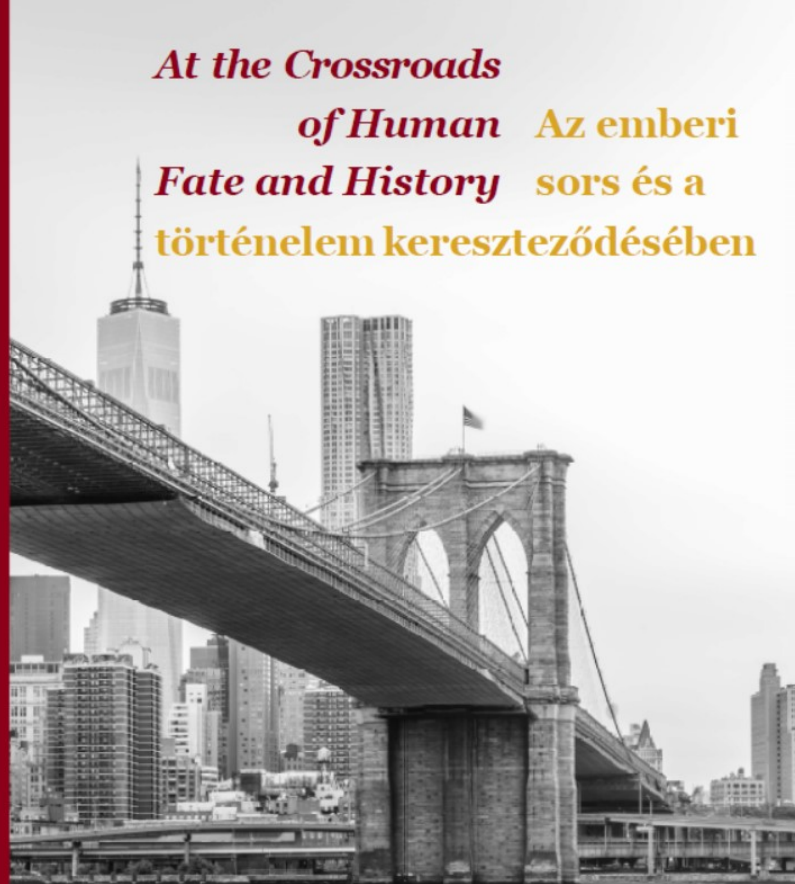




At the Crossroads of Human Fate and History
Az emberi sors és a történelem kereszteződésében

**ELTE BTK
2019**



Tanulmánykötet Frank Tibor 70. születésnapjára
Studies in Honour of Tibor Frank on His 70th Birthday

Szerkesztette Deák Nóra,
Kenyeres János, Lojtkó Miklós, Magyarics Tamás és Szabó Éva Eszter

ELTE BTK Angol-Amerikai Intézet, Budapest, 2019

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Főszerkesztő · Editor-in-Chief
Deák Nóra

Szerkesztők · Editors
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Előszó

Frank Tibor 70 éves lett, és már a 60. születésnapjára megjelent tisztelegő kötet előszavában felmerült a kérdés, hogy szerteágazó alkotó munkásságának és a nála fiatalabbakat megszégyenítő munkabírásiának vajon mi az észszerű magyarázata. Akkor a szerkesztők azzal a teóriával álltak elő, hogy minden bizonnyal több Frank Tibor létezik, mert ennyi mindent egyetlen ember nem tud véghezvinni. Van azonban egy másik magyarázat is: nem több Frank Tibor van, hanem egyetlenegy, aki viszont különös, titokzatos képességekkel rendelkezik. Tudós tanár, akinél az egyetemi katedra, a dolgozószoja és a könyvtár, a kéziratár és a levéltár összetartozó fogalmat alkot. Néhány éve munkássága meghozta számára a legmagasabb szakmai elismerést: a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia tagjai közé választotta.

Remek előadó, szuggesztív tanár, aki évtizedek óta formálja hallgatók nemzedékeinek gondolkodását és szemléletmódját. A hétköznapi életben jókedélyű és közvetlen beszélgetőpartner, de amikor szakterületéről, a történettudomány vagy a kultúra valamely kérdéséről beszél, hirtelen megváltozik körülötte a levegő, szavainak tekintélye, súlya lesz, és előadásával szinte magával ragadja hallgatóit. Kutatóként és tudósként a levéltárak dokumentumainak feltárásakor vagy a személyes interjúk során a precíz és aprólékos munka jellemzi, hogy aztán a fellelt, eddig ismeretlen részletekből új és megvilágosodás élményével ható történelmi összefüggéseket hozzon létre könyvek és tanulmányok egész sorában, legyen szó a kivándorlás tematikájáról, a transzatlanti kapcsolatokról vagy a nemzetkép és sztereotípiák változásairól. Könyvei, publikációi több nyelven olvashatók szerte a világban. Számos alkalommal volt vendégtanár és meghívott előadó neves külföldi egyetemeken. De mindezek mellett lelkes tudományszervező is, aki konferenciák egész sorát kezdeményezte és vitte sikerre, és több egyéb szellemi fórum megrendezésével gazdagította egyetemünket és a tudományos életet. Tevékenységének sokszínűségéhez az is hozzátartozik, hogy tudományos társaságokat alapított és vezetett, folyóiratokat szerkeszt és gyakran vállal szerepet a médiában, ahol értő hangon szól a nagyobb közönséghez a legújabb történelmi folyamatok szakértőjeként.

Vannak, akiket a sors tehetséggel és kreativitással áldott meg, és vannak, akiket szorgalommal és állhatatossággal: Frank Tibor azon ritka, szerencsés emberek közé tartozik, akik e tulajdonságokkal egyaránt rendelkeznek. Képességeit fegyelmezetten és következetesen bontakoztatja ki, míg pályatársainak és kollégáinak tevékenységét is gondosan figyelemmel kíséri. Intézetigazgató és tanszékvezető korában – és ez nem is volt olyan régen – mindig a munkahelyi közösség, a kollégák és diákok érdekei mellett állt ki a nehezebb időkben is. Sokan rászorultunk a tanácsaira és biztatásra, és ő ilyenkor mindig mellettünk állt, támogató javaslatokkal, lelkesítő szavakkal és jókedvű humorral. Szóval és tettekkel sokunk szakmai kibontakozását segítette, s így Tiborról nemcsak a tudósról és egyetemi professzorról, hanem mint igaz barától is beszélni kell. Amikor e sorok írója egy fontos tanulmányt a sokadik határidő után is elmulasztott benyújtani, és ki volt tűzve az utolsó utáni határidő napja is, Tibor a következő rövid SMS üzenetet

küldte: „Önnek még három napja van! Egy jóakarója.” Ennek a kedves fenyegetésnek meg is lett az eredménye.

Viszonzásképpen, kedves Tibor, én ennél nagylelkűbb időtávot kívánok Neked mindannyiunk érdekében és örömére: kívánom, hogy nem három napra, de még legalább három évtizedre maradj velünk jó egészségben, további sok derűvel és alkotókedvvel!

Budapest, 2018. február 3.

Kenyeres János

Foreword

Tibor Frank has turned 70. The editors of the celebratory volume published in his honour on his 60th birthday had tried to provide a reasonable explanation for the immensity of his diverse creative work and dynamism, which puts those much younger than him to shame. The editors ten years ago came up with the theory that there must be several Tibor Franks around, as one person cannot possibly tend to so many things. There is, however, another explanation: there are no multiple Tibor Franks; he is in fact one person, but of singular and mysterious talents. He is a scholar and professor for whom the lecture hall, the desk in his office, the library, the manuscript room and the archives merge into a unified concept. His work earned him the highest professional recognition a few years ago when he was elected member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

He is an outstanding lecturer and a powerful teacher who has shaped the thinking and mindset of generations of students over the past decades. In everyday life, he is a jovial and relaxed conversationalist, but when he starts talking about his field, a historical or cultural question, the air suddenly changes around him, as it were, and his words assume authority and weight, his sentences captivating the audience. As a researcher and scholar, he immerses himself in precise and meticulous work when examining archival documents or making oral interviews and then, from hitherto unknown facts and details, he creates new and revelatory historical links which he explains in his books and studies, whether about emigration, transatlantic relations or changes in national images and stereotypes. His publications are available in several languages around the world and he has frequently been hosted as visiting professor or keynote speaker by distinguished universities around the globe. He is also a passionate promoter of research and scholarship who has initiated and organized numerous successful conferences and other intellectual forums at ELTE and beyond. The breadth of his activities is also signalled by the fact that he has founded and led numerous academic bodies, acted as editor of learned journals and he frequently appears in the media as an expert, analysing the latest historical and political events for a wider audience.

Some people are endowed with talent and creativity, some with diligence and perseverance: Tibor Frank is one of the lucky few who possess each of these qualities. He translates his abilities into practice with discipline and consistency, while carefully monitoring and mentoring the professional careers of others. When he was director of the School of English and American Studies and Head of the Department of American Studies at ELTE – this was not so long ago – he always defended the interests of his colleagues and students in difficult times. When you need help and encouragement, you can always turn to him, he is always there to give you advice and cheer you up with fondness and good humour. Thus, importantly, Tibor is also a true friend who has helped many of us by words and deeds, to lead us on to greater professional fulfilment. When the author of this foreword failed to submit an important academic work in due

Foreword

course, and the very last deadline was set, Tibor sent the following short text message: “You have three days until the deadline. A friend.” This gentle threat bore fruit, the “offer” could not be refused.

In return, dear Tibor, I wish you a more generous time limit in the interest and for the joy of all of us. I hope you continue to stay with us not for three days but at least for three more decades, in good health and with much happiness and creative power!

Budapest, 3 February 2018

János Kenyeres

Conflicting Narrative Identity Formation in Racialized Intercultural Discourse

Nadine Gordimer's *The Conservationist*: A Cognitive Narratological Approach¹

Introduction

The main character, always in focus in Nadine Gordimer's apartheid-period narrative *The Conservationist* (1974) is Mehring, a middle-aged, rich white industrialist, the director of an investment fund and a member of more boards of directors than he cares to keep count of, who – although he is not a farmer – buys himself a farm on the money he earned in industry. He does it “to make contact with the land” and “as a sign of having remained fully human and capable of enjoying the simple things of life that poorer men can no longer afford.” It is a “weed-choked, neglected” farm, “a dirty piece of land, agriculturally speaking.” For tax reasons he could have left it “misused or wasted,” but he decided to stop “the rot,” clean up the place, make it productive. Although he has an experienced black foreman, Jacobus, who runs the farm and manages the black farm workers with great skill, Mehring is the farmer, the boss. He thinks he has “to keep half an eye (all he could spare) on everything.” He is open to learning new facts, ready to cope with the new situation since this is what industry required from him in the city after all: he was “accustomed to digesting new facts and coping with new situations.”²

But is he open to learn, is he ready to cope with the situation, really? What the Transvaal countryside has in store for the central character of this apartheid narrative in terms of human environment – the Afrikaners-alias-the-Boers-alias-the Dutch, the Greeks, the Asian Indians, and especially the native black Africans (even if safely segregated in “the location”) – both irritates and confuses him to a greater and greater degree. All this on top of a leftist mistress, Antonia, whom he helps to flee abroad,³ and a son, Terry with “well-meaning, if half-baked, social conscience,”⁴ with whom the generation gap could not be wider (add a divorced wife, who is an insufferable nuisance to him).

So the more we get to know of Mehring, the less we know who he is. And he has the same problem with himself. Thus the novel is gradually developing into a journey, which is his quest for self-definition although, puzzling as it is, he could not be more solidly defined than he is – by the racial and social position that he occupies and the

1 This essay was originally published in *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica* 8.1 (2016): 7–28. It is republished here with the permission of the journal.

2 Nadine Gordimer, *The Conservationist* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978 [1974]), 22–23.

3 Gordimer, 264.

4 Rowland Smith, “Black and White in Grey: Irony and Judgement in Gordimer's Fiction,” in *The Later Fiction of Nadine Gordimer*, ed. Bruce King (Houndmills, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1993), 50.

ideological conformity he represents in apartheid society. He is “a fundamental pillar of the oppressive system in South Africa.”⁵ What we have as his story unfolds are more and more messed-up relationships: interpersonal, interracial, intercultural disengagement, and contrived or cut-off communication in all of these respects.

The author decided not to help her reader. As Nadine Gordimer made it plain in the Jannika Hurwitt interview, in *The Conversationist* “you have a real narrator,” “with a totally dispassionate view from outside,” but the book is predominantly an interior monologue (Mehring’s for the most part, but not always), and the line between when Mehring is speaking and when he is not “is very vague.”⁶ Although the dispassionate narrator clearly, though implicitly, represents Gordimer’s antiapartheid stance (much-discussed in Gordimer criticism), and in various ways it is Mehring who is in the explicit or implicit focus of the intramental and intermental activities⁷ of the other characters too, narrative comprehension does take considerable effort on the part of the reader. The reason why habitual narrative-comprehension mechanisms fail us is the vague line just mentioned: the presented intramental activity “jumps about from different points of view” in the book.⁸ “I chose to ignore,” Gordimer admits, “that one had to explain anything at all. I decided that if the reader didn’t make the leap in his mind, if the allusions were puzzling to him – too bad.”⁹

When leaps in our mind are needed to yield clues to understanding a narrative, narrative coherence is accessible through inferences. The latter are what Gordimer’s leap-in-the-reader’s-mind idea translates into. Constructionist theory of inference generation distinguishes local and global coherence inferences as well as explanatory and communicative¹⁰ ones.¹¹ The allusions that trigger those inferences can be overt, but in this case are more characteristically covert, embedded in the narrative discourse, which is to say: they are implied. It is so because the true nature of the society the novel is

5 Stephen Clingman, “Deep History,” in *Critical Essays on Nadine Gordimer*, ed. Rowland Smith (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1990), 209.

6 Jannika Hurwitt, “The Art of Fiction LXXVII: Nadine Gordimer,” in *Conversations with Nadine Gordimer*, eds. Nancy Topping Bazin and Marilyn Dallman Seymour (Jackson and London: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 147.

7 Theoretical concepts coming from cognitive narratology like “intramental activity” and “intermental activity” will be much more useful for us than “interior monologue” and “dialogue” since the whole novel is cognition – chiefly Mehring’s – after all.

8 Hurwitt, 147.

9 Hurwitt, 148.

10 The last one (the “communicative exchange between reader and author” – A. C. Graesser, M. Singer, and T. Trabasso, “Constructing Inferences During Narrative Text Comprehension,” *Psychological Review* 101.3 [1994], 376) is conceived in the present paper as modified by psychonarratologists Marisa Bortolussi and Peter Dixon, to mean communication between the narrator and the reader, and not the *author* and the reader. Marisa Bortolussi and Peter Dixon, eds., *Psychonarratology: Foundations for the Empirical Study of Literary Response* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 16.

11 Graesser, Singer, and Trabasso, “Constructing Inferences,” 375–376 (emphasis in the original).

about must “*reveal itself*,” Gordimer argues in the Pat Schwartz interview: “The suffering inflicted by White on Black, the ambiguities of feeling, the hypocrisy, the courage, the lies, the sham and shame – they are all there, implicit. If you write honestly about life in South Africa, apartheid damns itself.”¹²

Racialized Cognitive Architecture: Intentionality

The Conservationist invites us into Mehring’s and other characters’ cognition, their intramental and intermental activities, then. Thus what we have to engage, when trying to make sense of this narratively organized discourse, is the basic source and container of the cognition of the novel’s fictional minds (and ours): their (and our) cognitive architecture. The many kinds and formalized models of cognitive architecture aside (from neuroscience and cognitive psychology through artificial intelligence), for narratological purposes cognitive architecture is “the range of databases” in our mind that are affected by new information, our “knowledge stores.”¹³

The attempt to interpret Mehring’s fictional mind is also to examine the cognitive architecture behind his cognition, by the light of our own. We try to interpret his by mobilizing our own. It is in his cognitive architecture, where we can find what makes a mentality like his tick; where we can also hope to discern clues to some of the allusions Gordimer talks about. And it will be the hidden allusions, together with what triggers them, on what we can draw our inferences regarding the baffling phenomenon Mehring is. Antiapartheid Gordimer’s method of presenting apartheid society in the fictional universe of *The Conservationist* makes it possible for her to condemn that society implicitly, i.e. without making her objective narrator judgmental. She described the method to one of her interviewers in simple terms: “I thrust my hand as deep as it will go, deep into the life around me, and I write about what comes up.”¹⁴ But she writes about it in such a manner that judgement is left, through the allusions, to the reader’s ability to infer. Apartheid will then fall to the ground by its own weight.

If – to borrow and extend Gordimer’s metaphor – we thrust our metaphorical hands deep into the novel, what comes up is a man whose narrative identity is both a solid logical product, constructed by the apartheid social environment and – for the same reason – an identity falling apart before our eyes until he becomes totally dysfunctional in terms of interpersonal and intercultural communication. Socially, he is a successful industrialist. Innately, he is not a bad human individual. Yet he is a dismal failure socially too, to such an extent that Mehring, the boss who lords over everything, ends up on the ground, physically and in a moral sense, with an apprehension that he will be killed in the next moment and will not even know why. Is his whole problem – and it is now

12 Pat Schwartz, “Interview: Pat Schwartz Talks to Nadine Gordimer,” in *Conversations with Nadine Gordimer*, eds. Nancy Topping Bazin and Marilyn Dallman Seymour (Jackson and London: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 83.

