenth century. Yet, the collection of sources and the systematic study of this past—as already alluded to above—has lagged far behind the desired level. One of the reasons for this strange phenomenon was that—outside of the general field of immigration history—in the past very few learned scholars regarded it worth their time to devote attention to the study of Hungarian "ethnic history". Nor was there a major, systematic, and institutionalized effort before the 1960s to collect the sources of this history, except by a few dedicated individuals and perhaps by a few fledgling

\* (In the text of the paper Hungarian publication titles are given in English translation. For the title in the original language see the bibliography. Editorial remark.)

institutions. Thus, much of what has been written about Hungarian-American history in the course of the past one hundred years—but especially prior to the 1960s—came largely from the pen of well-meaning, but mostly untrained chroniclers who published the results of their efforts in qualitatively undemanding newspapers, calendars, pamphlets, the anniversary albums of various churches, associations, periodical publications of specific Hungarian settlements in the United States and Canada. In many instances the results of these efforts were hardly more than collections of raw facts, naive assumptions, or at best, pious and well-meaning chronological summaries.

Although much of Hungarian-American history before the 1960s—i.e. before the so-called “ethnic revolution” made the study of the Hungarian-American past “acceptable” in American scholarly circles<sup>15</sup>—was in the realm of amateur chroniclers, there were a few professionals, as well as a number of learned and competent non-professionals who devoted some of their efforts to this question. Professional historians, however, dealt with Hungarian-American history only as a sideline, while competent non-professionals (e.g. clergymen, journalists, etc.) combined their interests and dedication with the pressing obligation to earn a livelihood in other endeavors. Furthermore, both of these types were forced to work without the benefit of systematic archival collections and without being able to base their synthetic works on reliable research monographs. The reason for this was that outside of a few private collections, no significant Hungarian-American libraries and archives had come into being before the 1960s. Moreover, with the exception of a few Ph.D. dissertations, research monographs were also wanting; there are still relatively few of them today. Even so, a number of the pioneer researchers of the Hungarian-American past did produce a few acceptable to good studies. Others made their names known through their systematic collection of sources, even though they had to do so without the benefit of community, state, or academic support.

#### *Pioneers of Hungarian-American Historical Research*

The most important early pioneer of Hungarian-American historical research and the first professional in the field was Sándor Márki (1857–1925), Professor of History at the University of Kolozsvár (now Cluj-Napoca in Rumania), whose excellent study *America and the Hungarians* appeared in 1893.<sup>16</sup>

Márki's study was the first scholarly effort to trace the history of Hungarian-American connections, including the growth of Hungarian knowledge about the New Continent, as well as the coming of Hungarian explorers, missionaries, soldiers-of-fortune, and settlers to the Americas.

Márki's work was paralleled by the somewhat less weighty research and publishing efforts of Lajos (Louis) Kropf (1854–19??), an engineer and an amateur historian, who settled in London, in 1874. Kropf began to write on Hungarian historical topics already during the 1870s, but his articles on Hungary's connections with the Americas did not appear until the late 1880s and early 1890s. Particularly significant among the

latter are his studies on the famous and perhaps notorious Captain John Smith, even though his attempt to destroy Smith's credibility concerning the latter's sojourns and deeds in Hungary and Transylvania is now generally rejected by historians.<sup>17</sup>

Márki's and Kropf's efforts were followed by those of Jenő (Eugene) Pivány (1873–1946), a non-professional historian, who spent nearly two decades of his life in the United States (1899–1915, 1919–1920).<sup>18</sup> In the period between 1905 and 1944 Pivány authored scores of shorter and longer studies on the Hungarian-American past. These included his *Hungarians in the American Civil War* (1913), *Hungarians in the American Revolution* (1924), as well as his oft-cited *Hungarian-American Historical Connections* (1927).<sup>19</sup> In many ways, the latter work is an improvement over Márki's pioneering study of three and a half decades earlier, but it also has its shortcomings. In addition to lacking the historiographical and geographical erudition of Márki's work, it displays some of the Kossuthist Magyar patriotism that generally characterized, and at times disfigured, Hungarian-American popular and even learned writings of that period. Moreover, Pivány carried his story only up to the Civil War, and never managed to finish a complementary study on the more recent period.

Subsequently, Pivány also authored such other short summaries as his *Hungarians in North America* (1944), *Hungarians in the Americas* (1944, with Tivadar Ács), and *The Story of an American Mission* (1943).<sup>20</sup> The last of these is perhaps the most interesting, for there he describes his own personal experiences of 1919–1920, when he headed a Hungarian delegation sent for the purposes of trying to change American public opinion and American policy toward Hungary. As expected, Pivány had the tendency to over-emphasize the significance of this mission, as well as his own personal role therein.

Although no major works, many of Pivány's studies were indispensable in their own day, and some of them are still useful today. As such, his role in the development of Hungarian-American studies is definitely significant. Yet, of at least equal significance was his effort to gather a large collection of sources on the Hungarian-American past, with particular attention to the period since the eighteenth century. His library eventually consisted of several thousand published volumes, as well as much archival material. It contained most of what had been written about Hungary and the Hungarians in the Anglo-Saxon world. As perhaps the largest of such "Hungarica" collections, Pivány's library, which he took back to Hungary, was destined to go to the National Széchényi Library of Budapest. But it never came to be. This priceless collection was destroyed during the siege of Budapest in the early part of 1945.<sup>21</sup> Fortunately, however, it had already been used, and some of the important sources copied by one of Pivány's friends and disciples, the literary scholar, historian and publicist István Gál.

Although almost four decades his junior, István Gál (1912–1982) has emerged as one of the important scholars of Anglo-Hungarian and American-Hungarian relations already in Pivány's lifetime.<sup>22</sup> He appeared on the Hungarian intellectual scene in the mid-1930s as the founding editor of the "new humanist" periodical, *Apollo* (1934–1939), which advocated the need for coexistence and cooperation among the

nations of East Central Europe. While emphasizing the interdependence of the small nations of that area, Gál also devoted an increasing portion of his scholarly efforts to the study of the relationship between Hungary and the Anglo-Saxon world. Thus, in the course of 1939–1944, while Pivány's library was still intact and available to him, Gál wrote an increasing number of studies on American-Hungarian relations, based on that collection. In 1945, he incorporated many of these studies into a volume published under the title *Hungary, England, and America*.<sup>23</sup> Although this volume is still the only collection of Gál's studies in this area, he did not cease his research on Hungarian-American connections in 1945. As a matter of fact, his numerous related articles, written in the course of the last three and a half decades, would probably fill several additional volumes; and they include a number of related disciplines in the field of Hungarian-American studies. Gál has never attempted to synthesize his research findings in Hungarian-American relations but he added much in the way of new details.

Simultaneously with the early phase of Pivány's research and publishing activities, a number of other scholars were also active in Hungary. But unlike Pivány, who concentrated mostly on Hungarian-American relations and on Hungarian contributions to American civilization, the latter were mostly economists and statisticians who studied the nature and size of the Hungarian emigration of the late dualist period, and tried to measure the economic and social impact of that mass emigration upon Hungarian society and economy. The best known of these scholars was Gusztáv Thirring (1861–1941), a noted statistician and geographer whose pioneering statistical compilations—among them the highly regarded work, *Hungarian Emigration and Hungarians Abroad* (1904)—are still indispensable today.<sup>24</sup>

There were a number of other similar scholars in the field in those days, some of whose works were of almost equal significance. These included Andor Löherer's *Emigration to, and Repatriation from America* (1908), József Gerényi's *The Cause and Effect of the Emigration to America* (1913), Dezső Laky's *Emigration from, and Repatriation to the Lands of the Hungarian Holy Crown* (1918),<sup>25</sup> as well as several others of lesser significance. All of these works are basically statistical summaries and assessments of the size and nature of the contemporary mass emigration; all of them try to explain the causes and effects of this exodus primarily in social and economic terms; and all of them deal, to a lesser or greater degree, with the negative impact of this mass emigration upon the nation's future. For this very reason, the authors of these works are almost universally critical of this population loss, and suggest various ways to put an end to this so-called "national blood-letting."

