

Doktori (PhD) Értekezés

HUNGARIANS IN CLEVELAND
1951-2011: THEN AND NOW

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HUNGARIANS IN CLEVELAND 1951-2011: THEN AND NOW

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HUNGARIANS IN CLEVELAND 1951-2011: THEN AND NOW

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INTRODUCTION

Cleveland was once known as the second largest Hungarian city, with more Hungarians residing there than in any city in Hungary, second only to Budapest in number of Hungarians. Today, however, the number of Hungarians in Cleveland is dwindling, and it is but a shadow of its glorious Hungarian past. Accepted as fact and appearing both in print¹ and in common memory, the statements above are actually both false, a part of current and past Hungarian mythology.

Although the old Buckeye Road Hungarian neighborhood can be said to be no more, the greater Cleveland area is still home to many Hungarians, with a large and active ethnic community and with many Hungarian organizations that have survived and still thrive. The state of Hungarians in Cleveland in 2011 is that of a shrinking yet still vibrant and patriotic community with extended roots, a community that proudly continues to maintain its Hungarian language and traditions.

SURVEY OF SCHOLARSHIP, THEORETICAL BACKGROUND, METHODOLOGY & CONTEXT

1.1 Survey of Scholarship²

A great body of literature exists delineating the role of Hungarian-Americans in general. Pioneering historians include Sándor Márki, Eugene Pivány, Charles Feleky, Géza Kende, Edmund Vasváry, and Emil Lengyel, while in Hungary their work was paralleled by Gusztáv Thirring, Andor Löherer, Lóránt Hegedűs, Alajos Kovács, Géza Hoffmann, Iván Nagy, Imre Kovács, Dénes Jánossy, and István Gáll. A burgeoning of Hungarian-American scholarship grew out of the 1960's, including doctoral dissertations by historians P. Bódy, Nándor Dreisziger, M.L. Kovács, Zoltán Kramár, Tamás Szendrey, Steven Béla Várdy, B. Vassady, and F.S. Wagner, in the field of linguistics and literature E. Bakó, Joshua Fishman, A. Kerek, Leslie Könnyű, W. Nemser, and Ágnes Huszár Várdy, in ethnography L. Dégh, M. Hollós, M. Sozan, B. Maday, and A. Vázsonyi, in sociology P. Benkart and A.S. Weinstock, and bibliographies and archival studies compiled by A. as well as M. Boros-Kazai, R. Biro, I. Halász de Beky, L.L. Kovács, A.J. Molnár, and F. Vitéz.³

One of the best is the comprehensive book by Julianna Puskás, *Ties That Bind, Ties That Divide: 100 Years of Hungarian Experience in the United States* (2000), which is an extensive study spanning part of the nineteenth and the entire twentieth century. This 444-

¹ <http://www.clevelandmemory.org/hungarian/about.html>. Claim repeated in an article on "Hungarians" in the 1998 Encyclopedia of Cleveland History, found online at Case Western Reserve University, <http://ech.case.edu/ech-cgi/article.pl?id=H7>. Both articles accessed 16 October 2012.

² Complete bibliographic information about all of the works mentioned in this chapter can be found in the lists at the end of the dissertation.

³ Steven Béla Várdy in *The Hungarian-Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985), 165.

page sociological and historical study is detailed yet readable, and it provides not only an overview of Hungarian waves of migration, but also firsthand experiences to provide the perspective of ordinary lives.

Miklós Szántó's *Magyarok Amerikában*, on the other hand, is not nearly as exhaustive, but nevertheless provides an overall view of Hungarian migration. Published in communist Budapest in 1984, it reviews the successive waves of migration (interwar, post-Second World War refugees from the Displaced Persons camps, and 1956) as disparate and separate, and focuses mostly on the conflicts among them, as well as providing an overview of Hungarian government policies toward its emigres.

Gábor Tarján's 2003 article in *Magyar Szemle* provides an accurate portrayal of Hungarian-American life, looked at from the perspective of a folk ethnographer. His readable summary details major waves of immigration, addresses language and cultural questions, gives an overview of Hungarian schooling in the United States, and touches on the scouting movement and higher education. In addition, he perceptively characterizes bilingualism, religious and cultural life, the image of Hungary, and dual identities of Hungarians born in the U.S., based on his extensive experience living in the Hungarian communities of New Jersey. His conclusions, which question whether Hungarian-American institutions and life can long survive, have with the hindsight of ten years been proven wrong, although the general tendencies he describes are accurate.⁴

The most recent scholarly work is *Beszédből világ: elemzések, adatok amerikai magyarokról* [Life from Speech: Analysis and Data about American Hungarians], a sociological study compiled by Attila Z. Papp in 2007 and published amidst controversy in 2008.⁵ A detailed and objective analysis of modern Hungarian-American communities, the authors conducted 53 extended interviews with leaders of organizations in Hungarian communities in various U.S. cities, and provide a useful analysis of the current viability of these communities.

Some quite useful studies were conducted by émigré scholars, most notably by the historian Steven Béla Várdy. Comparable in quality and comprehensiveness to Julianna Puskás' seminal work, his massive *Magyarok az Újvilágban* [Hungarians in the New World] (2000) is written in the Hungarian language. This work encompasses a century and a half of

⁴ Gábor Tarján, "Nemzedékváltás az amerikai magyarságnál" *Magyar Szemle* (2003).

⁵ Attila Z. Papp, ed. *Beszédből Világ* (Budapest: Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, 2008). Originally commissioned by the Hungarian government institution HTMH (Határon Túli Magyarok Hivatala: Institute for Hungarians Beyond Hungary's Borders) and contracted to the Teleki László Intézet (a foreign policy research institute), funding for its research was unexpectedly rescinded part way through the project, then reinstated, and upon initial publication by the Hungarian Institute for International Affairs (Magyar Külügyi Intézet), political controversy led to the temporary confiscation of published copies, a situation which was eventually resolved, leading to the eventual uninhibited distribution of the study.

Hungarian-American history, and gives an accurate and detailed portrayal of political, historical, and sociological trends among the Hungarians in the United States. Most of its material has been published in journals before, but it synthesizes very effectively, providing not only insightful analysis, but also trustworthy details proving the general trends.

Somewhat shorter, older, but nevertheless still quite useful is Várdy's *The Hungarian-Americans*, published in 1985. This book addresses not only the successive waves of migration, but also gives a comprehensive picture of Hungarian-American history, journalism, publishing, and scholarship. It also includes useful observations about the perpetuation of culture, as well as a case study of the Hungarian Association of Cleveland.

Compiled and written together with his wife, Ágnes Huszár Várdy, *Újvilági küzdelmek: az amerikai magyarok élete és az óhaza* [Struggles of the New World: Hungarian-American Lives and the Old Country] contains 23 articles previously published in Hungarian journals by the Várdys. The themes of the writings range from the past and present of Hungarian-American life to the impact of Lajos Kossuth on America, from religious and social life of Hungarian-Americans to their relationship with Hungary. Another quite useful journal article, albeit now almost 30 years old, was written by the Várdys in 1985. "Hungarian Literary, Linguistic, and Ethnographic Research on Hungarian-Americans: a Historiographical Assessment" does a fine job summarizing Hungarian Studies scholarship up until that point.

Gyula Borbándi's *A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945-1985* is comprehensive, objective, and deals mainly with Hungarian emigre literary and political life. Although it discusses Hungarian emigres worldwide, Hungarian-Americans nevertheless figure prominently in it. Originally published in Bern in 1985, it details three waves of emigration: 1945, 1947, and 1956.

Lesser works also prevail. Leslie Konnyu's 80 page *Hungarians in the United States: an Immigration Study* is a shorter contribution providing a short background of Hungary's history to the American reader, continuing with phases of Hungarian immigration to the U.S., a short chapter on the Americanization of Hungarians, and concluding with a listing of Hungarian contributions to America in language, literature, arts, science-industry, public and military service, cuisine, singing-dancing-acting, and sports.

Joseph Széplaki compiled *The Hungarians in America 1583-1974: A Chronology & Fact Book*. This study provides a useful chronology of dates, offers primary documents and letters of importance, and includes statistics and listings of Hungarian-American institutions, population tables, university language courses, publications, Hungarian collections in American libraries, and Hungarian-named geographic locations in the U.S.

Prompted by the visit of Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty to North America, István Török's *Katolikus Magyarok Észak-Amerikában* provides a succinct historical as well as a detailed contemporary look at Hungarian Catholic churches, Catholic church organizations, monks, nuns, clergy, Catholic youth organizations, and Catholic publishing in Canada and the United States. Newer and broader in scope is Attila Miklósházy's *A tengeren túli emigráns magyar katolikus egyházi közösségek rövid története Észak- és Dél-amerikában, valamint Ausztráliában* (2005). On the Protestant front, Zoltán Béky assembled a concise history of the Hungarian Reformed Federation in America, covering 1896 to 1970, entitled *Az amerikai magyar református egyesület főbb eseményei*.

Also worth mentioning is the modern photographic work of the scholar Gergely Tóth. He travels the world, looking up Hungarian emigre communities in Australia, South America, but mostly in the United States, and Cleveland and its vicinity figures prominently on his website, with recent photographs of places of Hungarian interest.⁶ The most recent objective portrayal of Hungarian-Americans is a 5-part documentary film produced by the city TV station of Debrecen under the leadership of Tamás Széles and Ferenc Vojtkó, *Üzenem az otthoni hegyeknek* (2011). It is not a comprehensive study, but is quite representative, and offers an objective, realistic snapshot of the current state of Hungarian communities in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Cleveland, Boston, New Brunswick, three in Connecticut, and Washington, D.C., along with a short historical introduction to each city.

However, not many scholars have specifically studied Cleveland, although 12 of the 53 interviewees (23%) in Attila Z. Papp's work were from the city. Julianna Puskás does have an excellent chapter entitled "The Magyars in Cleveland, 1880-1930" in *Identity, Conflict, and Cooperation: Central Europeans in Cleveland, 1850-1930*, a comprehensive study of six groups of immigrants from Croatia, the Czech lands, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia.⁷ The book provides useful insights about the immigration experience, and Puskás' chapter does trace the development of the Hungarian neighborhoods in the Cleveland area. Most scholars who have explicitly researched Cleveland were Hungarians living there, notably Stephen Erdely, Susan Papp (no relation to Attila Z. Papp), Ferenc Somogyi, Imre Gál, Alan Attila Szabó, Tibor Bognár, my own previous work, and most recently, John Sabol. Let us take a closer look at these works next.

Stephen Erdely published a short article in the January 1964 edition of *Ethnomusicology* entitled "Folksinging of the American Hungarians in Cleveland." He

⁶ www.magyarnegyed.com, an independent website maintained by Gergely Tóth. Site accessed 24 October 2012.

⁷ Julianna Puskás, "The Magyars in Cleveland, 1880-1930," in *Identity, Conflict, and Cooperation*, ed. David Hammack and Diane L. and John J. Grabowski (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 2002), 135-84.

analyzed the traditional song repertoire and the art of folksinging cultivated by Cleveland Hungarians, in particular the 26 active members of the Hungarian American Singing Society, originally formed in 1908 in Cleveland.

Susan Papp grew up in Cleveland, the child of Displaced Person (DP) refugees, experiencing its Hungarian life firsthand. Her monograph, *Hungarian Americans and their Communities of Cleveland*, published by the Ethnic Heritage Studies department at Cleveland State University in 1981, is a comprehensive account, devoting one quarter of its contents to an overall history of Hungary, one quarter to Hungarians in America, and over half exclusively to the Hungarian communities of Cleveland. Full of maps and archival photographs, it traces not only the historical development of Cleveland's Hungarian communities, but also contains several appendices detailing ethnicity and politics, a case study of building a Hungarian church, and of Hungarian contributions to culture. Although now over 30 years old, it remains the authoritative English-language study of Cleveland Hungarians. My methodology differs slightly from that of Susan Papp, but my intent when starting my research was to update and complement her work.

Ferenc Somogyi was trained in law in pre-World War II Hungary, was elected to its Parliament in 1939, and emigrated as a refugee of the Second World War, settling in Cleveland in 1951 and taking an active part in its Hungarian intellectual life. His last published work was a history of Hungarians in Cleveland entitled *A clevelandi magyarság vázlatos története*, in 1994. His monograph is also comprehensive, offering a detailed listing of Hungarian organizations in Cleveland from a historical perspective, beginning with Lajos Kossuth's 1852 visit to the city, through the stories of Hungarian oligarchs such as Tivadar Kundtz, chronicling the lives and important facts of each of Cleveland's Hungarian churches as social entities, detailing Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty's visit to Cleveland, and concluding with a very readable listing of active Hungarian organizations in the Cleveland of 1994. Somogyi brought over forty years of personal experience in Cleveland's Hungarian life to his research, and his work is by far the most exhaustive yet easily readable book on Hungarians in Cleveland published in the Hungarian language. I will deal with his other works later in the dissertation, but I chose his comprehensive history as a model for my work, using the English language to reach a broader audience. His work also showed the vibrancy of Cleveland's Hungarians, and my dissertation attempts to update where he left off.

Imre Sári Gál was born and educated in Hungary, and came to Cleveland after 1956. His book, *Clevelandi Magyar Múzeum: riportok, versek, fényképek a clevelandi magyarság életéből*, was published in Toronto in 1978. Less scholarly in nature and more of a collection of the author's poems, newspaper articles, and photographs of Hungarian life in Cleveland,

the book is a valuable treasure with quality interviews, census statistics, detailed histories and descriptions of some businesses and clubs, and accurate listings of all Hungarian organizations in Cleveland as of 1978, a snapshot of Hungarian life in Cleveland in the 1970's. The book reads like a newspaper, objectively reported yet with a personal interest perspective, and with many photographs, flyers, advertisements, and letterhead samples reproduced to give the reader an impressionistic view of Cleveland's Hungarian life. Like his collection, I also will attempt to offer a snapshot of Cleveland Hungarian life in 2011, albeit with more historical context going back to 1951, the year that a large influx of refugees from Hungary arrived in Cleveland.

Alan Attila Szabo researched Hungarian-American communities of the greater Cleveland area and submitted a cultural anthropology analysis as his Master's thesis at Kent State University in 2001. Drawing on information collected while selling life insurance and determining potential customers' interest in a Hungarian mail order business, he attended hundreds of Hungarian events in Northeast Ohio and assembled a database of 400 individuals and their families, who all defined themselves as Hungarian or of Hungarian descent. He then randomly selected 100 individuals from his database and found similar results to the US Census proportions of Hungarian speakers to Hungarian ancestry. Additionally, he found that of his sample, 10% married another Hungarian-American, and those who did, 40% had at least one sibling also marry a Hungarian. 10% of the offspring of these unions married another Hungarian-American, which points to a standard assimilation process.⁸ If the odds are that 90% of Hungarian-Americans will assimilate in one generation, what then are the factors that allow the other 10% to maintain their language and culture, many times even in the second and third generations, in spite of overwhelming odds favoring their assimilation? This question will be answered in the fifth chapter of this dissertation.

Tibor Bognár, on the other hand, did not spend nearly as much time in Cleveland as the previously mentioned authors. A graduate student in media and communications at John Carroll University, he only lived in Cleveland two years as a member of the Calasanctius Training Program (a nonprofit organization founded by the Buffalo Hungarian ophthalmologist Péter Forgách to train graduate students from Hungary in business and ethical practices), and has since returned to Hungary. His documentary film, self-produced and self-filmed as his master's thesis, is still being taught in graduate media classes at John Carroll University and also in courses at the University of Debrecen. Entitled "The Last Hungarian on Buckeye," it uses excellent archival black and white photographs and personal

⁸ Alan Attila Szabo, "Hungarian Immigrants in Northeastern Ohio: Ethno-Cultural Contact and Assimilation," (Master's thesis, Kent State University, 2001).

interviews to trace the development and demise of the old Hungarian neighborhood of Buckeye Road, where many Hungarian immigrants arrived and lived, the home of at least half a dozen Hungarian churches in a very close-knit neighborhood, where the Hungarian language was so prevalent that local businesses displayed signs stating “We speak English.” The second chapter of this dissertation will echo his work tracing the demise of the Buckeye Road area Hungarian neighborhood, but will go beyond to show where Cleveland’s Hungarians now stand.

My previous work can also be added to this category; in 2008 the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble published a collection of oral histories of Hungarians in Cleveland, conducted by local teenaged scouts doing ethnographic field work in fourteen Hungarian churches within driving distance of Cleveland. Entitled *Clevelandben még élnek magyarok? Visszaemlékezések gyűjteménye* [Do Hungarians still live in Cleveland? A collection of oral histories], the book contains some firsthand memories of emigration from Hungary and its surrounding countries, but mostly memories of Hungarian traditions in Cleveland, including harvest festival, Easter, Christmas, food, wedding, and Buckeye Road customs. The book is written in Hungarian. Réka Pigniczky’s documentary film *Inkubátor*, on which I collaborated, also mentions some aspects of Cleveland and its Hungarian community, as does her forthcoming film, *Megmaradni*, due to be released in August of 2013.

John Sabol published the most recent book on Cleveland’s Buckeye Road neighborhood, titled simply *Cleveland’s Buckeye Neighborhood* (2011). The book touches on the Slovak population but focuses mainly on the Hungarian population, using 208 historical pictures, each with a short, solidly researched descriptive paragraph. The book offers a historical glimpse into the everyday lives of the Hungarians who lived along Buckeye Road in its heyday. My appendix will show similar pictures gleaned from my military interviews, offering a historical glimpse of a different sort.

1.2 Aims and thesis

The aforementioned works are all valuable in their own right; this dissertation, however, attempts to break new ground and shed light on previously unexplored areas of research among Cleveland Hungarians. Susan Papp’s and Ferenc Somogyi’s works are both detailed and historically accurate, but in their descriptions of the churches and secular groups fail to provide a perspective of the average person. What are the factors that impact language maintenance? What folk traditions do these Cleveland Hungarians maintain? What Hungarian books do they publish and read? What are their everyday lives like? Tibor Bognár and John Sabol, on the other hand, provide a glimpse into some individual lives through one case study

and through the snapshots of the Buckeye Road neighborhood, but both works lack comprehensivity. Bognár focuses on the demise of the neighborhood and fails to address the broader contemporary situation, while Sabol provides many photographs but offers no analysis.

This dissertation aims to analyze questions from a broader perspective as well as examine hundreds of personal lives to present the Hungarians of Cleveland. The state of Hungarians in Cleveland in 2011 is that of a shrinking yet still vibrant and patriotic community with extended roots, a community that continues to maintain its Hungarian language and traditions. The dissertation maps this state by addressing the question of vibrancy in sketching contemporary Hungarian communities in Cleveland, much like Susan Papp and Ferenc Somogyi's works, but will also conduct a literary explication of several local and visiting authors, as well as giving an overview of Hungarian newspapers and periodicals. It will delve into a language use case study to disclose the factors impacting language maintenance in the community. Finally, the dissertation will detail the level of patriotism among Cleveland's Hungarians by noting their public monuments and examining their service in the U.S. military using primary sources and oral histories.

1.3 Theoretical Background

Ethnographers and folk-musicologists have long studied Hungarian communities in and near the Carpathian basin. Zoltán Kodály, Béla Bartók, and their contemporaries have documented Hungarian village life in detail. Hungarian-Americans also have a tradition of nurturing folk culture and folk dancing which dates back to the 1960's and 1970's, as emigres attempted to continue the traditions of the pre-war *Gyöngyösbokréta* and post-war folkdance performance groups, and later, after the 1970's, to preserve the essence of the *táncház* movement in their newfound homelands.

Recent scholars such as Gábor Tarján, Ágnes Fülemile, and Balázs Balogh have lived in Hungarian-American communities and documented their ethnographic and folk traditions. Hungarian immigrants to Cleveland are not homogenous, since they came from many different enclaves in Hungary and the Carpathian Basin. Furthermore, they revived certain Hungarian folk and cultural traditions, often relearning them from books, and over time passed these traditions on to each successive generation. This dissertation uses a similar ethnographic methodology and tries to discern a similar pattern among Hungarian-Americans, specifically those living in Cleveland, as a distinct ethnographic group. Indeed, some Cleveland Hungarian traditions date back over a hundred years, brought with immigrants from the Carpathian basin and maintained through several succeeding

generations, passed on from grandparent and parent throughout the last and current century, whether in folkwear or in customs. The Hungarians living in Cleveland today are also a thriving community, much as Hungarian villages in Hungary and its surrounding countries. The purpose of my research is not only to document their current culture, values, and traditions, but also to analyze how and why these traditions perpetuate the community and slow their assimilation.

I also drew on the methodology of Zoltán Fejős in his study of Chicago Hungarians, *A chicagói magyarok két nemzedéke 1890-1940*. He used personal data to provide important source materials, which allowed him to employ a bottom-up approach to “proceed from the ‘lower’ level of individual facts towards understanding more general phenomena and processes.” Like his study, I also utilized a concept of culture based on an anthropological-ethnographic interpretation, which “provides an interpersonal, interactional and symbolic approach to everyday life and a common knowledge which motivates human activities as an implicit set of values. This set of knowledge is a dynamic construction.” Also extremely useful was his observation and warning that “the definition ‘Chicago Hungarians’ is basically misleading. The study warns us how unreliable it is to use such adjectives in a general sense. Hungarians formed a heterogenous group from the aspect of settlements, social strata, religious affiliation, and culture... [and] it seems important that Hungarians in Chicago were a diaspora within the Hungarian diaspora.” The same thing can be said about Cleveland Hungarians. They, too, are heterogenous, with different social circles and areas of interest and levels of participation. Nevertheless, just as in Chicago, it may also be said about Cleveland that “the Hungarian population of differentiated origins could generate a feeling of belonging together on the basis of their common origin, common language, and transplanted customs,” and “traditions certainly changed to some extent but did not lose their continuity. Folk habits could also become part of the communities’ life within the institutions supported mainly by the continued influence of the old country.”⁹ In Cleveland’s case, however, the influence of the old country, or more specifically, its government, was negligible due to the Cold War and the inherent anticommunism of Cleveland’s Hungarians. But the DP generation was able to recreate the prewar Hungarian culture that they left behind as refugees. Folk habits already were, in fact, part of Cleveland Hungarian life, and due to the influx of the DP generation became an even more integral part of their lives.

Another theory useful for understanding my primary research can be found in work by the sociologist Marvin Bressler of Princeton. In an essay entitled “Some Reflections on American Values,” he writes that values encompass “all manner of preferential statements

⁹ Zoltán Fejős, *A chicagói magyarok két nemzedéke 1890-1940* (Budapest: Közép-Európai Intézet, 1993), 290-295.

from the most trivial to the most fundamental.” Values, he writes, are defined by “ought” as distinguished from “is,” and his method for discerning a group’s values is to “make reasonable inferences from observed behavior.” Values a group holds are necessarily imprecise, he states, and he sensed that “we are probably in the presence of an important national value when” seven conditions were satisfied:

1. The standard is widely diffused and embraced, at least in principle, by individuals and groups who otherwise differ on important issues.
2. It has persisted over time continuously rather than sporadically.
3. The belief arouses intense emotions as well as strong ‘rational’ support.
4. People who in their persons symbolize the value enjoy high prestige.
5. Powerful constituencies organize in its support.
6. Leaders regularly refer to the value in communications addressed to domestic and international audiences, AND
7. The value is invoked to legitimate behavior which is seemingly inconsistent with its meaning (e.g., wars defended as an instrument of peace).¹⁰

Thus by these criteria he mentions three values guiding American society in 1983. These are freedom, justice, and security. However, I chose to apply Bressler’s criteria for values to illuminate the literature that Cleveland Hungarians find important, in chapter three, and to single out the values the community holds dear when looking at its members’ military service in chapter five.

In terms of assimilation theory, the long prevailing view has been of the American melting pot, in which various ethnicities assimilate and form a quintessentially American culture. In this view, it is only a question of time before immigrants and their succeeding generations lose their ethnic identity and become Americanized. Richard Alba and Victor Nee, on the other hand, reformulated a theory of assimilation without the implicit ethnocentrism of previous definitions, a theory that specifies the causal mechanisms that makes assimilation relevant for new groups. Their theory attempted to have social-scientific validity, in their words, and traced a continuity between past immigrations and the contemporary American experience. The contemporary alternative to assimilation, they state, is an alternative vision of vigorous ethnic pluralism maintaining ethnic connections in an age of globalization that spawned a substantial body of scholarship known as transnationalism.¹¹

Their thesis began with the Chicago School sociological definition of assimilation, continued with the melting pot metaphor, and finally rethought the conceptual foundation of assimilation, arguing that post-World War II changes in mainstream American society combine with the social capital and networking that immigrants bring with them. They predict, however, that “despite the accuracy of some of the criticisms of the canonical

¹⁰ Marvin Bressler, “Some Reflections on American Values,” in *Search for American Values*, ed. Ilona Kovács (Budapest: Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár, 1990), 6.

¹¹ Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 6.

formations of assimilation, [they] believe that there is still a vital core to the concept, which has not lost its utility for illuminating many of the experiences of contemporary immigrants and the new second generation.”¹² Contemporary immigration, they argue, has and will have more diverse outcomes than waves of mostly European immigration of the past. Some will assimilate upwards in terms of social mobility, and others downward, depending on what they bring with them and depending on the rigidity of racial, religious, and social boundaries.¹³ Indeed, Alba and Nee conclude that

Assimilation has reshaped the American mainstream in the past, and it will do so again, culturally, institutionally, and demographically. The cultural reshaping of the mainstream that we see as resulting from immigration is not accurately conveyed by the metaphor of the melting pot, which implies that change is largely a process of fusing elements from different cultures into a new, unitary culture. Certainly, there are syncretisms in American culture, but much cultural change appears to occur as the mainstream expands to accommodate cultural alternatives, usually after they have been ‘Americanized’ to some extent, by shedding their more exotic aspects.¹⁴

Alba and Nee’s reformulation of assimilation is reinforced by Dirk Hoerder in his introduction to the study of six Central European groups, including Hungarians, in their experiences in Cleveland from 1850 to 1930. He writes about a complex process of acculturation, community-building, workplace activity, and family life, that “the life-trajectories of the immigrants and sojourners were more complex than any one-dimensional model of Americanization suggested. They constructed a variety of institutions, social spaces, transoceanic networks, and in the process played a central part in determining the future course of a prototypical American city, Cleveland.”¹⁵

Within the continuum of assimilation, with complete assimilation at one end and bicultural transnationalism at the other end, lie two more frameworks. Herbert Gans formulated an idea of symbolic ethnicity, where the third (sometimes even second) generation refrains from ethnic behavior that requires time or effort or membership in an organization, but rather shows a nostalgic allegiance to culture, a pride in tradition and food, and a historical interest in the symbolic functions of the old country at the time of ancestral departure. This symbolic ethnicity does not need a group setting; it is rather a leisure-time activity that does not interfere with everyday life, much like Irish-Americans taking part in a St. Patrick’s Day or Italian-Americans in a Columbus Day parade.¹⁶ Another framework is segmented assimilation. As formulated by Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, this theory breaks groups of immigrants into segments roughly based on their attachment to their ethnic groups

¹² Ibid., p. 9.

¹³ Ibid., p. 277.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 282.

¹⁵ Dirk Hoerder, “From Ethnic to Interethnic History: an Introduction,” in *Identity, Conflict, and Cooperation*, eds. Hammack and Grabowski, 8.

¹⁶ Herbert J. Gans, “Symbolic ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America,” in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Volume 2, Number 1 (January 1979): 1-20.

and neighborhoods. One stage of this segmented assimilation of post-1965 immigrants, they observed, is when immigrants “deliberately hold values embedded in their native culture and maintain a tight solidarity within their ethnic community.”¹⁷ Although they studied Latino and Asian neighborhoods and communities, Portes and Zhou’s theories of segmented assimilation also apply to Cleveland’s Hungarians. Their neighborhoods are no longer geographically tight; nevertheless, many members of the community still exhibit a tight solidarity with their community’s values.

Elliott Barkan, Hasia Diner, and Alan Kraut refined these concepts even further, using the term “incorporation” instead of “assimilation” to describe the actions taken by individual migrants and their families to bring them closer to the host society, as opposed to assimilation, which also includes the consent and cooperation of those native to a society to accept newcomers. Indeed, “retaining ethnic identity even as they pursue integration into American society has always been a formidable task for newcomers to the United States.” Yet this dual process of retaining and incorporating can be accomplished, as my research on Cleveland Hungarians will show. It is entirely possible to retain language and ethnicity deep into the second and third generations¹⁸ while at the same time being valuable and productive, patriotic members of American society. Barkan, Diner and Kraut reevaluated old theories on assimilation and reformulated them into a seeming oxymoron that nevertheless makes sense: “Migrants at the turn of the last century and now neither exclusively cling to the traditions of their homeland nor rush to embrace acculturation. They do both. At one and the same time they seek to preserve traditions, which anchor them in the world, and embrace what they see as cultural innovation.”¹⁹ So it is with Cleveland’s Hungarians, who are able to both preserve traditions and identity as well as to seamlessly fit into American society successfully and patriotically.

Thus one can draw a continuum of assimilation, with complete assimilation at one end, followed by symbolic ethnicity, then segmented assimilation, and finally biculturalism and transnationalism. However, assimilation and transnationalism are not merely theories, but rather social processes, and they are inextricably intertwined. Furthermore, four generations of at least five different waves of immigration are all together in one community of Cleveland Hungarians, and thus it is hard to apply one theory across all members of a community,

¹⁷ As summarized by Aonghas Mac Thòmais St.-Hilaire in “Segmented Assimilation,” *Encyclopedia of Immigration*, ed. James Ciment (Sharpe Reference: Armonk, NY 2001): 460-467.

¹⁸ Matthew Frye Jacobson mentions Hansen’s law, the supposition that the third generation often clings stronger to its roots than the second generation trying to fit in, in his work on the power and politics of ethnic revivalism in a post-Civil Rights America, *Roots Too* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

¹⁹ Elliott Barkan, Hasia Diner, and Alan Kraut, in the introduction to *From Arrival to Incorporation*, (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 10-25.

especially members who have varying intensity in the strength and proximity of their ties to the community. Some consider themselves Hungarian and take part in the community's life once a year or less frequently, while for others their Cleveland Hungarian identity entails taking part in social activities on an ongoing basis several times per week.

Having said that, despite the seemingly inevitable process of assimilation, i.e., that each succeeding generation tends to maintain its culture and language less and less, an ethnic community such as Cleveland's Hungarian community provides a social means of group identity and vigorous ethnic pluralism, one that enables even second and third generations after original immigration to maintain their language, culture, and traditions, thus adding to and enhancing their city and the American mainstream. Indeed, the community offers an opportunity for language and identity maintenance for first generation immigrants, i.e. those who were born in Hungary or its surrounding countries. An additional yet separate issue is language and identity formation for the second and third generations, i.e. those whose parents or grandparents immigrated but who they themselves were born in the Cleveland area. This is the crucial difference: language and identity maintenance for the first generation, and (in addition to the maintenance) language and identity formation for the second and third generations. The three most important theories for illuminating these two processes, identity maintenance and identity formation, and the main theoretical framework I will use throughout this dissertation are the communication theory of identity of Ewa Urban and Mark Orbe, the microcosm of inherited values by Attila Z. Papp, and the spiritual homeland theory of László Böjtös.

Ewa Urban and Mark Orbe's work on the identity and communication of immigrants shows that immigrants live in two social worlds, and their identity is transformed into one that is multilocal. Immigrants constantly face the pressure to decide who they are and where their home is, which is related to their cultural worldview and the communication theory of identity (CTI). The CTI advances the understanding of the relationship between communication and identity, according to which communication builds, sustains, and transforms identity, while at the same time identity is expressed through communication.²⁰ This thought is echoed by Northrop Frye in his work on literary criticism theory in which he refers to the social functions of art,²¹ and also by the work of Mihály Hoppál, in which he

²⁰ Ewa L. Urban and Mark Orbe, "Resisting the notion of a 'typical' immigrant experience: a thematic analysis of communication, identity gaps, and cultural worldviews." 2009 National Communication Association Conference Program (5 February 2009).

²¹ Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

hypothesized that the reproduction of the symbols of ethnic identity becomes possible and effective in the context of social events.²²

Attila Z. Papp also summarized Oscar Handlin's view of émigré communities as being uprooted from the old country, as opposed to Rudolph Veccoli's and John Bodnar's idea of communities being transplanted, using a dialectic method to arrive at a hybrid view: Papp's analysis of Hungarian-American community life shows that the "small micro-universes which display certain characteristics of a diaspora, are more accurately hybrids: they are unique community cultures which, however, are built upon inherited values."²³ The artist George Kozmon, in his curator's statement for a recent exhibition of young local Hungarian artists, explained the effect of this community culture built upon inherited values: in contrast with the usual identity politics of contemporary art, which often assumes a negative liability to an individual's ancestry, he highlighted the contributions of an ethnic background in strengthening an individual, adding a dimension of cultural complexity as well as depth and perspective to an artist's work. Echoing Attila Z. Papp's theory, his curator's statement, although intended mainly to clarify the identities of the young artists in relationship to their backgrounds, serves as a useful perspective and can be applied to most members of Cleveland's Hungarian community, whether culturally, linguistically, or in terms of their patriotism and identities:

The artists in this exhibition all came of age in the greater Cleveland area, with extensive exposure or deep involvement in the Magyar community. They grew up speaking a language that most of their friends didn't speak; their parents came from a country far away, with traditions and customs unfamiliar, finding a way to assimilate into a new context. As a child these things may be a challenge; for a creative adult they're a strength... Art always involves a search. A search to understand the self, to understand one's society, perceptions, context and environment, and the infinitely complex interaction between them all.²⁴

It is these strengths and inherited values that my dissertation attempts to showcase.

Another theoretical framework useful in understanding the Hungarian community of Cleveland is that of a neighborhood shifting from a geographic entity to a purely social entity, kept alive by suburban Hungarian commuters. László Bójtös, the honorary consul of Hungary and founding member of the Hungarian Communion of Friends, formulated this theory to me, saying that in the old days, the community was physical, i.e., an actual geographic neighborhood in which people were bound together by the area in which they lived. Due to the upward mobility aspects of American society, this geographically constricted neighborhood changed to a social or spiritual community, whereby people with a common

²² Mihály Hoppál, "Tradition and Ethnic Symbols in an American Hungarian Community," in *Hungarian Heritage* Volume 11, numbers 1-2 (2010): 34.

²³ Attila Z. Papp, *Beszédből világ*, 450.

²⁴ George Kozmon, in his curator's statement for "Hungarian Rhapsody," a display of six Hungarian-American artists at the Beachwood Arts Council, March 2013.

purpose assemble for events that they consider important. “It is purely a question of belonging, wherever you live in the world,” said Böjtös.²⁵ I shall call this model the spiritual homeland theory. He reiterates this concept in his recollections and analysis of his own post-1956 experiences:

During these decades, we realized that we were no longer preparing to return home; instead, we were building up a spiritual homeland around us. This homeland is not a function of the political system that happens to be in power in Hungary; it is a form of our individual and community fate here in the U.S., which is nourished by Hungarian intellectual and cultural values. In other words, it is an expression of national identity whereby we, as carriers of Hungarian language, history and culture, are part of the collective Hungarian nation, no matter where we live. Part and parcel of this identity are individual commitment and a principled way of life.²⁶

This spiritual homeland concept is especially relevant today, when the Internet facilitates communication and maintenance of ties to other Hungarians worldwide. Through these three main theoretical frameworks, the Communication Theory of Identity of Urban and Orbe, Attila Z. Papp’s microcosm of inherited values, and the spiritual homeland concept of Böjtös, and using the methodology of Fejős, Balogh, Fülemile, and Tarján, I wish to discuss and analyze Cleveland’s Hungarian community.

1.4 Research Methodology

My methodology is qualitative, comparative, and interdisciplinary to provide the academic scholar familiarity with what it is like and what it means to be Hungarian in Cleveland. Research entailed mostly primary sources and personal interviews, with the use of some secondary sources. The research was carried out mostly from 2008 to 2012, but I have been drawing on insights and personal contacts gained from 42 years of living in Cleveland and taking an active part in its ethnic Hungarian community. The state of Hungarians in Cleveland in 2011 is that of a shrinking yet still thriving and patriotic community with extended roots significantly shaped by the DP generation, a community that continues to maintain its Hungarian language and traditions.

My research attempts to show the state of Cleveland’s Hungarian community in 2011, comparing it to what it was like in 1951. The breadth of the span has already been developed to about 1980, for that is where Susan Papp’s extensive study ended, and Ferenc Somogyi’s study provided relevant facts up to 1994. 1951 was chosen as a starting point for most of my research, for the Displaced Persons (DP) generation, evacuees from the Second World War who spent post-war years in European refugee camps and began arriving in the

²⁵ László Böjtös, in multiple conversations with the author, also confirmed in an email on 31 October 2012, and clarified again personally on 4 November 2012. “A területi egységbe zárt közösség ma már nem mehet, különösen az amerikai világban, ahol mindegyik generáció feljebb akar menni. Ez ma már csupán hovatarozás kérdése, bárhol élsz a világban,” were his exact words; the translation is my own.

²⁶ László Böjtös, in *56 Stories*, ed. Andrea and Edith Lauer (Atlanta, GA: Lauer Learning, 2006). Accessed online on 31 October 2012 at www.freedomfighter56.com/en_stories_bojtos_1.html.

Cleveland area around 1950, probably had the greatest impact on most of today's viable Hungarian-American institutions; they and their offspring are the ones who form the backbone, as it were, of Cleveland Hungarian communities. This is not to say that the descendants of other generations do not count. The early 20th century immigrants and 1956 generations and pre-1989 as well as recent immigrants do, in fact, count significantly. Indeed, the generation that arrived early in the 20th century built most of Cleveland's Hungarian churches, and their descendants continue to feel strongly about their ethnicity. In addition, many recent immigrants from Hungary and its surrounding countries have had a great impact on Cleveland's Hungarian institutions. However, in terms of sheer numbers and infusing Cleveland's Hungarian communities with energy, guidance, and laying a strong foundation for years to come, the DP generation undoubtedly was one of the most influential. They shaped the future which is Cleveland's Hungarian present.

While the dissertation's purpose is to show the state of Hungarians in Cleveland in 2011, slightly disparate methods of research are used in each of the topics of interest. Thus each chapter has a somewhat different focus and uses varying methodologies. Mostly primary and some secondary sources are used for the second chapter to demonstrate the vibrancy of Hungarian communities in Cleveland. In the third chapter, I use primary sources and literary analysis to interpret the literature produced and read by Cleveland's Hungarians. In the fourth chapter, nine individual case studies are used to identify the factors impacting Hungarian identity and language maintenance in the communities. Finally, in the fifth chapter, because it entails military history, I chose to use oral histories to collect data and shed light on world events from individual standpoints. These methodologies, although differing in focus, all serve to show the state of Hungarians in Cleveland, while at the same time unearthing the extended roots of the community, especially the impact of the DP generation.

The second chapter addresses the vibrancy of Cleveland's Hungarian community, beginning with a snapshot of life in 1951 to compare to today, showing neighborhoods, churches, organizations, businesses, and major community events. The community has been constantly shrinking due to assimilation and to Hungarians moving away from Cleveland. The second chapter briefly traces the demise of several organizations active in the Hungarian community, with a case study of the closing of St. Emeric church in 2010, which attracted international media attention. Most of the chapter, however, addresses the current state of Cleveland's Hungarian community, including its churches, secular organizations, and ongoing or galvanizing events. It shows that despite a shrinking Hungarian population, it still remains an active and energetic community, continuing to proudly maintain its traditions and delay assimilation for the second and third generations. The chapter develops a new way of

ascertaining the Hungarian population, going beyond traditional census figures and delving into funeral and mailing list statistics. My methodology was simple: I asked the presidents of the organizations for their membership or mailing lists, with addresses redacted, but with family names and cities/zip codes delineated so I could differentiate among the many Kovacs and Horvath and Takacs and other popular family names. I promised each organization confidentiality, and that I would destroy the lists after my research. Not all of the organizations gave me their databases, but the major ones did. Finally, the chapter traces the legacy of the DP generation, showing its impact on Cleveland's most viable Hungarian organizations.

The third chapter addresses the literature produced by Cleveland's Hungarians, i.e., what they read and what they published. It begins with an overview of the Hungarian newspapers published in Cleveland in 1951, then continues with primary research about book publishing in the Hungarian language in Cleveland. Most studies of Cleveland Hungarians have focused on churches and social organizations, but not much to date has been written of literary publishing; this dissertation attempts to fill that void. In methodology I have elected to follow a geographical rather than thematic organization, to allow future researchers to more easily find collections of Hungarian literature and periodicals published in Cleveland. The chapter also includes a case study and literary explication of the Cleveland Hungarian writers István Eszterhás, as well as literary summaries of local scholar Ferenc Somogyi and émigré author Áron Gábor, a recurring visitor who shared many of the values of Hungarians in Cleveland. Finally, the chapter provides an overview of the last two conferences of the Hungarian Association, proceedings of which were published in 2011, to give an insight as to the scholarly themes of contemporary Hungarians in Cleveland. Marvin Bressler's framework for defining cultural values is useful in understanding this chapter, as it is for the fifth chapter as well.

The fourth chapter introduces the various ways in which Cleveland's Hungarian community maintains its Hungarian language, specifically showing the factors that impact Hungarian language maintenance and use. Qualitative research is well accepted in the fields of sociolinguistics and ethnography to get at substantive reasons for cultural and language maintenance. Herbert J. Rubin and Irene S. Rubin, Andrea Fontana and James H. Frey, and James P. Spradley have all traced the importance, and accepted methodology, of interviewing and case studies to elicit insights not normally available using quantitative methods of research. Mónika Fodor has applied these methodologies specifically to Hungarian-Americans and the narratives they construct about their cultural identity, and I drew heavily on her work in constructing my research methodology. The chapter begins with an

explanation of my specific approach and gives a brief overview of the study participants. Nine in-depth interviews were conducted with a variety of second and third generation members of Cleveland's Hungarian community to ascertain the factors impacting their language use in the family and in the community. Using their own insights garnered from the interviews, the chapter shows the importance of parenting, friends, and community, and highlights Hungarian scouting in Cleveland as a way of life. The chapter shows the value the interviewees placed on speaking a second language, as well as the importance of discipline. It also shares linguistic insights, reasons for assimilation and the role of American spouses.

The fifth chapter addresses the patriotism of Cleveland's Hungarian community. First of all, it displays the values of Hungarians in Cleveland vis-à-vis their Hungarian ancestry and heritage as evidenced by the Hungarian statues, gardens, and memorials they have placed and dedicated through the years. Next, it traces their relationship to their adopted and/or native country from the perspective of their U.S. military service, looking at Cold War historical events through the personal life stories of hundreds of Cleveland Hungarians. One section is devoted to the 1950's and the Korean war, and another to the Vietnam war. The patriotism of the community is also indicated by the volunteers who continued to serve through the end of the Cold War and into today's conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as by those Cleveland Hungarians who served in the U.S. military for over twenty years. Interspersed throughout the chapter is the motivation of the interviewees, i.e. how much influence Cleveland's Hungarian community had on their decision to join the U.S. military. The bulk of this chapter is my own primary historical research.

Finally, the conclusion of the dissertation addresses recent developments in Cleveland, including the hard-fought reopening of St. Emeric church in 2012, a listing of Hungarians serving in the U.S. armed forces as of publication, a Facebook group and a children's playgroup, and the outlook for the future.

Before beginning, it is important to dispel the myth that Cleveland, the "American Debrecen," was once the second largest Hungarian city, second only to Budapest. This statistic entered the popular mythology sometime early in the twentieth century and has been perpetuated ever since. However, the facts do not quite justify the myth. According to the 1910 edition of the *Révai Encyclopedia*, the order of Hungarian cities by population was Budapest (with a population of 881,604), Szeged (118,328), Debrecen (92,729), Pozsony (78,038, today known as Bratislava, Slovakia), Temesvár (72,555, Timisoara, Romania), Nagyvárad (64,169, Oradea, Romania), and Kolozsvár (60,808, Cluj, Romania). Steven Béla Várdy's research shows that at the same time Cleveland had a gross population of 364,463, with a little over 60,000 being Hungarian. Thus Cleveland should be seventh or eighth on the

list, or if one discounts Pozsony, Temesvár, Nagyváradi, and Kolozsvár as having other nationalities reflected in the population figures in addition to Hungarians, Cleveland still ranks only fourth on the list in 1910.²⁷ However, 60,000 is still a significant number, and the mythology did not evolve accidentally.

How many Hungarians do actually live in Cleveland today? How does one define Hungarian in the Cleveland context? Being of Hungarian ancestry? Understanding and occasionally speaking Hungarian? Speaking Hungarian in the home? Taking part in the activities of Hungarian organizations in Cleveland? Answering these questions, I assume, challenge the orthodoxy of the assimilation canon, which I have already addressed in the theoretical overview. Before delving into a detailed analysis of how many Hungarians actually live in the Cleveland area, one must view its population from a broader perspective. The physical landmarks and churches are important because they are tied to physical space and have been around for a long time. One must also examine the Hungarian social organizations active in the Cleveland area. After understanding the many ways in which Hungarians in Cleveland interact socially, we can then scrutinize U.S. Census data, go further into my primary research, and it is only after this, at the end of the second chapter, that I offer a realistic estimation of how many Hungarians live in and are active in the Cleveland area. What follows next is a bird's-eye view of the overall context of Cleveland and an overview of the larger waves of Hungarian immigration to Cleveland, which will be followed by a discussion of the vibrancy of the Hungarian community in Cleveland.

1.5 The Context of Cleveland

Cleveland is a rust-belt city, once known for its heavy industry, but in recent years seeing economic decline and loss of population. Divided in half by the Cuyahoga river, its east side tends to be slightly hilly, with the forehills of the Appalachian mountains not too far eastward, while the western side tends to be more flat, with the Great Plains stretching westward all the way to the Rocky Mountains. Its downtown, like many similar industrial northern cities, is mainly skyscrapers, office buildings, and stadiums, surrounded by a ring of working class neighborhoods and desolate ghettos, albeit with pockets of regentrification, and mostly middle class suburbs in the outer rings. Cleveland's places of Hungarian significance are scattered throughout its downtown, inner city, and suburbs, reflecting the history and migration of its Hungarian population.

Like the Hungarians, other ethnicities living in Cleveland also maintain their own traditions and culture. Because Cleveland was a city of heavy industry such as steel and auto

²⁷Steven Béla Várdy, "Clevelandi magyarok emlékeznek," in *Amerikai Magyar Népszava Szabadság* (20 February 2009).

production, it attracted many immigrants throughout the years, not only from Eastern Europe, but more recently from all over the world. Africans, Chinese, Croatians, Germans, Greeks, Indians, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Latvians, Lithuanians, Mexicans, Palestinians, Poles, Romanians, Russians, Serbs, Slovaks, and Ukrainians all maintain tangible ethnic communities in and around Cleveland.

By far the largest group is the Irish, whose annual downtown parade on St. Patrick's Day, March 17th, draws thousands of participants and onlookers. Italians are the next largest in number, with a neighborhood called Little Italy near University Circle, with its quaint cafes, restaurants, art galleries, bakeries, and annual Columbus Day parade. For most members of these two groups, identity is mainly symbolic, as formulated by Herbert Gans. The Germans, however, also have at least three cultural centers, with the Deutsche Zentrale park in Parma, the Donauschwaben Kulturverein in Lenau Park in Olmsted Falls, and the Sachsenheim. One of the neighborhoods of Cleveland is known as Slavic Village and is home to numerous Polish, Slovak, and Czech churches, businesses and residents.

Most of Cleveland's ethnic groups, among them the Hungarians, no longer live in distinct ethnic neighborhoods, but rather in the suburbs. Although some suburbs tend to contain higher concentrations of ethnic populations than others, such as Ukrainians in Seven Hills, Poles in Parma, Russians and Italians in Mayfield Heights, and Palestinians on the West Side, most nationalities are dispersed around the greater Cleveland area. Like the Hungarians, their churches also function as repositories of social traditions; many of them house ethnic dance groups or weekend language schools, such as in the Greek, Serbian, Romanian and Ukrainian orthodox churches, or in Indian temples and Jewish synagogues.

Although not many recent monographs have been published about Cleveland's various ethnic groups, some recent scholarship includes Themistocles Rodis and Manuel Vasilakes' *Greek Americans in Cleveland: Immigration and Assimilation since 1870*, published in 2008. The year 2000 saw publication of Miletic Ivan Cizmic, Ivan Miletic, and George Prpic's *From the Adriatic to Lake Erie: A History of Croatians in Greater Cleveland*, an exhaustive 557 page history, while Matjaz Klelmencic authored *Slovenes in Cleveland: The Creation of a New Nation and a New World*, in 1995. In addition, Gregory Stone wrote his doctoral dissertation in 1993 while at Rutgers University, "Ethnicity, Class, and Politics among Czechs in Cleveland, 1870-1940."

Happening slightly under the radar of scholarly study are some recent cooperative ventures among Cleveland's ethnic groups. These include some that have been going on for decades, such as the International Folk Festival, a dance and cultural program to showcase Cleveland's ethnicities; the 2second annual event included dancers from Csárdás Hungarian

Dance Company as well as Hellenic, Japanese, Indian, Puerto Rican, Israeli, Bhutanese, Liberian, Irish, Polish, Russian, and Chinese dancers, choirs, and drummers.²⁸ With roots dating back to 1916, the International Services Center is a social services non-profit agency dedicated to resettling refugees and helping immigrants achieve self-sufficiency. More recent ventures include ClevelandPeople.com, a website dedicated to the customs, cultural events, and various nationalities of Cleveland and Northeast Ohio. This website lists recent events, with over 80 local ethnicities represented. On the business side, GlobalCleveland is an initiative with the goal of regional economic development through actively attracting talented immigrants and other newcomers, hoping to welcome and connect them both professionally as well as socially.²⁹

In comparison with Cleveland's other nationalities, Dennis Kucinich saw its Hungarian population as being one of the best organized, with its strengths being the number of organizations and its willingness to involve children. Kucinich, who at the time was elected as the youngest mayor of a major American city in 1977 and recently served seven terms as a Congressional Representative, inheriting the position of Chair of the Hungarian Caucus from Representative Tom Lantos, observed that Hungarians had a great influence on local politics up until the 1960's and 1970's, with a strong impact on the electoral process. He added that lately their influence had become international, that multinational organizations hailed leaders from Cleveland, and that the Cleveland Hungarian community's influence could be felt from Cleveland to Budapest.³⁰

Geographically close to Cleveland lie several other communities with larger concentrations of Hungarians, including Fairport Harbor to the east, Lorain and Elyria to the west, Akron to the south, and Youngstown to the southeast. Members of their Hungarian communities occasionally come to Cleveland to take part in social events. But these Hungarian entities are by and large self-sufficient, having mostly their own local traditions and events, albeit sharing the same language and cultural heritage.³¹ Fairport Harbor, Elyria, and Lorain all have Hungarian Reformed churches, and Youngstown has a Hungarian Presbyterian church founded in 1902 and currently numbering 102 members in the congregation, about 10% of whom can speak or understand the Hungarian language.³² Elyria's Sacred Heart Roman Catholic church serving its Hungarian population was closed in

²⁸ Flyer dated June 26, 2011, advertising the program for the 2second Annual International Folk Festival, held at Wade Oval, University Circle, in Cleveland.

²⁹ www.globalcleveland.org, site accessed 1 May 2013.

³⁰ Dennis Kucinich, in a telephone interview with the author on 14 June 2011.

³¹ Thanks to Péter Tóth, pastor of the Lorain Hungarian Reformed Church, for sharing his insights; he leads a Hungarian congregation in Lorain yet is also the secretary of the Cleveland United Hungarian Societies.

³² Shirley Kohuth, church secretary of the Hungarian Presbyterian Church in Youngstown, in a letter to the author dated 15 July 2010.

July of 2009, although it had not had a Hungarian-speaking priest for 25 years. Akron's Roman Catholic Hungarian church was closed in August of the same year, although its secular Hungarian Club is still very much active, with over a hundred in attendance at a recent Hungarian funeral held at its clubhouse in June of 2012.³³ Lorain's St. Ladislaus Hungarian Roman Catholic church was closed in September of 2009, and it, too, had not had a Hungarian-speaking priest for 10 years. While only a small minority of these neighboring Hungarian communities understands and speaks the Hungarian language, they are fiercely proud of their heritage and maintain Hungarian customs and traditions. For them, Hungarian identity is a sense of belonging to a local community that shares the heritage of the larger Hungarian community worldwide, as Böjtös formulated in his spiritual homeland theory.

1.6 Waves of Hungarian Immigration

The first wave of Hungarian immigrants to Cleveland started even before Lajos Kossuth's visit on January 31, 1852, as evidenced by the two existing organizations requesting his visit, the Hungarian Society of Cleveland and the Ladies Hungarian Society of Cleveland.³⁴ This relatively small wave of immigrants consisted mostly of freedom fighters from the 1848 Revolution. Thereafter came the first businessmen and entrepreneurs, most notably the Black family from Sáros county in Hungary. Not many traces of this wave of Hungarian immigrants can now be seen in Cleveland, although their accomplishments and businesses were famous in their time. One of the most notable members was Theodor Kundtz, born in 1852 in Metzenseifen (which at that time was in greater Hungary but due to shifting borders is now in Slovakia, and is now called Medzev), who came to Cleveland as a penniless immigrant in 1873. He started his own manufacturing businesses specializing in wood products such as church and school furniture, auto and truck bodies, wheels, and sewing machine cabinets. By 1915 he owned 5 large factories, one of them producing 10,000 sewing machine cabinets per month, and another producing 2,000 wooden wheels daily. The Cuyahoga County Courthouse and Trinity Cathedral in downtown Cleveland both bear woodwork produced by his artisans, many of them imported from his native Metzenseifen. In his hometown a descriptive phrase even originated because of Theodor Kundtz, known to his family as Tori: „er hat es so gut wie Tori in Amerika.”³⁵ He built an enormous mansion at

³³ Krisztina Oláh, personal observation on 29 June 2012.

³⁴ Ferenc Somogyi, *A clevelandi magyarság vázlatos története* (Berea, OH: Institute of Hungarology, 1994), 7.

³⁵ It's going well for him, just like for Tori in America.

13826 Lake Avenue in Lakewood, but after a contentious city council debate it was leveled to make way for new housing development in 1961.³⁶

The next wave of immigrants, coming in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, built most of the Hungarian churches still standing today. They came primarily for economic reasons to escape the grinding poverty of the landless social strata of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and many stayed only for several years, earning money and then going back to Hungary. They found hardship in America as well, many living in boarding houses and sleeping in alternating shifts, but many ended up staying and bettering their lives. Working in the factories of Cleveland, they eked out an existence for themselves, congregating around churches and building social institutions. Hungarians kept coming to America and to Cleveland all through the First World War.³⁷ Most of their descendants no longer speak Hungarian, but a significant minority have kept their language skills up into the second and third generations. However, in my own experience, almost all of their children and grandchildren, regardless of whether they still speak Hungarian or not, consider themselves very much Hungarian, and many frequent church events, picnics, dinners, and other Hungarian social events. This group is often referred to locally as *öregamerikások* or *óamerikások* [old timers].

The end of the First World War left Hungary dismembered from the treaty of Trianon. 71.4 percent of historic Hungary's territory and 63.6 percent of its population suddenly found itself under the jurisdiction of new countries.³⁸ This upheaval in Hungary and its surrounding states caused a shift in attitude of many Hungarian-Americans: instead of viewing their stay in the United States as temporary and economic, many of them decided not to return home. Instead, they began a transition to permanent residence, changing their lifestyles, attitudes, and value system.³⁹

A small group of political immigrants also left Hungary after its short-lived proletarian dictatorship under Béla Kun in 1919, and some also arrived in America from 1933-1941, but not nearly as many as the economic refugees from the previous era. Compared to other waves of immigration, this interwar ripple was rather small, but it did, however, entail the emigration of some Hungarians who later became quite famous, including the Jewish Hungarian physicists Tódor Kálmán, János Neumann, Leó Szilárd, and Jenő

³⁶ From a mobile application developed by the Center for Public History and Digital Humanities at Cleveland State University, <http://clevelandhistorical.org/items/show/224>. Site accessed 16 October 2012.

³⁷ Steven Béla Várdy, *The Hungarian-Americans*, 28, and Julianna Puskás, *Ties That Bind, Ties That Divide* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 2000), 115.

³⁸ Steven Béla Várdy, *The Hungarian-Americans*, 91.

³⁹ Julianna Puskás, *Ties That Bind, Ties That Divide*, 198.

Wigner, as well as the authors Arthur Koestler and Sándor Márai.⁴⁰ Because of the quota laws of 1921, 1924, and 1929, and because of the Great Depression, very few Hungarians emigrated to America, except those who fled from Hitler and his allies in Europe.⁴¹ In Cleveland no traces remain of this tiny emigration, if in fact any ever made it to Cleveland.

The next larger wave of Hungarian immigrants fled Hungary near the end of the Second World War, mostly as a part of the Hungarian government, military, or fleeing the invasion of the Soviet army. Hearing of the atrocities of the Russian onslaught, thousands fled westward, most of them aristocrats or professionals from the upper middle class. When the war concluded in 1945, these refugees ended up in camps in Western Europe set up by the International Red Cross, awaiting their fate. The decisions by various countries from Australia to Argentina, Canada to the United States, to accept these refugees took up to four years. During these years, not knowing how long they would stay in the Displaced Persons (DP) camps, the Hungarian refugees started cultural activities and impromptu schools for their children within the camps, and some also continued boy and girl scouting traditions, especially after news of the banning of scouting in communist Hungary in 1948 filtered out.

When they emigrated to the United States, a large wave came to Cleveland. Not knowing the language, these DP refugees, as they came to be known, found menial labor jobs in factories. Although the Displaced Person label is in the strict legal sense of the word actually a misnomer (a detailed explanation is given in the second chapter), practically speaking, everyone calls this wave the DP generation. Missing the intellectual life they had left behind in Hungary, and certainly not getting it in their weekday American factory jobs, they immediately started a Hungarian social scene of their own, founding literary circles and other social organisations, also bringing with them the principles of Hungarian scouting, which they proceeded to impart to the next generation. Because most of them came from the upper-middle class and viewed their American sojourn as merely temporary, intending to return as soon as the Soviets left Hungary, they had a hard time fitting into the *öregamerikás* social circles as well as into the American factory worker society. Furthermore, because many were already middle-aged, their English language skills were either nonexistent or practically so, with not much hope of betterment. Thus their active social life, with its customs, greetings, titles, and rituals, reflected the pre-war Hungarian gentry life that they had been forced to leave behind.⁴² And fitting into Urban and Orbe's communication theory of identity, their formal and literary modes of communication expressed their Hungarian

⁴⁰ Tibor Hajdu, "Emigrációs hullám a forradalmak után – 1919" *Rubicon*, Vol. 19, No. 181 (2008): 41.

⁴¹ Steven Béla Várdy, in an email to the author on 20 March 2013. See also Tibor Frank's *Double Exile*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009).

⁴² Steven Béla Várdy, *Magyarok az Újvilágban* (Budapest: A Magyar Nyelv és Kultúra Nemzetközi Társasága, 2000), 456-467.

identity: they considered themselves Hungarian gentry who discussed Hungarian literature, not American factory workers.

The 1956 Revolution in Hungary precipitated another influx of Hungarian refugees to Cleveland. Broader in scope in terms of social class but on average younger than the previous DP wave, some of this group assimilated more seamlessly into American society than the DP generation. Because many of the 1956 refugees shared the anticommunist leanings of the DP generation, they did fit into the organizations and newly founded institutions, continuing their work. The 1956 refugees, if not at first, eventually found a shared heritage and had more in common with the DP generation than with the second and third generation Hungarians already in Cleveland.⁴³

The 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's did not see a large influx of Hungarians coming to Cleveland, but this time period did witness smaller numbers of economic refugees sporadically settling in the Cleveland area. Some members of this group assimilated into American culture and did not take part in any of Cleveland's Hungarian communities, while others did. Most of these arrivals came to America simply for a better life (*Wohlstandflüchtlinge*, or economic refugees), although a few did come for political or religious persecution reasons; under the Kádár regime of the time, religious and political persecution was much less overt than during dictator Rákosi's early 1950's. This wave of economic immigrants were often trained technicians or professionals and tended to have higher education levels than the *óamerikás* generation.

The 1990's and the early 21st century saw a new development in the immigration of Hungarians to Cleveland: brain drain from Hungary and its surrounding countries. Young professionals, many of them doctors, scientists, or engineers with advanced degrees, saw few opportunities in their post-1989 native Hungary or Hungarian areas of Romania. Coming to Cleveland as well as other American cities such as Boston, Phoenix, Seattle, Sarasota, Pittsburgh, and Portland, these educated immigrants arrived and immediately found work in their fields. Although not as many as the 1956 and DP waves of immigration, this newest group, much like any immigrant group, is hard-working and driven. Some found their niche in existing Hungarian organizations in Cleveland, whether at a church or cultural group, but most tend to gravitate to informal social groups with their peers. In the first years of immigration, building one's personal life and career is paramount, and past experience has shown that only later, after the passing of several years, frequently when their children no longer speak Hungarian as easily as when they first arrived, do immigrants start showing an

⁴³ Gyula Borbándi, *A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945-1985* (Bern: Európai Protestáns Szabadegyetem, 1985), 474-475.

interest in working with an existing community such as the museum, the scouts, or the Hungarian school. This newest wave of immigrants, however, also has fewer financial and political constraints on travel due to transnationalism, often spending entire summers back in Hungary, and thus may prove to be different in pace of assimilation than previous generations.

Each successive wave of immigration eventually assimilates into American life, earning their living and spending their working days among Americans. Three major trends exist for their rate of assimilation: complete assimilation, assimilation of succeeding generations, and involvement in the Hungarian community. Firstly, the members of each wave can completely assimilate and forego contact with Cleveland's Hungarian communities, blending into their neighborhood. Second, the emigrating generation can establish contact with the existing community structure of Cleveland's Hungarians, but their children and grandchildren assimilate into American life and forego contact with the Hungarian community, usually due to language difficulties. The third trend, by far the smallest but significant nevertheless, is for succeeding generations to maintain contact with Cleveland's Hungarian community, with their identities being actively formed by the community, and then continuing their language maintenance and holding onto their Hungarian traditions. This work fits into Attila Z. Papp's micro-universe theory inasmuch as their social communicative processes are built upon shared values.

As time passes, each successive wave of immigration, from the *öregamerikások* to the DP generation, from the 1956 refugees to the economic refugees of the latter part of the 20th century, possibly all the way to today's 21st century immigrants, has blended and possibly will continue to blend into the existing Hungarian community, ending up more similar to the other waves than different. Living together in the United States and being Hungarian begins to unite them, and over time the differing reasons for emigrating become less important than their contemporary social interactions, thus forming the present dynamic Hungarian community of Cleveland.

VIBRANCY

2.1 Hungarian Neighborhoods in Cleveland: Then

Second and third generation Hungarians, descendants of the *öregamerikás* generation, as well as newly arriving immigrants of the DP generation, found themselves in Cleveland of the early 1950's in an almost completely Hungarian world. The most famous Hungarian neighborhood was the area around Buckeye Road, which enjoyed the heyday of Hungarian culture and social life. In the 1920's the area around Buckeye Road saw the construction of ten Hungarian churches, eight clubhouses for Hungarian organizations, and countless businesses and office buildings. This was the age of expansion of the Hungarian community in Cleveland. The Buckeye neighborhood did not, however, include the Lorain Avenue neighborhood on the West side, which alone saw the building of four Hungarian churches, but there was significant overlap in terms of social contacts and migration.⁴⁴ From 1930 to about 1965 the Buckeye neighborhood was fairly stable, with an area population (not including other neighborhoods of Cleveland) of approximately 40,000, 87% of which was Hungarian as recorded in the 1930 census.⁴⁵ This meant that Hungarians in Cleveland in the middle part of the twentieth century lived in an extremely concentrated neighborhood, where most aspects of life were Hungarian.

The Buckeye neighborhood's social calendar, as compiled by John Palasics and published by Karl Bonutti, had regular events annually, including twelve grape harvest festivals, eleven New Year's Eve dances, fourteen picnics, twelve plays, twenty banquets, and over 100 Hungarian weddings.⁴⁶ Over 300 Hungarian-owned businesses and 81 Hungarian organizations were noted already in 1920.⁴⁷ This same bustling atmosphere prevailed and was visibly evident in 1951, as many firsthand participants observed.⁴⁸ Ernő and Ibolya Sárosi, for example, recalled harvest festivals, a *debreceni vásár* [market like in Debrecen] that lasted a week, Hungarian picnics, walking around the neighborhood to go caroling around Christmastime and being offered food and drink at many a house, and numerous plays including famed actor Pál Jávor from Budapest. János Palasics recalled 10 halls for dances and Hungarian theater productions, and 5 cinemas showing English and Hungarian films. He also remembered Hungarian synagogues, two Roman Catholic churches, a Greek Catholic church, a Reformed church, a Presbyterian, Baptist, and Adventist church, all conducting services in Hungarian. Ernest Mihály recalled choir groups and dance groups

⁴⁴ See maps in Appendix I.

⁴⁵ Susan Papp, *Hungarian Americans and their Communities of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Cleveland State University, 1981), 227.

⁴⁶ Karl Bonutti and George J. Prpic, *Selected Ethnic Communities of Cleveland: a Socio-Economic Study* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Urban Observatory, 1974), 44.

⁴⁷ Susan Papp, *Hungarian Americans and their Communities of Cleveland*, 24.

⁴⁸ Recollections by Ernő and Ibolya Sárosi, John Palasics, and Ernest Mihály as interviewed in Tibor Bognár's film, "The Last Hungarian on Buckeye" (Masters thesis: John Carroll University, 2004), DVD, 55 mins.

in each church, and summer Hungarian language classes three times per week, organized by the various Hungarian churches in the neighborhood. Ernő and Ibolya Sárosi also spoke of over 300 Hungarian stores, including butchers, a baker, a candy store, dentists, dress shops, restaurants, taverns, florists, hat stores, drugstores, bowling alleys, and a locksmith. Mihály, Palasics, and the Sárosi couple were all born in Cleveland and grew up in the Buckeye neighborhood. Audiovisual evidence from 1953 substantiate their recollections: a Lutheran church harvest festival photo shows hundreds of people in Hungarian folk costume, and film footage from *The Last Hungarian on Buckeye* shows street parades and the St. Margaret parking lot filled with hundreds dancing in Hungarian folk costume. Even non-Hungarians learned Hungarian in the neighborhood. Indeed, my brother remembered dropping off a guest at a downtown hotel in the mid-1990's, when the parking lot attendant, an elderly African-American, asked him, "Hogy vagy? [how are you?]." It turned out that he was a retired mailman from the Buckeye Road neighborhood who had learned basic Hungarian expressions in the 1950's and 1960's.⁴⁹ Valerie Raton-Nagy reminisced about arriving to the Buckeye Road neighborhood in the early 1950's and hearing everyone on the street speaking Hungarian.⁵⁰

The area also boasted a Hungarian music company, B & F Record Company, at 3046 East 12third Street, which issued phonograph records such as "Azt mondják hogy tavasz nyílik [they say spring blooms]," featuring Apollónia Kovács, László Szalai, Jolán Boross, and the Lajos Boros orchestra. Other titles include "Kálmán Banyák plays Hungarian melodies," "Anny Kapitany sings Hungarian songs with Zoltan Zorandy and his orchestra," "Sándor Lakatos and his orchestra," or "Daloljunk, sing along with Frank Szappanos, Ernie Kiraly, Sandor Jonas and orchestra."⁵¹

The Buckeye Road neighborhood also boasted three movie theaters that showed Hungarian films, including the Moreland theater and two others. Presentations and lectures were often organized by author Fréda B. Kovács, Gábor Papp, József Kondor, and Lajos Szőke.⁵² As Urban and Orbe formulated, Cleveland's Hungarian community built and sustained the Hungarian identity of its residents, and they belonged to this community by simple virtue of living in the neighborhood. Numerous statues and a park also attested to Cleveland's Hungarian character in 1951. In the Buckeye neighborhood, about seven blocks

⁴⁹ Paul Szentkirályi, in an email to the author on 28 October 2012. The author's sister-in-law, Judy Csia Szentkirályi, in the same email also confirmed her grandmother recalling bus drivers in the Buckeye Road neighborhood speaking Hungarian in the early 1950's.

⁵⁰ Valeria Rátoni-Nagy, personal recollection as told to the author on 12 June 1998.

⁵¹ "Azt mondják hogy tavasz nyílik" (Cleveland: B & F Record Company, date unknown), LP record.

⁵² Katalin Kaschl Gulden, in an email to the author on 25 March 2013.

west of Shaker Square, on the corner of East Shaker Boulevard and East 121st Street, is Kossuth Park. A small park with a playground, it has a tidy city sign clearly labeling it.

If the Buckeye neighborhood was the largest manifestation of Cleveland's Hungarian community, then the statue of Lajos Kossuth is one of the oldest, together with the churches. Still standing almost two miles from Kossuth Park, in a small parklike area on Euclid Avenue at Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard, near University Circle, one can see the art museum from the base of the statue. Dedicated in 1902 with 26,000 people in attendance, the base of the statue contains earth sent in 1902 from various historical places in greater Hungary, including the straits of Verecke, where Árpád's Hungarian tribes first entered the Carpathian basin in 896 AD; the battlefields at Mohács and Majtény; Kossuth's and Áron Gábor's gravesites; forts at Eger, Drégely, Komárom, Szigetvár, and Trencsén; the castles of King Mathias and his father, János Hunyadi; as well as cities such as Debrecen, Esztergom, and Szolnok, among others.⁵³

Kossuth's contemporary, the poet Sándor Petőfi, also has a marble bust downtown in the Cleveland Public Library on Superior Avenue, on the third floor of the old building. The plaque below the bust reads "SÁNDOR PETŐFI MAGYAR POET 1823-1849," while the marble bust itself is engraved "Finta 1929." The sculptor was born in the Hungarian village of Turkeve in 1881 and spent his boyhood years as a shepherd, then became a sculptor, with works in the Hungarian National Museum, the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, and in various cities throughout Hungary and the U.S. The idea for a bust of Petőfi was proposed in 1923 at a meeting of the Cleveland United Hungarian Societies [*Egyesült Magyar Egyletek*], organized in 1924, then postponed in 1925 due to donor capacity limitations (constant donations to charities in Hungary left no room for collecting for a Petőfi bust). In 1926 ten thousand numbered donation fliers were printed and distributed, and by 1929 over \$2,000 had been collected. On February 30, 1930, with the sponsorship of the *Plain Dealer* and *Szabadság* [Liberty] Cleveland newspapers, a performance of Petőfi's "János Vitéz" was staged at Cleveland's Public Auditorium, where 3,000 Cleveland Hungarians filled the audience, and 1,500 were turned away.⁵⁴ On May 25th, 1930, the finished bust was presented to the Cleveland Public Library, where it still stands today.

The Hungarian Cultural Garden is one of a series of ethnic gardens along East Boulevard in Rockefeller Park, among them German, Italian, Polish, Czech, Yugoslav, Rusin, Greek, Syrian, Chinese, Hebrew, Ukranian, and Irish, reflecting some of the many immigrant groups settling in Cleveland. The origin of the cultural gardens lies in the Shakespeare garden

⁵³ Ferenc Somogyi, *A clevelandi magyarság vázlatos története*, 45.

⁵⁴ Imre Király, *Emléklapok a Petőfi Szobor leleplezési ünnepélyéről* (Cleveland: Egyesült Magyar Egyletek, 1930), 49-50.

of 1916, but the Hungarian garden was dedicated in 1934, with 25,000 in attendance.⁵⁵ In 1951 the garden had relief sculptures of Ferenc Liszt, Imre Madách, Endre Ady, and the local poet József Reményi, as well as an ornate wrought-iron *székely kapu* [Transylvanian gate].

The churches in Cleveland's Hungarian neighborhoods were built by the *öregamerikás* generation, and in 1951 already had a long and rich history behind each one. Indeed, scarcely one hundred years after the founder of Cleveland, General Moses Cleaveland, had set foot upon the banks of the Cuyahoga river, the early 1890's saw the establishment of the first Hungarian churches in Cleveland. The first Roman Catholic church, the first Greek Catholic church, the first Reformed church, and the first Lutheran church were the first Hungarian churches built in all of North America. All four were built by Hungarians on lower Buckeye Road. By the early 1900's, eight Hungarian churches of six denominations were established all around Cleveland, along with three Hungarian Jewish temples.⁵⁶

The First Hungarian Reformed Church, originally located in the Buckeye neighborhood, was established in 1891 by the Reverend Gusztáv Jurányi. In 1949 a new church was built at the corner of Buckeye Road and what is today Martin Luther King Boulevard, one that seated 1,200 people. St. Elizabeth of Hungary Roman Catholic Church was established in 1892 by Reverend Charles Boehm. Its pews also seated 1,200 people, and in 1952 Hungarian baptisms numbered 367.⁵⁷ The First Hungarian Lutheran Church on the other corner of Buckeye Road and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard was established by Reverend Stephen Ruzsa in 1906. Between 1913 and 1923 it operated the first Hungarian orphanage in the United States.⁵⁸ It is now one of only two Hungarian churches still in the Buckeye neighborhood. St. John the Baptist First Hungarian Byzantine Catholic Church was organized in 1892, with a church being built in 1908 on the corner of East 9th Street and Ambler Avenue, and at its peak in the 1960's the church had over a hundred Hungarian members.

Although not as large and not nearly as famous as the Buckeye neighborhood, the near west side area around Lorain Avenue⁵⁹ was also a significant neighborhood, once home to four Hungarian churches, numerous Hungarian-owned businesses, and the Cleveland Magyar Athletic Club hall on Lorain Avenue. The massive Hungaria Hall on Clark Avenue was built by the aforementioned Theodore Kundtz. The West Side Hungarian Reformed Church was originally located in this Lorain Road neighborhood, established as a separate entity from the First Hungarian Reformed Church in 1936 by Elek Csutoros. The West Side

⁵⁵ Ferenc Somogyi. *A clevelandi magyarság vázlatos története*, 61.

⁵⁶ Susan Papp, *Hungarian Americans and their Communities of Cleveland*, 185.

⁵⁷ Reverend Andás Antal, pastor of St. Elizabeth church, as interviewed in Tibor Bognár's film, "The Last Hungarian on Buckeye."

⁵⁸ Susan Papp, *Hungarian Americans and their Communities of Cleveland*, 185.

⁵⁹ See map 2 in Appendix I.

Hungarian Lutheran Church at 3245 West 98th Street was organized in 1936 by Reverend Gábor Brachna. The church later provided a home for Hungarian girl scout troop 34 for decades.

Businesses, gardens, and churches were not the only manifestations of identity for Hungarians in Cleveland in the 1950's. There were also a variety of secular organizations, each with its own traditions and history. The oldest was the United Hungarian Societies [*Egyesült Magyar Egyletek*], originally formed in 1902 to establish the Kossuth statue, and later functioning as an umbrella organization for many Cleveland Hungarian chartered groups. At one time the United Hungarian Societies encompassed over a hundred member organizations, many of which are still active today.⁶⁰

The oldest Jewish benevolent society in Cleveland was the Hungarian Benevolent and Social Union, organized in 1881 by 24 Hungarians of the Jewish faith and chartered in 1883 to provide life insurance and fellowship to its members. It changed its name in 1919 to HBSU to reflect the fact that membership was not limited to Hungarian ancestry, and is now known as the Heights Benevolent and Social Union. In the 1980's it incorporated as a fraternal organization, with two lodges: one in Cleveland and one in Florida, made up of former Cleveland residents.⁶¹ The predominantly Calvinist Verhovay Aid Association was formed in 1886 by thirteen Hungarian coal miners in Pennsylvania. Later, it merged with the Hungarian Baptist Society in Cleveland and other Hungarian fraternal associations and since 1972 has been known as the William Penn Association.⁶² The Hungarian Business and Tradesmen's Club has its origins in the earlier part of the 20th century, when the Buckeye Road neighborhood was booming. Founded in 1923 and once boasting over 1,500 members, the club now has a membership of about 550, about 30% of whom understand Hungarian.⁶³ It has sold its clubhouse, once located at 11432 Buckeye Road. Another organization with a presence on Buckeye Road in the 1950's was the Hungarian Spiritual Society [*Magyar Szellemkutatók Társasága*]. Founded by Julius Trombitás in 1916, its members engaged in the study of evangelical spiritualism's philosophy.⁶⁴

Even before the founding of Cleveland's current Hungarian school, Hungarian language instruction was alive and well in Cleveland. Elementary schools with large concentrations of Hungarians already provided instruction in Hungarian at St. Elizabeth's

⁶⁰ I currently serve as vice-president of the United Hungarian Societies.

⁶¹ *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, a joint website maintained by Case Western Reserve University and the Western Reserve Historical Society. Website <http://ech.case.edu/ech-cgi/article.pl?id=H1> accessed 21 March 2012.

⁶² www.williampenassociation.org/about.htm, site accessed 27 October 2012.

⁶³ Robert Thompson (his mother's maiden name was Czinke), once vice-president and a member for over 50 years of the HBTC, in a telephone interview on 15 March 2012. He spoke flawless English and Hungarian, although he is of the third generation; his mother was also born in Cleveland.

⁶⁴ Joseph Poczce, president of the Society, in an email to the author dated 29 March 2012.

Church since 1893, St. Emeric's since 1905, and St. Margaret since 1922. Over time and due to the forces of Americanization and assimilation, this language instruction gradually withered, being replaced by summer courses taught by the priests and ministers in the various churches in the early 1950's, and then by the Cleveland Hungarian school starting in 1958 along with later smaller startups. Their language and identity was a form of sustainable ethnicity, by virtue of constant maintenance and expression of Hungarian communication, whether on Sundays at church or on other days in secular organizations.

2.2 Closings Over the Years

In the late 1960's, however, the Buckeye neighborhood changed precipitously. Second and third generation Hungarians began moving outward to the suburbs, although they still came back to the old neighborhood to shop for Hungarian delicacies and for festivals and social events. As the Hungarian population of the Buckeye neighborhood grew older or moved away, more and more African-Americans moved in. The late 1960's and early 1970's saw a drastically increasing rate of crime in the neighborhood. Drawing on contemporary newspaper accounts of the time, Susan Papp found that between 1966 and 1970, the number of homicides, robberies, assaults, and breaking and entering doubled, the number of stolen cars tripled, and in 1974, over half the neighborhood population had been victims of crime.⁶⁵ Blockbusting was a technique practiced by unscrupulous real estate agents in which they sowed fear of the incoming African-American population to white homeowners. Cleveland ward 29 council representative Jane Muir Zborowsky, in a documentary film produced by one of Cleveland's television stations, mentioned 20 real estate companies in 1970 going door to door, waging a campaign to get people to sell their homes, and said that her office received many calls asking why so many real estate companies were operating. She said, "what stabilizes any community is the business community, and as the crime rate is increasing, the business community gets scared and goes." Ralph Rosenbluth, a merchant in the same film, attributed the business' leaving to a lack of police protection and a lack of city interest. Jóska Rab, owner and violin player in the Gypsy Cellar, a Buckeye neighborhood tavern, related how his son urged him for years to go, because „the [Hungarian] people were scared to cross the suburbs,” and finally with a heavy heart he let his son go, but did not know where to relocate to, did not want to forsake the neighborhood.⁶⁶ The tavern eventually did close.

⁶⁵ Susan Papp, *Hungarian Americans and their Communities of Cleveland*, 279.

⁶⁶ Jóska Rab, Ralph Rosenbluth, and Jane Muir Zborowsky interviewed in *Like Bubbles in the Wine* (Dennis Goulden, director; Jon Boynton, writer, producer), episode in the documentary series *Montage*, WKYC-TV. Accessed online via library.csuohio.edu/speccoll/collections/montage.html on 13 July 2012.

Fear of crime and of the changing population, sinking home values, and predatory and unscrupulous real estate agents, coupled with the prospect of a better, safer life in the suburbs led to the Buckeye neighborhood's fast demise. Most Hungarians moved out in the 1970's, leaving behind a scattering of older people and once grand buildings. Although St. Elizabeth's church, the First Hungarian Lutheran church, and several Hungarian-owned businesses still remain, along with some beautiful traditional tulip-carved signs in English, Slovak, and Hungarian, welcoming the visitor to the Buckeye neighborhood, most Hungarian residents, businesses, and churches are long gone, having moved to the suburbs. Not as dangerous as in the late 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's, the city has designated it part of the Opportunity Corridor, hoping for a rebirth of new construction and development, but the houses are still run-down, it is not particularly safe, and the neighborhood is but a shell of what it once was.

The Lorain Avenue West side Hungarian neighborhood also changed in the 1970's and 1980's. The Kundtz mansion on Lake Avenue in Lakewood, torn down long ago, is now the site of the Winton Place condominiums. Most of the West side Hungarian residents, like their Buckeye counterparts in the 1970's and 1980's, moved out to the suburbs. St. Emeric's Catholic church closed in 2010, much to the chagrin of its parishioners. The West Side Hungarian Lutheran church has still remained, along with some businesses on Lorain Avenue such as Bodnar Funeral Home at West 44th, Menyhart Plumbing, Fodor Realty, and Farkas Pastry and Csatory CPA near West 25th Street, but the Hungarian neighborhood has shifted from a geographic entity to a mostly social entity, kept alive by suburban "Hungarian commuters."

Cleveland's Hungarian life, as it were, has been definitely shrinking. Several organizations, once vigorous, are now closed or have ceased to exist. CMAC, the Cleveland Magyar Athletic Club, had its start in 1957 at the Woodland Recreation Club on the East side, and throughout its history sponsored soccer teams and other sports leagues, fencing, boxing, and tennis instruction, and owned its own social hall and training facility at 4125 Lorain Road on the near West Side. Its membership once numbered near a thousand; it had Olympic-caliber coaching and trained some Golden Gloves boxing finalists in the late 1950's.⁶⁷ The early 1990's saw its demise; American suburban soccer became popular, and parents no longer had to support nationality teams to find quality sports, because every community suddenly had their own teams. The club organized yearly dances called the Athletic Ball, but in the mid-1980's it sold its social hall. Although just a shadow of its glorious past, the CMAC did play a significant role in the attempted establishment of a Hungarian Cultural

⁶⁷ Imre Sári Gál, *Clevelandi Magyar Múzeum* (Toronto: Amerikai Magyar Írók, 1978), 31.

Center in 2003. No other Cleveland Hungarian organization supported the idea of a Hungarian Cultural Center as much as the CMAC; it was willing to front the initial costs in the hope of mobilizing Cleveland Hungarians to invest in and establish the center. Although the attempt was unsuccessful, CMAC committed a significant portion of its assets in the endeavor.⁶⁸ Although its former members still play informal soccer games, the organization effectively dissolved after its 50th anniversary sport ball in 2007.

An offshoot of CMAC members from 1975 to the mid-1980's was an endeavor to establish a Hungarian sports and recreation club on Lake Plata in Twinsburg, an outlying suburb of Cleveland. Lake Plata started when younger families wanted to find a Hungarian place to congregate that was not in a dangerous neighborhood. A group including József and Béla Csorba, Frank Frenzl, László Harmat, Ferenc Ilkanich, Miklós Jánosi, István Luczek, János Molnár, and Árpád Nagy purchased the property with soccer fields and a large pondlike swimming pool. Kálmán Elek and József Lendvay lived on the property and were its caretakers, and many Hungarian teens got summer jobs as grounds crew or lifeguards there. The group went bankrupt in the mid 1980's, and the property was razed and developed into new housing.⁶⁹

The Magyar Club of Cleveland was founded in 1924 and comprised mostly of successful businessmen and educated professionals. Its purpose was to encourage the preservation and continuation of Hungarian art, literature, music, science, and drama, and it provided a forum for lectures, exhibits, and performances. The club invited guests such as Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók, Prime Minister József Antall in 1990, and in its heyday had hundreds of members. As the DP generation and the refugees from 1956 started other cultural organizations, interest waned in the Magyar Club, and it eventually disbanded on May 28, 2009, donating its treasury to other Hungarian organizations in Cleveland.⁷⁰ The dissolution of the CMAC and of the Magyar Club both show Cleveland's shrinking Hungarian community.

The Hungarian Communion of Friends, known in Hungarian circles as *Magyar Baráti Közösség* (MBK), began publishing its newsletter *Itt-Ott* in 1967 and formally incorporated in Oregon in 1974. The purpose of this national organization is to promote and support independent non-denominational religious life in the Magyar tradition, charitable work by and among people of Magyar extraction, and cultural-educational endeavors that further

⁶⁸ George Muhoray, personal interview on 14 August 2010.

⁶⁹ Ákos Harmat, who worked there summers and was the last president of CMAC, in a telephone conversation on 21 March 2012.

⁷⁰ A letter dated 22 June 2009 from Ildikó Kőrössi, President of the Magyar Club, to its Executive Board, writes of almost \$12,000 distributed to the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society.

established Magyar values.⁷¹ It is best known, however, for its weeklong conference at Lake Hope State Park in central Ohio, also called *Itt-Ott*, with intellectual programming aimed at Hungarian families throughout the diaspora. The conference regularly invites guests, lecturers, and musicians from Hungary and its surrounding countries, and boasts members from Connecticut to Oregon and in many places in between, including Chicago, Minnesota, and others. The fortieth such *Itt-Ott* conference was held in August of 2011. A Cleveland chapter organized many cultural events in the late 1980's and early 1990's, including lectures by then-Hungarian member of Parliament Miklós Pálos, the historian and later Minister of Defense Lajos Für, the literary critic Mihály Czine, famed Hungarian priest György Bulányi, author László Dobos, and the Transylvanian author András Sütő, among others.⁷² Most active in the Cleveland chapter were László Bójtös, István Hargitai, and István Császár. Although MBK members still live in Cleveland and take part in the national organization's work, the Cleveland chapter no longer organizes cultural events on an ongoing basis.

Another organization no longer active, but with a history spanning multiple decades is the Family of Hungarian Gendarmes [*Csendőr Családi Közösség*]. The gendarmes were a law-enforcement unit that provided police duties in rural areas of Hungary, were responsible for the personal protection of Regent Miklós Horthy, and were mobilized for the military front during the last months of the Second World War. After the war the Hungarian gendarmes were hated by the communist authorities, with many imprisoned and executed, since most were not willing to ideologically adjust to the communist system. In Cleveland, the organization was led by István Molnár, who up until his death in 2011 organized a yearly benefit dinner that attracted hundreds of Cleveland Hungarians. In the 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's, original gendarmes who fled Hungary during and after the Second World War and ended up in Cleveland attended these dinners, formal balls, and New Year's Eve parties held by the organization. As time progressed, they slowly started dying off, and at the last dinner in 2010 only two living gendarmes were in attendance, Molnár and László Kemes. However, over a hundred family members and friends of former gendarmes still did attend the event, as I personally observed. Thus despite the shrinking of the MBK and the Gendarmes, friends and family still stick together and contribute to Cleveland's Hungarian vibrancy in other ways.

⁷¹ From the mission statement in the Oregon nonprofit charter as emailed to the author by László Bójtös on 2 August 2012.

⁷² Guests as listed in MBK event fliers, from the personal papers of Bernadette Pavlish, provided to me by her husband James in June 2012.

Some smaller groups no longer exist, such as an informal group that called itself simply “the Hungarian group.” About a dozen people met once a month at the Bay Village senior center, to speak a mixture of English and Hungarian and to enjoy Hungarian food.⁷³

The two East side Hungarian scout troops, numbered 22 and 33, no longer conduct programs on a weekly basis.⁷⁴ Their alumni members do, however, support and help Cleveland’s Hungarian scouting activities in important ways. These include fundraising and helping the existing two scout troops with programs and background work, whether fundraising dinners, debutante balls, scout park maintenance, collecting clothes for Hungarian villages in the Ukraine, or helping staff the yearly Labor Day festival called *Cserkésznap* [Scout Day]. Thus a shrinking community has been transformed, as its members fulfill other roles in the community as they age.

Several religious congregations and their churches no longer exist, but at one time were active parts of Cleveland Hungarian communal life. These include Shomre Hadath, a Jewish minion established in 1922 with a synagogue built at East 12third Street and Parkhill Avenue in 1926; the building was sold in the early 1970’s. Sherith Jacob was an Orthodox Jewish congregation founded by Hungarian immigrants to Cleveland in 1899; its records from 1905 and 1932-1971 can be found in the library of the Western Reserve Historical Society. St. Michael’s Hungarian Byzantine Catholic church was already standing in 1925 on the West side of Cleveland at 4505 Bridge Avenue, but in 1986 was no longer in Hungarian possession.⁷⁵ The list of disbanded Hungarian churches in Cleveland also includes the Kegyelem Baptist congregation.

Also worth mentioning is the recent closing of multiple Hungarian churches as a part of an overall downsizing effort by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Cleveland. By the end of a five year program in 2010, fifty Catholic parishes in the greater Cleveland area had been closed. In the farther suburbs these included Sacred Heart church in Elyria, closed in the summer of 2009, a church with some Hungarian members but without a Hungarian priest for over 25 years. Also closed in September of 2009 was Saint Ladislaus, a Hungarian church in Lorain with some Hungarian members but also without a Hungarian priest for a decade. Saint Margaret was closed in 2010, with about six families transferring to Saint Elizabeth.⁷⁶ All of these examples show the traditional view of assimilation, the melting pot theory that immigrant communities eventually lose their heritage and become Americanized.

⁷³ Margaret Robinson, whose parents were born in Borsod county and who graduated John Adams high school in 1946 along with Cleveland Buckeye neighborhood personalities Ted Horvath and Jeanette Grasselli Brown, in a telephone interview on 18 July 2011.

⁷⁴ In 1993 the younger scouts from both east side troops merged with the west side troops, but their alumni leaders still contribute an excessively large number of hours in volunteer work among Cleveland’s various Hungarian organizations, with the scouts and with others as well.

⁷⁵ According to the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society’s permanent display in their downtown Galleria museum.

⁷⁶ Father András Antal, personal interview, 1 October 2011.

2.3 A Case Study: The Closing of St. Emeric's Church

The greatest recent impact on Cleveland's Hungarian community was the closing of Saint Emeric's church, home to the Hungarian School and the scouting movement. The Cleveland Roman Catholic Diocese embarked on a five year study of its physical resources, real estate, and church populations. Predicated on the fact that the city's population had spread from the inner city into the suburbs in the 1970's and 1980's, the diocese was faced with near-empty churches in the cities and inner-ring suburbs, and booming parishes in the outlying suburbs. The diocese leadership felt that this disparity needed to be addressed, and launched first a clustering program, grouping the dwindling churches into groups of three and having them come up with recommendations to better allocate their resources. Bishop Richard Lennon oversaw a reduction in the number of churches⁷⁷ and decreed that parish councils and cluster groups should make recommendations about which buildings and churches to keep and which to close. Thus the three Hungarian parishes of Cleveland, St. Margaret, St. Elizabeth, and St. Emeric, were grouped together, with a mandate that only one would remain after three years. At the time of its closing in June of 2010, the St. Emeric parish listed 356 registered families, but also had a list of ailing and nursing home parishioners, which two lists together totaled about 450 families.⁷⁸ In the year before the closing, the parish and scouting communities showered the bishop with a letter-writing campaign and lobbied extensively. Attendance at weekly Hungarian masses also grew in the last year, rising to about 110-140, depending on weather conditions, with Christmas and Easter Hungarian services approaching an attendance of 400-500. Several funerals of prominent Cleveland Hungarians in the years preceding the closing filled the church to about 600 people.⁷⁹ All to no avail, as the bishop closed the church. The parish community, however, filed an appeal with the Vatican. Eight to ten families have transferred to St. Elizabeth, but most of the community, about 50-60 members, got together regularly at a local Irish parish, St. Coleman, located near Lorain Avenue on West 65th Street, where the local American priest offered a bimonthly Hungarian-language Mass, reading aloud in accented Hungarian and giving his sermons in English. The media in Hungary devoted significant attention to this process, from *Magyar Nemzet* to *Népszabadság*, as well as the weekly *HVG*, *Heti Válasz*, and online news outlets *www.origo.hu* and *www.index.hu*.