13 Lisa Zunshine, *Why We Read Fiction: Theory of Mind and the Novel* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2006), 48–49.

14 Schwartz, 83.

readably inference – ignorance? Failed identity formation (another readably inference)? A failure that does not know itself? Or rather, a failure that does know, but does not want to acknowledge itself? As Judith Levy suggests, “Mehring is already a dead man, but he does not know it. Or at least that knowledge is kept at an unconscious level as ‘unwelcome knowledge?’”¹⁵ My suggestion below will be that he *does* know and *is* conscious of it, but is reluctant to act upon that knowledge.

So the reader thrusts his or her metaphorical hand into the novel, and what comes up is a central personality, to whose identity we gain access through his own thoughts and recollections. But the protagonist does not see the first and most important aspect of his identity: the extent to which it has been claimed by apartheid, whose racist relational and communicative logic he internalized. While processing *The Conservationist*’s narrative discourse as readers, we sense that we are dealing with two conflicting identities, then: one which develops through Mehring’s narrative of himself, and one that the objective narrator develops about Mehring. How can we trace where we are with those two narrators, separately and vis-à-vis each other, and then, eventually, with the narrative subject called Mehring? We can trace it by examining Mehring’s cognitive architecture by the light of our own knowledge stores, as the only way to recognize some of the allusions that Gordimer had in mind in the interview quoted above – and then by making our readably inferences. Such an investigation involves, in turn, examining those two of the four levels of cognitive architecture that Patrick Colm Hogan calls the level of intentionalism (the character’s goals, beliefs, intentions)¹⁶ and the level of representationalism (the system of structures as well as mental processes and contents of the character’s cognition; e.g. images of experience).¹⁷

“The portrayal of a particular mind-style can often be a major objective of a literary work (probably *the* major objective...),” Catherine Emmott asserts, “and is important for the reader’s overall interpretation of the work.”¹⁸ It is enough to look at the level of intentionalism in Mehring’s cognitive architecture to realize that his mind-style is the clue to an overall interpretation of *The Conservationist*. But to draw up an inventory of the intentionalist domain of his mind only to prove that he is a racist tycoon and a misogynistic male – something that has been established about him by critics so many times

15 Judith Levy, “Narrative as a Way of Being: Nadine Gordimer’s *The Conservationist*,” *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 4.2 (June 2006): 108.

16 “Intentionalism” as defined by Hogan and applied in this paper is not to be confused with Lisa Zunshine’s “intentionality,” a broader term which covers all declared and concealed intentions aimed at characters, readers by other characters, narrators, and authors. Zunshine distinguishes seven embedded levels of intentionality in a single Virginia Woolf paragraph. Lisa Zunshine, “Theory of Mind and Experimental Representations of Fictional Consciousness,” in *Introduction to Cognitive Cultural Studies*, ed. Lisa Zunshine (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 206–207.

17 Patrick Colm Hogan, “On Being Moved: Cognition and Emotion in Literature and Film,” in *Introduction to Cognitive Cultural Studies*, ed. Lisa Zunshine (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 239.

18 Catherine Emmott, *Narrative Comprehension: A Discourse Perspective* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 30 (emphasis in the original).

(often rather one-sidedly) – would be superfluous and not to the point in the present context. Instead, let it suffice to quote some examples that would illuminate the point about the conflicting nature of the two identities: the protagonist's identity as he views himself as opposed to the identity that emerges from the objective narrator's discourse, and to how it is rooted in the intentionalist realm of the protagonist's cognitive architecture.

Mehring's beliefs and convictions spring from his aversion to, and disdain for, blacks, also for the Afrikaners/Boers/Dutch; and from the social position which makes it possible for him to buy whatever he wants to, especially property and women. His intentional thinking is fully racialized and sexualized. As Rose Pettersson puts it: he "ruthlessly exploits whatever and whoever comes in his way in order to achieve his own gratification."¹⁹ His treatment of a girl on an airlight – Dorothy Driver's example – is totally "de-personalizing."²⁰ Not that his ruthlessness is that of a zealous backer of the apartheid, though. It is rather nonchalant. "[T]he Great Impartial" – these are the politically radical Antonia's condemning words; "the politics are of no concern. The ideology doesn't matter."²¹ Mehring nonchalantly accepts what an apartheid society has to offer a wealthy white male, not only in social advantages but also in racist clichés, true. Nonchalantly but not quite unthinkingly. He is intelligent enough to have apprehensions: "Soon, in this generation or the next, it must be our turn to starve and suffer. Why not?" he is meditating, lying on the ground, with earth in his mouth.²² The bodily position is a reminder of the black stranger found dead, face down, in Mehring's third pasture and hastily and insensitively dumped into a shallow grave by the racist Afrikaner police but later washed up by incessant rain and flooding, as a symbolic reminder – a ghost that keeps haunting Mehring as it were. The murdered subaltern of postcolonial South Africa²³ is haunting Mehring, the postcolonial colonizer – who "fails to realize that the colonial era has already come to an end."²⁴ But it is also an allusion to some dull, unconfessed remorse that does not know itself. It is the objective narrator's allusive device

19 Rose Pettersson, *Nadine Gordimer's One Story of a State Apart* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1995), 91.

20 Dorothy Driver, "Nadine Gordimer: The Politicisation of Women," in *Critical Essays on Nadine Gordimer*, ed. Rowland Smith (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1990), 187.

21 Gordimer, 82.

22 Gordimer, 46–47.

23 The racial institution of apartheid was established (in 1948) many years after the country had already been granted the status of a sovereign state (in 1934), thus, formally, South Africa was no longer a colony at the time the action takes place.

24 Kathrin M. Wagner, "Landscape Iconography in the Novels of Nadine Gordimer," in *The Later Fiction of Nadine Gordimer*, ed. Bruce King (Houndmills, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1993), 74–88. This is the generally accepted view concerning Mehring, but I side with Lars Engle, who refines the point: "Mehring seems to imagine himself specifically defending industrialism against romantics who find it distasteful, rather than defending colonialism" (Lars Engle, "The Conservationist and the Political Uncanny," in *The Later Fiction of Nadine Gordimer*, ed. Bruce King [Houndmills, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1993], 103).

encouraging both backward-oriented and forward-oriented readerly inferencing. One, white minority rule denies black native majority land and life, Mehring being the foregrounded representative case in point – a backward-oriented inference. Two, the reader's forward-oriented inference that the dead man needs to be properly buried anticipates that he will be eventually buried decently by the blacks at the end of the novel, a concluding incident coded with significant meaning (about that significance later below).

But the predominant motives of the Mehring phenomenon, determining his cognitive architecture on the intentionalist level can be found in the multiple meanings of his being a conservationist. Two of these meanings/allusions are overt, both Mehring and the reader are aware of them. The third is covert and Gordimer (her objective narrator, that is) leaves it to the reader to work for it.

Firstly, Mehring is an avowed conservationist in the most common (and in itself conflictive) sense of environment protection: he wants to stop “the rot,” clean up the land as I have already mentioned. Protection of the environment is a cause that he takes so seriously that, for one, he prohibits the farm workers' children to play games with guinea fowl eggs.²⁵ He also refines that agenda to the point that it swings over into its own parody: “He is pathologically concerned with the conservation of the land, and he cannot allow himself to drop as much as a cigarette end on his farm.”²⁶ But the real conflicting elements of the conservationist component of the environmental protectionist's narrative identity are not these; rather, it is how an oversensitive relation to the physical environment (the country, the continent, the oceans, the sky²⁷) is almost totally insensitive to what is happening to, and what he himself is doing to, the human environment. Insensitive on the level of routine intermental activities at least;²⁸ intramentally it is a much more complex issue as indicated above and will be further elaborated below. Another – similarly overt – “conservationist” in him is the one that contributes to the conservation of the racist system, a characteristic that his conscientious-objector son, Terry challenges and his leftist mistress, Antonia castigates with scorn. As we have seen, Mehring has his apprehensions (of the blacks taking over one day, maybe), he is warned that he is a racist after all, he would even “make the world over, if it were easy as that,”²⁹ and he does have racially-motivated survival reflexes (he turns his back on everything and runs in the end). However, the real clue to his mentality and the fundamental source of who he is, and therefore to the dual identity of this racialized subject is the third (covert) meaning of “conservationist”: he internalized (conserved internally) the ruling

25 Gordimer, 12.

26 Pettersson, *Nadine Gordimer's One Story*, 94.

27 Gordimer, 11.

28 Gordimer, 266. *Almost* totally because we do see signs of his concern for others. He does manifest fatherly feelings for his son, not necessarily obstinate or wrong-headed in every respect. He does lend the Toyota pick-up to his unsufferable Boer neighbor, Old De Beer. He does give instructions to Jacobus to assist the dead man's reburial (“Jacobus must look after everything nicely”) even if Mehring himself does not even want to hear about it.

29 Gordimer, 81.

white elite's view of the apartness of racialized South Africa. What the narrative is doing here – as it is processing Mehring through his story, so to say – can be described with cognitive narratologist Manfred Jahn's flow-charting method ("an adaptation of Bremond's model"): the internalization of the external into an internal story, which is then externalized into an external story.³⁰ In our context: it is the external (the racist apartheid world) internalized by Mehring which is then externalized as the Mehring-story, viewed both internally (through presenting his mental activity) and externally (by the objective narrator).

Racialized Cognitive Architecture: Representation

"Representation" is one of the key notions of postcolonial theory, and that theoretical idea is relevant in our case too. (I will take up that line later below.) As for the level of "representationalism" of cognitive architecture, it "systematizes our mentalistic idiom, developing it into a system of structures ('working memory,' 'episodic memory,' and so on), process ('memory consolidation,' 'memory retrieval,' etc.), and contents (e.g. particular images from one's past experience)."³¹ In order to make the subject manageable, we need to limit our enquiry into the representationalism-level of Mehring's cognitive architecture to what and how his mind stores of general knowledge and of his personal experience (the latter also forms part of his knowledge). In other words, what the representations of these would be in his knowledge system. The way we can access and evaluate Mehring's multi-component knowledge is – as has been indicated above – by confronting it with our own general knowledge of the world and with the way we, the readers store (i.e. represent) what Mehring experiences (both of his social environment in general and as personal experience as an individual in particular). The name of the game for the reader is comparing representations: Mehring's and ours. We can do this only partly on the basis of our own general knowledge of the world. We also need to rely on what we gather about Mehring's general knowledge of the world as well as about what his personal experiences are, and how he stores them. Our source regarding the latter (i.e. his mental representation of general knowledge and personal experience stored in his long-term memory as his knowledge) is what Emmott's narrative-comprehension theory calls the reader's "text-specific knowledge" – information "stored in the mental representation of a character."³² For us, it is information that we gather from the text, as we process the narrative, about Mehring's representations.

Our text-specific knowledge does confirm what Rita Barnard establishes about how the pastoral that our industrialist protagonist hoped for when he bought a farm

30 Manfred Jahn, "'Awake! Open your eyes!': The Cognitive Logic of External and Internal Stories," in *Narrative Theory and the Cognitive Sciences*, ed. David Herman (Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, 2003), 201.

31 Patrick C. Hogan, "On Being Moved: Cognition and Emotion in Literature and Film," in *Introduction to Cognitive Cultural Studies*, ed. Lisa Zunshine (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 239.

32 Emmott, *Narrative Comprehension*, 7 and 19.

turns out to be an ironic one against an apartheid background. Apartheid did not “simply” marginalize black Africans; rather, it was a world of “forced removals” and brutal relocations of the black population whose civil rights were absolutely denied in the first place.³³ The way the dead black stranger is shoved in by the police without investigation, itself alludes to the total denial of rights. It is the rights of the native people and their right to live which are declared dead and are buried here symbolically. What makes the “misdirected pastoralism” – “the ultimate symbol of white capitalist corruption and alienation”³⁴ impossible is also that Mehring himself is racist. It is enough to look at his entity representation when he is first led to the dead man by Jacobus and first spies the corpse (the point of view is Mehring’s): “One of them.”³⁵ He does not call the people to whom the land belongs “blacks,” not even in his thoughts. The denied other of the apartheid is just “they” and “them” for him. He is “incapable of seeing other (black) human beings in other than functional terms,” Dorothy Driver notes.³⁶ Once it is as bad as this, it may not be going too far to suggest that foreman Jacobus, who does his best to balance between the master and “them” (Jacobus’s own people) is introduced and referred to by Mehring as his “herdsman.” It may be another indirect allusion, in which the cowherd is only one step removed from the black “herd” or “herdsman of the black” – keeper/manager of the black “herd,” some of whom are Mehring’s farm workers and all of whom live behind a barbed-wire fence on the “location.”³⁷

Mehring’s intermental (actual and imagined actual) dispute, and to a much greater extent intramental (i.e. recollected) debate with Antonia and Terry open up a rich mine of representations.³⁸ Mehring does keep track of the sources of his representations and keeps evaluating them. As for his lover and his son, he does not accept them as a source. The mental process that leads him to this decision is cognition about cognition, a representation regarding representation – i.e. metacognition or metarepresentation. And here it is not the cliché that triumphs: Antonia’s and Terry’s representations as Mehring stored them in his mind are much more complex and sophisticated than Mehring’s representation in their mind. They are the ones who break away from racist schemata and scripts (especially political activist Antonia does), yet their view of Mehring is cliché-

33 Rita Barnard, *Apartheid and Beyond: South African Writers and the Politics of Space* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 71 and 76.

34 Wagner, “Landscape Iconography,” 85.

35 Gordimer, 15.

36 Driver, 190.

37 Gordimer regarded apartheid much worse than even “colonial racism,” see Terry Gross, “Fresh Air: Nadine Gordimer,” in *Conversations with Nadine Gordimer*, eds. Nancy Topping Bazin and Marilyn Dallman Seymour (Jackson and London: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 307.

38 It is also rich in metarepresentation. We “metarepresent” our representations if we “keep track of sources of our representations.” It is “a particular cognitive endowment closely related to our mind-reading ability” (Zunshine, *Why We Read Fiction*, 47).

ridden. (See the mental representation of the white industrialist's relation to the land in Antonia's mind.)³⁹ Mehring may be captive too much of the colonialist/apartheid mentality, and his contempt for scripts of convention may not go far beyond avoiding parties and new-year messages by not responding to people's phone calls. And here, once more, we sense dramatic irony: the objective narrator winking at us from behind her protagonist's back because of the conflicting logic of such a behavior. Yet, subconsciously, Mehring probably does feel that he accumulated some representational deficit in the racialized world and the reason for it is the very social side on which he stands. So he is trying to make up for some of it by conscious experience-acquisition when he lies down on the ground in the very position the black corpse was found lying – "his non-rational physical sympathy with the dead man."⁴⁰ Although this is itself a conflictive image as the objective narrator may also allude to the naive if not ridiculous nature of the moment on somebody's part who contributes to the blacks becoming social outcasts even if he is not promoting the ideology, apartheid being the largest and deterministic frame in South Africa between 1948 and 1994.

The circumstances of his desertion of the farm may also be ridiculous – and, for him, most humiliating – at the end of the novel, but the cognitive approach sheds a different light on it. The interpretation Mehring puts on the incident (a woman who may or may not have trapped him; a strange man, who may or may not want to rob, kill or castrate him)⁴¹ can be seen as Mehring's inference, triggered by racist schemata and scripts. The Afrikaans-speaking man may have wished "to protect" him (as vice squad or a "guardian of the purity of the master race,"⁴² but the incident brought Mehring to the end of his tether, because *his* inner representations tell him something else. Let me surmise that Emmott's contextual frame theory will help us out as for what that something else can be. "The 'contextual frame' stores information about which characters are co-present in which location at which time" in a narrative. And, besides overt participants, unmentioned participants can be covertly present in the same location at the same time.⁴³ I submit that the participant who is not present in the Mehring-scene is the dead black man.