The outbreak of World War I, the subsequent collapse of Austria-Hungary, and the almost simultaneous introduction of the quota system in American immigration policy brought an end to mass emigration from the Danubian lands of East Central Europe. These developments also put an end to such large statistical compilations as those of Gusztáv Thirring and his contemporaries. Their place was taken by shorter studies, such as those authored by Pivány, who was still active throughout the interwar period. In addition to István Gál, the most noted authors of these shorter studies included the

philologist Sándor Fest, the legal scholar and statistician Iván Nagy, and the publicist-historian Tivadar Ács.

Being one of the outstanding representatives of English philology in Hungary, Sándor Fest (1883–1944) was particularly interested in Anglo-Hungarian literary and cultural relations which he examined in two important Works: *English Literary Influences in Hungary to the Emergence of Stephen Széchenyi* (1917), and *Englishmen in Hungary during the Era of Reform, 1825–1848* (1920).<sup>26</sup> In dealing with Anglo-Hungarian relations, however, Fest could not avoid paying also some attention to Hungary's North American connections, which he did in several shorter articles.

The situation was different with Iván Nagy (1898–1977), who usually added the title "Vitéz" to his name. As an employee of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, and as a prominent member both of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Association and of the Turanian Society, Nagy appears to have had an official mandate to follow the fate of the Hungarian diaspora. During the 1930s and the early 1940s he was also associated with the Institute of National Minority Studies at the University of Pécs, and a number of his relevant studies appeared under the auspices of that institute. These include his *Hungarians in the World—Hungarians in Canada* (1938), and *The American Hungarians* (1939). Some of his other relevant studies appeared under the titles: *The World Statistics of the Hungarians* (1931), *Hungarians of the Five Continents* (1935), and *The Hungarian Press Abroad* (1943).<sup>27</sup> None of these are very extensive works, but they still resemble some of the much larger statistical analyses of the late-dualist period. At the same time there are differences. The most significant of these is their ideological orientation. Contrary to Thirring and his contemporaries, Nagy was laboring under the impact of the Treaty of Trianon (1920), when—to use his words—"after the nation had been broken into seven parts, keeping tab on every single Magyar appeared to be an important objective."<sup>28</sup> It is quite evident that Nagy was much more motivated than his predecessors by the desire to save the Hungarian diaspora from extinction, as well as by the goal to tighten the relationship between this diaspora and the mother country. These two goals seem to permeate all of Iván Nagy's writings, as well as those of his less well-known contemporaries.

The future of the Hungarian diaspora, and especially the survival of the large Hungarian-American community produced much soul-searching and much intellectual debate in interwar Hungary. Some of this discussion found its way even into the pages of the highly respected periodical *Magyar Szemle* (Hungarian Review), edited by Gyula Szekfű (1883–1955), the dominant figure in Hungarian historiography.<sup>29</sup> While this debate produced no meaningful solutions, the concern that prompted it did lead to the convening of two "Hungarian World Congresses" (1929, 1938),<sup>30</sup> as well as to the foundation of the "World Federation of Hungarians" in 1938.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, towards the end of that period it also led to the establishment of the first Hungarian lectureship in North America at Columbia University in 1939, and to increased scholarly activities.<sup>32</sup> These activities manifested themselves partially in the writings of István Gál, and partially in similar efforts by a number of other young scholars and intellectuals. The

latter included József Szentkirályi (St. Clair), Imre Kovács, Dezső Halácsy and Tivadar Ács.

Szentkirályi (1913—), the first Hungarian lecturer at Columbia University (1939—1942), authored several shorter studies, but his projected major summary *Hungary and the United States*, although advertized in 1946, never appeared in print.<sup>33</sup> The situation was different with Kovács (1913—1980) who during the 1930s and early 1940s was one of the best known populist writers and sociographers in Hungary. Although not a student of American-Hungarian relations, while dealing with the problems of the Hungarian peasantry, Kovács also authored a well-known work on Hungarian emigration, in which he analyzed the causes and effects of the great exodus of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Entitled simply *Emigration* (1938), Kovács's work turned out to be perhaps the most successful and most popular indictment of those social and economic conditions that forced so many Hungarians to leave their native land.<sup>34</sup>

As opposed to Imre Kovács, who was a serious student of Hungarian rural conditions, Dezső Halácsy (? —?) was a popular publicist associated with the World Federation of Hungarians. His major compendium entitled *For the Hungarians of the World* (1944) scanned the whole spectrum of the Hungarian diaspora, as well as of the efforts to save this diaspora from extinction.<sup>35</sup> But the dozens of short studies included in his work treat this problem on a popular, and not a scholarly level. Even so his work reflects fully the general attitude and ideological orientation of contemporary Hungarian leading circles toward the questions of emigration and repatriation, as well as toward the preservation of the Hungarian communities and ethnic groups scattered throughout the world.

Like Halácsy's studies, the writings of Tivadar Ács (1901—1974) were also rather on the level of popularizing works.<sup>36</sup> In his many books and articles, Ács relied heavily on his personal experiences in South America, but he also made good use of the library and archives of the World Federation of Hungarians, which he headed for a few years after World War II. During the 1940s to the 1960s Ács produced half a dozen works on the Hungarian diaspora, including several on the Kossuth-emigration in the United States, as well as a new assessment of Hungarian participation in the Civil War (*Hungarians in the North American Civil War, 1861—65, 1964*).<sup>37</sup>

#### *Early Hungarian-American Libraries and Archives*

While during the interwar period interest in Hungarian-American history and life was growing, interested scholars still faced the problem created by the almost total lack of systematized source collections, in Hungary as well as in the United States. Granted that toward the end of this period the National Széchényi Library of Budapest, as well as the newly founded World Federation of Hungarians and the so-called National Minority Institutes of the Universities of Budapest, Pécs and Debrecen began to collect materials on Hungarians abroad, but the largest single

collection concerning Hungarian-Americans was still Jenő Pivány's already mentioned private library.

The situation was basically similar in the United States. The fledgling Hungarian programs at Bloomfield College (Bloomfield, N.J.), Franklin and Marshall College (Lancaster, Pa.) and Elmhurst College (Elmhurst, Ill.) did have small "Hungarica" collections, but since they were more interested in transmitting basic Hungarian linguistic skills and culture to future Hungarian-American Protestant clergymen, than in studying the Hungarian-American past, their small library collections naturally also reflected this attitude.<sup>38</sup>

This situation did not really change until the establishment of the American Hungarian Studies Foundation in conjunction with the Elmhurst College Hungarian Program in 1954.<sup>39</sup> As the Foundation grew under the direction of its founder August J. Molnár, it gradually expanded its Hungarian library and archives, and by the 1960s it began to turn consciously toward the collecting of sources of the Hungarian-American past. As in Hungary, during the interwar period the largest Hungarian-American collection in the United States was in the hands of a private collector, Charles Feleky (1865–1930) a musician and a theater director in New York, who began to collect published and unpublished sources on Hungarian-American history and culture, and on Hungary's relationship with the Anglo-Saxon World almost simultaneously with Jenő Pivány. But whereas the latter took his collection to Hungary, Feleky's library remained in New York. Apparently the two collections were nearly of the same size, with the primary difference that Pivány concentrated on the eighteenth, nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, while Feleky collected material on the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.<sup>40</sup> In the course of assembling his collection, Feleky also undertook to produce a comprehensive bibliography of Hungarian-American publications. But since he died before he was able to complete this undertaking, his bibliography never appeared in print. After his death, Feleky's collection was purchased by the National Széchényi Library, and became the basis of the so-called Hungarian Reference Library of New York (1937). During World War II the Library was confiscated as "enemy property". After the war, its remnants were scattered into the Hungarian collections of Columbia University, the Library of Congress, and the budding collection of the American Hungarian (Studies) Foundation.<sup>41</sup>

Pivány's and Feleky's efforts to collect the sources of the Hungarian-American past were paralleled by those of the Rev. Ödön (Edmund) Vasváry (1888–1977).<sup>\*</sup> Instead of emphasizing the collection of books and pamphlets, Vasváry collected primarily archival material—including letters, documents, newspaper cut-outs, as well as handwritten notes on innumerable aspects of Hungarian-American life. Ultimately his collection grew to over four hundred boxes, grouped alphabetically according to the names of the persons that these documents were primarily concerned with. Although not too well organized, the Vasváry Collection is virtually unsurpassed in its field.<sup>42</sup> After his death it ended up in the Somogyi Library of Szeged, his native city in

\*On the Vasváry Collection see a special paper on pp. 123–130 (Editorial remark).