⁷⁷ In his previous assignment, Bishop Lennon oversaw a similar downsizing in the Diocese of Boston, which underwent numerous legal challenges but effectively closed many Catholic churches.

⁷⁸ Sándor Siklódi, the pastor of St. Emeric church, in an email correspondence, 26 July 2011.

⁷⁹ The funeral of Andrea Szabolcs, a 33 year old woman who taught in the Hungarian School and was the scoutmaster of the Hungarian girl scout troop, filled the church completely in July of 2007, with a Mass said entirely in Hungarian.

Finally, as of March 2012, the Vatican appeal overturned the parish closing, ruling against the bishop, so St. Emeric parish reopened after a hiatus of two years. Meanwhile, the scouts signed a three-year lease in 2010 with the Diocese and were still allowed to use the Scout Center and the church building including its basement and classrooms as long as they did not use it for liturgical purposes, and so the scout meetings and Hungarian School continued to meet in the St. Emeric building.

2.4 Now: Churches, Organizations, Businesses, Ongoing and Galvanizing Events

Although Cleveland's Hungarian community is shrinking, as can be seen by the church closings, twelve Hungarian churches do remain in the greater Cleveland area. They are microcosms of the larger Cleveland Hungarian community, each with its own traditions, social fabric, and history. Each holds Hungarian-language services on Sunday mornings, hosts various dinners, festivals, and dances throughout the year, and most still hold annual harvest festivals. All of these church communities show the vibrancy of Cleveland's Hungarians, because they are in fact living and vibrant entities. Thousands of miles away from Hungary, these churches reflect a culture built upon inherited values, as Attila Z. Papp described, a definite spiritual homeland of sorts.

Shortly before moving to its current location at 14530 Alexander Road in suburban Walton Hills, the First Hungarian Reformed Church merged with the Hungarian Presbyterian Church on Buckeye Road, led by the Reverend Elek Csutoros.⁸⁰ Today the congregation is led by the Reverend Csaba Krasznai, and the church has 204 adult members as well as 26 children. On an average Sunday morning, about 15-20 people attend the Hungarian language service, with about 60-65 attending the English service. For major holidays such as Christmas or Easter, the attendance swells to about 50 for the Hungarian, and 160 for the English.⁸¹ Ladies from the church get together every Tuesday morning to make *csiga tészta*, a spiral noodle for soups, by hand, and the annual harvest festival in September or October always features dancers dressed in a Hungarian-American folk costume, in vogue in Hungary in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, brought over by immigrants, and passed on from generation to generation. This folkwear is known locally as the "harvest costume," and is a perfect example of Zoltán Fejős' observation about folk habits becoming a part of community life within the institutions.

In the case of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the current great stone church is cathedral-like in its size and is still located at the corner of East 90th Street and Buckeye Road. The

⁸⁰ Reverend Béla Bernhardt, email correspondence with the author on 11 April 2012.

⁸¹ Reverend Csaba Krasznai, email correspondence with the author, 3 August 2011.

congregation's pastor is Father András Antal, and the church congregation has an estimated 530 members. Official Catholic church membership statistics may be misleading, says Father Antal, because there are actually two types of members: regular and associate. In the 1980's, when membership at ethnic churches began to decline radically due to families moving to the suburbs, associate membership was a way for ethnic Hungarians who no longer lived in close geographic proximity to the church to at least support the church financially and by occasionally attending. Their children, who often attended parochial schools in the suburbs, were required to attend their suburban catholic churches, but the parents still held an emotional bond to the older ethnic parishes such as St. Elizabeth and St. Emeric in Cleveland. St. Elizabeth now has 325 families on its roster, with about 75-80 members attending the Hungarian Mass on an average Sunday, depending the time of the year.⁸² The English Mass has an attendance of about 25-30. On occasional Sundays throughout the year, however, a church luncheon is held, when Hungarian Mass attendance swells to about 200-250. Christmas and Easter also have attendance of about 300 at the Hungarian language Mass. In addition, church bulletins are sent out to about 30 addresses of bedridden church members, down from about 70-80 bulletins sent out years ago.⁸³ The church saw an influx of Hungarian immigrants from Transylvania in the late 1990's and early 21st century, and with the recent closings of Sacred Heart church in Akron, St. Ladislaus in Lorain, and St. Margaret in Cleveland (later of suburban Orange), it is now one of two Hungarian Roman Catholic churches in the Cleveland area. Its members also like to wear the harvest costume, as well as transplanted Transylvanian folkwear.

The West Side Hungarian Reformed Church is now located at 15300 Puritas Avenue, in a Cleveland neighborhood known as West Park. Its list of voting church members totaled 173 in 2011, with an average Sunday attendance of 60 and a yearly total of 2,141 at the Hungarian services.⁸⁴ After a vacancy of several years, the pastor's seat has only recently been occupied by Reverend Tamás Biró. This church also conducts harvest festivals, as it has throughout the years, its folk habits preserving continuity through the generations.

Although the congregation of the First Hungarian Lutheran is extremely small, numbering only a half dozen steadfast members on any given Sunday, it still remains at the corner of Buckeye and Martin Luther King Boulevard. Biweekly Sunday bilingual services are conducted by the Reverend Zoltán Tamásy, who commutes from the West Side Lutheran Church.

⁸² When Father Antal arrived to the church in 1988, average Sunday attendance at St. Elizabeth's Hungarian mass had fallen to about 15-20 per week; 23 years later the figure is 75-80, which shows vibrancy.

⁸³ András Antal, personal interview with the author, 1 October 2011.

⁸⁴ Congregational Yearbook of the West Side Hungarian Reformed Church (2011).

Tamásy's wife Éva is the current pastor of the West Side Lutheran church on West 98th Street, and it, too, is rather small, with about 30-40 members who attend church services regularly, although its frequent cultural events often attract hundreds. Among Cleveland's Hungarian churches, this church probably organizes the most cultural activities, including musical concerts, literary evenings, its own Hungarian school, and frequent church dinners.

The Westlake Seventh-day Adventist Church is a modern structure at 2335 Columbia Road in the westside suburb of Westlake. Led by László Hangyás, the congregation has 80-100 members attending on any given Saturday, with Hungarian-English bilingual services.⁸⁵

St. John the Baptist First Hungarian Byzantine Catholic Church also has a small Hungarian population, mostly older folks, but it does not specifically hold a Hungarian language service. In the mid-1980's the church relocated to 36125 Aurora Road in Solon; regular attendance is about 25 people weekly, with 5 of those being Hungarian.⁸⁶ Father Joseph Repko is the pastor.

Probably the most close-knit and active Hungarian church community in Cleveland is the Hungarian Bethany Baptist church at 4124 Stickney Avenue in Cleveland. It was founded in 1958 and moved to its current location in 1989. Most of its members are Hungarians from Transylvania, and its pastor is the Reverend Zoltán Pintér. Two Hungarian services are held on Sundays, at 10:00 am and 6:00 pm, with a Wednesday evening Bible study group. The average attendance on an ordinary Sunday is about 70 people, but for major holidays over a hundred participate.⁸⁷ The church has a strong children's ministry, a very active youth group, a high-quality choir, a 16 page Hungarian monthly newsletter entitled *Ébresztő* [Awake], and all events are conducted in Hungarian. According to József Szerencsy, who broadcast a Baptist missionary monthly local radio program in the Hungarian language from 1985 until 2010, there are also an additional 60 Hungarian Baptists in the Cleveland area who do not congregate in any one church, but rather conduct their Hungarian Sunday services at each other's houses.

Not a church per se, but a member organization of the Cleveland United Hungarian Societies is the Hungarian Lutheran Conference in America. This religious organization is the umbrella organization for Hungarian Lutheran churches throughout North America. A majority of its officers live in the Cleveland area, and they publish a Hungarian-language

⁸⁵ Igor Botyánszky, the former pastor, personal interview with the author, 3 October 2010, confirmed in an email sent to the author by László Hangyás on 20 December 2012.

⁸⁶ Elizabeth Huszti, a parishioner since birth, in a personal interview with the author on 24 April 2012.

⁸⁷ Krisztina Oláh, my research assistant, personal observation and conversation with Sándor Varga, 31 July 2011; I also verified by personal observation, attending their Sunday service on 18 March 2012.

periodical in Cleveland, *Erős Vár: amerikai magyar evangélikusok lapja* [Strong castle: American Hungarian Lutheran newspaper].⁸⁸

As we have seen, each of the aforementioned churches has its own somewhat autonomous community with separate social lives. Although significant numbers of church members cross into and socialize with other churches and community groups, the majority of each church tends to stay within the confines of its own group. Indeed, one can find all sorts of community events happening regularly at each location. In addition to their religious functions maintained every Sunday morning, the churches also fulfill important social roles, organizing harvest festivals with food, music, and dancing, holding dinners throughout the year including hog butchering dinners, Mother's Day, Father's Day, mock weddings, Valentine's Day dances, and the occasional literary evening or St. Nicholas festival. Traditional Hungarian food plays an important role in almost all of these social events, with stuffed cabbage, sausage stuffing, goulash, *lángos*, and other Hungarian specialties.⁸⁹

The physical appearance of most of these churches is typically Hungarian-American, and resembles the exteriors and architecture of Hungarian churches in Youngstown, Toledo, Chicago, Buffalo, New Brunswick, Garfield, or any of several studied in Western Pennsylvania by the scholar Balázs Balogh:

Invariably, church buildings were constructed with a large basement which then served as a community center. To this day, these basements constitute the scenes of Hungarian community life in Western Pennsylvania. National holidays are celebrated there, church picnics and bazaars are held there – this is where community sausage stuffing events are held, the women learn to make the so-called “spiral noodles” to be used in soups and the men while away the time playing cards. This sub-church community room was a phenomenon totally unknown in Hungary where it has neither meaning nor a tradition. “The church was everything. The biggest, largest community organizer. There was nothing else. Back then, if there was a Hungarian holiday celebration, you had to fight for a seat in the community room. Now its [sic] all totally empty,” an elderly widow from Duquesne remembers. The entrance to the church is adorned with the map of Greater Hungary and a picture of national hero Louis Kossuth. Down in the community room, there is a small stage and everything is painted in the national colors of red-white-green. The walls are decorated with folkloristic depictions and archive photographs from the life of the community.⁹⁰

The portrayal above happens to be of Hungarian churches in western Pennsylvania, but the uncanny description fits Cleveland Hungarian churches almost exactly.

In the secular realm, numerous Hungarian organizations still exist, the oldest being the United Hungarian Societies. Throughout its history it had its lows and highs. After a period of infrequent activity in the 1960's and 1970's, it was rejuvenated in the 1980's by László Kemes and Kathy Kapossy, and its current president is Valeria Rátoni-Nagy. Year after year,

⁸⁸ Proceedings of the organization's 34th biannual official meeting, held in Cleveland on 10 December 2011, were provided by Reverend Béla Bernhardt.

⁸⁹ Andrea Mészáros, former President of the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society and a regular volunteer in its museum, related anecdotal evidence on 15 April 2012 based on her years meeting and listening to museum visitors; food is often the visitors' link to their Hungarian heritage, frequently the only link. Hungarian cookbooks and paprika are almost always the first things museum visitors buy.

⁹⁰ Balázs Balogh, “Lifestyle, Identity, and Visions of the Future of Generations of Hungarian-American Communities in Western Pennsylvania,” *Hungarian Heritage* Volume 11, numbers 1-2 (2010): 26-27.

the United Hungarian Societies, known locally as the *Egyesült Magyar Egyletek*, organizes commemorations for March 15 and October 23, inviting a keynote speaker and compiling a program of poetry recitation, performances by the local Hungarian scouts, and musical numbers. By communicating the shared values in commemoration of important dates in Hungarian history, this organization expresses and sustains Hungarian identity, just as Urban and Orbe described. Other organizations also contribute to the vibrancy of Hungarian social life in the Cleveland area.

For example, the Hungarian Cultural Center of Northeastern Ohio is an organization with a long and rich past. Although fairly recently formed in 2001 with the merging of the St. Stephen Dramatic Club and the Geauga Magyar Club, the former had been in existence since 1904, and the latter since 1975. Now a prosperous social club with numerous regular functions, the organization has 251 active members⁹¹ under the leadership of Mary Jane Molnár, a Cleveland-born Hungarian. Its yearly functions include several picnics throughout the summer, cabbage roll sales, Christmas parties, and a harvest festival. Summer, spring, and fall events attracting hundreds of area Hungarians are held at the organization's picnic grounds in Hiram, which is about a ¾ hour drive from Cleveland.⁹² The property lies on forty acres purchased in 1984, and it features a soccer field, an industrial kitchen, several pavilions, and an ornately carved, 3 meter wide by 7 meter tall *székely kapu*, fabricated in 2006 by Gergely Adorján, a craftsman imported from Transylvania just for this task. The club's monthly newsletter, *Hírek* [News], written and edited by the club president Mary Jane Molnár, is an important compilation of every Hungarian event in the Cleveland area, including museum and scouting events, church dinners, commemorations, and Hungarian fundraisers. The club reaches beyond its own events and provides information about the greater Cleveland Hungarian communities as well.

Although not a Cleveland Hungarian organization per se, the William Penn Association headquartered in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania has an active Cleveland branch with 2,295 members, many of Hungarian descent. Originally formed in 1886 by thirteen Hungarian coal miners in Pennsylvania as the Verhovay Aid Association, the fraternal society provides life insurance, death benefits, and fellowship to its members. Changing its name to William Penn Association in 1972, as has been mentioned, the organization remains the largest and only Hungarian-American fraternal insurance association today. Branch 14, the Cleveland branch, organizes meetings six times per year, usually at the First Hungarian Reformed Church with an average attendance of 20-25 members. The branch also takes part

⁹¹ I attended their monthly meeting on 24 April 2012, and the secretary gave a membership report.

⁹² See map of Ohio in appendix.

in a yearly fraternal picnic held at Penn Scenic View in Pennsylvania, which draws over a thousand participants, with *szalonna*, goulash, *lángos*, and other Hungarian foods and traditions. Sometimes the Hungarian Cultural Center of Northeast Ohio organizes a bus trip from Cleveland to attend this Hungarian event. Other branch activities include yearly trips to Hungary and a Hungarian heritage camp held at Penn Scenic View every August.⁹³

Another Hungarian organization with close Cleveland ties is the American Hungarian Friendship and International Care Association. Originally incorporated in Alabama in 1968, the organization was transferred to Ohio in 1986, and was once the umbrella organization for ten subsidiary organizations with charitable missions. Its current Cleveland subsidiaries include the Hungarian Relief Agency, the Hungarian School Care Club, and the United Hungarian Fund, with local Cleveland officers Emese Blankenship, founder Joseph Debreczeni, Klára Papp, Ödön Szentkirályi, and Krisztina Tábor.⁹⁴

The Hungarian Spiritual Society, originally located on Buckeye Road, moved to its current location on Northfield Road in Bedford in 1974. Weekly meetings are conducted in Hungarian, and membership is made up of first and second generation Hungarians.

The *Bocskai István Kultúrkör* [István Bocskai Cultural Club] originally started when the Hungarian leadership of the West Side Hungarian Reformed Church decided around 1980 that a group should be organized with the intent of supporting ministers and writers from Hungary and its surrounding countries. László Berta became the main catalyst for this organization, which later became independent and organized many cultural programs, inviting Hungarian lecturers and famous personalities to Cleveland, among them Olympic champion András Balczó and the Reverend László Tőkés. The group organized cultural events throughout the 1980's and 1990's, usually four to eight per year, and also had an ongoing weekly or biweekly Hungarian film screening.⁹⁵ The number of its members and attendees slowly waned throughout the years, and its last major film screening was in 2010, of Árpád Szőczy's film *Drakula Árnyékában*. A small group of about 15 members, however, still gathers for monthly Hungarian film screenings, meeting at the West Side Hungarian Reformed Church. Its president is Erzsébet Nagy. In addition, the group also organizes occasional Saturday dinner dances that attract many more.⁹⁶ As Hoppál observed about a South Bend, Indiana community:

⁹³ Richard Sarosi, Secretary-Treasurer of Branch 14 and National Director of the William Penn Association, in a telephone interview on 19 March 2012. His parents were born in the Buckeye Road neighborhood and still speak Hungarian. The official website contains a summary of the organizations' history, www.williampennassociation.org, accessed 1 November 2012.

⁹⁴ Klára Papp, the president of the United Hungarian Fund, in email correspondence with the author on 23 June 2012.

⁹⁵ Independently verified by phone interviews with József Daróczy and Zoltán Bíró on 23 July 2012.

⁹⁶ Invitation to "A Relaxing Summer Nights [sic] Dinner Dance" organized by the Hungarian Bocskai Association and taking place on 11 August 2012, posted on Facebook group "Clevelandi Magyar Kozosseg [sic]," site accessed 27 October 2012.

the social dancing is the important thing in the dance, it is not the song or the text that is important in the singing but the fact of singing together and in the money-raising it is the gesture of giving and the contribution, the nostalgic feeling of strengthening the ethnic bonds that are important. All these factors together explain the participation in such activity. In reality, it is the being-there (Dasein) that is important and the presence is important, not the nature of their presence.⁹⁷

The West Side Hungarian Retiree Club gathers three times per month at the West Side Hungarian Reformed church, meeting on Thursdays and alternating Hungarian film screenings with card games. Started by Gábor Papp in the late 1980's, it had a peak membership of about 80; currently about 25-30 retirees attend its meetings. Their ages range from 60 to 96, and the leader of the club is Ildikó Szénásy.⁹⁸ Although its membership has shrunk over the years, its ongoing weekly meetings attest to the vibrancy of the overall Cleveland Hungarian community.

Yet another organization, the World Federation of Hungarian Veterans [*Magyar Harcosok Bajtársi Köre: MHBK*] published and still publishes today a military history newspaper entitled *Hadak Útján – Bajtársi Híradó*.⁹⁹ The Cleveland chapter has long organized social activities for its members and their descendants; although the Hungarian veterans from the Second World War still living today are few and far between, the Cleveland chapter of the MHBK still organizes its yearly debutante ball, with proceeds going to Hungarian charities mostly in the Cleveland area, and their formal ball is a significant social event in Cleveland, with hundreds attending every January.¹⁰⁰ In keeping with the military traditions of the organization, local U.S. military Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) cadets provide an honor guard and present the colors at the ball, as they have for many decades.

The Hungarian Cultural Garden, also an old and venerable organization, has seen a recent rebirth in the last ten to fifteen years. Originally dedicated in 1934,¹⁰¹ it languished during the 1980's, but recently organized Gulyás Cookoffs as fundraisers, modeled after local rib festivals. Local Hungarian restaurants and amateur cooks are encouraged to submit entries. In 2009, over 25 cooks entered the contest, each preparing a large pot of goulash. Cookoff attendees then paid an admission fee and sampled each variety, voting for their favorite. The Garden membership also organizes a spring clean-up of the actual gardens usually every other year or so, and in 2010 one of Cleveland's American citizenship swearing-in ceremonies was held in the lower Hungarian garden, with many nationalities present to witness new American citizens take their oath of citizenship. The sheer number of

⁹⁷ Mihály Hoppál, "Tradition and Ethnic Symbols in an American Hungarian Community" *Hungarian Heritage*, Vol. 11, Nos 1-2 (2010): 55.

⁹⁸ Ildikó Szénásy, in a phone conversation with the author on 22 September 2012.

⁹⁹ "On the War Path: News from Comrades;" the translation is difficult, as *Hadak Útja* has an additional meaning of the Milky Way, the mythological stary path of ancient Hungarian warriors, and *Bajtárs* has none of the communist connotations that the word comrade has.

¹⁰⁰ Since 1994 the formal debutante ball has been organized under the leadership of Ildikó and Jack Körössy.

¹⁰¹ www.hungarianculturalgarden.org, website accessed 1 November 2012.

previously-mentioned organizations, each actively pursuing its own goals of preserving Hungarian identity through social means, attest to the vibrancy of Cleveland Hungarian life.

The Hungarian Association, known locally as the *Magyar Társaság*, is another cultural organization with a long and rich history.¹⁰² Its origins were in Innsbruck, Austria, where János Nádas formed a Hungarian Association for refugees that met weekly and organized discussions, debate nights, song nights, and bridge and chess tournaments. After coming to Cleveland, he formed the Hungarian Association in 1952 to preserve Hungarian culture, and presided over its operations for 40 years. Its activities consisted of Sunday afternoon gatherings, a lecture series, and political demonstrations drawing attention to the occupation of Hungary by Russian forces; language courses; international competitions in scientific, literary, and artistic fields; organization and teaching of college courses; and national conferences which later morphed into the Hungarian Congress. Upon Nádas' death in 1992, his brother, Gyula Nádas, took over leadership, steering the organization effectively until his death in 2007 at age 101. Also instrumental in the organization's leadership was János and Gyula's sister, Rózsa Nádas, who for decades labored tirelessly alongside her two brothers in the Hungarian Association's work. Before his death Gyula Nádas passed over the reins to his son, John Nadas, who is the current president.

Now known mainly for its yearly congress and ball held Thanksgiving weekend (usually the last weekend of November) at a major downtown Cleveland hotel for the last 52 successive years, the Hungarian Association also holds occasional literary or cultural events, but its current mainstay is the November congress. The congress is rather like an academic convention, with scholarly lectures, well-known keynote speakers, a literary evening, meetings of the Árpád Academy, a prestigious academic hall of fame, meetings of the Saint Ladislaus Society, invited guests from Hungary and its surrounding countries, and congress events culminating in a black-tie debutante ball on Saturday evening. This yearly event attracted thousands of attendees in its heyday and still continues to be an ongoing Cleveland Hungarian event. Recent keynote speakers have included János Martonyi, Foreign Minister of Hungary, Major General Robert Ivány, a Cleveland native who was commandant at West Point, Géza Jeszenszky, Hungarian Ambassador to the United States, Father Csaba Böjte, founder of orphanages in Romania, and Father István Gergely from Csíksomlyó, where hundreds of thousands of Hungarians attend the yearly Pentecostal pilgrimages.

In its long and storied history, the Hungarian Association has also organized political demonstrations, initiated college-level lecture series multiple times throughout the years,

¹⁰² www.hungarianassociation.com, website accessed 1 November 2012.

sponsored Hungarian studies at John Carroll University and at Western Reserve University, edited and published multiple books about Hungarian topics.¹⁰³ In addition, it sponsored and helped a variety of smaller civic organizations, including the World Federation of Hungarian Engineers and Architects, the Transylvanian World Federation, the United Hungarian Fund, the Organization of American Hungarian Libraries, the Free Hungarian Journalists Association, the American Hungarian Catholic Priests Association, the Occidental Society, and the aforementioned Saint Ladislaus Society. The beginnings of the American Hungarian Educators Association can also be found under the auspices of the Hungarian Association,¹⁰⁴ as can the current journal *Hungarian Studies Review*, originally publishing as *The Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*.¹⁰⁵

In 1965 the Hungarian Association founded the Árpád Academy, using the example of the Hungarian Academy. Its purpose was to recognize significant scientific, literary, and artistic contributions to Hungarian culture. As such, the reach of the Árpád Academy became quite international, recognizing Hungarian scholars worldwide in the diaspora. Awarding gold, silver, and bronze Árpád medals for achievements, the Academy attracted many visitors throughout its decade-long history, and remains active even today. All of its activities serve to further the simple if unstated goal that fits into Urban and Orbe's communication theory of identity; the Hungarian Association, through its literary and social events, builds, sustains, and transforms identity, because it actually shapes Cleveland's Hungarians by offering cultural programs, and they who take part express their sense of Hungarian identity by communicating facets of it to others who share their views. It is a question of belonging to a spiritual homeland, as Bójtös stated.

Another organization with a long past is the Hungarian Business and Tradesmen's Club, which now has a membership of about 550, about 30% of whom understand Hungarian. It has sold its clubhouse, once on Buckeye Road, and now leases a social hall with a members-only bar on Libby Road in the inner-ring suburb of Maple Heights. The club is open from noon to midnight seven days a week, with Hungarian food served for lunch three times per week, and a monthly birthday luncheon for club members which attracts over a hundred people. Although not as many of its members speak Hungarian as in its heyday, the

¹⁰³ Steven Béla Várdy, *Magyarok az Újvilágban*, 519.

¹⁰⁴ Enikő Basa, its first president, detailed the beginnings of the AHEA in an email to the author, 17 March 2013: it was organized at a 1974 meeting of the Hungarian Association, with bylaws ordained at a 1975 meeting, but shortly thereafter became independent, with incorporation in Maryland in 1976, and tax-exempt status attained in 1977.

¹⁰⁵ Steven Béla Várdy, *Magyarok az Újvilágban*, 519.

club has attracted some recent Hungarian immigrants and has a long tradition in Cleveland's Hungarian neighborhood.¹⁰⁶

Cleveland's chapter of the St. Ladislaus Society [*Szent László Vitézi Rend*] is a smaller organization comprised mostly of Cleveland members of the DP generation. Formed by papal breve in Hungary in 1863, the society was disbanded by communist authorities in the early 1950's, reborn in West Germany in 1965, with Archduke Joseph of Habsburg as its leader, and since then has spread throughout the world, with chapters wherever larger groups of Hungarians emigrated. Its purpose is to recognize and express appreciation for those who serve and better the Hungarian community selflessly and tirelessly. It awards orders of merit to deserving individuals.

Another organization which does not meet frequently but still impacts Hungarian culture is the Hungarian Relief Agency [*Magyar Segély Egyesület*], founded in 1950 as a charity organization. Every year the organization holds a silent ball, which means that instead of donning a tuxedo or an evening gown, participants send in a donation in lieu of buying ball entrance tickets. Each year the "ball invitation" shows the previous year's donors and their donation amounts, which functions as an indicator of local social standing. Retirees contribute a little, wealthier persons contribute more, and with overhead costs staying minimal, the organization distributes ten to twenty thousand dollars in aid every year to Hungarian schools, universities, kindergartens, and churches of various denominations in Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Carpatho-Ruthenia in Ukraine. For example, for the 2011 ball, donors sent in \$15,596.11, printing and postage costs came to \$799.93, and thus \$15,001.78 was distributed in aid, mostly through personal contacts.¹⁰⁷ The list of donors is mostly Hungarians living in the Cleveland area. Donating financially also shows vibrancy, inasmuch as doing so displays concretely a sense of common purpose, and by helping other Hungarians, the donors' own Hungarian identity is strengthened.

One of the most visible organizations with its public museum and gift shop, the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society was formed in 1985. With humble beginnings in the basement of St. Elizabeth church on Buckeye Road, the Society established a museum chronicling Cleveland's Hungarian history. Its collection slowly grew, and in 1996 the museum moved to an empty storefront in Richmond Mall, whose owner offered retail space because of declining overall sales. For the shopping mall it was better to have a nonprofit museum occupying space rather than having it stay empty, and the museum was able to run a gift shop stocking books about Hungary and other Hungarian gift items, which in turn

¹⁰⁶ Ida Rózsahegyi, who caters and cooks there on a regular basis, told me on 15 January 2012.

¹⁰⁷ Hungarian Relief Agency 2012 silent ball invitation.

increased its own revenue. Three years later, in 1999, the museum moved to a similar setup at Euclid Square Mall. Meanwhile, the museum's collection grew to encompass not only Cleveland's Hungarian history, but also reflected overall Hungarian history, culture, and folk art as well.¹⁰⁸

In 2003 the museum found its current home downtown at the Galleria Mall, at East 9th Street and Superior Avenue, where it encompasses a 6,000 square foot retail slot on the second floor of the mall. Organizing a yearly black-tie fundraiser called the Vintner Dinner, the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society also holds monthly lectures and ongoing cultural programming. With a membership of 187 households, its museum gift shop allows visitors and locals alike the opportunity to buy Hungarian books, handiwork, and fine art items, and its small but cozy research library has several thousand volumes. In addition, its twice-yearly publication *The Review* offers members news about past and future happenings in the Society. The museum's permanent visible presence is a strong stalwart of Cleveland's Hungarian community, and displays the community's vibrancy for all to see. As such, it showcases the inherited values that Attila Z. Papp alluded to in his study, the inherited folkloric and historical heritage brought over from Hungary and the Carpathian basin, and then sustained through Urban and Orbe's communication theory of identity.

The Cleveland Hungarian Development Panel is a smaller but efficient organization, formed as a nonprofit in 1991 by a group of Cleveland Hungarians to establish business connections and help further US-Hungarian relationships in the area of education, health and human services. One of its first successful endeavors was the donation of medical equipment for hospitals in Hungary. Its yearly event is the Paprika Ball, a formal evening held in late February or early March at the downtown Ritz-Carlton Hotel. Cleveland dignitaries and benefactors regularly attend, and the event raises tens of thousands of dollars yearly. The Panel in turn supports local Hungarian cultural events as well as charitable activities in Hungary and its surrounding countries. Indeed, the Cleveland Hungarian Development Panel has raised and donated nearly a million dollars in its more than twenty-year history.¹⁰⁹

Relatively recently formed, Csárdás is a nonprofit dance ensemble that celebrates traditional as well as contemporary works stemming from Hungarian tradition. The company has ongoing weekly rehearsals and performs regularly. Founded in 1994 by Richard Graber, a native Clevelander who was a member of the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble. Graber later majored in dance performance at the Ohio State University. The ensemble consists of 15-20 members, predominantly youth, and it has been the recipient of numerous grants, awards, and

¹⁰⁸ www.jcu.edu/language/hunghemu, site accessed 1 November 2012.

¹⁰⁹ www.clevelandhdp.org, site accessed 1 November 2012.

proclamations. It continues to perform locally as well as regionally. Notable performances include a collaboration with the world-renowned Cleveland Orchestra at Severance Hall, as well as several performances in Budapest, Hungary, and for hundreds of children throughout the years in many schools regionally. It celebrated its fifteenth anniversary in 2009 with a 2 hour gala performance.¹¹⁰

Another relatively recently formed organization is the Hungarian Genealogical Society of Greater Cleveland. Founded in 1996 by Gustav Enyedy, a chemical engineer who traced his own family's roots to 18th century Hungary, the organization grew out of a lecture he gave at a meeting of the Magyar Club. The Magyar Club had been losing members, and in an attempt at generating interest, Enyedy asked if anyone else was interested in forming a group to study personal ancestry. After people reacted positively, the group began with 18 members, with Enyedy serving as president for the first six years. Enyedy also founded, wrote, and edited the group's newsletter, *Forrás* [Source], which was intermittently published twice yearly; its publication has now been suspended due to health concerns. The group is open to anyone interested in genealogy from the old Austro-Hungarian empire, and although an overwhelming majority of its members are Hungarian, it also includes Slovaks, Germans, and Croatians as well. Mostly comprised of second and third generation Hungarians, not many of its members speak Hungarian, but all are interested in Hungarian events and history. The Society boasts about 45 members, with about 20-25 members showing up at its monthly meetings at various suburban public libraries.¹¹¹

The easiest way to ascertain the strength of an ethnic community is to examine opportunities for its language instruction, and the means by which it passes on the language to each successive generation, for language is an important part of identity formation. As such, the Cleveland Hungarian School was started in 1958, when Gábor Papp, as scoutmaster of a local Hungarian scout troop, saw that the language skills of his scouts was beginning to lapse.¹¹² He thus decided to begin ongoing weekly Hungarian instruction, and ended up directing the school for 30 years. Instruction was and is for two hours on Monday evenings, with volunteer parents being the teachers. Instruction begins at the kindergarten level with games, songs, and the alphabet, continuing at the elementary level with reading, writing, basic Hungarian history, geography, and literature, and culminating with high-school level exams. A poem recitation contest is an ongoing part of the curriculum, as are basic musical

¹¹⁰ www.csardasdance.com, site accessed 1 November 2012.

¹¹¹ Gustav Enyedy, founder, and Marylou Uray, current president, in telephone interviews on 13 October 2010. Website www.hungariangensocietycleveland.org accessed 1 November 2012.

¹¹² Ferenc Somogyi, *Emlékkönyv*, 16-17. A reproduction of the original letter to parents announcing the formation of the school can be found in this source. Written in Gábor Papp's characteristically frank style, it tells parents to "shove a clean notebook and a reading book into your child's hands [and] arrange carpools" [Tehát szerdán nyomjunk a gyermek kezébe egy tiszta füzetet és egy olvasókönyvet. A szülők szervezzék meg a gyermekek szállítását].

and religious concepts. Recently the school added beginning language instruction for adults, and there are now four classes exclusively for adults, in addition to the nine levels for heritage speakers. The school charges a nominal tuition of about \$100 per year, which includes books and teaching materials, and covers rented classroom space. Combined school enrollment for school year 2011/2012 was 63 students.

Over the course of its 60 years, the school has had several homes, including renting classroom space from various public schools or residing in church basements. Recently it has been headquartered at St. Emeric church, also using the rooms of the adjacent Scout Center. Although the church was closed for religious purposes in June of 2010, the premises were rented by the American Hungarian Friends of Scouting and thus the Hungarian school was able to stay, continuing its tenure there.¹¹³

Other forms of Hungarian language instruction in Cleveland included that of John Palasics, as well as of Fréda B. Kovács at Harvey Rice elementary school and that of Ilona Vaskó and Ilona Sándor at St. Margaret church in the late 1970's,¹¹⁴ as well as two Hungarian schools on the city's east side. These were the Reményik Sándor Magyar Iskola, formed as a result of a 1962 three-day Hungarian conference held at the lakeside Point Chautauqua. This school taught on average 50-60 Hungarian students until sickness and neighborhood disintegration led to its demise around 1967. Another school was the Gárdonyi Géza Magyar Iskola, formed in 1969 by László Zala, the east side Hungarian scoutmaster. White flight from the Buckeye neighborhood led to the slow demise of this school as well. Both schools were staffed by volunteers, mostly parents, and held class once a week.¹¹⁵ In the 1980's Bernadette Pavlish and Andrea Mészáros started an informal Hungarian school at a church on Ford Road, so they would not have to drive over to Cleveland's west side to have their own children learn Hungarian. They worked with about 30 children, mostly aged six and seven years, for about six years.¹¹⁶

The most recent addition to Cleveland's volunteer Hungarian schools is that of the West Side Lutheran Church, on West 98th Street. When her own son was two years old, in 2001, the Reverend Éva Tamásy started a small kindergarten so that he could spend time in a Hungarian environment with Hungarian friends. This small venture has since expanded, and serves as a complementary venue to the original Hungarian School for those who wish for their children to receive additional Hungarian instruction on Thursday or Friday afternoons. 17 students attend as of 2011, with over half also attending the Hungarian School on Monday

¹¹³ magyariskola.addstorage.com, site accessed 1 November 2012.

¹¹⁴ Somogyi, *Emlékkönyv*, 56.

¹¹⁵ Somogyi, *Emlékkönyv*, 56-57.

¹¹⁶ Andrea Mészáros, in a personal interview with the author on 16 April 2012.

evenings at St. Emeric. Friday afternoons the first two classes are taught before scout meetings, allowing families to attend both this school and scout meetings on Friday evenings. Thursday evenings host the third, fourth, and seventh grades.¹¹⁷ Transforming the identities of children, forming them from average monolingual Americans into bicultural and transnational Hungarian-Americans, is a perfect example of Urban and Orbe's communication theory of identity, and the reason the teachers take time to volunteer working with other people's children on a weekly basis is the spiritual homeland explained by Bójtös; they feel a sense of belonging to the worldwide Hungarian diaspora in general and to Cleveland's local Hungarian community in particular.

As far as breadth of membership and ongoing activities of Hungarian social organizations, Cleveland's Hungarian scouting movement is unarguably the most vibrant. While its main goal is to work with Hungarian-speaking youth, the movement's work also encompasses significant parental involvement, a folk dance group for teenagers known as the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble, a major yearly festival with over two thousand attendees, and an extensive alumni network with tentacles all over Cleveland's Hungarian social institutions. At peak membership levels in the 1970's, four Hungarian scout troops in Cleveland worked with hundreds of Hungarian-speaking youth on a weekly basis every year. Although children get older and frequently drift away from the movement as adults, current levels are still around a hundred children meeting almost every week of every year, many of them second and third generation Cleveland Hungarians, and the prerequisite for joining the movement, as it has remained for over 60 years, is being able to understand and speak Hungarian on a basic level.¹¹⁸

1951 was the year Hungarian scouting was introduced in Cleveland, brought over by refugees from the Displaced Persons (DP) camps in Europe. These camps were comprised of mostly upper and middle class refugees who had fled the Soviet invasion of Hungary at the end of the Second World War. They stayed in these camps in postwar Germany for years while the rest of the world sorted out which country would accept these mostly East Central European refugees. While waiting, people in the camps developed their own social structures and improvised schooling and other activities for their children. Hungarian scouting abroad was founded in these DP camps in Germany and Austria in the course of 1946. Its most important center was the Waldwerke DP camp near Passau, in Bavaria. News of the banning of scouting in 1948 postwar communist Hungary only strengthened the resolve of scout leaders, and they carried their resolve to "rescue" or "carry over" the ideals of scouting to

¹¹⁷ Éva Tamásy, in a telephone interview with the author on 5 April 2011.

¹¹⁸ Michael Horváth, former District Commissioner for the Cleveland Hungarian scouts, in an email to the author dated 2 November 2012.

wherever they found refuge worldwide, be it Western Europe, South America, Australia, Canada, or Cleveland.

Initially, Ede Császár and Ferenc Beodray, newly arrived from DP camps, met in January of 1951 in the Cleveland downtown Terminal Tower to discuss ways to start Hungarian scouting in Cleveland. Other leaders soon joined them, and by March scouting activities were already taking place. The first overnight camping excursion was held in May of 1951, in Chardon's Camp Mather, located about an hour from Cleveland. The scouts were organized into troop number 12, with the name of Ferenc Rákóczy, but after Ferenc Beodray left for his U.S. military service, were organized into two troops. Number 22, named after the Hungarian poet György Bessenyei, held meetings on the city's east side, and troop number 14, named after the 1848 general Arthur Görgey, held meetings on the city's west side. In 1952 girl scout troop number 34 was also formed on the West side, taking the name of Ilona Zrínyi, and in 1957 another girl scout troop, numbered 33 with the name of Erzsébet Szilágyi, was formed on the city's East side. At their peak membership in the 1970's, the four troops together boasted average yearly memberships of 300-400 participants.

The American Hungarian Friends of Scouting (AHFS), known locally as the *Cserkész Barátok Köre*, or CsBK, is a nonprofit organization formed to financially sustain the work of the scout troops. In 1960 the AHFS purchased a 180 acre parcel of undeveloped land in Ashtabula county, about an hour and a half's drive from Cleveland, for use of scout camping.¹¹⁹ They named it Teleki Scout Park, after the scout leader and former prime minister of Hungary. The road leading into the park still bears Teleki's name on county maps, and an iron sign at the park entrance, painted red, white, and green, also proclaims "Teleki Scout Park." The scouts and their parents erected multiple buildings on the property, including a lookout tower, a pavilion, a log cabin and two modern cabins. The lookout tower and the log cabin have long crumbled and vanished, overgrown by the forest, but the pavilion and a deteriorating cabin still remain; the other cabin mysteriously burned to the ground in 2007. In 2011 the AHFS sold a major portion of the park to its neighbor, the Nature Conservancy, a nonprofit organization purchasing wetlands to save them from development, but kept the property's 5 acre lake and all of its usable meadow area.

The Cleveland Hungarian Scout Center lies adjacent to St. Emeric church in an old milk warehouse building. In the late 1980's, the pastor of St. Emeric, Father Sándor Siklódi approached the scout leaders about using a small abandoned warehouse on the premises. The scouts entered into a 20 year lease with the Catholic Diocese of Cleveland and proceeded to

¹¹⁹ See map of Ohio in appendix.

renovate the building. Steve Graber donated most of the building materials, and the Center is home to ongoing Hungarian activities, with the Hungarian school meeting there on Monday evenings, the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble on Tuesdays, the scouts on Fridays, and various other weekday and weekend meetings and activities. The Center is a veritable hotbed for Hungarian activity, as it has been since its inception in 1991.

Scout troops 14 and 34 still meet on a weekly basis, with about a hundred members every Friday evening at St. Emeric and at the Scout Center. They go on camping trips almost monthly, and spent their summer camp in 2012 near Calgary, in Alberta, Canada, with Hungarian scouts from North America's west Coast. They also maintain Cleveland Hungarian traditions such as traveling to area Hungarian families for Christmas caroling, or "going Bethlehem-ing," Easter sprinkling, and performing for local commemorations of March 15th and October 2nd. Their annual *Cserkésznap*, or Scout Day festival, has been held on the Sunday before Labor Day, an American national holiday at the beginning of September, for over 50 years, and it regularly attracts over two thousand people, most of them of Hungarian heritage.

A subgroup of the scouts which also significantly contributes to Cleveland's Hungarian cultural life is the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble, known locally as the *Regös Csoport*. Membership is comprised of leaders of the scout troops, and only those who can speak, read, and write fluent Hungarian and are willing to work with younger scouts in the scout troops are allowed to be members of the ensemble. Founded in 1973 by Magdi and András Temesváry, local scout leaders, the group pursues mainly Hungarian folk dance, but also maintains other Hungarian folk traditions such as Easter-egg decorating, delivering maypoles, learning folk songs, and sewing their own folk costumes. The group's mission is to preserve vanishing Hungarian folk customs, and its anniversary performances held every 5 years are mainstays of Cleveland's Hungarian cultural scene. Performers number in the hundreds, and each performance attracts audiences of well over a thousand people, most of them Hungarians. In the 1970's and 1980's the group toured North America, giving performances in cities where other Hungarians lived, such as Toronto and New Brunswick. In 2001 forty members of the group went on an ethnographic folk culture tour, spending extended time in Kazár, a Hungarian village, living with villagers and learning the dying folk arts, and touring the Transylvanian part of Romania, also visiting Hungarian villages. Ten years later, in 2011, the group undertook a similar tour, again spending time in Kazár, but this time touring Hungarian villages in Slovakia and in Carpatho-Ruthenia in Ukraine. Each tour solidified and strengthened the Hungarian identities of participants, as they were able to see

Hungarian folk traditions live and in person, and upon their return they passed on many of the lessons learned to the younger scouts.

Being Hungarian binds all of these organizations together, inasmuch as they share a common heritage and many common interests. But what is the relationship between these Hungarians and the country they live in? Do they enhance or add to the local economy? If they congregate around others like themselves, i.e., other Hungarians, then how patriotic do they feel about the United States? Do they live in an insulated ethnic community, or do they integrate into American society?

According to Susan Papp, 311 Hungarian owned or supported businesses thrived in the Buckeye neighborhood between 1925 and 1960. By 1980, that number had dwindled to fewer than fifty.¹²⁰ Today that number is four; Security Key near East 126th Street on Buckeye, owned by Joe Jámbor, J P Quality Printing on Larchmere Boulevard owned by John Pathko, Orban Flower Shop, and the Balaton restaurant on nearby Shaker Square are pretty much the only Hungarian businesses in or near the old Buckeye neighborhood.¹²¹ Although the old Buckeye neighborhood is not what it once was, that does not mean that Hungarian businesses have disappeared from Cleveland altogether. Indeed, Andor Vasady-Nagy compiled a list of Hungarian businesses in Cleveland in 1967, listing seven delicatessens, five bakeries, ten Hungarian restaurants, and four taverns. In 1966 Imre Sári Gál counted 20 Hungarian doctors on Cleveland's west side and 22 on its east side, with 350 Hungarian engineers.¹²² And if one examines the advertising section of the Cleveland Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble's anniversary performance program booklets from 1978 to 2008, anniversary performances held every five years, one finds 24 Hungarian businesses advertising in 1988, 46 in 1993, 34 in 2003, and 38 in 2008. Some of the fluctuation is due to more or less effort expended by the program booklet volunteers to attract business advertising, but the number of Hungarian businesses in Cleveland, with somewhat of a turnover, has remained relatively stable over the years.¹²³

Today there are more than a dozen Hungarian-speaking doctors and dentists practicing in the Cleveland area. At least eight lawyers speak Hungarian, as well as numerous accountants. Hungarian speaking engineers are also far too many to detail specifically, and finance seems to be a newly embraced profession for numerous local Hungarians.

¹²⁰ Susan Papp, 279.

¹²¹ Ernest Mihály, who was born and raised in and still lives in the Buckeye Hungarian neighborhood, was featured in the documentary *The Last Hungarian on Buckeye*; he verified the number of current Hungarian businesses in a personal interview with the author on 26 February 2012.

¹²² Imre Sári Gál, *Az amerikai Debrecen* (Toronto: Patria Publishing, 1966), 79.

¹²³ I took part in each anniversary performance from 1988 on, and thus have each program booklet. This information as well as the research detailing Hungarian businesses in Cleveland in the rest of this chapter are all my firsthand experiences, gleaned from my personal contacts.

Hungarian bakeries are another business of which there are several. The oldest is Lucy's Sweet Surrender, still in business since 1957. Founded by Lucy Ortelekán, who was originally from Transylvania, the bakery was taken over in 1994 by Michael Feigenbaum, a native Cleveland Hungarian, and is currently operated by him and his wife, Maria Feigenbaum, who emigrated from Transylvania in 1999.¹²⁴ Transylvania Bakery is owned by Lajos Mezősi, who emigrated to Cleveland from the *Szilágyság* region of Transylvania. Operated by Lajos and his son, this bakery has no retail presence, but can be seen at many Hungarian social functions throughout the year. Tommy's Pastries is on Madison Avenue in Lakewood, founded by Péter Patay in 1989, and is famous for its *pogácsa*. He often supports local Hungarian events with donations of baked goods, and about 90% of his customers are Eastern European, with about half of those being Hungarian.¹²⁵ Farkas Pastry is still located on Lorain Avenue near the West Side Market, as it has been for many years. All four Hungarian bakeries are quite well known among Cleveland Hungarians. Not as well-known and newest on the scene is European's Best Restaurant and Bakery, located in Strongsville and owned by Joe Sattelmaier; it also features Hungarian cooking and pastries, as does Mertie's Hungarian Strudel Shop, on Smith Road in Cleveland.

The only Hungarian butcher with a visible presence is Dohár-Lovászy Meats, with a stand at the West Side Market. Owned by Miklós Szűcs and Angyal Dohár, the business was started by István Lovászy in 1951. István Dohár later partnered and took over the business, and Dohár's son-in-law Miklós Szűcs now runs the butcher stand. Also worthy of mention is the Gereg family, whose parents Mihály and Eszter ran an informal business out of their garage in Hinckley, making their own Hungarian sausage, *hurka*, liver sausage, head cheese, and other meat specialties. After the death of the father, his son Mihály carries on the tradition, but on a much smaller scale, as he works in the daytime at the Dohár-Lovászy stand at the market.

Hungarian restaurants have come and gone in Cleveland. The Balaton on Shaker Square is one of the oldest, established in 1964 by Terezia Nevery. The restaurant was passed on to her son, 1956 refugee György Ponti, and is now run by his two nieces Krisztina and Erika. The original location at 12523 Buckeye Road closed in 1996,¹²⁶ but reopened two years later, not far from the Buckeye Road neighborhood in the trendy Shaker Square, where it continues to flourish. The restaurant has authentic Hungarian decor, its waitresses speak

¹²⁴ Maria Feigenbaum, in a telephone interview on 26 July 2011. The Buckeye neighborhood is dangerous, however, as can be seen by the fact that she was shot during a robbery in 2009, and the bakery finally moved from its original location on Buckeye Road to 20314 Chagrin Boulevard in Shaker Heights in May of 2012, as confirmed by Maria by telephone on 21 June 2012.

¹²⁵ Péter Patay, in a personal interview on 22 March 2013. He is helped by József Lóczi, who was trained in Hungary.

¹²⁶ György Ponti, personal interview on 14 April 2013.

Hungarian, and its Hungarian menu is well-known among Cleveland Hungarians as well as among culinary experts. Little Budapest is another Hungarian restaurant in the Cleveland suburb of Westlake owned by József Lacza. Not a restaurant per se, but no partial listing of Cleveland Hungarian businesses should fail to omit Ida Rózsahegyi and her catering. For decades she has catered weddings, funerals, church dinners, New Year's Eve dances, and private parties, as well as cooking on a weekly basis for the Hungarian Business and Tradesmen's Club. Most Cleveland Hungarians are familiar with and praise her cooking.¹²⁷

In addition to the food service industry, Hungarians in Cleveland started a variety of other types of businesses through the years, including plumbing stores and other businesses. These Hungarian-owned businesses do not cater to Hungarians alone. However, their owners are respected members of and often can be seen at local Hungarian social events. The community takes pride in their success stories. For example, several extremely successful Cleveland area businesses were started by Hungarians of the 1956 wave of immigration. These include Miklós Peller's structural engineering firm which built several landmarks in the Cleveland area, as well as Danny Vegh's Billiard and Recreation Supply. Graber Metal Works, Accurate Metal Machining, and Vantage Financial Group, all extremely successful businesses started by 1956 refugees who came to Cleveland.

Not in Cleveland per se, but the only Hungarian-owned senior and nursing home, the Lorántffy Care Center was established by Tibor Dömötör, a 1956 refugee, reformed minister, and part-time poet in Akron. The center has always had patients from the Cleveland area. It is a 107 bed facility with skilled nursing and assisted living areas as well as surrounding independent living houses, an extensive Hungarian library, Hungarian-speaking staff members, and serves Hungarian cooking for its residents. Now run by Elizabeth Dömötör, the center is well-known by Cleveland area Hungarians.

The above list is incomplete and does not nearly succeed at mapping out all Hungarian-owned businesses in the Cleveland area; it merely gives a sampling of some of the people and their business success stories. Thus we can see that the Hungarians in Cleveland actively take part in American life, contributing to Cleveland's economy with their businesses and professional lives, with many of them also contributing to Cleveland's Hungarian churches and organizations on a volunteer basis in their spare time. By purchasing advertising in program booklets of social happenings, they also help defray the costs of cultural events. Financially successful and with good reputations, these Hungarian business owners, not to mention the countless white-collar and blue-collar workers, have integrated themselves into the American business climate and do, in fact, enhance the local economy.

¹²⁷ While in high school, I served and washed dishes for her catering business, as did many recent Hungarian immigrants.

Cleveland Hungarian Customs

Communities are made up of people, and the things that people do together are what define these communities. Traditions give life a stable structure. Indeed, shared events repeated from year to year, decade to decade, century to century, are what ethnologists and folk culture experts study. In these terms Cleveland is no different from any average Hungarian village. The traditions were, in fact, brought over from Hungarian villages and cities and then maintained, sometimes subtly or not so subtly modified to fit the new American surroundings, propagated, and finally passed on to the next generations. These traditions became Cleveland Hungarian traditions, and when repeated by groups of people for many decades, simply became an important part of the social fabric of the community. As Hoppál observed, “All communities develop social rituals for which the members of the different social groups gather from time to time. As regards their function, these seasonal community reunions held in an urban setting are essentially the same as the folk customs observed in a rural environment in the old peasant societies. These gatherings function as important social events in the life of the community.”¹²⁸

Wintertime brings many traditions to Cleveland Hungarians. Numerous families and friends get together to make their own sausage or butcher a hog, and some even distill their own *pálinka*, just like in the old country. At the beginning of December, the *Mikulás* [St. Nicholas] arrives to social gatherings. For some organizations such as the William Penn Association, this is the traditional American Santa Claus. But for most Cleveland Hungarian organizations, such as the scouts and some churches, the tradition is a remnant of prewar Hungary, a European tradition of the bishop Saint Nicholas arriving on or near the 6th of December, dressed as a bishop, with his crooked shepherd staff and his *Krampusz* servants, who are dressed in black, have horns or masks, carry chains or switches, and are the personification of just punishment. This Saint Nicholas is different from the American Santa Claus; he reads from an elegant book and confronts each child with the past year’s good deeds and transgressions, then gives each a small package, usually containing fruit, nuts, and chocolate. Newer immigrants who arrive to Cleveland are more familiar with the *Télapó* [Father Winter] prevalent in the Hungary of 1945-1989, but most Cleveland Hungarian children are exposed to the childhood memories of the DP and 1956 generation, transposed and maintained through the decades.

December also brings *betlehemezés*, a tradition which the scouts have been maintaining in Cleveland at least since the 1960’s. This tradition involves memorizing

¹²⁸ Mihály Hoppál, “Tradition and Ethnic Symbols in an American Hungarian Community,” *Hungarian Heritage* Volume 11, numbers 1-2 (2010): 40.

Hungarian scripts involving shepherds and the nativity story, often humorous, with teenagers playing the parts of an angel, Hungarian shepherds, and the three kings. An old Hungarian tradition in which actual shepherds went door-to-door in the villages, telling the nativity story in their own way with folk rhymes and verse, Cleveland Hungarian families nowadays also may get a knock at their doors, with up to a dozen teenagers standing outside wearing Hungarian folk garb. After entering the house, acting out the scene and singing Hungarian Christmas songs, the hosts provide refreshments and often *pálinka*, and the tradition turns into a social event, repeated in various homes a dozen times per day on December weekends.

Christmas traditions often involve the churches, and even if average weekly attendance at Cleveland's Hungarian churches numbers only around fifty each, that number always jumps into the hundreds for Christmas. Even those people who do not attend Hungarian church services regularly feel the need to make a Hungarian church service a part of their Christmas tradition. Some of the churches offer candlelight services or midnight Masses on or shortly before Christmas Eve, and these are always well-attended. In addition to the churches, most secular Hungarian organizations also hold Christmas events, from an elaborate children's pageant put on by the scouts to simpler parties organized by other groups. For the last six years the Hungarian Heritage Center museum has organized children's Christmas programs directed primarily to non-Hungarian speakers as an alternative to the scouts' programs.

Winter is also the time of formal balls. The traditional age at which one may attend is 16. It is customary to wear tuxedos and long gowns, and this is also a tradition carried over by the DP generation, a relic of prewar aristocratic Hungary transplanted to modern American elegant surroundings. This tradition is a unique diaspora Hungarian phenomenon in which the community builds upon its inherited values, values it has brought from Hungary, much as Attila Z. Papp described. The end of November starts off with the Hungarian Association's ball, known locally as the *magyar bál*. Coinciding with the American Thanksgiving holiday, the most important family event of the year, many young adults who are away at college return home, and the ball is a perfect opportunity to reconnect with old friends. Hundreds attend this ball, which is held at a downtown hotel. For over three decades young scout leaders have also held a tackle football game on the day of the ball; meeting at the Mastick Road picnic area of the Cleveland Metroparks, they call their informal event the Turkey Bowl. The football game serves as an alumni reunion of sorts, with almost everyone meeting later in the evening for the ball; this Turkey Bowl consistently attracts 25-40 Cleveland Hungarians. Late January brings the MHBK ball, which has military trappings of ceremony and is also an event that hundreds of Cleveland Hungarians attend. In late February

is the Paprika ball, organized by the Cleveland Hungarian Development Panel; this event is in a much higher price category, so fewer average Cleveland Hungarians and more high-end Cleveland socialites attend, but it is nevertheless an important social event from a Hungarian perspective.

February or March has also traditionally been the month for two major social events, the “burial of the bass” tradition and the gendarme dinner. *Bógótemetés*, as the burial of the bass is known, has been a pre-Lenten party among Cleveland Hungarians for over a century. With origins in the Buckeye neighborhood, it used to be a street festival and large parade, with Gypsies make-believe crying and holding an extravagant funeral procession for the bass instrument of the band, to be put away for the 40 days of Lent, with no music until Easter. With the demise of the Buckeye neighborhood, parishioners of St. Margaret church maintained the tradition for decades, always learning the humorous script by heart and acting out the funeral procession in the surroundings of a church dinner. Another Hungarian exile community where this tradition survives is Melbourne, Australia.¹²⁹ As has been mentioned before, the gendarme dinner was almost single-handedly organized by István Molnár for over fifty years, attracting Hungarian gendarme veterans and their families for a late winter dinner. Both of these events often had hundreds of people attending, but with the closing of St. Margaret in 2010 and the death of Molnár in 2011, the future of both events is uncertain. This shows the shrinking of Cleveland’s Hungarian community.

Springtime, however, shows the ongoing vibrancy of the community and brings with it another set of events. The United Hungarian Societies, an umbrella organization encompassing all of Cleveland’s Hungarian churches and secular organizations, holds its commemoration of March 15th. The event is held at a local Hungarian church on a Sunday afternoon in mid-March, with recited poems, musical numbers, and a keynote address by a noted personality. These commemorations are usually attended by several hundred Hungarians and are always conducted in the Hungarian language. Easter is an event that for many people involves attendance at a Hungarian church service, just like Christmas. A folk tradition brought over from Hungary and maintained for over half a century in an organized fashion by the scouts is the Easter sprinkling. In Hungarian villages, on the Monday immediately following Easter, boys would don traditional folk attire, find the girls in their village and sprinkle their hair with perfume, or in some places, douse them with buckets of water, in an act symbolic of fertility rituals. Scouts in Cleveland get together, wear their Easter best, and their *locsolás* ritual involves reciting lines of apropos folk verse, token amounts of perfume, and then a dance. Another folk tradition maintained by the Hungarian

¹²⁹ Gergely Tóth, in an email to the author on 26 November 2012.

Scout Folk Ensemble, or Regös group, is the *májusfa*. This tradition involves teenaged boys getting together on the eve of the first of May, decorating freshly-cut saplings with crepe paper, a small bottle of wine, and an appropriate poem, and driving around to all of the girls' houses and planting the *májusfa* in their front yards under cover of darkness, so that the girls discover them early in the morning on the first of May. This is a Hungarian village tradition still alive in rural areas of Hungary, and also among Cleveland Hungarians. Spring also features the American Memorial Day holiday at the end of May, and in Cleveland it means two things: the veterans commemoration in the Hungarian section of Sunset Memorial Gardens cemetery, and the scouts travelling to Fillmore, New York for their annual *Akadályverseny*¹³⁰ camping trip with fellow Hungarian scouts from other North American communities.

Summer is the time that many families go on vacation. Lake Chautauqua is a pleasant lake almost the size of the Balaton, it lies about a two and a half hour's drive from Cleveland, and thus has been a destination for many Cleveland Hungarians throughout the years. Numerous Cleveland Hungarian families have owned vacation houses around the lake, most of them in a community called Point Chautauqua between Dewittville and Mayville. At any given time from the 1960's until even today, at least six families own or owned houses there. At least three boarding houses owned by Hungarians rented rooms to Cleveland's vacationing Hungarians in the 1970's and 1980's; János Nemes owned the Balaton Hotel, which had a Hungarian restaurant in it, István Szendrey owned the *Halásztanya* directly facing the lake, and István Tábor's home housed the local post office at one time. *Bagolyfészek* was the name of a house on the lake owned by a man known locally as *Tóth ügyvéd*, and the large house called the Loon Lodge was also once owned by a Hungarian, with *Mócsi bácsi* known for playing the piano there. Near the tennis courts at Point Chautauqua is a blue house once known as the Monostory-Papp villa, owned by those two families, and even today the Bodor, Globits, Jálics, Kondray, Mészáros, Nádas, Tábor, and Torontáli families still own houses there.¹³¹ Summer is also the time that the scouts traditionally go for a one-week summer camp in June, often to their property in Ashtabula county, and attend a ten-day leadership training camp in Fillmore, NY, called *VK tábor* in August.¹³² Some also attend a two or three week Hungarian summer-school camp in July, also held in Fillmore, NY every year since 1968. Other organizations, especially the Hungarian Cultural Center of Northeastern Ohio at

¹³⁰ *Akadályverseny* = a weekend competition measuring outdoorsmanship and scouting values, often shortened locally as simply "*Aki-verseny*."

¹³¹ Pál and Éva Csia and Gabriella Nádas in personal conversations with the author on 25 March 2012. Pál Csia has vacationed at Chautauqua every single summer since 1958; Éva started even earlier, going with her mother already in 1957.

¹³² VK = *vezetőképző*, or leadership training camp.

its Hiram grounds, or the Hungarian Cultural Gardens with its Goulash Cookoff, hold summer outdoor picnics. A recent addition to the ongoing summer events for the Cleveland area is the Hungarian Heritage Night at Classic Park in Eastlake, organized by the Lake County Captains, a minor league Class A affiliate of the Cleveland Indians baseball team; hundreds of Hungarians attend a summer baseball game which includes their recognition as well as Hungarian food. Another recent addition is the Buckeye Road Nationality Reunion, comprised of Slovaks, Hungarians and others who grew up in the Buckeye neighborhood. First held in 2010, the afternoon dinner-dance event attracted 650 people in 2011.¹³³

Fall is the time when the Hungarian school starts its instruction, and the beginning of September always means the scout festival, *Cserkésznap*, which regularly draws an attendance of over two thousand. This event is held on the Sunday before the American Labor Day holiday, and for most of its 52 years it has taken place at the *Deutsche Zentrale* [German Central park], a German community park located in suburban Parma. The day always involves Hungarian food such as *lángos*, goulash, *laci pecsenye*, and stuffed cabbage, beer and wine, a Mass and protestant church services, soccer games, carnival-like games and children's activities, public performances by the scouts and Regös dance group, and Hungarian music and dancing to the wee hours of the night. It is a reunion of sorts, and even Hungarians who have long moved away from Cleveland travel from far away to visit and meet old friends.

Fall is also the time of church harvest festivals, with their origins in the grape harvests of Hungarian villages. Almost every Hungarian church in the Cleveland area organizes one, and has for decades, so that all through September and October, one can attend a harvest festival almost every weekend. They are very similar in nature; all involve live Hungarian music with dancing, Hungarian food, beer and wine, and are attended by hundreds of local Hungarians. Most also have decorations of grapes and fruit hanging from overhead, some with a guard called the *csósz*, and it is customary to try to steal the grapes without the *csósz* noticing. If he notices, he makes the person pay, or in the case of the Hungarian Cultural Center of Northeastern Ohio's festival, a barred enclosure clearly labeled *BÖRTÖN* [jail or prison] is the playful resting place until the person pays up. All of the harvest festivals also include Hungarian dance performances either by the respective church groups, including St. Elizabeth's and the West Side Hungarian Reformed Church's, by the *Regös* scout group, or by *Csárdás*.

¹³³ Buckeye Road Nationality Reunion flyer for 22 July 2012 provided by organizer Chuck St. John; he also told me in May of 2012 that they are expecting 800 for the third year of the event, to be held at Landerhaven in suburban Mayfield Heights, and that most of the advertising had spread word-of-mouth through Facebook.

The church groups usually wear a uniquely Hungarian-American folk costume which consists of a white skirt with red, white, and green striping around the bottom edges, white hand-embroidered blouses, and a red vest with piping. Men wear dark slacks with white shirts and embroidered vests. These are no longer in use in Hungary proper, but were very much considered overall Hungarian folk dress in the late 19th centuries, with many a contemporary photograph from a hundred years ago showing their use throughout Hungary. Cleveland Hungarians' ancestors brought this tradition over from Hungary over a hundred years ago, and have been wearing it at harvest festivals ever since, usually passing them down within each family from one generation to the next. Community members look forward to these harvest festivals because it gives them a chance to interact socially in traditional, ritual-laden surroundings, consuming Hungarian food. They do not need to actually harvest grapes in Hungary; rather, like Bőjtös explained, it is a spiritual homeland. The first generation immigrants, according to Hoppál, had a "natural human reaction [in] that the individual, deprived of the everyday security of community existence, shifted the sense of belonging to the community from the everyday sphere to the festive sphere... [and] the ethnic identity manifested by the symbols is not a social stigma, but the source of a new kind of pride."¹³⁴ This concept of symbolic ethnicity is different from the formulation of Herbert Gans, however, because it involves much more emotion and a deeper symbolism; it is in the form of "intellectually experienced symbolical behavior patterns... particularly characteristic of second and even more of the third generation." Hoppál predicts that this emotionally experienced ethnic allegiance will continue to exist for a long while in this symbolic form, and the century-old tradition of the harvest festival with its folk costume seems to have survived quite a while.

Another regular event held every fall is the Vintner dinner, a black-tie formal event organized by the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society to benefit its museum. Fall is also the time of the commemoration of the 1956 Revolution on the 23rd of October. Organized by the United Hungarian Societies, with a program provided by the scouts, the Hungarian school, and various literary and musical individuals, the commemoration is much like the one for March 15th. With many local Cleveland Hungarians being refugees from the Revolution and having witnessed firsthand the 1956 events, however, this commemoration holds deeper significance. Indeed, when such commemorations were banned in the Hungary of 1956-1989, Cleveland Hungarians felt it their duty to honor and remember for the sake of those who could not, and the event has been held ever since the late 1950's, every year in late October.

¹³⁴ Mihály Hoppál, "Tradition and Ethnic Symbols in an American Hungarian Community," *Hungarian Heritage* Volume 11, numbers 1-2 (2010): 53.

Regular events also include musical concerts by various groups or individuals on North American tours stopping in Cleveland. Organized by various churches and private or public groups, these concerts vary in venue and in attendance, but every year Cleveland Hungarians can attend several concerts by notable artists, many of them who play Hungarian folk music. In the past these have included Kálmán Balogh, the Carpathian Quartet, Vilmos and Dániel Gryllus, Kabar, Dűvő, Zsuzsa Koncz and János Bródy, Magos, Rajkó, Szászcsávás, Tükrös, and Üsztürü. The Hungarian State Folk Ensemble also visited Cleveland in 1987, 1990, and 1994, with shows held at major downtown theaters and attracting audiences nearing a thousand. Also worthy of note are classical music concerts, sometimes held in the Hungarian Cultural Garden, other times at other venues, with local and guest artists playing Liszt or Brahms.

These ongoing events show a merging of Hungarian traditions with American traditions, forming a uniquely Hungarian-American ethnic culture. For these Cleveland Hungarians, the American holidays Memorial Day and Thanksgiving, each with their own traditions and customs, are equally important as harvest festivals, March 15, and October 23 commemorations. The merging of the two cultures builds on inherited values and serves to strengthen the bicultural identities of individuals.

Galvanizing Events

Every now and then a major event serves to galvanize and unite Cleveland's Hungarian population. Various organizations and churches work together to prepare for a common cause, and attract masses of people. No matter how different people are, i.e. which organization they belong to, which wave of immigration they or their ancestors arrived in, where they live, what their religion or political persuasion is, what their age or level of language skill, no matter their socioeconomic status, they unite as Cleveland Hungarians for a common cause. Some of the past notable events have been the visit of Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty in 1974, mass demonstrations protesting the return of St. Stephen's Holy Crown to Hungary by the Carter administration in 1977, the visit of Reformed bishop László Tőkés in 1991, an attempt to form a Cleveland Magyar Park, the fiftieth anniversary of the 1956 Revolution, and the Catholic church closings of 2009-2010.

1974 saw the visit of Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty, on a worldwide pastoral tour of Hungarian communities after his 15 years living closed within the American legation and embassy in Budapest. On May 25th, he arrived amidst much pomp and ceremony, including police motorcycle escorts, a press conference, the mayor providing his personal limousine for

the entire visit, parades with mounted police, honor guards by the Hungarian scouts and the Knights of Columbus, performances by Cleveland's Singing Angels, representatives from other nationalities, a gala banquet at the Recreation Center, and flag blessings. While in Cleveland, he visited the Hungarian Cultural Gardens, the First Hungarian Presbyterian church, the First Hungarian Reformed Church, the First Hungarian Lutheran Church, St. John Greek Catholic Church, St. Elizabeth church, St. Margaret church, the downtown St. John's Cathedral, the Captive Nations' Flame, St. Emeric church, the Cleveland Magyar Athletic Club, the Árpád Academy of the Hungarian Association, the West Side Hungarian Reformed Church, the West Side Hungarian Lutheran Church, the Kárpát Publishing Company's printshop, and the *Szűz Mária és Szent József Öregotthon*, a senior home in Chagrin Falls. Thousands turned out for the visit, with each venue filled to capacity with overflow crowds, many wearing Hungarian formal attire, the *díszmagyar*, with all of Cleveland's Hungarian organizations and churches taking part. Mindszenty also visited Hungarian churches and crowds in nearby Lorain, Barberton, and Akron.

Another pivotal event for Cleveland's Hungarians was the occasion of the return of St. Stephen's Crown by President Jimmy Carter to the government of Hungary in 1978. Because the vast majority of Cleveland's Hungarians were anticommunist, mass protests and demonstrations were held to try to avert the holy crown's return to a communist government, with chartered busfuls of demonstrators traveling to Washington, D.C. Local congressional representative Mary Rose Oakar worked together with local Hungarian leaders to lobby President Carter. 35 Cleveland Hungarian organizations signed onto a resolution stating simply: "President Carter is requested not to return the Holy Crown until all Soviet troops are totally withdrawn from Hungary, and free and independent elections are restored in Hungary." The organizer of the resolution dated 27 November 1977 was John B. Nádas, president of Cleveland's Hungarian Association, and the resolution included a total of 150 Hungarian churches, associations, and federations in the United States, Canada, and Australia.¹³⁵ However, the decision had been made, and the crown was returned after over thirty years of safekeeping by the U.S. government. The impact of the return led to a warming of relations between the two countries, and the ceremony returning the Crown was attended by then-Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Nobel Prize winner Albert Szent-Györgyi, as well as the Cardinal, Chief Rabbi, Protestant Bishops, and government, academic, scientific, cultural leaders on the Hungarian side.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ From Mária Pekló's photo album, which included press clippings, photographs of demonstrations, and personal correspondence, including a letter dated 24 February 1978 from Assistant Secretary of State George S. Vest.

¹³⁶ From embassy history, U.S. Department of State. Hungary.usembassy.gov/holy_crown.html, site accessed 14 March 2013. See also Steven Béla Várdy's "Hungarians in America's Ethnic Politics," in *America's Ethnic Politics*, ed. Joseph Roucek & Bernard Eisenberg

Another event that drew thousands of Hungarians was the visit by the Reverend László Tőkés, the hero of the Temesvár (Timisoara) siege that sparked the 1989 Romanian revolution and the demise of the hated dictator Ceaucescu. The visit took place on November 9th, 1991, at the First Hungarian Reformed Church, which was still at 10706 Buckeye Road. It involved a banquet and a speech, and the church hall was filled to capacity.¹³⁷

Something that attempted to mobilize most Hungarians in Cleveland but unfortunately did not succeed was the dream of a Magyar Park. Kálmán Hegedeös and István Gáspár, while searching for a commercial real estate investment, happened onto a property for sale in Walton Hills, not far from the First Hungarian Reformed Church on Alexander Road. The property consisted of over 17 acres with a party center adjacent to a golf course, a roadside ice cream stand, a playground, and a caretaker's residence. They made an offer to buy the property in 2000, but after realizing its potential as a possible Hungarian community center, transferred the buying rights to a nonprofit organization set up for the express purpose of establishing such a Magyar Park. Community leaders became involved, a website developed, and a capital campaign started under the motto *ezer család, ezer dollár*, hoping that a thousand Cleveland families would each donate a thousand dollars, thus raising the purchase price of \$675,000 with enough left over to renovate the facilities to house a Hungarian library, community center, and picnic grounds. The Cleveland Magyar Athletic Club, who had sold their clubhouse on Lorain Avenue, donated financing for the marketing campaign. About \$240,000 was raised from the Hungarian community in Cleveland, but the seller backed out, litigation ensued, and the whole attempt imploded in 2003, with many people losing prorated parts of their investments.¹³⁸ The organizers of the endeavor worked tirelessly for the good of the entire Hungarian community, but in the end their efforts were not to be realized.

An event that certainly did unite almost all of Cleveland's Hungarians was the fiftieth anniversary of the 1956 Revolution. An extended week of commemorations culminated in a daylong event attended by thousands of people at Cleveland State University's Wolstein Center, an indoor sports arena seating 15,000. The event included dance performances, children's activities, film screenings, and a keynote address by Congressional Representative Tom Lantos, who was born in Hungary and survived the Holocaust and Soviet occupation before emigrating to California.

(Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982). See also Attila Simonsits' *The Last Battle for St. Stephen's Crown* (Cleveland: Weller Publishing, 1983).

¹³⁷ I was there and remember it well, and came across a flyer for the event when combing through the Kossányi archival materials on January 7th, 2012.

¹³⁸ George Csatóry, president of the nonprofit formed to operate the Magyar Park, in a personal interview with the author in June 2010, confirmed in separate emails to the author by Kálmán Hegedeös on 19 November 2012, again by George Csatóry on 20 November 2012, and by Judith Osváth-Nagy on 26 March 2013.

The latest event to mobilize Cleveland's Hungarians was the plan of Bishop Richard Lennon and the Catholic Diocese to close two of the three Hungarian Catholic churches in Cleveland. The three-year period leading up to the June 2010 closing of St. Emeric entailed an intensive letter-writing campaign by many Hungarian organizations to show their support for the St. Emeric parish, multiple demonstrations at the church and at the downtown cathedral and bishop's office complex, and intense lobbying efforts. After the Bishop closed St. Emeric church, the parish community appealed to the Vatican Congregation of the Clergy, who overturned the closing, ruling that the bishop had erred on procedural and substantive grounds; details about reopening the shuttered parish will be offered in the conclusion of this dissertation.

Every five years since 1978 the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble has celebrated anniversaries of its founding in 1973. These performances, held in 1978, 1983, 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003, and 2008, have always united Cleveland's Hungarian scouting community to put on a Hungarian folk dance show for the greater Cleveland Hungarian and broader public. The shows are extravagant cultural events, and the two-hour gala performances held at college or civic auditoriums usually attract over a thousand people in the audience, with over a hundred performers from all age groups onstage and backstage. The scouts spend over a year preparing for these performances, and always get excellent reviews among the Hungarian public. The performances serve to unite and excite Hungarians in Cleveland, because the show entails much more than just the scouts on stage; many non-scouts help with food preparation, program booklet advertising, set construction, folk costume embroidery and sewing, and the myriad of other tasks that a two-hour staged show entails. These members of the Hungarian community in Cleveland fit into Bressler's framework inasmuch as first, the event is appreciated by many who otherwise differ on important issues, and second, the show has persisted over time continuously rather than sporadically. Third, the show arouses intense emotions as well as strong rational support, and fourth, people who in their persons symbolize the value, i.e., directors of the Ensemble, enjoy high prestige. Fifth, powerful constituencies organize in the show's support, and sixth, leaders regularly refer to the value of the show in communications addressed to domestic and international audiences. Thus, the performance meets six of Bressler's seven conditions for group values. In addition, the show embodies the spiritual homeland concept proposed by Bójtös, for the show attracts audience and performers from various geographic areas, some bussed in from far away, who share the value system of appreciation of Hungarian folk culture in Cleveland. The ensemble is already preparing the show for 2013, which will have a Kodály theme.

2.5 Population: How Many Hungarians are there in Cleveland?

We see that the greater Cleveland area contains an active Hungarian community. But how many Hungarians actually live in Cleveland today? And do the suburbs of Cleveland count? Its adjoining counties? How does one define Hungarian? Being of Hungarian ancestry? Understanding and occasionally speaking Hungarian? Speaking Hungarian in the home? Taking part in the activities of Hungarian organizations in Cleveland? How far will people drive to take part in Cleveland Hungarian activities?

Historical Census data from 1940 through 2010 show the effects of assimilation and also the sudden influx of two major waves of Hungarian immigration, the DP generation and the 1956 refugees, followed by another recurring albeit slow assimilation process. Although the question has been phrased in different ways through the years of the census, the meaning of the numbers remained the same from 1940 to 1960: immigrants to the Cleveland area from Hungary. Missing from the 1940-1960 data is the number of ethnic Hungarians arriving from Romania, Czechoslovakia, or other countries bordering Hungary, even though those countries also had and have an extensive Hungarian population, but these details could not easily be ascertained from U.S. census figures, which only kept track of country of origin, not nationality. The most recent United States Census in 2010 did not ask about ethnicity or ancestral heritage, as did previous ones. The 2010 United States Census data delineated ancestry or ethnic heritage only among the Hispanic population, while other groups remained non-specific in broad categories like Asian, Black, and White.

However, the Census Bureau, in addition to conducting its detailed census as mandated by the Constitution every ten years, also conducts an ongoing statistical survey that samples a small percentage of the population every year. This process is called the American Community Survey, and it samples 3 million addresses yearly, using three modes of data collection: mail, telephone, and personal visits. Its five year estimates include 60 months of collected data and are the most reliable, while its one year estimates are the most recent, albeit with slightly less reliability. In the case of ancestry, both the 2000 Census and the American Community Survey phrased the question exactly the same way, simply asking respondents "What is your ancestry or ethnic origin?" The table below shows the number of persons listing Hungarian first as their ancestry (in the right column, in a lighter shade of gray, because those numbers are a part of the total numbers reported in the second column from the right). Indeed, the table shows a shifting of persons of Hungarian ancestry from Cleveland and Cuyahoga County to adjoining counties, reflecting suburban sprawl.

| HUNGARIAN ANCESTRY ¹³⁹ | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| | 1940 CENSUS Whites born in Hungary | 1950 CENSUS White persons born in Hungary | 1960 CENSUS Persons of foreign stock reporting Hungary as country of origin | | 2000 CENSUS Persons listing Hungarian ancestry | 2010 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY Total persons listing Hungarian ancestry | 2010 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY Persons listing Hungarian ancestry as first choice |
| USA | | | | | 1 398 724 | 1 501 736 | 930 994 |
| Ohio | 49 185 | 43 410 | 106 307 | | 193 951 | 193 512 | 133 462 |
| City of Cleveland | | | | | 8 400 | 6 822 | 4 521 |
| Cuyahoga County | 23 833 | 20 223 | 47 477 | | 47 392 | 44 605 | 27 607 |
| Summit County | 4 388 | 4 002 | 8 602 | | 10 706 | 19 645 | 11 809 |
| Lorain County | 3 178 | 2 524 | 6 347 | | 14 042 | 15 474 | 10 351 |
| Lake County | 913 | 981 | 3 740 | | 11 356 | 12 343 | 8 562 |
| Medina County | 430 | 401 | 895 | | 6 443 | 7 887 | 5 344 |
| Geauga County | 248 | 322 | 1 195 | | 4 507 | 5 137 | 3 553 |
| Cuyahoga and adjoining counties | 32 990 | 71 863 | 68 256 | | 94 446 | 105 091 | 67 226 |

The methodology of the American Community Survey in Ohio consisted of 107,932 initial households selected in 2010, and 129,699 selected in 2011, with 76,268 and 89,255 final interviews conducted in each respective year. The response rate was 98.3% in 2010 and 98.1% in 2011, with a coverage rate of households of 99.9% and 99.7%, respectively, reaching 97.1% and 96.3% of the population in 2010 and 2011.¹⁴⁰

But ancestry does not fully describe Hungarian identity, for it entails the entire spectrum from symbolic ethnicity as exemplified by “My grandmother was Hungarian, and I like goulash,” all the way to the transnational immigrant who just arrived a year ago from Hungary. However, an easy marker for Hungarian identity, because it entails quantifiable effort, is the number of people who actually reported speaking Hungarian in the household. These numbers show a decline in the number of Americans and Ohio residents who speak Hungarian at home, and further analysis of the data also reveals the current status of Hungarians in the greater Cleveland area, a shrinking community.

¹³⁹Compiled from Census 2000, Summary File 3, STP 258 and SF 3, as well as from www.census.gov/population/ancestry, site accessed 10 April 2013.

¹⁴⁰http://www.census.gov/acs/www/methodology/sample_size_and_data_quality/, site accessed 10 April 2013.

| PERSONS SPEAKING HUNGARIAN IN THE HOUSEHOLD NUMBER OF PERSONS AGED 5 AND ABOVE | | |
|---|--|--|
| | 2000 CENSUS Hungarian spoken at home | 2010 AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY Hungarian spoken at home |
| USA | 117 785 | 91 445 |
| Ohio | 11 859 | 8 496 |
| City of Cleveland | 890 | 621 |
| Cuyahoga County | 4 830 | 3 440 |
| Summit County | 1 050 | 730 |
| Lorain County | 875 | 827 |
| Lake County | 720 | 430 |
| Medina County | 175 | 283 |
| Geauga County | 365 | 364 |
| Cuyahoga and adjoining counties | 8 015 | 6 074 |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau¹⁴¹

Data from the most recent American Community Survey show that of 1,501,736 Americans who listed Hungarian ancestry, only 91,445 spoke Hungarian in the family, which is 6%. Of 193,512 Ohioans who listed Hungarian ancestry, only 8,496 spoke Hungarian in the family, which is 4%. Excluding the suburbs of Cleveland and looking only at city residents, which is just a fraction of the Hungarians living in the greater Cleveland area, 6,822 listed Hungarian ancestry and of those, 621 indicated that they spoke Hungarian in the family. This translates to 9%, higher than Ohio-wide and USA-wide statistics. However, 621 in the city of Cleveland seems like a rather small number, and indeed, when talking about Cleveland, it is important to note that “Cleveland” includes not only the city itself, but its surrounding suburbs as well, the Cleveland Metropolitan Statistical Area as defined by the United States Census Bureau.¹⁴²

Thus if one considers Cuyahoga County census tracts (Cuyahoga County contains Cleveland and all of its contiguous suburbs), one finds that 3,440 people spoke Hungarian within the family, and 44,605 people listed Hungarian ancestry in Cuyahoga County, a percentage of 7.7%. Due to suburban sprawl into the adjoining counties of Lorain, Summit, Medina, Geauga, and Lake, the number of Hungarians is significantly higher, almost twice as much. If one examines the Census data for Cuyahoga and its adjoining counties (the greater Cleveland area), one finds a total of 6,074 census respondents reporting speaking Hungarian

¹⁴¹ Compiled from Census 2000, Summary File 3, STP 258 and SF 3, as well as from www.census.gov/population/ancestry, site accessed 10 April 2013. An additional useful resource is the Modern Language Association Map, which compiles data from the same sources, but is much more comprehensive: its interactive map can be broken down into language spoken, delineated by state, county, municipality, and zip code, either by number of total speakers, or by percentage of total population. See www.mla.org/map_main.

¹⁴² As defined at www.census.gov/population/metro. Website accessed 8 November 2012.

in their households, and 105,091 residents listing Hungarian ancestry, which is 5.7%. Thus while Ohio and nationwide statistics show a 4-6% rate of language spoken in the household as compared to totals reporting Hungarian ancestry, that number is 7.7% to 9% in Cleveland and its adjoining suburbs. Cleveland's Hungarians speak the language in a higher proportion than the statewide and national average. I subscribe these results to its vibrant community.

Comparing these numbers to the detailed data of the 2000 Census, the number of people in Ohio, in the United States, and in the greater Cleveland area who reported speaking Hungarian in their homes saw a decline both in their overall numbers as well as in their percentages compared to totals reporting Hungarian ancestry. The percentages dropped from 8% in 2000 to 6% in 2010 nationwide, 6% to 4% in Ohio, 10.6% to 9% in the city of Cleveland proper, 10% to 7.7% in Cuyahoga county, and 8.5% to 5.7% in Cuyahoga and its adjoining counties. However, other measures of Hungarians in Cleveland, such as enrollment in its Hungarian school and participation in its cultural activities, show less of a decline.

With minor exceptions, Cleveland's ethnicities tend not to overlap much, and each ethnic community conducts its own activities primarily among its own members. Still, one can compare the Hungarian community to other nationalities by looking at the number of households reporting languages other than English spoken in the household, as sampled by the latest American Community Survey, a 5 year estimate released in 2011:

| LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN CUYAHOGA COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS (2011) | |
|---|---|
| Total population | 1 209 889 |
| Speak only English | 1 073 496 |
| Spanish | 41 777 |
| Arabic | 10 264 |
| Other Slavic languages | 8 444 |
| Chinese | 8 119 |
| Russian | 6 222 |
| German | 5 402 |
| Italian | 5 183 |
| Serbo-Croatian | 5 107 |
| Polish | 4 886 |
| French | 3 652 |
| Hungarian | 3 171 (margin of error is +/- 464) |
| Greek | 2 582 |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau¹⁴³

Another way to shed light on the size of the Hungarian community in the Cleveland area is to look at the number of Hungarian funerals. Instead of relying on Census statistics alone, as other researchers frequently do, I looked at the issue from multiple angles,

¹⁴³ Compiled from the 2011 American Community Survey 5 year estimate, which means data was collected over 60 months, as found on www.census.gov/population/ancestry, site accessed 10 April 2013.

one of them being trying to ascertain approximately how many families bury their loved ones using the Hungarian language. Although my research findings are imprecise because not all Hungarians in Cleveland frequent the same funeral parlors, examining the statistics of several of the prominently Hungarian funeral homes does shed light on aspects of Hungarian social life in Cleveland. Indeed, those who conduct a funeral service in Hungarian despite knowing and being surrounded by everyday English language, show that a Hungarian identity manifested in language was important in the life of the deceased and his or her family, and by extension to the community. A funeral is but a day, not a lifetime, and what the family chooses to do on that single day, how they emphasize the life of their loved one, what they highlight from years of living, reflects on values held and gives meaning to lives lived. Thus I have chosen to examine Hungarian funerals.

A spot-check of the Hungarian funerals held by the Bodnar-Mahoney Funeral Home shows a decline in Hungarian funerals on the West side but nevertheless is one way to show the extent of current Hungarian language use. According to Lajos Bodnár, whose father started the business in 1929, 2010 saw 34 Hungarian funerals at his business, which was about 15% of his yearly total at that time. 10 years earlier, his Hungarian funerals were 42, which was about 56% of his yearly total at the time. 1990 saw 47 Hungarian funerals (57% of his total business), while 1980 saw 64 Hungarian funerals (29% of his total business).¹⁴⁴ Statistically, these numbers are meaningless, for there are far too many variables to be able to draw valid conclusions. Yet anecdotally, the overall numbers reveal a fairly consistent segment of Cleveland's population through the years conducting funerals in the Hungarian language. Of course, this is only one funeral home among many, albeit the most significant Hungarian one on the West side.

Also revealing are the statistics from the funeral homes serving the Hungarian and Slovak immigrants in the Buckeye Road neighborhood, especially in terms of a shrinking Hungarian population, or rather, of a population that fled to the suburbs during the late 1960's and early 1970's. Hartman Funeral Home was the business that most Lutherans and Reformed Hungarians of the Buckeye neighborhood frequented. In business since 1953, they averaged about 70 funerals per year, of which about 90% were Hungarian. In 1983 the business moved from the Buckeye neighborhood to Lyndhurst, an eastern suburb of Cleveland, but in 1990, 2000, and even today they hold about 20-25 Hungarian funerals per year.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Lajos Bodnár, in email correspondence with the author 18 July 2011.

¹⁴⁵ Charles Hartman, phone interview with the author, 29 July 2011.

Several funeral homes served other religious denominations of the Hungarians in the Buckeye Road neighborhood, but they have since closed or left the neighborhood in the 1980's, much like Hartman. Cheroszky Funeral Home predominantly served the Hungarian Greek Catholic population, while Riczo Funeral Home had the biggest volume in its heyday, holding about 200-225 funerals per year, about 90% of which were Hungarian, burying mostly from St. Margaret and St. Elizabeth. Originally spelled Hriczo, the grandfather was named Lukacs.¹⁴⁶ Now out of business, the Jakob and Toth Funeral Home also catered to Hungarians in the Buckeye Road neighborhood, holding about 100 funerals per year at two locations.

Chuck St. John, owner of St. John Funeral Home in Bedford, shed extensive light on and helped me with a detailed analysis of his own business records of Hungarian funerals in Cleveland, having spent his entire career catering to Cleveland's Hungarian and Slovak populations. His grandfather, Andrew Stupjansky, came to America from Kassa (now known as Kosice) in 1885 and settled on Cleveland's West side. He was Slovak but could speak Hungarian. In 1913 he started his funeral business, and in 1915 established a Buckeye Road office directly across from St. Elizabeth church. In those days Cleveland Hungarian funerals were conducted mostly out of homes, with funeral directors taking drapes, kneelers, and candles to individual houses for wakes, often hoisting caskets to the second floors of houses. Chuck St. John still remembers lifting caskets above the porches of Buckeye Road neighborhood double houses when he started working for his father as a teenager. His father joined the family business in 1917 and eventually married a Hungarian girl named Pasztor, the mother of Chuck.

Around 1930 the wake and funeral traditions slowly changed from being held in residences to being held in funeral parlors, as they are now. In 1950 his father changed the family name from Stupjansky to St. John, and in 1959 opened a second funeral home in Bedford, a southeastern suburb of Cleveland. Eventually Chuck took over his father's and grandfather's business, but was forced to close the Buckeye Road funeral parlor in 1991, after going 14 months without a funeral. The Bedford parlor is still in business, however, with the occasional Hungarian funeral. An analysis of the Buckeye Road parlor's official records showed an average of 6 Hungarian funerals per year from 1960-1965, about 15% of his total business of 40-55 funerals per year. 1970 saw 9 Hungarian funerals of 44 total, while 1971 had 7 of 44 and 1972 had 6 of 40. 1980 saw 4 of 14, and 1981 2 of 12, reflecting the

¹⁴⁶ Chuck St. John, in the funeral business since his childhood, was kind enough to map out the Buckeye Road neighborhood funeral market in a personal interview with the author on 28 July 2011. One cannot survive in the funeral business without knowing the competition, and Chuck knows his market intimately. John Riczo confirmed the number of 200-225 yearly funerals from his Buckeye parlor in the 1960's and 1970's, with 90% being Hungarian, in a phone conversation with the author on 23 February 2012.

Hungarian flight to the suburbs during that time. Again, one cannot draw valid statistical conclusions about these numbers, but as anecdotal evidence they show the use of the Hungarian language in an ongoing ritual, the tradition all humanity partakes in, joining together in community to remember the lives and values of the decedent. And by thus communicating in the chosen language of Hungarian, a choice laden with symbolism, one can see how one person's character (as their heirs and friends express it at the funeral) exemplifies Urban and Orbe's communication theory of identity.

Aggregating the Hungarian funeral market, we can see that up until the 1980's, hundreds of Hungarian funerals were held in Cleveland every year. Indeed, the above-mentioned funeral parlors advertised extensively in the Cleveland Hungarian daily newspaper *Szabadság*. In the late part of the twentieth century, seventy-five to a hundred were held yearly, and even today fifty to seventy-five Hungarian funerals are held yearly in the Cleveland area. Not everyone is baptized or holds a church wedding, but everyone does eventually die, and funerals are social occasions, which is why I chose to present funeral statistics to give an overall picture of Hungarian life in the Cleveland area. These numbers do not contain those Hungarian families who choose to hold funerals at a neighborhood suburban funeral home that is not Hungarian, but the businesses who cater to an established Hungarian market nevertheless show a steady percentage of Hungarian funerals.

Another way to ascertain the number of Hungarians active in Cleveland is to examine the membership lists of the major Hungarian organizations. Churches are the easiest place to start; assuming that most people do not regularly attend more than one religious denomination's services, although some do, it is safe to say that summarizing the detailed church membership data in the previous chapter, on any given Sunday about 400 people attend various Hungarian-language church services in Cleveland and its suburbs, with about 800 attending on major holidays such as Christmas or Easter. These are the people who are active in Cleveland Hungarian churches.

For secular organizations, the total membership numbers are somewhat misleading, because a significant number of Cleveland Hungarians belong to multiple organizations. But looking at the total membership numbers and discounting the overlap, a reasonable number can be attributed for Hungarians in Cleveland that are connected in a verifiable way to their community. These numbers do not reflect those Hungarians who do not belong to Cleveland Hungarian organizations, and their Hungarian identity may not depend on associating with an organization; in fact, some do not wish to have anything to do with what they see as politics and posturing among the organizations. Informal house parties at private residences among Hungarians in the Cleveland area, in fact, also provide a sense of

community to their participants, but can be problematic for the scholar to research. Nevertheless, paying yearly dues or getting onto the mailing list of an organization shows a certain level of measurable commitment, which is why I chose this method as a way to characterize Cleveland's Hungarians, in addition to using Census figures, church membership, and funeral estimates.

