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BY JOSHUA A. FISHMAN



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BY JOSHUA A. FISHMAN

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I. Socio-Historical Review

1. Introduction

Generalizations about ethnic and cultural groups must necessarily involve some loss of accuracy when derived from any particular group. However, some generalizations can be made without substantial loss of accuracy. Although this paper focuses directly upon Hungarian-Americans, it is hoped that the comments that follow will also be of interest and value to those concerned with language maintenance in other American ethnic communities as well.

Throughout many centuries the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe have developed a degree of psychological and cultural similarity as a result of their long struggles against the pressures and expansionist ambitions of the peoples to the East as well as to the West of them. They have often been said to possess 'status quo' mentalities as compared to the more 'fatalistic' mentalities of the areas to the East and the more 'aggressive' mentalities of the areas to the West. Although these terms may be no more than popular stereotypes, they nevertheless reflect the self-concept of many Hungarians as well as their concepts of their neighbors.

A very large segment of the nineteenth century 'Central and Eastern European Belt' constituted the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Within this empire there existed the country known as the Kingdom of Hungary. The largest ethnic group within the Kingdom of Hungary were the Magyars. They represented the largest single group of non-Slavic and non-Germanic derivation in this great central European region.² This may be one reason why they have been subjected to genocidal abuse more often and for longer periods — down to the present day — than most other European ethnic groups.³ At least, such is the conviction of many Magyars; they are alone on an alien continent. The

language interests of many Hungarians in the United States may well be related to their awareness of the genocidal and assimilative pressures exerted against them and their ancestors throughout several centuries of European history.

For the purpose of this paper, the term Hungarian shall denote the term Magyar. A Hungarian, therefore, will be one who arrived from a Hungarian ethnic community regardless of the national-political control under which this community may have been on any particular date.

2. Early Emigrations of Hungarians to the United States

For a number of years after the 1848-1849 Hungarian war for independence, emigration from Hungary to the United States was led by political exiles, primarily from the Kossuth camp. Kossuth's visit in 1851-1852 directed many of his followers to the United States as the country that championed those who fought for liberty.⁴ However, by far the major emigration from Hungary to the United States took place during the years 1870-1914. The peaks of this emigration were 1892, 1896, 1903 and 1907.

United States immigration statistics of the period are not accurate with reference to ethnic identification — because of the confusion that existed (both in the minds of the immigrants and in the minds of immigration officials) concerning ethnic identification (nationality) per se as well as because of the confusion that existed concerning the distinction between ethnic identification and country of origin. Hungarians frequently registered as members of other ethnic groups (e. g. Austrian) due to the insistence of immigration officers or as the result of advice from countrymen here or at home. As a result, it can only very roughly be estimated that during the period 1870-1914 about 900,000 Hungarians arrived in the United States. Hungarian-American historians estimate that more than half of this number ultimately returned to Hungary. Indeed, this is part of the problem of estimating the number of Hungarians who arrived in the United States. Quite a number are known to have returned to their homeland and then to have re-emigrated to the United States, not merely once but twice and even more frequently.⁵

a. Prior to 1870

The first wave of Hungarian emigration to the United States took place in 1849. Those émigrés, many of them scions of the old nobility, represented a highly educated and patriotically-politically conscious stratum of Hungarian society. They provided the idealistic and cultural foundations for the masses of Hungarians that followed. Several Hungarian language publications

were initiated by this early group, marked primarily by anti-Hapsburg and anti-Hapsburg and anti-German sentiments.

One of the first Hungarian societies or associations to be organized in the United States was founded in 1865 in New York City. The Hungarians living in New York City at that time acted upon their need for a common forum and meeting place in order to 'continue to be Hungarian in a Hungarian fashion'.⁶ The Magyar Egylet (Hungarian Association) of New York was organized on October 14, 1865, in order to fill this need. The statement of purpose of this organization contained much the same wording that was to be found in the statements of purpose of many other organizations founded by Hungarian immigrants of subsequent generations, namely, to foster fraternal understanding among Hungarians living in the United States as well as to maintain interest and sympathy toward the affairs of the Hungarian nation, its language and literature.⁷ Prior to 1865 there had been one short-lived Hungarian newspaper published in New York City, the Magyar Száműzöttek Lapja (Journal of Hungarian Exiles), 1853.⁸ Some fifteen geographical names⁹ also bear witness to this first Hungarian-American immigration.

b. 1870 to 1914

After 1870, larger numbers of Hungarians began to stream into the United States. These Hungarians were not refugees or escapees of a dynamic or ideological sort. Rather, most came from families that owned perhaps five, ten, or fifteen acres of fine Hungarian farmland that would ultimately need to be divided among several children, whereas others came from entirely landless families and sought to escape the perennial misery caused among them by a semi-feudal, latifundian system of land distribution. Since the industrial revolution had not yet reached Hungary in full force, and since most of these émigrés were quite in accord with the existing way of life in Hungary if their own economic future could be secured, they came to the United States primarily to save enough money to be able to return to Hungary, buy a few acres of land of their own, and continue the way of life of their forefathers.¹⁰ In the United States, most work that could easily be found by those with little or no special training was seasonal. The Hungarians, therefore, worked hard while work was available — then picked up their savings and went home. A few had more grandiose plans of earning larger sums of money over longer periods of stay. Nevertheless, this expectation of returning to the homeland applied to almost all Hungarian-Americans in the United States between about 1880- and 1914 — just as it applied to many earlier and subsequent

immigrants of other ethnic groups. Depressions, frustrations and even successes forced changes in these plans. However, until 1914, the general statement can be made that most Hungarians did not plan to remain in the United States permanently. Nevertheless, even the short period during which they planned to stay proved too long without their church, their music and their family and social life. Generally, they felt rejected socially by their American fellow workers,¹¹ in both subtle and not-so-subtle ways. In addition, they brought with them an awareness of oppression which encouraged separatism. As a result, these self-styled temporary immigrants organized many institutions of their own.

TABLE I. CENSUS DATA ON HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR CHILDREN¹²

Years	Hungary: Country of Birth	Hung: Country of Origin of Parents	Total
1870	3,737		3,737
1880	11,526		11,526
1890	62,435		62,435
1900	145,714	81,897	227,611
1910	495,609	215,295	710,904
1920 ¹³	397,283	538,518	935,801
1930	274,450	316,318	590,768
1940	290,228	371,840	662,068
1950	268,022	437,080	705,102
1960 ¹⁴	245,252	456,385	701,637

The overwhelmingly agrarian background of most Hungarian immigrants to the United States in this period is easily illustrated by reference to U. S. Census records.¹⁵ Among the 491,780 'Hungarian' immigrants arriving in the United States between 1899 and 1924, the following breakdown of occupations was obtained: 139,982 farmers, 177,397 day-laborers (probably farm laborers) totalling 317,379 or 63 percent; in addition, 31,278 factory workers, 3,860 merchants and business people, 2,919 'without occupations' (including housewives). The ratio between male and female immigrants was, approximately, 2 to 1. Seventy-seven percent arrived in the age range of 14 to 44, i. e. with many productive years still ahead of them.

TABLE II. CENSUS DATA ON HUNGARIAN (MAGYAR)
MOTHER TONGUE

	1960	1940	1930	1920	1910
Total		453,000			
Foreign Born	213,114	241,220	250,393	290,419 ⁶	229,094
Native of foreign or mixed parents		198,600		205,426	91,799 ⁷
Native of native parents		13,180			

3. Early Organizational Efforts

It was not only until after the turn of the century that it began to appear to any substantial number of Hungarians that their stay in the United States might be longer than planned. Beginning in 1890, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Reformed (including Reformed, United Church of Christ and Presbyterian) missions began to organize among Hungarian-Americans in various cities and towns. The first church to be constructed for a Hungarian-American congregation was completed in 1892 in Pittsburgh. A number of fraternal organizations also arose at about this time to provide for the social and welfare needs of Hungarians. Many of these organizations grew out of very small groups, such as the residents of two or three nearby boarding houses. Although these organizations provided insurance for their members (to protect them and their families in cases of sickness, accident, or death), they also engaged in many social, cultural and political activities. The largest of these early Hungarian-American fraternal organizations was the Verhovay Aid Association (name later changed to Verhovay Fraternal Insurance Association), which was founded in 1886.¹⁸ Organizations such as these became the backbone of Hungarian-American life.

The first Hungarian Catholic education center ('Buena Ventura') was established near McKeesport, Pennsylvania, in about 1900. This convent was able to prepare nuns for Hungarian language instruction on a parochial elementary level. The first Hungarian summer school (primarily for religious instruction) was established in the Hungarian Reformed Church, Bridgeport, Connecticut in 1897. Some of the early Hungarian Catholic schools taught all subjects, religious as well as secular, in Hungarian. The Hungarian Jews of New York established one of the earliest Hungarian libraries, about 1900.¹⁹

In general, the period between 1870 and 1914 represents the major formative period of Hungarian-American organizational life. It is in this period that many of the first stable Hungarian settlements were established. Kende (1927) reports that just prior to the First World War 2,092 Hungarian societies were in existence (1,046 sick benefit societies, 317 religious, 638 social, and 91 political). Since their total membership was only 67,000, many societies were extremely small. However, even though many organizations were founded, the United States was still viewed as 'career' while Hungary was 'home'. Since most believed that they were only destined to remain in the United States temporarily, this was reflected in their organizational efforts. Neither colleges nor theological schools were considered necessary from this point of view. Even the 'little Hungarys' developed fortuitously rather than by design.

The social segregation encountered by Hungarians in the United States was not a major concern for them. In fact, it was frequently self-imposed and understood as a continuation of the ethnic differentiation which marked various ethnic groups in the Kingdom of Hungary. Family life was conducted in the Hungarian language as were the activities of the societies and churches. Children played in Hungarian and studied Hungarian in schools, societies, or small groups established by families for the purpose of Hungarian language instruction.

The Hungarian immigrant settled primarily in the Eastern seaboard states and in the areas of major industrial and mining activity extending to Chicago and St. Louis to the west. In the Southern Bible Belt prospective Hungarian settlers found a rather high degree of antagonism toward foreigners, lack of employment opportunities, and a relatively cruder life. Consequently, few settled or remained in those states. The West, though more accepting, was too distant and undeveloped to attract them. It bears mention that in spite of the fact that the majority of the Hungarian immigrants had been farmers or farm laborers, they did not take to the farms of the United States. On the one hand, farming still implied a more permanent resettlement than most Hungarians were consciously willing to accept, and, on the other hand, the need for unskilled hands was dominant in those years, many large firms and mining companies conducting their own recruitment campaigns in Europe.

The Hungarian immigrant brought with him strong local ties. Although not as village-centered as many immigrants from other countries, he usually preferred to settle where others coming from his home town or district had already settled.²⁰ As a rule, the Hungarian-American was ignored by the Hapsburg government

and its representatives in the United States. Whatever Hungarians accomplished in the United States, individually or organizationally, materially or culturally, was largely (although not entirely) the product of their own efforts.

These then were the roots of Hungarian-America: a lonely group of people in a strange and not necessarily friendly land, trying to make the most of their lives and at the same time trying to establish a way of life consistent with the Hungarian life they had known and loved before crossing the Atlantic.

4. World War I and Its Aftermath

The First World War forced many Hungarians to stay in the United States for a much longer period than they had planned. For the most part, this was a very sobering experience. Anxiety for loved ones in the homeland, the dilemma of having dual attachments, both to the United States (and, therefore, to the Allies) and to Hungary (and, therefore, to the Central Powers), and the increased American hostility towards 'foreigners' were all new and unexpected problems. The effect was a partial solidification of the Hungarian settlements in the United States. Although the Hungarian language was not directly 'implicated' there was a strongly negative attitude toward the German language during and after the war which necessarily influenced the language maintenance efforts of all other immigrant groups, particularly those related to the Central Powers and the German cause.

a. Post World War I Emigration

After World War I, an unusually large proportion of professionally trained persons and intellectuals immigrated to the United States from Hungary because of unsatisfactory economic and political conditions in their defeated and truncated country. Many of these immigrants were lawyers, physicians, engineers, teachers, former state officials, and a variety of representatives of the middle class and business group.