The dead man is the most significant participant, who is not present overtly/physically at this location at this time, but is co-present in our contextual frame, especially because Mehring himself links the disgraceful incident to that of the murdered stranger in his intramental reflections. He is suddenly paranoid and scared, not simply because "[t]hese are the bastards who shovelled him [the black corpse] in as you might fling a

39 Gordimer, 176–178.

40 Smith, 50.

41 Gordimer, 262.

42 Gordimer, 253.

43 Catherine Emmott, "Constructing Social Space: Sociocognitive Factors in the Interpretation of Character Relations," in *Narrative Theory and the Cognitive Sciences*, ed. David Herman (Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, 2003), 304.

handful of earth on the corpse of a rat, just to cover the stink.”⁴⁴ But also because his human decency gets the upper hand in him concerning the dead black man, and because he feels (probably also as a result of the inner representations yielded by his racial experience and meditations) that the time for his own burial has arrived, and these people are here to shovel *him* in, this time. Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say: apartheid caught up with Mehring at this point, the poetic justice part of it certainly did – poetic justice meted out by the objective narrator. Justice is administered in the fashion we have already seen at work in the novel: through the allusive technique that makes readerly inference possible. The thought that crosses Mehring’s mind that perhaps the time for his own burial arrived is an allusion, which implies (the reader infers) that *Mehring* is the stranger, metaphorically speaking (a stranger in the land of the many sub-Sahara black tribes of South Africa). The objective narrator makes us aware of how Mehring, who views himself as the triumphant industrialist, now ready to learn how to be a good farmer, is in fact *struggling* more and more flounderingly in the role in which he is positioned in the apartheid world. Mehring, the “the stranger” is doomed to death in a socio-cognitive sense (because his social role is); and he (what he represents socially) is buried (symbolically) when the black corpse is buried. This does identify him, metaphorically, with the murdered stranger. Mehring, the colonialist-“stranger” is doomed to death, has been dying gradually as he realized it faintly and then more and more vividly, but now he is “murdered,” figuratively speaking (turns his back on the farm, on the pastoral dream in apartheid hell and on his racist role in it). Our forward-oriented local inference, on reading the scene in question, is that he will try to get away alive. Our forward-oriented global inference is that black South Africa is moving towards liberation. After all, as Gordimer explained in the Hurwitt interview, the funeral of the unknown man is a reburial when his own land receives him at long last (“he has now been put with proper ceremony into his own earth”). In other words, the “disguised message” of the “resurrection theme” is at work here,⁴⁵ the resurrection of the black African in South Africa. In Stephen Clingman’s words: “the raising of the black body simultaneously represents a ‘return of the repressed’ on both political and psychological levels.”⁴⁶ But a backward-oriented global readerly inference, established by a network of allusions, can certainly take it one step further and indicate that *Mehring* was the dead stranger all through. The question was: how much intermental and intramental work it took for him to realize it too. *The Conservationist* is the process of that realization.

Memories and narratives are removed from previous experience, Mark Freeman theorizes, but they “still deserve to be considered real and potentially important as sources of information about ourselves and our past.”⁴⁷ As his memories and represen-

44 Gordimer, 263.

45 Hurwitt, 150.

46 Clingman, 208.

47 Mark Freeman, *Rewriting the Self: History, Memory, Narrative* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 91.

tations are for Mehring. His memories are too many and more important than he believed them to be (his former strategy of willed noninvolvement and isolation fails). We can adapt Uri Margolin's phrase to describe what happens to him: what we are witnessing is "perceptual system shutdown or crash," where the mind is overwhelmed with impressions and our ability to decode them is reduced⁴⁸ – if by "perceptual" we mean *mental* perception instead of the physical.

Manifestations of Racialized Cognitive Architecture:
Intra- and Intermental Activity, Positioning

What is stored in the levels of intentionality and representations of Mehring's cognitive architecture as his knowledge that motivates his cognition is revealed in his intramental and intermental activity as well as in his positioning. We have already seen details illustrating how the intra- and intermental *point*, centripetally, to what Mehring's cognitive architecture contains as the source of those mental activities. But if we examine this relation from an inverse direction – i.e. intra- and intermental activity as manifestations of cognitive architecture – the reversed (centrifugal) perspective reveals features of Mehring's cognitive behavior that would otherwise remain hidden.

What makes our conservative-conservationist protagonist a much more complex figure than those who seem to be progressive in thinking by comparison (Antonia and Terry) is that although we expect the political conservationist in him to be fully guided by his intentionality, and that he will live up to the requirements of his representations – in fact he cannot entirely, not in every respect. The realization dawns upon the attentive reader early as a forward-oriented inference. Mehring refers to the murdered black man as just "one of them,"⁴⁹ as already mentioned. Yet, he instructs Jacobus in the closing sentence of the first chapter-like unit of the text, motivated by some innate humaneness, to cover the dead man with something: "You'd better take something – to put over, down there. (His head jerks towards the river.) A tarpaulin. Or sacks."⁵⁰ True, he avoids to refer to him even as "him." Paradoxically, Mehring's reaction, once he has seen the dead man, is already an improvement on the initial colonial arrogance with which he related to the news when Jacobus first communicated it to him and he responded by asking: "Why should I go to look at a dead man near the river?"⁵¹

What our cognitive narratological approach helps us notice very soon is that Mehring's intramental and intermental activities (his recollections and meditations on the one hand and his interpersonal exchanges on the other hand) do not go hand in hand. While intermentally he is a faithful representative of the socially constructed role racial discrimination prescribes for the English-speaking white boss (he wants to keep

48 Uri Margolin, "Cognitive Science, the Thinking Mind, and Literary Narrative," in *Narrative Theory and the Cognitive Sciences*, ed. David Herman (Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, 2003), 289.

49 Gordimer, 15.

50 Gordimer, 21.

51 Gordimer, 13.

an eye on everything, to have his orders obeyed and detests black Africans), intramentally he is a realist too. Racist power discourse assigns him a place at the top, but intramentally he has no illusions: "They [the blacks] know everything about us";⁵² "They have been there all the time and they will continue to be there. They have nothing and they have nothing to lose."⁵³ Intermentally he never uses the harsh tone with Antonia that she adopts with him, but intramentally he is right (the realist again) about how her kind of radicalism is shallow and does not take the world very far. In intermental negotiations he is often tough with his son, Terry, but intramentally he does cherish genuine fatherly feelings for him.

Mehring's mind "habitually runs" on a "fine criss-cross of grooves."⁵⁴ He senses a "gap" that "lies at a deeper level in the text than the undeniable truth of the white man's ultimate failure to possess the land." It arouses "terror in him, the sense of standing over an abyss."⁵⁵ Our context can refine the point further: the "fine criss-cross of grooves" of his mind makes it possible for him to confront his cognitive intentionalism and the representations of his knowledge systems with his experiential knowledge of the world. Thus he is engaging in a task which will be the reader's too, who, in turn, will compare Mehring's cognitive architecture with his/her own. The resulting slow process of transformation is checked and qualified and barely discernable in his intermental activity. But he is indeed making steady progress intramentally, with the nameless black corpse as a concealed catalyst, until Mehring's subconscious and formless dissociation from his dream of colonialist pastoralism takes shape in his mind, overwhelms him and erupts from under the surface in that humiliating scene at the end of his story.

However, all this takes place inside Mehring. At this point one would expect the intramental and the intermental to be in full accord. But very few sentences are actually exchanged intermentally, no matter how radical the nature of Mehring's decision is. In what is a brilliant piece of writing, the clashing intermental confrontation between Mehring and the "thick-headed ox, guardian of the purity of the master race"⁵⁶ all takes place intramentally, in Mehring's mind.⁵⁷ It is one of the many moments (but the most crucial one) of the intramentally presented intermental in the novel. It can also be seen as the intensively imagined intermental that effects a decisive change in the realm of the intramental.

And with this we have reached the problematic of positioning. The protagonist of *The Conservationist* is the embodiment of a paradox, therefore his position is paradoxical. Colonial-reflexed postcolonial apartheid is itself a paradox. That is the external that Mehring internalized, which internal story is then externalized as his story, mostly

52 Gordimer, 57.

53 Gordimer, 260.

54 Gordimer, 58.

55 Levy, 113.

56 Gordimer, 263.

57 Gordimer, 261–265.

through his intramental activity as we have just seen. And his story is about how he has been positioned by this culture.⁵⁸ But, as we saw earlier, he also develops dilemmas related to his position. The more closely he examines his alienating and alienated role, the more distressed he becomes.

The whole novel can be regarded as a narrative of position-discomposure – a novel of repositioning eventually. Gordimer called her central character “a kind of fossil” in the Schwartz interview.⁵⁹ And he is too, in that he is the walking embodiment of an out-dated social establishment. An establishment that forces Jacobus, Mehring’s black foreman into a seemingly easy-to-mold position, a good illustration of what Homi Bhabha described as mimicry.

Jacobus is a position-shifter depending on who he is dealing with. It is an existential imperative for him to do the job to Mehring’s satisfaction; but he also does his best to help his own people on the sly side. Jacobus’s positioning differs from the rest of the blacks. The latter are positioned by apartheid to be undesirable and oppressed aliens in their own country,⁶⁰ but *his* positioning comes from Mehring, one character positioning the other. So his activity as a double narrative agent of the storyworld, i.e. serving Mehring, the white boss, but trying to help his black people too, means that in his intramental cognitive operations he rejects the positioning that comes to him from Mehring. “An ironic compromise,” “the sign of a double articulation” is what mimicry is in Bhabha’s definition; pretended accommodation, inclusive of its difference “that is itself a process of disavowal.”⁶¹ This makes Jacobus a skillful juggler of positions: he tells the black women “to warn the children not to collect eggs *where they could be seen*,” and reassures his conservationist white boss that “there were plenty of guinea fowl about if you had to be up at work early enough to see them.”⁶² “[T]he discourse of mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence*” after all.⁶³ As for Mehring, he may be fossil, but he is certainly not petrified. We see him, as we read on, more and more as a man of “dis-jointed consciousness” – also Gordimer’s words, this time from the Diana Cooper-Clark

58 Our place in society depends on the role we take, Gordimer argues. We may run away from our “inevitable role,” or we can “take it on.” “But the fact is that you *have* a role; there is no such thing as an ivory tower – that’s a place in itself. You are consciously or unconsciously creating a position in your society” (Stephen Gray, “An Interview with Nadine Gordimer,” *Conversations with Nadine Gordimer*, eds. Nancy Topping Bazin and Marilyn Dallman Seymour [Jackson and London: University Press of Mississippi, 1990], 180).

59 Schwartz, 80.

60 “What is South Africa?” Frantz Fanon asks. “A boiler into which thirteen million blacks are clubbed and penned in by two and a half million whites” (Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann [New York: Grove Press, 1968 (1967)], 87. Originally published as *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* [Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1952]).

61 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 86.

62 Gordimer, 33.

63 Bhabha, 86 (emphasis in the original).

interview.⁶⁴ In the cognitive narratological context of the present study we can say that what Mehring is experiencing is a widening rift between his position and his positioning cognitive architecture.

Communication

“[I]t needs to be made clear about cultural discourse and exchange within a culture that what is commonly circulated by it is not ‘truth’ but representations,” Edward Said claims about culture and representation in general, adding: “there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a *re-presence*, or a representation.”⁶⁵ We have already seen the racialized level of such colonial representations in Mehring’s cognitive architecture that bear the mark of apartheid. Thus what we find in *The Conservationist* is that it is also about the impossibility of intercultural communication in a *de jure* postcolonial but *de facto* colonial world of racial segregation. Communication is completely racialized in the apartheid South Africa of Gordimer’s novel. When group communication shifts from the intercultural to an interracial basis in a racist environment, interest in the – marked or unmarked⁶⁶ – culture of the racial other is eclipsed.

A whole array of incidents and communicative details illustrates the following two points that appear to be the same but are different: one, interest in intercultural presence is killed by racist representations; two, meaningful interracial communication is made impossible by trivial and evasive communicative routines. To appreciate the first point (absence of intercultural presence), it is enough to realize that we cannot detect any genuine black African cultural presence in the storyworld-agents’ communications. It is absent from the novel in every respect other than the objective narrator’s indirect discourse (e.g. symbolic suggestions).⁶⁷ As a matter of fact, any kind of

64 Diana Cooper-Clark, “The Clash,” in *Conversations with Nadine Gordimer*, eds. Nancy Topping Bazin and Marilyn Dallman Seymour (Jackson and London: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 225.

65 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979 [1978]), 21 (emphasis in the original).

66 It is Roy Wagner’s distinction. As opposed to the marked (narrower) sense of culture (literature and the arts), “culture” is used in my essay in the unmarked (broad) sense, to include “science, art, and technology, the sum total of achievements, inventions, and discoveries”; “unmarked” to the immense extent that cognitive cultural studies broadens it, viewing culture, as Raymond Williams did, as “a whole way of life” (Roy Wagner, *The Invention of Culture*, revised and expanded edition [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981], 22; Lisa Zunshine, “Introduction: What Is Cognitive Cultural Studies?” in *Introduction to Cognitive Cultural Studies*, ed. Lisa Zunshine [Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010], 8).

67 See, for example, Kathrin M. Wagner on Gordimer’s “landscape iconography,” Lars Engle discussing *The Conservationist* in the context of the Rev. Henry Callaway’s *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, or Michael Thorpe on how “[t]he ancestor motif centers upon the unknown man who near the beginning is found murdered on Mehring’s farm” (Engle, “*The Conservationist* and the Political Uncanny,” 95 and on; Michael Thorpe, “The Motif of the

preoccupation with the racial other's culture is totally absent all along the racial line, be it the English-speaking industrialist Mehring, the Afrikaner De Beer and his family, or the immigrant owner of the Indian store and his family. There is no sign of positive inter- or cross-cultural engagement among them either. And they all have a contempt for blacks and black culture. Mehring detests the Afrikaners and keeps his distance from black Africans as much as he can. He is sharply aware of Jacobus's interracial agency: Jacobus serves the white man but also helps the blacks; Mehring lets "them" bury the murdered stranger if they want to – but he wants to have nothing to do with "them." Nor do his frequent travels to other countries mean anything to him culturally, no sign of cultural pursuits or memories concerning cultures outside South Africa (Japan, for example). Afrikaner De Beer does cherish history, but it is the Boer history of heroes of the Boer wars, prime ministers, politicians who implemented apartheid and signed their photos for him; not mentioning his own grandfather, who fought in the Kaffir Wars, and a "kaffir" doll⁶⁸ the grandfather took from a Kaffir chief before they burned his place.⁶⁹ Such details speak for themselves. But Mehring is full of uncertainties concerning his own "I" identity, both individual and personal, and his collective or "we" identity⁷⁰ comes under fire from Antonia and Terry. He can speak Afrikaans – "the white man's other language" – but he uses it only when he speaks to officials.⁷¹ If his intercultural dislike of the Dutch does not show through in his interpersonal handling of the De Beers' visit and he generously lends them what they want before they ask for it, it is because he wants to shake them off as fast as possible. Black foreman Jacobus loathes the Boers more than Mehring does, resents his boss lending De Beer his Toyota pickup and tells Mehring so. And the way Gordimer's Indian immigrants feel in South Africa adds further details to what Vasu Reddy tells us about what South African writers of Indian origin emphasize in their works: "the dehumanizing effects of racial oppression."⁷²

Human conversations evolve, John J. Gumperz informs us, along the "culturally possible lines of reasoning."⁷³ The conversations that apartheid culture makes possible – turning now to the second point of banal and elusive speech acts – are the trivial and

Ancestor in *The Conservationist*," in *Critical Essays on Nadine Gordimer*, ed. Rowland Smith [Boston: G. K. Hall, 1990], 116–123, 117).

68 "Kaffir" used for a long time by white colonizers to refer to black Africans is a cruelly offensive word today.

69 Gordimer, 54–55.

70 Jan Assmann's categories. Cf. Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*, trans. David Henry Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 [1992, 2007]), 112–113. Originally published as *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1992).

71 Gordimer, 17.

72 Vasu Reddy, "History and Memory: Writing by Indian Authors," in *Apartheid Narratives*, ed. Nahem Yousaf (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2001), 83.

73 John J. Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies*. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 160.

evasive communicative routines that follow from what we have just seen in particular, but also from the racialization of intercultural communication in general. Mehring has no doubt that the blacks “are busy complaining about *him* in the safety of their own language, they retreat into it and they can say what they like”;⁷⁴ and “[t]he children don’t understand the language,” English that is.⁷⁵ Interracial communication between, say, Mehring and Jacobus, is possible only through “the conventions of polite conversation.”⁷⁶ It is always “the usual sort of exchange between his black man and himself.”⁷⁷ Between the Boers and Mehring communication is “the well-regulated demands and responses.”⁷⁸ When De Beer wants to ask Mehring something, it goes like this: “There has been a whole preamble of small talk about the weather, the drought, the usual thing before getting to the point.”⁷⁹ Apartheid South Africa may be part of the reader’s general knowledge as s/he starts reading *The Conservationist*, but as we read the novel, we gradually acquire the text-specific knowledge that intercultural communication in this racist culture is not really *inter* and not *real* communication. Intercultural skills simply mean a skillful manipulation of communicative surfaces as dictated by, and can be expected from, one’s (Mehring’s, Jacobus’s, and the others’) position in this particular sociocultural hierarchy. It is Jacobus’s position that makes him quite an artist of evasive communication and communicative maneuvering. He is “not without sycophancy” in Mehring’s presence (Mehring finds, intramentally);⁸⁰ in the presence of others he “agrees with everything that Mehring says, rather than gives an independent answer,”⁸¹ although Mehring will soon find, when they are alone, that Jacobus does have an independent view of the matter. But the blacks look up to the black foreman since “they knew Jacobus was the boss of the show, he ran that farm while the white man lived in town.”⁸² A careful look at how these two conduct their interpersonal dealings with each other shows that intramentally both argue stubbornly (whether it is the guinea fowl issue or whether they need a fierce dog or not),⁸³ but intermentally the strategy is always clash-avoidance on Jacobus’s part, the round-about method. His disagreement with a negative point Mehring raises is always through a positive idea. This brings us to the matter of discourse, a subject which has been crying for attention in this paper for a while.