Upon examining the membership lists of the major Hungarian secular organizations in Cleveland, I found the American Hungarian Friends of Scouting mailing list (Cuyahoga and its adjoining counties only; their list is much more extensive, but I only included those households in the greater Cleveland area) was the largest with 1,197 total households as of 2011. The Hungarian Association had 455 households in Ohio, with 39 of those outside the greater Cleveland area. The Hungarian Cultural Garden mailing list had 385 names, with 57 of those outside the greater Cleveland area.¹⁴⁷ The Hungarian Cultural Center of Northeastern Ohio was next with 342 members as of 2011, but they gave me a list of the members from the past 5 years, yielding 520 people. The Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society, known locally as the Hungarian Museum, had a mailing list of 187 families, averaging about 250 paid members yearly, but its mailing list for publishing its *Review* newsletter encompasses 1,301 names, not all from the Cleveland area. The Hungarian Genealogical Society of Cleveland has 45 paid members on its list.

I examined each list, checking for overlap, and found 29 unique names on the Genealogical Society's list with 16 members belonging to other organizations as well, 426 unique names on the Hungarian Cultural Center's list with 94 members belonging to other organizations, 171 unique names on the mailing list of the Hungarian Cultural Gardens and 157 names shared with other organizations. The Hungarian Heritage Society (museum) had 45 unique families on the museum's list, with 142 families appearing on other organizational lists. The Hungarian Association's list had 65 unique households, i.e., families not on any other organization's list, with 390 households shared with the scout list. The scouting list was by far the largest and most comprehensive, so I used that as a master list to verify the others, but even so I found that in addition to the 1,197 families on the scouting list, 626 individuals and 110 families from other organizations were not on that list. Aggregated, this means that six Cleveland Hungarian organizations collectively have 2,756 names on their mailing lists, with 799 of those 2,756 who hold multiple memberships or are on multiple mailing lists. An additional four to eight hundred are involved in Hungarian churches, albeit with some overlap between the religious and the secular. Therefore the number of people actively associated in

¹⁴⁷ Carolyn Balogh, president of the Hungarian Cultural Gardens, clarified that the 385 on the mailing list were those people who had at one time participated in a Garden activity or fundraiser, in an email to the author dated 30 July 2012.

some tangible way with Cleveland's Hungarian organizations and churches can be estimated at around two to three thousand in 2011.

To cite some examples of some common Hungarian family names in the Cleveland area, the scout mailing list has 12 separate families named Horvath, 7 unique Kiss families, 12 Kovacs families with a thirteenth spelled Kovats, 7 families with the last name of Meszaros, 20 named Nagy, 11 named Szabo, 15 families named Takacs and a sixteenth spelled Takats, 14 households that bear the last name Toth, and 11 that carry the name Varga.

Also interesting is the geographic breakdown of the scout mailing list. 256 families were listed as living in Cleveland proper, with the rest scattered all over the rest of the greater Cleveland area. However, some suburbs did show somewhat larger concentrations of Hungarian households, namely Lakewood with 70 households, North Olmsted with 57, Parma and Rocky River both with 55 households each, and Westlake with 43 Hungarian households. These suburban ratios are almost equivalent on the Hungarian Association's mailing list, out of a total of 416 households in the greater Cleveland area, with 38 households in Lakewood, 33 in Rocky River, and 21 in Westlake.

Worth mentioning is the extended reach of two of these Cleveland Hungarian organizations, which substantiates Urban and Orbe's communication theory of identity of immigrants. The Hungarian Association has worldwide members in addition to its 416 households in the greater Cleveland area; its complete mailing list totals about 1,100 addresses. The scout mailing list has 1197 in the Cleveland area, but around 1,850 total. Keeping Urban and Orbe's theory in mind, an important feature of these two Cleveland organizations is their outreach and communication with Hungarians internationally; this extended reach shows a view of identity as being Hungarian, and what is important about that identity is solidarity with other Hungarians, a sense of belonging along the lines of the spiritual homeland theory of Bőjtös. Other Hungarian organizations and churches in Cleveland also share this characteristic; the scout and Hungarian Association mailing lists merely quantify it in large-scale numbers.

To summarize my findings about the Hungarian population of the greater Cleveland area, approximately 105,000 listed Hungarian ancestry in the 2010 American Community Survey, with about 6,000 of those speaking Hungarian in the household. Over 2,000 are active in one or more of Cleveland's secular Hungarian organizations as of 2011, and about 400-800 attend a Hungarian church, with 50-75 Hungarian funerals yearly.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Thanks to Tibor Purger for urging me to devise a novel way of estimating the Hungarian population of Cleveland.

2.6 Legacy of the DP Generation

Of the six larger waves of Hungarian immigration to the Cleveland area, the first and the last remain outside of the scope of this dissertation. The first wave, that of the 1848 Kossuth era, is far gone, and its descendants have all assimilated into American society long ago. At the other end of the timeline, it is too soon to tell the effects of the last wave of immigrants, the young professionals of the 1990's and early 21st century. Of the middle four waves, however, the descendants of each form an integral part of today's Hungarian community life in Cleveland. What effect have the immigrants or their descendants had upon the Cleveland of today?

The first remaining wave, the *óamerikás* generation, built most of the physical landmarks of Hungarian Cleveland today, including establishing and actually building most of the Hungarian churches as well as the Cultural Gardens. Members and descendants of this generation continue to form the backbone of most Hungarian churches in the area, as well as of the Hungarian Cultural Center of Northeast Ohio. The DP generation's impact will be studied in more detail in the following paragraphs. Those of the 1956 generation and their descendants either assimilated into American life or eased into existing Hungarian institutions, as did the economic refugees of the 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's. The influence of the 1956 refugees, in terms of their anticommunism and overall sense of Hungarian community, cannot be understated. Going through a searing emotional experience in which the country united in freedom for two weeks against a Soviet intervention, then fleeing the homeland and continuing its traditions in the United States, especially during the Cold War when commemorations of 1956 were banned in Hungary, gave the refugees a sense of mission and duty that rejuvenated Cleveland's Hungarians as well.

But it was the members of the DP generation that had the largest and most lasting impact on today's Hungarian institutional life of Cleveland. At the end of the Second World War, refugee camps with large Hungarian populations included Heidelberg, Landshut, Metten, Münzingen, Osterode, Piding, Pocking/Plattling, Polling (Weilheim), Prüfening (Regensburg), Rosenheim, Simmens Schule (Munich), Mittenwald, and Waldwerke (Passau) in Germany, and Kellerberg (Villach)/Spittal an der Drau, Kufstein, Wörgl, and Innsbruck in Austria. These refugees started and maintained Hungarian schools with the approval of German and American authorities in the camps at Passau (1946-1951), Lindenberg (1951-1954), Bauschlott (1954-1959), Fürstenried (1957), and Burg Kastl (1957-2006), as well as a school for girls only at Niederaudorf/Reisach (1946-1951). Hungarian schools in refugee

camps in Austria included Kellerberg (1946-1948), Spittal (1948-1951), and Innsbruck.¹⁴⁹ Limited publishing took place in these refugee camps, with the exception of mimeographed newsletters, but the Hungarian refugees formed societies and organizations to mitigate the misery of daily life in the camps. Géza Jeszenszky, who served as Hungary's Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1990-1994, then as Hungary's Ambassador to the United States from 1998-2002, and is now the Ambassador of Hungary to Norway, alluded to the importance of this group of refugees. He stated that of the three Hungarian Parliaments of 1939, 1945, and 1947, 188 members had fled to the West after the Second World War. Indeed, in the same article he detailed the lack of knowledge about this emigration, of lessons not learned by the general populace in Hungary.¹⁵⁰

The Hungarian refugees in the camps were not officially Displaced Persons; that standing was reserved for victims of concentration camps and refugees from friendly countries. After 1947, however, the International Refugee Organization (IRO) formed by the United Nations in 1946, dealt with the massive refugee problem by reclassifying the majority of refugees from once enemy nations and allowing most everybody who wanted to emigrate overseas to do so. In the minds and language of this entire generation of refugees, they came to see themselves as DP's or Displaced Persons, whether or not they were officially classified as such; and the terminology has entered the popular language to encompass Hungarian refugees from 1945 to the early 1950's, ending with the next wave of refugees of the 1956 Revolution.

An executive order issued by President Harry Truman in 1945 called for the admission of 40,000 displaced persons to the United States under the regular quota system, which was followed up by the Displaced Person Act of June 25, 1948, which provided for the permanent settlement of over 220,000 people over a two-year period. Two years later, a revised Displaced Persons Act passed, with a new ceiling of 415,000 participants, followed by the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, which admitted 205,000 refugees as non-quota immigrants.¹⁵¹ 26,532 of those were Hungarians who entered the United States as Displaced Persons between 1945 and 1956,¹⁵² and Ferenc Somogyi wrote of more than 6,000 Displaced

¹⁴⁹ István Szappanos, from an unpublished lecture given at the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum on 14 January 2006, emailed to me on 24 September 2012.

¹⁵⁰ The exact quote in the original: "A hazai köztudat igen keveset tud az 1945 utáni nyugati magyar emigrációkról. A nyilvános fórumokat ezzel kapcsolatban is a félrevezető hamisítások és rágalmak uralták – szinte a kommunizmus utolsó pillanatáig. Borbándi Gyula erről egy rendkívül alapos, forrásokkal és pontos adatokkal alátámasztott, józan és elfogulatlan értékelést készített 1985-ben, itthon ez a rendszerváltozás hajnalán jelent meg, de viszonylag kevesen ismerik, még kevesebben tanultak belőle." Géza Jeszenszky, "A magyar emigrációk jelentősége," *Rubicon*, XIX, 181 (2008): 8.

¹⁵¹ Ivan Cizmic, Ivan Miletic, and George Prpic, *From the Adriatic to Lake Erie* (Eastlake: American Croatian Lodge, 2000), 189.

¹⁵² Steven Béla Várdy, *The Hungarian-Americans*, 118.

Persons arriving in Cleveland, sponsored by *óamerikás* immigrants between 1947 and 1953.¹⁵³

The new arrivals to Cleveland did not immediately integrate into existing Cleveland Hungarian *óamerikás* life. István Szappanos, himself a DP refugee, delineates why:

There were several sociologically unavoidable reasons. There was the clash of cultures (village vs. city), and the cultural divide that separated these two groups not only by decades of fast-moving history, but also ideological differences of the two worlds. While the old-timers had come to the New World seeking a better life, leaving behind a homeland shrouded in bittersweet memories, the newcomers felt that they were evicted from their homeland by forces of evil, not the least of which was perceived to be the very United States they had now arrived in. The old-time Hungarian print media that had formed the political views of their readers, such as *Szabadság*, *Népszava*, and others, were rather left-leaning and not at all understanding of the wartime predicament of the Old Country [faced with a fateful choice between two evils, allying with Soviet Russia or Hitler's Germany, with neutrality an impossibility], could not rid themselves even by the early 1950's, of the notion that those who left their homeland at this time were mostly nazi collaborators and war criminals, or at least members of that 'feudal' society whose oppression and exploitation was perceived to have caused the emigration of the poverty-stricken masses during the first half of the twentieth century. This created an undercurrent of suppressed resentment on both sides, and prevented the new and the old generations to form closer personal or organizational relationships, with one notable exception: Hungarian churches.¹⁵⁴

Szappanos goes on to describe a twofold legacy left by the DP generation. First, it left an intellectual legacy by promoting and preserving a sense of Hungarian identity with literature and writings, continually recalling and recreating the lost life in the homeland. Second, it left a legacy of working with Hungarian youth of the second and third generations through teaching and working with younger scouts. This impact was added to by members of the 1956 wave of immigrants as well, most of whom also fled their homeland due to political persecution. Although some historians such as Miklós Szántó have focused on the differences between the DP and 1956 waves of immigration, Gyula Borbándi, himself an emigre, writes of a merging of waves in his study of Hungarian emigres. He found that the arrival of the 1956 generation caused the DP generation to reevaluate their own roles, tasks, and goals. The entire Western emigre community felt that the 1956 Revolution was a common, uniting factor, and they cooperated on numerous levels.¹⁵⁵ Such was the case in Cleveland as well. To measure the impact of the DP generation on Cleveland's Hungarian institutions, I analyzed the leadership of the largest secular organizations, looking specifically at their elected executive committees or boards of directors as of 2010-2011.

For example, the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society, which operates the museum in the downtown Galleria Mall, has a 33-member board of directors, including its four officers. Of these 33 people, thirteen are members of the DP generation or their

¹⁵³ Ferenc Somogyi, *A Clevelandi Magyarország Vázlatos Története*, 64.

¹⁵⁴ István Szappanos, from an unpublished lecture given at the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum on 14 January 2006, emailed to me on 24 September 2012.

¹⁵⁵ Gyula Borbándi, *A magyar emigráció életrajza*, 474-475.

descendants,¹⁵⁶ including two of the four officers: the vice president and treasurer. In addition to its board of directors, 14 of 31 listed positions of responsibility included members of the DP generation, positions such as webmaster, volunteer chair, archivists, endowment committee, and computer operations. Also, of 18 listed on its honorary board of directors, 6 are members of the DP generation, including Balázs Bedy, the Reverend Béla Bernhardt, Zoltán Bócsay, Viktor Falk, Joseph Györky, and János Nádas.

For the Hungarian Association, its 2010 board and planning committee had 12 elected members, with 11 of 12 of them being of the DP generation, including Etelka Alapi, Ferenc Kis, Panni Nádas Ludányi, János Nádas, Gabriella Ormay Nádas, Ildikó Falk Peller, Márta Pereszlényi Pintér, Valéria Rátoni-Nagy, Lél Somogyi, Sarolta Somogyi, and Erzsébet Szabolcs. The Hungarian Cultural Center of Northeast Ohio, however, does not fit this pattern; its 16 member executive board has only one member of the DP generation, Magda Temesváry. Along the same lines, the executive committee of the Cleveland Hungarian Development Panel also had only one of 12 members, Kori Smith.

One can definitely see the impact of the DP generation when looking at the leadership of the Hungarian scouting movement in Cleveland. The four Hungarian scout troops of Cleveland fall under the jurisdiction of a district commissioner. Of eight district commissioners serving since 1955, six were of the DP generation or its descendants, including Gyula Borosdy, Gyula Dolesch, István Szappanos, Balázs Bedy, Mihály Horváth, and Andrea Vareska Mészáros. Most of the work of Hungarian scouting in Cleveland is done by its scoutmasters, those who are responsible for the day-to-day operations of the troops, including organizing camps and outings, parental communication, and leadership coordination; the position is rather like being a CEO, for it involves management of a troop with multiple layers of leadership, activities every week, and at least 30 members. In 2011, for example, the boy scout troop had over 60 active members, the girl scout troop over 70, and in the 1970's and 1980's each of the troops had over a hundred active members. For Hungarian boy scout troop #22, eight of its thirteen scoutmasters since 1951 have been of the DP generation or descendants thereof, including its founder Ede (Császár) Chászár, Zoltán Bócsay, István Szappanos, György Vareska, László Zala, Zsolt Gregora, Mihály Horváth, and Ernő Kálnoky. For Hungarian girl scout troop #33, of 14 scoutmasters since 1957, five were of the DP generation, including its founders Ágnes Huszár Várdy and Mária Strada Friedrich, Ágnes Bodnár Tarján, Andrea Vareska Mészáros, and Klára Bócsay Tóth. Of Hungarian girl scout troop #34, eight of ten scoutmasters since 1952 were of the DP

¹⁵⁶ Board members of the DP generation or its descendants include Ottó Friedrich, Zsolt Dömötörffy, Katalin Kaschl Gulden, George Kozmon, Elemér Mészáros, Magdalene Mészáros, Klára Papp, Kori Smith, István Szappanos, and Clara Thurner.

generation or its descendants, including its founder Melinda Dolesch Gaydán, Erzsébet Mód Borosdy, Klára Thurner, Krisztina Szabadkai Tábor, Judy Csia Szentkirályi, Andrea Szabolcs, Gabriella Ormay Nádas, and its current scoutmaster, Krisztina Szentkirályi, whose father is of the DP generation. For Hungarian scout troop #14, all but two of its fifteen scoutmasters since 1951 have been of the DP generation or its descendants, including László Berkes, Vilmos Bárdossy, Dénes Dietrich, Ferenc Beodray, Gyula Dolesch, Gábor Papp, Lothár Stieberth, Béla Megay, Viktor Falk, Levente Szabolcs, Andreas Tábor, Pál Strada, and Péter Hokky. And the precursor to today's four Cleveland Hungarian scout troops was troop number 12, existing from March to September of 1951, founded by DP refugee Ferenc Beodray.¹⁵⁷

A separate organization linked to the scouting movement is the American Hungarian Friends of Scouting, which is the sponsoring organization of the Cleveland Hungarian scout troops. It guarantees the financial stability of the scout troops and functions as their social liason. Of its 35 total elected and appointed board members, 13 are members or descendants of the DP generation, including Andrea Fricke Tábor, Mihály Horváth, György Kozmon, Katalin Gulden, Krisztina Szentkirályi, Mátyás Tábor, Erzsébet Hajdú-Németh Balássy, Ildikó Falk Peller, Viktor Falk, Ferenc Beodray, Zoltán Bócsay, Andrea Vareska Mészáros, and Balázs Bedy.

Thus we can see that most of Cleveland's major Hungarian organizations have at least a third to half of their current executive boards being members or descendants of the DP generation. For the scouting movement, that ratio is even higher, with 34 of 52 scoutmasters, or 65% being members or descendants of the DP generation, and 6 of 8, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of its district commissioners. It is safe to say that the DP generation has shaped, formed, and left a noticeable and lasting impact on Cleveland's Hungarian community life. As Joseph Széplaki wrote, "Every immigrant lives in a divided world partly by choice and largely of necessity. He divides his attention between the social, political, and cultural phenomena of two countries. He is ineluctably bound to his native land even as he tries to prove loyal, receptive, and responsive to his adopted country. Thus he is very sensitive to the customs, institutions, and events in both countries."¹⁵⁸ By working with Cleveland's Hungarian youth through the scouting movement and by serving on the boards of directors of other institutions, the members of the DP generation laid a foundation for the Cleveland Hungarian community, creating a spiritual homeland built upon inherited values that enabled and sustained the vibrancy of its current state.

¹⁵⁷ The founder of Cleveland's Hungarian school, Gábor Papp, was also a DP refugee.

¹⁵⁸ Joseph Széplaki, *The Hungarians in America* (Dobbs Ferry: Oceana Publishing, 1975), vii.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

3.1 Newspaper Publishing and Proceedings of the Hungarian Association: Then

But what did these DP refugees find when they first arrived to America? For a Hungarian living in Cleveland in 1951, several locally published Hungarian newspapers would have been readily available. This would have included the daily *Szabadság* and the weekly *A Jó Pásztor* [The Good Shepherd]. Religious newspapers would have included the weekly *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja* [Catholic Hungarians' Sunday] and appearing a year later, *Erős Vár: Amerikai Magyar Evangélikusok Lapja*. Zoltán Gombos was the owner and editor of *Szabadság*, presiding over two separate editions and editorial offices in New York and Cleveland. Later, the two editorial offices merged and the New York office moved to Cleveland.¹⁵⁹

Arguably the most significant depositories of Hungarian literary and cultural life in Cleveland are the yearbooks of the Hungarian Association, the *Krónika – Chronicles of the Hungarian Congress*, published as proceedings and including pictures and lectures from each November Hungarian Congress. Forty-nine editions of *Krónika* were published in book form in Cleveland from 1962 to 2011, all in the Hungarian language and on average each about 300 pages long. The first was edited by Béla Béldy, and thereafter until 1995 they were edited for 34 consecutive years by Ferenc Somogyi. From 1996 on they were edited by his son Lél Somogyi; the last one was published in book form in 2011, and summarized proceedings from 2009 and 2010; hereafter, proceedings will be posted online on the Hungarian Association website.

Although the Hungarian Association in 1951 was still in Innsbruck, Austria, it soon arrived in Cleveland and started its cultural work. A spot-check of the *Krónika*'s contents every 10 years reveals the cultural values of the Cleveland Hungarians, inasmuch as it shows the authors and lecturers who presented at its annual November conference. Who gets invited and who submits proposals illustrates the common values that at least the educated members of the community share. To provide a theoretical framework, I can apply Mihály Szegedy-Maszák's quote from 1983 when he spoke about Hungarian minority writers as he was comparing postmodern Hungarian literature with the Hungarian literature of Transylvania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. "It is worth remembering that most writers who represent minorities seem to aim at preserving old rather than creating new values." Cleveland Hungarians, much like the Hungarian minorities in the countries surrounding Hungary, also tend to preserve old values, values which they feel have been lost to a communist regime in Hungary. However, I must disagree with Szegedy-Maszák's quote when he said that "works

¹⁵⁹ Steven Béla Várdy, *Magyarok az Újvilágban* (Budapest: Magyar Nyelv és Kultúra Nemzetközi Társasága, 2000), 547.

of art never reflect the belief systems of a society.”¹⁶⁰ Cleveland’s Hungarian Association, by the nature of lecturers and guests that it invited, did in fact show the belief systems of Cleveland Hungarians. Indeed, Northrop Frye also highlighted the social functions of art and literature; many times people write not purely for aesthetic reasons, but rather to fulfill social functions, and the proceedings of the Hungarian Association reveal this. Marvin Bressler’s theoretical framework on defining cultural values is also useful in this instance, because in these proceedings we see standards that are widely diffused and embraced by individuals who otherwise differ on issues, we see standards and values which persist over time continuously rather than sporadically, and we see beliefs that arouse intense emotions as well as strong rational support, both by invited guests and by the local Cleveland Hungarian audience.

Proceedings of the first Hungarian Congress detail its origins in the spring of 1961. Several Hungarians gathered and were commiserating and questioning whether it was worth organizing community activities at all, when someone mentioned that “Don’t you realize that we always only consider Cleveland when we want to do something? That with an enigmatic resignation we accept the Cleveland curtain of indifference and don’t even try to break through the minefields of small local cliques to try to meet other Hungarians?”¹⁶¹ This question led to the organization of the first Hungarian Congress (*Első Magyar Találkozó*), held on November 24-26 of 1961. The yearbook, published in Cleveland in 1962, was actually printed in Argentina by Editorial Pannonia, which illustrates the successful international networking of the organizers. Indeed, most lectures presented at the conference are published along with commentary submitted via mail by Hungarians from all over the world, including Windsor, Montreal, and Toronto, Canada, New York, NY, Trenton, NJ, Gainesville, FL, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, PA, Washington, DC, Silver Spring, MD, Mindelheim, Germany, Sao Paulo, Brasil, and Buenos Aires, Argentina. The lectures and proceedings deal with questions of emigre Hungarians’ representation, Hungarian cultural roles in immigration, the economic and social problems of Hungarians, as well as awards presented by the Árpád Academy.

The following year another Hungarian Congress was held, with its proceedings published shortly thereafter. Also the year after that, and so it continued yearly. An analysis of every single *Krónika* is beyond the scope of this dissertation, and thus I have elected to summarize only every tenth one, to give the reader a taste of what the Hungarian Association’s work was

¹⁶⁰ Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, “Values in Contemporary Hungarian Literature,” Search for American Values: Contributions of Hungarian Americans to American Values, an American-Hungarian Bi-national Symposium (a publication detailing 10 lectures held in Budapest on 12-14 December 1983. Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1990), 51.

¹⁶¹ From the introduction presumably by Béla Bélydy, editor. *Első Magyar Találkozó Krónikája* (Cleveland: Árpád Könyvkiadó, 1962), 11-12. “Nem veszitek észre, hogy mi mindig csak Cleveland-re gondolunk, amikor csinálni akarunk valamit? Hogy valami érthetetlen megadással beletörődünk a clevelandi közöny-függöny-be és nem igyekszünk áttörni a kis lokális klikkek aknamezőin, hogy érintkezést teremthessünk többi magyar testvéreinkkel?” The translation is mine, as are all of the following.

and is like. The proceedings of the tenth Hungarian Congress, published in 1971, also contains lectures and worldwide correspondence commentary dealing with such topics as “Ten years in a quarter century of emigration,” “Thoughts about making and broadening contacts with the Old Country,” “The emergence and maintenance of independent western Hungarian culture,” “The worldwide responsibility of Hungarians,” a separate plenary session for the younger generation entitled “The question of maintaining our Hungarianness and building our contacts,” as well as the tasks of the Hungarian emigration.¹⁶² As in each yearbook, official business meeting minutes and presented awards are also included. Lecturers and commentators include Hungarians from the Cleveland area as well as Montreal and Winnipeg in Canada, Slippery Rock and Bryn Mawr, PA, Los Angeles, CA, Paris, France, and Saarbrücken, Germany.

The proceedings of the twentieth Hungarian Congress, published in 1981, continue in the same vein. Its published yearbook includes the text of lectures by 50 individuals with main topics being the concept of the Hungarian family in a free country (*a magyar család a szabad földön*) and the Hungarian future in a free country (*a magyar jövő kilátásai a szabad földön*). The former contained lectures such as “The subsistence of émigré Hungarians,” “Can one raise Hungarian children with non-Hungarian spouses?” and “Incorporating Hungarian young adults into Hungarian organizations,” while the latter included lectures such as “We want to join together as a strong nation,” “The future of the Hungarian-American book,” “Judging the Kádár regime,” and “History versus propaganda.”¹⁶³ The yearbook also included parallel sessions of various organizations such as the Transylvanian World Federation’s Cleveland Women’s Society, the World Federation of Hungarian Engineers and Architects with representation from 22 countries, the Society of Free Hungarian Journalists, the officers’ conference of the Hungarian Scout Association, and the 53 member American Hungarian Stamp Collectors’ Society, with 43 of those from the Cleveland area. Presented awards and business meeting minutes of the Árpád Association are also included.

The proceedings of the thirtieth Hungarian Congress, held in 1990 and published in 1991, reflect a slight shift after the fall of communism in 1989. János Nádás, in the opening of the conference, was happy to report that Árpád Göncz, President of Hungary, and József Antall, Prime Minister, as well as Otto von Habsburg all had sent their greetings to the thirtieth

¹⁶² “Tíz év a negyedszázados emigrációból, Gondolatok az Óhazával való kapcsolatok felvételéről és kiszélesítéséről, Önálló nyugati magyar művelődés kialakítása és fenntartása, A magyarság világhivatása, Magyarságunk fennmaradásának kérdése és kapcsolataink kiépítése (A fiatal magyar értelmiség megbeszélése), A külföldi magyarság időszerű feladatai,” lectures from the proceedings of the Hungarian Congress: *A X. Magyar Találkozó Krónikája* (Cleveland: Árpád Könyvkiadó, 1971), 246-248.

¹⁶³ “A külföldre szakadt magyar népcsoport fennmaradása, Nevelhetők-e a gyermekek magyaroknak nem magyar házasítás mellett? A magyar felnőtt ifjúság bekapcsolódása a magyar szervezetekbe, Erős nemzetét akarunk összeformálni, Az amerikai magyar könyv jövője, A Kádár-rendszer bírálata, Historia versus propaganda,” lectures from the proceedings of the Hungarian Congress: *A XX. Magyar Találkozó Krónikája* (Cleveland: Árpád Könyvkiadó, 1981), 316-317.

Hungarian Congress, a feat quite unthinkable some years earlier. The scope of the conference, as in years past, remained the fate of Hungarians worldwide. For example, the session on politics included six lectures dealing with the relationship of the new democratically elected Hungarian government and its relationship to Hungarian-Americans, as well as written correspondence commentary from Hungarians in France and Switzerland. The session on economics included lecturers from Sarasota, FL, Pittsburgh, PA, Indianapolis, IN, Stuttgart, Germany, and two from the local Cleveland area. Other sessions dealt with culture, youth, Hungarian minorities in the countries surrounding Hungary, pre-1945 Hungarian military matters, a literary and cultural evening, as well as the usual formal dinner and black-tie ball.

The proceedings of the fortieth Hungarian Congress, held in 2000 and published in 2001, contain similar themes as the 39 previous conferences, including obituaries, Hungarian engineers' and journalists' society meeting minutes, correspondence writings, presentations on Hungarian literature, speeches given at the opening, luncheon, and formal ball of the conference, a session on Hungary today, and the main session entitled "Questions of Hungarian Fate," with lectures such as "Formation of current Hungarian identity in America today," "Whereto, new Hungarian?" "Pact of the Rose Hill 13," "Democratic party platform with extremist symptoms," "Future of Western Hungarians," "Youth in emigration," and "Propaganda Hungarian Style."¹⁶⁴ As the proceedings from the previous years, this yearbook also exceeds 300 pages, and its content is almost exclusively Hungarian.

Thus one can see that the *Krónika*, the proceedings of each yearly conference, contains the literary reviews, lectures, hopes, and aspirations of the literati of Cleveland and of Hungarians worldwide. The international nature of the conference presenters, very few of whom were employed by universities and enjoying their travel budgets, shows that the Hungarian Association specifically and Hungarians from Cleveland who attended in general considered themselves members of a Hungarian diaspora, a worldwide community of Hungarians, linked by a common heritage and concern for the issues facing Hungary and the people living in its surrounding countries. Repeating my earlier quote from Zoltán Fejős, "the Hungarian population of differentiated origins could generate a feeling of belonging together on the basis of their common origin, common language, and transplanted customs," one can see the literary values and interests of Hungarians in Cleveland.

¹⁶⁴ "A magyarságkép alakulása és jelenlegi állása Amerikában, Quo vadis új magyar? A rózsadombi tizenhárom paktuma, A nyugati magyarság jövője, Fialatok az emigrációban, Országpropaganda magyar módra," all lectures from the proceedings of the Hungarian Congress: *AXL Magyar Találkozó Krónikája* (Cleveland: Árpád Könyvkiadó, 2001), 303-308.

3.2 Over the Years: Overview of Publishing

Let us turn now from the Hungarian Association's yearly November congress to overall publishing and Hungarian book collections in Cleveland. Ilona Kovács studied the Hungarian collections of American public libraries in her 1997 book *Az amerikai közkönyvtárak magyar gyűjteményeinek szerepe az asszimiláció és az identitás megőrzésének kettős folyamatában 1890-1940* [The Hungarian collections of American public libraries and their role in the dual process of assimilation and identity maintenance 1890-1940], but that work did not extend to the latter part of the twentieth century, although Cleveland's public library does get a mention. My work uncovered but the tip of the iceberg in terms of Hungarian publishing in Cleveland, and it is far from exhaustive. Instead of organizing thematically or according to publisher, I chose to organize the introduction to Cleveland's Hungarian publishing geographically, to give future researchers an overall picture of where exactly various published Hungarian materials can be found in Cleveland. Further work is necessary to provide an exhaustive picture of Hungarian book publishing in Cleveland from 1951 to 2011, but the following partial overview provides a sampling of the landscape, an understanding of what Hungarian books and newspapers were and are available to Cleveland Hungarians. I begin with a listing of three retail locations available to Cleveland Hungarians to buy Hungarian books and newspapers, then branch off into describing where larger collections of Hungarian books may currently be found, while concurrently providing an overview of publishing history over the decades.

Hungarian books, LP music, and gift items in Cleveland used to have multiple outlets for distribution. Perhaps the oldest was the Kossuth Bookshop on Lorain Avenue, started by Klára Zsigmond and Endre Thurner in the early 1950's. It featured Hungarian embroidery and books, as well as newspapers, LP records, and gift items, and also lent Hungarian books for ten cents each. After Zsigmond's death in 1971, the store moved to the family residence on Lakota Avenue in Cleveland and continued selling Hungarian as well as German books. The house was a veritable maze of stacks and boxes of books and inventory. The business closed after Thurner's death in 1992.

Another similar business was the Nádás bookstore, operated out of Gyula Nádás' home on Grace Avenue in Lakewood. Begun originally in the early 1950's as an importer of typewriters with Hungarian keyboards, this quasi-bookstore sold books, newspapers, Zsolnay and Herendi porcelain, original oil paintings, typewriters, and other Hungarian items. Set up in the Nádás residence, this house also had mazelike aisles in the living room and halls, stacked floor to ceiling. A spreadsheet of inventory compiled in the early 1990's and used

until around 2000 shows a total of 2,993 Hungarian books alone.¹⁶⁵ Its listing sheds light on what one local bookseller anticipated his buyers would read, based on years of Cleveland Hungarian business experience. It includes Hungarian translations with 17 titles by Claire Kenneth, 14 titles from Agatha Christie, 12 from Jules Verne, 9 from Charles Dickens, 8 by John Steinbeck, and 8 by H.G. Wells. The table below shows just a sampling of those Hungarian authors with four or more separate books stocked in the Nádas family bookstore. This list is not inclusive of all the Hungarian authors stocked, but does illustrate which authors may have been popular. Worth noting is the representative selection from the traditional canon of Hungarian literature familiar to the average person living in Hungary, but also the amount of titles by émigré Hungarian authors not widely read in Cold War Hungary such as Lajos Füry, Áron Gábor, Sándor Márai, Cardinal József Mindszenty, József Nyírő, and Albert Wass.

| Number of individual book titles by various Hungarian authors available in the Nádas bookstore, circa 1990-2000 (list is NOT exhaustive) | | | | | |
|--|----|----------------------|----|--------------------|----|
| Sándor Csoóri | 4 | István Fekete | 14 | Lajos Füry | 12 |
| Áron Gábor | 6 | Géza Gárdonyi | 8 | Jenő Heltai | 10 |
| Ferenc Herczeg | 8 | Gyula Illyés | 16 | Mór Jókai | 34 |
| Frigyes Karinthy | 9 | Gyula Krudy | 22 | Imre Madach | 7 |
| Sándor Makai | 7 | Dezső Malonyai | 8 | Sándor Márai | 15 |
| Kálmán Mikszáth | 21 | József Mindszenty | 8 | György Moldova | 9 |
| Ferenc Molnár | 13 | Ferenc Móra | 8 | Zsigmond Móricz | 17 |
| Lajos Nagy | 10 | László Németh | 11 | József Nyírő | 5 |
| Viktor Padányi | 4 | László Passuth | 26 | Sándor Petőfi | 10 |
| Jenő Pohárnok | 5 | Jenő Rejtő | 14 | Miklós Surányi | 19 |
| Dezső Szabó | 19 | Magda Szabó | 6 | Zoltán Szitnyai | 10 |
| Áron Tamási | 7 | Jenő Tersánszky | 8 | Albert Wass | 24 |

An outlet on the East side of Cleveland in which to buy Hungarian books and items was the *Magyar Áruház* [Hungarian Store] in a storefront on Buckeye Avenue. It also stocked many items from Hungary and was owned by Dénes Dietrich, who was also scoutmaster of one of the Hungarian scout troops in Cleveland. Later, in the 1980's, the Classic Printing workshop became a center of Hungarian publishing. Although it did not have a retail storefront, a small number of Hungarians gathered there regularly to discuss sports and

¹⁶⁵ Inventory spreadsheet provided by Julius Nádas to the author on 9 September 2012.

politics and to purchase newly printed books, and the printshop saw regular Hungarian traffic, as it was the printer of choice for Hungarian book and newspaper publishing of all political persuasions, both religious and secular. Through the years all of these outlets have closed, from the Kossuth bookshop to the *Magyar Áruház*. Their owners passed away and Cleveland's Hungarians do not read as many Hungarian books as in the latter part of the 20th century. Hungarian books are still available in Cleveland in lending libraries and at community used-book sales, however. A book has no individual relevance; it is inherently a communal effort. Even if the author is long gone or dead, the book was meant for an audience and meant to be shared. What books are available to any community, but in this case to Cleveland's Hungarian community, show how communication has built and continues to build and sustain identity, for the communication of that Hungarian author was meant to express a certain value, a certain identity to its reader.

Also worth mentioning are the out-of-town Hungarian book distributors. For a long time, Püski Books in New York City was the major mail order distributor and publisher of émigré and Hungarian books, followed by the Blue Danube bookstore. Nowadays, online ordering is possible from Pannonia Books in Toronto and Magyar Marketing in Indiana.¹⁶⁶

The downtown branch of the Cleveland Public Library has an enormous collection of books published in the Hungarian language, officially numbered at 12,000 volumes.¹⁶⁷ To verify this number, I visited the fourth floor shelves open to the public and using a matrix counting method, estimated approximately 6500 volumes. These were mostly translations of popular fiction, but also included cookbooks, religion, and history books as well. The Hungarian periodical section includes extensive collections of the current popular magazines *Nők Lapja*, *Kiskegyed*, and *Hölgyvilág*. Additionally, the fifth floor of the library contains approximately 7,500 volumes of older literature in rarer editions; this collection has restricted access, but a simple conversation with staff members in the foreign literature section allows access. I personally counted over 240 volumes of Mór Jókai's books alone, as well as complete sets of the famed Révay encyclopedia, and literary works by József Nyírő, Albert Wass, Áron Gábor, and other émigré writers, as well as extensive collections by János Arany, Sándor Petőfi, Géza Gárdonyi, Magda Szabó, László Passuth, and other writers well known in Hungary. Some examples of rare editions found on the Cleveland Public Library's 5th floor shelves are Pál Balogh's *A népfajok Magyarországon*, published in Budapest in 1902, as well

¹⁶⁶ www.pannonia.ca and www.magyarmarketing.com, sites accessed 1 May 2013.

¹⁶⁷ Milos Markovic, manager of the Cleveland Public Library Foreign Literature section, in discussion with the author, July 2010. This is the same number listed by Ilona Kovács, "Hungarian Immigrants in the United States and Hungarian Studies," in *Search for American Values: Contributions of Hungarian Americans to American Values: American-Hungarian Bi-national Symposium* (Budapest: Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár), 81. In the 20th century, thousands of those Hungarian books resided in the Carnegie branch of the Cleveland Public Library at Lorain and Fulton Avenues on the West side, but these books have since been moved to the downtown main branch.

as a 12 volume collection, *Kossuth összes Munkái*, published by Athaenaeum in 1880. The library adds at least 100 Hungarian books to its collection every year; in 2011, for example, it added 43 Hungarian books in its first biannual purchase. These ranged from science to children's to dictionaries to cookbooks to translations of modern popular fiction, and in 2011 included such literary authors as Gyula Krudy, Kálmán Mikszáth, Magda Szabó, Albert Wass, and the modern historian Sándor Szakály.¹⁶⁸

A smaller but quite accessible Hungarian library can be found in the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society's museum in the Galleria mall. Although not as extensive as the collection of the Cleveland Public Library, the museum's library is conveniently housed in a comfortable room, is neatly organized, and has rare historical collections, especially of émigré literature and the personal papers of Cleveland Hungarians. Perusing the shelves of this smaller library, I found over 65 Hungarian language books published in Cleveland, as well as an extensive collection of historical and political books about Hungarian topics, especially the 20th century, numbering 136 books, all published outside Hungary. Its émigré fiction section has 293 Hungarian books published outside Hungary, including multiple volumes from Albert Wass, József Nyírő, Lajos Füry, István Eszterhás, and Áron Gábor. The publishers range from Cleveland to Canada, Argentina to Australia. Its emigre poetry section contains 215 books, including multiple volumes from József Kovácsy, Tibor Tollas, Ferenc Mózsi, Irén Négyesy, and Péter Hargitai, among others.

Also in the Hungarian Heritage Museum library are mostly complete collections of Hungarian language periodicals published in Cleveland throughout the years. These include *Szabadság*, the oldest of the collection. Founded in 1891 by Tihamér Kohányi as a weekly, the paper peaked in the late 1920's, when it had 35,563 subscribers. Its vicious rival was the New York-based *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*, founded by Géza Berkó in 1899. Both papers turned into dailies early on and remained so until the 1950's, when both were owned and edited by Zoltán Gombos.¹⁶⁹ *Szabadság* eventually moved to New York and New Brunswick, NJ, merging with *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* to form *Amerikai Magyar Népszava / Szabadság*, now being published online in New York and edited by László Bartus. In 1959, for example, *Szabadság* entailed six pages of 16 by 24 inches, all in Hungarian. Its content included world news, opinion columns, two entire columns of Hungarian Cleveland classified advertisements, as well as separate advertisements by 5 different funeral homes, including ifj. Riczó János, Hartman J. Károly, Charles F. Nunn, Bodnár Lajos és fia, and with Jakab-Tóth having three separate parlors on Buckeye Road, at the addresses 12014, 11713, and 8929

¹⁶⁸ Flier 2011-1, "Recent additions in the Foreign Literature Department," distributed by the Cleveland Public Library.

¹⁶⁹ Steven Béla Várdy, *Magyarok az Újvilágban*, 311-319.

Buckeye Road. *Képes Magyar Világhíradó*, also known on its masthead as *Illustrated Hungarian World Review*, was a magazine published mostly monthly by Sándor Szabó in Cleveland from 1963 to 1977. Lajos Fűry and József Lendvay were its editors, and Judith Petres Ewendt was its chief editor. A random spot check of one issue from July/August of 1974 reveals its place of publication as Twinsburg, an outlying suburb of Cleveland, it is edited by Lajos Fűry and Judith Petres Ewendt, and it describes itself as a Hungarian monthly magazine sold on 5 continents. The articles are about Hungarians in Dayton, Detroit, Hollywood, and Pittsburgh, as well as Cardinal Mindszenty's visit to Cleveland. Some essays and great photographs of Hungarian émigré social life abound, with advertising from Hungarian businesses in Toronto, Miami, Chicago, Australia, and Switzerland, but mostly Cleveland Hungarian businesses.

Printed by the Cleveland Hungarian printer Classic Printing, *Új Idő: Ismeretterjesztő és irodalmi folyóirat* [New Times: A Journal of Literature and Common Knowledge] was a 20-page periodical appearing monthly from 1981 to about 1988. Edited and published by József Vigh and Ildikó Vigh, it contained poems, essays, photographs, crossword puzzles, and news about Cleveland Hungarians. Its advertisers were mostly Cleveland Hungarian businesses, but advertisements from Hungarian businesses in Canada, New York, and New Jersey also appeared on its pages.

A short-lived publication was *Őrszem* [Sentry], printed in 1000 copies by the Cleveland chapter of the World Federation of Hungarian Veterans (MHBK) in September of 1981. This publication morphed into *Nyugati Őrszem* [Western Sentry] and was published monthly or bimonthly from October of 1981 until the last issue of July-August 1982. It was 6-8 pages and sized 12 by 20 inches.

The Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum's library also holds many back editions of *Erős Vár: Amerikai Magyar Evangélikusok Lapja*, which is an official church newspaper. A 2008 edition shows that it is published in Lakewood, a suburb of Cleveland, and that the publication is in its 78th year. Indeed, the newspaper began appearing in Cleveland in 1952, was published elsewhere from 1957 to 1962, then since 1962 has been edited and published in the Cleveland area, and is now in its 82nd year.¹⁷⁰ Many back editions of *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja* also sit on the Museum library's shelves. This Catholic newspaper, well known nationally, was long published in Cleveland and is billed as the oldest Hungarian Catholic newspaper in the United States and Canada. Established in 1894 by Msgr. Charles Böhm as the parish newspaper of St. Elizabeth, it was called *Magyarországi Szent Erzsébet Amerikai Hírnöke* until 1900, when the name changed to *Magyarok Vasárnapja*. By the

¹⁷⁰ Reverend Béla Bernhardt, in a personal interview with the author on 31 March 2012.

fiftieth anniversary edition in 1944, the masthead read *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja*, and for much of its existence was printed in Cleveland in a Buckeye Road printshop. It was edited for many years by the Cleveland writer István Eszterhás, then Ákos Dunai, and finally by the Franciscan friars Angelus Ligeti and Barnabás G. Kiss. In the early 1960's the paper moved to Youngstown, Ohio, about an hour's drive from Cleveland, and continued publishing there until 1992. From January to December of 1993, the newspaper's 100th year, it published in Cleveland, then moved to California and shortly thereafter ceased publication. This newspaper put out a yearbook which contained poems, essays, data lists, history, religion, and literature, almost like an almanach, and sporadic spot-checks of these yearbooks on the library's shelves show the migration of the newspaper as well: in 1953 the yearbook was published in Cleveland, and also in 1960, but in 1961, 1976, and 1991 in Youngstown, with the 1995 yearbook being published in Thousand Oaks, California.

Also published in Cleveland from 1962 until 2007 was the 8-12 page monthly *Szittyakiirt* [Scythian Bugle], billed as the official newspaper of the *Hungária Szabadságharcos Mozgalom* [Hungaria Freedom Fighter Movement], a far-right leaning political movement. This newspaper contained historical and political articles, mostly anticommunist, along with news of some Cleveland Hungarian events. Edited by Tibor Major, its assistant editor in 2002 was Róbert Szalay, in 2003 László Tompó Jr, and as of March 2007 the publication moved from Cleveland to Hungary, listing Gede Testvérek BT as its publisher, although Tibor Major continued to contribute occasional articles. This newspaper was also printed by Classic Printing Corporation, a printer of choice for several Hungarian periodicals, newsletters, and newspapers published in Cleveland from 1967 to 2001.

The Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum's library also has program booklets from the 12th annual "Night in Budapest of Cleveland" dated October 26, 1968. The booklet listed Frank Szappanos, Director of the Hungarian Radio Hour on WDOK, as the Master of Ceremonies, Jack P. Russell as the chairman, Zoltán Gombos as the toastmaster, and with an invocation given by the Reverend Gábor Brachna and a benediction given by Rabbi Rudolph Rosenthal. The 44 page booklet also included advertising from local firms and had many photographs of Buckeye Road youth dressed as Hungarian hussars, 200 ladies in the costume of the Carpathian countryside, and a jampacked ballroom with hundreds in attendance. In addition to holding multiple program booklets from throughout the years, the Museum's archives also include "Night in Budapest" mailing lists dating back to 1935.

The Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum holds scrapbooks from 1953-1966, 1980, and 1984-1986 compiled by the Cleveland chapter of the World Federation of Hungarian

Veterans (MHBK), including obituaries of prominent Cleveland Hungarian veterans. The Museum also holds the records of the Magyar Club of Cleveland from 1924 to 2009, including membership lists, correspondence, official minutes, and event fliers. Another organization whose papers ended up in the Museum was the Committee for Hungarian Liberation [*Magyar Felszabadító Bizottság*], with papers from 1956 to 1971. In addition, the Museum harbors the manuscript collections of three members of the DP generation who settled in Cleveland. Elemér Homonnay, who died in 1986, was an engineer at General Electric, and he bequeathed his personal correspondence and research activity from the 1930's to the 1980's. Ernest Pereszlényi, who died in 1973, donated his collection of witnessed statements collected by wartime Hungarian Army command elements regarding confiscated property by Soviet authorities. László Sirchich, who died in 1983, bequeathed personal papers; he edited the periodical *Kettős Járom Alatt* [Under a Double Yoke] from 1951 to 1966.

In terms of book publishing, the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum library's shelves contain over 50 books published in Cleveland in the Hungarian language over the course of the last 80 years. Although by no means exhaustive, its shelves nevertheless show what the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society's librarians managed to collect over the years, and it does shed anecdotal light on Cleveland Hungarian book publishing. The oldest book dates back to 1917, a collection of short fiction written by József Reményi entitled *A sárga szekfű és kilenc más novella* [The yellow carnation and 9 other novellas], published by Fencsik Ödön könyvnyomda. The next two were published by *Szabadság*, in 1924 *A Mayerlingi Dráma* by Jenő Szekula, and in 1927 Géza Kende's *Magyarok Amerikában: Az amerikai magyarság története*, which is a quite comprehensive study of Hungarian-Americans up to 1926.

The Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum's library contains no books published in Cleveland in the 1930's, 1940's, or the first half of the 1950's. At least five Hungarian books were published in Cleveland in the late 1950's, including two by the local author István Eszterhás, the editor of the newspaper *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja* and whose son later became a Hollywood screenwriter. The 1960's saw at least 10 Hungarian books published in Cleveland, mostly literature and poetry, while the 1970's saw at least 14 Hungarian books. These were also mostly literature and poetry, but also included personal memoirs and some works of history. The 1980's continued the trend with at least 14 Hungarian works published in Cleveland, with literature, poetry, and more nonfiction, mostly with historical and political topics. The 1990's saw a drastic drop, with only 5 books on the shelf. The trend continued with only a handful published in the 21st century, among them Tihamér Halmay's *Emlékek*

emléke: történetek, képek, novellák [Memory of memories: stories, pictures, short stories], a 209 page literary work published by the United Hungarian Fund in 2004, and my own edited collection of oral histories of Cleveland Hungarians published by the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble in 2008, *Clevelandben még élnek magyarok? Visszaemlékezések gyűjteménye*.

Some of these works were self-published by their authors, such as György Csikós's memoirs of his Siberian captivity, *Apró események a pokolból* [Tiny events from hell] (1984) and *Sztrájk a pokolban* [A strike in hell] (1987). Father Ferenc A. Kárpi, pastor of St. Emeric church, wrote and self-published a biography of Károly Böhm in 1991. Other books had third party individuals footing the bill for publication, such as István Polyák publishing István Kiszely's report of his travels researching Hungarian roots in Asia, *Huszonegyedik Óra Után: magyar expedíció a jogurok között* [After the 24th hour: Hungarian expedition among the Uyghurs] (1988). Also falling into this category would be the Institute for Hungarology publishing *Siker a balsorsban: Somogyi Ferenc munkássága* [Triumph in adversity: the work of Ferenc Somogyi], edited by Ferenc Somogyi's son Lél in 1993. József H. Csia published his brother István's 152 page volume of poetry entitled *Zarándok az Úr pitvarában* [Pilgrimage in the Lord's anteroom], written under the pseudonym Szentanú [Witness].¹⁷¹ Edited and prepared for publication by Cleveland Hungarian Attila Simontsits is the 250 page wartime diary of Károly Deme, *Harctéri naplóm* [My wartime journal], published by his wife Dóra in 1984. Simontsits also coauthored a collection of military photographs from the Horthy era, *Harcunk 1920-1945* [Our fight], and compiled a chronological documentation spanning 1141 pages, *The Last Battle for St. Stephen's Crown*, published in Cleveland in 1983.

The emigre Hungarian Scouts Association, which changed its name after 1989 to Hungarian Scout Association in Exteris to reflect the reestablishment of previously banned scouting in Hungary, was the publisher of textbooks from two Cleveland Hungarian authors during the Cold War. Zoltán Bócsay wrote a 112 page history of Hungary entitled *Vázlatos Magyar Történelem* [Outline of Hungarian history], published in Cleveland in 1984. Ernő Kálnoky wrote a geography textbook in 1979 along with Pál Bolváry, a Hungarian priest from Pittsburgh, entitled simply *Magyar Földrajz* [Hungarian geography], but its material reflected Cold War differences; it dealt with the geography not only of Hungary, but also of areas with Hungarian minority populations in countries surrounding Hungary. Kálnoky's Hungarian folklore booklet *Magyar Néprajz* [Hungarian folklore] was also printed in Cleveland in 1977, and the covers of both *Magyar Földrajz* and *Magyar Néprajz* consist of

¹⁷¹ Pál Csia, József's son, in a telephone interview with the author in early 2012. His uncle István was a career military officer in Hungary and was imprisoned by the communist authorities for 6 years, while his uncle Sándor, to whom the volume of poetry is dedicated, was executed in 1945.

original artwork by Cleveland Hungarian-American artist George Kozmon. All three of these books were written for the express purpose of teaching scout leader candidates basic knowledge of Hungarian history and geography required for leadership advancement in the scouting movement, and were used by hundreds of Cleveland Hungarians mostly of the second generation.

Several Cleveland Hungarian publishers churned out multiple books from various local and international Hungarian authors. The largest two were Kárpát Könyvkiadó and Árpád Könyvkiadó, named for the Carpathian mountains encircling Hungary, and Árpád, the tribal leader responsible for uniting the Hungarian tribes and entering the Carpathian basin in 896, often known as the birth of the Hungarian nation. Each of these publishers produced at least five or six Hungarian books in each decade of the 1960's, 70's, 80's, and 1990's.

Owned and operated by Gyula and János Nádas, the Árpád publishing company concentrated on literature, publishing works from the authors István Fekete Jr, Elemér Gabry, Máté Nagy Kaszás, János N. Nagy, and József Kovácsy, but also published a series of children's Hungarian reading textbooks, *Séta betűországban* [A walk in letterland] and *Szép magyar világ* [Beautiful Hungarian world] edited by Jenő Pohárnok, and *Kincsesláda* [Treasure chest] edited by József Magyar, as well as a series of writing workbooks by Panni Nádas Ludányi called *Irka-firka* [Writer-scribbler]. In addition, the Árpád company published Ferenc Somogyi's extensive work on Hungarian history, *Küldetés* [Mission], and his two-volume history of Hungarian literature, *Magyar nyelv és irodalom* [Hungarian language and literature], covering 442 and 512 pages respectively. The Árpád Publishing Company also published an English-language tract by Zoltán Bodolai and Endre Csapó, *The Unmaking of Peace: The Fragmentation and Subsequent Destruction of Central Europe after World War One by the Peace Treaty of Trianon*.

Owned and operated by Father Zoltán Kótai and brought over from Argentina in 1959, the Kárpát Publishing company tended to produce memoirs and textbooks from the likes of Dóra T. Dombrády, Kelemen Király OFM, Father József Jaszovszky, and Kata Baráth Értavy, as well as a reprint of Tihamér Tóth's prewar religious book, *Hiszem az örök életet* [I believe in eternal life]. The Kossuth Kiadó, on the other hand, published a Hungarian grammar textbook entitled simply *Magyar Nyelvtan* [Hungarian grammar] in 1958 under the editorship of Jenő Pohárnok, written by Zolt Alszeghy, Sándor Sík, and József Teichert. Publishing in the late 1950's and early 1960's was Magyar Könyvtár, producing fictional works of literature from Gyula Bedy, Erzsébet Ágnes Bodnár, and István Eszterhás.

Functioning as an independent publisher as well as the printer of choice for minor local publishers, the Classic Printing Corporation, owned by László Berta, was a mainstay of

Cleveland Hungarian book, pamphlet, newsletter, newspaper, and flier printing for over 30 years. Located on Madison Avenue near West 95th Street in Cleveland, the printshop was a gathering place for Hungarian writers and social leaders throughout the 1970's, 80's, and 90's. No less than 34 Hungarian books printed by Classic Printing in its Cleveland shop reside on the shelves of the Hungarian Heritage Society library, but the actual number printed in the city is much higher, probably close to 700, as Classic Printing was founded in 1967 and operated until 2001. Erika Berta, László's widow, remembers her husband László and son Attila printing many Hungarian as well as German and Italian newspapers, printing many of the Hungarian books at half or quarter price or even for free, just to support Hungarian publishing in Cleveland.¹⁷² Local private collections can also attest to Classic Printing's many Hungarian books printed and/or published in Cleveland.¹⁷³ Just one example is a 1976 edition of *Vissza a csendbe* [Back into the silence], a 192-paged collection of poems by László Mécs. Thousands of miles from Hungary, the effort required to write and publish a book in the Hungarian language reflects the values and identity of Cleveland's Hungarian community. As Bőjtös stated, it is a question of belonging, and this spiritual homeland has ties to Hungary and to the Hungarian language. László Berta was also one of the founders of the current Bocskai Radio, which even today streams Hungarian programming on Sunday afternoons from 2 to 5 pm on WJCU FM 88.7.

Not yet accessible to researchers, but the Cleveland State University library recently acquired part of the Miklós Kossányi collection, which entails about one to two thousand Hungarian books, many rare sound recordings and video material from the latter half of the twentieth century. Miklós Kossányi owned a radio and television studio, NBN Broadcasting, which broadcast regular Hungarian programming throughout the 1960's, 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's. Video footage of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty's visit to Cleveland, sound recordings of interviews with him, as well as sound recordings of Hungarian writers Albert Wass, Áron Gábor, and of lectures given at the Hungarian Association yearly November conference, as well as journalistic coverage of everyday Cleveland Hungarian events, are but just a few of the rare sound recordings in these archives. The collection also includes complete sets of Hungarian periodicals published in Cleveland, namely editions of *Kárpát* from 1958 until 1972, and editions of *Képes Világhíradó* from 1963 to 1977.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Erika Berta, in a phone interview with the author on 23 August 2012, remembered Hungarian books being published at Classic Printing about every month and a half, and still has about 20 boxes of Hungarian books printed by Classic Printing in her garage.

¹⁷³ Zoltán Bíró, owner of an extensive Hungarian book collection here in Cleveland, for example, counted at least six volumes of literature printed locally by Classic Printing that were not on the list of Cleveland Hungarian books I researched from the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum's library, as recounted in his handwritten letter to the author dated 10 February 2012.

¹⁷⁴ Lél Somogyi, who knew Kossányi quite well, was instrumental in arranging the family's donation of the complete collection to the Cleveland State University library.

The library of the Western Reserve Historical Society in University Circle, which contains many historical artifacts from Cleveland's past, also has a number of Hungarian items in its collection, including a complete collection of the *Szabadság* newspaper, and many older photographs of Cleveland Hungarian neighborhoods. The *Szabadság* issues from 1988 to 1994 are on microfilm, and the library also contains earlier Hungarian newspapers that were eventually absorbed by *Szabadság*. For example, the library has editions of the weekly *Amerikai Magyar Világ* [American Hungarian World] from 1964 to 1978, an 11 by 15 inch broadside of 20 pages, edited by Zoltán Gombos and published by the Liberty Publishing Company, with editorial offices in both Cleveland and New York. The paper itself lists 10 Buckeye Road neighborhood stores where it was for sale, mostly delicatessens and drugstores. Going back in time, the precursor to and absorbed by *Amerikai Magyar Világ* was the newspaper *A jó pásztor*, founded in New York in 1933 but published in Cleveland from 1934 to 1963. The library also contains many original editions of *Az Újság* [The Newspaper], an 8 page 16 by 20 inch paper written all in Hungarian, with no pictures; this locally published newspaper contained obituaries, church news, articles of events, and advertising from Hungarian businesses in Cleveland, including Hungarian books for sale, with a back page of crossword puzzles and jokes. *Az Újság* merged with the *Detroiti Magyar Újság* to form *Magyar Újság*, edited by Zoltán Kótai and published in Cleveland from 1976 to 1980. *Magyar Újság* was also 8 pages of 16 by 20 inches, but it boasted 66 years of publication with a Christian and Hungarian bent. This weekly paper had three pages of international news, all in Hungarian, a page and a half of advertising from local Hungarian businesses, a page of poetry, a page of church listings, a half page of obituaries, and a last page of crossword puzzles and jokes. Its last issue was dated 17 July 1980.

A short-lived newspaper of an active youth group of the 1970's also in the library of the Western Reserve Historical Society is *Patria*, published once in the spring of 1974. A 12 page newspaper, it had a half page of English, and the rest was written all in Hungarian. The paper printed an introduction and timeline of the youth group, had advertising from Hungarian-owned businesses and politicians running for office, and listed the primary consideration of the group comprising members aged 16 to 34 as studying "the possibility of beginning work on a Hungarian Center for Cleveland." The group's aims were described as "shunning the violence and unrest that altered attitudes and values in the sixties" and seeking to "achieve social acceptance through constructive civic achievement, charitable community action and personal development within the American system." The paper listed short biographies of each of the members of this youth group, including Dezső Frigyes, Kati Csatóry, Zsuzsi Papp (who later would write and edit a monograph on Hungarian American

Communities of Cleveland), Gyula Skerlán, Lél Somogyi, Sándor Varga, Miklós Szentkirályi, Armand and Zsolt Csáky, Béla Radványi, Tamás Csapó, James Carney, Éva Csekő, Jutka Csejtey, Éva Elek, Viki Éber, Miklós Falk, Márti and Zsuzsi Ferenczy, Sári Geréby, Tamás Gulden, Zoltán Mestrits, Zoltán and Éva Szabó, Éva Terézhalmy Radványi, Miklós Szélpál, and Márti Takács. Hungarian jokes were on the back page of the paper.¹⁷⁵

The Western Reserve Historical Society's library also contains the records spanning 1926 to 1962 of the Cleveland Hungarian Aid Society, formed in 1863 by Morris and David Black, Jewish Hungarian immigrants who formed their benevolent society to help new immigrants, assist the needy and sick, bury the dead, and provide benefits to widows and orphans. In 1948, the Society reorganized as a cemetery society, and in the early 1960's, its operations were taken over by Park Synagogue. The library also contains family histories of the Rosner and Tykodi families, as well as the personal papers of Manuel Silberger (died 1958), Louis László Balogh (died 1971), Steve Szalai (died 1973), Frank Szappanos (died 1975), and Jack Russell (died 1979), all written in Hungarian.

Not residing in any of the public libraries but worth mentioning are unpublished family memoirs. Not disseminated and thus not reaching a wide audience, these pamphlets and typed manuscripts are nevertheless important historical documents, precisely because they are not intended for a wide audience. Memoirs of famous historical figures carry the danger that the person is trying to justify his or her actions and thus may not always be entirely trustworthy, although they are valuable in their own regard. Memoirs written for family members, however, tend not to embellish the truth; although memory tends to fade in the twilight of life, many of these memoirs are written about extremely personal events. Much as every American remembers exactly where they were and what they were doing when they first heard the news about the assassination of John F. Kennedy or the attacks on the Twin Towers on 9/11/2001, so are the events of fleeing Hungary during the Second World War and the events of 1956 seared into the memories of the participants, and many can recollect with amazing clarity even 50 years later.

These unpublished memoirs, written in Hungarian in Cleveland but mostly limited to family distribution, include the 1956 memoirs of Miklós Peller, "Éjszakai Menekülésem a Vasfüggönyön át," [My nighttime flight across the Iron Curtain] as well as "Csengőfrász: a Szentkirályi család története," [Doorbell terror: the story of the Szentkirályi family] written by Ödön Szentkirályi.¹⁷⁶ Written from a broader perspective and including pre-war Hungarian memories and incisive observations of tumultuous historical events as well as

¹⁷⁵ *Patria*. Volume 1, Number 1 (Spring 1974), 1-4.

¹⁷⁶ My father.

early years as Displaced Persons in Cleveland, several other memoirs also stand out. These include “A Fricke család emlékeiből,” [Memories from the Fricke family] an approximately 140 page typed memoir written by Valér Fricke, a Hungarian representative in Parliament during the Second World War who later fled to DP camps and then to Cleveland and whose pre-war Bocskay formalwear is still worn by his greatgrandchildren at Cleveland Hungarian balls. Another is „Bad Kreuznach, Romilly, Maily le Camp,” written by Gábor Papp, the founder of Cleveland’s Hungarian School. “Nagymama naplója,” [Grandmother’s Diary] written by Hanna Strada about her aristocratic childhood and later life as a refugee, translated by her daughter Maria Strada Friedrich and published in a bilingual hardcover edition for family use, also falls into this category.

These unpublished manuscripts, much as Hungarian books published in Cleveland during the time span of this study, exemplify Urban and Orbe’s communication theory of identity. Cleveland family and published authors thought of themselves as being distinctly Hungarian, although they lived in the United States. By writing in the Hungarian language, their communication built, sustained, and expressed their identity, using the social aspects of writing and publishing to shape the Cleveland Hungarian community. Their writings helped maintain the Hungarian language in the Cleveland area and constructed a narrative, as it were, of the values of the community.

Yearbooks from churches and organizations also serve as important historical and literary records, for they contain pictures, reports, membership data, and often advertising. These yearbooks are frequently written in the Hungarian language and are often scattered among the various organizations and churches, and there is no central depository for them.

3.3 Examples of Local and Visiting Authors

An exhaustive analysis of Cleveland Hungarian writers is beyond the scope of this dissertation; nevertheless, some authors must be introduced briefly. The Cleveland Hungarian poet who most captured the essence of Hungarian-American life was György Kemény. He was born in 1875 in the Hungarian village of Garadna and arrived in Cleveland in 1891, immediately starting to write for *Szabadság*, and later founding his own journal titled *Dongó* [Wasp]. His epic and lyrical poems captured what Hungarian-American life was really like in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, New York, and other cities.¹⁷⁷ Other notable Hungarian authors in Cleveland include those who arrived in the first half of the twentieth century, among them László Pólya (1870-1950), József Reményi (1891-1956), and Árpád Tarnóczy (1884-1957).

¹⁷⁷ Ágnes Huszár Várdy, in an unpublished manuscript presented at the Hungarian Congress in Cleveland on November 26th, 2011, which she was kind enough to lend me.

The arrival of the DP and 1956 immigration wave created a new wave of Hungarian literature in Cleveland, one tied closely to prewar Hungary's Horthy era and to the 1956 Revolution. These newer arrivals included the poets Lajos Illés, József Kossányi, Imre Sári Gál, Mária Tóth-Kurucz, and Eszter Farnos Zilahi, among others, and the prose authors included István Eszterhás, János Kerecseny, Márton Kiss Kerecsendi, Gyula Bedy, Ágnes Huszár Várdy, Ágnes Bognár, and Judit Petres. The Hungarian Association's yearly November conference provided a forum for many of these and other Hungarian writers, and a forum for Cleveland's Hungarian audience to hear and interact with these and visiting emigre authors.

One key local writer was István Eszterhás, born in 1907 in Kispeszt, Hungary. He studied law in Budapest and was already an accomplished and prolific writer at a relatively young age. His works published in Hungary include *Kísértet a szigeten* [Ghost on the island] in 1935, *Háborúban nőttünk fel* [We grew up in a war] (1937), *Forradalom* [Revolution] (1938), *Három nap a pokolban* [Three days in hell] (1939), *Musztafa, Karafa és az akasztófa* [Mustafa, Karafa and the gallows] (1941), and *Szegények szerelme* [Loves of the poor] (1942).

Spending time in DP camps before arriving in New York, he continued his writing after arriving in Cleveland in 1950. With a few exceptions, most of his books were novels self-published in Cleveland. These were *A besugó és az apostol* [The informer and the apostle], *Magyar disputa* [Hungarian argument], *Mendő Szabó Mari néni komendál* [Mrs. Szabó commends], *Ünneplő halál okából* [Commemoration on account of a death], a double edition including *Vérző karcolatok* [Bleeding vignettes] and *Kétszer radikális Gyuri* [Twice radical Georgie], *Döbrönte kürtje* [Döbrönte's horn], *Nyugodt lehetsz elvtárs* [Rest assured, comrade], which won a literary award in Rome in 1958, *Atlanti szaletli* [Atlantic gazebo], *Száműzött a szabadság igájában* [Exiled in freedom's yoke], *Kováts Mihály hajóra száll* [Michael Kováts boards a ship], *Eltékozolt fiak* [Wasted sons], *A hézag* [The rift], and *A bíboros és a rendőr* [The cardinal and the cop].¹⁷⁸ He was investigated by the Office of Special Investigations in 1990 for possible war crimes, and it was then that his 1936 book *Nemzetpolitika* came to light, and charges of its anti-Semitism caused a family rift between Eszterhás and his son Joe, the Hollywood screenwriter. According to his son, Eszterhás regretted writing the book.¹⁷⁹ His last book was published in 1998, a work of poetry, and he died in 2001.

¹⁷⁸ Translations of the titles are my own, and many of the jacket covers of these books contain artwork by George Kozmon.

¹⁷⁹ Joe Eszterhas as quoted by Sharon Waxman in "In a Screenwriter's Art, Echoes of His Father's Secret." *New York Times*, 18 March 2004. Accessed electronically on 22 April 2013.

But what sort of writer was he? Some of his novels take place in his native Hungary, describing idyllic village life with humor and pathos. Others describe life as a refugee, coming to America, and being Hungarian in the United States. Some of his works delve into the historical fiction realm of Revolutionary War America or of Turkish rule in Hungary. His memoir *Száműzött a szabadság igájában* tells of his decades of work editing the *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja*, and includes insightful ruminations on being a refugee vs. being an emigre.

His fiction seems quite realistic, but is still storytelling. For example, *A bíboros és a rendőr* (1985) is dedicated to the memory of Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty. It is a fictional account of what Mindszenty might have been thinking before and during his decision to leave the American embassy in 1971 after 15 years of self-imposed house arrest and exile. The book's chapters show an uncanny insight into the historical details and political nuances of the time, whether of the Hungarian government or of the Catholic church. The chapter titles are telling, as they unfold the Cardinal's decisionmaking process with occasional flashbacks to earlier events. The book begins with an extended soliloquy from the Cardinal, with Eszterhás writing what he thought Mindszenty's thought process would have been right before meeting the monsignor sent from the Vatican to inform him that he should leave the embassy, partially for political reasons inasmuch as the Vatican wanted to soften relations with the Hungarian government, and Mindszenty's exile in the American embassy had been hindering that.

In order, the chapters are titled "*A bíboros...*[the Cardinal] *és az ima...*[and the prayer] *és a követség* [and the embassy] *és a tárgyalások* [and the proceedings] *és az ütőkártya* [and the ace in the hole] *és a jelkép élet* [and the symbolic life] *és a 'hármak'* [and the 'threes'] *és a szabadságharc* [and the freedom fight] *és a népszavazás* [and the people's vote] *és a Vatikán* [and the Vatican] *és az örökség* [and the inheritance] *és az olasz monsignor* [and the Italian monsignor] *és a magyar monsignor* [and the Hungarian monsignor] *és a gránit* [and the granite] *és a család* [and the family] *és az önvád* [and the remorse] *és a vizslariporter* [and the investigative reporter] *és a mulasztás* [and the omission] *és a magánosság* [and being lonely] *és a negyed szivar* [and the quarter cigar] *és az osztályharcos törtető* [and the ambitious class-warrior] *és a kalitkák* [and the cages] *és a virrasztás* [and the vigil] *és a lélek* [and the soul] *és a pribék-rendőr* [and the arrogant cop] *és a szimuláns-rendőr* [and the pretend-cop] *és a Szabadság tér* [and Freedom Square] *és a száműzöttek* [and the exiles] *és a hitvallók* [and the martyrs] *és a moszkvai szekularizáció* [and Moscow's secularization] *és a régi-új kérdések* [and the old-new questions] *és a bánat* [and the woe] *és a kiségetési terv* [and the plan to help] *és a két levél* [and the two letters] *és a két lehetőség* [and the two

possibilities] és az elődök [and the predecessors] és a névtelen honvéd [and the anonymous soldier] és a szeretetsata [and the battle of love] és az agapé [and agape] és a lángok nélküli fényesség [and the flameless light],” with a final chapter entitled ‘*Tegyétek fel az üdvösség sisakját és ragadjátok meg az lélek kardját*’ [wear the helmet of salvation and take the sword of the spirit],” a quote from Ephesians 6:17. Considering Eszterhás had never lived under communism, his work shows a mastery of the ideological language of the times, as well as a mastery of the psychology of a deeply spiritual man with full realization of his historical fate.

The novel ends with the Cardinal leaving the American embassy after 15 years of exile, 15 years of a secret police presence directly outside the embassy, presumably waiting for him to step outside to be arrested immediately. In Mindszenty’s own memoir, an autobiographical work of nonfiction, he describes the scene as stepping outside with the American ambassador, blessing the embassy and Freedom Square, getting into the car and speeding away wordlessly, all the way to Vienna and Rome.¹⁸⁰ Eszterhás, however, envisions a scene in which the Italian monsignor, sent to accompany Mindszenty to Rome, misunderstands a symbolic event as they are leaving. In the fictional scene, Mindszenty tells the driver to wait a second, rolls down his car window and blesses the ÁVO secret policeman who had been waiting to arrest Mindszenty day in and day out, had he stepped forth from the embassy onto the street. The police officer stands still after the blessing, and the Italian monsignor laughs, thinking he had frozen, turned to stone, not sure what to do with the unexpected gesture.

At this point Mindszenty, in this fictional account, turns to the Hungarian monsignor and asks him to translate his comment to the Italian monsignor about how little the Italian monsignor knows or understands the Hungarian nation, its history, and its people. Indeed, according to Mindszenty, the policeman was not turned to stone, but quite the opposite: he clicked his heels and stood up straight at attention. In other words, in plain-spoken Hungarian, he saluted the blessing.¹⁸¹ This fictional account shows not only a keen understanding of political and ideological nuance, but also displays an emotional nationalism, albeit one steeped in empathy for the Hungarian communists as people, doing the best they can in difficult situations. Lesser writers might depict the communist secret policeman as a brutal thug, but Eszterhás shows sympathy and understanding of humanity, the mark of a true writer.

¹⁸⁰ Joseph Mindszenty, *Memoirs* (New York: MacMillan, 1974), 237.

¹⁸¹ Closing lines to the novel, as found in the original: “Mondd meg, fiam, a monsignornak, hogy nem ért mihozzánk, magyarokhoz. Sohasem értettek hozzánk, magyarokhoz. Még ha szerettek bennünket, és törődtek velünk, akkor sem értettek... Azt is megmagyarázhatod neki, fiam, hogy ez a rendőr egyáltalán nem meredt kővé. Nincs annak ilyen szerencsés, olasz, operahős természete. Nem tud alkalomadtán kővé lenni. Magyarázd meg neki, hogy amint a rendőr megérezte magán az áldást, katonásan összekapta magát. Vigyázzba állt... Magyarul szólva, fiam, tisztelgett az áldásnak a rendőr.” Translations are my own.

Another work full of empathy and multiple levels of meaning is *A hézag*, published in 1983, which I would translate as *The Rift, or the Gap, or The Chasm*. The subtitle is “satire – in the form of a novel,”¹⁸² and the author’s note on the inside cover of the novel specifically states the moral of the story: the overall point is to caution Hungarian-American readers about language use. They should not mix English with their language, but the novel is also directed at the iron-bridles that Hungarian speakers face in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, and Ukraine. This novel has stood the test of time, for its lessons can also be understood to apply to today’s Hungary, in which English words are mixed often and freely with native Hungarian, often to the consternation of older emigrants who see such language use as an adulteration. But the novel is far more than just a linguistic warning. Eszterhás knows and understands not only the *weltanschauung* of the average residents of the Buckeye Road neighborhood in the 1970’s and 1980’s, he keenly sees the fine machinations of both Hungarian and American media, and the ideological and psychological motivations of Hungarian-Americans, as well as of political operatives in Hungary. What makes the writings of Eszterhás so remarkable is that he did not live nor experience the ideology of communism under János Kádár, yet he manages to capture its essence and its details perfectly.

The novel’s basic plot line is of a communist operative in Hungary who hatches a plan to fleece his American-Hungarian relative for the sake of socialism, and travels to Cleveland to put his plan into effect, with the full blessing of communist authorities. To do so, however, he must play a stupid tourist, so as not to show his true identity, that of a true believer in communism. The humor of the novel lies not only in its multiple levels of meaning, e.g. the dramatic irony of the reader realizing the sheer stupidity of the truly clueless narrator acting as a clueless tourist who stumbles over the most basic of linguistic issues, but also in the difficulty of someone from Hungary understanding Hunglish, Hungarian with many English words mixed in.

Already in the first chapter the reader is introduced to Eszterhás’ mastery of the ideological language of Kádár’s times, when the narrator tells of his plan to steal his relative’s money by enticing her to retire back to Hungary: “Yes, native land! Which is important to emphasize, because today the party really pushes the ‘native land’ expression instead of ‘homeland,’ especially in the direction of our compatriots living abroad, who we don’t want to accept into our socialist homeland, but we do allow them to vacation in the native land. This is smart, they really figured this out, homeland nix for the Westerners, but

¹⁸² All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

every fascist, half-fascist, or fascist-seeming Hungarian can come to vacation in the native land, with hard currency of course, as vacationers.”¹⁸³

Later in the novel, the narrator meets a provocative Hungarian-American editor, who prods him by asking about the truth going on in Hungary, sarcastically telling him using communist ideological phrases how the emigrants are not as unsuccessful as the propaganda at home would have its citizens believe:

Now is the time to objectively inform the Cleveland Hungarians among others. Because in *Monday* [the fictional Cleveland Hungarian newspaper] we reach all areas that Hungarians can be found. And every Hungarian wants to know, what the situation really is like at home. Tell me, you already believed it at home, that all opposition Hungarians are in history's morgue in the land of freedom? Tell me, it's not a secret, how do they disparage us now? We were nazis, fascists, narodniks, Horthyistas, reactionary Mindszentystas, war criminals and enemies of the people, 56 adventerous counterrevolutionaries, dissidents, garbage worthy of history's morgue. What do they call us now? OK, not important. Important is that now you can see with your own eyes that we are not in history's morgue, not even in history's warehouse... Still steadfastly building socialism, right?¹⁸⁴

The narrator is taken aback that the editor knows such language, and immediately refers to him as a “dirty scoundrel, right-wing anarchist” in the ideological jargon that comes naturally to him.

Later, an African-American hoodlum tries to rob the narrator's aunt, and the narrator saves the day, helping to apprehend the criminal. Immediately he becomes a hero, and a friend of his aunt with leftist leanings tries to use the situation to influence the American media, to soften the Cleveland Hungarian right-wing media, the majority as depicted earlier, similar to the readership of *Monday*. The friend also wants the narrator to look good at home with his Interior Ministry superiors (he also worked there earlier, and thus saw through the whole plot, but was not above using the narrator for his own local political ends). “Don't worry about me, I know what is expected at home of a Ministry comrade who travels to the West,” says the friend. The media savviness of this character shows the perceptive and expressive talents of Eszterhás, and furthermore lends voice to the emigre sentiment of those who just want to be appreciated by their native country: “I am not as biased as the other emigrants. The extremists. Nobody believes them anyway. But people believe me. I have political clout. I shouldn't even be in the emigration. Among these. At home more use could be made of me than here. I plan to visit as well. But I haven't thought out the details. And no one has invited me. We'll see, said the blind man...”¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Original: “A szülőföldjén! Amit igen fontos hangoztatni, mert ma a párt nagyon hajtja a ‘szülőföld’használatát a ‘haza’ kifejezés helyett, különösen idegenben élő honfitársaink irányában, akiket a szocialista hazába nem akarunk befogadni, de kis ideig engedünk lébecolni a szülőföldön. Ezt én ügyesnek tartom, jól kispekulálták: a pártban, a sok nyugatosnak haza nuku, de a szülőföldre minden fasiszta, félfasiszta, vagy fasisztagyanus magyar jöhet valutával vakációzni – túristaként...” in István Eszterhás, *A hézag*, 16.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 144-145.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 180-181, 185.

Later, in an extended conversation, the narrator answers that emigres should not tell Hungarians from Hungary what to say. The friend then goes to calmly explain the narrator's own ideology, understanding the major trends of the peaceful politics of socialism, of nationalistic feudalism, and of capitalist pride. He calmly responds to being called a reactionary and expands upon the importance of relatives and personal contact, a common argument among Cleveland emigres in the 1970's and 1980's. What makes Eszterhás such a talented writer is the fact that his work was social in nature and directed at his fellow Cold War Cleveland Hungarians who would understand his sarcasm, yet his nuanced understanding of ideological trends and human psychology could teach a lesson to today's Hungarian politics as well.

The aunt, whom the narrator is trying to fleece, then confides in the narrator because they have grown close as personal friends during the visit. Despite the fact that she knows he is a true believing communist, she still confides in him, which is one of the overall messages of the novel, that of personal friendship overcoming ideological rifts. She relates how she had opened a Hungarian kitchen on Buckeye Road, then Cuban businessmen tried to trick her, and how she got the best of them. The narrator is amazed at her ingenuity, not only how rich she is, but also how smart: "Sixty thousand bucks... and she throws their faces in the dirt, these two flatfooted American capitalists! It's amazing, what broads there are here [in America]..."¹⁸⁶

Yet the narrator, after being warned at home not to read émigré newspapers, curiously takes one into his hands in Cleveland, and immediately regrets it. It is full of lies, and he is amazed that they are allowed to print such falsehoods. Here Eszterhás reveals his mastery of language and of multiple layers of meaning. For the falsehoods that shock the narrator are actually the truth, conveniently ignored or labeled as lies by the propaganda of the Kádár regime. The narrator intersperses his own commentary as he reads the emigre newspaper:

...But we've already forgotten [the torture of the 1950's] long ago! Why are these insolents bringing it up again? Will there never be peace? What? Why must [Hungarians in Hungary] stand in line and wait in front of stores? Why do they teach the salespeople to swear? That there are those who can only sleep by taking depressants? Don't they realize that comrade Kádár promised that the 'doorbell-terror' would not return? That which was, we must forget, because it was a distortion, and nobody should be taken to account for it now? Not even the police, because it was the socialized revolution. Don't they understand? It was a revolution, rotten bourgeois! ... How can this be? These homeland-denying, nazi escapees, dissidents, counterrevolutionaries, opportunistic adventurers, how can they write such things in America about the friendly superpower, the Soviet Union? And the question that arises from that: If they write such things, why is it that Brezhnev still visits America? No eternal hatred after such crap, lies, and slander? We've come to that point, where these nazi and fascist writers just willy-nilly print this without any consequences here in America? ... And then comes the final spiral question: is it possible that the friendly, comrade, glorious Soviet Union, our elite team in the struggle of internationalism, might not be so huge, glorious, and

¹⁸⁶ Eszterhás, *A házag*, 253.

powerful as they write at home? Is it possible that we ended up on the weaker side? Because if not, then how can they print this in America in the Hungarian language?¹⁸⁷

This comical, not-too-smart narrator, in his amazement, unwittingly reveals insightful truths not only about Cold War politics, but about propaganda as well. Much as Huck Finn, the unschooled narrator of Mark Twain's classic novel, cannot believe that he is committing the grave sin of helping to free a slave, so too does Eszterhás place severe social criticism in the words of his moronic narrator. Yet the words are tempered with a sense of humanity, with understanding and empathy to the narrator's condition and background.

In the end, the narrator's scheme does not work. He returns to Hungary without the money of his American-Hungarian aunt. Yet as he lands at *Ferihegy* airport in Budapest, the same feeling engulfs him that all returning Hungarians experience. "Coming home from the West, whoever is Hungarian and steps off the plane onto native soil, at *Ferihegy* everyone's steps weaken, as if the dear native soil were to actually reel underfoot... everyone feels this who goes West and returns via *Ferihegy* airport."¹⁸⁸ The narrator refers to a specific nostalgic feeling, but the reader cannot help but wonder if Eszterhás is not in fact referring to the expanded horizons of the traveler, that native Hungarians are not as confident after meeting emigres, perhaps because they have been exposed to a different sort of Hungarian identity, one sustained and maintained in freedom and material prosperity.

And the narrator begins to question his old reality. He begins to question his political indoctrination before his trip: "Did comrade Kallós ever travel to the West? How can a nation of 16 million be considered a large nation, when the American Hungarians not only oppose that we are communists, but they directly and practically fear us communist Hungarians! ... Because we became different, and they also became very different. Even their language is hard to understand! Can one really know, or even surmise, how many of those 16 million speak the language so I can actually understand them, and they me?" The narrator then goes on to describe the differences, characterizing Hungarian-Americans and Hungarians from Hungary, both in their language as well as in their sense of Hungarian identity. The Party knows best, but what of the other Hungarians (emigres), whom the Party refuses to consider Hungarian? The questions the narrator raises, in a moment of self-reflection after his trip abroad, are the true questions of Hungarian identity everywhere. What does our sense of Hungarian identity actually entail? Can others tell us what being Hungarian actually or really means? These thoughts and questions, common in the conversations of Cleveland Hungarians

¹⁸⁷ Eszterhás, *A hézag*, 279-281.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 338.

during the Cold War, are still relevant today. That is what makes Eszterhás a lasting writer, one whose work will endure.

Indeed, the ending of the novel is also quite telling. While trying to understand the rhetoric of the comrade sent from Moscow to indoctrinate the Interior Ministry employees, the narrator realizes that there is a rift, a gap, a chasm between Hungarians (the spacing of the final six lines of the novel is important, for it slows the reader down, emphasizing each and every word):

| <i>Original</i> | <i>my translation</i> |
|----------------------|--|
| MI A HÉZAG? | WHAT THE HELL? [with a pun on the word rift] |
| Ja. A hézag. | Yeah. The rift. |
| Sok a hézag köztünk. | Many rifts between/among us. |
| És egyre nől. | And constantly growing. |
| A sok hézag. | The many rifts. |
| Köztünk. | Between us. |

But the final word of the novel not only means “between us,” as in separating us, but it also carries another meaning, that of togetherness, with connotations of bridges between us, or across us. Thus the final word of the novel is positive, emphasizing the togetherness and sense of common identity that unites Hungarians, whether they are communists and live in Budapest, or anti-communist and live in Cleveland. And that is the hallmark of true literature, which unites and highlights our common humanity.

Another prolific Cleveland writer was Ferenc Somogyi, who was born in 1906 in Nárai, a small village in Vas county in Hungary. His first published work was a collection of local folk customs, for which he won an award in 1925. He studied law, history, political science, and literature at the University of Pécs in Hungary, then began teaching at the university level in Hungary through the 1930’s. He was elected to the Hungarian Parliament in 1939. The Second World War swept him to a DP camp near Feffernitz in Austria, where he was elected the director of theater, leading 14 professional actors, a 108-member choir and a 24-member dance ensemble in weekly shows, borrowing costumes from the Klagenfurt theater. He also taught in the high school of the Spittal DP refugee camp. From 1948 to 1956 he edited and published the émigré journal *Vagyunk* [We exist], first in Austria and then after his immigration to Cleveland in 1950.¹⁸⁹

In Cleveland he continued his scholarly work and community service, starting a Hungarian culture lecture series at Western Reserve University, editing the Hungarian Association’s *Krónika* for decades, and assembling its 30-year historical summary in 1983. He taught countless Cleveland Hungarians in his decades of public service, in its Hungarian

¹⁸⁹ All facts taken from *Siker a balsorsban: Somogyi Ferenc munkássága* [Triumph in adversity: the work of Ferenc Somogyi] ed. Lél Somogyi [his son] (Cleveland: Institute of Hungarology, 1992), 71-143.

school or at the university level as chair of Hungarian Studies at Western Reserve University. He is a founder of the Hungarian Association, cofounded and codirected the St. Stephen Free University in Cleveland, and served as the General Secretary of the Árpád Academy of Hungarian Scientists, Writers, and Artists Abroad.

He published well over 500 scholarly articles, edited numerous compilations of Hungarian cultural and literary works, and penned 26 books. His three major works, however, are an overarching synthesis of Hungarian history entitled *Küldetés: a magyarság története*, which had two editions and three printings, the latest in 1978, and a two-volume literary history spanning Hungarian literature to 1925.¹⁹⁰ Objectivity and well-documented research characterize these three books, as they characterize all of his published materials. For his 80th birthday, Steven Béla Várdy and Ágnes Huszár Várdy assembled a 616 page collection of 27 independent studies entitled *Triumph in Adversity*,¹⁹¹ a fitting tribute to Somogyi's life work.

Also telling is the type of visitor that Cleveland's Hungarians attracted to their cultural gatherings through the years; besides other better-known Hungarian émigré authors such as Albert Wass, a regular visitor to the Hungarian Association yearly conference was the novelist Áron Gábor.¹⁹² Perhaps because his own life contained many parallels and similar experiences to many in the DP and 1956 generations, e.g., imprisonment under the communist regime, forced labor under the Soviets, and emigration, and because he wrote about them so vividly, Cleveland Hungarians could easily relate to his writings. While researching his visits to Cleveland, I came across a 1968 original recording of his voice¹⁹³ in which he follows the writer Albert Wass in addressing the November Hungarian Association Congress, a scholarly conference still being held yearly in Cleveland. In the introduction to Gábor's speech, János Nádas, the organizer of the conference, says that Gábor not only comes to "appall us, but to strengthen us in our perseverance, that we can all be advocates for Hungarian issues and for the millions locked behind the Iron Curtain."¹⁹⁴ This sentiment summarized the atmosphere of Cleveland's Hungarian literary circles during the Cold War; anti-communist and of strong Hungarian feeling.

¹⁹⁰ Ferenc Somogyi, *Magyar nyelv és irodalom 1825-ig* (Kárpát Publishing: Cleveland, 1975), *Magyar nyelv és irodalom 1825-től 1925-ig: hagyományok* (Kárpát Publishing: Cleveland, 1976), and *Küldetés* (Kárpát Publishing: Cleveland, 1978).

¹⁹¹ Steven Béla Várdy and Ágnes Huszár Várdy, editors. *Triumph in Adversity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

¹⁹² A longer version of this chapter was published in *Hungarian Quarterly*, Volume 51, Number 199, Autumn 2010, under the title "No Passport? Can't Go Home! The Novels of Áron Gábor." All quoted passages are my own translations.

¹⁹³ Recorded by Miklós Kossányi during the Hungarian Congress held in November of 1968. The Kossányi archives are now housed in Cleveland State University's library. The video and sound archives, which are as of yet inaccessible to researchers, are as of this writing temporarily being housed at NBN Studios and in the St. Emeric church basement, include original recordings of Albert Wass, Zita Szelezcky, Magda Szabó, and other notable Hungarian authors who visited Cleveland.

¹⁹⁴ Original Hungarian, as I transcribed from the voice recording: "Nem csak azért, hogy elszörnyülködtessen, hanem azért is, hogy megerősítsen bennünket abban a kitartásunkban, hogy mindnyájan szószólónk legyünk a magyar ügyekben és a Vasfüggöny mögé zárt embermillióknak."

These forums of Hungarian writers from all over the world convening in Cleveland considered themselves first and foremost Hungarian. Europe, Australia, South America, or the United States were their places of residence, but meeting other Hungarians reinforced their identities as being primarily Hungarian. Not knowing their newly adopted countries' languages, by day they worked mostly in factories. On the weekends, they could recreate the intellectual life they had been forced to leave behind in Hungary.¹⁹⁵ As Bressler outlined, communication builds, sustains, and transforms identity, and these conferences allowed participants and local audience members occasion to reinforce the Hungarian aspects of their lives. Áron Gábor was one of the regular visitors to and participants of the Cleveland Hungarian Association conferences.

Although he was not widely read, a significant part of Cleveland's educated Hungarian population knew about him, and one can find his books on many a bookshelf in Cleveland Hungarian households; every now and then, when another older retiree passes away and the family donates his or her Hungarian books to the scouts for resale and recycling, another complete set of Áron Gábor's works emerges onto the book resale market. Mention the name Áron Gábor to the average Hungarian, and immediately the 19th century hero comes to mind, the one who collected bronze church bells and cast them into cannons to fight the Austrians during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. The writer who visited Cleveland, however, was an entirely different person, living in the twentieth century, while a direct descendant of the folk hero of 1848.

Imagine being released after spending five years in the Soviet gulag, emaciated, weak, and sickly. You report to the nearest Siberian village police station, asking to go back to your native Hungary. The local police official asks you where your passport is. "My passport?" you ask incredulously. Five long and brutal years ago, you had been arrested and sentenced to death, and later, when your sentence was commuted to a mere five years of forced labor, you were taken by railroad cattle car, with thousands of others, to the vast reaches of Siberia. Passports? Who worried about passports, when simple survival was at stake? Sorry, the local bureaucrat informs you. Nobody travels even in the great Soviet empire without a passport. Thus begins your protracted road to freedom, with another ten years of exile in a Siberian village before you are finally allowed to return to your native Hungary, fifteen years after being arrested in 1945. Too far-fetched to be true? Just one of many scenes in Áron Gábor's novels, belonging to the genre of fictional autobiography. Actually, the scene is true, taken from his own life experiences. His accounts were very familiar to Cleveland Hungarians,

¹⁹⁵ Gabriella Ormay Nádas, in a personal interview with the author on 12 December 2002.

especially those who were of the DP generation or refugees after the 1956 Revolution, as they had also grown up in prewar Hungary and then suffered under Soviet occupation before arriving to America. Thus his writings spoke of experiences and themes common to their lives and personal experience.