These newer immigrants from different social and economic strata rarely followed the path of earlier Hungarian immigrants to the mining and factory towns of Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois and Pennsylvania, nor did they settle together with the somewhat older pre-World War I arrivals who had been inclined to congregate in one section of a city. As a result, social distinctions among Hungarians became more marked after World War I. These distinctions created and preserved barriers between the former physicians, mechanical engineers and chemists on the one hand, and the much less educated earlier Hungarian immigrants on the other. These barriers were compounded by

an odd reversal of the barriers that frequently exist between Americanized old-timers and un-Americanized newcomers of similar ethnic background. The successful members of the newly arrived Hungarian intelligentsia in the United States (whose livelihood, by and large was not dependent upon the Hungarian-American communities per se) were not interested in the concerns and activities of Hungarians of lower status (largely skilled and unskilled laborers and tradesmen). As a result, the Hungarian-American community was deprived of a new source of possible leadership. Fundamentally, the Hungarian-American community was unchanged by the new arrivals who either passively entered into already existing Hungarian-American institutions, or ultimately assimilated into general American society and lost their Hungarian identity.

b. Renewed Community Efforts

The tragedy that befell their homeland was a very real shock to Hungarian-Americans. Virtually all Hungarian societies and organizations rallied behind the principle that their homeland had been unjustly 'Balkanized' the Treaty of Trianon which deprived it of two-thirds of its former territory. This provided Hungarian-America with a unifying cause which was above personal well-being. Hungarian-Americans rallied to any movement which appeared to promise a rectification of the injustices to their mother country. 'Justice for Hungary' was a motto which resounded in many songs, poems, and speeches of the twenties and thirties.²¹ Thus, in the early twenties, a reaction set in among Hungarian-Americans which tended to solidify and strengthen their ethnic life in the United States. Few other ethnic groups at that time were confronted with a similar situation. As a result, the twenties may properly be referred to as the 'golden age' of Hungarian-American language maintenance efforts. The prosperity of the times, the abandonment of their personal plans to return to Hungary, and the tragedy of their homeland, evoked in combination an intellectual and organizational reawakening. As a result, many a Hungarian-American immigrant of recent farming background became more consciously Hungarian and more concerned with Hungarian culture and education than his counterpart left behind in Hungary. In addition, the second generation Hungarian-Americans of this period often spoke Hungarian more 'purely' (in terms of standard vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation) than did their parents. As contrasted with their parents here and their rural relatives in Hungary, most of them had greater familiarity with Hungarian literature and had been exposed to formal instruction in Hungarian. Although only some eleven

percent of pre-war Hungarian immigrants had been illiterate,²² the second generation attained greater cultural polish in Hungarian than was common among their parents.

Roman Catholic Hungarian-Americans vigorously expanded their churches and parochial schools during this period in an effort to preserve the link between religion and language among their children. Whereas there were only four full-day Hungarian-American parochial schools before the war, such schools functioned in some twenty cities by the time the depression called a halt to activities which were conducted under the motto 'save the second generation'. Bethlehem, Cleveland, Dayton, Detroit, East-Chicago, Gary, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy, Philadelphia, Norwalk, Toledo, Trenton, South Bend and several other cities witnessed the establishment of Hungarian-Catholic parochial schools in the brief span of a single decade.

In this period Hungarian book collections were developed in most of the public libraries serving Hungarian-American communities. In addition, many Hungarian societies, cultural organizations and churches developed libraries of their own.

The theatre also became a part of Hungarian-American life at this time. There were resident Hungarian-American theatres as well as smaller theatrical groups which visited both the main Hungarian-American centers and the smaller outlying 'provinces'. Sándor Palásthy's theatre group consisted of twenty-five professional actors, an orchestra, and a large managerial staff. It regularly toured the larger Hungarian communities between New York and Chicago. In addition, almost all larger benevolent societies and clubs had their own amateur troops and staged performances periodically. Second and third generation Hungarians also participated in these performances before audiences that were generationally mixed.²³

Thus, all in all, a new and somewhat different Hungarian culture developed among Hungarians in the United States. Though its spoken language was frequently interspersed with Americanisms, its 'printed language' was usually devoid of Americanisms as well as of many of the German and French terms used in Hungary; its music, even folk music, was frequently written (or re-written) in the United States; it developed amateur dramatic activities, choruses, libraries, Hungarian language dailies and other periodicals, and many political and religious activities of an unusually high caliber; and, underlying all of this — a bilingual family life. In these many ways, Hungarian life in America was different than it had been or than it was concurrently in Hungary. This 'differentness' developed into an immigrant culture which increasingly lost contact with the homeland.

It is sufficient to mention that in the twenties and early thirties, virtually every Hungarian-American child went to a Hungarian language school, except in the rural and mining communities where the more closely knit family life served the same language maintenance function. The second generation of Hungarian-Americans could read, write and speak Hungarian and was familiar with Hungarian-American culture. At the same time, the average American stereotype of Hungarian-Americans recognized only the impoverished saloongoer or the rowdy Hungarian and did not know or care to know of highly developed Hungarian-American cultural activities which were so contrary to the stereotyped image.²⁴

c. Signs of Difficulty

In spite of all of the foregoing encouraging signs of cultural development, a few indications of cultural erosion also appeared at this time. Social differentiation was developing between the first and second generations built upon educational, social, and economic prestige factors. Fundamentally, there was a stigma attached to being a Hungarian-American. This was reflected in the professions, on the job, and in business. The public schools did not help in this matter. Teachers frequently Americanized the family names of their Hungarian pupils. Teachers and pupils alike frequently ridiculed Hungarian-American culture or the Hungarian-American child and his parents, implying in many obvious and subtle ways that the Hungarian heritage was an unworthy one. There was a price to be paid for being a Hungarian-American, and toward the end of the period under consideration (the late twenties), the second generation began to show signs of reluctance to pay that price. The only Hungarian culture that it knew was derived from immigrant Hungarian sources which were without prestige or status in American life.²⁵ For the most part, American education and American society did not recognize the existence of things Hungarian. The second generation, however, did recognize the attractiveness of general American life outside the narrow Hungarian-American confines. Consequently, a feeling of inferiority developed among the second generation. Most of them were not sufficiently secure emotionally or sufficiently equipped intellectually to defend their Hungarian heritage from outside innuendo and from inner doubt. In addition, the Hungarian-American community was unable to satisfy the needs of the younger generation for skills and cultural values necessary in the competitive environment of general American life. Linguistic, economic and social barriers made it difficult, at times impossible, for the new generation to obtain these assets directly from

American sources. This, too, contributed to its feelings of inferiority.

5. The Great Depression and World War II

The great depression superimposed a new problem on Hungarian-American cultural life. It is estimated, for example, that at its height, about fifty percent of the Hungarian working force in Cleveland was unemployed. Savings melted away, properties became worthless, mortgages were foreclosed, organizational rosters dwindled and many activities ground to a halt. This left the churches, schools, publications and other cultural institutions without financial support. A few Hungarians left the United States and returned to an equally destitute existence in the homeland. Many who remained suffered from intensified discrimination against 'foreign laborers' — a category which was applied even to second generation job seekers. Mothers and older children frequently had to go to work to supplement the breadwinner's meager earnings. Family life suffered and along with it the family's ability to maintain its Hungarian heritage and to impress it upon the young.

It was in this period that Hungarian-American religious leaders apparently began to turn their thoughts to the Americanization of their churches.²⁶ Many sought to make their churches and sermons attractive not only to the second generation but to non-Hungarians as well, perhaps in order to broaden their financial base. Gradually, Hungarian activities were played down. Hungarian language schools were pushed into the background, and, in the case of the Catholic churches, almost eliminated²⁷ (although some cultural activities under religious auspices, such as choral singing and holiday celebrations, were continued). Hungarian societies, on the other hand, were somewhat more successful in their efforts to survive. By pooling their resources they accomplished something that the churches could not as readily do because of their doctrinal differences. In Cleveland, for example, the United Hungarian Societies were reorganized for the express purpose of coordinated and cooperative social, fraternal, and cultural activities. Nevertheless, the societies (and cultural work in general) suffered greatly as a result of the Americanization of the churches.

By the end of the great depression, a three-way split had developed in Hungarian-American ranks. The Roman Catholic hierarchy withdrew from active participation in Hungarian-American affairs as did Jewish Hungarian organizational and religious leaders²⁸ — each of these groups being attracted to the 'melting

pot' of its own co-religionists. Hungarian-American concerns were largely restricted to the societies, the Reformed Churches and the few Hungarian Greek Rite Catholic Churches.

As the war clouds of the forties gathered and finally exploded, anti-Hungarian sentiments again took their toll among the second and third generations. With a weakened community as a result of the depression, with the withdrawal of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Hungarian Jews from Hungarian cultural activities, with the wartime draft, wartime employment and wartime prosperity drawing away the young from their families of orientation, Hungarian-American life was at a low ebb. The old 'farmers' were getting too old to maintain the institutions and activities upon which language maintenance depended. There were insufficient young and strong hands to defend the language fortress.

6. World War II and the Post-War Period

World War II and the immediate post-war period further weakened the position of the Hungarian language among Hungarian-Americans. Organizational life within the churches was frequently suspended entirely or, at the very least, seriously diluted by the fact that the young were drafted into the armed services. In addition, many wives and mothers went to work and remained at their jobs even after the war. As a result, they had less time for ethnic organizational activity — and, perhaps, less interest as well. Normal contacts between parents, children and grandparents were limited by wartime travel restrictions and, later, by increased movement from city to suburb. Family life was weakened or at least altered from its previous pattern. As a result, language use and cultivation, based as it was upon family interest, was also weakened at its very foundations. When the young returned after the war, their interests were concentrated on finding the jobs and on getting the education that they had failed to secure during the war years. The urban population, which had remained more or less in its old neighborhoods during the depression and war years, began to seek and find post-war homes in new and frequently distant neighborhoods. As a result, the normal centers of Hungarian language instruction, the churches, and the Hungarian-American organizations and their meeting halls were all at much greater distances from the homes of the younger generation than ever before. Not only were the younger families re-oriented with respect to their immediate needs and their immediate goals, but the 'old' institutions were no longer able to reach out to them as

easily as previously when the old neighborhoods still functioned as such. Although the old-timers were less likely to move out of their neighborhoods, they were getting to be 'along in years' and unable to engage in demanding organizational revitalization.

a. The D. P.'s

The arrival of nearly sixteen thousand Hungarian displaced persons between the years 1948 and 1952 brought a new social stratum into the American-Hungarian population. As had been the case after the First World War, this stratum was once again not absorbed by the older population. The generations that attained maturity in the years before, during and immediately after the First World War, could not identify themselves with the displaced persons (who, by and large, represented the middle and upper classes and the educated strata of Hungarian society), some of whom had held reactionary, nationalistic, pro-German points of view before and during the war. In addition, thirty to forty years of Hungarian and American history separated these two immigrant groups. The Hungarian displaced persons frequently did not seek acceptance from the older Hungarian immigrants, although the latter had exerted pressure to enact the Displaced Persons Law of 1948, had signed thousands of assurances for non-relatives, and had initially welcomed the new arrivals with open arms. The former D. P.'s felt themselves to be of different social, economic, and educational backgrounds, as well as to be the bearers of urban values as contrasted with the rural values which they ascribed to the old-timers.

They arrived free from debts incurred in passage, whereas the earlier immigrants had been burdened from the start. Most of them arrived in family units, not alone, as had been the case for earlier immigrants. The American that they encountered was more compassionate and offered better working and living conditions than had previously been the case. Many arrived with considerable formal education and with a mastery of several languages. All in all, they differed far more from the old-timers (and from the children of the old-timers) than either group had expected to be the case during months of hoping, planning and waiting. As a result of these many differences, new Hungarian societies and publications were organized wherever the post-World War II immigrants settled in larger numbers, whether in Europe, in South America, or in the United States. A new immigrant literature and social-cultural activity developed. However, this was most frequently a short-lived phenomenon for reasons that will be mentioned below.

b. The 1956 Freedom Fighters²⁹

The 1956 Hungarian immigration, again, represented a different social stratum and, frequently, also a different political orientation than that typical among earlier Hungarian-Americans. Moreover, once again, it was separated in time from the displaced persons immigration by ten years, and by forty to fifty years from the old-timers. The social, economic, educational, and political characteristics of this group differed widely from the characteristics of the Hungarian displaced persons and even more from those of old-timers. Finally, the 1956 Hungarian escapees were much younger than other Hungarian-Americans, most of them being in their twenties and thirties — some even in their teens — whereas the displaced persons were by then mostly in their forties and fifties, and the old-timers in their sixties, seventies and even eighties. As a result of these several factors, the 1956 escapees were not incorporated into the societies, activities and goals of the older Hungarian-American groups.