Conclusion: Discourse and Narrative Identity

But it would be sheer tautology to repeat the points already made about how apartheid is a racist discourse, anti-apartheid narratorial feelings are a counterdiscourse, and the

74 Gordimer, 75 (emphasis in the original).

75 Gordimer, 10.

76 Gordimer, 223–224.

77 Gordimer, 58.

78 Gordimer, 58.

79 Gordimer, 49.

80 Gordimer, 12.

81 Gordimer, 56.

82 Gordimer, 37.

83 Gordimer, 32–33.

characters have their own discourse. What we would capture in our discursive net if cast this way would be only parts (significant constituents, though) of the main discursive concern of the narrative as a whole – of the global narrative discourse.

We can look for *The Conservationist's* global narrative discourse in the narratorial consciousness. As I claimed elsewhere in a narrato-cultural essay: “a narratorial mind is not simply present in a narrative text, but the text *is* the content of that mind since what the text contains is the product of a narrator’s or an implied author’s consciousness.”⁸⁴ And our extradiegetic (external) teller of the tale (Gordimer calls her “objective narrator” as indicated earlier) is an implied-author narrator, who has an anti-apartheid mindset, and that is the cultural determination that produces and rules the Gordimer novel’s text (the *what* of the narrative) and *shapes* the narrative (the *how*). Without getting entangled in the intricacies of Seymour Chatman’s definitions of content and expression (story and discourse) planes vis-à-vis substance and form,⁸⁵ I wish to adopt his idea of “deep narrative predicate,” which is not the same as (though constructed through a series of) “surface linguistic predicates.”⁸⁶ A deep *narrative* predicate can determine not only longer stretches of narrative, but a whole work, narrated or nonnarrated, directly or in mediated ways, embedded directly or indirectly in narratorial consciousness or/and storyworld character-focalizers. The deep narrative predicate – what can be called narratorial global discourse in the contexts of this paper – was already mentioned above as the widening rift between Mehring’s position and the apartheid-driven cognitive architecture that positions him. *The Conservationist's* mediated discursive point is that such a seemingly unresolvable tension, culminating in a rift, necessarily disjoins a

84 Zoltán Abádi-Nagy, “Narratorial Consciousness as an Intersection of Culture and Narrative (Case Study: Toni Morrison’s *Jazz*),” *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 14.1 (Spring 2008), 21.

85 Above I quoted Gordimer on how the main points the novel is making are “implicit.” Where can we look for what is implicit in *The Conservationist*? It can be found in the narrative discourse, as we process it, in both the narratological and the discourse analysis senses of the term “discourse.” And the two are closely interrelated. Ever since Seymour Chatman introduced the distinction between story and discourse – content versus expression (Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* [Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1978], 26 and on) – discourse is the *how*, the manner as opposed to the story-line, the subject, the *what*. It is *the way* as David Herman puts it: it is “the method of narrative presentation,” “the mode of telling,” “the manner in which those events are organized in the recounting” (*Story Logic: Problems and Possibilities of Narrative* [Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002], 214). And by focusing on the expression level of the story or the manner of telling (the narratological sense of discourse), we will be attentive to discourse entities, discourse units, and discourse structure in the discourse-analysis sense. To put it in a more narrative-specific way, in Herman’s words elsewhere (based on Catherine Emmott): “narrative can be viewed as a discourse environment in which producers as well as interpreters of stories use many different linguistic resources – or coding strategies – to establish and maintain reference to discourse entities that interact with one another in narrative-specific ways” (David Herman, “Introduction,” in *Narrative Theory and the Cognitive Sciences*, ed. David Herman [Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, 2003], 13).

86 Gordimer, 146.

sensitive human individual from his or her own cognitive architecture in a brutally inhuman society, even if that sensitivity is internally half-buried already under the social values that the individual incorporated into his or her own cognitive architecture. This global narrative discourse or deep narrative predicate organizes the *how* of Gordimer's narrative in the senses Chatman theorizes the *how*: the "structure of narrative transmission" ("form of expression") and enfolding discourse "manifestations" ("substance of expression").⁸⁷ Let it suffice to say, more simply, in the concrete terms of the novel, what the *how* that Gordimer's deep narrative predicate develops in the novel is: the narrator processes Mehring through a series of events/actions and recollections (inter- and intramental activities), making him think over who he is, what his position in apartheid society is. After all, as Frantz Fanon asserts relating to (otherwise mainly reacting against) French psychoanalyst Octave Mannoni's ideas: "the problem of colonialism includes not only the interrelations of objective conditions but also human attitudes toward these conditions."⁸⁸ In turn, through Mehring's own narratives that narrativize the formation of his narrative identity, the extradiegetic anti-apartheid narrator herself thinks apartheid-driven South Africa over, adjusting Mehring's perspectival filtering to align the reader with the narratorial vantage point. In a word, the discursive method is mapping socio-cultural cognition here.⁸⁹

If *The Conservationist* is the cognitive cultural mapping of its deep narrative predicate, the "plot" (not in the usual sense because much more of the novel is stasis than action) will be mental. How? Similarly to the way every single narrative entity (characters, objects, and narrative space⁹⁰) is inscribed with the deep narrative predicate, the contextual blocks or discourse units, each and every one of them are also weaving the same global discourse of the narrative, through a series of local discourse contexts. This is yet another (the third), the discourse-analysis sense of "discourse." It is an understanding of a discourse unit which points to a unit of content, perhaps inclusive of subsidiary events and/or changing locations, but remaining inside the same local narrative context.⁹¹ Our example can be the De Beer family's visit with Mehring as one and the same local discourse context, in spite of the shifts from the Mehring/De Beer interpersonal

87 Chatman, 26.

88 Fanon, 84.

89 It is not identical with "cognitive mapping." The latter is reserved to mean, in a narrower sense: "a mental model in *spatial* relations"; in the extended sense as used by Marie-Laure Ryan: the readerly construction of narrative space "as a background for the understanding of plot, character motivations, and the moral issues articulated in the text" (Marie-Laure Ryan, "Cognitive Maps and the Construction of Narrative Space," in *Narrative Theory and the Cognitive Sciences*, ed. David Herman [Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, 2003], 215–216).

90 Gordimer's copious descriptions of various aspects of landscape and space thoroughly imbued with thematic concerns and symbolic significance have been given ample treatment in Gordimer criticism. See Brian Macaskill, "Placing Spaces: Style and Ideology in Gordimer's Later Fiction," in *The Later Fiction of Nadine Gordimer*, ed. Bruce King (Houndmills, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1993), 59–73, and Kathrin M. Wagner, "Landscape Iconography."

91 Emmott, *Narrative Comprehension*, 12–13.

exchange in Mehring's house to Jacobus and De Beer outside, and then the switch to the Jacobus/Mehring confrontation over the De Beer visit. It is also the global narrative discourse which is woven in the discourse structure of the shifting contextual units that the text divides into or is putting itself together through. In our De Beer-visit example the kaffir doll – as only one hint at racial intolerance among the many – is a case in point.

The way global discourse units can be built into multiple local discourse units (contexts) is not only through discourse (deep-predicate) distribution. The narrato-rhetorical purpose is also served by cultural narrato-rhetorhemes,⁹² which also shape Mehring's narrative identity. Some of the narrato-rhetorhemes can have global narrative functions, as, most outstandingly, the governing trope of the murdered black stranger does. The dead man highlights the South African social condition that Fanon talks about; very slowly and behavioristically it also awakens Mehring to realize, at first only very vaguely and then with growing intensity, where he stands with where he is. He senses that "his relation to the land he owns but cannot possess," as Rowland Smith remarks, is "inauthentic," this being "part of Mehring's crisis of consciousness;" and the "internal and imagined" debates with Antonia and Terry become "ultimately destabilizing."⁹³ Let us add that his attitude towards his own position can at long last take the shape of severing ties with his own position as a farmer at least at the level of a sudden gut-reaction after all those rationalizations.

But the gut-reaction that ensued was also *provoked* by those rationalizations. We can tell from a series of inferences. That we have to rely on inferences (he is a much more complex socio-cultural construct than his mistress's and his son's simplified views of him could justify) is indicative of the paradox the Mehring-phenomenon revolves around, ultimately: his identity turns out to be, eventually, unnarratable by himself even to himself; yet this becomes the source of the narrativity of such an identity. It speaks to the productivity of cognitive narratology that its methodology made the inference of a cognitive rift in Mehring possible. Since that cognitive rift can be read to be rooted in a sociocultural split in the individual's identity, we can also rephrase our diagnosis of

92 The narrato-rhetorical units that I called cultural "narrato-rhetorhemes" in a separate study are narrative units loaded with cultural content and rhetorical purpose, meant to develop and frame the cultural narrative rhetoric. It is rhetorical suasion through culture in the narrative. A narrato-rhetorheme can be a functionally restricted cultural sign or one that encompasses a whole book. Elemental or immensely complex, it can convey overt or covert rhetorical content in the storyworld, on the narratorial discourse level, or anywhere else in the multiple communicative intricacy called narrative fiction. It is by leaving the category undefined in more specific terms that it can retain the flexibility to take in, in an unregulated fashion, the rhetorically marked multiplicity, heteroglossia, and transformations of textual maneuvers of persuasion; an analytical tool which is hoped to make an intricate narrative "traffic" of discursive communications manageable for theory and criticism. (Cf. Zoltán Abádi-Nagy, "The Rhetorical Function of Culture in Fictional Narrative: The Cultural Narrato-Rhetorheme," *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 20.1 [Spring 2014]: 35–39.)

93 Smith, 50.

Mehring. Paul Ricœur's "hermeneutics of the self"⁹⁴ posits that "[t]he narrative constructs the identity of the character, what can be called his or her narrative identity, in constructing that of the story told. It is the identity of the story that makes the identity of the character."⁹⁵ And the identity of the story told in *The Conservationist* describes an individual who lives and behaves as almost a mechanism of a set of "acquired identifications." "To a large extent," Ricœur goes on to say, "the identity of a person or a community is made up of these identifications with values, norms, ideals, models, and heroes, in which the person or the community recognizes itself. Recognizing oneself in contributes to recognizing oneself *by*"; it is "otherness assumed as one's own."⁹⁶ The Mehring-phenomenon can be rediagnosed, the narrative identity that his story projects onto the pages of the novel redescribed, then, as the case when the other claims the same: the other of acquired colonialist-apartheid identifications enters into the composition of the same, to produce the concordance of the narrative identity (a clearly negative concordance) that identifies Mehring.

But the identity of all narrative compositions can be described, Ricœur advises us, not simply as concordance but as "the synthesis of the *heterogeneous*," a "configuration" of "*discordant concordance*."⁹⁷ His theoretical insight vividly illuminates both the alienated stasis and the rift as well as the slow movement away from stasis that construct Mehring's narrative identity. The discordant element is introduced into concordance with the discovery of the murdered African. The dead stranger slowly activates Mehring's innate self – the innate self of a man who has almost totally become a dead stranger himself by any standards of openness to human rights and democracy. He is intelligent enough to comprehend what is happening to him and is bent (even if instinctively and reluctantly at first) on expelling as much of the other from the same as he is capable of at the stage where the novel leaves him (or, bent on resisting the other, which other is bent on expelling the same out of him, if you like).

This capability is – if not a resurrection as the black man's is through his reburial – at least a promise of at least one white man coming to his senses. It is a factor that makes it possible for anti-apartheid Nadine Gordimer to treat a basically despicable character like Mehring with qualified sympathy. Judith Levy rightly points out, "contrary to prevailing critical opinion" that "in the delineation of the protagonist in *The Conservationist*, the vision of the individual on a personal inner quest has not been wholly superseded by this character's representing and playing out the inevitable destiny of his class and status. Rather, these two visions exist side by side, expressing, perhaps, ambivalence on the part of Gordimer herself."⁹⁸ Except that it remains sympathy that cannot be regarded

94 Paul Ricœur, *Oneself as Another*, trans. Kathleen Blamey (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994 [1992]), 16. Originally published as *Soi-même comme un autre* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1990).

95 Ricœur, 147–148.

96 Ricœur, 121 (emphasis in the original).

97 Ricœur, 141.

98 Levy, 103.

ambivalence on the novelist's part. Let me grant Gordimer herself the right to decide the issue. In her response to a Peter Marchant interview question she said: Mehring "is just exactly the kind of man I hate in South Africa. But, once I began to write about him and got under his skin, I began to understand him better. I don't believe that to understand all is to forgive all. Certainly in a country with conflict like my own, that's a very dangerous attitude. But for a writer, it's absolutely essential to understand all, and once you do, you cannot be entirely unsympathetic."⁹⁹

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99 Peter Marchant, Judith Kitchen, and Stan Sanvel Rubin, in *Conversations with Nadine Gordimer*, eds. Nancy Topping Bazin and Marilyn Dallman Seymour (Jackson and London: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 259.

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Nuclear Housekeeping

Marketing and the Aesthetics of the Atom Bomb in the 1950s

“A house that’s neglected is a house maybe
doomed in the Atomic Age...”¹

The documentary-style short film *The House in the Middle* (1954)² opens with three houses, or rather, small cabins, standing in a desert environment. Of similar build, they seemingly differ in color only. The viewer hears a stentorian countdown from five, and the picture suddenly cuts to a full-blown atomic explosion. This powerful imagery of destruction is underscored by dramatic music usually reserved for stirring cinematic content, further emphasized by the main title’s typography, which echoes the style of science fiction film posters from the 1950s. All points toward a narrative of nuclear apocalypse, when the viewer is stunned by the announcement that the film was produced by the (fictional) “National Clean Up–Paint Up–Fix Up Bureau,” in association with the Federal Civil Defense Administration. It soon becomes apparent that the nuclear catastrophe is but a guise for an elaborate “paint commercial,” and in a broader sense, an appeal to the American public to keep their properties clean and well-furbished, at best an odd combination. In this essay I will explore how this blend between cataclysm and cleanliness was a natural combination in the postwar decade, and how a narrative formula that plays on the collective anxiety of nuclear paranoia during the Cold War era can be effectively used as an appeal to consume.

The Apocalypse – synonymous here with the cataclysmic destruction of humanity – has been a staple in cultural discourse since the earliest written sources in Western culture: Sumerian fragments of the story of the Flood – later incorporated in the epic cycle of the Gilgamesh stories – have survived from the early 2nd Millennium B.C., and also form one of the basic myths of the Judeo-Christian tradition. While the epic of Gilgamesh still portrays the divine decision to annihilate the human nuisance – people had become too numerous, and thus too loud and bothersome to Enlil, the chief deity in the Mesopotamian pantheon – as the whim of the gods, the Biblical story of the Flood imbues the deluge with a moral dimension. Humanity has to perish as a consequence of its moral corruption, and the cataclysm is a form of punishment, an aspect that modern stories of cataclysmic destruction readily retain even today.

“Terminal visions,”³ as Warren Wagar calls them, have by no means remained within the sphere of the sacred. They have been a staple in secular literature, namely

1 *The House in the Middle* (National Clean Up–Paint Up–Fix Up Bureau, 1954).

2 The essay will refer to the 1954 color version, which was named to the Film Registry in 2001.

3 W. Warren Wagar, *Terminal Visions: The Literature of Last Things* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

science fiction narratives, since the advent of the genre. Mary Shelley – today best known for her novel *Frankenstein: or, The Modern Prometheus* (1818) – published *The Last Man*, a vision of humanity's doom, in 1826. The second half of the 19th century saw a marked proliferation of (post)apocalyptic texts, and the formula established itself as one of the most prolific text groups within science fiction. Wagar refers to these texts as “secular eschatology, a worldly study of world's ends that ignores religious belief or puts the old visions to use as metaphors for modern anxiety.”⁴ The 20th century, which saw a shift from natural disasters to human-induced causes for destruction, supplied a wide array of endgame scenarios, and the nuclear apocalypse is arguably the most spectacular of these. Arising from the ashes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and fueled by the collective anxiety during the Cold War, narratives of nuclear destruction dominated the end time narratives until the late 1960s. One of the peculiarities of (post)apocalyptic narratives is that the urban environment features as the site of the cataclysm, the demolition of the architectural element often standing in for the annihilation of the human component. Apart from the metropolis – which is the most recurrent victim of the cataclysm for reasons ranging from the unease felt towards accelerated urbanization at the end of the 19th century⁵ to the spectacular visual potential of toppling skyscrapers in disaster cinema – authors also like to situate their terminal visions in sites that are associated with a utopian quality in their respective societies. This is one of the reasons why H. G. Wells in *The War of the Worlds* (1898) has the aliens land in Woking, the embodiment of rural idyll in late Victorian England,⁶ where not only humanity's physical existence is threatened but also the core values of the archetypal “British way of life.”

When analyzing the postwar United States, we see the emergence of the suburb as the locus of the American utopia: the white, middle-class nuclear family, a patriarchal construct with the husband as the main authority figure, a homemaker wife, and preferably two or three children.⁷ This notion of utopia has become part of American popular culture to the extent that sitcoms which focus on families will most often be placed into a suburban setting – from *Father Knows Best* (1954–1960) to *Modern Family* (2009–present) – even today, when shows with young, independent people like *Friends* (1994–2004) or *How I Met Your Mother* (2005–2014) will feature a metropolitan environment. Although contemporary series set in suburbia will often reflect on the utopian legacy ironically – see for example *Desperate Housewives* (2004–2012) or *Suburgatory* (2011–2014) – they simultaneously reiterate and uphold the nostalgic longing for the golden age of the American family idyll. When the atom bomb obliterates the suburb in postwar

4 Wagar, 4.

5 Nick Yablon, “The Metropolitan Life in Ruins: Architectural and Fictional Speculations in New York, 1909–19,” *American Quarterly* 56.2 (June 1, 2004): 308–47.