Hungary. Fortunately, before its departure from the United States, it was microfilmed and deposited in the Library of the American Hungarian (Studies) Foundation of New Brunswick, New Jersey.

In addition to collecting sources, Vasváry was also involved in writing. He authored thousands of short articles for various Hungarian-American periodicals and newspapers, such as the *Szabadság* (Liberty), the *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* (American Hungarian People's Voice), and the *Amerikai Magyar Világ* (American Hungarian World). Most of these writings are unavailable to the average researcher, for they were never published in book-form. The only exceptions are a few of his earlier English language articles on Hungarian participation in the American Civil War, which appeared in a volume under the title *Lincoln's Hungarian Heroes* in 1939.<sup>43</sup>

Besides Pivány, Feleky and Vasváry, the only other well-known Hungarian-American who assembled a respectable "Hungarica" collection in the United States during the interwar period was Joseph Reményi (1892–1956), a Professor of Comparative Literature at Western Reserve University (Cleveland, Ohio) for nearly three decades, one of the most noted popularizers of Hungarian literature in North America.<sup>44</sup> After Reményi's death in 1956, his collection went to the Library of the American Hungarian (Studies) Foundation (New Brunswick).

During the post-World War II decades, and especially since the 1960s and 1970s, numerous other "Hungarica" collections also came into being in North America. Some of these collections are held by private organizations, others by public and university libraries, and still others by private collectors whose number has grown steadily in the course of the past two decades.

#### *Hungarian-American Libraries and Archives Today*

The largest Hungarian-American collection in the United States today is the Library of the American Hungarian (Studies) Foundation, directed since its inception by August J. Molnár. The Library's holdings now exceed 35,000 volumes, a sizable portion of which is related to the Hungarian-American past and culture. It also has a large collection of archival materials, which grows day after day, but remains largely uncatalogued and therefore difficult to use.<sup>45</sup>

Of almost equal size is the Library of the Hungarian Cultural Center of Toronto, Canada. Its archival collection, however, is much smaller and its book collection contains many duplicates and thousands of volumes that have nothing to do with Hungary and Hungarian-Americans.<sup>46</sup> Smaller collections are held by the Hungarian Cultural Foundation of Atlanta, Georgia; the California Hungarian American Cultural Foundation of Northridge; the Hungarian Scout Association of Garfield, New Jersey; and the American Hungarian Library and Historical Association of New York City. The Hungarian-American collection of the Immigration History Research Center of the University of Minnesota, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the Cleveland Public Library, and the libraries of such major universities as Columbia

University, Harvard University, Indiana University, Hoover Institute of Stanford University, Yale University, the University of California at Berkeley and at Los Angeles, the University of Illinois, the University of Chicago and the University of Toronto are also important. With the exception of the Immigration History Research Center, however, all of the above collections are much stronger in Hungarian, than in Hungarian-American materials. Moreover, the Center's collection in the area of Hungarian-American sources is relatively new, small and haphazard.<sup>47</sup>

It should be mentioned here that in the course of the past two decades—through the efforts of Professor Denis Sinor and a few other scholars—Indiana University of Bloomington, Indiana has definitely emerged as the most significant center of Hungarian Studies in North America. It has one of the two recently established endowed chairs of Hungarian Studies in North America (the other one being at the University of Toronto). It is bound to increase in significance, not only as a center of Hungarian, but also of Hungarian-American Studies. And this should also hold true for its library and archival collections.<sup>48</sup>

Mention must also be made of the Archives of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Ligonier, Pennsylvania, which is in a class by itself. Although its book collection is not very large, it consists almost exclusively of Hungarian-American material. But what is even more significant, it houses the papers of all of the now defunct Hungarian Reformed congregations in the United States, along with much other related archival materials.

In addition to the above discussed institutional and academic libraries and archives in North America, the United States also has a number of major private collections of Hungarian and Hungarian-American materials. Knowledge about their existence is all the more important as several of these private collections are larger and more significant than many of the above-mentioned institutional collections. The largest and most important of these include the Szathmáry Archives of Chicago (20,000 volumes), the Andrew T. Udvardy Reference Library of New Brunswick, New Jersey (15,000 volumes), the Várdy Collection of Pittsburgh (10,000 volumes), the Szendrey Collection of Erie, Pennsylvania (5,000 volumes), and the Könnnyű Collection of St. Louis, Missouri (1,500 volumes). But there must be scores of other private collections of some significance; especially those that emphasize certain specific areas of specialization, such as the Rev. Francis Vitéz's collection on the Hungarian Reformed Church in the United States (Los Angeles, California). Moreover, many public institutional, and even private libraries contain special collections of archival materials, such as the papers of prominent Hungarian-American personalities and organizations.<sup>49</sup>

Simultaneously with efforts by American libraries, archives and private individuals, a number of Hungarian institutions are also beginning to place greater emphasis upon collecting sources that deal with the Hungarian-American past. The relevant collections of the National Széchényi Library of Budapest is by far the largest in this area, and in all probability, the largest Hungarian-American collection in the world. The Széchényi Library has always collected such material, but since the 1960s it does so with much

more effort and much greater thoroughness. Important Hungarian-American collections can also be found in Hungary in the Library of the College of Sárospatak, in the Somogyi Library of Szeged which owns the already discussed Vasváry Collection, as well as in the Library of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.<sup>50</sup> And in light of the increased interest in Hungarian emigration and in the history of the Hungarian diaspora, these collections are being used much more thoroughly in recent years.

### *The First Synthesizers of the Hungarian-American Past*

Although Feleky, Pivány, Vasváry and Reményi were all avid collectors of the sources of the Hungarian-American past, and the last three of them also wrote a great number of shorter and longer studies about aspects of this past, none of them managed to produce a major summary and synthesis of Hungarian-American history. As such, the task of writing such syntheses fell to others, who were either less qualified from a scholarly point of view, or regarded such an undertaking as secondary to their main scholarly interests. In this group two most significant authors were the Hungarian-American journalist Géza Kende, and the prolific publicist-historian Emil Lengyel.

Géza Kende (?–1927) was a columnist for the Cleveland-based *Szabadság* (Liberty) (1891– ), one of the oldest and most influential Hungarian newspapers in the United States. His two-volume work entitled *Hungarians in America* appeared in 1927, and carried Hungarian-American history up to 1914.<sup>51</sup> Although a voluminous and commendable work, Kende's *Hungarians in America* is not really a history in the traditional sense of that term. It is rather an unusual and interesting mixture of near-history, sociography, and high-level journalism. Moreover, according to Edmund Vasváry—who during the 1960s and 1970s was known as the “dean” of old-time Hungarian-American historiography—it is also filled with numerous factual errors and misconceptions.<sup>52</sup> Even so Kende's *Hungarians in America* is a valuable source and a mine of information, particularly for the turn of the century period. It certainly has been “mined” ever since by many of Kende's successors in the field of Hungarian-American history. It is to be lamented that the third volume of this work, although finished, never appeared in print.

Emil Lengyel (1895– ) also started out as a journalist. Contrary to Kende, however, his primary association was not with the Hungarian-American press, but with such major North American papers as *The New York Times*, *The Toronto Star*, *The Nation*, and *The Saturday Review*. Later Lengyel moved into the academic field and became a professor of history at New York University, and later at Fairleigh Dickinson University, New Jersey.<sup>53</sup>

Emerging as a prolific scholar, translator and creative writer, Lengyel authored well over a dozen major works on world affairs and on various aspects of Middle Eastern politics. His interest in the Hungarian-American past was only peripheral. Even so, he is responsible for the first major English language analytical synthesis of Hungarian-

American history. Entitled *Americans from Hungary* (1948; reprinted 1974),<sup>54</sup> his work is now somewhat outdated—partially because of the new research results of the past thirty years, and partially because he has virtually nothing to say about the several waves of the post-World War II immigration. Yet, it is still the only major English language summary on this question. This lack will soon be corrected by the new synthesis entitled *The Hungarian-Americans* (1985), written by one of the authors of this study.