Contrary to superficial expectations, the 1956-ers faced particular difficulties in perpetuating the Hungarian language in the United States. To begin with, they numbered only some 42,000. They, as well as the former D. P. 's, were scattered into areas where there were few, if any, other Hungarians; and even when they settled in suburbs adjacent to major Hungarian-American concentrations their contacts with the Hungarian community usually were very limited. Thus, both the 1956 immigrants as well as the displaced person immigrants that preceded them were exposed to much greater total impact from American life and culture than had ever been true in the case of the older immigrants. All in all, they were characterized by excellent skills, a strong belief in the United States as the land of unlimited possibilities, and a distrust of existing Hungarian-American organizations. Is it any wonder then, that in a matter of three or four years the children of many displaced persons and escapees hardly spoke or understood Hungarian, whereas in the case of the children of the early immigrants such an occurrence (after a comparable period of residence in the United States) was extremely rare. Immigrants arriving since 1945 have more frequently sought to learn English, regarding it to be a necessary and normal aspect of life in America. This was definitely not the case for the majority of those Hungarian immigrants who arrived before the First World War. Finally, some of the more recent immigrants had studied English or some other foreign language as a subject in the Gymnasium (high school or college) before leaving Hungary. As a result, it was infinitely easier

for them to acquire an active command of English soon after their arrival. For all of these reasons the two most recent groups of Hungarian immigrants have as yet contributed relatively little, certainly much less than might have been hoped for, to the strengthening of Hungarian language maintenance efforts in the United States. Not only have they found assimilation with general American life to be much easier to attain than any previous Hungarian immigrants, but they have also found previously established Hungarian-American life much weaker and earlier contingents of Hungarian-Americans much stranger than was ever the case for previous immigrations. Finally, their own political sympathies and activities before coming to America, (of whatever totalitarian variety), were definite embarrassments and handicaps for some and prompted them to 'lie low' for several years. As a result of all of these circumstances, the last two immigrant streams have had proportionately greater difficulties in preserving and expressing their Hungarian heritage.

This was particularly true of the former freedom fighters. As teen-agers and young adults they were particularly susceptible to America's current 'youth culture'. The impact of American popular culture, radio, television, movies, economic prosperity, and consumer philosophy was particularly telling. Many soon entered the American Armed Forces; others entered American colleges and universities. The young women found employment as quickly and advantageously as the young men. The freedom fighters received an excellent press in the United States. They were welcomed more eagerly and given greater opportunity to assimilate quickly than any prior wave of immigrants. As a result, they required more assistance in perpetuating their own and their children's bilingualism than was true of any of the earlier immigrants.

II. Present Status of the Hungarian Language in the United States

1. Popular Usage by Old-Timers and their Families

At the present time, Hungarian is used regularly by members of the pre-World War I old-timers' generation in most of their contacts with their peers. In most instances, interference from English is noticeable, both lexically and structurally. Nevertheless, Hungarian continues to be used in organizational life, in the services of churches in which old-timers are active,

as well as in commercial and business contacts among old-timers. The members of this generation continue to use Hungarian very frequently in their contacts with their children, and, less frequently, with their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. In many cases, their older offspring speak Hungarian quite well, whereas their younger children, successively, speak less and speak it less well.

In the early 1900's (and even as late as the depression) children living in Hungarian communities used Hungarian as a means of communication in their play. Hungarian was the language of their elementary school peers and of the entire neighborhood in which they lived. Storekeepers were Hungarian or had learned enough Hungarian to transact business in Hungarian. Even so, those students who attended the public elementary school system were under the direct influence of the English language from the age of six and onward. With the rapid development of newer mass communication media, further inroads were made by the English language into the Hungarian-American family and the Hungarian-American community, particularly among its younger members.

The general anti-European and particularly anti-Central Powers sentiments engendered by the First World War, which included propaganda against the Hungarian nation, placed the Hungarian-American community in a very difficult position. At times, Hungarian-Americans were regarded as enemies of America. The removal of German from the high school curriculum during and after World War I fostered an emotional climate which had its direct and indirect reverberations upon those old-timers inclined to preserve the Hungarian language through family and organizational means. Had the First World War not brought with it such strong 'anti-foreigner' feelings during the twenties, the Hungarian language might well have been introduced at about that time as a foreign language in the public schools of various communities where Hungarian-Americans resided in substantial numbers. The general disinterest or antipathy toward foreign languages and cultures, which marked much of American life in the twenties and thirties, constantly weakened the position of those old-timers who sought to strengthen Hungarian or at least to preserve it.

2. Second Generation Hungarian-Americans and Their Children

The second generation Hungarian-American found himself in the frustrating position of being American by birth, but still bearing the stigma that was normally with immigrant status.

There were various reactions to the circumstances in which the second generation found itself, running the full gamut from complete disassociation from the Hungarian immigrant population to maximal identification, with all the intermediate combinations of American and Hungarian identifications fully represented.

During the late 1920's and 1930's, various social and cultural organizations were founded whose aims were to foster an understanding of the Hungarian cultural heritage and language in the second generation. In almost every city in the United States with a sizeable Hungarian population, the second generation had such Hungarian cultural associations. The gap between the two cultures was quite successfully bridged by such organizations and the prestige of the Hungarian-American community continued to rise among the second generation (notwithstanding depression hardships) up until the coming of the second World War. However, this proved to be merely a temporary advance as most of these organizations became inactive during the war and failed to renew their activity after the war ended.

The second generation's post-war concern was largely focused upon personal readjustment and advancement and, as a result, linguistic or cultural heritages were long ignored. The second generation is only now beginning to express a sense of responsibility in this area. This expression has been prompted to some degree by the unembarrassed interest of the third generation in the language, history, literature and culture of their grandparents. The great need to help more recent Hungarian immigrants (see below) enter the United States and adjust to conditions here also mobilized the interest and cooperation of many second generation individuals. This interest is also reinforced by the new educational climate in the United States which included a serious interest in foreign languages and in the cultures accessible through these languages. Coupled with the general demand for greater excellence on the academic scene, the prevalent attitude of encouraging the mastery of foreign languages has also made it possible for subsequent generations of Hungarian-Americans to be interested in learning Hungarian without encountering the stigma that was attached to it as a language of immigrants in 1910, 1920, or 1930.³⁰

3. The Post-1945 Immigration

The position of the Hungarian language among post-1945 immigrants differs markedly from its position among pre-World War I immigrants. This difference rests upon the social

background, educational training, economic status and, generally, the higher social prestige status of the post-World War II immigration.

The displaced persons have formed their own organizations (social, political, educational, and even recreational). They have organized various new publications (frequently of high quality and of brief duration) expressing their social and political convictions.

The displaced persons (popularly referred to as D.P.'s) were, in some cases, refugees from communist terror. In still other instances, however, they were German sympathizers or collaborators who had fled with the withdrawing Nazi forces and were left stranded in Germany at the end of the war. Others still owned property, held army rank, occupied government positions, owned private businesses or held unacceptable political views and anticipated difficulties under Red Army occupation. Others still, among them many Jews, had 'had enough of Hungary' and its upheavals and difficulties. Most D. P. 's spent considerable time in the displaced person camps of Europe before their entry into the United States. Like the old-timers thirty and more years earlier, many settled in the United States for a period which they thought would be short. They planned to return to Hungary as soon as the Russians lost control over it. Consequently, they showed little interest in sustaining or developing the Hungarian-American life that they encountered here. Furthermore, they tended to be of the middle and upper social classes of Hungary (at least, relatively so), whereas they found older Hungarian-Americans to be predominantly of lower class backgrounds. The displaced persons came predominantly from the cities of Hungary, whereas the old Hungarian-Americans were largely farmers or farm laborers before coming here. In addition, some D. P. 's had held political views before and during the war that made it difficult for them to associate comfortably with most earlier Hungarian-Americans. As a result of these several factors the D. P. 's did not make any serious attempt to enter into the existing Hungarian-American stream but, instead, either formed groups of their own or quickly adjusted to the American way of life, abandoning any association with other D. P. 's. To date, they have contributed only a fraction of their talents to Hungarian-American life. However, many of their children reveal a very interesting development. Most of them never saw Hungary. Their most frequent activity related to their Hungarian background is via the scout movement.

The Hungarian Scout Association in Exile represents a unique postwar attempt to offer not only recreational activity for

the young men and women of Hungarian background, but also to offer a modicum of formal training in Hungarian language and culture. Of the Hungarian youth activities in the United States, the Hungarian-American scout organizations represent the most organized and active segment. Their language activities include: conducting meetings in Hungarian, required study of selected Hungarian poems and prayers, as well as singing of Hungarian songs. Membership in such groups in the United States currently numbers about 1,700. At the present time, the scout groups have not attracted any substantial numbers of the children or grandchildren of Hungarian immigrants from before the D. P. period. Thus, basically, the scouting movement reflects the stratification of Hungarian society in the United States at the level of youth activities.

The 1956 refugees are even more isolated from earlier Hungarian-Americans than the D. P. groups. They are young people who have known war, invasion, Russian-Hungarian communism, and flight. Under communism, some were non-partisan, some held intensely reactionary views, whereas others were socialists. Their current interests are frequently materialistic or self-centered with cultural or group attachments being much weaker in comparison. At the present time, they are still preoccupied with the process of 'adjustment'. Consequently, the 1956 Hungarian refugees are still largely 'untouched' by other Hungarian-Americans.

A few special attempts have recently been made to provide language training for the children of late arrivals (displaced persons and freedom fighters. These have primarily occurred along the East Coast, but some efforts have also occurred in the Midwest and in the Far West. Usually these have taken the form of Saturday nursery and elementary school programs under Reformed and Presbyterian church auspices and in church quarters. In some instances, the organization of Saturday classes has been followed by the organization of Hungarian folk dance groups, Hungarian theatre groups, and Hungarian choirs made up of children and youth ranging in age from four to the early twenties. The varied activities engaged in are very similar to those that were so popular and prevalent from 1900-1940. It is too early to tell whether a trend has as yet been established by the renewal of youth activities along these lines. It must be stressed that enormous changes have affected the lives of second and third generation Hungarian-Americans and of post-1945 immigrants making them both different from the old-timers as well as different from each other. These changes are reflected in the language patterns and attitudes of these groups. To recent

immigrants, the Hungarian of the old-timers seems anglicized, rustic, archaic and incorrect. The old-timers themselves seem hopelessly out of touch with the homeland and with its present-day problems. They seem inclined to glamorize the old days (here and abroad) and to come up with naive and outdated solutions to modern Hungarian problems. Even the second and third generation cannot help but note that neither the language nor the culture of the old-timers corresponds to that of Hungary today. Immigrant patterns that arose half a century ago in the United States are difficult to accept — on the part of grandchildren and new immigrants. Thus, even given goodwill, there is confusion and difficulty.

4. Religious Groups

About two-thirds of the Hungarian population in Europe is of the Roman Catholic faith. It may be assumed that this ratio applies to Hungarian-Americans as well. Thus, the position of the Catholic church with respect to Hungarian Language-maintenance must be of major importance for the future of the Hungarian language in the United States.

Generally, the Roman Catholic church in America has been ethnic minded only to the extent to which its parishioners have actively demanded such an orientation. When left to its own preferences the American Roman Catholic church has usually preferred to Americanize its parishioners.³¹ The success of this program became particularly apparent in the mid-depression era. Although a number of Catholic laymen continue to support organized language-maintenance efforts, and although a few religious leaders are also known for their atypical interests along such lines, the majority of Catholic leaders has constantly moved in the direction of de-ethnization.