6 Patrick Parrinder, “From Mary Shelley to *The War of the Worlds*: The Thames Valley Catastrophe,” in *Anticipations: Essays on Early Science Fiction and Its Precursors*, ed. David Seed (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), 61.

7 Mary Beth Haralovich, “Sitcoms and Suburbs: Positioning the 1950s Homemaker,” in *Critiquing the Sitcom: A Reader*, ed. Joanne Morreale (Syracuse University Press, 2003), 69.

science fiction, it is thus not only an attack against the United States, but also metaphorically a threat against the ideal way of life. Ray Bradbury's short story "There Will Come Soft Rains"⁸ portrays human demise through the post-nuclear lingering of an automated suburban house, whose AI poignantly exhibits post-traumatic denial by continuing to function without regard for the death of the family – father, mother, daughter, son and the trusted family dog – during a nuclear strike. The house finally 'dies' by fire, the self-same danger *The House in the Middle* is warning against.

There are actually two versions of the film under the same title. The first, released in 1953 under the production of the Federal Civil Defense Administration, is half the length of the 1954 version, filmed in black and white, and is a fairly straightforward documentary on "the possible effects [of a nuclear explosion] on the homes of America."⁹ Although the announcer makes the connection between threat and personal reality explicit, the tone of the film remains distanced, and concentrates on the test carried out in the Nevada Test Site¹⁰ on May 8, 1953, during Operation Upshot-Knothole.¹¹ The emphasis here is on "good conditions" and "safe housekeeping,"¹² and the basic message is to urge the public to make an effort in order to minimize the conditions of possible home fires in case of a nuclear attack. The narration is distanced and soothing, gauged to be calming and matter-of-fact. Its target audience are the inhabitants of "homes located some distance from the major target areas,"¹³ and although it subtly uses the trope of the nuclear apocalypse as the vehicle for an appeal to clean up around the house, the major focus still seems to be civil defense. Its documentary style is stressed by the choice of the announcer, a middle-aged white man with a resonant voice, seated in an office: both the person and the environment exude authority, and the script calls for this authority figure to get the message across without causing a panic.

The 1954 color version – the subject of this essay – uses the same nuclear test footage, but doubles the length of the film by extending and changing the frame story. Beyond adding extra footage, it significantly alters the tone of the narration from objective to dramatic, and the focus shifts from the emphasis on safety to social commentary. The producer of the film is "the 'National Clean Up – Paint Up – Fix Up Bureau' [which was] a folksier name for the National Paint, Varnish and Lacquer Association, which had a vested interest in people buying lots of house paint."¹⁴ Thus it becomes a drawn-out

8 First published in the May 6, 1950 issue of *Collier's Magazine*, collected in Ray Bradbury, *The Martian Chronicles* (Bantam/Spectra, 1984).

9 *The House in the Middle* (Federal Civil Defense Administration, 1953).

10 This test was part of a whole series of tests which sought to assess the effects of nuclear bombs on civilian targets.

11 U.S. Department of Energy Nevada Operations Office, *United States Nuclear Tests July 1945 through September 1992* (United States Department of Energy, 2000), 4; 110–111.

12 *The House in the Middle* (Federal Civil Defense Administration, 1953).

13 *The House in the Middle* (Federal Civil Defense Administration, 1953).

14 Mike Mashon and Kelly Chisholm, "The Cold War Meets Commerce: The House(s) in the Middle," *Now See Hear!* webpage, March 10, 2015, <http://blogs.loc.gov/now-see-hear/2015/03/the-cold-war-meets-commerce-the-houses-in-the-middle/>.

paint commercial with a thinly disguised plea for consumption. This first version of *The House in the Middle* has its own interesting points,¹⁵ but what will be examined in this essay is how a fairly straightforward narrative of pre- and (post)apocalypse is utilized as the context for a home-repair advertisement.

The film opens with the bombastic title sequence already described in the first paragraph. Then we switch to an aerial view of a residential area while the narrator – the same as in the 1953 version – announces “one American town looks like the other when you see it from an airplane window.”¹⁶ Although he goes on to describe the suburban idyll, the image carries the same duality as Miklós Radnóti’s poem “Nem tudhatom” [I Cannot Know], where the street-eye view of caring familiarity is contrasted with the bird’s-eye view of the bomber pilot.¹⁷ As the Hungarian landscape in Radnóti’s poem, the suburban utopia, when seen from above, becomes a possible target for a nuclear attack. Gone are the reassurances from the first film that residential areas are not likely targets, and the visual execution uses the viewers’ inherent knowledge of (post)apocalyptic iconography to drive the message home. The image of the house destroyed by the nuclear blast at the very beginning of the film overlays the following pastoral imagery of small-town America, and the utopian panorama also carries within it the prospect of (post)apocalyptic wasteland. There is no need to explicitly draw the parallel as viewers in the 1950s, well-conditioned by the iconography of disaster in science fiction literature and film, could supply the narrative of the atomic cataclysm themselves.

Instead of concentrating on the test and its effects, the focus has shifted to the presence of disheveled properties in the suburban community: the announcer goes on to call out these estates as “run-down” and “eyesores” that you can find within SLUMS! – you can almost hear the capitals and the exclamation marks at the end.¹⁸ The film repeatedly denounces messy housekeeping, both in reference to the exterior – most likely a male responsibility – and the interior – this being traditionally the woman’s domain – of the property, much more so than the first version of the film. This difference can not only be observed in the content of the narration, but also in the diction, marking a change from objective-distanced to exclamatory-dramatic. The iconography further emphasizes the fact that it is not only objects, but also a way of life that is on the line here: the house on the right, run-down and cluttered with litter, features a toy pram with a toy doll, both of which fall victim to the post-explosion blaze. This points to the possible loss of the family’s children, and thus the future, all because of neglecting the necessary repairs around the house. This is the narrative arc along which the tests themselves

15 It would be interesting to analyze all nuclear tests conducted on domestic models like family houses, complete with dummies constituting a diorama of suburban family bliss, but such an investigation goes beyond the limits of the present paper.

16 *The House in the Middle* (National Clean Up – Paint Up – Fix Up Bureau, 1954).

17 The Encore test during Operation Upshot-Knothole, which supplied the footage for both films, simulated a nuclear bomb dropped from an airplane (*United States Nuclear Tests July 1945 through September 1992*, 110–111).

18 *The House in the Middle* (National Clean Up – Paint Up – Fix Up Bureau, 1954).

– three fences in diverse states of repair, and three miniature frame houses with “varying exterior conditions”¹⁹ – are related. It comes as no surprise that the heat wave following the atomic explosion leads to the destruction to all fences and houses except for *The House in the Middle*, whose victory over the flames is announced by triumphant music.

The description of *The House in the Middle* had also been added to in comparison with the first version of the film. We are assured that the house is “in good condition [...] the exterior has been painted with ordinary, good quality house paint.”²⁰ If this was not enough to get us going to the hardware store for our bucket of paint to start redecorating right away, the narration goes into full advertisement mode, saying that “[l]ight-painted surfaces reflect heat, paint also protects the wood from weathering and moisture damage.”²¹ To emphasize the connection between far-away test houses and the viewers’ own environment, the narrator asks in a slightly accusatory voice: “Two houses a total loss, but the well-kept and painted house in the middle still stands [...]. Which of these is your house?”²² As said above, the first film ends here, with the presenter calling for better housekeeping practices to aid the civil defense. The second film adds a whole sequence of scenes from the American suburban neighborhood: children are cleaning up the litter found on the streets, and you can see ordinary citizens working around their houses, in their gardens and homes. The announcer delivers the message: “trim your shrubbery and trees, weed and plant flowers [...]. Beauty, cleanliness, health and safety are the four basic doctrines that protect our homes, our cities.”²³

This may well seem a plea to the American nation as a whole. But instead of the multiethnic reality that was the United States in the 1950s we are exclusively presented with images of middle-class white citizens. This interestingly rhymes with the practices of the television family sitcom, also coming to prominence during this part of the 1950s.²⁴ As Mary Beth Haralovich points out, “[t]he working class is marginalized in and minorities are absent from these discourses and from the social economy of consumption. An ideal white and middle-class home life was a primary means of reconstituting and resocializing the American family after World War II.”²⁵ This not only means that the suburban white middle-class family was the epitome of all that America stood for, and thus the threat to its destruction also entailed the metaphorical threat to the cultural essence of the United States. It also means that this was the medium which was thought to be able to most effectively drive home the message of the advertisement. Again, corresponding to the practices of the family sitcom, direct consumption is not part of the film: the viewer does not see the act of buying, and neither does the narration mention any particular product. Yet several ‘characters’ are shown performing reparations around

19 *The House in the Middle* (National Clean Up – Paint Up – Fix Up Bureau, 1954).

20 *The House in the Middle* (National Clean Up – Paint Up – Fix Up Bureau, 1954).

21 *The House in the Middle* (National Clean Up – Paint Up – Fix Up Bureau, 1954).

22 *The House in the Middle* (National Clean Up – Paint Up – Fix Up Bureau, 1954).

23 *The House in the Middle* (National Clean Up – Paint Up – Fix Up Bureau, 1954).

24 Haralovich, 70.

25 Haralovich, 70.

the house, including a prominent shot of a man painting his home's exterior walls. One might come to the conclusion that the target audience of this film was quite narrow, directed at the selfsame stratum of society it featured: white, middle-class Americans.

But if we view it from a symbolic angle, the cultural essence referred to above, the picture becomes more complex. If we identify the suburban utopia as representative of the ideal family setting – which Haralovich points to in her essay – the setting and thus the message may have been endorsed by a much wider portion of the American public than portrayed in the film. By aligning home decoration with the archetypal context of American home life, renovation and the utopian promises of an idealized middle-class lifestyle go hand-in-hand, and may lead viewers from other social classes to buy the products advertised, as well. While the family sitcom retains its relative proximity to – an idealized – reality, what makes *The House in the Middle* so interesting is that it combines imagery of fantastic horror and destruction with the message to consume. The visual arc ranging from the nuclear blast at the beginning of the film to the image of suburban bliss at the end subverts the formulaic (post)apocalyptic narrative, which usually exhibits a narrative arc from the image of a prospering world towards the post-apocalyptic wasteland. In *The House in the Middle* the message “Buy paint!” is associated with the promise to avert this catastrophe: hence the elimination of the distance between possible target area and the majority of the residential communities to make the threat more imminent, and hence the pastoral idyll as the endpoint. The nuclear cataclysm becomes the looming shadow of the disheveled family home, while home renovation is presented as a counterpoint to ward off this threat, and transplants the soothing objectivity of the first film's narration as the agent of sanity. Here the rhetorical devices are meant to incite panic, only to immediately present the antidote, as well: buying paint will get you through the nuclear war. The presenter makes this connection explicitly clear at the end: “You’ve seen the tests, you know the story. Join up with your friends and neighbors for a better, safer community. It’s also a good civil defense, which is everyone’s responsibility [...] it’s your choice. The reward may be survival.”²⁶

26 *The House in the Middle* (National Clean Up – Paint Up – Fix Up Bureau, 1954).

Performing the Unreal

The Fantastic as Performative in Mark Twain and Ambrose Bierce

In Mark Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger* and Ambrose Bierce's "An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge" alternative realities are created solely by the power of language. The real and the unreal, whether fantastic or imagined, are intertwined and undistinguishable because both are performative constructs. Since the real is as much created as is the fantastic (as in the case of *The Mysterious Stranger*) and the fantastic is as real as the reality of here and now (as in the case of "An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge"), the boundaries between the real and the fantastic are regularly transgressed with ease to and fro, allowing for an ontological instability, which makes these late 19th-century, early 20th-century texts very modern.

Both texts are works of fantasy, satisfying the most important requirements of the genre. They both belong in the realm of the literature of the impossible, offering, as Gary Wolfe writes of the fantastic, "a clean break with reality; settings and characters may be analogous with the 'real' world [...] but the rules that govern fantasy worlds are not necessarily consistent with our notion of reality."¹ Both are moved by what Gaston Bachelard names "irreality function": the function that liberates the person from having to adapt ourselves to reality, from constituting ourselves as a reality."² A Tolkienian "Secondary World" is created in both texts, complete with its own laws different from those of the real world; but inside, what is related "is 'true': it accords with the laws of that world."³ As such, they both offer a break with the acknowledged order. In fact, such a break happens in connection with both worlds, the real and the unreal or fantastic alike, invoking, as Brian Attebery claims, "wonder by making the impossible seem familiar and the familiar new and strange."⁴ This sense of wonder permeates both texts in the form of the uncertainty,⁵ hesitation,⁶ and astonishment⁷ of protagonists and readers alike: the characters as well as the reader wonder whether the experience is caused by an illusion of the senses, or the "apparently supernatural event"⁸ is indeed happening.

1 Gary K. Wolfe, *Evaporating Genres* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2011), 72.

2 Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Reverie: Childhood, Language, and the Cosmos* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 13–14.

3 J. R. R. Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories," *Tree and Leaf* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 37.

4 Brian Attebery, *The Fantasy Tradition in American Literature: From Irving to Le Guin* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 3.

5 Tsvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre* (Ithaca: New York University Press, 1975), 25.

6 Todorov, 44.

7 Eric C. Rabkin, *The Fantastic in Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 5.

8 Todorov, 25.

Yet not only are these texts fantasies, or “game[s] of the impossible,” as W.R. Irwin famously calls the fantastic,⁹ but are language games as well, games with their own rules, accepted by all involved. As such, they exhibit traits of the performative, the type which I call logocentric or strong performative and the one I label discursive.

Logocentrism is the term which Jacques Derrida uses for the position that the stability of language – as well as systems of thought in general – rests on external anchors: the authority of the transcendental signified (“God”), or the signified which pre-exists, and has an independent existence from, the signifier. Identifying logocentrism as “the exigent, powerful, systematic, and irrepressible desire for [the] signified”¹⁰ permeating Western thought, Derrida claims that it posits a “necessity of relationship between [...] signifiers and signified [...] between the order of phonic signifiers and the content of the signifieds.”¹¹ Applied to the performative, this logocentric way of thinking allows for words to indeed make present, by bringing about, the signified evoked by the performative utterance. In this case the performative will indeed be validated from the outside: by its power to bring about “things” external to language – things “out there.”

The foundational moment of logocentrism, when God creates by the *logos*, exploits performative power, the power of the word, in a rather obvious manner. Tying the signifier to the signified, the word brings about presence in the world “out there.” Indeed, the narrative of origin related at the very beginning of *Genesis* abounds in instances when words make things, and saying and doing are one: “Let there be light,”¹² “Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters,” or “Let us make man in Our image, according to Our likeness” (Gen. 1: 3, 6, 26). This “Ur-performative” is evoked emphatically at the beginning of the New Testament: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God” (John 1: 1). Commonly referred to as word magic or the power of words, and variably termed in speech act theory as illocutionary acts,¹³ acts of “originary performativity,”¹⁴ “linguistic magic,”¹⁵ or “performative sorcery,”¹⁶ these are cases with a strong performative force, where the word as a vehicle of creation is used to produce some new reality. Man’s whole existence rests on the power of God’s word: “man lives from every word that proceeds from the mouth of the LORD” (Deut. 8:3).

God creates the world by virtue of his own agency; as the Almighty, he is the absolute Agent or Subject, whose position in the sentence is fixed by Divine Law. This Law, conveyed in the *Decalogos* or *Decalogue* and reinscribed in subsequent laws, forbids man to refer to Him by the name or give his visual representation. When Moses asks his name, he says, “I AM WHO I AM” (Ex. 3:14) (in other translations, “I AM THAT I AM”). And

9 Quoted in S.C. Fredericks, “Problems of Fantasy,” *Science Fiction Studies* 5.1 (1978): 37.

10 Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 49.

11 Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, 44.

12 Quotations are from the *New Geneva Study Bible: New King James Version* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1995).

13 J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 108.

14 Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), 36–37.

15 Nick Fotion, *John Searle* (Teddington: Acumen, 2000), 51.

16 James Loxley, *Performativity. The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 2007), 51.

when Moses rephrases his question, asking really for a nominal form to be used in the object position in a sentence, God replies, "Thus you shall say to the children of Israel, 'I AM has sent me to you'" (Ex. 3:14). In other words, there is no way to put God in the object position: his name cannot be referred to with a nominal, only by reiterating his subjecthood or self-existence, "I AM." In this text, it is indeed, as Émile Benveniste claims of subjectivity in general, "in and through language that man constitutes himself as a *subject*, because language alone establishes the concept of 'ego' in reality, in *its* reality which is that of the being."¹⁷ God's subjectivity is truly a property of language: "[e]go" is he who *says* 'ego.'¹⁸ In other words: God's ego comes about discursively and performatively: by uttering the performative *ego*: "I AM." This self-performing constitutes the kind of performativity different from the logocentric one: where words do not bring about things but other words, or discourse, and turn the utterer of the words into a subject with agency, who is capable of making things (if only within the realm of discourse).