The work performed by Lengyel for the Hungarian past and achievements in the United States was in a sense accomplished for the Canadian-Hungarians by the sociologist John Kósa (1914–1973). Entitled *Land of Choice: The Hungarians in Canada* (1957),<sup>55</sup> Kósa's work is closer to a sociological analysis of Hungarian immigrant life in Canada than to a traditional history of this ethnic group amidst our northern neighbors, yet it can also be used as a history of the Canadian-Hungarian past up to the mid-1950s. Although not written by a historian, even as straight history it is a radical improvement over Jenő Ruzsa's simple compilation, *The History of Canadian-Hungarians*, published in 1940.<sup>56</sup>

In the United States, in Kende's and Lengyel's wake came others, each of whom tried to add something to the emerging picture of the Hungarian-American past. Besides John Kósa, who also dealt with immigration to the United States, these authors of the past twenty-five years include László (Leslie) Könyű (1914– ), Joshua A. Fishman (1926– ), István Török (1915– ), Joseph Széplaki (1932– ), and many others. None of these are historians in the traditional sense of that term, but Kósa's *A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850–1950* (1957), Fishman's *Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States* (1966), Könyű's *Hungarians in the U.S.A.* (1967), Széplaki's *The Hungarians in America, 1583–1974* (1975), and Török's *Catholic Hungarians in North America* (1978) all have their merits and their special significance in Hungarian-American historiography.<sup>57</sup> This is particularly true for Fishman's work which has much new to offer as a sociological analysis of the problems of language maintenance among first, second and third generation Hungarian-Americans. Even so, their merits notwithstanding, these studies cannot take the place of the needed new synthesis of Hungarian-American history and of Hungarian achievements in the United States. They are either too short (Kósa), deal only with certain specific problems or topics (Fishman, Török), or are primarily chronological and statistical summaries, not integrated syntheses (Könyű, Széplaki). Thus, there still is an urgent need for a new historical summary and reassessment of the Hungarian-American past, particularly for one that would also cover the history of the past three decades. Such a synthesis, however, must be based on the results of recent and ongoing historical, sociological, anthropological, linguistic and literary research that seems to have picked up pace in the course of the past two decades, and is beginning to replace many earlier conclusions based more on well-meaning assumptions than on well-researched scholarly conclusions. (This is what one of the authors tried to do in his above-mentioned work in the process of publication.)

*Recent Trends in American-Hungarian Scholarly  
Research*

Research and writing on the Hungarian-American past and on Hungarian contributions to American civilization are on the upturn. This is indicated, not only by the increasing number of trained scholars in the field, but by the growing number of theses and dissertations, articles and monographs dealing with the subject. This observation applies almost equally to North America and to Hungary. To cite only one example: of the thirty relevant Ph.D. dissertations written during the past six decades and brought to our attention, only five stem from the three decades preceding 1950. Of the remaining twenty, four were authored during the 1950s, eight during the 1960s, and thirteen during the 1970s. The situation is similar with some of the M.A. and Honor's theses. Of the twenty we have examined, only three were written before 1950. Most of them are the products of the 1960s and 1970s.

As to the general pattern of interest among scholars of Hungarian-American studies, it is clearly revealed even by a brief survey of their works; so is the difference in interest between American and Hungarian scholars. Thus, if we examine the thirty dissertations, topically they are divided into the following categories: six deal with the Kossuth-episode in American history;<sup>58</sup> six with Hungarian linguistic problems in the English-speaking world;<sup>59</sup> five discuss the problems of adjustment and acculturation of the Hungarian immigrants;<sup>60</sup> five with Hungarian-American religious and cultural organizations;<sup>61</sup> four with American and Hungarian diplomatic relations;<sup>62</sup> three with nineteenth-century Hungarian travelers in the United States;<sup>63</sup> and one with the influence and role of the Kodály method in American musical education.<sup>64</sup> Of the twenty theses, ten concentrate on the problems of adjustment,<sup>65</sup> three on specific Hungarian settlements,<sup>66</sup> two on church organizations,<sup>67</sup> two on Hungarian-American bibliography,<sup>68</sup> one each on the Kossuth-episode, the Hungarian-American press, and the effects of bilingualism on children.<sup>69</sup>

These dissertations and theses clearly reveal a readily recognizable pattern of interest among students and scholars of Hungarian-American studies. With fifteen dissertations and theses, the topic of adjustment and acculturation clearly dominates the field. But other areas of significant concentration include: linguistic problems and bilingualism (7), religious and cultural institutions (7), the Kossuth-episode (7), United States-Hungarian diplomatic relations (4), Hungarian settlements (3) and Hungarian travelers in the United States (3); with lesser attention devoted to bibliography (2), the Hungarian-American press (1), and Hungarian music (1). The only area of some significance not represented is Hungarian-American literature. While American dissertations and theses on Hungarian literary topics are plentiful, apparently no budding scholar has found it worth his or her effort to examine the development and contributions of Hungarian-American literature. This undoubtedly reflects upon the relatively low esteem—perhaps undeservedly low—in which this literature is held among literary scholars.

The general pattern of interest that emerges from the study of these dissertations and theses also holds true for the monographic and periodical publications of the last three decades. The only exception is that these pay some attention also to Hungarian-American literature.<sup>70</sup>

Although similarities do exist, the situation is somewhat different in Hungary, where Hungarian-American topics are enjoying a degree of renewed popularity. The primary interest of Hungarian researchers, however, centers on the causes of emigration. In fact, of the forty-odd most significant research articles and monographs published during the past two decades available to us, nearly half (i.e. twenty-one) deal with this problem.<sup>71</sup> Of the remaining half, eight concentrate on specific Hungarian-American personalities,<sup>72</sup> five on the image of the United States in nineteenth-century Hungarian political works,<sup>73</sup> three each on American-Hungarian relations<sup>74</sup> and on Hungarian-American literature,<sup>75</sup> two on Hungarian-American folklore,<sup>76</sup> and one on Hungarian-American organizations.<sup>77</sup> There are also three recent travelogues, and a historical novel.<sup>78</sup>

The two most prolific among Hungarian scholars who deal with this question are István Rácz and Julianna Puskás, both of whom have recently published major monographs on their respective areas of research. Rácz's *Peasant Migrations and their Political Assessment in Hungary* (1980),<sup>79</sup> concentrates largely on developments within Hungary and carries the story only up to World War I; while Puskás's *Immigrant Hungarians in the United States, 1880-1940* (1982)<sup>80</sup> devotes at least as much attention to the economic, social and cultural life of the immigrants in the United States, and also carries the story up to World War II.

Mention should also be made of three other works of significance. The first of these is Miklós Szántó's *Hungarians in the Wide World* (1970),<sup>81</sup> which, while not documented, is the most recent summary and assessment of the general state of the Hungarian diaspora. (Szántó's major sociological analysis of the various waves of Hungarian immigrations to the West and the United States, and their relationships to each other, to American society, and to the mother country, is now in the process of publication.)<sup>82</sup> The second work by László Juhász entitled *Hungarians in the New World* (1979),<sup>83</sup> is a straightforward brief summary of Hungarian-American connections and of Hungarian immigration to the United States up to the early twentieth century. Much different is Kázmér Nagy's *The Lost Constitution* (1974, expanded edition 1982)<sup>84</sup> which is a most interesting, if controversial, sociological-psychological study of the mentality and life of the post-World War II emigrants throughout the Western World. Satirical and even sarcastic, Nagy nonetheless paints an unusually revealing portrait of the three waves of political emigrations of the late 1940s and 1950s. This is particularly true for the immediate post-war emigrants who, after having lost their social position and political power, continued to live in a phantom world of hopes and make-believes. It is to be lamented that the author's analysis of the developments since the mid-1960s is rather cursory even in the second, expanded edition of his work.

