(Hi)stories of Migration, Mobility, and Travel: Crossing Literary, Linguistic, and Historical Boundaries

Edited by Balázs Venkovits and Gábor Pusztai

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Introduction

Balázs Venkovits

Migration—along with the various factors influencing it, its representations in politics and mass media—has become a central theme not only in scholarly projects but also in public discourse and policy making. This is certainly not without precedent as the movement of people has always been intertwined with the history of the world and more specifically our region as an area shaped by emigration, immigration, and internal migration to a great extent. Most recently, the discussion of the topic took central stage in Central and Eastern Europe in 2015 with the "refugee/migration crisis" and has been in the focus of attention ever since. A few years earlier, in 2012, our Center for International Migration Studies (CIMS) was established at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Debrecen (UD), based on the initiative of István Kornél Vida. Its stated mission was to bring together people doing research in the broadly defined field of migration studies, establishing an interdisciplinary research center that offers a forum for sharing results in publications and at conferences, integrating these into the teaching portfolio of the university, as well as facilitating the building of a research network related to various projects. It was founded on the idea that collaboration reaching across disciplinary boundaries can provide novel and valuable insights into the history of migration, can help preserve its heritage, while also contributing to the better understanding of current events.

The Center has been working over the past twelve years to try and meet the initial objectives and now its members include scholars from as varied fields as history, sociology, cultural and literary studies, linguistics, area studies (most prominently American, Dutch, German, and Italian Studies), law, and geography. The Center has offered numerous university courses in Hungarian and in English in a great variety of topics, providing a better understanding of the past and present of international migration to hundreds of students. This was also accompanied by the first publication of the center in 2021 (*Migráció tegnap és ma* [Migration past and present], eds. Réka Bozzay

and László Pete), which related to numerous topics discussed in these courses and helped students gain a deeper understanding of the themes presented in lectures. To enhance international collaboration, several conferences have also been organized, most recently in 2024 on the 100th anniversary of the Johnson–Reed Immigration Act in the United States with scholars participating from twelve countries. In line with this, and as the next step, the Center now wishes to focus even more on internationalization both in research and publication.

This volume is published in accordance with the founding objectives and also the endeavor to make the Center more international, providing a platform for sharing research results with the broader scholarly community globally. It is intertwined with the CIMS not only because its two editors (the former and current director) and many of its authors are members but also because its roots go back to a CIMS conference organized at the University of Debrecen in 2022 to celebrate its 10th anniversary with an international, interdisciplinary conference. The event nicely highlighted how approaches from literature, history, linguistics, film studies or sociology can contribute to the mission of the Center and a decision was made to publish a volume of selected papers. After scrupulous peer-review, revisions, and editing, *(Hi)stories of Migration, Mobility, and Travel: Crossing Literary, Linguistic, and Historical Boundaries* is published as the first English-language volume of the CIMS that will hopefully be followed by numerous others in the future. The title already reflects the interdisciplinary nature of the publication, as it offers glimpses into the (hi)stories of migration from numerous different vantage points, approaches, disciplines, examining the broadly defined theme of migration (to also include mobility and travel and how these are connected) over centuries. Despite the regional, disciplinary, as well as chronological diversity of the various chapters, they all hover around essential questions of what influences migration (international or internal), what is the role of not only traditional, quantifiable push and pull factors but also that of perceptions, representations of various countries, networks, how such movement is presented in various media and the minds of the public, how migration policy is affected by and affects migrants and diasporas, etc. The chapters have been arranged into three parts, reflecting the primary geographical/regional focus of the clusters and their authors (the Netherlands and Dutch colonies, the United States, and

Central and Eastern Europe) discussing various aspects of migration, travel, and mobility from the 16th century all the way to recent years.

Part I of this volume focuses on (hi)stories of migration from the Netherlands and Dutch colonies from the perspectives of literary studies, history, and linguistics and touches upon topics like travel, various forms of migration, perceptions of foreign others, alienation, and borders. The first chapter, authored by Prof. Michiel van Kempen, an esteemed art historian and literary critic from the University of Amsterdam, examines the Surinamese poet Shrinivási's (1926–2019) seminal work, "Near the Lightship," and more broadly, the topos of arrival and farewell in postcolonial literature. The poem occupies a central place not only within Shrinivási's oeuvre but also in the broader corpus of Dutch-Caribbean and Dutch postcolonial literature. Through a nuanced exploration of the poem's themes, the chapter highlights the intricate interplay between the topos of borders and their use as a space for the construction of identity. The chapter situates "Near the Lightship" within the context of postcolonial existence, revealing the enduring relevance of the border as a literary and existential motif, embodying the tension between departure and arrival, belonging and alienation so central in the process of migration as well.

The next two chapters were written by representatives of Dutch studies at the University of Debrecen. Chapter 2 by Réka Bozzay explores the phenomenon of student migration during the early modern period, contextualizing it as a significant form of mobility that facilitated intellectual and cultural exchange across Western and Central Europe. Drawing from extensive archival research and international comparisons, the analysis traces patterns of both internal and external migration, distinguishing between students who traveled within their states and those who crossed international borders for educational purposes. The chapter examines such forms of student mobility as *peregrinatio academica* and the *Kavalierstour* or Grand Tour, situating these practices within a broader history of mobility for learning that dates back to the Middle Ages. It highlights how early student migration, even before the establishment of universities, was driven by the pursuit of knowledge at monastic and episcopal schools. By the 12th and 13th centuries, the establishment of universities further structured these movements, although access remained restricted by factors such as religion, social status, and economic

resources. This chapter illuminates the diverse motivations, experiences, and socio-cultural impacts of student migration, offering unique insights into the intersections of education, mobility, and identity in early modern Europe with special attention to different religious groups. Gábor Pusztai's study uncovers the previously unknown migration story of Hungarian emigrant István Radnai, whose journey to the Dutch Indies in 1914 serves as a unique case study in the dynamics of migration/travel and identity. Radnai, seeking a brighter future as a planter in Sumatra alongside his cousin László Székely, returned to Hungary disillusioned after just five weeks. His hopes were dashed not only by the economic challenges but also by the outbreak of World War I. Radnai's personal account, written between 1914 and 1916, remained unknown to the public until its posthumous publication in 2001.Through a detailed examination of his diary, this chapter reconstructs the complex motivations behind his decision to escape from Hungary and embrace the unknown. It explores the binary opposition between the "Self" and the "Other," emphasizing how this dichotomy shifts in the context of migration. The chapter further investigates how Radnai's narrative reflects the reiteration of stereotypes in varying contexts, demonstrating the fluidity of identity and the changing perceptions of the unfamiliar.

The last chapter of Part I is the work of Roland Nagy (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) that examines the history of the so-called Child Transport Action, a pivotal initiative between 1920 and 1930 that facilitated the temporary relocation of Hungarian children to the Netherlands, Belgium, and several other European countries. Known as the "Children's Trains," this program introduced a new form of cross-border movement that involved not only physical relocation but also complex cultural and linguistic adaptation. Focusing on the linguistic aspect of such mobility, the chapter explores the development and role of language tools—such as glossaries, dictionaries, grammar books, and language manuals—that were created to help Hungarian children adapt to Dutch-speaking communities. The study does not only catalog the first publications but also offers an analysis of them and explores their role in cultural adaptation and how language served as a bridge in this context, representing a specific form of migration also reshaping linguistic landscapes.

Part II of this volume turns to the United States, including papers whose topics span centuries and address issues of minorities, policy making, per-

ceptions of immigrants, and revisit the concept of a nation of immigrants as applied to the United States over time. The first chapter in this section is authored by Sándor Czeglédi and Dominik Németh (University of Pannonia) and investigates the treatment of immigrant minority languages in U.S. national legislation from 1774 to 1875 (divided into five periods to reflect distinctive phases in U.S. history). As the authors claim, although the United States is often described as a "nation of immigrants," the history of immigration and language policy reveals a complex interplay of official support and restrictive, nativist attitudes toward foreign languages. This analysis takes a diachronic approach, examining Congressional documents to trace trends in how languages were addressed, particularly in relation to immigrant communities. By exploring these legislative shifts, the chapter provides important insights into how immigrant languages were valued in the formation of national identity and the development of language policy during the early years of the United States, highlighting that in spite of the occasional official support to facilitate immigration, frequent restrictionist attitudes and outright nativist reactions have also been present since the very beginning of the American nation-building experience.

Éva Eszter Szabó (Eötvös Loránd University) continues in Chapter 6 with the discussion of the concept of the nation of immigrants and offers an overview of the historical, ideological, and legislative forces that contributed to the dramatic shift toward immigration restriction at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in the United States. She investigates how the nation's "open door" immigration policy was gradually abandoned, and how nativism from the East and West Coasts coalesced to racialize federal immigration policy. The chapter focuses on a less explored yet pivotal aspect: the interaction between Eastern and Western forms of nativism, which played a crucial role in the success of immigration restrictionism. The paper highlights how this combination of ideologies and interests was instrumental in reshaping public opinion and influencing congressional strategies, ultimately leading to a more restrictive era in American immigration, marking the beginning of a new chapter in the nation's immigration history.

The next three chapters of Part II are by scholars working at the University of Debrecen (the Institute of English and American Studies and the Institute of History) offering case studies of connections between migration/mobility

and the United States. Judit Szathmári does so by exploring the metaphor of the "Jesus Highway," which encapsulates the dual process of Native American relocation from reservations to urban centers during the 1950s and 1960s, subsidized by the federal government as part of efforts to encourage assimilation into mainstream American society. The metaphor refers both to the literal routes taken by Indigenous people during this period and to the symbolic shift from tribal spiritualism to Christianity, a transition often seen as part of the broader federal strategy to terminate Native American sovereignty. Focusing on the case study of Chicago, the chapter examines the complex role that churches played during this relocation process, historically as supporters of federal assimilationist policies but also providing support to Native Americans adjusting to urban life (with a special focus on the work of Father Peter Powell). The chapter underlines that the migration of Native Americans during this period, akin to other immigrant experiences, involved navigating not only geographic borders but also cultural, religious, and linguistic divides.

Máté Gergely Balogh in his chapter delves into the relationship between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian diaspora in the United States during the Cold War, focusing on the role of state security in monitoring and engaging with Hungarian exiles. From the perspective of the Hungarian communist regime, the Hungarian community in the U.S. represented both a potential threat and a source of opportunities. As one of the largest Hungarian ethnic groups in the Western bloc, this community was a key target for intelligence agencies of the home country from 1948 to 1989. Despite the community's importance, however, this chapter reveals a surprising discrepancy in the preparation of Hungarian state security officers: the textbooks used to train intelligence agents during the Cold War period contained almost no information about Hungarian-Americans, even though these individuals were seen as primary targets of surveillance. The study explores the content of these educational materials, which were intended to prepare intelligence officers for their work in the United States. It assesses how Americans of Hungarian and other East-Central European descent were depicted in these textbooks and examines the actual intelligence activities undertaken by Hungarian state security during the same period. This analysis offers new insights into the intersection of Cold War espionage, migration, and ethnic identity, highlighting how political contexts shaped intelligence practices.

Csaba Lévai's essay explores the impact of Sándor Bölöni Farkas' well-known travelogue, the first Hungarian-language account of a visit to the United States, on contemporary Hungarian intellectuals and possibly later émigrés. Published in the 1830s, the travelogue played a pivotal role in shaping Hungarian views of the American republic, particularly among the leaders of the 1848–1849 Hungarian Revolution, many of whom later sought refuge in the United States after the revolution's defeat. These individuals, part of the so-called "Kossuth immigration," were influenced by Bölöni's account, carrying with them the impressions and ideas from his work. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first section addresses the historical details of Bölöni's visit to Mount Vernon, including the exact date and the specific vault of George Washington he visited. The second section analyzes Bölöni's impressions of his visit and the rhetorical techniques he employed to influence Hungarian intellectual thought about the United States. His travelogue had a lasting effect on Hungarian political leaders and would directly or indirectly influence subsequent generations of Hungarian emigrants.

The third and final part of the volume includes studies of migration from Central and Eastern Europe, touching upon countries like Hungary, Austria, Germany, and others. Similarly to the sections before, we gain interdisciplinary insights into (hi)stories of migration, perceptions and representations of borders and trajectories of mobility from varied perspectives. Historian Attila Tózsa Rigó from the University of Debrecen (based on research carried out over the past 15 years in seven countries) examines topics of intergenerational mobility, trans-regional kinship, and business networks through the fluidity of borders in Early Modern Europe (from the mid-15th century to the late 18th), arguing that borders were not the rigid, restrictive lines we often conceive of today. Instead, borders in this period were often permeable, facilitating the movement of people, goods, and ideas across regions. This allowed for a dynamic, interconnected economic system that was vital to the development of Europe during this time. With commercial activity as a key form of mobility and trade networks linking regions and playing a crucial role in sustaining economic systems, the Danube, as a major trade route, is highlighted as a key artery in the early modern economic network, connecting regions across Central Europe and contributing to the broader global economic system.

János Pénzes' (Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, UD) chapter explores internal migration patterns in Hungary, focusing on the spatial imbalances between regions and the evolution of migration trends since the political transition of 1989. By analyzing various databases, migration balances are presented at the settlement level, highlighting the selective nature of migration, where developed areas tend to attract migrants while more backward regions experience outmigration, contributing to cumulative demographic challenges. The chapter also examines the impact of external factors, including the financial and economic crises, the COVID-19 pandemic, and governmental policies, which have influenced migration patterns in Hungary. The analysis reveals that migration trends have fluctuated dynamically, with more developed settlements—particularly those surrounding large cities—experiencing consistent migration gains, while underdeveloped regions facing persistent migration losses. This polarization of migration tendencies has led to increasing inequalities, underlying the ongoing spatial challenges within the country.

The final chapter was written by Marcell Grunda (bringing expertise from the Institute of German Studies, UD), concluding the exploration of (hi)stories of migration by bringing it to the present time, and situating the perceptions of migration and immigrants in the information age. Investigating key concepts like the filter bubble, echo chamber, post-truth, etc., the chapter highlights how emotions play an increasingly important role in the debate on migration (similarly to other hot topics). Using examples from current discourse and revealing their impact on societies, the author looks at the phenomenon of how shorter, emotion-based news articles are replacing the longer pieces that need considerable research, and instead of providing detailed and varied coverage, usually fit more into one of two polarized narratives. The various methods of manipulation are also discussed, along with the types of manipulative articles contributing to misinformation and radicalization.

As noted already, this book has been in the making for two years which also means that it was created as the result of the collaboration of many. We would like to express our gratitude to the authors for working with us during the lengthy peer-review, editing, and publication process. We are also grateful to our colleagues who undertook the demanding task of reviewing the submissions, Daniel Haitas for his conscientious work with language editing

and proofreading, and Balázs Szabó for typesetting and design. We could not have published this book without the financial support of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Debrecen and its Scholarly Fund provided by Dean Róbert Keményfi. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation, as the current director of CIMS, to past directors Tibor Glant and László Pete, and especially Gábor Pusztai, who is not only the co-editor of this volume but as the previous director was also the main organizer of the conference in 2022 that in many ways led to this publication. Let us hope that this book is not only in line with the mission of our Center articulated more than a decade ago but that it also shows the path towards the future enabling international publications, collaborations, and projects with the Center of International Migration Studies assuming an active role.

Debrecen, December 2024.

Part I

(Hi)stories of Migration from the Netherlands and the Dutch Colonies

"They Are Outside Their Country but Wander in It Every Day:" The Topos of Arrival and Farewell in Postcolonial Literature

Michiel van Kempen

And that old word
Thou shalt love the land
Where thou shalt not be.
Maria Dermout[1]

The poem "Near the Lightship" by the Surinamese poet Shrinivási (1926–2019) is not only at the heart of the poet's oeuvre, but that of Dutch-Caribbean and Dutch postcolonial literature as such because it is packed with notions that belong to the essence of postcolonial existence[2]. Shrinivási (ps. of Martinus Haridat Lutchman) published 11 collections of poetry—all in all not that many for a poet who spent his long life working day and night on his poetry. His work, however, is of exceptional quality as clearly showcased by his anthology *Een weinig van het Andere* (1984) compiled by Geert Koefoed or the later collections *Sangam* (1991) and *Hecht en sterk* (2013).

There is no doubt what Shrinivási referred to by the lightship in the title of his poem: it is the light buoy at Braamspunt, at the mouth of the Suriname River. That beacon is crucial for shipping traffic navigating the pattern of sandbanks that constantly shift under the influence of sand discharge from the mighty Amazon River hundreds of miles away. The seabed can be treacherous: in old travelogues, the accounts of ships that got stuck on the mudbanks of 'the Wild Coast' are widely known. Braamspunt is the tongue of land

[1] From the poem "Is farewell – zo" from the collection Bas Kist (Amsterdam), quoted after Bert Paasman, Peter van Zonneveld and Ingeborg Huizinga (eds.) *Album van de Indische poëzie* (Amsterdam: Rubinstein, 2014), 188.

[2] I thank Els van Diggele, Geert Koefoed and Coen van 't Veer for important comments on an earlier version of this setup. A somewhat different version of this text has been published before in Dutch: Michiel van Kempen, "Die staan buiten hun land maar dagelijks erin dwalen: De topos van aankomst en afscheid in postkoloniale literatuur," *Indische Letteren* 38, no. 3 (Spring 2023): 135–152. Unless otherwise noted, the English translations of the poems included in this chapter are that of the author.

that has for centuries been the first piece of Suriname that comes into sight for arriving ship travelers, and the last spot of the Surinamese mainland for departing people. Along this westernmost bulge of the Commewijne district, the indigenous people have sailed the ocean in their canoes for thousands of years and all ships of any significance to the province, the settlement and the Republic of Suriname passed here: merchant ships of the WIC, slave carriers, sailing ships and steamers with contractors from China, British India and Java, passenger ships with emigrants, bulk carriers with bauxite, container ships with imports, and vessels for oil exploration in territorial waters. "Near the Lightship" is a complex plea to gain entry, by a man who moves on both sides of the border, who has remained a restless cosmopolitan all his life, showcasing how the topos of the border functions as a space for identity.

Figure 1. Canons on the confluence of the rivers Suriname and Commewijne in Nieuw-Amsterdam. *Photo © Michiel van Kempen*

Metaphorical Locus

Following the coast inland from Braamspunt, one arrives at the confluence of two major rivers: the Commewijne and Suriname. Here lies Fort Nieuw-Amsterdam, whose barrels of colonial cannons and a large gun from the twen-

tieth century still point over the star-shaped bastions towards the estuary. Adjacent to the fort is the open-air museum where colonial housings and a gunpowder magazine defy time, as well as a heavily rusted lightship that must be periodically stripped of the overgrown greenery in order to remain visible. If there is one place that has become synonymous with Shrinivási's poetry, it is Nieuw Amsterdam. He lived for a long time in the plantation district of Commewijne and he calibrated the confluence of Suriname and Commewijne as a metaphorical locus of the unification of the multicolored people of Suriname. In the film made by Ram Soekhoe and Elles Tukker in 2001 for OHM (the Dutch Omroep Hindu Media) under the beautiful title *Verlangen niet en eindelijk geen verdriet* [No desire and finally no sorrow], we see the poet reciting at that place for an audience that constitutes the future of Suriname: its children in all their diversity.

It is evident that "Near the Lightship" is the pre-eminent name for a topos linking the colonial history of the country with modern political-cultural nation building. Shrinivási must have been aware of this topos when he included his poem in 1964 in his debut collection, *Anjali*. He emphatically gave this collection a bilingual subtitle: *Sarnami kavitaen* [Surinamese poems], an indication that situated the poetry within the awakening nationalism of his time.[3] But he also gave that subtitle an important specification: by using a Hindustani language, he emphatically drew the Hindustani—at that time already the largest population group in the country—into the nationalistic cultural project that was dominated by the Creoles (Afro-Surinamese). It is, of course, also interesting from a linguistic point of view that this phrase is in Hindi, not in the Surinamese Sarnámi, which Shrinivási himself was the very first poet ever to use in a poem.[4] But Shrinivási remained first and foremost a Dutch-language poet, and by striving for an elevated language in his poems, he also searched in his earliest poetry for words that sound rather solemn in Dutch, including *altoos, nimmer* and *zijt* (always, never and (thou) art), which

[3] In the first edition, the title *Anjali* was still translated at the back of the collection: "the hollow created by the two hands brought together, not – as usual in a religious ceremony – to offer flowers to God, but to humbly write poems to Suriname, to offer"; in the 1971 reprint that explanation disappeared.

[4] *Kavitaen* is the plural form of the Hindi word *kawita* (कविता, poem). Shrinivási's poem "Buláhat/ The call in the Night" from the collection *Pratikshá* is considered the earliest known poem in Sarnámi, written by him on January 23, 1964. Included in Shrinivási, *Een weinig van het Andere* (Haarlem: In de Knipscheer, 1984), 64–65, as well as in Michiel van Kempen, (ed.), *Spiegel van de Surinaamse poëzie: van de oude liedkunst tot de jongste dichters* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1995), 228–229 and Michiel van Kempen and Bert Paasman (eds.) *Album van de Caraïbische poëzie* (Amsterdam: Rubinstein, 2022), 136.

at first sight make his poetry seem somewhat archaic. Multilingualism, language formation, language creolization: substrates of any piece of postcolonial literature, are also revealed if we explore the words of the poem.[5]

Near the Lightship

Again
for your door
I taste the mild morning
so close to me
so close to my heart
had this not always
remained true to nature in me
had I been strange
to you unfaithful
or transgressor of your boundaries?

Or were they not
just further and still
about my heart?

And was not my departing
as ever
a phantom?

They who stand outside their country,
but daily wander in it,
seeking tirelessly
the golden solitude
the silence
the undesecrated image
of Happiness.

[5] "Near the Lightship", accessed November 23, 2023, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/shri001wein01_01/shri001wein01_01_0013.php. For the entire bundle see https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/shri001wein01_01/index.php.

I stand at your door,
let me not fight
a hopeless battle
without a pilot
near the lightvessel
but sail in
with the morning star
in my flag.

With open hands
I ask
let me kindle the sacrificial fire
and offer flowers
so thinly sown in me.

When I
offer this atoning sacrifice to you
in the newly-mined day
the barriers of your distrust
will become open hands.

The fog will lift
before your face
and behold my greetings
will then be answered.

And with a liberated mind
I will write
translate untouchedly
my heart
and lay it in your soil
when the morning red happiness
trembles on your lips
and horizons bloom open
in a slender symphony.

Like a new chord
a newly acquired right
to drop anchor
once more
in my verses
under you.[6]

I will not attempt a traditional close reading of this poem here and neither am I concerned with the anecdotal or biographical background, nor with an interpretation of the poem within Shrinivási's oeuvre, although the temptation is great, because his poetry forms such a tight network of motifs and metaphors that are always varied. Nor will the literary historian in me give in to the constant temptation to elaborate on the historical-social and cultural world of Suriname at the beginning of the 1960s. Rather, I will try, by means of a careful reading of texts in which the topos of arrival and farewell occur, to indicate a number of notions that in a general sense may be called characteristically postcolonial, if not strictly taken separately, then at least in their combination within one text.

The Countryman as a Foreign Other

First of all, it is striking that the poem shows an opposition between the speaking 'I' and the addressed 'you.' There is no poetry in which such a contrast does not frequently occur, but within the postcolonial context this takes on a special form. This is not, however, about the well-known postcolonial variant referred to as 'Othering', the contrast between the focalizer and the Other, the inhabitant of another country represented as 'exotic alien'. Rather, in this case it is about a contradiction[7] between two 'narrative characters' who

[6] Unless otherwise noted, the English translations of the poems included in this chapter are that of the author

[7] Much has now been written about this entire set of instruments – in the wake of Edward Said, cf. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London/New York: Routledge, 1992). Numerous examples of this are given in the Dutch East Indies literature in the essays in Honings et al. (eds) *De postkoloniale spiegel: De Nederlands-Indische letteren herlezen* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2021). On "Othering" in a broader than literary sense: John A. Powell and Stephan Menendian, "The Problem of Othering: Towards Inclusiveness and Belonging," in *Othering and Belonging: Expanding the Circle of Human Concern*, accessed August 13, 2022, http://www.otheringandbelonging.org/the-problem-of-othering/; Andrew Grant Thomas, "Responses to the Inaugural Article on Othering & Belonging," in *Othering and Belonging: Expanding the Circle of Human Concern*, accessed August 13, 2022, http://www.otheringandbelonging.org/responses-inaugural-article-othering-belonging/.

belong (or belonged?) to the same entity or nation. In any case, there is a clear power relationship between the 'I' as the requesting party and the 'you' as the caretaker of the territory to be entered–but a very different power relationship than between empire/colonizer and colonized, slave and master as in many examples of (post)colonial literature.

The distance between the two figures is immediately introduced with the second line of verse with the word "door" and repeated explicitly in the opening line of stanza 4: They are outside their country. The telling "I" stands in front of that door, he has gone and returned "again." It should be clear that this concerns a migrant returning to his country of origin. The "I" apologizes for his passing by giving insight into what I rather prosaically call his migration motives: "Who are outside their country/ but daily wander in it/ tirelessly seek/ the golden solitude/ the silence/ the undesecrated image/ of Happiness." Those who have left are fortune hunters, but the homeland has not left their minds for a day. The departure was "always apparent." In the new country they are essentially looking for what they have left behind, and what they therefore hope to find again in the process of return migration.

There is a double connotation in "golden loneliness." At first glance, the phrase seems to indicate nirvana. Shrinivási is obviously not interested in the material side of gold; its designation should rather be sought in the Eastern tradition of covering statues with gold leaf, an act that brings good luck and discourages the pursuit of the precious metal – with which Shrinivási can be regarded as a kindred spirit of the artist Moritz Ebinger, who much later in his book *Mi fen'na Gowtu. ArtGold.nl.* ส้าทอง (2014) went in search of (Surinamese) gold. In contrast, "golden loneliness" has another connotation borrowed from *the* topos of colonial adventurer zest, boundless greed, and blind faith in a mirage: El Dorado, the land of the gold-bathed native leader. This negative allusion then sends the reader back to the last line of the first stanza in which the first-person narrator asks whether he is seen as a "violator of your boundaries."

These connotations are vividly present within a discourse on migration and remigration that cannot be seen separately from ideas about migrants who go in pursuit of wealth elsewhere, the animosity this often causes among those "staying at home," and the image of the returnees who became wealthy elsewhere and return to their native country as big spenders. In this context

one is drawn to think of the title of the novel *Het paradijs van Oranje* [The paradise of Orange] (1973) by Bea Vianen, or in another setting that of Astrid Roemer: *Neem mij terug Suriname* [Take me back Suriname] (1974). The other side of the coin, known as prosperity migration, is the loss of cultural identity that goes along with it–something that Surinamese writer Edgar Cairo made one of the major themes of his oeuvre. In Shrinivási's poem, this loss of identity plays a soft role in the word "true to nature" from the first stanza: the human being who leaves his country loses naturalness and Shrinivási's first-person claims that he has not lost it. And in true-to-nature also resonates, of course, the connotation that someone remains faithful to his or her country of birth.

Figure 2. Departure of a mail boat to Rotterdam, Belawan, Northern Sumatra, Indonesia. *Photo © Royal Tropical Museum, Amsterdam.*

Alienation

Alienation from the country of birth occupies a crucial place in many postcolonial texts, and often starts with the outward appearance of the returning migrant who sees a mirror held up to himself by those who stayed at home. Cola Debrot already gave fine examples of this matter in one of the earliest postcolonial Antillean remigration stories, the famous *Mijn zuster de negerin* from 1935. When the main character Frits Ruprecht returns after nine years,

he is still greeted on board his steamship by two gentlemen. The focalization very cleverly turns to him halfway through this quote:

> Then a stout and petite gentleman, in gray shantung, with a straw hat, stepped over from his motorboat at the last minute, which he slowly climbed. At the top he was greeted by the captain and by a gentleman in white linen with a pith helmet. Ruprecht watched. They formed a typical group for the tropics: a pith helmet, a straw hat, a sleeve with three or four gold stripes.[8]

The boundary is marked and is further confirmed by the first words addressed by the gentleman in white to Frits Ruprecht: "Of course you have changed a lot since you were here sixteen years ago […]."

In the undoubtedly most successful collection of migrant poetry ever, the award-winning *Habitus* (2018) by the Curaçao-Dutch poet Radna Fabias, the poem with the noteworthy title "Incarnation" portrays double displacement as follows:

> I just let myself be kneaded into shape
> with that the first misunderstanding arose, for after being kneaded three or four times,
> no one knew what my original form had been
> I could never be myself again and I was not recognized anywhere.[9]

For Fabias, remigration is also an emphatic return to an abandoned traditional living environment that represents oppression and meekness:

> the returned migrant hears himself the wind hears the water the whispered
> death threats from the wind and the water is all this is the fellow man is a small hot one
> church is the hot air is the consecrated wafer is the kneeling pad is a

[8] Cola Debrot, *Mijn zuster de negerin* (Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1935).
[9] Radna Fabias, *Habitus; gedichten* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 2018), 47.

few meters from the ocean is the
ocean is next to the church is the donkey is a wasteland where the donkey is chained to one
lamppost braying during the Eucharist is the donkey is the fallow rhyme is the eyes is
split is the returned migrant
closes his eyes
closes his eyes
itself is closed
prays
is the prayer for unity[10]

It is the language in particular that marks the returnee's alienation. In Edgar Cairo's novel *Dat vuur der grote drama's* [That fire of great tragedies] (1982) the main character Atti Tuurhart returns to his home country and immediately at the airport—always a meaningful locus of departure and arrival—of course, he feels the tension:

> A world had approached. A world of heat. One that Atti immediately recognized as his own. That was the shock that the feeling meant, there on the plane stairs. [...] The border of the past passed. But then the other way around, back. What a tension under the skin of the existing![11]

Atti searches for the essence of himself that he thinks he has lost in the Netherlands, but the confrontation with his native country forces him to face the facts:

> Not a native anymore, as he thought, not a domestic of theirs in the land, not even a resident. But stranger! Stranger and talking as contrived as any (what they called) chips eater. Bakra! A black bakra![12]

[10] Fabias, *habitus*, 22.
[11] Edgar Cairo, *Dat vuur der grote drama's. Roman* (Haarlem: In de Knipscheer, 1982), 244.
[12] Cairo, *Dat vuur der grote drama's*, 250–251. A *bakra* is a white person.

And it is in particular the language that cuts him off from his spiritual roots:

> Then at the same time he was called a poser: 'Aw man! Don't talk like that! I'm sorry, but I don't know why you have to be so weird. You laugh, but you don't know why we laugh, that's clear. And the things you say are exaggerated. You also expect us to live in a way that we don't even have anymore. Tell those people over there with you that as *njunbakra* [new whites – MvK] they should give up their homesickness. Let them feed Ijsselmeer eels with it. Then they can eat homesick eels again, something other than woe!' Laughter![13]

Almost forty years later, Raoul de Jong tells the following in the account of his search for the roots of his existence, *Jaguarman* (2020):

> 'So, you're from the Netherlands, are you sure?'
> 'How do you see that?' I asked.
> I'm thinking now: about my boldness.
> He shrugged, 'In everything.'[14]

When he walks through Paramaribo with his wild afro, he is honked and shouted at: "Buy a comb!"[15] One day he walks into the director of a nature conservation organization:

> The director, a huge, bald, light brown man, was obviously a little startled when he understood that I was the journalist he had arranged to meet. He wore a suit and a gold watch on his wrist. I had dressed as an 'adventurer', that is, I had done my best to appear as if I don't care what I look like. 'Where shall we sit?' I asked. The director looked at my baggy T-shirt and my second-hand sneakers and replied, 'Depends on what you want from me.'[16]

[13] Cairo, *Dat vuur der grote drama's*, 304.

[14] Although Raoul de Jong was born in Rotterdam from a mixed Surinamese-Dutch relationship. What he describes here also applies in full to returnees. Quote from Raoul de Jong, *Jaguarman. Mijn vader, zijn vader en andere Surinaamse helden* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2020), 62.

[15] De Jong, *Jaguarman,* 63.

[16] De Jong, *Jaguarman*, 81.

Within Dutch-Indies literature, the Suez Canal provides a beautiful locus where clothing is meaningful: the place where the East Indies stripped off their summer dresses and the *sarong* and *kabaja* were brought out, as Coen van 't Veer described.[17] This change of clothes entailed a change of attitude: the East Indies visitors "reintroduced themselves to the East Indies with lots of afternoon naps, getting up grumpy, eating less, drinking more," as Henri van Wermeskerken described in *Tropische zoutwaterliefde* [Tropical Salt Water Love] (1929).[18] Thus here clothing does not accentuate alienation, but mental adaptation to the tropics.

The alienation that can be read directly from a different appearance leads to distance, distrust and exclusion. The outward appearance, with or without a comb, is only the beginning of a much more profound process of uprooting. With poets such as Jit Narain and Shrinivási, this process already begins when the simple farmer moves to the city, as in the latter's poem "Deháti":

Broomed up
from the mud
with cow dung
on my heels
I have crossed
the threshold of the City.

I professed a new faith
of Caritas
Justitia.
But the patricians
never broke bread
with a pariah.

[17] Coen van 't Veer, *De kolonie op drift. De representatie en constructie van koloniale identiteit in fictie over de zeereis tussen Nederland en Nederlands-Indië (1850–1940)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2020), 95–98, 149, 205–206.

[18] Henri van Wermeskerken, *Tropische zoutwaterliefde. Humoristische roman* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1932), 196.

Then I returned
to the smoke
of the stables
strange and
ostracized
among my own people.[19]

Remarkably enough, the process of uprooting has mainly been described within the confrontation of "Black" and "white," or within processes of migration, but not often within processes of re-migration. The essayist Anil Ramdas has written several times about the experience of returning to the country of birth and he even devoted two non-fiction books to it: *Een Surinaamse ballade* [A Surinamese ballad] (1995) and *Paramaribo, de vrolijke stad in de jungle* [Paramaribo, the happiest city in the jungle] (2009). His return is unexciting:

Again I didn't get it, they said. Who did I think I was, they asked. It was easy for me to talk, I could easily get away. Looking down on your country from the Netherlands. Disgusting. Arrogant. Misplaced.
I agree with the latter. I'm misplaced. Aren't we all misplaced? Just in the wrong place, all the time, all your life and maybe the next? It's tiring and confusing, but you have to make something of it.[20]

W.E.B. Du Bois coined the concept of "double consciousness" for the experience of the Black person looking at themselves through both their own and other people's eyes:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's

[19] Published in *Anjali*, 39, but quoted here from the 1971 second edition, 41 (also in *Een weinig van het Andere*, 39), where the second stanza contains the word 'pariah' instead of the word 'elegast' from the 1st edition.

[20] Anil Ramdas, "De wind die om Suriname heen waait," in *Suriname en ik. Persoonlijke verhalen van bekende Surinamers over hun vaderland,* eds. John Leerdam and Noraly Beyer (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 2010), 75. Edward Said wrote about postcolonial intellectuals between the mother country and the country of migration: Edward W. Said, "Intellectuals in the Post-Colonial World," *Salmagundi*, no. 70/71, *Intellectuals* (spring–summer 1986): 44–64. On Postcolonial Intellectuals: Sandra Ponzanesi and Adriano José Habed (eds.), *Postcolonial Intellectuals in Europe. Critics, Artists, Movements and Their Publics* (London/Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018).

> soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.[21]

With the returnee we get a perhaps even more complex variant of "double consciousness:" the awareness of being observed by people from the country of migration, the consequences that this has in many respects for one's own personality, and the confrontation with one's own compatriots after a long absence: who have I become mentally after a long time, how has my language changed, what is the meaning of progression, what do those who stayed at home read from my changed appearance?

Shrinivási does not mention the appearance of the narrator in his poem, but he does continue the border-metaphor in the seventh stanza where he speaks of "the barriers of/your distrust." In "Near the Lightship" there is a litany of the I-figure who, with repeated pleas in the central part of the text (stanzas 5 and 6: "do not let me…, I ask…, do not let me kindle the sacrificial fire …") tries to get the barriers of distrust lifted. He even goes so far as to indicate that he wants to make an "atoning sacrifice" for this. In the last four stanzas he reinforces his argument for admission with an image of what he has to offer.

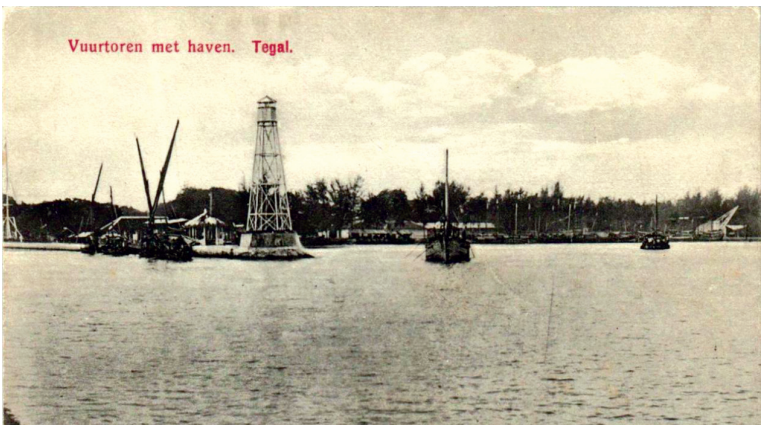

Figure 3. Lighthouse in the harbour of Tegal, Java, Indonesia.
Photo © Collection Buku Bibliotheca Surinamica.

[21] W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 8.

Country and Nation

In the first stanza there is nature and the "gentle morning" and in the penultimate stanza there is mention of "your soil", which seems to indicate that the addressee is the land. The first thought that comes to mind for readers of Shrinivási's poetry is that it concerns the young country of Suriname (not yet independent, but self-governing for several years when the poem appeared, as the line "in the newly started day" refers to it),[22] but strictly the poem gives no further indication for this. For someone who scatters geographical names and other local clues in his poetry, it seems evident that the poet wanted to emphasize the universality of his message by emphatically leaving such elements out of his text. But if the addressee is the country, or at least *a* country, then that interpretation is weakened by the opening of the fourth stanza: "They are outside their country" sounds rather strange if you address that country itself.

Therefore, it is most obvious to see in the person addressed a personification of the people of Suriname, perhaps also "country" but in the sense of nation, population. This gives the poem another layer: the metaphor of the lightship takes on the dimension of the beacon of hope for the future of the country. The aspect of the migrant's absence is softened in favor of the individual who wants to merge into a new people. It is, again, tempting to read phrases such as distrust and the fog that must lift, as references to a historical reality of ethnic division. Such a reading is not necessarily inadequate either, because those references are likely the starting points for the young, politically-sensitive poet Shrinivási who lived outside his native country in the years before the poem was published (and later, in 1980, would publish a poetry leaflet with the title *Als ik mijn land betreed* [When I enter my country]). Nor is it wrong to see in phrases such as "offering fire," "offering flowers" and "sacrifice" references to Hindustani culture, which the poet wants to give a harmonious place within a cultural landscape still dominated by Creoles.

I had promised to refrain from this cultural-historical, time-bound context and there is a good reason for that: the core of what the poet wanted to say has not been named. That core lies in the metapoetic commentary that the

[22] According to Geert Koefoed, the poems from *Anjali*, with the exception of a single older poem, were created in the years 1956–1961, which are the years after the Statute for the Kingdom of the Netherlands (1954) when the territories in the Caribbean obtained a large degree of self-government. Shrinivási, *Een weinig van het Andere* (Haarlem: In de Knipscheer, 1984), 11.

poet wanted to make with this poem. What the first-person offers is his verbal art with which he wants to be part of the larger whole. He carries "the morning star/ in my flag." Within the metaphor of lightship, water, inland sailing,[23] shed and harbor, he expresses his desire by indicating that he wants to go "at anchor" among the new people.[24] For the lyrical last stanzas, the poet sketches in not exactly sparing words the grand future perspective of "horizons that blossom / in a slender symphony."

"Near the Lightship" is pre-eminently a text in which idealism and expectations for the future prevail over struggle and despair. It is one of the poems that has earned Shrinivási the title "poet of atonement." Expectant lyrics are part of the standard repertoire of poets in young, decolonizing nations. But the meta-commentary in "Near the Lightship" distinguishes this poetry from the politically-engaged verses of many nationalist poets, there and elsewhere.

Loci of Arrival and Departure

Viewed as a whole, Shrinivási's oeuvre cannot be covered by just one label. In his collections, such as in the aforementioned *Als ik mijn land betreed*, there are sometimes poems full of cynicism and anger: when he crosses the border he states dejectedly: "now I have to behave like an ass." He thus finds himself in the company of other great lyricists of Dutch-Caribbean poetry who could be extremely edgy, such as Pierre Lauffer, Henry Habibe, Michael Slory, and Bernardo Ashetu.

And this highlights the last important nuance when it comes to Shrinivási's unraveled poem here: it is not called "The Lightship," but the title is "*Near* the Lightship." This is an important provision, which also leaves room for the plea being part of a greater whole *not* being fulfilled. The lightship is both a locus of arrival[25] and departure: the last thing the travelers see when

[23] That "sailing in" from the fifth stanza also refers to the coat of arms of Suriname: a shield with a sailing ship and palm, flanked by two Indians.

[24] It is not impossible that Shrinivási, like many others, was inspired in his language by the Sranantongo collection *Trotji* (1957) by Trefossa (wan tru puwema na den wortu d' e tan abra/ te ala trawan n' in' yu libi wasi gwe; in English: a real poem is the words that remain / when all others in your life have been washed away), but that is an aspect that I leave aside in this essay. Trefossa, *Ala poewema foe Trefossa* (Paramaribo: Bureau Volkslectuur, 1977), 45; Dutch translation by Michel Berchem in Van Kempen (ed.), *Spiegel van de Surinaamse poëzie,* 160–161 and in Van Kempen and Paasman (eds.), *Album van de Caraïbische poëzie*, 100.

[25] A special form of the locus of arrival is given in literary texts in which another postcolonial characteristic becomes visible: the tourist gaze; I analyzed these in various Caribbean texts in my inaugural address in 2003.

they look back before the ship loses itself in the endless ocean. Nearly all former colonies and migration countries know these types of loci as toposes of arrival and departure: the lighthouse on the island of Sabang off the coast of Banda Aceh in Sumatra; the island of Onrust, one of the thousand islands off the port of Tanjung Priok near Jakarta in Indonesia; the Statue of Liberty on Liberty Island in the Bay of New York; the Pau de Azucar near Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. The lighthouse of Jakarta appears in *De stille kracht* [The silent strength] (1900) by the Dutch writer Louis Couperus:

> Past the harbor office the resident went to the pier, which jutted out into the sea, and on the tip of which, a little lighthouse, like a little Eiffel, raised its iron candelabra shape, with its lamp at the top. There the resident stopped and breathed. The wind had suddenly picked up, the grongong blew, blowing from afar, as every day at that hour. But sometimes suddenly he fell in one, as with the impotence of his blowing wings, and the uplifted sea smoothed and phosphorized its moon-white curls of foam, with streaks long and pale. Over the sea a monotonous rhythmic whining of singing approached sadly, a sail darkened like a great night bird, and a fisherman's proa with high bowed prow, – something like an ancient ship – slid into the channel. A melancholy of resignation, a resignation to all the little dark earthly under the endless sky, on that sea of phosphorizing distance, drifted over and conjured a mystery that oppressed.[26]

This passage can still be read as a sketch full of melancholy, but Couperus gives the place a sense of perturbation that immediately contributes to his doomsday novel at the moment when the 'native' servant observes the same place and the 'resident':

> The chief keeper, crouching down, with his glow-fire rope in his hand, peered attentively at his master, as if thinking: what is he doing here so strange standing by the lighthouse…o strange, those Dutchmen…

[26] Louis Couperus, *De stille kracht* (Utrecht/Antwerpen: Veen, 1989), 8–9. Also on p. 145 that lighthouse returns. The quote that follows with the sitter on pp. 388–389. *The silent strength* is set in the made-up place Labuwangi by the sea near Surabaya on Java. According to Bastet, Tegal partly modeled this fictional town. Frédéric Bastet, *Louis Couperus; een biografie* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1987), 232.

> What does he now think… Why is he acting like this… Just at this hour in this place… The sea spirits were now over… There are caimans under the water, and every caiman is a spirit… Behold, they offered them bananas and rice and dèng-dèng and a hard egg on a bamboo raft; down at the base of the lighthouse… What is the Kandjeng Tuan doing here now… It is not good here, it is not good here… tjelaka, tjelaka…! And his scrutinizing eyes slid up and down the broad back of his lord, who just stood and looked… Where did he look…? What did he see blowing in the wind…? So strange, those Dutchmen, strange…[27]

Surprisingly, the Surinamese poet Trefossa chose the image of the little mermaid in the harbor of Copenhagen as a locus of imagination of how a migrant abroad becomes aware of the distance to his native land.[28] Curaçao, on the other hand, has the flower-shaped Anna Bay, described by many and sketched by Cola Debrot in the opening sentences of *Mijn zuster de negerin*:

> The harbor of the Dutch West Indies Island began with a long gully that ended in a jagged bay; on the card: a stem with a bunch of flowers. The entrance was so wide that quite large steamers could easily pass through it, and so long that the ships could moor along the quays on both sides.[29]

Not every locus has been sung about equally often and sometimes an author chooses a different place. For example, in his earliest published literary text, Albert Helman chose not to use Braamspunt but the quay of Paramaribo as his farewell backdrop:

> My mother and sisters weep.
> You only laughed: your great heavy hand bore mine.
> You said, "If life rushes at you like a drunken man, I will know.

[27] Couperus, *De stille kracht*, 11.

[28] The text comes from his *Trotji* (1957) and is included with a translation by Michel Berchem in Van Kempen (ed.), *Spiegel van de Surinaamse poëzie*, 172–173 and in Van Kempen and Paasman, *Album van de Caraïbische poëzie*, 204. I attempted to give an analysis of it in Michiel van Kempen, "De 'overgrense' bewegingen van Shrinivási," *Bhásá*, 4, (oktober 1987), 34–40.; and shortened in Van Kempen, "Die staan buiten hun land," 135–152.

[29] Debrot, *Mijn zuster de negerin*, 5.

When you're alone there, dead-alone, my heart will know.
One thing never, that you forget all about us.
Look at their homes, their art, their businesses.
But if you threaten to sink into their weariness, their emptiness, their lovelessness,
do not be ashamed to return, here where the flowers always bloom, the gray river flows, the people love.
One day you must come back, when your restlessness is over, which I also knew. Then everything will be good and peaceful for you in your poor homeland.
Maybe I'm still here –
But God bless you, Jesus and His Mother, the Mother of the restless." –
On the jetty you stood alone, when I could see you more closely, Father, my little Father.[30]

The final piece of this exploratory journey towards the topos of departure and arrival in Dutch postcolonial literature is a poem by another Surinamese poet Michael Slory, which is not included in any of his 35 volumes of poetry.[31] Slory is often mentioned in the same breath as Shrinivási, because they were active in the same years and essentially wrote from the same poetic individuality and uncompromising poetics. I quote this poem because, in word choice and subject, it connects almost seamlessly with "Near the Lightship" by Shrinivási, indeed, it is Slory's late reply to an early poem by him.

Farewell to the dead

Fragrant farewell.
Fragrant the evening light
where the boat leaves
forever.

[30] Albert Helman, "Farewell," first of five 'Sketches' in the magazine *Opgang*, 4 (1924): 12–27.

[31] I did quote the poem in my farewell speech that was pronounced by Ruth San A Jong at the funeral service for Michael Slory in the Congress Hall, Paramaribo, December 27, 2018; this farewell word with the poem appeared on the blogspot *Caraïbisch Uitzicht*, December 28, 2018. See https://werkgroepcaraibischeletteren.nl/afscheidswoord-aan-michael-slory/.

Oh this life
that goes and goes,
and never returns
and never returns

Oh may my words be like flowers
in the soft fading light

Oh that they there from beyond
send us a message!

In terms of choice of words, setting and metaphor, this poem gives as much affinity as contrast with Shrinivási's "Near the Lightship." But with the title of his poem, Slory indicates yet another aspect of the farewell locus: the farewell to the dead, the classical notion of the Styx once crossed leading to the realm of the dead.

Figure 4. Lighthouse in Pasoeroean, Eastern Java, Indonesia. Photo © KITLV, Leiden.

Conclusion: The Frontier Position of the Postcolonial Writer

The lightship in the Nieuw-Amsterdam Open Air Museum is a sea beacon turned into a museum piece. Sixty years after the creation of Shrinivási's

poem, can it rather be seen as a metaphor for the lightship that is rusting away in a former fortification at the entrance to the Suriname River? That is a political question that others must answer. Euphoria and early deception seem to belong to the process of becoming young nations, as evidenced by the history of the Congo, South Africa, Haiti, Zimbabwe, Venezuela, Cuba, Gambia, and others.

"Near the Lightship" is an urgent plea to gain entry. The man making that supplication is the man standing in front of a barrier. He is the man who moves *on* the border, *on both sides* of the border, who has remained a restless cosmopolitan all his life.[32] The borderline position of the lyrical subject is characteristic of the work of postcolonial migrant writers, of Dutch-Caribbean origin as well as of Dutch-Moroccan origin such as Abdelkader Benali, Hafid Bouazza and Naima El-Bezaz, of a Dutchman of Turkish origin such as Halil Gür, by a Dutch-speaking Persian like Kader Abdolah, but also by many Dutch-Indies writers (cf. the protagonists in the work of Madelon Székely-Lulofs[33] or the father figures in Marion Bloem, Frans Lopulalan and Alfred Birney). The 'overbounded' subject appears in the work of the great Caribbeans Saint John-Perse, V.S. Naipaul, and Derek Walcott and in that of 'southern' writers such as Breyten Breytenbach and J.M. Coetzee, or of Francophone Maghreb authors such as Tahar Ben Jelloun, Assia Djebar, and Albert Memmi. It is almost unnecessary to point out that the seafaring powers also had their loci of farewell, such as the Montelbaenstoren in Amsterdam,[34] although the nature of those loci is different and does not bear the uprooting of the postcolonial loci and therefore does not raise profound questions about existence and identity.

[32] I attempted a reconstruction of these 'overbounded' movements in Van Kempen, "De 'overgrense' bewegingen van Shrinivási." Even after that year 1987, those movements did not stop: Shrinivási moved to Suriname, to the Netherlands, and finally to Curaçao, where he died in 2019.

[33] The boundary between the strange and the own in the colonial literature of the Dutch East Indies has been explored by Gábor Pusztai, *An der Grenze* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007). The fact that Pattynama entitled her inaugural address *De baai… de baai… Indië herinnerd* (*The bay…the bay… the Indies remembered)* is of course in this context also significant (apart from the spatial setting of Maria Dermoût's novel *De tienduizend dingen* (*The ten thousand things*). Pamela Pattynama, *'…de baai… de binnenbaai…' Indië herinnerd* (Amsterdam: 2007). (Inaugural lecture.)

[34] A good example is the anonymous 'Farewell Song' in the *Album van de Indische poëzie,* compiled by Bert Paasman and Peter van Zonneveld. Paasman, Van Zonneveld and Huizinga (eds.) *Album van de Indische poëzie*, 23.

The topos of arrival and departure is ultimately and above all an intensely existential figure: that is where the loneliness of the ocean, or of human life, begins: "In the middle of the party/ the heart dies/ and no one knows about it" wrote Shrinivási.[35] Or in his other words: "They are outside their country but wander in it every day."

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[35] A short poem from his collection *Dilákár* (1970), included in Shrinivási, *Een weinig van het Andere* (Haarlem: In de Knipscheer, 1984), 90.

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Tendencies of Student Migration Between the 16th and 18th Centuries in Western and Central Europe

Réka Bozzay

The term student migration (*Studentenmigration* in German) has been used in international scholarship in recent decades to describe the phenomenon of students leaving their place of residence to study in institutions of higher education abroad.[1] The concept of student migration is also used in social geography; according to Mária L. Rédei, "migration means the transfer of residence to another country for a long period of time or with the intention of permanently moving to another country to live/work or [...] study."[2] In this sense, early modern student movement may also be considered as a form of migration, which in the vast majority of cases did not imply a permanent stay abroad, but only a longer-term change of residence for the purpose of education.

In the scholarly literature on student migration, a distinction is made between internal and external migration.[3] The former refers to students visiting an educational institution in their home country, while the latter is specifically aimed at studying abroad. Although the concepts may, at first sight, seem clearly defined, there are significant differences in their use. Hilde De Ridder-Symoens notes, mainly for Italy and the Holy Roman Empire, that from the 14th century onwards, local princes saw the provision of their administration as being ensured by training their specialists in universities they had founded themselves. If a student left the territory of a principality and enrolled in a university in another principality—but did not cross the borders of the empire—he could be considered to have migrated internally or externally,

[1] This paper is a slightly revised version of a previous publication in Hungarian: Bozzay Réka, "Diákmigrációs tendenciák a kora újkorban," in *Migráció a kora középkortól napjainkig*. eds. László Pósán, László Veszprémi, Isaszegi János (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 2018), 313–327.

[2] L. Rédei Mária, *A tanulmányi célú mozgás* (Budapest: Reg-Info Kft., 2009), 17.

[3] Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobility," in *A History of the University in Europe*, *I. Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde De Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 281.

but Ridder-Symoens argues that this was clearly internal migration. Stephanie Irrgang, on the other hand, considers the studies of German students in Italy in the late Middle Ages as international *peregrinatio academica*, which differed from intra-empire study in that it took place only at a later stage of their studies, after the completion of their basic education at home.[4] As for the Baltic students' European studies, Arvo Tering notes that after finishing their university years, which in practice meant visiting German universities, several Baltic students also undertook European tours, mainly to France, Switzerland, Italy, England, and finally to the Netherlands. The period studied by Tering covers the era between 1561 and 1800, when, following the Livonian War (1558–1583), the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic were dissolved, and the area came under the alternating influence of Russian, Polish, Swedish and Lithuanian powers. Tering does not regard the study of the German-speaking population, who lived and studied at German universities to a large extent, as external migration, but only as study outside the borders of the empire.[5] László Szögi, Mihály József Kiss, Júlia Varga, and Krisztina Kissné Bognár also consider studies by Hungarians at universities of the Habsburg Empire, even at a time when the Kingdom of Hungary was already part of the Empire, to represent a form of external migration.[6]

Student migration can therefore be seen as a form of migration for learning purposes, which does not usually imply a permanent change of residence. It could take the form of internal migration, where students travelled within the borders of their state, or external migration, where they left the borders of the state.

Forms of Travel

Student migration in the Early Modern Period included several forms of travel: *peregrinatio academica* and the *Kavalierstour* or Grand Tour. It is not always possible to draw a clear dividing line between them, since a student's travel

[4] Stephanie Irrgang, *Peregrinatio academica. Wanderungen und Karrieren von Gelehrten der Universitäten Rostock, Greifswald, Trier und Mainz im 15. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002), 187.

[5] *Lexikon der Studenten aus Estland, Livland und Kurland an europäischen Universitäten 1561–1800* bearb. von Arvo Tering (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2018), 42.

[6] See also: Szögi László, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom egyetemein I. 1790–1850* (Budapest-Szeged: ELTE Levéltár, 1994); Kiss József Mihály, *Magyarországi diákok a Bécsi Egyetemen 1715–1789* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2000); Varga Júlia, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom kisebb egyetemein és akadémiáin 1560–1789* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2004); Kissné Bognár Krisztina, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi tanintézetekben 1526–1789* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2004).

abroad could include several components of different forms of travel.[7] *Peregrinatio academica* is a way of broadening academic knowledge, primarily at degree-granting institutions, i.e., universities. However, student migration trends show that academic high schools—which would today be referred to as colleges—were also popular with students. This is because there were many regions in Europe in the Early Modern Period where there were almost exclusively primary schools, and students had to leave their immediate surroundings to attend higher level educational institutions. Until the establishment of grammar schools in Riga and Tallinn in the 17th century, Baltic students attended the grammar schools in Danzig (present-day Gdańsk, Poland) and Thorn (present-day Toruń, Poland) in the Prussian territories, the Paedagogium in Stettin (Szczecin, currently in Poland) and the Katharineum in Lübeck. In the 18th century, they attended secondary schools in Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad, Russia), Danzig, Halle, Braunschweig, and Magdeburg, and only a few Baltic students reached schools in Thuringia and Saxony.[8] Students from Hungary also attended the academic grammar schools of Danzig, Thorn, Elbling (present-day Elbłag, Poland), and Stettin, mainly in the 17th century, but a small number of Hungarian students studied in these schools in the 18th century, too. Hungarians attended Polish Catholic academies and colleges also.[9] If we look at other countries of the Habsburg Empire, we can see that the colleges of Altdorf and Herborn were popular, especially among the Czech-Moravian and Silesian students.[10]

The other form of student migration was the European tour of the nobility of Western and Central Europe from the Early Modern Period onwards. The *Kavalierstour* or Grand Tour represented a late humanist training of the nobility in the 16th century, and from the 17th and 18th centuries onwards the training of the same nobility as courtiers and knights, initially in France, and then the concept was extended to Western European travels (Holy Roman Empire,

[7] Simone Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht. Bildungsideal und peregrinatio academica des schwedischen Adels im Zeichen von Humanismus und Konfessionalisierung* (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009), 140.

[8] Tering, *Lexikon der Studenten aus Estland*, 29.

[9] Szögi László, *Magyarországi diákok lengyelországi és baltikumi egyetemeken és akadémiákon* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2003), 22.

[10] Alfred Kohler, "Bildung und Konfession. Zum Studium der Studenten aus den habsburgischen Ländern und Hochschulen im Reich (1560–1620)" in *Bildung, Politik und Gesellschaft. Studien zur Geschichte des europäischen Bildungswesens vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit 5)* eds. G. Klingenstein, H. Lutz, G. Stourz (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1978), 66, 80, 84.

the Netherlands, England, Italy). Simone Giese considers the Grand Tour to be a 17th–18th century version of the *Kavalierstour,* during which members of the European nobility visited the leading politico-cultural countries,[11] and leading politicians and scientists of their time.

Trends of Student Migration

Student migration dates back to the Middle Ages. Even before the first universities were founded, there was already migration for study purposes, mainly to monastic and episcopal schools. After the first universities were founded in the 12th and 13th centuries, only a select few could make the journey to their place of study. Around 1500, almost all European territories had their own centers of higher education, where teaching methods and degrees were mostly uniform. Up until the 17th century, all universities taught in Latin, with the same curricula and degrees, so that a student could start at one university—usually the nearest one—and continue at another, or even at several in succession.

Since the 15th century, there have been many universities across Europe. While students from the Holy Roman Empire could easily choose between higher education institutions at home and abroad, students from the northern part of Europe and Central and Eastern Europe had to go abroad if they wanted to study at a university, as there were no universities in or near their places of residence for a long time. The main destinations for study from both areas were the universities of Italy (mainly Bologna, Padua and, from the 15th century onwards, Ferrara and Pavia), France, and England. The first universities to be established in the Holy Roman Empire (Prague, Leipzig, Rostock), and later in Central Europe (Krakow, Vienna, and, for a short time, Pécs), changed the direction of university life, or at least modified it.[12] Many of the Hungarians went to the nearer universities (Krakow,[13] Vienna[14]) for a lower degree and only a few went on to Italy, for example, for a magister or doctorate, and they were mostly clerics.[15] The English visited Paris mainly in the 12th

[11] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 143–144.