He is hardly known in Budapest literary circles. Nevertheless, he was widely read in émigré communities. Perusing any reasonably educated emigre's bookshelf in the 1970's and 1980's, whether in Buenos Aires, Sydney, Vienna, New Brunswick, Toronto, New York, Cleveland, or Los Angeles, one easily would have found the usual assortment of Arany, Gárdonyi, and Petőfi, as well as Albert Wass, József Nyírő, Tibor Tollas, Sándor Márai, and of course Áron Gábor. His writing is hard-hitting and satirical, yet highly literary, much like Friedrich Dürrenmatt or Kurt Vonnegut. Indeed, Gyula Borbándi compiled a comprehensive detailed account of Hungarian émigré literature, and Gábor figures prominently in it. It remains to be seen whether he will be acknowledged in the Hungarian literary canon with the passage of time. Emigrés, however, especially in Cleveland, have long appreciated his writings. His life story, as well as his literary career, mirrors some of the more tumultuous events of Hungary in the 20th century: the Second World War, Soviet occupation, the Siberian gulag, and later, communism at home.

Born in 1911 in the Hungarian city Kaposvár, the author earned a law degree at Pázmány University, then became a reporter for two liberal newspapers, *8 Órai Újság* [8 O'clock Newspaper] and *Reggel* [Morning]. He was a war correspondent during the Second World War, writing a book about his experiences along the Don river on the Soviet front, *Túl a Sztálin Vonalon* [Beyond the Stalin line]. The book was a fairly objective example of embedded journalism with anecdotal remarks, frequently connecting individual examples to their broader sociological and historical implications. He interviewed mayors, local newspaper editors, and ordinary Russians, and described tours of villages, cities, hospitals, collectives, and taverns, touching on the relationship between the communist party and the Russian population, as well as on the effects of propaganda on everyday lives, or conversely, on the lack of effect. Characteristic of Gábor's writing style, but still in the category of nonfiction, it was laced with personal commentary.

During the German occupation of 1944, he crossed over to the Eastern part of Hungary, to the zone occupied by the Russians, and reported for duty. He was appointed general secretary of the Red Cross in Hungary in 1945, and organized its Search Service, assembling reports about refugees and POW's. In August of 1945, he was summoned to the Russian ambassador's residence. Hoping to get information about POW's from the ambassador, he went, whereupon he was politely arrested, then later imprisoned by Soviet

military authorities. Legend has it that news of his book about the Russian people had reached Stalin, and the dictator was so incensed that a Soviet military court sentenced Áron Gábor to death. The author's account of his seventeen months imprisonment by Soviet authorities while still on Hungarian soil developed into his first novel, *Az embertől keletre* [East of man], which later became the first of a four-volume series, all of which were written as autobiographical fiction.

His sentence was unexplainedly commuted to five years forced labor and life exile by the Moscow Special Committee, and he was shipped to Siberia. Gábor later wrote his second novel, *Szögletes szabadság* [Freedom framed], about his five years in the gulag. Because of the passport scene mentioned earlier, he then spent an additional ten years as a legal resident of a Russian village in Siberia; his observations living amongst the Russian people he detailed in *Évszázados emberek* [Centenarians]. His manual labor was so noteworthy that he actually earned a Soviet outstanding worker award from the Trade Union of Siberian Forest Workers. While living and working in Siberia, he met Russian soldiers who as conscripts had served in Budapest on October of 1956, then after their military service returned to their native Siberian villages. These soldiers told him that they had standing orders on October 23rd, 1956, that if perchance they were to meet American troops, they were specifically ordered not to engage them. Thus, relates Gábor in his address to Cleveland Hungarians at the Hungarian Association conference of November of 1968, the world missed its chance; without the atom bomb, without artillery fire, history could have turned, and the world could have saved a country, referring to American intervention in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. This firsthand observation, gleaned from Russian participants in the events of 1956 Hungary, may well have been lost to history, had Miklós Kossányi not recorded Áron Gábor's address at the Cleveland conference.¹⁹⁶ Gábor, meanwhile, in Siberia, married a Russian woman and then, in 1960, was finally allowed to return to his native Hungary.

After fifteen years of imprisonment and exile in Siberia, he attempted to reintegrate himself into the post-world-war communist Hungary of 1960. This Hungary of 1960 had experienced and already repressed the 1956 Revolution, and was well on its way to goulash

¹⁹⁶ Original voice recording from 1968, as I transcribed it: "A Szovjetunió megközelíthetően se olyan erős, mint amilyennek tűnik, hamis adatokból épült... Nem diplomáciai iratokra, nem diplomáciai jegyzőkekre, nem a mostanában napvilágra hozott titkos utasításokra hivatkozom, hanem egyszerű szovjet katonákra, azokra a szovjet katonákra, akik leszereltek 56 után és visszatértek Szibériába és velünk dolgoztak. Ezek mondták el, ezt mondták el kérem, hogy az alakulataiknál 1956. október 23-án napiparancs volt, amennyiben amerikai katonák jelennek meg Magyarországon, nem szabad velük fölvenni a harcot. Kérem, ezeknek a szovjet fiuknak, volt munkatársaimnak én többet hiszek, mint az itteni diplomáciai irodalomnak. Ezek a szovjet emberek nem hazudnak," which refers back to an earlier part of his address in which he explains that humans at the edge of existence, i.e. in the gulag or in Siberian villages, close to everyday death and dying, these humans really get at the truth. He continues: „A világ elmulasztott egy pillanatot. Elmulasztotta azt a pillanatot, amikor atombomba nélkül, ágyúrobbanás nélkül megfordulhatott volna a történelem. Amikor megmenthettek volna egy országot...” and the writer alludes to the Hungarians from Cleveland serving and dying in Vietnam as he went on: “S ez a pillanat nagyon drága. Nagyon drága volt eddig, amelyik a vérével fizet érte Vietnámban és az Önök gyermekei halnak érte...”

communism under János Kádár. Gábor started writing for the photojournal *Ország-Világ* [Country-World], a weekly published by the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Association, then later became the press secretary of the National Forestry Administration. Reintegration was difficult, and after five years of trying to fit in, he emigrated to West Germany, smuggling his manuscript of *Az embertől keletre*, which was published in Munich two years later.

He continued writing the rest of the novels in the series, while also publishing regularly in emigre periodicals such as *Új Látóhatár* [New Horizon], *Irodalmi Újság* [Literary Magazine], *Kanadai Magyarország* [Hungarians of Canada], and *Új Világ* [New World]. He also visited Hungarian communities dispersed around the globe, including North and South America, travelling as far as Australia, and presenting at Cleveland's Hungarian Association conference multiple times.¹⁹⁷ His book about the United States he wrote in German, titled *Wohin Amerikaner?* [Where to, American?], with his characteristic style, somewhat ironic but always probing, focused not so much on Hungarians, but rather on American life in general. His study contrasts Ivan Ivanovitch, the Russian everyman, who survived the tsars and will have survived the Party Secretaries (he wrote in 1970), with the average American archetypes Bill Jones and Joe Blow, wondering who they really were in the materialistic American consumer economy.

His commentary about Hungarians living in Australia was entitled *Ázsia peremén* [On the fringe of Asia], and it was to have been the first in another series dealing with the sociology, psychology, and politics of emigre Hungarian communities, but he never finished this second set. He did continue writing until his death in Saarbrücken, on December 28th of 1982, just four years after publishing the last novel in his first four-volume series. Some of his works were translated into German, English, Spanish, or Portuguese, but he is still mostly unknown in his native Hungary.

All the novels in his series, *Az embertől keletre*, *Szögletes szabadság*, *Évszázados emberek*, and *Túlélés* [Survival], are narrated from the third person point of view and share the same main persona, a thinly veiled autobiographical character who is actually split into two personalities: the Citizen and the Prisoner. The Citizen exemplifies the pre-world-war education, values, norms, and decorum that his psyche had internalized, and this idealist personality has constant arguments with the Prisoner, the side of him that epitomizes his base animal and survival instincts, the matter-of-fact realist.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Lél Somogyi, personal recollection, emailed to the author January 2012.

¹⁹⁸ In the only English translation of his works, *Évszázados Emberek*, these two characters are called the bourgeois and the captive. However, the translation is rather untrustworthy, mainly because the title is translated as *East of Man*, which is a completely different novel in the series. Because in all of his original works Gábor capitalized both „Polgár” and „Rab,” I have elected to translate the two characters as the Citizen and the Prisoner.

The four-volume series culminates in *Túlélés*, a work of literary merit and nuanced social criticism filled with satire, yet respectful and empathetic, both to the oppressor and to the oppressed. Written upon his return from fifteen years imprisonment and exile in Siberia, Gábor attempts to integrate himself into this society. In so doing, he manages to subtly unearth the survival mechanisms by which a populace endures, the values people keep and the values they discard when under oppression. And for Cleveland Hungarians, his work has special significance, being that many of the DP and 1956 generations experienced firsthand what it was like to survive and to endure a Soviet occupation, and for some, imprisonment due to political beliefs.

Indeed, when Gábor addressed a Cleveland Hungarian audience in 1968, he alluded to the success of their Cleveland Hungarian social institutions, just as the writer Albert Wass had done several minutes earlier, and told them that they owed it to maintain the facets of the 1,000-year-old Hungarian history and culture that they had saved [as refugees], and not only to gather at Hungarian conferences, but to engage Americans politically, to take advantage of their rights as American citizens, to tell what they knew about communism, that there was a drama on the other side of the Atlantic.¹⁹⁹ This outlook, that émigré Hungarians had to speak up for those still behind the Iron Curtain, was an often-repeated theme among Cleveland Hungarians during the Cold War, and an oft-repeated theme in Áron Gábor's speeches. Thus one can see that Hungarian literary life and publishing flourished throughout the Cold War. Although it has shrunk since the 1990's, literary life (if not publishing) is nevertheless still alive, evidence of vibrant Hungarian life in Cleveland.

3.4 Now: Hungarian Language Use and Culture Today

Hungarian language use in Cleveland is still alive and blossoming, as can be seen from the most recent *Krónika*, the proceedings of the 50th Hungarian Congress, held on 26-28 November of 2010. The gathering included a keynote speaker from Hungary, Pál Hatos, director of the Balassi Institute, as well as lectures and roundtable discussions by Hungarians from the Cleveland area as well as from Cincinnati, OH, New Brunswick, NJ, Fairfax, VA,

¹⁹⁹ Original Hungarian comments, as recorded by Miklós Kossányi and as I transcribed them: "Engedjék meg, hogy elmondjam amit Wass Albert barátom és mélyen tisztelt költő oly szépen mondott, egy-két szóval kiegészítsek, hogy a magyarság, amit Önök, független attól hogy melyik generáció és emigrációs korosztályok, amit Önök itt Amerikában létesítettek, amelyeket Önök létesítettek társadalmi csúcson, azon az emigrációban egyik nép se produkált. Nagyon büszke vagyok erre, és nagyon kérem, jegyezzenek meg ezzel valamit: adósok. Annak a felismerésével és tudatával adósok, hogy ezt, hogy ennek a sikernek az eredeteit, amely otthonról hozták... onnan amiből egy ezer éves történelem fölépül, Önök ennek a történelemnek a tényezőit mentették át ide, s ezek a tényezők Önöknek szellemi kulcsot, társadalmi rangot emeltek, kérem, ne felejtsek ezt... Necsak ide gyűljenek össze, a Magyar Találkozókra, és beszéljünk egymásnak, és mondjuk el itt az igazságot, hanem Önök politizáljanak, hölgyeim és uraim, éljenek azzal az alkotmányban adott joggal amit egy szabad Amerika biztosít Önöknek, és hirdessék, hogy odaát Európában nemcsak egy nép, hanem Európa is veszedelemben forog. Mondják azt, amit közvetve vagy közvetlenül tudnak a kommunizmusról, mondják el azt, hogy odaát dráma van..."

Berkeley and Pasadena, CA, Ottawa, Canada, Romania, and Australia. Nineteen obituaries of prominent Cleveland personalities dying in 2011 are included in the proceedings, as are several original Hungarian poems written on occasion of their deaths. The proceedings also include keynote addresses given at March 15th commemorations in Cleveland, as well as a listing of the founding members of the Hungarian Association, and an essay about the history of the first fifty years of the organization. The Congress also included artistic and book exhibits, a musical and literary program, and an exhibition of 11 young local Hungarian artists.²⁰⁰

Today the only regular periodicals published in the Cleveland area in the Hungarian language are the newsletters of local Hungarian organizations and churches. These include weekly church bulletins, which in and of themselves constitute historical records, for they detail ongoing and special events. Most church bulletins are one to two pages, but the exception is *Ébresztő* [Awake], a 16 page full-color periodical of the Hungarian Bethany Baptist church, which is published monthly since 1999 with a circulation of 100-120, with news, many pictures of the congregation, and articles about religion, all written in Hungarian. *Jó munkát* [Good work], the yearly newsletter of the American Hungarian Friends of Scouting, is a publication with a larger circulation, being mailed yearly or biannually to over a thousand households mostly in the Cleveland area. This publication is written entirely in Hungarian, with reports about and pictures of balls, luncheons, and ongoing scouting activities and social events. The bilingual *Review*, the official newsletter of the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society, appears twice a year and also contains articles and pictures of social events and cultural activities and lectures that the Hungarian Museum holds. Although not written in Hungarian, the *Hírek*, sent out monthly by the Hungarian Cultural Center of Northeastern Ohio, is a treasure trove of information about Cleveland Hungarian events, and is the most all-encompassing in its coverage of most Hungarian events happening around Cleveland. All of these local initiatives use communication to promote and express identity, as Urban and Orbe stated.

Out of town Hungarian newspapers are also available, although they tend to be read by the older generation. If we revisit the 2010 American Community Survey statistics, in which about 91,445 people spoke Hungarian at home throughout the USA, with 8,496 of those living in Ohio, we find approximately 6,074 people who speak Hungarian in the home in the greater Cleveland area. Thus, almost three quarters of Ohio's Hungarian population can be found in the greater Cleveland area. What are some current Hungarian newspapers that

²⁰⁰ <http://www.hungarianassociation.com/MagyarTarsasagProgram2010.htm>, accessed 9 October 2012 The entire proceedings of the 49th and 50th Congresses were also published in book form, edited by Lél Somogyi, *A XLIX. és L. Magyar Találkozók Krónikája* (Cleveland: Árpád Könyvkiadó, 2011).

these Hungarians read, other than their local community newsletters? The weekly *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*, published in New York, but formerly *Szabadság* of Cleveland, for example, has approximately 500 subscribers in Ohio, out of about six to ten thousand nationwide. In addition, the online edition garners an average of about 600 hits per month from Ohio.²⁰¹ If we interpolate from these ratios (US, Ohio, Cleveland), we may surmise that 300-350 Hungarians in the Cleveland area subscribe to *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*, and that around 15 people per day access it online from the Cleveland area. Also worth mentioning are other online news sources straight from Hungary and its surrounding countries, but it is hard to ascertain exactly how many people from the Cleveland area access websites in Hungary. Since 1989, however, news sources from Hungary are freely available, although few target Hungarian-Americans exclusively.

Book purchasing boomed at one time with three local outlets including the Nádas and Kossuth bookshops and the Magyar Áruház. All three of these are no more, but book purchasing has not died out completely. Many Cleveland Hungarians buy books when visiting Hungary, as anything is available, unlike during the Cold War, when Hungarian government authorities prohibited certain authors from publishing in Hungary, and émigré authors tended to be strongly anti-communist. Today anyone can visit the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum in the Galleria Mall on East 9th Street in downtown Cleveland, which boasts an impressive book corner in its giftshop. Another outlet is the book donation program run by the scouts. As older Cleveland Hungarians die, they often leave behind personal libraries of hundreds of Hungarian books. By word of mouth, a tradition slowly evolved in which their descendants began donating these books to the scouts, who in turn took these to the annual scout festival Labor Day weekend, where they were in effect recycled by the public. The books are sold for a dollar and the proceeds are used to send care packages to Hungarian villages in Subcarpathia in Ukraine. Lately the scouts began displaying some of these used books on tables in the basement of St. Emeric, hoping that parents would take some, because the collection has grown to encompass hundreds of boxes totaling thousands of Hungarian books. A recent storage cleanup at St. Emeric in October of 2012 counted 150 boxes of books, each with approximately 20-40 volumes, yielding 3,000-6,000 Hungarian items.

The Cleveland area also boasts multiple weekly radio programs catering to those of Hungarian descent. These include WKTX, 830 on the AM dial, started by Mária and Miklós Kossányi but now hosted by Jim Georgiades, broadcasting Monday through Friday from 5 to

²⁰¹ László Bartus, editor of *Amerikai Népszava*, provided me approximate subscriber and online readership numbers in an email correspondence on 25 July 2012.

6 pm, Saturdays from 1 to 3 pm and 5 pm to sundown, and Sundays from 11:30 am to 3 pm. On the FM dial, WKTL 90.7 “Souveniers of Hungary” is hosted by the Check family in Struthers, Ohio, near Youngstown, and broadcasts Saturdays from noon until 1:30 pm. WCSB 89.3 was started in 1984 and hosted for its first two decades by noted Cleveland Hungarian personality Kathy Kapossy, then briefly by her widowed husband John Palasics, and is now hosted by Bob Kita, a Buckeye Hungarian, broadcasting on Saturday middays from 11 to 12:30. In the Akron area, WAPS 91.3 has a Hungarian program on Sunday mornings from 8 to 9 am.

One of the best known programs is broadcast on Cleveland’s public radio station, WCPN 90.3 on Sundays from 6 to 7 pm. Known as the Kapossy Family Hungarian Hour, it was started by and hosted for over 20 years by Kathy Kapossy. The program is now hosted by Kapossy’s daughter and her daughter’s husband, Andrea and Andrew Lázár. The program is bilingual, geared toward educating about Hungarian music and culture, plays a range of Hungarian music including classical, folk, gypsy and popular as well as opera and operette, brings interviews with Hungarian local and notable guests, and gives announcements of upcoming Hungarian events in and near Cleveland. The roots of the Kapossy Family Hungarian Hour go back to the late 1960’s, when it broadcast from the commercial station WZAK. Another commercial radio program that is no more is the Hungarian Radio Hour, hosted by Frank Szappanos on WDOK, which was still actively broadcasting in 1968. However, Hungarian radio programming is but a shadow of what it once was, another example of a shrinking community.

Yet the community is still healthy, because it boasts a weekly radio program conducted entirely in the Hungarian language, WJCU 88.7 on Sunday afternoons from 2 to 5 pm, the Bocskai Radio program. The origins of the radio program date back to the early 1980’s, when Julianna Gulden and Andrew Toth played Hungarian pop and folk music, then Klára Bócsay Tóth took over the microphone for 12-18 months when Gulden left Cleveland. Judith Osváth-Nagy continued the program in the mid 1980’s, with Titusz Aba and Géza Szentmiklóssy-Éles providing some of the materials for the program. In 1990 she passed the program on to Kálmán Elek and László Berta. Around this time is when the program received the name Bocskai Rádió. Now hosted by Dániel Kádár and Mária Zaveccki, the program offers air time to several area Hungarian churches in its first hour, then offers a mix of older and contemporary Hungarian music, with news and local announcements, all in Hungarian.²⁰² Of the area Hungarian radio programs, it is the only one conducted entirely in the Hungarian

²⁰² Dániel Kádár, in an email to the author dated 1 May 2012. Clarified in emails from Julianna Gulden, Klára Bócsay Tóth, and Judith Osváth-Nagyon 25-26 March 2013.

language; the rest play Hungarian music but are either bilingual or conducted in English. The radio program recently started a website, www.bocskairadio.org, which offers background information and current news.

The Hungarian program with the most airtime is WKTX, 830 AM. The radio station was bought by Miklós and Mária Kossányi in 1991 and hosted live programming, but now mostly streams Kossuth Rádió from Hungary. NBN Broadcasting, the TV studio owned by the Kossányi's and now run by Jim Georgiades, also streams from 7 to 8 pm through SCOLA and potentially reaches 100,000 viewers through Fox on TV cable channel 45, broadcast Sundays from 12 to 1 pm.²⁰³

Much as Budapest or any town in Hungary has its share of radio stations, newsletters, and published literature, so too does Cleveland have its Hungarian communication. Indeed, it is a microcosm of Hungarian life, as Attila Z. Papp formulated. Beyond the scope of this dissertation but definitely worthy of further research is the area of music and its impact in cementing the social bonds of Cleveland's Hungarians. Mária Tóth-Kurucz conducted a short study of Hungarian folk singing among the older generation of Hungarian-Americans entitled *Daloló Öregamerikások* [Singing oldtimers], published in 1976, but no significant work has been done ever since, with the exception of the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble's collection of oral histories in 2008, *Clevelandben még élnek magyarok?* The scouts and scout folk ensemble in Cleveland do, however, sing an extensive repertoire of folk songs, with many members knowing at least a hundred Hungarian folk songs and some knowing many hundreds.

The main Hungarian band playing music in Cleveland in the 1950's was the band of László Roósz. Roósz was also the proprietor of *Békavár*, which became the Frogtown Tavern. István Mózsey was a concert pianist who frequently played with gypsy musicians in lounges like the Gypsy Cellar and at Settler's Tavern on Buckeye Road in the late 1950's. In 1957 Mózsey was asked by István Molnár to organize a larger band for the Gendarme Ball (*Csendőr Bál*), and it was then that Kálmán Hegedeos joined up. In the early 1960's the Hegedeos-Megay band was formed and played at various Hungarian weddings and balls in the Cleveland area. At times this included Béla Megay (who also played with his brother László at the Papp Bar on Lorain Avenue). This became the Hegedeos Orchestra when Béla dropped out due to military commitments. The Hegedeos Orchestra was a staple of Hungarian events through the 1980's, 1990's, and beyond, entertaining thousands of Cleveland Hungarians with their dancing music. They played for most Cleveland Hungarian balls from 1962 until the present day, also traveling to Detroit, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and

²⁰³ Jim Georgiades, in a telephone interview with the author on 8 May 2012.

Chicago. The orchestra's composition varied in number and included George Petty, Sándor Leitgeb, John Markovics, Miki Molnár, Denis Wendt, Gil Yachon, László Vince, and Lajos Boday, along with occasional special guests like István Mózsey, László Roósz and Béla Baráth. They played for over 300 Hungarian weddings, including about 30 second generation and 2 third generation Cleveland Hungarian weddings.²⁰⁴ In the 21st century, Béla Czirják also played many events.

Lesser known teenaged garage bands included the *Csodaszarvasok*, [named for the legendary white stag of Hungarian mythology], a group of friends including András Mészáros, István Sedenszky, and others, and Vad Glista [*vadgiliszta*, meaning a wild worm], comprising Tamás Gulden, István Némethy, and Tamás Szélpál. Vad Glista was formed in 2003, when its members were in high school, and they played at family parties, graduations, and at local bars and music venues, winning the local high school Battle of the Bands in 2006. Other local Hungarian members included Alex Botsch, István Tomascsek, and when the band briefly reunited three years later as Psychotech, also Annuska Walter.²⁰⁵ Along the classical music line, Péter Laki wrote for many years and still writes program notes for the Cleveland Orchestra.

Singing in the Hungarian language was a choir that performed at many March 15th and October 23rd commemorations from 1972 at least until 2007. Formed originally by members of the St. István Choir and members of St. Emeric church as the Free Magyar Chamber Choir, the group took the name of Mindszenty Choir in 1974 on occasion of Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty's visit, with his permission. At its 25th year anniversary it had 21 members and 60 members, mostly from St. Emeric church. Its conductors included Endre Alapi, Ildikó Búza Ormay, Mihály Almási, Emőke Tapolyai, Fr. Sándor Siklódi, Klára Seefeld, Miklós Peller, and Zsuzsa Kálmán, while its presidents were Ervin Hollósy, Kálmán Elek, and Ellie Mihály.²⁰⁶ Today the West Side Lutheran church has its *Kis Magyar Kórus* [Small Hungarian choir], with a dozen members directed by the Reverend Zoltán Tamásy. Not well known in Hungarian circles outside of its Sunday church services but nevertheless providing quality Hungarian language choral performances is the church choir of the Hungarian Bethany Baptist church.

Also beyond the scope of this dissertation but worth mentioning are Hungarian artists in Cleveland. Margit Dózsa produced ceramics with Hungarian folk motifs for decades, firing clay in a kiln in her house on Headley Avenue in Cleveland. Zsolt Gregora was a

²⁰⁴ Sándor Leitgeb and Katalin Gulden confirmed in separate emails to the author on 15-16 September 2012, and reinforced by Kálmán Hegedeos in an email dated 5 October 2012.

²⁰⁵ Tamás Gulden, in an email to the author dated 17 September 2012.

²⁰⁶ From "Mindszenty Choir 25th Anniversary 1972-1997," booklet provided by Ildikó Peller. The 25th anniversary performance was held at the West Side Hungarian Reformed Church, with 22 people singing with the choir in addition to the 22 regular Mindszenty Choir members.

woodcarver, painter, and printmaker who produced linoleum cuts with Hungarian themes, and was primarily recognized as a photographer who built his own kaleidoscopic camera lens to create contemporary images based on nature. He collected a variety of folk art and was also scoutmaster of a Hungarian scout troop, inspiring many with his musical talents. Tamás Rátoni-Nagy, whose mother was an artist, ran his own small art gallery, framing photography and fine art until his illness precluded him from doing so. Magdi and András Temesváry, who started the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble in 1973, are folk artisans in the area of folkwear, glass engraving, and woodcarving. Gyuri E. Hollósy can also be listed here, as he studied at the Cleveland Institute of Art and has numerous major sculptures in the Cleveland area. In addition, his works commemorating the 1956 Revolution also grace Liberty Square in Boston, Massachusetts, and a street corner in the Hungarian neighborhood of New Brunswick, New Jersey. The sculptor Béla Bácsi, who currently lives and works in California, also lived in Cleveland for a while and still has relatives here. George Kozmon is another Cleveland-born and bred artist. Receiving his BFA from the Cleveland Institute of Art, his paintings can be found in many public and private collections in the US and abroad. He also illustrated the covers of both of Ernő Kálnoky's local Hungarian books, the cover and inside illustrations for István Fekete Jr's novel *Itéletidő* [Judgement time/weather] and all of the book covers for local author István Eszterhás from the 1980's until the last publication in 1998. Imre Bogárdy, an engineer by training who also occasionally pens verse, is an accomplished watercolor artist, and his works are often on display at Hungarian events in the Cleveland area.²⁰⁷ Younger artists who grew up in Cleveland but have since moved away to pursue artistic endeavors include Krisztina Lázár, Zsóka Némethy, and the twins András and Péter Tábor.

Thus we can see that Cleveland Hungarians comprise a community that continues to maintain its Hungarian language and heritage in an American environment. Independent of U.S. or Hungarian government support, it stands on its own, imports and produces its own literature, and is generally self-sufficient in terms of language policies. Aniko Hatoss, when examining the Hungarian diaspora in Australia, found that communities who are active agents and advocates for the maintenance of their cultural and linguistic heritage rather than passive recipients of government support were more likely to lead to success;²⁰⁸ bottom-up movements were what endured, and so it is with Cleveland's Hungarians.

²⁰⁷ He taught me Hungarian literature, geography, and history when I was a young teenager at Cleveland's Hungarian school.

²⁰⁸ Aniko Hatoss, "Community-level approaches in language planning: the case of Hungarian in Australia." *Language planning in local contexts* (Clevedon, UK: *Multilingual Matters*, 2008): 55-74.

We can also see that Cleveland's Hungarians have consistently maintained and continue to maintain their arts and language. The radio programs they listen to, the literature they read and discuss, and the academic guests they invite all show Urban and Orbe's communication theory of identity as well as the spiritual homeland theory of Bójtös. Their relationship with their culture and language is steady and solid. But when only 8% to 9% of Cleveland Hungarians speak the language at home, what are the factors that set them apart from the other 92% that assimilate?

LANGUAGE USE CASE STUDIES²⁰⁹

What is the relationship of Hungarian-Americans living in larger communities like Cleveland to their language? Miklós Kontra has done extensive work in bilingualism and in sociolinguistics, and Csilla Bartha examined the language patterns and use of symbols of identity in Detroit's Hungarian community,²¹⁰ but the most recent work in sociolinguistics is by Katalin Pintz. In an extensive study of a Hungarian-American community very similar to Cleveland, she looked at New Brunswick, New Jersey's Hungarian community, and found several factors that impacted language and cultural maintenance. Among these were close-knit friendships among parents who valued education and their ethnicity, and taking an active part in the ethnic community. The families she studied tended to "speak Hungarian as much as they can among themselves and to their children. Many of them watch DVD's, television shows, and the news in Hungarian through cable TV or the internet. It is also an important factor for them to find a Hungarian spouse. Nevertheless, they cannot and do not want to exclude themselves from the American cultural sphere."²¹¹ This type of characterization contrasts with the ethnic neighborhoods of forty or fifty years ago, both in New Brunswick and in Cleveland, in which entire city blocks had families of mainly one ethnicity. Today, ethnic Hungarian communities in any given American city tend to stick together not geographically, but rather culturally, gathering on a regular basis from throughout the suburbs, perhaps weekly or more frequently, to take part in a city's ethnic activities.

Pintz also found that although some of the respondents did not like being forced to speak Hungarian as children, they nevertheless all "value this kind of parental education, for they would also like to pass on their mother tongue to their children."²¹² Parental involvement and consistency was definitely a factor in keeping the Hungarian language alive. But perhaps even more important than the parents, or rather, due to the involvement of the parents, the community itself as a social environment reinforced and became the determining factor of ethnicity.

New Brunswick's Hungarians, she found — whether attending Hungarian church services, folk dance rehearsals, scout meetings, a Montessori kindergarten, or the weekend Hungarian school — are known for the high level of Hungarian that is spoken there. The main reason for this is the fact that "the members of the community form a close-knit unit based on friendships and family ties. They organize cultural events several times a week,

²⁰⁹ A version of this chapter was published in *Hungarian Studies Review*, Vol. XL, No. 1 (Spring 2013).

²¹⁰ Csilla Bartha, "Adalékok a detroiti magyar közösség nyelvállapotához" [Contributions to the study of the linguistic situation of the Hungarian community in Detroit], *Magyar Nyelv*, 2 (1989): 230-235, and also "Nyelvhasználat és identitás-szimbólumok a detroiti magyar közösségben" [Language use and symbols of identity in a Hungarian community of Detroit], *Első Magyar Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Konferencia, Nyíregyháza* [First Conference on Hungarian Applied Linguistics], May 3-4 1991. II. 532-536.

²¹¹ Katalin Pintz, "New Brunswick, N.J. as a Magyar Ethnic Island," *Hungarian Studies Review*, 38, 1-2 (2011): 83-120.

²¹² *Ibid.*

ranging from scouting to Hungarian language education and dance classes. The members of the community are active in several Hungarian activities simultaneously.”²¹³

My first reaction upon reading the study of Katalin Pintz was to realize the similarities between New Brunswick’s Hungarian community and Cleveland’s Hungarian community. Both consist of fairly close-knit groups based on friendship and family ties, both organize cultural events regularly, both include scouting and dance groups and Hungarian language education, and the experiences related in Pintz’s study were common to my own experiences growing up Hungarian in Cleveland. Rather than conduct a sociological overview, as she did in New Brunswick, I decided to focus more on the specific factors that impact language use, using a case study approach. If, as Alan Attila Szabó had found and U.S. Census statistics also affirm, the odds are that over 90% of Hungarian-Americans will assimilate in one generation, what then are the factors that allow the other 7% to 9% to maintain their language and culture, many times even in the second and third generations, in spite of overwhelming odds favoring their assimilation?

4.1 Methodology and Study Participants

Nine Hungarians living in the suburbs of Cleveland, Ohio, were chosen for my case studies. Three separate group discussions were held, with three participants each. Small-group discussions were chosen to allow a degree of intimacy that comes from being around other participants from similar backgrounds, and to allow study participants to hear each other’s answers, agree or disagree with each other, and spawn new thoughts based on what they heard from each other. Listening to each other answer the same questions allowed each study participant to reflect upon what was being said and decide whether that applied to them or not. The group discussions were recorded and transcribed word for word for later analysis,²¹⁴ and all took place in the greater Cleveland area during October of 2010. As the writing and analysis of the data progressed, study participants were given rough drafts of the qualitative study results and given an opportunity to revise and add to comments given during their group discussions.

Eight of the nine study participants were born in the Cleveland area, and the ninth was brought to Cleveland as a toddler, so she also spent her entire childhood in the Cleveland area. Study participants were chosen for their similar Hungarian-American backgrounds to provide a fairly typical experience of growing up Hungarian in Cleveland, yet their backgrounds and life circumstances provided a fairly broad spectrum of family immigration

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Special thanks to Anna Tabor, who transcribed the interviews. Raw data from the interviews can be found in Appendix IV of this dissertation.

eras, including offspring of the DP and 1956 generation and more recent immigration. Their Hungarian language proficiencies and primary language spoken at home also varied, as did their degrees of Hungarian ancestry: the parents of most were both Hungarian, but a few had only one Hungarian parent; one had a Hungarian spouse and several had American spouses.

One of the three groups consisted of three siblings, and all three members of this group have their own children and the perspective of about twenty years distance from their own childhood, which allows for more introspection both about their family upbringing and also a considered viewpoint about their own decisions on imparting language and culture to their children.

The other two groups all live in the same suburban neighborhood; thus their American environmental factors are the same. They graduated from or currently attend the same suburban public high school, located about a half-hour's drive from Cleveland's downtown in a middle-class area. I chose some teenagers still in the process of forming their own cultural identities because of the possible insights they could contribute, being in the midst of their own transformations; the mixture of teenaged and adult participants offered both fresh, recent insights as well as considered, mature reflection in their revelations. The experiences of all nine study participants, although unique in their own way, are fairly typical of Hungarian-Americans who are part of Cleveland's Hungarian communities. In selecting my research subjects in this manner I took the advice of Rubin and Rubin who state that "observing life from separate yet overlapping angles makes the researcher more hesitant to leap to conclusions and encourages more nuanced analysis."²¹⁵

The purpose of the study was to gain a deeper understanding of the factors impacting second-language maintenance and cultural identity formation in an ethnic community, specifically those factors influencing growing up Hungarian in Cleveland. Before the interviewing started, the participants or their legal guardians signed a statement of informant consent to give them a chance to understand the research study goals and to clarify and safeguard their legal rights. The participants took part willingly, and it was easy to establish a rapport with them. Our rapport and the participants' openness was reinforced by our earlier relationships; some of them I grew up with, others I have known since their childhood, and some were former students of mine. The recorded group discussions ranged from 40 to 90 minutes, and the primary language was English, although Hungarian vocabulary was also used sporadically by the participants, depending on the concepts discussed. Two of the nine participants chose to remain anonymous and were given pseudonyms (marked with an asterisk*) for the purposes of the publication of this study's results.

²¹⁵ Herbert J. Rubin and Irene S. Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing. The Art of Hearing Data* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), 4.

The youngest study participant was Gabe (Gábor) Kovács, a sixteen-year-old eleventh-grader. His father was born in Hungary and emigrated to the United States when he was 12 or 13 and thus spent his formative years in Cleveland. Gabe's father works in the electrical and computer field, and has owned several businesses. His mother was born in a suburb of Cleveland and has never been to Hungary. She works in the healthcare industry as a physical therapist. Both parents were actively involved in Cleveland's Hungarian scouting movement. As a young child, Gabe's parents enrolled him, along with his younger siblings, in the scout troop on Friday evenings and in the Hungarian school on Monday evenings. The family attends a local Hungarian church on holidays like Christmas and Easter, and on major events such as baptisms and confirmations, but on average Sundays attends the suburban American parish church near their house. Gabe also is a member of the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble, the scout dance group which meets on Tuesday evenings. Gabe's language skills have remained pretty consistent throughout his childhood, understanding and speaking fluently with his reading and writing skills somewhat weaker but nevertheless competent.

Matt (Máté) Kobus attended the same neighborhood catholic school as Gabe, and now is in the 11th grade at the same suburban public high school as Gabe. Matt's mother was born in the Cleveland area, the child of a father who came to the United States after 1956 and a mother who arrived in 1964. She also attended Hungarian school and was involved in Hungarian scouting as she grew up in Cleveland. Matt's biological father is American, a nurse anesthesiologist, and he was not too keen on Matt's mother speaking Hungarian to him as a young child, so she did not force the issue. Later, Matt's parents divorced and his mother remarried. Matt's stepfather is an engineer and although he doesn't speak or understand any Hungarian, he does tolerate Matt's language use to some extent. Matt's language use has improved drastically as he grew older; at first he only understood and could produce only a few words. Then around the third grade his school friend Gabe kept telling him about how cool Hungarian scouting was, but to join one needed a better command of the Hungarian language, so he improved to be able to join the scouting movement. According to his mother, she never forced him to use Hungarian; his improvement was of his own accord. Lately he visited Hungary with his grandmother, and now he switches to Hungarian when he speaks to his grandmother on the phone. Matt was also a member of the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble, the scout dance group of Cleveland.

Megan Ramsey, the third participant in the group discussion, is Gabe's first cousin; his father and her mother are siblings. Megan is studying to be a dental hygienist at a local community college, and graduated from Gabe and Matt's high school in 2008. Her father, a carpet and tile installer, was an American of Scotch-Irish and French-Lebanese descent and

spoke no Hungarian in the household. Her mother was born in Hungary but finished her university studies after emigrating to Cleveland. She is an engineer and lived for a long time with Megan and her own mother, Megan's Hungarian grandmother. Megan did not attend Hungarian school but did attend Hungarian scouting as she grew up, and was also a member of the scout dance group during high school. She has been to Hungary twice: once when she was four years old and once when she was twelve. Megan's Hungarian language use has remained fairly constant as she grew up, understanding and speaking fluently, and reading and writing at a slightly weaker level, but still competent.

The second group also consisted of three members who attended the same suburban high school. Jennifer Hegyi is the youngest member, currently in the 12th grade. She never attended Hungarian school and was only involved in the scouting movement for one year, but did have a private Hungarian language tutor for about a year when she was 12 or 13. She visited Hungary with her family multiple times as she grew up. Her parents were both born in Hungary and emigrated to Cleveland as adults in 1995; her father is in the roofing business and her mother is a nanny, and both speak Hungarian in the household. Jennifer understands and speaks Hungarian, but in Hungarian conversations with me had a tendency to respond only in English. Her reading and writing skills are weak, according to her own account, and she could not pronounce the name of the Hungarian town that she was born in.

Samantha Dévai* attended the same high school as Jennifer, graduating in 2007. She earned a biology degree in college and is now in her first year of medical school. She was involved in the Hungarian scouting movement from age 5 until the end of high school at age 18. She was also a member of the scout dance group during her high school years; she only attended Hungarian school for one year, however, in the 8th grade at age 13. Her parents both grew up in Hungary and emigrated to the United States in 1982 but still speak Hungarian in the household. Her mother works in child daycare and her father in maintenance. She has been to Hungary 3 or 4 times for 10 days each, and took part in a month-long tour of Hungary organized by the scouts when she was a teenager. Samantha's Hungarian proficiency has remained somewhat constant during her childhood, remaining fluent in speaking, reading, and writing, but she has noticed a regression since she moved away for her college studies.

Samantha's cousin is Hanna Völgyi*; their mothers are sisters. Hanna's parents were also born and raised in Hungary and emigrated to the United States in the early 1970's. Her mother is a bookkeeper and her father works in maintenance. She graduated in 2002 from the suburban high school of her cousin, attending college and earning a special education degree. She now works in a middle school as a teacher. Hanna never attended Hungarian school and started Hungarian scouting around the third grade, continuing until the end of high school.

She also was a member of the scout dance group all through high school. Her Hungarian proficiency has remained stable, with solid fluency in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing.

The third group, consisting of three siblings, held the longest group discussion, probably because of their advanced age and maturity as compared to the other six study participants, and because of their inherent familiarity and rapport with each other, having grown up in the same household. Their parents emigrated to the United States after 1956, their mother as a 13 year old girl with her parents, and their father spent three and a half years in Austria before arriving in Cleveland. Their father worked mostly in a factory. The family attended a Hungarian Catholic church on major holidays and family events, but usually attended the local Catholic church because of the children attending parochial schools. Grandparents on the father's side would occasionally come to visit from Hungary for several months at a time. All three siblings took part in numerous Hungarian community activities as they were growing up in the Cleveland area.

Ann (Anci) Graber, the oldest of the siblings, grew up in the suburb of Westlake and attended Magnificat High School, a suburban Catholic school for girls. She started her involvement in the scouting movement as a young child and joined the scout dance group during high school. Upon growing up, she also assumed responsibility as costume caretaker for the dance group, and currently is the treasurer for the Hungarian girl scout troop. She married Steve Graber, also the child of 1956 immigrants. He had a similar upbringing as her, attending Hungarian school, Hungarian churches, and taking major leadership roles in scouting and the dance group. Steve's brothers and sister, although they were also born in the United States, speak, read and write fluent Hungarian; his sister's children also do, and are involved in Cleveland's Hungarian community. Steve's brother Rick Graber founded Cleveland's Hungarian dance troupe Csárdás. Steve and Ann have three children, all of whom also speak Hungarian and also attended Hungarian school, scouting, and were or are members of the scout dance group. Their oldest daughter is 22 years old and a college student, their second daughter is 21 years old and is also in college, and their son is 16 years old and is in high school. Ann works as a computer teacher at a local Catholic elementary school. Ann's Hungarian proficiency is excellent with the exception of her spelling; she attributes this to her never attending Hungarian school.

Karl (Karcsi) Patay attended St. Ignatius High School and owns his own construction and landscaping business. He was involved in Hungarian scouting from a young age, attended Hungarian school and was a member of the scout dance group. His Hungarian language skills, although fluent, were somewhat weak in reading and writing. In recent years

his oral language skills have significantly increased due to his working daily with recent Hungarian immigrants. His wife Denise, an American with no Hungarian background, attempted to learn Hungarian early in their marriage, but today almost no Hungarian is spoken in the household. Their children are both boys, aged 13 and 9, and apart from some rudimentary words, neither speaks Hungarian. Karl is very proud of his Hungarian heritage and visits Hungary every 3-5 years.

Susan (Zsuzs) Linder is the youngest of the siblings. Also attending Magnificat High School, Susan was involved in scouting from an early age, attended Hungarian school only later, and also joined the scout dance group during high school. For three years she was the scoutmaster of the Hungarian girl scout troop, a position of influential responsibility in Cleveland's Hungarian community. Her husband, Dave Linder, is an American with no Hungarian background. At home Dave speaks English to the children and Susan speaks Hungarian, with the common language being English. Their three children, twin boys aged 12 and a daughter aged 9, understand and speak, read and write Hungarian, and attend the Hungarian school and scouts. Susan's Hungarian proficiency is excellent with near-native fluency.

The nine study participants in their three group discussions yielded over 24,000 words of data. According to the traditions of qualitative ethnographic research, their answers were coded into similar categories. Rubin and Rubin define coding as a "process of grouping interviewee's responses into categories that bring together the similar ideas, concepts, or themes one has discovered."²¹⁶

Three major themes emerged from their responses. The first theme was the impact of parenting on language maintenance, both the role of their own parents as well as their own subsequent actions as parents. The second theme, repeated quite often and quite emphatically and emotionally, was the influence of their friends and peers through organized events in the Hungarian community, mostly through the scouting movement. The third major theme was the value of speaking a second language and the respondents' ties to their Hungarian culture as a sense of identity. Additional secondary topics that emerged from the discussions were reasons that people did not maintain their ethnic language as well as the role of American spouses in supporting or discouraging language maintenance.

4.2 Importance of Parenting, Friends, and Community

Many of the interviewees strongly identified one of the most important factors impacting their language competence as being their parents, even though some parents were

²¹⁶ Herbert J. Rubin and Irene S. Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing*, 238.

of different generations, i.e., some of their parents were born in the United States, others had immigrated after 1956, and others much more recently. Parents had different reasons for speaking Hungarian to their children, but 7 of the 9 interviewees, both at the beginning and ends of the interview, came back to their own parents as being the single biggest factor impacting their language use.

One of the reasons given for parental use of language was the idea of broken English, i.e., the parents had immigrated to the United States and did not want their children speaking English incorrectly. “I remember my mom saying that she didn’t want me to hear her broken English, so we spoke Hungarian at home,” stated Jennifer Hegyi at the beginning of the interview. She returned to the same thought at the end of the interview as well, “my mom still speaks broken English so I still speak Hungarian to her.” Hanna Völgyi echoed this sentiment when she said that “[my] parents being more comfortable probably with Hungarian, especially when I was little was probably the main determining factor in me speaking Hungarian.” Megan Ramsey’s mother was a little more utilitarian in her sentiments, as Megan related, “my mom always wanted to teach her daughter Hungarian, because it’s always good to know a second language. That’s what she always told me, just for being in the business world or going traveling anywhere.”

Susan Linder, speaking of the Patay parents, reinforced the idea that parental involvement was paramount, not from a broken English perspective, but rather comparing her generation to a previous cohort, speaking of the 90% of Hungarian-Americans who assimilate: “I’d say our parents first and foremost because there are plenty of people maybe ten years earlier who didn’t speak Hungarian to their kids because then they were really trying to fit into the melting pot more than that concept. So the fact that [my parents] spoke Hungarian to us and that brought us to cserkészzet [scouts] and everything they did was... I would say that has to be number one as parents.” Her sister and brother concurred. Karl mentioned at the beginning of the interview that “growing up, that’s all we were allowed to speak at home.” Not only was their father’s English worse, said Susan, but all three siblings emphasized that no punishment or threats were ever used about their use of language. Indeed, the reason all three agreed they spoke Hungarian was respect. Karl mentioned that “I think [my father] was just very proud of where he came from and it was important for them, for us to speak Hungarian at home. It wasn’t a very strict something like ‘That’s all you’re going to speak at home,’ but it was just expected of us.” It was a respect towards their father, they agreed.

What is significant about the Patay siblings’ observations is that their parents’ generation was characterized by Joshua Fishman, in his 1966 study, as being preoccupied

with the process of adjustment: “Their current interests are frequently materialistic or self-centered with cultural or group attachments being much weaker in comparison... Consequently, the 1956 Hungarian refugees are still largely ‘untouched’ by other Hungarian-Americans.”²¹⁷ Ironically, Fishman’s assertion is now frequently applied by 1956 refugees, now thoroughly involved in Hungarian-American communities such as Cleveland’s, to characterize more recent Hungarian immigrants of the 21st century.

Although most interviewees talked about their parents, one disagreed, feeling strongly that in the matter of learning the Hungarian language peers were the most important, even more important than parents. Indeed, in terms of the amount of time during the interviews spent talking about parents or about peers, every single interviewee devoted at least three to four times as many sentences to reminiscing about their friendships and peers, as opposed to parents, as they were growing up. Peer impact on Hungarian language use seems, from their own words, to be the stronger overarching theme which emerges from their transcribed thoughts.

Most emphasized the incredibly strong bonds of friendship formed with peers due mostly to involvement in Hungarian scouting, but also in other Hungarian community activities. This bond of friendship, especially after puberty, is what drew the interviewees together, and community bonds are what caused most of them to decide to impart Hungarian to their own children.

Six of the nine respondents stressed the closer bonds that had developed between them and their Hungarian versus their American friends. Gabe Kovács explained it this way: “my best friends are probably the Hungarian ones, because I’ve been with them longer... my entire life.” He had been with these people his entire life, he said, “because our parents know each other, and we would go hang out with each other when we were like, three, and I never really had that with that many people that are American.” When pressed to explain the reasons for a majority of her close friends being Hungarian, Megan Ramsey echoed Gabe’s sentiment, saying that “I feel like the Hungarian community respected me more because I spoke Hungarian and I was raised that way and they were raised the same way I was, pretty much.” In another instance, she alluded to the role of the Hungarian community in Cleveland: “I always really enjoy going to the Hungarian balls that we had, and I think I gained a lot of friendship by going to that, and definitely the camps, all the Hungarian camps. I definitely gained a lot of friendship there, too, and I never really had that at my high school, like going out on camping trips, doing huge projects together to gain closer friends, or traveling.”

²¹⁷ Joshua Fishman, *Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1966).

Karl Patay, agreeing with his two siblings Ann and Susan, also highlighted the difference between parents and peers on language use: “it wasn’t the Hungarian that brought us together; it was our parents bringing us here, meeting friends and the times we had together, the bonds formed, the memories, and it was your life. I mean, school, your American friends were completely secondary. Everything you did was with Hungarian friends.” This commonality was stressed again by Megan Ramsey: “when you meet someone and you want to be able to have things in common with. I felt like I didn’t really have a lot of things in common with other students at high school. Maybe I never really gave it a chance, but because I was really really good friends with all the Hungarians.” Ann Graber at another point in the interview stressed that “it wasn’t our nationality sometimes, but the friends we had,” to which both of her siblings immediately replied, “it was a way of life.”

When asked to elaborate, Susan Linder explained that “the people that I hung out with in cserkészzet were the people I went to school with and I had all my social events with them, too. And then through cserkészzet we had locsolás [Easter folk tradition] and tea [dances] and bál [debutante balls] and all that stuff, so the social events were tied in.” Susan’s best friends, who were Hungarian, also attended her high school. Karl Patay, whose best friends did not attend the same high school he did, nevertheless agreed: “with me it was a way of life. I mean, we hung around, all our friends were Hungarian, typically. We socialized with them. It was just everything we did had something to do with cserkészzet, regös, or...”

When asked what the single most important factor was impacting Hungarian language use, Matt Kobus succinctly explained his theory of motivation, “I would probably say your peers, because in some ways those are the people you look up to most or are with the most and if you see that they’re doing a certain thing, then a lot of times you want to do the same thing.” Karl Patay reiterated this theme independently, saying “you did the same things together, you know when you have the same interests and you get along with people, it’s just natural to want to be with them.”

Ann Graber saw this same phenomenon not only in her own teenage years, but in the lives of her own children and their friends. When speaking of Hungarian scouting, she said, “My girls have life-long friends. Pisti grew up with all the boys, too, so he had Joey, Gabi, Keve, Bende [referring to some of her son’s friends]. He’s really close with these kids, and that’s make it or break it.” She goes on to conclude that “it’s the language that pushes them together and the nationality, because they have that in common, thank goodness, but it’s a lot of socialization.” Some of Ann’s observations also transcended her Cleveland Hungarian experience, crossing into the realm of ethnic identity among other ethnic groups in the United States. “My best friend in high school was German and she was just as involved in the

German, in, uh, Deutsche Zentrale as I was in cserkészzet and MHBK [a Hungarian veterans organization]. She was the bálkirálynő [queen of the debutante ball] with the Germans when I was at MHBK.” This common trait points to a shared experience with other ethnic communities, albeit one not shared with the average American high school friends alluded to by the other respondents. As Attila Z. Papp observed, these are unique community cultures built upon inherited values.

4.3 Hungarian Scouting and a Way of Life

Most of the respondents expressed the significant impact that being involved in Hungarian scouting from an early age had on their language use. Megan Ramsey, for example, said, “I started cserkészzet when I was 4 years old, and that’s what really helped me keep up with the culture, the heritage, learning about it, speaking Hungarian.” In her interview she mentioned attaining ranks in the scouting activities and how that motivated her to maintain her language; indeed, the Hungarian scouting movement demands basic levels of language proficiency and basic knowledge of Hungarian history, geography, and literature to attain each successive rank, and this motivates teenagers to learn, because they want to be with their friends to reach the next level. Ann Graber explained it thus: “And you’ll thrive, you’ll push yourself, you know, ‘If so-and-so is going to segédtszti [a rank in scouting] next year, I gotta do magyar iskola, I gotta get my segédtszti material down. I want to go with him.’ So it’s achieving different ranks and increasing your verbiage, your knowledge, your literature, your history, everything, so that you can do it so you can keep up with your friends.”

Friendship formed a deeper commitment and did more for their language maintenance even than attending Hungarian School, the Patays all agreed. Karl explained the commitment, “it was a way of life. I mean, every Friday and Saturday at 7, and you look forward to it. And I think you hit the nail on the head [referring to his sister’s earlier observation]. You did everything else so that you can go to tábor [camp]. And you studied because you wanted to have... all your friends were going and you wanted to be there. And it was a great time, so then you did whatever you had to, and learning whatever it was, and read the book regarding the different camps, so you could be there with your friends. And it was a great life.” Ann explained further: “Even Magyar iskola. I’ll be honest, I hated going, but it was a social thing, too. Your friends were there.”

The effect of scouting on language use commitment and its role in deepening friendships was perhaps most clearly explained by a sports analogy given by Ann:

To go to camp brought us so much closer together because it's... it's like playing the game of soccer: you cannot win a soccer game if you play on your own. You have to play as a team. And going to camp, you could not survive a week-long camp if you did not work together. And somehow that camaraderie that's driving... I mean, yeah, there were tears, you know things sucked or whatever, and you leave the camp and get home and you'd say, 'Man, that was the best time ever!' And you could hardly wait to see the friends again. That's something that a lot of people don't have, something like a scouting or an ethnicity like that, they don't ever really get to experience that, I don't think, because day in, day out you don't do that with schools.

Indeed, the deep commitment to friends and community caused both Ann and Susan to consciously choose to stay in Cleveland and not go away to college. Susan vividly remembers getting into the Ohio State University for physical therapy school, and deliberately choosing to stay because of her friends and because of scouting. There was no way anyone could talk her out of it, remembered her older sister Ann. Her brother Karl remembered that her parents did not encourage Susan to stay in Cleveland, because she did not need encouragement. "It didn't need encouragement, because that's what we wanted," said Ann.

Samantha Dévai, Hanna Völgyi, and all three Patay siblings spent numerous years not only in the scouting movement, but in the Hungarian folk dance group organized by the scouts, with membership restricted to those Hungarian-American teenagers who work with younger scouts on a regular basis and also must be able to read, write, and speak fluent Hungarian. The Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble, known locally as the Regös Csoport, also counts among its current and former members Matt Kobus and Gabe Kovács. Now, as twenty years ago, the autumn harvest festival season runs throughout the fall, sometimes with multiple performance at Hungarian churches in the Cleveland area. Ann Graber characterized typical involvement in the dance group: "We did a szereplés [performance] every weekend, if not two or three... We would literally go to two, three on a weekend. And that's what we did September through May and that was our weekend activity. We loved it. It was what pulled us in... we didn't go away to college because we wanted to continue to be a part of what we were in." Although the Regös dance group does not usually have multiple performances each weekend, only in the fall, Ann's memory shows the use of a narrative construction typical of Hungarian-American discourse, as shown by Mónika Fodor's work,²¹⁸ drawing on very real facts (the overall scouting movement in Cleveland does have a packed schedule, often with multiple events on weekends year-round). This packed schedule leads to intense emotional ties and deep friendships.

²¹⁸ Mónika Fodor, "My Slice of Americana: Hungarian-Americans Construct Their Ethno-Cultural Identity in Narratives," (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pécs, 2007).

The friendships are based on shared difficult circumstances, for it is far from easy to maintain the Hungarian or any ethnic language in the United States, as shown by the 90% of the Hungarian population who assimilate. Susan ascribes the friendship commitments to a deep understanding: “You understand each other. You understand where everyone’s coming from.” Her sister Ann characterizes these friendships as “amazing. We’ve got such a base, such a core already that we could not see somebody for ten years, and you see them and you pick up where you left off, because you built so much on it.” Susan relates a recent incident connecting with an old friend at the jamboree, a scout camp held every five years: “You still have that common connection. Remember Róni? [Verónika Zidron] She was up at Jubi and I haven’t seen her since Körút [a European tour organized by Hungarian scouts] and I ran up to her, I went up to her at mass and I saw her and gave her a hug and then after zászlólevonás [camp ending ceremony], you know, we connected, but I hadn’t seen her in so long that, again, you just reconnect so quickly because of that commonality.” Just like Urban and Orbe described, these deep understandings based on friendship honed through intense communication has transformed their identities, forming a common Hungarian bond among them.

Karl Patay, who has not been involved in Hungarian scouting for the last twenty years, nevertheless feels such an emotional bond that on occasion of our interview, held at a Friday evening scout meeting in Cleveland, it actually evoked a visceral reaction upon seeing Hungarian scouts of a newer generation:

I’ve been so far away from it for so long, it’s – when I first came in, I went into that other building and I saw them all line up and I haven’t seen it in twenty years, and it – it was surreal. And it was so neat, I almost wished I was a part of it again, because it was such a part of my life back then, that it gave me the shivers to see and hear all that, yet. And I had no idea that there were still so many kids involved. I had no idea... it’s so emotional to me. I mean, it was such a main part of my life... it’s something I feel like I can step right back into tomorrow and I would just... The memories that it brings back, every camp that we went to and the times we had, the camaraderie... you can’t take that out of me. As much as I’ve been away from it for twenty years, for 24 years it was everything to me... I mean, it was a tremendous memory for me, just walking in there and just, it brought tears to my eyes just thinking, ‘Wow, it’s still here.’ So walking in here and seeing all this and, you know... I’m reciting everything they’re saying, because I know it. And it’s neat to see that.

Ann similarly alludes to the same emotional bond felt even years later when she talks about her daughter’s friendship with Samantha Dévai, who both attend different colleges: “Deanna will not speak to Samantha for six months and then the next thing we know, Samantha’s on the phone, ‘I saw something on Facebook, are you okay?’ Yeah, and then they’ll talk for an hour. ‘Anyuka, I miss her. She’s my best friend.’ And that’s the way it is.” The bonds are so strong, indeed, that Ann’s social circle, probably also due to her husband being a Hungarian born in Cleveland who is also very actively involved in scouting, is mainly Hungarian. Much

as in New Brunswick, NJ, as Katalin Pintz found, the Cleveland Hungarian community is also close-knit because of their shared experiences and commitment. Ann recounts, “and even nowadays, our adult friends, we hang out with only Hungarian people. As adults. Married couples. Only Hungarian people. My American friends that I met as a kid starting going to school, ‘What are you doing New Year’s? Want to get together?’ ‘Oh, we’re with our Hungarian friends.’ ‘What are you doing this time?’ ‘Getting together with our Hungarian friends...’” Susan agrees, stating that the families she hangs out with stem from her scouting best friends, including a friend who grew up in New Brunswick in the parallel close-knit Hungarian community and later moved to the Cleveland area.

The Patay siblings also mention others who for various reasons left or drifted away from Cleveland’s Hungarian community, that these people especially as parents often return years later and re-engage with the community. Karl surmises, “And you can probably go through cserkészet and see who is in there now and kind of drifting, and then when they became parents, maybe somehow for whatever reason, um, you know, maybe married someone Hungarian or something, it kind of drew them back in. They left for a time. I think Balássy Pali was gone for a while, and after he had kids, and now he’s a major part of it, probably for the last 10-15 years.” His sister mentions Péter Bogárdy as a similar example, and Karl continues, “I mean, you’ll get that. Feri, Jálics Feri. You know, they were, they left. They did their college thing and then, you know, whatever the reason, whatever drew them back, you know, I think once they come back, I think they’re lifers... I think you kind of realize that maybe what you’ve been missing and then you don’t want to lose it again.” The examples they mention are all people who experienced Hungarian scouting as children, and now have their own children enrolled in the program.

Indeed, not only does the Hungarian scouting program organize activities that promote a deep bond of friendship visible even twenty years later, but it has an effect on language use by what it demands from its leaders, many of whom are teenagers working with younger scouts. Matt Kobus relates how scouting impacts his own language use, saying “whenever I’m at scouts or activities I try and speak it because there’s little kids there and I want them to speak better and I want to be a role model for them, I guess.” By Matt’s own account, his own Hungarian language skills are at about half of where his native English skills are, but what being involved in scouting does for him is it causes him to be cognizant of others and the community’s language usage, which in turn leads to a conscious choice to use

Hungarian, even if it is harder to speak for second and third generation Hungarian-Americans.²¹⁹

In another thought-provoking example, being involved in scouting led to success in her career, recalled Susan Linder. “I remember it was June, when I was interviewing for this job and they tried to set up an interview when I was going to kiscserkész tábor. I said, ‘Sorry, I’m going to be cooking for 45 kids, you know, at scout camp and going whitewater rafting the day after with my family, so let’s do it the next week.’ And they emailed me back, ‘You’re taking 45 kids to scout camp? And whitewater rafting? You’re hired!’”

4.5 Value of Speaking a Second Language

All of the respondents emphasized the value of speaking a second language, in this case Hungarian. Gabe Kovács had the simplest, most common-sense insight, appropriately followed by a laugh, when he said that “we all speak it, so why not speak it?” The parents of Jennifer Hegyi felt that Hungarian was so important that they had a private Hungarian tutor for their daughter when she was about 12 or 13 years old. Hanna Völgyi, reflecting on the Hungarian language use in her childhood, stated that “it was something that made me stand out against my peers and I was always very proud of it.” Matt Kobus linked the pride of being Hungarian to peer influence when talking about the gradual shift as he got older: “the scouts and making friends there [caused the change]. Knowing people there and realizing that other people take pride in being Hungarian, so I should, too, I guess.”

The value of speaking Hungarian is not a sentiment limited to proud Hungarians, either. Knowing another language has practical benefits, as noted by several of the American spouses mentioned in the interviews. Susan Linder related how the subject of Hungarian language use with eventual children came up with her future husband Dave: “when we were dating, it came up, and it was a non-factor. It was the more the better... Dave always said that it’s a gift you can give to your children... it’s so easy to give it, why would you not? Why would you deny them that language?” Megan Ramsey also related how her father, who had originally been opposed to his daughter learning another language, changed his mind: “he actually changed his mind when I was like four years old because he has a niece, my cousin Bailey who lives in Maryland, she was living in Belgium at the time because her parents were CIA and FBI agents, so they were in Belgium at the time and she was learning French. So then my dad realized that, you know, ‘Maria should teach Megan some Hungarian.’ Because of his niece. I guess he realized, because he was a new father... he realized that it’s best to

²¹⁹ For further explanation of peer orientation vis-à-vis parental upbringing, see Gordon Neufeld and Gabor Maté’s *Hold On to Your Kids: Why Parents Need to Matter More than Peers* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2005). The book devotes an entire chapter to recreating an attachment village, which is what Hungarian scouting in Cleveland already seems to do as told by the subjects of my study.

know another language, because he wasn't raised that way. He was raised like typical United States citizen [monolingual].”

When asked whether they plan on speaking Hungarian to their own children, the respondents were all affirmative. Matt Kobus replied that “I think it would be a shame if the whole Hungarian thing ends with me in my family.” Megan Ramsey, reflecting on her own childhood, said “Most definitely, because I think it's just such a great thing to know, just knowing another language in general. So yeah, I would definitely put them through Magyar iskola and I hope they would like it a lot better than I did,” laughing as she finished. Gabe Kovács alluded to academic research, all the more noteworthy since he is sixteen years old: “I heard something, some sort of study once, that if you learn, if you're bilingual at a young age, that it's easier to learn, or something like that, I heard once. So I think it would be a benefit to them, and like it's just a cool quality to have.” Indeed, decades of research in bilingualism has found that speaking two languages does, in fact, help when studying a third or fourth language.

Samantha Dévai spoke of her American friends' attitude toward her own language use: “I think especially when we started taking language classes in high school, and [her friends] realized that it was, like, such a hard thing to get just the basic concepts down, I think that's when they're like, 'Oh my gosh, they have a whole other language already.’” Jennifer Hegyi concurred, adding, “they always say, 'Oh, I wish I knew a whole other language.’” Hanna Völgy reinforced the attitude described among American school friends, surmising, “I think they just are maybe envious, or they think it's really neat that we know an entire different language, an entire different culture aside from just being raised with the American ideals and the American language. I think that they can't even wrap their head around that we can communicate in another language and that we've known it since we were, you know, practically born.”

Most of the respondents also emphasized how much of an impact visiting Hungary had not only on their language use, but also on their own sense of identity. Gabe Kovács linked his Cleveland Hungarian experiences, especially in the scouting program, when he said “after I went to Hungary, I think I really realized that it's not just some sort of activity on every Friday night, it's actually who I am, I guess.” Samantha Dévai agreed in an independent interview, explaining that for her, visiting Hungary “made it more real, because living here it just seems so isolated, it's just a small community in Cleveland, so being there and that actually being the predominant language made it seem like, ok, there's a lot of people that speak this and they're from there and it's not just us in the scouting community of greater Cleveland.” Hanna Völgyi's pride was brought out by her own visit to Hungary, “just

seeing where my family came from, seeing the traditions, kind of, live and in action.” She also explained that visiting Hungary positively impacted her language skills: “after returning, I mean, noticeably, it became even more, you know, spoken more at home, much more fluid and I was able to incorporate new words into my language base, so it definitely helped, even just being there for a few weeks. It showed huge gains in my language when I speak it, that’s for sure.”

Megan Ramsey even switched her Facebook page to Hungarian, alluding to the differences between the Hungarian spoken in Cleveland and the Hungarian spoken in Hungary:

Somebody told me the other day, when he went to Magyarország when he was about 18 years old, he told me that the way that he speaks Hungarian over there in Magyarország is really old-fashioned and he didn’t understand the language between the friends and peers and the younger crowd, because it was really fast and it kind of, everything went with the flow and there was a lot of slang involved that we’re not really taught over here, because our parents all came in the ‘50’s, ‘60s, 70’s, during that era. So I think that the way we were raised is a little bit more old-fashioned, I think, and the way, the reason why I changed my Facebook to Hungarian and that sometimes I do text in Hungarian, too, is because I kind of want to learn a little bit how real Hungarians, like the modern-day Hungarians speak, because one day I would like to go there and not feel like a fool, you know? And be able to communicate on like the same level as other Hungarians.

Réka Pigniczky, in her documentary film *Inkubátor*, examined the Hungarian-American communities of California, New Brunswick, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, and numerous interviewees in the film expressed this same disconnect between being Hungarian in the United States and being Hungarian in Hungary. In her narration, Réka speaks of an almost artificial incubator that her parent’s generation set up for their children, emphasizing only the positive parts of Hungarian culture.²²⁰

The Patay siblings reminisced about visiting Hungary in the 1980’s, going to a dance in Füred, and feeling the same dismay the narrator in *Inkubátor* felt. Karl Patay tells of his sister Ann’s entrance to the dance: “She’s there, in her *hímzett díszmagyar* [handmade traditional dress], that she worked on for a long time, right, and many tears (laughs) and, but it shocked – I remember, this was my first impression – it shocked me to see the Americanized version of the Hungarian girls there. Nobody had anything on like that. They had westernized, just ball dresses on... Like here we are, the Americans, with all the Hungarians, and they had nothing on that was Hungarian.” Ann continues: “We knew more of the folk customs than they did. We feel bad when we discuss, you know, this and this and this, uh, *locsolás* and, uh... they’re like, ‘Huh?’” Susan Linder mentioned a mutual friend, Klári, who said the same thing. Ann Graber surmises that “we’re more Hungarian than they are,” which her sister Susan clarifies: “or at least that we try to preserve the culture much

²²⁰ Réka Pigniczky, *Inkubátor* (Budapest: 56Films, 2009), DVD.

better than they do, but they don't have to otherwise, they live there." Preserving the culture because of a perceived need to, as opposed to in Hungary, where there less of a need to, is a theme heard not only in Hungarian-American circles, but also often among Hungarians in Romania, Slovakia, the Ukraine, or in Serbia as well.

Ann recounts that here in the United States, we grasp for anything that's Hungarian, probably because "we wanted to preserve it so much." Her sister Susan explains, "for preserving it, because we see that each generation is going to get weaker. It's just, I think, inevitably it will, so you try to ingrain anything that you can and grasp on to anything that you can. Even as I just look around in my house, and see the *Hollóházi* or the *Herendi* and stuff like that, and see that my kids appreciate that, so you hope that that's one little thing that they will take with them, you know, when they get to their own house. So it's – or your *himzett terítő* [embroidery]... stuff like that that it's a part of us."

Much as the people interviewed in *Inkubátor* expressed a disconnected view of Hungary, i.e., an almost distilled version of Hungarian culture, based on historical reality but altered by the geographical and chronological distance of emigration, thus also did the subjects of my study express the importance of holding on to facets of Hungarian culture, indeed clutching steadfastly to them, because of the overwhelming odds favoring assimilation. Although physically separated from Hungary by the Atlantic ocean, these respondents illustrate the spiritual homeland theory of Bójtös.

5.4 Importance of Discipline, Linguistic Insights

Parenting, including the language skills and cultural values transmitted to their own children, again came into the spotlight several times during the study. Ann Graber realized that her own ethnicity was strengthened when she grew up and had her family:

Meaning my own kids. As soon as I started having my own children, my ethnicity was strengthened, I mean my language, because I wanted my kids to have the same thing." She spoke of her struggles to keep her son in the scouting program: "there came that point in his life, I want to say between age 9 and 12, where he was like, 'I don't want—' It was a fight to go every Friday, an absolute fight, and it was, 'You're going until you go to ÓV [the scout leadership training camp at age 14] and then it's up to you.' Then along came Magyar iskola for ÓV and he did that... He still had good friends. He went through the ÓV course for two years, went to ÓV tábor, and afterwards he hugged me and he said, 'Thank you for making me do it. This was awesome, I'm so glad I'm a part of it.' And he really, really enjoys it. There's that point where you've got to reach...

Not only is consistent parenting important, she stresses, but her insights also show that the transmission of culture succeeds when parents create the conditions for friends to influence their peers in a positive way towards Hungarian language and culture. Her brother, referring

to his own childhood, agrees, “as much as I fought it back then, especially in my younger years, is how much I appreciate it now.”

Grandparents being strict is a theme voiced by Ákos Fóty in the documentary film *Inkubátor*. He recalls Sunday afternoons growing up Hungarian in California, where his grandparents made him read Hungarian newspaper articles and summarize them, and how much he hated it. But there was no escaping it, especially since the reward for finishing was a trip to McDonald’s.²²¹ Ann Graber recalled a similar incident: “Nagypapa would make us read in Hungarian, and we would go hide and say, ‘Zsuzsi will go first’ (laughs). Mostly I would go hide. I hated reading with them.” Yet later in life, as seen in the paragraph above, it is these same values that she transmits to her own children. The strictness was not limited to grandparents, however.

Sometimes the discipline of the scout leaders brought forth pride and accomplishment, as evidenced by the situation related by Karl Patay:

We were róverek [older scouts], so I was the, um, őrsvezető [patrol leader] for Kanyó Zoli, Csorba Béla, Sanyi, and I don’t know who else was in there, but I mean, Miki, and you know we went on a two-day portya [hike] and Levente tried to push us and he gave us something like 25 miles or something the first day and we were pissed. And I’m thinking, ‘How the heck is he going to think that we’re going to finish this in one day?’ We start early in the morning, 2 o’clock, and Levente came by at 11:30 with the van and at that point, we were determined. He was going to pick us up and finally take us to our destination where we were supposed to spend the night next to this creek. And we had compasses and you know how it was. We said no and we wouldn’t take the ride. You know what, you’re going to test us, so we refused it and we just kept walking.

Demanding a high standard evokes a proud reaction and camaraderie from the teenaged boys, and this camaraderie is what tied them together. Karl continues, “but you know what? I’ll never forget it, because it was [not] wussy.”

The Patay siblings also brought to the surface some linguistic insights regarding their Hungarian language usage. Speaking of the pragmatics of whether a conversation is mixed with English or Hungarian, Karl relates that “with Mom it’s mixed, depending on how she answers the phone or how she starts the conversation. She’ll start in English, too,” as opposed to his father, who always started the conversations in Hungarian. This phenomenon of guiding or directing the language of conversation is well-known among Hungarian-American parents whose children’s easier language is English. Continues Karl, “So, if she started in Hungarian, you know, ‘Hogy vagy?’ then, you know, I’d be speaking Hungarian to her... And it flows... For example, coming here today, when Feri was here. When you start a conversation in Hungarian, most of it’s spoken in Hungarian... how something is started, I guess, who starts the conversation.” His sister Ann concurs: “You don’t want to lose it. The

²²¹ Ákos Fóty, interviewed in *Inkubátor*.

less you practice it, the harder it is to go back. Pisti [her husband] and I will speak in Hungarian amongst each other more than I do with my own kids.”

They speak of the natural phenomenon experienced by many ethnic language parents trying to maintain their language while living in the United States, which Karl characterized as “once we got into high school age, we would speak English amongst ourselves.” Ann relates of how the shift from Hungarian to English came about as she saw it in her own children:

They spoke solely Hungarian in the house up until kis Pisti started first grade. Kindergarten was still part-time; it was two full days and a half day. And the girls only spoke Hungarian together. There’s six and four years between Pisti and the two girls, and as Pisti started coming home, he was... all of the sudden he was cool, that he could speak English. The kids spoke Hungarian as their first language. Pisti didn’t start preschool till he was four and a half, and when Deanna started when she was three and a half, she spoke Hungarian only and I would have to translate for her. So she understood English, but she didn’t speak... As Pisti started going to school, so first grade, second grade, the language all of the sudden switched between the three kids. That was, it was very noticeable. All of the sudden, the three kids, who spoke Hungarian at home to each other, started speaking English, ‘cause now Pisti understood English.

This natural switching is what the scouting movement and the other community activities seem to mitigate, inasmuch as the natural tendency of the children is to choose English, the easier language to communicate amongst themselves.²²² Parents enrolling their children in organized Hungarian activities such as scouting give their children, especially the teenagers, a structured outlet that channels the conversations to Hungarian by way of working with younger children. This allows the language to be maintained despite assimilation pressures, often late into the second and third generations, as one can see from the respondents and their children. Karl recalls his shift in high school where “I started getting more American friends, and in turn, talking with them and doing more things with them, I lost my Hungarian a lot.”

This view is counterbalanced by the example of the friendship of Matt Kobus and Gabe Kovács, who relate the effect of their close friendship on their own language use. Says Matt, “Gabe's like one of my best friends. He's always been there for me, like I see when he speaks fluent Hungarian, so I look up to him for that.” The effect on Hungarian language use is mutual, continues Gabe, as he lists the top people in his life who impacted his language development: “I think that the top five people would be my grandma... my dad; and my two other grandparents, because it just comes easier for them; and probably, um, probably Matt, actually, because, since when he joined cserkészzet, he didn't know that much Hungarian, so I sort of pushed myself to speak it more with him so he would learn it.” Peer friendships, therefore, can have a negative or positive role in impacting ethnic language maintenance.

²²² This notion was reinforced by Andrea Mészáros, who has decades of experience working with Hungarian-American children, in a personal interview on 16 April 2012, when she quoted Bernadette Pavlish, “A játék nyelve angol,” i.e., as soon as children start playing with each other, the language switches to English.

4.6 Reasons for Assimilation, Role of American Spouses

In trying to ascertain what factors impacted their Hungarian language use growing up, the conversations among the respondents revealed some concerns and negative factors that illuminate why over 90% of Hungarian-Americans do not in fact speak Hungarian in their households. Chief among these was the pressure faced by children to assimilate.

Both Samantha Dévai and the Patay siblings mentioned cousins who were not living in cities with large Hungarian communities and where there was no Hungarian scouting. Says Susan Linder, “Well, the fact that [our parents] happened to land in Cleveland, you know? Because if they would’ve landed in, I don’t know, Kansas, you wouldn’t have the same culture surrounding you that would support that.” Samantha Dévai recounts a parallel situation: “And then my other cousin that’s still here in the States, um, in another part of Ohio, he didn’t participate in scouts very much, so I think his Hungarian language ability declined much more rapidly than ours.” To his credit, his cousin Hanna does say that “he did recently just go to Hungary, and now he’s come back and pretty much that’s all he speaks, so I think it made quite the difference for him, so he might be inching his way up to where we’re at,” much like the fact that Karl Patay, because he works with Hungarian laborers in his construction business, speaks better Hungarian, knowing more slang and having better pronunciation, than he ever did as a teenager. But having friends who speak Hungarian, whether in the scouts or in other organized Hungarian community activities, does seem to make a difference. Jennifer Hegyi, the only one of the respondents who did not spend many years growing up with the scouts, admits that she does not really know that many Hungarians that are her age, except for a few that don’t live in Ohio. In addition, the reason she no longer has a private Hungarian tutor is that she “got really busy in school so I couldn’t do any of it.”

Megan Ramsey also spoke of an American school culture that was not really supportive of or understanding of bilingualism. She characterized some of her peers in school as being very sheltered or narrow-minded. “They don’t really know much about culture and history and the old world. Like, they don’t really care that much, I kind of feel.” One in particular was surprised that Megan would go abroad. Megan describes the incident: “I just told my friend the other day at school that I’m going to Europe, and she’s like, ‘What?! Where are you going? You’re going there alone?’ I’m like, ‘Yeah.’ ‘It’s so dangerous, don’t go.’ I’m like, ‘No, it’s going to be fine, there’s, I’m going to go to a school there, a study abroad program, everything’s going to be fine. There’s going to be professors, classes... it’s going to be all right.’ And she’s like, ‘Oh, you’re a daredevil.’” Ann Graber remembers being chastised at her daughter’s preschool: “I got in a lot of trouble from

Deanna's preschool teacher, how could I do this to my child [speaking only Hungarian at a young age]? And I looked at her and I go, 'Don't worry, she'll learn English.' You know, I was not intimidated at all, because we had been through it, you know. And she knew her numbers, she knew her letters, she was fine."

Another reason English becomes the predominant language in the household is simply easier communication. Ann Graber explains: "Because you're at work all day, you come home, you do homework and everything. We'll discuss an activity and you want a response from your kids. Their first language, unfortunately, even though they spoke Hungarian as a first language, is English. If you want to get something out of them, you have to just say it in English. It's more important to have that communication going... it's easier for them, communications-wise." Karl Patay had the same language shift brought on by his long working hours. He remembers, "I was working 10-12 hours a day, sometimes going at one point two jobs, and I was never home. You know, when I'd come home at 9 o'clock or 8 o'clock at night... the last thing I'm going to try to do for the half hour or twenty minutes I see my kids is to try to teach them Hungarian. I wanted to just communicate with them. I wanted to see them, I wanted to hold them, I wanted to hug them, see how their day went, the goods and the bads, and that's a big difference between why my kids don't speak Hungarian and her kids do."

Karl also related the support shown by his wife, Denise, who does not speak Hungarian. "She had all intentions of trying to learn Hungarian. She learned the colors, the numbers, and that, but you know what, life takes over." Difficulties in speaking Hungarian to his children he ascribed to his long working hours and some other private personal issues, never to his American spouse, but he did touch upon the difficulties experienced by an American spouse who marries into a Hungarian family. "She's pretty easygoing, but she has her things that bother her, too. And, you know, after the honeymoon was over, you know, she voiced to me that it did trouble her when we went to my parents' house and she didn't understand what people were saying. And it wasn't until Susan got married and Dave came along that she started feeling more comfortable." Susan confirmed, "Dave said he felt kind of like an outsider," and Karl continued, "Yeah, you feel like an outsider and it's like, the last thing they want to do after they've been through that is to go home and to speak it at home, you know, for me, anyway, the times I was there."

Navigating the tightrope of emotions and being attentive to wives or husbands is a problem often voiced by Hungarian-Americans with American spouses. In a particularly nuanced insight, Ann put herself in her sister-in-law's shoes and turned her own familiarity with and preference for Hungarian to Denise's situation with English: "for me, to speak to an

infant in English would've been foreign. There's no way you could expect [Denise's] nieces to speak to her little baby in Hungarian, a foreign language for her. I mean, you have to say those words of endearment in your own language and for us, it was Hungarian. I couldn't imagine speaking to... even to a baby now, I speak Hungarian, because that's what comes natural to a baby." Susan agreed, stating, "So then you're speaking a language that the spouse does not understand. So in my situation, Dave was not just understanding, but was agreeable to not understand his children's first words. And that bothered him. I remember being in the car with him once, and we were going and the boys were babbling about something, and it was insignificant, it was nothing, and he said, 'What are they saying?' And I said, 'It's really, it's nothing, it's just...' But to him it was everything because he didn't understand it. And that bothered him. Not to the point where he would say 'Don't ever do this.'" Matt Kobus related a similar sentiment: "Well, my stepdad kind of gets angry if my mom is always speaking Hungarian to me, and he feels kind of like he's left out of it. And sometimes my mom's friends will tell my stepdad 'You should learn Hungarian' and that really pisses him off." Susan distilled these sentiments into the crux: "that's always a difficult part, leaving your spouse out of a conversation."

All of the American spouses mentioned in the interviews were seen by the respondents as being supportive of Hungarian in the home, but Susan did point to several frustrations of a mixed-language household experienced by her husband Dave:

So if I'm having a heated discussion with my kids, and we're disagreeing on something, then they're... if Dave's home, he'll be like, 'What are you telling them, because I don't understand.' He gets frustrated with that situation, where he wants to back me up in what I've just told them, whether that's to get ready for church and then I left to go get ready myself, he's like, 'What did you tell them? Because I can't reinforce what you just told them because I didn't understand that.' These breakdowns still occur, and then you have to kind of take a time-out and say, 'I just asked them to get ready for church. They know what they have to do and if you can reinforce that, that'd be great.

In fact, Dave's sister-in-law, Ann, relates how supportive he is linguistically. "Dave would say things like, 'Hozd here the piros labda.' And he would. Whatever he could say in Hungarian, he would really make an effort." It is not easy being the American spouse of a Hungarian-American parent speaking Hungarian to their children, and these situations reflect the difficulties experienced in everyday situations.

American or Hungarian?

Perhaps the most telling question was the last question of the interview, in which I asked each respondent whether they considered themselves American or Hungarian, and why? Their answers were easily divided into age groups: below 25 years old and over 25.

The younger respondents mostly said they were American, although proud of their Hungarian heritage. Because almost all of them and some of their parents were born in the United States, that is not surprising. Matt Kobus and Megan Ramsey were unequivocal in their answers. Says Matt, “I think I feel more American, like without a question. Like, you know, I feel proud to be Hungarian, there's just like a stronger pull towards the American patriotism.” Megan continued in the same vein: “Um, I would have to say that I am more of an American, just because, just like Máté said, he's more patriotic towards America, and I'm more patriotic toward America. I was raised as a Hungarian, I guess, but only with food and the culture and the folk dancing and, you know, having Hungarian friends, so I do consider myself more Hungarian than any other type of nationality I have in my blood, but if I have to, uh, if anybody asks me, I'm an American. No matter what. Because this is my home, this is where I was born.” Gabe Kovács alluded to his parents' role in forming his identity: “I consider myself, I don't know, half and half? That's what my answer usually is when I get asked that question. Because I am an American citizen. I was born here, raised here, but really I was sort of raised like a Hungarian, I guess, because my parents tried to do that and I think they succeeded.”

Hanna, Samantha, and Jennifer were also unequivocal in their answers. Said Hanna Völgyi, “although I'm very proud of my Hungarian heritage, I still probably consider myself American, just for the sheer fact that I was born here and I did my schooling here and will most likely finish... be living here the rest of my life, so I would probably say I'm American.” Her cousin Samantha Dévai agreed, “I feel sort of the same way.” Jennifer Hegyi, who was born in Hungary but came to the United States as a toddler, continued: “I think that I'm a little of both, but if I had to pick one, I feel like I'm more American, just because of how I was raised here and it's not the same as if I was in Hungary.”

The three Patay siblings, being older, offered different views on the same question. Susan could not separate the two parts of her identity. She explains, “I can't say if I'm American-Hungarian or Hungarian-American. But it's both. And I... because I have such a reverence for the country that gave me and my parents freedom and that they really ingrained in us that, yes, our culture is 100% paired in real life and it's what we are, but the fact that this country gave us the freedom to, you know, have your own religion, and ... maintain your culture and do what you want that way. You can't... I can't separate the two. I can't say one or the other. You're not assimilated but you can keep the two separate, appreciating both, really. It's not one or the other.”

Karl got emotional as he explained that whenever he visits Hungary, he says, “Megyek haza” [going home], just like his parents did, even though he was not born in

Hungary, it is not a home to him, yet such a strong tie still remains. He feels the emotional bond that his parents had with their native country, yet consciously disassociates himself from negative aspects of Hungarian culture, offering an urban vs. rural dichotomy, while at the same time acknowledging that his identity has changed through the years.

If you asked me when, up until I was 20-24 I would say I was more Hungarian. At 44, I'm more American because of my disassociation with that life, not intentionally, but because again, of life. And not only that, but I've been back enough times to see that there's a lot of what Hung — what I see in Hungary today that I don't want to be associated with. It's, you know, not the villages, but the big cities have become very westernized. You walk into Budapest today and, I'll never forget, three years ago when I was there, I thought I was walking through the Bronx. Graffiti everywhere. I don't want to be associated at all with the Hungary, with the big cities of today. What I want to be associated with is the life that my parents lived there and the life that's still being lived in the villages where they're still keeping rabbits and chickens and pigs in their backyards.²²³

Ann Graber, on the other hand, explained that her Hungarian identity is a particular type of Hungarian-American identity, localizing it to her experience growing up as a scout in Cleveland. “I will say... Hungarian-American, but the Hungarian-American... I mean, I'm here, this Hungarian, OK? The cserkész Hungarian, the regös Hungarian, the magyar iskola Hungarian, the Cleveland Hungarian, the in exteris, or whatever is outside of Hungary. That's Hungarian-American.” Her ties to her Hungarian roots have become stronger through time, as she acknowledges the effort that maintaining a Hungarian identity for herself and for her children entails. She continues, “The older I become, the more it's still very important to me, even more so. I do get tired of what I'm doing, I have to admit, because I've been involved for so long, I do get tired of it but that necessity is so strong. And now it's like you see it in your kids and that's why it's still so strong.” Much like Attila Z. Papp formulated his unique community culture built upon inherited values, and just as Bójtös defined as a spiritual homeland, Graber's Hungarian identity was built and sustained through communication within the community as per Urban and Orbe.

Mónika Fodor found that “qualitative interviews about culture inquire about shared understandings, taken-for-granted roles of behavior, standards of value and mutual expectations.” Furthermore, she writes that “a fundamental goal is to find out what people have learned through experience and how they are able to pass it on to the next generation.”²²⁴ What are the main factors, then, that impact Hungarian language and culture maintenance among these nine Cleveland Hungarians, and by extension among Cleveland's Hungarian community in general in light of their responses?

²²³ Andrea Mészáros, in a personal interview on 16 April 2012, alluded to this same concept of rural vs. urban Hungarian culture, questioning whether as scout leaders too much emphasis is placed on the folk traditions of Hungary, while at the same time somewhat ignoring the civil (*polgári*) aspects of Hungarian culture.

²²⁴ Fodor, “My Slice of Americana.”

Very important in developing their Hungarian identities was the role of consistent parenting. Parents who spoke Hungarian in the household, who took their children to Hungarian community events such as the Hungarian school, scouting, and the folk dance group, made a significant cultural impact on their children, as evidenced by their children's recollections even twenty years later. The Hungarian scouting movement and folk dance group, by placing strict demands on its participants, effected a deep camaraderie and strong bonds of friendship among the children and especially the teenagers, who are prone to listen to their peers instead of their parents. When peer friendships in American high school are stronger than among Hungarian friends, language use suffers. When peer friendships among the Hungarian teens is strong, their Hungarian language use improves. Thus having a child actively involved in Cleveland's Hungarian community events leads to a higher fluency and a stronger sense of cultural identity, as does visiting Hungary.

These conclusions, albeit 46 years later, mirror the concluding remarks of Joshua Fishman in his 1966 study. Fishman states that the major hope for the future of the Hungarian language in the U.S.A. is “undoubtedly the youngest generation of Hungarian Americans. However, it is unlikely that its current interest in Hungarian, gratifying though it may be, will result in marked and sustained proficiency unless there is strong general encouragement to bring this about.”²²⁵ His conclusion is that only governmental and intellectual circles can provide this encouragement, yet these nine examples of Cleveland-area Hungarian-Americans show that consistent parenting, coupled with a strong ethnic community of school and scouts, may also provide an environment for many decades on end.

When only 6% to 9% of Hungarians in the Cleveland area report speaking Hungarian regularly in the household, odds are that 90% to 94% of those with Hungarian ancestry will eventually assimilate. These nine case studies, as examples of Cleveland Hungarians who maintain their language and culture, show how to beat those odds. Even late into the second and third generation, it is still very possible to maintain an ethnic language and culture and pass it on to the next generation. It all depends on strong parenting and peer friendships put into place and enabled by a tight-knit community.

But what sort of relationship does this tight-knit community have with the United States? Are these Cleveland Hungarians patriotic, or do they reject America's values? First let us examine their impact on the local geography, and then their military service.

²²⁵ Joshua Fishman, *Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1966).

PATRIOTISM

5.1 Statues, Gardens, Memorials

The Hungarians of Cleveland are also true Americans. They display their attachment to Hungarian traditions by the physical statues, gardens, and memorials that they erect and maintain. They also prove their loyalty to their New World home by serving in the American military and fighting in its wars. In this chapter we first take a look at Hungarian memorials in the Cleveland area, and then examine the military service of Cleveland Hungarians.

Places in and of themselves are merely geographic features, inanimate stone or asphalt. What gives places significance is the sense of community that shared historical experiences generate for any particular place, which in turn evoke emotions. In the case of statues and memorials, they are communal creations, built for others, and their conceptions are inherently based on common values and shared cultural traditions. Social agreement has to be eked out, with political maneuverings to establish geographic places, and then fundraising to allow construction, which fundamentally shows the material commitment of any community of individuals with shared goals. Finally come dedications, which are also extremely social events, with people gathering together to listen to ideas expressed by the prominent personalities of any given generation, and to reflect upon the values they as a community share. As the years go by, some places are revisited on important anniversaries, adding to the emotional significance of the place, and others are neglected but nevertheless signify important principles, in retrospect being given historical value by those who are aware of the past. Cleveland's Hungarians have many such places; although not all are sacred, all do have communal significance, whether historically or ideologically. These places materially express ideas and ideals, shared common values of groups of Hungarians.

In the last several years, the Hungarian Cultural Gardens have seen somewhat of a rebirth, with several fundraisers held yearly and clean-up activities held at the gardens. July of 2011 saw a Liszt concert held there to commemorate the composer's 200th birthday.

A bust of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty was erected in 1977 at Lakeside Avenue and East 12th Street, at the southern end of the plaza between the Holiday Inn and the Cleveland Department of Water. The plaza had been named Cardinal Mindszenty Plaza a year earlier through the assistance of then-mayor Ralph Perk, and a street sign stating such is still posted. The bust was sculpted by Gyuri E. Hollóssy. Occasional commemorations are still held at the site of the statue, especially around October 23rd or on major anniversaries of Mindszenty's 1974 visit to Cleveland.

The most recent statue commemorates an anonymous Hungarian freedom fighter of 1956, placed directly behind the statue of Mindszenty on Cardinal Mindszenty Plaza. The

figure has an anguished look on his face, and holds a Hungarian flag with a hole torn from the middle. The statue was commissioned and dedicated for the 50th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

For their final resting places, Hungarians in Cleveland have chosen various cemeteries throughout the general area. One cemetery, though, has a particular concentration of Hungarian graves and is the site of a memorial to Hungarian soldiers who lost their lives during the Second World War. Located in North Olmsted's Sunset Memorial Park on Columbia Road, the memorial and Hungarian section of the cemetery was dedicated on June 1, 1986.²²⁶ Sculpted by Gyuri E. Hollósy, the memorial depicts the Hungarian coat of arms, a mythical Hungarian eagle called the *turul*, a bust of St. Stephen, first king of Hungary, and a bust of Árpád, who led the ancient Hungarians into the Carpathian basin. Initiated and organized by Árpád Dobolyi and a committee including Géza Andaházy, István Balló, Zoltán Bócsay, Kálmán Elek, Ervin Hollósy, János Szentkirályi, and Árpád Szentkirályi, the memorial was supported by Cleveland's Hungarian Association, the Cleveland chapter of the World Federation of Hungarian Veterans (*Magyar Harcosok Bajtársi Közössége*, or MHBK) as well as the entire Cleveland Hungarian community.²²⁷ The memorial is also the site of an annual commemoration on the last Sunday of May, on the day before Memorial Day. The names of most of those Cleveland Hungarians who lost their lives during the Vietnam war are also listed on the memorial, and the surrounding graves contain the remains of many former officers of the pre-world war Hungarian army. Thus, the memorial links the two dimensions of Cleveland Hungarian loyalties, showing both Hungarian and American aspects of a dual patriotism.