*Hungarian-American Literary Scholarship*

Although Hungarian-American literature is as old as the Hungarian-American past itself—reaching back to the odes and letters of István (Stephen) Parmenius of Buda (1555–1583) who died in a shipwreck off New Foundland in 1583<sup>85</sup>—not until the 1920s did Hungarian men of letters begin to pay any attention to this literature. Moreover, even after this initial show of interest, Hungarian-American literature remained a stepchild of Hungarian literary studies to such a degree that as late as 1963 the literary critic László Illés was forced to admit that neither he, nor his colleagues knew much more about it than that it existed.<sup>86</sup>

Today, two decades later, the situation has only slightly improved. Much of Hungarian-American literature—particularly that of the post-World War II period—remains uncollected and unexplored. The exceptions to this rule are some of the writings of a few *avant garde* poets (e.g. J. Bakucz, L. Baránszky-Jób, A. Makkai, etc.) and the writings of those few who had already established their reputation in interwar Hungary (e.g. L. Zilahy, S. Márai, F. Körmendi, A. Wass, etc.). This is all the more lamentable as—contrary to the simple “workers’ literature” of the early twentieth century—besides numerous third and fifth-rate “writers”, today’s Hungarian-American literature has a number of good to excellent lyricists and essayists (e.g. S. András, Gy. Faludy, F. Fáy, T. Flórián, I. Sári-Gál, Z. Sztáray, T. Tűz, as well as those mentioned above).

One of the first men of letters to call attention to the significance of Hungarian-American poets and literature in general was Zsigmond Móricz (1879–1942), one of interwar Hungary’s most outstanding novelists. As early as 1921—after receiving a small anthology of Hungarian-American poetry edited by Ernő Rickert (1887–1947)<sup>87</sup>—Móricz wrote at least two articles about the fate and creativity of his “brothers-in-exile,” emphasizing that these “exiled poets” were also part of the same body of Hungarian literature. Entitled respectively “National Literature” and “The Heartbeat of Exiled Hungarians,” these Móricz-articles were the first to proclaim the unity and the indivisibility of Hungarian literature.<sup>88</sup> In Móricz’s view, all literary creations written in the Magyar language must be considered as being an integral part of Hungarian national literature. He also believed that Hungarian-American literature has much to offer to Hungarian literature proper, for it reflects the trials and aspirations of immigrant life, and thereby widens the latter’s scope and enriches its themes. In other words, it contributes to the universality and widens the appeal of Hungarian literary creativity.

Barely a decade after Móricz’s attempt to call attention to Hungarian-American literary endeavors, Zoltán Csorba, a Protestant clergyman who spent some time in the United States, published his *Contributions to the History of Hungarian-American Literature* (1930).<sup>89</sup> Csorba may be considered as the pioneer of Hungarian-American literary scholarship, for his small volume is the first noteworthy attempt to summarize and to assess the achievements of Magyar language literature in the United States.

Almost simultaneously with Csorba, who wrote in Hungary about Hungarian-American literature, two literary scholars were writing in North America about Hungarian literature. They were Joseph Reményi and Watson Kirkconnel (1895–1977).<sup>90</sup> The first of these was a Hungarian-American novelist, poet, essayist and literary critic, whom we have already mentioned in connection with his "Hungarica" collections; while the second was a Canadian poet, translator, publicist and scholar. Both of them achieved outstanding success in popularizing Hungarian literature in North America. But while doing so, they paid relatively little attention to Hungarian-American literature. This holds true even for the Hungarian-born Reményi, notwithstanding his interesting studies on "The Psychology of Magyar Language Creative Spirit in America" and "The Hungarian-American Writer," both of which appeared in the highly respected *Magyar Szemle* (Hungarian Review).<sup>91</sup>

In the course of the next few decades Hungarian-American literary scholarship was represented only by the short, popular articles of Edmund Vasváry who wrote mostly about some of the significant "first generation" Hungarian-American poets, such as Gy. Rudnyánszky (1858–1913), L. Pólya (1870–1950), Gy. Kemény (1875–1952), Gy. Szécskay (1880–1958), L. Szabó (1880–1961), and Á. Tarnóczy (1884–1957). Vasváry's articles, however, are scattered throughout the Hungarian-American press and are most difficult to come by even for interested researchers. Edmund Vasváry's significance in the field of Hungarian-American literary scholarship is further augmented by his already mentioned archival collection, which contains innumerable newspaper articles, letters, notices, photographs, etc. by and about American-Hungarian literary figures.<sup>92</sup>

This publicistic, literary scholarship represented by Vasváry's relevant articles was also practiced during the same decades by Sándor Csanády, Erzsébet Ruby, Sándor Linek, and several other writers and journalists.<sup>93</sup> Their articles did fulfill a certain need to inform and to educate the reading public. But their short, occasional essays could hardly take the place of a needed synthesis of Hungarian-American literature. Not for three decades after Csorba's pioneer study was there a new attempt to summarize the history of that literature. This was accomplished by László Könnnyű—himself a poet and a writer on a wide variety of topics<sup>94</sup>—whose *History of Hungarian-American Literature* appeared in 1961, and its English version in the following year.<sup>95</sup> It is indicative of the status of research in Hungarian-American literature that this twenty-year old work is still the latest summary on this question. Könnnyű's work is more factual than interpretive. It consists largely of a lexicographical presentation of biographical data, a list of the published works of each author, and a selected number of excerpts from the works of some, with marked emphasis on poetry.

A decidedly different type of work appeared in this field in 1977 in Hungary. Authored by the Budapest literary historian József Kovács (1928– ), and entitled *Documents of Socialist Hungarian Literature in Light of the Hungarian-American Press, 1920–1945*, this work is both factual and interpretive.<sup>96</sup> It concentrates, however only on the literature of the so-called workers' movements among Hungarian-



Americans—much of which has more publicistic than esthetic value. Even so, Kovács's volume, the interpretive section of which is based on his more extensive Hungarian Academy of Sciences thesis,<sup>97</sup> is both pathbreaking and a significant contribution to Hungarian-American literary scholarship.

Another literary critic who has published in this field in Hungary is Miklós Béládi (1928–1983). Most of his studies, however, deal with Hungarian literature in Western Europe. His most extensive compendium of Hungarian literature in the West (including North America) has just appeared as part of the volume entitled *Literature beyond Our Frontiers* (1982).<sup>98</sup>

Next to Béládi's pioneering synthesis, the most recent short study on this topic to appear in Hungary is the work of József Gellén (1949– ), a philologist and a historian at the University of Debrecen. Gellén is the product of perhaps the only "school" of Americanology in Hungary that had been established there by László Országh (1907–1984), who in turn is probably the best English lexicographer that Hungary has ever produced.<sup>99</sup> Although Országh wrote very little in the area of Hungarian-American literature, his presence and activities in Debrecen for two decades after 1947 turned many young scholars, including several historians and literary historians, toward the study of Hungarian-American connections. In addition to these activities, Országh compiled the most comprehensive Hungarian-English and English-Hungarian dictionary to date, and at the same time authored the first Magyar language synthesis of American literature (*The History of American Literature*, 1967).<sup>100</sup>

Although almost two generations removed from Országh, József Gellén is one of several young scholars who have emerged from the "Debrecen School." His sixteen-page essay on Hungarian-American literature entitled: "Immigrant Experience in Hungarian-American Poetry before 1945" carries the mark of a trained scholar.<sup>101</sup> Gellén has also published studies on various emigration questions and on Hungarian-American historical connections.

The literary historian Lóránt Czigány (1935– ) of England has also authored some literary studies that touch upon Hungarian-American literature.<sup>102</sup> Czigány deals with this problem, however, only insofar as the literary creations of Hungarian-American poets and writers appear in one of the better West European Magyar language periodicals, or if they participate in the literary-cultural activities of a number of European literary circles. The former include the *Új Látóhatár* (New Horizon), *Irodalmi Újság* (Literary Gazette), and *Magyar Műhely* (Hungarian Workshop), and the latter the "Mikes Kelemen Circle," and the "Szepsi Csombor Circle."