Both types of performative participate in bringing about the fantastic in the two texts: the strong and the discursive types alike. What the boys experience as real in Mark Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger* is created in a logocentric fashion: by word and will. As such, this text could be read as an instance of strong performativity: Satan makes clay figures, which then come to life. But by making clay figures come to life, Satan constructs himself as creator too, as an extended arm of the Almighty. Moreover, in the final twist to the story, Satan the deconstructor moves the events into mere discourse when admitting to the boys that all this is a dream. Yet here he constructs himself as an even more powerful creator and knower, an agent in the discourse of dreams.

Ambrose Bierce's "An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge" could also be read as an instance of strong performativity: Farquhar sets himself free by the power of his will. His self-construction, however, occurs in discourse as well: it is by imagining his return home that he constructs himself as a free man. In the final twist added to this story, the events are here moved into the discourse of dream as the dying man imagines his escape.

Performing cultural subjunctivity in Mark Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger*

Set in Austria in 1702 and narrated by the young boy Theodor Fischer, Mark Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger* recounts the adventures and miracles, as well as trials, of the mysterious visit of an angel called Satan. Satan becomes the companion and idol of Theodor, provoking in the boy a passionate devotion he had not known earlier. Satan is a magical phenomenon. He seems to "prove" in so many ways that where he comes from is indeed that other world, best understood as a duplicate of this one. He tells about life in heaven in very human terms when, for example, he describes the nursery he grew

17 Émile Benveniste, "Subjectivity in Language." *Critical Theory Since 1965*, ed. Hazard Adams and Leroy Searle (Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1986), 729.

18 Benveniste, 729.

up in together with the other angels. Satan gives a dramatic performance of his supernatural powers when, in order to convince the boys about the true nature of the human race, he sets up his “theatre”¹⁹ where he shows them – “with a thought”²⁰ – what has happened since the Garden of Eden. “To kill,” he says, “being the chiefest ambition of the human race and the earliest incident in its history, but only the Christian Civilization has scored a triumph to be proud of.”²¹ He turns lives around, but usually not for what the boys would consider the better. He makes old Wilhelm “happy” by taking his sanity away (“No sane man can be happy, for him life is real, and he sees what a fearful thing it is,”²² while at another time he changes the “life-scheme” of their friend Fischer, whereby he will live to be ninety – except now he will go to hell, not heaven.²³ Most of all, he is a man of contradictions. On the one hand, he is a Christ like figure – he evokes the youthful Jesus of Apocrypha when making clay birds come alive²⁴ or when the crowd, which demands that he be killed (“Kill him, kill him!”), is pacified by the argument, “What is the use to kill the boy [...] whatever power he has, he gets from his master.”²⁵ On the other hand, he conveys the darkest vision possible of the pitiful, limited, trivial human race. He compares the difference between the human being and himself to the “difference between a drop of water and the sea, a rushlight and the sun, the difference between the infinitely trivial and the infinitely sublime!”²⁶ This difference, he insists, results from the fact that only the race he belongs to is capable of truly creating something out of nothing – out of thought. By the performative power of *logos*, that is.

With my race it is different; we have no limits of any kind, we comprehend all things [...]. A man *originates* nothing in his head, he merely observes exterior things, and *combines* them in his head – puts several observed things together and draws a conclusion. His mind is merely a machine, that is all [...] a man's mind cannot *create* – a god's can, and my race can. This is the difference. We need no contributed materials, we *create* them – out of thought. All things that exist were made out of thought – and out of nothing else.²⁷

Satan gives ample demonstrations of his illocutionary force of his strong performative. He reads people's minds, controls their will, performs miracles of all kinds, becomes

19 Mark Twain, *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*, ed. William M. Gibson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 137.

20 Twain, 134.

21 Twain, 137.

22 Twain, 164.

23 Twain, 131.

24 See William M. Gibson, “Introduction,” in Twain, *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*, ed. William M. Gibson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 16.

25 Twain, 295.

26 Twain, 319.

27 Twain, 331–333.

visible or invisible as he pleases (allows the boys to borrow these powers for some time too), can thin out like a soap bubble and vanish, makes Duplicates of everyone in the town, gives illustrated history, psychology, and theology lessons to his friend. Some of these tricks magnetize Theodor, others overpower him with utter gloom. Such is, for example, the Assembly of the Dead, which Theodor watches for hours and hours in black darkness and empty silence, “as if the world was holding its breath.”²⁸

This text is a virtuoso performance of boundary crossings; the characters move easily between worlds, events, and people, created or brought about purely by the power of will and word. As a portal-quest fantasy, to apply Farah Mendelsohn’s typology,²⁹ this piece of short fiction abides by several basic principles of the sub-genre. First, not only is it about transition, but it incorporates two transitions: the first into the world narrated and constructed by Satan, the second into the non-world he presents with the final dénouement. Both transitions are characterized by the denial of “the taken for granted,” the positioning of “both protagonist and reader as naïve,” and the reliance on a “moral universe.”³⁰ As a reversed traveler’s tale, it presents a situation where it is not the protagonist who travels but a traveler arrives, who spends time with the protagonist(s). As such, it is a club narrative, complete with an “uninterruptable and incontestable” storyteller³¹ in the “role of sage, magician, or guide”³² and a group of isolated listeners who construct “fantasyland” by accepting what they hear as “received truth.”³³ It has two clearly identifiable narrators, Theodor and Satan, where the former is “the narrator of the microcosm (the world within a world),” or the “point of view character,” while the latter is the “narrator of the macrocosm, [...] who ‘stories’ the world for us” with “fragments of prophecy.”³⁴ The narrated events contradict the “ground rules”³⁵ of the extra-textual world in that angels do not come for leisurely visits to Earth, they do not entertain young boys by showing their tricks, and that angels are not really called Satan. Here the perspective informed by these ground rules is turned around, reversed, provoking amazement and wonder in the boys. Yet they see no problem accepting the existence of supernatural forces – indeed, they rather see their abstract religious knowledge put into practice by the visitor.

The hesitation which, according to Todorov, “sustains [the] life” of the fantastic³⁶ comes later only, when Satan reveals that all he said earlier is untrue, and that all is but a dream. This is the uncanny turn in the story (of “the supernatural explained”³⁷), where

28 Twain, 401.

29 Farah Mendelsohn, *Rhetorics of Fantasy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2008), 2ff.

30 Mendelsohn, 2, 5.

31 Mendelsohn, 6.

32 Mendelsohn, 5ff.

33 Mendelsohn, 7.

34 Mendelsohn, 8.

35 Rabkin, 7.

36 Todorov, 31.

37 Todorov, 41.

the illocutionary act turns into perlocutionary, provoking hesitation and even astonishment in both character and reader. Not only is it, to use Rabkin's terminology, "not-expected" or "dis-expected," but actually, indeed, "anti-expected,"³⁸ which is the true marker of the fantastic. This reversal is structural in the sense that here it is perspective that changes: not only are the boys' (religious) beliefs shaken, but their whole existence is doubted. In other words, Satan's reversal of perspective brings about not only an epistemological, but an ontological uncertainty. As he tells the boys when saying goodbye,

"Life itself is only a vision, a dream." [...]

"Nothing exists; all is a dream. God – man – the world – the sun, the moon, the wilderness of stars – a dream, all a dream; they have no existence. Nothing exists save empty space – and you!" [...]

*"And you are not you – you have no body, no blood, no bones, you are but a thought. I myself have no existence, I am but a dream – your dream, creature of your imagination. [...]"*³⁹

This is the uncanny "conclusion" to the book, whereby Twain performs the double gesture of withdrawing both the certainty of this world and the promise of the other. Nothing can be taken for granted, even though both worlds were shown to and ascertained by the senses – "no God, no universe, no human race, no earthly life, no heaven, no hell."⁴⁰

Satan acts in the spirit of what is known in philosophy as "Moore's paradox," when after making a most credible reality for the boy, he withdraws his own belief in it. After the model of the paradox described by the English philosopher G. E. Moore, "The cat is on the mat but I do not believe it is."⁴¹ Satan could be saying, "I have created a world for you, my friends, using my powers as a supernatural being, but I do not believe I have it, or that it is a world, or indeed that I am a supernatural being." In the game of make-believe he first suspends the "as if" of imagination, only to more shockingly re-impose it in the conclusion of the story. With this gesture of Satan, Mark Twain recalls the waving and then breaking of the wand of another grand magician, Shakespeare through Prospero in *The Tempest*, saying:

Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air;
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve

38 Rabkin, 8–10.

39 Twain, 405.

40 Twain, 405.

41 Quoted in Loxley, 36.

And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with sleep. (IV, 1)

The revels are ended for Twain too; his actors were also all spirits, who melted into thin air. Life here too is “rounded with sleep.”

Satan is, then, engaged in the “as if” language game of imagining and pretending, a game, to use Victor Turner’s phrase, of the “subjunctive mood,” concerned with “wish, desire, possibility or hypothesis.”⁴² Indeed, he presents a vision best captured as subjunctive cultural performance that toys with the possibility of alternative worlds created by performative powers. The function of his performance, as is the function of all performances of cultural subjunctivity according to Turner, is to provide the individuals “with passage from one basic human state or status [...] to another.”⁴³ Satan’s liminal game of make-believe does this crossing of thresholds twice, actually: first when the border between natural and supernatural dimensions is crossed (when little people are created, for example) and second, when the reality of the real is being questioned at the end.

According to Mark Twain’s conclusion, then, the two worlds are alike in being equally dreamed, imagined, or, we could say, performatively constructed: what was considered real also belongs to the unreal. Linguistically and philosophically, they show little difference: reference is such that language does not differentiate between the real and the unreal.

It is here that Twain abandons the strong performative as an illocutionary act, trading it for the perlocutionary act of bringing about amazement, wonder, and shock. This shock comes from the recognition that humankind is locked into a discourse, the discourse of dream. As such, this type of performativity is discursive, where words will only make texts, or other discursive worlds.

For up to this point, the real and the unreal are positioned as polar opposites, making the transfer from one to the other through metalepsis. But this seeming metalepsis will turn out to be intertextuality: the shift between two textual worlds. As a particular case of intertextuality, both worlds prove to be fictional and textual; thus the metaleptic leap which the boys believe they can take will be no more than an intertextual leap from one to another fictional world. Ultimately, reality loses its ontological grounding: it turns out that it is this physical world that does not exist, rather has been swallowed by or collapsed into the constructed-performed world of dream and imagination.

42 Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982), 83.

43 Victor Turner, “Liminality and the Performative Genres,” in *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, ed. John J. MacAloon (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 21.

Richard Rorty's test concerning the ability of being referred to⁴⁴ can be performed on both the real world and the unreal: the world discursively constructed from thought and language. Although the world created by a fictional character, by Satan/Satan in this instance, is at least two removes away from the reader's immediate reality, claims about all three levels can be equally "true." The skeptic's question posed by Rorty – "how would it be different if everything were a dream? How would it be different if it were all made up? How would it be different if there were nothing there to be represented?"⁴⁵ – Mark Twain gives an answer much like Rorty: it would not be (is not) different. Truth is discursively constructed, constructed in language and by language ("truth cannot be out there"⁴⁶): "whether a sentence has sense," Rorty claims, "may be dependent upon whether another sentence is true."⁴⁷ In other words, truth is not validated by external reality – for, indeed, there is nothing outside the text. Only the text exists for Twain too: the creative faculty, the dream ("and you the maker of it"⁴⁸). Hence the imperative: "Dream other dreams, and better!"⁴⁹

While the claim that the mind makes the real is wholly familiar in the symbolist tradition, here in *The Mysterious Stranger* it is not a poetic artifact that the mind makes, but reality itself. Yet this is a reality within the mind, a reality part of the mind, or, as J. Hillis Miller puts it in connection with Wallace Stevens, a reality which is "the figment of the mind."⁵⁰ Discursive performativity functions within the mind, bringing about such figments that give the illusion of reality only, but are actually unreal.

The unreality of death performed in Ambrose Bierce's
"An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge"

Bierce's most popular piece, the Civil War story written in 1891, "An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge," presents elaborate boundary crossings between the "reality" of the fictional characters and the imagined world of the protagonist, now two removes away from what Rorty calls our "plain ordinary spatio-temporal existence."⁵¹ Here borders between lived and imagined, outer and inner are repeatedly transgressed, while internal monologue is presented as the narration of external events. I see the piece as a special case of descriptive pause, where the object of description is purely internal. As the portrayal of a dying man's last moments, it is also an early example of psychological realism, offering, unbeknownst to the reader until the very end, a narrative transition between

44 Richard Rorty, *Consequences of Pragmatism: Essays, 1972–1980* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 117.

45 Rorty, *Consequences*, 129.

46 Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 5.

47 Rorty, *Consequences*, 129.

48 Twain, 405.

49 Twain, 404.

50 J. Hillis Miller, *Poets of Reality: Six Twentieth-Century Writers* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), 256.

51 Rorty, *Consequences*, 118.

life and death. In addition, it can be considered a critique of gendered and racialized cultural spheres.

An Alabama planter who is a civilian at war-time, Peyton Farquhar lives between the social spheres of the war and women of the home; but his in-betweenness ends as he becomes feminized when approaching the home through fantasy and imagination. Moreover, his last moments are extended into an elaborate escape narrative reversing the traditional racialized roles of master and slave. Running for his life, Farquhar, the Southern white planter, is now put into the position of the black slave, going through the same experience as the escaping slaves. First he falls victim to the scheming of the Northern scout, later he is hunted down – if only in his imagination – by the enemy; in both cases he is made into an object, whose body is foregrounded. In between these two series of objectification and corporealization, he makes himself into a subject who takes control – if only, again, in his imagination.

Depicting his last moments while being executed by the Yankees, the narrative follows Farquhar's imaginary escape and return home, to his wife and plantation, with moments of pain and suffering finally leading to a few idyllic moments, which abruptly end in death. The story is a feat of fantasy fiction, presenting both the real of the fictional narrative and the level above this fantasized reality in naturalistic detail.

As an immersive fantasy, to apply Mendelsohn's typology again,⁵² Bierce's story also "presents the fantastic without comment as the norm for both the protagonist and for the reader: we sit on the protagonist's shoulder and while we have access to his eyes and ears, we are not provided with an explanatory narrative."⁵³ Mendelsohn calls this feature of the immersive fantasy "syntactic bootstrapping," the "reversal of information feed – show first, tell later."⁵⁴ We find here an "irony of mimesis," where the fantasy is "sealed": "it cannot, within the confines of the story, be questioned."⁵⁵ In this fantasy world, "once the fantasy becomes assumed, it acquires a scientific cohesion all of its own," so "no magic occurs."⁵⁶ The extended world built in an immersive fantasy is therefore totally plausible, livable, taken for granted, one whose fantastic quality is achieved through perspective. "The point of world-building is to create something that can be existed in," Mendelsohn writes.⁵⁷

Bierce proves himself a true naturalist in his very matter-of-fact description of the scene of execution, describing the preparations and the whole machinery of war in a detached voice.

52 Mendelsohn, 59ff.

53 Mendelsohn, xx.

54 Mendelsohn, 83.

55 Mendelsohn, xx.

56 Mendelsohn, xx, xxi.

57 Mendelsohn, 71.

A man stood upon a railroad bridge in northern Alabama, looking down into the swift water twenty feet below. The man's hands were behind his back, the wrists bound with a cord. A rope closely encircled his neck. It was attached to a stout cross-timber above his head and the slack fell to the level of his knees. Some loose boards laid upon the sleepers supporting the metals of the railway supplied a footing for him and his executioners – two private soldiers of the Federal army, directed by a sergeant who in civil life may have been a deputy sheriff.⁵⁸

The man “engaged in being hanged,” the corporealized patient suffering these preparations, is the object of narrative as well as visual attention; the narrative voice shows no emotions, only admits that the man did not look like a villain:

He wore a mustache and pointed beard, but no whiskers; his eyes were large and dark gray, and had a kindly expression which one would hardly have expected in one whose neck was in the hemp. Evidently this was no vulgar assassin.⁵⁹

Turning to the man to be executed, the narration ceases to focus on external events but enters the mind of the protagonist. This is the moment when – we recognize later – the real is replaced by the unreal. We follow Farquhar's gaze from his seeing position wandering “to the swirling water of the stream,” the “piece of dancing driftwood [that] caught his attention,” and finally to his thoughts fixed upon his wife and children.⁶⁰ Indeed, this is where the real story begins, after the sergeant steps aside – and after the last detour giving the reader the background of how Farquhar was tricked by the Northern scout.

In section III we are finally taken inside Farquhar's mind, and death will be portrayed as a spiritual process, a movement in time in several stages. Slowly he will gain control to set himself free and get away from the scene of execution. His power of thought is restored. Farquhar is able to give meaning to what he feels. Perception is becoming inner, registering psychological processes. This is followed by having first his vision restored and then coming into a full possession of his senses. Now, as one of the finest passages indicates, his perception is heightened.

He felt the ripples upon his face and heard their separate sounds as they struck. He looked at the forest on the bank of the stream, saw the individual trees, the leaves and the veining of each leaf – saw the very insects upon them: the locusts, the brilliant-bodied flies, the grey spiders stretching their webs

58 Ambrose Bierce, “An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge,” *Civil War Stories* (New York: Dover, 1994), 33.