Cleveland Hungarians in the U.S. Military

Réka Pigniczky summarized the mood of Cold War Hungarian-American communities as being conservative, religious, and anti-communist.²²⁸ Cleveland was no exception. One of the ongoing characteristics of the Cleveland Hungarian population is a sense of patriotic duty of many of its members, as they voice it. For many Cleveland Hungarians, this meant serving in the U.S. military; some serve even now. Although many were drafted, a significant percentage volunteered out of a sense of duty. As Tamás Rátoni-Nagy stated, "I was only ten years old in 1956, so I couldn't really fight the Russians, but I enlisted in the Marine Corps to go to Vietnam and fight communists there."²²⁹

²²⁶ Ferenc Somogyi. *Emlékkönyv az Egyesült Magyar Alap húszévi működéséről* (Cleveland: Egyesült Magyar Alap, 1989), 33.

²²⁷ Árpád Dobolyi, *Hungarian Monument* (Cleveland: Sunset Memorial Park Association, 1998), 8.

²²⁸ Réka Pigniczky in her narration of *Inkubátor* (Budapest: 56Films, 2009), DVD.

²²⁹ Related to the author several times throughout the years, as he is the godfather of my eldest son.

A number of books have been written about the military service of Hungarians in America. These include Eugene Pivány's *Hungarians in the American Civil War* (1913), Edmund Vasváry's *Lincoln's Hungarian Heroes* (1939), Tivadar Ács's *Magyarok az észak-amerikai polgárháborúban, 1861-1865* (1964), László Eszenyi's *Hiven mindhalálíg: az amerikai függetlenségi háború magyar hőségének, Fabricy Kováts Mihály huszárezredesnek élete és hősi halála* (1975), and Géza Szentmiklósy Éles' *Fabricy Kováts Mihály Almanach* (1979). Another is Ferenc Komáromi's *Hol vagytok fiúk? Dokumentumok az amerikai Különleges Haderőben kém- és diverzáns tevékenységre kiképzett magyar személyekről* [Where are you, boys? Documents about Hungarian individuals trained in spy and sabotage activities in the American Special Forces] (1964), but it is filled with propaganda of the time and is rife with inaccuracies. Serious Cold War studies of Hungarian-American communities, especially from a military perspective, are quite rare; in fact, I could not find a single one. The most recent and extensive study of Hungarians in the U.S. military is István Vida Kornél's *Hungarian Emigres in the American Civil War: A History and Biographical Dictionary* (2012). Containing detailed biographical studies of every Hungarian-born participant in the U.S. Civil War, the book combines military history as well as migration and ethnic studies. I had not known about this work when I began my own study of Cleveland Hungarians, but unwittingly we both collated our study results in a similar style. Ilona Kovács, on the other hand, studied one particular Hungarian-American community, New Brunswick, NJ, and its relationship with the U.S. military.²³⁰ She analyzed over 300 letters written in 1942-1944 to the New Brunswick Hungarian Reformed Church pastor, András Kósa. In her study, she found 186 church members serving in the U.S. military during the Second World War, with overall a thousand New Brunswick Hungarians enlisting in the war, and ultimately 18 giving their lives. Given that New Brunswick's Hungarians numbered a fifth of its population and that it had six Hungarian churches at the time, these numbers are not surprising. About one third of the letters were written in Hungarian and two-thirds in English, but all were written by second generation Hungarians. Her study sheds light on the relationship of the New Brunswick Hungarians to the United States. However, no one has researched Cleveland's Hungarians in this regard.

Given that during the Second World War Cleveland also had at least 10 Hungarian churches with tens of thousands of members, it is safe to say that a very large number, probably several thousand second-generation Hungarians served in the U.S. military. In Cleveland's 29th voting district alone, which encompassed the predominantly Hungarian

²³⁰ Ilona Kovács, "Katonalevelek – identitás és nyelvhasználat. Amerikai magyarok második generációja az amerikai hadseregben a második világháború idején." *Tanulmányok a diaszpóráról*. Ed. Nóra Kovács. (Budapest: MTA Kisebbségkutató Intézet, 2004). See also Ilona Kovács, *Katonalevelek* (Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum, 2012).

Buckeye Road neighborhood, 4,306 citizens served in the military during the Second World War. When they returned from the war, many moved from the old Hungarian neighborhood to the suburbs to start families, and with this exodus began the demise of the Buckeye Road neighborhood. However, another wave of Hungarian immigrants, the DP generation and the 1956 refugees, arrived and almost immediately began to impact the Hungarian social institutions of their time. Many of these institutions, such as the Hungarian School or the Hungarian scouting movement, are still today, more than sixty years later, some of the strongest and most viable Hungarian organizations in the Cleveland area, and thus I chose to start my research with the year 1951, when the DP refugees arrived in large numbers to Cleveland.

Methodology

I started my list with family members and friends and came up with twenty names. The list soon doubled to 40, then 80, and so on. I used a technique which Attila Z. Papp called the “snowball” method,²³¹ asking each person for other possible names and then following up on them. I contacted Hungarian veterans and interviewed them about their military service, keeping track of their years served, their military ranks, their connection to Cleveland’s Hungarian community and to other Hungarians, their civilian occupations, and any Cold War memories. The list grew by word of mouth and spread through friends’ email,²³² and I also advertised the list and my research project in all of the Cleveland area Hungarian church bulletins, the newsletters of the major Hungarian organizations, as well as having it announced on the three Cleveland Hungarian radio broadcasts. Many on the list were born in Hungary, many were born in the Cleveland area, but almost all speak Hungarian and in various forms took part in the lives of Cleveland’s Hungarian communities, whether attending a Hungarian church, the scouts, a dance group, or having contact with other Cleveland Hungarian organizations. Many have since left Cleveland, several specifically asked not to be included on the list for privacy reasons, and many have died. All have or had some sort of connection to Cleveland Hungarians. My criteria for inclusion was that if persons considered themselves Cleveland Hungarians, i.e., they grew up here, were of Hungarian ancestry, and/or took part in a Cleveland Hungarian activity or attended a

²³¹ Attila Z. Papp, *Beszédből Világ*, 28.

²³² Several individuals who didn’t serve in the military but nevertheless helped immensely in adding names to the list and contacting their friends included Tibor Ország, Kálmán Hegedeős, Katalin Kaschl Gulden, and Valeria Rátoni-Nagy. Among the veterans, everyone was helpful, but Cornel Muhoray, Botond Záhonyi, and Tamás Rátoni-Nagy especially helped in adding to and verifying the list. Elemér and Andrea Mészáros invited me to a memorable Veteran’s Day potluck dinner party at their house in November of 2011, where a half dozen Cleveland Hungarian veterans traded recollections and helped fill in many missing pieces of my research, as well as entertaining me with their stories. Cornel Muhoray and my brother Zsolt Szentkirályi also read early drafts of this chapter and helped me be much more precise in phrasing military terminology.

Hungarian church, then they belonged on the list. It is possible that other Hungarians exist in the Cleveland area whom I could not track down, and some did not return multiple phone calls, but extensive advertising and personal connections among Cleveland Hungarians over the course of several years makes my research as comprehensive as possible.

The interviews were conducted either by telephone or personally at various Cleveland Hungarian events over the course of several years, and a few were with widows or other next of kin. Most of the information was gleaned from the interviewees themselves and as such are oral histories, although many of the facts were verified independently through the accounts of other interviewees or emailed service records and in some cases, newspaper accounts. Many of the interviewees later submitted pictures of themselves in uniform, pictures often taken in faraway lands where their military service took them.²³³ In a second round of email interviews, I inquired about the motivation of the interviewees and their personal impressions of the impact of Cleveland's Hungarian community on their attitude toward their military service, and I received 42 detailed email replies.

I confirmed 328 Cleveland area Hungarians who served in the U.S. military from 1951 until the present day, and conducted over 250 interviews. The list of veterans includes 27 officers, including two generals and several colonels, many sets of brothers, and several examples of multiple generations of the same family serving, as well as 16 Cleveland Hungarians still serving in the military today.²³⁴ Their military experiences illuminate historical events from a personal viewpoint, looked at from the perspective of the average person, rather than from the generals or the decision-makers whom historians usually write about. Most served their newfound or native country proudly and then successfully fit into the civilian world, pursuing varied careers in Cleveland or elsewhere, and many also contributed to Cleveland's Hungarian social life with their talents and efforts. Their life stories are telling, for their variety of careers show their contributions to American life, both from a military perspective and afterwards in the business world. Reading their biographies, one gains insights about the realities of Cleveland Hungarians, their individual life paths adding depth to statistics and numbers. In addition, their individual lives intersecting with major world historical events allows the reader to look at history from the perspective not of the decision and policy makers, but rather of the individual on the bottom of the ladder, the individual who bears the brunt of weighty historical decisions on his or her own daily life. In

²³³ Thanks to my volunteer research assistant, Krisztina Oláh, who helped solicit and keep track of the many submitted pictures.

²³⁴ The complete list of Cleveland Hungarians who served in the U.S. military from 1951 until the present day can be found in Appendix III of this dissertation, along with a listing of over 250 biographies and dates of interviews. The biographies are written in Hungarian, because I originally intended to publish in a Hungarian military history journal, and almost all of the biographies have been verified and approved firsthand by the interviewees themselves; some interviewees, however, could no longer read Hungarian. A separate historical narrative, written in English, is also available.

addition, Marvin Bressler's theoretical framework on cultural values is also useful to keep in mind when reading these life stories, for several of his 7 conditions are met by the social standing of Cleveland Hungarians who served in the U.S. military, namely that the standard is widely diffused and embraced by people who otherwise differ, that it has persisted over time continuously rather than sporadically, and that beliefs about military service arouse intense emotions as well as strong rational support.

5.2 Military Service 1951-1964: Arrival in Cleveland, then Korea

Around 1950 large groups of Displaced Persons (DP), many from Hungary during and after the Second World War who had spent numerous years in refugee camps in postwar Germany, started arriving in Cleveland. Many were drafted immediately into the U.S. military, although some enlisted to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the Hodge Act, a law that enabled refugee immigrants to earn American citizenship after 5 years of service in the U.S. military. The Korean war was going on, and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution added another influx of refugees to Cleveland. Over a hundred Cleveland Hungarians served between 1951 and 1960, most of them refugees but some of them born in Cleveland as native American citizens.

During this period, numerous Cleveland Hungarians served in the Ohio National Guard, a reserve component of the US military, including Aladár Solymosi, Sr., Károly Hartmann, and Ottó Miklós Kis. Serving in the same unit were József Pöecze, György Mózsi, and Steven Béla Várdy. In the civilian world, all of these individuals had successful careers in and near Cleveland; Aladár Solymosi owns a jewelry store, József Pöecze retired as CEO of a small factory, Steven Béla Várdy became a history professor at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, Károly Hartmann worked for the railroad, and Ottó Miklós Kis owned a steel fabricating business employing 18 people. All integrated successfully into American life.

István Balunek, Balázs Bedy, Zsolt Csaba, Mária Csűrös, Viktor Falk, Pál Attila Kis, and László Zahoray served in the Army on active duty in the early 1950's. Many Hungarians from Cleveland served in Korea, including Lajos Bajkai, Imre (Jim) Balogh, Ádám Bay, Gyula Csikós, Norbert Fischer, József Mód, Jenő Muzsay, György Olgyay, Károly Kovács, Béla Kovács, Zoltán Pauer Jr. (USMC), Lóránd Reich (Navy), Tibor Temesváry, Richard Thomas,²³⁵ and István Szappanos. Most of these individuals worked in the Cleveland area in technical or electrical engineering fields; Ádám Bay and Károly Kovács founded and owned their own companies, and Imre Balogh founded and still owns multiple factories.

²³⁵ His grandparents left Hungary in 1903; the original family name was Tamás.

As an interesting side note, many Hungarians in the postwar refugee camps signed up with the French Foreign Legion and were taken to French Indochina, where they willingly fought against the communist insurrection. In the early 1950's, one of the Cleveland Hungarian scout leaders, in an attempt to develop his scouts' Hungarian language skills, started a letter-writing campaign, having members of the scout troop write letters in Hungarian to other Hungarians scattered worldwide after the war. A reply to one of these letters, written by a Hungarian in the French Foreign Legion in Indochina, was found by my father in the late 1980's, when he was asked by scout leaders in Cleveland to help organize the scouts' archives.²³⁶ The letter is dated 13 May 1954, is written by Marechal des Logis (sergeant) Sándor Kirchmayer, and in it he writes of the 6,000 Legionnaires encircled and held under siege by the communists at Dien Bien Phu, among them 1,200 Hungarians. To verify the authenticity of this number, I called a friend of a Cleveland Hungarian, someone who had also served as a Legionnaire around the same time period, and he said that the number was indeed fairly accurate, for he had lived in Marseilles for four years and often visited the wounded Hungarian Legionnaires returning from Indonesia, and they had told him the same thing, about 1,200-1,400 Hungarian Legionnaires at Dien Bien Phu.²³⁷

At least 20 Cleveland Hungarians from this era served in Germany with the U.S. Army. Because many had fled Hungary shortly after or during the Second World War, and subsequently spent up to 5 or 6 years in refugee camps as Displaced Persons, the U.S. Army took advantage of their German language skills and anticommunist tendencies and put many into front-line units near the Iron Curtain. Many were sent back to the areas where they had spent time in refugee camps just several years earlier. István Hokky, for example, enlisted in a DP refugee camp in Germany, served from 1950 to 1952, and was an interpreter in Germany. After his discharge he returned to Cleveland and became an engineer, dying in 1979. Ferenc Beodray enlisted on the ship from the refugee camp on his way to America, serving from 1951 to 1953, also back in Germany. He is the one individual most responsible for starting the Hungarian scouting movement in Cleveland, and has spent his entire life helping the boy and girl scouts.

Others serving in Germany included William Takács, Richard Zsolt Bedy, István Herczeg, István Tózsér, Lóthár Stieberth, Lajos Zsula, and György Gulden. János Leidli, who served from 1957 to 1959 in an infantry unit, spent his time in Germany 20 kilometers from the Eastern border. He could not yet speak English when he enlisted to avoid being drafted, and every two months he was interrogated to make sure he was not a communist, which was

²³⁶ The original letter is in my possession, with a scanned image as an appendix to this dissertation.

²³⁷ László Korsós is a friend of Hanna Geréby, who was kind enough to put me in contact with him; he served in the French Foreign Legion from January 1946. He currently lives in Canada, and I conducted a telephone interview on 31 December 2010.

ironic because years later he found himself mentioned and pictured in a Hungarian historical book about the poor Hungarian refugees who were taken advantage of by the capitalist imperialist American military. Someone photographed him in Savannah, Georgia, on board a ship taking his army unit to Germany, and the author of the book mistakenly labeled him as being in the Navy. The book, published in Hungary, was Ferenc Komáromi's *Hol vagytok fiúk? Dokumentumok az amerikai Különleges Haderőben kém- és diverzáns tevékenységre kiképzett magyar személyekről*.²³⁸ As mentioned before, it is rife with ideological propagandistic phrases as well as inaccuracies. For instance, it referred to Jim (Imre) Balogh as a “considerably unserious character.”²³⁹ Balogh now owns three factories employing hundreds of people, so this “considerably unserious character” is anything but, considering he arrived in America with nothing as a refugee. Leidli later worked as a milling machinist, then became a hair stylist, eventually owning three hair salons, including Gizella Beauty Salon in the Buckeye Hungarian neighborhood; he is now retired and living in Naples, Florida.

László Hun was born László Szelepcsényi and left Hungary when he was 5 years old. His father, who had been a Hungarian boxing champion in 1929 and later became a major in the Hungarian army, lost his left arm during the siege of Budapest and became the custodian of St. Margaret church and school when he arrived in Cleveland as a refugee. László enlisted in the Ohio National Guard in 1957, then spent 1958-1961 on active duty as a paratrooper, first in a military police unit, then in an intelligence capacity as a Hungarian and German interpreter and interrogator. While serving in Germany, one of his commanders was another Hungarian refugee, János Bokor. Hun returned to Cleveland and served in a Special Forces reserve unit before ending up, after a career mostly in law enforcement, semi-retired in Florida. His brother Miklós Hun and brother-in-law Attila Farkas, also Cleveland Hungarians, served in the U.S. military as well.

Some from this era volunteered for the Marine Corps, including Péter Kézdi, Raymond Mező, and Sándor Thiry. A handful of Cleveland Hungarians from this era served in the Air Force, including István Balogh, István Dörner, Csaba Pöhly, György Gyékényesi, József Nemes, and Andy Szmerekovsky. Gyékényesi also served from 1952 to 1956, with two of those years spent on an airbase in Alaska; after his service he became an engineer, earning a PhD and working at the NASA research facility in Cleveland. He published two volumes of Hungarian poetry before his death in 1973. Nemes and Szmerekovsky both served from 1953 to 1957, Nemes spending two years in Morocco, where he met numerous

²³⁸ Ferenc Komáromi. *Hol vagytok, fiúk?* (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1964).

²³⁹ Jim (Imre) Balogh, when I personally asked him on 26 February 2011 about the book's assertions that he betrayed all his Hungarian relatives to the CIA, laughed and said the book was full of lies, that all of his letters written to Hungary were opened and that is how the writer of the book acquired all of the details. Leidli had mentioned the book earlier, and Mátyás Zolnay eventually lent me the book. Balogh is on pages 37-38, and Leidli on page 69 of the book.

Hungarian Legionnaires; after earning his American citizenship in the military, he studied biology and became a teacher. He now is retired and lives in Montana.

Some of these draftees and enlistees were motivated by economic concerns, and some joined merely for a sense of adventure. Richard Zsolt Bedy, for example, volunteered because he knew he would get drafted and because “we, in my family, just like adventures.” His Hungarian heritage and upbringing had no influence on his motivation to serve.²⁴⁰ John Leidli signed up for military service “because sooner or later everybody had to serve. It was an immense help for me with the language to think more as an American and not European.”²⁴¹ His explanation shed light on the immigrant fitting in to his new surroundings. For Raymond Mezo, who grew up in Cleveland, economic considerations were the main motivation. “There was no way I could afford to go to college; I decided to join the USMC as the GI Bill was in effect at the time,” he remembered. However, he added another motivation: “Patriotism had a lot to do with it, too; I love my country and still call my self a Hungarian but I am an American first and foremost.”²⁴² Gusztav Asboth cites homesickness as one of his motivators: “I joined because as a volunteer I had the option to serve in Europe; I was a bit homesick and also the GI Bill gave me a chance to finish college.” He offered me the following insight about the Hungarian community in Cleveland: “[it] by and large ignored ‘real’ in ‘realpolitik.’ U.S. foreign policy was largely unquestioned and the grateful new citizens were solidly in the conservative camp.”²⁴³

Most of the people I interviewed from this era reinforced Asboth’s observation. Motivating many of these draftees or enlistees was a strong sense of anticommunism, as well as a sense of gratitude to the United States for accepting them as refugees. Lothar Stieberth remembers: “My anticommunist feelings and a gratitude to my new country [and] some hope to see some adventure led me to volunteer for the draft... my fellow Hungarian-Americans were very much the same.”²⁴⁴ Indeed, most of the interviewees I talked to shared these views, even those who were drafted. Remembers István Szappanos, “As a draftee, at 21, barely 6 years after having been dispossessed by the Communists of all worldly belongings and homeland, the world as we knew it, to go and fight against them in Korea or wherever, seemed the right thing to do. Even though having landed in the new homeland a bare year and a half ago, I have never resented the fact that I was drafted into the service.” He also spoke of the advantage he had being a Hungarian scout, a commonly recurring theme among many of

²⁴⁰ Richard Zsolt Bedy, in an email to the author, 7 March 2013.

²⁴¹ John Leidli, in an email to the author, 7 March 2013.

²⁴² Raymond Mezo, in an email to the author, 8 March 2013.

²⁴³ Gusztav Asboth, in an email to the author, 4 March 2013.

²⁴⁴ Lothar Stieberth, in an email to the author, 8 March 2013.

the interviewees: “My Hungarian background in the scouts...gave me a headstart in military life, having been raised in a society and times when regard for authority and personal discipline was the norm.”²⁴⁵ This anticommunist view is not surprising in the DP or in the 1956 generation, given what they had experienced just a few years earlier.

In addition, because many of the DP generation were upper middle class and military officers or their children, getting drafted into the US Army was just a natural progression. Recalls Viktor Falk, “I was a draftee and I was interested to go. I came from a military family, so it was more or less natural for me to go to the military.”²⁴⁶ His views encapsulate what many confided to me during their interviews.

Others related their wishes to fight against the Soviet occupation of Hungary, in any way possible, even if only symbolic. Remembers László Hun, “My father was a heroic military officer who was wounded gravely fighting the Soviet armies in the 56 day siege of Budapest in 1944/45. He instilled patriotism in me. At 16, I volunteered here in Cleveland, Ohio to fight the Soviets in October of 1956... but to no avail. My Hungarian heritage was and is dominant in my fiber and psyche.” His motivation for joining the Army, he recalled, was patriotism and anticommunist conditioning coupled with economic hardship and looking for adventure.²⁴⁷ Aladár Solymosi’s purpose to join the National Guard in 1957 was “that if and when the West decided to liberate Eastern/Central Europe from Soviet occupation, I will have been familiar with American military practices, strategies, etc, to go back and help Hungary in that cause.”²⁴⁸ Although that opportunity never arose, the feelings expressed by my interviewees and their ability to cogently formulate it over fifty years later shows a deep-seated, intense patriotism toward their Hungarian roots. They were willing to use any means at their disposal, including service in the U.S. military, to foment a solidarity with their spiritual homeland, Hungary.

5.3 Military Service 1965-1975: the Vietnam Era

The 1960’s and 1970’s were a time of social upheaval in the United States, with student antiwar protests all over. Cleveland’s Hungarian community, on the other hand, tended to be conservative, probably due to their strong anticommunist tendencies and many of their firsthand experiences with communism before fleeing to America. At the time, many refugees from the DP camps and from 1956 saw their American experience as temporary,

²⁴⁵ István Szappanos, in an email to the author, 5 March 2013.

²⁴⁶ Viktor Falk, in an email to the author, 11 March 2013.

²⁴⁷ László Hun, in an email to the author, 16 March 2013.

²⁴⁸ Aladár Solymosi, in an email to the author, 14 March 2013.

intending to return to their previous lives in Hungary as soon as the communists left; being able to hasten that departure by fighting communists in Vietnam became a reason for volunteering in the U.S. military. Of course, being drafted was a distinct possibility, so some enlisted to avoid being drafted, but many were sincerely patriotic and felt their duty was to fight in Vietnam. Altogether more than 30 Cleveland Hungarians fought in Vietnam, 10 of them dying on active duty, of a total of over 120 Cleveland Hungarians who served during this time period.

At least ten served in the Ohio National Guard, including Gábor S. Brachna, Zoltán Fejszés, Lajos Bodnár, Béla Csorba Sr., Jenő Fodor, János Megyimóri Sr., János Torontáli Sr., Arthur Tiroly, József Pál Veres, and András Evva. Fejszés volunteered but was rejected by the military in 1957, then was drafted in 1963. The chair of the draft board was the local Hungarian funeral director Louis Bodnár, who arranged for Fejszés to serve in a National Guard unit. In his civilian career he worked for 31 years in a Cleveland flower business, and he now lives in suburban Cleveland. In his unit was the funeral director's son, Lajos Bodnár, who served from 1958 to 1964 as a medic; they went on weekly exercises, with two weeks training in the summer. Bodnár now owns the funeral home his father started in 1927 and is still active in Cleveland Hungarian circles. Meeting Fejszés at Fort Knox, Kentucky was Csorba, who also served in the National Guard from 1961 to 1964 as a tank driver; he worked in the civilian world in the steel fabrication industry, and is now retired, living not far from Cleveland. Fodor finished his basic training along with fellow Cleveland Hungarian Aladár Solymosi Sr., then served from 1957 to 1968 in signal and armored units; his civilian career was as a welder, and he is now retired, living in the Cleveland area. Veres actually served in the New York National Guard from 1970 to 1976, in Buffalo and Olean, and his unit was mobilized for the 1971 Attica prison riots. He is an engineer, and moved to Cleveland in 1989, where he works at NASA designing jet-turbine motors. His brother also lives in the Cleveland area and writes Hungarian poetry. John Megyimóri, as a 1956 refugee, spoke of a common tendency among my interviewees, that of acting on their gratitude to the United States:

In 1962, as the Cold War was raging, I felt it was my duty as a 1956 refugee, to give back to the country which embraced by family into the United States. As a 22 year old young man, finished with my education, I enlisted into the U.S. Army National Guard. As a family, we were grateful for the opportunity to live in a free country, serving our adopted land just seemed natural to me. My family in Hungary did not have a military background, but service in the defense of freedom was of utmost importance. I was honored to serve my adopted country in such a small way.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ John Megyimóri, in an email to the author, 21 March 2013.

Others who served in reserve components of the Army, such as György Balunek, Zoltán Csiba, Gyula Farkas, Gyula Mohos, Cornel Muhoray, and Imre Teller, were of the same opinion. Community impacts motivation, as friendship and family ties weave throughout their life and military histories; Balunek and Farkas both began their service in 1962, Balunek ending in 1968 and working as a tool and die maker in the General Motors factory, and Farkas as a cook in a mobile hospital unit until 1970, working for the railroad. Csiba was an interrogator and Hungarian, German, and Portuguese interpreter from 1961 to 1969; his civilian career was as a mechanical engineer, and for a while he was married to my aunt. Mohos and Teller, who were both born in the Hungarian village of Gyömöre and were best friends, served in the same unit along with Cornel Muhoray. Mohos has since died, but the rest are retired and live in the Cleveland area. Csiba recounted his motivation for signing up for his military service: “I knew that I’d be drafted anyway in the near future, [so] volunteering gave me a choice to pick a unit where my skills would be appreciated. That’s how I ended up in [a Military Intelligence unit]. It was also a good way to pay back my new adopted country (at that time I had been in the US only a few years). I still believe to this day that I made the right choice.”²⁵⁰ His statement of motivation reflected what others of his generation told me during countless interviews.

Many Hungarians fought in Vietnam and remained in Cleveland after their service, still living there now. These include András Gyékényesi, Imre Havasy, Sándor Leitgeb, Steve Mihály, James Pavlish, Zoltán Mestrits, Elemér Mészáros, László Orosz, and Frank Schwan.

Some of the recruits of this era had simple motivations. One anonymous interviewee related, “my reasons were pretty straightforward. At the end of my freshman year at [college] I failed every subject but one. My father was irate, and I thought it advisable to make myself scarce. The military was the answer... At the time (1963) the Navy offered the most chances for adventure.” However, he also reflected upon his family’s influence: “Coming from a family of generations of professional military officers, I was brought up to look upon it as an honorable profession.”²⁵¹ Another interviewee, Tony Oszlanyi, volunteered simply because that would allow him to choose the date of his enlistment.

Csaba Yaczó’s father fought in a tank on the Russian front during the Second World War and came to the United States so that his son would not have to fight against communists; Yaczó served from 1967 to 1969 and in an ironic twist of fate, ended up fighting

²⁵⁰ Zoltán Csiba, in an email to the author, 12 March 2013.

²⁵¹ Because of the personal nature of his response, I chose to omit his name, but he offered his insights in an email on 6 March 2013. He later served for over 20 years in the Army Reserves and is still active in Cleveland’s Hungarian scouting community.

North Vietnamese communists in an armored unit during the Tet offensive of 1968 to 1969. After his discharge he became an architect and now lives in Columbus, Ohio.

Motivating most of these interviewees was a strong sense of patriotism and anticommunism. Recalls András Trux, “My main reason for going into the service was that I was a naturalized citizen. I never questioned but that being a citizen meant you served in your military. My Dad was a Ludovika graduate.” The Ludovika Military Academy was Hungary’s elite military school, comparable to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Trux’s last short sentence was typical of many of the responses I received. Many of my interviewees took it for granted that I would know what being a Ludovika graduate entailed, and given that my own grandfather had graduated from and later taught at the Hungarian military academy known as Ludovika, that short statement implied a sense of honor, patriotism, and service to country that was consciously passed from one generation to the next. Trux continued: “In the late 60’s in America, being a soldier was looked down on and scorned. In our Hungarian community, being in the military was considered to be honorable, noble and a matter of pride. Most of my friends went and all of us were proud to do so. Those who didn’t go – health reasons, student deferments – all gave us their full support.”²⁵²

His brother Hugo offered additional insights about returning to civilian life after service in Vietnam: “The Magyar community certainly was not averse to military service, but what was significant was the acceptance after coming out. The MHBK gave me an award or two, and the acceptance of the Magyar community made the transition easier – certainly easier than for other Vietnam vets.”²⁵³ Anthony Pinter voiced an even stronger sentiment: “Because of my Hungarian heritage I never even thought about not serving.” He remembered all of his fellow Cleveland Hungarians serving.²⁵⁴ Some of my interviewees downplayed their Hungarian heritage from their recollections about motivations but nevertheless displayed anticommunist views. Recalled Steve Mihály, “I was looking for adventure and I was and still am patriotic. I wanted to go to Vietnam, which I ended up doing... My mother was a Freedom fighter in 1956 and my family is very anti-communist to this day.” His family upbringing had “no influence whatsoever” on his military service decision, yet he hoped that his son follows in his footsteps. Mihály is “a firm believer that everyone should serve their country no matter what nationality they are.”²⁵⁵

²⁵² Andy Trux, in an email to the author, 5 March 2013.

²⁵³ Hugo Trux, in an email to the author, 5 March 2013.

²⁵⁴ Antal Pintér, in an email to the author, 5 March 2013.

²⁵⁵ Steve Mihály, in an email to the author, 11 March 2013.

Elemér Mészáros, Sándor Leitgeb, Robert Szabo, and Andrew Strada shared this attitude, not only enunciating community support, but also displaying an anticommunist attitude that most of my interviewees shared. Recalls Mészáros, who initially characterized his attitude as not too excited to go but curious about the adventure: “I felt it was duty to go, once drafted. I never entertained the idea of not showing up. The military to me always denoted honorable service... I grew up with full knowledge of what communists do from my Hungarian upbringing. I knew it was a worthy cause to try to stop them from taking yet another country.”²⁵⁶ Leitgeb enlisted “to get job training, and to avoid becoming cannon fodder,” but added that he had no regrets, and that his “upbringing (before 1956 in Hungary) may have helped [him] perceive the communist threat much differently than [his] American compadres who may have only read or heard about it.”²⁵⁷ Robert Szabo related his decision to join as being primarily motivated by the future, but his family’s attitude also influenced him:

...at the time 1971 I was just out of high school with no college plans. Many of my friends from the Buckeye neighborhood had enlisted in the Marine Corps and myself and another friend decided it would be the thing to do. I thought it would be a good step into planning for my future... There was probably a little anti-communism in there also. To his dying day my father had a genuine hatred for the communists, and would blame all the ills of the world on communism... Both my father and uncle were in the Hungarian Army during WWII and would tell stories of their time in the war. My uncle Miklós Szabó was also active during the '56 Revolution.²⁵⁸

Such responses were typical of most people I talked to.

Andrew Strada offered a view of his attitude on being drafted which at first sounded jingoistic and clichéd, but was actually a particularly thoughtful and nuanced insight: “While I firmly believed that the only good communist was a dead communist, and that therefore killing Vietcong would be a righteous action, the link between the Vietnamese and the people occupying my ancestral homeland seemed tenuous at best. I could, with some reluctance, see the point of risking my life for the sake of my adopted country, America, but I had absolutely no desire to risk my life for freedom for Vietnam.” He mixed languages when relating his upbringing, illustrating a common phenomenon among Hungarian-Americans when describing something particularly emotional. English is the more comfortable language, yet somehow fails to carry extremely specific meanings inherent in childhood experiences: “Because of my traditionalist upbringing, I never considered conscientious objection or any other ways to avoid service. In the immortal words of Petőfi..” Strada then quoted verbatim an entire stanza from Petőfi’s poem *Nemzeti dal*, continuing: “The last thing I would ever want to be is a ‘sehonnai bitang ember.’ Death before dishonor, and all that. On the other hand, I felt no obligation to be stupid or suicidal... there seemed to be no great shame in

²⁵⁶ Elemér Mészáros, in an email to the author, 7 March 2013.

²⁵⁷ Sándor Leitgeb, in an email to the author, 5 March 2013.

²⁵⁸ Robert Szabo, in an email to the author on 14 March 2013.

doing whatever I could to tilt the odds in favor of my survival.” He had no regrets at all about not doing a Vietnam tour, and was proud to say that he shuffled papers for two years in Fort Knox, Kentucky, Frankfurt, Germany, and lived to have grandchildren. He did, however, repeat a common observation among my interviewees: “One interesting observation is that I had experienced far more discipline in the Hungarian Boy Scouts than I did in the basic training and clerical units to which I was assigned. This says a lot about both the Hungarian boy scouts and the US Army of the 1960’s.”²⁵⁹

Other respondents did not feel that their Hungarian heritage or community had a particularly strong influence on them, but did acknowledge their family’s impact. Recalls Peter Roethler: “My family upbringing played a role in my attitude toward my military service because I was taught to bring honor to the family. Never shirk your duties to family or country.” But, he continued, “I am not sure that my Hungarian heritage had any impact on how I approached my military service other than the family values which were taught to me. I do not believe these values are unique to Hungarians. However, I do believe that the time spent in the Hungarian Boy Scouts did play a role. It set the stage to be disciplined, to take orders, to work together, to take pride in what you do. It taught me to be a leader, which I used in the military.”²⁶⁰ József Pál Veres also offered a nuanced answer steeped in historical opinions, yet critical of his newfound country’s war in Vietnam:

My attitude towards military service was influenced by my Hungarian heritage to some extent...My father was in the Hungarian military from 1925-1935, a time period in which Hungary was under the leadership of Admiral Miklós Horthy. My father had always referred to this interwar period as the peaceful time between the two world wars. He always had the highest praise for Admiral Horthy and referred to him as an honest and just leader who was responsible for saving Hungary from the threat of Communism in 1920, after which Hungary’s status was reinstated as a constitutional monarchy. Under Admiral Horthy’s reign, Hungary came out from under a crippling economic depression in the 1930’s and enjoyed a period of prosperity until the end of WWII. After the Hungarian Revolution was suppressed violently by the Soviet army, our family left Hungary for fear of reprisal by the AVO secret police, and lived in Austria until 1959, when we came to the U.S. My parents, and my father in particular, had lived through turbulent times, as he had survived WWI, WWII and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. When we came to the U.S., we wanted nothing to do with wars and just wanted to live in peace. This was also a strong influence on my decision to join the National Guard and remain at home, instead of being faced with being drafted into the regular army and having to fight the war in Vietnam. I felt that it was not a war which was being fought to defend the shores of our new homeland from a foreign invader. Since the reason for the war was not clear to me at the time, I did not feel any compelling reason to fight in a war which seemed pointless to me.²⁶¹

Some other interviewees, such as Chuck Csejtey, maintained pride in their heritage but discounted its effect on their service, saying that he was “proud to be of Hungarian heritage but it had nothing to do with [his] situation.”²⁶² Most of my respondents, however, were of

²⁵⁹ Andrew Strada, in an email to the author on 8 March 2013.

²⁶⁰ Péter Roethler, in an email to the author on 26 March 2013.

²⁶¹ József Pál Veres, in an email to the author on 26 March 2013.

²⁶² Chuck Csejtey, in an email to the author on 14 March 2013.

the opinion that their Cleveland Hungarian community did in fact affect their attitudes toward their military service. The values they inherited through their community, to use the lens that Attila Z. Papp described, was one of patriotism coupled with a strong sense of anticommunism. Some embraced these values more or less than others, but all acknowledged its presence.

Ten Cleveland Hungarians made the ultimate sacrifice, dying in Vietnam during their service there. In the order in which they died, these were Csaba Boromissza, István Sárosy, Gyula Szahlender, Ákos Dezső Székely, Alex Pozmann Jr, Joseph Németh Jr, Gábor Zöldi, John Anthony Futo, Sándor Várdy, and Alan David Martin.

Lance Corporal Csaba Boromissza served in the Marine Corps, being killed near Quang Tin on May 10th, 1966. Private First Class István Sárosy, whose great grandfather was a general in the Hungarian army, left Hungary as a refugee after the 1956 Revolution, volunteering for service as a U.S. Marine and being rejected three times before he was accepted; he stepped foot on Vietnam's soil on October 2nd, 1967, and was killed near Danang on January 21st, 1968. Specialist 5 Gyula Szahlender was a medic and was awarded three Bronze Stars and a Silver Star for valor, saving the lives of three soldiers before stepping on a land mine near Binh Duong on February 24th, 1968. Captain Ákos Dezső Székely, whose father was an officer in the Hungarian army, arrived in Cleveland as a refugee of the Second World War before settling in Maryland. He attended West Point military academy, where one of his fellow students with a friendship dating back to the refugee camps in Germany was Huba Wass de Czege, son of the Hungarian writer Albert Wass. Finishing fifth in his class, Székely attended the airborne and Ranger schools, then served for 13 months in Korea as the commander of a combat engineer company. He returned stateside for graduate schooling in engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at Harvard, then arrived in Vietnam in October of 1967, assuming command of a combat engineer company. He voluntarily extended his tour in Vietnam and volunteered to lead an infantry company after its commander was killed in action. Székely was killed during a nighttime ambush on the road between Tay Ninh and Dau Tieng on September 11th, 1968; he is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.²⁶³

First Lieutenant Alex Pozmann Jr, who was posthumously promoted from second lieutenant, served in the Army from 1966 on, arriving in Vietnam as a platoon commander in October and being killed near Lam Dong on December 11th, 1968.²⁶⁴ Chief Petty Officer Joseph Németh, who grew up in the Buckeye neighborhood, served in the Navy from 1955 to

²⁶³ His aunt, Edit (Székely) Bárány, still lives in Cleveland.

²⁶⁴ His father was the caretaker of the Teleki Scout Park in Ashtabula county, he would let me ride his motor scooter, and as a boy I remember seeing his uniformed picture on the fireplace mantel, only later as an adult being able to fully appreciate the parents' loss.

1969 as a chief construction mechanic, dying in an accident in Quang Nam on January 1st, 1969. Private First Class Gábor Zöldi arrived in Vietnam with an infantry unit on November 21st, 1968, and was killed near Dinh Tuong on January 12th, 1969; he is interred in the Sunset Memorial Park cemetery. Specialist 4 John Anthony Futo grew up in the Buckeye Hungarian neighborhood, and was a childhood friend of John Baumhackl. He trained in Ft. Knox, Kentucky, then fought in an armored unit until a mine exploded under his tank near Quang Ngai on September second, 1969. Private First Class Alex Várdy, whose brother is the historian Steven Béla Várdy, was born Sándor Óváry but the family name was changed upon their arrival in America. He studied at Cleveland State University, was drafted in 1969, and fought with the 101st Airborne Division until he was killed near Thua Thien on March 10th, 1970. Staff Sergeant Alan David Martin's grandparents were active in Cleveland's Hungarian community; he arrived in Vietnam with an infantry unit and was the last Cleveland Hungarian to die in the Vietnam war, killed in Cambodia on May 17th, 1970.²⁶⁵

Not all who served in the Army during this time went to Vietnam; many served stateside, including Tibor Berente, Chuck Csejtey, Csaba Incze, Géza William Kunst, László Monostory, Steve Nebehay, József Stefanec, and István Wegling. At least twenty Cleveland Hungarians were deployed to Germany during their Army service in this time period, including Géza Bálint, William Csibi, János Stefanec, János Táborosi, and Botond Clementis-Záhony. Clementis-Záhony served from 1963 to 1968 and was deployed to Korea as an engineer and then as a language instructor in an infantry division headquarters. He was then transferred to an armored reconnaissance unit near Bad Hersfeld in Germany, where he also served in intelligence positions. After his discharge he continued to work for the military as a civilian employee, teaching Hungarian at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California. Later he moved to Hungary and was teaching in a high school when he was asked in the 1990's by the American embassy to serve as an interpreter at the American airbase at Taszár. He also trained Hungarian Brigadier General László Braun at the Zrínyi Military Academy for his service in Brussels as Hungary's first NATO general. Clementis-Záhony is now semi-retired and lives in Sarasota, Florida, teaching foreign policy.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ Although not from Cleveland, three other Hungarian casualties of Vietnam were awarded the Medal of Honor, the highest military honor the United States bestows. Staff sergeant László Rabel was born in 1939 in Budapest, took part in the fighting during the 1956 Revolution, came to the United States and enlisted in Minneapolis, Minnesota, then was sent to Vietnam as a part of the 5th Special Forces group. He threw himself onto a grenade on November 13th, 1968 near Binh Dinh, thereby saving the lives of others in his unit. Frankie Zoly Molnar was born in West Virginia, entered the military in Fresno, California, and was killed on May 20, 1967 in Kontum province in Vietnam, also throwing himself onto a grenade and was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor. Thanks to László Hun, who met Rabel while at Fort Bragg, for bringing these Hungarian Medal of Honor recipients to my attention. Another Hungarian, Specialist 4 Leslie H. Sabo was born in 1948 and emigrated to the United States with his parents who fled communism in Hungary after the Second World War. Being drafted in 1969, Sabo fought in the 101st Airborne Division and was killed on May 10, 1970, in Se San, Cambodia, after storming enemy positions and shielding a fellow soldier from a grenade blast with his own body. He was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor 42 years after his death, after his story languished in military records and was unearthed by a researcher in 1999.

²⁶⁶ As a teenager in Cleveland, he was the scout patrol leader (*cserkész őrvezető*) of a young boy who would eventually become the highest ranking officer among Cleveland Hungarians, Major General Róbert Iványi.

The rest of the twenty who served in Germany still live in the Cleveland area today, including Ágoston Csejtey, László Dolesch, István Domján, Kálmán Gulden, Allan Kuntz, Frank Louis Magyar, Gerry Slusny, and András Strada. Three Cleveland Hungarians who served in Germany during this period returned to Cleveland after their time in the military and started their own businesses: a baker, a pastry chef, and an insurance and investment firm. Gyula Batu served from 1963 to 1966 as a medic at Ft. Carson, Colorado, and in Germany near Stuttgart. After his discharge he worked until 1977 at Fazio as a baker and pastry chef, then opened his own bakery, which he ran until his retirement in 2002; he now lives in the Akron area. Attila Farkas was an apprentice at the famous Gerbeaud Cafe in Budapest, then was drafted into the Hungarian Army and was stationed as a chef in an armored unit near Vác when his unit freed Cardinal Mindszenty during the 1956 Revolution. After coming to Cleveland as a refugee, he served from 1960 to 1962, finishing his basic training at Ft. Knox, Kentucky with Cornel Muhoray, then being stationed near Augsburg and München as a tank gunner and tank driver. During the Berlin crisis his unit was on standby, and his term was extended. After his return to Cleveland he and his father started the Farkas Pastry Shop in 1966, which he owned until he sold it in 2000; he is now semi-retired but still can be found on Saturdays serving customers at his old shop on Lorain Avenue. György Szeretvai served from 1960 to 1963 near Stuttgart, mostly as a photographer for the Stars & Stripes, the official U.S. military newspaper. After his discharge he started his own insurance business, then branched off into investments; today the firm he started, Vantage Financial Group, is one of the largest investment firms in Cleveland, with 150 employees and over 2000 customers. He is still its owner and CEO.

Others such as Gusztáv Asboth, Zoltán Bányai, James Dossa, and Viktor Makovits, were deployed not to Vietnam or Germany, but rather to other countries, including France, Costa Rica, Taiwan, Thailand, and Korea.

5.4 Military Service 1976-1989: End of the Cold War

More than 60 Cleveland Hungarians were in the U.S. armed forces near the end of the Cold War. These numbers are telling, for the United States abolished the draft and turned to an all-volunteer military in 1973, shortly before the end of the Vietnam war. These Cleveland Hungarians, then, were in no way compelled to serve in the military. The fact that they did was mostly out of a sense of duty and obligation, and the anticommunist feelings of their parents also played a role in their enlistments.

Several enlisted in the Navy, sailing the world on American ships. For example, Andrew Dietrich, whose father owned a store in the Buckeye neighborhood, *Magyar Áruház*,

served in the Navy from 1978 to 1984. He was an electronics technician and reactor controller on the nuclear submarine *U.S.S. Trepang*, also sailed all over the world, and took part in operations in the early 1980's off the coast of Lebanon. He currently lives not far from Cleveland and works at a nuclear reactor for civilian electrical power generation. He recalled his motivation as looking for adventure and to see the world, but also: "My decision to join the military was based on my desire to repay the United States for the opportunities presented to my family through immigration." He also referenced the anticommunist tendencies displayed by most of my interviewees: "As a child, when traveling to Communist Hungary, I saw the gross infringement of the most basic liberties and the pathologic paranoia of the communist protectors. I reflected on the feeling of gray dinge, overwhelming stench of diesel fuel, and turned down blank expressions. It was then that I started to understand my good fortune in not being born under such tyranny."²⁶⁷

Frank Goda enlisted in the Navy in 1973 and served until 1983. Although he is not from Cleveland per se, living in Youngstown growing up, his family ties to Cleveland's Hungarian community were extremely strong, perhaps because his family sacrificed driving over an hour each way to take part in Hungarian activities. He remembered:

Having grown up in the *Magyar Cserkesz* [Hungarian scout] environment, going to *cs. tabor* [scout camp]... and being the son Hungarian immigrants who taught me the importance of freedom and the perils of communism, being in the military was a piece of cake, and a natural progression of fighting for freedom. It also provided the means to finance my college education, accomplish international travel, and learn firsthand about global issues. Equal weight was given to each issue [when asked to weigh each possible reason for volunteering]. The Hungarian heritage which was instilled during my family upbringing, the *Cserkesz* experience were the major if not the total influence for my military service. Learning about 1956, then learning Hungarian history, then having the Hungarian circle of friends, they were all very instrumental in my joining the military.²⁶⁸

His answer was echoed by many of the interviewees, all with close ties to Cleveland's Hungarian community, and most of whom cited their upbringing as being partially or significantly responsible for their motivation to join the U.S. military.

Some Cleveland Hungarians enlisted in the Marine Corps during this time. János Lendvai, whose father wrote for and edited Cleveland's Hungarian newspapers and photographed many Cleveland Hungarian events in the 1970's, served in the USMC from 1979 to 1983, spending a year in Okinawa, Japan, and also going on military exercises to Korea, the Philippines, Panama, and Norway. He is now a mechanic working in a Cleveland suburb and living not far from Cleveland.²⁶⁹ Andreas and Tamás Tábor, brothers whose father served in the Hungarian army's Hunyadi division during the Second World War, also

²⁶⁷ Andrew Dietrich, in an email to the author, 5 March 2013.

²⁶⁸ Frank Goda, in an email to the author, 10 March 2013.

²⁶⁹ As a child, he was also in my scout troop growing up, and I recently bumped into him at a Cleveland Hungarian funeral.

served in the Marine Corps Reserve and are stalwart members of Cleveland's Hungarian community.

Most Cleveland Hungarians who volunteered for the U.S. military during this time period served in the Army. Rezső Molnár, whose father served in the French Foreign Legion and was wounded twice in Indochina after the Second World War, served in the infantry from 1975 to 1978, being stationed at Fort Carson, Colorado, and attaining the rank of sergeant. He earned the distinction of finishing first in his class at Ranger school, an intense 61-day combat leadership course.²⁷⁰ After his military service he became a tool and die maker for General Motors, and is now retired and living in Lorain, Ohio.

The 1980's also saw several Cleveland Hungarians serving in the army, with Lili Csia, Tamás Somogyi, István Kálnoky, and Kálmán Juhász all serving during this time period; they also were all involved in Cleveland Hungarian scouting as children. Csia served from 1980 to 1983, loading ships and airplanes in logistics units, mainly in Virginia but with several months deployed to Honduras. Somogyi, whose 4 Csejtey uncles all served, was in the infantry from 1983 to 1987. He served with the Ranger battalion in Georgia, then became an air-assault instructor (rapelling training) in Hawaii. His military exercises took him to Korea, Malaysia, Japan, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand as well. István Kálnoky became an infantry officer in 1982, attaining the rank of major. He is also a graduate of the Ranger school as well as airborne training, and was also deployed to Honduras as well as to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia during the first Gulf war, and his father wrote two of the Hungarian geography and folk culture textbooks used by the scouts and the Cleveland Hungarian School. Juhász served from 1987 to 1990 as a paratrooper in the 8second Airborne Division. Juhász, Csia, and Somogyi all still live in the Cleveland area; Juhász works as a draftsman, Csia as a sales clerk, and Somogyi in a printshop.

István Prileszky attended the Air Force Academy in Colorado, being commissioned as an officer in 1980. He became a flight instructor, serving mostly in Texas, but also filled various command and staff positions. In the early 1990's he spent a year in Budapest as the assistant air attaché at the American embassy, and attained the rank of major. He now lives in Colorado and works in computer security. His reason for joining was "simply that I was a rudderless youth back then. I had no real idea where I wanted to end up... As far as continuing to serve for a full 20 year career, that had little to do with my heritage and connection to the Cleveland community because I became all but detached from it. My

²⁷⁰ Ranger school is oriented towards small-unit tactics, and is conducted over rugged terrain including mountains and jungles. The course places students under great mental and psychological stresses as well as subjecting them to tremendous physical fatigue. Historically, the graduation rate has been around 50%. The top finisher in each course is known as the Distinguished Honors Graduate. Typical of the Hungarians I interviewed about their military service, no one was boastful; I heard about Molnár earning the honor from Tamás Rátoni-Nagy, and when I asked Molnár to confirm, he was very matter-of-fact, downplaying his distinction.

military service was motivated by me loving the work I did, loving the camaraderie of the people I worked with, and to a certain extent, the altruistic patriotism inherent in most people that serve.” Showing a patriotic bent, he discounts the effect of his upbringing, but nevertheless mentions his family’s Hungarian military heritage: “Because my stepfather was a graduate of Ludovika, it took on a great importance I get into one of [the service academies].”

Although not in the military per se, Victor Simonyi volunteered for the Peace Corps and served for two years overseas, which also entailed service and a serious commitment. After college he spent 1984 to 1986 in Sierra Leone as an agricultural consultant, establishing an agricultural extension site in the remote forest community of Firawa. He is now the owner of Berkeley BioWorks, a product development consultancy serving medical and greentech industries, and he lives in San Francisco, California.

5.5 Military Service 1990-2011: Some still serve today

Over 50 Cleveland Hungarians served in the time period between the end of the Cold War around 1989 and our present day, including some who took part in the first Gulf war of 1991, the Balkan operations in the 1990’s, the second American invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq, or in Afghanistan since 9/11/2001. They all volunteered fully realizing the risks their service would entail.

József Bálint Jr, Ákos Cserhádi, and Zsolt Tóháti were members of the same Cleveland Hungarian scout troop growing up, and later volunteered for the Army. Bálint recalled his decision to enlist as being motivated by getting money for college, getting some common sense training, and mainly to jump out of airplanes. He referred to a positive outlook of the community towards military service, relating: “it just seemed logical. Especially given my cserkész background... I remember when I was young thinking that going into the military was just what you did after cserkészzet [scouts]. We had tons of guys come back after military training and visit the csapat [troop].” Linguistically, notice his mixing of Hungarian words when using English words like scouts or scout troop would not convey the full connotations of what he meant. He also alluded to the earlier mentioned immigrant perspective of paying back the US, one generation removed but nevertheless felt quite keenly: “Plus the typical feeling that if my parents packed up and came here then the USA must be the best damn country on the planet, so serving just seemed like the responsible thing to do... It almost seemed like I owed it (service) to my country for taking in my mom and dad when they needed to leave Magyarország. That’s not totally accurate, but it’s pretty close

and was in the background.” Bálint also reiterated what others had also mentioned: “Plus as it turned out, Basic [training] and AIT [Advanced Individual Training, military acronyms] were cakewalk compared to cserkészet.”

Tóháti also found his youth Hungarian scouting to be beneficial toward his eight years in the Army. He detailed his memories in an extremely heartfelt narrative, noting:

...at age 10, with a teen age scout leader and extensive training including map reading, compass bearing, survival and camouflage. Our group of maybe five 10-12 year olds and teenage scout leader, would be given a mission. We were given only a military terrain map, with a point marked on it 6 miles away and compass. Individually we had a rucksack, two canteens of water, ... and some raw food like potatoes and meat that can be cooked over a fire. We took extra socks and underwear, a poncho we used to make a shelter with to sleep, and a book of matches... We had to march the 6 miles, build our shelter, make a fire, make dinner, clean up and march back the next day. I have to admit these were some of the best moments of my life. Nowhere else can a child have such sense of freedom, responsibility, facing your fears (fire watch at night), physical fitness, self awareness, and the ability and imagination to really feel like you were part of the made up scenario that the troop leaders set up. Sometimes it was a scenario in a great battle or historical moment in Hungary... All this training in the Hungarian Boy Scouts, my drive, and not being sure of where I want to continue in life made it an easy choice to join the military... My Hungarian heritage engraved in me teaching hard work and pride, the Hungarian boy scouts [gave] me as much training as some seasoned veterans...

His experiences are typical of those who took part in Hungarian scouting in Cleveland throughout the years, and also typical of those who served in the US military, as many of my interviewees remembered.

Several Cleveland Hungarians took part in the first Gulf war of 1990-1991 including Ferenc Jánossy and Pál Rózsahegyi Jr. Others were deployed in subsequent conflicts, including Tamás Dömötörffy and Mónika Mezösi.

Several Cleveland Hungarians saw combat in Iraq. Roland Rollinger, whose mother owns Lucy’s Sweet Surrender, a Hungarian bakery in the Buckeye Road Hungarian neighborhood, served from 2002 to 2005 and spent 14 months in Iraq in logistics as a battalion supply specialist. When in Baghdad, he surprised Hungarian forces there by speaking to them in Hungarian, his native language; he was born in Transylvania. After his discharge, he studied business statistics and management at Cleveland State University, then moved to California, where he works at Sequoia National Park. He disagreed with most of my interviewees, stating that his heritage did not influence him at all in joining the military.²⁷¹

Robert Strada and Michael Tábor were good friends in the scouts and in the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble. Both enlisted in 2004, Strada in the Army and Tábor in the Marine Corps. Strada, whose father Andrew came to the U.S. as a DP refugee after the the Second World War and also served in the Army, was a paratrooper in an airborne infantry unit for 3 years in Alaska. He was deployed to Iraq originally for 12 months, which

²⁷¹ Roland Rollinger, in an email to the author, 6 March 2013.

eventually became 15 months as a part of the surge ordered by President George W. Bush. Upon Strada's return, he became a military instructor in Louisiana, then studied air traffic control at Kent State University. Tábor, whose uncles Andreas and Tamás served in the USMC Reserves in the late 1970's and whose uncle Zsolt served 26 years in the Army, served in a mechanized infantry unit, serving two 9-month tours in Iraq, getting wounded in action while on the first tour; he is now majoring in history at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. Both frequently come home to Cleveland and still take part in scouting, balls, and other Hungarian events.²⁷²

Some Cleveland Hungarians still serve in the U.S. military today. Péter Reckl was a Cleveland Hungarian boy scout in his youth, and he enlisted in the Army in 2009. He is currently a corporal serving in a logistics unit as an electrician; he installs power grids for forward operating bases. Currently stationed in Fort Stewart, Georgia, he spent one year on a combat tour in Afghanistan. László Bárány Jr, whose father was in the mounted artillery in the prewar Hungarian armed forces, is now in the Air Force, and Pál Fissel also serves in the Air Force Reserve. Daniel J. Corlett joined the Air Force in 2011 and was trained as an airplane mechanic in Texas; he also danced in the St. Margaret Hungarian dance group as a child. Major Michael István Medgyessy has been in the Air Force since the year 2000. He served in various communications engineering capacities in Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, and Hawaii, then transferred to Special Forces units in North Carolina. He served a tour in Iraq in 2006 in the Special Operations Command, where he met Hungarian NATO forces, and in 2010 he was in Afghanistan. He is currently stationed in the Washington, D.C. area; he was also actively involved in Cleveland's Hungarian scouts in his childhood. His motivation to join the military was partly to help pay for college, and partly from an early childhood fascination with the military. He really enjoyed Hungarian scouting, and remembers: "Many of the leaders on both our East side and West side were veterans and imparted their knowledge and camping style to us young scouts." He also cited his Hungarian family history: "I also had a heritage of military leaders in Hungary on my mother's side. My great grandfather was Kudriczy Istvan [on] the Hungarian front against the Russians in WWII and was knighted... he was later taken as a prisoner of war and released in 1956 and reunited with our family in Ohio."

Those serving in 2011, as well as those who served in the U.S. military in earlier eras, showed their patriotism by their deeds: they served, endured hardship and sometimes combat for the sake of their American community, frequently inheriting a patriotic outlook from their Hungarian parents. Their patriotism illustrates not only the American psyche, but is also an

²⁷² They are also both related to me: Robert Strada is my third cousin, and Michael Tábor is my nephew.

example of the attitude of Cleveland's Hungarian community toward the broader environment of which it is a part of, that of the United States of America. These Cleveland Hungarians were faithful citizens of their country of residence, adopted or natural.

5.7 Over 20 years of Military Service: Duty and Dedication

Military service in any country has its trials and tribulations, and along with the dedication comes plenty of unexciting duty. To serve 20 or more years in the U.S. military means enduring hardship, danger, and prolonged time away from family. More than 30 Hungarians from Cleveland have served their country for over 20 years. Some were born in Hungary, some in Cleveland, but almost all speak Hungarian and every single one of them is proud of their Hungarian ancestry. Most are officers, but even the enlisted attained the highest noncommissioned officer ranks, or later became commissioned warrant officers.

Among those with over 20 years and still serving today are Pál Fissel and Tim Kalmár. Fissel served from 1986 to 1993 in the Army, mostly in infantry and armored units, and was also a member of President Reagan's honor guard. In 1993 he transferred to the Air Force, and in 1996-1997 was deployed to Taszár in Hungary with NATO forces, where he served as a firefighter. As a part of his military duties he traveled to southwest Asia and to Germany many times. He lives in the Cleveland area, is currently in the Air Force Reserves with the rank of senior master sergeant, and his civilian occupation is a firefighter. His cousin is Andrew Dietrich, who served in the Navy. Fissel cited patriotism as responsible for 75% of his motivation to join the military: "Since the Fissel family first came to America...in 1742 almost every generation has served," showcasing a typically American sentiment, that of family tradition and military service. But Fissel offers additional nuance, giving anticommunism 25% of the weight for his motivation: "I grew up hearing stories of how my grandfather was home on leave from the front and gave my grandmother a revolver and a grenade and instructed her to kill my mother, aunt, and herself should the Red Army ever catch up with them in order to avoid the mass rapes which the Soviets were noted for."²⁷³

At least nine Cleveland Hungarians served in psychological operations or intelligence units, perhaps because the military recognized their East European background, their language skills, and their anticommunist tendencies. András Czakó was another who served for years in active and reserve intelligence units, especially the 100second Military Intelligence Company. He urged Cornel Muhoray to become a warrant officer, administered his oath, and was the first to salute him when he finally received his officer's commission.

²⁷³ Paul Fissel, in an email to the author, 4 March 2013.

Muhoray began his military service on active duty from 1960 to 1966 as a DUKW amphibious vehicle driver, then transferred to reserve units, becoming a loader and later, a company logistics specialist. In 1981 he began his work with military intelligence as an interrogator. In the 1990's his unit was mobilized for operations in the Balkans, and he was in Bosnia, Croatia, and Hungary as a NATO IFOR member. On the home front he served as company commander, and in 1998 traveled to Korea. He also worked in the Budapest American embassy defense attaché office, helping prepare Hungary for NATO membership. His rank at retirement was commissioned warrant officer 4. His civilian occupation was as an engineer and project manager, and later he started his own business; he still lives in the Cleveland area, and is now retired.

Despite occasional mobilizations and extended deployments for a year or more, reserve service is usually one weekend per month, with summer deployments of two weeks. Even more strenuous a commitment and worthy of note are those Cleveland Hungarians who served in the military on active duty for 20 or more years. In the Navy, this included Stephan Varga, Gyula Péter, Adelbert András Balunek, and Géza Terézhalmy. Varga had a desire to serve in the Navy since his youth when his mother dressed him and his brother in sailor suits for photographs, but he added:

the Patriotic Spirit also played a big part, I was thankful that I was born in America, our parents escaped Communist Hungary in 1956, and in 1972, our mother sent us to visit our Grandfather in Austria; we visited relatives in Budapest and Szeged that summer and saw firsthand the oppressive nature of Communism. I believe that stories from Hungary before and after Communism definitely influenced me to want to serve for two reasons. The first was to repay the United States for giving our family a chance to live in Freedom, and the second was to make sure I did my part to keep it from our shores.

His response was very typical of many of the interviewees: gratitude to the United States coupled with anticommunism. These two thoughts were woven into the very tapestry of the Cleveland Hungarian community, as can be seen by the recollections of its members. Adelbert Balunek summarized his motivation for joining the Navy as “love of the sea, anti-communism, and patriotism.”²⁷⁴

Some who served over twenty years did not feel that their Hungarian heritage influenced them at all, including Andrew Pogány. He originally volunteered because he was “looking for a consistent way to feed [his] children and pay bills.” He was and is very proud of his service, not only because it was a hard thing to do, but because he was not lied to; the army paid for his school and kept their promise. His service, however, “transcended beyond the financial stuff... the flag means something to me now. All those guys who died for our country mean something to me... it could have happened to me for real. Not just something I

²⁷⁴ Adelbert Balunek, in an email to the author on 16 March 2013.

read about. I just made it back in one piece. The honor in serving is there, risking your life is what you sign up for,” he related.²⁷⁵ Géza Terézhalmy, who considered it his duty to go into the service, originally wanted to serve the required two years and return to Cleveland to start his dental practice. But his overall satisfaction with military life convinced him to serve quite longer. However, he remembered:

Anti-communism and family influence did not play a part in this progressive decision making process. Family influence or pressure was more directed at me getting an education. While I was fully aware of the large Hungarian ex-military presence in the Cleveland community, if it had any influence on me it was very subtle.²⁷⁶

Zsolt Szentkirályi²⁷⁷ was born in Cleveland and attended John Carroll University on a ROTC scholarship, receiving his commission in 1985. He spent most of his career in the infantry, commanding light infantry and Ranger platoons, an airborne company for three years in Panama, in addition training as a foreign-area officer which included a posting to Hungary. He was deployed to Kosovo for six months and to Iraq for a year, with his final assignment at the Pentagon on the Joint Staff. He retired in 2011 as a colonel, and now lives in Virginia, teaching as a civilian employee at the Command and General Staff College. He offered subtle insights into his own motivations and the effect of Cleveland’s Hungarian community:

Although I was raised in a patriotic and service-oriented home and community in which military service was viewed very positively, ... I only recall a sense of adventure as being a factor, as opposed to, for example, a sense of obligation, tradition, etc. Participating in Scouting is probably what initially set me on the path of outdoor adventure, but I don’t think the fact that it was Hungarian scouting had any significance one way or another; any similar experience with scouting or the outdoors, regardless of language or culture, would likely have had the same effect. That being said, I’m sure the positive light in which the military was viewed in my childhood environment most likely did contribute to my consideration of the military as a venue for satisfying my initial desire for something ‘outdoorsy’ or ‘adventurous.’ However, that upbringing wasn’t what influenced me to initially join the military, and certainly wasn’t what led me to make it a career – it wasn’t until later that a sense of service and commitment to the Nation and to soldiers became the primary reasons for continued military service. On the other hand, the seeds of this eventual sense of responsibility were first sown by my upbringing, so I guess in a way that the family and community did, after all, have a large influence in how it all turned out... After thinking on the above, I guess here’s what it boils down to: I initially joined the military out of a sense of adventure, not directly pushed that way but certainly supported in it by my family and community.²⁷⁸

His sentiments echo the thoughts voiced by many of my other interviewees, of a community that valued and appreciated military service, and supported those of its members who decided to enlist or pursue a military career.

Two Cleveland Hungarians became general grade officers. Joseph Ellis, whose grandfather and father changed the family name from Éliás in the 1940’s, was born and raised in the Buckeye Hungarian neighborhood, attending St. Margaret school. He was

²⁷⁵ Andrew Pogány, in an email to the author on 14 March 2013.

²⁷⁶ Géza Terézhalmy, in an email to the author on 17 March 2013.

²⁷⁷ He is one of my older brothers.

²⁷⁸ Zsolt Szentkirályi, in an email to the author, 5 March 2013.

commissioned an officer in 1962 and began his career in logistics, serving as a platoon commander in Korea and as a company commander in Texas. In 1967-1968 he served in Vietnam, then Germany, then Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, before returning to Vietnam in 1972-1973. He then spent three years in Germany before returning to Washington, DC, then going to Bremerhaven, Munich, and Dallas, Texas. He retired in 1991 as a brigadier general, and he currently lives near Houston, Texas; his son Tom Ellis is a lieutenant colonel in the Army.

Robert Ivány attended the U.S. military academy at West Point before being commissioned as an officer in 1969. He was wounded in Vietnam, but also served in Germany, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. He served as military aide to President Reagan in 1984, and was commandant of the Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. His doctorate is in European history, and he helped Hungary reorganize its armed forces in 1990. He retired from the army with the rank of major general in 2003; he is now the president of the University of St. Thomas in Houston, Texas. Three of his sons have also served or are now serving in the Army, and his daughter is a civilian employee of the Department of Defense, working as a cultural anthropologist in Iraq. His reasons for going to West Point were several: “patriotism, I felt it was important and noble to serve my country; gratitude, my father was very grateful that America had given us refuge after WWII and allowed us to emigrate here in 1949,” as well as an opportunity for an excellent education and to play intercollegiate football. He reiterated the importance of refuge for his family, an insight often repeated among my interviewees: “my family upbringing heavily influenced my decision to serve. ‘We owe a great deal to America, they didn’t have to take us in and allow me to build a new life for us,’ my dad would say.”²⁷⁹

These career military men exemplify patriotism, enduring hardships hardly known in the civilian sector; many were formed by and still partake in the activities of the Hungarian community of Cleveland, and the notion of patriotism goes both ways. A patriotic community begets patriotic individuals, and patriotic individuals beget patriotic communities. Thus we can see that many Cleveland Hungarians not only take and have taken an active role in participating in the Hungarian organizations and institutions, but many serve their American homeland as well. Ties to both facets of their identity are deep and can peacefully coexist in their psyches, as can be seen not only by their active participation in Hungarian organizations, for many an important part of their heritage, but also by the sense of duty and sacrifice they exhibit in their military service and in their daily civilian business lives. The

²⁷⁹ Robert Ivány, in an email to the author, 5 March 2013.

many successful careers, details of which came out in the hundreds of interviews I conducted, were simply normal for these Hungarian-Americans. Quite simply, it was who they are. They are Americans, for many of them were born and raised in the United States, but they are also Hungarians, for their ancestry and for some, participation in Cleveland's Hungarian organizations is also an important part of who they are. Their relationship with America is well-balanced and healthy, unlike the propaganda characterizations of historians from Hungary during the Cold War. These Cleveland Hungarians willingly served their country, and over the course of hundreds of interviews, almost everyone looked back positively at their military service.²⁸⁰

Monocultural people have a hard time imagining that a person can have allegiance to more than one country. Cleveland Hungarians, on the other hand, have done it for many decades. Living in and experiencing day-to-day American culture, they also share a transplanted or inherited Hungarian culture, and this biculturalism, when combined with a sense of duty and historical mission stemming from family pride and Cold War experiences, is able to engender a sense of dual patriotism. This dual patriotism is directed toward the Hungarian people, with whom they share a spiritual homeland, but also toward the American people, with whom they share a physical homeland. As shown in this chapter, this dual patriotism can be seen in the memorials Hungarians erect in the Cleveland area, as well as in their military service for the United States.

²⁸⁰ My personal relationship with many of the interviewees enabled a sense of honesty and frankness in our conversations and emails. With the hindsight of the passing of years, only two of the hundreds of interviewees mentioned turning sincerely and conscientiously pacifistic, Pál Rózsahegyi and György Monostory.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Although I have never served in the U.S. military, I, too, am a product of Cleveland's Hungarian community. I was born at St. Ann's hospital in the Buckeye Road Hungarian neighborhood of Cleveland, and lived in a house on East 104th Street off Buckeye until my parents had enough of the neighborhood's decline and moved our family to the West side, to the safer suburb of Lakewood. I was six years old when my parents took me to my first Hungarian scout meeting, and I distinctly remember asking my father if it was okay to go play with the others, him nodding his head with a smile, and then me running happily after the others in the basement of St. Emeric church; I was wearing brown corduroy overalls, I vaguely recall. Monday evenings meant Hungarian school, with Gábor Papp's booming voice in the recesses, being taught by Mrs. Ibolya Daróczy for three consecutive years, and memorising Hungarian poems every year. Sundays meant going to the West Side Hungarian Reformed church, with József Daróczy and Pál Csia as my Sunday school teachers, and learning the protestant catechism until my confirmation with Sonia Debreczeni, Anita Radva, and Rosa Rózsahegyí. Growing up in the 1970's and 1980's, my Hungarian identity revolved around the scouts, Hungarian school, church, and of course the language spoken in our home; speaking English in my family was just never an option.

Then at age 14 I joined the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble, and thus folk dancing, Hungarian traditions, and folk art also became a part of me. Dancing at church harvest festivals filled my autumns, and age 16 brought my participation in debutante balls, which were great parties. Little did I know that the formal traditions of courtship and behavior learned at these elegant events would expose me to historical traditions of pre-war Hungary's culture and end up shaping my personal social interactions. Being in the Regös group also exposed me to other nationalities; performing with Serbs and Croats and Poles and Slovenians made me realize similarities among Eastern European cultures as well as bringing to the forefront of my consciousness what a treasure Cleveland's many nationalities bring to the city. At age 22 I became scoutmaster of Hungarian boy scout troop 14, and the next 5 years entailed a frenetic pace of appearances at Hungarian events such as March and October commemorations, along with the core mission of taking kids on hikes and camping and developing not only their outdoor skills, but also their Hungarian language skills and cultural identity.

When I got married, I got to know the cities that my wife grew up in and thus was exposed on a personal level to other Hungarian communities at Philadelphia's Magyar Tanya, in New Brunswick, NJ, and in the San Francisco Bay area. When we started our family, the whole cycle started anew, as I began taking my own children to scouts and to the

Hungarian school so that they could also learn the language and take part in the richness that is Cleveland's Hungarian culture. And speaking to the older members of our community at common dinners, funerals, and other events, whatever church or various organization they belonged to, made me appreciate their work spent in various causes great and small, in the struggles of everyday life and while working together for common goals. And then I was asked to become the director of development for the Hungarian Scouts Association in Exeter, to discover and map newer Hungarian communities and to try to institute scouting in these fledgling communities. While traveling to and talking with Hungarians living in Orlando, Seattle, San Diego, and other nontraditional "Hungarian" cities, I realized that Hungarian communities are the same the world over: all have their older, entrenched members, their new arrivals, their open-minded members of both young and old generations who are able to bridge differences, and of course, every community has a village idiot or two.

My university studies have always taken me into the fields of literature and linguistics, and respect for my older brother and many friends who served in the U.S. military drove me to assemble the list of Cleveland Hungarians who served. My close personal experience growing up Hungarian in Cleveland, coupled with a bird's eye view of my own and other Hungarian-American communities led me to this research and to this dissertation.

The state of Hungarians in Cleveland in 2011 is that of a shrinking yet still vibrant and patriotic community with extended roots significantly shaped by the DP generation, a community that continues to maintain its Hungarian language and traditions. The first chapter of this dissertation surveyed scholarship on Hungarian-Americans in general and on Cleveland Hungarians in particular. It then gave a theoretical overview of Hungarian ethnography and Alba, Nee, Attila Z. Papp, Bressler, Urban, Orbe, Bójtös, and Fry's theories and outlined my research methodologies. The second chapter showed the vibrancy of Cleveland's current Hungarian community, and it also showed how the DP generation shaped its lasting institutions. The third chapter analyzed the literature produced by and read by Hungarians in Cleveland, looking mostly through the lens of the Hungarian Association's yearly conferences and by highlighting a local authors István Eszterhás and Ferenc Somogyi and visiting author Áron Gábor. The fourth chapter showed the factors impacting Hungarian language use, thereby enabling the community to provide a social means of group identity and a vigorous ethnic pluralism, one that enables even second and third generations after original immigration to maintain their language, culture, and traditions. Finally, the last chapter addressed the patriotism of Hungarians in Cleveland, both to their Hungarian identity and to their newfound country, through the perspective of landmarks and of their U.S.

military service. The vibrancy of this community, with its literature and language maintenance, as well as its dual patriotism, adds to and enhances the American mainstream.

In the course of my research I was struck by the repetitive nature of history. Joshua Fishman's observation about the 1956 generation in comparison to earlier waves of immigration, and the subsequent claims of the 1956 generation about recent immigrants to Cleveland strikes even closer to the heart when one reads Steven Béla Várdy's characterization of the turn of the century immigrants from the Dualist Period (Austria-Hungary between 1867 and 1918):

...most of [them] were basically traditional, religious, and nationalist individuals. Moreover, their nationalism and attachment to their homeland became even more pronounced after emigration. True, this nationalism was rather unsophisticated and emotional, nurtured by the overromanticized traditions of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848... Its most visible manifestations included an almost irrational anti-Habsburgism and a sincere but somewhat shallow national exhibitionism (e.g., the wearing of national costumes, the flourishing of national colors, the indulgence in emotional and flowery oratory, the tendency to blame others for the misfortunes of the Magyars, the making of exorbitant claims for Magyar achievements). Yet it was still this nationalism – however showy, naïve, and superficial – that was the primary ideological nourishment and guiding force of most Hungarian-Americans. This force retained much of its vitality...²⁸¹

Could not something similar also be said about the members of the DP generation? They, too, were basically traditional, religious, and nationalist individuals, whose attachment to their homeland became even more pronounced after they were forced from their native land by the war and by Soviet occupation. Is it any wonder that they exhibited an almost irrational not anti-Habsburgism, but rather an almost rabid anticommunism? And yet, their nationalism, and I use the term here not pejoratively, but in the *nemzeti* (i.e., patriotic) sense of the word, their nationalism, which I would argue was neither showy, naïve, nor superficial, but rather, was deep-seated, based on personal experience, and genuine, that this nationalism also served as a guiding force for the establishment of viable Hungarian institutions in Cleveland, institutions which contribute vitality even today. And just like the Central Europeans in Cleveland 1850-1930, who were “active agents of change in their own lives who devised strategies of risk diversification... [and]...lived transcultural lives, able to move in two different national, or more often, regional cultures,”²⁸² so too do Cleveland's Hungarians move in two different national cultures: the American one they live in, and the Hungarian one they create for themselves in their ethnic community.

But what will the future bring? Gergely Hajdú-Németh, who was born and raised in New Brunswick, New Jersey's Hungarian community, asked this same question in a lecture at Lake Hope, during the August 2011 Itt-Ott conference organized by the Hungarian Communion of Friends [*Magyar Baráti Közösség*]. Active in the scouts, in the *Csüördögölő*

²⁸¹ Steven Béla Várdy, *The Hungarian-Americans*, 42-43.

²⁸² Dirk Hoerder, “From Ethnic to Interethnic History: an Introduction,” in *Identity, Conflict, and Cooperation*, 7.

folk dance group, and now the president of the American Hungarian Foundation in New Brunswick, he provided a very insightful template for the future based on what he saw as the strengths of each Hungarian-American organization. Every organization needs a unique interest, a practical marketing draw such as leadership for the scouts, human rights for the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, or Hungarian dance for a folk dance group. Good organizations have members, leaders, and a succession plan that involves younger members. He emphasized the successful use of technology such as email and social networking sites to connect Hungarians with similar interests. He also differentiated between older, or first generation personal experience with Hungary, and today's successive younger generations' family experience with being Hungarian. Finally, he stressed the importance of a solid financial base, of utilizing existing infrastructure, and of cooperation among Hungarian organizations.

Another useful perspective for the future can be found in Attila Z. Papp's summary of his findings in his 2008 sociological study. He writes that "most organizational functions are really geared to responding to the challenge of assimilation," and that the assimilation process may be "slowed and delayed by committed intervention in the community setting." The intensity of commitment on the part of organizational leaders and members, he states, is "particularly noticeable if we consider that the individual has to respond to not only to assimilation challenges but also fulfill ordinary private duties involving career and family. Upholding and preserving ethnic identity therefore cannot be separated from other segments of social identity."²⁸³ Cleveland's Hungarian organizations offer a community that provides a social means of preserving and propagating Hungarian identity, through the simple method of living among other Hungarians. He also shares an insight about Hungarian-American organizational life that is very much applicable to Cleveland's situation. In summarizing the "transplanted vs. uprooted" cultural argument, he finds that "the organizations' response to the pressures of assimilation relies on a particularly American mixture of self-reliance, rootlessness, and preservation of existing cultural patterns. Self-reliance means that individuals recognize their own problems and those of their community; they act to manage these problems; and in all this the American example of volunteer community cooperation is of great assistance. The community creates its own self-sustaining organizations, based on volunteerism, mutual trust, and solidarity."²⁸⁴ As the previous chapters have shown, Cleveland's Hungarian communities are quite self-reliant, work together to solve common

²⁸³ Attila Z. Papp, 442-443.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 452-453.

problems, and preserve existing cultural patterns, most notably in their folk traditions and language maintenance. To remain viable, they must continue to do the same.

Krisztina Oláh specifically analyzed the communication strategies of Cleveland's Hungarian community in her recent Masters thesis. She recommended a multipronged approach that capitalizes on the strengths of Cleveland's Hungarian communities and addresses its shortcomings. She compared Cleveland's Hungarians with other Hungarian communities in North America such as Boston and Detroit, then used a SWOT analysis, which is a strategic planning method for business projects. It entails analyzing Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, and Threat (SWOT) of any particular problem. Applying SWOT analysis to the communication practices of Cleveland's Hungarian community, she found that the strength lies in the long history of Hungarian community life in Cleveland, a well-established social order. The weaknesses were the lack of a physical community center, the overall older age of the leaders of the organizations, and the lack of a weekly or monthly paper or newsletter on all Hungarian events. She found the threats to the community to be generational differences, the assimilation process, and the weak communication practices of the organizations. She felt that opportunity for the community resided in a "communications facelift," possibly a community center, and establishing a community newspaper or magazine. Her communications strategy devised specifically for Cleveland's Hungarian community includes "creating a common community website, editing a monthly magazine or newsletter, empowering social media activities, making current communication channels (radio, events, organization newsletters) more effective, issuing an integrated database on Hungarians, creating a consistent image of the Hungarian community, regularly sending press releases to American and Hungarian papers, and choosing a designated spokesperson" as her main points.²⁸⁵

Keeping these factors in mind, I can compare Cleveland's churches and organizations with Hajdú-Németh's and Papp's templates and conclude that although use of electronic media now seems to be lacking, the other factors do seem to point to a stability and a base that will ensure successive generations a strong sense of Hungarian community in Cleveland. Incorporating Oláh's suggestions, furthermore, would really strengthen and bring these communities closer together. Cleveland has a long, rich history of Hungarian activities, and its future vibrancy depends on the work and dedication of parents, priests, and organizational leaders, as my research has shown. Although assimilation into American culture is an unavoidable and unstoppable process, my research has shown that it is possible to maintain

²⁸⁵ Krisztina Oláh, "A Plan to Address the Communication Challenges of the Hungarian Community in Cleveland," (unpublished Masters thesis, John Carroll University, 2012), 38.

the language, culture, and traditions into the second and third generations. However, it takes perseverance, leadership, getting along with others, and good old-fashioned hard work. With my research I have attempted to show what it is like to be a Hungarian in Cleveland today; I have shown the community's vibrancy, its literature, its patriotism, and have given insights into its language use. Cleveland then in 1951 was a vibrant and thriving community, mythologically depicted as second only to Budapest. Cleveland now in 2011 is still an active and thriving community, patriotic and literate with viable churches and social institutions.

And Cleveland since 2011 continues to flourish, proudly maintaining its Hungarian language and traditions. For example, from March to June of 2012, the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum held an exhibition curated by Hungarian-American artist George Kozmon entitled "4under30," a collection of art by four young artists who each was born in and grew up immersed in Cleveland's Hungarian community, attending the Hungarian school and scouts, and dancing in the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble: Krisztina Lázár, János Nádas, Peter Tábor, and Krisztina Walter.²⁸⁶ The scouts, the dance groups, the Hungarian school, the churches all continue their work on a weekly basis, day-in and day-out, and the Hungarian school's enrollment actually increased from 2011 to 2013. The Hungarian Cultural Center of Northeast Ohio continues to attract hundreds to its picnics and events, and the Cleveland Hungarian Development Panel still raises significant funds for Hungarian causes. Csárdás still dances at Hungarian events throughout the Cleveland area. The Hungarian Association continues to organize its November conference, with famous keynote speakers and lecturers, and Cleveland's Hungarian radio programs continue to broadcast every week.

The Hungarian Cultural Garden will have celebrated its 75th anniversary in the spring of 2013, and the Diocese of Cleveland reopened St. Emeric church in November of 2012, reinstating Reverend Sándor Siklódi on October 19th as its pastor.²⁸⁷ Over 500 people attended the joyous reopening of St. Emeric church, celebrating for two full hours, almost all of the crowd praying and singing in Hungarian in unison.²⁸⁸ No less than a dozen Cleveland Hungarians continue to serve in the U.S. military today, seven of them officers, including Andrew Louis Bodnár, Daniel J. and Franklyn Corlett, Éva Dömötörffy, Pál Fissel, István Hargitai, Tim Kalmár, Péter Kováts, Mihály Medgyessy, Péter Reckl, Andrew Gerard

²⁸⁶ Additionally, in March of 2013, George Kozmon curated a similar exhibition of contemporary art entitled "Hungarian Rhapsody: a celebration of Hungarian American Culture" at a suburban Cleveland community center, with artwork by the aforementioned young artists, as well as additional works by Dave Szekeres and Judy Takacs. Over 300 people were in attendance at its opening, with a dance performance by the Hungarian Scout Folk Ensemble, as I personally witnessed.

²⁸⁷ Press release from the Office of Bishop Richard Lennon, Diocese of Cleveland, dated 16 October 2012, and more details in a letter mailed to the author, written to St. Emeric parishioners by Miklos Peller, Procurator for the Hierarchical Recourse of St. Emeric Parish, dated 21 October 2012.

²⁸⁸ Personal observation by the author on November 4, 2012. The crowd was standing-room only, and filled the church to overflowing. Father Sándor Siklódi confirmed a seating capacity of 450 for the church, and estimated around 550-600 taking communion that day, in an email to the author on 27 November 2012.

Szmerekovsky, and Nicholas Ferenc Tarnay. In addition, Maté Kobus, one of the interviewees in the fourth chapter, just signed enlistment papers to serve four years in the U.S. Marine Corps; he begins his basic training on 26 August 2013, and Miki Szabo, whose father is from the Buckeye Road Hungarian neighborhood, just received an appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy.²⁸⁹

And not only continuing work characterizes Cleveland's Hungarian community, but new things are also happening. Started as a pilot program in the spring of 2012 but now organized permanently, a parent and toddler playgroup meets monthly on Saturday mornings at the West Side Lutheran church on Denison Avenue, with Hungarian folk songs and games led by parent volunteers, with about 25 people consistently taking part. And Cleveland Hungarians also connect online: Loránd Csibi maintains a Facebook group entitled "Clevelandi Magyar Kozosseg [sic: Cleveland Hungarian Community]," and its 128 members span most existing social groups, Hungarian churches, and secular organizations in Cleveland. Additionally, the umbrella organization United Hungarian Societies [*Egyesült Magyar Egyletek*] has stepped into the twenty-first century and now maintains an online calendar of Hungarian events in the greater Cleveland area, www.hungariancleveland.org.

The Hungarian communities of Cleveland are alive and well. Taken as a whole, this shrinking yet still vibrant and patriotic community, with extended roots significantly shaped by the DP generation, will continue to maintain its Hungarian language and traditions, now and in the future, just as then in 1951. This time, however, Cleveland's Hungarians will be shaped by a future generation, of which my own children are also a part, a generation presently being shaped by today's Cleveland Hungarian circumstances.

²⁸⁹ Maté Kobus, personal interview with the author on 25 March 2013, and Robert Szabo, in an email to the author on 14 March 2013..