[12] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobility," 280–293.

[13] Haraszti Szabó Péter, Kelényi Borbála, Szögi László, *Magyarországi diákok a prágai és a krakkói egyetemeken 1348–1525 II.* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2017), 77–471.

[14] Tüskés Anna, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi egyetemen 1365 és 1526 között* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2008).

[15] Veress Endre, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai 1221–1864* (Budapest: MTA, 1941).

century, the Scots before 1411, and in the last third of the 15th century, while relatively few went to Italy. Englishmen also attended the translation school in Toledo in the 12th century. From the Iberian Peninsula, mainly Catalans enrolled at the universities of Avignon, Toulouse, and Montpellier and used them as a springboard to Bologna. In the Middle Ages, there was intense contact between Spanish and Portuguese universities, but the students did not venture much beyond the Pyrenees. Italian students stayed largely at home, but there was a great deal of movement within Italy. When they did, they mostly went to universities near the border, such as Basel, Ingolstadt or other universities in the Mediterranean, especially in the south of France. The Sicilians preferred Bologna or Padua for their studies. Students from the center and south of France were reluctant to leave their native country, and if they did, they preferred to go to a closer university, such as Cologne or Leuven.[16]

In the Early Modern Period, for different reasons, humanists, reformers, and Jesuits all recognized the necessity of education. In the training of the nobility in particular, the humanists emphasized the development of the mind above all else, as well as the training of the body. Although the reformers initially had reservations about universities because of the medieval scholastic methods, they soon recognized their usefulness, especially in spreading the ideas of the Reformation and in providing career opportunities for educated students. The Jesuits, on the other hand, needed highly qualified orators for their counter-reformation efforts, especially to change the religious views of the highest social circles.[17]

At the beginning of the 16th century, Italy remained a major destination for university travel in Europe. The authors of the first written travel methodologies, who were German or Dutch, people of late humanism, were European in their educational mindset and had one important common characteristic: they wanted to go to Italy.[18] Traveling to Italy became an important element of academic studies. Young people from England, Germany, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, Spain, and Portugal visited the universities of Bologna, Padua, Siena, Pavia, Pisa, and to a lesser extent, Ferrara and Perugia. The

[16] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobility," 290–299.

[17] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 78–81, 85.

[18] Justin Stagl, "Die Methodisierung des Reisens im 16. Jahrhundert" in *Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* ed. Peter J. Brenner (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1989), 145.

universities were carefully selected. In Siena and Ferrara, three-quarters of the doctorate graduates were German, followed by the Spanish, Portuguese, and then Dutch. In Pisa and Florence, however, the proportion of doctorates was 40% Spanish and Portuguese, 23% German, and 14% from the south and south-west of France. In Pavia, the Duchy of Milan's close links with the German Empire is reflected in the high number of students from Germany, Savoy, and Franche-Comté. In Bologna, although there was a great diversity of students, there were very few doctorates from northern and eastern Europe, as at other Italian universities.[19]

The students still mostly did their preparatory arts studies at home, and then were keen to go to French universities in Paris, Orléans, Bourges, Montpellier, or possibly Strasbourg, or Basel in Switzerland, and then completed their studies in Italy.[20] In Paris around 1600, Sorbonne had few foreign students. Yet almost all of them—Catholic and Protestant alike—who studied in France, came here. Until 1688, Orléans was very popular with German law students and Montpellier with medical students. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1658), but above all the wars fought by Louis XIV on France's southern frontiers, drove foreign students away from French universities.[21] Central and Eastern European students often went straight to Italy.[22] However, this is not necessarily the case for students from Hungary, as many of them continued their studies at the universities of Nagyszombat (present-day Trnava, Slovakia) and Vienna (109 and 176 respectively), and a much smaller number went to Italy from Olomouc, Wittenberg, or Graz.[23]

From the 16th century onwards, the choice of students as to where they should study was determined primarily by their religious affiliation. The Reformation, of course, soon presented universities with a choice since the teaching of theology was an important part of university education. Certain universities became Protestant (e.g., Wittenberg in Germany, Odera-Frank-

[19] Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," in *Geschichte der Universität in Europa, II, Von der Reformation zur Französischen Revolution (1500–1800)* ed. Walter Rüegg (München: Beck Verlag, 1996), 336.

[20] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," 336.

[21] Mikonya György, *Az európai egyetemek (1230–1700)* (Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2014), 309–310.

[22] Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, "Internationalismus versus Nationalismus an Universitäten um 1500 nach zumeist südniederländischen Quellen" in *Europa 1500, Integrationsprozesse im Widerstreit: Staaten, Regionen, Personenverbände, Christenheit* eds. F. Seibt, W. Eberhardt (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1987), 397–414.

[23] Szalvikovszky Beáta, *Magyarországi diákok itáliai egyetemeken, 1526–1918* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2007), 16.

furt in Germany, and Basel in Switzerland) and new universities were founded in the spirit of Reformation, the first being Marburg in 1527.[24] This was followed later by the establishment of new universities throughout Europe in the Protestant areas of Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, the Baltic, and Scandinavia.[25] The motto "whose realm, their religion" also applied to the religious affiliation of most universities. Every prince—especially the small territorial rulers of the Holy Roman Empire—wanted their own university.[26] Most countries also took measures restricting the movement of students to protect their universities, e.g., Poland in 1534, Portugal in 1538, Brandenburg in 1564, and from 1610 to 1614, France in 1603, and 1629. In a few countries (e.g., Sweden, Bavaria, and Austria), these measures were only temporarily or partially effective.[27]

In the newly established universities, officials and the clergy were trained according to the prince's religious views. Consequently, students were not allowed to attend any educational institution that might influence their religious loyalties, and if they did, they were deprived of the possibility of holding office. Rulers could even impose severe restrictions on students' studies. In 1555, for example, Charles V (1530–1556) stipulated that legal candidates wishing to serve in the imperial courts had to study law at a university designated by the emperor. Four years later, his son Philip II (1556–1598) only allowed his subjects to study at Spanish universities, except for the Spanish colleges of Coimbra, Rome, Naples, and Bologna.[28] Lord High Chancellor of Sweden, Axel Oxenstierna wanted to introduce controls on Swedish youth traveling abroad to protect them—particularly those going to Dutch universities—from views contrary to Lutheran principles. However, after the 1617 Estates' Assembly in Örebro, visiting Catholic institutions was also prohibited.[29] In the 18th century, the Habsburg Empire made several attempts to restrict Protestant *peregrinatio academica*. During the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), both Hungarian and Transylvanian students were completely forbidden to travel abroad; Hungarians nevertheless travelled to Protestant universities,

[24] Mikonya, *Az európai egyetemek,* 323–328.
[25] Mikonya, *Az európai egyetemek,* 330–331.
[26] Kohler, "Bildung und Konfession," 78–97.
[27] Kohler, "Bildung und Konfession," 112.
[28] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," 338.
[29] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 279–280.

and from 1761 only Protestant theologians were allowed to study abroad. At this time, the idea of founding a Protestant university in Transylvania was also raised but was never realized. Under Joseph II (1780–1790), students were repeatedly restricted from traveling abroad and their achievements were kept on record, and they had to report back home regarding this and on their behavior abroad.[30] In 1798, the Russian Tsar Paul I (1796–1801) forbade the students of his empire to study outside the country and ordered them to return home, threatening to take away their parents' estates.[31]

Italian universities, however, were keen to retain their foreign students, so they issued liberal regulations that allowed Protestants to continue their studies in Italy. The Doge of Venice removed the university from the Inquisition and placed it under his jurisdiction in 1587, and in the early 17th century the city council issued its own examination regulations. In Bologna, mainly Germans arrived because of their privileged position, while in Tuscany and Siena, many Protestants enrolled, bypassing the papal bull on the grounds that enrolment was not the same as obtaining a degree. In Padua, there were many wealthy students who could listen to their professors' dissenting views in private classes, which the professors were never allowed to teach, but which the university turned a blind eye to.[32]

Protestants

The Reformation significantly changed the direction of the student movement, with three main factors influencing school choice: the geographical location of the educational institution, the religious affiliation of students, and their social status. Until the end of the 16th century, religious affiliation within Protestantism played a minor role in students' choice of school, as schools did not discriminate between students of different Protestant denominations for several decades. In 1592, however, students who refused to sign the *Formula Concordiae* (a break between Lutheranism and Calvinism), adopted in 1577, were expelled from Wittenberg, changing the direction of Calvinist student peregrination.[33] Protestant German universities were visited not only from all

[30] Gáspár Klein, "Az államtanács állásfoglalása a protestánsok külföldi iskoláztatásával szemben," *Egyháztörténet* no.1, (1943), 212, 218, 360–361.

[31] Tering, *Lexikon der Studenten aus Estland*, 49.

[32] Mikonya, *Az európai egyetemek*, 332.

[33] János Heltai, "Die Heidelberger Peregrination calvinistischer Studenten," in *Peregrinatio Hungarica.*

corners of the German Empire but also from all over Europe (England, Scandinavia, Spain, Italy, Central and Eastern Europe, including Russia).[34] Until the end of the 16th century, Wittenberg was the most important German university that more than a thousand Hungarian students attended. Around half of these students were not of Hungarian ethnicity but of German or Slovak origin.[35] A significant number of Hungarian Evangelicals also studied in Leipzig, Odera-Frankfurt, Königsberg, Jena, and in the 18th century in Halle and Göttingen.[36] In the provinces of the Habsburg Empire, Protestant students generally chose the universities geographically closest to them. Wittenberg and Leipzig attracted the largest number of students from Silesia and Bohemia and Moravia, while Tübingen was popular with Austrians and Jena and Altdorf among Czechs and Moravians.[37] Swedes enrolled in the geographically closer Rostock, Greifswald, and Königsberg, but also Helmstedt and Wittenberg, and the Dutch universities of Leiden, Franeker, and Groningen.[38] Rostock, Wittenberg, Königsberg and, before 1613, Odera-Frankfurt, and from the second half of the 17th century onwards, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Jena, and Helmstedt were the most visited universities by Baltic students.[39] The Dutch visited Heidelberg, Tübingen, Marburg and Strasbourg.[40]

Like Wittenberg for Lutherans, Heidelberg and Geneva, and later Basel, played a significant role in the training of Calvinist pastors. Around 1600, about two-fifths of the enrolments were foreigners in Heidelberg, and many of them also visited Strasbourg, Basel, and Geneva. Students in Calvinist higher education came mainly from Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, and, to a lesser extent, from the British Isles, Spain, Italy and northern and eastern Europe. There were also larger numbers of Czech, Moravian, and Hungarian

Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert, eds. Márta Fata, Gyula Kurucz and Anton Schindling (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 68.

[34] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," 339.

[35] Szabó András, "Die Universität Wittenberg im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Peregrinatio Hungarica. Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert,* eds. Márta Fata, Gyula Kurucz and Anton Schindling (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 56.

[36] Szögi László, *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és akadémiákon 1526–1700* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2011), 26., 13.; Tar Attila, *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1694–1789* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2004), 13, 34.

[37] Kohler, "Bildung und Konfession," 74, 75.

[38] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 315–317.

[39] Tering, *Lexikon der Studenten aus Estland*, 32.

[40] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 133–135.

enrolments at the Herborn College, founded in 1584, and at the *gymnasium illustre* in Zerbst and Bremen. Herborn was popular with the Dutch because of the dynastic links between the House of Orange and the Counts of Nassau-Dillenburg.[41]

Wittenberg's role in the Hungarian Calvinist peregrination declined significantly from the end of the 16th century onwards and was replaced by Marburg and Heidelberg.[42] Heidelberg played the primary role in the peregrination of Hungarian Reformed students until September 1622, when Tilly's troops sacked the town and the university. The turn of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), however, changed the direction of the Hungarians towards the Netherlands,[43] and especially towards Switzerland from the 18th century onwards.[44]

From the end of the 16th century, the European Protestant intelligentsia visited the Netherlands with great interest. Among them, the theological students were exclusively Calvinists. In the 17th century, Leiden became the intellectual center of Protestantism, leading the way in classical and oriental philology, history, Calvinist theology, Cartesian philosophy, humanist Roman law, natural sciences, and medicine.[45] Other Dutch universities benefited from Leiden's reputation, and, on several occasions, the school represented the first step to visiting other Dutch universities. At Leiden and the University of Franeker in the small Friesian town, one-third to one-half of all students were foreign,[46] with a particularly large number of German and Hungarian students,[47] but also a not insignificant number of Swedish and Baltic ones.[48]

[41] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," 339–340., Kohler, "Bildung und Konfession," 74–75.

[42] Heltai, "Die Heidelberger Peregrination," 68.

[43] Eredics Péter, *Ungarische Studenten und ihre Übersetzungen aus dem Niederländischen ins Ungarische in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 2008), 28–31.

[44] Hegyi Ádám, Szögi László, *Magyarországi diákok svájci egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1526–1919* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2016).

[45] Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met dame. Het bolwerk van de vrijheid, de Leidse universiteit 1575–1672* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2000), 338–372.

[46] Leiden: Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met dame,* 267–270., Franeker: *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis (1585–1811, 1816–1844) Naamlijst der studenten* eds. S. J. Fockema Andreae, Th. J. Meijer (Franeker: T. Wever, 1968).

[47] Georg Becker, *Die deutschen Studenten und Professoren an der Akademie zu Franeker* (Soest: De Mijlpaal, 1943); Bozzay Réka, Ladányi Sándor, *Magyarországi diákok holland egyetemeken 1595–1918* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2007).

[48] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 315–317; Tering, *Lexikon der Studenten aus Estland*, 24–25.

In Switzerland, Basel was particularly famous. Polish, French, Italian, Czech, Dutch, English, Scottish, Danish, Swedish, and Czech students went there. The largest number of French students studied there in the 16th century, followed by the Dutch, then the Poles and Lithuanians. Geneva was mainly populated by French Huguenots, but almost all European Protestant countries sent people there. In Berne, there were Hungarians and Piedmontese, in Lausanne students from other parts of Switzerland and France, and by the end of the 18th century, there were also Dutch, Danish, and even Russian students.[49]

Although the universities of the British Isles were far for foreign students, a kind of internationalization began there too with the Reformation. This was also the case after 1580 at the University of St. Andrews, which became an important center for learning philosophy and theology.[50] Before 1789, however, there were few foreigners, as some countries banned foreign students from attending the university, for example, Scandinavian students in the 18th century.[51] A relatively small number of Hungarians studied at English and Scottish universities, mainly at Oxford and Cambridge.[52]

Universities with strong religious links also welcomed religious refugees. From the 1560s onwards, Protestants found refuge in Protestant universities and colleges in the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland, and were trained to return to their homeland to carry out missionary work. Wittenberg, Geneva, Leiden and a few other Protestant schools trained pastors for the newly established Protestant churches. During the Thirty Years' War, many Germans fled to the universities of Uppsala and Dorpat (Tartu, in present-day Estonia), founded shortly before and hitherto almost unknown abroad, but Rostock and Königsberg also took in refugees and the largest numbers of refugees enrolled in Franeker and Groningen in the Netherlands. Other universities, such as Helmstedt, were almost completely deserted.[53] Universities in Eng-

[49] Hegyi, Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok svájci egyetemeken*, 11.

[50] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," 340.

[51] Gömöri György, *Magyarországi diákok angol és skót egyetemeken 1526–1789* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2005), 14.

[52] Gömöri, *Magyarországi diákok,* 25–69.

[53] Thomas Kossert, "Inter arma silent litterae? Die Universitäten im Dreißigjährigen Krieg," in *Arbeitskreis Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit e.V. Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Themenheft. Universitäten im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*. ed. Thomas Kossert, no. 15, Heft 1 (Potsdam: Universitätsverlag, 2011) 13–14.

land and Scotland saw slightly more foreign students in these decades of religious conflict. The last major wave of refugees during French absolutism was triggered by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Tens of thousands of Huguenots were forced to leave France and then found refuge in Protestant countries, a large number in the Netherlands.[54]

Catholics

Religious differences in Europe often led to the creation of Catholic universities with a strong sense of mission, which, because of the Counter-Reformation, worked to convert dissenters and to train skilled clergy that could do their job well. The political and ecclesiastical powers, with the help of the Jesuits, saw the reorganization of the old universities and the establishment of new ones near the countries threatened by apostasy. Paris, Louvain, Ingolstadt, Vienna, Graz, Würzburg, Cologne, Pont-à-Mousson, Dole, and the institutions of the Iberian Peninsula were part of this group. With a few exceptions, Catholic universities were much more closed communities than Protestant ones. This was true for Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Poland and less so for Bavaria and Austria, and this was reflected in the higher education system.[55]

In the Catholic areas of the German Empire and in the Spanish Netherlands, universities made a very clear effort to distinguish themselves from others. Douai, Leuven, Cologne, Ingolstadt were the main centers of the Counter-Reformation. In Ingolstadt, only 1.5% of the law students were foreign, mainly Polish, but the internal migration to this university was quite large. The universities in Cologne and Freiburg im Breisgau were mainly attended by students from neighboring countries (the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Alsace). The University of Vienna had a relatively strong international appeal until 1530, which it lost in the following decades and then regained by the 17th century. Its students were mainly Poles, Hungarians, Moravians, Czechs, and people from the southern Netherlands. The Jesuits founded their own universities in the German-speaking areas in Dillingen, Graz, Paderborn, Molsheim,

[54] Gerald Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters at the Crossroads of European Civilization. Jacques Basnage and the Bayleaf Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987), 60.

[55] Ernst Schubert, "Zur Typologie gegenreformatorischer Universitätsgründungen: Jesuiten in Fulda, Würzburg, Ingolstadt und Dillingen," in *Universität und Gelehrtenstand 1400–1800, Büdinger Vorträge 1966,)* eds. Helmuth Rößler, Günther Franz (Limburg an der Lahn: C. A. Startke, 1970), 85–105.

Osnabrück, and Bamberg, but also left their mark on the theological training of the old universities (Trier, Mainz, Würzburg, Coimbra, and Evora).[56]

The universities of Graz, Würzburg, and Dillingen were also known abroad, attended mainly by Hungarian, Polish, and Czech students, mainly nobles, although there were also Jesuit colleges and universities in Poland, in Braunsberg (present-day Braniewo, Poland), Lemberg (present-day Lviv, Ukraine), Vilnius, Nagyszombat, and Prague.[57] During the reign of King Sigismund III Vasa in Sweden from 1592 to 1599, Swedish Catholics also studied in Jesuit colleges in Poland, Germany, Austria, and Italy, with larger numbers in Braunsberg and much smaller numbers in Graz, Vienna, Prague, and Krakow.[58] Catholic students from eastern Switzerland preferred the University of Salzburg, founded in 1620 with the participation of Swiss Benedictines, to Dillingen, which had been popular with them.[59]

Catholics expelled from England, the Netherlands, parts of Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and Switzerland found well-organized refuge among the Jesuits. Special schools were set up to welcome them, strengthen their faith, and prepare them for conversion work at home. Louvain, Douai, Paris, Salamanca, Rome, and Cologne became centers for the training of Scots, English, Irish, Dutch, and Germans. A whole network was created: Catholic students from the British Isles were taken in by the colleges of Louvain and Douai. From there they went either to Paris or to the Irish college in Salamanca, now the Colegio Fonseca. The most talented and faithful completed their studies in one of the Roman colleges for priests and missionaries.[60] The most important of these were the Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum (1552),[61] the Collegium Romanum (1553), and the Collegium Urbanum (1627). In addition, almost every order in Rome had its own *studium generale*, which allowed the most talented monks to be trained.

[56] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," 341.

[57] Kohler, "Bildung und Konfession," 81, 96.; Bitskey István, "Studenten aus Ländern der Stephanskrone an katholischen Universitäten des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Peregrinatio Hungarica. Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* eds. Márta Fata, Gyula Kurucz and Anton Schindling (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 115–134.

[58] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 561–587, 315–317.

[59] Schubert, "Zur Typologie gegenreformatorischer Universitätsgründungen," 85–105.

[60] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," 345.

[61] István Bitskey, *Hungariából Rómába. A római Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum és a magyarországi barokk művelődés* (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1996).

There were also Catholic universities in the Iberian Peninsula. The golden age of Spanish and Portuguese universities was the 16th and early 17th centuries. The theological school of Salamanca, the Spanish law school, and the philosophers of Coimbra were internationally recognized but did not attract many students from other Catholic countries, not even from the Spanish-Netherlands or Sicily. Internal mobility was even greater. Geographically, the Colegios Mayores schools tried to recruit students from the Iberian Peninsula. The Spanish College of Bologna was reserved for those lucky enough to leave Spain.[62]

Jews

In the 16th and 17th centuries Jews could only study at universities when they received a special permission or they converted, therefore study abroad opportunities were limited for them.[63] However some universities not only accepted but also protected students of other religions and political views in a Europe torn apart by religious differences: Padua, Siena, Leiden, Franeker, Utrecht, Montpellier, and Basel, to mention only those universities that also offered medical studies.[64] In theology, for example, Leiden clearly opted for a strict Calvinist orientation, but from 1631 it required only theology students to take the oath of allegiance, while those enrolling in other faculties could belong to any religion, as decided jointly by the city and the university.[65] Padua played the most important role for Jews among early modern universities when they wanted to study medicine. Not merely its scientific superiority but also its academic freedom from Papal authority made it possible that the university admitted students regardless of their denomination.[66]

The Social Status of Students

If we look at the social composition of the students, we can see that around 1500 the majority of them were mainly of middle-class or lower-middle-class origin. The proportion of middle and upper nobility increased from the 16th

[62] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," 341.

[63] Abdüssamet Yılmaz, "From Padua to Istanbul: Peregrinatio Medica of Joseph Solomon Del Medigo (1591–1655) and Tobias Cohen (1652–1729)," *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 24, 1 (2023): 202. https://doi.org/10.26650/oba.1174793.

[64] De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," 345.

[65] Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame*, 257.

[66] Yılmaz, "From Padua to Istanbul," 202.

century onwards. The universities that became the stops on the *Kavalierstour* were those that corresponded to the educational ideals of aristocratic youth from noble, bourgeois, and patrician families.[67]

If we look at the ratio of nobles to non-nobles by country, it is clear that there were some universities that were particularly popular with the nobility, while others had a relatively low number of nobles from a given country. If we look at the university attendance trends of noble and non-noble students from the Habsburg Empire at German universities, we see that Altdorf was the most popular school among the Protestant nobility, where a significant proportion of them studied law but could not obtain a doctoral degree. Ingolstadt was popular with the Catholic nobility. Jena and Leipzig on the Protestant side and Dillingen on the Catholic side, on the other hand, were clearly 'bourgeois universities,' with very few people of noble birth. Tübingen was important for students of both noble and non-noble origin. However, it is also interesting to note that the Austrian Protestant nobility, after attending German universities, went to Padua, Bologna, and Siena to study law.[68]

Data on the social status of the participants in the early modern Hungarian peregrination are uncertain. Those who studied at German universities were mainly from the Protestant Hungarian and Transylvanian bourgeoisie, from 1620 onwards mainly from the German ethnic group, but there were also Hungarian noble families (Bánffys, Bethlens, Hallers among the Protestants, Pálffys, Zrínyis among the Catholics), and few clerks or villeins.[69] The majority of Hungarian students studying in the Netherlands were presumably of non-noble origin but rather came from clergy families.[70] The same applies to the Hungarian *peregrini* in Switzerland.[71] Italian universities were less important in the Early Modern Period for the *Kavalierstour* than for the education of theologians to be trained in the Counter-Reformation, so most of them were educated at the *Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum*. Although we do not have precise data on their social composition, Hungarian Catholic nobles (e.g., Eszterházy, Zrínyi, Forgács) visited Italy also.[72] The peregrination

[67] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 75; De Ridder-Symoens, "Mobilität," 346–347.
[68] Kohler, "Bildung und Konfession," 74, 76, 78–79.
[69] Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok németországi*, 26, 13.; Tar, *Magyarországi diákok németországi*, 13, 34.
[70] Bozzay, Ladányi, *Magyarországi diákok holland egyetemeken*, 23–24.
[71] Hegyi and Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok svájci egyetemeken*, 17.
[72] Hegyi and Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok svájci egyetemeken*, 17.

to France is actually negligible due to the German orientation of Hungarian science at the time, with most of them visiting Paris,[73] and with a few exceptions in Montpellier and Orléans.[74] The most important peregrination station for the Hungarian nobility was Vienna, which was geographically the closest, where 16.5% of the student population in the period were certainly of noble origin, and 6.43% belonged to the aristocracy.[75] Among the other universities of the Habsburg Empire, Graz, Olomouc, and Prague were the most visited by Hungarians, and here too, the available sources show that the proportion of nobility was the highest.[76]

The number of nobles among the Baltic students is high, especially among the Courlanders, while among the Livonians and Estonians it increases in the 18th century, when under Russian rule university attendance is made a condition of state service. The Baltic nobility, however, generally preferred military careers, with very large numbers attending the St. Petersburg cadet school. Clergymen, city councilors, and, to a lesser extent, the sons of merchants attended German universities, and later, as part of the *Kavalierstour*, French, Swiss, Italian, English, and finally Dutch schools.[77]

The Danish nobility was almost absent from the University of Copenhagen, instead they went to German, then Dutch, English, and French universities. A relatively large number went to Calvinist universities, but avoided Catholic ones because of the Inquisition.[78]

Students from the Holy Roman Empire and the Low Countries went mainly to universities near their place of origin, but also to other German universities and those in Italy or France, mainly attended by the nobility.[79] The number of university students among the Polish-Lithuanian nobility increased by a factor of eight to ten during the 16th century, with roughly equal numbers of students attending German and Italian institutions, and Catholics attending Spanish institutions.[80] The English nobility studied at the universities of

[73] Szögi László, Varga Júlia, *Magyarországi diákok francia, belga, román, szerb és orosz egyetemeken 1526–1919, I* (Budapest: ELTE Levéltár, 2018), 38.
[74] Szögi, Varga, *Magyarországi diákok francia, belga*, 64, 78.
[75] Kissné Bognár, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi tanintézetekben,* 25.
[76] Varga, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom*, 26.
[77] Tering, *Lexikon der Studenten aus Estland*, 26–27, 36–37, 42–43.
[78] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 130–131.
[79] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 133–135.
[80] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 135–136.

Oxford and Cambridge, and then went to Italy and France to study modern languages, chivalry, and fencing.[81]

The number of Swedish students abroad at the end of the 17th century was less than their enrolments at home.[82] In addition to German universities, Swedish noblemen also enrolled in Italian and French schools, and some on their way to the South also attended Jesuit schools until the end of the 16th century. There were no Swedes on the Iberian Peninsula, they visited London in England, but this was of little significance for Swedish peregrination.[83]

Conclusion

The presented overview reveals a colorful picture of early modern student migration. Many new universities were established, attracting students from both within and outside the country. A particularly important change compared to medieval student migration was the choice of university according to religious affiliation. Several universities, both Protestant and Catholic, considered it their mission to welcome and support people who belonged to the same group. In the Early Modern Period, student migration was directed towards the interior of the continent, the schools of the so-called "core countries," i.e., the universities of Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and, to a lesser extent, France. Universities had already appeared in the north and east of Europe, but they played an important role only in the education of domestic students, and few foreign ones. A significant change in the migration of students came with the specialization of higher education from the end of the 18th century onward.

[81] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 136–137.

[82] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 311.

[83] Giese, *Studenten aus Mitternacht,* 579–585, 608–616, 631.

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The Deceptive Lure of the Tropics: The Representation of the Unknown in the Diary of István Radnai

Gábor Pusztai

The Hungarian emigrant István Radnai left his home country in 1914, hoping to start a brighter and richer future life.[1] With his cousin, László Székely, he travelled to Sumatra (the then Dutch Indies), in order to become rich as a planter. After five weeks, however, he returned to Hungary disappointed as he saw the beginning of the First World War. Although already written between 1914 and 1916, people were not aware of the existence of his diary until 2001. Part of it was published in *Acta Neerlandica* in 2004, and it also appeared in book form published in the Netherlands by KITLV publishing company in 2007 under the title *Dit altijd alleen zijn* [This constant loneliness].[2] The full text of the diary was published in Hungarian in 2013.[3] In the first part of his writing, the then 21-year-old Hungarian describes his journey with his cousin László Székely to the Dutch East Indies and his experiences there. In the second part, we can read about his activities during the First World War as an officer in the army of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

On the basis of his diary, it is possible to reconstruct the reasons why he found it necessary to escape from the "Self" and why he chose the tempting, unknown world of the "Other." The binary opposition formed in this way undergoes a transformation in a different context and is shifted and turned around. The interesting "Other" becomes frightful and threatening which makes the "Self" more valuable at the same time. In this chapter, I discuss the first part of the diary while examining the representation of the unknown,

[1] An older version of this article was published in Dutch, in 2015. Pusztai Gábor, "De bedriegelijke verlokking van de tropen. Het dagboek van István Radnai," *Acta Neerlandica* (2015/10): 185–197.

[2] Radnai István, "Dagboek," trans. Gábor Pusztai, *Met vreemde ogen, Acta Neerlandica* 3/2004: 137–164; Radnai István and Székely László, *Dit altijd alleen zijn. Verhalen over het leven van planters en koelies in Deli, 1914–1930,* ed. and trans. Gábor Pusztai and Gerard Termorshuizen (Leiden: KITLV, 2007).

[3] Radnai István, *Szumátrától az orosz frontig. Radnai István első világháborús naplója,* ed. Gábor Pusztai (Debrecen: Printart Press, 2013).

the repetition of the stereotypes in the text in ever-changing contexts through which the meaning of the strange, the unfamiliar (and therefore also that of one's own identity) shifts in the process of special form of migration experience and representation.

The Unknown as Allurement

The diary reveals that in the decision to travel to the tropics, adventure, the unknown, the alluring strangeness played as much of a role as the well-known, sad situation of Radnai in the Hungarian capital of Budapest in 1914. Radnai was a boy from the countryside. He was born on January 18, 1893 in the eastern Hungarian village of Vaja, as the son of an assimilating Jewish family.[4] He graduated from grammar school and was trained as a volunteer reserve non-commissioned officer in the artillery.

He did not, however, have a job and his future prospects were anything but hopeful. His cousin, László Székely, described Radnai, who in the English edition of his book *Tropic Fever* was called Peter, in the following way:

> Peter was a lieutenant of the reserve, in the Hussars, but he would have liked to do something else besides. Only he didn't know what. He would have liked to become a diplomat, preferably Ambassador to London. Or perhaps director of some big undertaking. Or he would have liked accidentally to have inherited a million dollars. But as he had no rich uncle in America, there was not much prospect. He had a little money, however; his aunt sent him as much as he needed to live simply, until—so he told his aunt—he had made his fortune.[5]

Radnai was unemployed and he did not fancy a bourgeois job either. From this description, he emerges as a fantasist, passively waiting for the great fortune and big money. Székely was in the same boat. No education, no job, no prospects. They received a letter from a distant friend of a friend, Andor Mészáros, alias Bandi, who was a planter in Sumatra. From that letter, one

[4] Pusztai Gábor, "Ajaktól Medanig. Székely László és Radnai István útja a Holland Indiákra," *Vörös postakocsi*, (2009/Winter): 156–164; Pusztai Gábor, "Bevezető," in *Szumátrától az orosz frontig. Radnai István első világháborús naplója,* ed. Gábor Pusztai (Debrecen: Printart Press, 2013), 23.

[5] Ladislao Székely, *Tropic Fever. The Adventures of a Planter in Sumatra,* trans. Marion Saunders (Singapore, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 13.

could sense the enticing sweet smell of the tropics. Székely later writes about this in his book, *Tropic Fever*:

> ...the island is still pretty wild and uncultivated ... on the east coast is a spot that is minute compared to the size of the island, there are few plantations and a town. The rest of the island is uncultivated virgin forest, jungle where man's foot has never trod. There are practically no streets or railways yet. Land can be had for nothing, and as much of it as you want. But anyone who has no money for clearing the virgin forest, hires himself out as an overseer. There are always jobs going. The whites are much in demand. Training is not required, one just must be able to shout well at the coolies. You get a salary of two hundred Dutch guilders a month, free lodging, servants, a bungalow, medical attention, and drugs and postal expenses are also free. In addition, you get five per cent of the net profits. After eight years' service you are entitled to eight months' leave on full salary and full profit participation. After every year of service the salary is raised by fifty guilders a month up to four hundred guilders. There are wild animals out here, with tigers running about as the hares do at home.[6]

This presented an opportunity for them, in their view, to escape unemployment and earn big money. Sumatra, in their eyes, became the promised land while the future in Hungary represented nothing for them. Székely writes:

> If I went into a bank or some other business here as a clerk, I might perhaps after thirty years become bookkeeper or manager. I couldn't embark on an academic career now, I'd missed that. All I could become was a bank or insurance clerk, and after thirty years head of a department. But wouldn't I die for boredom in the meantime, working in a dirty, airless office under the eye of a quarrelsome, pretentious boss? And I couldn't go back home to Tarizsa, anymore, for our estate had been put to the hammer. My father must live for himself, he couldn't even do anything for my brother Gyurka's future. And I could certainly do nothing for him either if I took a paltry job as apprentice. Nor had

[6] Székely, *Tropic Fever*, 8.

> I any inclination to rust away in some provincial nest as manager of a branch office.[7]

The contrast between the hopeless situation in Hungary and the alluring tropical adventure in Sumatra was enormous. The hope of becoming rich in the Dutch colony also played a substantial role for the young Hungarians. The starting salary of the planter, 200 guilders (converted into Hungarian currency of then 400 korona), appeared as a huge sum for the young Hungarian. The office job, held out to Székely by his father, would have paid 50 korona a month. As the quote above shows, Székely did not find the prospect of being an "office slave" very attractive.

In Hungary, there were huge differences in earnings. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a clerk in the village municipality of Dunaszekcső got 25 korona a month "plus a hat," but a police sentry earned 54 korona.[8] A factory worker in the western Hungarian city of Sopron got (for 10 hours of work) 2–3 korona a day, so per month he earned 50–75 korona, but a worker in the mines got 4 korona for 8 hours of work a day, so had a monthly salary of 100 korona.[9] The waiter of an upmarket café in the countryside earned 500–600 korona,[10] similar to the salary of a journalist in Budapest, who earned 500–700 korona a month.[11] A village assistant notary received 400 korona a month, but a notary got 800 korona.[12] A teacher had a monthly income of 1,000–1,200 korona.[13] A young doctor earned 1500 korona in a hospital, an older colleague had an income of 1700 korona, but the chief doctor received 2,400 korona a month.[14] Székely would thus get the salary of an unskilled laborer in Hungary, but the income of a planter in Sumatra was equivalent to that of a journalist or a waiter. When Radnai and Székely compared their own situation (unemployed) and their prospects in Hungary (dull and dreary existence, "office

[7] Székely, *Tropic Fever,* 8.

[8] Available at: http://www.lugio.hu/regi/torten/otodik.htm. Accessed January 2, 2024.

[9] Kölkedi István, "Soproni bérmozgalmak az 1905–1097-es orosz forradalom idején," *Soproni Szemle* XVII/4 (1963): 3, 9.

[10] Bálint, http://www.irodalmijelen.hu/?q=node/3402. Accessed January 2, 2024.

[11] Szabó László, *Szegény ember gazdag élete,* III. (Budapest: Atheneum, 1928), 11.

[12] Foki Ibolya, *Zalalövő története,* (Zalalövő: Zalalövő és Környéke Közéletéért, Kultúrájáért, Környezetéért Alapítvány, 1998), 324.

[13] http://iqdepo.hu/dimenzio/12/b403-013.html. Accessed January 2, 2024.

[14] https://csfk.hu/a-korhaz-tortenete. Accessed January 2, 2024.

slave" for 50 korona a month) with the prospects in Sumatra (tropical adventure, 400 korona salary), it was clear what they would do. The choice was also quickly made. But besides their personal situation, the prevailing mood in the country apparently played a role in this decision as an additional push factor. Radnai writes on the first page of his diary:

> One question looms at the back of all our minds: what will the future bring? Will it be better than in this sweet but ruthless land of hate? We have decided to leave and take this long, long journey that we can only suspect will not be harmless. We have made this decision to earn money through hard work and later, when we are old and have overcome all obstacles, back home in Hungary, reap the benefits of joy and wealth of our feverish, youthful effort.[15]

It is striking that Radnai here speaks of Hungary as a "sweet but ruthless land of hate." A very negative interpretation of the Hungary of that time, just before the First World War. What is probably meant is the neo-conservativism that had been emerging in Hungary since the late 19th century, which was often accompanied by anti-Semitic slogans. The political situation was miserable and resembled a civil war: government and opposition fought each other inside and outside parliament by all means. For example, on November 15, 1904, a brawl broke out in the second chamber over a bill. Members of parliament from government and opposition clashed, hitting each other with chairs and benches, the president was pelted with pieces of furniture and a member of the second chamber was stabbed. The ministers fled the room.[16] Four weeks later—to prevent such events—the government had the parliament building and also the session hall guarded by police. The frantic opposition went wild against the police. Officers were beaten by MPs, chairs were thrown and policemen were hurled down the stairs. The session hall looked like a battlefield after a few minutes. When two weeks later (on January 3, 1905) the king (Franz Joseph) came to deliver his speech from the throne to dissolve parliament, opposition members did not show up in pro-

[15] Radnai, *Szumátrától az orosz frontig*, 103.

[16] D. Szabó Ede, *Urak és gavallérok* (Budapest: ETK, 2008), 95. Unless otherwise noted, English translations are that of the author.

test.[17] Hostilities were evident not only between political groups but also between individual politicians. The situation was very tense and the events were exacerbated on January 1, 1913.

Prime Minister Tisza attended a New Year's reception at the National Casino [Nemzeti Kaszinó] on that day, along with numerous members of the second chamber. During the reception, Tisza greeted the leader of the opposition, Count Károlyi, but he deliberately did not respond to the greeting of the prime minister. That was considered an insult and, according to the honor code of the time, a duel had to follow. That happened the next day in a fencing hall. At the time, a duel was the nobility's way of settling perceived or actual provocations and insults (including in parliament). Prime Minister Tisza injured his opponent Károlyi 17 times until finally the duel was aborted and the bleeding opposition leader was carried away.[18] In 1912, a member of the opposition second chamber attacked the prime minister in the Hungarian parliament, firing several shots. The perpetrator, Gyula Kovács, had exclusively political reasons for his act of violence. Prime Minister Tisza remained unharmed. The perpetrator tried to commit suicide after the attack, without success. Opposition leaders visited the injured perpetrator in hospital to congratulate him.[19] The perpetrator was later acquitted during his trial.[20]

Hungary was a divided country prior to the First World War. Not only in the second chamber did opposition and government politicians fight each other with tremendous fury, but so did society as a whole. Ignotus, the editor of the progressive literary journal *Nyugat*, wrote in 1908 about the causes of the antagonisms in his article:

> It would be worthwhile collecting the statements of the last 10 years by important gentlemen regarding what they thought was not Hungarian: Budapest would not be Hungarian. The language in Budapest would not be Hungarian. The nationalisation of the administration would not be Hungarian. The stock market would not be Hungarian. Socialism would not be Hungarian. Internationalism would not be Hungarian. The organisation of agricultural workers would not be Hungarian. Mo-

[17] Szabó, *Urak és gavallérok,* 97.
[18] Szabó, *Urak és gavallérok,* 90.
[19] Bihari Péter, *Lövészárok a hátországban* (Budapest: Napvilág, 2008), 37.
[20] ifj. Bertényi Iván, "A századelő politikai irányzatai és Tisza István," *Rubicon* (2009/1–2): 20–27.

> bile capital would not be Hungarian. Secession and symbolism would not be Hungarian either. A non-denominational education would not be Hungarian. Bullying would not be Hungarian. A free conception of love would not be Hungarian. Universal suffrage would not be Hungarian. Materialism would not be Hungarian, nor would the assumption that people have built their institutions according to their need and ability and the governance of these and even of their sanctuaries is in their hands. But above all: those who are not happy with this situation, would not be Hungarian, and should then at least have so much respect that they leave the country with which they are so dissatisfied.[21]

Thus the situation on the home front was not exactly invigorating for Radnai. As a result, the unknown is presented as a positive enticement and is associated with wealth, adventure, freedom, and new opportunities. This contrasts sharply with the familiar self, which represents just the opposite: poverty, pettiness, fear, hatred, a dull existence. The unknown and the self are constructed in a hierarchical pair of opposition corresponding to push and pull factors influencing the decision to emigrate, with the self presented in such an unbearably negative way that the only way out offers an outright flight into the unknown.

Weighing this up, the choice was quickly made. Radnai packed his suitcase and left for Sumatra with his cousin Székely in April 1914. With his decision to leave his homeland, however, he was not alone. Between 1821 and 1929, more than 50 million people emigrated overseas from Europe.[22] From Hungary, between 1871 and 1913, more than two million people went in search of a new existence mainly in the US and elsewhere.[23] Most emigrants were young, unmarried men, with low education who wanted to stay abroad only temporarily.[24] Radnai and Székely thus represented the average Hungarian emigrant at the beginning of the 20th century. They were young men with no education and no job. Their motivation was to earn a lot of money overseas

[21] Ignotus, "A magyar kultúra és a nemzetiségek," *Nyugat* I/4 (1908): 226.

[22] Puskás Julianna, *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban 1880–1940* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 32.

[23] Puskás, *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban 1880–1940,* 61.

[24] The largest group of emigrants constituted the group of young men in their twenties. From 1899 emigration of Jews increased markedly. Puskás, *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban 1880–1940,* 71, 82–83.

and then return to their country of origin. They were unusual, however, in the sense that they did not opt for the United States and the Americas in general that served as a key destination for Hungarians.[25] Besides their personal situation, no doubt, the push factors of political and economic conditions in Hungary also played a role in their decision to leave their homeland. They left with a positive ideal image in the back of their minds about the Dutch East Indies that stood in stark contrast with the negative (self) image about Hungary.

The Unknown as Dangerous

Radnai and his cousin arrived in Sumatra on 8 May 1914. They took up their room at the posh Hotel Medan and tried to find a job. After all, Bandi had written in his letter that the white man was very welcome in Deli and that a school education was not necessary. Their attempts to get work, however, failed. Weeks passed and they still did not find a job. Their money slowly ran out. They moved to a cheap boarding house, but that only helped temporarily. After a while, they ran completely out of money; they lived only on credit. In the end they found in the distant unknown exactly what they wanted to leave behind in Budapest: unemployment, poverty, a dull existence, and also fear.

The positive, alluring, adventurous strangeness turned into the opposite in a different context. Radnai wrote of the indigenous people:

> Up in the mountains a few years ago, there were man-eating Malays, who today also still secretly enjoy this delicacy. One of the boys (that's what the house servants are called here) is from one such tribe. I asked him, "Boy, ada makan sudah orang daging?" "Boy, have you eaten human flesh yet?" He replied, "Ia tuan, satu kali. Daging orang banjak baik." "Yes, sir, once. Human flesh is very tasty." Damn, I thought, you have weird tastes! Main thing is that you don't eat me.[26]

The unknown, here, is no longer the alluring, adventurous positive pole

[25] See Puskás above and on Hungarian immigration to North America also Venkovits Balázs, "'Megy a gőzös Kanadába': Változó migrációs politika Észak-Amerikában és illegális magyar bevándorlás az 1920-as években." *Aetas* 39.1 (2024): 90–107; "Magyar kivándorlás Észak-Amerikába: transzatlanti és Amerika-közi áttekintés a nemzetközi migrációs politika alakulásáról, 1870–1929." in *Migráció tegnap és ma,* ed. Bozzay Réka and Pete László, (Debrecen: DUP, 2021): 139–157.

[26] Radnai, *Szumátrától az orosz frontig*, 140.

in the hierarchical binary opposition. Repeated in a different context, we see an inversion. The unknown, here, is the threatening, frightening, dangerous cannibal. When Radnai writes about a young assistant being attacked by immigrating Asian workers, this image of the dangerous unknown is only reinforced:

> Incidentally, the event of the day was that an assistant, whom we also know, was attacked by Javanese coolies because he had fined them for laziness. The Javanese attacked him on the field with sticks and knives. He unfortunately had no weapon with him and was taken to hospital half dead. He is fortunately no longer in mortal danger. Something like this hardly causes a stir here, as it happens frequently.[27]

Especially the last remark of the quote makes it clear to the reader that danger always lurks on the plantation in the form of vengeful Asian workers. An assistant can never be sure of his life because he is always exposed to the latent violence of the Asian workers, who hate the white *tuan* [lord].[28] Fear and hatred thus typify life on the plantation. Radnai tries to suppress these negative feelings with great drinking, but the next morning, sobering up, he finds that life on Sumatra is worse than in a prison.[29]

In parallel, Budapest, which as a location represents the self, which Radnai and Székely were so eager to escape from at the outset, becomes in the tropical context of Sumatra a positive reference point of the hierarchy:

> A letter arrived from patria. Poor folks, I shouldn't have left them like this. Only now do I see how good it is to have a home. They want to come after us. You'd better stay in Budapest anyway. I want to return home in a few years, too. In no city in the world is it as nice as there![30]

Radnai makes the decision to leave Sumatra after five weeks. Deli, still the land of promise in April, became a place of fear and danger by June. He noted with disappointment that in Deli the native workers were dangerous and

[27] Radnai, *Szumátrától az orosz frontig*, 143.
[28] Tuan (Malay) = Lord.
[29] Radnai, *Szumátrától az orosz frontig*, 149.
[30] Radnai, *Szumátrától az orosz frontig*, 147.

vengeful, the European planters largely stupid, degenerate alcoholics.[31] The unknown and the self are thus not static constructions in the text but are repeated in ever-changing contexts. Through the play of repetition, the two poles of the hierarchical opposition acquire an ever-changing, continuously shifting meaning. Through the diffusion of meaning, i.e., through dissemination, the unknown and the self acquire a dynamic, changing, hybrid character. Thus, an enticing stranger becomes a threatening, dangerous one, and a "sweet but ruthless land of hate" the nicest place in the world.

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Radnai finally returned to Hungary. He was still on the ship *Afrika* when he received the news in Colombo on June 30 that a 19-year-old Serbian student, Gavrilo Princip, had two days earlier shot the Habsburg Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo. Radnai immediately realized that this would have a huge impact on European politics.[32] He arrived in Budapest on July 19, when war preparations were already in full swing. Austria-Hungary sent an ultimatum to Serbia on July 23, which was rejected. A declaration of war on Serbia followed on July 28 and mobilization on July 30. Radnai, as an ensign from the reserve, was among the first to be called up. On August 4, he was already in uniform in Tarnopol, a town close to the Russian border, awaiting attack orders. The next day, on August 5, Austria-Hungary's declaration of war on Russia followed. For Radnai, the First World War began. He fought until the end of the war in Russia and in the Balkans. He kept his diary until 1916, but then the text suddenly broke off. He enlisted as a lieutenant first class and returned to Budapest. Here he married Etelka Greif in 1921 and worked as a civil servant. Only after 1930 did he meet his cousin László Székely and his wife Madelon Székely-Lulofs again in Budapest. István Radnai died of a heart condition at the age of 47 on February 17, 1940 in Budapest. His diary was kept by his widow, until her grandchild, Katalin Deák, who was by then living in the Netherlands, took it with her to Groningen in 1961. Today, the diary is in the possession of the Literary Museum [Letterkundig Museum] in The Hague and is part of the Madelon Székely-Lulofs collection.

[31] Radnai, *Szumátrától az orosz frontig*, 152.
[32] Radnai, *Szumátrától az orosz frontig*, 158.

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From First Aid to Professional Course Materials: The Development of Language Learning Tools at the Time of the Children's Trains

Roland Nagy

Introduction

Cultural relations may manifest themselves in many ways, with language serving as a key means of transmission. Language skills play an essential role in cultural exchange whether through translated books or as a tool for visitors from other countries. Therefore, foreign language skills have a central role in cultural transmission. Bilinguals[1] enable 'intercultural interoperability', i.e., the transmission of information between two languages and cultures. In the case of the cultural relations between Hungary and the Low Countries, several mediators have already been identified in the field of Dutch studies (*neerlandistiek*).[2] However, little is known about how these cultural mediators mastered the language of the other culture. Research on language learning tools, methodological aids, and linguistic studies that were used historically in Dutch-Hungarian relations remains almost non-existent, despite the long history of these relations.

Hungary's relations with the Low Countries date back to the 12th century, however, very little is known about these as hardly any direct evidence of

[1] Bilingualism is interpreted here in the broad sense. It includes anyone who has sufficient language competence to communicate in the other language even on a basic (CEFR A1–2) level.

[2] See, e.g., Heimlich István, ed., *Nederlanders en Hongaren: Ontmoetingen tussen twee volken* (Budapest: Magyar Könyvkiadók és Könyvterjesztők Egyesülete, 1987); Sivirsky Antal, *Vijf eeuwen Hongaars-Nederlandse culturele betrekkingen* (Den Haag: Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, 1987); Pusztai Gábor and Bozzay Réka, eds., *Debrecentől Amszterdamig: Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Néderlandisztika Tanszék, 2010); Gera Judit and Nagy Roland, eds., *"Mert vesztett édenedbe visszavágyom". A magyar és a holland kultúra közvetítői a 19. század végén és a 20. század elején / 'Verloren Paradijs, mijn heerlijk Nederland' Hongaarse en Nederlandse cultuurbemiddelaars aan het eind van de 19de en het begin van de 20ste eeuw*, Néderlandisztikai füzetek, 8. (Budapest: ELTE Néderlandisztika Tanszék, Németalföld–Magyarország Kulturális Transzfer Kutatóközpont, 2017); Maarten J. Aalders and Orsolya Réthelyi, eds., *De 'kindertreinen' – voorwerpen en herinnering = A 'gyermekvonatok' – tárgyak és emlékezet*, Cahiers voor de Neerlandistiek 9 (Budapest: ELTE Vakgroep Nederlands, De Lage Landen en Hongarije-Onderzoekscentrum voor Culturele Transfer, 2018).

linguistic exchange from this period has survived.[3] During the later Middle Ages, and especially throughout the Early Modern times, cultural relations intensified,[4] but little is known about the linguistic aspects of these changes. Even until the 19th century, multilingualism, and above all knowledge of Latin, was essential for any intellectual study, and in the history of the relations between Hungary and the Low Countries there were many figures who mastered the language of the other culture. Even Mary of Hungary is said to have learnt Hungarian[5] and throughout modern history, thousands of Hungarian students at Dutch and Flemish universities have mastered Dutch.[6] Dozens of books were translated from one language to the other,[7] yet almost no language learning tool is known between Hungarian and Dutch until the 20th century.[8] It seems rather unlikely that during the peregrination of Hungarian students in the early modern period, no glossaries or other language companions were compiled by passionate students, teachers, translators or 'ordinary' bilinguals or language lovers. However, almost no written sources have hitherto been documented in the scientific literature. Clearly, the main reason that made such tools unnecessary, were the high languages, especially Latin, but also German, and French, which functioned as standard mediators.

The departure of the Children's Trains brought about a shift in this situation. The trains left Budapest as part of the humanitarian Child Transport Action, an initiative between 1920 and 1930, which facilitated the temporary

[3] Pósán László, "Németalföldi-magyar gazdasági kapcsolatok a középkorban," in *Debrecentől Amszterdamig: Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata*, ed. Gábor Pusztai and Réka Bozzay (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Néderlandisztika Tanszék, 2010), 13–23; Pósán László, "Németalföldi telepesek az Árpád-kori Magyarországon," in *Németalföld Emlékei Magyarországon – Magyar-Holland Kapcsolatok*, ed. Attila Bárány e.a., *Loci Memoriae Hungaricae, V.* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2017), 13–20.

[4] Monostori Tibor, "Egy félreértett kapcsolattörténet? Németalföld és Magyarország a 16–17. században," *Ujkor.hu*, 5 September 2020.

[5] Réthelyi Orsolya, "Habsburg Mária királyné, mint közvetítő a kultúrák között," in *Debrecentől Amszterdamig: Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata*, ed. Gábor Pusztai and Réka Bozzay (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Néderlandisztika Tanszék, 2010), 25–43.

[6] Kovács Katalin Anita, *Az Erdélyi fejedelmi udvar hollandiai diplomáciai és ideológiai kapcsolatai a 17. században a peregrináció tükrében* (PhD diss. Budapest: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2016), 99.

[7] Elisabeth Soltész, "Hungarica Prints Published in the Netherlands," in *Nederlanders en Hongaren: Ontmoetingen tussen twee volken*, ed. István Heimlich (Budapest: Magyar Könyvkiadók és Könyvterjesztők Egyesülete, 1987), 28–39; Eredics Péter, *Ungarische Stundenten Und Ihre Übersetzungen Aus Dem Niederlendischen Ins Ungarische in Der Frühen Neuzeit)* (PhD diss. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2005).

[8] One such example is the notebook of Adèle Opzoomer (alias A.S.C. Wallis; 1856–1925) from the end of the 19th century with a collection of Hungarian expressions and their Dutch equivalents. (see Gera & Nagy, *"Mert vesztett édenedbe visszavágyom."*

relocation of children from Hungary to the Netherlands, Belgium, and, to a lesser extent, Switzerland, England, and Sweden. These efforts were primarily, though not exclusively, organized by Protestant and Catholic groups through bilateral agreements to alleviate the widespread poverty and malnutrition that affected many children in the aftermath of the First World War and the Treaty of Trianon, which left Hungary economically devastated. The children typically stayed with host families a few weeks or months before returning to Hungary; however, records indicate that many children ultimately never returned, while others maintained enduring relationships with their foster parents, visiting them multiple times over the years. Over the course of the decade, approximately 50,000 children were hosted in the Netherlands and Belgium for recuperation, representing a significant humanitarian and cross-cultural effort.[9]

Starting with a one-sheet Hungarian-German and Hungarian–Dutch glossary, a 'dictionary' compiled for the Hungarian children leaving for Holland, several language books, grammar companions, and dictionaries were to be published in a short time. This paper examines one of the linguistic aspects of the cultural relations between the Low Countries and Hungary within the context of the humanitarian Child Transport Action, framing them as a unique form of migration and cultural mediation.

The topic discussed here is an interdisciplinary one, representing an intersection of sociohistorical linguistics, historical linguistics, language pedagogy and cultural history. Rather than addressing intralinguistic phenomena (e.g., in what way did Dutch and Hungarian influence each other linguistically?), this study focuses on extralinguistic aspects, in particular the first generation of language tools—glossaries, dictionaries, grammar and language books, and other language materials—designed to facilitate linguistic and cultural adaptation for Hungarian children entering Dutch-speaking communities. These tools exemplify how migration and cross-border movement necessitate heightened language awareness and targeted language support to navigate cultural and linguistic boundaries.

[9] Perényi Roland and Orsolya Réthelyi, eds. *Destination: Hope: The International Chidren's Train Operation between the World Wars: Exhibition Catalogue* (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2023); Maarten J. Aalders, *Nederlandse en Hongaarse protestanten gedurende het interbellum* (Amersfoort: Vuurbaak, 2021).

The aim of this paper is threefold: (1) to catalogue the first publications, and identify the pioneering authors of these works, (2) to describe the main characteristics of these resources and analyze their development in their historical context, and (3) to explore the potential interconnections between these publications and their broader role in cultural mediation. By doing so, this study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the linguistic and cultural dimensions of migration/mobility and the ways in which language serves as a bridge in cross-border humanitarian efforts.

Foreign Language Teaching in Hungary at the Time of the Child Transport Action

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, Hungary's linguistic landscape reflected its multi-ethnic composition and changing political dynamics. German, as the lingua franca of the Habsburg Empire, played a significant role, particularly in Budapest and other large cities. While Joseph II's decree making German the exclusive official language (1786–1790) was short-lived, it reduced Latin's dominance in administration and science while stimulating the development of Hungarian as a national language.[10] Hungarian attained official status gradually between 1844 and 1868; however, German remained essential for social mobility, especially in the middle class.[11] After the First World War, the Treaty of Trianon lead to further decline in the prominence of German, while French gained popularity among liberal intellectuals and the elite. French was seen as a cultural counterweight to Austro-German influence, with well-off families hiring private tutors or enrolling their children in French-language institutions.[12]

From the late 18th century, language learning tools like grammar books, dictionaries, and textbooks began to flourish in Hungary, paralleling trends in other European countries. These resources were initially created by church scholars and later by secular academics, many of whom had studied abroad.[13]

[10] Kósa László, *Nemesek, polgárok, parasztok: néprajzi történeti antropológiai és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*, Osiris Könyvtár (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2003), 16.

[11] Balázs Géza, "Nyelvi politika," in *Pannon Enciklopédia*, ed. Sipos Lajos & Hajdú Mihály, vol. Magyar Nyelv és irodalom (Budapest: Urbis, 2000), 144–47.

[12] Kósa, *Nemesek, Polgárok, Parasztok*, 18.; Poros András, "A franciatanítás múltja és jelene Magyarországon 1. Francia Nyelv – Történelmi Ellenszélben," *Nyelv És Tudomány*, November 4, 2015.

[13] Pelcz Katalin, "A nyelvi minták megjelenési formái a 19. századi magyar nyelvkönyvekben," *THL2 a Magyar Nyelv És Kultúra Tanításának Szakfolyóirata*, no. 1–2 (2006): 93–101.

This is what the linguistic landscape of foreign languages in Hungary looked like when the first Children's Trains left for Holland in 1920: few of the children spoke German well (a small portion of the middle class), some others only a little (middle class), very few knew a bit of French (higher middle class), but the majority was monolingual in Hungarian.

Dutch for Hungarians

When the idea of the Children's Trains emerged, the organizers (i.e., the Országos Gyermekvédő Liga [Hungarian National Child Protection League], Centraal Comité voor noodlijdende Hongaarsche Kinderen [he Central Committee for Needy Hungarian Children], and the Nederlandsch Rooms-Katholieke Huisvestings-Comité te 's Hertogenbosch [Dutch Roman Catholic Housing Committee in 's-Hertogenbosch][14] faced numerous challenges, ranging from establishing the legal framework of operations to managing logistics. Among these tasks, a seemingly less immediate but significant issue arose: how would the children and their foster families communicate? The first train was going to leave shortly for the Netherlands with hundreds of children that faced a language barrier. There were no Dutch language books or dictionaries at hand that could provide a quick solution for the problem. Although Dutch language books, grammar companions and dictionaries existed for German speakers,[15] these were published in Germany and were difficult to obtain, let alone that the costs of hundreds of such books would have exceeded the budget of the action. But most importantly, these books were unsuitable for the children's practical needs, such as expressing basic phrases like 'I am very tired' or 'I have a sore throat.'

To address the issue, the organizers made a pragmatic decision to admit only middle-class children aged 6 to 14 who could communicate in German or another Western European language.[16] This requirement was logical, as

[14] Maarten J. Aalders, "Kindertreinen naar Nederland (1919–1930)," in *De Hongaarse kindertreinen: Een levende brug tussen Hongarije, Nederland en België na de Eerste Wereldoorlog*, ed. Maarten J. Aalders, Gábor Pusztai, and Orsolya Réthelyi (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren BV, 2020), 40–59.