59 Bierce, 34.

60 Bierce, 34.

from twig to twig. He noted the prismatic colors in all the dewdrops upon a million blades of grass [...]. A fish slid along beneath his eyes and he heard the rush of its body parting the water.⁶¹

He notices the soldiers who, from his perspective, look grotesque. Efforts are multiplied on both sides: he sees and feels everything better as they start shooting at him. Finally, he manages to escape, thrown out of the stream by a vortex. Taking in all the physical sensations around him, and weeping in delight, he feels as if he was born again – probably into another world where a “strange, roseate light” shone through the trees “and the wind made in their branches the music of Æolian harps.”⁶² Now he springs to his feet, and his last moments before death follow the trajectory of an escape narrative, except here it is the white planter who is being hunted, not the slave. In addition, his desire for the home seems to act as a marker of femininity, appropriated by the man seeking refuge in the feminine sphere. In the final stage of his flight, after crossing all the possible boundaries – social, psychological, historical, as well as those of gender and race – the inner and the outer suddenly coincide as his neck is broken and he dies.

Two parallel worlds are presented here, the possible world, in which the hero is hanged, the impossible, into which he escapes through the illocutionary force of the strong performative. The unreal looks as real as the former, with its very ordinary physical location where extraordinary things happen to the hero. Moreover, this world exhibits a high degree of consistency, thus satisfying the requirement of the fantastic posed by Attebery: “reader and writer are committed to maintaining the illusion for the entire course of the fiction.”⁶³ Yet this commitment cannot be interpreted as Tolkien’s “Secondary Belief,”⁶⁴ for the reader does not yet know that the narrative world is not the primary world actually experienced by the protagonist. This secondary world looks so true that, as Tolkien claims, “it accords with the laws of that [primary] world. You therefore believe it, while you are, as it were, inside.”⁶⁵ These two worlds clash because the former is the real, while the latter is the unreal or imagined. However, not even in the latter world do the related events contradict the laws of nature; here “the laws of reality remain intact and permit an explanation of the phenomena described,” as Todorov defines the genre of the uncanny.⁶⁶

Until the very end, the reader cannot doubt the truthfulness of the escape narrative; the reader can have no idea that the narration has departed from reality and dived into the mind of the man, since the very same techniques are used for depicting the imagined than for the real. Uncertainty emerges in the reader only because as the story progresses, certain signals point to the fantastic improbability of the escape narrative.

61 Bierce, 37–38.

62 Bierce, 39.

63 Attebery, 2.

64 Tolkien, 37.

65 Tolkien, 37.

66 Todorov, 41.

Everything is possible in this world: ducking bullets, diving into a deep river from the gallows, freeing hands and feet from a deadly rope, swimming with fish. This is indeed a world where heroes of the fantastic want to escape: a world which Rabkin defines as having “no entanglements.”⁶⁷ Slowly, “from some affective apprehension of the impossible,” as Wolfe puts it,⁶⁸ or the perlocutionary force of the performative, the reader realizes that we are in the realm of the fantastic, or the realm of the imagination, as brought about performatively.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that both texts exhibit both versions of performativity: the logocentric or strong performative, on the one hand, and the discursive performative, on the other.

Without the surprise twist concluding both stories, both could be read simply as instances of strong performativity: Satan makes clay figures which then come to life, while Farquhar sets himself free by the power of his will. But in the final twist to the Twain piece, when he admits to the boys that all this is a dream, Satan the deconstructor moves the events into mere discourse; at the same time, he constructs himself as a powerful creator of discourse, who is capable of controlling dreams even. In the final twist added to the Bierce story, as Farquhar dies, the events are here too moved into the discourse of dream as the dying man constructs himself into a living man. Recognition is indeed shocking in both cases, and the main reason for this shock lies in the ways these authors play with performativity.

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The Power of Weak States in International Politics

North Korea has been a source of grave international tension and a threat to international security ever since Kim Il-sung launched his war of reunification in 1950. Even though North Korea boasts with nuclear weapons by most indicators it is a weak state that depends on its survival on the aid of other states. But Pyongyang is not the only international midget that poses a threat to international stability. In fact, in the post-Cold War world lesser actors seem to be exerting a growing influence on world politics. Despite their influence and role in international politics, small powers are usually not in the focus of the study of international relations history.

There can be no indisputable definition of weakness. Power can be defined in relational terms only. There are only a few weak states in the world in absolute terms such as Andorra or Lichtenstein. In the interwar period, Poland was weak in comparison to Germany but was more powerful than Czechoslovakia, which in turn was stronger than Hungary. Moreover, some aspects of power are hard to measure. Stalin once mockingly asked how many divisions the pope had. But the Soviet Union's soft power, i.e. appeal in the world may have been smaller than the Vatican's even in the heyday of communism.

For the purposes of this paper, I will define a weak power as an entity that was under the sway – domination or hegemony – of another state at any point in the 20th century. The lands between Germany and Russia, which had long been the source of instability in Europe, all qualify for this distinction. The small nations of middle Europe existed in the buffer zone between more powerful entities. Throughout much of the 20th century, they were policy takers with little or no influence on their position in the international sphere. Occasionally, however they were sometimes in a position to shape international politics. And, in 1989, they generated systemic change in international politics. This will be a history paper. Although historians are better at predicting the past than forecasting the future a few observations on the role of weak states in international politics will be made.

The concept that small states may alter the behavior of their hegemonic powers has long been understood. Gunter Bischof showed the “leverage of the weak” in his important study on Austria's role in the early Cold War. Austria occupies the gateway into Germany and Italy and therefore it was the key state to hold for the West in Central Europe. Bischof has shown how this small state, which compromised itself in collaboration with Hitler's policies, exploited its weakness to extract American political and economic assistance against the Soviet Union. Hope Harrison revealed how in a later stage of the Cold War Walter Ulbricht converted the German Democratic Republic's vulnerability as well as strategic and ideological importance for the Soviet Union into strength to convince Khrushchev to take the risk and build a wall around East Berlin. Soviet diplomacy repeatedly expressed frustration with the actions of the GDR authorities,

which suggests that the GDR's latitude in foreign policy was greater than that of other Soviet client states. It seems that the Soviets tolerated Ulbricht's adventurism because the existence of the GDR was at stake.

North Korea was not strategically vital for the Soviet Union's position as a world power. Even so, the country's leader, Kim Il-sung convinced Stalin to support his program of country unification by force. The historian Chen Jian has claimed Kim may have been a pawn in "Stalin's grand chess game." Yet the evidence presented by Chen suggests that the relationship between puppet master and puppet may not have been clear-cut. It was Kim who convinced an initially skeptical Stalin that a revolutionary situation existed in the southern part of the country and that the war would be over quickly as the people of the south would be ready to rise in support of the northern liberators.

In some cases, the weak states of middle Europe had no influence over their fate in the international system. Paradoxically, even though a state's foreign policy may have been autonomous or even independent, its ability to change its position in international politics may still be zero. The opposite may also have been true. In 1989, the freedom of the Soviet satellite states' foreign policy was severely curtailed yet they transformed the structure of the international system.

In a recent conference at Indiana University, the historian Charles Ingrao made the point that in its long history the Habsburg Empire weathered the challenge of all the great world powers: the French, the Ottomans, the Russians, and the Prussians. Thus, it is ironical that a small power, Serbia caused its demise. The Austro-Hungarian military leadership and Conrad von Hoetzendorf in particular was convinced that Serbian nationalism posed a mortal threat to the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire. The assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne occasioned Vienna's ultimatum, which Belgrade rejected after securing Russian support. In the early stages of the war, the K. und K. army suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Serbians that threw the Austro-Hungarian war plan into disarray. What promised to be a local war with a menacing but weak enemy ended with the disintegration of the Habsburg Empire that had controlled East Central Europe since the Ottomans were driven out of Hungary in 1699.

As Margaret MacMillan has pointed out, "Paris may have housed a world government, but that government's power was never as great as most people, both then and since, have assumed" and that international government was unable to "control events."¹ In fact, low-level officials in the territorial committees charged with drawing the new borders of the successor states of the Monarchy and local armies exerted more influence on the new Central European order than Lloyd George Clemenceau or Wilson. As an example, the peacemakers established a demarcation line between Hungary and Romania pending the peace conferences decision on the final borders in Transylvania. However, the Romanian army with the complicity of the local French military commander,

1 Margaret MacMillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and Its Attempt to End War* (London: John Murray Ltd, 2001), 66.

Berthelot, marched beyond the demarcation line and created a *fait accompli* by occupying Transylvania. The fate of the culturally and politically most important city of the province, Kolozsvár [today: Cluj, Romania] was decided in talk between a professor of veterinarian science, István Apáthy and Romanian officials. Apáthy surrendered the city to the Romanians. It cannot be known whether he possessed the authorization of his own government. Czechoslovakia's foreign minister, Edvard Beneš had an inordinate influence on the borders between Hungary and Czechoslovakia assigning his new state territories that were ethnically Hungarian. It was not until 1920 that the peacemakers in Paris saw the new political borders of central Europe. Even though Lloyd George was displeased with the result, it was too late to change them. Due in part to the utter political chaos and their inability to project power and influence into the former Habsburg lands the Entente sanctioned a new order in Middle Europe that rested on contested and ethically untenable borders. Some weak states imposed their will on other weak states in a manner that precluded regional cooperation in politics and economy throughout the interwar period. The new European order was a product of improvisation as much as design. Sir Robert Vansittart summed up the situation in 1930:

All these states like France, are obsessed by anxiety to keep what they got out of the war and to preserve the status quo against those neighbors whom the war despoiled [...]. Their peppery weakness and local brawls have been a disappointment. Conflicts of nationalities [...] and irresponsible chauvinism have, in the case of Yugoslavia and Romania, rendered them unreliable allies in the pursuit of this haunting and evasive "security."²

However, Humpty Dumpty could not be together again. The new states proved poor substitutes to the stabilizing role the Habsburg Empire had played in Central Europe and in 1938, the British decided to replace the nation state system with German hegemony. Munich was not a mistake but a conscious decision to enhance continental stability. This was the point where the small states of Middle Europe lost control of their destiny. This is illustrated by a forgotten episode of the Second World War. From 1942, Hitler's small allies began to explore ways to exit the war and to sign a separate peace with the western allies.

None of these initiatives, which began to gather steam in 1943, were initially taken seriously. Stalin dismissed the Finnish peace initiative as not serious while the U.S. and the British insisted on the formula of unconditional surrender so as not to rouse the suspicion of the Soviets. It is hard to explain why the Hungarian and Romanian efforts were not taken seriously when senior officials such as Adolph Berle understood that if

2 Vansittart papers, Churchill Archives, Cambridge, May 1930, VNST I/1. Quoted in Miklós Lojkó, "Conservative Realignment in British Policy on Central Europe and the Balkans during the Early Interwar Years," in *Európa, nemzet, külpolitika: tanulmányok Ádám Magda 85. születésnapjára* (Budapest: Aura Kiadó, 2010), p. 164.

the Hitler's allies could be induced to defect Germany's south-eastern flank would collapse. The motivation of the Romanians and the Hungarians was to take the risk of breaking with Hitler for better peace terms in the hope that they would be occupied by the Anglo-Americans and would avoid Soviet occupation.

When the date and place for the second front was finally pinned down at the Conference of Quebec these efforts suddenly gained paramount importance. If the Germans could concentrate their forces on the landing site, the operation would be doomed. Therefore, Hitler had to be convinced that the second front would be opened somewhere else and the German forces still in France had to be spread thin. In October the joint chiefs – in harmony with the British – decided to detach both Hungary and Romania from the Axis 'regardless of whether or not such action would be likely to entail full German occupation of these countries.' Allen Dulles, the OSS resident in Switzerland, who was in touch with the Axis peace feelers, was instructed to implement this policy immediately. Ominously he was informed that 'Adolf aware of this decision and informing his boys.' A group of American officers landed in southern Hungary on March 16 with a mission to work with the Hungarian intelligence to collect information on German troop movements. The Hungarians thought that they came to discuss the terms of a separate peace. The Fuehrer no doubt shared the same view as three days later he ordered his troops to invade citing imminent Hungarian treason. The result was the implementation of the Final Solution resulting in the death of nearly half-a-million people. Ultimately, there was nothing the Hungarian leadership could have done to avoid German occupation.

There was nothing the states of Middle Europe could do to avoid Soviet control. The British were concentrating on working out a new European order within the framework of a *modus vivendi* with the Soviets ever since the Eden-Stalin talks. In January 1943, Secretary of State Cordell Hull was handed a document outlining Foreign Office plans. It was so sensitive that the secretary was the sole person who received a copy. The Foreign Office expressed the view that 'Romania will be surrendered to the wolves' and the same will apply to the other adjacent countries too. Shortly before Prime Minister Churchill travelled to Moscow in October 1944 Foreign Secretary Eden, who had championed a territorial arrangement with Stalin since 1941 drew up a list of countries with which Great Britain should have nothing to do with after the war. The list included the Balkan states except Greece as well as Czechoslovakia and Poland. In Moscow Churchill offered to divide the Balkans in the style of classical early 19th century style. As a result, Stalin received from Churchill what he was unable to get from Hitler almost precisely four years before: control of Bulgaria and Romania as well as of Hungary. Theoretically, they agreed on a condominium in Yugoslavia but by rejecting the Balkan option and throwing support behind Tito that country was also surrendered to the Soviets.

Cold War historiography has long focused on only one aspect of Soviet control in Eastern Europe after the war, the introduction of Soviet-type political systems. In fact, there was a simultaneous and interrelated process, Soviet economic penetration and the consolidation of Eastern Europe as Soviet economic space. This process started even

before the war ended. The Soviet-Romanian economic agreement, which provided the framework for the Sovietization of important branches of that country's economy, was signed on VE day. Clearly, the weak powers that fell under Soviet occupation were unable to control their future, which was part of a larger arrangement made between the victorious allies for a new European order.

As Soviet domination mellowed into hegemony, Romania used its increasing latitude to construct a special relationship with China and the U.S. but it remained firmly entrenched in the Soviet bloc. The relative freedom of Romanian foreign policy did not alter the fundamentals of the European order.

In a private letter to Gorbachev Bush claimed that "Together we liberated Eastern Europe and unified Germany." The immodest claim suggests that the transformation that occurred in 1989 was a top down process. In fact, the end of the Cold War resulted from variety of factors. These included high-level decisions made by Gorbachev and the local communist leaderships as well tactical moves of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and grass roots actions within the former satellites. The assignment of responsibility for the end of the Cold War is a matter of historical accuracy. Secondly, it may help highlight the dynamic of systemic change in international politics.

Most accounts of the end of the Cold War such as Melvyn Leffler's emphasize the role played by Gorbachev and the reorientation of Soviet foreign policy that began in 1987 although some accounts stress the alleged role played by US President Bush. Mark Kramer has pointed out Gorbachev was a necessary but not adequate prerequisite of the change. First of all it was not enough for Gorbachev to "open the door" as the historian John Lewis Gaddis has argued since the domestic communist systems were the most immediate obstacles to democratic transformation in Eastern Europe. The dismantlement of the domestic structure of power was an essential precondition of change and this was not an automatic consequence of Gorbachev's policy.

The collapse of communism in 1989 resulted from a variety of factors. These included severe economic problems, the unintended outcome of communist reform, actions by the democratic opposition and grass roots movements in the context of weakening Soviet control. The Cold War could not have ended without Mikhail Gorbachev. Yet Gorbachev did not end the Cold War alone. In fact, the actions of no individual explain the complex and interrelated set of events that transpired in 1989.

The minimal claim on the role of American foreign policy was that it was a catalyst of change. Publicly the president announced the slogan of "Europe whole and free." Behind closed doors however he and his administration was far less sanguine about the prospects of change. He repeatedly acknowledged that Eastern Europe belonged to the Soviet sphere of interest that he had no desire to cause problems between the Soviets and their allies. He invited Jaruzelski to Washington to emphasize his support. In Budapest, he expressed his belief that the opposition would never come to power. The Bush administration was adamant that there would be no larger effort to finance the transition. Even the idea of visiting Eastern Europe did not originate from the administration. The proposal was broached by an official of the Reagan administration, John Whitehead

already in February. The trip was announced only in May mainly to offset Gorbachev's publicity tour in Western Europe. Even after the meeting with Gorbachev in Malta in December 1989, Secretary of State James Baker spoke about the CSCE process that "could become the most important forum of East-West cooperation." Although it is conceivable that the American non-policy reassured the Soviets and did not impede change, it was hardly a catalyst of change.

Washington's allies in Western Europe were concerned with the rapid change transpiring in Eastern Europe. They shared Washington's concern with Gorbachev's future and concern with stability on the continent. They supported change only to the extent that it did not upset the delicate balance of power and did not lead to instability, which still trumped national self-determination. Tellingly Mitterrand spoke of cooperation between the Soviet bloc and the West even in January 1990.