There are several Catholic parochial schools in the United States which are conducted by Hungarian priests. Currently, however, the Hungarian language is rarely taught in any Catholic parochial school during school hours. In very recent years, permission has been granted in some parishes to teach Hungarian after regular school hours and without academic credit. Even this represents an apparent change in overall policy. The opinion of the Catholic educational hierarchy is that there is no substantial demand for the Hungarian language among Catholic Hungarian-Americans and that no such demand would develop if the language were to be offered. This assumption may be justified, but it may also reflect the basic opposition of the Catholic hierarchy to promote ethnic interests. This opposition may be

TABLE 3. HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN CHURCHES: 1962

State	C*	GC	L	R	CH	P	B	D	Misc.	Total
California	2			4	2 ^N		2			10
Connecticut	3	1		2	4 ^N		1			12
District of Columbia	1									1
Florida				1		1	1			3
Illinois	3	1	1		3	2	1			11
Indiana	4	1			5	1				11
Louisiana						1				1
Michigan	2	1	1	1	3		1		2 ^N	11
Minnesota		1								1
Missouri	1									1
New Jersey	10	4	1	6	4	6		3 ^N		34
New York	4	1	2	8	2 ^N	3	2			25
Ohio	13	5	2	2	7 ^N	8	4		3 ^N	48
Pennsylvania	17	5	4	4	13 ^N	7				51
Virginia					1					1
West Virginia		1			3					4
Wisconsin	2				2 ^N					4
U. S. A.	62	21	11	28	58	29	12**	3	5**	229
Hungarian Affiliation	62	21	11	28	45	29	12			208
No Hungarian Organizational Affiliation*					13 ^N			3 ^N	5 ^N	21 ^N

*N = not affiliated with a nationwide Hungarian church organization

C = Hungarian Catholic League of America

GC = Hungarian Greek-Catholic Bishopric, Byzantine Rite

L = American Hungarian Lutheran Council

R = Hungarian Reformed Church in America

CH = United Church of Christ-Magyar Synod

P = United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Hungarian Conf.

B = Hungarian Baptist Union of America

D = Reformed Church of America

** Data incomplete

noted from responses obtained in instances where language-maintenance interests among parents were high. There have been a number of instances when parents of children attending parish schools have signed petitions to the effect that Hungarian be taught as part of the school curriculum and have been refused by the parish priests in charge. At times, however, a church does cooperate in referring students who wish to study Hungarian to private (Saturday) schools where instruction may be obtained. It is not unusual to have a church lose most of its Hungarian parishioners because of the lack of language interest and facility among newer priests who constantly replace the older Hungarian speaking priests.

The Hungarian Jews follow much the same pattern as the Hungarian Catholics. Here again, the tendency has been increasingly to identify with other Jews — on a non-ethnic basis — rather than with Hungarians. Certainly, anti-Semitic activities in pre-World War II Hungary have added to this estrangement. Only in the New York City area has any substantial number of Hungarian Jews continued to use Hungarian. By and large, Jewish refugees have not associated with general Hungarian-American activities since pre-depression days. In addition, most Hungarian Jews arrived in the United States without a command of Yiddish. Consequently, the first generation Hungarian Jew also does not 'mix' readily with Jewish immigrants from other countries. Whereas the second and third generations of Hungarian-Jewish extraction tend to be incorporated into general Jewish-American life, the first generation frequently stands at a distance from general Hungarian, Jewish or American experiences. They are Hungarian-Jews; a group apart.

5. Hungarian Language Instruction

a. At the College Level

Formal Hungarian language training on the college level was initiated in Bloomfield College, New Jersey and in the Bloomfield Theological Seminary, in 1904, where it continued until 1957 when the incumbent professor of Hungarian since 1904 retired from active teaching. One of the primary purposes of this program was to prepare young men for the Christian ministry who would serve Hungarian Reformed and Presbyterian churches in America. This school also provided English language training for theology students and ministers who came to the United States from Hungary. Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, maintained a Department of Hungarian from 1922 until 1936. During this period the professor in

charge also taught Hungarian courses at the Lancaster Theological Seminary. The aim of this Hungarian study program which served roughly twenty-five students per year was much the same as that at Bloomfield.

In 1941, a new Hungarian language program was initiated at Elmhurst College in Elmhurst, Illinois, with the support of the Magyar Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, now the United Church of Christ. This coeducational college continued to offer courses in Hungarian until 1959 and served an ever widening range of students, not only of Hungarian extraction, but also some whose ancestry was not Hungarian. The Elmhurst College program was terminated in June, 1959, when it was transferred to Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Each of these programs typically offered beginning and advanced Hungarian during the first two years of college and, subsequently, courses in Hungarian literature and Hungarian history. At Franklin and Marshall College other specialized courses in literature, composition, and Hungarian public speaking were also taught. At Rutgers, at the present time, courses are offered in elementary Hungarian, modern Hungarian literature, Hungarian civilization and a special seminar in Hungarian dialectology. Currently, there are thirty students in the total Hungarian program at Rutgers many of whom are of second and third generation Hungarian-American background. A total of approximately 500 students had studied Hungarian at the other colleges mentioned above during the years in which their programs functioned.

Other academic institutions which have offered Hungarian courses in the past were the University of Dubuque, Iowa, in the 1920's; Bridgeport Junior College, from 1926 to 1931; Central Theological Seminary in Dayton, Ohio, in the 1920's and early 1930's; and Harvard University in the 1930's. Other institutions offering Hungarian at the present time are: (a) Columbia University, since the 1920's (through the Department of Uralic and Altaic Languages which functions both in the Graduate Faculties and in the School of General Studies; (b) since the end of World War II, Indiana University has listed offered courses in Hungarian in alternate years, but these have often not materialized for lack of students; (c) from time to time since World War II, Georgetown University, Foreign Service Institute, and Cornell University have offered Hungarian courses; (d) the University of Colorado and the University of California at Berkeley are offering Hungarian language and Hungarian literature in their East Central Europe programs supported by the National Defense Education Act, (the graduate program of Columbia is also supported under this

act); (e) since World War II the Army Language School at Monterey, California, has offered intensive Hungarian language courses and employed a faculty of eighteen persons for this purpose at its peak of operation; (f) an Air Force program in Hungarian has been given at Indiana University and elsewhere, from time to time. Finally, it should be mentioned that Western Reserve University, Cleveland provided a course in Hungarian Cultural History in the fall of 1962. The course was given in Hungarian and was particularly oriented toward the second and third generations of Hungarian-Americans in the Cleveland area.

The Hungarian programs at Columbia University, University of California, Berkeley, University of Colorado, and Indiana University illustrate the major assistance made available under Title VI of the National Defense Education Act. As a result of this act centers for East European, Central and East European or Uralic and Altaic Studies have been established which include Hungarian in their overall programs. The act provides fellowship funds for students, supports research and the preparation of teaching materials (language and literature texts, technical linguistic treatises, historical works, etc.), and the rapid development of extensive library holdings. All in all, the number of students, researchers and teachers of Hungarian has increased manyfold as a result of these funds made available by the NDEA, whether directly to universities or indirectly through the American Council of Learned Societies.³²

Most of these programs currently depend only in small part on the interest and support of second and third generation Hungarian-Americans. More colleges would doubtlessly offer courses in Hungarian if Hungarian-Americans were more energetic in requesting and in supporting them.

b. At the High School Level

It is much more difficult to point to efforts of Hungarian language instruction at the high school level. This seems to be an area which has been consistently neglected. After World War II, the Piarist Fathers coming to the United States from Hungary set about to organize a school in America so that they might continue their teaching order. In Buffalo, New York, an elementary and high school program was established which attracted so many students that, at the present time, only elementary school children are accepted at the boarding school. High school level training has been continued at Devon, Pennsylvania. Hungarian language, literature, history, and composition are offered as an extra course once a week to students enrolled at either boarding school. There are also a handful of other

Hungarian-American high schools in which the Hungarian language is taught. Obviously, however, much more preparatory work needs to be accomplished at the high school level where advanced topics can first be presented and where language facility gained at the elementary level can be refined and strengthened.

Hungarian was long offered in the Cleveland Public High Schools, evening division, until the death of the instructor, in 1953. Instruction in Hungarian was also offered during the fifties in the evening division of the Milwaukee Public High Schools. In 1958, instruction was resumed in the Cleveland Public High Schools with considerable success and now continues with average enrollment of thirty to forty students. It is interesting to note that about one half of the students in these non-sectarian Hungarian language classes do not come from Hungarian-American backgrounds. Second and third generation non-Hungarians stemming from ethnic groups in the Old Kingdom of Hungary comprise most of these non-Hungarian students. To date, the Cleveland Public School system has not been persuaded to offer Hungarian as an accredited day course, notwithstanding the fact that there are many teachers now employed by the Cleveland Public School system who are capable of teaching Hungarian. No clear reason is given for this disinclination. The Catholic School Board in Cleveland is also noncommittal on this point in reply to many requests.

c. At the Elementary Level

At the elementary school level, Hungarian language training was conducted by parochial schools connected with Roman Catholic churches, as well as by schools that were established by the Reformed churches, during the early immigration years. Thus, in Bridgeport, Connecticut, the State Street Hungarian Reformed Church, beginning soon after its organization in the early 1900's, conducted a complete elementary school that was approved by the Hungarian Reformed Church in Hungary, as well as by the Hungarian Ministry of Education, to which the school submitted its daily journal. All subjects were taught in Hungarian. During World War I less intensive elementary programs came into being, all of them on a once-a-week basis. These soon became the rule at the expense of more intensive training.

d. In Summer Schools

When intensive Hungarian language schooling during the normal school year began to ebb during the First World War, an eight-week morning and afternoon summer school in Hungarian,

initiated in 1897, was continued in Bridgeport. Some 385 students were enrolled in its 1926 summer session.

Summer school instruction became very popular, particularly in Hungarian Reformed churches, during the twenties. Indeed such instruction, along with Saturday instruction during the regular school year, was conducted by practically all Hungarian Reformed churches. Classes were usually conducted by the minister, frequently with the assistance of his wife. In some cases, the assistance of an additional trained instructor was utilized where enrollment was large enough to warrant additional staff.

Sunday or Saturday school instruction in Hungarian continued in many Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, as well as in some Greek Rite Catholic churches, up to World War II. Thus, Reformed churches in the following cities offered Hungarian instruction between the two World Wars: Connecticut: Bridgeport, Fairfield, South Norwalk, Wallingsford; New Jersey: Newark, Elizabeth, Passaic, Woodbridge, Carteret, Chrome, Perth Amboy, New Brunswick, Manville, Roebling, Franklin, Wharton, Alpha; New York: Buffalo, New York City (2 churches), Lackawana, Yonkers; Pennsylvania: Phoenixville, South Bethlehem, Philadelphia, Rossiter, Scranton, Hazelton, Pittsburgh, McKeesport, Duquesne, Leechburg, Daisytown, Johstown; Illinois: South Chicago; Indian: South Bend, East Chicago; Michigan: West Detroit, Kearsarge; Missouri: St. Louis; Ohio: Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, Fairport, Toledo, Dayton, Lorain, Alliance, Canton, Martins Ferry, Warren, St. Clairsville, Elyria, Middletown, Columbus; West Virginia: Morgantown. Hungarian language instruction in summer schools under the auspices of Reformed, Lutheran and other Protestant churches was frequently conducted at a very intensive level during six to eight week sessions, with most classes meeting both in the morning and in the afternoon in accord with the original Bridgeport pattern. However, in the 1930's the summer schools began to decrease in number and increasingly changed to morning sessions only. Since World War II they have practically disappeared. In contrast to the 68 churches that conducted summer schools in the twenties only 19 were reported doing so in 1962 and of these — only nine sponsored Hungarian classes: Connecticut: South Norwalk; Florida: Miami; New Jersey: Woodbridge, Trenton; Pennsylvania: Johnstown, McKeesport, Leechburg; Ohio: Cleveland, Warren, Columbus. None of the summer sessions currently lasts for more than four weeks; most only last for two weeks.