[15] E.g., J.C. Knoest and Th. Nolen, *Praktisches Wörterbuch: Deutsch-Niederländisch und Niederländisch-Deutsch: mit 1270 Abb., nebst vielen Erl. und Beispielen* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1895); R. Dijkstra, *Holländisch: Phonetik, Grammatik, texte* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903); Friedrich Booch-Árkossy, *Spreekt gij Hollandsch: Handbuch der holländischen Umgangssprache* (Dresden, 1911).

[16] "Ötszáz magyar gyermeket visznek Hollandiába," *Budapesti Hírlap*, January 3, 1920, 6.; "Magyar gyermekek Hollandiában," *Budapesti Hírlap*, January 25, 1920, 5–6.

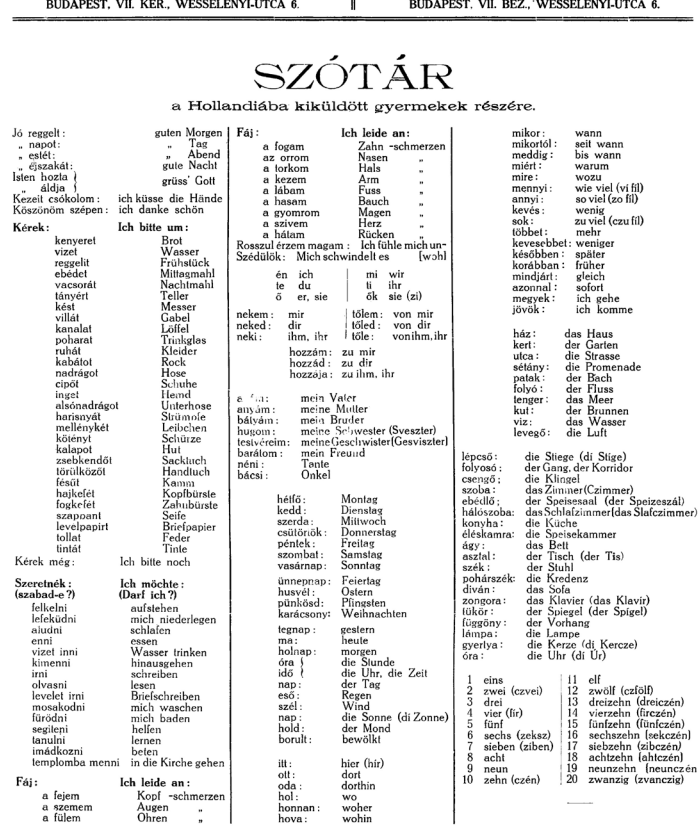
German was still the most widely used foreign language in Hungary, and it shared linguistic similarities with Dutch. Furthermore, the child rescue operation of the Rooms-Katholieke Huisvestingscomité [Roman Catholic Housing Committee] had already had some experience with Austrian children. In an interview with the Pester Lloyd, a prominent German-language newspaper in Budapest, Count Josef Wolff-Metternich, a representative of the Committee underscored German language proficiency as a prerequisite for participation.[17]

It is uncertain whether the R.C. Housing Committee was aware of the children's limited language skills during the initial admission process. However, the issue was addressed again at their assembly in the Hague in April 1920, two months after the arrival of the first train.[18] Despite the officially-communicated requirement that only German-speaking children be accepted, the organizers must have anticipated that many children would have inadequate German proficiency, particularly due to their young age. To address the problem, the committee commissioned the creation of a 'travel dictionary' containing essential expressions and words. This resource aimed to enable children with little or no foreign language skills to communicate their basic needs effectively with their foster families (see Figure 1).

The little 'bilingual communication aid'—as we may call it, for in lexicological terms, it is not a 'dictionary'—is a neatly organized, user-friendly (in modern terms 'fail-safe') compilation of about 188 items arranged in 8 sections on a single sheet of paper (28x34,5 cm) designed to be easily folded and pocketed. The glossary includes essential greetings (e.g., *Guten Morgen* 'Good morning' etc.), simple sentences with interchangeable components (e.g., *Ich bitte um … Brot/Wasser/Frühstück,* etc. 'I would like some bread/water/breakfast'), personal pronouns (subjective and objective), days of the week, basic adverbs of place and time (e.g., *gestern* 'yesterday', *hier* 'here'), a somewhat random list of everyday objects (e.g., *die Stiege* 'the stairs', *der Vorhang* 'the curtain', etc.) and cardinal numbers from one to twenty. Some entries include phonetic transcription (e.g., *wie viel* (*ví fíl*) 'how much'), though not always correctly (e.g., *das Schlafzimmer (das Slafczimmer*) 'the bedroom', where the transcrip-

[17] "Ein holländisches Hilfswerk für die Budapester Kinder. Unterredung mit dem Grafen Josef Wolff-Metternich," *Pester Lloyd*, January 21, 1920, 4.; "De nood in Hongarije," *De Tij d: godsdienstig-staatkundig dagblad*, February 14, 1920, 9.

[18] "Centraal Bureau R. K. Huisvestingscomité te 's-Hertogenbosch," *De Maasbode*, April 14, 1920, 1.



ORSZÁGOS GYERMEKVÉDŐ LIGA
BUDAPEST, VII. KER., WESSELÉNYI-UTCA 6.

LANDES KINDERSCHUTZ LIGA
BUDAPEST, VII. BEZ., WESSELÉNYI-UTCA 6.

SZÓTÁR

a Hollandiába kiküldött gyermekek részére.

Jó reggelt:	guten Morgen
„ napot:	„ Tag
„ estét:	„ Abend
„ éjszakát:	gute Nacht
Isten hozla } „ áldja }	grüss' Gott
Kezeit csókolom:	ich küsse die Hände
Köszönöm szépen:	ich danke schön

Kérek:	**Ich bitte um:**
kenyeret	Brot
vizet	Wasser
reggelit	Frühstück
ebédet	Mittagmahl
vacsorát	Nachtmahl
tányért	Teller
kést	Messer
villát	Gabel
kanalat	Löffel
poharat	Trinkglas
ruhát	Kleider
kabátot	Rock
nadrágot	Hose
cipőt	Schuhe
inget	Hemd
alsónadrágot	Unterhose
harisnyát	Strümpfe
mellénykét	Leibchen
kötényt	Schürze
kalapot	Hut
zsebkendőt	Sackluch
törülközőt	Handluch
fésült	Kamm
hajkefét	Kopfbürste
fogkefét	Zahnbürste
szappant	Seife
levelpapirt	Briefpapier
tollat	Feder
tintát	Tinte
Kérek még:	Ich bitte noch

Szeretnék: (szabad-e ?)	**Ich möchte: (Darf ich ?)**
felkelni	aufstehen
lefeküdni	mich niederlegen
aludni	schlafen
enni	essen
vizet inni	Wasser trinken
kimenni	hinausgehen
irni	schreiben
olvasni	lesen
levelet irni	Briefschreiben
mosakodni	mich waschen
fürödni	mich baden
segiteni	helfen
tanulni	lernen
imádkozni	beten
templomba menni	in die Kirche gehen

Fáj:	**Ich leide an:**
a fejem	Kopf -schmerzen
a szemem	Augen „
a fülem	Ohren „
a fogam	Zahn -schmerzen
az orrom	Nasen „
a torkom	Hals „
a kezem	Arm „
a lábam	Fuss „
a hasam	Bauch „
a gyomrom	Magen „
a szivem	Herz „
a hátam	Rücken „

Rossul érzem magam: Ich fühle mich un-
Szédülök: Mich schwindelt es [wohl

én	ich	mi	wir
te	du	ti	ihr
ő	er, sie	ők	sie (zi)

nekem:	mir	tőlem:	von mir
neked:	dir	tőled:	von dir
neki:	ihm, ihr	tőle:	von ihm, ihr

hozzám: zu mir
hozzád: zu dir
hozzája: zu ihm, ihr

é[illegible]:	mein Vater
anyám:	meine Mutter
bátyám:	mein Bruder
hugom:	meine Schwester (Sveszter)
testvéreim:	meine Geschwister (Gesviszter)
barátom:	mein Freund
néni:	Tante
bácsi:	Onkel

hétfő:	Montag
kedd:	Dienstag
szerda:	Mittwoch
csütörtök:	Donnerstag
péntek:	Freitag
szombat:	Samstag
vasárnap:	Sonntag
ünnepnap:	Feiertag
husvét:	Ostern
pünkösd:	Pfingsten
karácsony:	Weihnachten
tegnap:	gestern
ma:	heute
holnap:	morgen
óra }	die Stunde
idő }	die Uhr, die Zeit
nap:	der Tag
eső:	Regen
szél:	Wind
nap:	die Sonne (di Zonne)
hold:	der Mond
borult:	bewölkt
ilt:	hier (hír)
olt:	dort
oda:	dorthin
hol:	wo
honnan:	woher
hova:	wohin

mikor:	wann
mikortól:	seit wann
meddig:	bis wann
miért:	warum
mire:	wozu
mennyi:	wie viel (vi fil)
annyi:	so viel (zo fil)
kevés:	wenig
sok:	zu viel (czu fil)
többet:	mehr
kevesebbet:	weniger
később:	später
korábban:	früher
mindjárt:	gleich
azonnal:	sofort
megyek:	ich gehe
jövök:	ich komme

ház:	das Haus
kert:	der Garten
utca:	die Strasse
sétány:	die Promenade
patak:	der Bach
folyó:	der Fluss
tenger:	das Meer
kut:	der Brunnen
viz:	das Wasser
levegő:	die Luft

lépcső:	die Stiege (di Stige)
folyosó:	der Gang, der Korridor
csengő:	die Klingel
szoba:	das Zimmer (Czimmer)
ebédlő:	der Speisesaal (der Speiseszál)
hálószoba:	das Schlafzimmer (das Slafczimmer)
konyha:	die Küche
éléskamra:	die Speisekammer
ágy:	das Bett
asztal:	der Tisch (der Tis)
szék:	der Stuhl
pohárszék:	die Kredenz
diván:	das Sofa
zongora:	das Klavier (das Klavir)
tükör:	der Spiegel (der Spigel)
függöny:	der Vorhang
lámpa:	die Lampe
gyertya:	die Kerze (di Kercze)
óra:	die Uhr (di Ur)

1	eins	11	elf
2	zwei (czvei)	12	zwölf (czföl)
3	drei	13	dreizehn (dreiczén)
4	vier (fir)	14	vierzehn (fírczén)
5	fünf	15	fünfzehn (fünfczén)
6	sechs (zeksz)	16	sechszehn (sekczén)
7	sieben (ziben)	17	siebzehn (zibczén)
8	acht	18	achtzehn (ahtczén)
9	neun	19	neunzehn (neunczén
10	zehn (czén)	20	zwanzig (zvanczig)

Figure 1. The first Hungarian–German 'travel dictionary' (glossary) for Hungarian children travelling to Holland commissioned by the National Child Protection League (collection of the Low Countries–Hungary Cultural Transfer Research Center)

tion should have been: *dasz Sláfczimer*). Despite minor flaws, this glossary was an invaluable tool for the children upon their arrival in the Netherlands. The compiler of the glossary, however, remains unknown.

The children on the first train were given the German version of the glossary, as reported in the newspapers on February 10, 1920, just two days after the departure of the first train.[19] However, a Dutch version was soon created as a direct translation of the German one. This adaptation became necessary for three main reasons. Firstly, many Hungarian children had inadequate

[19] "600 magyar gyermek elutazott Hollandiába," *Nemzeti Újság*, February 10, 1920, 6.

command of German, reflecting its decline in Hungary even in middle class families. Numerous reports highlighted the lack of any foreign language skills among the Hungarian children, which initially made communication almost impossible.[20] Consequently, even with the German glossary, the first encounter with a foreign country and an unfamiliar language was often a shocking experience, particularly for younger children.[21]

Secondly, German was also a foreign language for most Dutch families. Although it is a closely related language, and its similarity to Dutch allowed for some passive understanding. active users (particularly among the lower classes) were rare. As a result, most families naturally defaulted to the use of their mother tongue. Thirdly, Hungarian children were obliged to learn Dutch quickly for their own benefit. Many succeeded with apparent ease, as accounts and letters illustrate.[22]

The exact time of the creation of the Dutch version of the Hungarian–German glossary is unclear, but an interview with Dr. Vilmos Neugebauer (February 5, 1921), director of the *Hungarian National Child Protection League*, suggests it was completed in 1921, within a year of the first train's departure.[23]

The Hungarian–Dutch glossary is a direct translation of the original Hungarian–German version. Even the distinctively Austro-Hungarian phrase '*Kezeit csókolom – Ik kus u de handen (ik küsz ü dö hándn)*'[24] (literally: 'I am kissing your hands') was included, which must have sounded (and still sounds) rather strange for native Dutch speakers. The thematic sections were rearranged on the sheet, but the typography and the content remained largely unchanged. The only exception was that Dutch words and phrases were transcribed systematically using the Hungarian alphabet, e.g., *ik verzoek nog om… (ik verszúk nóh om)* 'I would also like…'

[20] See, e.g., "Voor hen die Hongaarsche kinderen in huis hebben," *Het Bloemendaalsch Weekblad*, March 13, 1920, 2; H.P.N. Haen, "Weense en Hongaarse kinderen in Udenhout rond 1920," (Katholieke Documentatie Centrum, 2015), 5.

[21] "Aankomst van de Hongaarsche kinderen," *Haagsche Courant*, February 14, 1920, 7.

[22] Medveczky Tibor, "Levél az Eldorádóból. Medveczky Tibor, a Barcsay-Utczai Főgimnázium IV. Oszt. tanulója küldte édesapjának Budapestre a boldog Hollandiából," *Az Ujság*, March 11, 1920, 6.; "Enkele vragen," *De Tij d: godsdienstig-staatkundig dagblad*, April 8, 1922, 11.

[23] "Angol jelentés a magyar gyermekek nyomoráról," *Uj Nemzedék*, February 5, 1921, 1.

[24] The Hungarian pronunciation notation of the Dutch word *handen* 'hands' with a syllabic *n* at the end of the word (*hándn*) also indicates that the text was probably transcribed by a person whose first foreign language was German rather than Dutch. The transcription of the standard Dutch pronunciation should have been *hándö* or *handö*.

The authors of both glossaries remain unknown, but analysis of the pronunciation notation suggests that both were native speakers of Hungarian with an excellent knowledge of Hungarian orthography and pronunciation.[25] While finding someone to compile the German version (e.g., a language teacher) could have been straightforward in the 1920s, it was likely much more challenging to find someone who could translate the glossary to Dutch. The analysis of the glossary suggests that the translator[26] was not a native speaker and lacked a systematic knowledge of Dutch grammar. There are numerous inconsistencies in the text, such as the four different transcriptions of the Dutch *ch* [χ] sound: *liggen (li**hh**en), oogen (ó**kh**en), gang (**h**ang), rug (rú**ch**)*), which may be due to emendation by a different person than the translator. The diphthongization, the devoicing of fricatives, at the time only typical in spoken Holland Dutch, are represented in the phonetic transcription, e.g., *negen (n**ej**hen)* 'nine', *zuster (**sz**üszter)*, which suggests that the person had learned Dutch intuitively, primarily through exposure to spoken language rather than formal study.[27] It is also indicated by the forms *mijn**e** zuster* 'my sister', where the *-e* is superfluous in the nominative, since it sounded very archaic even at that time. It is more likely that the *-e* suffix is used here according to the grammatical rules of German, indicating that the translator had a good command of it. Based on the analysis, the translator (or one of them) was a Hungarian native speaker fluent in German, who had been exposed to spoken Dutch in Holland but lacked formal language training. It is possible that a German–Dutch language book or dictionary was also used during the translation.

Six different versions of the glossary of the *Hungarian National Child Protection League* have been identified, including the two described earlier. These include a Hungarian–English version for children sent to England,[28] a German version for those sent to Switzerland, and two versions for the children sent to Belgium: Hungarian–Dutch and Hungarian–French. The Hungarian–Dutch version is identical to the one used in the Netherlands, except for the

[25] Of course, it cannot be ruled out that someone proofread the text.

[26] There could have been more people cooperating. For a tentative suggestion for a potential candidate, see the next section.

[27] cf. Hans van de Velde, *Variatie en verandering in het gesproken Standaard-Nederlands (1935–1993)* (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1996).

[28] Petneki Katalin, *Gyermekvonat Angliába: Egy budai kislány levelei, 1920–1921* (Budapest: Európa, 2019).

title, which specifies Belgium as the destination. Both sheets were printed using the same typesetting, indicating that the printing form was preserved for repeated use as new trains departed.

The French version of the dictionary for children sent to Belgium contains the same expressions as the original, except for *Kezeit csókolom* 'I am kissing your hands,' which the translator—likely more confident in their own language competence than the Dutch translator—omitted, recognizing its unsuitability in French. The typography of the dictionary remains consistent, except for the header and the page layout which show minor differences.

It is unclear whether a French version was created for the children sent to Switzerland, but if it exists, it is most likely identical to the Belgian French one. Similarly, it remains unknown if children sent to Sweden received a Swedish version or relied on the German or English glossaries.

Based on the four copies analyzed so far, the German version appears to be the original glossary. German was the primary second language of Hungary at the time, making it the easiest to compile. Also, if children spoke any foreign language, it was most often German. Additionally, German could be used across countries speaking Germanic languages, such as the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and Sweden.

As noted earlier, no language materials existed in Hungarian for the study of Dutch before the creation of the Dictionary for children sent to Holland by the National League for Child Protection. The departure of children's trains and the compilation of the glossaries marked a significant turning point. From the 1920s, a wave of publications emerged, including language books, grammar companions and dictionaries all of which can be linked to the Child Transport Action.

The first Dutch language book for Hungarians was published as part of *Rozsnyai gyors nyelvmesterei* [Rozsnyai's Quick Language masters series]. In the autumn of 1920, a grammar book titled *Holland nyelvtan. Magyar–Holland (Flamand)–Fríz beszélgetésekkel. A kiejtés pontos feltüntetésével* [Dutch Grammar with Hungarian–Dutch (Flemish)–Frisian dialogs. With precise notation of the pronunciation'] was released.[29] About a year later, in July 1921, the

[29] Rozsnyai Károly, *Holland nyelvtan. Magyar-holland (flamand)-fríz beszélgetésekkel. A kiejtés pontos feltüntetésével* (Budapest: Neuwald Illés utódai, 1920).

Magyar–Holland szótár legfontosabb szókincse [Most important words of the Hungarian–Dutch Dictionary'] was published.[30]

The exact publication dates of these books are known only from the first newspaper advertisements, as they lack a colophon. The publisher was renowned for its series of grammar books and pocket dictionaries in numerous languages (e.g., Hungarian, (for German speakers), German, French, English, Italian, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, Latin, Romanian, Slovak, Japanese, Turkish, Polish, and Bulgarian). Both booklets contain 48 pages and are meant for self-study, as is indicated in the information section at the end of the book.[31]

The grammar and conversation textbook includes a brief grammatical introduction and a collection of everyday dialogues arranged alphabetically by topic, e.g., '*Ebéd (Vacsora). – Middagmaal. (Avondeten.) – midahhmál, áfön tétö – Naachter.*'[32] The dictionary contains a short introduction to pronunciation and a Hungarian-Dutch dictionary, e.g., 'azért *daarom, daarvoor*; *diáarom*; – hogy *om te*, – mert *doordat, omdat.*'[33] The author of both books remains unknown. Rozsnyai, the founder of the 'Language Master' series was originally a medical student who abandoned his profession to open an antiquarian bookshop and publishing house in 1889 in the center of Budapest.[34] While most of his language books were authored by prominent teachers and professors of the time, the author of the Dutch booklet remains a mystery.[35]

Although there is no direct evidence, it seems highly unlikely that the publication of the book just a few months after the first train departed for the Netherlands, was unrelated to the humanitarian efforts for Hungarian children and strengthening ties between the two countries. Most probably, Rozsnyai, a professionally dedicated and discerning entrepreneur, recognized a market niche. While the exact connection remains to be clarified, it is

[30] Rozsnyai Károly, *Magyar-holland szótár legfontosabb szókincse* (Budapest: Neuwald Illés utódai, 1921).

[31] Rozsnyai Károly, *Magyar-holland szótár legfontosabb szókincse* (Budapest: Neuwald Illés utódai, 1921), 49.

[32] Rozsnyai Károly, *Holland nyelvtan. Magyar-Holland (Flamand)-Fríz beszélgetésekkel. A kiejtés pontos feltüntetésével* (Budapest: Neuwald Illés utódai, 1920), 15.

[33] Rozsnyai, *Magyar-holland szótár legfontosabb szókincse*, 4.

[34] Mészáros Ildikó, "Antikváriusok, ódondászok, használtkönyv-kereskedők Pesten és Budán," ed. Gábor Gyáni, *Budapesti Negyed* 5, no. 5–6 "Tömegkultúra a századfordulós Budapesten" (1997), 145–162.

[35] Mészáros, "Antikváriusok, ódondászok, használtkönyv-kereskedők Pesten és Budán," 145–162.

evident that Hungarian families with children in the Netherlands found these publications extremely useful.[36]

Five years passed before the next Dutch language book for Hungarian speakers was published. The *Holland nyelvtan és társalgó* [Dutch grammar and conversation][37] was released in 1926 by 21-year-old Hungarian marine officer,[38] Sándor Széll, who began working as a secretary (according to other sources as deputy vice consul[39]) at the Hungarian consulate in Rotterdam in the same year. Little is known about his earlier life,[40] except that in 1924 he was already serving as an international correspondent of the Boy Scouts for the Netherlands and its colonies.[41] Széll's Dutch language book was professionally produced and was reprinted several times within a few years of its first publication in 1926 (see Figure 2).

The book (157 pages) provides a systematic overview of Dutch grammar, and addresses key everyday topics, such as 'at the hotel', 'meals and smoking', etc. Given Széll's association with revisionist ideas during his time at the Hungarian consulate,[42] it is unsurprising that the book reflects a national(istic) sentiment.[43] Despite Széll's young age, it was not his first linguistic publication. In 1923, he published the first commercial Hungarian language book for Dutch speakers in the Netherlands, *De vlugge Hongaar* ('The quick Hungarian'), which will be discussed in the following section.

Széll's Dutch language book had a lasting impact. Both of his books were rediscovered and republished in 1956, when Hungarian refugees faced the same linguistic barriers as the children involved in the Child Transport Action in the 1920s.[44] The 1956 edition of his 'Dutch Grammar and Conversation' included several additions: a short Dutch preface to the Dutch hosts, the tran-

[36] "A holland szeretet mindenre képes," *Szózat*, January 6, 1923, 4.

[37] Széll Sándor, *Holland nyelvtan és társalgó. Nederlandsche taalstudie* (Budapest: Lingua, 1926); "Lingua nyelvkönyvek idegen nyelvek elsajátítására magántanulók és tanfolyamok számára," *Corvina*, June 13, 1926, 131.

[38] "Huwelijksakte van Sándor von Széll en Erszébet Mária Szakáll," January 22, 1929.

[39] "Ned. studenten in Boedapest. (van onzen correspondent)," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, July 20, 1927, 1.

[40] Bozzay Réka, "Vilma királynő utca Debrecenben? A holland királynő emlékezete és egy meg nem valósult utcanévadás," *Debreceni Szemle* 28, no. 1 (April 15, 2020): 71–79.

[41] Széll Sándor, "Van over de grenzen," *De Padvinder*, July 19, 1924, 192.

[42] Moldovai Péter Attila, "Fülöp Ferenc Lelkipásztor Életrajza (Forrásközlés)," *Sóvidék* 4, no. 2 (November 2012): 17–25.

[43] Széll, *Holland nyelvtan és társalgó. Nederlandsche taalstudie*, 131.

[44] "Taalcursus Voor Vluchteling En Gastheer," *Het Vrije Volk*, November 22, 1956, 1.

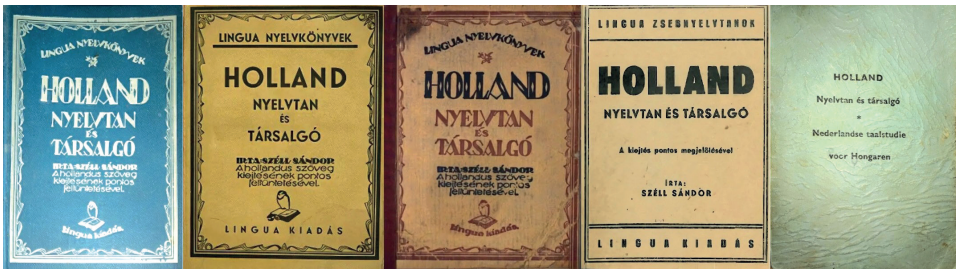


Figure 2. Covers of Sándor Széll's 'Dutch Grammar and Conversation' from 1926

script of Queen Juliana's speech from November 15, 1956 addressed to the Hungarian refugees, a welcome message from the Dutch minister of Social Work, three photos of the royal family, and the first verse of the Hungarian patriotic poem "Szózat" [Appeal].[45]

For many children, maintaining their Dutch language skills upon returning to Hungary was challenging. In 1921, the Reformed Church established a Dutch–Hungarian school to help language practice, initially enrolling about 30-40 children, mostly those who had returned from the Netherlands. Afternoon lessons were taught by Kálmán Kállay, assistant secretary of the convent, Calvinist minister and theologian, who had studied in Utrecht between 1911 and 1914.[46] Due to growing demand, also from adult learners, the school was divided in 1924 and operated until 1926.[47] As a Dutch native speaker visiting the school later recalled, the children had primarily learned the language by listening to their foster family and local Dutch peers.[48]

A similar step to help children maintain their language skills, the *Magyar–Holland Társaság* [Hungarian–Dutch Association] opened a library in Budapest on June 1, 1923, where children could borrow Dutch books.[49] In the

[45] Széll Sándor, *Holland nyelvtan és társalgó. Nederlandsche Taalstudie* (Amsterdam: Nationaal Comité Hulpverlening Hongaarse Volk/Nemzeti Bizottmány Segítség a Magyar Népnek, 1956).

[46] "Holland-magyar iskola nyílt meg," *Dunántúli Protestáns Lap*, January 15, 1922, 12.; F.W. G., "De Hongaarsche brieven II.," *De Standaard*, April 27, 1922.; Bozzay Réka, "De Kindertreinen En de verlening van het Eredoctoraat in Debrecen in 1925," in *De Hongaarse Kindertreinen: Een Levende Brug Tussen Hongarije, Nederland En België Na de Eerste Wereldoorlog*, ed. Maarten J. Aalders, Gábor Pusztai & Orsolya Réthelyi (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren BV, 2020), 125–37.

[47] Aalders, "Kindertreinen naar Nederland (1919–1930)," 51.

[48] G., "De Hongaarsche brieven II."

[49] "Nederland in de Buitenlandsche pers: In de Hongaarsche pers," *Allen weerbaar; officieel orgaan van de Vereeniging 'Volksweerbaarheid' en van de Koninklijke Nederlandsche Weerbaarheids-Vereeniging* 23, no. 23 (June 8, 1923): 21.

following section, I focus on the other side of the linguistic barrier: language materials prepared to help Dutch communicate with their foster children, or even to assist them in learning Hungarian at a higher level.

Hungarian for the Dutch

At the time of the departure of the first train, the Dutch side of the 'linguistic coin' was as blank as the Hungarian one. No Hungarian language books existed for Dutch speakers. Since German was not suitable for bridging the language gap, as it often failed to serve as an effective mediating language, there was also an urgent need for language tools to help Dutch foster families communicate with their children. Although in a few cases, where the child had some command of German, basic communication was possible, the need for faster information exchange was pressing.[50]

The first language aids for Dutch speakers were amateur word lists. Twelve days after the children arrived in Utrecht, Henriëtte Kuyper,[51] who had spent a few months in 1916 at the *Nederlandse Ambulance* ('Dutch Ambulance') in Budapest, published a short Hungarian–Dutch word list.[52] Within days, her list, along with the full article, was copied by several other newspapers.[53] In the following weeks, the glossary was expanded by enthusiastic readers,[54] and even new amateur glossaries were published.[55] Here are few examples from them:

Jo, goed, lekker, prettig ['good, tasty, nice']
Nem jo, niet goed, niet lekker, niet prettig ['not good, not tasty, not nice']
Jobb, beter, lekkerder, prettiger ['better, tastier, nicer']

[50] R.A.S, "De Hongaarsche Kinderen," *Provinciale Geldersche En Nijmeegsche Courant*, April 13, 1920, 3.

[51] H.S.S. Kuyper, "Een lesje in 't Hongaarsch," *Gereformeerde Kerkbode*, February 22, 1920.

[52] Maarten J. Aalders, "Twee vrienden van Hongarije. Henriëtte Kuyper (1870–1933) en Jan Clinge Fledderus (1870–1946)," in *De Hongaarse kindertreinen: Een levende brug tussen Hongarije, Nederland en België na de Eerste Wereldoorlog*, ed. Maarten J. Aalders, Gábor Pusztai and Orsolya Réthelyi (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren BV, 2020), 15–37.

[53] "Een lesje in 't Hongaarsch," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, February 27, 1920, 1.; "Een lesje in 't Hongaarsch," *De standaard*, February 28, 1920, 3. "Een lesje in het Hongaarsch," *Het Centrum*, March 4, 1920, 5.; "Een lesje in het Hongaarsch," *Eindhovensch dagblad*, March 6, 1920, 5.; "Een lesje in het Hongaarsch," *Limburger koerier: provinciaal dagblad*, March 6, 1920, 1.

[54] Jac. M. Prinsenberg, "Nog een lesje in het Hongaarsch," *Het Centrum*, March 8, 1920, 6.

[55] "Voor hen die Hongaarsche kinderen in huis hebben," 2.

Nem jobb, niet beter, niet lekkerder, niet prettiger ['not better, not tastier, not nicer']
Seebb, mooi ['beautiful']
Nem seebb, niet mooi ['more beautiful'][56]

As foster parents continued to request her, in April 1922, Henriëtte Kuyper published her glossary in a somewhat adjusted form in *De Standaard* with the following words:

> I once published such a list at the time, and I enjoyed it very much. Also, in the sense that it caused me a lot of trouble! Because I was constantly receiving requests from foster parents to send them a copy of *De Standaard,* in which that list had appeared. As if I had such a whole pile of it in stock! If another children train arrives from Hungary, I know immediately! I get requests for a copy of *De Standaard,* etc.[57]

Although the glossaries served as useful 'icebreaker' in initial communication, they were somewhat impressionistic and varied in quality. The pronunciation of the Hungarian words and expressions was transcribed using the letters of the Dutch alphabet, enabling Dutch foster parents to pronounce them easily. While the result was often surprisingly accurate, there were several inconsistencies that could have been misleading. For example, Hungarian *tizenegy* [tizɛnɛɟ] 'eleven' is transcribed as *ties an eejh,* which in Dutch would be pronounced as [tisɑnej], or Hungarian *leves* [lɛvɛʃ] 'soup' as *lewes,* which would be pronounced as [lɛvɛs]. [58]

The first 'commercial' Dutch–Hungarian glossary, *Practische woordenlijst Nederlandsch–Hongaarsch* [Practical Dutch–Hungarian Glossary], was published in May 1920 in Nijmegen by A.H.C. van der Kruk, treasurer of the *Neutraal Comité voor Oostenrijk-Hongaarsche kinderen te Nijmegen* [Neutral Committee for Austro-Hungarian Children in Nijmegen'].[59] Unfortunately, no

[56] "Een lesje in het Hongaarsch," *Limburger koerier: provinciaal dagblad.* March 6, 1920, 1.
[57] H.S.S. Kuyper, "Lijstje van Hongaarsche woorden voor Nederlandsche pleegouders die Hongaarsche kinderen in huis hebben," *De Standaard*, April 8, 1922, 3.
[58] Prinsenberg, "Nog een lesje in het Hongaarsch," 6.; "Voor hen die Hongaarsche kinderen in huis hebben," 2.
[59] A.H.C. van der Kruk, *Praktische Woordenlijst. Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch: Hongaarsch-Nederlands (Alfabetisch Gerangschikt)* (Nijmegen, 1920).

copy of the booklet is known to us. The *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche courant* provides a short description on the book's origin and content: its glossary contained about a thousand common words in both languages, arranged alphabetically. It also included a brief grammar section and pronunciation guide. [60]

It is unclear which German-Hungarian dictionary Van der Kruk adapted for the Dutch glossary. At the time, several German–Hungarian and Hungarian–German dictionaries were available, ranging from classical ones, e.g., Mór Ballagi's *Schul- und Reis-Tasche-Wörterbuch der ungarischen und deutschen Sprache* (which had had 22 editions until 1913[61]), to more modern ones, such as József Balassa's *Langenscheidts Taschenwörterbuch der ungarischen und deutschen Sprache* (first published in 1915).[62] In any case, it was necessary to abridge these larger dictionaries to create a more practical glossary for everyday use. The selection of the lemmas was pragmatic, focusing solely on words deemed useful for everyday conversations. We only know this because Kruk's glossary was preserved as part of another publication.

Miklós Knébel, a central figure in the literature on the Child Transport Action, was well-known for hist support and priestly work he undertook first in the Netherlands and later in Belgium.[63] After arriving with the first Catholic train to the Nehterlands on December 20, 1920, Knébel learned Dutch within one or two years.[64] By 1922, just two years after his arrival, he compiled the first Dutch–Hungarian language book and dictionary.[65]

However, it appears that the credit of this book is not entirely his. The first version of Knébel's booklet was titled *Nederlandsch–Hongaarsch / samengest.*

[60] "Een Woordenlijst Nederlands Hongaarsch," *Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche Courant*, May 6, 1920, 1.

[61] Ballagi Mór, *Iskolai és utazási magyar és német zsebszótár*, 1st ed. (Pest: Heckenast, 1855); Ballagi Mór, *Schul- Und Reise Taschen-Wörterbuch Der Ungarischen Und Deutschen Sprache*, 22nd ed. (Budapest: Franklin, 1913).

[62] Balassa József, *Langenscheidts Taschenwörterbuch Der Ungarischen Und Deutschen Sprache: Mit Angabe Der Aussprache* (Berlin: Langenscheidt, 1915); Balassa József, *Langenscheidts Taschenwörterbuch Der Ungarischen Und Deutschen Sprache* (Berlin - Schöneberg: Langenscheidt, 1917).

[63] Hermán M. János, "Gyermekmentés Belgiumban (1923–1930)," *Korunk* 3/9, no. 12 (December 1998): 115–123.; Aalders, Pusztai and Réthelyi, eds., *De Hongaarse Kindertreinen*; Bodó Judit, "Vas vármegye és a gyermekvonatok, 1920–1926. Történeti rekonstrukciós kísérlet," *Vasi Szemle* LXXIV, no. 4 (2020): 391–408.

[64] "Hongaarsche kinderen in Vlaanderen," *Vlaanderen*, November 17, 1923, 3.; Hermán, "Gyermekmentés Belgiumban (1923–1930)," *Korunk* 3/9, no. 12 (December 1998): 115–123.

[65] Knébel Miklós, *Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch* ('s-Hertogenbosch: R.K. Huisvestings-comité, 1922).

door Knébel Miklós ('Dutch–Hungarian / edited by Knébel Miklós'). According to the Dutch catalogues, it had 62 pages and was published by the Roman Catholic Housing Committee in 1922 in 's-Hertogenbosch.[66] Since no copy of this first edition could be consulted before the publication of this chapter, it is unclear whether this is the same (perhaps a first version) as Knébel's later work known as *(Beknopte) Hongaarsche spraakleer* [Hungarian language study].[67] A newspaper article from April 1922 reports that a *Hongaarsche spraakleer* [Hungarian language study] was due to be published shortly in Roermond at the publisher Van der Marck en Zonen,[68] suggesting the possibility of two separate publications. However, it seems more likely that there was only one publication printed in two different locations by different publishers. Articles from June 1922,[69] describes the book as practical, containing a concise grammar and a detailed glossary, which includes the Hungarian-Dutch glossary from A.H. v. d. Kruk's earlier work.[70]

Since we lack a copy of Van der Kruk's booklet, it is difficult to determine with certainty which parts of Knébel's *Hongaarsche Spraakleer* were borrowed from Van der Kruk. However, it seems likely that the grammatical introduction, and the Dutch–Hungarian/Hungarian–Dutch glossary were taken from Van der Kruk, though they may have been revised by Knébel. The grammar section contains the same items as Van der Kruk's glossary, including pronunciation instructions, conjugation of two common verbs, and numerals. Additionally, some pronoun analyses[71] suggest the introduction was written by a native Dutch speaker.[72] Furthermore, both books contain a similar number of words (around 1,000 in Van der Kruk's glossary and 2,300 in Knébel's *Spraak-*

[66] Knébel Miklós, *Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch* ('s-Hertogenbosch: R.K. Huisvestings-comité, 1922).

[67] Miklós Knébel, *Hongaarsche Spraakleer* (Brussel: Secretariaat der Hongaarse Kinderen, 1923); Miklós Knébel, *Beknopte Hongaarse spraakleer met woordenlijst: samengest. in opdracht van de stichting 'Hulpactie voor Hongarije', Amsterdam,* 3de ed. (Alkmaar: POA N.V., 1956).

[68] "Voor pleegouders van Hongaarsche kinderen," *De Maasbode*, April 5, 1922, 2.

[69] Even though all the newspapers refer to A.H. v. d. Kreek [sic.], it seems likely that his name was misspelt. The person the articles refer to is most probably A.H.C. van der Kruk, the compiler of the first Dutch–Hungarian glossary, as neither the name A.H. v. d. Kreek nor another glossary from an earlier period appear in any other source.

[70] "Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch," *De Maasbode*, July 9, 1922, 2; "Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch," *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, July 10, 1922, 2; "Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch," *Limburgsh Dagblad*, July 11, 1922, 1; "Nederlandsch-Hongaars," *De Grondwet*, July 13, 1922, 3.

[71] For example, some pronouns are analyzed in a way that seem rather unusual for a Hungarian speaker, e.g., "'mijn" (en+em) – enyém' ('mine'), 'aan hem … (nek+e+e) neki' ('for him').

[72] Miklós Knebel, *Hongaarsche spraakleer*, 3de herziene druk (4500–7500) (Turnhout: Gewezen Werkhuizen Splichal Nze. Mij., 1924).

kunst). The part certainly written by Knébel includes useful expressions, the Hungarian National Anthem, and prayers.[73]

After its first edition in 1922 in s'-Hertogenbosch, Knébel's booklet was republished twice in the Netherlands, first in 1947[74] during the second wave of the Child Transport Action after the Second World War, and later in 1956 during the Hungarian Revolution.[75] In 1923 Knébel extended the scope of the humanitarian action to Belgium,[76] where the booklet was published that year. According to the *Gazet van Antwerpen*, every Flemish foster parent could get Knébel's booklet free of charge if they agreed to take in a Hungarian child.[77]

In Belgium the humanitarian action lasted longer than in the Netherlands, continuing until 1927 (unofficially even until 1930). [78] As a result, Knébel's *Spraakleer* was republished four times (2nd ed. 1923, 3rd ed. 1924, 4th ed. 1924, 5th ed. 1925) with a total of about 15,500 copies.[79]

Another somewhat mysterious 'dictionary' was published by the *Comité voor Hongaarsche kinderen in Friesland* [Committee for Hungarian Children in Friesland] with the title *Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch woordenboek voor Nederlanders die een Hongaarsch pleegkind bij zich hebben* [Dutch–Hungarian Dictionary for those who have a Hungarian foster child].[80] The author and the publication date of the booklet are unknown. It contains 24 pages, including a description of the pronunciation of the Hungarian alphabet, a collection of simple expressions for foster parents (*over het kind* 'about the child'; *over de ouders van het kind* 'about the child's parents), the list of cardinal numbers, the conjugation of the word *be*, the names of the days and the months, a glossary with replaceable expressions (e.g., *Ik zou graag – Szeretnék, eten – enni, gaan wandelen – sétálni* etc.), a list of words and sentences related to the Bible, a

[73] It contains a list of useful expressions (e.g., Het is: Vroeg – korán van 'It is early'; Ik heb hoofdpijn – Fáj a fejem 'I have a headache'), the Hungarian National Anthem, an example of confession, a 'Hail Mary', and another Hungarian prayer to Mary.

[74] This publication is only reported in one newspaper article.

[75] "Beknopte Hongaarse spraakleer met woordenlijst," *De Maasbode*, November 23, 1956, 5.

[76] Vera Hajtó, "De Belgen En de Hongaarse Kinderen. Kinderhulpacties (1923–1927)," in *De Hongaarse Kindertreinen*, eds. Maarten J. Aalders, Gábor Pusztai & Orsolya Réthelyi (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren BV, 2020), 61–77.

[77] "Uit Contich," *Gazet van Antwerpen*, August 31, 1923, 3.

[78] Hajtó, "De Belgen En de Hongaarse Kinderen. Kinderhulpacties (1923–1927)," 76.

[79] Miklós Knébel, *Hongaarsche Spraakleer*, 5., herziene druk, (10500–15500) (Turnhout: Secretariaat der Hongaarsche Kinderen, 1925).

[80] *Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch woordenboek voor Nederlanders die een Hongaarsch pleegkind bij zich hebben* (Leeuwarden: Comité voor Hongaarsche kinderen in Friesland, s.d.).

random selection of about 250 words, and two short prayers before and after meals, the Lord's Prayer, and the Hungarian National Anthem.

Based on the available sources, the dictionary—or rather glossary—appears to be connected to another one compiled by Zoltán Galambos, a Hungarian Reformed minister who studied in Utrecht for four and half years.[81] Although no copy of Galambos' work has been found, a newspaper advertisement provides a clear description.[82] Published by the "Bethlen Gábor" Reformed Printing House in Budapest, the 32-page-long booklet includes common vocabulary, prayers (including the Lord's Prayer), the Hungarian National Anthem, and practical tips. At the end of December 1923, two articles advertised Galambos' dictionary before the arrival of the next train in January 1924. While the glossary of the Committee for Hungarian Children in Friesland[83] is only 24 pages, its content significantly overlaps with Galambos's work. The similarities are even more striking when compared to Knébel's *Hongaarse Spraakleer*[84] and the Dictionary for children sent to Holland.[85]The Frisian Committee's glossary excludes certain religious expressions, likely due to its Calvinist background, possibly linking it to Galambos's work. The glossary of the National Child Protection League also shares notable similarities in content and methodology with the other two. These parallels could indicate a shared methodological approach and a common source, or the central influence of figures like Knébel or Galambos, who may have served as key contributors or disseminators. Alternatively, the glossaries might have been created independently but shaped by similar contexts and aims. Tentative evidence suggests that Knébel may have contributed to translating the National Child Protection League's glossary, given his proficiency in Dutch and German. Further research is required to clarify the relationship between these works and the role of central figures like Knébel in their development.

In 1923 a Hungarian language book aimed at a broader audience was published by Sándor Széll in Kampen at Ph. Zalsman, a prestigious publishing

[81] "Külföldről visszatért lelkész," *Dunántúli Protestáns Lap* 33, no. 1 (January 1, 1922): 4.

[82] "Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch woordenboek," *De Standaard*, April 30, 1923, 1.

[83] *Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch woordenboek voor Nederlanders die een Hongaarsch pleegkind bij zich hebben*.

[84] Knebel Miklós, *Hongaarsche spraakleer*, 1924.

[85] *Szótár a Hollandiába küldött gyermekek részére (magyar-holland),* (Budapest: Országos Gyermekvédő Liga / Landsliga voor Kinderbescherming, 1921).

house[86] specializing in language books.[87] *De Vlugge Hongaar* [The quick Hungarian] was part of a series of language books for English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish.[88] With 128 pages it was not only the most extensive Dutch–Hungarian language book of its time, but also the richest in content. After a short introduction, the book begins with an overview of Hungarian grammar (pp. 2–50), followed by translation exercises, and a parallel text on the origins and history of the Hungarian language (pp. 51–60), with superscript numbers linking words to the grammar sections. It also includes a Hungarian–Dutch, Dutch–Hungarian glossary (pp. 60–74), a list of countries and cities (p. 76), thematic sentences and conversations (verbs, greetings, travel, at the hotel, conversation, post office etc.) (pp. 76–92), instructions for letter-writing, and more advanced thematic sentences (family, home, city, human body etc.) (pp. 95–106). The final section features reading and translation exercises (pp. 107–126), alongside religious, patriotic, nationalistic, revisionist texts, such as the Lord's Prayer and a Hungarian revisionist prayer, the first verse of the Hungarian patriotic poem "Szózat" [Appeal], the National Anthem, and Sándor Petőfi's "Nemzeti dal" [National Song], "Hollandus szív" [Dutch Heart], a poem by Andor Kozma praising Dutch support for Hungary.[89] The texts reflect Széll's revisionist sentiments[90] and gratitude towards the Netherlands for its role in the Child Transport Action.[91] *De vlugge Hongaar* can be considered the first modern Hungarian language book for Dutch speakers, shaped by its own historical context, including the Child Transport Action and the growing cul-

[86] Ph. Zalsman was a Calvinist publishing house that published religious newspapers like *De Bazuin*. They may have been motivated to publish Széll's book due to their shared Calvinist background.

[87] Sándor Széll, *De vlugge Hongaar: handleiding om zonder onderwijzer in korten tijd Hongaarsch te leeren lezen, schrijven en spreken : (Rövid Magyar nyeveltan és phraseologia)* (Kampen: Ph. Zalsman, 1923); "Advertentien," *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 90, no. 85 (November 6, 1923): 1062; "Hongaar (De vlugge)," *Brinkman's alphabetische lijst van boeken, landkaarten en verder in den boekhandel voorkomende artikelen die in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden uitgegeven of herdrukt zijn, benevens opgave van den uitgever, den prijs en eenige aantekeningen, voorts een lijst der overgegane fondsartikelen alsmede een wetenschappelijk register* no. 75 (1923): 141.

[88] *De vlugge Franschman: of: Handleiding om zonder onderwijzer, in korten tijd Fransch te leeren lezen, schrijven en spreken* (Kampen: Ph. Zalsman, 1882); *De Vlugge Duitscher, of Handleiding om zonder onderwijzer, in korten tijd Hoogduitsch te leeren lezen, schrijven en spreken* (Kampen: Zalsman, 1888); *De Vlugge Engelschman, of handleiding om zonder onderwijzer in korten tijd Engelsch te leeren lezen, schrijven en spreken* (Kampen: Zalsman, 1910).

[89] For further details on the poem see Orsolya Réthelyi, "Een nieuwe familie," in *De Hongaarse kindertreinen: Een levende brug tussen Hongarije, Nederland en België na de Eerste Wereldoorlog*, ed. Maarten J. Aalders, Gábor Pusztai and Orsolya Réthelyi (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren BV, 2020), 79–111.

[90] Moldovai, "Fülöp Ferenc lelkipásztor életrajza (forrásközlés)," 17–25.

[91] Cf. also Bozzay, "Vilma királynő utca Debrecenben?" 71–79.

tural ties between Hungary and the Netherlands.

On the Dutch side, various forms of linguistic interaction with Hungary remain to be explored. During the Children's Trains Action, some Hungarian civilians offered Hungarian lessons in exchange for Dutch.[92] Numerous informative articles[93] on Hungary and Hungarian appeared, such as the piece in the *De nieuwe courant* in April 1920, highlighting fascinating similarities between Dutch and Hungarian (e.g., Dutch *klaar is kees* vs. Hungarian *kész,* etc.) and the history of the Hungarian word *kocsi* 'coach.'[94] Additionally, book exchanges exchanged,[95] lectures,[96] student congresses,[97] and translations[98] fostered linguistic interoperability and cultural exchange.

Conclusion

After centuries of cultural relations, the Child Transport Action of the 1920s marked a turning point in Dutch-Hungarian linguistic relations, prompting the creation of the first linguistic tools that facilitated direct communication between the two languages. As if history wanted to make up for what had been missed for centuries, the first glossaries emerged as 'linguistic first aid',[99] beginning with the Hungarian–Dutch glossary in 1920–1921, a translation of an earlier German version. The first commercial Dutch grammar and conversation textbook appeared in 1920, followed by the first dictionary in 1921, both published by Rozsnyai.[100] Although both books were of professional quality, they were never republished. In 1926 Sándor Széll's Dutch Grammar and Conversations[101] became the most popular Dutch textbook of its kind for dec-

[92] "Hollandsche les," *Het Nieuws van den Dag,* May 4, 1920, 4.

[93] E.g. T. V., "De Hongaarsche taal," *Haagsche Courant,* March 3, 1922, 6.; "De oorsprong der Hongaren," *Wetenschappelijke Bladen* 4e deel, no. volgno 2 (1926): 265–72.

[94] "Iets over de Hongaarsche taal," *De Nieuwe Courant,* April 30, 1920, 5.

[95] Géza von Antal, "De verbindende kracht van boeken," *Bibliotheekleven* 6, no. 9 (1921): 220–23.

[96] "Een lezing over Hongarije," *Het Vaderland,* March 11, 1922, 2.

[97] E.g. "Nederl.-Hongaarsch studenten-congres te Budapest," *De Maasbode,* July 2, 1927, 2.; "Ned. studenten in Boedapest. (van onzen correspondent)," *Algemeen Handelsblad,* 20 July 1927, 1.

[98] Sándor Petőfi, *Gedichten,* trans. A.S.C. Wallis (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1924).

[99] "Szótár a Hollandiába küldött gyermekek részére (magyar-német)," (Budapest: Országos Gyermekvédő Liga / Landsliga voor Kinderbescherming, 1920); "Szótár a Belgiumba küldött gyermekek részére (magyar-holland)" (Budapest: Országos Gyermekvédő Liga / Landsliga voor Kinderbescherming, n.d.).

[100] Rozsnyai, *Holland nyelvtan;* Rozsnyai, *Magyar-Holland szótár legfontosabb szókincse.*

[101] Széll, *Holland nyelvtan és társalgó. Nederlandsche taalstudie.*

ades, until its republication during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956,[102] and the publication of Antal Sivirski's *Holland nyelvkönyv* [Dutch language book] in 1957, which was the first example of a new generation of language books.[103]

On the Dutch side, A.H.C. van der Kruk compiled the first glossary in 1920, shortly after the arrival of the first train to the Netherlands.[104] His glossary was later incorporated in Miklós Knébel's *(Beknopte) Hongaarsche Spraakleer* in 1922.[105] This work was republished twice in the Netherlands and four times in Belgium.[106] Another significant resource, the 'Dutch–Hungarian Dictionary for those who have a Hungarian foster child' by the Committee for Hungarian Children in Friesland shows striking similarities with Knébel's book and Zoltán Galambos's now-lost glossary.[107] These connections, as well as the relationship between these works and the Hungarian National Child Protection League's glossary, require further investigation.

The first commercial Hungarian language book for Dutch speakers, *De Vlugge Hongaar* by Sándor Széll was published in 1923 as part of a language book series. It combined professional language instruction with patriotic and religious content, reflecting its ties to the Child Transport Action and the gratitude of Hungarians toward the Dutch.

In general, these language books follow a long European tradition of textbooks for major languages, such as German, French, English, etc. All of them employ the grammar-translation method, rooted in the classical education tradition, which incorporates grammar, vocabulary, and cultural elements as key components. Although originally used for teaching classical languages, from the 19th century onwards, the method was also applied to teaching contemporary languages.[108] At the same time, it became customary to integrate cultural topics into textbooks, often through translation. In all the language books associated with the Child Transport Action, religious (prayers), patriot-

[102] Széll, *Holland nyelvtan és társalgó. Nederlandsche taalstudie*.

[103] Sivirsky Antal, *Holland nyelvkönyv* (Amsterdam: Becht, 1957).

[104] Kruk, *Praktische Woordenlijst.*

[105] Knébel, *Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch*.

[106] Knébel, *Hongaarsche Spraakleer*, 1923; Knebel, *Hongaarsche spraakleer*, 1924; Miklós Knebel, *Hongaarsche spraakleer*, 4de herziene druk (7500–10500) (Turnhout: Gewezen Werkhuizen Splichal Nze. Mij., 1924); Knébel, *Hongaarsche Spraakleer*, 1925.

[107] Knébel, *Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch*; *Nederlandsch-Hongaarsch woordenboek*.

[108] Jack C. Richards and Richard W. Schmidt, *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* (Harlow: Longman, 2010), s.v. Grammar Translation Method.

ic and national(istic) aspects play a central role, reflecting the influence of the Catholic Church (Miklós Knébel) and Reformed Church (Zoltán Galambos, Sándor Széll) in their creation.

Finally, from a linguistic perspective, it is evident that the Hungarian–Dutch–Belgian Child Transport Action in the 1920s marked a significant turning point in the history of Dutch–Belgian–Hungarian cultural relations. This humanitarian initiative, a unique form of migration and mobility, brought about an unprecedented linguistic challenge. Thousands of Hungarian children, separated from their families and sent to the Low Countries for care, were faced with the need to communicate with their new foster families, who spoke no Hungarian. This abrupt necessity for daily communication, coupled with the lack of linguistic aid, created a vacuum that spurred the rapid development of pioneering language learning materials. A small but dedicated group of individuals responded to this challenge by creating resources to bridge the linguistic divide.

The Child Transport Action, as a specific form of migration/mobility, was a catalyst for the crossing of linguistic borders, highlighting the role of migration in reshaping linguistic landscapes. It forced the creation of tools that facilitated not only practical communication between foster families and children but also broader cultural exchanges between Hungary and the Low Countries. These early language learning resources were pivotal in addressing the immediate linguistic needs of the children, but they also played a longer role in fostering deeper understanding and connection between the cultures involved.

Given the significance of the Child Transport Action in the development of language learning tools, there is considerable potential for further research. This could include exploring yet undiscovered glossaries and textbooks in archives, examining the second generation of language books published after the Second World War, or investigating earlier language learning materials that predate the 20th century, such as those related to the early modern peregrination of Hungarian students to Dutch universities. Ultimately, this research could provide valuable insights into how specific forms of migration/mobility, such as the Child Transport Action, influenced the evolution of language pedagogy and facilitated cultural exchange across borders and languages.

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Part II

(Hi)stories of Migration from the United States

Legislative Attitudes Towards Immigrant Minority Languages During the First 100 Years of the American Nation-Building Experience (1774–1875)

Sándor Czeglédi and Dominik Németh

Introduction

Today, almost 14% of the population of the United States are made up of immigrants, slightly less than the 14.8% figure in 1890, which is still considered to be the historically highest share since 1850, when the U.S. government began collecting nativity data through the decennial census.[1] Consequently, the fluctuations of the immigrants' share of the population have been relatively easy to track for the past 170 years, a period which also included a sharp drop in the newcomers' numbers after the restrictive laws of the 1920s and the steady expansion of immigrant flows after the 1965 reform, which ended the previous quota system. At the same time, reliable and diachronically comparable data about linguistic diversity were not available before 1980, and no language- or English proficiency-related questions had been asked during the decennial censuses before 1890.[2]

It was the immigration reform attempts spearheaded by the Democrats and the concomitant political battles since the 1950s that gave currency to the "nation of immigrants" phrase. Then-Senator J. F. Kennedy's booklet with an eponymous title was published originally in 1958, written as a contribution to the contemporary policy debates and also functioned as a powerful set of arguments for the liberalization of the existing, strict immigration laws. In *A Nation of Immigrants*, Kennedy briefly summarized the immigration history of the United States; highlighted the contribution of various minority groups to the development of the industry, agriculture, political philosophy, etc. of

[1] "U.S. Immigrant Population and Share Over Time, 1850–Present," *Migration Policy Institute*, (2020), accessed December 27, 2023, https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/immigrant-population-over-time.

[2] "Historical Language Questions," *U.S. Census Bureau*, accessed August 3, 2021, https://www.census.gov/topics/population/language-use/about/historical.html.

the country; pointed out the flaws in the contemporary immigration policies; and argued for sweeping reforms to leave the ghosts of the 1920s behind.[3]

The indirect impact of Kennedy's book on contemporary and future political discourse (as well as on the self-perceptions of Americans) can easily be visualized with the help of the Google Books Ngram Viewer:

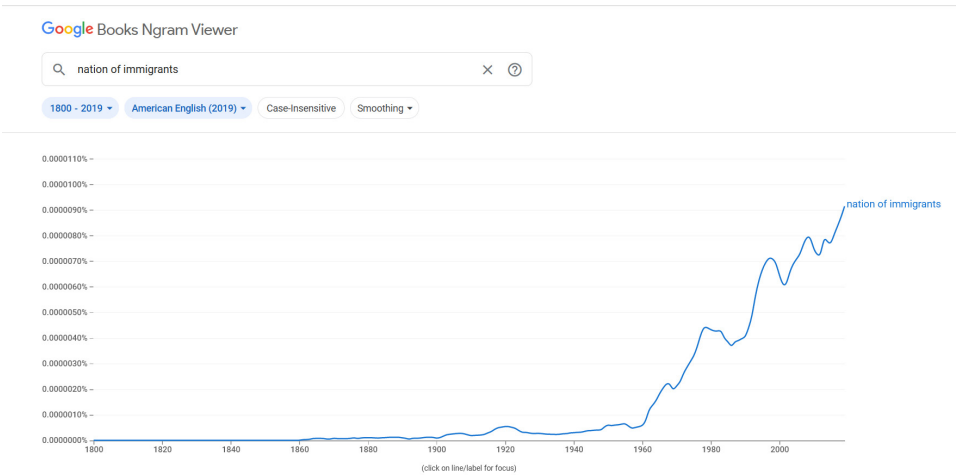

Figure 1. The relative frequency curve of the "nation of immigrants" phrase in the Google Books "American English (2019)" corpus. Source: https://bit.ly/3PcY1J0.

However, not every scholar has accepted the correctness or even the adequacy of Kennedy's characterization of the United States. One of the most notable critics, Samuel P. Huntington regarded it as a partial truth at best, and eloquently argued for the primacy of settler culture and values—including that of the English language.[4] He also noted that "[f]or most of their history, most Americans did not hold favorable views of immigrants, and did not celebrate their country as 'a nation of immigrants.'"[5]

The phrase itself was not a new creation in the late 1950s, though: it had definitely been present in printed sources during the early decades of the 20th century; and the very first recorded instances date back to the 1860s and

[3] John F. Kennedy, *A Nation of Immigrants*, 3rd ed. (Harper Perennial, 2008).
[4] Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*, (Simon & Schuster, 2004), 38–40.
[5] Huntington, *Who Are We?,* 38.

the 1870s. In 1873, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture characterized US society as "a nation of immigrants gathered from all the countries of the world."[6] What made the forging of a nation possible from such heterogeneous groups of people according to the document was land ownership: private property "which cannot be alienated or taken away but by their own act."[7]

Almost a decade before the Massachusetts report, the phrase had cropped up in the records of the Federal Congress as well. The Union had actively been encouraging immigration to the North from abroad, at least since the signing of the Homestead Act into law in May 1862. To boost this policy further, Congress passed the Act to Encourage Immigration in 1864, also known as the Contract Labor Act, allowing the recruitment of foreign workers by private employers.[8] On February 27, 1864, Minnesota Congressman Ignatius Donnelly, following up on President Lincoln's recommendation to set up "a system for the encouragement of immigration," proposed the establishment of a Bureau of Immigration, "conscious of the obligations due by a nation of immigrants, or the children of immigrants."[9]

In spite of the occasional official support to facilitate immigration, frequent restrictionist attitudes and outright nativist reactions have also been present since the very beginning of the American nation-building experience. The quota system of the 1920s cast a four-decade-long, selectively xenophobic shadow on official immigration policies, but earlier laws (e.g., the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798; the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882) and political developments (including the birth of the nativist American Party in the 1850s, also called "Know Nothings") indicated that contemporary political expediency and grass roots sentiments often overrode today's idealized (a)historical expectations based on the uncritical acceptance of the "nation of immigrants" and "nation of nations" labels. Nativist feelings ran especially high in regions

[6] "Twentieth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture," (Wright and Potter, State Printers: Boston, Massachusetts, 1873), 29, accessed December 26, 2023, https://bit.ly/3CwZySG.