As is evident from the above, the study of Hungarian-American literature is very much an open field. To this day no single, comprehensive and reliable critical-analytical summary of this literature has appeared in print. And this vacuum is even greater and more apparent for the post-World War II period. The works of Hungarian-American poets, essayists and novelists of the past thirty-five years have been appraised and kept account of only by fellow poets, writers and a few journalists whose writings appear in the rapidly shrinking number of Hungarian language newspapers in the United States and Canada. So far very few literary scholars took the time to evaluate

and to interpret the creative achievements of this literature. And this lack of interest is all the more conspicuous, as today there is a host of Hungarian-American scholars who are engaged in the study of Hungarian literature. Apparently, they still do not regard Hungarian-American literature as being sufficiently significant to warrant their attention. We believe this to be both unfair and unjust, and hope for a change in this area.

Prospects for a well-researched and all-inclusive history of Hungarian-American literature are still bleak, although there are a few decisively encouraging signs. It is indeed encouraging, for example, that the number of literary historians in Hungary who are engaged in the study of Hungarian-American literature is growing. Hungarian literary and cultural journals, e.g. *Életünk* (Our Life), *Jelenkor* (Present Age), *Vigilia*, *Alföld* (Low Lands), etc. also began to publish the writings of several Hungarian poets living abroad, including those in North America. Moreover, in addition to Béládi's synthesis, recently two relevant anthologies have also appeared in print. These include the *Anthology of Western Hungarian Poets* (1980), published in Vienna under the editorship of a Canadian-Hungarian poet L. Kemenes-Géfin,<sup>103</sup> and the *Wanderer's Song: Hungarian Poets in Western Europe and Beyond the Sea* (1981), published in Budapest under the auspices of the World Federation of Hungarians and edited by Béládi himself.<sup>104</sup>

#### *Hungarian-American Linguistic Research*

While the roots of Hungarian-American historiography reach back to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and those of Hungarian-American literary scholarship to the interwar period, the scholarly examination of the linguistic problems and peculiarities of Hungarian-Americans did not begin until the mid-1950s. The pioneer in this area appears to have been Pierre E. Szamek, whose Ph.D. dissertation, *The Eastern American Dialect of Hungarian*, was accepted in 1954.<sup>105</sup> Subsequently, at least five other dissertations were written in this field.<sup>106</sup> Later, the author of one of these dissertations, William Nemser, also published a monograph on the "interference phenomenon" in the English speech of native Hungarian speakers.<sup>107</sup>

Only a year after Szamek's path-breaking dissertation, the versatile John Kósa published an article on the knowledge of English among Hungarian immigrants in Canada.<sup>108</sup> This was followed in the early 1960s by Elemér Bakó's (1915– ) effort to initiate a comprehensive Hungarian dialectal survey in the United States. Bakó's project, however, hardly went beyond a preliminary attempt to sketch out its "goals and methods,"<sup>109</sup> and the preparation of a longer article "On the linguistic Characteristics of American-Hungarian" (1965).<sup>110</sup>

Bakó's latest article on this topic was followed almost immediately by Joshua A. Fishman's excellent and oft-cited *Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States* (1966),<sup>111</sup> and then by John Lotz's (1913–1973) first survey of the

achievements of Hungarian linguistic research in the United States.<sup>112</sup> In line with the realities of Finno-Ugric linguistic research in North America, Lotz's survey naturally had far more to say about Hungarian than about Hungarian-American linguistic questions and results.<sup>113</sup>

The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed Linda Dégh's and Andrew Vázsonyi's ethnographic and ethnolexical field research in the Calumet region of Northwestern Indiana, and, as a by-product of this research, the appearance of several reports and articles incorporating the linguistic aspects of this research.<sup>114</sup> One of its results, for example, was the discovery of seven different dialects among the Hungarian immigrants and their descendants.<sup>115</sup> Another, even more important and tangible result is the Vázsonyi-edited *Dictionary* of Hungarian-English—or "Hunglish"—now being considered for publication.<sup>116</sup>

Similar ethno-linguistic research was also undertaken by Zita McRobbie at the Hungarian-Canadian settlement of Békevár (Kipling, Saskatchewan), who studied the bilingualism and the gradual changes in this bilingualism among several generations of Hungarian-Canadians. After some preliminary reports, the summary of her research appeared under the title: "A Linguistic Analysis of the Békevár Community" (1979).<sup>117</sup>

Next to Vázsonyi's yet to be published "Hunglish Dictionary" and McRobbie's analytical study of the Canadian "Hunglish" speech, some of the other current results of related Hungarian-American scholarship include Isabella Janda's study on "Hungarian Place Names in the United States" (1977),<sup>118</sup> and Andrew Kerek's bibliography (1977) and general assessment of the achievements and results of Hungarian language research in North America (1978).<sup>119</sup>

#### *Hungarian-American Ethnographic and Folklore Research*

If research in Hungarian-American dialectology, bilingualism and related questions was late in getting under way, this is even more true for ethnographic and folklore research among Hungarian-Americans. Granted that some of the nineteenth and twentieth-century Hungarian travelogues and memories do contain certain observations of an ethnographic nature, and a number of prominent twentieth-century Hungarian ethnographers did conduct ethnographic research in North America following their immigration (e.g. Géza Róheim, Pál Fejős, Pál Kelemen, István Borhegyi, Géza Rohan-Csermák, Lajos Vincze, Bela C. Maday, etc.),<sup>120</sup> until quite recently none of these observations and research efforts were concentrated on the Hungarian-Americans themselves. Thus, ethnographic and folklore research concerning the Hungarian-American community did not really begin until the 1960s when the rising "ethnic revolution" of that decade turned the attention of a number of Hungarian and Hungarian-American ethnographers, cultural anthropologists and folklorists to the customs and traditions of their own kinsmen in America. This recognition of the worthiness of the study of Hungarian-American culture and way of life—which was

paralleled by the continued primary attention of these scholars to Hungarian ethnography proper—was aided by a number of factors. These included the increasing availability of research funds for cultural anthropological research (and here the role of Bela C. Maday as the Program Administrator for the Cultural Anthropology Fellowship Review Committee at the National Institute of Mental Health was of utmost significance);<sup>121</sup> the simultaneous increase in funding in Hungary (e.g. the Hungarian Academy's support of Institute of Ethnography at the University of Debrecen);<sup>122</sup> the increased attention of the Hungarian Academy's Research Group on Ethnography to the ethnographical and folklore traditions of Hungarian-Americans;<sup>123</sup> the appointment of Linda Dégh to Indiana University (1964) and her increased efforts to study Hungarian-American folklore;<sup>124</sup> and the rise of a new generation of Hungarian-American cultural anthropologists, ethnographers and folklorists (e.g. Marida Hollós, Michael Sozán, Susan Gál, Éva Huseby, etc.), who devote an ever larger portion of their research efforts to the study of Hungarian-American culture.

As a result of these various efforts, the position of Hungarian-American ethnographic and folklore research improved considerably during the 1960s and 1970s. The late 1960s saw the appearance of Linda Dégh's two significant methodological studies,<sup>125</sup> followed by the publication of a number of basic research monographs and research articles both by Dégh<sup>126</sup> as well as by a number of her colleagues.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, these research efforts by Hungarian-American ethnographers were paralleled by similar efforts on the part of the "settlement historian" Martin L. Kovács in Canada, which resulted in the publication of two basic monographs on such early Hungarian-Canadian settlements as Békevár and Esterházy,<sup>128</sup> and by the appearance in Hungary of the first major collection of Hungarian-American folklore material under the title *The Folklore of Hungarian Americans* (1978–1979).<sup>129</sup> Of at least equal significance for the future was the establishment in 1979 of the American Hungarian Joint Committee on Folklore and Ethnography under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which formalized the increased cooperation between Hungarian and Hungarian-American scholars in the field. Some of the early results of this increased cooperation include the Duquesne University Symposium on Hungarian Folk Culture in April 1980, and the First American Hungarian Bi-National Meeting on Folklore and Ethnography held in Budapest in July 1981. The papers presented at the Duquesne University Symposium have already appeared in print (*The Folk Arts of Hungary*, edited by W. Kolar and A. H. Várdy, 1981),<sup>130</sup> while the papers of the Budapest meeting are now under publication.<sup>131</sup> The Joint Committee has also initiated a number of parallel research projects on specific Hungarian settlements in Hungary and the United States.