TABLE 4. HUNGARIAN CLASSES SPONSORED BY SUMMER VACATION SCHOOLS, 1962, IN CHURCHES AFFILIATED WITH THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, AND HUNGARIAN REFORMED CHURCH OF AMERICA³³

State	City	Hung. Classes		Enrollment Hung.		Teachers for the School(4)	Term in Weeks
		YES	NO	Total	Classes		
OHIO	Canton	x		110		14	2
	Youngstown	x		40		5	6
	(Rev. Marton)#						
	Warren	x		75	28	28	2
	Columbus	x		28	28	4	2
PA.	Fairport Harbor		x	60		8	2
	Johnstown	x		21	21	2	2
	Bethlehem		x	6		1	2
	(Dr. Nyáry)#						
	McKeesport	x		80	10	8	2
	(Rev. Nagy)#						
	Leechburg (1)	x		36	36	8	2-2
	Pittsburgh		x	22		3	2
N. J.	Brownsville		x	40		6	2
	Woodbridge	x		23	5	3	2
	Carteret		x	40		6	2
	Trenton	x		8	8	1	4
	(Rev. Szilagy)i#						
CONN.	Roebling (2)		x	41		8	2
	South Norwalk	x		45	15	6	3
FLA.	Fairfield		x	110		15	2
	Miami (3)	x		28	28	5	4
IND.	Gary		x	54		8	1

Reporting no summer school of any kind in 1962: N. J.: Elizabeth, Franklin, Passaic, Perth Amboy (Rev. Vitéz), Wharton; Pa.: Philadelphia, Rankin, Springdale; Conn.: Bridgeport (Dr. Bessemer), Wallingford; Ohio: (Rev. Kovacs); Cleveland, Toledo, Akron; Mich.: Kalamazoo, Flint; N. Y. (Rev. Kovacs): New York.

Minister of the church listed where there is more than one Hungarian-American church in the same city.

- (1) Exclusively Hungarian school for two weeks; a vacation church school of two weeks preceded the Hungarian school in which all 36 students also participated.
- (2) Some hymns and Psalms were taught in Hungarian to the students, but no Hungarian classes.
- (3) Exclusively a Hungarian summer school for the entire group.
- (4) Includes teachers of Hungarian and non-Hungarian sessions. Summer session directors consisted of ministers (13), their wives (2), and lay leaders (4).

Hungarian language instruction in parochial schools discontinued almost completely at about the time of the Great Depression and has yet to be reintroduced as part of the regular programs of these schools. On the other hand, a few independent schools (for example, those operated by the Cleveland Committee on Books and Education or by the Hungarian Scout Association) still function and seek to make Hungarian instruction available to the general public at very nominal rates. Schools such as these depend upon dedicated teachers, free facilities, volunteer workers and publicity, and outside donations. Their students, usually numbering between thirty and forty, come from all walks of life. About half of them are not of Hungarian background.

e. Instructional Materials and Teacher Training

The teaching materials employed in Hungarian language instruction are as varied as the teachers that employ these materials. Prior to World War II some materials for summer school and elementary school use were prepared in the United States and published here through various fraternal bodies and church groups. In other instances, instructional texts were imported from Hungary. After the War, teaching materials prepared by trained linguists became available for college or high school use. These materials are also more appropriate for individuals not themselves of Hungarian background.³⁴

No formal training for teachers of Hungarian has ever been organized in the United States except as some of the teachers may have received general teacher-training in their college or seminary days. Teachers in church-sponsored Hungarian classes are usually volunteers who received Hungarian and religious instruction in childhood and adolescence. Schools and classes under secular sponsorship, including those sponsored by Hungarian-American societies, are often able to be more selective in engaging teachers and scouting for talented and competent teachers is constantly under way. In general, teacher supervision is rare although not entirely lacking.

f. Other Educational Problems

Most Hungarian language instruction is non-accredited and the pupils are in purely voluntary attendance. These youngsters, many of them third or fourth generation Hungarian-Americans, feel no stigma with regard to studying the language. They frequently make very enthusiastic students. Most of them come to these schools of their own choosing. Oftentimes their parents know no Hungarian. Family sentiments — particularly when grandparents are still alive — and curiosity seem to be the major

motives for attendance. The dropout rate from Hungarian studies is relatively low when compared to other non-credit subjects.

On the other hand, it must be added that there is very little general environmental encouragement or recognition for those students who speak or try to speak Hungarian. Students sometimes advise instructors not to reveal to anyone that they are studying Hungarian. They will sometimes speak of ridicule by friends and neighbors to the effect of 'Why Hungarian?' Children have at times been scolded by public school teachers when they have been encountered speaking Hungarian to one another. Worst of all, the children are sometimes ridiculed by their play-mates for speaking or understanding Hungarian. Thus, while the children themselves are more secure than were their immigrant or second generation parents and grandparents, the environment is still far from conducive to healthy or intensive linguistic development.

In a city such as Cleveland, the 'Hungarian capital of America,' there are certainly hundreds, if not thousands, of children who would prefer to study Hungarian, rather than German or French, in the public high schools. It is indeed sad that under such circumstances only a few score have an opportunity to obtain formal Hungarian language training on an after-school basis.

6. Organizational Interest in Hungarian

Whereas up to ten years ago, Hungarian was still used as the organizational language of numerous churches, that is, as the language in which meetings of church councils were conducted, most church councils now use English for the benefit of non-Hungarians, some second generation members, and most third generation members, who understand little, if any, Hungarian. At the local level, most fraternal groups now use English almost exclusively in their meetings.

Within the last ten years various cultural and social organizations have also drifted away from the use of Hungarian as the language of official business. Nevertheless, some of the programs and events on their annual calendars may still involve the use of Hungarian in various ways. It is significant, however, that even among cultural groups the use of Hungarian now varies from the rare pattern of total adherence to Hungarian to the more frequent pattern of no Hungarian at all.³⁵

The first immigrant generation usually organized a Magyar Ház (Hungarian House) in which Hungarians of all religious backgrounds could meet socially; an athletic club; a Munkás Otthon

(Workers' Home), as an expression of labor interests (often looked upon by the general Hungarian community as representing the left in political thinking); and an Önképző Kör (Cultural Circle). The Cultural Circle sought to elevate the cultural interest of the Hungarian immigrant population and sponsored Hungarian library collections, lectures and discussions, Hungarian folk dancing, Hungarian plays and operettas, etc. In addition, various independent charitable groups organized to aid indigent Hungarian families and to serve other charitable ends. A few examples of these varied institutions of former years continue to exist to this very day. Hungarians Ház of Akron, Ohio, is one such example, and a successful one indeed. Hungarians of all denominations and social backgrounds are members or guests, from time to time, of the Akron Magyar Ház. Its annual outing, which features a Hungarian Fair, attracts many thousands, as do its teenage clubs and other events. Such an enterprise requires extensive self-sacrificing volunteer effort as well as leadership genius. Very few groups have been as fortunate in this respect as has the Magyar Ház of Akron.³⁶

In general, most Hungarian societies today lack the quality of leadership which existed in such societies decades ago. Second and third generation Hungarians are considerably Americanized and refuse to render the necessary volunteer services which have always been necessary to keep such institutions going. There are also differences in emphases and in atmosphere between earlier and more recent Hungarian-American societies.

The Hungarian-American societies founded by the old-timers were as a rule, classless and non-denominational societies. They were truly democratic institutions, more so than many American societies of that time. This is true of these societies even today. The D. P. 's, on the other hand, organized closed circles which are basically continuations of the class-conscious societies of Europe. In addition, second and third generation Hungarian-Americans still have some of their own societies, as for example, the Hungarian Junior League of Cleveland. These are essentially social organizations. Finally, the 1956 immigrants, currently, still find considerable difficulty in organizational work. They can best be categorized as still being in the formative stages of organizational endeavors although they have already achieved a measure in their sports club.

The national fraternal organizations, such as the former Rakóczi Aid Association and the former Verhovay Fraternal Insurance Association, often had local branches which provided their members with opportunities to meet for social, cultural and charitable purposes. In some cases the local memberships built

or purchased buildings with facilities for branch meetings, social gatherings, and dramatic-choral presentations. The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, through the years, has supported and still supports extensive Hungarian cultural activities in the Hungarian Reformed churches and in other churches. The American-Hungarian Catholic Society and the St. George Greek Catholic Hungarian Union each have conducted very modest cultural activities largely within the Catholic churches. Various other Hungarian fraternal organizations across the country also supported local Hungarian social and cultural activities. In small and isolated settlements, these branch offices of fraternal and religious societies often are the only facilities available for Hungarian-American social life. With the gradual Americanization of these societies, their cultural and charitable goals have slowly given way to the demands of normal business. Their Hungarian names have been Americanized. (Thus, the Verhovey and the Rakóczi Societies merged to become the William Penn Fraternal Association.) Their support for Hungarian cultural activities is, in many cases, diminished and, in other cases, discontinued entirely.³⁷

Today, in Cleveland and elsewhere, there are virtually no Hungarian theatre troupes, relatively few Hungarian dances, no well known Hungarian choirs, only occasional Hungarian movies, and no cultural forums involving the second and third generations. Television, the suburbs and Americanization are fast taking their toll of Hungarian-American organizational efforts on behalf of Hungarian language and culture. The Hungarian movies regularly shown in Fords, New Jersey, Bridgeport, and Chicago can hardly overcome the dearth of language activity on other fronts.

7. The Role of the Hungarian Language Press

The total number of subscribers to the Hungarian language press in any American locality or on a nationwide basis is a good rough index of the vitality of the living language when compared to the total number of speakers of that language. More than threescore Hungarian language periodic publications appeared under secular auspices during the early twenties. By 1960 their number had decreased somewhat but the Hungarian language press remained an important channel and a major cohesive element for maintaining the Hungarian language. It is this role that it first assumed in a very active fashion in the last decade of the nineteenth century and which it has never abandoned.

Nevertheless, at the present time, Hungarian language newspapers continue to exist only because of the determination

of their editors or owners to keep them alive. The number still publishing today is far smaller than the total number of those now defunct. It is doubtful as to whether or not the remaining publications could long continue to exist without a semi-charitable attitude on the part of both advertisers and the reading public alike. They are not in a true sense competitive businesses but rather symbols of the dedication of the old-timers among Hungarian-Americans to their language and culture.

The Hungarian language newspapers provide and have provided a very great service to language maintenance. The mere fact that these publications regularly showed up in Hungarian-American homes provided a stimulus for the members of the family to read and speak Hungarian. Many a second and third generation Hungarian-American taught himself to read Hungarian from Hungarian newspapers. To this very day most Hungarian newspapers have considerable influence on the reading public. They are, in fact, similar to many small town American newspapers in that the local Hungarian scene often takes prominence over events of more general importance. However, Hungarian newspapers are also internationally oriented. The international news coverage of the Cleveland Szabadság (which enjoys national circulation) is greater than that of any of the large local English language newspapers. In addition, it is also less provincial in that Hungarian writers living in different parts of the world are among its regular writers and contributors. It is the Hungarian-American press that deserves first recognition for bringing the average Hungarian-American to a higher level of intellectual and cultural interests. That which newer Hungarian immigrants attained through formal schooling, the old-timers attained through devotedly reading their periodic press. Little wonder, then, that it is of greater interest to most old-timers than to more recent arrivals, particularly since many of the latter consider some of its constructions to be somewhat archaic, non-idiomatic and based upon American-English models.

Although the total circulation of the Hungarian language press has declined but little in recent years, the future of these newspapers is doubtful. Their old readers are fast dying off, particularly those of the dailies, whereas most of second and third generation Hungarians do not go out of their way to buy or read them, having lost contact with the old neighborhoods as well as with the world of Hungarian-American events to which these papers give greatest attention. There are, however, a few Hungarian and English as well as all-English publications that seek to serve Hungarian-American second and third generations. As

yet, none of these has attained any unusual distinction, either in content or in tone.

The newest arrivals on the Hungarian-American scene have brought with them higher literary tastes. Consequently, when the post-1945 immigrants read Hungarian they subscribe to a new group of publications which may or may not be published in the United States.

Finally, it should be mentioned that in communities containing large numbers of Hungarian-Americans a few of the English language publications intended for the general American public will release occasional articles of Hungarian interest. Oftentimes this is the only way to reach members of the second and third generation who have lost contact with the Hungarian-American community.