[7] *Twentieth Annual Report*, 29–30.

[8] Andrew M. Baxter and Alex Nowrasteh, "A Brief History of U.S. Immigration Policy from the Colonial Period to the Present Day," CATO Policy Analysis 919, (2021), 7, accessed December 26, 2023, https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/2021-07/policy-analysis-919-revised.pdf.

[9] "Congressional Globe, 38th Cong.," 1st sess. (1864), 858, accessed August 2, 2022, https://bit.ly/3p-7c8F9.

experiencing high concentrations of immigrant groups, especially when they (apparently) belonged to the same ethnolinguistic group. For example, in Pennsylvania colony, where even Benjamin Franklin complained—in openly racist terms by today's standards—about the German newcomers, who, by the 1750s represented the third of the colony's population, and seemed to be failing to adopt the English language and the local customs.[10] In order to prevent the formation of permanently German-speaking ethnolinguistic enclaves, Franklin advised "to distribute them more equally, mix them with the English," and "establish English Schools where they are now too thick settled."[11] However, Franklin's earlier, openly xeno(glosso)phobic views were tempered during the forthcoming decades as he increasingly began to regard German-Americans as useful Federalist political allies—and not so much as competitors, e.g., in the printing business.[12]

Benjamin Franklin was definitely not alone in his assimilationist opinion—either in the 1750s or in the following decades. Partly due to the fact that there has been no language academy in the United States (as the original proposal by John Adams to establish one was rejected in 1780), language policy decisions were frequently *ad hoc* reactions to perceived immediate problems, especially before the 1960s. Nevertheless, several scholars have identified consistent patterns in American language ideologies over time. These observations pointed out the dominance of an "English-only" ideology;[13] strong assimilation-orientation;[14] "linguistic nativism";[15] or even "xenoglossophobia."[16]

[10] James Crawford, *At War with Diversity: US Language Policy in an Age of Anxiety* (Multilingual Matters, 2000), 11.

[11] Benjamin Franklin, "From Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1853," *Founders Online: National Archives*, accessed December 22, 2023, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0173.

[12] Crawford, *At War*, 12.

[13] Reynaldo F. Macías, "Language Politics and the Sociolinguistic Historiography of Spanish in the United States," in *Language in Action: New Studies of Language in Society: Essays in Honor of Roger W. Shuy*, ed. Joy K. Peyton, Patrick Griffin, Walt Wolfram and Ralph Fasold (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2000), 53.

[14] Terrence G. Wiley, "Continuity and Change in the Function of Language Ideologies in the United States," in *Ideology, Politics, and Language Policies: Focus on English*, ed. Thomas Ricento (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), 84.

[15] Dennis Baron, *Spanish, English and the New Nativism*, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, (2004), accessed January 8, 2020, http://faculty.las.illinois.edu/debaron/essays/native.htm.

[16] Sandy Cutshall, "Why We Need 'The Year of Languages'," *Educational Leadership* 64, no. 4 (2004): 22.

Aims, Corpora and Method

The present analysis attempts to determine to what extent these interpretations are valid for the first 100 years of national-level legislative history of the United States by focusing on the treatment of immigrant minority languages in Congressional documents from a diachronic perspective. (A previous study focusing on the executive branch revealed that the presidential documents contained practically no references to immigrant minority languages before 1876—apart from a few optimistic, symbolic remarks stressing the eagerness of the newcomers to embrace American values and customs.[17])

The subcorpora for this investigation were built with the help of the keyword-searchable online legislative database of the Library of Congress ("A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation" at https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/), which is a digitized collection of U.S. Congressional documents and debates between 1774 and 1875. Consequently, this is the time frame of the present analysis as well, since no comparable and freely accessible database exists at the moment that would cover the last quarter of the 19th century. The online document collection includes the journals of the Continental Congress, the records of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and the documents of the 43 Federal Congresses until 1875.

This paper examines the recorded language-related remarks, proposals, and decisions in these sources by collecting, classifying, comparing and contrasting all those instances where the word "language" and/or "languages" were mentioned in the specified period—with at least marginal "minority language"-related references. The examination does not focus on either the role of the English language in the nation-building processes or on the treatment of indigenous tongues. Often, however, it is very difficult to determine whether a certain (especially "old colonial") language (e.g., Spanish, French or German) is regarded as a "foreign" or "minority" language in a particular context. (As a general rule, the very same language received a considerably more favorable treatment in the former category.)

For the definition of "language policy" (LP) and the construction of the data classification scheme, we have relied on Bernard Spolsky's by now clas-

[17] Sándor Czeglédi, "The Case of the Subconscious Language Planner: Chief Executives and Language Policy from George Washington to William McKinley," in *Cultural Encounters: New Perspectives in English and American Studies*, ed. Péter Gaál-Szabó, Andrea Csillag, Ottilia Veres and Szilárd Kmeczkó (Debrecen: Debrecen Reformed Theological University, 2019), 189–193.

sic approach, according to which LP may refer to "all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity."[18] The first component ("language practices") is defined as the observable behaviors and choices—i.e., what people actually do, what linguistic features are chosen, which varieties of language are used.[19] The second component of language policy consists of beliefs about language, sometimes collectively called "an ideology," while the third component is "language management," i.e., the "explicit and observable efforts" to modify practices or beliefs.[20] In a narrow sense, language policy is sometimes equated with language management alone. More recently, Spolsky has added new aspects to the management component of the model, making a distinction between "advocates" who generally lack the authority to effect changes and "managers"—who actually do.[21] Also, Spolsky recognizes the importance of "self-management," i.e., "the attempt of speakers to modify their own linguistic proficiency and repertoire."[22] Self-management may include (first) language acquisition, language socialization, language accommodation, and conscious language (or accent) learning.[23]

In David Cassels Johnson's interpretation,[24] "a language policy is a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language," and includes: 1. official regulations; 2. unofficial, covert, de facto, and implicit mechanisms; 3. processes (policy creation, interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation); 4. policy texts and discourses (influenced by the ideologies and discourses unique to that context). A document analysis (especially that of the records of the legislative branch) at national/federal level may cover a considerable proportion of the aspects listed above, with the likely exception of the unofficial, covert mechanisms and the interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation processes at lower levels. As far as the genesis of policies is concerned, the study of legislative proposals may provide an occasional direct insight into grassroots demands (i.e., bottom-up policy in-

[18] Spolsky, *Language Policy*, 9.
[19] Spolsky, *Language Policy*, 4.
[20] Spolsky, *Language Management*, 4.
[21] Bernard Spolsky, "A Modified and Enriched Theory of Language Policy (and Management)," *Language Policy* 18, no. 3. (2019): 326, doi.org/10.1007/s10993-018-9489-z.
[22] Spolsky, "A Modified and Enriched Theory," 326.
[23] Spolsky, "A Modified and Enriched Theory," 327.
[24] David C. Johnson, *Language Policy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 9.

itiatives) as well, since various petitions by minority groups (mostly requesting the translation of federal documents into minority languages) routinely appeared on the agenda of both chambers. Failed or yet-to-be-enacted proposals are also valuable from the researcher's perspective. Joseph Lo Bianco explicitly warns against concentrating solely on declared, or explicit, laws and policy in LP analysis,[25] recommending that LP scholars should probe the "subtler realm of convention, beliefs and attitude, culture and tradition" by focusing on language policies "in the making," instead of giving a descriptive accounting of policies that "have been made."[26]

In order to separate ideological statements from management efforts—while, at the same time, being able to gauge the likely impact of the given proposals, we employ a simple yet potentially helpful and effective "Language Policy Spectrum Framework" (LPSF)[27] to classify the corpus data.

	"Ideology"	**"Management"**
	Symbolic remarks/proposals	***Substantive*** proposals
General	simple/concurrent resolutions, ideological remarks	"**Language Policy**" (bills; joint resolutions)
Specific	ideological remarks, (simple/concurrent resolutions)	bills, resolutions affecting one L or an individual in a particular situation → no precedential value

Table 1. The "Language Policy Spectrum Framework" (LPSF). (Source: authors)

The two quadrants on the left side represent symbolic policies and remarks, defined in the public policy context by James E. Anderson as policies that "have little real material impact on people"; "they allocate no tangible

[25] Joseph Lo Bianco, "The Language of Policy: What Sort of Policy Making is the Officialization of English is in the United States?," in *Sociopolitical Perspectives on Language Policy and Planning in the USA*, ed. Thom Huebner and Kathryn A. Davis (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1999), 39.

[26] Bianco, "The Language of Policy," 39–40.

[27] An earlier version of the Language Policy Spectrum Framework was used in Sándor Czeglédi, "Nine Decades of Dealing with Diversity: Language-Related Attitudes, Ideologies and Policies in Federal-Level US Legislative and Executive Documents from 1774 to 1861," *ELOPE: English Language Overseas Perspectives and Enquiries* 17, no. 2 (2020): 27–45, https://doi.org/10.4312/elope.17.2.27-45.

advantages and disadvantages"; rather, "they appeal to people's cherished values."[28] At the same time, substantive policies (the right quadrants) "directly allocate advantages and disadvantages, benefits and costs."[29]

The "general" vs. "specific" criteria hinge on the scope of the policy, statement, or opinion in question. "General" policies include (substantive) national-level policies or sweeping, stereotypical (symbolic) statements or personal opinions about, for example, the perceived nature, potential or usefulness of certain languages. On the other hand, (local) policy decisions affecting one single language in one particular situation (e.g., whether to purchase Latin dictionaries for Congress) or one single individual (e.g., a translator's position or pay) are classified as "specific." Policies that were applied to entire territories and/or future states were regarded as simultaneously both "specific" and "general," given the overall national or federal-level perspective of the analysis. Today's most controversial, national-level LP-related laws, proposals, executive orders, and regulations (including, for instance, the provision of multilingual ballots and the federal-level officialization attempts) belong to the top right quadrant; therefore, they are "substantive" and "general" in nature. In a narrow sense, this quadrant contains what may be regarded as genuine management or policy efforts, especially if enacted into law.

Another practical, easily applicable yet highly informative framework for formal LP analysis has been developed by Terrence G. Wiley since the late 1990s.[30] Wiley classifies the full range of possible policies according to a spectrum of categories that include promotion-, expediency-, tolerance-, restriction- or repression-orientation. Promotion means the allocation of resources to support the (official) use of (minority) languages, while expediency amounts to no more than short-term minority language accommodations—e.g., the provision of court interpreters, bilingual ballots, transitional bilingual education—which are not intended to foster minority-language maintenance.[31] (This analysis regards translation and interpretation as expe-

[28] James E. Anderson, *Public Policymaking: An Introduction* (Houghton Mifflin, 2003), 11.

[29] Anderson, *Public Policymaking*, 6.

[30] Wiley, "Comparative Historical Analysis of U.S. Language Policy and Language Planning: Extending the Foundations," 21–22; Terrence G. Wiley and Haley de Korne, "Historical Orientations to Language Policy in the United States," (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2014), 1–2, accessed January 7, 2021, http://www.cal.org/lpren/pdfs/briefs/historical-orientations-to-language-policy-in-the-united-states.pdf.

[31] Johnson, *Language Policy*, 35.

diency-oriented policies.) Wiley's classification is especially useful to determine how particular languages were treated in different (e.g., "minority" vs. "foreign") contexts.

According to our basic hypothesis, minority tongues will mostly appear in "problem"-oriented discourses[32] and policy proposals, despite the fact that the very same language may be accepted as a "resource" if seen as a "foreign" tongue (e.g., in the context of international diplomacy).[33]

Findings and Discussion

The examined century (1774–1875) has been divided into five periods to reflect distinct phases of U.S. history:

- Early nation-building from 1774 to 1789 (from the first Continental Congress to the election of George Washington and the convening of the first Federal Congress under the new Constitution);
- The beginning of U.S. territorial expansion and the end of the War of 1812 (1789–1815);
- The Antebellum years (1815–1861);
- The Civil War (1861–1865);
- The Reconstruction (from 1865 to 1875—due to the timeframe constraints of the legislative database).

Legislative Attitudes Toward Minority Languages Between 1774 and 1789

Neither the Articles of Confederation (functioning as the first constitution of the young country between 1781 and 1788), nor the Constitution of 1787 (effective from 1789) contained any references to the English language—or to any other language. This apparent oversight cannot, however, be attributed to the lack of contemporary ethnolinguistic diversity; rather, it stemmed from the Founders' desire to construct a system of government as limited and decentralized as it was then possible.

[32] Richard Ruíz, "Orientations in Language Planning," *NABE Journal* 8, no. 2 (1984): 15–34, accessed January 10, 2022, doi:10.1080/08855072.1984.10668464.

[33] Francis M. Hult and Nancy H. Hornberger, "Revisiting Orientations in Language Planning: Problem, Right, and Resource as an Analytical Heuristic Resource as an Analytical Heuristic," *The Bilingal Review/La Revista Bilingüe* 33, no. 3 (2016): 33, accessed January 10, 2022, https://repository.upenn.edu/gse_pubs/476.

Although linguistic data can merely be inferred from the racial and "national origin" questions of the first census (1790), only 49% of the total population of almost four million people claimed "English" descent. The other half consisted of 19% African; 12% Scottish and Scotch-Irish; 7% German; 3-3% Irish and Dutch, respectively; 2% French; 1-1% Spanish and Swedish; and 4% "other" Americans.[34]

Overall, the majority of the Founders "probably considered language an individual matter" while expecting newcomers to assimilate as a matter of course.[35] Still, from time to time the Continental Congress tried to intervene in linguistic matters for various reasons, for example, to gain the support of non-English-speaking immigrants by translating important, official documents and to disseminate the ideas of the American Revolution abroad in other languages—most notably in French and German.[36] German-Americans themselves were remarkably proactive in this regard: only a few days after the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence, two (nearly identical) German translations were published in Philadelphia newspapers.[37]

Obviously, even the officially translated documents by U.S. authorities intended predominantly for foreign consumption could serve a dual purpose as information materials (more cynically: government propaganda) for domestic minorities as well (e.g., the letters sent to the "Oppressed Inhabitants of Canada" between 1774 and 1776 by the Continental Congress to persuade the French-speaking population to join the American Revolution).[38] This analysis focuses on those instances that more or less clearly affected the linguistic ecology of minority languages within the United States—however, these examples were few between 1774 and 1789. Mostly, they were substantive and specific, focusing on the German language.

[34] Terrence G. Wiley and Ofelia García, "The United States," in *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman, vol. 1, (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 304.

[35] Carol L. Schmid, *The Politics of Language: Conflict, Identity, and Cultural Pluralism in Comparative Perspective* (New York: OUP, 2001), 17.

[36] Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1977), 26–27.

[37] Willi Paul Adams, "German Translations of the American Declaration of Independence," *The Journal of American History* 85, no. 4 (March 1999): 1327.

[38] Sándor Czeglédi, "Language and the Continental Congress: Language Policy Issues in the Founding Documents of the United States," *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 21, no. 1 (2018): 121.

	Symbolic	**Substantive**
General	Germans refuse to learn English (John Adams to Abigail Adams)	
	1 **Ger.**	**0**
Specific		Translating official documents into German (partly supported)
	0	**5** **Ger. (4)** **Fr. (1)**

Table 2. Distribution of references to immigrant languages in the Continental Congress corpus (1774–1789). (The numbers in the boxes indicate the total number of references; the numbers below refer to the most significant language(s) in the given quadrant. Ger.=German; Fr.=French) (Source: authors.)

The earliest reference to German as a minority language in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* (hereafter cited as "JCC") dates back to the early battles of the War of Independence, specifically to the reinforcement of the defenses of New York. On January 16, 1777, the Continental Congress decided to order the printing of one thousand copies of the recommendations of the New York Convention in the German language, in which they suggested the outfitting of frigates with guns and taking other measures to ensure the defense of the Hudson River against the invading British forces.[39] We know

[39] United States Continental Congress, "Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789," Jan. 16, 1777,

from the existing records that the translation was completed and the specified number of copies were indeed printed.[40] The French language appeared in a very specific context: the French-speaking inhabitants of Kaskaskia (now in Illinois) petitioned for the right to elect their self-government, and asked Congress to send to them an officer who could understand their language.[41]

On the symbolic side of the LP spectrum, John Adams, the future Federalist president of the United States (1797–1801) complained to his wife, Abigail Adams in October 1777 about the alleged refusal of the Virginia Germans to assimilate. Adams especially resented the presence of German language schools and churches, as a result of which "[m]ultitudes are born, grow up and die here, without ever learning the English. In Politicks they are a breed of Mongrels or Neutrals, and benumbed with a general Torpor."[42] Adams's nativist characterization of the Germans echoed Benjamin Franklin's harsh words in the Pennsylvania context in the 1750s, and reflected the Federalist desire to project the United States as an idealized, culturally and linguistically homogeneous entity, consisting of "one united people—a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government."[43]

The examples above illustrate an ambivalent legislative attitude towards minority languages before 1789. No substantive, general policies were proposed or enacted: we only know that the translation of some defense-related materials into German was done in an expediency-oriented manner when it suited the needs of the American revolutionary government. In that particular situation, the German language was briefly seen as a resource, but the decision was not to create an enduring precedent. All the more since the underlying language ideologies appeared to be a lot more problem-oriented regarding minority languages—despite the fact that those remarks were not (yet) turned into concrete, restrictionist language policies.

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vol. 7, (Washington, D.C. 1904-37), 42. https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwjc.html. Hereafter referred to as JCC.

[40] *JCC*, Jan. 16, 1777, vol. 9, 1081.

[41] *JCC*, Dec. 28, 1785, vol. 29, 907.

[42] "Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789," Paul H. Smith et al., vol. 8, (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976–2000), 205, accessed December 28, 2023, https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwdg.html.

[43] John Jay, "Federalist No. 2: Concerning Dangers from Foreign Force and Influence," Library of Congress, (1787), accessed December 28, 2023, https://guides.loc.gov/federalist-papers/text-1-10.

Minority Language-Related References in the 1789–1815 Corpus

This period coincided with the presidencies of George Washington (2 terms), John Adams, Thomas Jefferson (2 terms) and the first half of James Madison's second term. These years witnessed the doubling of the territory and the population of the United States and the decline of the First Party System, which eventually ushered in the "Era of Good Feelings" (a one-party dominance by the Jeffersonian Republicans) as the Federalists were losing their power base, leadership and political influence.

By and large, Federalist politicians mostly favored the idea of a strong central government, the assimilation of immigrants, and regarded English to be a (or "the") unifying, nation-building force. However, Anti-Federalists (later: Democratic-Republicans or Jeffersonian Republicans) were not very far from the Federalist views in this regard. Although they criticized heavily the pro-British, pro-"big government," and anti-immigrant policies of the Federalists (especially while the Republicans were in opposition), Jefferson also believed in the unifying power of English. In a letter to James Monroe, while musing about the possibility (or rather: necessity) of territorial expansion due to "rapid multiplication," he envisioned that the United States one day might "cover the whole Northern, if not the Southern continent with a people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms, & by similar laws."[44] These assimilationist expectations were soon to be implemented in the newly-purchased Louisiana Territory.

At the time of the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the Francophone population of the area consisted primarily of the Creoles (descendants of the French settlers) and the Acadians, whose ancestors were expelled from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick during the Seven Years War. As Sexton notes, Creoles were often members of the landed elite and they were literate—as opposed to the majority of the predominantly rural Acadians/Cajuns.[45] The original French immigrants to Louisiana mostly "belonged to a good class of society, and the language spoken by them was pure and elegant."[46] After the Seven Years War, Louisiana was transferred to Spanish authority in 1763, yet loyalty to the

[44] Thomas Jefferson, "Extract from Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, Nov. 24, 1801.," *Jefferson Quotes and Family Letters,* accessed August 12, 2022, http://tjrs.monticello.org/letter/1743.

[45] Rocky L. Sexton, "Cajun-French Language Maintenance and Shift: A Southwest Louisiana Case Study to 1970," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, no. 4 (2000): 26, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27502612.

[46] Alcée Fortier, "The French Language in Louisiana and the Negro-French Dialect," *Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America* 1 (1884): 96, doi:10.2307/456001.

French language remained strong: Spanish officials routinely married ladies of French descent, and the children naturally acquired the "mother tongue."[47]

Soon after a brief reestablishment of French rule in 1800, Napoleon was forced by his military setbacks in the Caribbean to sell the territory to the US. The opinion of the Cajun and Creole settlers about joining the US was never asked, and despite guaranteeing their religious and property rights in the newly-acquired territory,[48] the American government appointed an English-speaking governor (with dictatorial powers), and imposed limitations on the importation of slaves. Consequently, the inhabitants of "Orleans Territory" (the future state of Louisiana) sent to Congress the list of their grievances in the form of the "Louisiana Memorial" of December 1804 (also known as Louisiana Remonstrance). The drafters of the document protested the "introduction of a new language into the administration of justice, the perplexing necessity of using an interpreter for every communication" (aggravated by the simultaneous existence of French, Spanish, and American legal practices), and "the sudden change of language in all the public offices."[49] Apparently, as the very same document notes, the Spanish had been more considerate in this regard, as they were "always careful in their selection of officers, to find men who possessed our language and with whom we could personally communicate."[50]

These protests fell on deaf ears in Congress; yet, as the population grew, a more representative government system was set up according to the principles laid down by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Nevertheless, when Louisiana was admitted as a regular state in 1812 on the basis of the Enabling Act of 1811, its first constitution was written in the spirit of English-only, specifying that "All laws... and the public records of this State, and the judicial and legislative written proceedings of the same, shall be promulgated, preserved and conducted in the language in which the constitution of the United States is written" despite the fact that "a strong French majority still existed"

[47] Fortier, "The French Language in Louisiana and the Negro-French Dialect," 97.

[48] United States Senate, "Louisiana Purchase Treaty, Article III.," *Ourdocuments.gov* (1803), accessed July 2, 2020,https://www.ourdocuments.gov/print_friendly.php?flash=true&page=transcript&doc=18&title=Transcript+of+Louisiana+Purchase+Treaty+%281803%29.

[49] Pierre Derbigney, "Louisianans React to the Louisiana Purchase: Pierre Derbigney's Memorial to the U.S. Congress," Digital History (1804), accessed December 28, 2023, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook_print.cfm?smtid=3&psid=261.

[50] Derbigney, "Louisianans React."

in the state at the time.[51] To the contrary, the 1845 state constitution was to recognize the French language as quasi-co-official, but this magnanimity disappeared after the Civil War, only to return briefly after 1879.[52]

The records of the federal legislature regarding French as a minority language in the examined period reflected these LP struggles to a considerable degree. On March 17, 1804, a language restrictionist, general and substantive resolution appeared in the *House Journal* (HJ), which required that "all evidences of title and claims for land within the territories ceded by the French Republic to the United States" should be registered "in the language used in the United States."[53] This motion, however, was ordered to lie on the table. When a modified version appeared in the *House Journal* in November of the same year, the relevant linguistic requirement allowed the registration of the claims "in the original language, and in the language used in the United States."[54] This version was referred to a committee, but it is not known whether it was ever reported out. Simultaneously, however, the Louisiana Memorial was already on its way to Congress, which might have influenced the more minority language-friendly amendment of the resolution. At the same time, inhabitants of the Territory of New Orleans submitted yet another petition to Congress, asking for the continued use of French in the "legislative and judicial authorities" after being granted statehood.[55] It was referred to a committee, and probably died there.

The occasional ambivalence towards limited, access- and expediency-oriented language rights (in a generally hostile, "English-only" ideological atmosphere) can be traced in the history of a Michigan petition as well, in which French-speaking inhabitants requested "a number of copies of the laws of the United States, particularly such of the said laws as relate to the Michigan Territory, to be printed in the French language."[56] While it was passed by the Senate,[57] voting was postponed indefinitely in the House.[58]

[51] Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, 112.

[52] Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition,* 107–115.

[53] United States House of Representatives, House Journal, March 17, 1804, 661, accessed December 27, 2023, https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwhj.html. Hereafter referred to as *HJ.*

[54] *HJ*, Nov. 23, 1804, 22–23.

[55] *HJ*, Nov. 29, 1804, 27.

[56] *HJ*, Jan. 23, 1809, 484.

[57] United States Congress, *Annals of Congress, 1789-1824*, 10th Cong., 2nd sess., x, accessed December 28, 2023, https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwac.html.

[58] *Annals of Congress*, 10th Cong., 2nd sess., xxxv.

Eventually, following Henry Clay's motion in the Senate (as recorded in the *Senate Journal*, "SJ"), the Louisiana Enabling Act of 1811 specified that after admission into the Union "the laws which such state may pass shall be promulgated, and its records of every description shall be preserved, and its written, judicial, and legislative proceedings conducted, in the language in which the laws... of the United States are now published."[59] This decision was later incorporated into the new state's constitution, putting a temporary end to the language-related battles in the territory, which had started with the Louisiana Purchase and were to continue for more than a century after achieving statehood in 1812.

	Symbolic	**Substantive**
General		Denial of French L rights in La.; Rejection of German petitions to translate the laws of the US
	0	**13** **Fr. (11)** **Ger. (2)**
Specific		Denial of French L rights in La.
	0	**18** **Fr. (16)** **Ger. (2)**

Table 3. Distribution of references to immigrant languages in the 1789–1815 legislative corpus. (The numbers in the boxes indicate the total number of references; the numbers below refer to the most significant language(s) in the given quadrant. Ger.=German; Fr.=French) (Source: authors)

[59] United States Senate, *Senate Journal*, April 20, 1810, 497, accessed December 28, 2023, https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsj.html.

The French-Americans were not the first nor the last to attempt to request the translation of US laws. In 1794, "a number of Germans, residing in the State of Virginia" already submitted a petition "praying that a certain proportion of the laws of the United States may be printed in the German language."[60] The petition appeared in the *House Journal* the second time on Nov. 28, but was rejected after a tie vote, which may have been broken by the Speaker, Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg.[61] Muhlenberg's (alleged) role as an "ethnic traitor" was further reinforced in the eyes of many of his contemporaries when he voted for the implementation of the (then unpopular) Jay's Treaty with Britain in 1796.[62]

Perhaps partly due to the persistence of German minorities and to the propaganda machinery of the Fatherland before and during both World Wars, when, at least initially, the German governments embarked on rudimentary soft power campaigns to emphasize the alleged natural affinity between the two nations, the Muhlenberg-incident was blown out of proportion, giving rise to fanciful tales about German almost disestablishing English as the official language of the United States.

As compared to the 1774–1789 corpus, the early 19th century witnessed the first proactive, substantive and general LP decisions by the U.S. Congress setting the state of Louisiana on an officially assimilationist path for more than three decades. As a legacy of the Louisiana statehood debate, no other state was to be declared a *de jure* Official English entity on admission (as was Louisiana by the Louisiana Enabling Act and the first state constitution)—but no other territory was allowed to become a state without a more or less clear English-speaking majority afterwards, either.

Minority Language-Related References in the Antebellum Corpus (1815–1861)

After the War of 1812, the United States experienced a rapid industrial and agricultural revolution, a transportation network boom (the construction of canals, roads, then railroads), and also witnessed the resumption of overseas immigration after the conclusion of hostilities associated with the Napoleon-

[60] *HJ*, Jan. 9, 1794, 31.

[61] Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, 28.

[62] Sándor Czeglédi, "A Mühlenberg-legenda háttere, avagy a német nyelv státusza az Egyesült Államok történetének első évtizedeiben," *Alkalmazott Nyelvtudomány* 1, no. 2 (2001): 76, accessed January 9, 2023, http://real-j.mtak.hu/4240/1/AlkalmazottNyelvtud_2001.pdf.

ic wars. Major push factors behind European immigration were the Irish Potato Famine and the political revolutions in the 1840s. Also, the country was fatefully divided over the questions of slavery, state sovereignty, industrial vs. agricultural development—issues that were to set North and South on a tragic collision course, leading inevitably to the Civil War by 1861.

Altogether, there were 27 relevant legislative proposals in the given subcorpus. The substantive, general quadrant indicates a minute victory for the German language (as well as for other minority languages), as Congress ordered the Postmaster General in 1852 to have the list of "uncalled-for" (=unclaimed) letters published "in the German newspaper having the largest circulation in the vicinage."[63] The final version of the law extended this policy to all such letters in "foreign" languages.[64]

	Symbolic	**Substantive**
General		Publication of the lists of uncalled-for letters in newspapers in foreign languages
	0	**3** **FLs (2)** **Ger. (1)**
Specific		Translating the President's Annual Message; Resolving land claims in/with the help of Min. Ls in the newly-acquired territories
	0	**24** **Ger. (9)** **Sp. (8)** **Fr. (5)**

Table 4. Distribution of references to immigrant languages in the Antebellum legislative corpus (1815–1861). (The numbers in the boxes indicate the total number of references; the numbers below refer to the most significant/frequent language(s) in the given quadrant. FLs=foreign languages; Min. Ls=minority languages; Ger.=German; Sp.=Spanish; Fr.=French) (Source: authors)

[63] *HJ*, July 12, 1852, 880.

[64] United States Congress, "Statutes at Large," Aug. 30, 1852, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., ch. 20, 40, accessed December 28, 2023, https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwsl.html.

The substantive, specific quadrant was dominated by Spanish language-related petitions—although the German language emerged more often, those records were mostly related to the translation of presidential messages. The Spanish-focused proposals and documents were inseparable from the contemporary territorial expansion of the United States, marked by the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819); the transfer of Florida under US authority; the annexation of Texas; the Mexican War (1846-48); the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), and the Gadsden Purchase (1853).

In this context, the inhabitants of the Territory of Florida sent a petition to Congress in 1829, "praying that counsel, learned in the Spanish law and language, may be appointed to protect their rights, and to plead in their behalf, before the tribunal appointed to try and determine their titles to land."[65] (The petition was referred to a committee, and never surfaced again.) Nevertheless, the Clerk of the House did employ a French and Spanish translator to work for the House and the Land Office, whose tenure ended after two years.[66] On the other hand, petitions to translate presidential messages into Spanish were rejected, as it routinely happened to similar requests by other minority groups.

References to the German language included repeated requests to translate the President's annual message into German (in 1843, 1844, 1845, 1849, 1850, and in 1851). Almost all of these were either denied or tabled, which, eventually, meant the same fate for the proposal. The only exception happened in 1849, when 5,000 copies of Zachary Taylor's annual message were allowed to be printed in the German language at the proposal of Mr. Sweetser.[67] No justification for this unique decision was recorded in the Congressional documents, but perhaps the arrival of thousands of German "Forty-Eighters" after the failed revolutions influenced the mindset of legislators—albeit temporarily. The 1854 translation requests concerning the agricultural Patent Office report and the abstract census report also failed to gain the approval of the Federal Legislature.[68]

The French language appeared in connection with land titles on the territory of the former Louisiana Purchase. The year 1818 witnessed the filing

[65] *HJ*, Feb. 9, 1829, 263.
[66] *HJ*, Jan. 24, 1837, 277.
[67] *HJ*, Dec. 24, 1849, 169.
[68] *HJ*, Jan. 3, 1854, 159.

of an individual[69] and a group petition[70] in which the inhabitants of the said territory requested (in French) the confirmation of their land titles. In May 1820, Congress appointed commissioners "for ascertaining and deciding on the rights of persons claiming lands in the district of Detroit," who were also authorized to employ "a person capable of translating the French language, as an agent."[71]

Just as in the case of the Spanish-language land claims (see above) Congress endorsed very narrowly-defined (and temporary) expediency-oriented language rights in the early 19th century. Nevertheless, as James Crawford notes, proving titles to holdings in English-speaking courts could be an extremely costly affair: over a generation, the Spanish-speaking gentry in California lost title to virtually all of the large *haciendas* in order to be able to pay the legal fees in the wake of the California Land Act of 1851.[72] Despite granting some minority-language access rights in the case of land title confirmations, French translation requests of State of the Union Addresses were denied in 1843[73] and also in 1849.[74]

Minority Language-Related References in the Civil War Corpus (1861–1865)

The Civil War is frequently described as a conflict that "defined" the United States "as a nation";[75] "the central event in America's historical consciousness,"[76] which—according to the late Civil War historian, Shelby Foote—"made us an 'is.'"[77] The latter claim is partly true from the grammatical perspective as well: the conflict and the following reconstruction of the country accelerated the singularization process of the phrase "United States"—which had previ-

[69] *HJ*, Jan. 23, 1818, 173.

[70] *HJ*, March. 14, 1818, 331.

[71] *Statutes at Large*, May 11, 1820, 16th Cong., 1st sess., ch. 99, 572.

[72] Crawford, *At War with Diversity,* 14.

[73] *HJ*, Dec. 18, 1843, 63.

[74] *HJ*, Dec. 24, 1849, 169.

[75] Michael A. Morrison and Robert E. May, "The Limitations of Classroom Media: Ken Burns' Civil War Series as a Test Case," *The Journal of American Culture* 19, no. 3 (1996): 39, doi:10.1111/j.1542-734x.1996.

[76] James McPherson, "A Brief Overview of the American Civil War," *American Battlefield Trust*, (2021), accessed December 29, 2023. https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/brief-overview-american-civil-war.

[77] Public Broadcasting Service, "Remembering Civil War Historian Shelby Foote," (PBS, 2005, June 29), accessed December 29, 2023, https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/remembering-civil-war-historian-shelby-foote.

ously been used mostly as a plural entity.[78]

The language policy concerns of the Civil War were practical, and basically amounted to a blanket denial of minority language rights whenever certain groups requested access to government documents in their respective heritage languages. Nativism and language-based discrimination were real problems on the Union side, where more than 90% of the foreign-born population resided.[79] Although several polyglot regiments existed, ethnolinguistic diversity in the military often triggered xenophobic, nativist forms of behavior. Speaking broken English sometimes engendered distrust, especially when the units in question were accused of underperforming in battle.[80]

The only substantive, general proposal in the entire corpus was a (failed) attempt to mitigate these xenophobic and xenoglossophopic tendencies. At the beginning of the war, German-American journalist and politician, Caspar Butz and others petitioned Congress for measures to suppress the rebellion and to end "discrimination between men who are ready to fight for the cause of liberty, as to language or country."[81] In light of Butz's background, it was probably intended to protect German-Americans most. However, the petition was tabled, never to surface again during the 37th–38th Congresses.

	Symbolic	**Substantive**
General		Proposal to implement antidiscrimination measures in the Union (to fight against L-based discrimination as well)

	0			**1**	
				Ger.	

[78] Erez Aiden and Jean-Baptiste Michel, *Uncharted: Big Data as a Lens on Human Culture* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2013) Ch. 1.

[79] Tony Allan et al., *A Short History of the Civil War* (New York: DK and Smithsonian, 2020), 258.

[80] Robert Leckie, *None Died in Vain: The Sage of the American Civil War* (HarperPerennial, 1991), 443; Allan et al., *A Short History of the Civil War,* 261; Don H. Doyle, *The Cause of all Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 160.

[81] *SJ*, Aug. 5, 1861, 177.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="5">Specific</td><td colspan="3"></td><td colspan="3">Repeated German petitions to translate the Agricultural Report; Colo. Territory asking for the printing of its laws in Spanish</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>0</td><td></td><td></td><td>21</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Ger. (19)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Sp. (2)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
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Table 5. Distribution of references to immigrant languages in the Civil War legislative corpus (1861–1865). Note: The Confederate Congress did not address minority language-related issues, either symbolically or substantively. (The numbers in the boxes indicate the total number of references; the numbers below refer to the most significant language(s) in the given quadrant. Ger.=German; Sp.=Spanish) (Source: authors)

The substantive, specific quadrant was dominated by the German language. During the Civil War, every single German petition—this time requesting the translation of the Agricultural Report of the Patent Office—was denied, postponed indefinitely, died in committee, or (extremely rarely) was approved briefly, and then rescinded.[82] All of these minority requests appeared on the Congressional agenda in the first half of 1862, and the petitioners must have been interested in taking advantage of the newly opened-up lands in the West, made available by the Homestead Act of 1862. Appeals for translation came from German-American farmers living in various counties of Illinois, New York, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Maryland, and the last one from Missouri on June 6, 1862.[83] In all of these examples, the Federal Congress regarded the minority language as a problem.

Minority language rights issues emerged in the Spanish language-context as well in 1861–62. First, the Committee on Public Printing was to "inquire into the expediency of having one thousand copies of the President's message printed in the Spanish language for distribution in the Territories of New

[82] *HJ*, Apr. 15, 1862, 612; Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, 31.
[83] *HJ*, June 6, 1862, 809.

Mexico and Colorado"[84] as part of the top-down soft power campaign directed towards the Western territories. The other instance happened on December 22, 1862, when the legislature of Colorado Territory petitioned to have its laws printed in the Spanish language, a request which was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means.[85] Unfortunately, the ultimate fate of these initiatives cannot be reconstructed from the available documents, but in all probability, they had never been reported out of committee.

Minority Language-Related References in the Reconstruction Corpus (1865–1875)

"Reconstruction" refers to "the period (1865–77) that followed the American Civil War, during which attempts were made to redress the inequities of slavery and its political, social, and economic legacy"[86]—while trying to reconcile the conflicting views concerning the readmission of the eleven secessionist states into the Union. Due to the limitations of the "Century of Lawmaking…" online database, the present examination covers a somewhat shorter period.

The potentially most sweeping, national-level substantive and general language policy proposal, according to which a constitutional amendment would have prescribed a compulsory literacy test (the ability to read the Constitution in English) as a prerequisite to voting, was not added to the Constitution, eventually.[87] Although the amendment was designed to effectively disfranchise vast proportions of the recently freed African-American populations in the South, it could effectively have been used against limited English proficient immigrants as well. Despite its failure, the Southern states continued the practice of disfranchising African-Americans, more or less undisturbed: by 1903, there were literacy and/or property requirements in force to prevent the vast majority of Black Americans from exercising their voting rights.[88]

[84] *HJ*, Dec. 9, 1861, 48.

[85] *HJ*, Dec. 22, 1862, 105.

[86] Eric Foner, "Reconstruction," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last modified August 29, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/event/Reconstruction-United-States-history.

[87] United States Senate, "*Joint Resolution Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States*," S.R. 169, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1867) 1–2.

[88] Heather C. Richardson, *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865–1901* (Cambridge, MA-London, UK: Harvard University Press, 2004), 224.

	Symbolic	**Substantive**
General		A proposed literacy test as a prerequisite to voting
	0	**1**
		Eng.
Specific		Printing the President's messages in German as well
	0	**5**
		Ger. (3)
		FLs/Min. Ls

Table 6. Distribution of references to immigrant languages in the Reconstruction legislative corpus (1865–1875). (The numbers in the boxes indicate the total number of references; the numbers below refer to the most significant language(s) in the given quadrant. Eng.=English; Ger.=German; FLs=foreign languages; Min. Ls=minority languages) (Source: authors.)

There were few substantive, specific proposals related to minority languages in the examined period. These included the usual petitions to print, for example, military reports in German in 1865[89] and the report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics.[90] It is not known from the existing records whether they were actually done.

Foreign languages, on the other hand, dominated the LP landscape (not shown in Table 6). The resolutions that were agreed to provided for the printing of Land Office reports "in the different languages spoken on the continent of Europe, for distribution at the Paris exhibition."[91] Three weeks later, fol-

[89] *HJ*, Dec. 13, 1865, 61.
[90] *HJ*, April 5, 1872, 642.
[91] *SJ*, Dec. 13, 1866, 34.

lowing the Christmas holidays, additional copies were requested.[92] The "Exposition Universelle de Paris 1867" attracted 42 participating countries and approximately 11–15 million visitors from April until November.[93] Although the U.S. was not considered to be a guest of the first rank, it seemed to be crucial for the country to recreate a positive international image in the post-Civil War period.

Rarely, not only foreign immigrants were persuaded to move to the US, but minority groups already living in the country were also encouraged to relocate further west. This policy was facilitated by a proposal in March 1871, when the Secretary of the Interior was requested to inquire into the possibility of compiling a detailed topographic and climatic report on the states and territories (including natural resources, roads, and railroads). The resulting handbook "for the information, guidance, and direction of emigrants from Europe . . . as well as emigrants from the Eastern States" was to be translated into several European languages, and distributed "throughout our country and Europe for general information."[94] In this particular situation, the "foreign" and the "minority" versions of the same languages were regarded as resources, also providing vital access to government information in a "language-as-right" or "expediency"-oriented manner for ethnolinguistic minorities. That was clearly an exception to the prevalent, "language-as-problem"-based language ideologies.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of federal-level, minority language-related legislative attitudes during the first 100 years of US nation-building efforts, we may safely conclude that even if the "nation of immigrants" characterization was more or less demographically true for the United States before 1875, it definitely entailed the Huntingtonian expectations of assimilating into the Anglophone settler culture in a melting pot-like manner. Outright nativist thoughts may occasionally be found even in the writings of the Founders, especially if they belonged to the Federalist (proto-)party.

[92] *SJ*, Jan. 3, 1867, 56.

[93] "Expo 1867, Paris," Official Site of the Bureau International des Expositions, Accessed March 15, 2022, https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/1867-paris.

[94] *SJ*, March 9, 1871, 18.

As far as Congress was concerned, legislators were definitely trying to distance themselves from language-related matters—they did not establish a Language Academy, nor did they make attempts to officialize English in the examined period (or any other language, despite the circulation of some diehard language policy myths ever since.) The underlying legislative expectations concerning the granting of (especially permanent) linguistic rights to minorities were dismissive at best: even one-time translations of official documents were routinely denied (or "tabled," i.e., postponed indefinitely), regardless of the language(s) and the minorities involved.

When Congress decided to set substantive, general language policies for the first time, it happened with the intention of coercively assimilating the predominantly Franco- and Hispanophone populations after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. Although future states were not declared Official English entities by Congress at the granting of statehood, the overall assimilationist expectations remained.

From the perspective of minority languages, the examined 100 years represented a predominantly "language-as-problem"-oriented period, when they were practically never seen as resources for the new country, despite the fact that the same languages fulfilled inevitably important roles in diplomacy, business transactions, and national security—when treated as "foreign" tongues.

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American Immigration History and Racial Discrimination, 1880s–1920s

Éva Eszter Szabó

One of the earliest scholars of U.S. immigration history, Oscar Handlin opened his Pulitzer-Prize-winning book *The Uprooted* (1952) with the following lines: "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants *were* American history."[1] True, the history of the United States cannot be discussed without the historian touching upon the field of migration studies, which, however, cannot be studied without noticing the ambivalence pervading the perceptions of immigration, which has been a constant, yet increasingly marked element of U.S. history. This ambivalent attitude towards immigration and immigrants reached its first peak between the 1880s and the 1920s and it has characterized, to a greater or lesser extent, U.S. responses to immigration to date.

This chapter examines the historical, ideological, and legislative background to the negative shift toward immigration at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.[2] It analyzes what factors and arguments accompanied the abandonment of the liberal, egalitarian open door ideology,[3] and how restrictionism and discrimination came to be racialized in federal immigration policy as a result of the nativism of the East and West Coasts joining their forces. While the exploration of the history of nativism and immigration restriction, as well as the fate of specific immigrant groups have received ample scholarly attention, the study of the game-changer interaction between Eastern and Western nativism in contributing to the ultimate success of restrictionism has been much less pronounced. The paper focuses on addressing the significance of

[1] Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted. The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1952), 3. Emphasis in the original.

[2] This chapter is an expanded, updated, and rewitten version of an article originally pubished in Hungarian. See "Bevándorlás és faji diszkrimináció az Egyesült Államokban (1880–1925)," *Századok* 133, no. 5 (1999), 985–997.

[3] Although the term "open door" was originally used to denote U.S. foreign policy aspirations in China, the same term is used in the American literature on immigration history as an attribute of liberal immigration policy.

this interaction among the various factors that shaped public opinion and congressional strategies at the time.

In fact, the United States has experienced the ebb and tide of pro- and anti-immigrant sentiment since its inception. From the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 to the anti-Catholic nativism of the 1840s–50s targeting mass Irish immigration, American nativism—the policy of protecting and promoting the interests of the native-born against those of the foreign-born—was preoccupied with the quality of immigrants, rather than their numbers or their "racial" (in current usage "ethnic") categories. However, in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, a unique set of circumstances coincided, reinvigorating nativist sentiments and enabling the ultimate fulfillment of restrictionist aims. This time, the targets were specific "racial" groups. The contemporary *New York Times* headline echoed the words of Senate sponsor of the Immigration Act of 1924, David A. Reed (Republican of Pennsylvania), stating that the "Chief Aim [of the New Immigration Legislation] Is to Preserve Racial Type as It Exists Here Today."[4] As we shall see, the combined nativism of the East and West fueled the racialization of immigration policy, which would have a significant role in justifying the new entry rules that effectively ended the era of mass immigration to the United States.

The Period of the Open Door

The fundamental document of American nationhood, the Declaration of Independence opens by claiming "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."[5] For the researcher of U.S. immigration, these famous words have an additional meaning, since the driving force behind migration is nothing other than the Lockean "pursuit of happiness" whether for economic, ideological, or political reasons. In the Declaration, among other things, the colonies also accused George III, King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760–1820), of obstructing immigration, that is, the pursuit of happiness, since "He has endeavored to prevent the popula-

[4] "America of the Melting Pot Comes to an End," *The New York Times* (April 27, 1924), www.nytimes.com/1924/04/27/archives/america-of-the-melting-pot-comes-to-end-effects-of-new-immigration.html, accessed May 3, 2022.

[5] "Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776," National Archives and Records Administration, https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript, accessed May 30, 2022.

tion of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither."[6] The need and support for unimpeded immigration, that is, the accessibility of an open door, was pointed out by the Founding Fathers as early as the birth of the United States. In addition, the future importance of immigration in nation building was also reflected in the Constitution of 1787. Article 1, Section 8, Clause 4 stipulates that "The Congress shall have Power [...] To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization [...] throughout the United States."[7] And in the spirit of liberal immigration policy, George Washington, for example, wrote about immigration in 1783 as follows:

> The bosom of America is open to receive not only the Opulent and respectable Stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all Nations And Religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, *if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment*.[8]

The words at the end of this Washington quote merit attention because they attest to the fact that the unimpeded influx of newcomers was not considered unconditional.[9] Qualitative expectations were essential characteristics of the receiving society even in the absence of quantitative restrictions. "[D]ecency and propriety of conduct," that is moral as well as health requirements constituted the basic prerequisites towards would-be Americans by the native-born at the time of the otherwise open door policy exercised by the individual member states until 1875, when in *Chy Lung v. Freeman* the

[6] "Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776."

[7] "Constitution of the United States," Article 1, Section 8, Clause 4, National Archives and Records Administration, https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript, accessed May 3, 2022.

[8] George Washington, December 2, 1783, New York, "The Writings of George Washington," in *Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938, Vol. XXVII, June 11, 1783 to November 28, 1784), 254, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=msu.31293105372464&view=1up&seq=311. My italics.

[9] Professor of Political Science Aristide R. Zolberg offers a new approach to the canonic interpretation of the "benevolently neutral" American stance on immigration disrupted by sudden outbreaks of nativism—promoted, for example, by Marcus Lee Hansen's *The Immigrant in American History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948) and Maldwyn A. Jones's *American Immigration* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960). Zolberg emphasizes the significance of purposefully designed immigration policy to create the desired population composition of the U.S. See *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 3, 58–59.

Supreme Court deemed the regulation of immigration a federal responsibility.[10] However, it was not until the Immigration Act of 1891 that the federal government "assumed direct control of inspecting, admitting, rejecting, and processing all immigrants seeking admission to the United States."[11]

Overall, however, liberal views on admission, as well as the principle of the open door at the state, then at the federal levels, i.e., the numerically unrestricted flow of immigration, have greatly contributed to the traditional view that the United States is a refuge for the poor and the oppressed, and that the country's liberal immigration policy is shaped by the generosity and philanthropy so characteristic of American democracy and the American nation itself.[12] But an examination of immigration statistics clearly shows that the lack of state and federal opposition to immigration, apart from the reasons mentioned above, was mainly due to the fact that until 1845 (except for 1842) the number of immigrants did not even reach 100,000 per year.[13] Immigration, therefore, did not constitute significant competition for native-born American workers. The era was, in any case, characterized by enormous labor demand due to the construction of canal and railroad systems, while the existence of the frontier provided an abundance of "empty" land and an opportunity to escape the feeling of crowdedness on the East Coast. Despite these pro-immigration factors, ambivalence to the large-scale immigration of groups considered un-American at the time surfaced immediately in the form of anti-immigration sentiments. Mass German and especially Catholic Irish immigration led to marked nativist reactions in the 1840s and 1850s.[14]

[10] U.S. Supreme Court, "Chy Lung v. Freeman, 92 U.S. 275 (1875)," *Justia*, https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/92/275/, accessed October 8, 2022.

[11] U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, "Origins of the Federal Immigration Service," *USCIS.gov* (Last updated 30 July 2020), https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/overview-of-agency-history/origins-of-the-federal-immigration-service, accessed October 7, 2022. Also, see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land. Patterns of American Nativism 1860–1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 99–100.

[12] Maurice R. Davie, *What Shall We Do about Immigration?* (Public Affairs Pamphlet, No. 115, 1946), 2; Henry P. Fairchild, "Public Opinion on Immigration," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, The New Immigration,* Vol. 367, Issue 1 (September 1966), 187–188; Henry S. Commager, ed., *Living Ideas in America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1964), 3.

[13] *The Statistical History of the United States. From Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 106. Federal statistics on the number of immigrants have been available since 1820. Between the War of Independence and 1819, the number of immigrants is estimated at 250,000. See *The Statistical History of the United States*, 97.

[14] Fairchild, "Public Opinion on Immigration," 185–188; Richard B. Morris, ed., *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1953), 445, 448.

Immigration and Racial Discrimination

In pre-Civil War America, xenophobia manifested itself in the outbreak of native-born American nationalism and the promotion of the interests of the native- versus the foreign-born, i.e., nativism. The reason for the appearance of nativism was the uncertainty of national confidence amidst the sectional crisis. During this period, the United States was a country drifting towards civil war, seeing the cause of its internal insecurity in immigrants and the foreign influences they had brought along, such as Irish Catholicism, German radicalism, the extreme poverty and crime characterizing some groups of immigrants, and the possibility of political corruption through the manipulation of the immigrant vote.[15] Nativists argued that immigrants were consciously opposed to Americanization and therefore could not be assimilated. However, despite the nativist hysteria, the movement achieved only modest and temporary success in politics. Nativism was set as a goal by the American Party in 1845, commonly known as the Know Nothing Party, which became relatively successful on the national scale for a few years (1854–1856).[16] However, with the escalating North–South conflict, the issue of immigration seized to serve as a rallying point for nativists, which led to the party's demise by 1860.[17]

Despite the outbreak of nativism, the main characteristic of the era remained the state and federal support for immigration. The explanation for this was the preservation of tradition and faith in American democracy, which linked the concept of the United States to the notion of a refuge for the poor and oppressed. Maldwyn A. Jones pointed out that this fundamental principle of American values was respected by the nativists as well, to the extent that even the Know Nothing Party refrained from attacking the liberal immigration policy itself.[18] They intended to exclude only pauper and crimi-

[15] Roger Daniels, *Coming to America. A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1990), 269–270. For details on this period see Éva Eszter Szabó, "The Migration Factor in the Sectional Crisis: The Impact of Population Movements in Pre-Civil War America," *Americana* 11, no. 2 (Fall 2015), 1–12, http://americanaejournal.hu/vol11no2/szabo-eva-eszter.

[16] The Know Nothing Party evolved from a secret nativist organization, the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner in 1849. Its members maintained confidentiality and therefore always gave "I know nothing" as an answer to outsiders when inquiring about the goals and activities of the party. Hence the strange name. See John M. Blum et al., *The National Experience. A History of the United States* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989), 285; Neil R. McMillen and Charles C. Bolton, *A Synopsis of American History: Through Reconstruction*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997), 184; S. Dale McLemore, *Racial and Ethnic Relations in America* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1990), 87.

[17] McLemore, *Racial and Ethnic Relations in America*, 84–87; Jones, *American Immigration*, 147–160.

[18] Jones, *American Immigration*, 157, 160.

nal immigrants, i.e., they expressed their concern about the quality and not the quantity of immigrants. In addition, the party aimed at restricting the eligibility of office holding to native-born Americans, and they wanted to increase the time needed to acquire citizenship from five to twenty-one years. However, in this period, alongside the ruling democratic ideology and in the complete absence of a convincing counter-ideology, nativism did not even gain the slightest popularity among the political majority that praised national traditions and values. For Abraham Lincoln, for example, the aspirations of the Know Nothing Party were equivalent to denying the principles of the Declaration of Independence: "As a nation we began by declaring that '*all men are created equal*.' […] When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read 'all men are created equal, except Negroes, *and foreigners, and Catholics.*'"[19]

However, in addition to the ideological background, the fact that during the first major wave of US immigration history (1820s–1880s) the vast majority of immigrants still came from Britain as well as Northern and Western Europe was of major significance. And while former settlers had always looked suspiciously at newcomers, the ideology behind the open-door immigration policy and the similarity of language and/or fundamental cultural and religious features of immigrant groups did not result in significant conflicts affecting federal legislation. Members of the first wave of immigrants from Northern and Western Europe managed to integrate quickly into the dominant Anglo-American group and proved easy to assimilate.[20] During the Civil War and as a result of the reinforced sense of national unity that followed, nativism subsided considerably in the 1860s and 70s.

The Period of the Closing Door

The late 19th century and the early 20th century brought about a unique coincidence of conditions that reinvigorated nativist sentiment, and enabled the ultimate fulfillment of restrictionist aims in the field of immigration. Although gradual and provoking heated congressional debates, nativism gained

[19] Abraham Lincoln, "Letter to Joshua F. Speed, Springfield, Illinois, August 24, 1855," in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol 2, eds Roy P. Basler et al. (The Abraham Lincoln Association, Rutgers University Press, 1953), 324, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/l/lincoln/lincoln2/1:339.1?rgn=div2;singlegenre=All;sort=occur;subview=detail;type=simple;view=fulltext;q1=know-nothings, accessed October 7, 2022. (Italics in the original.)

[20] Fairchild, "Public Opinion on Immigration," 188; McLemore, *Racial and Ethnic Relations in America*, 88.

increasing popularity in politics as well, to the extent that it finally achieved the abandonment of the liberal, open door ideology of federal immigration policy, and introduced in its place restrictive measures based on racial discrimination and numerical limitations. Let us explore, therefore, the constellation of four factors which led to the abandonment of the traditional, democratic, i.e., equally applicable and qualitatively based, immigration policy of the United States.

First, the volume of immigration underwent drastic changes. Historical immigration statistics show that from 1880 onwards, immigration reached unprecedented proportions fed by the developments in transatlantic passenger transportation. Between 1880 and 1924, the number of immigrants averaged around 500,000 per year, with the record number arriving in 1907 (1,285,349 people) and the smallest number in 1918 (110,618 people).[21]

Second, the phenomenon of mass immigration implied that there were also major changes in the national composition of the newcomers. As S. Dale McLemore claims, it is a general tendency that the less similar the appearance, language, and habits of a newly-arrived group are to the ideal perceived by the dominant group—in this case to the ideal White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) American—the greater the resentment and rejection can be on the part of the host society.[22] The second large wave of US immigration history (1880s–1920s) was much more heterogeneous in national origin than the first. On the East Coast, the number of "old", i.e., Northern and Western European, immigrants still arriving was far outweighed by the number of "new", i.e., non-Anglo-Saxon and non-Protestant Southern and Eastern European immigrants: between 1882 and 1914 there were 7,566,041 old versus 11,526,163 new immigrant arrivals registered.[23] In the meantime, on the West Coast, the

[21] *The Statistical History of the United States*, 106–107.

[22] McLemore, *Racial and Ethnic Relations in America*, 200. Also, see John Higham's seminal work on the nativism of the era, *Strangers in the Land. Patterns of American Nativism 1860–1925*.

[23] *Restriction of Immigration—Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, House of Representatives, 68th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1924), 16. The Hungarian aspects of immigration of the period are discussed in detail by the following authors (in order of the year of publication): Rácz István, *A paraszti migráció és politikai megítélése Magyarországon 1849–1914* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980); Puskás Julianna, *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban 1880–1940* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982); Tezla Albert, *"Valahol túl, meseországban..." Az amerikás magyarok 1895–1920* (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1987); Dániel Ferenc and Orosz István, *Ah, Amerika! Dokumentumok a kivándorlásról 1896–1914* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1988); Gellén József, "A Systems Approach to Emigration from Hungary before 1914", in *Overseas Migration from East-Central and Southeastern Europe 1880–1940*, ed. Puskás Julianna (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó,

group of new immigrants was even more heterogeneous and diverse because of the admission of Asian, mainly Chinese and Japanese immigrants—288,743 Chinese arrived between 1850 and 1886, and 270,938 Japanese between 1886 and 1924.[24] Even though their numbers were not substantial, they were so concentrated geographically that the threat of the Yellow Peril, the fear of being overwhelmed by Asiatic peoples, would immediately cast a shadow over their immigrant experience. [25]

The third factor pertains to the general characteristics of the turn of the century. The American economy and society underwent profound changes, accompanied by a sense of insecurity and severe social tensions. This period was marked by the transition from a rural, agrarian society to an urban, industrial society, with all its difficulties, anxieties, and contradictions. At the same time, new metropolitan lifestyles, inventions, industrial competition, giant companies, trade unions, strikes, economic booms and busts (culminating in the depression of 1893–1897), urban misery, labor market competition, and the need for social reform all formed the consciousness and public opinion of a society undergoing drastic changes.[26] The public mood was also strongly influenced by the fact that following the 1890 census, the frontier was officially announced closed, thereby creating a sense of national claustrophobia. The price of land was rising and its availability was shrinking, which entailed the narrowing of opportunities for ordinary people on the one hand, and increasing competition on the other. The feeling of general insecurity accompanying this transition period and the nation's wavering self-confidence, of course, served as excellent breeding grounds for nativism, and the masses of new immigrants with different cultural and religious backgrounds served as scapegoats for nativists. So much the more since, seeing the new composition of immigrant masses, native-born Americans started to have doubts about the potential success of the assimilation process. Concurrently, this led to the possibility that their largely homogeneous WASP society would disappear

1990), 89–106; Frank Tibor, *Double Exile: Migrations of Jewish-Hungarian Professionals through Germany to the United States, 1919–1945* (Exile Studies, Peter Lang, 2009); Vida István Kornél, *Hungarian Émigrés in the American Civil War: A History and Biographical Dictionary* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011).