Simultaneously with these efforts in Hungarian-American ethnographic and folklore research, efforts were also made to portray the life of individual Hungarian-American communities from various other perspectives, usually supported by grants from the U.S. Office of Education. As exemplified by the published results (e.g. *Hungarians of*

*Detroit* by M. H. Abonyi and J. A. Anderson, 1977; *Hungarian Americans and their Communities of Cleveland* by Susan M. Papp, 1981; and the *Hungarian Ethnic Heritage Study of Pittsburgh* by a group under the direction of Paul Bódy, 1981; etc.),<sup>132</sup> the results are rather diverse both in extent and in quality. Some of the information found in these works will no doubt end up in future syntheses on Hungarian-American history and culture. And this also holds true for the few scholarly assessments on such aspects of Hungarian-American culture as the Hungarian theater (e.g. E. J. Gergely's *Hungarian Drama in New York*, 1974; and T. Szendrey's "The Hungarian Ethnic Theater" 1983),<sup>133</sup> and Hungarian contribution to the American film industry (e.g. M. Birnbaum, "The Hungarians of Hollywood", 1982).<sup>134</sup>

### Prospects

As we look back on our summary of the developments and achievements of Hungarian-American studies in the course of the past century, we cannot fail to observe that after a slow and weak start in the late nineteenth century, this field of study has made great strides during the 1960s and the 1970s. This is true both qualitatively and quantitatively. The primary effort of those who are active in the various disciplines within the field still have to be directed toward collecting and preserving the rapidly vanishing sources and information dealing with the past, and toward producing basic research studies and monographs on the various details and aspects of this past. Yet, the time has also arrived for the writing of a number of major new syntheses on Hungarian immigration to North America and on Hungarian experiences in the United States and Canada.

There are signs that all three of these goals are being met to a lesser or greater degree. As we have seen, the collection of the fast vanishing sources of the Hungarian-American past are being collected by an increasing number of institutions and individuals. The number of trained scholars active in the field are also increasing, and they are producing more and better, research articles and monographs. Simultaneously, publications of local nature and significance, but containing various useful primary sources, are also being published in ever growing numbers and generally with increasing competence. Moreover, summarizing compendiums are likewise available in increasing numbers. Thus, in addition to the two major syntheses on the "old" (i.e. pre-World War I and pre-World War II) immigrations to America by the Hungarian scholars Rácz and Puskás,<sup>135</sup> a new collective volume on the Canadian-Americans has just appeared in print under the direction of N. F. Dreisziger (*Struggle and Hope: The Hungarian-Canadian Experience*, 1982).<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, new syntheses are also being published on the post-World War II immigrations, both in Hungary (by M. Szántó),<sup>137</sup> as well as in the United States (by one of the authors of this study).<sup>138</sup> Naturally, none of these works will constitute the final word in this field. But they are gradually filling the gap, and will also serve as encouragements to others in producing better and even more comprehensive works on the Hungarian experience and culture in North America.

## Notes

\*The strongly bibliographical nature of this study—which encompasses a whole century of research and writing on Hungarian-American history and immigration—makes our list of cited sources much longer than usual. Thus, in order to compress our notes as much as possible, we have decided to compile them into a bibliography, and then to cite them in our notes only in an abbreviated form using the name of the author and the date of publication. The titles of works in other than English have been translated, with the translation following the original title in brackets. The titles of periodicals, however, have not been translated:

1. Sinor, 1971, 1973, 1981; Várdy, 1973, 1975a, 1977a, 1977b, 1981a, 1981b, 1983; Várdy-Huszár, 1981, 1983. For Hungarian studies on the primary and secondary level see K. Nagy, 1972, 1973; Bodnár, 1975; Tamás, 1966; and Várdy-Huszár, 1974a, 1974b, 1976, 1978.
2. Lotz, 1967; Kerek, 1977, 1978.
3. Voigt, 1982; Gunda, 1982.
4. Dégh, 1966, 1968–1969.
5. Bódy 1976.
6. Várdy and Huszár Várdy, 1981.
7. Bakó 1977; Tezla, 1964, 1970; Halász de Béky, 1963, 1967, 1976; Horecky, 1969a, 1969b.
8. Vitéz, 1965; I. Kovács, 1975; Széplaki, 1977c.
9. Széplaki, 1972, 1974, 1976a, 1977a, 1977b, 1980 and Széplaki-Walsh, 1972.
10. Halász de Béky, 1976b, 1976c, 1977a, 1977b, 1977c, 1977d.
11. Harvard, 1974; L. Kovács, 1978, 1979.
12. Horecky, 1976; L. Kovács, 1980; A. Molnár, 1981.
13. Németh, 1975; Mildschütz, 1977. See also Mildschütz, 1963.
14. I. Nagy, 1943.
15. See Novák, 1971, 1977; Roucek-Eisenberg, 1982; Puskás, 1980.
16. Márki, 1893. Concerning Márki as a historian see Várdy, 1976a, pp. 37, 196–197; and Várdy, 1974, pp. 20, 23–24.
17. His most important relevant studies include Kropf, 1888, 1889 and 1890.
18. On Pivány see I. Gál, 1945b, 1974, 1976; Várdy, 1981b.
19. Pivány, 1913, 1924, 1927. For a complete list of Pivány's publications see I. Gál, 1974, 1976.
20. Pivány, 1943, 1944; and Pivány-Ács, 1944.
21. Concerning Pivány's library see I. Gál, 1945a, pp. 216–229, 272–276; I. Gál, 1945b, 1974.
22. On Gál see Várdy, 1977c, pp. 80–82; Várdy, 1976a, pp. 159–60.
23. I. Gál, 1945a.
24. Thüring, 1904a.
25. Löherer, 1908; Gerényi, 1913; Laky, 1918.
26. Fest, 1917, 1920; Concerning Fest see MÉL (=for abbreviations see the Bibliography), below I, 504–505, and Szentkirályi, 1936.
27. I. Nagy, 1931, 1935, 1938, 1939, 1943. On Nagy see MTCN, pp. 364, 580, 602; P. Szabó, 1940, pp. 143–144; and *Pécsi almanach*, p. 45.
28. I. Nagy, 1939, p. 14. On this question see also Várdy, 1976b.
29. Concerning Szekfű and the *Magyar Szemle* see Bácskai-Payerle, 1933; Reményi, 1934; Kun, 1934, 1936; Gondos, 1936; and Kosáry, 1942.
30. On the two congresses see *Magyarok Világkongresszusa* I, 1929; and *Magyarok Világkongresszusa* II, 1938.
31. On the World Federation of Hungarians see Halácsy, 1944, pp. 157–182; and Várdy, 1976b, pp. 239–242.
32. Várdy, 1976b, pp. 52–54.