8. Other Media for the Written and Printed Word

Books and journals are another important part of Hungarian-American life. Each Hungarian-American community still supports one or more book stores which sell Hungarian language books. In former days, quite a few Hungarian books were written in the United States by Hungarian-American authors. Currently, most Hungarian books sold in the United States are written and published abroad, many coming from Communist Hungary. Frequently, a volunteer committee will screen a Communist book before it is placed on the shelf for popular consumption. Some of these volunteer committees also act as consultants for local public libraries to aid them in the purchase of Hungarian books. The Hungarian book collections in the public libraries of a few American cities are quite excellent. Some are of considerable importance for scholarly purposes.³⁸

An area not often thought of in connection with language maintenance is letter writing. Correspondence with European relatives, carried on over many years and established as a family tradition, has forced many second and third generation Hungarians to once more write of, at least read, Hungarian. Recently, pen pals among stranded Hungarian refugee children in various parts of the world have stirred new interest in the Hungarian language among younger Hungarian-Americans.

It can be safely stated that the written and printed word (rather than the spoken word) is the strongest cohesive force in Hungarian language life in the United States today. Even those who no longer speak Hungarian frequently follow the highly emotional debates carried in Hungarian newspapers. The debates, in turn, are not only intellectually stimulating but maintain

TABLE 5. HUNGARIAN PERIODIC PUBLICATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930-1960³⁹

a. Entirely in Hungarian

Frequency of Publication	1930		1940		1950		1960		1960 LRP	
	N	Circul.**	N	Circul.	N	Circul.	N	Circul.	N	Circul.
<u>Dailies</u>										
In East-North										
Central States	2	67,400	2	69,300	2	43,200	2	43,100	2	43,100
Elsewhere in USA	1	31,000	1	29,600	1	9,300				
Total	3	98,400	3	98,900	3	52,500	2	43,100	2	43,100
<u>Weeklies</u>										
In East-North										
Central States	10	41,700(7)	11	122,500(10)	12	77,100	9	68,700	9	66,100
Elsewhere in USA	18	53,300(10)	14	87,400(9)	14	32,000(10)	10	40,700	10	35,800
Total	28	95,000(17)	25	209,900(19)	26	109,100(22)	19	109,400	19	101,900
<u>Monthlies to Semi- Annuals</u>										
In East-North										
Central States	2	23,200					3	1,200(1)	8	14,400(6)
Elsewhere in USA	2	21,800			6	58,100	8	45,200(5)	11	55,100(9)
Total	4	45,000			6	58,100	11	46,400(6)	19	79,500(15)
<u>Totals</u>										
In East-North										
Central States	14	132,300(11)	13	191,800(12)	14	120,300(14)	14	113,000(12)	19	123,600(17)
Elsewhere in USA	21	106,100(13)	15	117,000(10)	21	99,400(17)	18	85,900(15)	21	90,900(19)
Total	35	238,400(24)	28	308,800(22)	35	219,700(31)	32	198,900(27)	40	214,500(36)

b. In Hungarian and English

<u>Dailies</u>	1930		1940		1950		1960		1960 LRP	
In East-North										
Central States										
Elsewhere in USA									1	5,000
Total									1	5,000
<u>Weeklies</u>										
In East-North										
Central States	2	4,300(1)	2	15,800	1	2,300				
Elsewhere in USA	1	5,200	3	32,300	2	17,100	1	4,200	2	6,600
Total	3	9,500(2)	5	48,100	3	19,400	1	4,200	2	6,600
<u>Monthlies to Semi- Annuals</u>										
In East-North										
Central States										
Elsewhere in USA	1				2	14,000*	1	6,000*	1	6,000*
Total	1				2	14,000	1	6,000	1	6,000
<u>Totals</u>										
In East-North										
Central States	2	4,300(1)	2	15,800	1	2,300				
Elsewhere in USA	2	5,200(1)	3	32,300	4	31,100	2	10,200	4	17,600
Total	4	9,500(21)	5	48,100	5	33,400	2	10,200	4	17,600

*Includes one publication published entirely in English.

**Figures in parentheses next to circulation figures indicate that circulation data is available only for some number other than the total number of periodicals reported.

TABLE 6. HUNGARIAN BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES (as of 1960)⁴⁰

Period of Arrival of Writers	Total Number of Writers	Still Living	Type of Writing*							Estimated Number of Hungarian Books Published in U. S. A.
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
<u>Old-Timers</u>										
a. arriving before 1870	22	0	1	2	10	22		1	5	5
b. arriving 1870-1914	120	52	32	45	7	48	1	3	10	84
D. P. 's (1948-1952)	123	103	26	39	7	41	3	2	5	116
Freedom Fighters (1956-1957)	6	6	3	4		2			1	5
Totals	271	161	62	90	24	113	4	6	21	210 ⁴¹

*Multiple entries lead to totals larger than the total number of writers.

1 = Fiction (novels, short stories)

4 = Journalism

7 = Translations

2 = Poetry and drama

5 = Education and children's literature

3 = History, current affairs, memoirs

6 = Literary criticism, linguistics

language agility among the readers. The average Hungarian-American newspaper is far more opinionated than the average American-English newspaper. As a result, Hungarian publications are read with greater interest, more thoroughly, and with a sense of personal identification.

9. The Radio

Radio still plays a major role in Hungarian life in the United States with Sunday usually being the major (although not the only) programming day for Hungarian language programs. In Cleveland, for example, Hungarian-Americans may hear a Hungarian language sermon on the Sunday radio program. In addition, beginning early Sunday morning and on into the evening, Hungarian musical programs, with commentary and commercials in Hungarian, are offered. There is also a daily FM program featuring Hungarian music, history, literature and children's programs. In all of these programs the Hungarian language is dominant with some intermittent use of English. In addition, there are also programs which are conducted by second generation Hungarian-Americans. These programs concentrate on Hungarian music and songs. On occasion, a second or third generation Hungarian singer will be featured. There are also three programs conducted by recent Hungarian arrivals and tailored to D. P. Hungarian listener tastes. In these programs, the language level is consistently that of the educated classes of Budapest and the entertainment tends to be more international in flavor rather than Hungarian alone. All commentary is in Hungarian. The programs of the recent arrivals are not particularly attractive to the older Hungarian-American radio audiences both because of their 'high' language and because of their concentration on topics of D. P. interest. Finally, there are two programs operated by the older generation of Hungarian-Americans. These feature the old-time favorites of folk music and *csárdáses*. In addition, there are popular lectures (on religious, patriotic and educational themes), announcements (of meetings, organizational activities, school enrollment dates, etc.), and commercials.

As is true of the press, the radio programs are not really profitable business ventures. They are sustained by the devotion and sense of duty of a very few who seek no adequate financial compensation for their efforts. It is interesting to note that the emphasis on music has brought about a far greater listening audience than one might expect in this age of shrinking radio influence. It would seem that many self-conscious second and third generation Hungarian-Americans (who may be embarrassed to appear at a Hungarian ball sponsored by a Hungarian church)

are still avid listeners of the Hungarian radio. Furthermore, many non-Hungarians are also devoted fans of the Hungarian musical programs. In the privacy of one's home or car, the radio can transcend many cultural and social barriers.

TABLE 7. HUNGARIAN RADIO BROADCASTING
IN THE UNITED STATES: 1956-1960⁴²

	Y E A R					
	<u>1956</u>		<u>1960</u>		<u>1960 LRP</u>	
No. of Stations						
in Cleveland		9		8		7
Elsewhere		39		35		35
Total		48		43*		42
	<u>1956</u>		<u>1960</u>		<u>1960 LRP</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>Hrs./Wk.**</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Hrs./Wk.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Hrs./Wk.</u>
Hours/Wk. in						
Cleveland	6	9	6	8.00	7	15.00
Hours/Wk.						
Elsewhere	30	34.5	31	30.25	27	25.25
Hours/Wk. Total	36	43.5	37	38.25	34	40.25
	<u>1956</u>		<u>1960</u>		<u>1960 LRP</u>	
Avg. Hrs. Wk.						
in Cleveland		1.50		1.33		2.14
Avg. Hrs. Wk.						
Elsewhere		1.15		.98		.94
Avg. Hrs. Wk.						
Total		1.21		1.03		1.18

* See Table 8 for the location of these stations broadcasting in Hungarian.

** Data on total hours of broadcasting is available only for some number other than the total number of stations.

10. Hungarian Events

For many Hungarian-Americans the only remaining contact with Hungarian-American life is through attendance at Hungarian events sponsored by Hungarian-American organizations.⁴³ Thus, many third generation youngsters recognize their Hungarian background from the fact that they don colorful Hungarian peasant dress (in reality this is strictly Hungarian-American dress) and attend a local church or Hungarian club in order to learn the Hungarian dances that are performed at picnics and folk

TABLE 8. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF
HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS, 1960

State	Organiza- tions	Churches	Radio Stations	Periodicals ⁴⁴
D. of Columbia	3	1		1
Alabama				
Arizona				
Arkansas				
California	15	10	3	3
Colorado	6			
Connecticut	16	12	2	
Delaware	1			
Florida	4	3	1	
Georgia				
Idaho				
Illinois	26	11	2	3
Indiana	13	11	5	
Iowa				
Kansas	2			
Kentucky				
Louisiana	1	1		
Maine				
Maryland				
Massachusetts	1			
Michigan	27	11	2	3
Minnesota		1		
Mississippi				
Missouri	6	1	1	1
Montana				
Nebraska	1			
Nevada				
New Hampshire				
New Jersey	35	34	4	7
New Mexico				
New York	52	25	2	8
North Carolina				
North Dakota				
Ohio	125	48	9	12
Oklahoma				
Oregon	1			
Pennsylvania	105	51	8	4
Rhode Island				
South Carolina				
South Dakota				
Tennessee				
Texas				
Utah				
Vermont				
Virginia	2	1		
Washington				
W. Virginia	11	4		
Wisconsin	6	4	4	1
Wyoming				
	<u>459</u>	<u>229</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>43</u>

festivals. Since these are popular and profitable enterprises, they are sponsored even by the Americanized churches and organizations. It has been estimated that all but the most assimilated Hungarian-Americans attend at least one such picnic, folk festival or dance-and-banquet each year. These events are of great importance because for many they are the only link with their Hungarian heritage. At such events, they are frequently urged to learn the Hungarian language, to use it amongst themselves, to read Hungarian books, to subscribe to Hungarian publications, etc. During such events, the sense of stigma is lost for the time being. Even the fact that many candidates for political office attend such events and are introduced to speak a few hastily learned Hungarian words to the assemblage has a decidedly favorable impact on younger Hungarian-Americans whereas it might have irritated their parents a generation ago.

11. Drama, Movies

A number of small Hungarian-American theater companies continue to make tours of the United States and Canada from time to time, bringing popular plays to still substantial audiences. In addition, Hungarian movie theatres still exist in a few communities and offer an opportunity for the living language to be heard and appreciated even by those who no longer hear it at home. Although far fewer Hungarian movie houses are in operation now than was the case in the thirties, Hungarian movies are also shown from time to time by Hungarian churches and by various Hungarian organizations. Since all Hungarian movies are filmed in Hungary they are usually screened by volunteer groups who seek to minimize Communist propaganda and to avoid unfavorable comment in the American press.

12. Regional Differences

In smaller cities and towns in the United States, the degree of language maintenance is quite limited. Hungarian-Americans are too few and too isolated in such localities to be able to support institutions of language maintenance. On the other hand, Hungarian communities in large city environments, such as St. Louis, are also easily overwhelmed by the tempo of modern urban life.⁴⁵ Even the dedicated family cannot overcome these pressures. In small mining towns and in the California area as a whole, occasional gatherings and family life constitute the sum total of Hungarian-American life. Most Hungarian-Americans in California are of the second and third generations since few old-timers initially settled there and the major immigration

consisted of second generation job seekers who arrived during the depression days. They have by now virtually lost their identity as Hungarian-Americans and have dropped all ties with East Coast Hungarian-American communities. There are now no Hungarian-American communities in California of the type that are still known in eastern parts of the United States. There are also very few Hungarian schools in California and many of the earlier Hungarian events, such as the fall festivals, are being discontinued. The recent arrival of retired Hungarian couples in Los Angeles (and, to a lesser extent) also in sections of Arizona and Florida) has changed the picture somewhat but only slightly in view of the advanced age of the individuals involved. In general, the further west one travels from Cleveland and Chicago the fewer resources does one encounter for Hungarian language maintenance. Small isolated communities still exist in Colorado, Louisiana, Florida and elsewhere. By their very size and location they are severely limited in what they can accomplish in an organized way. They are restricted to social gatherings and to irregular radio programs or publications.