[24] *The Statistical History of the United States*, 107–108.

[25] Stanford M. Lyman, "The 'Yellow Peril' Mystique: Origins and Visisitudes of Racial Discourse," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 13, no. 4 (Summer, 2000), 688–690, 695, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20020056.

[26] Blum et al., *The National Experience*, 418–476; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 68.

once and for all.[27] Thus, the more the nation's sense of insecurity grew, the more widespread xenophobia and nativism became.

The fourth factor was a pseudoscientific ideology emerging during this period, which allowed for the strengthening of nativism in intellectual and government spheres. This ideology, which lent a pseudoscientific foundation to racism and racial discrimination, was Social Darwinism, and at the turn of the century it became the dominant ideology based on the work of the English sociologist and philosopher Herbert Spencer and his successor, the American William Graham Sumner.[28] According to this sociological theory, the basis of social development was the struggle for existence and natural selection, which originated from hereditary abilities and which resulted in superior and inferior societies, classes, and race types. Martin N. Marger points out that the word "race" was used completely inconsistently at the time, as it still is today. This word means something different to everyone: color, religion, nationality, or racial type.[29] Thus, in the first decades of the 20th century, the connection of anthropological, social, psychological, and cultural features of nations with the concept of race was supported by a series of race theories both in Europe and in America, drawing on the works of pseudoscientific racists, such as the French Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882), the Anglo-German Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1885–1927), the German Alfred Rosenberg (1893–1946), or the American John R. Commons (1862–1945), Madison Grant (1865–1937), Edward A. Ross (1866–1951), and Lothrop Stoddard (1883–1950).[30]

The "scientific" basis of racism reinforced American nativism, which was increasingly characterized by racial discrimination against new immigrants.[31] The fundamental thesis of racial discrimination was that race-specific characteristics were hereditary, permanent, and unalterable. Hence, Northern

[27] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 74–75; Jones, *American Immigration*, 252–253; McLemore, *Racial and Ethnic Relations in America*, 91.

[28] Frank Tibor, "'Race' as Value: Social Darwinism and U.S. Immigration," in *Values in American Society*, Vol. 2, ed. Tibor Frank (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 1995), 125–126.

[29] Martin N. Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations. American and Global Perspectives* (Stamford, CT: Cengage Learning, Wadsworth Publishing Company, 2015), 12. For more on the concept of race versus ethnicity see Peter I. Rose, *They and We. Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States and Beyond* (London–New York: Routledge, 2014), 9–15.

[30] Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, 21; Council on Foreign Relations, *Survey of American Foreign Relations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), 487–488.

[31] Jones, *American Immigration*, 275.

and Western Europeans—by virtue of their racial superiority—would be able to integrate into American society more successfully than Southern and Eastern Europeans or people of color, who were of inferior races and therefore possessed inferior social, intellectual, and moral qualities. This fact was underlined by a brand new "science" called *eugenics*, which examined immigration from a biological point of view and emphasized the dangers of being in contact with the inferior races.[32] For example, in 1907, the economist John R. Commons summarized the inferior racial traits and made a complete list of them in *Races and Immigrants in America*.[33] And sociologist Edward A. Ross wrote about new immigrants and miscegenation in 1914 as follows:

> [T]he blood now being injected into the veins of our people is "sub-common." [But we should not be watching the immigrants when they are exhausted from work; let us take a look at them in their Sunday best.] You are struck by the fact that from ten to twenty per cent are hirsute, low-browed, big-faced persons of obviously low mentality. [...] The ox like men are descendants of those *who always stayed behind*. [...] To the practiced eye, the physiognomy of certain groups unmistakably proclaims inferiority of type. [...] It is reasonable to expect an early falling off in the frequency of good looks in the American people. [...] So much ugliness is at last bound to work to the surface.[34]

Proponents of eugenics had a major impact on public opinion and the nativist movement.[35] On a eugenic basis, restricting immigration and applying racial discrimination was no more than a means of purifying the "superior race." This idea was preferred by nativists as a means of achieving their goals.

The combined effect of the aforementioned four factors—the unprecedented volume and altered composition of immigration, the insecurity of the transition period, and the new pseudoscientific ideologies—provided arguments for American nativists to seriously challenge the continued legitimacy

[32] Jones, *American Immigration*, 267; Frank, "'Race' as Value: Social Darwinism and U.S. Immigration," 134–140.

[33] John R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907).

[34] Edward A. Ross, *The Old World in the New. The Significance of Past and Present Immigration to the American People* (New York: The Century Co., 1914), 285–288.

[35] Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 279.

of the open door immigration policy, and to take steps to develop a new type of restrictive federal immigration policy. Let us examine the steps leading to heated congressional debates, which culminated in a vote that was to change one of the fundamental democratic traditions of the United States. The constellation of nativist interests on the East and West Coast, the two most affected regions of the U.S. by the immigration flood at the time, would prove crucial in the end game.

When talking about the outbreak of nativism and its federal successes in the field of immigration restriction in the late 19th century and the early 20th century, it is important to distinguish between the nativism of the East and the West Coast. The two existed independently from each other and achieved different levels of success. While the East Coast focused on the restriction of Southern and Eastern European immigration, the West Coast struggled to exclude Asian immigration.[36] While East Coast nativists achieved little success, Western nativists scored some major victories early on.

The main reason for the early successes of West Coast nativism was that here, nativism was much stronger, more focused, and more violent than in the East. Even though the 1860s and 1870s were marked by support for immigration and the nationwide decline of nativism, the Pacific states and territories, especially California, but also Nevada, Oregon, and Washington, were conspicuous exceptions to this rule. From the 1850s onwards, nativist manifestations were constantly increasing, first towards gold miners, then towards railroad workers from China. Marger emphasizes that no other immigrant group suffered as much discrimination, social exclusion, and physical abuse as the first Asian immigrant groups.[37] The reason behind the open dislike of the Chinese was not only their obviously different looks and culture and the belief in their racial inferiority, but also the fact that white workers could not compete with their undemanding lifestyle, and especially not with their cheap labor. On the streets, the anti-Chinese movement was accompanied by demonstrations, riots, arson, lynchings, and even murder.[38] Trade

[36] Jones, *American Immigration*, 263.

[37] Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, 264.

[38] The 1871 Los Angeles Chinese Massacre in California leaving 19 dead, the 1885 Rock Springs Massacre in Wyoming Territory with 28 dead, the 1885 Squak Valley (today Issaquah) attack in Washington Territory killing 3, and the 1887 Deep Creek Massacre on the Oregon side of the Snake River (earlier also referred to as the Hells Canyon Massacre or the Snake River Massacre) with 34 dead constituted the most horrifying atrocities committed against the Chinese in the West. In addition, historian Kevin

unions also sought to exclude Chinese immigrants, and to expel already settled people.[39]

The United States recognized the Chinese right of immigration in the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. Between 1850 and 1880, approximately 280,000 Chinese arrived,[40] mostly young, unmarried, unskilled workers, who considered their stay in the United States temporary. The concentration of Chinese labor in California—where by 1870, they "accounted for roughly 10 percent of California's population and a full quarter of the workforce in the state"[41]—led to this young immigrant group becoming the center of attention for the public and local politics. By 1880, the lynch mob atmosphere had begun to take on alarming proportions, especially in San Francisco.[42] The rise of hatred perceptible in the public opinion and the threat to social peace in the West necessitated federal action. Even though the first prohibitive federal immigration act passed by Congress, the 1875 Page Act—which established the concept of *undesirable*[43] immigrants and applied this category to prostitutes and criminals—also referred to barring involuntary migrants from specifically "Oriental countries" (aimed at specifically Chinese women), and prohibited contracting "the labor of the cooly", the act was still operating on the basis of qualitative requirements (good morals). It left the terms of the Burlingame Treaty unchallenged.[44]

It was the Angell Treaty of 1880 that had first modified the Burlingame Treaty between China and the United States. According to its terms, the Gov-

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Waite uncovered over a dozen KKK assaults on Chinese workers in California between 1868 and 1870 alone, and some additional ones in Utah and Oregon. As
Waite summarizes, "A perceived labor threat lay at the root of this Sinophobia. By 1870, Chinese immigrants accounted for roughly 10 percent of California's population and a full quarter of the workforce in the state." See "The Bloody History of Anti-Asian Violence in the West," *National Geographic*, May 10, 2021, https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/the-bloody-history-of-anti-asian-violence-in-the-west; and Beth Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), chapters 3–5.*

[39] Thomas Sowell, *Ethnic America* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 136–137.

[40] U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *1985 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1986), 2.

[41] Waite, "The Bloody History of Anti-Asian Violence in the West."

[42] Sowell, *Ethnic America*, 136; Jones, *American Immigration*, 248–249.

[43] The term *undesirable* does not figure in the text of the Page Act.

[44] Public Law 43–141 (Page Act), 43rd Congress, Session 2, Stat. 18, Ch. 141, p. 477, March 3, 1875, *USlaw.link*, https://uslaw.link/citation/us-law/public/43/141; and *Legisworks*, https://govtrackus.s3.amazonaws.com/legislink/pdf/stat/18/STATUTE-18-Pg477.pdf; Carl J. Bon Tempo and Hasia R. Diner, *Immigration. An American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022), 109, 115.

ernment of the United States "may regulate, limit, or suspend" the entry and residence of Chinese in the country, "but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers."[45] In that spirit, Senator John F. Miller, Republican of California, submitted a draft bill to suspend Chinese immigration for twenty years, and although the bill was approved by both the House of Representatives and the Senate, Republican President Chester A. Arthur, vetoed it on April 4, 1882, because he did not consider the twenty-year suspension fair.[46] In the ensuing congressional debate, the principles behind the open door and the restrictive immigration policies clashed as illustrated by the comments of Senator John Sherman, Republican of Ohio, and Senator Thomas F. Bayard, Democratic of Delaware at the 47th Congress on April 5, 1882:

> Senator Sherman: [T]his bill, I am bound to say, is the result of passion and feeling. [...] While we should do for our brethren in California all that could be expected from us to protect them from what they regard now as a great and growing evil, why should we do it in such a way as to violate the principles of American policy which has distinguished us from the American Revolution to this hour? [We need a bill] that can be enforced with the consent of China, and at the same time maintaining our respect for the institutions and experience of our country, which has always been liberal to foreigners without regard to race, religion, or color.
>
> Senator Bayard: [Upon signing the Burlingame Treaty, the U.S. government] overlooked or disregarded the difference of race, they overlooked the difference between Chinese and Christian civilization, they overlooked the great and manifest distinctions between these nations and their population; [...] They saw but one thing—a profitable commerce, and they rushed with haste into a treaty that considered Americans and Chinamen as if they were all of the same race, habits, and characteris-

[45] *Congressional Record*, Senate, 47th Congress, First Session, Part 3, Volume 13, Biweekly Edition (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1882), 2551–2552.
[46] *Congressional Record*, Senate, 47th Congress, First Session, Part 3, Volume 13, 5, 1753, 2228, 2551.

> tics—all equally and alike entitled and fitted to become citizens of the Republic of the United States. [...] The veto message [of President Arthur delivered on April 4, 1882] contains so far as I have read it not one word of kindly sympathy or feeling for those of our fellow-countrymen who cry aloud to us for relief and assistance. It enlarges upon the value and results of Chinese labor, and seems disposed rather to encourage the immigration that shall bring it here to compete with and destroy the labor of our own people.[47]

Originator of the 1875 Page Act, Representative Horace Page, Republican of California, took immediate steps and introduced a compromise bill, while news of the presidential veto led to demonstrations all over the West Coast. With the situation in California threatening public order and tensions running high in Oregon and Washington, the nativist pressure, and the rivalry between political parties for Western votes[48] resulted in Congress quickly passing and President Arthur signing the modified version of the Chinese Exclusion Act on May 6, 1882. It suspended Chinese immigration for ten years (with the exception of the entrance of merchants, students, and diplomats), and declared the Chinese to be unfit for citizenship.[49] For this reason, 1882 is seen as the great watershed in American immigration history. While prior state or federal immigration laws had excluded immigrants on a purely qualitative basis (such as convicts, the mentally ill, paupers, prostitutes, etc.), and was applied equally—irrespective of creed, color, or nationality—the Chinese Exclusion Act declared an entire group of people unwanted and unfit for citizenship on the basis of race. The law was then extended for another

[47] *Congressional Record*, Senate, 47th Congress, First Session, Part 3, Volume 13, Permanent Edition (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1882), 2611, 2016, https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1882-pt3-v13/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1882-pt3-v13-16-1.pdf, accessed May 3, 2022.

[48] Jones, *American Immigration*, 249.

[49] *Congressional Record*, Senate, 47th Congress, Second Session, Volume 14, Biweekly Edition (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1882), 3587, 3588, 3777.
Note that while the 1882 Exclusion Act deemed specifically the Chinese unfit for citizenship, the Naturalization Act of 1870 had already denied non-white immigrants, typically from Asia, the right to obtain citizenship. White immigrants had enjoyed this right ever since the Naturalization Act of 1790. Then in the spirit of the Reconstruction Era, its amendment in 1870 extended naturalization rights to people of African nativity or descent. See: Bon Tempo and Diner, *Immigration. An American History*, 108. In addition, in the *Takao Ozawa v. United States*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922) case the Supreme Court would later declare Japanese aliens also ineligible to become naturalized citizens. For more on this, see Cseh Dániel, "The Politics of Racial Prejudice in the United States: The Road to the Internment Camps," *KÚT* 10–12, no. 2011–2013 (2014): 161–162.

ten years in 1892, and in 1904, Chinese immigration was suspended for an indefinite period.[50] The repetition of the word "suspension" in the law is an excellent illustration of the ambivalence towards immigration at the time. Handlin points out that while Congress had given way to West Coast nativist pressure, it sought to maintain the illusion of temporariness.[51] It was not yet time to give up the traditional concept of the United States providing refuge to all nations. Even more importantly, however, the Chinese question was treated as a unique case, a local problem, specific to California predominantly.[52]

In fact, in the case of the Chinese, it was the first time the open-door principle was confronted with the immigration of a non-white race and it immediately failed because of the combination of the four aforementioned factors. The Chinese question was a threat to public order, it only affected people of color, and it was only a problem on the West Coast, especially California. That is why nativists succeeded in passing restrictive federal legislation without much resistance. For the first time, racial discrimination became part of federal immigration policy. True, the exclusion only concerned the Chinese, but it must be stressed that it set a precedent, which was then used by the subsequent Western nativist movement, the anti-Japanese movement of the turn of the century, to restrict Japanese immigration, as first stipulated in the bilateral Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907–1908.[53] Another example was the adoption of the so-called "Asiatic Barred Zone" within the Immigration Act of 1917, which excluded practically all Asian immigrants coming from areas other than China or Japan.[54]

The significance of the 1882 Act was thus particularly high because it made racial discrimination legal in the area of immigration. The institutionalization of discrimination[55] was particularly worrisome because it was no longer confined to solving a specific case, such as the reaction against Chinese immigration, but became an integral part of the normative system of society, such as the restriction of immigration on a national origins basis in the early 1920s.

[50] McLemore, *Racial and Ethnic Relations in America*, 105; Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, 246.
[51] Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 287.
[52] Jones, *American Immigration*, 249.
[53] Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 123.
[54] Davie, *What Shall We Do about Immigration?*, 8; McLemore, *Racial and Ethnic Relations in America*, 207–208.
[55] Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, 60.

The path to the latter was paved by the constellation of the four factors, especially the restrictionist propaganda justified by the increasingly influential racist ideology of the times.

East Coast nativism, however, did not revive so soon or with such vehemence, and at first did not become as overtly racially discriminatory as that of the West Coast. In the East, too, it was the mass influx of new, cheap labor immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe that triggered the first nativist reactions, which were further reinforced by the increasing racism of the spirit of the times. Founded by Harvard graduates in Boston in 1894, the Immigration Restriction League (IRL)—led by Prescott F. Hall and Robert DeCourcy Ward, exponents of eugenics—became the chief advocate of restrictionism. The League already made a distinction between old and new immigrants, and expressed the need for the "purification" of the Anglo-Saxon race. Thereby, it redefined the East Coast immigrant issue, which previously had largely been based on economic and labor considerations.[56]

In the beginning, however, the League itself did not dare to be openly racial,[57] which was definitely influenced by the fact that Southern and Eastern European immigrants were not people of color. In addition, in the case of Europe the concept of "America as a place of refuge for the oppressed" and the open door ideology had strong historical traditions, which was not the case regarding newcomers from Asia. The situation and the counter-ideology were not yet mature enough to make restriction racial. Instead, the League aimed at introducing a literacy requirement for immigrants, which seemed to be a less direct but effective method of restricting the influx of Southern and Eastern Europeans. However, their powerful campaign failed, despite the fact that European immigration was at its peak during the 1890s and 1900s. The draft bill was not passed by Congress in either 1898, 1902, or 1906. Then, when it was finally approved by both the House of Representatives and the Senate, it was the incumbent president who exercised his veto power: Democrat Grover Cleveland in 1897, Republican William Howard Taft in 1913, and Democrat Woodrow Wilson once in 1915 and then in 1917. It was not until 1917 that nativists succeeded in gaining strong enough congressional support

[56] Fairchild, "Public Opinion on Immigration," 188–189; Frank, "'Race' as Value: Social Darwinism and U.S. Immigration," 134–135; Jones, *American Immigration*, 258–259.

[57] Jones, *American Immigration*, 259.

to override President Wilson's veto, and the Immigration Act of 1917 containing the literacy test (and the Asiatic Barred Zone) could be enacted.[58]

This long-standing failure of nativist and restrictionist efforts highlights the weakness of nativism on the East Coast and the desire to maintain the traditional concept of refuge for European immigrants. According to Jones, the failure of nativists is "proof that no correlation existed between the character of immigration and the intensity of the reaction to it. Nativism rose and fell in response not to external influences but to changes in American internal conditions."[59] That is, the third factor, the intensification of the nation's sense of insecurity and crisis, and the fourth factor, the fulfillment of an ideology contrary to that of refuge, had been missing prior to 1917. The full success of nativism required the combined effect of the four factors and, in addition, I argue that the shared interests and combined efforts of East and West Coast nativists was crucial to success; the passage of the Immigration Act of 1917 was only a precursor to this.

The constellation of the four factors in the East was triggered by the outbreak of the First World War and its aftermath, and the popularization of racist ideology. The war cast a shadow of suspicion on the foreign-born from the countries of the Central Powers and xenophobia reached a new high, only to be heightened further once the United States had entered the war in April 1917. According to Handlin, restrictionists took advantage of the feelings of xenophobia and nationalism accompanying the war and the prominence of national unity and solidarity.[60] Nativism then proclaimed the slogan of "100 percent Americanism," which required distance from citizens with regard to European ties and influence, and expected unconditional loyalty to the American nation.[61] The post-war anti-radical hysteria and the first Red Scare only increased xenophobia further; the economic difficulties caused by the Depression of 1920–1921 made trade unions more restrictive, while with the Great War's end the number of immigrant arrivals rose sharply again, fueled by the border changes and the economic, political, and social displacements caused by the ravages of war.[62]

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[58] Jones, *American Immigration*, 259; *Restriction of Immigration—Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, 24–25; Fairchild, "Public Opinion on Immigration," 190–191.

[59] Jones, *American Immigration*, 260.

[60] Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 290.

[61] Jones, *American Immigration*, 270.

[62] Blum et al., *The National Experience*, 563–574.

In the field of ideology, Madison Grant's work, *The Passing of the Great Race*, published in 1916, gave the most complete summary of the racist philosophy of the time, based on biological, eugenic, and anthropological arguments. Grant proclaimed the superiority of the Nordic race over the Southern and Eastern European and urged restrictions on immigration to keep the Anglo-Saxon race clean.[63]

> We Americans must realize that the altruistic ideals which have controlled our social development during the past century and the maudlin sentimentalism that has made America "an asylum for the oppressed," are sweeping the nation toward a racial abyss.[64]

Grant's work played a decisive role in developing an ideology in favor of nativism and the restrictionist movement—found convincing by many intellectuals—as well as in weakening the traditional open door ideology. Public opinion, however, was mostly influenced by the writings popularizing Grant's views, especially the series of articles published in *The Saturday Evening Post* in 1922, through which the notion of superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race also took root with the public and became very popular outside intellectual circles too.[65] This was particularly important because it meant that restriction gained mass support in the East as well, something that West Coast nativists had enjoyed from the beginning. In addition, the results of the U.S. Army's IQ tests conducted in 1917 were published at this time, in 1924, showing that recruits of Southern and Eastern European origin achieved much lower points, therefore confirming the doctrine of Nordic superiority in the eyes of many.[66] The Army IQ tests definitely had an all-determining role in providing a seemingly objective and scientific tool for restrictionist forces in Congress to justify the permanent reduction of the immigration rates from Southern and Eastern Europe, while avoiding accusations of political or racial bias towards immigrants of the "inferior stock" from the old continent.[67]

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[63] Frank, "'Race' as Value: Social Darwinism and U.S. Immigration," 136–140.

[64] Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race or The Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 228.

[65] Jones, *American Immigration*, 275–276.

[66] *Restriction of Immigration—Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, 837; Jones, *American Immigration*, 276.

[67] Garland A. Allen, "Intelligence Tests and Immigration to the United States, 1900–1940," *Researchgate.net* (September 2006), 3–4, DOI:10.1002/9780470015902.a0005612.

The Door Closed

Thus, in the early 1920s, all four factors coalesced to ensure the success of East Coast nativism. However, there was more to this historic moment: the nation-wide success of nativist immigration efforts. From the 1917 Immigration Act it was already evident that the previously independent nativism of the East and West Coast bolstered one other (East Coast: introduction of literacy requirements; West Coast: acceptance of the Asiatic Barred Zone). Now in the West, the anti-Japanese movement was not satisfied with the restriction of immigration provided for in the Gentlemen's Agreement; its opponents demanded the exclusion of Japanese immigration. In the East, the goal was to promote old immigration through the restriction of new immigration amidst the immigration wave from a devastated Europe following the First World War. The objectives of the two regions mutually reinforced one another by the early 1920s. These goals were clearly based on racial considerations—which by then had become widely accepted and were supported not only by the public opinion on the West Coast but on the East Coast as well—and were largely justified by racist ideology. In my view, the combination of the two regions' nativism ensured a decisive advantage for the forces urging restrictionism and exclusion in Congress.

Senator William P. Dillingham, Republican of Vermont, proposed a method to establish immigration quotas. In line with his proposal, the first immigration restriction law was the temporary Emergency Quota Act of 1921, which restricted the number of immigrants admitted annually from any nation (i.e., country of the Eastern Hemisphere of the globe, predominantly Europe and Asia) to 3% of the number of residents from that same country living in the United States as of the U.S. Census of 1910. However, the real success of racial nativism was the adoption of the Immigration Act of 1924, a quota act based on national origins. The adoption of the concept of "national origins" was of major importance, and yet, there was no significant debate about it in Congress—as stated by the U.S. President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, which revised the act in 1953:

> Of the some 500 pages of the Congressional Record devoted to the debate on the Immigration Act of 1924, a total of approximately 14 pages were given over in both the House and the Senate to the consideration

> of the national origins system. Only a small minority of the Senators and Congressmen participated in this discussion.[68]

The lack of debate reflects the fact that by 1924, not only public opinion but also Congress had accepted that immigration policy would be handled on a racial basis. The Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson–Reed Act), which also included the Oriental Exclusion Act and the National Origins Act, not only consolidated the principle of numerical restriction, but also openly stated the principle of racial selection, with the aim of preserving and promoting the peoples of Northern and Western Europe as the absolute majority within the American population. To this end, the principle of percentages was replaced by the principle of national origins, which introduced a total annual immigration quota of 150,000 and set the per-country quota according to the proportion of a nation's contribution to the American population as a whole. Until the national origins quota system became fully operational on July 1, 1927, two percent of foreign-born citizens living in America as per the U.S. Census of 1890 had been allowed to migrate to the United States. This further reduced the number of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe which, as we have seen, became predominant in the decades following 1890. According to the Immigration Act of 1924, a total of 153,879 quotas were issued per year, of which 126,053 (82%) were reserved for Northern and Western European countries, 24,222 (16%) for Southern and Eastern European countries, and 3,604 (2%) for other regions.[69] In addition, the 1924 Act—which included the Oriental Exclusion Act—suspended Japanese immigration altogether, thus achieving the almost complete elimination of Asian immigration.[70] The door

[68] U.S. President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization. *Whom We Shall Welcome. Report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953), 87–88.

[69] See Davie, *What Shall We Do about Immigration?*, 10; *Zolberg, A Nation by Design, 243–260; Helen F. Eckerson, "Immigration and National Origins," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, The New Immigration,* Vol. 367, Issue 1 (September 1966): 4–14, doi:10.1177/000271626636700102; Jones, *American Immigration*, 236–238. Note that the reduced quotas lasted until 1927, when they were adjusted to a total annual quota of 150,000. Finally, in 1929, the quotas were adjusted further to one-sixth of 1% of the 1920 census figures while keeping the total annual quota of 150,000. See Jones, *American Immigration*, 237–238.

[70] Since the Philippines was a US territory between 1898 and 1946, Filipinos constituted a notable exception to the ban on immigration from Asia: as non-citizen US nationals, they were free to move to the mainland. See U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Affairs Manual*, "8 FAM 308.6, Non-Citizen U.S. Nationality in the Philippines after April 11, 1899 but before July 4, 1946," CT:CITZ-35; May 5, 2020, Office of Origin: CA/PPT/S/A, https://fam.state.gov/fam/08fam/08fam030806.html.

that effectively closed on the Eastern Hemisphere remained open only to the countries of the Western Hemisphere, which at the time constituted a trickle of overall immigration to the United States and thus warranted no restrictive measures for the time being.[71]

The Immigration Act of 1924 ended a historical period that had lasted from the War of Independence to the early 20th century. The constellation of four factors determining public opinion and the concurrence of nativist interests of the East and West Coasts thus made it possible between the 1880s and 1920s to gradually but effectively close the door to unrestricted immigration from Europe and Asia.

Conclusion

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, an ideology was born that by employing racial bias first rationalized, then justified, and subsequently signed into law the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon race in all walks of life, and inferiorized newly arrived immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia. As we have seen, nativist racial discrimination became a decisive factor in federal immigration policy in the United States when it found convincing new ideological backing against the traditional open door ideology. Although the principle of the open door proved to be vulnerable at the very first attempt to close it in 1882, only the combined effect of four factors—the unprecedented volume of newcomers, the new ethnic composition of immigrant groups, the sense of internal insecurity at a time of transition, and a powerful new ideology—together with the shared restrictionist interests of the East and the West Coasts, were able to create a historic moment that definitively ended the period of the open door policy.

In addition to analyzing the events and motivations leading to the termination of the relatively unrestricted era of immigrant admissions, the paper highlighted a less frequently emphasized correlation of events, namely the impact of the combination of East and West Coast nativism. As has been argued, the interaction of Eastern and Western nativist efforts to restrict immigration was a crucial factor in achieving the drastic reduction of the arrival

[71] U.S. President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, *Whom We Shall Welcome,* 3, 87; Davie, *What Shall We Do about Immigration?,* 9–10; Jones, *American Immigration,* 277. Note that Western Hemisphere countries came under hemispheric quotas in 1965 and they became part of the unified global ceiling in 1976.

of peoples considered to be of racially "inferior stock" from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia. This novel constellation of historical circumstances and political interests launched an era of new guiding principles for immigrant admissions, thereby starting the next chapter of American immigration history.

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The Jesus Highway: A Case Study of American Indian Migration to Chicago and the Role of Christian Churches

Judit Szathmári

Upon leaving the Coeur d'Alene reservation, two young men, Thomas Builds-the-Fire and Victor Joseph are asked the question: "You two guys got your passports? . . . You're *leavin' the rez . . . and goin' into a whole different country*, cousin." "But it's the United States," Thomas responds. "Damn right, it is. *That's as foreign as it gets*. Hope you two got your vaccinations." the friend adds.[1]

The above exchange, permeated with the humor inherent in American Indian cultures, reflects on the complex nature of "migration" when applied in the Native American context.[2] The Jesus highway metaphor in the title signifies the modern urban routes Indian people traveled from reservations to cities during the 1950s and 1960s, subsidized by the federal government to encourage integration—or more preferably, assimilation—into mainstream American society thereby paving the way to the prospective termination of the special Native American status; at the same time, it also refers to the convoluted role churches played both assisting federal assimilationist initiatives as well as helping the urban adjustment of relocatees. Taking or choosing the "Jesus road" was an expression in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Indian Country to designate conversion from tribal spiritualism to Christianity. Highway, in this respect, is symbolic of the zeal and speed with which Indigenous people were "pushed" from reservations and "pulled" to relocate

[1] *Smoke Signals*, directed by Chris Eyre (Miramax, 1998), DVD, emphasis added. The movie is the screen adaptation of several short stories in Sherman Alexie's collection, *The Lone Ranger* and *Tonto Fistfight in Heaven.* A shorter version of the present paper was published in Hungarian under the title "Aszfaltozott Jézus-út: A chicagói indián közösség és a keresztény egyházak kapcsolata a 20. században," *Vigilia* 86, no. 1 (2021): 66–70.

[2] In line with academic practices in the field, the present chapter uses Native American, American Indian, and Indigenous interchangeably. "Indian," in accordance with both scholarly and popular culture traditions, is employed as an adjective, see, for example Indian people or Indian Country, and in direct quotes from primary and secondary sources.

in urban areas. Following a historical overview of Christian involvement in federal-Indian relations, this case study of Chicago examines how today's strong urban Indian presence has been intertwined with the work of various Christian denominations, with special focus on Father Peter Powell's contribution to Indigenous urban adjustment.

Feeling *foreign* and *goin' into a whole different country*, expressed in the opening quote, stem from centuries-old settler colonial perceptions of the Indigenous population. Throughout the twentieth century, "captive nation"—in the singular—has been employed to express "the limited political autonomy of tribal governments [. . .] and the relative isolation and detachment of Indians from the mainstream of American society and economic life."[3] The term is deeply rooted in the nineteenth-century federal Indian policies of removal, treaty-making, and assimilation. The 1831 Supreme Court decision of *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* explicitly defined the American Indian tribal standing as that of "domestic dependent nations . . . in a state of pupilage. [Native American tribes'] relations to the United States resemble that of a ward to his guardian."[4] "Captive nation," "domestic dependent nation," and "internal colonies" are all indicative of the socio-economic, political, and concomitantly cultural push and pull factors that generated American Indian migration to cities as early as the nineteenth century, and expanded to become an integral part of federal Indian policy aimed at solving the Indian problem[5] after the

[3] C. Matthew Snipp, "The Changing Political and Economic Status of the American Indians: From Captive Nations to Internal Colonies," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 45, no 2 (Apr. 1986), 146. Snipp, primarily from an economic perspective, explores issues of resource and land management, and contends that the relationship of tribes "with American society is increasingly colonial and their insularity is steadily eroding. These changes signify a new political and economic status for American Indians as'internal colonies.'" Snipp, "The Changing Political and Economic Status of the American Indians," 146. Quotation marks added

[4] *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. 5 Pet. 1 1 (1831), https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/30/1/. Accessed August 14, 2022. The Cherokee filed suit against Georgia when the state—in fear that President Andrew Jackson's removal policy would not be effectively enforced—passed laws to remove the nation from within Georgia's boundaries. Two centuries later, the decision is still standing, see for example Montana v. the United States, in which case District Court Judge James Battin held that "the blunt fact . . . is that an Indian tribe is sovereign to the extent the United States permits it to be—neither more nor less." Peter d'Errico, "Introduction: Native Americans in American Politics," in *Encyclopedia of Minorities in American Politics*, ed. by Jeffrey D. Schultz, (Phoenix: Oryx Press, 2000), 571.

[5] "Indian question" and "Indian troubles"—although less frequently employed—enunciated the dilemma aptly summarized by General Nelson A. Miles in 1879: "whether we shall continue the vacillating and expensive policy that has marred our fair name as a nation and *a Christian people, or devise some practical and judicious system* by which we can govern one quarter of a million of our population, securing and maintaining their loyalty, *raising them from the darkness of barbarism to the light of civilization*." Nelson A. Miles, "Indian Problem," *The North American Review* 128, no 268 (March 1879), 304;

Second World War. Neither do the terms in the singular do justice to convey the cultural, social, political, and geographical diversity of today's federally recognized 574 tribes[6]—not including communities that have received state recognition, or have long been petitioning for but been denied federal recognition. Reservations, however, are but one geographically and politically construed component of Indian Country. Nancy Lurie delineates Indian Country as a phenomenon "that . . . seems to have acquired its present meaning and currency during the relocation period. Originally it meant only federal Indian trust land, but now it means any place where there is an active Indian presence, even the Internet."[7] Therefore, not only did the Indian Relocation Act of 1956[8] radically redefined American Indian demographics on reservations and in urban areas but, in view of the aforementioned designations, it also spawned questions as regards the nature of Indigenous migration from homelands to cities.

As members of "domestic, dependent nations," or citizens of "internal colonies" American Indians who left their reservation communities for an urban lifestyle participated in both internal and external migration. Relocating in urban areas within the US territorial boundaries should, by definition, be interpreted as an internal move. Indian Country citizens, however, do often consider off-reservation lands as a foreign country.[9] Even if passports and

emphasis added. Although the term acquired diverse meanings during various phases of settler-colonialism, in the 1950s, the Indigenous demographic was still perceived as incapable of adjustment to mainstream American values. See, for example, Saara Kekki, "Entangled Histories of Assimilation: Dillon S. Myer and the Relocation of Japanese Americans and Native Americans (1942–1953)," *American Studies in Scandinavia*, 51, no. 2 (2019): 25–48. Kekki quotes Commissioner of Indian Affairs Myer's 1951 speech revealing his conviction that "tribal governments and the specific services aimed at Native Americans stifled the tribes' development towards independence and segregated them from the rest of the society," thereby thwarting Indigenous "chances of becoming middle-class Americans and 'realizing their full potentialities'" (39).

[6] "Federally Recognized Indian Tribes and Resources for Native Americans," https://www.usa.gov/tribes. Accessed August11, 2022.

[7] Nancy Lurie, *Wisconsin Indians* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 2002), 52.

[8] Donald L. Fixico's "The Federal Indian Relocation Programme of the 1950s and the Urbanization of Indian Identity" provides a detailed history of the Act. According to Fixico, the 1947-48 winter left the Navajo and Hopi reservation populations devastated and, as an experiment, federal initiatives were taken to move people to cities to ease their distress. Fixico points out that the program was launched in 1952, lasted until 1973, with the Adult Vocational Training Program signed by President Eisenhower in 1956. In *Removing Peoples: Forced Removal in the Modern World*, ed. by Richard Bessel and Claudia B. Haake, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 107–29. The Indian Relocation Act of 1956 is also cited as Public Law 959, and Adult Vocational Training Program is sometimes employed as its synonym.

[9] The popular anecdote from the time of the 1964 presidential elections illustrates Indian Country interpretations of domestic and foreign. When a white man heard Indian people discussing the two

vaccinations are not a prerequisite, just as immigrants from across the Atlantic and the Pacific, from the Northern and Southern borders of the US, Indian people also have crossed borders/ boundaries between Indian Country and their "modern" lives and moved from one body politic to another.

The Act subsidized individuals and families to encourage the exchange of reservation lifestyle for an off-reservation one, thereby making reservations—viewed by many as mementos of America's genocidal treatment of its Indigenous population—redundant. Assimilation, relocation, and, eventually, termination was a tripartite attempt at abolishing the tribal trust status of Indigenous communities, thereby withdrawing any federal protection of the sovereignty which had been granted in treaties. Yet, relegating Indigenous participation to a mere victim position would be a fallacy. Residents of Indian Country long before the 1950s' policies had taken the initiative "to improve their lives, even if that meant moving into, and not around or away from, the cultural, economic, and political nexus of the settler state."[10] Under the nineteenth-century policies of extermination and assimilation, many had been exposed to the cultural sphere of the settler state by having to attend one of the 408 boarding schools[11] run by either the state—under the aegis of the Bu-

candidates, Lyndon B. Johnson and Barry Goldwater, he "told them to forget about domestic policies and concentrate on the foreign policies of the two men. One Indian looked at him coldly and said that from the Indian point of view *it was all foreign policy*." Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 155.

[10] Douglas K. Miller, *Indians on the Move: Native American Mobility and Urbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 132–33. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, established under the War Department in 1824, is a federal agency operating under the auspices of the Department of the Interior. The mission statement construes its obligations "to enhance the quality of life, to promote economic opportunity, and to carry out the responsibility to protect and improve the trust assets of American Indians, Indian tribes and Alaska Natives." (https://www.bia.gov/bia)

[11] In her statement before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, Secretary of the United States Department of the Interior Deb Haaland cited that as of June 21, 2022, "initial investigation shows that, between 1819 and 1969, the federal Indian boarding school system consisted of 408 federal Indian boarding schools across 37 states or then-territories, including 21 schools in Alaska and 7 schools in Hawai'i. . . . approximately 53 different schools . . . contain marked or unmarked burial sites." (https://www.doi.gov/ocl/boarding-school-initiative, Accessed June27, 2023). Numerous academic publications address the intergenerational trauma arising from the operation of these educational institutions—see, for example, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (2020) by David Wallace Adams, or *Stringing Rosaries: The History, the Unforgivable, and the Healing of Northern Plains American Indian Boarding School Survivors: Contemporary Voices of Indigenous Peoples* (2019) by Denise K. Lajimodiere. Secretary Haaland, herself a descendant of Laguna Pueblo survivors of the boarding school policy, as the speaker for Indigeneous people is one of the most authentic voices on the topic. For the most recent findings by the Truth and Healing Commission Committee, see S. 1723: To Establish the Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies in the United States, and for other purposes https://www.congress.gov/bill/118th-congress/senate-bill/1723 (Accessed June 27, 2023).

reau of Indian Affairs—or a Christian denomination. In order to achieve the utmost assimilationist goal of "killing the Indian and saving the man,"[12] children between the age range of four and sixteen were recruited—more often abducted, or the parents were blackmailed into enrolling their children by, for example, withholding ratios—to be instructed in the white man's civilized world. The curriculum included reading, writing, and mathematics, but the conversion of students was also of key incentive. The physical, sexual, and spiritual abuse children were exposed to induced a historical trauma that has not been resolved; the injuries suffered in the past affect generation after generation. In view of how recent news of school burial sites are being discovered both in Canada and in the US, it is crucial to explicate on the relationship of Native American communities and Christian churches.

On December 26, 1862, the Minnesota town of Mankato served as the site of the largest mass execution in American history. Thirty-eight Dakota men and boys were sentenced to death by hanging on account of the atrocities committed against white settlers during the Dakota uprisings that had begun earlier the same year. Originally, three hundred were to be executed, but President Lincoln pardoned 262 of them—as legend has it, the hangings had been scheduled for an earlier date so that they would not correspond with Christians celebrating the birth of Christ, but a shortage of rope for the gallows caused a delay. Among those pardoned was Many Lightnings who, while serving his sentence for participation in the Dakota Uprisings converted to Christianity and, after his release, he encouraged his adolescent son, Ohiyesa to follow in his footsteps. Ohiyesa was raised by his extended family in traditional Dakota ways but Many Lightnings instructed his son that the power of the white man does not derive from their literacy, science, or military superiority. "Above all, they have their Great Teacher whom they call Jesus and he taught them to pass on their wisdom and knowledge of all other races. It is true that they have subdued and taught many peoples, and our own must eventually bow to this law; *the sooner we accept their mode of life and follow their teaching, the better it will be for us all*."[13] Many Lightnings words echo the Apos-

[12] The slogan "Kill the Indian, save the man" is attributed to Richard Henry Pratt, founder of the first off-reservation boarding school after his successful educational experiment with Native American prisoners of war at Fort Marion, Florida.

[13] Quoted in Donald L. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 109; emphasis added.

tle Matthew's missionary call: "Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations."[14] Indeed, his son accepted the call and worked hard to convert "young men of the Sioux, Cheyennes, Crees, Ojibways, and others to set before them in simple language the life and character of the Man Jesus."[15]

From the mid-1870s, Ohiyesa does follow the "Jesus road." Changing his name to Charles Alexander Eastman and receiving western education, he becomes a respected physician and, in 1933, he is the first American Indian to receive the Indian Achievement Award bestowed by the Indian Council Fire, a Chicago-based non-profit organization, with the majority of its membership of Caucasian origin, supporting American Indians both locally and nation-wide. In addition to his medical profession, Eastman dedicates a lot of his energies to assist Indigenous youth; he launches thirty-two Indigenous youth groups and organizes boys scouts.[16] While several of Ohiyesa's contemporaries, such as Zitkala-sa (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin) or Luther Standing Bear recount their boarding school education including Christianization, Eastman's efforts to bridge the Indigenous and the Western world views demonstrate how a lot of Native American people believed Christianity and tribal traditions to be "two ways to worshipping one God"[17] rather than mutually exclusive faiths.

Many Lightnings and Ohiyesa lived at a time when the Indigenous population of the US was fighting their final armed conflicts against European settlers. By the second half of the nineteenth century, federal Indian policy had passed beyond military annihilation, and launched a massive assimilationist campaign against Native Americans already forcefully removed to settle on reservations. In view of the above detailed historical foundation, the explication of how American Indian-Christian relations evolved into those based

[14] Matthew 28:19 (NKJV). https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew%2028%3A19&version=NKJVMt.

[15] Quoted in Peter L. Bayers, "Charles Alexander Eastman's *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* and the Shaping of Native Manhood," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 20, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 69.

[16] Kent Nerburn, ed., *The Soul of the Indian and Other Writings from Ohiyesa (Charles Alexander Eastman)* (Novato: New World Library, 2001), 51.

[17] Charles Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle, the Rise of Modern Indian Nations* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 97. Recounting Black Elk's, the famous Oglala medicine man, choice to become a catecist, Wilkinson cites the reasons why Indian people adhered to two, seemingly distinct, religions: "politeness, fondness for the minister, or even the need for a meal at church bazaars" (97). The late nineteenth-century reservation motivations apparently remained unchanged for some of the relocatees in the 1950s and explain why many of them gravitated to urban church participation.

on mutual assistance, trust, and cooperation within the life span of less than three generations should follow.

Ohiyesa, who was knowledgeable both in the Western Christian and the traditional Native American worlds, believed that the old Christian faith was not at all that different from tribal world views. According to him, Jesus's parables about the rich resonated with the Indigenous population.[18] He recounts how, during one of his missionary talks, an elder shared his understanding of Christian values: "I have come to the conclusion that this Jesus was an Indian. He was opposed to material acquisition and to great possessions. He was inclined to peace. He was as unpractical as any Indian and set no price upon his labor of love. These are not the principles upon which the white man has founded his civilization. It is strange that he could not rise to these simple principles which were so commonly observed among our people."[19] Since the 1929 stock market crash and the ensuing 1930s economic crisis hit reservation communities that had already suffered extreme poverty beforehand particularly hard, biblical teachings struck root with Indian people. Two decades later—although not springing from the biblical teachings yet still perpetuating the image of the poor Indian—the federal initiative that induces the mass migration from reservations to metropolitan areas is partly designed to "turn poor reservation dwellers into poor city workers while preserving some aspect of '"Nativeness."'[20] In the ideal scenario, Native identity was expected to comply with the modern and industrialized urban setting for the first time since white contact.

Several scholars, however, claim that sites, such as Cahokia Mounds—located nearby today's St. Louis, Missouri—testify to the long history of urban Indian experience.[21] Nevertheless, urban Indian identity is most often regarded to have originated in the post-WWII era, and gained momentum in the 1950s' federal relocation program. As mainstream American society

[18] Nerburn, ed, *The Soul of the Indian*, 43.

[19] Nerburn, ed, *The Soul of the Indian*, 44.

[20] Megan Tusler, "Toward a Native Archive: Chicago's Relocation Photos, Indian Labor, and Indigenous Public Text," *American Indian Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (Summer 2018): 387. According to 2020 census data, 5.2 million Americans identify as American Indians and Alaska Natives, and seven out of ten of them live in urban or metropolitan areas. Accessed Sept. 12, 2022, https://www.census.gov/newsroom/facts-for-features/2022/aian-month.html.

[21] See, for example, C. Matthew Snipp, "American Indians and Alaska Natives in Urban Environments," in *Indigenous in the City: Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation*, ed. Evelyn Peters and Chris Andersen, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 173–192; and Fixico, *The American Indian Mind*.

still viewed the Indigenous population on reservations as the "Other"—physically, geographically, racially, culturally, in the socio-political, and even in the jurisdictional sense—the solution to the Indian problem naturally had to originate in metropolitan areas, where the heterogeneous Native American demographic may in all likelihood be assimilated into mainstream society. President Eisenhower, reinforcing the ultimate goal of termination, was convinced that "the Indians would be integrated by taking all the youngsters off the reservation, the old would die off, the young would be integrated, and the land would become free for public domain, and all the people could grab it."[22] The assimilationist plan, apparently, proved a failure. In 1988, President Ronald Reagan's response to an inquiry about the Indian problem— "the United States had done everything to meet [the Indians'] demands as to how they want to live. Maybe we made a mistake. Maybe we should not have humored them in that, wanting to stay in that kind of primitive lifestyle. Maybe we should have said, 'No, *come join us; be citizens with the rest of us*"[23]— generated harsh criticism all over Indian Country.

By guaranteeing travel and housing subsidies, assistance in job search, better living standards and better health care services, the Voluntary Indian Relocation Act encouraged reservation residents to move to designated metropolitan areas, such as Chicago, Los Angeles, Denver, Seattle, Cleveland, and Milwaukee.[24] Theoretically, the act promoted the new environments where, within a few years of residence, the individual would lose their Indigenous identity and melt and dissolve into mainstream society—thus the Indian problem would be solved. Dillon S. Myer,[25] who was appointed Commission-

[22] Donald L. Fixico, "The Federal Indian Relocation Programme," 113.

[23] American Indian Information and Action Group, Inc. "American Indians Accept President's Invitation." Public Service Announcement Aug. 20, 1988. Indian Community School. Native American Resource File. Milwaukee Public Museum.

[24] Unlike Chicago and the other aforementioned cities, Milwaukee did not host a designated BIA relocation office.

[25] A photo features Myer and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on their visit to the Gila River War Relocation Center in 1943 (available at https://nativephilanthropy.candid.org/events/former-head-of-japanese-internment-camps-appointed-commissioner-of-indian-affairs/). Prior to being appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Myer had served as the Director of the War Relocation Agency and in this capacity he supervised the interment of thousands of Japanese Americans during the Second World War. Not only did he acquire experience in mobilizing large populations but, since several of the internment camps were located on reservation territories, he also became familiar with American Indian conditions. Myer's faith in the American way of life and in the "melting pot tradition on which [the] nation developed" (Kekki 33) explain the analogies between the internment of Japanese Americans during the Second World War and the federal policy of relocation in the 1950s. Directed at quieting rather

er of Indian Affairs in 1950, strongly believed that the only way to reform the highly bureaucratic and red tape-laden federal Bureau of Indian Affairs lay in decentralizing it. To ensure the utmost success of the relocation project, he proposed to "outsource" several BIA responsibilities to state and non-governmental organizations, with special focus on churches.

In 1951 Myer delivered a speech to the National Council of Churches of Christ, in which he informed participant denominations of his wishes and plans.[26] First and foremost, he requested church assistance in urban adjustment: counterintuitive as it may seem, he did call for Christian support to help relocatees "[find] suitable meeting places and recreational community activities" and aid people's networking in urban environments.[27] Professedly, such church participation would counterbalance the assimilationist goals of the policy, yet just like the assimilationist curriculum of boarding school policy, it was to primarily target younger generations and "[furnish] these people with positive incentives for taking up a new life in ordinary American communities."[28] Phrased this way, relocation may be viewed as a benevolent attempt on behalf of the US to integrate its Indigenous population in American society. Commissioner Myer, however, also remarked "that Indigenous consent was immaterial."[29] Today, the booming Chicago urban Indian community testifies to the success of the integrationist aspect of the relocation initiative, to a great degree due to the work of churches. For federal agencies, the core duty was to trigger mass movement from reservations to relocation centers, but they had no capacity—and will, or simply dodged the responsibility—to fulfil the promises the government assured people of in exchange for leaving their communities behind. "The Indian Bureau was giving the reloca-

racist sentiments, disseminating traditionally strong communities and calling for individual responsibility to fit in mainstream American society integral to embracing the similarities [of Japanese Americans and Native Americans, respectively] with the rest of the Americans (Kekki 36).

[26] James B. LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945–75* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2002), 48.

[27] Kekki, "Entangled Histories", 42; 39.

[28] LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis,* 49. While Commissioner Myer summoned church assistance to help the federal cause, field offices did not fully embrace the idea of cooperation. For example, "during the 1950s, the Chicago Field Relocation Office refused to tell those who desired to help relocated Indians—including local social services, churches, private citizens, and the Chicago Indian Center—which trains relocatees were arriving on, because the BIA sought to avoid outside interference with its program." Miller, *Indians on the Move,* 142–43.

[29] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States: ReVisioning American History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 24.

tion staff here a quota of people to bring into [Chicago]—the initial follow-up was made, and then they were dropped."[30]

In order to convince the largest number of residents to forsake their reservation communities—and, by extension, their tribal/Native American identity—the BIA compiled massive propaganda material. These documents, comprising several hundred pages illustrated with charts and photographs, accentuate the assistance of various Christian organizations, and stress the continuity of practicing the Christian faith in the new urban environments.[31] In Chicago, where the Salvation Army offered accommodation for single women, the BIA brochure highlighted how the lodgings were church funded yet "extremely liberal."[32] In awareness of the intergenerational trauma, such wording was to (counter)balance the experiences of boarding schools.

Respondents of the Chicago American Indian Oral History Project[33] were in the majority of cases practicing Christians on their home reservations. Several of them recounted experiences if not of conflicts, but feelings of being an outsider in the tribal environment. Therefore, material propagating relocation always included images and detailed descriptions of religious community life and particularly targeted active Christian members of reservation communities. BIA illustrations and explanations point out the promise of practicing the Christian faith which, concomitantly, offers a sense of belonging to a community and, even if everything else proves strange and frightening in the city, faith will help relocatees endure everyday difficulties.

The BIA relocation papers compiled between 1936 and 1963 on the South Dakota Cheyenne River Reservation note that the place "is dotted with small Churches. There are two to four churches in every community. Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches predominate due to the early missionaries but there is an attempt to control the number of churches on the reservations so

[30] Miller, *Indians on the Move,* 136.

[31] The photographs also project individual and/or family success, as a core American value, contrary to the more collective Native American cultures. For a detailed analysis of how the relocatee image is reduced to that of the "worker," see Tusler, "Toward a Native Archive."

[32] LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 67.

[33] Between 1982 and 1985 hundreds of interviews were conducted with people who moved to Chicago from various reservations. The information is now available as the *Chicago American Indian Oral History Project Records, 1982–1985*. Ayer. Modern. MS. Oral History. Newberry Library, Chicago, (abbreviated as CAIOHP in the following). In 2014, I had the opportunity to research the collection but on account of personality rights I was instructed not to document names. Where necessary, tribal affiliations will be indicated.

that people would not get confused."[34] In view of the freedom of religion and the fact that converting the Indigenous population had served as a cornerstone of assimilationist policies for centuries, it is quite ironic how administration attempted to channel faith in its own best interest.

It is impossible to formulate a general theory on the roots of Indigenous conversion to Christianity. The aforementioned Ohiyesa quotes on the similarities of the Judeo-Christian and Native worldviews may be one clue to Native American conversion. Nineteenth- and twentieth- century boarding school curricula were also permeated with the proselytizing spirit. A large proportion of the schools were run by various denominations and, for children whose ties to their own traditional Native environments had been severed, taking the Jesus road remained the only option and consolation, while others were "bullied and beaten"[35] into conversion. For many people, however, conversion was voluntary and for them taking the Jesus highway to live in cities generated the need in the 1950s and 60s to establish independent Native American congregations. While many relocatees tried to retain at least a segment of their home cultures in the new environment, "traditional beliefs no longer seemed practical for the urban scene."[36] Additionally, the 1950s and 60s ethnic and civil rights movements encouraged people to participate in American life on their own terms, embracing their cultures.

By the time the number of Indigenous residents in Chicago started skyrocketing, both the Protestant and the Catholic Church had established a firm foothold with Native people. "The criteria were not hard" for potential relocatees to meet,[37] and reservation residents could specify their religious/denominational preferences on the relocation application form. Applications that indicated Catholic as the applicant's religion were directly referred to the cardinal's office, while Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other Protestant relocatees were forwarded to an ecumenical institution, the Church Federation of Greater Chicago.[38]

[34] *Bureau of Indian Affairs Indian Relocation Records, 1936–1975. Bulk 1956–1958, Reservation Agencies, 1936–1963, Box 1, Folders 1–15.* Ayer MS collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

[35] The metaphor of the Native tongue being "beaten out" of boarding school survivors is more than literary exaggeration. Just as Native languages, traditional spiritual practices were disapproved of by school authorities and entailed severe corporal punishment.

[36] CAIOHP, Folder 2, "Native Voices in the City," Chapter 11: "Religion in Urban Life."

[37] Fixico, "The Federal Indian Relocation Programme," 112. "A person had to be between 18 and about 45 years old, and in good health. The applicant had to be capable of working and learning a job skill."

[38] LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 148.

As granted in BIA relocation brochures, the safety net thus constructed undoubtedly had its benefits—both religious and social—but oftentimes the federal plan backfired. Leaving behind the haunting traumata of boarding schools and the mission-dominated reservation environment, some relocatees refused to cooperate with any religious institution. From the Indigenous perspective, churches had assisted the government's assimilationist actions, and expected a pluralist attitude that former reservation residents could not or refused to accept. Since the primary goal of relocation was to assimilate the Native American in mainstream American society, every single institution—schools, jobs and, of course, religious communities too—were to be integrated. For Indian people arriving from a relatively homogenous Native environment, forcing the participation of both Native and non-Native individuals in shared spaces presupposed that the Indigenous identity be lost and replaced by the American one. Unsurprisingly, by the 1960s it became evident that integrated congregations failed to achieve their purpose, American Indian members rather skipped religious meetings and, instead, remained involved with their congregations solely by capitalizing on the social services they provided, pressing for the establishment of exclusive urban Native American religious communities.[39]

One core element of realizing the assimilationist aim of relocation was to hinder the assembling of relocatees in the same neighborhoods as it would have obstructed their melting/disappearing into mainstream American society. Since housing assistance was supervised by the BIA, it was relatively easy to disperse new arrivals all across Chicago. Such population distribution, however, rendered extreme difficulties for churches, because it was almost impossible to locate and reach Christians "scattered" all over the city. Furthermore, followers of the Protestant faith were less homogeneous in terms of denominational composition than Catholics. Since the latter church operated more missions on reservations relocatees were leaving behind, the bulk of the Christian Native American population of Chicago—some estimate the figure to be 50%—declared themselves Catholic.[40] Despite the historical trauma induced by the boarding school experience, respondents, who had attended denominational schools, visited church meetings "sometimes or oc-

[39] LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 149.
[40] LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 149.

casionally,"[41] that is, they did not in every case denounce their Christian faith. Nevertheless, the clergy often complained that regardless of the substantial number of followers, they were rather passive. Respondents mention a minister, who, although loved working with his Native American flock, eventually left Chicago because, as he said, "I don't know how to get through to the city Indians."[42]

The presence of the Native American Church further contributed to religious diversity and the difficulty to invite people to actively participate in church life. The Native American Church was founded in 1925; peyote, a highly hallucinogenic substance, is an integral part of its rituals.[43] Additionally, as their reservation is located in the close proximity of Chicago, the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) comprised a considerable proportion of the relocatee population, and they brought with them their *Midewiwin* (Medicine Lodge), which is also based on traditional spiritual practices.[44] Both the Native American Church and *Midewiwin* are Pan-Indian, they welcome believers regardless of tribal affiliations. In the alienating modern urban environment several relocatees found consolation in following both traditional tribal and Christian spiritual paths. An Oneida-Sioux respondent commented that they raised their children in the traditional Native ways but they also attended church; and he practiced both the Sun Dance and his Christian faith.[45] This tendency accelerated with the 1960s Civil Rights Movement that promoted traditions thus far oppressed, outlawed, and viewed as inferior to thrive again.[46]

For many relocatees, traditional belief systems seemed incompatible with modern metropolitan life, therefore they "looked for churches to join as new

[41] CAIOHP 180.

[42] CAIOHP 185–186.

[43] Mark Q. Sutton, *An Introduction to Native North America* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 350.

[44] LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis,* 150.

[45] CAIOHP 146. The Sun Dance is an elaborate ceremony of Plains cultures. It involves self-inflicted wounds as personal sacrifice for the well-being of the community.

[46] Although the First Amendment of the US Constitution grants that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" (https://constitution.congress.gov/constitution/amendment-1/, Accessed Aug. 22, 2022), not until 1978 were American Indians included under its auspices. The 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act states: "henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites." (https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-5293/pdf/COMPS-5293.pdf, Accessed Aug. 22, 2022), emphasis added.

members"[47] both for spiritual consolation and to find a new community. There was one mother among the respondents, who moved to Chicago in the 1950s and stated that she only left her apartment when attending church service. In many cases, newcomers joined congregations they had first received assistance from upon arrival. Concomitantly, by the second half of the 1960s, the spiritual map of Chicago's Indian community was comprised of three segments: Catholic, Protestant, and traditional religions.[48]

Life in the big city brought about a Pan-Indian identity due to the shared experience of being consigned in the status of the "Other," but denominational differences did not contribute to this novel, all-embracing Indian identity. A respondent, who had already been born in Chicago but spent summers on their father's reservation recounted that "there was a small Protestant Church on the Reserve, but you didn't talk about it if you went to it. Because the Catholics ran the Reserve."[49] Occasionally, tribal and religious affiliations were closely intertwined. A Pima from Arizona explained that their tribe incorporated Spanish Catholicism into Pima cosmology, creating a liturgy resembling Catholicism but delivered in traditional Pima regalia.[50] A Catholic from Pine Ridge explained how their faith in Jesus and the Great Spirit complemented each other.[51] While Pan-Indianism may not have always manifested in the religious environment, other institutions, such as the American Indian Center, functioned as a terrain for the emerging supratribal Native identity.

Chicago hosts one of the oldest Indian centers, in continuous operation since its foundation in 1952.[52] To assist newcomers' integration in the Chicago environment, the American Indian Center (AIC) worked parallel with the St. Augustine's Center for American Indians, founded in 1961 by Father

[47] CAIOHP 174.

[48] LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis,* 151.

[49] CAIOHP 53.

[50] CAIOHP 176.

[51] CAIOHP 180.

[52] The Indigenous initiative to establish Indian Centers in cities with substantial Native American populations arose in the 1950s and 1960s. The institutions were "not simply recreational outlets for Indians but rather. . . made of many Indian social organizations which bring meaning and purpose to life in the city." The source of the quotation is the Milwaukee American Indian Center's "Fund Appeal," included in *The Native American Resource File,* hosted by the Milwaukee Public Museum. It is a collection of newspaper articles, community meeting typescripts and minutes, correspondences among Indian people in various organizations, and historical documents primarily on the Indian presence in Milwaukee and Wisconsin, but including information from other locations in Indian Country as well.