33. Szentkirályi's work was to appear in the series "Hazánk és a Nagyvilág" (Our Country and the World), edited by Kálmán Benda and István Gál, and published by the Teleki Research Institute between 1945 and 1947.
34. Imre Kovács, 1938. On Kovács see MIL, I, 686-687, and his own autobiographical narrative, Kovács, 1981.
35. Halácsy, 1944.
36. Concerning Ács see MIL, I, 8.
37. Ács, 164. Some his other works include Ács, 1940a, 1940b, 1944, 1946.
38. On these early college programs see Várdy, 1973, pp. 8-9, and Várdy, 1975b, pp. 92-95.
39. See in our paper the section on Hungarian-American libraries and archives.
40. On Charles Feleky and his library see A. Feleky, 1938; Duggan, 1939; Szentkirályi, 1940; Paikert, 1941; and HRL.
41. I. Gál, 1974, pp. 70-71.
42. See Vasváry's own account: Vasváry, 1975; and Péter, 1975, 1977; and Takaró, 1972, pp. 209-210.
43. Vasváry, 1939. See also his brief history of Hungarians in America, Vasváry, 1950.
44. See in our paper the section on literary research.
45. On Hungarian-American library and archival collections see Szilassy, 1973; Basa, 1974; Széplaki, 1975a, pp. 136-137, 1975b, 1976b, 1977b, 1977c; Halász de Béky, 1977e; Török, 1977; Wynar and Buttlar, 1978; L. Kovács, 1978, 1979, 1980; and Molnár, 1981.
46. On this Canadian-Hungarian collection see various issues of the Center's official periodical, the *Krónika*, 1977-1981. The authors have also examined this collection personally.
47. In addition to the works listed under note 45, see also Horecky, 1976.
48. Concerning Hungarian Studies at Indiana University see Sinor, 1967, 1973, 1980; Várdy, 1973, pp. 11-15, 1975b, pp. 69-100, 1981a, 1983; Radványi, 1975; Hungarian Studies Newsletter, 21 (Autumn 1979); Szántó, 1981; Lintner, 1981; Bayerle, 1981; Ránki, 1981.
49. For additional private collections see Wynar and Buttlar, 1978, pp. 175-182; and Molnár, 1981.
50. The authors have personally examined these Hungarian-American collections in Hungary. This also holds true for the Archives of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Ligonier, mentioned above.
51. Kende, 1927.
52. Vasváry often mentioned the shortcomings of Kende's book to the authors of this study. He also made numerous corrections and marginal notes in his own copy of this work, which today is located at the Somogyi Library of Szeged.
53. Based on Lengyel's biographical essay to appear in a multivolumed literary encyclopedia to be published by the Hungarian Academy Press. See also DAS, I, 404; and HIA, 1972, p. 129.
54. Lengyel, 1948, 1974.
55. Kósa, 1957a.
56. Ruzsa, 1940. For an early brief summary see Marchbin, 1937.
57. Kósa, 1957b; Fishman, 1966; Könnnyű, 1967; Széplaki, 1975a; Török, 1978.
58. May, 1927; Leffler, 1949; Trautmann, 1966; Spencer, 1973; Zarychta, 1976; Ivány, 1980.
59. Szamek, 1954; Nelson, 1956; Nemser, 1961; McWhinnery, 1973; S. Gál, 1976; Santiago, 1980.
60. Beynon, 1933; Weinstock, 1962; Head, 1963; Schuchat, 1971; Benkart, 1975.
61. Kalassay, 1939; Balogh, 1945; Bütösi, 1961; Komjáthy, 1962; Gerzsányi, 1978.
62. Baretzki, 1959; Rupprecht, 1967; Major, 1973-1974; Max, 1980.
63. Madden, 1950; Gáspár, 1967; Reisch, 1970.
64. Stone, 1971.
65. Kruytbosch, 1958; Boros, 1959; Richard, 1961; Walhouse, 1961; Baranyai, 1963; Brown, 1963; Galbraith, 1963; Canzona, 1964; Gellért, 1964; Mészáros and Wittkover, n.d.

66. Primes, 1940; Foster, 1965; Szentmiklósy-Éles, 1972.
67. Kautz, 1946; Bogár, 1949.
68. Vitéz, 1965; I. Kovács, 1975.
69. Komlós, 1971; Táborszky, 1955; Fischer, 1971.
70. The reference here is primarily to László Könnnyű's works to be discussed below.
71. Kanyar, 1957; Rácz, 1962, 1965, 1971, 1973, 1980; Polányi, 1964; G. Deák, 1964; A. Lengyel, 1969; Szászi, 1970, 1972; Puskás, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1980, 1981, 1982; Wellman, 1976; Gellén, 1977, 1978a.
72. Ács, 1964; Sándor, 1970; E. Gál, 1971; I. Gál, 1974, 1976; Zombori, 1977; Szente, 1978; Póka-Pivnyi, 1982.
73. Kretzoi, 1965, 1974; Katona, 1971, 1973; I. Gál, 1971, 1972; Szabad, 1975a, 1975b. Some of these are English versions of the original Hungarian.
74. Magos, 1952; Pintér, 1972; Zs. Nagy, 1975.
75. J. Kovács, 1977; Gellén, 1978b; Béládi, 1982.
76. Gunda, 1970; Voigt, 1982.
77. Puskás, 1970.
78. Pethő, 1972; Ipper, 1973; Végh, 1980; and Bogáti, 1979.
79. Rácz, 1980.
80. Puskás, 1982a; and the shorter English version, Puskás 1982b.
81. Szántó, 1970.
82. We have only seen Szántó's manuscript briefly.
83. Juhász, 1979.
84. K. Nagy, 1974, 1982.
85. Quinn and Cheshire, 1972.
86. Illés, 1963, p. 241.
87. Rickert, 1920.
88. Móricz, 1921a, 1921b.
89. Csorba, 1930.
90. On Reményi see Keresztury, 1938; Cushing, 1957, and the obituaries listed in Reményi, 1964, p. xi. Concerning Kirkconnel see Perkin, 1975; Dreisziger 1977a, 1977b, 1978; and his autobiography, Kirkconnel, 1967.
91. Reményi, 1937a, 1938. His other relevant essays include: Reményi, 1932, 1934, 1937b.
92. Concerning Vasváry see the works under note 42.
93. Many of the short literary articles by the authors mentioned can be found in the Vasváry-Collection at the Somogyi Library of Szeged.
94. On Könnnyű see HIA, 1966, p. 243; HIA, 1972, p. 116. For a list of his writings see Könnnyű, 1973, 1979, pp. 58–61. See also his memoirs: Könnnyű, 1977.
95. Könnnyű, 1961, and its English version: Könnnyű, 1962.
96. J. Kovács, 1977.
97. J. Kovács, 1972.
98. Béládi, 1982; MIT, 1945–1975, pp. 323–445.
99. Concerning Országh see MIL, II, 405.
100. Országh, 1967.
101. Gellén, 1978b.
102. On Czigány see PHHA, 1973, p. 78; PHHA, 1979, p. 90, MIT, 1945–1975, p. 442, For his relevant articles see Czigány, 1977, 1979.
103. NMKA, 1980.
104. *Vándorének*, 1981.
105. Szamek, 1954.
106. Nelson 1956; Nemser, 1961; Mc. Whinney, 1973.
107. Nemser, 1971. See also Nemser, 1967.



108. Kósa, 1955.
109. Bakó, 1961, 1962, 1963.
110. Bakó, 1965a.
111. Fishman, 1966.
112. Lotz, 1967.
113. On John Lotz see Austerlitz, 1974; Sebeok, 1976, 1978.
114. Dégh and Vázsonyi, 1971.
115. Dégh, 1966, p. 554.
116. Concerning this "Hunglish" Dictionary see Vázsonyi, 1965; Kerek, 1977, p. 28.
117. McRobbie, 1979.
118. Janda, 1977.
119. Kerek, 1977, 1978.
120. See Voigt, 1982; Gunda, 1982.
121. On Maday see HIA, 1966, p. 277; HIA, 1972, p. 113; PHHA, 1979, p. 295. Information concerning Maday's positive role came from most of the active Hungarian-American scholars in the field.
122. Gunda, 1982.
123. See Voigt, 1982.
124. Concerning Dégh's activities see Bódy, 1976, pp. 45; and Várdy and Várdy-Huszár, 1981, pp. 87-89.
125. Dégh, 1966, 1968-1969.
126. Dégh, 1975, 1976, 1979, 1980a, 1980b; Dégh and Vázsonyi, 1971, 1971-1975.
127. Hollós, 1975, 1979; *Békevár*, 1979.
128. M. Kovács, 1974, 1980a. See also M. Kovács, 1978a, 1978b, 1980b, 1980c, 1980d, 1981.
129. D. Nagy, 1978-1979.
130. Held on April 15 and 16, 1980 at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the papers of this symposium have been published. Cf. Kolar and Várdy-Huszár, 1981. See also Várdy-Huszár, 1981a, 1981b.
131. Concerning the Budapest meeting see Voigt, 1982.
132. Abonyi and Anderson 1977; Papp, 1981; HEHSP, 1982.
133. Gergely, 1974; Szendrey, 1983.
134. Birnbaum, 1982.
135. Rác, 1980; Puskás, 1982.
136. Dreisziger, 1982.
137. Szántó's work will be published in the course of 1983.
138. This work entitled *The Hungarian-Americans*, and it will appear in early 1985 (See Várdy 1985). A section of it has already appeared in print. Cf. Várdy, 1982.

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