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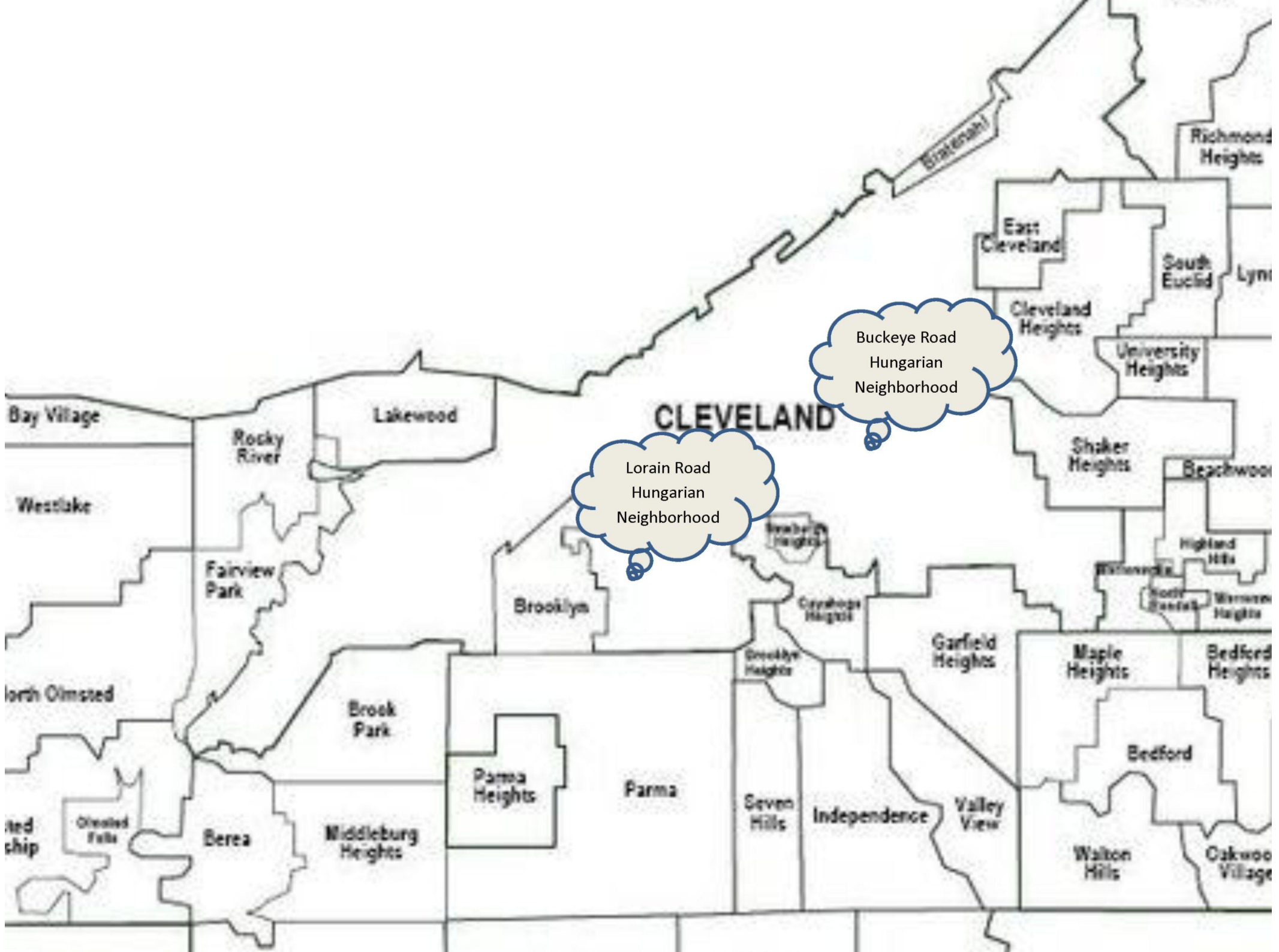
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INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED FOR THIS DISSERTATION

(all first names listed in Hungarian for consistency; individual first names may differ)

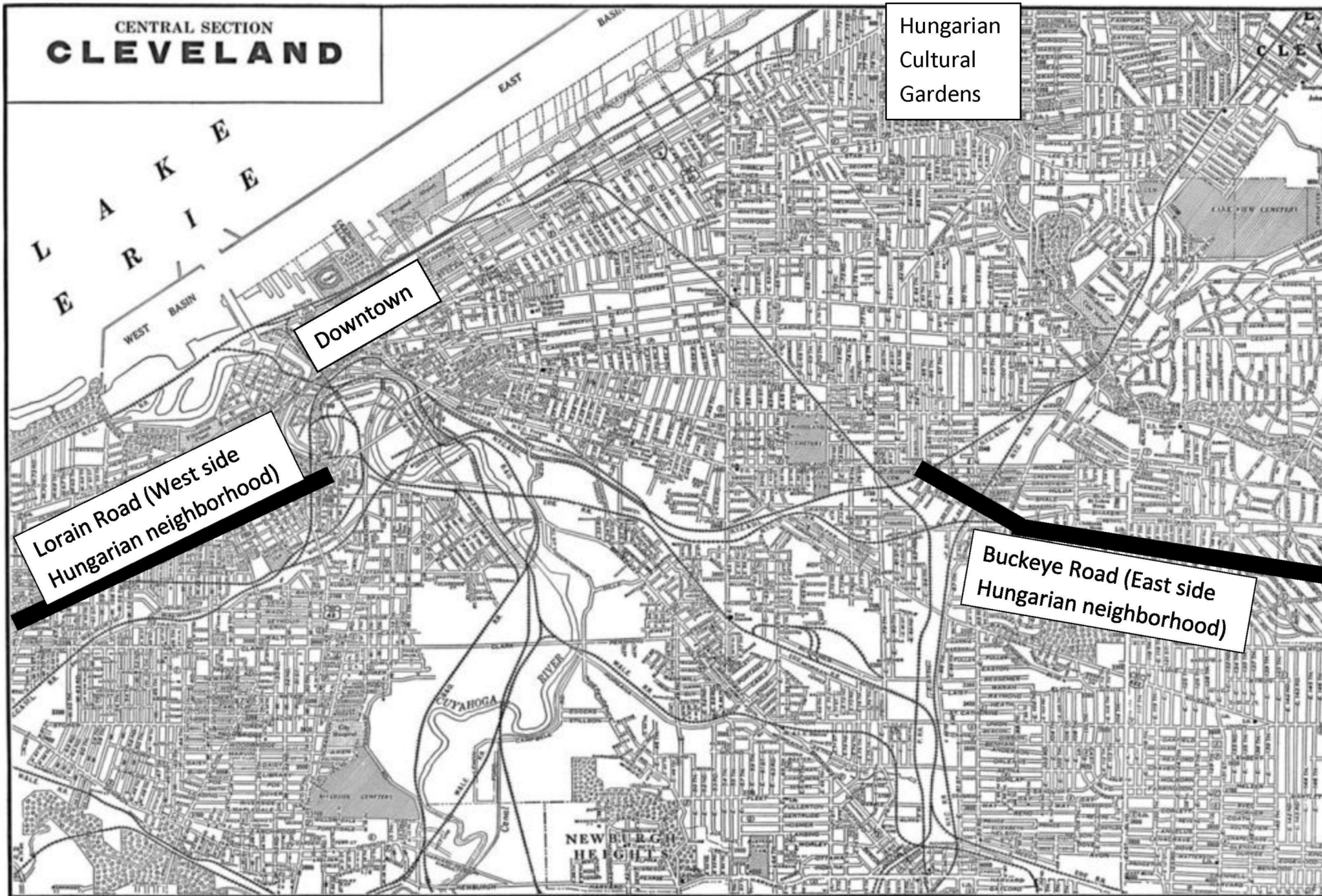
| | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Antal, András | Csia, Pál | Halácsy, Attila |
| Asbóth, Gusztáv | Csiba, Zoltán | Halácsy, Gyula |
| Bacon, Körmöczy Ágnes | Csorba, Béla, Sr. | Hargitai István, Jr. |
| Balunek Adelbert | Csűrös, Eszter | Harmat, Ákos |
| Bálint, József, Jr. | Daróczy, József | Hartmann, Károly |
| Balogh, István | Demetzky, Dániel | Havasy, Imre |
| Bak Elemér, Sr. | Dienes, Allen | Hegedeös, Kálmán István |
| Bárány, Székely Edit | Dienes, Imre | Hokky, Marika |
| Bárdossy, Vilmos | Dietrich, András | Hokky, Péter |
| Batu, Gyula | Dietrich, Tarján Ágnes | Horánsky, Richárd |
| Baumhackl, János | Dolesch, László | Horváth Mihály, Jr. |
| Bay, Ádám | Dolesch, Mária | Hun, Miklós |
| Bedy, Balázs | Domján, István | Hun, László |
| Bedy, Zsolt | Dömötörffy, Éva | Huszi, Erzsébet |
| Bekény, Irén | Dömötörffy, Tamás | Huzau, Kristóf |
| Beodray, Ferenc | Dörner, Mária | Ivány, Róbert |
| Bernhardt, Béla | Dossa, Michael | Jánossy, Ferenc |
| Berta, Erika | Enyedy, Gusztáv | Jánossy, Mária |
| Bíró, Zoltán | Evva, András | Juhász, János, Sr. |
| Bistey, Mária | Farkas, Attila | Juhász, Katalin |
| Bistey, Zsuzsa | Farkas, Ilona | Kékedy, István |
| Blaskó, David John | Farkas, Gyula | Kertessy, Szilvia |
| Bócsay, Klára | Fehér, Ferenc | Kézdi, Gizella |
| Bodnár, Lajos, Jr. | Feigenbaum, Mária | Kézdi, Hajnal |
| Borosdy, Mód Erzsébet | Fejszés, Zoltán | Kézdi, Sándor |
| Botyánszky, Igor | Fischer, Norbert | Kálnoky, István |
| Bőjtös, László | Fissel, Pál | Kis, Ferenc |
| Brachna, Gábor | Fodor, Jenő | Kis, Miklós Attila |
| Brenner, György | Fricke, Aladár | Kiss, György |
| Brenner, László | Gáspár, István | Kobus, Máté |
| Brownstein, Mária | Georgiades, Jim | Korsós, László |
| Burkovics, János | Goda, Ferenc | Kovács, Clare |
| Buza, György | Göllesz, László | Kozmon, György, Jr. |
| Clementis-Záhony, | Gombás, James Michael | Kozmon, Ilona |
| Botond | Gombás, Steven | Kőrössi, János |
| Corlett, Dániel, Sr. | Gulden György, Jr. | Kucinich, Dennis |
| Csaba, Zsolt | Gulden, Kálmán | Kun-Szabó, István Sr. |
| Csapó, Tamás | Gulyás, Erzsébet | Kunst, William Géza |
| Csatáry, György | Gyékényesi, András | Kuntz, Allan |
| Cserhádi, Ákos | Gyékényesi, János | Leidli, János |
| Csejtey, Károly | Györky, Annamária | Leitgeb, Sándor |
| Csia, Lili | Hada János, Jr. | Lieszkovszky, László |

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Magyar, Frank Louis | Reckl, Péter | Thiry, Sándor |
| Markovic, Milos | Reich, Frieda | Thompson, Robert |
| Medgyessy, Mihály | Robinson, Margaret | Tiroly, Arthur |
| Megay, István | Roethler, Péter | Tóháti, Zsolt |
| Megyimóri, János | Rollinger, Róland | Torma, Judit |
| Mestrits, Zoltán | Rózsahegyi, Ida | Torontáli, János, Sr. |
| Mészáros, Andrea | Rózsahegyi Pál, Jr. | Tóth, Kiki |
| Mészáros, Elemér | Sárosi, Richard | Tóth, Péter |
| Mező, Raymond | Schmidt, Éva | Tózsér, István |
| Mezősi, Mónika | Siklódi, Sándor | Trux, András |
| Mihály, Ernő | Simonyi, Viktor, Jr. | Trux, Hugó |
| Mihály, István | Slusny, Gerry | Uray, Mary Lou |
| Módly, Zoltán | Smetana, György | Várdy, Béla |
| Molnár, Rezső | Soltay István, Sr. | Varga, István |
| Monostory, György | Soltay, Piroska | Varga, László |
| Monostory, László | Solymosi, Aladár, Sr. | Veres, József Pál |
| Moore, Edwin | Somogyi, Tamás | Viiberg, Péter |
| Mózsai, György | Spisák, István | Vidra, Lajos |
| Muhoray, György | Stefanec István, Sr. | Wegling, István |
| Muhoray, Kornél | Stiasny, Péter | Yaczó, Csaba |
| Muzsay, Jenő | Stiberth, Lóthár | Zahoray, Éva |
| Nádas, Gabriella | St. John, Chuck | Zahoray, Péter |
| Nebehay, Steve | Strada, András, Sr. | Zöldi, John |
| Nemes, József | Strada, Róbert | Zöldi, Ki Chong |
| Neuwirth, László | Szabolcs, László | Zolnai, Mátyás |
| Novák, József | Szabolcs, Levente | Zsula, Mária |
| Oláh, Krisztina | Szählender, Éva | |
| Ország, Tibor | Szappanos, István | |
| Őszényi, Julián Tibor | Szentendrey, Györgyi | |
| Őszényi, Szilvia | Szentkirályi, György | |
| Oszlányi, Antal Géza | Szentkirályi, Zsolt | |
| Ott, Lajos | Szeretvai, György | |
| Papp, Kató | Szénásy, Ildikó | |
| Patay Károly, Jr. | Szmerekovsky, Lucy | |
| Patay, Péter | Tábor Andreas | |
| Pavlish, James | Tábor, Mihály | |
| Persányi, Eszter | Táborosi, János | |
| Péter, Gyula | Takács, William | |
| Pintér, Antal | Tamásy, Éva | |
| Pocze, József | Tarmann, Béla | |
| Pogány, András | Tarnay, Dénes | |
| Pohly, Rose | Teller, Imre | |
| Ponti, György | Temesváry, András | |
| Prileszky, István | Temesváry, Ildikó | |
| Rátoni-Nagy, Tamás | Terézhalmy, Géza | |

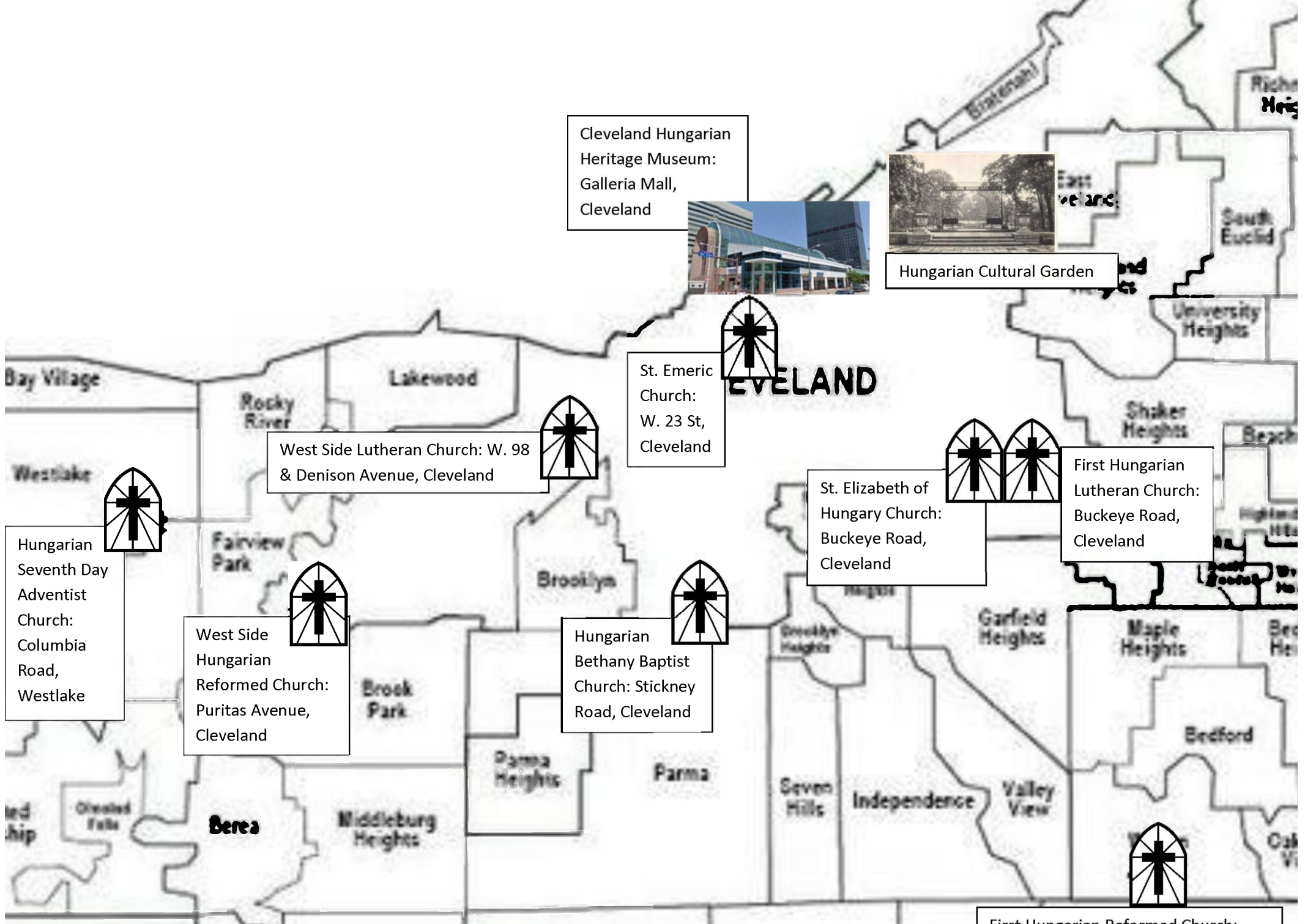


Lorain Road
Hungarian
Neighborhood

Buckeye Road
Hungarian
Neighborhood



MAP OF CENTRAL CLEVELAND, THE LARGEST CITY AND PORT OF ENTRY OF OHIO. CLEVELAND IS SITUATED ON LAKE ERIE AT THE MOUTH OF CUYAHOGA RIVER. THE PUBLIC SQUARE IS BOTH THE BUSINESS CENTER AND ARCHITECTURAL CENTER OF THE GROUP PLAN OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS.



Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum:
Galleria Mall,
Cleveland



Hungarian Cultural Garden

St. Emeric Church:
W. 23 St,
Cleveland

West Side Lutheran Church: W. 98
& Denison Avenue, Cleveland

St. Elizabeth of Hungary Church:
Buckeye Road,
Cleveland

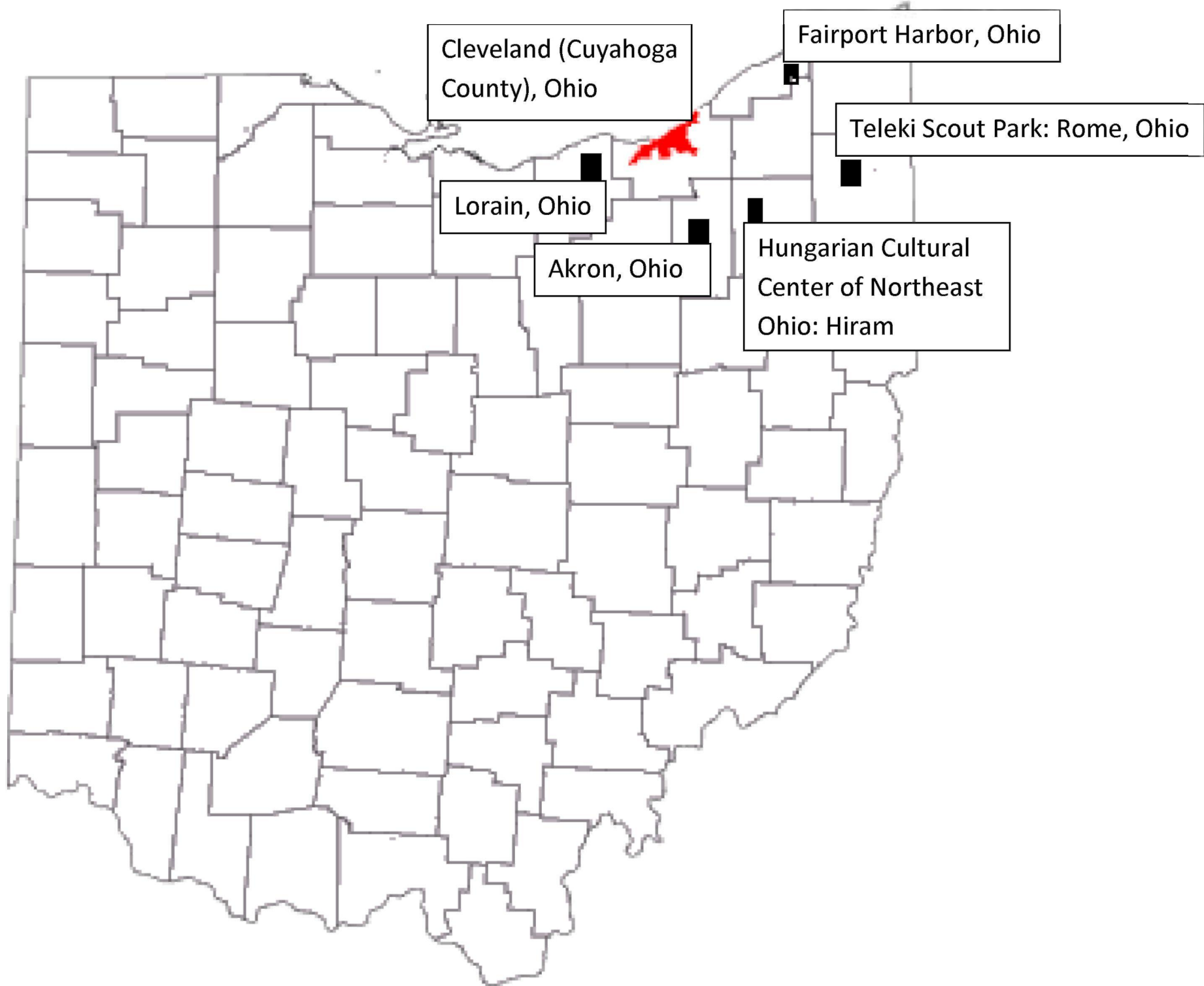
First Hungarian Lutheran Church:
Buckeye Road,
Cleveland

Hungarian Seventh Day Adventist Church:
Columbia Road,
Westlake

West Side Hungarian Reformed Church:
Puritas Avenue,
Cleveland

Hungarian Bethany Baptist Church:
Stickney Road,
Cleveland

First Hungarian Reformed Church:
Alameda Road, West Hill



ST. 52.848, je 13 mai 1954.

Tudós Magyar Testvéreim.

Az Indokínában harcoló magyar légiósok nevében írok. Az utolsó két hónapban nehéz napokat élünk át. A rádió, és a világ sajtó mindennapi programja az indokínai helyzet. Az elsősorban támogatást Dien Bien Phu ahol 17.000 katona köztük 6000 légiós / s ebből 1200 magyat / 40.000 kommunista támadó ellen 56 napig védekezés mellett meglévő kasszát folytatott, melytől 5 nappal később.

1200 magyar légiós vesztette életét vagy halott vagy sebesült. Indokína kórházai magyar sebesültek számára vannak. Utánpótlás és orvosok hiányában a mi magyar testvéreink ^{halnak} halnak.

"Magyar Testvéreim" hozzájárulást fordítsatok az észak-malajziai földjére felé; küldjétek segítségül az itt szenvedő magyar fiatalember a kommunizmus elleni harcban, a keresztény világ példamestere példaképeit, 1200 magyar apa, fiú, édesanya és női partner, ma halottak, vagy kórházi ágyon fekvő súlyos betegek. Hozzájárulástok kedves testvéreim, kik szabad földön éltek és segíthettek rajtuk. Testvéreim nem vagy; küldjétek meg nekik pénzmagot és magyar orvosok által mindazoknak akik kórházban súlyosan sebesültek vannak.

(Magyar testvéreink, magyar névűk és az ősi
Tudokina gardaig tisztességes földjéit. Horriatok
forolokok idekés magyar testvéreim, kik bekérek
és szabadon jöttek. Idelek Tiktet segítségül
az Tudokinaiban harcho magyar legyoloket. ~~Én~~
minden magyarok pkit pisakia a ~~reethage~~ et-
deke a kommunikus pleni harc. Juek a harcra
és persimuel nyeres a megély két jeni.

Idore után, most Tudokina
hol, mi harcok a kommunikus pleni. Az
egész keresztény világ feltigelt az Tudokina
harcra, ahol 1 pleni 10 pleni harc.

Jen aki jeni az a levelt az
Marchal de Logis / Ömarty / vagok, és harca
két és félve hoz, a legjobban teljesíték szol-
gálatot. Bár még csak 24 éves vagok, de
most a kiképzétek után öt éve hoz a kommu-
nizmus pleni harcok. 5 éve, hoz garuatozon
vagok, / 3 év pedagógus, 2 év tudokina / és bír
az iglyet és az iteni helyet perselys pleni
gis mint 5 akétek jlt Tudokinaiban maradot.
100 és 100 magyar legyol bajtostaima, hoz
megtoroljuk mind azt amit peotettünk.

Idore Magyar Testvéreim,

Mind a jeni román megcoz mi, wppé-
tok szolok; de csak minden. Idelek
segítség és segítség: a mi reethage
azt névűk folyik it. u segítség. Minden
segítség pleni is hallatán köze munk és
mi pleni minden román és segítség to-
pibitésit a mi Magyar sevesül Testvéreinkhez

(a cím) Marchal de Logis WIRCHMAYER Sándor

BP. 52. 848 - T. O. E

Par BON PARIS - FRANCE

1 Tudokina



dr. Hargitai István



† Medgyessy Pál



Trux András 1968 Vietnam



† id. Zsula Lajos 1958 Németország



Csiba Zoltán



† id. Kozmon György 1955

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL
U. S. ARMY RECORDS CENTER
ST. LOUIS 22, MISSOURI

AGCC-R
LETTER ORDERS
SUBJECT: Discharge from United States Army Reserve

TO: KOVACS KAROLY G
ER5632552 PFC
2815 MONROE AVE
CLEVELAND OHIO

31 DEC 63
SEL SVC IDENT
12 259

TC 411. By order of the Secretary of the Army, you are discharged from the United States Army Reserve (Standby) on the date indicated below. SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: Your Reserve Identification Card, DD Form 2A (red) will be returned to this headquarters, Attention: AGCC-R.

Relieved from : USAR Control Group (Standby)
Type of discharge : HONORABLE - DD Form 286a
Reason for discharge : Expiration of term of service
Authority for discharge : Par 9a, AR 135-178
Effective date of discharge: 31 DEC 63

By Order of the Secretary of the Army:
Regina A. Lane
Adjutant General

DISTRIBUTION:
1 - Reservist concerned
1 - Selective Service
1 - 201 611



Tábor Mihály 2008 Irak

HUNGARIAN FREEDOM FUND
OF THE UNITED HUNGARIAN SOCIETIES
OFFICE - NATIONALITIES CENTER BLDG., • 1620 PROSPECT AVENUE • CLEVELAND 14, OHIO
Telephone CHerry 1-6984

REV. MATIAS BAROCZY, Chairman
Hungarian Freedom Fund

REV. STEPHEN BENDIS, Secretary
Hungarian Freedom Fund

ANDREW DONO, President
United Hungarian Societies

Translation
Maintenance Dept. V.
III/1 Building Supervisor
Gaszar, Hungary

Certificate
This is to certify that Karoly Kovacs, born February 1, 1933 (Mother: Maria Beck) was employed as VI class electrician from February 1955 till December 1st 1955. His work was satisfactory.
Dated Gaszar, December 1, 1955

(signature)
Stephen Sziklay
Building Supervisor

Translation
From Personal Identity Document
Kovacs, Karoly, born at Budapest, 1933 March 27 is an electrician, trained as Electrician, of Hungarian citizenship.
Mother's name-Maria Beck (from Birth Record)
Father's Name-Karoly Kovacs

Issuing Office-Pest County
Szob-1955 November 23.

(signature)
Mrs. Horvath

Seal of Ministry of State Affairs

The foregoing is to the best of my knowledge a true and correct translation of the original in the Hungarian language.

Stephen G. Bendis
Nationalities Services Center

STATE OF OHIO }
COUNTY OF CUYAHOGA } SS
CITY OF CLEVELAND }

Sworn to and subscribed in my presence this 24th day of September, 1967.
Joseph P. Allen



On leave Cserkésznap 1966

balról: Rátoni Nagy Tamás USMC, Bodnár Sándor USMC, Monostory György USMC, † Bányai Zoltán, Brenner Tamás USN, † Szappanos Tamás USAF, † Dezső József USMC



Csia Pál
1956
Hollandia

Szaboles Levente

Batu Gyula
1964

Szentkirályi Zsolt 1992 Panama

Veres József 1970

Muhoray Kornél



Hun (Szelepcsényi) Miklós 1970 Vietnam

Prileszky István 1992



Ivány Róbert

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 I SHALL SEE THESE PRESENTS, GREETING:
 THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT
 ENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 HAS AWARDED THE
PURPLE HEART
 BY GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
 BURGH, NEW YORK, AUGUST 7, 1782
 TO
 in Nicholas J. Hun, United States Army
 FOR WOUNDS RECEIVED
 IN ACTION 25 January 1970
 Pacific of Vietnam
 MADE MY HAND IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON
 DAY OF DECEMBER 19 99

Spatt *Jawid*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|--------------------------------|----|--|---|----|---|
| 21. NET SERVICE COMPLETED FOR PAY PURPOSES (SEE PAY POUCH) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 22. OTHER SERVICE COMPLETED FOR PAY PURPOSES | 1 | 11 | 22 | 1 | 4 | 12 | |
| 23. TOTAL NET SERVICE COMPLETED FOR PAY PURPOSES | | | | | | | |
| 24. PRESENTATIONS, RIBBONS, BADGES, COMMANDERIES, CRESTS AND CAMPAIGN REBBS (NUMBER OF PRESENTATIONS) | | | | | | | |
| Korean Service Ribbon w/2 Bronze Service Star | | National Defense Service Medal | | | | | |
| United Nations Service Medal | | | | | | | |
| 25. WOUNDS RECEIVED AS A RESULT OF ACTION WITH ENEMY FORCES (Place and date, if known) | | | | | | | |
| 26. WOUND SOURCE (SEE INSTRUCTIONS) | | | | | | | |
| 17th Ord Co | NA | MAIN DUTIES | | 17. SERVICE RECORDS SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED | | | |
| Ord | Out Dec 52 | Auto F & E Sys Reparm | | NA | | | |
| Ohio Korean Conflict Comm No 165 394 | | | | | | | |
| 27. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 28. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 29. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 30. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 31. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 32. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 33. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 34. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 35. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 36. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 37. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 38. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 39. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 40. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 41. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 42. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 43. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 44. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 45. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 46. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 47. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 48. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 49. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 50. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 51. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 52. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 53. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 54. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 55. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 56. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 57. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 58. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 59. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 60. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 61. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 62. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 63. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 64. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 65. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 66. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 67. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 68. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 69. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 70. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 71. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 72. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 73. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 74. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 75. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 76. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 77. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 78. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 79. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 80. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 81. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 82. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 83. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 84. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 85. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 86. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 87. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 88. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 89. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 90. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 91. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 92. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 93. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 94. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 95. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 96. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 97. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 98. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |
| 99. THIS IS A COPY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | NA | | 100. QUANTITY OF MESSAGE RECEIVED | | | |



Strada Róbert



balról: id. Dolesch Gyula, Megay Béla, Brenner Tamás 1981

Appendix III

SERVICE AND SACRIFICE: HUNGARIANS FROM CLEVELAND IN THE U.S. MILITARY 1951-2011

Egy magyar falu katonái: clevelandi magyarok az amerikai hadseregben 1951-2011

| | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Altmann Ede | Brenner György:USN, USA | Faragó Károly:USAF |
| Asbóth Gusztáv | Brenner László | Farkas Attila |
| Bajkai Lajos | † Brenner Tamás | Farkas Gyula |
| ifj. Bak Elemér | Burkovics János | Fazekas István |
| Bakai Béla: USN | Buza György | † Fazekas Richárd |
| Balassa Imre | Clementis- Záhony Botond | Fazekas Tamás |
| † Bálint Géza | Corlett Franklyn | † Fehér Ervin: USAF |
| Bálint János: USMC | Csaba Zsolt | Fehér Ferenc: USMC, USAF |
| ifj. Bálint József | † Csapó Ferenc | Fejlesztés Zoltán |
| † Balla György | Csejtey Ágoston | Fischer Norbert |
| Balogh Imre | Csejtey Béla | Fissel Pál:USAF |
| Balogh István: USAF | Csejtey Károly | Fodor Jenő |
| Balunek Adelbert András | † Csejtey László | Fóty Tamás |
| † dr. Balunek András Dániel | Cserháti Ákos | Fricke Aladár |
| Balunek György | Csia Lili | † Futo John Anthony |
| † Balunek István | Csia Pál | Futola Ferenc |
| † Bányai Zoltán | Csiba Zoltán | Garay László |
| ifj. Bárány László | † Csibi William | Gáspár István |
| Batu Gyula | id. Csorba Béla | Goda Ferenc: USN |
| Bay Ádám | † Csűrös Mária | Göllesz László:USMC, USNR |
| Bedy Balázs | † Czakó András | Gombás James Michael: USN |
| Bedy Zsolt | †Dávid István | Gombás Steven: USMC |
| Beodray Ferenc | † Dezső Endre:USMC | † Grassy Béla |
| † dr. Bekény Károly | † Dezső József: USMC | dr. Gross András Károly |
| Benkó Kálmán | Dienes Allen | ifj. Gulden György |
| † Berente Tibor | Dienes Imre | Gulden Kálmán |
| Bernhardt Tibor | Dietrich András | Gulya Frank |
| Birkás Frank | † Dobsa Lajos: USMC | Gulyás Imre |
| † dr. Bistey György: USMC | † id. Dolesch Gyula | Gulyás József |
| Blaskó David John: USN | Dolesch László | Gyékenyesi András |
| Blaskó David Michael: USMC | Domján István | † dr. Gyékenyesi György: USAF |
| ifj. Bodnár Lajos | Domján Lajos | ifj. Hada János:USMC |
| Bodnár Louis Andrew III: USNR | † ifj. Domján Zoltán | Halácsy Attila:USN |
| Bodnár Sándor | Dömötörffy Éva:USN | id. Halácsy Gyula:USN |
| Bona James: USAF | Dömötörffy Tamás:USN | dr. Hargitai István:USN |
| ifj. Borgóy János | † Dörner István | † Harmatos László |
| † Boromissza Csaba:USMC | Dörner József | Hartmann Károly |
| Boromissza István | Dossa James | Havasy Imre |
| Bötös István: USAF | Dossa Michael | Herczeg István |
| Bötös Csaba | Ellis József | Hehs William Ákos |
| Bozó Sándor | Evva András | † id. Hokky István |
| Brachne Gábor S. | Falk Viktor | Hokky Péter |

Hollosoy Ervin
Horánsky Richárd
† id. Horváth Mihály
Horváth Sándor
Hun (Szelepcsényi) Miklós
Hun (Szelepcsényi) László
Hunyadi István
† **Hunyadi János**
Huzau Kristóf:USMC
Incze Csaba
dr. Ivány Róbert
Jánossy Ferenc:USAF
Juhász János:USN
Juhász Kálmán
† Kalmár Attila
Kalmár Tim
Kálnoky Mária
Kálnoky István
Kálnoky Kis András
Kárász Albert
† Kézdi Péter: USMC
Kis Miklós Ottó
Kis Pál Attila
Kiss György
Kiss Louis
† Kölcsey István
Körmöczy Tas: USMC
Kőrössy János:USMC
Kovács Kálmán
Kovács Károly
† Kőváry János: USMC
Kováts Béla
dr. Kováts Péter:USAF
† id. Kozmon György
dr. Krúdy Adorján
† Krall István
Kunst William Géza
id. Kun-Szabó István
Kuntz Allan
Lázár András
Leidli János
Leitgeb Sándor
Lendvay Frank Attila
Lendvay János:USMC
Lépes György: USN
† Lucskay Mihály
Magyar Frank Louis

† **Magyar István**
† Makovits Viktor
† Martin Alan Dávid
Medgyessy Mihály István:USAF
† Medgyessy Pál:USCG
† Megay Béla
Megyimóri János
† Mentler Kornél
Mestrits Zoltán
Mészáros Elemér
Mező Raymond
Mezősi Mónika:USN
Mihály István
Miklósi László
Milfay Titz Miklós
Moats Mike
Mód János
† Mód József
† Mód Lajos
Módy Zoltán
† Mohos Gyula
Mollner Tamás
Molnár Rezső
Monostory György Balázs: USMC
Monostory László
† Moravec Lukó Attila
Mózsi György
Muhoray Kornél
Muzsaj Jenő
Müllner Frank
Nádai János
Nebhay Leonard
Nebhay Steve
Nemes József: USAF
Németh Attila: USAF
Németh János: USMC
† ifj. Németh József: USN
Neuwirth László:USN
Neuwirth Lóránd
† **Nitray/Nyitrai? Mihály**
Novak Joe
Oláh Frank: USN
† dr. Olgyay György
Orosz Ferenc
Orosz Gyula
Orosz László
Oszlányi Antal Géza

Őszényi Julián Tibor
Page James: USN
Pándi Géza
ifj. Patay Károly
† ifj. Pauer Zoltán: USMC
Pavlish James
Péter Gyula: USA, USN
Pintér Antal
Poecze József
Pogány András
† Póhly Csaba: USAF
† **Porer Elek**
† Pozmann Alex
Prileszky István: USAF
† Puha József
ifj. Radványi Béla Géza: USN
Rátoni-Nagy Tamás:USMC
Reckl Péter
† dr. Reich Lóránd: USNR
ifj. Reich Lóránd
Roethler Péter
Rollinger Róland
ifj. Rózsahegyi Pál:USMC
Sári Zoltán
† Sárosy István: USMC
† Schmidt Bertalan
Schwan Frank
† Shirokei József
Slusny Gerry
Smetana György
id. Solymosi Aladár
Somogyi Tamás
Spisák István:USAF
Stefanec Ferenc
ifj. Stefanec István
Stefanec János
Stefanec József
† Stiasny Péter
Stiberth Lóthár
† Stomfay-Stitz János
id. Strada András
Strada Róbert
Szabó Péter
Szabó Róbert: USMC
Szabolcs László
Szabolcs Levente
† Szahlander Gyula

† Szahlander Tamás: USAF
Szakács Béla
Szappanos István
† Szappanos Tamás: USAF
† Székely Ákos Dezső
dr. Szentendrey Károly
Szentkirályi Zsolt
Szeretvai György
Szigeti Gyula
Szmerekovsky Andrew Gerard: USAF
Szmerekovsky Andy: USAF
Szy János
id. Tábor András: USMC
Tábor Mihály: USMC
id. Tábor Tamás: USMC
Táborosi János
Takács William
Tarnay Nicholas Ferenc: USN
Teller Imre
† Temesváry Gerő

† Temesváry Tibor
dr. Terézhalmy Géza: USN
dr. Thiry Sándor: USMC
† Thomas Frank
Thomas James
Tiroly Arthur
Tiszai Ferenc
Tóháti Zsolt
Torács Frank
id. Torontáli János
Torontáli Károly
Tóth Jack
Tóth Zoltán
Tózsér István
Trux András
Trux Hugó
dr. Várdy Béla
† Várdy (Óváry) Sándor
Varga Miklós
Varga István: USN

Varga Róbert
† Vargo Donald: USN
Veres József Pál
Viiberg Péter
Vidra Lajos
Vitéz William
Wacovszky Rezső: USN
Wegling István
† **Yakkel William: USN**
Yaczó Csaba
Zahoray Péter
† Zahoray László
† ifj. Zöldi Ferenc
† Zöldi Gábor
dr. Zolnay István
Zolnay Mátyás
† id. Zsula Lajos

For boldfaced names I am still missing contact information (next of kin, friend, email, phone number, etc.)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|--|
| <i>Magyar rangok</i> | Honvéd | Őrvezető | Tizedes | Szakaszvezető | Őrmester | Törzsőrmester | Főtörzsőrmester | Nincs megfelelője | Főtörzszászlós |
| <i>NATO kód</i> | OR1 | OR2 | OR3 | OR4 | OR5 | OR6 | OR7 | | OR9 |
| <i>USA kód</i> | E1 | E2 | E3 | E4 | E5 | E6 | E7 | E8 | E9 |
| <i>USA szárazföldi</i> | Private | Private | Private First Class | Corporal / Specialist | Sergeant | Staff Sergeant | Sergeant First Class | Master / First Sergeant | Sergeant Major |
| <i>USA tengerészgyalogság</i> | Marine | Private First Class | Lance Corporal | Corporal | Sergeant | Staff Sergeant | Gunnery Sergeant | Master/First Sergeant | Master Gunnery Sergeant / Sergeant Major |
| <i>USA légi erők</i> | Airman | Airman | Airman First Class | Senior Airman | Staff Sergeant | Technical Sergeant | Master Sergeant | Senior Master Sergeant | Chief Master Sergeant |
| <i>USA tengerészet</i> | Seaman Recruit | Seaman Apprentice | Seaman | Petty Officer 3rd Class | Petty Officer 2nd Class | Petty Officer 1st Class | Chief Petty Officer | Senior Chief Petty Officer | Master Chief Petty Officer |

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Magyar rangok</i> | Zászlós | Törzszászlós |
| <i>NATO kód</i> | OR8 | OR8 |
| <i>USA kód</i> | OW1 | CW2, CW3, CW4 |
| <i>USA szárazföldi</i> | Warrant Officer | Chief Warrant Officer |
| <i>USA tengerészgyalogság</i> | Warrant Officer | Chief Warrant Officer |
| <i>USA légi erők</i> | NINCS | NINCS |
| <i>USA tengerészet</i> | Warrant Officer | Chief Warrant Officer |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Magyar tiszti rangok</i> | Hadnagy | Főhadnagy | Százados | Őrnagy | Alezredes | Ezredes | Dandártábornok | Vezérőrnagy |
| <i>NATO kód</i> | OF1 | OF1 | OF2 | OF3 | OF4 | OF5 | OF6 | OF7 |
| <i>USA kód</i> | O1 | O2 | O3 | O4 | O5 | O6 | O7 | O8 |
| <i>USA szárazföldi és légi erők</i> | 2nd Lieutenant | 1st Lieutenant | Captain | Major | Lieutenant Colonel | Colonel | Brigadier General | Major General |
| <i>USA tengerészet</i> | Ensign | Lieutenant Junior Grade | Lieutenant | Lieutenant Commander | Commander | Captain | Rear Admiral (lower half) | Rear Admiral (upper half) |
| <i>Haditengerészeti tiszti rangok</i> | Korvetthadnagy | Fregatthadnagy | Sorhajóhadnagy | Korvettkapitány | Fregattkapitány | Kapitány | Flotillaengernagy | Ellentengernagy |

KIK SZOLGÁLTAK (ABC SORRENDENBEN)

Altmann Ede

1967-1997. Alezredes (Lieutenant Colonel). Dél-Koreában és Vietnámban szolgál, majd 2 év után tartalékos alakulatokhoz kerül Ohióban, Michiganben, és Kaliforniában, viszont többször mozgósították, többek között 1991-ben az első Öböl háborúra Kuvaitba, majd Németországban, Taszáron és Horvátországban is szolgál a kilencvenes évek balkáni konfliktusa alatt. Századparancsnoki beosztása is van, közben civil építészként dolgozik Afganisztánban, Irakban, Kuvaitban, Bahreinben, Ománban, Katárban, és Dubaiban. Jelenleg Cleveland környékén él, építészmérnök.

Asbóth Gusztáv

1960-1966. Őrmester (Sergeant). Franciaországban szolgál 3 évet páncélos parancsnokság tervező és felderítő/hírszerző beosztásban (S-2/S-3), később tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard) két évet páncélos hírszerzőként. Leszerelése után Párizsban, az ohioi Kent State egyetemen, és a Magyar Tudományos Akadémián tanul művészettörténelmet és régészetet. Jelenleg Virginiában él, egyetemi tanár. Gusztáv fia tengerészgyalogosként szolgált hat évet, Sándor fia pedig katonaként megjárta Boszniát, Koszovót, Guantanamo Bay (Kubában), és kétszer fordul meg Irákban, jelenleg több mint 18 éve szolgál.

Bajkai Lajos

1957-1960. Tizedes (Private First Class). Személyzetis titkárként szolgál Ft. Carson, Colorádóban, Ft. Riley, Kansasban, Ft. Jackson, Délkarolinában, és Ft. Leonard Wood, Missouriban, majd 13 hónapot szolgál Kóreában és Japánban gyalogos hadosztálynál (1st Inf Div). Leszerelése után először angol, német, és orosz szakos tanár lesz, majd Kaliforniába költözik, és saját vállalkozását elindítja, amerikai tanárokat helyez külföldre. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, San Diego környékén él.

ifj. Bak Elemér

1990-2010. Főtörzsőrmester (Master Sergeant). Szolgálatát jár Németországban, Szaudi Arábiában, kétszer Koreában és Afganisztánban. Jelenleg civilként dolgozik Afganisztánban a Lockheed Martin cégnek.

Balassa Imre

Magyar honvédségnél és az amerikai hadseregben szolgált. Leszerelése után ingatlan ügynök lett és saját utazási irodáját vezette több mint 30 évig. 2009-ben halt meg.

Bálint Géza

1960-1963. Besorozták, majd Németországba vitték, ahol teherautósofőrként szolgált két évet. Leszerelése után bútorkészítő ácsmester, majd hegedű vonókészítő lesz. Clevelandben lakott, a Szent Margit templomhoz tartozott, 1993-ban halt meg.

Bálint János

1990-1998. Tizedes (Lance Corporal). Tengerészgyalogos tartalékos alakulatnál szolgál, mozgósították alakulatát az első Öböl-i bevetésre, de nem került rá sor. Leszerelése után kertészeti céget alapított, most is abban a szakmában dolgozik. Jelenleg Idaho-ban él.

ifj. Bálint József

1991-1995. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Ejtőernyős gyalogos, a 82-es Hadseregben szolgál, Haiti-ba bevetik őket békefenntartóként. Leszerelése után elektromérnök lesz, dolgozik a GE cégnél, a Cleveland Clinic kórháznál, testvére kertészeténél, és jelenleg Ohio fővárosa, Columbus környékén alapított céget, amely erőműveknek végez szennyezési vizsgálatokat.

+ Balla György

1939-ben született, 1951-ben menekültként érkezett Amerikába, ahol Buffalóban a magyar piarista iskolába járt. Két évet szolgál az amerikai hadseregben, leszerel és egy évet munkanélküli, majd újra jelentkezik két évre. Egészségügyi okokból szerel le, éveken keresztül ki és be jár hadikórházi kezelésekre

skizofrén állapota miatt. Veterán-otthonban lakik 12 évig, végül is 2003-ban halt meg. Zahoray László sógora, Zahoray Péter nagybátyja.

Balogh Imre

1957-1962. Őrmester (Sergeant). Hírszerzős alakulatnál szolgál, kétszer jár Kóréában, összesen kb 3 évet tölt ott. Leszerelése után a Cleveland State egyetemen tanul, szerszámkészítési tervező és mérnök lesz. 1970-ben elkezdte saját cégjét, műanyag fröccsöntéssel foglalkoznak. Később áttér elektronika gyártásra, jelenleg 400 alkalmazottal Ohio-ban, Missouri és Virginia államokban van gyára. Két fia futtatja a vállalatot, jelenleg részidőben nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén és Floridában lakik.

Balogh István

1950-1953. Tizedes (Airman First Class). Önkéntesen jelentkezett pilótának, de Texasban kiszedték a pilóta iskolából, mert nem volt még amerikai állampolgár. Villanyszerelőképzésben részesül Cheyenne, Wyoming-ban, ahol több másodgenerációs magyarral találkozott, majd Keletnémetország határánál helyezték radar állomásra. Ott katonai rendőrbeosztást kapott, majd két év után Franciaországba került egy könnyű bombázó alakulathoz (126. Light bomber wing), ahol tábori repülőtereket látott el erőművel, villanytoronyokkal, stb. Leszerelése után villamosmérnöki egyetemet végzett, hamar vezető pozícióba került. Három év után elkerült Clevelandből, először San Diego, Kaliforniában a General Dynamics cégnél rakétafejlesztésben, majd 14 évet az IBM cégnél az Apollo holdrakéta programjában Huntsville, Alabamában, majd tanácsadással és kutatómérnöki beosztásokban dolgozott, többek között New Jerseyben a Bell Labs rakétaelhárítórendszeréhez software fejlesztésben. Vissza került Clevelandba, utána megint Huntsville, Alabamába, végül is 1996-ben visszaköltözött szülőfalujába, Debrecen környékén Berettyóújfaluba, ahol most nyugdíjas.

Balunek Adelbert András (Béla)

1955-1979. Fregattkapitány (Commander). Két évet szolgál a USS Yorktown anyahajón utánpótlási főhadnagyként, majd az Erie és Michigan tavakon tartalékosként haditengerészeti tisztként 11 évet. Civil foglalkozása ügyvéd és albíró, jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él. Testvérei Dr. Balunek András és Balunek György. Édesapjuk pedig 8 évig volt harangozó a clevelandi magyar Szent Imre templomban.

+ dr. Balunek András Dániel

1960-1962, 1985-1991. Ezredes (Colonel). Két évet tölt a haditengerészetnél sorhajóhadnagyi ranggal (Lieutenant) orvosként, a USS Glacier jégtörőhajón a hatvanas években a Déli Sarkra is elmegy (Operation Deep Freeze). Civil pályafutását orvosként végzi, szemorvosi rendelője van Lorain és Avon városokban, közben civil pilóta is. Később a nyolcvanas években a szárazföldi erők tartalékos alakulatához csatlakozik, egy évet toborzótsízt Clevelandben, majd orvosként szolgál helikopter alakulatnál a Lorain megyei repülőtéren (316th Medical Detachment, Air Ambulance). 1991-ben autóbalesetben meghal.

Balunek György

1962-1968. Tizedes (Private First Class). Tartalékos alakulatnál szolgál, civil életben szerszámkészítő a General Motors autógyárban. Jelenleg nyugdíjas.

+ Balunek István

1951-1955. Tizedes (Private First Class). Műszaki zászlóaljban (combat engineer) szolgál Franciaországban. Leszerelése után ácsként dolgozik. Balunek Adelbert, András, és György unokatestvére.

+ Bányai Zoltán

1966 körül az amerikai hadsereg Costa Ricába küldi, ott találkozott feleségével. Leszerelése után 7 évet lakik Clevelandben, majd visszaköltözik Costa Ricába, ott paprika ültetvénye és magyar vendéglője volt.

ifj. Bárány László

Légi erőknél szolgál. Édesapja tartalékos lovas tüzérhadnagy volt a magyar hadseregben. Anyai nagyapja Magyar Királyi gyalogos ezredes volt az első világháborúban.

Batu Gyula

1963-1966. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Elsősegélyesként szolgál Ft. Carson, Colorádóban, majd két évet Németországban (HQ, 7th Army) Stuttgart környékén. Leszerelése után pék és cukrászként dolgozik 1977-ig a Fazio cégnél, majd saját pékségét nyitja, 2002-ig kisiparos péktulajdonos. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Akron egyik külvárosában lakik.

Baumhackl János

1969 szeptemberétől 1970 szeptemberéig Vietnámban (11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, Air Cavalry Group, 33rd Chemical Detachment) szolgál. Szüleit a második világháború után Magyarországról Németországba kitelepítették, ő már ott született. A clevelandi Buckeye utcai magyar negyedben nevelkedett. Jelenleg San Francisco, Kaliforniában lakik.

Bay Ádám.

1959-1960. Őrvezető (Private). Műszaki kiképzést kap (combat engineer). Kóréában tölt 21 hónapot egy gyalogos hadsereg parancsnokságán (3rd Inf Div, HQ Co), három kilométertől az hadvonalától, aknázott utakon építkeztek. Leszerelése után gépészmérnököt elvégzi, nagyobb elektronikus vállalatot alapít, annak hosszú éveken keresztül tulajdonosa, később eladta vállalatát a Gould cégnek. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

Bedy Balázs

1951-1953. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Gyalogos alakulatnál (351 Inf) nehéz aknavető kezelő. Ft. Jackson, Délkarolinában szolgál, de Triesztben is tölt több mint egy évet, közben hadgyakorlatokon jár Németországban is. Leszerelése után kereskedelmet tanul egyetemen, utána 43 évet dolgozik egy clevelandi bankban. Clevelandben többek között ő kezdte el 1951-ben a magyar cserkészteket. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

Bedy Zsolt (Richard)

1959-1961. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Ötödik hadtestnél (V. Corps) szolgált mint tüzérségi felmérő (artillery survey), többek között Hanau-ban, Németországban. Leszerelése után egyetemi végzettségét számítástechnikából szerzi, majd Németországban, Londonban, és az Egyesült Államokban dolgozik konzultánsként. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

† dr. Bekény Károly

1951-1952. Őrmester (Sergeant). Még Magyarországon végzi a jogot, majd a második világháború menekültjeként először Ausztriába, majd Clevelandbe kerül. Még nem volt állampolgár, mikor behívják katonának. Alaszkában szolgál elsősegélyesként két évet. Leszerelése után könyvelő egy vasuti cégnél, majd biztosító cégnél értékesítő, végül is levelezőtanfolyamon elvégzi a chicágói LaSalle egyetemen az amerikai jogot, ügyvéd lesz 1960-ban. Ügyvédként dolgozik ingatlan ügyekben, bekerül több cég felső vezetésében alelnökként. 1987-ben nyugdíjba vonul, Bécsbe költözik, ahol 1996-ban halt meg.

Beodray Ferenc

1951-1953. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Még a menekült lágerből indulván a hajón Amerika felé besorozták. Híradós egy páncélos alakulatnál (3rd Bn 6th Armored Cav), Németországban teljesít szolgálatot. Az oroszokat figyeli, egyik jellegzetes emléke, hogy orosz támadást és megfutamodást játszanak, három nap alatt Passau-tól Franciaországig menekülnek hadigyakorlaton. Egyike a Hontalan Sasoknak, azok a cserkészvezetők, akik a DP táborokban átmenekítették a Magyarországon betiltott cserkészteket, és külföldön folytatták, és Clevelandben is többek között ő kezdte el 1951-ben a magyar cserkészteket. Jelenleg nyugdíjas könyvelő, Cleveland környékén él. A Passau-i menekült táborigazgatója a Csejtey fivérek apja volt az iskolaigazgatója.

† id. Berente Tibor

1961-1963. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Vegyészeti alakulatnál Dugway, Utah-ban szolgál titkársági beosztásban. Leszerelése után Kaliforniába kerül könyvelőként, majd Clevelandbe költözik, a Buckeye magyar negyedben lett könyvelő és bolttulajdonos, ahol 1969-ben egy rablás áldozata lett.

† dr. Bistey György

Tengerészgyalogos. 1951-1953. Őrmester (Sergeant). Besorozták (ritkaság: általában a tengerészgyalogság önkéntes), és a clevelandi magyar negyed Buckeye utca egyik magyar kocsmájából búcsúztatták barátai. Parris Island-on kapott alapkiképzést, majd Camp LeJeune, Északkarolinában szolgált konyhai beosztásban. Puerto Rico-ban volt egy rövid időre, de máshova külföldre nem vitték, mivel bátyja még Magyarországon volt (apja is, bátyja is Ludovikát végeztek, édesapja M.Kir. ezredes volt, bátyja pedig orosz fogságba is esett, és hamis vádok alapján háborus bűnösnek elítélték, majd 1961-ben amnesztiát kapott). Szakaszát viszont Koreába vitték, ahonnan csak 20 személy jött vissza. Tengerészgyalogosként két hadihajón szolgált cukrászként. Hajón volt, amikor Sztálin meghalt, úgy mondták be a hangosbemondón, hogy "Now hear this, Old Joe has kicked the bucket [figyelem, Öreg Jóska elpatkolt]." Leszerelése után Clevelandben egy gyárban dolgozott, közben este a John Carroll egyetemen pszichológiát tanult. Az egyetem elvégzése után a Kent State egyetemen tovább tanult, majd a pittsburghi Pitt egyetemen pszichológiából doktorált 1963-ben. Pszichológusként rehabilitációban dolgozott, majd 1991-ben visszaköltözött Magyarországra, Ispánkra, az Őrségen. 2008-ban halt meg.

Blaskó David John

1957-1961. Szakaszvezető (Petty Officer 3rd class). Haditengerészetnél Norfolk, Virginiában egy helikopteres alakulatnál hanglokátoros, tengeren légi mentő. Leszerelése után postás egy villanymű cégnél. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él. Blaskó David Michael édesapja.

Blaskó David Michael

1994-1997. Tizedes (Lance Corporal). Tengerészgyalogosként Kaliforniában szolgál, autószerelő, főleg sebességváltókat épít át. Leszerelése után apartmentháztömbnél karbantartó, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik. Blaskó David John fia.

ifj. Bodnár Lajos

1958-1964. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Hat hónapot alapkiképzésben részesül, majd tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard) szolgál 5 és fél évet elsősegélyesként. Hetente gyakorlatoznak Cleveland környékén, és két hetet nyáron. Civil foglalkozásban temetkezési rendező, családi vállalkozásban annál a cégnél, amit édesapja kezdett 1927-ben a Lorain utcában. Még ma is ott dolgozik.

ifj. Borgóy János

1957-1960. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Ft. Bliss, Texas-ban Nike légvédelmi rakétarendszerekről tanít. Leszerelése után az IBM cégnél mérnökként, kiképzőként, és menedzsmentben dolgozik. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Poughkeepsie környékén (New York állam) lakik.

† Boromissza Csaba

1965-1966. Tizedes (Lance Corporal). Tengerészgyalogosként Vietnámban hősi halált szenved Quang Tin környékén 1966. Május 10-én.

Bötös Csaba

1966-1970. Őrmester (Sergeant). Gyalogosként Vietnámba harcol kétszer fél-fél évet. Leszerelése után Ausztráliába költözik, azóta is ott van. Az ausztrál tartalékos hadseregbe felveszik, hadnagyként szerel le. Jelenleg New South Wales tartományban lakik, egy kisebb tanyája van. István a testvére.

Bötös István

Légi erőknél szolgál az 1970-es évek elején négy évet, abból egy évet Alaszkában. Eléri a szakaszvezető rangot (Corporal). Leszerel, majd egy év múlva jelentkezik a hadseregnél, ott is leszolgál négy évet, abból

kettőt Németországban. Szolgálatát után Ausztráliába költözik, jelenleg Queensland tartományban lakik, kisebb tanyája van. Csaba a testvére.

Brachna Gábor S.

1965-1971. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Gyermekkorában magyar cserkész a clevelandi 14. csapatban, majd tartalékosként szolgál a nemzeti gárdában (National Guard), de alakulatát 13-szor mozgósítják karhatalmi intézkedésekre a hatvanas évek tüntetései és lázadásai ellen. Egy évet tanul Berlinben és egy évet Londonban, majd 25 évet tanít a clevelandi gettó iskoláiban, 6 évet tölt igazgatóként. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él. Édesapja luteránus lelkipásztor volt mindkét clevelandi magyar evangélikus templomaiban.

Brenner György

1963-1993. Törzsőrmester (Staff Sergeant). 1967-ig haditengerészetnél helikopter szerelő, három különböző rombolón és egy anyahajón. Csendes és Atlanti óceánokon, valamint a Földközi tengeren is hajóznak. 1965-ban találkozik két magyar idegenlégióossal, amikor hajója Toulonba (Franciaország) kiköt. 1967-ban áttér a haditengerészet tartalékos alakulatához, ahol dízelmotor szerelői beosztást tölt be. 1976-ban Megay Béla hívta, hogy kezdtek egy új lélektani műveletes egységet (II. PsyOps Group), jöjjön oda. Áttér a szárazföldi erőnembe, tartalékos alakulathoz, ahol hírszerző elemző és kihallgató, nyaranta a Pentagonban kutatási munkákat végeznek Megay Béla és id. Dolesch Gyulával együtt. Civil foglalkozásként mérnöki irodában dolgozik rajzolóként. Jelenleg fél-nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

Brenner László

1977-1999. Százados (Captain). Tartalékos alakulatoknál szolgál főleg, 1983-1987 pedig a rendes hadseregben. Leszerelése óta civil alkalmazottja az államnak.

+ Brenner Tamás

1967-1970. Őrmester (Petty Officer 2nd Class). Teherautógyárban dolgozik, majd jelentkezett a haditengerészetnél, ahol P-3 Orion tengeralattjáróvadász gépen személyzet (Aviation Machinist Hydraulics 2). Hawaii-ban autószerencsétlenség áldozata 1970-ben.

Burkoviccs János

1961-1964. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Katonai biztonsági szolgálatnál (Army Security Agency) barometrikus gépeket kezelt, amellyel atomrobbantásokat érzékelték világszerte. Főleg Fort Monmouth, New Jersey-ben szolgált. Leszerelése után pénzügyben dolgozik, a Ford Motor Credit és a Commercial Credit cégeknél, majd nehéz gépkezelő egy gyárban. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland-tól nem messze lakik.

Buza György

1953-1986. Törzsszázados (CW3). Tartalékos alakulatoknál híradósként kezdi, lesz majd gyalogos kiképző, végül is híradósként fejezi be szolgálatát. Civil életben a Ford autógyárnál gépészmérnök. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

Clementis-Záhony Botond

1963-1968. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Koreában szolgál gyalog hadosztály parancsnokságán (7th Inf Div HQ Co) először építésként, majd nyelvtanárként. Áthelyezik Németországba, ahol páncélos felderítő alakulatnál (14th Arm Cav) Bad Hersfeld-en a fuldai áttörésre készülvén vett részt a Vasfüggöny határmenti műveleteken, felderítőként is és hírszerzőként is. Leszerelése után továbbra is a hadseregben dolgozik, a Monterey, Kaliforniai nyelviskolában (Defense Language Institute) tanít magyart. Később Magyarországra költözik, tanít egy gimnáziumban amikor a budapesti amerikai követség a kilencvenes években felkéri, legyen Taszáron tolmács. A Zrínyi Akadémián előkészíti Braun László dandártábornokot, Magyarország első NATO tábornokát brüsseli szolgálatára, aki később vezérkari főnök helyettes lett. Jelenleg részidős nyugdíjas, Sarasota, Florida környékén ad elő külpolitikából. Két külpolitikai tanulmányát a Hadtörténelmi Intézet is kiadott. Kiscserkész őrsvezetője volt Ivány Róbertnek.

Corlett Dániel J.

2011-től a mai napig. Őrvezető (Airman). Légi erőknél végez alapkiképzést, majd repülőszereelési iskolát Texas-ban. Gyermekkorában a Szent Margit magyar templom táncsoportban táncol. Franklyn a testvére, és a Gulyás fivérek pedig nagybátyai.

Corlett Franklyn

2010-től a mai napig. Tizedes (Seaman). Haditengerészetben szolgál logisztikai beosztásban rombolón, a Földközi tengeren főleg. Bevonulása előtt kereskedelmet végez egyetemen, és gyermekkorában ő is a Szent Margit táncsoportban vett részt.

Csaba Zsolt

1954-1956, 1961. Tizedes (Private First Class). Tankvezetőként szolgál Ft. Knox-ban páncélos alakulatnál (11th Arm Div), majd leszerel. 1961-ben a kubai fejlemények miatt visszahívták készenlétbe, de hibásan, így 4 hónap múlva elengedték. Leszerelése után Kansas City-ben elektromérnöki technikusként tanul, majd Texasba került, ahol a Convair (General Dynamics cég alvállalata) repülőgyárban B-58 bombázógépeken dolgozott. Később Kansas-ban az Atlas rakétákhoz elektronikát szerelt be, majd Columbus, Ohio-ban a haditengerészetnek gyártott A3-J repülőket. 32 évig pedig a Newark légitámponton (Mount Vernon, Ohio mellett) volt irányító, javítás és kalibrálással foglalkozott. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Ohio-ban lakik.

† Csapó Ferenc

1964-1966. Vietnámban rádiósként szolgál. Leszerelése után a gáz és olaj iparban dolgozik, saját vállalatát alapítja. 2007-ben halt meg.

Cserháti Ákos

1992-1994, majd tartalékos 2000-ig. Őrmester (Sergeant). Gépesített gyalogságnál szolgál Fort Benning, Georgia-ban (1st Bn, 18th Inf Reg), Bradley páncélharcjárművekben. Jelenleg rendőr Cuyahoga Falls-ban, egy Cleveland-től délre fekvő városban.

Csejtey Ágoston

1970-1973 (?). Pénzügyi beosztásokat tölt be, Németországba is szolgál. Leszerelése után továbbra is pénzügyben dolgozik, jelenleg Tallmadge-ban lakik, egy Clevelandtól délre fekvő városban.

Csejtey Béla

1956-1976 (?). Törzsőrmesternél magasabb rang, nincs magyar megfelelője (Master Sergeant). Műszaki alakulatnál szolgál, harcol Vietnámban és állomásozik Japánban is. Leszerelése után autót értékesít, jelenleg Missouri államban él.

Csejtey Károly

1968-1971. Őrmester (Sergeant). Rajzolóként végzi szolgálatát Ft. Knox laktanyáján, festményeket és kiképzési plakátokat készít. Magyar nyelvizsgát is könnyen leteszi, de sohasem alkalmazza nyelvtudását szolgálata alatt. Leszerelése után rajztanár lesz az Akron-i iskolákban, fényképezetet is oktat, és birkózó edző. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cuyahoga Falls városában lakik.

† Csejtey László

1956-1976 (?). Főtörzsőrmester (Sergeant First Class). Először tartalékos alakulatnál szolgál (Ohio National Guard), majd áttér a szárazföldi erőnemhez, ahol teherautósofórként végzi szolgálatát. Vietnámban és Németországban is tölt időt. Nyugdíja után Németországba költözik, ahol a Vietnámban érintett Agent Orange növényirtó vegyszer hatásai miatt szenved, majd 1996 körül belehal.

Csia Lili

1980-1983. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Szállítási alakulatnál rakodó, hajókra és repülőkre csomagolt felszerelést. Főleg Virginiában szolgál, de Honduras-ba is tölt néhány hónapot. Leszerelése után vaskereskedőnél és közértben árúsító, Cleveland környékén él.

Csia Pál

1955-1959. Tizedes (Private First Class). Villanszerelőképzésben részesül, majd műszaki alakulathoz kerül (engineer), ahol teherautósofőrként szolgál, Franciaországban tölt 18 hónapot. 1956. október 23-án szólt neki a napos, nem hagyhatja el a laktanyát, mert számon volt tartva magyar tudása. Másnap századparancsnoka is megerősítette, hogy készenlétben álljon, de nem történt semmi. Utána két évet szolgál tartalékosként, majd leszerelése után műszaki rajzoló lett Clevelandben. 1963-ban felkereste két civil, akik kérték, vegyen részt más kelet európaival 3,5 hónap képzésben esetleges bevetésre orosz támadás esetén. Részt is vesz Ft. Meade, Maryland környékén más civillel, de katonák tartották a képzést hírszerzésben, felderítésben, és egyéb katonai témakörökben. Végül is soha se hívták vissza, civil rajzolóként dolgozott továbbra is. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik.

Csiba Zoltán

1961-1969. Őrmester (Sergeant). Tartalékos felderítő/hírszerző alakulatnál (306th MI) kihallgató és tolmács magyar, német, portugál nyelveken. Civilpályán gépészmérnök, jelenleg nyugdíjas Cleveland környékén.

+ Csibi William

1967-1969. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Ft. Polk, Louisiana államban kiképzésben részesül, majd Németországban szolgál századtitkársági beosztásban. Leszerelése után bank fiókigazgató lesz a Central National, majd Huntington és Ameritrust bankoknál. Egy ideig Tulsa, Oklahomában is lakik. 2006-ban halt meg.

id. Csorba Béla

1961-1964. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Besorozták, de rokonnak ismerőse révén tartalékos alakulathoz kerül. Fél évet teljesidős kiképzésben részesül, majd tartalékos páncélos alakulatnál szolgál (107th Arm Cav) tankvezetőként. Évközben hetente gyakorlatoznak Cleveland környékén, nyaranta pedig két hetet Ft. Knox-ban. Civil foglalkozásaként vasgyártó iparban dolgozik, lemez és gerendamunkákat végez több környékbeli hídépítésen (pl. 480 autópályának). Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén lakik.

+ Csűrös Mária

1953-1955. Ápolónőként szolgál különböző államokban az Egyesült Államokban, Japánban is tölt egy évet szolgálata alatt. 1998-ban halt meg.

+ Czakó András

Főtörzsőrmesternél magasabb ranggal (First Sergeant) évekig szolgál benn a hadseregben és tartalékos alakulatnak civil alkalmazottjaként, hírszerző alakulatnál (1002nd Military Intelligence Company). Ő serkentette tiszti rangra Muhoray Kornélt, és végül is felesküdtette, első volt aki szalutált neki.

+ Dávid István

Tengerészgyalogos. 1967-1970. Őrmester (Sergeant). Vietnámban harcol 8 hónapon át Khe San környékén a Tet támadás alatt, majd Hawaii-ba helyezik el. Hazajött Clevelandbe testvére esküvőjére, és egy héttel előtte autóbalesetben meghal. Wegling István legjobb gyermekkori barátja volt.

+ Dezső Endre

1966-1976, 1982-1994. Zászlósnál magasabb, nincs magyar megfelelője (Master Gunnery Sergeant E-9). Tengerészgyalogos. Kétszer harcol 12 hónapot Vietnámban gyalogos felderítőként (Force Recon). Később Philadelphiában és Texasban toborzóként szolgál. Leszerelése után mérnöki bevásárlóként dolgozik, 2001-ben halt meg.

+ Dezső József

Tengerészgyalogos, kb 1964-1967. Gyalogos hadosztálynál (1st Marine Div) szolgál, Vietnámba is elkerül, Rátoni-Nagy Tamással egy zászlóaljban. Mostohaapja betegsége miatt hazament korán, majd visszakérül

egy másik alakulat parancsnokságához (7th Marine Div HQ Reg). Leszerelése után végül is Kaliforniába kerül, Los Angeles környékén hal meg.

Dienes Allen

1958-1960, 1961-1962. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 5). Ejtőernyős alakulatban szolgált Ft. Campbell, Kentucky-ban (101st Airborne Division) autószerelőként. Többször ugrott ejtőernyősként, majd leszerelt. A berlini krízis miatt visszahívták és még egy évet szolgált, annak idején alakulata készenlétben volt. Leszerelése után a Buckeye utcai magyar negyedben volt benzinkútja, amit édesapjától vett át, a 123-as utca sarkán. Szabó Róbert is neki dolgozott. Később eladta egy másik magyarnak, Krall Istvánnak. Jelenleg Cleveland-tól egy fél óra távolságra lakik.

Dienes Imre

1977-1980. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Gyaloghadosztályban (8th Inf Div) helikopter fegyverzet szerelő, TOW és M-134 rakétarendszereket és irányítóberendezéseit tartja karban. Németországban szolgált két évet. Jelenleg Cleveland egyik külvárosában él, cégtulajdonosa egy padlócsiszoló szolgálatnak.

Dietrich András

Tengerész. 1978-1984. Altiszt (Petty Officer 2nd class). Atomhajtású gyorstengeralattjárón (USS Trepang) szolgált, elektronika és reaktorkezelőként. Az atlanti, karibi, és földközi tengereken járnak, a nyolcvanas évek elején Libanon környékén hadműveletekben vesz részt. Leszerelése után atomtechnikát tanul egyetemen, jelenleg Clevelandtól egy fél órára civil atomerőműnél kezelő.

+ Dobsa Lajos

Tengerészgyalogos. 1950-???. Főtörzsászlós (Sergeant major). Második világháború menekültjeként kerül Amerikába, jelentkezik tengerészgyalogosnak. Koreában és Vietnámban harcol, majd világszerte (Afrika, Ázsia, stb) szolgált amerikai követségeken őrségfőnökként. 2005 körül halt meg, az amerikai nemzeti katonai temetőben nyugszik, Arlingtonban.

+ id. Dolesch Gyula

1954-1960, 1973-1991. Főtörzsőrmester (Sergeant First Class). Bevonul, és szerszámkészítőként Grönlandban szolgált két évet. Leszerel, majd visszairatkozik tartalékosnak, lélektani műveleti egységénél (II. PsyOps Group) szolgált hírszerzőtisztként Megay Bélával együtt. Fordító, tomács, vallató, kiképző, de főleg szakmai tanulmányokat ír: NATO hadgyakorlatoknak kerettörténeteket, hírszerzési elemzéseket, propagandafejlesztéseket. Az egyik clevelandi fiu cserkészcsapatot is vezetett. Civil életben gyógyszerészként dolgozott, 2004-ben halt meg.

Dolesch László

1968-1970. Őrmester (Sergeant). Alabamában helikopter támogató és szerelő képzésben részesül, majd Németországban szolgált egy évet gyalogos alakulat személyzeti osztályon. Leszerelése után kiskereskedelmi menedzser pályán dolgozik, ma félnyugdíjban konzultál. Clevelandtól egy fél órára lakik.

Domján István

1961-1963. Tizedes (Private First Class). Műszaki alakulatnál (combat engineer) postaszolgálatot végez. Németországban is szolgált, a keletnémet határon. Kiskorában a Szent Erzsébet magyar iskolába járt. Leszerelése után 34 évig dolgozik a postán. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

+ ifj. Domján Zoltán

1956-57. Honvéd (Private). Építészmérnöki tanulmányait elvégzi, majd behívják katonának. Temesváry Tiborral együtt szolgált, Ft. Campbell-ben gyalogos alakulatnál (101st Airborne Div) pénzügyi beosztása van. A kaszárnyában többen összeverték, és december 23-án belehalt.

Dömötörfy Éva

Tengerésztiszt. 1995-től a mai napig. Korvettkapitány (Lieutenant Commander), talán nyáron előléptetik fregattkapitánnyá. Haditengerészetnél nővéri szolgálatot teljesít, különböző orvosi alakulatoknál parancsnok. Két és fél évet Nápolyban, Olaszországban van kihelyezésen. Jelenleg egyetemi továbbképzésen vesz részt, Masters fokozaton tanul.

Dömötörfy Tamás

Tengerész 1995-1999. Altiszt (Petty Officer 3rd Class) azaz technikus (AT-4). Repülőgépekhez kalibrál elektronikus navigációs és kommunikációs felszerelést. Szaudi Arábiába tölt hat hónapot, az iraki nemrepülési szankciókat viszik véghez az EA6B Prowler gépekkel. Leszerelése után New Jerseybe költözik, Caterpillar cégnél dízelmotoroknak alkatrészeket és szervizt értékesít, New Brunswick környékén lakik.

+ Dörner István

1951-1955. Őrmester (Sergeant). Légi erőknél szolgál, a Syracuse, NY melletti Sampson légierőtámponton. Nem pilóta, de alapkiképző. Leszerelése után rajzoló, tervező lesz, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakott. 1981-ben halt meg.

Dossa James

1961-1963. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Hírszerző alakulatnál szolgál Thaiföldön és Tajvanban. Leszerelése után villanyszerelő lesz, jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén lakik. A Szent Imre templomba járt.

Dossa Michael

1967-1972. Őrmester (Staff Sergeant). Légi erőknél szolgál kommunikációs beosztásban, légiforgalomirányítási rendszerek javításával foglalkozik. Szolgál Libiában, Spanyolországban, és Guam szigetén, ahonnan a B-52 bombázó gépek indultak Északvietnám és Kambodzsa felé. Leszerelése után roved ideig az RCA cégnek dolgozik, majd villanyszerelő lesz, 35 évet dolgozik az iparban. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Clevelandtól egy fél órára lakik. A Szent Imre egyházközséghez tartozott.

Ellis József

1962-1991. Dandártábornok (Brigadier General). Szent Margit iskolába járt a Buckeye magyar negyedben, majd Benedictine középiskolába és a John Carroll egyetemre, ahol kereskedelmet tanul. A hadseregben logisztikai képzésben részesül. Szakaszparancsnokként szolgál Koreában, majd századparancsnok Texasban. 1967-68-ban Vietnámban szolgál, majd Németországban, Ft. Leavenworth, és 1972-73-ban megint Vietnámban. Utána megint Németországba kerül három évre, ahol 3000 jármű napi üzemeltetéséért felel. 1978-ban szerez a Florida Institute of Technology egyetemen mestervégzettséget szállításgazgatási szakon. Washingtonban szolgál egy ideig, majd Bremerhaven kikötő katonai részének parancsnoka, ahol évente 3 millió tonna amerikai katonai felszerelést rakodnak. Utána Münchenben és Dallas, Texasban parancsnoka és parancsnokhelyettese az amerikai katonai áruraktárjának, amely világszerte 225 katonai laktanyát látta el, 80,000 alkalmazottal. Eredeti családneve Éliás volt, de nagyszülei és édesapja az 1940-es években megcserélték. Jelenleg Houston, Texas környékén lakik, és fia Tom Ellis is jelenleg szolgál, alezredesi rangban.

Evva András

1963-1969. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard) kezdi szolgálatát, mozgosítják és a rendes hadsereghez átkerül, majd később megint tartalékos, főleg kiképzési alakulatnál (Garrison Co). Leszerelése után a Proctor & Gamble cégnél értékesítő menedzser lesz, szabadidejében önkéntes szolgálatot teljesít 1984-től az amerikai civil tengerészetnél (civil hajókon de tartalékos katonai 100 tonnás hajó zászlós kapitány ranggal, szükség esetén mozgosítható: Merchant Marine), 2008 óta a tartalékos Parti Őrséghez (Coast Guard Auxiliary) is tartozik. Mindkét szervezet 2003-ban az Ország Biztonsághoz (Dept of Homeland Security) lett csatolva, Michigan és Florida környékén cirkálnak. Jelenleg nyugdíjas Naples, Florida környékén, és önkéntes tartalékos tengerészeti szolgálata mellett két alapítványt vezet, a clevelandi és Naples 1956 emlékműveit ő indítványozta.

Falk Viktor

1952-1954. Tizedes (Private First Class). Ft. Meade, Marylandben parancsnokságnál (2nd Army HQ) felderítő/hírszerzőként a dokumentáció fordítási osztályon szolgál. Alakulatában majdnem mind idegen születésű, főleg orosz és ukrán, de volt 8-10 magyar is. Leszerelése után a Gould cégnél elektromérnök, két szabadalma is van, a Mark 48 torpedó tervezésén vett részt. Tíz éven keresztül vezette az egyik clevelandi fiu cserkész csapatot. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik.

Faragó Károly

1964-1968. Őrmester (Sergeant). Kiképzésben részesül Texasban, Mississippiben, és Délkarolinában, majd rádiószerelőként szolgál a légi erőknél Japánban, Vietnámban, Koreában, és New Hampshire-ben. Koreában F-100 repülőkön dolgozott, amik atomfegyverrel rendelkeztek és állandó készenletben voltak. Később, New Hampshire-ben alakulata az Atlanti tengerben űrhajós kapszulák visszaszerzésével is foglalkozott. Leszerelése után fizikából végez, mérnökként dolgozik, majd menedzser lesz a Kirkwood Carbon cégnél. 1999 óta Colorado-ban egy indián törzsnél olaj és gázkutak szervezésével foglalkozik.

Farkas Attila

1960-1962. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Ft. Knox, Kentucky-ban Muhoray Kornéllal együtt részesül alapkiképzésben, majd M-60 tankban lövész és tankvezető lesz. Páncélos alakulatnál szolgál Németországban, Augsburg és München környékén. A berlini krízis miatt meg is hosszabították szolgálati idejét, készenletben voltak. Néha éjjel felébredt azzal a gondolattal, ha alakulatát bevetik a cseh határnál, akkor magyarokkal szemben találta volna magát, de erre szerencsére nem került sor. Szolgálatát alatt találkozott New York és Buffalo környékbeli amerikai magyar katonákkal. Kijövele előtt 1956-ban magyar páncélos alakulatnál volt szakács Vác mellett, Mindszenty bíborost az ő alakulata szabadította ki. Azelőtt a budapesti Gerbaud-ban volt cukrászinas, Amerikában pedig édesapjával alapította leszerelése után 1966-ban a clevelandi Farkas cukrászdát, ami ma is üzemeltet a Lorain utcán. 2000-ben eladta a cukrászdát, azóta részidős nyugdíjas.

Farkas Gyula

1962-1970. Őrmester (Specialist 5). Fél évig kiképzésben részesül, majd 8 évet tartalékos kórházi alakulatnál szakácsként szolgál Cleveland egyik külvárosában. Civil foglalkozásban a vasútnál dolgozik. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

† Fazekas Richárd

Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Gyerekként id. Halácsy Gyulával és Kézdi Sándorral jár a Szent Erzsébet iskolában, a Buckeye utcán. Vietnámban aknára lép, megsérül. Leszerelése után visszakerül Clevelandbe, 1981 körül halt meg.

† Fehér Ervin

1953-1973. Törzsőrmeister (Technical Sergeant). Légi erőknél szolgál elektronikai beosztásokban, legtöbbször Franciaországban. Leszerelése után Franciaországban marad, 2000-ben halt meg.

Fehér Ferenc

1954-1980. Főtörzsőrmeister (Master Sergeant). Navigációs kiképzésben részesül, majd öt évet szolgál tengerészgyalogosként, Északkarolinában és Floridában, repülő alakulatnál titkárként. Áttér a légi erőkhöz, ahol továbbra titkári beosztásokban szolgál. Tripoliban tölt 3 évet, Alaszkában egy évet, és Olaszországban 4 évet, de legtöbb idejét Spokane, Washington államban személyzetis beosztásokban. Leszerelése után Olaszországban lakik 1998-ig, majd visszatér az Egyesült Államokba. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Spokane, Washington-ban él.

Fejszés Zoltán

1963. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). 1957-ben önként jelentkezett, de a hadsereg visszautasította, megbízhatatlanságára utalva. 1963-ban besorolták, de a soroló bizottság elnöke egy helyi magyar

temetkezési vállalat tulajdonosa, id. Bodnár Lajos volt, aki elintézte, hogy csak tartalékos szolgálatot kelljen végeznie. 6 hónapig kiképzésben részesült, majd tartalékos alakulathoz került (Ohio National Guard), később felmentették a havi szolgálat alól is. Ifj. Bodnár Lajossal egy alakulatban volt, Kentucky-ban pedig Csorba Bélával találkozott. A berlini krízis alatt kiképzés alatt egy hétig készenlétben volt a laktanya, alakulatából az 5 külföldit behívta a vezérőrnagy laktanyaparancsnok, kikérdezte őket, ha magyar ellenféllel állnának szembe, mi történne, de végül is nem került rá sor. Leszerelése után clevelandi virágüzletben dolgozott 31 évig. Jelenleg Cleveland egyik külvárosában öregotthonban lakik.

Fischer Norbert

1952-1954. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Alapkiképzését Aberdeen, Maryland államban végezte, lőszerkezelési szakon. Meggyőzte parancsnokait, hogy helyezték át Camp Hale-re, Colorado államban, a hadsereg téli kiképző központjához (10th Mountain Div), mert az 1948-as olimpián a magyar csapatnak sielt, onnan disszidált. Egy telet ott töltött síképzésben, majd Koreába került 16 hónapra, ahol teherautón fuvarozott lőszert a frontra. Utána a nyolcadik hadsereget képviselte Hokaido, Japán katonai síversenyén. Leszerelése után Clevelandbe telepedett, sítanár és író lett. 1962-től 1970-ig a Boston Mills és Brandywine síiskola igazgatója, 1972-ig pedig az Alpine Valley sítelepnek. Közben két félórás televíziós programja volt az 1960-as években, "Skiing with Bert," amit az NBC TV csatorna 50 állomásán mutattak. Közben 20 évet töltött a Sears Roebuck vállalatnál hírverőként. Sokat tett a mozgássérültek síoktatása terén, és "My Sentiment" című darabot komponált a Glenn Miller zenekarnak. Gyermekkorában a budapesti Operaház ballet művésze volt, jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik.

Fissel Pál

1986-1993 a hadseregben, majd 1993-tól a mai napig a légi erőkben. Főtörzsőrmesternél magasabb, nincs magyar megfelelője (Senior Master Sergeant). A hadseregben gyalogos és páncélos alakulatoknál szolgált, Reagan elnök díszőrségében is. 1996-1997-ben NATO csapatokkal Magyarországra kerül, Taszáron tűzoltóként szolgált. 2005-ben Katárban jár, sokszor Németországban is. Jelenleg a légierőkben tartalékos, és ugyanott civil alkalmazottként dolgozik, Cleveland környékén él.

Fodor Jenő

1957-1968. Tizedes (Private First Class). Hat hónapot alapkiképzésen, majd 11 évet tartalékos alakulatnál (National Guard) szolgált Cleveland környékén híradós és páncélosként. Ft. Knox, Kentucky-ban és Ft. Bliss, Texas-ban is töltött időt. Alapkiképzését együtt végezte Solymosi Aladárral. Civil foglalkozása hegesztő, jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

Fricke Aladár

1954-1957. Őrmester (Sergeant). Tankparancsnok egy páncélos hadosztálynál (6th Arm Cav). Németországban szolgált a Landshut-i amerikai laktanyán, a cseh határt védték. 1956 novemberében alakulata készenlétben állt esetleges magyarországi bevetésre, de a politikai döntések nem úgy bizonyultak. Aktiv szolgálata után az 1961-es Berlini krízisben kapott otthon telefonhívást, hogy intézze el a családi ügyeket, esetleg visszahívják, de végül is nem mozgósították. Leszerelése után Alcoa cégnél először rajzoló, majd mérnök, végül tervező iroda vezetője. Jelenleg nyugdíjban Cleveland környékén él.

+ Futo John Anthony

1968-1969. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). A clevelandi Buckeye utcai magyar negyedben nőtt fel, majd alapkiképzésben részesül Ft. Knox, Kentucky-ban. Vietnámban harcol tankosként, majd Quang Ngai közelében 1969. szeptember másodikán tankja alatt akna robbant, hősi halált halt. Gyermekkori barátja Baumhackl János volt.

Gáspár István

1953-1955. Őrmester (Sergeant). Tüzérségnél szolgált, tüzérirányító beosztásban. Németországban szolgált egy évet, közel a cseh határhoz lehallgatott rádiótelefonon magyar alakulatok közléseit. Leszerelése után

építészként dolgozik, élt San Franciscoban egy évet, végül is Cleveland környékén telepedett le, ma is ott él.

Goda Ferenc

Tengerész 1973-1983. Altiszt (Chief Petty Officer). Atomhajtású csatacirkálón szolgál 4 évet, tengeralattjáró vadászként. Az egész világot behajózza, jár Ausztráliában, Európában a Földközi tengeren, Afrikában, a Csendes óceánon. San Diegóban szárazföldön tanít több éven át elektronikai elméletet. Leszerelése után pilóta lesz, B-747 és DC-8 gépeket repül világ körül. Jelenleg Virginia államban él, mint szaktanácsadó szerepel.

Göllesz László

1964-1997. Egyetemen 1964-től tisztképzésben vesz részt, 1966-ban tengerészgyalogos tartalékos, majd 1968-ban lesz tengerészgyalogos hadnagy, később százados. Vietnámban gyalogos szakaszvezetőként és kommunikációs századparancsnok helyettesként (company XO) szolgál, harcok alatt megsebesül. Visszaküldik Vietnámba, később civil összekötőként szolgál. Vietnámi szolgálata alatt meglátogatja gyermekkori barátját, Mészáros Elemért, aki szintén Vietnámban szolgál. 1974-ben áttér a haditengerészethez, Oaklandban orvosi alakulatnál tölt be biztonsági tisztheosztást, később tengernagy szárnysegédje lesz. 1977-ben haditengerészeti tartalékos alakulathoz kerül, ahol 20 évet szolgál, fregatkapitányként (Commander) szerel le. Civil életben könyvelő, tanár, értékesítő, ingatlanbefektető. Jelenleg Cleveland környékén él.

Gombás James Michael

Tengerésztiszt. 1995-1999, majd 2003-ban tartalékos alakulathoz újra feliratkozik. Korvettkapitány (Lieutenant Commander). Stanford egyetemen tanul, majd Olaszországban, Nápolyban vesz részt jugoszláviai haditengerészeti repülő hadműveletekben időjárásjelentés tisztként. Később Japánba viszik tengeralattjáró vadászként, majd leszerel, és Kaliforniában mérnökként dolgozik, közben tartalékosként szolgál megint Japánban. Egyénileg visszahívják teljesidős szolgálatba, Afganisztánban harcol egy évet 2010-ben.

Gombás Steven

Tengerészgyalogos 1996-2001. Őrnagy (Major). Hawaii-ban szolgál tüzérségi zászlóaljnál és gyalogos ezredben. Ausztráliában jár hadgyakorlaton, majd leszerel. 2002-ben visszatér tartalékos logisztikai alakulathoz, mozgosítják alakulatát Irakba, részt vesz az iraki 2003-as megszálláson. Jelenleg New York városában lakik, a villanyműveknél dolgozik.

dr. Gross András Károly

1959. Honvéd (Private). Ft. Knox, Kentucky-ban szolgál 3 hónapig, de mint mérnök mentesítve volt további szolgálatból, bár 7 évig tartalékosként volt nyilvántartva. Mérnök és közgazdászként végez, 1968 óta a Cleveland State egyetemen tanít. Iparban is dolgozott, vendégtanár volt Magyarországon, Ausztráliában, és Kanadában. Fulbright díjas, a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia közületi tagja. 5 könyvet és számtalan tudományos cikket írt, szerkesztő bizottságon ül több tudományos folyóiratnál. Jelenleg Cleveland környékén él.

ifj. Gulden György

1957-1961. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Két évet szolgál a hadseregben nehézgépjárműszerelőként, egy évet abból Németországban, majd utána két évet tartalékosként. Leszerel, azóta automatizációval és elektronikával foglalkozik, magánvállalkozó, többek között General Electric és Rockwell cégeknek végez munkákat. Jelenleg Cleveland környékén él, fél-állományban nyugdíjas.

Gulden Kálmán

1965-1967. Őrmester (Specialist 5). Gyaloghadosztály parancsnokságánál (24th Inf Div) titkárságon szolgál. Németországban Augsburgban tölt 18 hónapot. Leszerelése után gépészmérnöki pályán dolgozik

tervezőként, többek között az Eaton és Ridge Tool cégeknél, nehéziparban. Szabadalmat is szerez munkájával. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

Gyékényesi András

1964-1966. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Egy évet szolgál Louisiana államban, majd elviszik Vietnámba, ahol egy évet szolgál gyalogos alakulatnál (1st Infantry Division). Alakulatában az elsősegélyes egy magyar fiú volt Los Angelesből, Kaáli Gál Csaba. Leszerelése után a Kroger cégnél étellellátási iparban dolgozott. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

+ dr. Gyékényesi György

Légi erőknél szolgál 1952-1956. Őrmester (Sergeant). Repülőtereken logisztikával, vizellátással foglalkozik, Alaszkába szolgál 2 évet. Leszerelése után gépészmérnök lesz, le is doktorál, NASA-hoz kerül. Szabadidejében magyar verseket ír, két verseskötete is megjelenik. 1973-ban hal meg.

ifj. Hada János

Tengerészgyalogos. 1990-1992. Tizedes (Lance Corporal). Alapképzése alatt Parris Island-on a magyarországi vezérkari főnök volt hivatalos látogatáson, odahívták hozzá magyarul beszélgetni. Gyalogos volt főleg Camp LeJeune, Északkarolinában. Az első Öböl háborúra készen álltak a bevetésre, de végül is nem került rá sor a háború gyors befejezése miatt. Leszerelése után Cleveland-ben kereskedelmet tanul, majd 2001 után visszatér Magyarországra, ahol egy hollandi informatikai cégnek szoftver értékesítésével, forgalmazásával, bevezetésével foglalkozik. Jelenleg Budapesten lakik.

Halácsy Gyula

Tengerész. 1966-1970. Altszt (Petty Officer 2nd Class). A Karib-tengeren végez szolgálatot egy tengeralattjáró-karbantartó hajón (sub-tender). Guantanamo Öbölben is jár, Kubában. Villanyszerelő; radar és hanglokátorként is képesített, de mivel nem amerikai állampolgár, nem engedik azokba a beosztásokba. Később megszerzi amerikai állampolgárságát, leszerel, és műszaki rajzoló és tervezői munkát végez a vas, üveg, és autógyártási iparban. Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

Halácsy Attila

2006-2012. Tengerész altszt (Petty Officer 2nd class). Atomképzésben és tengeralattjáróképzésben részesül, majd jár Krétán, az Egyesült Arab Emírségekben, Szicílián, Franciaországban, és Norvégiában. Jelenleg a USS Mexico tengeralattjárón szolgál segédgépészként: gőz, olaj, és légnymósi berendezéseket tart karban. Halácsy Gyula fia.

dr. Hargitai István

Tengerésztiszt. 1996-tól a mai napig. Fregattkapitány (Commander). Fogorvosi alakulatoknál végez fogorvosi és parancsnoki beosztásokat. Okinawa, Japánban helyezik el, visszakerül Bethesda, Marylandbe, majd Yokosuka, Japánba vezeti a haditengerészet kórházában a fogorvosi szakosztályt. Afrikába utazott haditengerészeti fogorvosként, majd Nápolyban, Olaszországban vezette a fogorvosi részleget. Jelenleg Bethesda-ban tanít a haditengerészeti fogorvosi posztgraduális egyetemen.

+ Harmatos László

1958-1961. Őrvezető (Private). Katonai rendőralakulatnál szolgált, együtt vonult be Hun (Szelepcsényi) Lászlóval és Herczeg Istvánnal, majd Panamában szolgált. Leszerelése után autoalkatrészeket értékesített, Oklahoma, Texas, és Louisiana államokban, de Cleveland környékén lakott. 2001-ben halt meg.

Hartmann Károly

1959. Tizedes (Private First Class). Gyalogos egy tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard), összesen 6 hónapot szolgál. Szolgálatát alatt Ft. Jackson, Délkarolinában találkozott egy szakasszal, ahol egy Virág nevezetű főhadnagy volt a szakaszparancsnok, és az egész szakasz DP magyarokból állt. Leszerelése után a vasutnál szerelő, jelenleg nyugdíjas Cleveland környékén.

Havasy Imre

1964-1966. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Utásként először Bostonban képez tisztjelölteket (5th Div: OCS), majd 4,5 hónapot harcol Vietnámban (1st Div). Főleg hidépítést és útépitést végeztek, de állandó harc közben. Leszerelése után rajzoló lesz, majd elektronikus mérnökként menedzsmentben dolgozik. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

Hehs William Ákos

1955-1965. Sorhajóhadnagy (Lieutenant). Gépészmérnöki szakon végzi Clevelandben az egyetemet, majd a haditengerészetnél pilóta lesz, anyahajón és szárazföldön, főleg tengeralattjáróvadász alakulatnál. Floridában tengeralattjárókiképzésben is részesül, majd Grúniában és Newfoundland szolgál tengeralattjáróvadászként. Négy évet szolgál, majd áttér tartalékos alakulathoz. Civil életben 40 évet dolgozik a General Motors cégnél, abból húsz évet katonai járművek tervezésében és gyártásában, majd a GM egyetemének menedzsereként. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Michigan államban él.

Herczeg István

1958-1961. Katonai rendőralakulatnál szolgált, együtt vonult be Hun (Szelepcsényi) Lászlóval és Harmatos Lászlóval, majd Németországban szolgált.

† id. Hokky István

1950-1952. Második világháború menekülttáborában jelentkezik, alapkiképzés után Németországban szolgál tolmácként. Leszerelése után gépészmérnök lesz, 1979-ben halt meg Clevelandben. Hokky Péter apja.

Hokky Péter

1989-2004. Százados (Captain). Tartalékos alakulatát Szeptember 11 után mozgósították, fogorvosi hadtestnek adminisztrációs századparancsnoka. Az egyik clevelandi cserkész csapatot is vezette, mielőtt elköltözött. Ekuadorban is volt természettudomány tanárként, jelenleg Akron környékén lakik.

Horánsky Richárd

1971-1997. Zászlós, azaz főtörzsőrmesternél magasabb, rangjának nincs magyar megfelelője (Master Sergeant). Alapkiképzés után tartalékos alakulatoknál szolgál. Elkezd rádiósként páncélos alakulatnál, majd rendőr alakulathoz kerül, azzal tölt 5 hetet Németországban, Kaiserslauternban. Átkerül hírszerző alakulatokhoz, ahol legtöbb idejét kémelhárítási beosztásokban szolgál elemzőként, bár Special Forces alakulatnál is szolgál három évet. Muhoray Kornéllal is egy alakulatban szolgál egy ideig. Civil foglalkozásában 27 évig nyomozó különböző állami hivatalokban. Gyermekkorában táncolt a Szent Erzsébet templom magyar szüreti mulatságainál. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Clevelandben él.

† id. Horváth Mihály

1953-1961. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 6). Besorozták, majd alapkiképzés után Németországba kerül gyalogos alakulathoz (1st Army, 8th Infantry Regiment, 2nd Bn). 1954-ben katonai sibirban vesz részt Garmisch-ben, majd 1955-ben tartalékos alakulathoz kerül. 1957 nyarán Ft. Meade, Marylandben minősített anyagokat fordít. Civil foglalkozása először szerszámkészítő és gépköszörűs, majd több mint 15 évig a Black & Decker cégnek gyártmány mérnöke, később ingatlanügynök lesz. Tüdőrákban hal meg 2005 májusában.

Hun (Szelepcsényi) László

1957-1974. Főhadnagy (First Lieutenant). Tartalékos alakulatnál szolgál (Ohio National Guard), majd 1958-tól 1961-ig áttér a szárazföldi erőnemhez, együtt vonult be Herczeg Istvánnal és Harmatos Lászlóval. Ejtőernyős katonai rendőrségi alakulatnál szolgált (82nd Airborne Division), közben más külföldivel együtt focizott a hadseregi csapaton. Áttért hírszerző beosztásba, Németországban szolgált magyar és német tolmács és kihallgatóként. Egyik előljárója magyar menekült volt, Bokor János. Visszatér Clevelandbe, ahol Special Forces tartalékos alakulatnál továbbra szolgált. 1963-ban jelentkezett a Washington, DC rendőrségnél, ott különleges alakulatnál karhatalmi intézkedésekben vett részt az 1968-as

randalírozásoknál. Közben nemzetközi politológiából végzett egyetemet és Marylandben Special Forces tartalékos alakulatnál szolgált. 1971-ben mozgósítják 6 hónapig, részt vesz Special Forces tisztképzésen, főhadnagyi rangot kap. Több magyarral találkozik szolgálata alatt, Marylandben parancsnok Virág Bendegúz főhadnagy volt. Később leköltözik Miami, Florida környékére, ott less rendőr, detektív. Saját biztonsági vállalatát alapítja, Attila Security. Jelenleg részidő nyugdíjas, Miami környékén lakik. Édesapja, aki 1929-ben magyar országos ökölvívó bajnok volt, őrnagy volt a Magyar Királyi Hadseregben, a budapesti ostromnál vesztette bal karját; Clevelandben a Szent Margit templom és iskolának volt gondnoka.