Peter J. Powell.[53] Father Powell served as a pastor for the St. Timothy Episcopal Church, and his lifelong engagement with and commitment to Native American people motivated him to help American Indians living in Chicago even before the official relocation act. In the 1950s, he issued the circular *The Cross and the Calumet*, on the cover of which the intertwining Christian and Indigenous symbols carried the message of the unity of faiths.[54] As a member of the Church Federation, he considered it his mission to provide newcomers to the city with those services that were promised by state and federal relocation authorities but never really materialized. With the number of relocatees boosting, in 1960 Father Powell, who had, by that time, been working on the Committee on Indian Work of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago, proposed that his position be made a full-time one.[55] Father Powell experienced daily how "the BIA's assertion that 75 percent of the roughly 35,000 Indians who had relocated between 1953 and 1960 had successfully adjusted was 'an absolute lie. Our people were in the midst of the most terrible turmoil one could imagine.'"[56] Therefore, such an administrative change was essential to secure the continued assistance of relocatees. Firmly believing that the success of Indigenous integration rested on the strong sense of Native American identity, in 1961, Father Powell organized a committee to oversee Native American mission in the greater Chicago area diocese, and initiated the building of a chapel for Indian people in which a Cheyenne Jesus greeted believers.[57]

Father Powell was an Episcopalian priest, an ethnohistorian, authored several studies on Plains cultures and, most importantly, he communicated with people. Reverberating Black Elk's and Eastman's views cited earlier, he considered both Christian and tribal expressions of faith sacred. According to Vine Deloria, Father Powell's two-volume work on Cheyenne beliefs, unlike many similar publications in the 1960s and 1970s—on account of their

[53] The present chapter is prompted by the sad occasion of Father Powell's passing on December 15, 2022, almost exactly two months after the (Hi)Stories of Migration conference. For a detailed history of the St. Augustine Center, see John J Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination: American Indian Education in Chicago, 1952–2006* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), especially chapters 1 and 2.

[54] LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 144.

[55] Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 37.

[56] quoted in Miller, *Indians on the Move*, 151.

[57] LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 145. In Milwaukee, in the church of the Congregation of the Great Spirit Jesus and the Virgin Mary are both cloaked in Native American blankets, and the smoke of sage and incense are equally integral part of rituals.

writers' and readers' sense of Christian superiority—did not approach tribal cosmology as some "strange superstition,"[58] but expressly validates the legacy of Cheyenne traditions in the modern world. The same spirit guided the operation of the St. Augustine Center in offering an alternative to the assimilationist intentions of relocation: members did not have to choose between their Native and American identities, their sense of belonging in both worlds mutually strengthened each other.[59] A volunteer, who moved to Chicago in 1957 and then worked as the director of the Center for twenty-five years recalls: "Father Powell really changed my life [...] he made me understand more, being Indian [...] What an Indian is [...] Which I never did. We never did at home."[60] Naturally, in a homogeneous tribal/reservation community defining one's identity posed less of a challenge than in the metropolis. Father Powell recognized that success in the new urban environment depended equally on hanging on to the roots and adapting to the new, "ordinary American" environment.

Just as other Native American missions, St. Augustine welcomed everyone regardless of denominational ties. Yet, it was Episcopalians who most often visited the Chapel and utilized its services. The American Indian Center and St. Augustine divided responsibilities, although oftentimes services and membership did overlap: while AIC primarily provided social space based on shared cultural heritage, St. Augustine ran a child welfare and recovering alcoholics program, offered mental, legal, and health aid, cash, food, and clothes donations, even letters of recommendations to those who were on a job hunt.[61] In fact, this is exactly what lead to its demise: the primary motivation of moving to the city was the hope of a better life, while charity and help would have indicated the failure to achieve this.[62] In addition, while the

[58] Vine Deloria, Jr., *God is Red: A Native View of Religion* (Washington: Fulcrum, 2003), 34.

[59] Janusz Mucha, "From Prairie to the City: Transformation of Chicago's American Indian Community," *Urban Anthropology* 12, no. 3/4 (Fall-Winter 1983): 364.

[60] *Bureau of Indian Affairs Indian Relocation Records, 1936–1975. Bulk 1956–1958, Reservation Agencies, 1936–1963, Box 1, Folders 1–15.* Ayer MS collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

[61] Mucha, "From Prairie to the City", 363. St. Augustine Center for American Indians assisted 1,173 American Indians in 1962, services provided included "21 medical referrals, 99 job referrals, 342 nights of lodging for families, financial assistance for 392 families and 245 individuals, clothing for 360 families and 136 individuals, and groceries for 101 families and 26 individuals. The total number of cases handled by St. Augustine's totaled 4,749." Laukaitis, *Community Self-Determination*, 38.

[62] In 1965, St. Augustine was the first urban Indian Center to receive grants from President Lyndon B. Johnson's "war on poverty" funds. See Mucha, "From Prairie to the City", 363.

center attempted to cover as many fields of life as possible, members of the Native American Committee founded in 1969 quit because they felt that "St. Augustine was always primarily Christian."[63]

Father Powell believed that a community must educate their own leaders; he resigned from his post, and since the 1970s St. Augustine was under American Indian leadership. "Native people on their own were able to maintain and attain lives of dignity and decency here in the city of Chicago. They did it without the Bureau of Indian affairs (sic). For many it was long, and slow, and heartbreaking, but they made it. Now there are three generations of our people here, and I would say, three generations who are still at heart very much committed to maintaining their Indianness, and they have done this on their own."[64] Neither faith nor success can be measured quantitatively in the context of urban adjustment by relocatees who had arrived in Chicago from a Christian background. Nevertheless, even without exact statistics it can be concluded that urban congregations did not only provide financial and material assistance to Indian people but also secured a safety net without which today's urban communities would not be as thriving as they are. Indian people of diverse tribal and religious backgrounds took not only highways, but many of them the "Jesus highway" in particular to travel from reservations to cities, and relocate in "modern" America. The Native American migration in the 1950s and 1960s, similarly to other immigrant experiences, involved crossing borders—cultural, religious, and linguistic alike. The policy of relocation occasioned unlikely alliances, such as between churches and relocatees; the former historically assisting federal assimilationist initiatives but also offering indispensable help during the urban adjustment of the latter.

[63] CAIOHP 192.

[64] Powell quoted in Miller, *Indians on the Move*, 193. Not only did large-scale assimilation fail, but the urban experience had a profound impact on reservation communities as well. The federal termination objectives eventually had to be aborted as with, for example, St. Augustine's assistance "[young Indian sojourners] took that practical savvy that they learned here in the city back to the reservation, remained certainly traditionally and spiritually as strong as ever, and yet at the same time have become tribal leaders today.. . . It has strengthened them in better serving their people back on the reservation." Powell quoted in Miller, *Indians on the Move*, 184.

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Emigrants and State Security: Hungarian-Americans in the Preparatory Textbooks of the Civilian Intelligence of the Hungarian People's Republic

Máté Gergely Balogh

Introduction

The relationship between people who migrated into another country and their home can be complicated—especially if the latter is a repressive communist dictatorship, like the Hungarian People's Republic during the Cold War.[1] In this context, the United States was not only the main adversary of the countries of the Eastern bloc, but also home to the largest Hungarian diaspora. From the perspective of the Hungarian People's Republic, some of the members of this group posed a potential threat, others could provide various opportunities, but the Hungarian community in the United States was definitely of interest to the regime.

During the entire period of the communist era from the takeover in 1948 to 1989, Hungarian exiles and their organizations in the Western bloc were among the main targets of the activity of the state security organizations of the Hungarian People's Republic. In addition, Hungarian ethnics, people of Hungarian descent living in the West also often served as sources of information for these intelligence agencies. Given the size of the population of

[1] This study covers a topic that to a certain extent overlaps with the topic of my unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The United States of America through the Eyes of the Hungarian State Security, 1956–1989," PhD diss., (University of Debrecen, 2021). In the overwhelming majority of the cases, this does not mean a verbatim equivalence, but some of the same primary sources were used during the writing of both texts. Consequently, some of the quotes from those sources can be identical, and there are certain terms, concepts, frequently used expressions and technical terms that are the same. The issue of how Hungarian-Americans appear in the preparatory textbooks of the state security is not discussed in the dissertation specifically, but there can be similarities between this study and certain parts of the dissertation. This mostly concerns the presentation of the institutional structure and operation of the Hungarian State Security and the presentation of the primary sources that are used in both this study and the dissertation, in Chapters 1 and 2. The description of the Hungarian quarter that appears in Chapter 6.2 of the dissertation is also discussed in this study, as well as the list of intelligence contacts presented in Chapter 7.5.

Hungarian origin, and the influence of the Hungarian political emigration in the United States, and the position of the country as the leading power of the Western bloc, the diaspora in America was especially important for the Hungarian state security. It would be logical to assume that given the significance of this community for the work of the intelligence officers, information about Hungarian-Americans must have been an integral part of their preparation for work in the United States. But as this study demonstrates, when it comes to the content of the textbooks that were used to prepare the intelligence officers of the Hungarian state security in the late 1960s-1980s, this was not the case; these educational materials contained almost no information about the Hungarian-American community.

The terminology that is used to refer to various groups of people of Hungarian origin in the United States is based on Anna Mazurkiewicz's book *Voice of the Silenced Peoples in the Global Cold War – The Assembly of Captive European Nations, 1954–1972*.[2] When describing people of East Central European origin living in the United States, Mazurkiewicz differentiates between three groups, exiles, *émigrés,* and ethnics. According to this terminology, "exiles" were people who represented the democratic elites of their home countries, retained their original citizenship, and were politically active. "*Émigrés"* became socially well-integrated into the society of their host countries, but also continued to be interested in the fate of their home country. The third group, "ethnics" were ordinary citizens of the host country, who were often second or third generation immigrants, but still maintained certain emotional and cultural ties to their home country. The original primary sources as well as a lot of the literature available in Hungarian use the term "*emigráció,"* emigration, to refer to all people of Hungarian descent living in the United States.

The chapter examines how the various categories of Americans of Hungarian and other East-Central European descent appeared in the textbooks that were intended to prepare intelligence officers for work in the United States in the second half of the Cold War, and how this relates to the actual activity of the foreign intelligence of the Hungarian People's Republic in the same period. It presents how and why the Hungarians in America were designated as one of the main targets of the work of the Hungarian state security abroad.

[2] Anna Mazurkiewicz, *Voice of the Silenced Peoples in the Global Cold War – The Assembly of Captive European Nations, 1954–1972* (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2021).

This is followed by an overview of the textbooks and how the aforementioned groups of people are discussed in these documents. The next section of the study reflects upon the content of the textbooks in light of what we know about the reports that were produced by the intelligence officers who were most likely prepared with the help of these materials. Finally, given the discrepancy between the content of the preparatory textbooks and the reports, the conclusion speculates on what else could have been used to prepare the intelligence officers for working with the Hungarian-American community.

Hungarian-Americans as Targets of Hungarian State Security

After the communist takeover of the Hungarian government was complete by the second half of the 1940s, the organization of the Hungarian state security took place. The state security apparatus of the Hungarian People's Republic was modelled on the sister organizations in the Soviet Union, and it was created and operated with the active help and participation of Soviet intelligence officers in the late 1940s and the early 1950s. The organizational structure was also modeled on the Soviet example, and it paralleled the constant institutional reorganizations that were a hallmark of the Soviet state security apparatus. According to the recollections of Vladimir Farkas, officer of the Hungarian State Security Authority (Államvédelmi Hatóság, ÁVH) and son of Mihály Farkas, one of the most prominent communist leaders in Hungary in the Rákosi period (1948-1953), the Soviets closely monitored every step of the creation of Hungarian state security (and continued monitoring its operation as well, up until the end of communism in 1989).[3] Not long after the Revolution and War of Independence of 1956 was crushed with the help of the Soviet military, the Hungarian state security was reorganized. Following the pattern established by the Soviet KGB, Directorate III/I of the Ministry of the Interior was established as the organizational unit that would become responsible for the civilian foreign intelligence of the Hungarian People's Republic, and it remained so until the fall of communism.

Under the communist regime, the objectives of the Hungarian state security were consistently determined by the interests of the communist leadership in Hungary, as well as in the Soviet Union. In March 1955, the heads of the state security agencies of the Eastern European communist countries

[3] Tóth Eszter, "A politikai hírszerzés szervezettörténeti vázlata, 1945–1990," *Betekintő* 2011/2, 1.

gathered for a secret meeting in Moscow. The aim of this conference was to coordinate the clandestine activity of the state security agencies of the Eastern bloc countries, under the guidance of the Soviets. The participants agreed upon a division of labor; specific tasks were assigned to the state security agency of each country.[4] All of the intelligence agencies of the Warsaw Pact countries were supposed to take part in the struggle against the "main enemy," that is, the capitalist world, with a special focus on the United States. The Hungarian state security was tasked with gathering information primarily on West Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, the Vatican, as well as Western countries with a significant population of Hungarian origin, including, of course, the United States. The cooperation between the Hungarian state security and their Soviet counterpart continued until the very end of the Cold War, and this included gathering intelligence in the United States.[5]

The secret conference in Moscow identified people of Hungarian descent living in the West in general, and the Hungarian-American community in particular, as one of the main targets of the activity of the Hungarian state security. The most important task was weakening, demoralizing the "emigration," as Magdolna Baráth puts it, "their primary goal was to prevent the emergence of a well-organized, unified block of emigrants [by our terminology, exiles] that would be hostile to Hungary." [6] In addition, the state security organizations also recognized the significance of the Hungarian community in the West as a political basis that could potentially be used for the operative purposes of the foreign intelligence[7]—that is, as agents, contact, or other sources of information. As Ágnes Hankiss notes, "all the intelligence agencies of the Warsaw Pact had units that were surveilling their own diaspora, that is, they wanted to know everything about their own emigrants, and for this reason, they put intelligence officers in their embassies under cover."[8]

[4] Tóth, "A politikai hírszerzés szervezettörténeti vázlata, 1945–1990," 4.

[5] See Hankiss Ágnes, "Hírszerzés és rendszerváltás. A washingtoni magyar rezidentúra kalandos évei (1988–1989), in *Diplomácia-hírszerzés-állambiztonság,* eds. Gábor Andreides, Anita M. Madarász, and Viktor Attila Sós (Budapest: Nemzeti Emlékezet Bizottsága, 2018).

[6] Baráth Magdolna, "Szirénhangok. Kísérletek az emigráció bomlasztására (1950–1963)," in *Titkos hidak. Az állambiztonság és az emigráció kapcsolatai, 1945–1989,* eds. Mária Palasik and Nándor Pócs (Budapest-Pécs: ÁBTL-Kronosz, 2021), 11.

[7] Sz. Kovács Éva, "Emigráns női sorsok és az állambiztonság," in *Titkos hidak. Az állambiztonság és az emigráció kapcsolatai, 1945–1989*, eds. Mária Palasik and Nándor Pócs (Budapest-Pécs: ÁBTL-Kronosz, 2021), 119.

[8] Hankiss Ágnes, "Humint-Retro. Lélektani vonzatok," *Arc és Álarc* 2, no. 1–2 (2018): 214.

The relevance of Hungarian-Americans for the Hungarian state security increased further after the Revolution and War of Independence of 1956, when 38,000 refugees from Hungary settled in the United States, and monitoring these people, influencing their activity continued to be a main priority for the foreign intelligence organizations of the Hungarian People's Republic.[9]

The Training Materials of the Hungarian State Security

Today, the documents that were created by the Hungarian state security agencies belonging under the Ministry of Interior during the decades of the socialist regime can be found in the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security (Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára, ÁBTL) in Budapest – or at least those documents that have already been processed and are available for research. Every archive has its own internal structure that researchers need to understand. Among the materials stored in this archive, documents that are grouped under 4.1 within "Collections" (Section 4) are background materials that were used by the state security organizations, for example, during the preparation of the officers.[10] These documents cover a great variety of topics, they include a number of historical materials, typical cases that could have served as examples that the officers could study, and a number of studies on subjects related to intelligence (e.g., psychology). An important part of the collection of background materials is about the economic, political situation in the target countries, as well as the overview of the operative condition (that is, conditions in the given country that could be relevant for the work of the intelligence officer) of the countries in question.

The textbooks examined in this study can be found among the aforementioned background materials in the ÁBTL. They are textbooks that were used to prepare intelligence officers of the state security for work in the United States. The audience were all officers of Directorate III/I of the Ministry of the Interior, which was the organizational unit responsible for civilian foreign intelligence from 1962 to 1989.[11] These officers were to work under diplomat-

[9] On a detailed and comprehensive history of the Hungarian emigration, see Várdy Béla, *Magyarok az Újvilágban: Az észak-amerikai magyarság rendhagyó története* (Budapest: Magyar Nyelv és Kultúra Nemzetk. Társasága, 2000).

[10] "GENERAL INFORMATION," ÁBTL. Accessed June 23, 2023, https://www.abtl.hu/english-information

[11] MNVK-2, Magyar Néphadsereg Vezérkar 2. Csoportfőnöksége (Second Directorate of the General Staff of the Hungarian People's Army) was the organization responsible for military intelligence in

ic cover at one of the diplomatic posts of the Hungarian People's Republic in the United States of America (that is, the Mission to the United Nations in New York City, or the Embassy in Washington, D.C.). Cover is "a plausible reason for being in the country, visible means of financial support, a pretext for meeting people with access to sensitive information, and so forth."[12] This means that the people that were to be prepared from the textbooks had a legitimate job as diplomats at the diplomatic post, but they also had another, maybe even more important (relatively) secret job as intelligence officers.

During the Cold War, especially during those periods when there was little contact between the two opposing blocs, using diplomatic cover for intelligence officers was quite common. This provided the officers of the particular agency with various opportunities to gain access to a number of sources of information, as well as with a degree of protection if they were identified by the counterintelligence of the target country. According to research among officers of the Hungarian state security done by Magdolna Baráth, "among the diplomats working at diplomatic posts in capitalist countries, nearly 10% were operatives of the military intelligence, and another 27% were operatives of the civilian intelligence; this percentage was significantly higher where there was a residency."[13] The residency was the Eastern bloc equivalent of a CIA station, a clandestine form of organization that consisted of the state security officers and members of their network (sources, also referred to as agents).[14] The Hungarian state security operated a residency at both diplomatic posts in the United States, and if Baráth's estimates are correct, a considerable number of the diplomats at each mission were either officers of the agency, or were cooperating.

The textbooks that are analyzed in this study were all published by the Personnel and Training Department within Directorate III/I. This department was created in July 1968 in the wake of a major reorganization of the

the Hungarian People's Republic. Unfortunately, the materials of MNVK-2 are still not available for researchers at the time of the writing of this study.

[12] Abram N. Shulsky and Gary J. Schmitt, *Silent Warfare: Understanding the World of Intelligence* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2002), 12–13.

[13] Baráth Magdolna, "Hírszerzők diplomáciai fedésben," in Diplomácia-hírszerzés-állambiztonság. eds. Gábor Andreides, Anita M. Madarász, and Viktor Attila Sós (Budapest: Nemzeti Emlékezet Bizottsága, 2018), 93.

[14] *Állambiztonsági értelmező kéziszótár,* ed. Attila Gergely (Budapest: BM Könyvkiadó, 1980), ÁBTL 4.1. A-3036, s.v. "rezidentúra".

foreign intelligence of the Hungarian People's Republic that took place in 1967, with the intention of improving the quality of the intelligence officers.[15] The changes became necessary after a number of high-level defections took place, and it was also revealed that there were issues with the proficiency of the intelligence officers.[16] According to Baráth, the training of the officers was conducted in a two-year school, and the leadership was sent to a one-year training in the Soviet Union.[17]

The earlier materials that are examined in this study were published in the late 1960s, shortly after the establishment of the Personnel and Training Department. While their authors are not indicated, the content of these textbooks reveals that they were most likely written by unidentified Soviet authors, probably originally in order to prepare intelligence officers of the KGB, then they were translated for the Hungarian officers later.[18] This suggests that at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, the objectives and working conditions of the Hungarian state security in the United States were so similar to that of the Soviet sister organizations that it was assumed that the Hungarian officers could use the Soviet-written books during their preparation. From the 1970s onwards, the preparatory textbooks about the United States were already written by Hungarian intelligence officers.[19] This shows that by that time the objectives of Hungarian intelligence were at least to some extent different from the Soviets, and shows that there were Hungarian officers with enough experience that made them capable of writing such textbooks.

[15] Tóth, A politikai hírszerzés szervezettörténeti vázlata, 1945–1990," 15.

[16] Baráth, "Hírszerzők diplomáciai fedésben," 93.

[17] Baráth, "Hírszerzők diplomáciai fedésben," 99–100.

[18] ÁBTL-4.1. A-3005/2 *Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok/Általános ismertetés/sajátossága* (Budapest: BM III/I Csoportfőnökség Személyügyi és Kiképzési Osztálya, 1970), and ÁBTL-4.1. A-3005/6 *Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok ügynöki-operatív helyzetének elemzése és az amerikaiak közötti beszervező munka néhány sajátossága* (Budapest: BM III/I Csoportfőnökség Személyügyi és Kiképzési Osztálya, 1970).

[19] ÁBTL-4.1. A-3000/1 István Pozsonyi, *Beszámoló a külföldi munkáról (Egyesült Államok)*, (Budapest: BM III/I Csoportfőnökség Személyügyi és Kiképzési Osztálya, 1971) which is analyzed by István Pál in "Egy magyar hírszerző Amerikában."
ÁBTL-4.1. A-3000/40 István Pozsonyi, *Hasznos ismeretek az Egyesült Államokról /Segédanyag a külföldi munkához való felkészítéshez* (Budapest: BM III/I Csoportfőnökség Személyügyi és Kiképzési Osztálya, 1974) ÁBTL-4.1. A-3006/33 János Szecsődi, *Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok operatív helyzete* (Budapest: BM III/I Csoportfőnökség Személyügyi és Kiképzési Osztálya, 1985).

Americans of Eastern European Descent in the Soviet Textbooks

As it can be expected, the textbooks that were originally written by the Soviets do not specifically discuss Americans of Hungarian descent, who were obviously only a relatively small portion of the American population. At the same time, the texts do contain some information about American ethnics from Eastern Europe in general, which could be applied to Hungarian-Americans as well. One of the Soviet textbooks lists the various types of approaches that should be used by Eastern European agencies during the "processing and recruitment" of Americans: "financial, ideological-political, moral-psychological (primarily, compromising material, national origin, that is, using the emigration) bases could be used during recruitment,"[20] showing that the feelings of the ethnics and exiles towards their homeland were seen as one of the main forces that could lead to the successful recruitment of an agent.

The textbook notes that the attachment of the emigrants to their place of origin is especially important in the United States due to the large number of people of foreign descent who live in the country, "the United States is the most diverse country in the world, when it comes to the ethnic origin of the population."[21] This is followed by a list of countries with the largest number of immigrants in the United States, with a special emphasis on the countries of the Eastern Bloc. The author points out that many immigrants in the United States remain deeply attached to their homeland, maintain the language, traditions, and they attend social clubs or other groups organized on the basis of their original ethnicity. Potentially, these emotional attachments could open them up for recruitment by the state security agencies of the Eastern Bloc, especially if they or their ancestors originally came from these countries. The author notes that "there are many people who have Slavic names in the list of employees of government offices, including the White House." [22] At the same time, the Soviet author also warns the reader that the American counter-intelligence organizations are aware of the fact that their Eastern European rivals use national attachment for recruitment: "in 1964, Hoover, the director of the FBI, has publicly admitted that they carefully surveil those government employees who have relatives or own property in socialist countries."[23] The

[20] *Analysis of the agency-operative situation,* 55.
[21] *Analysis of the agency-operative situation,* 69.
[22] *Analysis of the agency-operative situation,* 70.
[23] *Analysis of the agency-operative situation,* 70.

reader is also informed that this surveillance was further strengthened after "our Czech friends" were discovered when they wanted to use a person of Czech descent to "install operative technology" in the State Department.

Given that for their presumed audience were Soviet intelligence officers, not Hungarians, it is not surprising that these earlier textbooks do not dwell on the topic of Hungarian-Americans. At the same time, they clearly highlight the fact that the population of Eastern and Central European origin in the United States was seen as a potential base for recruitment by the intelligence agencies of the countries of the Eastern bloc.

Hungarian State Security Officers "Among Each Other" – Hungarian-Americans in the Textbooks Written by Hungarian Officers

The textbook with the most information about Hungarian *émigrés* and exiles in the United States and the Hungarian-American community is *Hasznos ismeretek az Egyesült Államokról* [Useful knowledge about the United States], written by István Pozsonyi, published by the Personnel and Training Department in 1974. Pozsonyi was a lieutenant-colonel of the Hungarian state security, who worked undercover at the Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic in Washington between 1967 and 1970 as a scientific-technological attaché, as well as cultural attaché.[24] *Useful knowledge* provides general information for incoming officers about the United States and advice related to living in the country. In a number of aspects, *Useful knowledge* is surprisingly similar to a tourist guidebook, but for intelligence officers. Among many others, the topics discussed by Pozsonyi include education, transportation, the media, shopping, as well as the description of Washington, D.C. and New York City, complete with recommendations for sightseeing, but also containing suggestions for locations where an intelligence officer could meet their sources. The reason for including these two cities was that this is where the diplomatic posts of the Hungarian People's Republic were located, which, coincidentally, also functioned as residencies of the Hungarian state security. The aim of the textbook was to help the newly arrived officers with getting settled in the United States, fitting into American society, and with a number of issues, various problems that they could encounter in their day-to-day life in the country.

[24] ÁBTL 2.8.1. BM Központi Fogyaték 17053 (Pozsonyi István).

As a sign of the changing times during *détente,* the first major step in the normalization of US-Hungarian bilateral relations took place in 1963, when in return for a partial amnesty for the participants of the 1956 Revolution, the "Hungarian question" was taken off the agenda of the United Nations, and Hungary's membership in the organization was restored. Parallel to this, improving relations with the Hungarians living abroad became part of government policy.[25] Whereas in the earlier period the communist regime rejected the Hungarian-American community as a whole, the approach towards them became more nuanced with the arrival of *détente.* The official rhetoric of the regime began to differentiate between those who were hostile to the communist leadership of Hungary, the "fascist" emigration, and the "loyal" emigration, those who were friendly to the Kádár government or seemed to be relatively neutral and did not express strong political opinions.[26] At the end of the 1970s, there was a further shift in the policy of the Hungarian People's Republic towards the emigrant community living in the West. Magdolna Baráth claims that by this time, those within the emigrant community who had left the country between the end of the Second World War and the communist takeover were increasingly pushed into the background (that is, the exiles), and a new generation gained prominence, who were less united and less hostile to Hungary. Instead of pressuring the emigrants to return to Hungary, the Hungarian government tried to encourage them to be loyal citizens of their new country but at the same time, promote the goals and interests of Hungary.[27]

In *Useful knowledge,* Pozsonyi himself proclaims that most Hungarians in the United States were part of the "loyal" emigration, even if it was only to be able to visit Hungary; however, he quickly adds that the Communist Party of the United States also has "a lot of activists, communists of Hungarian origin."[28] In the same chapter, Pozsonyi describes the "Hungarian quarter" in New York City in detail, and recommends it for shopping for "housewives." At this time, the diplomats (and intelligence officers) of the Hungarian People's Republic were almost exclusively men, and they usually travelled to their

[25] Baráth, "Szirénhangok," 29.

[26] Glant Tibor, *Amerika, a csodák és csalódások földje. Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok képe a hosszú XIX. század magyar utazási irodalmában* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2013), 230–231.

[27] Baráth, "Szirénhangok," 29.

[28] *Useful Knowledge,* 97.

diplomatic post with their families. Usually, the women either did not work, or were employed at the embassy in stereotypically female jobs (e.g., typist, secretary). They were usually responsible for housekeeping and shopping. In the case of state security officers, their wives also had to be aware of their husband's relationship with the Hungarian foreign intelligence and needed to be prepared for living as the wife of an undercover intelligence officer in a foreign country, as, for example, they could also become targets of the counterintelligence agencies.There were cases when the wives also participated in the intelligence work of their husbands.[29]

Pozsonyi describes the stores in the Hungarian quarter as mostly being owned by small entrepreneurs, who are selling homemade and imported goods, "in such a courteous way, with loud greetings, very politely, that just hearing it already makes you feel full."[30] To an extent, this was in contrast with what one could very often experience in a store under the communist regime. At the same time, taking a jab at capitalism, Pozsonyi also calls attention to the struggles of these small entrepreneurs in a harsh economic environment, as smaller companies have to withstand competition from larger corporations and chains. He sees this as being especially true with regards to the Hungarian-American store owners, as their customer base was very limited. Pozsonyi contemplates that in a way, the Hungarian area of New York conserved a certain atmosphere of Hungary that no longer existed in the actual home country. For example, according to Pozsonyi, in the store of "Paprikás Weisz," one could find "moustache-trainer, bootjack, homemade jam, tapestries, and other goods that are practically impossible to find at home, as nobody uses such things anymore."[31] At the same time, Pozsonyi recommends these Hungarian stores for shopping for the housewives.

The goods sold in the Hungarian stores are not the only thing that Pozsonyi finds outdated in the Hungarian quarter in New York; he also briefly addresses the "fascist" emigration. He notes that one can encounter "the atmosphere of the twenties-thirties, or even the forties" in the Hungarian area of the city. "We might meet Horthyist generals, officers from the Ludovika,[32] who have

[29] See the example of the *Büki* couple, Gábor Andreides, "Praktikus tanácsok Olaszországba készülőknek – operatív tisztektől operatív tiszteknek…" *Öt kontinens,* no.1 (2018): 7–28.

[30] *Useful Knowledge,* 103.

[31] *Useful Knowledge,* 104.

[32] Ludovika was the name of the military academy of the Kingdom of Hungary prior to 1945.

been giving themselves promotions over the years, and while drinking peach pálinka imported from Budapest, they discuss how close they were to ruling in Budapest, or even in Russia."[33] Completely in line with the official rhetoric of the Kádár regime, Pozsonyi suggests that the group of Hungarian-Americans that are staunchly opposed to the communist regime (the exiles) consists of elderly people, who are old-fashioned, out of touch, extreme when it comes to their political views, and overall, somewhat ridiculous. It is apparent that he attempts to present these people as a small and isolated minority within the Hungarian-American community. This was completely in accordance with the party line and the Hungarian communist propaganda at the time, which tried to paint the exiles as insignificant and fragmented.

After arriving back from the United States in 1970, Pozsonyi submitted a report on his experiences in Washington, which was also included among the background materials for intelligence officers that can be found in Section 4.1. in the ÁBTL. In this report, Pozsonyi reveals that the majority of his agents, the sources that reported to him, were members of the Hungarian-American community, people of Hungarian origin who "have American citizenship," meaning Hungarian ethnics. He also mentions other sources who went from Hungary to the United States, who were "sent to the country for a longer period, for example on a study trip."[34] Some of these could be academics, especially as Pozsonyi explicitly notes that many of his agents were members of the academia. This seems to make sense, considering his cover: given his position at the embassy as cultural attaché and technological attaché, academics were among the people he could most easily and least conspicuously access. In addition, Hungarian scientists living in the United States were constantly in the focus of the Hungarian state security, who were keeping track of academics of Hungarian origin, and tried to gain access to them. The most prominent among these scientists were the Hungarians who had participated in the Manhattan project and the American nuclear program, but there is no sign of the Hungarian state security being able to successfully approach any of them.[35]

[33] *Useful Knowledge,* 97.

[34] *Report,* 16.

[35] On the Hungarian state security's attempts to recruit Leó Szilárd, see Szekér Nóra, "Fedőneve: Marslakó. A magyar tudósemigráció megfigyelése Szilárd Leó példáján keresztül." in *Titkos hidak. Az állambiztonság és az emigráció kapcsolatai, 1945–1989,* eds. Mária Palasik and Nándor Pócs (Budapest-Pécs: ÁBTL-Kronosz, 2021).

By the 1980s the working conditions of the Hungarian foreign intelligence in the United States changed, consequently, it became necessary to address these changes in another textbook. *Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok operatív helyzete* [The operative situation of the United States] was published in 1985, and it was written by János Szecsődi, another intelligence officer, a major of the Hungarian state security. As the title suggests, the scope of this work is not as wide as that of *Useful Information*, with this textbook narrowing the focus to issues more closely related to the actual activities of an intelligence officer, being more practical than Pozsonyi's textbook. The topics covered include politics, the economy, and Szecsődi provides the reader with a lot of information about the organization and operation of the American intelligence agencies and internal security, including details such as the levels of classification of information. With regards to immigration, the book discusses various legal aspects of American citizenship, including the system of registration and the most important personal documents. Szecsődi focuses on the legal side of immigration, issues such as the ways of obtaining American citizenship, or the legal status of foreigners in the United States. With regards to Hungarians in America, he discusses issues including the relationship between the Hungarian community and the diplomatic representations of the Hungarian People's Republic, the work of the Hungarian consulate, as well as the rights of Hungarian citizens in America.

All in all, *Operative Situation* does not contain a lot of information about Hungarians in America, except when it comes to the legal background of immigration, citizenship, and related issues. There is no description of the Hungarian-American community, their groups and organizations, or their attitudes towards the Hungarian People's Republic. This is not what one would expect, considering that Hungarian-Americans represented such an important part of the operative situation in the United States, both as targets, as well as sources of the Hungarian state security. This does not mean that intelligence officers were not prepared for this aspect of their work in the United States, but it is possible that their preparation was on a case-by-case basis.

State Security Reports About the United States

As was indicated in the introduction, this section of the chapter explores the relevance of Hungarians living in America for the work of the foreign intelli-

gence of the Hungarian People's Republic in the United States, based on the available archival sources. This begins with a review of the operative files, examining the portion of them that contain information about the United States and the Hungarian-Americans and followed by discussing the list of contacts of the state security residency in the Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic in Washington, which can be found among the reports of the residency. This list contains the potential sources that the members of the residency had access to during their intelligence work, most of whom were also of Hungarian descent, or had some connection to Hungary.

The operative reports, documents that were created by intelligence officers of the Hungarian state security during the communist period, can also be found in the ÁBTL, under "Section 3 – Network, operative and investigation files," "3.2.5 – Operative files (O-8-Files)."[36] All together there are 911 files in this section, which are stored in 512 boxes. The number of boxes is a better indicator of the quantity of the material than the number of files, as the files vary in length—some boxes contain more than one file, other files are stored in more than one box. Out of the 512 boxes of operative files, the USA is indicated in the catalogue of the ÁBTL as a country of interest in the case of 137 boxes. The catalogue of the archive indicates that the files stored in almost half of the 137 boxes (61) are exclusively about the Hungarians in America, but the titles of a large portion of the remaining documents suggest that they also contain information about them.[37] Based on the titles of the files in the archival catalogue, the Hungarian state security was gathering information on a large number of Hungarian-American exile organizations (e.g., political organizations, student organizations, etc.), as well as notable Hungarians living in the United States, but overall, the 1956 exiles and their organizations were at the center of the attention of the Hungarian intelligence.[38]

The operative file that contains the reports that were produced between 1984 and 1990 by the state security residency located at the Embassy of the

[36] "GENERAL INFORMATION," ÁBTL. Accessed June 23, 2023, https://www.abtl.hu/english-information

[37] For the list of operative materials, see the archival catalogue: "FOND- ÉS ÁLLAGJEGYZÉK, RAKTÁRI JEGYZÉKEK," *ÁBTL*. Accessed June 30, 2023, https://www.abtl.hu/sites/default/files/raktari_jegyzekek/3_2_5.pdf.

[38] The file "Szabadságharcosok" [Freedom Fighters] that is about various organizations of the Hungarian emigration in the West (mostly about 1956-ers) is by far the longest operative file in Section 3.2.5. It is stored in 37 boxes.

Hungarian People's Republic in Washington, D.C. is titled "Periszkóp."[39] One of the documents in it is communication from Budapest to the residency in Washington from 1984, where the center in Budapest asks the residency to create a "contact list of the intelligence officers and colleagues of the residency."[40] Human intelligence works with people, gathers information that could be relevant from human sources. The contact list of the intelligence officers and other members of their network at the Embassy shows the people they were in contact with, that is, who could have been the source of their information, based on which they could prepare their intelligence reports.

The list contains nothing out of the ordinary, it almost exclusively consists of contacts that the diplomats could have access to because of their cover positions or during their normal life in the United States. This includes, for example, government officials, other diplomats, journalists, prominent members of the Hungarian community in the United States, and people involved in the day-to-day life of the embassy (kitchen workers, maintenance workers, etc.). This shows that the members of the Washington residency mostly used their official, "legal" sources to also gain access to information that could have relevance for intelligence purposes. The Hungarian-American émigrés listed in the document include a number of industrialists, businessmen of Hungarian origin, artists, academics, and other prominent members of the community. Given the fact that the diplomats were constantly within the scope of the American counterintelligence services, intelligence officers under diplomatic cover could have only limited access to contacts outside of the embassy. Thus, Americans of Hungarian descent, as one of the "legitimate" contacts available for the diplomats, must have been an important part of the work of the residency in Washington as potential sources of information.

An example of how the Hungarian state security used information given by Hungarian-Americans is the case of Gabor Olah de Garab [Oláh Gábor], former director of the Watergate Hotel.[41] Olah had been employed by Nicholas M. Salgo, the founder of the Watergate complex, who also served as the Ambassador of the United States to Hungary between 1983 and 1986. The relationship between Olah and Salgo deteriorated before Salgo was appointed

[39] ÁBTL-3.2.5. O-8-389/4 "Periszkóp."
[40] ÁBTL-3.2.5. O-8-389/4 "Periszkóp," 390.
[41] ÁBTL-3.2.5. O-8-414/2 "Atlantik," 644–646.

as ambassador, and Olah decided to share what he knew with the Hungarian state security, thus providing information on the American diplomat.

The Textbooks and the Reports

The Hungarian-American community was assigned to be one of the main targets of the activity of the Hungarian state security in the United States. At the same time, as this chapter demonstrates, the textbooks produced by the Personnel and Training Department of Directorate III/I that were supposed to prepare intelligence officers for work in the United States contained very little information about Hungarian-Americans. To be more exact, out of the books that are available at the ÁBTL, only *Useful Information* by Pozsonyi mentioned them, but even this textbook did little more than reinforce the contemporary narrative of the Kádár regime about the "loyal" and "hostile" parts of the emigration. At the same time, Pozsonyi's *Report,* the catalogue of the ÁBTL, as well as the list of contacts that can be found in the "Periszkóp" file demonstrate that Americans of Hungarian descent were definitely in the focus of the work of the intelligence officers of the Hungarian People's Republic as targets, as well as sources. Apparently, there is a discrepancy between the content of the textbooks and the intelligence reports.

As Ágnes Hankiss notes, the teaching of human intelligence is always difficult, as it is a practical subject, but the specific current, relevant cases usually cannot be discussed during the instruction.[42] Considering that there was little to no information about the Hungarian-Americans available in the textbooks, one wonders how the intelligence officers were prepared for working in (and with) this community. The easiest way to find out would be to interview a former intelligence officer who worked in the United States before the end of communism, but for obvious reasons, this is a difficult task, and the author of this study so far has not been able to find such a person who would be willing to give an interview.

As was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the Hungarian state security was modeled on the Soviet KGB, and their operation was constantly supervised by the Soviets throughout the duration of the regime. In addition, as we could see, the Hungarian state security used some of the instruction materials that were originally prepared by the Soviets and for Soviet officers.

[42] Hankiss, "Humint-Retro," 195.

Thus, it may be legitimate to assume that the preparation of the two agencies could also be similar. An interview conducted by the author of the chapter with Jack Barsky, who used to work as an undercover KGB agent in the United States in the late stages of the Cold War, has revealed that he found his preparation for undercover work in the United States to have been very inadequate.[43] Barsky was born as Albrecht Dietrich in East Germany, and he was recruited by the KGB when he was a student. His preparation began in Jena, where he was studying at the university, then it continued in Berlin, and eventually in Moscow. Barsky was sent to the United States under the name that he uses today, and spent eight years working undercover for the KGB, after which he defected. With regards to his preparation, Barsky has revealed that he received very little information about life in the United States, American customs, American culture, or traditions. During the training of Barsky, the Soviets mostly focused on improving his English language skills (including with the help of American defectors to the Soviet Union), and his instruction mostly consisted of one-on-one training by an intelligence officer. According to Barsky, it was his own skills and personal characteristics that enabled him to become a successful undercover agent, the preparation by his handlers had little to nothing to do with this.

Although the activities of an undercover "sleeper" agent and that of an intelligence officer working at the embassy under diplomatic cover are in a number of ways considerably different, not to mention that we are talking about two different agencies, we can assume that there could have been similarities between the preparation of Barsky and the Hungarian officers, and they were both largely conducted on a more individual basis. If true, this assumption suggests a potential reason why there is little information about the Hungarian-Americans in the textbooks of the Hungarian state security. It is likely that this topic was mostly covered individually, on a case-by-case basis, possibly during one-on-one instruction by a more experienced agent, who had been working on the field for a longer time, and was involved in the preparation of their less experienced colleague. Meanwhile, it is also important to note that due to the nature of state security materials, the content of the archives at the ÁBTL cannot be assumed to be complete, and it is difficult to reconstruct the training of an intelligence officer without interviewing one of them.

[43] Jack Barsky, interview conducted by author, online, November 15, 2022.

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"There is a Sacred Place in America:" Sándor Bölöni Farkas' Visit at the Tomb of George Washington (1831)

Csaba Lévai

Hungarian authors and politicians formulated a fundamentally positive image of the United States during the first half of the 19th century and the travelogue of Sándor Bölöni Farkas (1795–1842) published in 1834 played an outstanding role in this. The figure of George Washington (1732–1799) appeared as the embodiment of the virtues and ideals of the young American republic in this Hungarian narrative during the period before the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in 1848. Bölöni, similarly to many of the notable foreign visitors of the United States at that time, also made his pilgrimage and visited the grave of the first president.[1] This chapter addresses two questions. In the first part, it attempts to fix the exact date of the visit of the Hungarian traveler at Mount Vernon and clarify which vault of George Washington Bölöni actually visited. Then, in the second part, it analyzes the impressions of the Hungarian traveler during his visit at Mount Vernon, and also the techniques he applied to achieve his desired impact. Bölöni's work was the first travelogue about the United States in the Hungarian language, and did play a crucial role in the shaping of the perceptions of contemporary Hungarian intellectuals of the American republic, many of whom became the leaders of the Revolution and War of Independence in 1848 and 1849. Several of them were forced to leave the country after the defeat of the revolution, and some decided to settle in the United States. They formed the first signifi-

[1] Bölöni Farkas Sándor, *Útazás Észak Amerikában* (Kolozsvár: Ifiabb Tilsch János, 1834). I used the modern English and Hungarian editions of the text: Sándor Bölöni Farkas, *Journey in North America, 1831* (Santa Barbara and Oxford: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1978); Bölöni Farkas Sándor, *Napnyugati utazás – Napló* (Budapest: Helikon, 1984). On the perception of the United States in contemporary Hungary see: Géza Závodszky: *American Effects on Hungarian Imagination and Political Thought, 1559–1848* (Highland Lakes, New Jersey: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc., 1995); On the role of Mount Vernon and the tomb of George Washington as the emerging center of national and international pilgrimage see: Jean B. Lee, "Historical Memory, Sectional Strife, and the American Mecca: Mount Vernon, 1783–1853," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 109, no. 3 (2001): 255–300.

cant group of Hungarian immigrants in the United States, and many of them went to North America with the ideas of Bölöni in their minds.[2]

Which Vault of George Washington Did Bölöni Visit and When?

George Washington inherited the estate of Mount Vernon from his half-brother Lawrence Washington (1718–1752), who ordered the construction of a family vault on the estate in his will. George Washington, complying with the will of Lawrence, commanded the building of the vault. It was cut into a hill-side some 228.5 meters away from the mansion. The side of it was covered with bricks, and there was no permanent door on it. The front wall had to be broken open and walled up before and after funerals. It was Martha Washington (1731–1802), the widow of the first president, who after the death of his husband, ordered the shaping of a permanent door of the vault. The physical conditions of this old structure had deteriorated by the time of the death of George Washington, due to the roots of the trees surrounding the vault and the inflow of underground water.[3] This was realized by George Washington also, who stated in his own will that

> The family Vault at Mount Vernon requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of Brick, and upon a larger Scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard Inclosure, on the ground which is marked out. In which my remains, with those of my deceased relatives (now in the old Vault) and such others of my family as may chuse (sic!) to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire that my Corpse may be Interred in a private manner, without parade, or funeral Oration.[4]

[2] On some of these people and the connection between travel (writing) and migration see, for example: Venkovits Balázs, *"Mi otthon félre vagyunk vezetve:" Magyar utazók és kivándorlók Mexikóban a 19. század második felében* (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2018).

[3] On the will of Lawrence Washington see: John E. Ferling, *The First of Men: A Life of George Washington* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press,1988) 16–17. *George Washington's Last Will and Testament, 9 July 1799.* Accessed June 16, 2022, https://founders.archives.gov/?q=testament%201799%20Author%3A%22Washington%2C%20George%22&s=1511311111&r=19#GEWN-06-04-02-0404-0001-fn-0040. Note of the editors number 40.

[4] *George Washington's Last Will and Testament, 9 July 1799*. Accessed June 16, 2022, https://founders.archives.gov/?q=testament%201799%20Author%3A%22Washington%2C%20George%22&s=1511311111&r=19#GEWN-06-04-02-0404-0001-fn-0040.

Unfortunately, the construction of the new family vault had not been finished by the time of the death of the general, and he was buried in the old crypt on December 18, 1799, four days after his passing away.[5]

John Adams (1735–1826) was the president of the United States at that time, and he raised the idea to bury the first president in a more illustrious manner. Congress passed a resolution on December 23, 1799, and the president asked for the permission of Martha Washington to bury the first president in a crypt under the dome of the building of the new federal legislature, still under construction at that time. The widow of George Washington gave the permission, but due to the debates about the high costs of the building of the Capitol, the architects and the politicians started to think of the implementation of the original proposal only around the end of 1829. The main reason for it was the approaching centenary of the birth of George Washington in 1832, and Congress affirmed the original resolution of 1799 to bury the first president in the building of the federal legislature. John Augustine Washington Jr. (1789–1832), the grandchild of the younger brother of George Washington, was the owner of Mount Vernon at that time, and rejected the request of Congress. He argued that it was the definite will of the first president to be buried at Mount Vernon, where he rests in perfect peace among the members of his family. It is worthy to note that the legislature of Virginia also pressed him to reject the offer of Congress.[6]

Meanwhile, tragic events accelerated the construction of the new family vault at Mount Vernon. Someone made an attempt to steal the bones of George Washington from the old crypt, and the intruders ravaged the tombs of some family members. Fortunately, the remains of George and Martha

[5] *George Washington's Last Will and Testament, 9 July 1799*. Accessed June 16, 2022, https://founders.archives.gov/?q=testament%201799%20Author%3A%22Washington%2C%20George%22&s=1511311111&r=19#GEWN-06-04-02-0404-0001-fn-0040. Note of the editors number 40. On the circumstances of the death and the funeral of George Washington see: Peter R. Henriques, "The Final Struggle between George Washington and the Grim King: Washington's Attitude toward Death and an Afterlife," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 107, no.1 (Winter, 1999): 73–87; François Furstenberg, *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2006), 25–36, 55–57, 61–65, 71–74, 92–94.

[6] The text of the original resolution of Congress as follows: "Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That a Marble Monument be created by the United States, in the Capitol, at the City of Washington; and that the family of General Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it." *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, Being the First Session of the Fifth Congress: Begun and Held at the City of Philadelphia, May 15, 1797, and in the Twenty-First Year of the Independence of the United States, Volume III* (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1826), 542. Accessed June 21, 2022, https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/tomb/.

Washington were in coffins made from lead, and the intruders could not open them.[7] This sad event gave the final impetus for the building of the new family vault at the site assigned by the last will of the general. The new vault consists of two chambers, an anteroom, with the marble sarcophaguses of George and Martha Washington in it, and the family vault itself, behind these. The façade of the vault was built from brick in a neo-gothic style, with a gate made from iron. The vault itself was built in 1830 and 1831, and the remains of George and Martha Washington and the bones of some of their relatives were transferred to it afterwards. The marble sarcophaguses of the general and his wife, however, had been finished only by 1837, when the remains of the general and his wife were entombed within them on October 7. The original plan of the family was to place the sarcophaguses in the inner vault, but John Struthers, the stonemason from Philadelphia convinced the family to build a more spacious anteroom, and to place the sarcophaguses in it.[8]

But which vault of George Washington did Bölöni visit? The Hungarian traveler arrived at Mount Vernon in 1831, when the remains of the general and his wife were transferred from the old to the new vault. In order to decide if Bölöni visited the old or the new vault, one has to answer four questions:

1. When did Bölöni visit Mount Vernon exactly?
2. Had the new vault been finished by the time he visited the home of George Washington?
3. Had the remains of George and Martha Washington been transferred to the new vault by the date of the visit of the Hungarian?
4. Which vault, the old or the new one, corresponds to the description of Bölöni?

[7] On the attempt to steal the remains of George Washington see: *New Bedford Mercury* (New Bedford, Massachusetts), December 4, 1829, 4.; "An Attempt to Steal the Remains of Washington," *Essex Register* (Springfield, Massachusetts), February 23, 1832.; *The Portsmouth Journal and Rockingham Gazette* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire), February 25, 1832, 3.; *Rhode Island American & Gazette* (Providence, Rhode Island), March 3, 1832, 1.; Benson J. Lossing, *George Washington's Mount Vernon or Mount Vernon and Its Associations, Historical, Biographical, and Pictorial* (Reprint, New York: Gramercy Books, 2001), 344–345. I am grateful to Mary V. Thompson the research historian at George Washington's Mount Vernon for providing me these materials.

[8] Harrison H. Dodge to Mr. W. H. McLaughlin, January 1, 1905 (Typescript in the George Washington Presidential Library, Tomb Notebook, LGWMV); *Executor's Account Book* (Typescript in the George Washington Presidential Library, Tomb Notebook, LGWMV), 69.; John A. Washington II to George C. Washington, March 4, 1831 (Typescript in the George Washington Presidential Library, Tomb Notebook, LGWMV); Harrison H. Dodge to Mr. L. B. Cox, December 12, 1898 (Typescript in the George Washington Presidential Library, Tomb Notebook, LGWMV). I am grateful to Mary V. Thompson, research historian at George Washington's Mount Vernon for providing me these materials.

The Hungarian traveler from Transylvania left Britain on July 27, 1831, and landed in New York City on September 3. But his travelogue is not a diary, so he mentioned the dates of his arrival to different places in the United States and Canada only occasionally. We know that he embarked on the ship going back to Europe on November 23, 1831. If we take into account his sporadic references to the number of days he spent at different places between his visit to Mount Vernon and his embarkation in New York City, it is highly probable that Bölöni visited the vault of George Washington at the very end of October, or at the beginning of November. The most probable date is October 31.[9]

The effort to steal the remains of the first president from the old vault accelerated the process of the building of the new vault. In order to specify the period of the construction of the new structure, we also have to define the date of this tragic event. According to the researchers at Mount Vernon it happened in 1829.[10] On the basis of the correspondence of the members of the Washington family, one can take it for granted that the construction of the new vault had been finished by the end of March 1831, and the remains were transferred to the new vault during the following weeks. It is important to note that only the vault itself had been finished by the date mentioned above, since the anteroom, the sarcophaguses, and the neo-gothic façade were finished only by 1837.[11] As a result, at the time of the visit of Bölöni, the conditions of the old and the new vault were very similar to each other. In order to solve the challenge of which vault of George Washington the Hungarian traveler actually visited, one has to analyze Bölöni's description of the vault and its surroundings.

According to him, "not far from the mansion, on a hillside hidden by cedar and oaks, rests the great man in the tomb of a citizen-hero. Cut into the hillside, the average-sized vault's brick front has an ordinary gate. The vault

[9] Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás,* 292, 302, 504–529. Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 202–215.

[10] I exchanged ideas with Mary V. Thompson, research historian at George Washington's Mount Vernon, and as I indicated above, she provided me the materials mentioned in the note above. On the basis of these materials, she and her colleagues came to the conclusion that the effort to steal the remains of George Washington happened in 1829.

[11] Harrison H. Dodge to Mr. W. H. McLaughlin, January 1, 1905 (Typescript in the George Washington Presidential Library, Tomb Notebook, LGWMV); *Executor's Account Book* (Typescript in the George Washington Presidential Library, Tomb Notebook, LGWMV), 69.; John A. Washington II to George C. Washington, March 4, 1831 (Typescript in the George Washington Presidential Library, Tomb Notebook, LGWMV); Harrison H. Dodge to Mr. L. B. Cox, December 12, 1898 (Typescript in the George Washington Presidential Library, Tomb Notebook, LGWMV).

itself is overgrown with tufts of grass, and surrounded by oaks, cedar, and holly trees."[12]

Bölöni wrote that the vault was "not far from the mansion." The old vault was located some 250 yards (some 228.5 meters) away from the mansion to the south, while the new one was built some 300 yards (around 274 meters) away from the house to the southwest.[13] The old vault was located somewhat closer to the mansion, but the new one was also not very much further away from it. Nevertheless, on the basis of some indirect evidence it is more probable that Bölöni visited the new vault, which was very similar to the old one at that time, since the anteroom and the neo-gothic façade had not been finished by then. Both of them were "cut into the hillside," and their size was also similar.

The correspondence of family members clearly refers to the fact that the new vault itself had been finished by March 1831, and that the remains of the general and his wife were transferred from the old vault to the new during the following weeks, around late March or early April.[14] Bölöni visited Mount Vernon around the end of October, or early November in the same year. It means that the remains had been transferred to the new vault by the time of the visit of the Hungarian traveler.

The description of Bölöni corresponds to the contemporary conditions of the new vault. According to the family members and some other contemporaries, the old vault was almost in ruins by the time of the visit of the Hungarian, who did not make any references to the failing conditions of the vault he visited. He simply stressed the simplicity of the vault, which was in perfect harmony with his ideas about his republican 'citizen-hero.' The ruinous conditions of the crypt would have probably attracted his attention, as his remarks concerning the poor conditions of the estate and the mansion clearly show. When he visited the tombs of Rousseau and Voltaire in the Pantheon in Paris, he also noted their neglected conditions. But in the case of the vault of George Washington he did not say a word about its poor conditions. All this

[12] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 203.

[13] *Tombs and Memorial,* Accessed June 21, 2022, https://www.mountvernon.org/the-estate-gardens/the-tombs/.

[14] Harrison H. Dodge to Mr. W. H. McLaughlin, January 1, 1905 (Typescript in the George Washington Presidential Library, Tomb Notebook, LGWMV); *Executor's Account Book* (Typescript in the George Washington Presidential Library, Tomb Notebook, LGWMV), 69.

supports the idea that Bölöni visited the new vault, which was a brand new construction at that time.[15]

The Hungarian nobleman was trying to collect information previously about the sights he visited, but in the case of the tomb of Washington he did not mention that the remains had been transferred to the vault he visited only a short time ago. Since this happened only a few months before, this information probably would have been important and interesting for him. The Hungarian traveler surely collected information about Mount Vernon before his visit. He frequently referred to books and other sources in his travelogue published recently, at the end of the 1820s and in 1830 or even in 1831. He mentioned incorrectly that the owner of the estate at the time of his visit was Bushrod Washington (1762–1829), "the nephew and only male descendant of George Washington."[16] Actually, Bushrod Washington, the former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (1798–1829) died on November 26, 1829, a little bit more than two years before the visit of Bölöni. The actual owner of the part of the estate of George Washington on which the mansion and the vaults were located was the grandchildren of the president's younger brother, John Augustine Washington, Jr.[17] It is highly probable that the Hungarian traveler used an outdated guidebook, in which the death of Bushrod Washington, the construction of the new vault, and the transfer of the remains from the old to the new vault, were not mentioned. The construction of the new vault started only after the effort to steal the remains of the first president in 1829. Bushrod Washington died in the same year, so Bölöni probably used a source which was published before 1831, and did not contain information about the attempt to steal the remains of the first president and the building of the new vault. He frequently referred to the book of Par E. Levasseur, who was the secretary of Marquis La Fayette (1757–1834) during his famous tour in the United States in 1824–1825. Although the Hungarian traveler did not refer to this work in the part about his visit at Mount Vernon directly, he discussed the visit of La Fayette at the tomb of the first president in such a detailed manner

[15] I will discuss Bölöni's description of the poor conditions of the estate and the mansion later on: Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 202-203; Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás,* 155–156.

[16] Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás,* 505.

[17] Bushrod Washington https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/bushrod-washington/; John Augustine Washington III, Accessed June 25, 2022, https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/john-augustine-washington-iii/.

that it is highly probable that he obtained this information from the book of Levasseur.[18]

As will be discussed in a more detailed manner later, Washington and La Fayette were the twin heroes of human liberty in the mind of Bölöni. Probably this was the reason why he inserted relatively long descriptions of the visit of the French general at Mount Vernon into his travelogue, and he could probably do so because he used the book of Levasseur as his main source, which was published in 1829, well before the construction of the new vault, and the transfer of the remains of George and Martha Washington to it.[19] The old and the new vault were very similar to each other in November 1831 when the Hungarian visited the site. The description of the old vault in Levasseur's book corresponded to the new one Bölöni actually visited, and he probably did not realize the existence of the two vaults at all. At the time of the visit of La Fayette at Mount Vernon in the middle of the 1820s, Bushrod Washington was the owner of Mount Vernon, and Bölöni probably took this information from the book of Levasseur, which became outdated by the time of the visit of the Hungarian traveler in November 1831.

He also mentioned in his travelogue that "Negroes volunteered to show us the grave."[20] We can take it for granted that enslaved people at Mount Vernon in November 1831 were aware of the construction of the new vault, and the transfer of the remains to it, which happened only a few months before, and they simply guided the visitors to the new vault, without mentioning the old one, since it was in ruins and could have conveyed an unfavorable impression in the visitors.

The Impressions of Bölöni and the Techniques Applied to Achieve the Desired Impact

George Washington is one of the key historical figures of Bölöni's travelogue. In connection with the famous tour of Marquis La Fayette in the United States in 1824–1825, he inserted a quite long discussion of the great heroes of human liberty:

[18] Par A. Levasseur, *Lafayette en Amerique, en 1824 et 1825, Ou Journal d'un Voyage Aux États-Unis* (Paris: A La Librairie Baudouin, 1829). Bölöni referred to this work several times in his book. See for example: Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás,* 308.

[19] On the references to La Fayette's visit at Mount Vernon in Bölöni's chapter about his visit see: Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 203.

[20] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 203.