Outside of Cleveland, Chicago, and a few other East Coast centers, (Bridgeport, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Trenton, New York, Youngstown) the Hungarian Community — an unofficial and frequently uncoordinated network of churches, schools, organizations, publications and other communally supported and communally oriented institutions — has ceased to exist as such. Certainly, the limitation of activity to a few functions each year indicates that it no longer exists in its original form. Whether or not other factors and forces can compensate for this basic change and do as much for language maintenance seems doubtful, but remains to be seen.

III. The Prospects for Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States

1. Continued Use of the Language

Continued use and proficiency in the language (admittedly, a variant of standard Hungarian) now depends primarily upon the family and, secondarily, upon the few institutions of cultural reinforcement that can still be maintained. The values and prestige factors operative with the family will largely determine whether or not Hungarian-Americans will seek to use and preserve the Hungarian language within their own circle of influence.

In many families where parents are themselves no longer proficient in Hungarian there is some indication today of a desire to provide the children with an opportunity to learn Hungarian and to be exposed to Hungarian culture, history, and literature. However, the family itself is no longer able to provide any of this content matter. Therefore, the continued use of the Hungarian language will also depend on the dedication of those organizations and churches, which to the present time, have recognized this as a responsibility. Their dependence on volunteer workers will continue and probably grow.

2. The Community

The Hungarian communities in most large urban centers are disintegrating as a result of the conventional flight to the suburbs. The former residents of Hungarian-American neighborhoods have scattered in all directions. The only contact they continue to have with Hungarian-American life is via intermittent gatherings convened by churches, organizations, and prominent individuals. On the one hand, the new suburbs are quite far from the old neighborhood Hungarian churches and social-cultural organizations. On the other hand, new Hungarian-American institutions cannot be maintained by the suburban areas themselves. On occasion an old Hungarian-American church will move out to a suburb in an effort to maintain or attract a younger membership. However, in doing so, it becomes another suburban church with nothing of the old Hungarian-American atmosphere or orientation. It is impossible to ascertain, without detailed research, just where and to what extent Hungarian-American life exists in the newer suburban communities. Whether even the eighty-year-old Hungarian-American community in Cleveland can long survive is a secret which the future holds. Although many had predicted its death as early as twenty years ago, most of its activities continue to this very day. Its location with respect to the suburbs is not entirely disadvantageous. However, it is the largest organized Hungarian community in the U. S. A. Many smaller communities in other large cities have already ceased functioning as such even though the 1960 census reports thirteen metropolitan areas with 10,000 or more individuals of 'Hungarian stock'.⁴⁶

3. The Churches

Since there is no specifically Hungarian national religion, the leaders of Hungarian-American churches can rarely bring themselves to concentrate exclusively on their cultural-linguistic

integrity. Only in the Reformed Church are there some who actively try to promote Hungarian language life. Even here, however, there are many Americanizers and neutralists.

At best, the Catholic church merely tolerates the use of the Hungarian language by its Hungarian-American parishioners. The bishops rarely appear to be interested in promoting nationality life and, consequently, language activity within the church is slowly receding into the background. In recent years there has been a slight easing up of forced Americanization in Catholic church activities. Nevertheless, this in itself does not indicate a strong counter-trend. Given a continuation of the present constellation of attitudes, Catholic Hungarian-Americans will soon cease to be a recognizable group in any linguistic or cultural sense. The same prediction may be made concerning the Hungarian-Jewish group. Although there are some small Hungarian-Jewish groups that zealously maintain their separate identity on the American-Jewish scene, neither the Hungarian language nor association with non-Jewish immigrants from Hungary are particularly valued among them. Thus, all in all, the Hungarian language can expect very little reinforcement from religious quarters in the years ahead.

4. Other Formal Institutions

a. Societies

Most societies look forward to the future with considerable trepidation. The devoted leadership of old is gone. The second and third generations do not actively participate in their activities. Some of the organizations received new blood from recent refugees, but, on the whole, not in sufficient quantity to safeguard their existence. It appears that most Hungarian-American societies will cease to function as Hungarian societies and as forces for linguistic and cultural preservation with the passing of the older generations of Hungarian-Americans. The societies newly formed by D. P. 's and freedom fighters have not yet faced the test of time and, at this early date, it is impossible to predict their future.

b. Schools

Since the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, curiosity and interest in the Hungarian language have quickened in the younger generation. More than ever before there is a serious concern for advanced and modern instruction in the Hungarian language. It seems probable that language schools and classes will continue to grow in number in the near future.

c. Future of the Newspapers

The Hungarian language dailies will live and die with their current readers. Only a tremendous increase in younger readers could save them from extinction in a decade or two. Some publications (usually weeklies) have already switched to Hungarian and English and this trend is likely to increase, with the proportion of space devoted to English rising constantly. That even this may not guarantee their existence may be inferred from the fact that English publications for Americans of Hungarian background are few in number and small in circulation.⁴⁷

d. Radio

The Hungarian radio programs may enjoy a more indefinite lease on life. The level of language proficiency necessary to enjoy Hungarian music is small; consequently, large audiences will exist for many years to come. Hungarian phonograph records should also continue to find large numbers of appreciative purchasers.

e. Youth Groups

The Scout groups represent, in some measure, the attitude of Hungarian-American youth. Many have noted an ever increasing curiosity among these youngsters concerning their Hungarian heritage and why it is not more readily available to them. They tend to question their elders as well as their instructors and leaders. This is the most interesting and novel development in Hungarian-American life. An informal study conducted a year ago at a summer school in Cleveland revealed that most pupils were studying Hungarian because they wanted to rather than because their parents wanted them to do so.

It is becoming increasingly evident that there is some potential for greater language mastery in this context; however, it is doubtful that the present Hungarian-American leadership is fully aware of this new development or is able to capitalize upon it.

f. Events

Hungarian events, such as folk festivals and picnics, will continue indefinitely since they require only small knowledge of the language. On the other hand, Hungarian lectures and serious cultural programs are doomed to extinction because of ever smaller audiences. Even the events have experienced unexpected difficulties in many cities. The events are a particularly first generation Hungarian-American creation. They seem even more foreign to D. P. 's and to other recent immigrants than they do to second and third generation Hungarian-Americans who witnessed

these events throughout their childhood and adolescent years. The ridicule of the newcomers may bring about a quicker demise of many events than would otherwise have been the case.

The long and almost unobtrusive process of Americanization has brought about the use of the English language in many organizations and events established by Hungarian immigrants. The use of Hungarian as the language of natural communication would be difficult to re-establish. As the first generation passes from the scene in ever increasing numbers, fewer and fewer will remain to attend or to demand the Hungarian worship services of the churches or the events and organizational meetings conducted in Hungarian.

5. Governmental Interest and Disinterest

a. Hungarian Government

Prior to World War I, the Hapsburg Government was almost wholly disinterested in the welfare of Hungarians who emigrated from within its borders to the United States. Its own sympathies were definitely in the direction of German language and culture and it displayed but little cultural, linguistic, historical, or charitable concern for Hungarians in the United States.⁴⁸ To some degree the myth that American 'streets are paved with gold' may have seemed to justify this general lack of concern prior to 1914. During the interwar years, The Hungarian Government faced serious internal problems, loss of much territory and natural resources, and thus was severely limited in the financial assistance it could grant to any cultural endeavors and programs for the benefit of the emigrated population in the United States or elsewhere. Yet, had the Hungarian Government been determined to support a broad cultural exchange program the financial means for it could have been found. With little or no official government assistance,⁴⁹ the Hungarian immigrant population was left much to its own resources and had had to achieve what it could through its own limited means, intellectual and financial. Upon the cessation of World War II, there was the hope that the new Hungarian government might be able to provide greater financial assistance and cultural encouragement to the Hungarian population in America. However, by 1948, these hopes were completely dashed by the new Communist rulers of Hungary.

With the coming of Communist rule the situation changed in that Hungarian-Americans had to cope with opposition from their homeland rather than merely with disinterest or neglect. Hungarian-Americans are now cut off from the heartland of the

Hungarian language and culture. This further weakens their ability to maintain themselves. It also emphasizes the need for completely independent and indigenous language maintenance efforts. Considering the sharp political separation between Hungarian-Americans and the Hungarian government of today, and considering that little hope exists for the early establishment of extensive cultural contacts between the main ethnic unit and the American sub-unit, the divergencies between the Hungarian-American language and culture and that of Hungary proper (divergencies which are already considerable) are likely to become considerably more pronounced. This poses a most serious problem for Hungarian-American language maintenance efforts in the United States.

b. United States Government

Recent American governmental attitudes toward subversive organizations, and particularly the ex-post-facto nature by which organizations have been ruled subversive, has frightened many individuals, particularly new arrivals, from joining nationality organizations.

On the other hand, there have recently been some indications of official interest in Hungarian-American language-maintenance efforts none of which come under the provisions of the NDEA. These have been received with mixed reactions in which that of suspicion dominates. Hungarian-American social and religious leaders know that Hungarian life in the USA has hitherto been considered as little more than a tolerable nuisance by officials of the federal, state and local governments. A typical reaction among them is, Why this new interest in the Hungarian language in the United States when for eighty years nothing has been done by the local, state, or federal governments to encourage language maintenance activities to the slightest degree?

After nearly a century of largely fruitless effort, the Hungarian-American leadership has become understandably tired, suspicious, and discouraged. Their own limitations and the very limited assistance or recognition which they have received both need to be considered carefully before sharply increased language maintenance efforts can be charted. NDEA programs, although of undeniable merit and importance, are considered as not being related to the Hungarian-American community per se and are not serving its cultural-linguistic needs or interests except in a very abstract and distant fashion.

IV. Concluding Remarks

There are undoubtedly many ways in which Hungarian-American experiences have been very similar to the experiences of most other immigrant groups that have come to the United States. This similarity is probably greatest with respect to other Central and Eastern European groups that arrived at about the same time and settled in roughly similar sections of the country. Indeed, the problems of immigrants seeking, on the one hand, to maintain their traditions and, on the other, to become accepted by the majority coterritorial population have been known since the beginning of recorded history. Although there may be no necessary contradiction in these goals, they have often been viewed as contradictory both by the immigrant as well as by the host populations. In the context of American cultural and economic processes, the result of this perceived contradiction has been the slow but constant erosion of immigrant ethnic groups and of their cultural and linguistic heritages.

Is it, therefore, too late to accomplish anything substantial in the area of Hungarian language maintenance? Is it often as difficult to escape from the gratifications of predicting doom as it is to escape from the pleasures of wishful thinking. The major hope for the future of the Hungarian language in the U. S. A. is undoubtedly the youngest generation of Hungarian-Americans. However, it is unlikely that its current interest in Hungarian, gratifying though it may be, will result in marked and sustained proficiency unless there is strong general encouragement to bring this about. This encouragement can come only from governmental and intellectual circles and it must encompass all minority languages spoken in America today.

Can such an official and widespread reversal in internal policy be accomplished? Can minority cultural groups come to view themselves with respect? Can they be helped to maintain their schools, their publications, their organizations, even their neighborhoods? Even if we should want this to happen it can only come to pass if the general American public also comes to respect and appreciate these same schools, publications, organizations etc. as legitimate expressions of and worthwhile additions to American creativity.

Such changes cannot easily be brought about for they involved the entire functional pattern of our nation. Can public school teachers react more constructively to the non-English mother

tongues their pupils know or half-know? Can employers treat bi-lingual workers with respect? Will colleges grant language credit to students who bring language skills from their homes? Will politicians learn to distinguish between political entities and cultural entities? Will local historical societies and intellectual groups recognize the ethnic communities in their midst? Questions such as these can be continued endlessly. They all point to the fact that we are dealing with some of the most pervasive and basic phenomena in American life. No minor measures can hope to influence them.

It is easy to say that it is too late to do much to maintain the languages and cultures of American ethnic minorities — particularly those of smaller groups like the Hungarians. However, it is really never too late. The question is always one of what can and should be done at a given time with a given resource of funds, talent, and devotion. Certainly, the democratic tradition, on the one hand, and America's international position on the other, should, in concert if not separately, provide sufficient impetus to launch whatever efforts are required on the language maintenance front. The clock can not be turned back, but it is not too late to start a new clock in motion. The very nature of America guarantees that we will always have new immigrants, even new Hungarian immigrants. We owe them — and ourselves — a different reception for their linguistic and cultural heritages, a reception that will clearly indicate that maintaining a non-English mother tongue as a functional second language is desirable for them and for the country at large.