Hun (Szelepcsényi) Miklós

1961-1992. Ezredes (Colonel). Ejtőernyős alakulatoknál (82nd Airborne Div, 101st Airborne Div) gyalogos, bevetik őket a Dominikai Köztársaságba. 1966-ban végez tisztképzőt, majd 9 hónapot szolgál Németországban Special Forces alakulatnál, aminek az volt feladata, hogy szükség esetén bevessék őket Magyarországra partizánharcra, 5 magyar is van egységében. Vietnámban is harcol, 3 évet tölt összesen Special Forces alakulatoknál. Visszakerül Ft. Lewis, Washington államban, ahol ejtőernyős szakaszparancsnok (173rd Airborne). Ott találkozik Wass de Czege Hubával, az író fiával. 1968-ban helikopter pilóta less, Vietnámban kétszer lövik le. Többszörös kitüntetésben részesült, köztük Purple Heart érdemrend és Distinguished Flying Cross. 1970-ben visszakerül Amerikába, kriminológiából végez a Nebraska egyetemen. 1973-ban áttér katonai rendőrséghez, különböző beosztásokban szolgál. Ft. Meyer rendőrpáncsnokaként Ivány Róbert szomszédja volt. Az amerikai katonai tisztképző akadémiánál is szolgál (West Point), 3 évet tölt Panamában zászlóaljparancsnokként. Ft. Riley, Kansas, és Columbus, Ohio-ban is zászlóaljparancsnok. Leszerelése után 6 évig vezeti a West Virginia állam börtönrendszerét, jelenleg tanácsadóként félnyugdíjban van, West Virginia államban lakik.

Huzau Kristóf

Tengerészgyalogos. 1999-2004. Őrmester (Sergeant). Hírszerző elemző, az NSA Ft. Meade laktanyáján szolgál, részt vesz az afganisztáni és iraki hírszerzésben. Jelenleg egyetemen tanul pszichológiát.

Incze Csaba

1966-1968. Őrmester (Sergeant). Ft. Sam Houston, Texasban végez labortanfolyamot, majd Ft. Polk, Louisiana-ban szolgál laborvezetőként (NCIC). Leszerelése után rövid ideig labortechnikus a Union Carbide cégnél, majd clevelandi rendőr, később Lakewood (Cleveland egyik külvárosa) városában rendőr, detektív. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik. Gyermekkorában Bodnár Sándorral és Rátoni-Nagy Tamással volt egy cserkész őrsben.

dr. Ivány Róbert

1969-2003. Vezérőrnagy (Major General). Az amerikai tiszti akadémiáját végzi (West Point), majd többek között Vietnámban (ahol meg is sérül), Németországban, Szaudi Arábiában, és Kuwaitban szolgál. Reagan elnök hadsegédje, máskor a szárazföldi tiszti hadegyetemnek parancsnoka (Army War College, Carlisle, PA). Európai történelemből doktorál. 1990-ben segít Magyarország hadseregének átszervezésében. Jelenleg Houston, Texas egyik egyetemének (University of St. Thomas) elnöke. Gyermekei is mind az amerikai kormányt szolgálták, egyik fia őrnagy, a hadseregben orvos, a másik fia lelkész volt a tartalékos hadseregben, lánya civilként dolgozik Irákban kulturális antropológusként, legkisebb fia pedig másodszor fordul meg tűzérként a hadsereggel Irákban.

Jánossy Ferenc

Légi erőknél szolgál 1986-1992. Őrmester (Staff Sergeant). Elektronika szerelő az F-15 és F-4 repülőgépeken (Avionics System and Weapons Control System Specialist). Északkarolinában szolgál, majd Szaudi Arábiában az első Öböli háború alatt. Leszerelése után a civil életben is elektronika szerelő, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik. Gyermekkorában a Szent Margit iskolában járt.

id. Juhász János

1959-1969. Matróz altiszt (Petty officer 1st Class). 1959-63-ig a haditengerészetnél szolgál, utána 6 évet tartalékos. Gépkarbantartási beosztásokat tölt be, navigálási műszereket (gyrocompass), belső kommunikációs felszerelést, és elektronikát javít. Anyahajót kísérő csoportban tengeralattjáróvadász rombolón bejárja a csendes óceánt, beleértve Tajvant, Japánt, és a Fülöp-szigeteket. Leszerelése után elektromérnök lett, az autóiparban dolgozott mérnökként, majd menedzsmentben. 10 szabadalma van, néhány évet Európában dolgozott a GM cégnek, jelenleg konzultál többek között NASA-nál. Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik.

Juhász Kálmán

1987-1990. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Ejtőernyős gyalogos alakulatnál (82nd Airborne Div) elsősegélyes. Pont leszerelt a panamai bevetés előtt rövidesen, de visszahívták néhány hétre, majd nem került rá sor bevetésére. Leszerelése után műszaki rajzoló lett, jelenleg is abban az iparban dolgozik, mágneses magrezonancia gépeket rajzol. Cleveland környékén él.

† Kalmár Attila

20 évet szolgál tartalékosként a nemzeti gárdában (National Guard), alakulatát mozgósították az 1971-es karhatalmi intézkedések alkalmából. Civil foglalkozása röntgen technikus, kórházakban javít és beszerel röntgen felszerelést. 2009-ben halt meg. Fia Kalmár Tim.

Kalmár Tim

1988-tól a mai napig. Alezredes (Lieutenant Colonel). Tartalékos műszaki alakulatnál (National Guard combat engineer) szolgál építészként. Németországban is szolgál egy hónapot, Japánban kétszer, Kóréában háromszor, és 2009-ben mozgósítják egy évre Afganisztánba. Civil életben mérnöki végzettséggel tüzoltó és elsősegélyes, Akron környékén lakik. Édesapja Kalmár Attila volt.

Kálnoky István

1982-1992. Őrnagy (Major). Gyalogos tisztképzésen, a Ranger tanfolyamon, és ejtőernyőskiképző tanfolyamon vesz részt. 3 évet külföldön is szolgál: Európában, Hondurasban, az első Öböl háború alatt pedig Kuvait és Szaudi Arábiában. Később tartalékos alakulatnál is szolgál.

† Kézdi Péter

Tengerészgyalogos. 1954-1956. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Guatamába megy tengerészgyalogosként, majd hajón a közép keletbe tölt 6-7 hónapot. Leszerelése után autókarosszéria javító üzemet vezet, majd 18 évig tulajdonosa egy karosszéria javító műhelynek. 2006-ban hal meg.

Kis Miklós Ottó

1955-1965. Őrmester (Sergeant). Tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard) szolgál páncélos felderítőként. Civil foglalkozásban kisipar tulajdonosa, 18 embert foglalkoztat (KM Fabricating) a vasiparban, a General Electric és Sikorsky helikoptergyártó cégeknek készítettek repülőgyártáshoz szerszámokat. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Clevelandben lakik.

Kis Pál Attila

1952-1954. Őrmester (Sergeant). Együtt szolgál Falk Viktorral. Leszerelése után építkezési iparban dolgozik. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Clevelandben él.

Kiss György

1956-1958. Tizedes (Specialist 3). Missouriban végez alapkiképzést, majd Ft. Lewis, Washington államba kerül egy felderítő alakulathoz. Az 1956 magyarországi forradalom alatt teljes alakulata, beleértve három századot és egy parancsnoksági századot, három napon keresztül 15 perces készenlétben állt, várva a repülő kifutón, hogy Magyarországra bevetik őket, de a november 4-es orosz bevonulás után nem lett belőle semmi. Később, amikor a magyar menekültek érkeztek Camp Kilmer, New Jerseybe, odarendelték tolmácsként, ahol kihallgatási és hírszerzési de főleg hangosbemondói feladatokat végzett.

Visszaemlékezése szerint a menekültek majdnem mind szabadon közöltek katonai adatokat, minden kényszer nélkül. Leszerelése után a hadsereg szolgálati ösztöndíja (GI Bill) jóvoltából kohászati mérnök lesz, 2010-ben vonult nyugdíjba. Cleveland környékén lakik.

† Kölcsey István

1951. Önként jelentkezett a hadseregbe, tüzérséghez van beosztva, de 7 hónap után egészségi okokból leszerelték. St. Louis, Missouri környékén tanul repülőmérnöki szakon, majd Seattle környékén a Boeing repülőgyárnak a balesetnyomozó részlegében dolgozik, lezuhanásokat nyomoz. 2008 körül hal meg.

Körössy János

Tengerészgyalogos. 1963-1966. Őrmester (Sergeant). Radar technikusként képezik ki San Diego-ban, majd tüzérségi összekötő alakulatnál szolgál (2nd Air & Naval Gunfire Liaison Co, Force Troops, Fleet Marine Force). Leszerelése után a Gould cégnél dolgozott technikusként az első Mark 48 torpedó prototípuson, majd Reliance Electric cégnél tervezőként, később a Horsburgh and Scott cégnél 38 évig, végén a mérnöki részleg vezetője lett. Nyugdíjában közösségi munkát végez a clevelandi Egyesült Magyar Egyletek elnökeként és az MHBK (Magyar Harcosok Bajtársi Köre) elnökeként. Cleveland környékén él.

Kovách Kálmán

1970-1980. Tengerészgyalogosként szolgál. Gyermekkorában a Buckeye utcai magyar negyedben nőtt fel. Jelenleg informatikával foglalkozik Missouri államban.

† Kovács Károly

1958-1963. Tizedes (Private First Class). Műszaki kiképzésben részesül, Koreába kerül (5th Army), majd tartalékos alakulatoknál szolgál. Leszerelése után elektromérnöki és kereskedelmi diplomát szerez, pilóta engedélyt, és a házipénzügyi iparban dolgozik, gyártásvezetőként és cégtulajdonosként. 1987-ben halt meg Pennsylvániában.

Kőváry János

1965-1967 (?). Tengerészgyalogosként szolgál. Mivel tud gépelni, irodai beosztást kap. 1977-ben halt meg.

Kováts Béla

1959-1961. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Rajzolóként szolgál Koreában, terepet és épületeket rajzol egy logisztikai alakulatnál (7th Logistical Command). Leszerelése után szerszámkészítő mérnök, többek között a Warner & Swasey cégnél. Jelenleg nyugdíjas Cleveland környékén.

dr. Kováts Péter

Légi erőknél szolgál 1994 óta a mai napig. Ezredes (Colonel). Belgyógyász orvosi és parancsnoki beosztásokat tölt be, jár Törökországban, Irákban, Németországban, Szaudi Arabiában, Afrikában. Jelenleg a Németországban lévő Ramstein-i amerikai légierő bázison orvosi alakulatnál parancsnok (aerospace medicine squadron CO).

† id. Kozmon György

1954-1955. Gyalogos (Private). Ft. Knox, Kentucky-ban repülő szerelő, de mivel a második világháború alatt a magyar repülő akadémiára járt (zászlósként avatták a háború végén 19 évesen), így tudott repülni és kiügyeskedte elődjeinél, hogy engedjék néha repülni, bár nem volt hivatalosan amerikai pilóta. Ugyanabba a páncélos hadosztályba osztották be (3rd Arm Div), akinek a hadifogolytáborában töltött időt a második világháború végén. Leszerelése után elektromérnök lesz, a kilencvenes években Németországba költözött, majd 2004-ben halt meg.

id. Kun-Szabó István

1971-2005. Százados (Captain). Egy évet lakik Clevelandben, onnan jelentkezik tengerészgyalogosnak, tartalékos alakulatnál szolgál. Áttér szárazföldi tartalékos alakulathoz, ahol kiképző lesz. 1976-ban tiszt lesz, majd századparancsnok, később magyar, francia, és német tolmácsként szolgál. A hadsereggel kerül

Olaszországba, Németországba, Magyarországra. 8 évet szolgál a New Jersey nemzeti gárda tartalékos alakulatánál (New Jersey National Guard). Civil foglalkozása tanár, jelenleg New Jersey államban él.

Kunst William Géza

1961-1963. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Elektromérnöként végzi az egyetemet, majd mérnöki alakulatnál szolgál főleg civil alkalmazottakkal kutatóként Baltimore környékén (Edgewood Arsenal), elektronikát terveztek. Leszerelése után elektromérnöként dolgozott, jelenleg nyugdíjas Cleveland környékén.

Kuntz Allan

1966-1968. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Közgazdaságból végez egyetemen, majd jelentkezik katonának, hogy megelőzze a sorozást. Németországban tölt 15 hónapot egy NATO rakéta támponton, biztonsági őrként. Leszerelése után banknál dolgozik, jelenleg nyugdíjas Cleveland környékén. Szülei eredetileg Kuncz néven futottak.

Lázár András

1966-1968. Főhadnagy (Second Lieutenant). Vegyészeti tisztképzésen vesz részt, majd Pittsburgh környékén tüzérségi alakulatnál Nike-Hercules rakétalégyvédelmi állomáson tölt S2 beosztást, kémelhárítás és biztonsági feladatokkal. Századosi előléptetése előtt leszerel, mérnöki, gyártási, és pénzügyi pályafutásba kezd. Jelenleg a Goodrich cégnél dolgozik költségszámítóként, Cleveland környékén lakik.

Leidli János

1957-1959. Tizedes (Private First Class). Gyalogos alakulatnál (3rd Div, 15th Inf Bn) szolgál Németországban 20 kilométerre a keleti határtól. Nem tudott még angolul, mikor belépett, hogy megelőzze a sorozást, és kéthavonta kihallgatták és próbáztatták, hogy nem-e kommunista. Évekkel később viszont felismerte önmagát fényképen egy Magyarországon kiadott propagandafüzetben, amikor katonai hajón vitték Németországba, valaki lefényképezte Savannah, Georgia környékén. Leszerelése után először marógépeken dolgozott, majd elvégezte a fodrásziskolát és feleségével több fodrászbolt tulajdonosa lett, köztük Gizella Beauty Salon, a clevelandi Buckeye utcai magyar negyedben. Jelenleg nyugdíjasként Naples, Floridában él.

Leitgeb Sándor

1964-1967. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Repülőgép szerelő. 16 éves korában jön Amerikába, rá 5 évre besorozták, egy éven belül megkapta az amerikai állampolgárságát. Vietnámban szolgál egy évet. Leszerelése után is repülőgép szerelő, majd pilóta lesz. Évtizedekig játszik Hegedeős Kálmán zenekarával clevelandi magyar bálokon. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

Lendvay János

1979-1983. Őrvezető (Private First Class). Tengerészgyalogosként szolgál. Egy évet tölt Okinawán, Japánban. Kétszer jár Koreában, jár a Fülöp szigeteken és Panamában hadgyakorlatokon, téli kiképzésre pedig Norvégiában. Leszerelése után autószerelő lesz, Cleveland egyik külvárosában dolgozik. Vidéken lakik, Ravenna, Ohio környékén. Édesapja sokáig Cleveland magyar eseményeit fényképezte, egy clevelandi magyar lapnak volt szerkesztője.

Magyar Frank Louis

1966-1972. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Besorozták, két évet szolgál Németországban a francia határnál kórházi szakácsként, majd teherautó sofőrként (15th Medevac Hospital). Tartalékos alakulathoz helyezik át, de nem kell rendszeresen járnia. Civil foglalkozásként gyárban dolgozik esztergályosként. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik. Nagyszülei jöttek Amerikába.

+ Makovits Viktor

1968-1970. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 5). Alapképzését Dolesch Lászlóval együtt végzi, majd személyzetis titkár lesz, fizetéskiadást intéz, számos kitüntetést nyer. Koreában szolgál másfél évet. Leszerelése után a

Cleveland State egyetemen tanul, 1973-tól elárusítással és értékesítéssel foglalkozik Cleveland környékén. 2007-ben halt meg.

+ Martin Alan Dávid

1969-1970. Törzsőrmester (Staff Sergeant). Gyalogos alakulattal (1st Cavalry Division, 7th Regiment, 1st Battalion) kerül Vietnámba. Harc közben esett el Kambodzsában 1970. május 17-én. Nagyszülei, Zoldák Mária és János, aktívak voltak Cleveland magyar közösségeiben.

Medgyessy Mihály István

2000-től a mai napig a légi erőknél. Őrnagy (Major). Híradós mérnökként és törzstiszti beosztásokban szolgál Mississippin, Georgián, Louisianán, és Hawaii államokban. Tartalékos alakulatoknak is szolgál híradós tanácsadóként, majd elitcsapatokhoz kerül Északkarolinába. 2006-ban Irákban szolgál elitcsapatokkal, ahol magyar NATO katonákkal találkozik, majd 2010-ben Afganisztánban.

+ Medgyessy Pál

1998-2003. Altiszt (Petty Officer 2nd Class). Parti őrségben szolgál (Coast Guard). Hawaiiiban, Seattle-ban, majd Tampa, Floridában helikopterből mentőugróként, a mexikói Öbölben végez szolgálatot. 2003-ban meghal motorkerékpár balesetben.

+ Megay Béla

1956-1998. Főtörzsőrmester (Sergeant First Class). Nyolc évet szolgál a nemzeti gárdában, majd áttér a tartalékos hadseregbe, lélektani műveleti egységénél (II. PsyOps Group) szolgál hírszerzőtisztként Dolesch Gyulával együtt. Fordító, tolmács, vallató, kiképző, és szakmai tanulmányokat ír: NATO hadgyakorlatoknak kerettörténeteket, hírszerzési elemzéseket, propagandafejlesztéseket. Többször utazik a hadsereggel Németországba. Civil életben nyomdász felügyelőként dolgozott, és évtizedekig játszott zenekarával clevelandi magyar bálokon, az egyik fiú cserkészcsapatot is vezetett. 2000-ben halt meg. Édesapja csendőr volt.

Megyimóri János

1962-1968. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Tartalékos műszaki alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard, 112th Engineering Bn) szolgál robbantási és kommunikációs kiképzéssel és feladatokkal. Alakulatát mozgosították az 1960-as évek végebeli Clevelandben történő karhatalmi intézkedések alatt. Leszerelése után gépészmérnök lesz, finommechanikai öntödét vezet, repülőgéppalkatrészeket és orvosi felszereléseket gyártanak, majd saját műanyag gyártási cégét alapítja 1982-ben, 2002-ig vezet. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

+ Mentler Kornél

Vietnámban szolgál irodai beosztásban. Leszerelése után magánvállalkozó Cleveland környékén, 1987-ben hal meg.

Mestrits Zoltán

1968-1970. Őrmester (Sergeant). Először gyalogos hadosztályban (1st DIV), majd ejtőernyős hadosztályban (101st Airborne DIV) kutyakezelő. 10 hónapot harcol Vietnámban. Leszerelése után tetőzési vállalatot alapít, azóta is azt vezet. Cleveland környékén él.

Mészáros Elemér

1969-1971. Őrmester (Sergeant). Várday Sanyival találkozik Ft. Campbell, Kentucky-ban kiképzés alatt. Pénzügyi beosztása van, étel és üzemanyag elosztást intéz 10 hónapon keresztül Vietnámban a 25. Gyaloghadosztály ellátási zászlóaljánál. (25. Inf Div, S&T Btn). Ottléte alatt két vietnámi apáca ad neki egy rózsafűzért, amit végig hord, majd 35 évvel később átadja a rózsafűzért gyermekkori barátja fiának, Strada Róbertnek, aki Iraki bevetése alatt hordja. Egyik másik gyermekkori barátja, Göllész László, aki szintén Vietnámban szolgál, meglátogatja Elemért Vietnámban. Jelenleg Cleveland környékén él, egy befektetési cégnek alapítója és tulajdonosa.

Mező Raymond

Tengerészgyalogos. 1954-1958. Őrmester (Sergeant). Gyalogos szakaszvezetőként szolgált Olaszországban, Nápolyban NATO biztonsági feladatokkal. Utána Quantico, Virginiában gyakorlati kiképző a tisztképző tanfolyamon. Leszerelése után Clevelandba kerül vissza, ácsmesterként dolgozik. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Floridában él.

Mezősi Mónika

Tengerész. 2001-2006. Altiszt (Petty Officer 2nd Class). USS Bonhomme Richard hajón szolgált fedélzetmestersegédként. A hajó helikopter és tengerészgyalogos szállító, főleg tengerészgyalogosok bevetésére használták, meg azok támogatására 5 mérföldre a parttól. Irákba járnak, és kétszer Afganisztán környékén. 2004 végén és 2005 elején az ázsiai tsunámi miatt segítenek Tájföld környékén segélyszállítással. Leszerelése után különböző munkakörökben dolgozik, titkárnőként, au pair-ként, pincérnőként, majd visszatér iskolába, most fejezi be a nővérképző főiskolát Cleveland egyik külvárosában.

Mihály István

1968-1970. Őrmester (Sergeant). Hawk rakéta szerelő, gépesített gyalogságnál szolgált Németországban és Vietnamban. Leszerelése után magánvállalkozó, 16 évig a kormánynak dolgozik, többek között a Northrop Grumman cégnél is. Jelenleg tanácsadó és fejedelmény, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

+ Mód József

Koreában szolgált, majd leszerelése után teherautó vállalatnál dolgozik.

+ Mód Lajos

Sivatagi gyakorlaton megrokkant, majd leszerelt és 19??-ben meghalt.

Módy Zoltán

1951-1953. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Besorozták, majd hírszerző alakulatnál volt német és magyar tolmács. Másfél évet töltött Ausztriában, Linz és Salzburgban, többek között magyar menekülteket hallgatott ki. Leszerelése után Clevelandbe költözött, ahol 45 évig lakott. Vegyészként dolgozott, először a Ferro cégnek, majd a Harshaw Chemical cégnek. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Baltimore környékén él.

+ Mohos Gyula

1960-1967. Őrmester (Sergeant). Tartalékos alakulatban szolgált együtt Teller Imrével, legjobb barátjával. A Győr megyei Gyömöre falubeliek mindketten. Civil foglalkozása építészmérnök.

Molnár Rezső

1975-1978. Őrmester (Sergeant). Ranger tanfolyamot első helyezéssel (Distinguished Honor Graduate) végzi el, majd gyalogos alakulathoz kerül Ft. Carson, Colorado-ba. Leszerelése után General Motors cégnél szerszámkészítő, később ellenőr. Jelenleg a Clevelandtól fél órára fekvő Lorain környékén él, nyugdíjas. Édesapja a francia idegenlégióban szolgált az 1940-es évek végén Indokínában, kétszer sebesült.

Monostory György Balázs

1966-1967. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Tengerészgyalogsághoz besorozták (ritkaság: általában önkéntes a tengerészgyalogság), és 21 hónapot szolgált. Gyalogos, páncéllellenes, és nehéz gépfegyver kiképzésen volt Kaliforniában és Északkarolinában. Vietnámra dzsungelképzést kapott Panamában és a Karib környékén, majd egész századából ő maradt csak itthon, áthelyezték századpostásnak Quantico, Virginiában. Korán engedték ki, hogy egyetemre járhasson. Seattle jezsuita egyetemén végzett modern európai történelem és tanítóképzési szakokon, majd néhány évre Kanadában tanító lett. Az 1970-es években organikus mezőgazdaság tulajdonosa lett British Columbia tartományban, majd Toronto környékére költözött, a Petrocanada olajcégnél lett technikai és környezetvédelmi tanácsadó. Az energia iparban tanácsadói magánvállalkozást is alapított. Jelenleg Toronto környékén betegállományban gyengélkedik.

Monostory László

1967-1969. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Michigan State egyetemen végzett Masters diplomát, és rá néhány nappal kapta behívólevelét. Talajelemzői kiképzésben részesül, majd személyzetis osztályon szolgál Ft. Lewis, Washington államban, majd Ft. Meade, Marylandben. Leszerelése után a SUNY egyetemen végez Masters fokon erdőszertből. Jelenleg Syracuse környékén lakik, környezet tervezéssel foglalkozik.

+ Moravec Lukó Attila

Vietnámban szolgál, utána a Cleveland State egyetemen karbantartó. Motorkerékpáros baleset áldozata lesz.

Mócsi György

Tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard) szolgál 1958-1964. Tizedes (Private First Class). Teherautósofőr. Azóta nyugdíjba vonult, Cleveland környékén él.

Mrázik József

Tengerész. 1979-1987. Altiszt (Petty Officer). Számítógépeken és elektronikában dolgozik, a USS Midway anyahajón szolgál. Elmegy Japánba és Koreába. Gyermekkorában a Szent Erzsébet és Szent Margit magyar templomoknál táncol, leszerelése után is a számítógép iparban dolgozik. Jelenleg Seattle környékén lakik.

Muhoray Kornél

1960-1966, 1976-1998. Rangjának nincs magyar megfelelője; törzsszázlósánál magasabb, (Commissioned Warrant Officer CW4). Kételtű teherautó (DUKW) sofőr, majd később tartalékos szolgálatban mechanikus és hajó ki és berakodó. 1977-től századbeli műszaki tiszt, majd 1981-től tartalékos felderítő/hírszerző tiszt, alakulatában kihallgató. A nyolcvanas években Ízlandban járt. Alakulatát a kilencvenes évek balkáni hadműveletre mozgósítják, Magyarországon, Horvátországban, és Boszniában a NATO bevetés IFOR tagjaként. Megint otthon, századparancsnoki beosztást is tölt be. Majd 1998-ban Délkóreában is jár, utána Budapesten az amerikai Védelmi Attaché Irodában dolgozik, Magyarország NATO tagsága előkészítésén. Civil foglalkozása mérnök/projekt menedzser, később mérnöki konzultáció, magánvállalkozó. Jelenleg nyugdíjas Cleveland környékén.

Muzsaj Jenő

1950-1953. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Gyalogusként 9 hónapot harcol Kóréában. Leszerelése után rövid ideig a Ford gyárban dolgozik, majd kitanulja a repülőszereles szakmát, 40 évig dolgozik helikopter cégnél szerelőként Louisiana államban. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Clevelandban él.

Nebehay Leonard

1955-1958. A Buckeye utcai magyar negyedben nőtt fel, szülei Magyarországon születtek. Novák Józseffel együtt szolgál. Nebehay Steve bátyja.

Nebehay Steve

1964-1966. Tizedes (Private First Class). Ft. Knox, Kentucky-ban végzi alapkiképzését Nitray/Nyitrai (?) Mike osztálytársával együtt, majd tüzér alakulatnál szolgál Ft. Sill, Oklahomában. Leszerelése után National Acme cégnél dolgozik esztergályosként, majd a Brecksville-i veteránkorház konyhájában dolgozik. Fűtéskarbantartó tanfolyamot végez és aként dolgozik, amíg 2005-ben nyugdíjba nem vonul. Jelenleg Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

Nemes József

Légi erőkhben szolgál 1953-1957. Tizedes (Airman First Class). Zuhanásmentési alakulatoknál szolgál, jelentkezik Marokkóba, ahol 2 évet tölt. Több magyar idegenlégióossal találkozik ott Marrákesben és Casablancában. Katonai szolgálata alatt megszerzi amerikai állampolgárságát. Leszerelése után biológiát tanul, tanár lesz. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Montanában él.

Németh János

Tengerészgyalogos. 1964-1968. Őrmester (Sergeant). Gyalogos alakulatával a Karibi szigetek környékén hajóznak, amikor kitör a forradalom a Dominikai Köztársaságban. Amerikai állampolgárok menekítésével segítenek, majd Japánba utaznak. Később Vietnámban szolgál 23,5 hónapot egy tankbevonatató alakulatnál (Reclamation & Disposal) Danang környékén sofőrként. Leszerelése után a vasutnál dolgozik, majd 2003-ban elköltözik Clevelandból. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Myrtle Beach környékén él, Délkarolinában.

† ifj. Németh József

1955-1969. Főtörzsőrmester (Chief Petty Officer). Haditengerészetnél szolgál építészeti szerelőként. Balesetben hal meg Quang Nam vietnámi tartományban. A clevelandi Buckeye utcai magyar negyedben lakott.

Novák József

1955-1958. Őrmester (Sergeant). Alapkiképzését Fr. Chaffee, Arkansas-ban végzi, majd ejtőernyős kiképzésben részesül Ft. Campbell, Kentucky-ben. Legtöbb idejét ejtőernyős alakulatnál tölti, München környékén. Az 1956-os szabadságharc alatt készenlétben volt alakulata, nem tudták, hogy a Suez csatornához vagy Magyarországra küldik-e őket. Leszerelése után szerszámkészítő lesz, mérnöki szakon tanul, jelenleg géptervező. Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik. Nagyapja a clevelandi Buckeye magyar negyedben az Oroszláni kocsmá tulajdonosa, apja Amerikában született de visszatért Magyarországra, majd az első világháború alatt ott ragadt, később megint kijöttek. Novák szintén kocsmá tulajdonos volt 1979-től 1986-ig, sok öreg magyar fordult meg a Buckeye utcai Joe's Café kocsmájában.

† dr. Olgay György

1951-1953. Őrmester (Sergeant). Katonai rendőrségnél szolgál (MP), Koreába is elviszik. Leszerelése után történelemből doktorál, majd hosszú éveken keresztül Vermontban tanít politológiát egyetemen. Egyike a Hontalan Sasoknak, azok a cserkészvezetők, akik a DP táborokban átmenekítették a Magyarországon betiltott cserkészteket, és külföldön folytatták. 2010-ben halt meg.

† Orosz Ferenc

1970-1978. Ejtőernyősként szolgál négy évet, majd áttér a haditengerészethez. Cleveland mindkét fiucserkész csapatában törzs tag. Később elköltözik, többek között Texasban, majd 1992-ben halt meg.

Orosz László

1963-1965. Családja 1963-ban érkezett Clevelandbe Venezuelából, a második világháború menekültjeként. Hat hónapra rá behívták katonának, még nem is volt állampolgár, de elsősegélyesként szolgál Vietnámban. Solymosi Aladárral együtt dolgozik órajavitó műhelyben. Jelenleg Clevelandtól egy másfél óra távolságra vidéki farmon lakik.

Oszlányi Antal Géza

1963-1969. Százados (Captain). 1951-ben érkezett Clevelandbe, majd a Florida State egyetemen végzett péktudomány és menedzsmenti szakon. Visszakerült Clevelandbe és dolgozott egy clevelandi pékségnél, ahol az anyja is dolgozott, a Hall Baking cégnél. Bevonult a hadseregbe, elvégezte a tisztképző tanfolyamot Ft. Benning, Georgiában, majd hadbiztosi tiszttanfolyamot Ft. Lee, Virginiában. Két évet szolgált Memphis, Tennessee-ben, a tiszti klub vezetőjeként, majd Evansville, Indianában petróleum szazadparancsnoka tartalékos szolgálata alatt 1965-től leszereléséig. Civil foglalkozásában először péktudományban (bakery science) ipari kutató, 1970-től a clevelandi Durkee Foods cégnél, majd Illinois, Északkarolina, és Connecticut államokban értékesítő, pékiparban és élesztőiparban. 1998-ban nyugdíjba vonul Charlotte, Északkarolinába, ahol jelenleg él, részidőben konzultáns a sütőiparban.

Őszényi Julián Tibor

1962-1989. Főtörzszászlós (Sergeant Major). Ungváron született, szüleivel a második világháború miatt Ausztriába menekült, majd Venezuelába került, ahol négy évig Boromissza Csabával egy bérházban lakott családja. 1962-be Clevelandbe jött, onnan vonult be katonának. Ft. Knox-ban együtt volt alapkiképzésen

Pándi Gézával, és nagyon örült, mert alkalma volt a magyar szent koronát megtekinteni, ami akkor amerikai katonai őrizetben volt. Híradósként szolgált Georgiában, Alaszkában, Texasban, Virginiában, Marylandben, és Vietnámban egy évet. Panamában spanyolul tanított Dél-Amerikai tiszteket. Háromszor volt hosszabb ideig Németországban Wormsban (5th Signal Command). Leszerelése után Németországba költözött, ahol a mai napig is él, Darmstadt és Mannheim környékén.

Pándi Géza

1962-1964. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Alapképzésenn Őszényi Julián Tiborral együtt vesz részt. Hírszerző és felderítő alakulatoknál szolgál, főleg Ft. Knox-ban. Tiszti kadettek is kiképez. Leszerelése után szerszám és géplakatos lesz. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

ifj. Patay Károly

1986-1992. Tizedes (Private First Class). Robbantási kiképzésben részesül, majd tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard) szolgál jeep és HMMV sofőrként, abból egy hónapot a nyolcvanas évek végén mozgosítják alakulatát Hondurászba építkezésre. Megint mozgosítják alakulatát az első Öböl háborúra, de két héttel bevetése előtt lemondják a háború gyors befejezése miatt. Árvízi elmosások miatt újra mozgosítják alakulatát, West Virginia államba végeznek útépitést. Leszerelése után négy évet rendőrségnél fegyencőr, jelenleg építkező. Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

+ ifj. Pauer Zoltán

1955-1957. Őrvezető (Private First Class). Tengerészgyalogosként szolgál híradósi beosztásban, Kóréában is harcol. Leszerelése után szerszámkészítő lesz Cleveland környékén. 1979-ben halt meg.

Pavlish James

1970-1973. Őrmester (Sergeant). Texas, Oklahoma, és Kentucky államokban szolgál, és majdnem egy évet Vietnámban könnyűgyalogságnál elsősegélyesként. Amikor Oklahomában volt, találkozott egy Sobodosh őrmesterrel, aki a clevelandi Buckeye negyedből valósi volt. Leszerelése után a Georgetown egyetemen tanul linguisztikát, majd családi vállalkozásban vegyészcégnél dolgozik 1998-ig. Közben a Cleveland State egyetemen MA fokozatot elér spanyol nyelvszakon, és munkája mellett teológiából is végez. Jelenleg fél-nyugdíjas, a cleveland környékbéli John Carroll egyetemen tanít spanyol szakon.

Péter Gyula

1963-1966, 1966-1986. Jelentkezik a szárazföldi haderőnembe, ahol híradós iskolát végez. Egy évre küldik Vietnámba, majd kevesebb mint egy év belföldi szolgálat után megint Vietnámban tölt 5 hónapot. Őrmesterként (Sergeant) szerel le, egy fél évvel később jelentkezik a haditengerészetnél, ahol 20 évet szolgál utánpótlási beosztásokban 6 különböző hajón, főleg cirkálókon. A Földközi tengeren megáll Spanyolországban, Franciaországban, Olaszországban, Görögországban, Törökországban, Maltán, Egyiptomban, és Tuníziában, más hajóval pedig Brazília. Kaliforniában és Olaszországban is tölt 4 évet parti szolgálatban. Altszti ranggal megy nyugdíjba (Petty Officer 1st Class) és jelenleg Akron, Ohio-ban él.

Pintér Antal

1966-1968. Százados (Captain). Személyzetis tisztként szolgál (Adjutant General Corps) Indiana és Georgia államokban, de a 82-es és 101-es ejtőernyős hadosztályoknál is volt beosztása. Édesapja, aki csendőrfőtörzsőrmester volt Magyarországon, büszke volt rá, hogy fia amerikai katonatisztként szolgált. Leszerelése után menedzsmenti pályafutása van különböző cégeknél (American Greetings, GTE Directories), majd kórháznál lesz menedzsmenti tanácsadó, később orvosi fejedelm. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, egy ablakgyártó cég alelnöke, Cleveland környékén él.

Poece József

1957-1960. Tizedes (Private First Class). Tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard) szolgál jeep sofőrként, abból 6 hónapot aktív szolgálatban. Alakulatában együtt szolgál a Csikós testvérekkel, Mózsi

Györggyel, és Várdy Bélával. Leszerelése után műszaki iparban dolgozik, gyárvezető lesz, jelenleg nyugdíjas Cleveland környékén.

Pogány András

1983-2004. Őrnagy (Major O-4E). Jelentkezik sorkatonának, ejtőernyős gyalogos alakulatnál (82nd Airborne Div), három év alatt eléri az őrmesteri rangot (Sergeant). Később elvégzi a tisztképzést, tartalékos alakulatokhoz kerül (először Ohio National Guard, később II. PsyOps Group), néhány hetet tölt Magyarországon tolmácként, majd logisztikai és személyzetis tisztként szolgál, egy évre mozgosítják alakulatát az afganisztáni és iraki háborúk miatt, Ft. Bragg, Északkarolinába kerül. Civil foglalkozása pénzügyes egy kiadó vállalatnál, jelenleg Kaliforniában lakik.

+ Póhly Csaba

Légi erőknél szolgál 1952-1956. Őrmester (Staff Sergeant). A New York államban lévő Syracuse melletti légitámponton (Sampson AFB) szolgált alapképzőként. Leszerelése után gyárigazgató lesz, szerszámkészítő műhely elnöke. 2001-ben halt meg.

+ Pozmann Alex

1966-1968. Főhadnagy (First Lieutenant). Budapesten született a második világháború alatt, majd szüleivel 1957-ben menekült Clevelandbe. 1963-ban fejezte be a gimnáziumot, majd főiskolára és az Ohio State egyetemre tanult, mielőtt jelentkezett 1966-ban. Szülei nem akarták, hogy katona legyen, így nekik azt mondta, hogy besorozták. Hamar tiszt lett, majd gyalogos szakaszparancsnokként (1st Cav Div) megérkezett Vietnámba októberben, rá 2 hónapra Lam Dong környékén 1968. december 11-én hősi halált hal. A Cleveland környéki Sunset temetőben nyugszik.

Prileszky István

1980-2000. Légi erőknél őrnagy (Major). Légi akadémiát elvégzi Colorádóban, majd repülést tanít főleg Texasban, de parancsnoki és törzstiszti beosztásokban is szolgál. Egy évet tölt Budapesten légügyi attasé helyettesként a kilencvenes évek elején. Leszerelése után magánvállalkozó a biztonsági és informatikai pályán. Jelenleg Colorádóban él.

Rátoni-Nagy Tamás

Tengerészgyalogos. 1964-1967. Tizedes (Lance Corporal). Gyalogos alakulatban Dezső Józseffel egy zászlóaljban (3rd Bn, 7th Regiment, 1st Marine Div) szolgál, 13 hónapot töltött Vietnámban 106 mm tankvadász ágyú alakulatban. Utolsó szolgálata Quantico, Virginiai lövőtér USMC tisztet, FBI és Secret Service tagokat képzett lövészetre. Azért jelentkezett a tengerészgyalogosoknál, mert 10 éves korában, amikor 1956-ban otthagyta Magyarországot, túl fiatal volt a kommunisták ellen harcolni, be akarta pótolni. Leszerelése után vasbeton rajzolóként dolgozott, Clevelandben él. Barátai Dömének becézik.

Reckl Péter

2009-től a mai napig. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Főiskolai tanulmányai után önkéntesen jelentkezik, logisztikai alakulatnál villanyszerelő. Haditámaszpontokon állítanak be villany és erőhálózatokat ellenséges területeken. Egy évet szolgál Afganisztánban. Jelenleg Ft. Stewart, Georgia államban állomásozik.

+ dr. Reich Lóránd

1954-1955. Korvettkapitány (Lieutenant Commander). Erdélyben született, Magyarországon végezte orvosi tanulmányait. Amerikai haditengerészetben orvosként tengerészgyalogos alakulathoz osztják be, Koreában jár, parancsnoki beosztást tölt be. Leszerelése után családi orvosként dolgozik egy vidéki faluban, Loudonville, Ohio-ban. 1986-ban halt meg. Nagybátyja Kós Károly, az erdélyi építész volt.

ifj. Reich Lóránd

1968-1970. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Vietnámban 14 hónapot szolgál tüzér alakulat parancsnokságánál (9th Inf Div, 2nd Bn, 4th artillery HQ) légiforgalom irányítóként, azaz helikopter pilótáknak segített

elkerülni a szövetséges lövedékeket. Leszerelése után 19 évet él Clevelandben, 1989-ben költözik Floridába, ahol tanárként dolgozik. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Tampa Bay környékén él.

Roethler Péter

1966-1967. Őrmester (Sergeant). Gépesített gyalogságnál (4th Arm Div, 51st Bn) szolgál szakaszparancsnokhelyettesként. 18 hónapot tölt Németországban Nürnberg környékén, ahol törzsbeli hadtervezési feladatokat is végez. A két Szabolcs testvérrel is találkozott Németországban. Vietnámban azért nem küldték, mert egyetlen fiú volt családjában. Leszerelése után elektromérnök lett, jelenleg fél-állományban nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

Rollinger Róland

2002-2005. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Logisztikai beosztásokat tölt be, fegyver, jármű, számítógép, lőszer utánpótlást rendez zászlóalji szinten (1st Cavalry Division), először Ft. Hood, Texas-ban, majd 14 hónapot Irak-ban. Bagdadban találkozik magyarországi katonákkal, megszólítja őket magyarul nagy meglepetésükre. Leszerelése után a Cleveland State egyetemen végez kereskedelmi sztatistikát és gazdálkodási menedzsmentet, majd Kaliforniába költözik, ahol a Sequoia nemzeti park üzemeltetésében dolgozik. Közben elvégzett mesteri egyetemet is levelező tagozaton a Colorado Technical egyetemen. Erdélyben született, 2000-ben érkezett Clevelandbe, édesanyja tulajdonosa a clevelandi Buckeye utcai magyar cukrászságnak, Lucy's Bakery.

ifj. Rózsahegyi Pál

Tengerészgyalogos. 1987-1994. Őrmester (Sergeant). Tankszemélyzet. Tengerészgyalogos alakulatával (4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade Task Force) megjárja Japánt és a közelkeletet. Részt vesz az 1991-es Öböl háború bevetésén, a keleti fronton voltak tartalékban, de a nyugati front nagyon hamar letarolta az iraki egységeket, így nem kerül harcba. Jelenleg St. Louis környékén él, vízvezeték tervező.

+ Sárossy István

Tengerészgyalogos. Őrvezető (Private First Class). 1947-ben született, 1956-ban gyermekként hagyta el Magyarországot. Önkéntesen jelentkezett tengerészgyalogosnak, de háromszor is visszautasították. Végül is elfogadták, 1967. október 23-án lépett Vietnám földjére. 1968. január 21-én szenvedett hősi halált DaNang környékén. Dédapja magyar tábornok volt.

+ Schmidt Bertalan

1953 előtt szolgál az amerikai hadseregben. Mivel több nyelvet tud, leveszik a hajóról, ami vitte alakulatát Koreába, inkább Ausztriába helyezték el. Clevelandben jár 2 évet egyetemre, majd korházi igazgató lesz. 1970 körül leköltözik Floridába, ott is az egészségügyi pályában dolgozik, Floridában hal meg.

Schwan Frank

1966-1968. Tizedes (Specialist 4). Ausztriában született, de a clevelandi Buckeye utcai negyedben nőtt fel. Édesapja Jugoszláviában született, német származású, anyja és bátyja pedig Magyarországon születtek, 1955-ben került a család Clevelandbe. Gyalogos alakulatnál szolgál géppuskakezelőként, 7 hónapot harcol Vietnámban. Megsérül, has és váll lövést kap, másfél hónapot tölt kórházban, majd Japánba kerül. Leszerelése után elektronikát tanul esténként és az Ohio Bell telefonvállalatnál dolgozik, menedzserként fejezi be pályafutását. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

+ Shirokei József

1965-1969. Vietnámban harcol, majd leszerelése után tüzoltóként dolgozik Cleveland egyik külvárosában. Gyermekkorában a Szent Margit iskolában járt. 1995-ben halt meg.

Slusny Gerry

1973-1975. Őrvezető (Private). Páncélos alakulatnál (1st Arm Div) tankvezetőként Németországban szolgál, Nürnberg környékén. Leszerelése után a BP-Amoco olajvállalat irodájában dolgozik, Cleveland környékén lakik.

Smetana György

1971-1973, 1976-1981. Törzsőrmester (Staff Sergeant). Először tankos, majd áttér katonai rendőrséghez. Elhelyezései Ft. Lewis, Washington, Ft. Campbell, Kentucky, és Ft. Knox, Kentucky, de Németországban is szolgál két évet. Leszerelése után 29 évet tölt a clevelandi rendőrségnél. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

id. Solymosi Aladár

1957-1960. Tizedes (Private First Class). Hat hónapot gyalogos és páncélos alapkiképzésben részesül, majd tartalékos alakulatnál (National Guard) szolgál Cleveland környékén. Ft. Knox, Kentucky-ban és Ft. Bliss, Texas-ban is tölt időt. Szolgálat alatt elrendelték Albuquerque, New Mexico államba, ahol kellett tolmács egy Jugoszláviából disszidált magyar orvos családnak. Civil foglalkozása órajavitó, később saját órajavitóműhelye lett, majd ékszerboltot nyitott, három bolt tulajdonosa lett. Jelenleg fél-állományban nyugdíjas, ékszerbolt tulajdonosa. Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

Somogyi Tamás

1983-1987. Őrmester (Sergeant). Gyalogos és dzsungel szakértő. Az elit ejtőernyős Ranger zászlóaljnál szolgált, majd Hawaii-ban szolgált desszantos kiképzőként. Kóreában, Malajzában, Japánban, Filipín szigeteken, Ausztráliában, Új Zélandban jár a hadsereggel. Jelenleg Cleveland környékén él, nyomdában gyártásvezető. A Csejty fivérek nagybátyjai.

Spisák István

Légi erőknél szolgál 1987-2008. Századosként szerel le (Captain O-3E). Sorkatonaként kezdi, 4 évet tölt Dayton, Ohio-ban rakodóként. Hugo hurikán áldozatainak visznek mentőfelszerelést, ételt. 1991-től 2001-ig Youngstown-i tartalékos alakulathoz kerül, amíg elvégzi betegápolói tanulmányait, majd annak elvégzésével tiszti képesítést is kap. 2007-ben jelentkezik Irakba, 4 hónapot szolgál Balad repülőtéren, először sátras kórházban, majd rendes épületben. Betegápolói beosztása van, ápolnak úgy amerikai sebesülteket, mint iraki civileket. Visszatérte után leszerel, jelenleg Cleveland környékén él, kórházban ápoló.

Stefanec Ferenc

1970-1972. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Ejtőernyős alakulattal Vietnámban harcol, megsebesül. Bátyjai borbély üzletében egy széket üresen hagytak neki, feldíszítve, mikor visszajött, továbbra ott nyírt haját batyjaival. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Muravidéken lakik szülőfalujában, Szlovéniában.

ifj. Stefanec István

1987-1993. Őrmester (Sergeant). Tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard) szolgál, azidő alatt Honduras-ba viszik. Leszerelése után borbély lesz, követi édesapját és nagybátyjait szakmájukban, saját borbély boltot nyit Cleveland egyik külvárosában, majd Floridába költözik, most is ott él. Volt felesége Baracs Wendy, aki tengerészgyalogosként szolgált négy évet.

Stefanec János

1966-1968. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Műszaki alakulatnál szolgál, abból két évet Németországban. Leszerelése után testvéreivel együtt családi vállalkozásban borbély. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Muravidéken lakik szülőfalujában, Szlovéniában.

Stefanec József

1965-1967. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Ft. Campbell, Kentucky-ban szolgál két évet, majd leszerelése után testvéreivel együtt családi vállalkozásban borbély. Jelenleg nyugdíjasként él Magyarországon.

† Stiasny Péter

1977-1981. Specialista (Specialist 5). Rakétaszerező (Land Combat Support System test specialist). Tankhadosztálynál szolgál (1st Cav Div), rövidebb gyakorlatokra megy alakulatával Alaszkába, Panamába,

Kórea, és Németországba. Richfield városában élt, Clevelandtól egy fél óra távolságban, a Lubrizol cégnél csövezet munkálatokban volt projektmenedzser. 2011 júliusában halt meg.

Stiberth Lóthár

1958-1960. Tizedes (Private First Class). Németországban szolgál híradósként, a helyi rendőrségnél összekötő személyzet. Leszerelése után vegyész lesz, a Goodrich és Uniroyal cégeknél dolgozik Cleveland környékén, cserkészcsapatot is vezet, majd Connecticut államba költözik. 5 szabadalma van. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Connecticut-ben él. Dédapja az 1848-as szabadságharcban Nagy Sándor József adjutánsa volt.

id. Strada András

1968-1970. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 5). Személyzetis titkár. Nyolc hónapot szolgál Németországban. Leszerelése után a Case Western és Stanford egyetemeken tanul matematikát és statisztikát, majd 24 évet dolgozik bankban felsőfokú bankigazgatóként. Később áttér a tanári pályára, egy jezsuita gimnázium gazdasági vezetője lesz. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland környékén él.

Strada Róbert

2004-2009. Őrmester (Sergeant). Ejtőernyős könnyűgyalogságnál (4th Brig, 25th Inf) szolgál, abból 3 évet Alaszkában, majd Irákban is 15 hónapot. Irákban nyakában hordja a rózsafűzért, amit apja gyermekkori barátja, Mészáros Elemér hordott Vietnámban 35 évvel korábban. Irákból hazatérte után kiképezte az odakészülő katonákat Louisiana államban. Jelenleg az ohioi Kent State egyetemen tanul repülőforgalom irányítást. Strada András fia.

Szabó Péter

1970-1974. Légierőben szolgál, jár Guamban is. A clevelandi Buckeye utcai magyar negyedben nőtt fel. Később Floridába költözik, kertészkedési magánvállalkozó.

Szabó Róbert

1971-1974. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Tengerészgyalogosként jár Puerto Rico-ban és Okinawa, Japán-ban. Leszerelése után tornatanári képesítést elnyeri a Cleveland State egyetemen, majd tűzoltó lesz 30 éven keresztül. Nyugdíjba vonul, jelenleg tanít, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik. A régi Buckeye utcai magyar negyedben nőtt fel, Dienes Al benzinkútjánál dolgozott.

Szabolcs László

1965-1969. Főhadnagy (First Lieutenant). Gépesített gyalogságnál szakaszparancsnok, századparancsnok, zászlóaljnl helyettes és S2 hírszerző beosztásokat tölt be. Németországban szolgál, együtt Oláh Frank-el. Leszerelése után a gáz iparban dolgozik, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él. Mindkét fia jelenleg katona: Nick szakaszvezető (E-4) egy tartalékos alakulatnál, mozgosították Koszovóba és Irakba, Chris pedig a légierők akadémiáját végezte Coloradoban, jelenleg főhadnagy (O-2), C-17 repülő pilóta, Irakba is repül. Édesapja Magyarországon folyamőrségnél őrnagy volt.

Szabolcs Levente

1965-1969. Százados (Captain). Special Forces alakulatnál parancsnok, Németországban gyakorlatoznak a Hideg Háború alatt azzal a feladattal, hogy szükség esetén Magyarországra bevethetik őket partizánharcra. Alakulatában 4 magyar is volt. Szabadifejében cserkészvezető, tizenegy éven keresztül vezet clevelandi magyar cserkészcsapatot. Jelenleg Cleveland környékén él, gyárban karbantartószemélyzet. Édesapja Magyarországon folyamőrségnél őrnagy volt.

† Szahlender Gyula

1967-1968. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 5). Elsősegélyesként Vietnámban hősi halált szenved Binh Duong környékén 1968 február 24-én. Elnyer 3 bronz-csillag kitüntetést és egy ezüst csillagost is. Aknára lépett, miután 3 ember életét megmentette.

† Szahlender Tamás

Légi erőknél szolgál. 1959-1964. Szakaszvezető (Senior Airman). Felderítő/hírszerző alakulatnál szolgál Texas-ban és 3 évet Hawaii-ban. Leszerelése után magánvállalkozó, takarítócég tulajdonosa. 1998-ban halt meg.

Szappanos István

1951-1953. Tizedes (Private First Class). Műszaki zászlóaljnál (combat engineer) századpostás, 13 hónapot tölt Koreában. Leszerelése után elvégzi az elektromérnöki szakot, majd a Reliance Electric cégnél 37 évet dolgozik vezérléstechnikában. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik.

+ Szappanos Tamás

Légi erőknél szolgál 1960-1996. Alezredes (Lieutenant Colonel). Hat évet szolgál navigátorként, eléri a századosi rangot, majd 1966-tól tartalékos alakulatnál (Air National Guard) Pittsburgh-ban szintén navigátorként. Civil foglalkozása matematika és fizika szakos tanár. A rendszerváltás után 1991-ben Magyarországra költözik, 2003-ban halt meg.

+ Székely Ákos Dezső

1964-1968. Százados (Captain). Második világháborúból menekültként Clevelandbe kerül, majd Marylandbe telepszik családjával, az amerikai tiszti akadémiáját elvégzi (West Point). Egyik osztálytársa az író Wass Albert fia volt, Wass de Czege Huba, akit még a menekült táborban ismert meg, és aki később tábornok lett az amerikai hadseregben. Osztályában ötödik lett, majd ejtőernyős és Ranger tanfolyamokat elvégzi. 13 hónapot szolgál Kóréában, műszaki század (combat engineer 50th Co, 13th Eng Bn) parancsnoka lesz. 1966-ban a Massachusetts Institute of Technology egyetemen mérnökként mester fokozatot végez, a Harvard egyetemen is tanul. 1967. októberében érkezik Vietnámban, ahol gyalogos hadosztályban műszaki század (63rd Eng Bn, 25th Inf) parancsnoka lesz. Önkéntesen meghosszabbítja Vietnámi szolgálatát és elvállal egy gyalogos század parancsnokságát, miután annak parancsnoka hősi halált szenvedett. 1968. szeptember 11-én a Tay Ninh és Dau Tieng közötti úton éjjeli támadás közben halt meg. Az Arlington-i nemzeti temetőben nyugszik. Édesapja a második világháborúban a magyar hadseregben vezérkari százados volt.

dr. Szentendrey Károly

1950-1952. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Léghárító alakulatnál szolgált Georgiában, majd Washington, DC környékén kórházi laboratóriumban, mivel orvostanhallgató volt már. Leszerelése után befejezte az orvosi egyetemet az Ohio State egyetemen, majd radiológusként dolgozott. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Clevelandtól egy fél óra távolságban lakik.

Szentkirályi Zsolt

1985-2011. Ezredes (Colonel). Gyalogsági tiszt: könnyű, ejtőernyős, és Ranger alakulatoknál szolgál törzstiszti és parancsnoki beosztásokban. Panamában, Magyarországon, Koszovóban, és Irakban is szolgál. Utoljára az Összesített Haderőnemek Vezérkarán európai ügyekért volt felelős. 2011 nyarán leszerel, jelenleg Washington, DC környékén lakik.

Szeretvai György

1960-1963. Tizedes (Specialist 3). Fényképészként szolgál főleg Stuttgart, Németországban, a hadsereg hivatalos lapjánál (Stars & Stripes). Leszerelése után saját cégét alapítja, először a biztosítási iparban, majd pénzügyi befektetésekkel foglalkozik. Ma Cleveland egyik legnagyobb befektetési cége, Vantage Financial Group, 2000 ügyféllel és 150 alkalmazottal. Ma is cégtulajdonosa, vezérigazgatója. Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik.

Szmerekovsky Andrew Gerard

1991-től a mai napig. Alezredes (Lieutenant Colonel). Az Ohio State egyetemen végzett mérnöki szakon, majd bevonult a légi erőkhöz, ahol azóta is szolgál. Coloradoban és Dayton, Ohio-ban szolgál legtöbbször mérnöki oktatásban, és Irakban is tölt egy fél évet, ahol segít légi hadiskolát létesíteni. Jelenleg Colorado-

ban a légierők akadémiáján oktat mérnöki szakon. Gyermekkorában a Szent Margitban tanult magyarul, és a Szent Erzsébet templomba járt. Édesapja Szmerkovsky Andy.

Szmerkovsky Andy

1953-1957. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Légi erőknél szolgál Yakk, Montana államban, majd Geiger Field, Washington államban. Leszerelése után ács lett, jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik. A Buckeye negyedben nőtt fel, a Szent Erzsébet templomban keresztelték, tánc csoportjában is táncolt. Fia Szmerkovsky Andrew Gerard.

id. Tábor András

Tengerészgyalogos tartalékos. 1977-1981. Őrmester (Sergeant). Tamás öccsével együtt jelentkeznek. Részt vesz Panamában dzsungel kiképzésen, Kaliforniában sivatagi kiképzésen. S-2/S-3 hírszerző/felderítő beosztást tölt be parancsnoksági században, majd rajvezető Dragon tankelleni rakétás alakulatban. Leszerelése után vendéglátó iparban tanul, menedzsmentben dolgozik, később áttér az ingatlan iparhoz, jelenleg a Leukémia Egyesületnek edzési programokat szervez, szabadidejében cserkészvezető, hét évig vezette az egyik fiu cserkészcsapatot. Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik.

Tábor Mihály

Tengerészgyalogos. 2004-2008. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Gépesített gyalogságnál szolgál. Kétszer volt 9 hónapot Irakban, lövészrepsz által sérült (Purple Heart érdemrenddel). Jelenleg az Ohio State egyetemen (Columbus, OH) történelem szakon tanul. Tábor András és Tamás unokaöccse.

id. Tábor Tamás

Tengerészgyalogos, András bátyjával együtt jelentkeznek. 1977-ben kiképzésben részesül, majd 1978-1983 tartalékos alakulatnál szolgál. Őrmester (Sergeant). Utánpótlási ügyintéző egy tengerészgyalogos alakulatnál (HQ Co 3rd BN 25th Reg USMC). Panamában dzsungel kiképzésen vesz részt 1979-ben, majd 1982-ben Dániában és Németországban NATO kiképzésen. Leszerel, sokáig Cleveland környékén ingatlanfelértékesítő, jelenleg Texas államban lakik.

Táborosi János

1963-1965. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Katonai rendőralakulatnál szolgál, először Németországban, majd Chicago környékén. Leszerelése után a Cleveland Clinic kórháznál szív-tüdő géptechnikus, majd Syracuse, New York-ba költözik, jelenleg is ott él.

Takács William

1956-1960. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Két évet szolgál, abból legtöbbet Idaroberstein, Németországban. Petróleum utánpótlási alakulatnál századtitkár, majd tartalékos alakulatnál is két évet szolgál. Leszerelése után autószerelő Chevy, Buick és Ford autókereskedőknél. 1996-ban vonul nyugdíjba, jelenleg mezőgazdasággal foglalkozik azon a farmon, amit nagyapja alapított 1909-ben, amikor a Buckeye utcai magyar negyedből a messzi clevelandi külvárosba költözött.

Teller Imre

1960-1967. Őrmester (Sergeant). Alapképzését Ft. Knox-ban végzi, majd elkerül Ft. Eustice, Virginiába. Clevelandben tartalékos alakulatnál szolgál szakaszvezetőként, először kétéltű alakulatnál, majd fuvarozó szerepekben. Egy alakulatban szolgál Muhoray Kornéllal és Mohos Gyulával. Civil foglalkozásként műhelyben dolgozik, majd meg is veszi 1987-ben a Weber Tool and Manufacturing vállalatot, prés-szerszámokat készítenek. Fiának átadta a cég vezetését, jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él.

† Temesváry Gerő

1951-1953, 1954-1973. Törzsőrmester (Staff Sergeant). Besorozták, gyalogos lesz. Leszerel és csavar gyárban el kezd dolgozni, majd jelentkezik, újra gyalogos alakulatokhoz kerül. Egy évet tölt Koreában, két és fél évet Franciaországban, és különböző belföldi laktanyákon Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, és Texasban.

Ejtőernyősként harcol Vietnámban, majd visszatér még egyszer, amikor erdőirtó vegyszer (Agent Orange) miatt kárt szenved, teljes rokkantsággal leszerel. Ohio fővárosába költözik, Columbus-ba, ahol rokkantságával idegbetegségektől kénylódik élete végéig, 1996-ban.

† Temesváry Tibor

1953-1958. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Ejtőernyős alakulatnál szolgál (101st Airborne Div), 1955 körül Kóréába viszik, azidő alatt Japánba, Hirosimába is, majd Németországba, Franciaországba. Onnan Hodgkin kór miatt visszaviszik Walter Reed kórházba (Washington, DC) és egészségügyi okokból felmentik a szolgálat alól. Leszerelése után több éven keresztül villanyszerelő a Ford autógyárban, majd hosszabb szívbetegségtől szenved, újra elrökösödik, és 2005-ben halt meg.

dr. Terézhalmy Géza

Tengerésztiszt. 1968-1992. Kapitány (Captain). Fogorvosi alakulatoknál végez szolgálatot, többek között Cleveland környékén, Olaszországban (Nápolyban), Bethesda, MD, Parris Island, SC, San Antonio, TX, és New Orleans, LA-ben. Tényleges és tartalékos szolgálatokban is, két évet pedig hajón szolgál fogorvosként a Földközi tengeren, később tanítási és parancsnoki beosztásokban. Jelenleg a Case Western Reserve University School of Dental Medicine emeritus professzora és dékánja Clevelandben, és az amerikai haditengerészet és légierők fogorvosi parancsnokságainak konzultánsa.

dr. Thiry Sándor

1951-1953. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Tengerészgyalogságnál önkéntesen jelentkezik, alapkiképzését Parris Island, Délkarolinában végzi, majd áthelyezik San Diego-ba többhónapos technikai kiképzésre. Camp Pendleton és Camp Del Mar a további két kaliforniai tábor, ahol szakkiképzést nyer a hírads harctéri és partraszállási alkalmazásában. Leszerelése után clevelandi egyetemeken tanul, majd történelem doktori disszertációjának a megírására Fulbright ösztöndíjat kap, Bécsben végzi kutató munkáját. Végül az Ohio State egyetem (Columbus, OH) avatja doktorrá. Több évtizedes egyetemi oktatás után nyugdíjba vonult, jelenleg Lima, Ohio-ban él.

† Thomas Richard

1950-1952. Koreában szolgál. A családi név eredetileg Tamás volt, nagyszülei 1903-ban vándoroltak Amerikába. Nagyszülei és szülei a Szent Imre templomba jártak. Thomas James testvére.

Tiroly Arthur

1960-1966. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 5). Fél év kiképzésben részesül, majd tartalékos alakulatoknál szolgál (Ohio National Guard) elsősegélyesként. A Kent State egyetemet elvégzi, majd tűzbiztonsági mérnökként dolgozik. 1977 óta saját tűzbiztonság tervezési cége van. A clevelandi Buckeye magyar negyedben született, iskola előtt nem is tudott angolul, otthon csak magyarul beszéltek.

Tóháti Zsolt

1993-2001. Őrmester (Sergeant). Nehéz gépjárműszerelő. Németországban szolgált két évet a nyolcból. Képviselte az amerikai hadsereget egy NATO katonai versenyben, amelyben 16 kilós hátizsákkal kellett 80 kilométert megtenni. Leszerelése után teherautósofőr lesz, és saját kertészkedési/hókotró vállalkozását indítja. Cleveland környékén lakik, és önkéntes rendőrségéd.

id. Torontáli János

1971-1978. Őrmester (Sergeant). Besorozták, de mivel testvére már harcolt Vietnámban, ezért nem vitték oda. Tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard) szolgált szakácsként Cleveland környékén, nyaranta Michigan államban gyakorlatoztak. Civil foglalkozásban eladó, 1976 óta kizárólag autókat értékesít. Jelenleg fél-állományban nyugdíjas, a New York állambeli Chautauqua tó környékén él.

Tózsér István

1958-1961. Tizedes (Private First Class). Tüzérségnél (32nd Artillery) szolgál, majd katonai kórházban (7th Evacuation Hospital) villanszerelőként. Két évet tölt Németországban. Leszerelése után a Western Electric cégnél telefonhálózatokat szerel be. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Clevelandtól egy fél órára lakik.

Trux András

1967-1969. Őrmester (Sergeant). Híradós alakulatnál (Signal Bn) pénzügyi beosztást tölt be, Oakland, Kaliforniában, majd egy évet szolgál Vietnámban. Leszerelése után kereskedelmet végez az egyetemen, jelenleg értékesítő, Ohio fővárosában, Columbus-ban lakik. Trux Hugó testvére.

Trux Hugó

1965-1968. Őrmester (Sergeant). Hírszerző beosztásokban szolgál az Egyesült Államokban, Vietnámban pedig törzsbeosztásokban (MACV: Military Assistance Command, Vietnam), a vietnámi hadseregnek tanácsadója és a CIA Phoenix programjában vezet vidéki egységet. Leszerelése után nemzetközi politológiából végez az Ohio State egyetemen, jelenleg marketing tanácsadóként dolgozik Columbus, Ohio fővárosában.

dr. Várdy Béla

1953-1956. Tizedes (Specialist 3). Sándor bátyja. Tartalékos alakulatnál (Ohio National Guard) szolgál. Alakulatában együtt szolgál a Csikós testvérekkel, Mózsi Györggyel, és Pöcze Józseffel. Leszerelése után történész és egyetemi tanár lesz, hosszú éveken keresztül a Duquesne egyetemen. Pittsburgh-ben lakik.

† Várdy Sándor

1969-1970. Tizedes (Private First Class). Béla öccse. Óváry Sándorként születik, Amerikába jövele után megváltoztatja nevét Várdy-ra. A Cleveland State egyetemen végez, majd besorozják és Vietnámba kerül a 101-es hadosztállal. 1970. március 10-én szenved hősi halált Thua Thien környékén.

Varga István

1981-2011. Rangjának nincs magyar megfelelője, főtörzszászlósnál magasabb (Chief Warrant Officer 4). Haditengerészettel az egész világot bejárja, Kaliforniától Alaszkáig, Ázsiától Afrikáig. P-3 Orion tengeralattjáróvadász repülőkön repül, egyszer Mogadisu környékén civil kocsmában találkoztak és együtt poharaztak azokkal a szovjet tengerészekkel, akiket másnap vadászták a tengeren. Később több anyahajón szolgál (USS Carl Vinson, USS Abraham Lincoln, USS Nimitz), a balkáni és iraki bevetéseken rendez fegyverutánpótlást F-14, majd F/A-18 repülőkhöz. Leszerelése óta civilként dolgozik a haditengerészetnek logisztikai menedzserként, Kaliforniában él. Gyermekként a clevelandi Szent Imre templomba járt családjával, meg cserkész is volt, kedves magyar emléke a Pymatuning (Ohio és Pennsylvania határán) tópartján lévő lángos árús volt. Egy középiskolába járt (Lakewood High School) egy másik magyar Varga Istvánnal, egyszerre jelentkeztek a haditengerészethez, egy évig fizetésüket összekeverték az előljárók. Varga Mihály a testvére.

Varga Miklós

1981-1996, 2001-2011. Főtörzsőrmester (Sergeant First Class). Ejtőernyős alakulatnál szolgál elsősegélyesként, majd a katonai túlélési iskolában kiképző Texasban, később tartalékos alakulatoknak regrutáló. Leszerelése után Seattle-ben dolgozik repülőgyártási iparban. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Washington államban lakik. Varga István testvére.

† Vargo Donald

1958-1972. Haditengerészetnél szolgál repülőszerelőként. Leszerelése után Alaszkába költözik 20 évre, repülőszerelő magánvállalkozást indít. Utána Massachusetts, Vermont, és Florida államokban él. 2009-ben halt meg.

Veres József Pál

1970-1976. Őrmester (Sergeant). 5 hónap alapkiképzésben részesül, majd tartalékos alakulatnál (New York National Guard) szolgál Buffalo és Olean városokban, New York államban. Műszaki zászlóaljnál

(combat engineer) robbantószakértő és nehéz gépvezető. Szeptember 1971-ben mozgósították alakulatát az Attica New York börtönfelkelés miatt. Civil foglalkozásában 1974-ben turbó-kompresszor tervező mérnök lett a Dresser-Clark vállalatnál, New York államban. 1989 óta Clevelandnak egyik külvárosában él és a NASA Glenn Research Center űrhajókutató intézetében fő repülő-gépészmérnök a sugárhajtásos turbina motor technológia fejlesztés pályán.

Vidra Lajos

1957-1962. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). 1956 menekültjeként Jugoszlávián és Olaszországon keresztül Németországba kerül, ahol 60 másik magyar menekülttel együtt feliratkozik. Gyalogos alakulatoknál szolgál rajvezetőként, nehézgépfegyver kezelőként Alaszkában és Hawaii-ban. Leszerelése után szerszámkészítő lesz, 1966-ban elhagyja Clevelandet. Detroit, Michigan államban egy gépműhely tulajdonosa lesz, fúró és maró gépekkel. 2006-ban eladja műhelyét, jelenleg nyugdíjas egy Michigan állambeli farmon.

Viiberg Péter

1977-1981. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 5). Rakétaszereelő. Ejtőernyős hadosztályban szolgál (101st Airborne Div), TOW és Lance rakétarendszereket kalibrál. Az iráni túszkrízishez irányított alakulatoknak végez munkát. Jelenleg Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik, saját marketingcég tulajdonosa, ipari gépeket értékesítenek.

Wegling István

1968-1970. Őrmester (Sergeant). Alapképzésen Ft. Knox-ban részesül, majd Ft. Polk, Louisiana államban helyezik el, ahol századtitkári beosztást tölt be. Leszerelése után kereskedelmet tanul, majd a vendéglátási iparban dolgozik több mint 30 éven keresztül. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában él. Édesapja együtt szolgált Szabolcs László és Levente édesapjával Magyarországon folyamórként, Clevelandben gyermekkori legjobb barátja pedig Dávid István volt.

Yaczó Csaba

1967-1969. Őrmester (Sergeant). Páncélos alakulatnál (11th Arm Cav) felderítő, egy évet Vietnámban harcol, az 1968-as Tet támadástól az 1969-es Tet támadásig. Édesapja is tankos volt az orosz fronton, és sajnálta, hogy fiának is tankosként kell a kommunisták ellen harcolnia. Leszerelése után építész lesz, jelenleg Columbus-ban (OH) lakik.

Zahoray Péter

1984-1988. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Alapképzését Ft. Dix, New Jersey államban végzi, majd Ft. Sill, Oklahomában számítógép szerelést tanul, híradós alakulatoknál szolgál Koreában szolgál egy évet, Németországban két évet. Leszerelése után a USAir légitársaságnál ügyfélszolgálatban dolgozik nyolc évig, Los Angelesbe költözik, majd vissza kerül Cleveland környékére, jelenleg autószerelő a postahivatalban.

+ Zahoray László

1953-1961. Szakaszvezető (Specialist 4). Ujvidéken születik 1933-ban, majd németországi menekült táborban jár iskolába, cserkészedik 1944-1951. 1951-ben Clevelandbe érkezik, alapképzését Ft. Knox, Kentucky-ban végzi, majd páncélos alakulatnál (4th Armored Division, 704th Battalion) szolgál Ft. Hood, Texasban századtitkárként. Két év szolgálat után áttér tartalékos alakulathoz. Leszerelése után buszvezető és kiképző, utána repülőtéren dolgozik a postahivatalban, logisztikát intéz. 1992-ben vonul nyugdíjba, 2007-ben halt meg. Zahoray Péter apja.

+ ifj. Zöldi Ferenc

1966-1986. Zászlós (CW-2). Kaliforniában (Ft. Ord), Washington államban (Ft. Lewis), és több évet Koreában szolgál a haditáplálkozási szakácssegédként és később étkezdevezetőként. Leszerelése után taxi sofőr lesz Tacoma, Washington államban. Gyermekként 1957. márciusában érkezett Clevelandbe, ahol a Szent Margit elemi iskolába járt. 2011. január végén halt meg.

+ Zöldi Gábor

1968-1969. Tizedes (Private First Class). Gyalogos hadosztálllyal 1968. november 21-én lép Vietnám földjére (6/31st Inf, 9th Inf Div). 1969. január 12-én hal hősi halált Dinh Tuong környékén. Cleveland egyik külvárosában Sunset Memorial Park temetőben nyugszik.

dr. Zolnay István

1953-1954. Szakaszvezető vagy őrmester (Corporal/Sergeant). Híradós alakulatnál radar specializista, Németországba viszik, ahol spanyol nyelven képzett NATO katonákat. Leszerelése után az Ohio State egyetemen doktorál elektromérnöki szakon, majd az MIT egyetem Lincoln laborjában dolgozik, később a kaliforniai Vandenberg légitámponttól lőtt rakétás atomfegyverekkel foglalkozott, a Marshall szigeti Kvalajein állomáson volt vezérigazgató. Ezenkívül a CIA-nak tervezett műbolygókat. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Boston környékén él.

Zolnay Mátyás

1956-1957. Tizedes (Specialist 3). Ft. Knox-ban részesül páncélos képzésben, majd elhelyezik Ft. Benningbe, utána Ft. Bragg, Északkarolinába ejtőrnősként. Tolmácsként is szerepelt, amikor 1957-ben 5000 Magyarországról jött katonának volt tolmácsa. Leszerelése után 1962-ben megkérték, hogy nyelvészként dolgozzon a Pentagonban, amit 28 hónapig meg is tett, századosi fizetéssel de nem századosi ranggal. Egyetemen kereskedelmet és művészettörténelmet tanul, civil pályafutását gyárban munkásként kezdi és minőségbiztosító mérnökként fejezi be. Jelenleg nyugdíjas, Cleveland egyik külvárosában lakik.

+ id. Zsula Lajos

1958-1960. Szakaszvezető (Corporal). Gyalogos alakulatnál szolgál, később tankjavítással foglalkozik. Másfél évet tölt Németországban. Gyenge angoltudása miatt sokszor bajba is kerül. Leszerelése után hegesztő egy clevelandi tankgyárban (ma IX center), utána Terex gyárban útépítő gépeket, végül 18 évet a Chrysler autógyárban hegesztő. 2006-ban halt meg.

Külön megemlítés: Peace Corps

Lieszkovszky László

2006-2008. Nem katona, hanem a John F. Kennedy elnök által létesített "Béke Hadsereg" civilprogramban végez szolgálatot. Majdnem két évet tölt Örményországban Gugark falujában, Vanadzor mellett, angolt és számítástechnikát tanított. Jelenleg Budapesten él, számítástechnikai rendszerfejlesztő.

ifj. Simonyi Viktor

1984-1986. A "Béke Hadsereg" civilprogramban végez szolgálatot. Két évet tölt az afrikai Sierra Leone ország Firava falujában, segített az ottaniaknak mezőgazdaság fejlesztéssel. Jelenleg San Francisco-ban lakik, mérnök, a Berkeley BioWorks cég tulajdonosa, amely a környezetvédelmi és az egészségügyi iparokat szolgálja.

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STATEMENT OF INFORMANT CONSENT

PROJECT TITLE: Hungarian language use in the USA
RESEARCHER: Endre Szentkiralyi, independent researcher
440-786-9093, endreszti@gmail.com

PURPOSE: This is a research study. Its purpose is to gain a deeper understanding of the factors impacting second-language maintenance in an ethnic community (eg. Hungarian in the USA). I am inviting people of Hungarian ancestry who grew up in the Cleveland area to talk about and share their experiences of growing up Hungarian in the USA, reflecting upon their own and their family's language use and degree of ethnic identity. Participants will be asked to take part in a one-time group discussion that should not take longer than 1-2 hours during the fall of 2010.

PROCEDURES: If you agree to participate, we will set up a group discussion with other participants. In order to help me with the write-up, I will record the discussions. Should you wish to look at or comment on the transcripts or the report in its draft or finalized forms, you may do so.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION: All participation is voluntary. You may choose not to answer any of the questions during the group discussion. You may also withdraw from further participation at any time. If, after the interviews, you decide that you would rather not have your comments published, you have the right to retract permission provided you contact me before the study results go to press.

RISKS: There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study.

BENEFITS: There are no personal benefits for taking part in this research and you will not be compensated in any way. Nevertheless, I do hope that those who read the results of these interviews will benefit by understanding more about the dynamics of ethnic language maintenance in the USA.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Recorded material and notes from this project will be maintained and kept confidential. However, any future universities or publishers that publish the research results (including but not limited to the University of Debrecen, in Hungary) may inspect and copy a subject's records pertaining to the research, and these records may contain personal identifiers. Except during review, analysis, and editing for publication, the recordings and notes will be secured in my home. You have the option to decide whether you want to be identified or named in the reports or publications of this study.

QUESTIONS: If you have questions about this study, please contact me (contact info above).

INFORMANT CONSENT

By initialing in one of the spaces provided below, please verify that you either

_____ A) want to be credited as a source in reports and publications from this project (your name will be used)

or

_____ B) do not want to be identified as a source in reports and publications from this project (you will remain anonymous).

I, _____ (informant's name), hereby certify that I have been told by Endre Szentkiralyi about his research on Hungarian language use in the USA.

I was told about the purposes and procedures to be followed and the nature of my participation. I have had ample help and time to consider the possible risks and benefits to me and others from the research. I have also been told the extent to which any records which may identify me will be kept confidential.

I understand that I have the right to ask questions at any time and that I can contact the researcher, Endre Szentkiralyi (440-786-9093, endreszti@gmail.com) for answers about the research and my rights.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I may refuse to participate or withdraw my consent and stop taking part at any time before publication without penalty.

AUDIORECORDING AGREEMENT: Please initial in the space below to verify that you understand that our group discussions will be recorded: _____

SIGNATURE OF INFORMANT: _____ DATE: _____

RESEARCHER'S STATEMENT: I have discussed the above points with the informant or his/her legally authorized representative. It is my opinion that the subject understands the risks, benefits, and obligations involved in participating in this project.

Researcher's name (printed): _____

Signature of researcher: _____

Transcription of interview

Hanna Völgyi, Samantha Dévai, Amanda Szűcs

2010. October 7

Q: All right, so the purpose of the study is to just see, get at what are the factors that impact Hungarian language maintenance, and when we type it, if you could just say your name before you answer each question, just say Hanna, or Samantha, or Amanda. All right, and feel free to chime in and interrupt, we're just trying to get as much as possible. So let's start off with when your parents came to America and why.

Hanna (H): Gosh, it's been over, early seventies so well over thirty years, and um, I think it was just pretty much to escape communism and, um, they knew that there was just better opportunities here. I believe it was my father's idea, and that, um, obviously my mother came along. So, mainly just to escape communism and have a better life in America.

Samantha (S): And then I think my parents came out in '82 and they're pretty much just following Hanna's parents, so um, I guess they just sort of came here for the same reasons and more um freedom I guess.

H: Our mothers are sisters.

Amanda (A): My parents came here when I was two, so they came here for me to have like a better life, because like communism, it was like (unintelligible) kind of, and they wanted me to have a better life and stuff.

Q: As you were growing up, how much English or Hungarian was spoken in your household?

H: I know when I was very small, probably up until kindergarten, it was almost 100%, and then once I entered school, you know, a little bit more English, but I would say predominantly Hungarian growing up, and then as I got older it became a little bit more English. But predominantly Hungarian when I was, you know, born to five.

S: I think the same went for us, and I remember my mom saying that she didn't want me to hear her, uh, broken English, so we spoke Hungarian at home until I went to preschool, where I picked up English from the kids around me, so it's still pretty much Hungarian.

A: My parents still speak Hungarian, like they only speak, like they don't understand some words, they'll like forget, so they'll just like tell me in English or like if I don't or like it doesn't come to me in Hungarian, I'll say it in English, but I still like to tell them.

Q: What percentages of your parents' friends and social acquaintances spoke Hungarian? Can you put a guesstimate figure on it?

S: I'd say about 80%.

H: Probably about 70%, I would say, were Hungarian.

A: Probably like 80, unless my dad's like at work talking to his customers.

Q: Did your parents take you to any Cleveland Hungarian community events? Church picnics, school, scouts, etc?

H: Um, I started scouting in, um, I can't even remember what grade. I was a little bit later, like third grade or so. Um, so, you know, I did the scouts, I did Hungarian dancing, Hungarian church, um, always the Hungarian festivals. Um, pretty much right from the start, very involved in the Hungarian community.

S: I started when Vivian started, so I was about 5, I think, and it started on the east side. We had two different scouting troops. And then I did the Hungarian school for about a year or two.

A: I did scouts for a year and then I had a private teacher for Hungarian for like a year but then like I got really busy in school so I couldn't like do any of it.

Q: How old were you when you had the private teacher?

A: Um, I was like 12 or 13.

Q: And then how often did you guys attend these community events? Let's say before age 10.

S: Before age 10, I would say that scouting was pretty much a guarantee every Friday and then for the year that I did the school, that was every Monday. And then once I got to high school, the dance troupe was about every Tuesday or almost every Tuesday.

H: Before age 10, um, it was just predominantly Friday, so I'd say about one day a week, and then went to church or if there was some kind of like festival or whatnot, then around two days a week.

A: I don't know what days we went on 'cause I was little then (laughs), whatever day that was, but I went every day that was (unintelligible).

Q: Did they take you to more or less Hungarian events as you grew older?

H: I think it stayed pretty consistent, if not more due to when I was older we started Hungarian dancing so then, you know, it was twice a week. Um, I think it stayed pretty much the same. I mean, we would still go to scout days and go to church, so no, I believe it stayed pretty consistent.

S: And I think I stayed consistent, if not more as I got older, because I interacted socially with my peers in that group, so I think I started to interact with them more, not through like organized events, but just like weekends we'd meet as a group and stuff like that.

A: And, um, I think it stayed the same pretty much. I'm guessing (laughs).

Q: How often do you speak Hungarian nowadays?

H: At home, I'd say 75%. It's still predominant, uh, predominantly what we speak at home, for sure.

S: Now that I'm at college, pretty much I speak English all the time, except for when I'm on the phone with my parents or if I run into the one Hungarian that goes to school with me.

A: I speak it every day with my parents when I come home from school or if I'm calling them or (unintelligible).

Q: How often do you read or write Hungarian?

S: Um, sometimes I'll get like newsletters or things like that in the mail that are updates from scouting or something, but for the most part, unless my dad's writing me an email, I'm not going to read or write that much.

H: Not as much as I would like to be, but um, same thing, I kind of um, if my mom forwards me an email that's in Hungarian, I'll glance at that, but as far as picking up a book, not so much. (laughs) I would like to do more, but not very often.

A: I kind of like don't really know how to read in Hungarian, because I learned English and so it's my main thing to like read and write in, so if it's like something little, though, I can read that, like a book.

Q: Did you ever have negative emotions attached to you or your family speaking Hungarian?

H: No, I was always very proud. I was, um, I thought it was something that made me stand out against my peers and I was always very proud of it.

S: Yeah, I didn't mind it. I thought it was nice to be able to speak a different language.

A: I grew up with it as something that's different than other people and it's so special and like it's like upholding the tradition.

Q: How would you rate your own Hungarian language abilities compared to your English abilities? Are you at 70%, 50%, 90%?

S: I think my speaking would be about 70% and then my reading and writing at like 40-50%.

H: I probably agree. Um, 70-75% as far as, obviously I probably have an accent when I speak in Hungarian and sometimes just thinking of the word takes a bit longer for me, but I still feel very confident. As far as reading and writing, reading I'm a little bit better, I'd probably say like 50 or 60%, but writing I'm not very confident in, so probably about 40%.

A: For speaking, I think like 70% and like reading and writing is not there, so...(laughs).

Q: Have you ever been to Hungary? How often and for how long?

S: Um, I went once when I was little, and like 3 or 4 times with my parents for about 10 days, then I did the scouting tour for a month.

H: Yes, I have been to Hungary numerous times. We would go about every other year when I was younger. Now it's averaging about every 2-3 years when we go over. It's usually for about...almost a month. And I also did the scouting tour, like Pamela, and that was I believe 3 weeks long. Usually when we go over there it's for almost a month.

A: I just got my green card this year, so we had to stay here for a month and a half, but my parents want to go back like every other year.

Q: Where were you born?

S: I was born in Fairview Park, Ohio.

H: Maple Heights, Ohio.

A: Uh, I don't know how to pronounce it. Hungary. (laughs)

Q: How old were you when you came to the United States?

A: Um, I was, I came here when I was a few months old, but I didn't really like go along with them, so they went back for like a year or two and then brought me back.

Q: When you visited Hungary, how did that impact your language skills?

H: After returning, I mean, noticeably, it became even more, you know, spoken more at home, much more fluid and I was able to incorporate new words into my language base, so it definitely helped, even just being there for a few weeks. It showed huge gains in my language when I speak it, that's for sure.

S: Um, I think it helped. Sometimes I'm very choppy and I can't think of the right words in company. Sometimes I'll use something that's not quite the right word, but after being there for a little bit, I felt like I had a more put-together of a sentence structure. (laughs)

A: Um, I like, I kind of learned like more adult words when I was there and like that's all I used was Hungarian, so when I came back I like had to switch back to English, and it was difficult.

Q: How did visiting Hungary impact your identity of who you are? Or maybe it didn't.

H: I think for myself, it kind of brought the pride out a little bit more, just seeing where my family came from, um, seeing the traditions, kind of, live and in action, and, um just seeing how they live, uh, it really impacted me. I think I just had more of a respect for the culture, um, after seeing it, you know, in Hungary.

S: Um, I think it made it more real, because living here it just seems so isolated, it's just a small community in Cleveland and the suburbs or whatever, so being there and that actually being the predominant language made it seem like, ok, there's a lot of people that speak this and they're from there and it's not just us in the scouting community of greater Cleveland.

A: Um, I don't know if it really changed me, because when I went there everybody was like the same, the people that my parents like hang out with and stuff, so it didn't really like change like what I thought, because I like, I grew up that way.

Q: Did you ever have any negative emotions attached to being an American visiting Hungary?

S: Um, sometimes it felt uncomfortable, like they would try to charge me more than maybe my uncle or my grandpa would get charged if he just went into a store or something, so I definitely felt like they were trying to take advantage of me because I was an outsider.

H: Kind of going along with Pam, just kind of, yeah, if you go out shopping or whatnot, if they've already noticed that you're American, they'll try and kind of sell you on more things and whatnot and maybe try to pressure you a little bit more just cause they think that you have maybe a little but more money, being from the States, but um, other than that, not too much of a difference.

A: I think that they like, when you go to a new school, how like everybody's looking at you, so they just like look at you differently. In Europe most of the States are small so they, like, know everybody. It's different.

Q: Did your...can I ask your, the professions of your parents? What do your parents do for a living?

A: My mom's a full-time nanny and my dad has his own company.

S: My mom is a daycare teacher and then my dad works at maintenance (unintelligible).

H: My dad works, uh, electrical maintenance at the Cleveland Clinic and my mom does accounts receivable and, uh, for a private business.

Q: Describe the Hungarian proficiency of your relatives.

H: In the States, or...?

Q: In the States.

S: Um, well, one of my relatives is sitting right here, Hanna. (laughs) Uh, so we both grew up similarly, in the same situations, so uh I think she's very proficient. And then my other cousin that's still here in the States, um, in another part of Ohio, he didn't participate in scouts very much, so I think his Hungarian language ability declined much more rapidly than ours would as first generation.

H: Same. (laughs) Samantha's my cousin, so I would view her pretty much as the same abilities as myself. And then our parents, aunts, and uncles are all from Hungary, so obviously they're 100%. And then the same cousin that we share, um, I have noticed his, uh, his speaking abilities kind of decline. Now he did recently just go to Hungary, and now he's come back and pretty much that's all he speaks, so I think it made quite the difference for him, so he might be inching his way up to where we're at.

A: I have no family here, so they all live in Hungary and speak really well, so... (laughs)

Q: What percentage of your friends are Hungarian?

H: I'd probably say about 35-40% Hungarian.

S: I'd say about 30%.

A: I don't really know that many Hungarians that are my age, except for a few that don't live in Ohio. (laughs)

Q: Can you think of any reasons for why the percentage is where it's at? Whether it's zero or 30-40?

S: I think for me it's because, um, the Hungarian community that I grew up with, that I socialized with are pretty much all situated in Cleveland and now I'm going to school in Dayton, Ohio, so it's just the distance and the fact that I'm there for most of the year, and kind of spending more time with them than I do when I'm here.

H: Just, uh, because I have my high school friends, college girlfriends, and then my Hungarian friends. Kind of the same situation that Pam said, um, with everyone kind of moving into their careers and moving to different cities and whatnot, it becomes a little bit challenging keeping in touch, so that's why I would say that I'd be at 35-40%.

A: Just because I'm not in scouts or anything like that, so all my parents' friends have like little children or like, older.

Q: Do you consider yourself American or Hungarian? And why?

H: I'm...although I'm very proud of my Hungarian heritage, I still probably consider myself American, just for the sheer fact that I was born here and I did my schooling here and will most likely finish... be living here the rest of my life, so I would probably say I'm American.

S: I feel sort of the same way.

A: Um, I think that I'm a little bit of both, but if I had to pick one, I feel like I'm more like American, just because of how I was raised here and it's not the same as if I was in Hungary.

Q: Just from what you've observed from visiting Hungary, what kind of differences are there, just in terms of how people are raised there compared to how they're raised in the US?

A: Um, I feel like in Hungary they're more focused on their future and how they're going to make money, how they're going to like, have food, if they're not born into like the governing like family, but here it's more trying to get good grades and getting a job.

S: Just from my few experiences with Hungary, I guess I just noticed that kids there kind of get a lot more freedom, because they can come and go and they're not restricted to a vehicle, whereas here I always had to depend on my parents taking me somewhere. Over there, they grew up more independent, I think.

H: I agree with Pam. Just hearing, um, this is how they're raised, correct? Okay. Um, I feel like our parents had a lot more freedoms and a lot more um, you know, they can go outside when they were little and play all day and come back and check in at night, whereas we were under constant care, constant supervision when we were growing up.

Q: Can you describe your boyfriend's or any casual friend's attitude to your Hungarian identity and language skills?

H: I think, um, boyfriends have always thought it was really neat that I had this background. They've been fairly responsive to it, as far as, you know, asking me questions about my upbringing and um, always wanting to learn different word, sometimes albeit the bad words (laughs) but they were always pretty interested in the background and I've had a, you know, past boyfriend attend the, uh, Hungarian troupe when we put on the dance performance. He actually was in the audience and came to attend, which I thought was really neat and supportive of him.

S: Um, I think past boyfriends have been, um, supportive also. They went to the scout ball with me and at first he was kind of overwhelmed because everyone around him was speaking Hungarian, but he thought it was kind of nice that they announced the program in English and in Hungarian so he could kind of follow along and make sense of what was going on. And my roommates and my friends at school have always been very receptive to it.

A: My past boyfriends have had like problems when they come over and my parents are talking to me, they'll like think it's really cool, but if my parents are home when my friends are there then my parents won't speak Hungarian so they won't feel like awkward, and they'll always want to know like more words, or hear me talk more in Hungarian.

Q: Can you think of any reasons why, uh, your friends have that positive attitude to your identity and your language skills?

H: I think they just are maybe envious, or they think it's really neat that we know an entire different language, an entire different culture aside from just being raised with the American ideals and the American language. I think that they can't even wrap their head around that we can communicate in another language and that we've known it since we were, you know, practically born.

S: I think especially when we started taking language classes in high school, and they realized that it was, like, such a hard thing to get just the basic concepts down, I think that's when they're like, "Oh my gosh, they have a whole other language already."

A: I agree with Pam, because they always say, like, "Oh, I wish I knew a whole other language" and they just like think it's different, like different from what they're used to.

Q: Do you plan on speaking Hungarian to your own children? Why or why not?

H: Definitely. 100% yes. Even if I do marry an American, I know obviously my parents will be there to help, so the grandparents will most likely speak 100% Hungarian to my kids, and I will definitely speak Hungarian with them. I think it's such a neat thing to have, that I would want to raise my children with it.

S: I feel the same way. I would hope that my parents would speak it with them as well and also that my parents feel more comfortable with Hungarian, so I think that just for their interactions as grandparents that would make it a lot easier.

A: I probably will talk to them in both English and Hungarian, but I know that my parents, grandparents, or any family in Hungary will speak Hungarian to the child, so it's going to be confusing for them if they don't speak it.