> Ever since the fall of the Greek and Roman republics, history cannot attest to greater and truer democratic men than Washington, Lafayette, and Bolivar. All the three of them initiated a new epoch in the history of mankind. The American revolutions they led are important and famous not because they established a new form of government, but because they transformed the prevailing theory of governing and have inspired mankind to the new ideas.[21]

Approaching the city of Washington, D. C. and Mount Vernon, Bölöni started to prepare himself and his audience emotionally for the great experiences and observations waiting for them at the places mentioned above. He visited the recently constructed magisterial monument of George Washington in Baltimore and noted that "it is the finest of the Washington monuments in the United States."[22] He and his fellow travelers spent the night before entering Washington, D. C. in an inn still outside the city. Bölöni anticipated the excitement awaiting them in the city with the help of a romantic poetic image:

> After the oppressive heat the cool moonlit night, the balmiest part of the day here, felt good. On the distant horizon a large white building loomed. 'That's the Capitol' said our driver affectionately. Approaching the Capitol and Washington, I was seized with childish joy in anticipating of seeing the capital of the United States.[23]

Up to this point, all the comments of Bölöni were favorable about the first president of the United States, and during his visit at Mount Vernon, he heightened this feeling up to the level of exaltation.

As he put it, "There is a sacred place in America frequented by citizens and foreigners full of noble feelings. The hallowed place is Mount Vernon, former residence and now shrine of the great George Washington... It would have

[21] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 155–156.

[22] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 182. On the early monuments of George Washington see: Kirk Savage, "The Self-Made Monument: George Washington and the Fight to Erect a National Memorial," *Winthertur Portfolio* 22, no. 4 (1987): 225–242. On the Washington Monument in Baltimore see: *Ibid.* 232–233. The Washington Monument in Baltimore was constructed between 1815 and 1829, so it was new when Bölöni visited it.

[23] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 184.

been inexcusable not to visit the hallowed spot."[24] The Hungarian traveler sent the unambiguous message to his readers that he felt his moral duty to visit the grave of Washington, which he could not avoid. He wanted to suggest that forces superior to human will obliged him to visit the "sacred place."

Jon Gjerde, professor at the University of California at Berkeley, suggested in an excellent study that two kinds of dualities characterized the approach of foreign visitors and immigrants to the United States during the period before the American Civil War. One of these was the dichotomy of freedom and servitude, which had been connected to the other dichotomy of the position of whites and Blacks. They contrasted the servile conditions of Europe to the conditions of freedom in the United States on the one hand, and they connected freedom within the United States to the status of "being white", and the conditions of servitude to the chattel slavery of African-Americans.[25] This conceptualization was also true for the approach of Sándor Bölöni Farkas. He frequently contrasted the servile and underdeveloped conditions of his homeland to the free and well-developed status of the United States, but he also clearly realized that freedom was mainly confined to the white population of the American republic.

It is especially interesting that the second dichotomy appeared in the chapter of his book about his visit at Mount Vernon only indirectly. He clearly realized the presence of slaves at Mount Vernon, and he referred to them three or four times in this chapter. He mentioned that "a Negro porter let us in," and that "negroes volunteered to show us the grave." He also referred to their "shacks", not to mention that "ignoring the posted sign, our Negro guide, for a small reward, let us break a cedar bough and gather a bouquet of holly."[26] But Bölöni never mentioned in this chapter that the African-Americans he was talking about were slaves. He did so probably for two reasons. He discussed his visit at Mount Vernon in Chapter 26, while he analyzed the problem of slavery in contemporary United States in Chapter 21. It means that the readers of the chapter about his visit at Mount Vernon would have been aware of the fact that African-Americans in Virginia were almost certainly slaves. But it was probably also in his mind that the explicit identification of people at

[24] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 202.
[25] Jon Gjerde, "'Here in America There is Neither King Nor Tyrant': European Encounters with Race, 'Freedom', and Their European Past," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 673–675.
[26] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 203.

Mount Vernon as slaves would have resulted in the acknowledgement that the great George Washington, the hero of human liberty, was also a slaveholder; which he did not mention in his travelogue. This would have led to the questioning of the ideal picture he constructed so carefully about the general.

It is interesting that Bölöni realized the contrast between his idealized image of this "sacred place," and the actual failing physical conditions of the mansion and the estate. They could not find their way to the estate easily, "at the entrance gate stood some dilapidated English-style porters' lodges…, the whole place appeared impoverished", and the building of the mansion "exuded neglect."[27] The poor conditions of the estate inspired Bölöni to compare this situation to the underdeveloped conditions of Hungary. In doing so, he placed his homeland and the United States on the same level. According to him, the impoverished physical conditions of Mount Vernon were "somewhat reminiscent of a once well-kept but deteriorating Hungarian nobleman's estate."[28] In this respect he could put the two countries on the same level, but this happened on the level of backwardness, and not on the level of advancement.

But Bölöni could utilize even these impoverished conditions of Mount Vernon rhetorically. He contrasted the deteriorated conditions of Mount Vernon and the simple vault of the general to the highly idealized figure, spirit, and memory of George Washington. As he put it,

> I have stood at the tombs of kings and famous men, reflecting on their deeds and memories. But only in the Pantheon and in Westminster have I been as overcome with feelings that swelled up in me as I was when I stood before this vault. There flashed through my mind America's suffering and struggle, its triumphant happy present, and rich legacy to mankind. I felt my heart pound.[29]

The Hungarian traveler expressed his admiration of the great hero of human and American freedom in almost religious terms. This attitude was further strengthened by the mentioning of the two buildings (Pantheon, West-

[27] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 202.
[28] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 202.
[29] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 203.

minster Abbey), which were the symbols of the greatness of France and the United Kingdom, and which had already been important touristic attractions of Paris and London when Bölöni visited them in 1831.

In order to evaluate the visit of the Hungarian traveler at the vault of Washington, it seems to be useful to analyze his visit to the Pantheon in Paris. The liturgy of this visit is very similar to that in the United States. Bölöni felt the same level of worship he felt in Mont Vernon when he visited the graves of Voltaire and Rousseau in the Pantheon. As he wrote,

> We stood next to the coffins of Voltaire and Rousseau. The wooden covering of their coffins are dry-rotten, and the iron coffins inside containing their bodies are very well observable. Here lie the bodies of the greatest men and the two bravest geniuses of the past century. Rousseau with his warm heart, and Voltaire with his sharp mind! You were the men who determined the tone of your century, and who initiated the revolution of science and politics, and who did so much for the reclaiming of the civil and intellectual rights of mankind. I took away with me small pieces of their dry-rotten coffins as the eternal memory of the fact that I stood over their graves! Rest in peace sacred ashes.[30]

The exalted style and the religious language of this excerpt is very similar to what Bölöni used to describe his feelings at the grave of Washington. In the case of the Pantheon he was talking about the "sacred ashes" of the French philosophers, and he referred to Mount Vernon as the "sacred space" in America. He collected souvenirs from the graves of the great men at both places. The neglected condition of the graves in Paris, as well as the uncared estate at Mount Vernon and the simplicity of the tomb of Washington provided Bölöni the opportunity to stress the contrast between the greatness of the men who lie in them and the condition of their graves, in both cases. He further highlighted their grandness with the help of this technique.

The other famous building used by Bölöni as a point of reference was Westminster Abbey in London, the burial ground of famous English people, and the function of which is very similar to that of the Pantheon in Paris as a crucial place of national remembrance. Although he used simply the word

[30] Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás,* 156. All translations form this volume are mine.

Westminster, we can take it for granted that he referred to Westminster Abbey, since he mentioned the "tombs of kings and famous men." However, it is striking that there is only one passing reference in the writings of the Hungarian traveler that he visited Westminster Abbey. In his diary he mentioned that on April 21, 1831: "we went to the church of Westminster Abbey, where we attended the monuments of the many great men who are buried there."[31] It is interesting that, in contrast to his visit at the tombs of Rousseau and Voltaire in the Pantheon in Paris, he did not make a detailed account of his sentiments at the tombs of great British kings, queens, politicians, scientists, and artists. We know that Bölöni admired the political system and the culture of Britain, including such famous British legal scholars and social thinkers as William Blackstone (1723–1780) and Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832). Under such conditions, it is especially striking that he made only such a passing reference to his visit. Not to mention that the Hungarian traveler, besides the Pantheon in Paris, made Westminster Abbey one of his points of reference to which he contrasted his feelings at the tomb of George Washington. It makes it highly probable that he was also deeply impressed by his visit at the burial ground of great British notables. But why did not Bölöni express his feelings at this time? We cannot explain it by simply mentioning that he made this reference in his diary and people usually make shorter and matter-of-fact entries in their diaries, since he inserted his exalted report of his visit at the tombs of the two French philosophers also in his diary, and he also made several long, detailed, and sentimental comments about the different aspects of life in Great Britain. Maybe, he wanted to write a detailed account of his visit in the Westminster Abbey later, but finally, for an unknown reason, he did not do so. Another reason could be that Bölöni related kings with tyrannical governments in his political philosophy, and the burial ground of British kings and queens probably did not impress him to such an extent, as the vaults of the enlightened French philosophers and that of George Washington, whom he considered the great heroes of human liberty.

In his diary and in his records he made about his trip in Western Europe, he used the simple term Westminster in two ways. On the one hand, he referred to the district of the city of London, in which the buildings of the Parliament and Westminster Abbey are located. And on the other, using this term, he

[31] Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás,* 199.

frequently referred to the British Parliament, the home of which was the old Palace of Westminster at the time of Bölöni's visit in London, and which was destroyed by fire in 1834. The Hungarian traveler visited the sessions of the Parliament in the old palace in April 1831, which could generate similar emotions in him to what he felt at the tomb of George Washington. In the lack of a detailed report by him about his visit to Westminster Abbey, I compare his experiences in the British Parliament to that of at Mount Vernon.

His visit to the session of the House of Commons generated sublime feelings in the Hungarian traveler similar to what he felt in the Pantheon or at the grave of Washington. As he put it in his diary,

> I was in the chamber, where so many famous orations had been made, where so many notable persons were present, where the constitution of England really works, and the voices of which are heard in all Europe and the world… The organization of the English Parliament is remarkable, which maintained the freedom of this nation throughout long centuries, and which had been glorified by Montesquieu and Blackstone.[32]

The tone of this excerpt is elevated, but does not resemble a religious style as in the Pantheon or at Mount Vernon, or the tone by the help of which he described the political system of the United States. Moreover, he also added that "Bentham and other modern writers, and also modern times, had found out several inaccuracies and things to improve in it."[33] It means that Bölöni did not find the political system of the United Kingdom as perfect as that of the United States, and he did not make any critical remarks about George Washington either. He could make sure of the opinion of the modern writers, since he was the eyewitness of the debates of the House of Commons about the reform of representation in 1831, which led to the enactment of the Great Reform Bill the following year.

It is noteworthy that in the second edition of his travelogue Bölöni rephrased the excerpt in which he compared the excitement he felt at the tomb of Washington to what he felt in the Pantheon and the Westminster. According to the second version, he stated: "I was full of the feelings of veneration

[32] Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás,* 254.
[33] Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás,* 254.

before this vault, and I felt my heart pound. If the cool verdict of reason would not have stopped me, I would have kissed the ground at this grave."[34] We do not know why Bölöni decided to rephrase this section, but one could come to interesting conclusions, if one were to compare the two versions. The tone of the first sentence of the second version is significantly reserved, and this is also strengthened by the reference to the "cool verdict of reason" in the first half of the second sentence. This mood is further confirmed by the fact that the second version is far shorter. At the same time, the author contrasted the "cool verdict of reason" to such an effusion of emotions, which almost compelled him to physical action, to kiss the ground before the vault. There is no reference to the possibility of such an active, physical action in the first version. Although the Hungarian traveler did not actually resolve to "kiss the ground" before the tomb of Washington, simply by raising the idea of it, he could create such an emotional tension which equals the emotional intensity of the first version, despite the deliberately reserved tone and the brevity of the first half of the second version.

Bölöni further confirmed the tone of his vision stressing the ideal greatness of George Washington, by comparing the simple vault of the general to the grandiose buildings of the Pantheon and Westminster. This was also true for the neglected graves of Voltaire and Rousseau, since they were located in the magnificent building of the former church, which was relatively new and was in good shape when Bölöni visited it in 1831. The tone of his account about the British Parliament is more reserved and the mood of it is more secular. He used an infatuated religious language in the case of his visit in the Pantheon, but the level of his rapture was not as intense as it was at the vault of George Washington. Further confirming this tone, he said farewell to Mount Vernon clearly and openly in religious terms:

> Farewell hallowed spot! Rest in peace, great man. Your immortal name and character, devoted to national welfare and justice, I have worshiped since my dreaming childhood. Visiting your tomb, I come away like pilgrims from the Holy Land. In memory of this great man, let this be my last sacred emotion over cold reason.[35]

[34] Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás,* 505.
[35] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 203.

The Hungarian traveler declared openly that he deemed his visit at Mount Vernon a pilgrimage in the Holy Land of human liberty, and in doing so, he projected the concept of the Holy Land onto the United States of America. On the basis of the language used by Bölöni, it was clear for his contemporary readers that he was drawing a parallel between the real Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre of Jesus Christ on the one hand, and the United States and the Sacred Tomb of its first president, on the other. He deemed himself a pilgrim, for whom the rare privilege had been granted to reach the sacred land of the hero of his childhood dreams. As I mentioned above, according to the second version of his account about his visit to the vault of the general, only the "cool verdict of reason" prevented him from kissing the ground before the grave. In the excerpt in which he said farewell to Mount Vernon, he deliberately gave up his self-discipline, and allowed his emotions to pour out, even against the considerations of "cool reason." This attitude also confirms that Bölöni assigned special importance to his visit at the vault of the first president of the United States.

At the end of the section about his visit, the Hungarian nobleman returned to the dichotomy of free America and unfree Europe. The Marquis La Fayette, who participated in the American War for Independence wrote

> When the Bastille was taken in 1790… I sent Washington its key with a note saying this was 'the last key of European despotism.' The key and the note are under glass, but the prophecy remained unfulfilled.[36]

He did not declare it openly, but it is highly probable that Bölöni was referring to his homeland again, since, in his judgement, the July Revolution of 1830 destroyed the tyrannical regime of the Bourbon restoration in France. The Hungarian traveler visited Paris only a few months after the July Revolution, and he unequivocally admired the changes triggered by it. Despotism was no longer in power in Paris, in contrast to many other European countries, including Hungary. All this also means that Bölöni discussed the fate of his homeland in a wider European context.

The section mentioned above is not the only excerpt in Bölöni's travelogue in which he referred to La Fayette as the hero of human liberty. I have men-

[36] Bölöni, *Journey in North America,* 203.

tioned the part about Washington, La Fayette, and Bolivar as the Holy Trinity of the freedom of mankind. He had the opportunity to see the aging Lafayette, the 'hero of two worlds' in Paris. As he put it:

> We left the place and the great man with sacred and sublime feelings in our hearts! The greatest man of all Europe in our days! Lafayette rejected all kinds of titles, ranks, and medals, and but he is the most respected person, who makes the hearts of others pound, and the name of whom is mentioned only with the greatest distinction! The mentioning of his name recalls the words of the Sacred Book for everybody: 'Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, they spin not; and yet I say unto you, that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.' (Luke, 12.27).[37]

Just like at the vault of George Washington, "sacred" feelings occupied the soul of Bölöni, and he further confirmed this religious rapture by quoting the Holy Bible's Gospel of Luke. He felt his heart pound when he saw La Fayette in Paris, and also when he visited the tomb of the first president of the United States. The Hungarian traveler compared both of his heroes to kings, and he declared the moral superiority of both of them as compared to the contemporary rulers of Europe. Bölöni professed that he was much more impressed at the "vault of the plain citizen hero" than at the grave of kings, and all the treasure of King Solomon could not surpass the virtues of the marquis.

On the occasion of his visit at Mount Vernon, the Hungarian nobleman connected his two idealized heroes to each other. Bölöni evoked the memory of La Fayette not only when he told the story of the key of the Bastille, but he also recalled the famous tour of the aging La Fayette in the United States in 1824–1825. The 67-year-old marquis also went to Mount Vernon, which he had visited forty years earlier in 1784, when he said goodbye to George Washington, before sailing back to Europe. According to Bölöni, "The old man entered the vault alone, he remained long, and he was crying heavily when

[37] Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás,* 122–123. English standard edition of the Bible, available at: https://www.biblestudytools.com/esv/luke/12.html.

he was escorted out."[38] In this way, he symbolically united the two heroes of freedom in the Old and the New World.

Sándor Bölöni Farkas' travelogue was published in more than two thousand copies in Hungary in the 1830s, and it was a tremendous success at that time. Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894), one of the most important leaders of the Revolution and War of Independence in 1848 and 1849 also read it. Bölöni's book heavily influenced his preliminary ideas about the United States and George Washington before his famous tour of the American republic in 1851 and 1852. Although Kossuth decided not stay in the United States, many of his associates did so, and the preliminary ideas of several members of the so-called "Kossuth immigration" about the United States had been also shaped by the book of Bölöni. His travelogue remained very popular up to the end of the 19th century, and it could also have an impact on the next generations of Hungarian emigrants to the United States of America.

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Part III

(Hi)stories of Migration from Central and Eastern Europe

Everyday Migration: The Network of Central European Traders in the Early Modern Period from a Transport and Communication History Perspective

Attila Tózsa-Rigó

European borders have undergone significant changes in recent decades, especially with the creation of the Schengen Area of the European Union, and as a result, by the beginning of the 21st century borders have become more fluid for many European countries and their citizens.[1] It was precisely the external borders of this area that were put to a strong test by the migration flows of the 2010s. Unfortunately, the role of European borders has recently undergone another change in the context of a terrible war in Ukraine that has challenged the status quo. The perception of borders has varied naturally from age to age in the history of Europe. In the Early Modern Period (roughly from the mid-15th century to the late 18th century), borders were far from being seen as rigid lines separating countries, which could only be crossed with special permission. Borders were often barely discernible, and much of contemporary Europe could be seen as a vast area without borders.[2] Even the borders between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg countries were permeable, with trade flowing almost unhindered between the Christian states and the "arch-enemy" of Christianity, the Ottomans.

If we look at the motivation, nature, and frequency of border crossings, we must first distinguish between migration and mobility. The simplest way to do so is to argue that migration is a longer-term process accompanied by a more permanent change of residence. Mobility, on the other hand, is a short-cycle movement, with people usually returning to their place of origin

[1] The study was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (BO/00622/21/2).

[2] Stefan Ehrenpreis, "Protestantische Kaufleute als Grenzgänger zwischen dem Rheinlandund den Niederlanden im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen. Bilanz der Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, eds. Christine Roll, Frank Pohle, Matthias Myrczek (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2010), 223.

within a short period of time. Commercial activity is classically understood as such a form of movement, even if it involves a long-term change of location.[3] Nevertheless, this short-cycle movement was of overriding importance in the Early Modern Period for the relations between regions. Not only because of the movement of traders, but also because in the long term these trade contacts kept the European economic cycle alive and played an indispensable role in supplying each region.

The accessibility of the borders means that we can reconstruct long chains of Central European regions that were closely connected through economic, cultural, and other contacts. In early modern Central Europe, the Danube, as the most important European waterway, was one of such connections. The Danube's symbolic yet apt names often reflect the role it played in the development of the continent. It is also referred to as *verkehrsader* in German; a term, used mainly in popular scientific literature, is an excellent way of expressing the role of the Danube as it can be translated as an essential artery for life. This is not only true in the natural sense. A similar formulation can also be applied to the decisive importance that the Danube, or more precisely the Danube route, has had in the economic life of the continent.

The study of the Central European economic system has a key role to play in providing a general overview of the development of economic processes in the Early Modern Era. One of the most important trade arteries in the region was the Danube route, which linked several economically-interdependent areas. The Danube region also played an important role in the global economic system. Despite its importance, relatively little attention has been paid to this chain of regions in both Western and Central European historiography. The information base for the analysis presented in this chapter is based on research carried out over the past fifteen years, over which period, I have examined the relevant source groups in seven countries.

The Spatial Framework of the Research

First of all, it is worth defining the geographical scope of the area covered by my research. The Danube route is a central axis of spatial importance in the

[3] Andreas Rutz, "Grenzüberschreitungen im deutsch-niederländisch-französischen Grenzraum," in *Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen. Bilanz der Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, eds. Christine Roll, Frank Pohle, Matthias Myrczek (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2010), 221.

Central European region. The Danube waterway and land route was one of Europe's busiest transport, trade, and communication arteries. It is only in a broader context that it can be studied, and the Danube region, narrowly defined, must be placed in the context of the Central European economic area. In this sense, we can examine several regions that were either actually located along the Danube or were in contact with these areas and thus closely linked to the route. Naturally, the Danube route forms the central, west-eastern band of the resulting Central European regional complex. The following main regions of this trade axis can be broadly delineated on the map: the eastern part of southern Germany, the eastern region of Upper Austria, followed by Lower Austria and the western and the north-western regions of the Kingdom of Hungary

Several other regions can be linked economically to this central area. In fact, the western catchment area of the large region under study covers the entire area of southern Germany. Through Znaim (today Znojmo in Czechia) and Mistelbach, the southern part of Bohemia and Moravia, and indirectly Silesia (in German: Schlesien, today Śląsk in Poland), were closely linked to the Austrian section of the Danube route. The Moravian towns had another vital link to the Danube route, via the towns of western Hungary. This trade artery, based primarily on Hungarian cattle and wine exports and Moravian cloth imports, already established contact with the Hungarian section of the Danube route.

A similar network of connections, involving several contact nodes, can also be seen in the southern direction. In terms of the business network, Styria (Steiermark) and Carinthia (Kärnten) are connected regions, and there have been links with northern Italy for centuries via the Brenner Pass and Semmering. Like Moravia, these Austrian provinces and the trading companies of northern Italy had direct contact with the regions of western Hungary. The business network of the Hungarian section of the Danube route linked the whole Carpathian Basin as a coherent economic entity to this central axis, as well as southern Poland, Moldova, and Wallachia, and also the northern regions of the Balkan Peninsula.

It is essential to stress that the chain of regions connected to the Danube route formed a complex system of consumption and distribution markets, in which each region was highly interdependent economically. Each region in

the Central European economic system was involved in the consumption of goods that played a central role in the production structures of other regions. But none of the regions can be said to had been exclusively exporters or predominantly importers in this multilateral economic circulation.

Timeframe

The Early Modern Period, according to the timeframe mentioned above, can be interpreted as one of the most intense periods in human history. It is rare for an era to be so labelled, but in many respects there is still a justification for intensity, or perhaps dynamism, in the first half of the period. Like today, this was characterized by a major explosion of information and communication, on a historical scale, and the way in which the world and the way people saw themselves changed as never before, and at a pace and scale never before experienced. All in all, these centuries can in fact be interpreted as the first phase of globalization in human history. Perhaps the most striking developmental trend of the period was the general expansion of the European civilizational center. This phase of expansion is clearly visible in political, military, technological and cultural terms, among others. In addition to this, the economic expansion of the old continent runs through the whole period, as a background, or if you like, a basis for the aforementioned Europe-centered development trend.

The discoveries in the 15th and 16th centuries were of particular importance for the topic of this chapter because the first phase of the development of the global economic system can be dated to this period, parallel to and thanks to spatial expansion. It is important to emphasize that this was not only responsible for the emergence of the intercontinental business cycle, but also had a decisive influence on all segments of the economic system.

An illustrative formulation of the globalizing economic system is Liah Greenfeld's Global Village, a term that aptly captures the characteristics of the world economic system that was taking shape in the 15th and 16th centuries. In the first two thirds of the 16th century, South-Western Europe is generally identified as the leading region.[4] While this statement is unquestionable from the point of view of power politics, it is, in my opinion, essential to

[4] Liah Greenfeld, *The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth* (Harvard University Press, 2001), 59–63.

stress that the dominant role of the South German trading and credit centers behind the South-Eastern European center can be traced back to the early years. In order to provide the South German entrepreneurial concerns with the capital needed for overseas expeditions and to finance the Portuguese, Spanish and later, in more general terms, the Habsburg administration, the trade and credit flows, mining and other investment opportunities of the Central European region were indispensable.

The Early Modern Period was also an exciting and changing time for the Central European economic network. In many respects, the last decades of the 15th century and the first decades of the 16th century saw a "changing of the guard" in business. On the one hand, the South German concerns were arguably the global leaders, and on the other hand, corporate structures, inter-firm communication and, finally, the relationship between the public and the business worlds were also undergoing a major transformation. The combined effect of all these factors was already clearly visible in the 1530s and 1540s. Importantly, the second half of the century also saw a general economic crisis. As a result of the series of crises that began in the 1550s and 1560s, the first decades of the 17th century saw additional major changes in trade relations and in the structure of firms. As a result, the period after the 1610s can now be regarded as a new era in economic history.

Such importance of is shown by the fact that, according to certain concepts of economic theory, the so-called modern economic system of the 20th–21st centuries can only be understood in a historical context, and the series of structural changes that have been going on for centuries and are still continuing today began in the 16th century.[5] Theoretical economics, working with long-term economic processes, thus regards the first century of the Early Modern Period as the initial stage of a process of transformation that has been under way for half a millennium. In the context of a spatially globalizing economic system, the early forms of a structurally early capitalist economic system took shape in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.[6]

[5] Werner Plumpe, "Ökonomisches Denken und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung. Zum Zusammenhang von Wirtschaftsgeschichte und historischer Semantik der Ökonomie," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 50, no. 1 (2009): 28; Walter W. Powell, "Neither Market nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization," in *The Sociology of Organizations. Classic, Contemporary and Critical Readings*, ed. Michael J. Handel (Thousand Oaks-London-New Delhi: Sage, 2003).

[6] Immanuel Wallerstein, *Das moderne Weltsystem. Kapitalistische Landwirtschaft und die Entstehung der europäischen Weltwirtschaft im 16. Jahrhundert* (Promedia Verlag, 1986), 112.

This prosperous period was interrupted by the crises of the mid-16th century. The causes of the general crisis can be traced back, somewhat simplistically, to the specific features of early capitalist structures. The business sector made extensive use of the opportunities for investment offered by state lending. The financing margins of the early modern states in the semi-formative period, combined with the characteristics of the early capitalist system, caused the great crisis of the second half of the century. The systemic framework of the general crisis had a global impact, and the waves of crises that lasted for more than half a century led to a major transformation of the economic system, rewriting the entire economic and, to some extent, social structure, the relationship between state and society, and, by extension, influencing the general mentality and self-image of modern man.

Partly as the medium-term effect of the mid-century crises, from the 1560s onwards the states and economic actors of north-western Europe increasingly took the lead. In view of the above, it is hardly surprising that Western European authors generally consider the Danube region as a peripheral region and only touch on the economic and social conditions of this large economic area, or in the vast majority of cases do not discuss it at all.

Overall, it may be argued that the study of Central Europe, and with it the Danube region, is far underrepresented in economic history compared to its importance. From this point of view, any group of sources that can contribute information to the economic history of the regions under study is of particular importance. The significance of the Danube route and the chain of regions that can be linked to it can perhaps best be appreciated by returning to Greenfeld's earlier metaphorical formulation of the concept of the global village. The Danube region was one of the most important streets or roads of this virtual global village, or in other words, the Danube route played a prominent role in the early modern continental economic cycle. In this respect, it would be a fundamental task for scholars working on the subject not to include only the sources available in their own countries in the scope of their analysis, but to provide as broad an insight as possible into the entire economic system of the Danube region as a whole, as far as the region's source base allows.

The "Turning Circle" of the Danube Route, Vienna's Changing Functions During the First Half of Early Modern Period

Vienna (Wien) had in the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern an extremely favorable geostrategic position. Its economic development in the Middle Ages was boosted by the success of political power in uniting the south-eastern regions of the German-speaking world. This economic prosperity was also reflected in positive demographic trends. In the mid-15th century, Vienna's population was estimated at between 20,000 and 25,000. Vienna's centrality as the 'heart of Europe' was due to the fact that two major trade routes converged here: the 'Amber Road', one of the continent's most important north-south trade routes and the only west-eastern river of the major European rivers, and the Danube route that ran along it.[7] In terms of the volume of goods transported and the estimated value of the traffic, the north-south axis, which was predominantly north-south in the Middle Ages, became more south-north in the Early Modern Period, providing a link for the influx of goods from Venice (Venezia), some of which were overseas, to the Bohemian–Moravian region and Silesia, and a branch to Hungary, where the same goods were also transported, partly by Italian and partly by Viennese merchants. South of Vienna, the Semmering Pass was a key point on the south-north trade axis. To the east, Vienna was not the end point, and textile and other manufactured goods imported from the west were largely transported onwards to Hungary. At the same time, however, Vienna was the most important transit point for Hungarian cattle exports, which were of central importance during the period. In this sense, the city functioned as a kind of trade turntable.

An important change in the history of Vienna was that it became the residence town of the Habsburg state-conglomerate. The changes of function had a great influence on the development of the city. Along with the government agencies, the bureaucratic staff grew, which significantly increased consumption demands. This in turn had a positive impact on Vienna's economic development.

To underline this, in the next section I will only model the role of the Viennese business elite in the Danube region with the trading network of some Viennese families, focusing on the business and family networks of the Ei-

[7] Felix Czeike, *Wien und seine Bürgermeister. Sieben Jahrhunderte Wiener Stadtgeschichte* (Jugend & Volk, 1974), 13.

selers. The Eiselers maintained an extensive network of contacts in the area under study. Among their business partners, we find actors from southern Germany and Italy. These business relations were often reinforced by kinship links of the Eiselers. They also maintained active contacts in Moravia and southern Poland, and eventually held important positions in Hungarian trade. In addition, they maintained good relations with the court, thanks in particular to their constant patronage of the Habsburgs. Below, I analyze the connection networks of families with similar central functions.

Business Activities of the Viennese, Points of Contact for Family and Business Networks

The sources (see below) reveal a group of Viennese citizens who maintained a significant business network in the Danube region. This network played a key role in the transregional mobility mentioned in the introduction. The Viennese who traded in many directions were part of a business and kinship network and in this respect, the network of 7–10 Viennese families is clearly outlined. The Eiseler–Stamp–Egerer–Marb–Gastgeb–Katzbeck–Blo–Thau–Wulfing families are the most prominent at the center of the Viennese kinship and business networks, while many other Viennese families were also linked to them by closer or looser ties. The sources provide an opportunity to look at family and business networks and their points of contact.

Intergenerational Mobility: The Eiselers' Kinship and Business Networks

The Eiseler family played a central role in the above group of Viennese traders. The networks, with the Eiseler family at the centre, showcase a good model for how business networks worked, while also providing a wide range of information about the networks of the Eiseler-related families. We can trace (their business) and family network through three generations. In this way, we can also get an idea of the intergenerational variation in the networks studied. The early history of the family also begins with a border crossing. The family was of Pest (Hungary) origin, the Eiselers settling in Vienna in the 1520s. This mobility was based on earlier trade connections. They already had contacts with Vienna before 1520. Thus, trade connections had a significant influence on the family's relocation and mobility. Their earlier Viennese relations helped them establish themselves among the Viennese elite in a re-

markably short time. Thoman Eiseler Senior was a member of the city council (the highest governing body of the town) already from 1536–1544. Thoman died in 1549; however, the Eiselers continued to take advantage of their Hungarian connections.[8] Thoman Eiseler maintained active contacts with important merchants of Pozsony (in the sources often in German: Pressburg, today Bratislava in Slovakia).

The Eiselers' businesses were carried on by the sons of Thomas' older brother Sebastian I. The latter became mayor of Vienna in 1531, during a time of turbulence (Ottoman threat, religious unrests) and was a court judge until 1541.[9] He had eleven children (7 boys and 4 girls) which enabled the family to build up an extensive network of contacts in Vienna and in neighboring regions. Sebastian's son, Thoman Eiseler Junior was a member of the outer council (its function was partly to control the work of the city council) from 1562 to 1564. His brothers were almost without exception members of this council. Thoman married into a merchant family from Krems, had four sons and died in 1568. The family's business affairs were managed mainly by his brothers Sebastian II (died in 1574), Andre (died in 1581) and Hans I (died in 1585).

In the trade in goods of the business group formed by the Viennese families mentioned above, the following commodities were of particular importance: livestock, copper, leather, wax, and wine. With the exception of cloth imported mainly from Nuremberg (Nürnberg) and other cities of southern Germany, spices imported from Venice and wine produced mainly in the vicinity of Vienna, the majority of the goods were of Hungarian origin. Of the families in the business network examined here, the Eiselers and the Stamps also had links with copper mines in Hungary and the Stamps also had positions in copper and silver mining in Tyrol.[10] The sources of the Habsburg chambers provide an extensive information base on the commodity structure. In 1548 Hans Eiseler was granted a license to export 400 hundredweight

[8] The intertwining of political and economic elites played a major role in determining the economic policy of a town's leadership. It is therefore obvious why it was important for economic elites to play a role in the governance of a town.

[9] The political context of the era: Czeike, *Wien und seine Bürgermeister*, 134–36, 153–59.

[10] Rudolf Buchinger, "Die Wiener Kaufmannschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel ausgewählter Familien," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 65, no. 2 (2010): 81–82. I am grateful to Rudolf Buchinger, who selflessly made the results of his research available to me.

of grain to Gorizia (Görz).[11] According to the documents of the Hungarian Chamber and the Chamber of Lower Austria, Thoman Eiseler and his successors also shipped linen to Hungary.[12] Cattle were taken by the members of the family from Hungarian regions to Austria.[13]

From the middle of the century until the 1580s, the Eiseler company was run by the three brothers mentioned above, Sebastian (II), Andre and Hans (I). Sources suggest that Sebastian and Andre may have had a closer business relationship, especially in the field of credits. The three brothers imported a mix of goods from Venice in 1565 and a year later traded in gold and silver.[14] Hans later worked more independently. According to a document of the Chamber of Lower Austria from 1575, he also traded in salt, among other things.[15]

It is interesting to note that important information about Hans Eiseler's business activities is taken from a document in which, after or shortly before his death, the claims of his creditors were summarized. The Vienna merchant's balance sheet showed debts of 45,453 Gulden.[16] The list included at least 33 creditors in 30 items.[17] In addition to Viennese merchants, his partners included a number of individuals which testifies to Hans Eiseler's extensive business network in the region. In addition to Zistersdorf and Gumpoldskirchen in Lower Austria, the source also reports contacts further away. From the north, a creditor from Brünn (today Brno in Czechia) and a creditor from Eibenschitz (today Ivančice in Czechia) are mentioned. From the northern Italian region, a business connection from Trieste is recorded. The names of at least two other business partners from Italy are also mentioned. From the east, only one Hungarian merchant (*ungarischer Kaufmann*) appears among the creditors, who is not named. According to the list of creditors, Hans Eiseler also had contacts in the west. A citizen of Straβburg (today Strasbourg in France) named Molzhaimb (today Molsheim in France) claimed a debt of 350 Gulden from Eiseler's heirs.

[11] ÖStA FHKA HP W. Nr. 199. E. 1548. f. 89r.
[12] ÖStA FHKA HP W. Nr. 201. E. 1549. f. 2v.
[13] ÖStA FHKA NÖK Bücher 022 E 1550. f. 177v, 123 E R f. 188v.
[14] ÖStA FHKA HZAB Nr. 20. 1565. f. 59r, 531v; Nr. 21. 1566. f. 61 r–v.
[15] ÖStA FHKA NÖK Protokolle 107 1575. f. 245r.
[16] In the following, all amounts are expressed in Rhenish gulden (in German: *Rheinischer Gulden*; in Latin: *florenus Rheni*).
[17] ÖStA FHKA NÖHA W 102/d/2 455r–457r.

Although the source gives a relatively good insight into Hans Eiseler's inter- and trans-regional business network, his most important creditors were still in Vienna. Indeed, nearly 60% of the loan of some 45,400 Gulden was disbursed to Eiseler by the Stamp brothers. The point of contact of the two families' kinship and business network in this generation was the marriage of Magdalena Eiseler (sister of Hans, Andre and Sebastian Eiseler) and Anton Stamp.

Andre was the most important of the second generation of Eiselers in Vienna. In terms of merchandise structure, wine is often mentioned in connection with his name. According to court accounts in 1577, he supplied, for example, wine to the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg, Johann Georg.[18] In the seventies and eighties, the business strategy of the Eiseler house underwent a change of trend in several respects. On the one hand, it was from this time onwards that Andre started to do more and more business on his own, and on the other hand, it was noticeable that the brothers were able to divide up the different regions among themselves. Even if no such agreement was consciously made, the sources clearly show that during these years Andre increasingly favored the south- and south–west (Venice) direction and that his trade structure changed.

Andre Eiseler delivered mostly Hungarian copper to Venice.[19] In this export he worked with a partner in Nuremberg. Among the sources of Styrian archives is a request from Jobst Croy of Nuremberg in 1579 for an export license for Andre Eiseler. According to the source, Eiseler wanted to export 227 hundredweight of Hungarian copper through Styria to Venice. Further documents show that Eiseler's men actually transported 1,227 quintals.[20] Another significant freight of Andre Eiseler's goods comes from the 1580s from the Chamber of Interior in Austria. The case deserves special attention for several reasons. Eiseler claimed a customs exemption for a spice delivery worth 1,176 Gulden.[21] Andre Eiseler can also be seen as an important point in the Viennese kinship and business networks. In 1563 Andre married Anna Egerer, the daughter of Colman Egerer, a Viennese councilor and important merchant.[22]

[18] ÖStA FHKA HZAB Nr. 31. 1577. f. 167r–v.
[19] ÖStA FHKA HF Ö Protokolle Nr. 346. R. 1578. f. 170v.
[20] StLA IÖ-HK Index 1579. f. 15r. Full text: StLA IÖ-HK Akten 1579. Nr. 49.
[21] StLA IÖ-HK Akten 1580 Nr. 26.
[22] Buchinger, "Die Wiener," 66.

The Eiselers had built up an extensive network of relatives and businesses, even compared to similar trading families of Vienna. According to Rudolf Buchinger's extensive research, the network that could be built up around the central position of the Eiselers reveals a complex network of kinship links between some 95 families. Among the families involved in businesses in Hungary are the Egerers, the Stamps and the Blos, and, on a lateral level, the Marbs and the Sinichs. The network of contacts beyond Vienna was also strengthened by the fact that Thoman Eiseler Jr.'s niece married Tobias Weiss, who had moved from Augbsurg to Vienna.[23] The cooperation with the Weisses was extended in 1568, when the Eiselers and the Weisses, together with the mayor of Augsburg, Wolfgang Paller, lent the Habsburg administration 16,000 Gulden for the pay of garrisons in Croatia (part of the Hungarian Kingdom under Habsburg rule).[24] In addition to Vienna, the Eiselers' network also included links to Salzburg, Steyr, Brünn, Nuremberg, Sankt Gallen, and Hungary.

In terms of network construction, we must return to Hans Eiseler I. Hans held the title of external councilor between 1558 and 1579. His first wife Felicitas was the daughter of Lienhard Lackner, also a councilor and successful merchant. But the not too young woman brought more important contacts into the Eiseler network. Felicitas was a widow at the time, her first husband was Johann Gastgeb. From Felicitas' first marriage Gregor Gastgeb was born. Interesting collaborations were also possible along this line. Hans Eiseler and his stepson, Gregor Gastgeb, jointly established considerable trade. Returning to Eiseler's network building, his second marriage was already focused on contacts outside the city. His wife, Salome, was the daughter of Mathes Munko of Brünn [Brno], who was connected to important key figures in Hungarian and Viennese business circles. In the Eiselers' network of relatives in Hungary, there were two known family connections, both with families in Pozsony [Bratislava].[25]

The generation of Sebastian II, Andre and Hans I continued to expand the network. Sebastian was at the forefront of building social networks. In 1583 he married Sophia Sonner, who was the daughter of a merchant from Nuremberg. After Sonner's death, in 1589, Sophia's new husband was Lazarus

[23] Buchinger, "Die Wiener," 65.
[24] ÖStA FHKA HF Ö Protokolle Nr. 280. R. 1568. f. 336r.
[25] Buchinger, "Die Wiener," 66, 70, 73–74.

Henckel von Donnersmark, head of one of Vienna's most important banking houses.[26] From the turn of the century, Sebastian II's son, Sebastian III Eiseler, is known for his extensive business activities. Sebastian III married the daughter of the Viennese businessman and councilor Blo Stentzl. After their short marriage, in 1593 Sebastian married the daughter of Oswald Hüttendorfer, who had been mayor of Vienna in 1586/1587 and 1598/1599. Compared to his predecessors, Sebastian III maintained more significant contacts with partners from southern Germany, especially from Nuremberg.

Sebastian III was most often associated with Georg Katzbeck among the Viennese. Members of the latter's family also crossed the border frequently, they were previously involved in Hungarian cattle imports. In the 1570s and 1580s, therefore, there were already close links between the Eiseler–Egerer–Stamp–Gastgeb–Blo group and the Katzbeck family, and the latter can be included in the above circle through multiple business and family contacts.

The cooperation between Sebastian III and Georg Katzbeck covered several regions to the east. In a supplication written to the Chamber of Lower Austria in 1591, Katzbeck represented both their interests. Eiseler was then in Polish or Hungarian territory. The text reveals that they also had interests in Kraków and that they transported wax from Kassa (today Košice in Slovakia) to the Polish town.[27] The Eiseler–Katzbeck partnership also has a southern orientation in its activities. According to the 1592 customs book of the town of Judenburg, they (also) had positions in Styria in the last years of the century.[28] This data is significant because Judenburg was one of the most important transit points on the Venice–Terfis/Tarvisio–Semmering–Vienna route. According to the town's customs registers (1542, 1571, 1579, 1585, 1592), in the 1570s and 1580s the Viennese firms Eiseler and Lackner were constantly present on this route. According to the Judenburg records, spices (ginger, cumin, aniseed, etc.) dominated Venetian imports during this period, and Hungarian copper was the most important commodity for exports to the south.[29]

[26] The capital investment made by Henckel played a major role in the revival of Hungarian copper mining (in Besztercebánya/Banská Bystrica) at the end of the 16th century.

[27] ÖStA FHKA NÖHA W 61/c/48/c Nr. 837. f. 1168r.

[28] Buchinger, "Die Wiener," 74.

[29] For their other activities: Attila Tózsa-Rigó, "A bécsi üzleti elit a 16. század utolsó harmadában. A bécsi polgárok társadalmi és üzleti hálózatai." *Hálózat & hierarchia. Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Évkönyv* 4. (2020): 177–190.

Other Transregional Kinship and Business Networks

Given the scope of this study, I highlight only a few typical examples of trade flows that resulted in continuous transregional mobility. As I mentioned earlier, the Egerer family had a close relationship with the Eiseler house. Andre Eiseler married Colman Egerer's daughter. Colman Egerer had extensive trading activities along the Danube route. He transported mainly linen to Hungary, and from Hungary, among other things, animal skins to Austria and to the cities of southern Germany. He was also associated with Tobias Weiss of Augsburg/Vienna, among others, for the transport of animal skins.[30] Egerer also had business positions in southern Poland. In addition to the western Hungarian trade, Egerer's presence in Upper-Hungary (today Eastern Slovakia) can also be traced back to the 1570s. In 1576, for example, he delivered goods to the military in Kassa [Košice].[31]

The Gastgebs had a similar central function in the Central European networks. They were also related to the Eiselers, the Stamps, and the Egerers by brotherhood. Like the latter, the Gastgebs maintained extensive contacts in the towns of Western Hungary. From this region he exported Hungarian cattle to Moravia. In this export trade, he was associated with Bohemian and Moravian merchants.[32] Another additional piece of information about the partnership is that Gastgeb had another partner, Georg Bechler, a citizen of Nuremberg, whose brother Konrad was a citizen of Vienna.

The appearance of Gregor Gastgeb at the customs post in Nagyszombat (today Trnava in Slovakia) highlights another multilateral network. Namely, the Viennese did not move exclusively in the Hungarian-Austrian border region when they imported Hungarian cattle. This can also be explained by the shift of focal point of the Hungarian cattle trade in favor of the Moravian-Czech regions. It is logical to assume that the Viennese traders also tried to gain positions in the southern Moravian region. In the Brünn [Brno] Magistrates' Books of 1548, for example, Hans Marb of Vienna appears in collabora-

[30] ÖStA FHKA HF Ö Protokolle Nr. 295. E. 1571. f. 405r., Nr. 298 R. 1571. f. 326r.

[31] ÖStA FHKA HF Ö Protokolle Nr. 323. E. 1576. f. 359v. For the activities of the mentioned circle of Viennese in Upper Hungary: Attila Tózsa-Rigó, "Bécsi üzleti szereplők és a hegyaljai bor kereskedelme a XVI. század második felében, különös tekintettel az Eiseler családra," in *Laurentius Eiseler. Epicinion carmen in laudem... Caroli Rueberi. A bécsi Lorenz Eiseler győzelmi éneke a nemes báró, Karl Rueber úr dícséretére és annak diadalára a török felett*, ed. Dávid Molnár, (Budapest-Sárospatak: L'Harmattan-Tokaj-Hegyalja Egyetem, 2022).

[32] ÖStA FHKA Ung GdB Nr. 397. 1573–1582. f. 98r–v.

tion with Mathes Munko of Brünn, mentioned above, as well as with Ambrus Sánta of Nagyszombat and Barati Fabian of Uherský Brod.[33]

The multilateral networks introduced here provide excellent evidence that early modern traders engaged in continuous inter- and transregional mobility, which was significant in the highly dynamic economic circulation in the Central European regions. These business networks played a key role in the more or less equal position of the Central European regions in the continental division of labor until the second half of the 17th century.

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Archival sources

ÖStA: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien

FHKA: Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv

HF Ö: Hoffinanz Österreich

HP: Hoffinanz- Protokolle

NÖHA: Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten

NÖK: Niederösterreichische Kammer

Ung GdB: Ungarische Gedenkbücher

StLA: Steirisches Landesarchiv

IÖ-HK: Innerösterreichische Hofkammer

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[33] ÖStA FHKA NÖK Bücher 043 E. R. January-July 1559, f. 1r.

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Internal Migration in Hungary After the Change of Regime

János Pénzes

Introduction

The concept of internal migration balance is often used in investigations focusing on spatial development patterns because developed areas generally tend to attract migrants while more backward regions often face outmigration.[1] Due to the selective character of migration, cumulative demographic problems may occur.[2] In this chapter, the Hungarian settlement-level migration balances are analyzed in order to detect the most important spatial characteristics (without including international migration). The temporary and permanent migration databases from the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH) and the National Regional Development and Spatial Planning Information System (TeIR) were used in the analyses, in which relative values of the migration balance were also relied on (the difference between immigration and outmigration is compared to the population of the territory).

Historical Background

Internal migration has gone through significant changes regarding its trends and destinations within Hungary. After the Second World War, during the decades of socialism, rural-urban migration was dominant, lasting until 1990. An outstanding migration surplus characterized Budapest during the first half of the 20th century, which slowed down after 1960. Towns also realized gains in

[1] János Pénzes' research is supported by the Bolyai János Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

[2] Nagy András, "A kedvezményezett térségek besorolásának alakulása, a lehatárolások módszertanának sajátosságai," *Területi Statisztika* 14, no. 51 (2) (2011): 151; Pénzes János, "A kedvezményezett térségek lehatárolásának aktuális kérdései," *Területi Statisztika* 55, no. 3 (2015): 224; Pénzes János, István Zoltán Pásztor, and Patrik Tátrai, "Demographic processes of developmentally peripheral areas in Hungary," *Stanovništvo* 53, no. 2 (2015): 104–105, doi: 10.2298/STNV1502087P; Ekéné Zamárdi Ilona, "A bihari kistelepülések társadalmi degradációjának veszélyei a migráció tükrében," in *A településföldrajz helyzete és főbb kutatási irányai az ezredforduló után,* ed. Csapó Tamás, Zsolt Kocsis, and Tibor Lenner (Szombathely: Berzsenyi Dániel Főiskola, 2005), 98–99.; Ekéné Zamárdi Ilona and Zoltán Dövényi, "Migráció és mobilitás," in *Világföldrajz,* ed. Tóth József (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 2010), 376–377.

migration due to the development of larger cities (including the county seats) and the forced investments in the so-called socialist towns.[3] At the same time, villages faced outstanding population loss caused by the outmigration of a primarily young and skilled group of people. The cumulative impact of this process was even more problematic concerning the demographic (and economic) trends because the reproduction of the rural population significantly weakened.[4]

The push factor in the case of rural settlements was represented by the radically decreasing level of local employment as a consequence of agricultural collectivization, whilst the forced industrialization generated a pull factor in the case of the towns preferred by the regime. These tensions were mitigated by temporary and permanent migration and by rural-urban commuting from the 1960s.[5] As the accumulated result of these processes, a large contrast emerged between the rural and urban areas in terms of the migration patterns (as losing and winning areas regarding the migration balance).[6]

The Spatial Patterns of Internal Migration After the Political Transition

Internal Migration Between the Political Transition and the Mid-2000s

Following the political and economic transition from centrally-controlled planning to a free-market economy, migration also changed completely compared to the previous decades. Within a few years after the fundamental changes, the migration balances of the main categories of settlements were reversed (see Figure 1). Villages gained a migration surplus whilst outmigration exceeded the immigration in the case of Budapest, while the raw number of temporary and permanent migration decreased at the same time.[7]

This period spanning a whole decade represented the most outstanding years of suburbanization in Hungary (Stage I. on Figure 1). Suburbanization

[3] Beluszky Pál, *Magyarország településföldrajza – Általános rész,* (Budapest–Pécs: Dialóg Campus Kiadó, 1999): 219–252; Dövényi Zoltán, "A belföldi vándormozgalom strukturális és területi sajátosságai Magyarországon," *Demográfia* 50, no. 4 (2007): 336–39; Dövényi Zoltán, "A belső vándormozgalom Magyarországon: folyamatok és struktúrák," *Statisztikai Szemle* 87, no. 7–8 (2009): 749–52.

[4] Ekéné Zamárdi, "A bihari kistelepülések," 94–96.

[5] Erdősi Ferenc, "Az ingázás területi-vonzáskörzeti szerkezete Magyarországon," *Demográfia* 28, no. 4 (1985): 492–95.

[6] Molnár Ernő and Pénzes János, "A migráció szerepe Magyarország II. világháború utáni népesedésében," *Debreceni Disputa* 5, no. 1 (2008): 48–52.; Dövényi, "A belső vándormozgalom Magyarországon," 339–40.

[7] Dövényi, "A belső vándormozgalom Magyarországon," 339–40.

is a significant spatial restructuring (relative deconcentration) of the population living in the city that resulted in widespread and comprehensive consequences.[8]

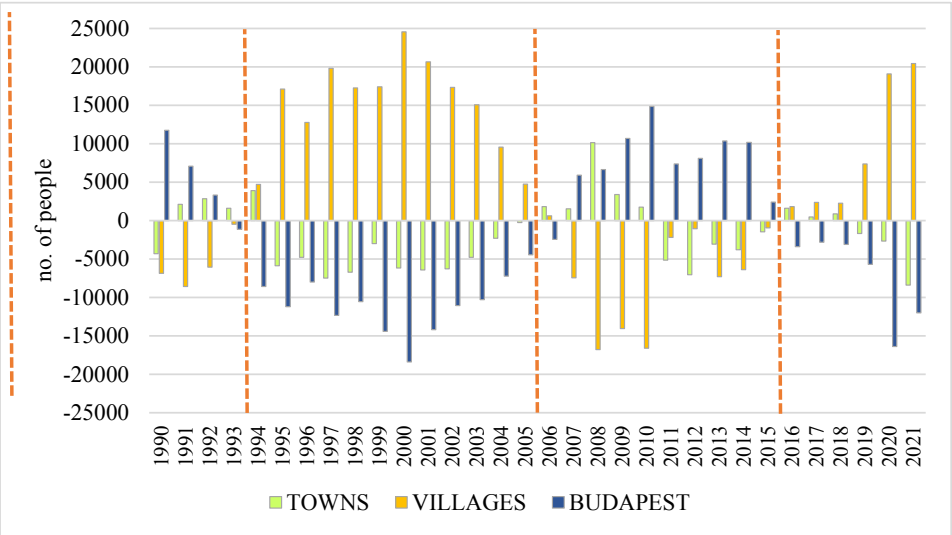

Figure 1. Internal migration balance of the towns, villages of Hungary and Budapest between 1990 and 2021, in no. of people (Source: calculated from the datasets of the National Regional Development and Spatial Planning Information System (TeIR))

Suburbanization—according to one of the explanations—is rooted in neoclassical economic theory, assuming goals of profit maximization or satisfaction (the former one for businessmen, the latter for residents). Important attracting forces in relation to the suburbs are the environmental advantage (clean air, less noise, and fewer traffic jams), the aesthetics of urban environment and family-centered lifestyle.[9] At the same time, the mass migration

[8] Enyedi György, "The Stages of Urban Growth," in *Urban Sprawl in Europe: Similarities or Differences?* ed. Szirmai Viktoria (Budapest: Aula Publisher, 2011): 45–63; Bajmócy Péter, "A szuburbanizáció két évtizede Magyarországon," *Észak-magyarországi Stratégiai Füzetek* 11, no. 2 (2014): 6–7; Oleksii Havryliuk, Oleksiy Gnatiuk and Konstyantyn Mezentsev, "Suburbanization, but centralization? Migration patterns in the post-Soviet functional urban region – evidence from Kyiv," *Folia Geographica* 63, no. 1 (2021): 64–68; Hegedűs László Dávid, Zoltán Túri, Norbert Apáti and János Pénzes, "Analysis of the Intra-Urban Suburbanization with GIS Methods – The Case of Debrecen Since the 1980s," *Folia Geographica* 65, no. 1 (2023): 24–28.

[9] Timár, Judit, "The Main Features of Suburbanization in the Great Hungarian Plain," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 22, no. 2–4 (1993): 182–83. doi: 10.1016/0169-2046(92)90021-Q

to suburbs triggered massive environmental and infrastructural problems which are expected to be one of greatest challenges in the near future in light of climate change and sustainable development.[10]

Suburbanization became one of the most significant territorial processes including its social and economic consequences in the post-socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, after the collapse of the strongly state-controlled housing and construction sector.[11] The changes in the housing sector could be summarized as follows: drastic decline in the construction of new dwellings; decreasing real estate prices mostly in the case of declining territories reduced the outmigration of population; and the shrinking ratio of rental housing as the consequence of the selling of dwellings by the local governments.[12]

[10] Lennert József, "A magyar vidék demográfiai jövőképe 2051-ig, különös tekintettel a klímaváltozás szerepére a belső vándormozgalom alakításában," *Területi Statisztika* 59, no. 5 (2019): 498–525. doi: 10.15196/TS590503; Kovács Zoltán, Jenő Zsolt Farkas, Tamás Egedy, Attila Csaba Kondor, Balázs Szabó, József Lennert, Dorián Baka, and Balázs Kohán, "Urban Sprawl and Land Conversion in Post-Socialist Cities: The Case of Metropolitan Budapest," *Cities* 92, (2019): 71–81. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2019.03.018; Kovács Zoltán, Jenő Zsolt Farkas, Cecília Szigeti, Gábor Harangozó, "Assessing the Sustainability of Urbanization at the Sub-National Level: The Ecological Footprint and Biocapacity Accounts of the Budapest Metropolitan Region, Hungary," *Sustainable Cities and Society* 84, (2022): 1–12. doi: 10.1016/j.scs.2022.104022; Hardi Tamás, Gabriela Repaská, Ján Veselovský and Katarina Vilinová, "Environmental Consequences of the Urban Sprawl in the Suburban Zone of Nitra: An Analysis Based on Landcover Data," *Geographica Pannonica* 24, no. 3 (2020): 205–20. doi: 10.5937/gp24-25543; Csorba Péter, Bánóczki Krisztina, and Túri Zoltán, "Land Use Changes in Peri-Urban Open Spaces of Small Towns in Eastern Hungary," *Sustainability* 14, (2022) 1–18. doi: 10.3390/su141710680; Vasárus Gábor László and Lennert József, "Suburbanization Within City Limits in Hungary – A Challenge for Environmental and Social Sustainability," *Sustainability* 14 no. 8855 1–19. doi: 10.3390/su14148855

[11] Timár Judit and Váradi Monika Márta, "A szuburbanizáció egyenlőtlen fejlődése az 1990-es évek Magyarországán," in *Magyarország területi szerkezete és folyamatai az ezredfordulón*, ed. Rechnitzer János and Horváth Gyula, (Pécs: MTA Regionális Kutatások Központja, 2000), 153–56; Koós Bálint, "A szuburbanizációs folyamat a magyar gazdaságban," *Statisztikai Szemle* 54, no. 4 (2007): 338–47; Pénzes János, "Északkelet-Magyarország jövedelmi térszerkezetének változásai a rendszerváltás után," *Területi Statisztika* 51, no. 2 (2011): 191–95.; Kiril Stanilov and Luděk Sýkora (eds), *Confronting Suburbanization: Urban Decentralization in Postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe*, (New York, NY, USA: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 360; Lennert József, "A visegrádi országok vidéki tereinek rendszerváltás utáni vándorlási folyamatai," *Területi Statisztika* 57, no. 3 (2017): 272–93. doi: 10.15196/TS570302; Ulrike Sailer-Fliege, "Characteristics of Post-Socialist Urban Transformation in East Central Europe," *GeoJournal* 49, (1999): 11–15.

[12] Illés Sándor, *Belföldi vándormozgalom a XX. század utolsó évtizedeiben* (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, Népességtudományi Kutatóintézet, 2000), 65–66.