Notes

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2. Macartney, C. A. (1937), Kosáry, D. G. (1941).

3. Montgomery, J. F. (1947), Sinor, D. (1959), Sztáray, Z. (1960b).

4. See Vasváry, E. (1950).

5. Sándor Petőfi's 'National Ode' (see Petőfi, A. 1948) and other poems extremely popular among Hungarian-Americans called for a return to the homeland and for its liberation from 'centuries of vile abuse'.

Another widely sung hymn (words by Mihály Vörösmarty) also expressed the call for a return to the homeland to which the immigrants responded in great numbers: 'To your country, oh Magyar/be dauntlessly loyal./ It was your cradle and will be your tomb/which both shelters and covers./ There's no place for you/ elsewhere in the great wide world./ Whether fate blesses or smites you/you must live and die on its soil.' This hymn not only expressed Hungarian feelings of isolation from the rest of the world, but also a sense of self-pity and suffering; even the homeland was compared to a tomb. This emphasis on suffering is also reflected in the Hungarian anthem: 'Lift their sorrows and their tears/ bring them happy, prosperous years/ all its past and future sins this people has stoned.'

Vörösmarty and many of his contemporaries from other small nations and ethnic groups were much influenced by Herder's prophecy that the Slavs were destined to dominate Europe. (See Ernst Birke, 'Herder und die Slawen' in Hubatsch, W. ed., Schicksalswege deutscher Vergangenheit, Düsseldorf, Droste, c. 1950, pp. 81-102. Also Konrad Bittner, Herders Geschichtsphilosophie und die Slawen, Reichenberg, Stiepel, 1929). Although Hungarians considered Herder's predictions to be particularly ominous for them the commonality of the feelings expressed in the above mentioned hymn is illustrated by the fact that via an intermediary Swedish translation it also became the Finnish national anthem.

6. See Kende, G. (1927).

7. The very first trace of the existence of a Hungarian society in the U. S. A. appears in the October 22, 1853, issue of Magyar Száműzöttök Lapja (New York) which admonishes those who failed to join the Magyar Betegápoló Egylet (Hungarian Nursing Association) founded in 1852.

8. See Vasváry, O. (1950).

9. Buda (Tex.), Buda (Ill.), Balaton (Minn.), Budapest (Ga.), Haraszthyville (Wisc.), Kozsza (Ia.), Kossuth (Ind.), Kossuth (N. Y.), Kossuth (Pa.), Kossuth (Miss.), Kossuth County (Ia.), Kossuthville (Fla.), Szantoville (Va.), Rombauer (Mo.), Tolna (N. D.), and Uj Buda (Ia.). Underlined place names are no longer in use.

10. See Káldor, K. (1937).

11. American-Hungarian writers and poets frequently mentioned the rejection of the Hungarian immigrant; see, e. g. the poem by György Kemény entitled 'Hanki' (1946), as well as his poem 'And they kicked you' (in Könnnyű, 1962).

12. U. S. Bureau of the Census Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957, Washington D. C., 1960.

13. Boundaries as defined in 1910.

14. 1960 Census of Population, Supplementary Reports, PC(S1)-28, December 10, 1962.

15. Table 2 summarizes U. S. Census data pertaining to Hungarian mother tongue. The major shortcoming of these data is their reliance on self-report and their incompleteness for the periods before 1940. Unfortunately — and almost unpardonably — the 1960 census returned to the pattern of 1930 (the least informative pattern of all!) rather than follow the pattern of 1940 (the most informative pattern of all — particularly for students of language maintenance in American born generations). It is, therefore, difficult to estimate reliably how many individuals of Hungarian mother tongue there are in the United States today from the mere fact that 213,114 foreign born Hungarian-Americans claim Hungarian as their mother tongue in the 1960 census. An informed guess would be approximately 400,000. To this figure should be added at least another 200,000 individuals of second and third generation Hungarian background whose mother tongue might well be self-reported as English but who have heard enough Hungarian in their homes and neighborhoods to be considered as having at least a comprehension knowledge of the language. Even if U. S. Census data on mother tongue were far more inclusive and reliable than they are, they would still be largely unsatisfactory. Among immigrants to America one's mother tongue is no sure indication of one's daily language or of one's language mastery in adulthood. Until a 'current language mastery' census is conducted we must remain quite dissatisfied with numerical estimates. Fortunately, language maintenance does not depend on numbers alone, nor are numbers our only clues to its status.

16. Corrected figure reported in 1930.

17. Corrected figure reported in 1940.

18. This Society is now known as the William Penn Fraternal Association and boasts some 85,000 members. Other major fraternal organizations are the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America and The American Life Insurance Association (now merged with The Investment Life Insurance Company of America.)

19. In the Kingdom of Hungary, the Jew was as much a part of the village life as the village itself. When the Hungarian Jew came to the United States, he frequently continued this relationship with other Hungarians and the Hungarian Jewish community carried on its Hungarian life, at least initially, just as did Hungarians of other religious denominations. Since many Hungarian Jewish immigrants were more highly educated than other Hungarians, they frequently provided professional services and

leadership in business and cultural life for the Hungarian-American community in general.

20. For example, linguistic analysis reveals that the Magyars of New Jersey stem primarily from the northeastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary. See Bakó, E. (1961).

21. E. G., 'Igazságot Magyarországnak' ('Justice for Hungary') by György Kemény (1946), 'Hitem Koronája' by László Pólya (1937), and 'Why the Treaty of Trianon is Void' by Louis Kossuth Birinyi (1938). Also see Kun (1935). There were also a number of prominent Hungarian-American leaders and publications that rejected this motto and the support which it received from the Hungarian government.

22. See Shaeffer, C. E. (1915).

23. Perhaps the most singular identifying characteristic of Hungarian-American culture is its music. As had previously been the case in the village the gypsy orchestra was the center of all entertainment. (See László Pólya's 'A Mi Bandánk [Our Band]'). No affair, no holiday, no family event was complete without the cigány zene ('Gypsy music'). The Gypsies in Hungary developed into very highly skilled folk musicians and, as such, also became the bearers of the Hungarian song. Their great talent for interpreting moods and translating them into Hungarian songs made them very popular. Most second generation Hungarian-Americans learned to love this music and to sing and dance to it as their own. Pólya (1937) states that what was merely music at home (Hungary) became like unto prayer here.

24. See J. Cholnoky, (1917).

25. E. g. see such poems by Pál Szarvas as 'Magyar Bajok' (Hungarian Problems) and 'A Fiújukhoz' (To Their Boy).

26. See Szabó, J. (1935).

27. Thus, those taught Hungarian at Cleveland's St. Elizabeth's Parochial School (in America's largest Hungarian Roman Catholic parish) dropped from 600 in 1930 to 500 in 1940, to 60 in 1950 and to 40 in 1960.

28. The cessation of most Roman Catholic and Jewish participation in Hungarian-American cultural endeavors did not, of course, preclude the continuation of a few long-established institutions and organizations under Catholic or Jewish auspices. The vigorous and well edited Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja (The Sunday of Hungarian Catholics) founded in 1894 and the second-oldest Hungarian newspaper in the United States, continues to this very day. Similarly, a number of Jews continued to be active as editors and publishers of many Hungarian-American publications and in the First Hungarian Literary Society (founded in 1888), which also continues to function. On the whole, however, these are exceptions to the more general observation stated above.

29. The term 'freedom fighters' is used in this essay because it became the most widespread name by which the escapees of 1956 were referred to in both general American and Hungarian-American usage. Use of this term here does not imply that all of the escapees were of similar political convictions or that they were then or are now organized under this name for similar political purposes.

30. However, a serious barrier to Hungarian language learning among third and fourth generation Hungarian-Americans is their growing rate of intermarriage with individuals of non-Hungarian background.

31. See Maynard, T. (1953).

32. For a recent list of projects in the Uralic and Altaic field including those on Hungarian, see the report by John Lotz, 'The Uralic and Altaic Program of the American Council of Learned Societies', The Linguistic Reporter, 1962, supplement 7.

33. From a survey conducted by A. Y. Harangi (see P. Erzsébet, 1962), summarized and translated by August J. Molnár.

34. Some currently employed texts in Hungarian-American schools are those by Sebeok, Whitney, Wojatsek, Girsik and Magyar, Pohárnok, and Alszegehy-Sik-Techert. For a list of several other texts prepared under NDEA-ACLS auspices see the report by John Lotz in The Linguistic Reporter, 1962, Supplement 7.

35. Cultural groups exist today in Cleveland, Columbus, New York, St. Louis and a few other cities.

36. Similar 'Houses' exist in New York, Newark, New Brunswick, Hathway (N.J.), Trenton, St. Louis, South Bend, Johnstown, Chicago, Miami, Los Angeles, Barbertown (Ohio), Duquesne, McKeesport.

37. A reversal of the general trend is the recent announcement by the officers of the William Penn Fraternal Association, many of whom are second generation Hungarian-Americans, that the Hungarian language would be used 'as much as possible' at future national meetings of the Association. The Association published a Hungarian journal and is pledged to 'give succor to activities and programs which directly or indirectly help preserve the Hungarian language from falling into complete disuse in this country.' (From a recent statement by its President).

38. In this latter connection, however, the value of University holdings developed with NDEA assistance (e.g. the 25,000 volumes constituting the Hungarian collection at Columbia University) must be stressed.

39. From the Directories of N. W. Ayers and Sons and the American Council for Nationalities Service, supplemented and corrected by LRP data.

40. Prepared with the assistance of Freda B. Kovács, Cleveland, Ohio.

41. Absent from this table are writers arriving between the First and Second World Wars and the books they published in the U. S. A. Religious works are also not listed since their complete tabulation has not been attempted. For further details see Kőnnnyű (1961), Rickert (1920), Czorba (1930).

42. From the Directories of Broadcasting and the American Council for Nationalities Service, supplemented and corrected from Language Resources Project data.

43. The Major annual Hungarian-American events in Cleveland are as follows: The Elite Ball, the MHKB Ball, the Hungarian Scouts Ball, the Bethlen Home Ball, The Öreg Amerikás Banquet, the Kossuth Ünnepe, Independence Day (March 15), Hungarian Memorial Day (October 6), Harvest Holiday, Magyar Nap, Hungarian Scouts Holiday, Night in Budapest, Grape Festival, October 23 Days. (Minor events and individual church holidays are not listed.) Hungarian speeches are common at all of the events.

44. Forty publications appearing entirely in Hungarian and three appearing in Hungarian and English.

45. A special difficulty in St. Louis has always been the large proportion of German speakers. These attracted to themselves many Hungarians who also spoke German and who regarded German as a language of greater prestige than Hungarian.

46. New York (120,336), Cleveland (51,217), Los Angeles (41,811), Chicago (37,127), Detroit (32,582), Pittsburgh (28,524), Philadelphia (25,011), Newark (17,194), Patterson-Passaic-Clifton (16,237), San Francisco-Oakland (14,282), Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton (12,969), Bridgeport (11,733), and Milwaukee (9,984).

47. The largest of these is the quarterly 'American Life' which claimed a circulation of 6,000 in 1960 whereas its circulation in 1950 was 5,500. It began as a Hungarian language publication in 1918. As the house organ of a fraternal organization which merged with another in 1963 its continuation now seems doubtful.

48. See Kende, G. (1927); Kozma, M. (1938).

49. A noteworthy exception was the Hungarian Reference Library established in New York in the mid thirties along the pattern of similar libraries established in Rome, Vienna, Berlin, and Paris. The library in New York had recognizable cultural goals above and beyond the exchange of scholarly information. It was closed when the United States entered the second World War.

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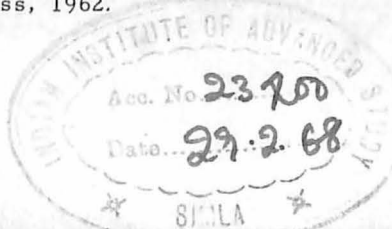
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