Q: Can you think of anything...as you reflect here on how you grew up, can you think of any factors that are important in language maintenance for Hungarians here in Cleveland?

H: Like aside from attending the classes and whatnot, or...?

Q: Anything.

(pause, laughing)

Q: If you had to rank all the factors that impacted your Hungarian upbringing, where would you put what on the list? I'm trying to get at the factors that impact how well someone, or how much someone clings to their language and their heritage. There's no right answers, just from what you think or have experienced.

(laughing, talking over each other)

H: I'm sorry, I still don't get it.

Q: Um, what impact...What was the strongest, uh, determiner of your speaking Hungarian? Let's do it that way. What impacted you the most, in terms of your being able to speak Hungarian?

S: Definitely my parents, for them being their, uh, the language that they spoke at home.

H: I definitely 100% agree. The parents and them being more comfortable probably with Hungarian, especially when I was little was probably the main determining factor in me speaking Hungarian.

A: I agree, too, because my mom still speaks broken English so I still speak Hungarian to her and explain what's what.

Q: That's about all I have. I just wanted to thank you guys for taking part in the study.

Transcription of interview

Gabe Kovacs, Megan Ramsey, Matt Kobus

2010. October 18

Questioner (Q): So, the reason we, uh, got this in a group discussion is so you so you feel free to chime in and interrupt each other if you disagree with someone, or if you agree with them. It doesn't matter what order we go in; whatever you feel comfortable with. For ease in transcribing, if you could please say your name before you start talking, just so it's clear who's talking. So let's start with (and it doesn't matter what order we go in) when did your parents come to America and why? Or grandparents.

Megan Ramsey (MR): My mother, my uncle, and my grandmother came here to the United States in 1974. My mom was 15 or 14 years old at the time, and my uncle was about 12 or 13 at the time. They moved to Buckeye Lane. Or no. Did they move to Buckeye that year? They either moved to Buckeye, or they moved to, um... I know my mom went to John Marshall High School and she graduated from there in 1978. (unintelligible) arrived. (laughs)

Matt Kobus (MK): My grandfather moved here in 1956 and my grandmother moved here in 1974.

Q: And then your mom was born here?

MK: Yes.

Q: Okay.

Gabriel Kovacs (GK): Um, my dad is Megan's uncle, so that year that they came over together. And on my mom's side, my grandparents...honestly, I don't know. I could call them up right now.

Q: No, it's okay. I'll get that. I'm going to say fifty...

GK: Something like that. Ish.

QUESTIONER LATER CALLED GRANDPARENTS; THEY ARRIVED IN AMERICA IN 1951 (ALADAR FRICKE, PHONE INTERVIEW, 26 MAY 2011).

Q: But then your mom was born here.

GK: Yeah.

Q: Um, as you were growing up, how much English or Hungarian was spoken in your household? Can you describe the language habits of the people who live with you?

MR: Um, my dad was actually, he was born here in the United States in Parma, OH, in 1961, and he met my mom in 1988. So when they had me, my mom always wanted to, you know, teach her daughter Hungarian, because it's always good to know a second language. That's what she always told me, just for, you know, being in the business world or going traveling anywhere. Um, but mostly Hungarian was spoken in my family, because, um, my mom speaks broken English and my grandmother doesn't speak English at all. Um, but with my father, growing up, before they got divorced when I was 10 years old, we mostly spoke English in our household. And, but as of now, after, when I turned 13, that's when we started speaking more English in our household, I mean, more Hungarian, because I live with my mom and grandmother. That's all we speak.

Q: As you were growing up, how much English or Hungarian was spoken in your household?

MK: Um, when I was living with my dad, almost none, and then as I got older I started going to the Hungarian school and doing more Hungarian activities and learning the language and currently, I mostly speak Hungarian with my mom and not my stepdad.

MR: That's also the same thing for me too. When I started cserkészzet when I was 4 years old, and that's what really helped me keep up with the culture, the heritage, learning about it, speaking Hungarian.

GK: Uh, we speak Hungarian about half the time, if not a little less than half the time, because it's my dad's first language and it's the one he's most comfortable with. And we all speak it, so why not speak it? (laughs) Um, I learned it at about the same time that I learned English, so it's almost as easy as it is, as English is. And the same with my brother and my sister.

Q: What percentage of your parents' friends or social acquaintances speak Hungarian or spoke Hungarian as you were growing up?

MR: My mother, all her friends are all Hungarian. Her coworkers are obviously English, and probably born here in the United States, but she speaks, I mean, when I see her coworkers it's mostly people who speak English with each other. Most of her friends are from the Magyar cserkészzet and a couple of her friends that she met like, in school who are Hungarian.

MK: When I was growing up, almost none of my friends spoke Hungarian, except for Gabe Kovacs and now all my friends in the Hungarian scouts speak it, as well as my mom and my grandma.

Q: How about your parents' friends?

MK: Oh.

Q: Like 10% of their friends? Half of their friends?

MK: Probably less than 10%.

GK: Um, wow. You mean now? The people they're friends with now?

Q: Yeah. Just a guesstimate. There's no right answer or wrong answer.

GK: Well, my dad's friends are, well his best friends, are, they all speak Hungarian. They've known him since he came over here. He was in scouts and school, I think. And they're his best friends. And my mom, same thing, because they have some things in common, more things in common. And, I mean, they both have English-speaking friends, but there's many more and much better friends are the Hungarian-speakers.

Q: What are your parents' professions?

MR: My mom works at Stouffer's, um, well, Nestle's in Solon, and she works in the engineering department. She does a lot of drawing and uh, for engineers. It's called auto-CAD, that's like the program that she uses for the engineers. And my dad, he used to be a, he used to install carpet and um, do tile. He was a business man.

MK: My mom is a nurse. My stepdad is a project engineer for Swagelok. They're a valve and fittings company. And my dad is a nurse anesthetist.

GK: My mom is a physical therapist at Akron Children's Hospital, and my dad builds and fixes computers, mostly for dentists, but for friends, too.

Q: What kind of Cleveland Hungarian community events did your parents take you to, and how often? Meaning church picnics, school, scouts, etc. How would you say you took part in Cleveland's Hungarian community?

GK: Currently or...?

Q: As you were growing up.

MK: When I was younger, my mom would only take me to the scout day, maybe every other year, but currently I go to the, uh, scout meals and, uh, yeah.

Q: The meetings and camps?

MK: Yeah, the stuff with like cserkészzet.

MR: Well, I've been going to cserkészzet since I was 4, so we've been also, like throughout that timeline. I actually just stopped going to cserkészzet because I'm in school right now, it's my second year of college, but every now and then I'll go to scouts and I'll help out with like the scout um dinner and lunches and sometimes, um, like during the scout events, like the picnic that we have at German Central Park in Parma. I'll help out with like fundraising and helping through life. A lot. Um, that's pretty much what I do. That's all I can do.

GK: Well, I try to go to as many camps and stuff like that as I can, cause they're lots of fun. And stuff like luncheons and brunches or whatever. I help there, most of the time, unless I have something else. And, uh, I just think it's lots of fun so I try to go whenever I can.

Q: Hungarian School, did you guys ever attend?

MK: Yes, uh, I went.

Q: What ages?

MK: First I went when I was in third grade, so about 9 years old then. I left for a couple years, then came back in sixth grade, and went from sixth grade through eighth grade.

MR: Personally, I was really bad at Hungarian school. I really didn't enjoy it and I was really rebellious about it. Um, but I did go to Hungarian school, for about one year, when I was like, 10 or 11 maybe. And then I went to Hungarian school for like a year, maybe six months, before segédtszti tábor, or the scout leader camp, and I quit halfway through, but I still passed the test by a few points (laughs) and I still went to segédtszti tábor and I enjoyed my time there. I passed. (laughs)

GK: I went to Hungarian school from kindergarten or preschool up until eighth grade. I just recently stopped going.

Q: Did all three of you spend your formative years here, in this neighborhood, in this area? So how long have you been going to this catholic school and...?

MK: I went to this catholic school my whole life and have been living in the same neighborhood my whole life.

GK: Same thing.

MR: Actually, I started going to St. Joseph in Mantua until like halfway through third grade, when my parents got divorced. And then I went to this catholic school from third to eighth grade, and that's where I graduated from, but the way that I, I didn't really develop like a strong group of friends within this school system, just because...I don't even know why, actually. I just felt like I was always a little bit different. The friends that I guess I was attracted to, not like in that type of way, but like, you know, when you meet someone and you want to like be able to like have things in common with. I felt like I didn't really have a

lot of things in common with other students at high school. Maybe I never really gave it a chance, but because I was like really really good friends with like all the Hungarians and I, um, actually I spend most of my time on the west side, like in North Olmsted/Lakewood area. Most of, there's really only like a few of us in cserkészzet who live over here on the east side. Mostly everybody lives towards Cleveland area.

Q: And why do you think those friends were closer?

MR: Um, definitely because we all spoke Hungarian, and had different, or we had the same, uh, morals. We were all like, we all had faith. I guess religion has a lot to do with our culture as well, because like we all believe pretty much in the same type of thing. Um, that's pretty much it.

Q: Okay. Do you two agree with that?

MK: Well, for me, it was almost the opposite on that. Because I wasn't in scouts as long as most people there are, so I feel like I developed a lot of friends at this catholic school and ended up hanging out with people there.

GK: Uh, what was the question?

Q: Do you think that religion has a lot to do with the nature of the friendships?

GK: Hmm. In some cases yes, in some cases no. Cause, I mean, it's definitely a plus that we all believe in the same thing or certain people believe in the same thing, I think it helps build friendships, but it's not a necessity, I don't think. You can still be friends with someone even if they're not the same religion as you.

Q: Did your parents take you to any Hungarian churches?

MK: I went to St. Emeric's for, uh, we mostly went to, uh, well, it's a Catholic church and for like special occasions we would go to St. Emeric's.

MR: We pretty much went to this church a lot, but I, I don't know, I never really, my family and I, we don't really go to church that often, actually. We only go on special occasions, which, personally, like, why go on special occasions when you don't go at all? That's kind of what I think, but we probably should go to church more, because we did, we were all raised Catholic. Another thing, too, though, that I'd like to clear up, is that yeah, I do believe that you can be friends with anyone, with any type of religion.

Q: Did you notice any changes in terms of, did your parents take you to more or less Hungarian events as you grew older? Let's say between ages six and fifteen.

GK: I think they took me to more, because you can get more involved and you could help out more. And to be aware of what's going on, so you're more useful there. And you actually enjoy it when you get older.

MR: I agree with that too. I also went last March, I actually, I went to New Jersey for a Hungarian, like a dance festival, or táncház, (laughter) so I kind of, I gained a lot of friendship through the different states.

MK: I think they pretty much did the same for me, like I went to the same amount of like Hungarian activities, but it kind of changed from that my parents sending me to me deciding to go.

Q: What made that change?

MK: I guess when I was little I didn't really understand the whole like pride in my culture thing, and as I grew older I understood that I should be proud to be Hungarian.

Q: Was there something specific that caused that shift in you, or was that a gradual change?

MK: Um, it was a gradual change.

Q: What do you think impacted that, or what caused, what do you think caused that change?

MK: The scouts and making friends there. Knowing people there and realizing that, uh, other people take pride in being Hungarian, so I should too, I guess.

Q: How often do you speak Hungarian nowadays?

MR: I actually, I have to speak Hungarian at home, but between my friends, we sometimes speak Hungarian with each other. I'm actually teaching my boyfriend how to speak Hungarian right now, so I think that's kind of helping me too, 'cause I'm like trying to read children's books, Hungarian children's books with small wording. I guess my reading is getting better and my writing is getting better. I do speak it more often than I did when I was younger, definitely.

MK: Nowadays I speak Hungarian whenever I'm at scouts or activities I try and speak it because there's little kids there and I want them to speak better and I want to be a role model for them, I guess. But at home, it's just whatever comes naturally. I can speak English or Hungarian with my parents. It doesn't really affect me, which one I speak.

Q: How often do you read or write Hungarian?

MK: I almost never read or write Hungarian. Unless it's for scouts or something like that.

MR: Like I said, I'm teaching my boyfriend (laughs), so I pretty much do it about three times a week for about an hour with him.

GK: I read and write Hungarian whenever I have to teach the kids something or whenever I get a paper from scouts or something.

Q: Some of the other interviewees mentioned texting in Hungarian or Hungarian websites. Any of that with you guys?

MK: Almost none.

MR: My facebook is actually switched to Hungarian. (laughter)

Q: What made you decide to do that?

MR: Because, I guess actually a really good point somebody told me the other day, we were talking about it. He told me when he went to Magyarország, when he was about 18 years old, he told me that the way that he speaks Hungarian over there in Magyarország is really old-fashioned and he didn't really understand the language between the friends and the peers and the younger crowd, because it was really fast and it kind of, everything went with the flow and there was a lot of slang involved that we're not really taught over here, because our parents all came in the '50s, '60s, '70s, during that era. So I think that the way we were raised is a little bit more old-fashioned, I think, and the way, the reason why I changed my Facebook to Hungarian and that sometimes I do text in Hungarian, too, is because I kind of want to learn a little bit how real Hungarians, like the modern-day Hungarians speak, because one day I would like to go there and not feel like a fool, you know? And be able to communicate on like the same level as other Hungarians.

GK: Like what Megan said, in Hungary, they speak...I went over there this summer and they speak much faster than I'm used to speaking and there're some words that I didn't understand at first, but I got to understanding more, but with texting, sometimes I just can't

find a word for a Hungarian word in English because I just use it so much in Hungarian that I'm not used to it and it's just like weird changing it to English, 'cause then it doesn't sound like the same word, I guess. So I just find it easier texting in Hungarian sometimes.

Q: Can you think of any examples? Words that are tough to translate?

GK: I mean, they're not tough to translate, I guess, it's just more of why would I translate them if I have a person who understands it and it's not weird? So like, I would say cserkészet; I wouldn't say scouts. I would say Magyar iskola, not school.

Q: Ok. Have you ever...well, you've been to Hungary. How often or for how long have you guys been to Hungary?

MK: The first time I went I went for 10 days. Then the second time I went for 10 days again, then the third time I went for a month.

Q: And how much between these times? One year? Or every two years?

MK: Well, first I went in third grade, and then in sixth grade and then when I was going into high school.

MR: Actually I've only been there twice. I was a lot younger. The first time I went there I was four years old and the second time I went there when I was twelve. And I actually remember that very well, the last time I've been there, but it was so long ago. But I would want to go back one day.

GK: I've gone to Hungary twice in my life. Once when I was only 1 or 2, so I don't remember that time, but last summer I went and that was really fun. I went for a month and I plan on going back sometime, visiting friends and relatives and everything.

Q: Did you have any negative emotions attached to being an American visiting in Hungary?

MR: Negative emotions by being an American or negative emotions by being Hungarian?

Q: Being an American in Hungary.

MR: Um, no. I'm actually very proud to be an American and I'm very proud to be born here in Ohio. When I went to Hungary, I mean, I remember when I was twelve, I mean, my mom, we obviously spoke Hungarian the whole time we were there. So I guess I was too young to really think about where I was from or think about politics and stuff like that.

MK: I actually had the opposite. I had a lot of positive feedback, I guess, because I was an American, when I went to a really big like rock concert thing a couple years ago in Hungary. A lot of people were like "Oh, this person's from America." I really don't know if they were messing with me or being nice, but yeah.

GK: When I went to Hungary I looked at it as an adventure. I looked at it like it would be fun. It was my first time that I would remember going and being an American was sort of like, I mean, people would ask me sometimes, like someone would refer to like "America, wow, I've never been there. Is it as awesome as people say it is?" My one cousin, he had been to Cedar Point once, and his story about this was that he came back and he told his friends about it and they didn't even believe him, how awesome Cedar Point was. He showed them a YouTube video just so they'd believe him. I thought that was pretty funny.

Q: Did you ever have negative emotions attached to you or your family speaking Hungarian here in the US?

MR: Yes, I have. Sometimes, my grandmother, she's been here for 30 years and she only knows maybe like a couple words in English, and I kind of wish that she would've learned

English when she came here, when she had the chance, because they went to an English school before, when they were getting their green cards or their visas or whatever, their citizenship? So they had to go to English classes to learn and she was very lazy about it, very, I don't know. She relied on her son and her daughter way too much, I think, but I mean, it's okay though, now, because she's 74 years old and I don't really think she cares what language she speaks, she'll still be the same person and still really happy no matter where she's at.

MK: Well, my stepdad kind of gets angry if my mom is always speaking Hungarian to me, and he feels kind of like he's left out of it. And sometimes my mom's friends will tell my stepdad "You should learn Hungarian" and that really like pisses him off.

Q: Megan, does your dad ever resent your family speaking Hungarian?

MR: The day that I was born, my dad told my mom not to teach me Hungarian, because, I don't even know the real reason. He was just really concerned, I guess, about me being a really good student here in the United States and he thought if I learned another language it would throw that off a little bit. But it actually benefitted me and he actually changed his mind when I was like four years old because he has a niece, my cousin Bailey who lives in Maryland, she was living in Belgium at the time because her parents are CIA and FBI agents, so they were in Belgium at the time and she was learning French. So then my dad realized that, you know, "Maria should teach Megan some Hungarian." (laughs) Because of his niece. I guess he realized, 'cause he was a new father and you know, new person in the family, he realized that it's like, best to know another language, because he wasn't raised that way. He was raised like typical United States citizen.

Q: Monolingual.

MR: Yeah.

Q: How would you rate your own Hungarian language abilities compared to your English abilities? Can you give a percentage of what your, if English is 100%, where would your Hungarian be?

MK: If my English is 100%, my Hungarian is probably 50%, I'd say.

GK: I'd say that my English is 100%, my Hungarian is probably, uh, 65-75%, I'd say.

MR: I would say the same thing with Gabi, because we grew up in the same family, so we're, I don't know.

(laughter)

Q: Did visiting Hungary impact your identity at all, who you are?

MR: I don't think I really had an identity when I was twelve yet. I think I was just trying to have fun and I wasn't thinking about my future, but it did, I think it did kind of impact my identity a little bit, because I actually like realized like how my mom grew up and I thought, or I saw the place that she was like born in. And I guess it just made me realize like how much I care for my own mother and like the way that she grew up and like I, I don't know, maybe when I was twelve years old I thought about it, like "hmm, I hope to go back here one day 'cause, I don't know, I really enjoy the city", so that's, I don't know, I was too young to think about having an identity at that point.

MK: Uh, yeah, same answer as Megan.

GK: Um, well, it was interesting I think seeing where my family, or my dad's side of the family, how they lived and who they were, and um, where my dad grew up, I saw that place. And, wait, after I went to Hungary, I think I really realized that it's not just some sort of activity on every Friday night, it's actually who I am, I guess.

Q: Can you describe the Hungarian proficiency of your relatives and also of your aunts and uncles who were born here in the Cleveland area? Or extended cousins or anyone. Do your, do your relatives speak Hungarian as you do, or are they as involved in Hungarian activities as you are?

MR: Um, my, all of my mom's relatives live in Hungary, so um, my immediate family from my mom's side of the family is my uncle George, Gabi's dad, and Gabi, Gergö, Erika, so, and we all speak Hungarian and English about the same level, pretty much. But on my dad's side of the family, um, they were all born in Ireland and Lebanon, so they speak their own language. And English.

Q: Do they maintain the Arabic, for example?

MR: Um.

Q: Or the Irish?

MR: Well, uh.

Q: Do they live here in the United States, or...?

MR: Well, my, my father is, my father's father, uh, he was born here in the United States, but his parents, or his grandparents were born in the United Kingdom, in Scotland and Ireland. My dad's mother was born here in the United States, but her parents were born in Lebanon and France, so they spoke a lot of French and Lebanese, but my grandmother never learned. And they speak English in the UK, so. (laughs) That's my dad's side of the family.

MK: Um, well, pretty much my whole, um, mom's side of the family lives in Hungary, except my grandparents and, uh, my uncle. And, well, my mom's pretty involved, well kind of involved, in some of the scouting things, but she's really the only one. And my dad's side of the family was born in America.

GK: Um, my dad's side of the family like Megan said, is mostly in Hungary, but my mom's side of the family, um, my mom is one of six brothers and sisters. They were raised by Hungarian parents, and five of them live around here in Ohio, in northern Ohio, except one of them lives in...

MR: Cincinnati.

GK: Cincinnati. And then one of them, her brother Pete, lives in North Carolina, and his kids do not speak Hungarian, but all the other kids do. And they all do, so when there's family gatherings we try to speak, well, mostly Hungarian, because it's just easier for my grandparents, and they're always there. And, um, but, if my aunt's there, because she doesn't speak Hungarian, and my one uncle doesn't, then we include them, I guess, and speak English.

Q: What do you think the reasons are for, um, your relatives' language proficiency, those who are Hungarian and live in Cleveland? What impacted their language?

MK: Well, when my mom was first born, she didn't speak English at all. Both my grandparents didn't speak English, so she had to learn to speak, like she had to learn, and

uh, by the time my uncle was born, both my grandparents kind of spoke some more English so they taught it.

GK: Um, my relatives language proficiency?

Q: Yeah. What are the reasons for them knowing Hungarian?

GK: I think it's being surrounded by people that speak it and it's just, uh, I guess, another way to communicate with people.

MR: I would have to agree with Gabi, too.

Q: Did your parents ever force you guys to speak Hungarian? Or use punishment or was it always positive or how would you...how did they teach you the language?

MK: It was, uh, almost always positive, or, yeah, it was always positive. Um, they'd never like get mad at me for not speaking Hungarian.

MR: Um, yeah, I guess for me too it was always a positive thing, but um, I spoke English, though, like with my dad, and, I mean, he obviously didn't really like it all the time when my mom and I just spoke Hungarian and then he wouldn't be able to understand, which is understandable for anyone. But, yeah, it was always pretty much positive for me, learning Hungarian, except, like, when I went to... I just, I guess I just had a really bad experience with, um, Hungarian school and I think that really gave me like a negative image about the whole, uh, language itself, and, um, same with cserkészet.

Q: Not talking about the people, but do you remember the details of what it was that gave you the negative?

MR: Um.

GK: Memories.

MR: No. Well, I don't know. Maybe. I mean, I know a lot was like, um, my fault, too, because I was very stubborn growing up too, like...I don't know. I have to think about it.

Q: That's fine. We can come back to it later.

MR: Okay.

GK: Um, well, I mean, most of the time, I would just speak whatever I wanted, but I guess I don't remember exactly when I was learning it, but sometimes my dad would ask me, he would ask me if he asked the question to me in Hungarian, that I reply in Hungarian, but it was never, like, really enforced.

Q: What percentage of your friends are Hungarian?

MR: I would say about 90% of my friends are Hungarian.

GK: I'd say about...all of my best best friends speak Hungarian, but of my friends, I'd say about half.

MK: I'd say maybe like 5%.

Q: And why...I think, Matt, you've already answered, but you can add to it if you want, but why those percentages are like that, but I'd be interested in Megan and Gabe, why 90% and why 50%? This is not a judgment question, it's just what do you think the reasons are for your friends being Hungarian? That many.

MR: I just, I always really enjoy going, um, out to like the Hungarian balls that we had, and I think I gained a lot of friendship by going to that, and definitely the camps, all the Hungarian camps. I definitely gained a lot of friendship there, too, and I never really had that, like, at my high school, like going out on like camping trips, um, doing like huge projects together to

gain closer friends, or traveling. I mean, I've done that before, a couple of times, at Cuyahoga Community College, and I did gain a couple of friends from that, but I don't really keep in touch with them that much anymore. I guess, I think it also has to do with our society, too, for why I was never really close to the people at my high school, because I think that they just grew up a little bit more differently than I did.

Q: You said, "It has to do with our society." What do you mean by that?

MR: Um, man, this is going to get really judgmental. (laughs)

Q: We don't have to go there.

MR: Okay. I don't want to sound opinionated or anything. I'm not really of a judging, I don't really judge and like make people feel bad or anything like that, but, um, I just feel like the girls that I knew in high school and some of the guys that I knew in high school were very, like, Jersey Shore. You know what I mean? Like, there's that kind of a reality TV show to me, like, as just very fake people. And I think that's why I never really had a really like close friendship between them. I could never like, I don't know, like live up to them, you know? I feel like the Hungarian community respected me more because I spoke Hungarian and I was raised that way and they were raised the same way I was, pretty much. (laughter)

Q: Do you guys agree or disagree? You don't have to go there. You have to go back to high school; she doesn't.

(laughter)

GK: I guess, yeah, I mean my best friends are probably the Hungarian ones, because I've been with them longer than with them, my entire life, but since a transition for me from eighth grade to freshman year I lost about half my friends that were friends in eighth grade, because they went to different schools and we don't really keep in touch that much anymore. So, I've just been with these people my entire life, because our parents know each other, and we would go hang out with each other when we were like, three, and I never really had that with that many people that are American.

MK: I guess I agree with the whole Jersey Shore kind of thing, but even though they're like that they're still fun to hang out with, and like, I have a lot of good friends in high school.

Q: Can you describe your non-Hungarian friends' attitude to your Hungarian identity and language use?

GK: They think it's interesting, I guess. It's just a quality that they think is cool. Sometimes they'll ask like, "What's this in Hungarian?" and then I'll tell them and they'll say it for like an entire day, again and again, 'cause it's so fun. I guess it's just another character trait to them, I guess.

MR: I do agree with Gabi, too, but I also have to say that like, I always think that like, I don't know, they're just like so surprised about it. It's like, at home, I'm just like, sometimes I wonder what their parents teach them at home, because they sometimes seem just way too surprised, you know? Because, like, it's like, I just told my friend the other day at school that I'm going to Europe, and she's like, "What?! Where are you going? You're going there alone?" I'm like, "Yeah." "It's so dangerous, don't go." I'm like, "No, it's going to be fine, there's, I'm going to go to like a school there, a study abroad program, everything's going to be fine. There's going to be professors, classes are going to be taught in English, it's going to be all right." And she's like, "Oh, you're a daredevil." I'm like, "No." Really, anywhere you go

there's going to be good and bad people, there's always going to be crimes, there's always going to be something bad going on in that country. Even over here in the States. So I, it's just, I almost feel like they're just a little bit narrow minded, some of these, um, just like, very like...

Q: Sheltered.

MR: Yeah. Like, just very sheltered, or just narrow-minded. They don't really know too much about culture and history and the old world. Like, they don't really care that much, I kind of feel. At least, those are my friends. I'm not going to judge everybody. But my friends that I actually know, my American friends, they're very narrow-minded.

GK: I guess I agree with that.

Q: Do you consider yourself American or Hungarian? Why?

GK: I consider myself, I don't know, half and half? That's what my answer usually is when I get asked that question. Because I am an American citizen. I was born here, raised here, but really I was sort of raised like a Hungarian, I guess, because my parents tried to do that, and I think they succeeded.

MK: I think I feel more American, like without a question. Like, you know, I feel like proud to be Hungarian, there's just like a stronger pull towards the American patriotism.

MR: Um, I would have to say that I am more of an American, um, just because, just like Máté said, he's more like, um, patriotic towards America, and I'm more patriotic toward America. Um, I was raised as a Hungarian, I guess, but only with food and the culture and the folk dancing and, you know, having Hungarian friends, so I do consider myself more Hungarian than any other type of nationality I have in my blood, but if I have to, uh, if anybody asks me, I'm an American. No matter what. Because this is my home, this is where I was born.

Q: You guys all mentioned folk dancing. How many years were you involved in that?

MK: Um, well, this is my second year.

GK: Yeah, same. I started same time as him.

MR: Um, I did, I was in folk dancing for four years, and I just stopped after I graduated high school.

Q: Do you plan on speaking Hungarian to your own children? Why or why not?

MR: Most definitely, because I just think it's just such a great thing to know, just knowing another language in general. So yeah, I would definitely put them through Magyar iskola and I hope they would like it a lot better than I did. (laughs)

GK: Um, I plan on it, yeah, because I think if you learn...I heard something, some sort of study once, that if you learn, if you're bilingual at a young age, that it's easier to learn, or something like that, I heard once. So I think it would be a benefit to them, and like it's just a cool quality to have.

MK: Yeah, I'll definitely try to, even though it might be, like, harder for me, because, I mean, I don't speak it as well as a lot of people in the Hungarian community, but I think it would be a shame if, like, the whole Hungarian cultural thing ends with me in my family.

Q: Who would you say were the top four or five people who impacted your own Hungarian language development?

MK: I'd say my grandma, my mom, um, my friend Gabe (laughs), um. (long pause)

Q: How so, Gabe?

MK: Um, Gabe's like one of my best friends. He's always been there for me, like I see he speaks fluent Hungarian, so I look up to him for that.

GK: I think the top five people would be my grandma, that doesn't speak English; my dad; and my other two grandparents, because it just comes easier for them; and probably, um, probably Matt, actually, because, since when he joined cserkészet, he didn't know that much Hungarian, so I sort of pushed myself to speak it more with him so he would learn it.

MK: Um, I would have to say my mom and my grandma, um, my mom's mom, and I would also have to say my uncle George, and his children, which, like, on occasions we speak Hungarian, and even though my boyfriend Bobby doesn't speak Hungarian, since I'm teaching him, that's helping me like motivate myself to learn more, or to like, yeah, to learn like more Hungarian words and, I don't know, start reading in Hungarian. Stuff like that.

Q: So the purpose of the study was to figure out what are the most important factors that impact Hungarian language use here in the Cleveland area. Anything else you could add or do you think there is a single most important factor that impacts Hungarian language use?

MK: I would probably say your peers, because in some ways those are the people you look up to most or are with the most and if you see that they're doing a certain thing, then a lot of times you want to do the same thing.

GK: I would say that it's definitely, if I had to choose a most important factor, I would say definitely it's the people you're surrounded by, like you family or, like Matt said, your peers, because that's the society that you grow up in, and that's just obvious.

MR: I would have to agree.

Q: Anything else you guys want to add? Thank you very much for taking part in the study.

Transcription of interview

Ann Graber, Karl Patay, Susan Linder

2010. October 15

Questioner (Q): So the reason I brought you guys together because you have one family, same upbringing. The purpose of the study is to figure out the factors that impact Hungarian language maintenance. Feel free to chime in and interrupt if someone says something that you agree or disagree with. And for ease in transcribing, if you could say your name before you answer each question. And it doesn't matter what order we go in. Interrupt. Or anything. So let's just start with when did your parents come to America? And why?

Ann (A): 1956 with my parents. They came...Mom came out as a 13-year old. She came as a 13-year-old with her parents. She had an older brother by two years? Just three years older. Máté is actually four years younger. And then Dad actually came out, uh...

Susan (S): A year or two later.

A: I would say two years later.

Karl (K): He was three and a half...he spent three and a half years in Vienna.

A: Right. Working on his engineering degree.

K: Right. And then he came (unintelligible) then went back to (unintelligible) at his gardens. (laughs)

A: But you didn't say your name first.

K: Oh, Karcsi. (laughs)

Q: He's the only male here. (laughter) Why did they come to Cleveland?

A: Papa had a...Papa had a roommate from...college? High school? Or trade school?

S: Yeah.

A: Who was living here. (Unintelligible) And Api, my father, had a, uh, distant second cousin. Tóthék.

Q: As you were growing up how much English or Hungarian was spoken in your household? Can you describe the language habits of the people in your house?

S: I'd say about 80-90% Hungarian, and with our father we always spoke.

A: 100% Hungarian.

K: To this day. To this day.

S: Right. In fact, my kids still only speak Hungarian to him.

A: My kids, too.

S: And with my mother it's more mixed, but still 75-80% Hungarian. But more when we needed.

K: Growing up, though, that's all we were allowed to speak at home.

S: Right. But if it was school-related stuff, that she might help out with, and stuff like that.

A: I was going to say when she started to work was when we started mixing more English into the mix. She only worked part-time when I was in eighth grade, or something like that, so that's like '78.

Q: Why the 100%? What caused that? Would he punish or what?

K: No, it was-

S: His English was worse.

A: It was the respect.

S: You think so? I think since his English was worse, it was an expectation more from him than from her, because she was involved more in our non-Hungarian activities, school-related activities, where he wasn't, so...

K: We're talking about why 100% at home?

Q: Yeah.

K: I think he was just very proud of where he came from and it was important for them, for us to speak Hungarian at home. That's what I think, at least. It wasn't, it wasn't, ah, you know, a very strict something, like "That's all you're going to speak at home", but it was just expected of us. That's, that's-

S: To this day-

A: No punishment.

S: No.

K: No.

A: There was never any threat, it was a respect. I like the word respect. It was a respect towards him. He was the male head of the household.

S: Even though (unintelligible) ...

(laughter)

A: And that was respect, too. We spoke Hungarian. The kids still do to this day. We do.

K: It was a different world then. We didn't think of it as a bad thing, I mean, we were, you know, if we spoke in English, we were kind of, our first medium was like, "ok, well". It was...I was probably the most rebellious against the Hungarian. (laughs)

Q: Why do you think that? How did that manifest itself?

K: I don't know, the more American friends I got, you know, in the beginning, when it was strictly Hungarian with cserkészet and everything else I was doing, once I got into high school, I think, and started dating and being around Americans more than in my younger years, I think it was something that, I don't know...

S: It was a different crowd.

K: I don't want to say it was a rebelling thing, because it wasn't, it was just...Growing up, we were living basically a Hungarian lifestyle in everything we did almost. I mean, I didn't play football, because soccer was the sport that we always played. And we went to American scouts, or Hungarian scouts instead of American scouts, you know, and we did Regös. It was just, uh, our friends were all Hungarians and then once school, especially for me high school, I started getting more American friends and in turn, talking with them and doing more things with them, I lost my Hungarian a lot. I was probably the worst Hungarian speaker in-

A: Don't you think it also had to do with Magyar Iskola and it being a struggle a little bit more in Magyar Iskola and not going on to segédtszti and things like that probably added to that, because that's, that's kind of how we continued it. You know, go to segédtszti, go to this here and there. You just didn't think Pisti was cute in Regös, that's why you didn't go. (laughter)

K: You know, you know, I didn't date any of the Hungarian girls.

A: No, you didn't.

K: So, cause I was friends with them all. It was a different relationship, where it was, they were afraid I would talk after. It's like, as we got older, we got married, we just didn't think of the girls in a dating way. They were all friends of ours and I don't know what it was, maybe it was a respect thing, respect for friends. I just never looked at them as you know, spouse material or girlfriend material because we were such good friends over the years and we stuck together. So when I started dating I you know, dated American girls. And you know, just, uh, my life turned a little different than, I think, the girls.

Q: Let's talk about segédtszti. What impact did that have on the language, or those, uh, the magyar iskola responsibilities or milestones or whatever.

A: Those were hard to obtain. When I went to segédtszti, I had to take three years of magyar iskola. Two for, so irodalom for two years, so literature for two years and then I did the néprajz/földrajz for another year. It took me three years to get the two érettségis to go to segédtszti. That was a lot.

K: I think Anci is right. For me, that was probably the biggest turning point in not following the Hungarian way, because I went for segédtszti, and I went to, who was it, földrajz? And I remember I was doing all right. I got to the interviews and I was just terrified. I was never a good speaker, and Falk Viktor bá was asking, I'll never forget the question. It was the easiest question there was, it was about the déli harangszó, and I froze and I couldn't, I couldn't say anything. How could he not...you know, and he's looking at me, and I'm going...and I just completely drew a blank. I was never really good under pressure and for me, I can tell you, it's probably, I'm getting goosebumps just thinking about it now, probably five or six times a year, it'll come back to me, that ridiculous déli harangszó I couldn't figure out. I couldn't tell him what it's about. It's probably the easiest question there was and I dadog myself halfway through it and he looked at me and then he told me the rest of the answer, and I was like, „of course that's what it is.” But because of that, I failed it, because I couldn't answer the question. And I said, „You know what? Screw it.”

(talking over each other)

A: And that was-

K: It was a turning point.

A: There were a lot of us back then, it was easy to say be selective. „We want you, you, you. You didn't cut it, you're out.” It wasn't necessarily...it could be personality, comfort zones, it could've been a lot of different things that could've impacted something like that. When you reach segédtszti, that's a level of leadership, and I never went to tszti, that's, it's a level of leadership where, at that point, cserkészzet is going to become a way of life, or at least a much bigger part of you than just an Ö.V. It's a very important milestone.

S: Plus it's the age, think of the age, because then you're 18, and you're off to college or you're staying for college.

A: And we stayed for this.

S: Right.

K: You know what? You're right. Now that you've mentioned that, that was my turning point. And I would forget being there with my friends, and, you know...

S: But your friends didn't go on either, if you think about it. Sanyi didn't, right?

K: Well, but, you know, most of them left here.

(talking over each other)

S: Right.

A: A lot of your friends left.

K: They, they left.

A: Your whole group of friends.

K: But that was the turning point. I was, I mean, I went through the small, I went through the tábor, the segédtszti tábor, and for me, that was probably a big, I never really thought of it, but that was probably for me a turning point, because I'll never forget the feeling of failure, when I knew it, I just couldn't...

S: Put it into words.

K: Put it into words. And something that simple. And I'm serious, every year, probably five or six times, something will bring that up in some kind of situation in life, you know, talking about cserkészzet or tábor and I'll think about it, and it was such a big turning point for me that that kind of just sharply stopped it for me. I failed in front of my friends.

A: It was an embarrassment.

K: It was an embarrassment. I mean, after everything that I had put into it, um...

A: It was such an old school approach. We don't do that in education nowadays. We don't degrade or intimidate the kids, you do everything so that they start learning.

Q: When you said there was a lot of you back then and they could be selective, what do you mean by a lot? Could you elaborate on that?

A: Wow, we also had a tough parancsnok with Thurner Klári, [CONFIDENTIAL DETAILS NOT TRANSCRIBED]. But our friends got to fit in. It wasn't necessarily even, I hate to put it this way, it wasn't our nationality sometimes but the friends that we had here, too.

K: It was a way of life.

A: It was a way of life.

Q: Elaborate on that.

S: Well, just life-long friends. It was the people you...I think that's the biggest difference, at least with my kids now versus when I was in cserkészzet. The people that I hung out with in cserkészzet were the people I went to school with and I had all my social events with them, too. And then through cserkészzet we had locsolás and tea and bál and all that stuff, so the social events were tied in, whereas my kids, they don't go to school with anyone that they're in cserkészzet with, but they don't quite mesh personality-wise or interest-wise with the people that are in cserkészzet.

K: Right. With me, it was a way of life. I mean, we hung around, all our friends were Hungarian, typically. We socialized with them. It was just everything we did had something to do with cserkészzet, Regös, or...

S: Right. And outside cserkészzet you still got together.

K: A little bit, but not nearly as much. It wasn't, we weren't as tight as we were there.

S: Right, but if you think about the friends like Pupiék that we hung out with growing up, and that was like, you know, we vacationed with them. So, things like that. I mean, kind of like Vivien and we still go on vacations.

A: My kids have (unintelligible) cserkészzet.

S: Right.

A: My girls have life-long friends. Pisti grew up with all the boys, too, but so had Joey, Gabi, Keve, Bende. He's really close with these kids, and that's make it or break it.

K: Right.

A: The friends that you have here, the örs that you have here. If you really want it to be good for him, it can't be a punishment. He said, I don't know, four-five weeks ago, he was very sick, he had come down with the flu and he missed it. He misses the kids. And I don't want to say just the language. It's the language that pushes them together and the nationality, because they have that in common, thank goodness, but it's a lot of socialization.

K: ...interests.

A: And you'll thrive, you'll push yourself, you know, "if so-and-so is going to segédtszti next year, I gotta do magyar iskola, I gotta get my segédtszti material down. I want to go with him." So it's achieving different ranks and increasing your verbage, your knowledge, your literature, your history, everything, so that you can do it so you can keep up with your friends.

Q: Is the friendship a stronger bond or does it do more for language maintenance than the Hungarian School?

All: Absolutely. No doubt.

A: Absolutely. And that's what we have to push. We have to push the outings to be fabulous in order to keep things going here for the longevity of the scouts. That's what it is. Of course it's going to be the friendships, the bond that we form. My girls have that. My girls will pick up, pick out three-four-five people that'll be their best friends forever. Deanna will not speak to Pamela for six months and then the next thing we know, Pamela's on the phone, "I saw something on Facebook, are you okay?" Yeah, and then they'll talk for an hour. "Anyuka, I miss her. She's my best friend." And that's the way it is. Erika and Pamela and Deanna will be best friends forever and they've known each other since they were four years old.

Q: Did you guys do any CMAC at all?

A: Did we...?

S: MHBK more than CMAC.

A and K: Yeah.

Q: Any friendships form there?

S: It's for, it's the same group of people were...the cserkészek were...

A: Were used to work. (laughter)

S: To participate in MHBK stuff, so, but, no.

A: Even though I was bál királynő and I did two-three years of work there. And that was it.

K: The MHBK was more a Hungarian group just to maintain the Hungarian...

A: Veterans.

K: Veteran life stuff. You know, it didn't have the youth thing that our cserkészlet had that, you know, it was a way of life. I mean, every Friday and Saturday at 7, and you look forward to it. And I think you hit the nail on the head. You did everything else so that you can go to tábor. And you studied because you wanted to have...all your friends were going and you wanted to be there. And it was a great time, so then you did whatever you had to, and

learning whatever it was, and read the book regarding the different camps, so you could be there with your friends. And it was a great life.

A: Even Magyar iskola. I'll be honest, I hated going, but it was a social thing, too. Your friends were there. But we also didn't go as kids. I didn't start Magyar iskola until I was 12 years old.

Q: At what ages did you attend Hungarian school?

A: I started at 12, just before Ö.V. tábor. I went for two years then, for érettségis around 18 or 19.

S: I probably started younger and didn't go for a few...I don't remember exactly, probably 5 or 6, and then didn't go for a few years, and went back maybe when I was 11 or 12.

A: You probably started when I started, so if I was 12, you were probably 6.

S: Right.

A: Went for the couple years I went, you were just five years younger. (laughter) Five and a half years younger.

S: And then I went through Ö.V. And then I did segédtszti stuff on my own, so I did földrajz on my own, irodalom with you at Cleveland State, and then (unintelligible).

K: I think I tried to stay away from it as much as I could. The only time I went to Magyar iskola was when I was working on my földrajz in...

S: You did the Ö.V. vizsga, no?

K: No. (laughter) (unintelligible) After the first one, I was done, so... I went (unintelligible)

S: You went to Ö.V. tábor, though, didn't you?

A: Well, you did your Ö.V. stuff and went to Ö.V.

K: Yeah.

(talking over each other, laughing)

A: Anyu did not spend any time with us on magyar iskola stuff. We did that on our own.

S: She helped me with, she helped me with my, um, feladatok, segédtszti feladatok.

Q: What other Hungarian community events did your parents take you guys to? Aside from scouts and Hungarian school.

S: There was a Mikulás. It was MHBK Mikulás.

A: Yeah, MHBK Mikulás. And then...yes. Well, because of the people that introduced... Our parents met at MHBK bál. Mom was an első bálozó. And then they got married a few years later or something. (laughter) (unintelligible) after three years, so (laughs).

S: Legitimate. (laughter)

A: But they felt a connection to MHBK, and that's how we got, well, when I was an első bálozó, and my dad just real quickly knew Anyu would do a lot of work, basically. As the bál királynő, you were deb of whatever it was that you were. And then there was the Anna bál, ther was the MHBK teák, there was the-

S: MHBK didn't have teák.

A: Yes, they did. I planned them.

K: Well, they had teas. What about the one that's over on Puritas?

A and S: That was cserkész.

K: There's some other...seems like there was somebody else that had something there.

S: Mom was involved as szervező testület elnök and all that.

A: She was very involved with cserkészet.

S: Very involved in cserkészet.

A: On the guys.

S: On the guys. And then with, um, táborok. Cooking and all that stuff.

A: Yes, she did. That was always in addition (unintelligible).

S: Right.

Q: So let's say from 1980 on, how often did these dances go on?

A: Twice a year. There was one in the fall, the Teas, one in the fall and one in the spring. And then we had the cserkész bál. Usually that was in February. It had to be, it had to be before Apuka...right about in October for a while. And then after it would be after Lent til the next one, or the next tea.

K: Don't forget, I mean every... I can't remember, exactly, couple years, we would go back to Hungary.

A: Oh, we went like every three years.

K: Yeah. Three years. We would go back and see our family there. That was a neat thing.

A: We went for like a month.

K: I think I was six months old the first time I went.

Q: From a young age.

A: Oh, absolutely.

K: I was six months old and carried in a basket. They had to show off the prince.

A: Öcsi, you were like two months old and you were not satisfied with your formula. Nagymama fed you májgaluska when you were like a few months old. (laughing) They couldn't imagine why you were throwing up. We went every couple years and then Nagypapa also came out for like three-four months.

S: Well, our aunts did. Magdi came once and Anni came once.

Q: And how did that impact your Hungarian language skills?

A: Nagypapa would make us read in Hungarian, and we would go hide and say, "Zsuzsi will go first." (laughs) Mostly I would go hide. I hated reading with them.

K: Nagypapa, my dad's father, was very much like my father. Very disciplinarian, patriarch, um...

A: No personality.

K: Very strict.

S: He had a personality.

(talking over each other)

A: (unintelligible) Nagypapa didn't get it.

K: He was very strict, and very, you know...

Q: This is your father's father?

All: Yes.

S: He was the superintendent of the school system.

A: He was an educator and...He was known for his knowledge. He was good for knowledge.

S: That's why I was his favorite.

K: He wasn't a warm person.

(laughter)

A: (unintelligible) Dr. Zuzs.

Q: And what about...what kind of memories do you have about Hungarian church?

S: We didn't really go to a Hungarian church.

A: We did Easter and we did Christmas Eve-or New Year's Eve, Christmas Eve. We'd do a couple times a year.

S: Mother's Day.

A: Mother's Day. We usually supported our local parishes because we went to parochial school growing up and we supported the parish where we were at, whether it was St. Christopher's or St. Brendan's. So we really did that, but we would support the Hungarian church on special holidays.

S: Or if there was like (unintelligible).

A: Or any special scout masses, we would always come to. We probably hit it about six or seven times a year, depending, but not more than that. Somehow the holidays always seemed important to me, the midnight masses and...

Q: Did your parents take you to more or less Hungarian events as you grew older?

A: We're so old. God, that was like...

S: I'd say it was probably quite honestly about the same.

A: It was just a way of life. Everything (unintelligible)

K: Let's say as we were what age?

Q: Let's say from, I don't know, 8 to 18.

K: I probably did more when I was 8 to 18, because our friends were there.

S: Right, and we just got involved in more things. I mean, there was Regös and...

A: We did a szereplés every weekend, if not two or three. We'd go from- what they have now is nothing. We would literally go to two, three on a weekend. And that's what we did September through May and that was our weekend activity. We loved it. It was what pulled us in. It was just...That was our...We didn't go away to college. Kids today are dying to go away to college. We didn't go away to college because we wanted to continue to be a part of what we were in.

Q: Was that a conscious choice on your parts?

A and S: Absolutely.

S: Without a doubt. I remember vividly getting into Ohio State for PT school and choosing to stay because my friends and cserkészet.

A: Absolutely. There was no way you talk her out of it.

Q: And that was a decision that you made all through high school?

A: Oh, yeah.

S: We were also discouraged by our parents from going away, but it wasn't...I didn't feel punished because of that. And when I had the choice to leave I chose to stay.

Q: How did they encourage you to stay?

A: By their involvement, by our love of what we were doing, um...

K: I don't think it needed much encouragement.

A: It didn't need encouragement, because that's what we wanted.

K: Especially for the two girls. For me it was then my life was changing a little but then and it wasn't...the reason I established it wasn't...I was kind of drifting. But, um, you know, what is interesting is that, you know, back then, my Hungarian was very bad. I didn't practice it.

A: You had forgotten.

K: I had forgotten a little bit but it's what's interesting is since then, you know, I've had, with my work, I've had, probably in the last 15 years, probably 5 or 6 different Hungarian kids that work for me, to the point where now my Hungarian is the best it's ever been. And just because of, you know, the situation, and to the point where the guys that work for me will tell me that I've lost my American accent to my Hungarian. And when I do go...I was back in Hungary three years ago and I'm going again in December, and they don't know that I'm an American there. It's weird how life kind of ... The reason...It's been on the job every day I'll just speak Hungarian the entire day.

Q: In the construction business?

K: Mm-hmm. It's strictly because my Hungarian was better than the English of the workers I had. So...

A: Anyu just brought that up. She goes, "You should hear your brother talk. He has never spoken this well before." And you're going to, when you go to Magyarország could be a paraszt bácsi there. (laughter)

Q: How often do you guys speak Hungarian nowadays?

A: Amongst the two of us?

Q: No, just overall, [unintelligible]

S: Oh, absolutely. With my kids it's still 75-80% of the time. Really unless they're working on some stuff. And then, um, with, um, whenever I talk to either of my parents. I'm on the phone every morning and I speak only Hungarian with them, 100%.

A: Parents, in-laws Hungarian. Since I went back to Hungary, which was 14 years ago or something. Because you're at work all day, you come home, you do homework and everything. We'll discuss an activity and you want a response from your kids. Their first language, unfortunately, even though they spoke Hungarian as a first language, is English. If you want to get something out of them, you have to just say it in English. It's more important to have that communication going, as much as... Mine are older. When they were little, like Zsuzsi's or like Öcsi's, it was different. Then it was just Hungarian. Now, as they're older, we want that communication, so you convert to English, because that's what you use to get things out of them more. It's easier for them, communications-wise. (unintelligible) Do you mix them more?

K: You know what's interesting with like, Paul, Mom and Dad, it's...With Mom it's mixed, depending on how she answers the phone or how she starts the conversation. She'll start in English, too.

A: She does.

K: So, if she started in Hungarian, you know, "Hogy vagy?", then, you know, I'd be, you know, speaking Hungarian to her. Dad, it's, you know, I've never spoken to him in English, so let's just say it's a given that if Api's there, then it's strict Hungarian. I don't make a conscious effort of it, it's so-

A: It comes naturally.

K: And so it flows. Whatever. It taught me how when Barbara answers me, I mean, this, for example, coming here today, you know, um, when Feri was here. You know, when you start a conversation in Hungarian, most of it's spoken in Hungarian. I don't know, it didn't make...didn't seem to...I didn't do it consciously, it just...how something is started, I guess, who starts the conversation.

Q: Anci, why? I sense some regret. Is that just a normal assimilation process?

A: Yeah, but you don't want to lose it. The less you practice it, the harder it is to go back. Um, Pisti and I will speak in Hungarian amongst each other more than I do with my own kids. Um, they spoke solely Hungarian in the house up until kis Pisti started first grade. Kindergarten was still part time; it was two full days and a half day. And the girls only spoke Hungarian together. There's six and four years in between Pisti and the two girls, and as Pisti started coming home, he was...all of the sudden he was cool, that he could speak English. The kids spoke Hungarian as their first language. Pisti didn't start preschool til he was four and a half, and when Dianna started when she was three and a half, she spoke Hungarian only and I would have to translate for her. So she understood English, but she didn't speak.

K: That's kind of like you, when you first went to school, you spoke only Hungarian.

A: Absolutely. I mean, I was six and a half years old speaking only Hungarian. That was very common for all of us. Nowadays, teachers will chastise them. And they do...I was...I got in a lot of trouble from Dianna's preschool teacher, how could I do this to my child? And I looked at her and I go, "Don't worry, she'll learn English." You know, so I was not intimidated at all, because we had been through it, you know. And she knew her numbers, she knew her letters, (unintelligible) was fine. Um, as Pisti started going to school, so first grade, second grade, the language all of the sudden switched between the three kids. That was, it was very noticable. All of the sudden, the three kids, who spoke Hungarian at home to each other, started speaking English, cause Pisti now understood English.

Q: Did you guys notice that on your own? As a family as you were growing up? Was there a point where you guys as siblings switched?

K: Yeah...

S: There's such an age difference between me and them, because it's seven years and five, so I don't-

A: Six and a half.

S: Right. (laughter) So I can't say I remember that, because by the time I was four, you know, she was ten and a half.

K: I think once we got into high school age, we would speak English amongst ourselves.

S: I would say before high school.

A: I would say before, too. We also had grandparents that lived here, and we never spoke English to our grandparents. Not even "hi". It was always "Csókolom, Mami. Csókolom Papa." It was always very formal. Not one word of English. And we saw...they lived only a mile from us, so we saw them all the time. And that was... there were a lot of family interactions, too. We happen to have a lot of family on Mom's side here, so in that respect, that was all Hungarian. The great-aunt that came over and the uncles and the aunts, that was all in Hungarian.

S: Whenever we got together, I mean, think of like big family events, or meals, dinners, lunches, everything was in Hungarian. Hungarian was everything.

K: You know what, it's amazing when you look at our friends here, being Hungarian, it's just the lifestyle we lived and then the nature of who we hung out with, you know. Cause you take Mom's siblings, who, you know, one moved at the time to Michigan, the other was in Bay Village, but didn't really, you know, do cserkészzet, you know, and they lost the Hungarian immediately. It was an odd thing.

A: Yeah, but Évi spoke Hungarian. They spoke it all the time.

K: Yeah, but it-

S: Probably cause they all still had grandparents.

A: Exactly.

K: Right.

A: But they spoke. I mean, considering that there was no cserkészzet there, and Évi did try to assimilate whenever she came.

S: Right.

A: And she came a lot. They were in Michigan for a while, then they moved to Indianapolis.

K: It was a conscious effort for her, I believe.

A: I think so, too. Yeah, it did come easy, but, uh, when she wanted to...Everyone wanted to be a part of cserkészzet. It was really a cool thing to do.

S: It was the drawing point.

A: It was a drawing point. It was. And even nowadays, our adult friends, um, we hung out with only Hungarian people. As adults. Married couples. Only Hungarian people. My American friends that I met as a kid starting going to school, "What are you doing New Year's? Want to get together?" "Oh, we're with our Hungarian friends." "What are you doing this time?" "Getting together with our Hungarian friends." And so, you can (unintelligible). Even us, we're still mostly with our Hungarian friends.

Q: How true is that for you guys?

S: Um, well, for me, it absolutely is true. But it's just with Milli and Dennis and Nati and Kristof. But that's...they're actually the family that we hung out- hang out with still, I mean, traveling together with, going, um, you know, camping together, and everything. Um, play groups when the kids were growing up and that was all magyar. And then when Erzsi moved here, then we did that with Erzsi and her kids. So absolutely, that's still the case. And I- I'll go out with my work friends, but Milli is there, too. (laughs) So, just last night we went out, but she and I sat next to each other and chatted the whole time. So that never will change. Ever. So, and before I was best friends with her, I mean, as an adult after you have kids, that's it, but I hung out with like Anikó and stuff. That's, that was-

A: But take a look at it: You and Anikó were great friends growing up, and she...you drifted during those teenage, early twenty years, and you see her now, and you pick up where you left off.

S: Oh, absolutely.

A: And that's amazing. We've got such a base, such a core already that we could not see somebody for ten years, and you see them and you pick up where you left off, because you built so much on it.

S: You understand each other. You understand where everyone's coming from. Now, the reason I would say that we wouldn't hang out is because our children are much different in age and geographically we're farther apart, but...

K: No, yours is completely different. Her group of friends, even though you're only a year and a half apart, was much different. There were, uh, very solid core Hungarian [unintelligible] in her group of friends that, you know what, they stayed here in Cleveland. Mine, Kanyó Zoli, Csorba Béla, we, I mean, we had, uh, you know, after high school, poof. Everybody took off. There was...

A: They went away to college.

K: They went away to college. Nobody stayed here.

S: And no one married-

K: Except for Sanyi and I. And then nobody married Hungarians.

S: Right. Cause everyone in your group of friends married Hungarians.

K: And that's a big difference, too, cause, you know, with who married, you know. Like, Susan didn't marry a Hungarian, but as a mother and Hungarian-speaker, she was at home most of the time with her kids, so her kids spoke Hungarian. And if they weren't, Mom and Dad were there and they spoke Hungarian to them. For me, you know, my wife, being an American, was home 24/7 with the kids and I was working 10-12 hours a day, sometimes going at one point two jobs, and I was never home. You know, when I'd come home at 9 o'clock or 8 o'clock at night or whatever it was, you know, the last thing I'm going to try to do for the half hour or twenty minutes I see my kids is to try to teach them Hungarian. I wanted just to communicate with them. I wanted to see them, I wanted to hold them, I wanted to hug them, see how their day went, the goods and the bads, and that's a big, you know, a big difference between why my kids don't speak Hungarian and her kids do.

S: I think that's the biggest.

K: It's the, probably the only reason. I just couldn't, with the amount of hours I was working and, you know, who I married, not that I regret it, just that it happened to be that way, you know, that in the beginning, there was a want to try to, you know, we call her Denise, she's my wife, she had all intentions of trying to learn Hungarian. She learned the colors, the numbers, and that, but you know what, life takes over. And you know, she was working and going to school and reality set in, that you know what, at age 21, just married and trying to start a family and everything, you just can't, you know, commit.

A: And when you had that little child, for me, to speak to an infant in English would've been foreign. There's no way you could expect the nieces to speak to her little baby in Hungarian, a foreign language to her. I mean, you have to say those words of endearment in your language and for us, it was Hungarian. I couldn't imagine speaking to- even to a baby now, I speak Hungarian, because that's what comes natural to a baby.

K: You know, Sanyi, my friend, married an American, too. So that's probably one of my best friends since I was six years old through cserkészzet, I mean we met at cserkészzet, you know, the first day we fought (laughter). I don't even remember, but we're both crying after we've, you know, and then we became best friends. But it's like, you know, he did the same thing I did, and he's not going to come home after a day of work, I mean he was working for himself, too.

S: Well, the other hard part there is that the spouse doesn't speak the language.

K: Right.

S: So then you're speaking a language that the spouse does not understand. So in my situation, Dave was not just understanding, but was agreeable to not understand his children's first words. And that bothered him. I remember being in the car with him once, and we were going and the boys were babbling about something, and it was insignificant, it was nothing, and he said, "What are they saying?" And I said, "It's really, it's nothing, it's just..."

K: But to him, it was everything.

S: But to him it was everything because he didn't understand it. And that bothered him. Not to the point where he would say "Don't ever do this," which, that does happen, though.

A: Dave would say things like, uh, "Hozd here the piros labda." And he would. Whatever he could say in Hungarian, he would really make an effort.

S: He still does. He'll say, "Beszélj magyarul!" (laughter) And we just laughed at him. I tell him, "Why didn't you just say 'Tessék? Nem értem?'"

K: He's a very easy-going guy.

A: He's a very easy-going guy. And you don't feel like that would really allow that. Menj a sarokba. (laughter)

Q: Did the subject of Hungarian language use with eventual kids come up before you got married or when you were dating?

S: For me, absolutely, it did.

Q: Or at the pregnancy.

S: For me, I would say when we were dating, it came up, and it was a non-factor. It was the more the better. I mean, it's a gift that you...Dave always said it's a gift you can give to your children that you can't...it's so easy to give it, why would you not? Why would you deny them that language? Especially given that I was going to be the one home with them. So, I think it's a different situation in his case, where...

K: It's 180. I mean, I wasn't there.

S: It is. And at least she was willing to do that, on the front end, but you can't...just like you said, life takes over.

K: Life takes over and it's something that...there's so many things you want to do, but in, you know, life steps in and kind of steers it for you. And you know, then... Do I wish my kids could speak it? Yeah. I mean, my kids will bring it up to me. You know, they'll come... Joe said, "How come I didn't learn Hungarian?" And I'll tell him, "You know what, I wasn't home and Mom doesn't speak it." So it's...you know, and I've been working 12 hours a day and now I'm doing my police work and doing my construction job on the side. I did that for many years, since I was...I was all over the place and, um, and then, when literally, when Denise was pregnant with Zach, when I decided to leave the police department, and do my construction job full time. Well for it, I just hit the ground running, because I was uncommonly busy. I was, you know, in order for her to be at home, because we didn't...we agreed that someone should be at home raising the kids, if we can, then I put in whatever I had to. Sometimes it was great, sometimes it wasn't so great. But it's, you know, we are what we are today because of what we did, and she was able to stay home 12 years while I

put in the extra time and not be able to spend the time with them. So I didn't do much, you know, other than my occasional hunting, you know, I don't drink so I didn't hit the bars, you know, I didn't do anything else other than, you know. So for me it was, you know, it was, I enjoyed my family and my time off, and like I said it wasn't going to be to teach them Hungarian, the only time I had with the kids, you know, doing whatever the kids were a fan of. It was a family thing. I was working almost 7 days a week. Then. Not anymore.

Q: And how old are the kids now?

K: My boys are 8 and 12.

S: Mine are 8 and 11. My boys are 11. Now to that end, also, you said that you would spend your time teaching them. I didn't...I'd almost think that talking to them is...they would pick it up quickly, so they wouldn't perceive it as teaching, but you're leaving one person out. And that's always a difficult part, leaving your spouse out of a conversation.

K: Right.

S: So if I'm having a heated discussion with my kids and we're disagreeing on something, then they're...if Dave's home, he'll be like, "What are you telling them, because I don't understand." He gets frustrated with that situation, where he wants to back me up in what I've just told them, whether that's to get ready for church and then I left to go get ready myself, he's like, "What did you tell them? Because I can't reinforce what you just told them because I didn't understand that." These breakdowns still occur, and then you have to kind of take a time out and say, "I just asked them to get ready for church. They know what they have to do and if you can reinforce that, that'd be great."

K: With my wife, it's pretty easy, though. She puts up with the...She's pretty easy going, but she has her things that bother her, too. And, you know, after the honeymoon was over, you know, she voiced to me that it did trouble her when we went to my parents' house and she didn't understand what people were saying. And it wasn't until Susan got married and Dave came along that she started feeling more comfortable.

(laughter)

(talking over each other)

K: It wasn't meant that way.

S: Dave said he felt kind of like an outsider.

K: Yeah, you feel like an outsider and it's like, the last thing they want to do after they've been through that is to go home and to speak it at home, you know, for me, anyway, the times I was there.

S: Right.

K: So it wasn't a, it wasn't a conscious thing of "Oh, I don't want to teach them." I would've loved for them to learn it, you know. It's quite...any second language would be OK.

A: Like what you do with your German.

Q: I know. It takes effort.

K: Yeah, it just...but unfortunately, during the key times when my kids were – up until probably five years, or four years, ago, you know, Denise didn't go back to work until a year ago, so for 12 years, she was home and everything we had was, you know, me. I'd like to remind you, also, that my oldest son had a lot of issues because he's special needs, so without her, he had a lot of issues.

A: Mom and Dad started speaking Hungarian with them but then they had to stop because he was mixing up the two languages.

K: Yeah.

A: The therapist says, "You can't do this. You can't do it." So there was...it was...issues.

K: Mom and Dad got angry about that. They didn't want to believe that he had issues. It was tough, because as much as...but then they come to me and I want to right it, but I have to go with what...Denise did all the research. She directed all of that work and all the help that Zach got. I wasn't there. But I worked so that she could do that. And, literally, he had a lot of issues, many, many major issues and, you know, to...It's an amazing feat as to where he is right now, you know, honor student and...He's come an incredibly long way. We're incredibly proud of him, but he'd never be where he is today if it wasn't for—So there are a lot of factors, especially with Zach, once he reached the age of 3 or 4, that actually even made it almost—it made it impossible almost, to try to bring in another language, because he was so speech delayed.

S: Yeah. I'd say earlier than 3 or 4, probably 2. By then you guys were realizing that something wasn't right and taking him to a specialist. A specialist will come out and say, "You cannot mix the languages."

A: You can do sign language and English (unintelligible).

K: I don't think Sanyi did, though. But you know, it's...

A: Sanyi just knew all the cuss words.

(laughter)

K: But it was, you know, so for me, you know, with Sanyi, it's mostly English, but occasionally, we're goofing around. But again, it comes up, we were starting to, you know, kind of—I'd call and he'd say, "Na szia, Géza, hogy vagy?" You know, then it's like we'll probably speak Hungarian, but it depends on his personality when I call him. But what's interesting is Zsolti works for me and has been with me for twelve years? A long time. Eleven years? What I've noticed, and he's straight from Debrecen, and so when he first came out and before him I had four or five other Hungarian workers straight from Magyarország and what I did is I picked up all the new slang for stuff, but what's interesting is my Hungarian got better, but I've noticed his Hungarian over eleven years has diminished to where he's putting the English words into the Hungarian, and, uh, it takes effect that I'm going the opposite way. And it's interesting to see. And I'll laugh sometimes in conversation because he speaks his own Hungarian. But he'll, you know...It's not "utánfutó" anymore, it's "trailer", but it's got the Hungarian accent to it, you know, it's "Rakd a trélerbe." It's not "utánfutó" anymore, it's...you know.

A: Kalendárium. Anyu used "kalendárium" instead of "naptár". (laughs)

K: Right. And you know, it's funny, because he's rubbed that kind of stuff off and I'm sure when he calls home, that his mom doesn't notice that. It gets old. It is old.

A: But they're doing that in Hungary. They're doing that in Hungary. They're picking up a lot of the English words and using it instead of our beautiful language. You see, and we are the ones in many ways that are trying to preserve that out here more than they are. They're trying to assimilate more.

K: Oh, yeah. Perfect example of that: I'll never forget when we went to Magyarország and you went for...to the bál in Budapest. It was Budapest, wasn't it?

A: Mmhm. We went...no, it was, um, Füred Anna bál.

K: It was Füred Anna bál, ok. Now, Anci goes there—

A: And you walk in, you know, like with the red carpet.

K: She's there, dressed in her hímzett díszmagyar, that she worked on for a long time, right and many tears (laughs)and, but it shocked—I remember, this was my first impression—it shocked me to see the Americanized version of the Hungarian girls there. Nobody had anything on like that. They had westernized, just ball dresses on. Nobody had anything on. Like here we are, the Americans, with all the Hungarians, and they had nothing on that was Hungarian. I mean, they...it was...remember that?

A: Absolutely. We knew more of the folk customs—

K: Than they did.

A: Than they did. We feel bad when we discuss, you know, this and this and this, uh, locsolás and, uh...and they're like, "Huh?"

(talking over each other unintelligibly)

S: Klári said that last year when she was here.

A: We're more Hungarian somewhat than they are.

S: Or at least that we try to preserve the culture much better than they do, but they don't have to otherwise, they live there.

K: When we went there, they would grasp for anything American. Levi's.

S: They wanted to buy it off you.

K: If you could go there with a pair of Levi's, I remember going out, uh, to the disco, and, you know, they find out you're an American and they're just amazed.

Q: Is the reverse also true, that we here, do we grasp for anything that's Hungarian?

A: I think so. I think we wanted to preserve it so much.

S: I think, yeah, for preserving it, because we see that each generation is going to get weaker. It's just, I think, inevitably it will, so you try to ingrain anything that you can and grasp on to anything that you can. Even as I just look around in my house, and see the Hollóház or the Herendi and stuff like that, and see that my kids appreciate that, so you hope that that's one little thing that they will take on with them, you know, when they get their own house. So it's—or your hímzett terítő.

A: Absolutely.

S: So just stuff like that that it's a part of us, but you figure, each generation it will be less a part of them, so...

K: You know, it's so much different between the two of them and myself, because for me, because I've been so far away from it [the scouts] for so long, it's—when I first came in, I went into that other building and I saw them all line up and I haven't seen it in twenty years, and it—it was surreal. And it was so neat, I almost wished I was part of it again, because it was such a part of my life back then, that it gave me the shivers to see and hear all that, yet. And I had no idea that there were still so many kids involved. I had no idea. But then I had come in down here and seen the girls, it just...I was...I was kind of...

A: You can leave it and come back in twenty years and you're right back where you were.

K: Oh, absolutely. You know, and it's...I'm sitting there going, "God, I'd love to go to táborok with these kids."

A: Well, there's Jubi Tábor.

K: You know, and it's a really, it's a real, it's a sincere thing. I would love to go to Jubi Tábor and be part of it. Not to go as a visitor, but to be part of it again, because it was so...my heart was so in it.

(talking over each other unintelligibly)

K: It's so emotional to me. I mean, it was such a main part of my life and, unfortunately, life takes over and (unintelligible). I'm not going to regret what I've done, what I've had to do, as far as I'm concerned, but it's, it was, it's something that I feel like I can step right back into tomorrow and I would just...The memories that it brings back, every camp that we went to and the times we had, the camaraderie—

A: Exlax d'kakao.

(laughter)

K: You know, the little..it was...I mean, you can't take that out of me. As much as I've been away from it for twenty years, for 24 years it was everything to me. Körút twice. You know, I would've never had that experience without cserkészet. I would've never met the Pope and shook his hand without cserkészet. I would've never had the friends around the world that—I wouldn't say friends, but the people that I've met around the world that I was friends with for five weeks and would never see again, but it was...That's such an emotional thing to me. You know, I'll think back to the people I met back then and haven't seen since then, and I wonder what they're doing and...

S: But you still have that common connection. If you saw...I'm trying to think of someone we know. Zidron Veronika. Remember Róni? She was up at Jubi and I haven't seen her since Körút and I ran up to her, I went up to her at mass and I saw her and gave her a hug and then after zászlólevonás, you know, we connected, but I hadn't seen her in so long that, again, you just reconnect so quickly because of that commonality.

K: You know, and the other thing is that the ones that did kind of grasp onto their Hungarian way of life, you know, Dunajszky Feri, Balássy Tamás, or, uh, Laci, they went back to Hungary. And they're living there, as far as I know still.

S: Feri's back.

K: Is he back? You know, it's...even the Canadian Hungarian friends.

S: Yeah, Kardos Tomi is still there.

K: Yeah, Tomi, you know, he went to Magyarország.

S: He's still there.

K: He's still there, so, you know, that friend's gone. We used to go to, we used to go up to, you know, Hamilton and that was so much a part of, such a part of our lives that I couldn't imagine growing up any other way.

Q: Zsuzsi, you said something about instrumental. What did you mean by that? Instrumental in your lives.

S: It was what it is, I mean, it's just, that was our life or even our high school life.

K: I can't imagine it any other way.

S: No, but in high school I had Monika and Anikó and that's who I just hung out with, because that's, those are your best friends from cserkészzet and they transfer to every part of your life and...

K: You did the same things together, you know when you have the same interests and you get along with people, it's just natural to want to be with them. And it's, you know, it's...even as strict as like Levente was, (laughing), you know, back in the day, ... [confidential details not transcribed]... (laughter)

K: You know, and we have so much, it was such a part of our lives in every way, I mean, to...I don't know. I can't explain it. It was everything to us. And...which is kind of...life takes such weird, you know...when you gotta grow up.

A: We didn't even socialize with anyone during high school. My best friend in high school was German and she was just as involved in the German, in, uh Deutsche Zentrale as I was in cserkészzet and MHBK. She was the bál királynő with the Germans when I was at MHBK. We hung out in school, and that was it. We never socialized outside of school. And I had Mészáros Zsóka, Fricke Eszti, Balássy Ági, Bárdossy Marika, half the people—

S: Balássy Ili.

A: Balássy Ili. And I've missed Daroczy Zsuzsi. All these people went to Mags with me. So we went to school together. But we never ever socialized with anybody from school. In college either. It was American.

Q: You went to Ignatius? Did you have other Hungarians there?

K: Not that I know. Balássy Pali was older.

A: Moore-ék went there, didn't they?

K: Rob went there, but he was older.

A: He's my age.

K: Right, so nothing at my age.

A: The boys seem to be different. There doesn't seem to be as much, and I don't mean to criticize—

K: Right.

A: The boys don't seem to draw the way the girls do. My son, for example. My daughters are cserkészzet through and through, and Pisti is to a degree, too, but there came that point in his life, I want to say between age 9 and 12, where he was like, "I don't want—" It was a fight to go every Friday, an absolute fight, and it was, "You're going until you go to ÖV and then it's up to you." Then along came magyar iskola for ÖV, and he did that. Mind you, he's attention deficit, so we pulled him from magyar iskola a couple of years, so we...because we had to concentrate on schoolwork. Um, so he struggled, too, interesting, with a learning disability. It was a struggle there. It put him at an odd. He still had good friends. He went through the ÖV course for two years, went to ÖV tábor, and afterwards he hugged me and he said, "Thank you for making me do it. This was awesome, I'm so glad I'm a part of it." And he really, really enjoys it. There's that point where you've got to reach for the boys. The girls I never saw that in.

S: I would have to agree, though, because Katica, too, just adores Enese and the other girls in her örs and they just have a bond from age 4 or 5 or 6, where for my boys it was Jubi tábor just this past summer.

K: I wonder if it has anything to do with the, I mean, if you look at the boys, kind of in anyway, once they hit puberty-ish years, it seems like everything else, you know, is so important that the old stuff kind of...you'll see that with, you know, kids that enjoy hunting or fishing with their dads, you know, or whatever it is they do. Once they hit that age, I think that their priorities change.

Q: That age being puberty?

K: Mmhhh. Yeah. I want to say that. Because you see with a lot of kids, especially with boys...

A: Early puberty. Early puberty.

K: Yeah. And it seems like...

A: Sixth grade.

K: And you can probably go through cserkészzet and see who is in there now and kind of drifting, and then when they became parents, maybe somehow for whatever reason, um, you know, maybe married someone Hungarian or something, it kind of drew them back in. They left for a time. I think Balássy Pali was gone for a while, and after he had kids, and now he's a major part of it, probably for the last 10-15 years.

A: Bogárdy Péter was like that, too.

K: I mean, you'll get that. Feri, Jálics Feri. You know, they were, they left. They did their college thing and then, you know, whatever the reason, whatever drew them back, you know, I think once they come back, I think they're lifers. I think once they get past the...And I mean, it's...nothing else...Life's not going to kind of step in unless something major happens and you transfer or something. I think you kind of realize that maybe what you've been missing and then you don't want to lose it again.. Because it was—there's no doubt, I mean, it was something that, you know, I wouldn't give anything for, to change. I mean, it was a tremendous memory for me, just walking in there and just, it brought tears to my eyes just thinking, "Wow, it's still here." And it's so cool for these kids to have this and it brings back so many memories of...for me it was shocking. I hadn't been there in twenty years, you know, other than Sunday mass or a wild game dinner, I hadn't been to cserkészzet in twenty years. So walking in and seeing all this and, you know...I'm reciting everything they're saying, because I know it. And it's neat to see that. That's...The first thought that came into my mind was, "I miss it."

A: It's interesting you say that, though, because take a look at akadály versenyek, Jubi tábor. How many of the people that are not involved come out of the woodwork for...to come out and help.

S: Yeah, like Tom Moore was there.

A: Tom Moore's there all the time. For cserkész stuff, he's there all the time.

S: Rob.

A: Rob was there, too.

K: Yeah.

A: Hokky had come up. You know, a lot of people that aren't involved will be drawn back to things like this, because it was an integral part of their lives. Maybe at a different time.

(talking over each other)

K: Exactly. Something that brings them back sometimes.

A: There are so many people that come back to work it.

Q: Let me ask you this:

K: What that factor is.

Q: Yeah, what is that factor and is that tied to the scouts, so that these kids right now will have that same thing? Or was that tied to a point in time, as in our parents' generation, the '56ers, the DPs and what they put into it?

K: No, it was...it...For kids, my memories revolve around, I mean, I think you hit it exactly, this, it's...I don't want to put...It wasn't the Hungarian that brought us together; it was our parents bringing us here, meeting friends and the times we had together, the bonds get formed...

S: The memories.

K: The memories, and it was your life. I mean, school, your American friends were completely secondary. Everything you did was with Hungarian friends. Scouts and...you know. It was weird, because it changed...it was tough in school because I was...

S: They would make fun of you because you were a boy scout.

K: I was teased. You're...Uh...They found out my nickname was Öcsi, so I would get, you know, "Extra, extra, read all about it: Öcsi got a ..."

(talking over each other unintelligibly)

K: I was different. It was tough growing up that way, because you were teased. And until—

S: Well I think that as you get older, things like Friday night football games, you didn't go to that. It's tough, going through high school not doing that.

K: It was. I should've been a lineman, you know. People would come up to me, you know, "You went to Ignatius, why didn't you play football?" "I never played football." They don't believe you. "What do you mean, you never played football?" And I'd tell them that I just played soccer. You know, and I do wonder, what if I would've, you know?

A: You could be playing for the Browns right now. (laughing)

K: You know, it...that, you know, I look at it as probably the only negative part of it. I always wonder if I would've grown up more American, how my life would've, not that I want to change it, but I wonder sometimes what I would've done. You know, would I have, you know, with my build and what I was in high school, working out, you know, I could've played football and could probably have done well. Would I have gone on to a college playing football? How my life would've been different. You know, that's something that your mind just has to kind of wonder about.

Q: Would you have wanted it?

K: I don't seem to. I like what...I enjoy it too much, even though it's a [unintelligible], you know. I...as much as I fought it back then, especially in my younger years, is how much I appreciate it now.

A: You know what, also I think a big part of it was, um, being Hungarian scouts had been to go to camp brought us so much closer together because it's...it's like playing the game of soccer: you cannot win a soccer game if you play on your own. You have to play as a team. And going to camp, you could not survive a week-long camp if you did not work together. And somehow that camaraderie that's driving...I mean, yeah, there were tears, you know things sucked or whatever, and you leave the camp and get home and you'd say, "Man, that

was the best time ever!" And you could hardly wait to see the friends again. That's something that a lot of people don't have, something like a scouting or an ethnicity like that, they don't ever really get to experience that, I don't think, because day in, day out you don't do that with schools. Maybe it's—

S: No, I think you're right. I mean, I remember it was just June, when, um, I was interviewing for this job and they tried to set up an interview when I was going to kiscserkész tábor. I said, "Sorry, I'm going to be going, uh, I'm going to be cooking for 45 kids, you know, at scout camp and going whitewater rafting the day after with my family, so let's do it the next week." And they emailed me back, "You're taking 45 kids to scout camp? And whitewater rafting? You're hired!" (laughing) So it is a different, a whole different...people didn't experience that. And even when we talk about like segédtszti, I say that it's like a mild survival camp. And it is. You get food raw and you cook it, you...

A: You don't sleep but two hours a night.

S: Right.

(talking over each other unintelligibly)

K: You complained about it then, now I would've said the "b" word, um, but now it's like some of the best memories, you know, like when your brother Zsolt put on, um...

A: Was he the shaman?

K: Huh? No. He put on a survival thing and, you know, then we went on, then we were róverek, so I was the, um, örsvezető for Kanyó Zoli, Csorba Béla, Sanyi, and I don't know who else was in there, but, I mean, Miki, and you know we went on a two-day portya and Levente tried to push us and he gave us something, 25 miles or something the first day and we were pissed. And I'm thinking, "How the heck is he going to think that we're going to finish this in one day?" We start early in the morning, 2 o'clock, and Levente came by at 11:30 with the van and at that point, we were determined. He was going to pick us up and finally take us to our destination where we were supposed to spend the night next to this creek. And we had compasses and you know how it was. We said no and we wouldn't take the ride. You know what, you're going to test us, so we refused it and we just kept walking. And we got in at 2 o'clock in the morning, throwing the flag at the creek (laughing). They were—

A: Levente bácsi get out and ate the kolbász and...

(laughter)

K: And you know, there were three live chickens in a box and I'm thinking to myself, "It's pouring down rain, we've got to build a fire." And then Csorba Béla and I slept in...or Sanyi...no, it was Csorba Béla and me, it was Sanyi and Feri, Jálícs Feri, and here we go. I remember exactly why, because he had brought a shelter half to make a...

A: Lean-to.

K: Lean-to. Except for Sanyi. So Béla and I made ours, two mats put together, and Sanyi and Feri slept under one mat. Well, I mean, the size of them, they were soaked to the bone by morning and I remember nobody would kill the first chicken. So I'm like, you know, we're trying to cut its knife, er neck with a knife, and finally we get one killed and it's like, you know what, we're playing them before and nobody wants to kill it, you know, they're just about named. And so we get one packed in mud, as your brother showed us how to do it,

you know, you pack it in mud and under the feathers and you put it in the thing and when it gets harder you peel this crust out and then you have a cooked chicken. Well, you know, we're starving. It's, who knows what time it is in the morning and we pull one out half cooked and we eat whatever we could off it. Meanwhile we're cooking two other ones and I think one of...one chicken got away. So, and we slept that night as much as we could in the rain, you know, woke up the next morning with the fire three feet from our heads that had gone out and there were chicken bones scattered and a fox had come and (laughing) eaten all the chicken that was over the fire. When we got up that morning and we hiked back—

A: With blisters on your feet.

K: We took a shortcut through the swamps. Now this is something I'll never forget. We went through the swamp and we died. We hit some swamps that were just...I don't know. We were up to our waist in water and found, I'll never forget, we come upon something and see a beaver. We're like, "What?" It was in a trap, dead. It was in a box and it just, it was trapped in it, so we're like, great. So now we're walking through this place and there are traps all over the place. So then we're taking sticks and poking and prodding in front of us to see, so that we don't step into something. And we went the last couple miles through stuff like that to get in, but you know what, I'll never forget it, because it was...Scouts to us back then, well, you know, Endre, it was different than American scouts. American scouts was...

A: Wussy.

K: Exactly.

A: It was wussy.

K: You know, what we went through, you know, Levente was a captain in the Green Berets, so it was...He tried...That was the way he ran his camp... [confidential details not transcribed]...

(laughter)

S: That's not going to be recorded.

Q: I'm going to use discretion.

(laughter)

Q: Do you consider yourself American or Hungarian? And why?

S: I can't separate it out. I'm...and I can't say if I'm American-Hungarian or Hungarian-American. But it's both. And I...because I have such a reverence for the country that gave me and my parents freedom and that they really ingrained in us that, yes, our culture is 100% paired in real life and it's what we are, but the fact that this country gave us the freedom to, you know, have your own religion, and um...

A: Speak your mind.

S: And maintain your culture and do what you want that way. You can't...I can't separate the two. I can't say one or the other.

A: You're not assimilated, but you can still keep the two separate.

S: Absolutely. You keep them separate but you appreciate both, really, it's not one or the other.

K: What's interesting is, you know, going back to Hungary, you know, and when I'm talking with Zsolti, I'll say, "Megyek haza." And I'll say that, because...

A: Your parents did.

K: But it's not a hazatérés. I wasn't born there. But I have to always...I have to correct myself because it's not a home to me, but there's a, there's such a tie there that...

A: You say it because our parents said it.

K: Yeah.

A: Our parents always said, "Megyünk haza." And that...cause that's what they called...they weren't going to "Magyarország", they were going to their home.

S: Right.

A: And that's why you said it.

K: If you asked me when, up until I was 20-24 I would say, I was more Hungarian. At 44, I'm more American because of my dissociation with that life, not intentionally, but, because again, of life. And not only that, but I've been back enough times to see that there's a lot of what Hung—what I see in Hungary today that I don't want to be associated with. It's, you know, not the villages, but the big cities have become very westernized. You walk into Budapest today and, I'll never forget, three years ago when I was there, I thought I was walking through the Bronx. Graffiti everywhere. I don't want to be associated at all with the Hungary, with the big cities of today. What I want to be associated with is the life that my parents lived there and the life that's still being lived in the villages where they're still keeping rabbits and chickens and pigs in their backyards.

A: All those little paraszt bácsik.

(laughter)

K: You know, and you know, when I was there three years ago, we did a disznó ölés and then made kolbász. We made disznó sajt. We made an entire day of it the way they have always done it. You know, when we were in Somlóvásárhely we were with Fábíán Karcsi, that's where his parents, his mother and his sister, still live. And it was...we did the traditional disznó vágás. From the morning until evening. And then, you know, his mother would come or the grandma would come and they'd take different cuts of the pig at different parts of the day, and get a sample of it. I mean, we had a big soup for lunch or stew and then the big meal at the end of the day with the friss kolbász and hurka and whatever it is they were making that day. It was just a, it was neat, you know, when we were talking about it, when it first came up initially this year that we're going to go in December, the first I told Karcsi is, "Hey, you've got to do a disznóvágás." You know, and so, you know, they don't have a discussion, just "I'll buy him one." Because I'm not going back to Magyarország without a disznóvágás. That was so cool. It was such a traditional way of doing things, I just had a blast. And it just is neat to see that probably in other than the main cities, it's still old school there.

A: I wonder if you can still find that here somewhere. I bet you could.

K: But you know, the sad part is, since Magyarország joined the Union, they're not allowed to keep pigs in the yard in the villages anymore.

Q: How about you, Anci? Do you consider yourself a Hungarian or an American?

A: I will say...Hungarian-American, but the Hungarian-American...I mean, I'm here, this Hungarian, OK? The cserkész Hungarian, the Regős Hungarian, the magyar iskola Hungarian,

the Cleveland Hungarian, the in exeteris, or whatever is outside of Hungary. That's Hungarian-American.

K: Our Hungarian.

Q: Because in your Cleveland Hungarian experience?

K: Exactly.

A: Cleveland Hungarian. The cserkészzet.

K: Scouting Hungarian.

A: Yeah. And as I become...

K: It's different.

A: The older I become, the more it's still very important to me, even more so. I do get tired of what I'm doing, I have to admit, because I've been involved for so long, I do get tired of it but that necessity is so strong. And now it's like you see it in your kids and that's why it's still so strong.

K: And it's the people here, the parents, that started this, that developed this Hungarian lifestyle. And it's from their memories and what they thought was important, which may have not, probably didn't correlate at all with what was happening back in Hungary.

Q: Was it artificial at all, this identity?

K: A little bit.

S: It is, because it's different than what, when, like I said when our cousins come, it's not...it's different for them. It's foreign to them.

(talking over each other)

A: As much as we're trying to become Hungarian, they're trying to assimilate out of that little falusi little town farmer type, uh...

S: Right.

K: They're trying to be—They don't know what they have, I guess.

A: Well, the grass is greener, ok? The grass is greener. And little Magyarország is trying to come out into the big world and they really don't need to but they want to, you know. It's the little rule of kids, you know.

K: But they don't need to.

A: Yeah, they do.

K: They do need to.

A: But they don't have to lose it either, you know. You don't have to lose what you are.

K: You know, it's a country that's been so...

S: But it's just what happens in the city, though.

K: So abused for so long by different countries and horrible situations.

A: Not just different countries. The leaders that are there.

K: Well, yeah, that's still the same there. And I hear it because, you know, many ties through my workers that will give me the information. It's the same leaders even though it's gone. But, you know, it's very, um, it's, you know...That's one of the sad parts is the sludge thing that's taken place there. You know, it's...People are saying that this could be worse than Chernobyl. Um, you know, where I'm going was supposed to be Ajka. That's where I was supposed to go. Now, it's...we don't know where we're going to be staying. That's where I stayed three years ago, and that sludge came withing 100 yards of where we

were. You know, it just...it went right through it. Somlyóvásárhely with Karcsi's family, so right by it. It's affecting so many things and it's like Hungary's finally coming out on its own and, you know, the word is that this could put it back another 25-30 years.

Q: How would you say, um, workers would answer that same question? Are they...would they consider themselves Hungarian or American?

K: That's interesting, um, because I don't want to say any specific names, but um the worker that works for me now, he basically says even though, you know, he was born and raised there and he came out to this country, it was a decision that he had made that, you know, to try to better his life. And, you know, he was talking with, um, one of your friends who considers herself this great Hungarian and her father considers himself a great Hungarian, and you know, chastises everything about America, but he said, and he gets really emotional about it, "I've been out of the country 11 years. You weren't even born there. I don't even consider myself a Hungarian anymore," he says. "How can you consider yourself...consider yourself a Hungarian when you go back to that country, you live there and you put up with everything that has to go there. You are not a Hungarian." He gets angry about it. He says, "Even I, who have been gone 11 years, I can't consider myself a Hungarian anymore because I've left there." And, and...

Q: Does that tie back into what you were saying at the beginning, about the people, the friendships?

K: What do you mean?

A: That he's making...That his friends are here now. Is that what you're trying to say?

K: Um...

S: I think maybe just that he's taken...not advantage but he's living the American dream or something. (laughing)

K: Exactly it. What he's saying is if you consider yourself a Hungarian, then go back there, put up with everything that goes on there, and live your life there. Don't make your money here in America and then try to associate yourself because you practice some Hungarian culture, don't consider yourself a Hungarian unless you live the lifestyle and the politics of what's there. You know. And that's...that's...and this I...I hear that a lot. Um, you know, if you think you're a Hungarian, go back there and live there. And...and...and then what happens is they consider themselves such a Hungarian that they, you know, that everything American is so negative, all the...stupid Americans. Well, you know what? Then leave. You're here for a reason, because it's a better life here and this country has given you everything you have.

Q: You're talking about the older generation, right?

K: Mmhmm. And they...she always knows exactly what I'm talking about. I don't want to bring up any names, but it's very, you know, they bring their...they raise their children very...very Hungarian, but you know what, they work here. I say, go back to Hungary...

A: But they chastise the Americans.

K: They chastise the Americans, and the American way of life, you know, "tipikus amerikaiak" stuff. You know what, when...you know. And there—
(talking over each other unintelligibly)

K: So the people that knock the Chinese, the import stuff, well you know what, they shop at Marc's and Walmart. You know? My father-in-law does that. And I say, "How can you—" And he's quit since I've...you know, but it's like, don't...okay, if you're this big American, buy American. Then go buy American, you know. Don't go to Walmart, nothing out of Walmart. Then everything is going to be costlier for you, but then chastise it the other way.

Q: One last one. The, uh...Looking back on your childhood, and your, not only your language skills but your sense of your Hungarian identity, can you think of...can you put a finger on what would be the most important factor or let's say the top three or four factors that contributed to that?

S: I'd say our parents first and foremost because there are plenty of people maybe ten years earlier who didn't speak Hungarian to their kids because then they were really trying to fit into the melting pot more than that concept. So the fact that they only spoke Hungarian to us and that brought us to cserkészzet and everything that they did was...I would say that has to be number one as parents.

A: Absolutely.

S: Cserkészzet would probably be second.

K: And Regös.

A: Cserkészzet, Regös, all that, um... but the friends.

S: The friends, absolutely, because you stayed because of the friendships you formed and I think if you don't form those friendships, you're not going to stay.

K: You know what was nice back then is don't forget how many Hungarians were here. It was very easy, you know, with Buckeye and everything, there were so many, I think. I mean, Buckeye I think had more Hungarians than...second to Budapest, if I'm correct. How can you not, you know, if...it didn't, how should I say...it didn't take much effort. There were Hungarians everywhere. And like our parents didn't speak English coming here, so what are you going to grasp for? Anything that's, you know, that you can associate yourself with.

S: Well, for that matter, then the fact that they happened to land in Cleveland, you know? Because if they would've landed in, I don't know, Kansas, you wouldn't have the same culture surrounding you that would support that.

K: For some reason, Cleveland was a very big hub.

A: Well, because it was the working...It was a lot of jobs available cause it was manufacturing. There was a lot—it was a big draw. There were jobs. And I want to add one more to that: was my family. Meaning my own kids. As soon as I started having my own children, my ethnicity was strengthened, I mean my language, because I wanted my kids to have the same thing. And it was easier for me, because I have...my husband's also Hungarian. So I need that.

Q: How much did your husband's family apply into this?

A: They lived next door. The kids only spoke, only spoke Hungarian to both of them. There's no such thing as...you could not speak English to my in-laws, so in that respect...and, you know, they were as involved as my parents. But that was another thing that strengthened me.

Q: Having your own...

A: Having my own children. Wanting them to be a part of this. I wanted them to grow up amongst (unintelligible). Mine's a little bit—obviously very different from yours.

S: Well, and even to the point where once I have kids, I...if my parents wouldn't have been able to watch my kids, I wouldn't have returned to work at all. So, uh, yeah, I would not have been able to put them in a daycare where I wouldn't...where they wouldn't have the Hungarian language. We would've sacrificed something that was not important.

A: Yeah, we had a tough time...

S: So that's how important that is. Or that was. And Milli I would have to say was the exact same. She didn't return to work full-time until Mária néni retired, because it was too important to her.

Q: Thank you very much for being a part of this.