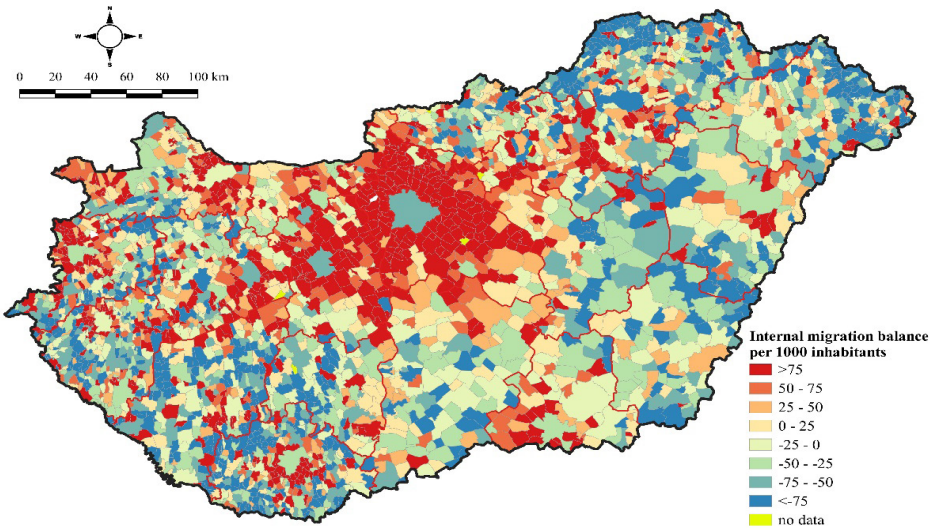

Figure 2. Territorial patterns of average internal migration between 1994 and 2006, in no. of people (Source: calculated from the datasets of the National Regional Development and Spatial Planning Information System (TeIR))

Post-socialist suburbanization partially differs from the process in capitalist countries regarding its motivations, too, because the social stratification of the associated population is more heterogeneous. The new residents moving out of the cities (or staying within the administrative boundaries) represent a large variety of people in terms of their age structure, social status, family situation, and even ethnicity.[13] Some of the residents must have moved out of the city because of financial constraints or exclusion and some of them were mo-

[13] Beluszky Pál and Timár Judit, "The Changing Political System and Urban Restructuring in Hungary," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 83, no. 5 (1992): 380–89. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9663.1992.tb00618.x.; Hirt Sonia, "Suburbanizing Sofia: Characteristics of Post-Socialist Peri-Urban Change," *Urban Geography* 28, no. 8 (2007): 755–80. doi: 10.2747/0272-3638.28.8.755.; Stanley D. Brunn, Kvetoslava Matlovičová, Alexander Mušinka and René Matlovič, "Policy implications of the vagaries in population estimates on the accuracy of sociographical mapping of contemporary Slovak Roma communities," *GeoJournal* 83 (2018): 855. doi: 10.1007/s10708-017-9804-9; Pénzes János, Hegedűs László Dávid, Kanat Makhanov and Túri Zoltán, "Changes in the Patterns of Population Distribution and Built-up Areas of the Rural–Urban Fringe in Post-Socialist Context – A Central European Case Study," *Land* 12, no. 1682 (2023): 1–3. doi: 10.3390/land12091682.

tivated by a traditional agricultural purpose, and finally some of the affluent citizens had the possibility to create an exclusive living environment.[14] The different groups of society shaped their living environments in distinctive ways and due to some local and national policies influencing the suburbanization in Hungary created not only prosperous areas for the middle and upper class of the society, but also social tension, segregation, and exclusion.[15]

We also need to note that some part of internal migration is hidden because it occurs outside the administrative areas of larger towns (these are not included in the current investigation), but former second homes or summer homes became the destination for citizens to reside there.[16] Apart from this fact, spectacular suburbanization could be observed in the far surroundings of Budapest,[17] and around some of the largest cities – including Debrecen,[18,19,20] Miskolc,[21] Pécs,[22] Győr,[23] and Eger.[24]

[14] Timár, "The main features of suburbanization," 178–79; Hirt, "Suburbanizing Sofia," 755–80.; Csatári Bálint, Farkas Jenő Zsolt and Lennert József, "Land use changes in the rural-urban fringe of Kecskemét after the economic transition," *Journal of Settlements and Spatial Planning* 4, no. 2 (2013): 157–59; Vasárus Gábor László, "Városhatáron belüli szuburbanizáció Magyarországon – egy paradoxon feltárása," *Területi Statisztika* 62, no. 4 (2022): 382–84. doi: 10.15196/TS620401.

[15] Timár and Váradi, "A szuburbanizáció egyenlőtlen fejlődése," 153–56; Nagy Gyula and Hegedűs Tamás, "Urban Sprawl or/and Suburbanisation? The Case of Zalaegerszeg," *Belvedere Meridionale* 28, no. 3 (2016): 115–16. doi: 10.14232/belv.2016.3.8; Kristóf Andrea, "The Impact of Suburbanization on Social Differentiation in Hungary: A Case Study of the Miskolc Agglomeration," *Geographica Pannonica* 22, no. 3 (2018): 181–84. doi: 10.5937/22-17081.

[16] Kadri Leetmaa, Isolde Brade, Kristi Anniste, Mari Nuga, "Socialist Summer-Home Settlements in Post-Socialist Suburbanisation," *Urban Studies* 49, no. 1 (2012): 3–21. doi: 10.1177/0042098010397399.

[17] Dövényi Zoltán and Kovács Zoltán, "A szuburbanizáció térbeni-társadalmi jellemzői Budapest környékén," *Földrajzi Értesítő* 48, no. 1–2 (1999): 33–57.

[18] Timár, "The Main Features of Suburbanization," 177–87.

[19] Süli-Zakar István, "Debrecen és Kelet-Magyarország (Egy regionális központ és a regionalizmus országunk keleti részén)," in *Tanulmányok Debrecen városföldrajzából I.*, ed. Süli-Zakar István (Debrecen: KLTE Társadalomföldrajzi Tanszék, 1994), 7–72.

[20] Kozma Gábor, *A debreceni lakóterületek II. világháború utáni fejlődésének társadalomföldrajzi vizsgálata,* (Debrecen: Didakt Kiadó, 2016), 1–88.

[21] Kristóf, "The Impact of Suburbanization," 176–88.

[22] Bajmócy Péter, "A "vidéki" szuburbanizáció Magyarországon, Pécs példáján," *Tér és Társadalom* 14, no. 2–3 (2000): 323–30.

[23] Hardi Tamás and Márta Nárai, "Szuburbanizáció és közlekedés a győri agglomerációban," *Tér és Társadalom* 19, no. 1 (2005): 81–101.

[24] Bodor Norbert and Pénzes János, "Eger komplex vonzáskörzetének dinamikai vizsgálata," *Tér és Társadalom* 26, no. 3 (2012) 30–47.

Internal Migration Between the Mid-2000s and Mid-2010s

Spectacular differences between the periods drew attention to the changing factors that affected internal migration. The first investigated time interval between 1994 and 2006 partly covered the structural crisis period and migration was large scale with spectacular destination areas (with migration gain) and continuous territories of outmigration. However, certain spatial trends could be identified by the patterns of internal migration (see Fig. 2-3-4).

Migration from east to west has been a traditional feature of Hungarian internal migration.[25] This fact was generally proved by the maps that illustrated the different periods of internal migration patterns (see Fig. 2-3-4), however, significant differences were detectable between them. The urban hinterlands of Western Transdanubia—e.g., Győr, Sopron and Szombathely—or Central Transdanubia (e.g., Székesfehérvár and Veszprém) were destinations for internal migration during the whole investigated period. However, the cities themselves faced migration loss as a consequence of the major period of suburbanization prior to the mid-2000s. In the case of Western Hungary, international migration must also be highlighted. Some cities—e.g., Sopron—are characterized by significant cross-border commuting of Hungarian citizens towards Austria. In the vicinity of Bratislava, cross-border suburbanization is also observed due to the moving of Slovakian citizens into the settlements on the Hungarian side of the state border (this process cannot be detected by the internal migration data).

The outstanding status of the agglomeration of Budapest is obvious in every period, however, a shrinking territorial expansion was detected between 2007 and 2015. The financial and economic crisis that started in 2008 had a major impact on internal migration including in the suburban zones of cities, especially on the edges of the Budapest agglomeration zone. The role of Budapest altered after the change of regime, but the agglomeration (mostly in the closer vicinity of the city) had a significant migration surplus during the whole period. With this fact, it was clearly seen that the population has been concentrated in the central part of Hungary, in Budapest and the agglomeration.

[25] Dövényi Zoltán, Kovács Zoltán, Kincses Áron, Bálint Lajos, Egedy Tamás, "Migration," in *National Atlas of Hungary Volume 3. Society,* ed. Kocsis Károly, Kovács Zoltán, Nemerkényi Zsombor, Gercsák Gábor, Kincses Áron and Tóth Géza, (Budapest: Geographical Institute, Research Centre for Astronomy and Earth Sciences, 2021), 51–52.

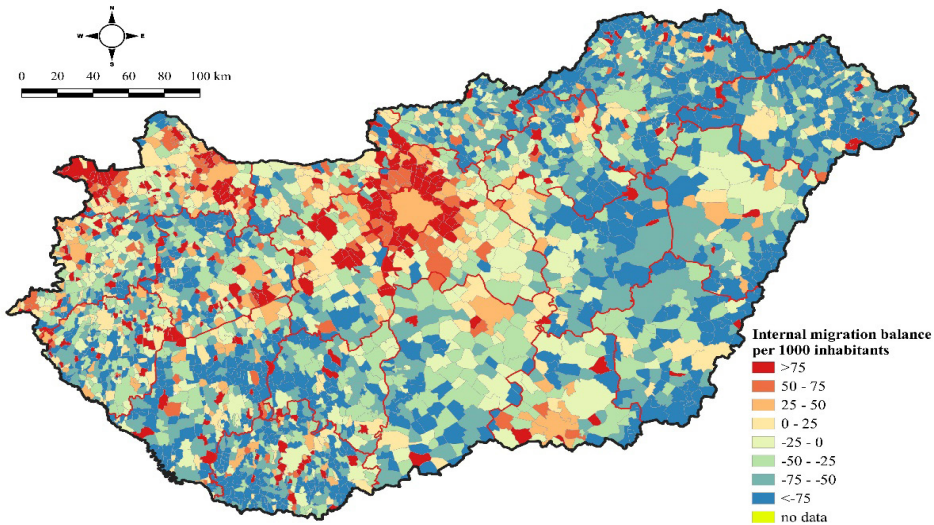

Figure 3. Territorial patterns of the average internal migration between 2007 and 2015, in no. of people (Source: calculated from the datasets of the National Regional Development and Spatial Planning Information System (TeIR))

Settlements located in the surroundings of Lake Balaton (and Lake Velence) became important and unambiguous targets for internal (and international) migration, which is specific to age structure and social stratification. Elderly and upper-class citizens tended to migrate there according to the changes in the demographic indicators.

Internal Migration in Recent Years

The last period of the current investigation represents characteristic changes compared to the previous one. A major migration gain appeared in the villages especially in 2020 and 2021. Two factors accelerated this process: the first one was better financial conditions for home purchasing as the governmental family and housing policy accelerated the moving of the population into villages (village family housing subsidy, so-called *village CSOK*). The other factor was the COVID-19 pandemic because it induced a rising demand for detached houses mostly among families with children.

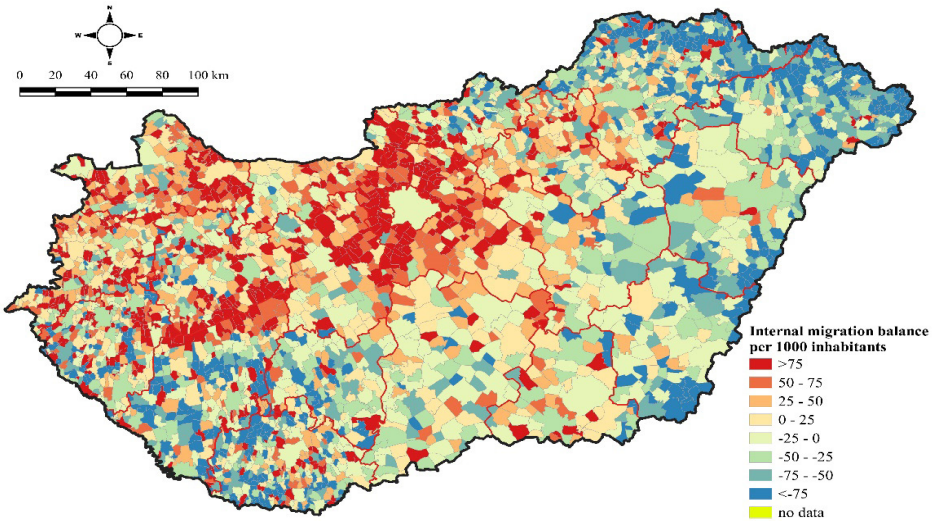

Figure 4. Territorial patterns of average internal migration after 2016, in no. of people (Source: calculated from the datasets of the National Regional Development and Spatial Planning Information System (TeIR))

At the same time, extended and contiguous areas of the country were characterized by stable migration loss during the investigated period, but most of these territories faced this process during the decades of socialism also. The areas along the Eastern Slovakian, Ukrainian, Romanian, Serbian, Croatian (apart from some smaller zones) borders are regarded as territories of outmigration. Besides these, numerous settlements were in this situation on the inner periphery of Hungary (e.g., in the middle Tisza area on the Great Hungarian Plain and in some parts of Somogy and Tolna counties to the south of the Lake Balaton).

Migration and Spatial Development

The spatial patterns of internal migration tended to represent a correlation between migration and spatial development, but this relation was not confirmed everywhere and in every period. However, it was assumed that populations (primarily the skilled and mobile part of the workforce) tend to migrate from the underdeveloped areas towards the dynamic economic centers providing more attractive job opportunities with better living conditions.

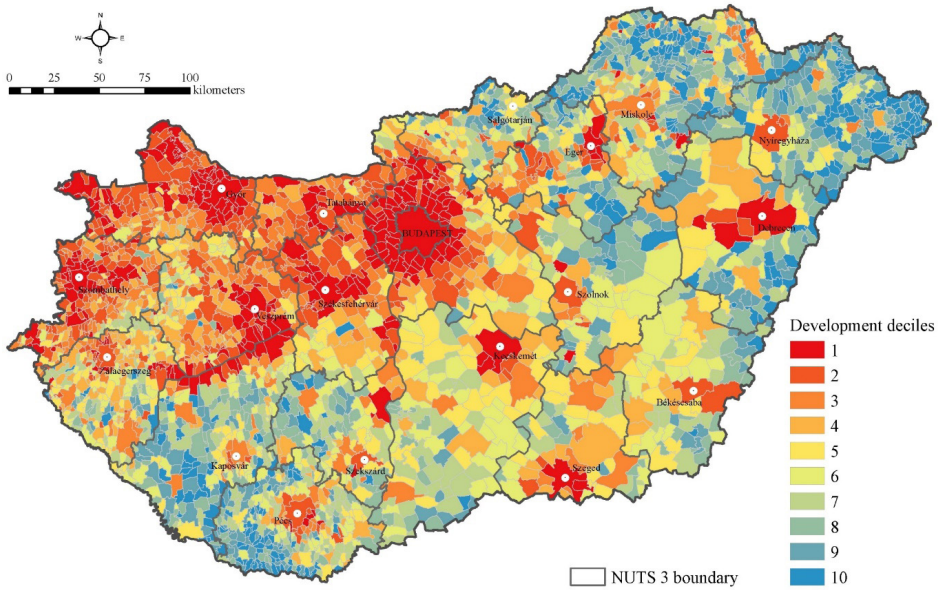

Figure 5. Development deciles of the territorial development index of the Hungarian settlements in 2016 (Source: calculated from the datasets of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH) and the National Regional Development and Spatial Planning Information System (TeIR))

In different developmental studies, migration is not only applied as a descriptive or explanatory indicator, but the migration balance is used as one of the components to calculate composite indicators which were the basis for delimiting settlements and districts favored by regional policy.[26]

In order to investigate this correlation, settlements were grouped according to their development levels in 2016. The settlement level development index was calculated with the methodology of the Territorial Development Index. Its methodology was based on a systematic filtering procedure of numerous developmental or related base indicators (see in the cited study).[27] The development categories were calculated by static results from 2016. The settlements of Hungary were ordered into deciles and the additional calculations of migration were computed for these groups. The migration balance

[26] Nagy, "A kedvezményezett térségek," 151; Pénzes János, *Periférikus térségek lehatárolása – dilemmák és lehetőségek* (Debrecen: Didakt Kiadó, 2014), 42.

[27] Pénzes János and Demeter Gábor, "Peripheral Areas and Their Distinctive Characteristics: The Case of Hungary," *Moravian Geographical Reports* 29, no. 3 (2021): 220–22. doi: 10.2478/mgr-2021-0016.

was calculated transforming these results to 1000 inhabitants to ensure comparability. Decile 1 contains the most, while decile 10 includes the least developed settlements in Hungary (see Fig. 5-6-7).

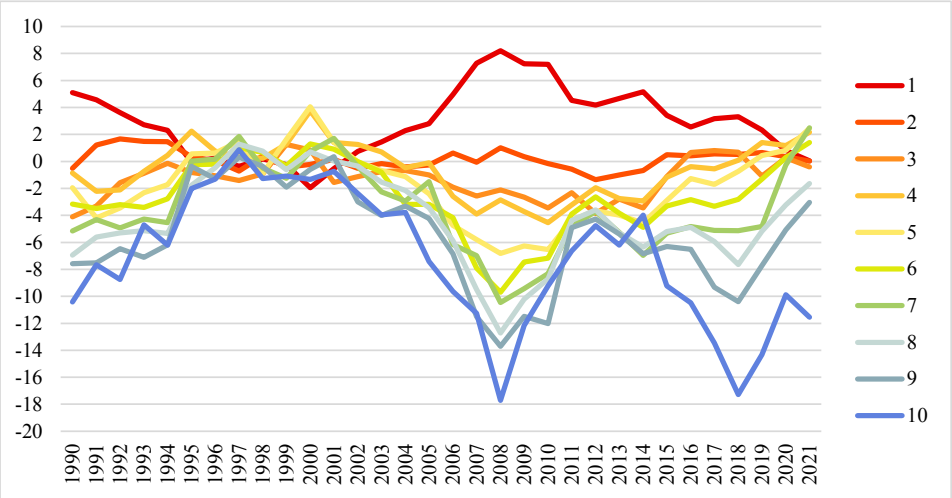

Figure 6. Internal migration balance per 1,000 inhabitants according to development deciles of the settlements between 1990 and 2021, in no. of people (Source: calculated from the datasets of the the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH) and the National Regional Development and Spatial Planning Information System (TeIR))

In general, the curves of the graph (see Fig. 6) confirmed the assumed order with a massive migration gain of the most developed settlements and significant migration loss of underdeveloped ones; however, in some periods—from the mid-1990s until the early 2000s—completely different trends were detected. One of the reasons is that Budapest being part of the first group of settlements caused a distortion with its own tendencies. Besides this, the most characteristic period of suburbanization meant intense migration from towns to villages for various purposes (including the migration of poor, deprived or excluded persons towards peripheral villages as well). The impacts of the crisis in 2008 and of the "village CSOK" (village family housing subsidy) caused definite changes in the trends. After the millennium, migration tendencies supported the hypothesis about the positive correlation between spatial development and migration balance, however, the curves have been mixed during the last few years because of the reasons already mentioned.

In order to detect the trends of internal migration in the case of the villages, datasets were filtered according to the administrative division and villages were separated as illustrated by Fig. 7. The trends of internal migration clearly demonstrate the correlation with the development levels; the most developed villages are characteristically separated from the other groups and represented the highest values of migration gain among the villages. These villages are typically located in the close proximity of cities—including Budapest. At the same time, the most underdeveloped villages tended to demonstrate the lowest values from this respect, with negative ones during almost the whole investigated period. The values of internal migration balance were obviously formed according to the development levels.

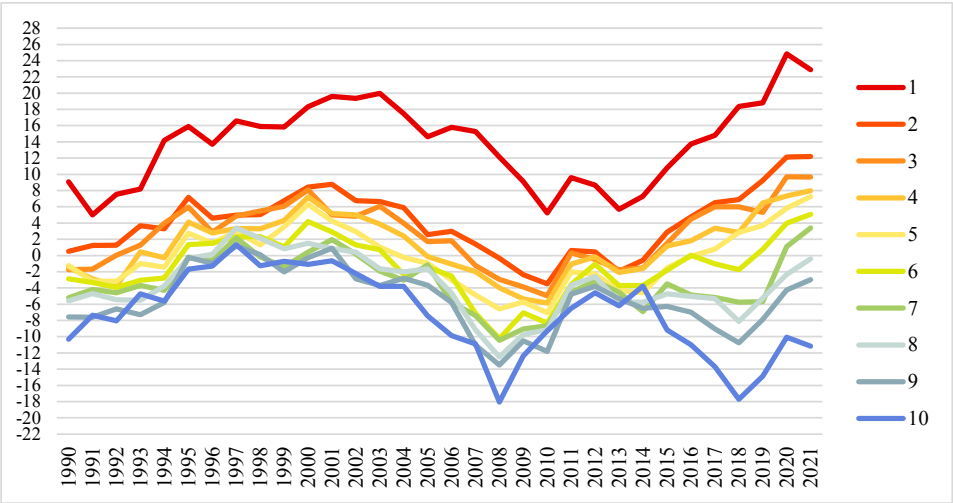

Figure 7. Internal migration balance per 1,000 inhabitants according to development deciles of villages between 1990 and 2021, in no. of people (Source: calculated from the datasets of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH) and the National Regional Development and Spatial Planning Information System (TeIR))

An impressive fluctuation is seen in the values of average internal migration balance, confirming the tendencies illustrated by Fig. 1. The most significant period of suburbanization caused an outstanding rise in the migration surplus but typically in the case of the most developed villages. The period of financial and economic crisis that started in 2008 caused convergence in the migration balances of different development groups, but this tendency

changed after the mid-2010s. Large scale and extended polarization appeared that opened a large gap between the developed and underdeveloped villages.

Conclusion

The internal migration trends in Hungary represented post-socialist characteristics after the political transition in 1989 and characteristic stages could be separated in the tendencies according to the administrative division. Radical changes could be detected in the role of villages compared to the previous decades because they show a migration gain from the mid-1990s for one decade. This was identified as the most intense period of suburbanization in which the role of Budapest's agglomeration was outstanding; however, the migration (or so-called exclusion) of poor people from towns to villages (and to peripheral areas) could also be detected.

The changing role of Budapest was significant in terms of internal migration but permanent destination areas and "sending" territories could also be observed. The impact of the financial and economic crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic and the Hungarian governmental support programs were also important in changing the migration tendencies within Hungary.

Internal migration has represented a dynamically-fluctuating relationship with the development levels of settlements with some constant characteristics. The most developed settlements, mostly the villages in the surroundings of the largest towns and Budapest, realized a significant migration gain during the whole period. The underdeveloped ones faced almost continuous migration loss after 1990 and increasing inequalities occurred in the last few years that caused an enormous rise in the polarization of migration tendencies.

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Radicalization in the Information Age

Marcell Grunda

Introduction

Opinions on the issue of migration in Europe vary greatly. On the one hand, arguments are being formulated in favour of the importance and necessity of migration, for example, due to the lack of workers or the ageing of society. On the other hand, the discussion also includes arguments focusing more on the dangers, such as an increased risk of terrorism or overburdening the social systems. Both sides are trying to convince the other with facts, but it can also be seen that emotions are playing an increasingly important role in the debate. It is no coincidence that the expression "post truth" was chosen as word of the year in 2016 by both Oxford Dictionary[1] and the *Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache* (GfdS), with the latter justifying its choice as follows:

> The artificial word *[…] post truth,* refers to the fact that political and social discussions today are increasingly about emotions instead of facts. […] It is not the claim to truth, but the expression of the 'perceived truth' that leads to success in the 'post-truth age' […].[2]

One would think that science, which positions itself as objective, could at least put this "perceived truth" into perspective. However, if we look at the events of the COVID pandemic, for example, we see that people who were against vaccination found their scientific justifications just as much as those who were convinced of the positive effects of it. However, one can observe a certain process of polarization not only in the area of war, the Covid pandemic, and politics in general in more and more countries, but in almost all political issues: including the refugee crisis and migration. People who are more in favor of a strict or restrictive immigration policy find their own al-

[1] "Oxford University Press", accessed August 03, 2023, https://global.oup.com/academic/content/word-of-the-year/?cc=hu&lang=en&.

[2] "Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache e.V.," accessed August 03, 2023, https://gfds.de/wort-des-jahres-2016/ All the quotes originally in German are translated into English by the author of this study.

legedly rational arguments to be just as valid as those who favor an inclusive, pro-immigration policy.

The above-mentioned expression of post-truth, however, has also been increasingly criticized: according to Ingrid Brodnig, the word "post truth" contains a misconception as the prefix "post" suggests

> that we used to be in a 'truth' (i.e., truth-related) age. But this assumption is highly questionable. The fact that people unilaterally classify information by applying goal-oriented, motivated thinking was already the case in the past. We can currently see this phenomenon online with staggering clarity—but in my eyes it would be a transfiguration of history to pretend that political decisions used to be made purely on the basis of truth.[3]

But what was considered 'true' was not always a question of facts, but often of emotions.

This chapter aims to show how emotions are used in digital media to influence and manipulate our ability and willingness to make decisions based on rational arguments. First, I look at the phenomenon of how shorter, emotion-based news articles are replacing the longer ones that need considerable research (so-called traditional journalism) and instead of providing detailed and varied coverage, usually fit more into one of two polarized narratives. Next, the methods of manipulation are mentioned and the types of these manipulative articles are listed. I support these phenomena with examples related to migration.

According to several studies,[4] the manipulative, more emotion-based articles spread faster on the Internet than those created by traditional journalism. This study introduces possible causes for this, briefly describes them and also emphasizes the dangerous consequences they may have, including the emergence of echo chambers and their contribution to other phenomena

[3] Ingrid Brodnig, *Lügen im Netz. Wie Fake News, Populisten und unkontrollierte Technik uns manipulieren* 2nd ed. (Wien: Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 2018), e-book, Chapter 5: *Angst vor der Echokammer*.

[4] "So verbreiten sich falsche Nachrichten im Internet," accessed November 27, 2024, https://www.sueddeutsche.de/wissen/social-media-so-verbreiten-sich-falsche-nachrichten-im-internet1.3898291; "How Fake News Spreads," accessed November 27, 2024, https://libguides.uvic.ca/fakenews/how-it-spreads.

such as conspiracy theories, radicalization, etc. After presenting the possible dark side of reporting through digital media, I would also like to briefly address the other side of the coin: deliberative discourse and the assumption of the maturity of Internet users who communicate with each other online. In the following, I intend to compare various theses and perspectives on the topic and include them in the analysis. Since the research was conducted in German, the sources are predominantly in German.

Facts vs. Perceived Truth

Thanks to the Internet, not only is more information available to us than ever before, but access to information has also become considerably faster and easier. Peter Brenner argues for a new knowledge culture of the internet, where knowledge increases and is more easily accessible, but where, at the same time, there is a danger that the quantity of knowledge threatens the quality of education.[5] He fears that the stock of knowledge that everyone should have is disappearing and the more information is available, the more difficult it becomes to navigate in it and create a common, binding knowledge base. There are two areas that are decisive in comparison with earlier forms of access to information and reporting: quantity and quality. According to Bernhard Pörksen and Andreas Narr, it was not long ago when people were sure that

> more information automatically makes people wiser and more mature and leads quite directly to better decisions. Today, this certainty has been largely dismantled. Free-floating, often fragmentary information, it seems, unsettles some and strengthens others in their already existing judgements and prejudices. More information makes some people suspicious because they see immediately: everything could always be different.[6]

[5] Peter Brenner, "Die neue Wissenskultur des Internets," in *Macht im Netz. Vom Cybermobbing bis zum Überwachungsstaat,* ed. Philippe Wampler (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2019), 97.

[6] Bernhard Pörksen and Andreas Narr, ed. *Schöne digitale Welt. Analysen und Einsprüche von Richard Gutjahr, Sascha Lobo, Geoerg Mascolo, Miriam Meckel, Ranga Yogeshwar und Juli Zeh* (Köln: Halem, 2020), e-book, Chapter: *Die Zeit des Großen Verdachts*.

The core problem seems to be that people cannot even agree on facts, i.e., what is true and untrue. In this regard, Georg Mascolo emphasises that reliable information is just as necessary as access to a hospital, a good school, and clean water; what is more, it is our fundamental right.[7] As he further aptly puts it, one is entitled to one's own opinion, but not to one's own facts. Therefore, the line between facts and beliefs or opinions should be sharper and clearly separated. That it is often not the case is the fault of the quality of the reporting that provides the information. In traditional or classical journalism, there was always a deadline by which an article had to be handed in so that it could still be corrected, proofread, and embedded in layout if necessary. Today, the time pressure has changed the process: a news item has to be written and published as fast as possible in order to get more clicks.[8] For this reason, however, the necessary research and source checks that would be required for reliable and qualitative reporting are often missing. Moreover, apart from the presentation of facts, certain interpretations are often added immediately, prescribing or at least suggesting how facts should be understood and in which context. This made many people distrustful of journalism and, according to Mascolo, for this reason a certain disenchantment with the media appeared alongside disillusionment with politics.[9] Most media consumers thus do not believe in purely objective reporting and are convinced that there is a political motivation, a (more or less recognizable) political manipulation attempt hidden behind every news item. For this reason, many can be suspicious of the mainstream media and look for news channels that correspond to their values and world views.[10] In this way, one constantly receives virtual confirmation for one's own position; as Mascolo highlights: "You get confirmation for what you already believe anyway. You are never again challenged in your thinking, questioned, convinced of the opposite. A business model for the filter bubble."[11]

[7] Georg Mascolo, "Krieg der Worte. Fakt, Fake und die neue Macht der Lüge," in *Schöne digitale Welt. Analysen und Einsprüche von Richard Gutjahr, Sascha Lobo, Geoerg Mascolo, Miriam Meckel, Ranga Yogeshwar und Juli Zeh,* ed. Bernhard Pörksen and Andreas Narr (Köln: Halem, 2020), e-book, Chapter: *Die Zeit des Großen Verdachts*.

[8] Here the tension appears between the profit interest and sense of responsibility mentioned by Mascolo.

[9] Mascolo, "Krieg der Worte," e-book, Chapter: *Die Zeit des Großen Verdachts*.

[10] Pörksen and Narr, ed. *Schöne digitale Welt.* e-book, Chapter: *Die Zeit des Großen Verdachts*.

[11] Mascolo, "Krieg der Wrote," e-book, Chapter: *Die Zeit des Großen Verdachts*.

Filter Bubbles and Echo Chambers

Filter bubbles play a central role in the radicalization of people. The term is often used in reference to the algorithm used by Facebook, which filters the amount of information and only shows us the content that, according to this algorithm, we are most likely to be interested in, thus driving us to consume more and more media. Another term that describes a similar but slightly different phenomenon to the filter bubble is the echo chamber. According to Colin Porlezza, echo chambers describe the phenomenon when

> users in forums, on Facebook pages or in comment columns do not allow dissenting opinions, but only reinforce their own preconceived beliefs. However, the concept of the echo chamber is not only aimed at joint communicative action on digital platforms, but at the same time also encompasses the aspect of homophily: people with similar convictions form groups.[12]

Porlezza also states based on the thoughts of Yochai Benkler that

> [i]ndividuals with shared interests are far more likely to find each other or converge around a source of information online than offline. Social media enable members of such groups to strengthen each other's beliefs, by shutting out contradictory information, and to take collective action.[13]

The various conspiracy theories then easily arise in these echo chambers. According to Sascha Lobo, it plays an important role in the emergence of conspiracy theories that the world is becoming increasingly complex (or at least the image of the world appears increasingly complex).[14] He further emphasizes that the constant confrontation with the many inexplicabilities of the world provokes people to desperately seek out narratives and sub-narratives

[12] Colin Porlezza, "Journalismus zwischen Fake News, Filterblasen und Fackt-Checking," in *Smartphone-Demokratie. #faknews #facebook #bots #populismus #weibo #civitech*, ed. Adrienne Fischer (Zürich: NZZ Libro, 2017), e-book.

[13] Porlezza, "Journalismus zwischen Fake News, Filterblasen und Fackt-Checking."

[14] Sascha Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft. Von den Folgen der Vernetzung," in *Schöne digitale Welt. Analysen und Einsprüche von Richard Gutjahr, Sascha Lobo, Geoerg Mascolo, Miriam Meckel, Ranga Yogeshwar und Juli Zeh,* eds. Bernhard Pörksen, Andreas Narr (Köln: Halem, 2020), e-book.

for themselves that provide clarity. This is related to the above-mentioned desire for confirmation, in that media consumers selectively perceive confirmatory information, which often results in simplification. As Porlezza points out in this regard, scientific studies have shown "that there are groups on Facebook that withdraw into their own echo chambers regarding topics such as conspiracy theories or extreme positions in the political spectrum and are susceptible to misinformation in the process."[15] As has been explained several times here, filter bubbles and echo chambers play an important and decisive role in the radicalization of people.

Misinformation

According to Brodnig, misinformation is used to fuel existing prejudices and deepen existing fault lines in society.[16] A term often used in this regard is fake news, which, however, according to many experts (such as Claire Wardle[17]) does not express well enough "how broad the landscape of misinformation and disinformation is."[18] Wardle has created a typology of misleading to manipulative posts on the Internet that provides a good overview of this broad spectrum.[19] The seven types are the following: satire and parody, misleading content, imposter content, fabricated content, manipulated content, false context, and false connections.[20] Eliot Higgins explains why this misinformation is created and passed on with another list of four "P's": passion, politics, propaganda, and payment.[21] Wardle added another four P's to Higgins' list: poor journalism, to parody, to provoke or to punk, and partisanship.[22]

According to studies, people who withdraw into echo chambers are more susceptible to the types of misinformation mentioned above.[23] However, focusing exclusively on information that corresponds to one's expectations and beliefs, as Porlezza puts it, prevents cognitive dissonance from occurring, i.e., a state of tension caused by the discrepancy between one's own beliefs

[15] Porlezza, "Journalismus zwischen Fake News, Filterblasen und Fackt-Checking."
[16] Brodnig, *Lügen im Netz,* Chapter 1: *Eine neue Ära der Manipulation*.
[17] Claire Wardle, "Fake news. It's complicated," accessed November 27, 2024, https://medium.com/1st-draft/fake-news-its-complicated-d0f773766c79.
[18] Brodnig, *Lügen im Netz,* Chapter 3: *Eine Typologie der Irreführung*.
[19] Wardle, "Fake news. It's complicated."
[20] Porlezza, "Journalismus zwischen Fake News, Filterblasen und Fackt-Checking."
[21] Porlezza, "Journalismus zwischen Fake News, Filterblasen und Fackt-Checking."
[22] Porlezza, "Journalismus zwischen Fake News, Filterblasen und Fackt-Checking."
[23] Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft."

and the perceived information.[24] This process then leads to a radicalization of one's own position.

Radicalization

Often people in echo chambers take a position that defines them as guardians of the truth in contrast to the "lying press." As Lobo puts it, whoever says this actually means that "the media are not prepared to depict my extremist, uncompromising, intemperate world view."[25] He goes on to say that extremism and the authoritarian exclusion of the other go hand in hand, which is why people who talk about the lying press do not only want to see their interpretation of reality also depicted—but as exclusively theirs: "The division of the entire world into right (us) and wrong (everyone else) helps here, because you can then speak of 'right' when you actually only mean yourself."[26] In these groups, there is often, on the one hand, a feeling of togetherness and, on the other, a feeling that the common values that are to be protected are under attack. Lobo emphasises in this regard that at the emotional center of most right-wing extremist movements is the feeling of self-defense, which, he says, is the only socially accepted form of physical violence. As he claims, with their narratives, with their telling of reality, they aim at violent scenarios disguised as self-defence.[27] According to him, self-defense is the third component of right-wing extremism, along with misanthropy and radicalism. The use of the term self-defense is particularly dangerous because it is the beginning of the legitimization of violence against people. In addition, as Lobo claims, there is the issue of the dehumanization of those against whom the violence is to be used, for example, refugees. They are often degraded to the level of a threatening refugee tsunami.[28] According to Lobo, this is the verbal preparation of systematic violence:

> Here, the social dynamic of self-assurance interferes with that of communal action: if the suggestion to set fire to refugees gets so many likes, the action itself is more likely to be perceived as desired and right. This

[24] Porlezza, "Journalismus zwischen Fake News, Filterblasen und Fackt-Checking."
[25] Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft."
[26] Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft."
[27] Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft."
[28] Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft."

is how extremist words become extremist deeds, with the help of social media.[29]

The emotionally connecting and activating elements of social media are particularly well exploited by extreme right-wing groups. According to Brodnig, social media and the echo chambers are not the cause but often function as amplifiers of deep social discontent. There are, after all, numerous websites that specifically want to be a counterpoint to what they call "mainstream journalism." These so-called "alternative media" often promise to deliver the "truth" or to create a "counter-public"; however, their reporting stands out less for fact-oriented balance than for particular one-sidedness. Many of these sites do not produce journalism in the classical sense, often we are dealing with politically-motivated reporting.[30]

According to Brodnig, how polarized the given country already is plays an important role in the success of such misinformation. He believes that the more divided a society is, the more likely it is that grotesque claims about the other camp will thrive.[31] In countries where citizens basically have only two options in elections, people are particularly susceptible to unfair opinion-making: "one of the greatest dangers of false news is that it further increases already existing fault lines in society."[32] In such forms of communication, the (often already dehumanized) "others" are portrayed as threats to one's own well-being. In his study, Nikolas Fiekas analyses various posters produced by the AfD party for the 2017 federal election campaign.[33] He takes several examples of the way in which refugees are de-individualized and made responsible for the increasing crime rate. Expressions such as flood and wave are also used frequently to associate them with the refugees in the form of 'asylum flood' (*Asylflut*) and 'refugee wave' (*Flüchtlingswelle*).[34] It is therefore

[29] Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft."

[30] Brodnig, *Lügen im Netz*, Chapter 2: *Desinformation und ihre gesellschaftlichen Risiken*.

[31] Brodnig, *Lügen im Netz*, Chapter 2: *Desinformation und ihre gesellschaftlichen Risiken*.

[32] Brodnig, *Lügen im Netz*, Chapter 2: *Desinformation und ihre gesellschaftlichen Risiken*.

[33] Nikolas Fiekas, "Von Schattengestalten und Spielzeugfiguren Flucht und Migration als Bild im Bundestagswahlkampf 2017," accessedNovember 27, 2024, https://www.uni-marburg.de/de/fb03/politikwissenschaft/fachgebiete/politische-theorie-und-ideengeschichte/portal-ideengeschichte-1/das-portal/bundestagswahlkampf_fluchtbilder_fiekas_final.pdf.

[34] On the metaphoric representations of migration see, for example: Tóth, Máté, Csatár Péter, and Majoros Krisztián, "Metaphoric Representations of the Migration Crisis in Hungarian Online Newspapers: A First Approximation." *metaphorik.de*, 28 (2018): 169-199.

clearly shown how the right-wing populist parties use images to intensify fear and emphasize the dangers of an inclusive refugee policy.

Fear and Anger as Manipulative Tools

According to Byung Chul Han, fear for oneself unconsciously awakens a longing for the enemy.[35] The enemy may appear in imaginary form, for it is a quick supplier of identity: "The enemy is our own question as a figure. For this reason, I must confront him in struggle in order to gain my own measure, my own limit, my own shape."[36] In this regard, he emphasizes that even immigrants and refugees are in reality not others, not strangers, from whom one should feel a real threat, a real fear. According to Han, it exists only in the imagination. Han further explains that when people feel insecure due to poverty or an identity crisis, they may be driven to resort to the imaginary, such as nationalism, which quickly provides an identity and a sense of security. In this way, one invents an enemy, for example, Islam, and builds up immunities in order to arrive at a meaningful identity. Han claims that fear of oneself unconsciously awakens a longing for the enemy, since the enemy, even in imaginary form, quickly provides a sense of identity.[37] In this way, refugees are imagined as enemies and xenophobic identities are constructed.

Lobo speaks of angry citizens (Wutbürger) who encounter alternative explanations in the form of conspiracy theories. However, he adds that these people are not free of prejudice, but possess some form of inner anger, fear or fear of loss. He believes that social media is an enormously effective emotion centrifugal mechanism (Gefühlsschleuderwerke), where emotions rather than facts are authoritative. Members of the digital society are "more emotional, more instinctive, more propelled than we have been willing to admit."[38]

A large number of false reports have the goal of feeding anger towards individual minorities, and they ultimately promote "group-related misanthropy," in which individual population groups are devalued. According to Brodnig, anger is necessary to be able to really move something; it also plays an important role in positive change, namely that they are suitable for acti-

[35] Byung-Chul Han, *Die Austreibung des Anderen. Gesellschaft, Wahrnehmung und Kommunikation heute* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Verlag, 2016), e-Book, Chapter: *Gewalt des Globalen und Terrorismus*.
[36] Han, "Die Austreibung des Anderen."
[37] Han, "Die Austreibung des Anderen."
[38] Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft."

vating people. As she further emphasizes, "[i]t becomes uncomfortable when anger is deliberately stirred up about disadvantaged minorities and thus a new scapegoat is created, or also when outrage is primarily aroused to attract attention."[39]

According to studies, content that evokes more emotions is shared faster.[40] False claims are also shared if they trigger the right emotions.[41] American political scientists Travis Ridout and Kathleen Searles claim that "[a]ngry people click more,"[42] while Brodnig further emphasizes that

> all right-wing populist parties instrumentalize some kind of ethnic, religious, linguistic, political minority as a scapegoat for most—if not all—current concerns and problems. They portray the respective group as dangerous, as a threat "to us," to "our" nation. This phenomenon manifests itself as "politics with fear."[43]

Migrants and refugees are often at the center of these instrumentalizations and are often made scapegoats for society's problems.

In the following, I would like to take two examples from the German-speaking world on the success of right-wing populist parties. According to several experts,[44] both have been successful, among other things, by making good use of the activating elements of social media: the first example is the German party AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) and the second is the Austrian party FPÖ (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs). As briefly mentioned above, AfD has always made refugee policy its most important topic since its foundation in 2013: just as in the 2017 and 2021 federal elections, the refugee issue played a central role for them—and as can already be seen—in the early election in February 2025. Whether they appear on political talk shows on television, on social networks, in printed newspaper articles, on the street or at the local pub, they make the topic of refugee policy omnipresent. Lobo claims that

[39] Brodnig, *Lügen im Netz,* Chapter 4: *Soziale Medien als Drama-Maschine*.
[40] "How Fake News Spreads," accessed November 27, 2024, https://libguides.uvic.ca/fakenews/how-it-spreads.
[41] Brodnig, *Lügen im Netz,* Chapter 4: *Soziale Medien als Drama-Maschine*.
[42] Brodnig, *Lügen im Netz,* Chapter 4: *Soziale Medien als Drama-Maschine*.
[43] Brodnig, *Ein Sammelbecken für Populisten* in *Smartphone-Demokratie.* E-Book.
[44] Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft."

the AfD's success was born on the Internet.[45] It is the first successful Internet party in Germany. As he also emphasises, it consistently uses counter-publicity and, to a certain extent, works in conjunction with online-offline phenomena such as PEGIDA.[46] Richard Gutjahr also draws attention to the fact that the video by AfD politician Corinna Miazga, which has been viewed and liked by hundreds of thousands online and is entitled "Hetzjagd? The truth about Chemnitz – Merkel, Seibert and the fake news," which is about an Iraqi asylum seeker who killed a German person, is a good example of how well the AfD can use social media to appeal to, and reach people and spread their exclusive refugee policy.[47]

It is no coincidence that the AfD was classified as a suspected right-wing extremist party by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution in 2022 and the Higher Administrative Court in Münster confirmed this ruling in May 2024.[48] The judges examined statements by AfD politicians and the party program. According to the court, there is sufficient evidence to prove that the AfD is pursuing anti-constitutional goals and that right-wing extremist statements in the AfD are not derailed individual opinions, but rather are formative for the entire party. This means that AfD politicians repeatedly violate fundamental values of the constitution, for example, human dignity, when they publicly warn of a "flooding of Europe with (…) knife-wielding Muslims." The court justified its ruling primarily with the view of humanity propagated by the AfD, according to which there are first- and second-class people depending on their origin.[49] The AfD is clearly profiting from the extreme radicalisation of people in Germany, which can be explained, among other things, by the phenomena in social media mentioned above.

The situation in Austria is similar: in September 2024, the FPÖ became the strongest party in an Austrian national council election for the first time, with

[45] Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft."

[46] Lobo, "Das Ende der Gesellschaft."

[47] Richard Gutjahr, "Die Hass-Spirale: Im Visier von Verschwörungstheretikern. Ein Erfahrungsbericht," in *Schöne digitale Welt. Analysen und Einsprüche von Richard Gutjahr, Sascha Lobo, Geoerg Mascolo, Miriam Meckel, Ranga Yogeshwar und Juli Zeh*, eds. Bernhard Pörksen and Andreas Narr (Köln: Halem, 2020), e-book, Chapter: *Digitale Emphatie*.

[48] "AfD-Urteil: Verfassungsschutz darf Partei bundesweit beobachten," accessed November 27, 2024, https://www.br.de/nachrichten/deutschland-welt/urteil-afd-zu-recht-rechtsextremistischer-verdachtsfall,U42JgPt.

[49] "AfD-Urteil: Verfassungsschutz darf Partei bundesweit beobachten," accessed November 27, 2024, https://www.br.de/nachrichten/deutschland-welt/urteil-afd-zu-recht-rechtsextremistischer-verdachtsfall,U42JgPt.

29 percent of the vote.[50] However, they were unable to form a government because no other party wanted to form a coalition with them. The parties justified their decision as follows: they consider the FPÖ to be an extreme right-wing party. The party's proximity to Nazi ideology has already been researched and supported several times.[51] In refugee policy, they clearly take the exclusive position that they want to stop migration.[52] Numerous articles have been published recently about the similarities and common ground between AfD and FPÖ, and it is no coincidence that they have been working together since 2020.[53]

Conclusion

The Internet is undoubtedly a place of opportunities: however, how one uses this always depends on the user. It would be necessary to teach the correct use of the Internet (netiquette) in schools. However, the acquisition of digital maturity would not only be necessary for minors: reality shows that most adults, for example, in online reader comments, represent a culture of debate that is more emotion-based than fact-based or rational. Tobias Zimmermann has emphasized that online reader comments are controversial in the media and that the debate culture on the Internet itself is currently under heavy criticism.[54] In his book *Digitale Diskussionen* [Digital Discussions], he examined various comments to see to what extent they fit the concept of deliberation. As he explains, the concept of deliberation is still quite young and is traced back by Landwehr to Joseph M. Bessette and 1980.[55] The development of the theory is then primarily linked to the names of John Rawls and Jürgen Habermas. Habermas' *Between Facts and Norms* in particular initiated the debate and inspired the works of important deliberative authors.[56] According to

[50] "Wahl 2024: Endergebnis liegt vor," accessed November 27, 2024, https://www.parlament.gv.at/aktuelles/news/Wahl-2024-Endergebnis-liegt-vor.

[51] "Mauthausen Komitee listet rechtsextreme "Einzelfälle" in der FPÖ auf "Immer wieder ausgeprägte Nähe zur NS-Ideologie, accessed November 27, 2024, https://www.mkoe.at/broschuere-lauter-einzelfaelle-die-fpoe-und-der-rechtsextremismus.

[52] "Asylstopp jetzt! Das 20-Punkte-Maßnahmenpaket der FPÖ," accessed November 27, 2024, https://www.fpoe.at/asylstopp-jetzt.

[53] "Sind AfD und FPÖ rechtsextrem?" accessed November 27, 2024, https://www.profil.at/oesterreich/sind-afd-und-fpoe-rechtsextrem/402773383.

[54] Tobias Zimmermann, *Digitale Diskussionen. Über politische Partizipation mittels Online-Leserkommentaren* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2017), 327.

[55] Zimmermann, *Digitale Diskussionen,* 22.

[56] Zimmermann, *Digitale Diskussionen,* 22. He lists the following names as important deliberative authors: Seyla Benhabib, James Bohman, John Dryzek, Amy Gutman, and Dennis Thompson.

Habermas, this is a forum that "allows the re-entry of interactive and (potentially) deliberative elements into an unregulated exchange between partners who communicate virtually but on an equal footing."[57] Mark Warren describes the essential functions of deliberative decision-making in four key concepts: first, deliberative politics integrates more perspectives and information. Second, it is generally agreeable and thus more equitable. Third, deliberation strengthens the individual and collective autonomy of citizens as actors to be convinced whose opinions are reflected in the decision. Fourth, since there is the possibility of convincing through arguments, a maximum of democratic legitimacy is generated.[58] This should increase the willingness to accept other arguments and decisions. According to Zimmermann, legitimacy must be understood as a regulative ideal and not as a fixed point because its production is a process and not an ultimate goal.[59]

As Zimmermann proved, the requirement of a maximally-inclusive discourse of equals is still only ideally conceivable and cannot be fully realized in practice. Visionary objectivity is not possible and human thinking is always determined by a pre-existing opinion. "Deliberation as a process of rational argumentation is too demanding and its proponents underestimate the affective and libidinal behaviour of people."[60] Other studies have also highlighted the violations of the deliberative norm of egalitarianism, such as the operationalization of negativity, disrespect, rudeness, aggressiveness or similar forms of action.[61] As mentioned above, the objects of this aggression are often refugees. It is no coincidence that many news channels do not allow comments on articles about refugees.[62] According to Zimmermann, online reader comments do not indirectly lead to the equalization of democratic participation and politics; on the contrary, existing inequalities are rather increased. His findings are consistent with the general evaluation of a continuing digital divide.[63] He also points out that although the number of voices in the (net)

[57] Jürgen Habermas, *Ach, Europa. Kleine Politische Schriften XI*. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2008), 161.
[58] Zimmermann, *Digitale Diskussionen,* 27.
[59] Zimmermann, *Digitale Diskussionen,* 27.
[60] Zimmermann, *Digitale Diskussionen,* 29.
[61] Zimmermann, *Digitale Diskussionen,* 318.
[62] Zimmermann, *Digitale Diskussionen,* 330.
[63] Zimmermann, *Digitale Diskussionen,* 328.

public sphere is increasing, it can nevertheless be observed that users rather reward the negative statements and protest. His conclusion is the following:

> In summary, the present results paint an ambivalent picture of discursive participation through online reader comments from a deliberative perspective. They imply that deliberation is possible and takes place, albeit on a manageable level. They give reason to assume that digitalisation has more positive than negative effects in the deliberative public sphere. However, they also show that digital deliberation is not and will not be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Without dedicated promotion of deliberative participation, it does not seem to be able to assert itself as the dominant participation motive and remains limited quality.[64]

Lobo's opinion, according to which the concept of deliberative democracy in the social media of the 21st century is less suitable for explaining the interaction between the public and politics on its own, was partly substantiated and partly refuted by Zimmermann. According to Lobo, it was not foreseen "with what irrational, emotionally driven folly discourses take place on the net today."[65] What Bernhard Pörksen stresses, however, must be emphasized at this point: democratic consciousness is based upon the idea of maturity and the idea of enlightenment, and is thus idealistic, but nevertheless necessary.[66] Pörksen, quoting Heiner Müller, highlights that "optimism is a lack of information. Sometimes this may be true. Today, however, it is even more true: pessimism is a lack of ideas."[67] The utopia of digital maturity and the concept of successful integration are goals for which it is always worthwhile to engage ourselves and create new ideas.

[64] Zimmermann, *Digitale Diskussionen,* 331.

[65] Lobo, *Das Ende der Gesellschaft.*

[66] Bernhard Pörksen, "Aufklärungspessismusmus als politische Gefahr. Über die falsche Lust am Untergang – eine Einführung," in *Schöne digitale Welt. Analysen und Einsprüche von Richard Gutjahr, Sascha Lobo, Geoerg Mascolo, Miriam Meckel, Ranga Yogeshwar und Juli Zeh,* eds. Bernhard Pörksen, Andrea Narr, ed. (Köln: Halem, 2020). E-book.

[67] Pörksen, "Aufklärungspessismusmus als politische Gefahr. Über die falsche Lust am Untergang – eine Einführung," E-Book.

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Biographies of Authors

Máté Gergely Balogh is an instructor at the Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen. He received his degree as an English major from the University of Debrecen, and also graduated majoring in International Relations from Corvinus University, Budapest and in History from the Central European University. He defended his doctoral dissertation, *The United States of America Through the Eyes of the Hungarian State Security, 1956-1989*, at the University of Debrecen in 2022. His research areas include international relations of the United States after 1945 with a special focus on Hungarian-American relations.

Réka Bozzay is associate professor of Dutch Studies at the University of Debrecen. She does research on Dutch–Hungarian cultural connections from the Early Modern Age to the twentieth century and on the history of higher education in this cultural context. She is editor of *Történetek a mélyföldről* [Stories from the Lowlands], and co-editor of several volumes including *Debrecentől Amszterdamig* [From Debrecen to Amsterdam] (with Gábor Pusztai), *The Image of States, Nations and Religions in Medieval and Early Modern East Central Europe* and *Migráció tegnap és ma* [Migration past and present] (with Attila Bárány and László Pete respectively). She is co-author (with Sándor Ladányi) of *Magyarországi diákok holland egyetemeken 1595–1918* [Hungarian students at Dutch universities, 1595–1918] and author of *Die Peregrination ungarländischer Studenten an der Universität Leiden, 1595–1796*. Her most recent publication is her habilitation thesis titled *Intézménytörténeti kapcsolatok. Debrecen és Hollandia* [Links to institutional history. Debrecen and the Netherlands] published in 2022 in Debrecen.

Sándor Czeglédi is associate professor at the English and American Studies Institute at the University of Pannonia, holding a Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics/Language Policy. His publications mainly focus on U.S. language policies, language ideologies, and identity construction. More recently he has been exploring the language-related attitudes of the Hungarian minorities in the United States.

Marcell Grunda is a research assistant at the Institute of German Studies at the University of Debrecen. He completed his Ph.D. in 2018 with a thesis titled C*ultural Interpretations of Medea. Reflections and Projections of a Myth in Contemporary Literature*. He has been the deputy head of the institute since 2022. His current research focuses on digitality in Austrian contemporary literature.

Michiel van Kempen is emeritus professor of Dutch-Caribbean literature at the University of Amsterdam and author of novels and poetry collections. He published, among other things, *Een geschiedenis van de Surinaamse literatuur* [A history of Surinamese literature] (2003). His latest books are *Het andere postkoloniale oog* [The other postcolonial eye] (2020), the anthology of Jit Narain's work, *Een mensenkind in niemandsland* [A human child in no man's land] (2021), the reworked biography of Albert Helman, *Pionier en rebel* (2022), an educational edition of De Kom's *We slaves of Suriname* (2022), the *Album van de Caraïbische poëzie* [the album of Caribbean poetry] (2022), with Bert Paasman and *Dat wij zongen* [That we sang] (2022) with Raoul de Jong and Julien Ignacio. In 2023 he received the Medal of Honor from the University of Amsterdam and in 2024 the Everwinus Wassenbergh Medal.

Csaba Lévai is full professor of history at the University of Debrecen. He was educated at the University of Debrecen and the Loránd Eötvös University of Budapest. His research interests include the history of the British colonies in North America, the history of the American Revolution, and the history of slavery in British North America and the United States of America. His publications include *New Order in a New World,* a collection of writings by the American Founding Fathers in Hungarian (Debrecen University Press, 1997), *The Republicanism Debate. A Historiographical Discussion of the Intellectual Background of the American Revolution* (L'Harmattan, 2003, in Hungarian). He also published a collection of his essays in *American History and Historiography* (L'Harmattan, 2013, in Hungarian). His latest book is *"The Execrable Commerce." Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Emergence of the Slave Systems in British North America* (L'Harmattan, 2020, in Hungarian). He was a two-times Fulbright scholar at the University of Virginia, and he was also a research fellow at the International Center for Jefferson Studies (Charlottesville, Vir-

ginia), and at the Fred W. Smith Library for the Study of George Washington (Mount Vernon, Virginia). His works has been published in seven countries (Hungary, Great-Britain, USA, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany) in Hungarian and in English.

Roland Nagy is a linguist at the Department of Dutch Studies, Loránd Eötvös University (ELTE), Budapest. He is a linguist specialising in historical linguistics, phonology, and phonetics, with over two decades of expertise in the study of Dutch. He earned his Ph.D. in linguistics from ELTE in 2011, with a dissertation focusing on the integration of loanwords into Dutch phonology. In addition to loanword phonology, his primary research area focuses on the phonological aspects of acquiring Dutch as a foreign language. More recently, Nagy has also been publishing on the historical sociolinguistic aspects of Dutch-Hungarian relations, with a particular focus on the Child Transport Action during the 1920s, a period that marked a new chapter in the contact between the two languages.

Dominik Németh is a teacher of English as a Foreign Language, based in Hungary. A philologist with a specialization in English studies, his research interests mainly revolve around multilingualism, the societal impacts of languages, and language policy. He received his academic training at the University of Pannonia, where he earned three degrees and pursued a line of research regarding the understanding of the terminological antecedents of linguicism and linguistic imperialism, as well as making sense of their current interpretations.

János Pénzes is associate professor at the Department of Social Geography and Regional Development Planning, Institute of Geosciences, Faculty of Science and Technology, University of Debrecen. He is geographer, he received his Ph.D. degree in the field of Earth Sciences in 2010. His research focuses on the delimitation of peripheral areas and the emergence of spatial inequalities in Hungary and in Central Europe. He also deals with the topic of demographic and social-economic processes in the case of underdeveloped areas in Hungary. Besides the analysis of current trends, his recent research covers the historical roots of the spatial development structure of Hungary.

Gábor Pusztai has been associated with the University of Debrecen since 1995. He majored Dutch Studies at Leiden University and German Studies at the University of Debrecen. He earned his Ph.D. in 2003 and habilitated in literary studies in 2015. He was head of the Department of Dutch Studies from 2007 to 2024 and the director of the Center for International Migration Studies from 2021 to 2024. His research areas include Dutch-Hungarian cultural and historical contacts and colonial and postcolonial literature. Among others, he wrote about literary experiences of the foreign in *An der Grenze* (2007), about the Hungarian writer, painter and literary translator László Székely in *Menekülés az idegenbe* [Escape to the foreign] (2017) and, together with others, about the history of Dutch literature in *A holland nyelvű irodalom története* [History of Dutch-language literature] (2022).

Éva Eszter Szabó is a historian, Americanist and Latin Americanist. She is an associate professor and chair of the Department of American Studies, School of English and American Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. She holds a Ph.D. in history from Eötvös Loránd University, is the lead editor of *Magyar Tudomány* (monthly journal of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), and editor of the quarterly journal *Hungarian Review*. She is a fellow of the Salzburg Global Seminar (1998, 2015), the Hungarian–American Enterprise and Scholarship Fund (2005), the International Forum for US Studies (2018), and a Fulbright Visiting Scholar (2024). Her courses and research focus on inter-American relations, US immigration history, and global migration issues. Her major work is *US Foreign and Immigration Policies in the Caribbean Basin* (Savaria University Press, 2007), and her forthcoming book, *The Migration Factor and US History*, will be published by Americana E-books, University of Szeged, in 2025.

Judit Szathmári is assistant professor at the North American Department, Institute of English and American Studies, University of Debrecen. She was a Fulbright Researcher at the Milwaukee Public Museum, the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee (1999-2000), and at the D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies, Newberry Library, Chicago (2014). Her research interests include exploration of the urban experience in contemporary American Indian literature, urban self-help organizations, Ameri-

can Indian humor, and US Indian policy, with special focus on the post–World War II period. Her book, *The Revolving Door: American Indians in Multicultural American Society,* was published by Debrecen University Press in 2013. Her publications in the field include "'Öld meg az indiánt, és mentsd meg az embert!': Amerikai őslakos bentlakásos iskolák" (Dornbach, Mária and Lénárt András (ed.) *Segítség! Gyermekrablás, -kereskedelem és átnevelés a 20-21. században* Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó (2024)); "After the 'Post,' in the Present: New Perspectives on Nationhood" (*Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies*) (2021); and "Aszfaltozott Jézus-út: A chicagói indián közösség és a keresztény egyházak kapcsolata a 20. században" (*Vigilia*) (2021).

Attila Tózsa-Rigó is associate professor at the Institute of History, University of Debrecen. His main research interests include early modern social and economic history. Recently, he has been working mainly on business networks in the Central European region in the Early Modern Era and examined relevant archival material in seven countries (Germany, Austria, Italy, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary). He has published extensively both in Hungary and abroad, his papers have been published, among others, in *Historický Časopis, Documenta Pragensia, Editura Collegium Varadinum, Speculum Historiae Debreceniense.*