Although Gorbachev's crucial role is unquestionable, certain points need to be made. Firstly, nobody ever decided to "set Eastern Europe free." Secondly influential as Gorbachev was he did not make Soviet foreign policy alone. Gorbachev and the Soviet apparatus hoped to limit changes to the confines of socialism – whatever they meant by that term in 1989. In fact, Gorbachev was convinced that the changes would "prove the superiority of socialism." On the level of international relations Gorbachev and the military and foreign policy establishment was thinking in terms of the "territorial and political realities" of the postwar period. In March 1989, Gorbachev rejected the dissolution of the WTO and on November 22 Defense Minister Dmitrii Iazov declared that the military organization was a "guarantee of the European balance." The Soviet Foreign Ministry explained that Moscow would not tolerate changes that would alter the realities of postwar Europe and in Malta Gorbachev insisted on the two alliances. Gorbachev's publicly stated 'visions' of the new international order were vague. His notions such as "European brotherhood" would no doubt have been dismissed by Lord Castlereagh as "sublime mysticism and nonsense."

Intentions are one thing and capabilities are another. Stephen Cohen has argued that the Soviet Union may not have been in such a critical economic crisis as many historians assume. But Moscow was no longer in a position to pay for the commodities purchased from its partners in Eastern Europe. Hungary piled up a surplus of one billion dollars on the bilateral clearing account with the Soviets. Even though a paper prepared for the Central Committee of the CPSU called Eastern Europe a military and economic asset for the Soviet Union. Moscow's hold on the periphery was weakening. In July, the Soviet Politburo decided not to use force against Eastern Europe but the decision was not disclosed so as not to weaken the communist regimes. The historian Csaba Békés aptly called this policy the floating of the Brezhnev doctrine. But it is doubtful whether the Soviet Union was in a position to use force against more than one of its allies in any case. In 1956, when the Soviet Union was closer to the peak of its strength than in 1989, the Kremlin would not consider using force against both Poland and Hungary. Even then the first Soviet intervention that took place on October 24 failed to reach its objective of suppressing resistance in Budapest. It is unlikely that the Soviets could have in-

tervened with the hope of winning in more than one satellite in 1989. Finally, the use of force would have deprived Gorbachev's reforms of any domestic legitimacy and would have tarnished his reputation in the West beyond repair. Although Moscow was unwilling and probably unable to keep the periphery with force many of the former tools of Soviet hegemony were still in place. For instance in 1989 there were still 16 Soviet internal security advisors in Hungary. The Soviets were driving a hard bargain on troop reduction. Trade was still oriented towards the Soviet Union. Moscow still insisted on the Warsaw Pact and the Comecon.

The role of the former Soviet client states in the death of the old regime and the birth of the new one was as great or greater as any other factor. Mark Kramer has shown that the relationship between the Soviet Union and the satellite states was not way traffic and the transformations in Eastern Europe played an important role in ending the Soviet Union. Kramer pointed to the international demonstration effect transformed the context in which the Soviet leaders operated undercut the ideological *raison d'être* of the Soviet regime laid bare the illegitimacy of the communist systems and exerted a powerful effect on Soviet elites. But the changes that were taking place within the states of Eastern Europe added up and their cumulative effect was a new order in Europe. One might say that Gorbachev's new course provided the environment in which Eastern Europe changed the prevailing international order.

German reunification would never have been considered without the profound changes that occurred in Hungary. The German Wall was constructed in 1961 to seal the open border and thereby to make the GDR viable. When Hungary opened its borders in September 1989 the GDR was unplugged. A US television network interviewed the reformer Imre Pozsgay about the consequence would be. His reply was unequivocal: the end of the GDR. The author Andreas Oplatka pointed out that the border opening resulted from a series of actions by an emerging civil society and a string of decisions made by the ruling elite, none of which however envisioned releasing the East Germans from Hungary to Austria. An emblematic image of the end of the Cold War showed Austrian and Hungarian foreign ministers cutting down the barbed wire suggesting that the continental division was ended by the actions of political elites. Yet the picture is misleading on several levels. Firstly, the barbed wire had already been removed when the photo was taken. It was partially reconstructed for the photo opportunity. Secondly, the Austrian elites were highly concerned about the removal of the barrier. More importantly, the removal of the border defense system was not meant to lift the travel controls to Austria. One of the most important steps towards the reestablishment of the freedom of movement between Hungary and the West was the organization of the pan European picnic in August 1989. This event was conceived and planned by non-government actors and set events into motion that led to the opening of borders to GDR citizens.

According to neorealist theory as explained by Kenneth Waltz holds that "structures are defined by the distribution of capabilities across units. Changes in the distribution are changes of the system. The structure of a system changes with changes in the distribution of capabilities across units." The dissolution of the Soviet bloc in Eastern

Europe caused such redistribution of power. The Soviet military understood the consequences for Soviet power. Soviet Chief of Staff Marshall Akhromeyev declared that “the Warsaw Treaty Organization and Soviet troops stationed in the territory of Eastern Europe was the bedrock of Eastern Europe’s security. The security system that was created after the war was the foundation on which everything else was based.” General Ivan Mikhailin felt that the “West is isolating us on the periphery of the European continent” while the commander-in-chief of the Pacific Fleet lamented that “the USSR returned to the situation of 1939.” This drastic reconfiguration was caused by the domestic upheavals in states formerly dominated by the Soviet Union. Thus, in fact, the reconfiguration of the international field in 1989–1991 cast doubt on the realist assertion that systemic change in international politics is generated by the redistribution in it. Realists discount the role of the domestic setting of international politics but it does seem that domestic transformations generated the systemic change in the international system.

Weak powers in Eastern Europe exerted their influence on international politics in cases where strong powers were powerless to impose their will on them. In 1918, Austria-Hungary’s collapse created a vacuum. Germany was shattered by defeat and economic collapse, Russia struggled in revolution and civil strife. The victors were also fatally weakened and aside from Italy never had any strategic or economic interest in the region. In 1989, the Soviet Union was interested in the preservation of a reformed version of the post war order and communist regimes that served as that order’s eastern pillars. Central Europe was situated on an important fault line in world politics, filling in the space between Germany and Russia. This translated into extremes either absolute impotence at times when the force field of powers was strong or the ability to shape international order, at times when the force weak was absent or weak.

Home(s) on Borderlands and Inter-American Identity in Sandra Cisneros's Works*

This essay focuses on the intricate issue of borderlands, a major paradigm often employed in various works of Chicana writers, by mapping its various extensions within and outside the literary texts of contemporary writer Sandra Cisneros with the aim of exposing diverse identity constructions depicted by the metaphor of home, the “master metaphor” of identity (Kaup 363), in her inter-American world. Today, in the context of the Americas, the shift to transnational approaches in the area of American studies seems to naturally direct the practitioners of the continental field of study towards a rather obvious area, the inter-American realm; therefore, as a synecdoche of the transnational path, the inter-American approach becomes more central to any study centering on the Americas. To borrow from Shelley Fisher Fishkin’s “Crossroads of Cultures,” one has to focus more to “figures who have been marginalized precisely because they have crossed so many borders that they are hard to categorize” (30) and to pay attention to the “legal borderlands both inside and outside the United States” (31) by welcoming “investigations of the broad array of cultural crossroads shaping the work of border-crossing authors, artists, and cultural forms that straddle multiple regional and national traditions” and “studies that probe the cultural work of American literature outside the United States for insight into the non-U.S. cultures” (32). Right from the beginning of Fisher Fishkin’s article, the emphasis is on the versatile metaphor of *home* that is formulated and reformulated by the “proverbial immigrant who leaves somewhere called ‘home’ to make a new home in the United States” and who is subject to an “endless process of comings and goings that create familial, cultural, linguistic, and economic ties across national borders” (24).

As Sebastian Thies and Josef Raab observed, borderlands, with their inherent “rites of passage and tales of transgression, constitute a potent foundational myth of transnational or inter-American identities” (14), a myth that has been present through various modes in Chicana/o literature. In the following, I will consistently use the term “inter-American” tailored to the context of the Americas instead of the more general concept of the term “transnational.” While the latter has a more international, global connotation, the former has a peculiar, so-called globalocal (relating to the whole world but with an impact and significance to a particular area) features pertaining to the Americas. If there is a distinct place for the manifestation of globalocal, inter-American identities,

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then that is the border. By employing the dynamics involved in the concept, Gloria Anzaldúa defined borderlands as a vital site for those inhabiting and writing from this place because *la frontera* as such encompasses a peculiar geographical location and physical presence, a specific psychic landscape combined with a distinctive linguistic aspect that frequently uses *difrasismo* (the coupling of two elements to form a new word) and interlingualism (the space between languages consisting of a blend and juxtaposition, in this case, of Spanish and English) in its literary forms. In Anzaldúa's seminal book, an eloquent example of an uprooted *difrasismo* linked with the concept of home is *homophobia*, where 'home' as such becomes a twisted wor(l)d. Anzaldúa quotes a New England lesbian student, who misinterpreted the word 'homophobia' by associating it with the apt expression of the "[fe]ar of going home. And of not being taken. [...] of being abandoned by the mother, the culture, *la Raza*, for being unacceptable, faulty, damaged" (20). The idea of home, present in almost all Chicana/o body of writing involves in the North American context of borderlands a special kind of interlingualism also characteristic of a greater, Latina/o community. The Chicano poet and scholar, Alfred Arteaga – similar to many other writers and theorists – envisions the virtual birthplace and the fictive or real home of Chicana/o identity at the confluence of cultures, at borderlands, where this interlingualism contains "English, Spanish, calo (Chicano slang), and perhaps Nahuatl," resulting in various textual and phonetic matters that "work out linguistically with thought what the border does culturally with the nation and what *mestizaje* does racially with the body" (10). Yet, this *mestizaje* is a blend of previous mixtures and thus a more sophisticated marker for the contemporary Chicana/o identity that defines itself through the *la frontera* reality:

[T]he "reality" of the border for Chicanos is similar to the "reality" of the Indian. Consider for a moment the identity "Chicano" and the homeland "Aztlán." Chicano derives from Mexicano, which derives from Mexica, the name the Aztecs called themselves. "Chicano" recalls an older, original pronunciation. When Hernan Cortes conquered the Aztecs, the Spanish language still possessed the sound like the English "sh," represented in Spanish by the letter "x," so that the conquistador could approximate Meshica as Mexica. Eventually Spanish changed phonemically so that Meshico came to be pronounced Mehico (Mejico), and Don Quihote (Quijote), for another example, ceased to be Don Quishote (Quixote). The soft "ch" in Mexican Spanish approaches the "sh" of older Spanish and of Nahuatl, so that meshicano leads to mechicano and to chicano. In this manner, phonemically at least, Chicano signifies descent from the Aztecs (Arteaga 9).

The syncretic experience of Chicana writers is reflected in the *mestiza consciousness* manifested, as Anzaldúa defined it, through "a constant state of mental nepantlism, an Aztec word meaning torn between ways," in a fluid "state of perpetual transition" always facing "the dilemma of the mixed breed" (78). The *mestiza*, living in a border position,

practices a nomadic thinking described by Walter D. Mignolo as “border thinking;” she descends from immigrants but is not an immigrant herself; she is one of those who did not move but around whom the world moved by shifting borders (Mignolo 72). Sandra Cisneros, born in Chicago, is one of these *mestizas*, with her various home(s) residing in various Nepantla (“in between”) zones.

Topologies of Home 1: Sandra Cisneros’s Narrative Homes

In the following, I will map various Nepantla homelands present in Cisneros’s narratives, her primary textual homes and testimonies of border thinking and inter-American identity. These include *The House on Mango Street* (1984), *Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories* (1991) and *Caramelo, or, Puro Cuento* (2002). Cisneros’s work – apart from the previously mentioned three volumes, including also *Hairs = Pelitos* (1994), *Bad Boys* (1980), *My Wicked, Wicked Ways* (1987), *Loose Woman: Poems* (1994), *Have You Seen Marie? Fable for Grown-Ups* (2012) and the book of non-fiction entitled *A House of My Own: Stories from My Life* (forthcoming this year) – thrives on the limits of both private and public realms, has a conscious subjectivity and fits perfectly to the idea of the political writer described by another Chicana writer, Cherrie Moraga, in her “Foreword” to the second edition of *This Bridge Called My Back* entitled “Refugees of a World on Fire,” where she claims that the “political writer [...] is the ultimate optimist believing people are capable of change and using words as one way to try to penetrate the privatism of our lives.” Cisneros’s narratives celebrate nepantilism and encourage readers to go beyond the borders of private and public, of natural and political realms, of gender and societal norms. As Inés Salazar writes, the narrator of Cisneros’s works “transgresses both against the norms for women that prevail within her community as well as against the myth of the American Dream, that cornerstone of bourgeois American individualism” (Salazar 393). Accordingly, the literary structures of Cisneros’s works, “multifaceted as her cultural identity” (Madsen 130), are assembled into particularly built, decentralized, fragmented, open narratives (Bollobás 2005, 714) that enhance multiple modes of transgression.

The textual site of one of these modes of transgression is *The House on Mango Street*. The protagonist of this 44-vignette book is Esperanza, who, in her impetus for a real house of her own, echoes Cisneros’s desires and aspirations and embarks on a “metaphysical journey, undertaken through her writing” (Salazar 394). In a recent interview with Nicole Thomson Akoukou, the author emphasizes this transgressive role by saying that “the questions that Esperanza was asking, I was asking” (Akoukou Thomson 2015). This sort of nepantilism goes all along the first vignette with the metaphor of the house in which the narrator lives, marking this identity caught at first between the family and society (“we”) and the young Chicana (“I”):

The house on Mango Street is ours. [...] But even so, it’s not the house we’d thought we’d get [...]. They always told us that one day we would move into

a house, a real house that would be ours for always we wouldn't have to move each year. [...] You live there? There. I had to look to where she pointed – the third floor, the paint peeling, wooden bars Papa nailed on the windows so we wouldn't fall out. You live there? The way she [the nun] said it made me feel like nothing. There. I lived there. I nodded. I know I had to have a house. A real house. One I can point to. But this isn't it. The house on Mango Street isn't it. For the time being, Mama says. Temporary, says Papa. But I know those things go (Cisneros 2004, 3–5).

Then in “Alice & I talking on Edna's Steps,” the home of the narrator, a typical American building situated on Mango Street, a name bearing the cultural codes of Latinization, becomes the spot of negation, shame, and denial as if it was an almost illegal place of dwelling, resembling a no wo/man's land between borders, an urban *Nepantla* situated at the fringes of both American and Mexican culture, still waiting to be identified and thus made “better.”

You live right here, 406 Mango, Alicia says and points to the house I am ashamed of. No, this isn't my house I say and shake my head as if shaking could undo the year I've lived here. I don't belong: I don't ever want to come from here. You have a home, Alicia, and one day you'll go there, to a town you remember, but me I never had a house, not even a photograph... only one I dream of. No, Alicia says. Like it or not you are Mango Street, and one day you'll come back too. Not me. Not until somebody makes it better. Who's going to make it? (106–107).

Although the real Chicana home appears as a promise of a “home in the heart” in “Elenita, Cards, Palm, Water” (64), later on this fictive place of habitation is projected into the visible world of everyday objects in “Linoleum Roses”: Sally's “pillows and her plates” (101). Moreover, in “No Speak English,” the word “home,” repeated as a sacred chant, has a massive sentimental content with extended visibility, transcending into the visible world from the invisible domain of feelings and becomes “a house in a photograph, a pink house, pink as hollyhocks with lots of startled light” with Mamacita sighing “for her pink house, and then I think she cries” (77) – still holding a considerable potential for emotions. As Maria Antônia Oliver-Rotger pointed out in *Battleground and Crossroads. Social and Imaginary Space in Writings by Chicanas*, the domestic arena paired with interiority, feelings and inwardness becomes a hybrid physical and mental space where Chicana identity is shaped by specific spatial configurations (82). Furthermore, the gendered spatial imagery of the borderlands in Cisneros's work is in tandem with the metaphor of the home that reflects “complex realities that are often at variance with dominant representations of spatial relations” (83).

In *The House on Mango Street*, home is also the metaphor of hope [*Esperanza* – coinciding with the name of the protagonist] with the narrator voicing the wish that

“your feet would one day keep walking and take you far away from Mango Street, far away” to “stop in front of a house, a nice one with flowers and big windows and steps for you to climb up two by two steps to where a room is waiting for you” (Cisneros 2004, 82). The book of vignettes holds this room of desire representing the *Nepantla* of Chicana identity. With the intertwining connotation of the attic as a space of potential liberation from the time-worn cult of domesticity – discussed in depth by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar in *The Madwoman in the Attic* and later by Betty Friedan in *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) – and the role of this small room, *ático*, used for servants in Latin America and representing subordination, in the “Bums in the Attic” the narrator voices her determination to own not only an attic or a room of her own but an entire house belonging to her only, meanwhile not forgetting “who I am or where I came from” (Cisneros 2004, 87). When she describes this new residence, marker of her inter-American identity, as later specified in “House of My Own,” this goes beyond the limits of personal liberation, over the boundaries of class and race, past the barriers between the rich and the poor, and well beyond confined gender roles, Chicano patriarchy or Anglo American culture. This is “[N]ot a flat. Not an apartment in the back. Not a man’s house. Not a daddy’s...” with everything in between negations becoming *Nepantla*. In this context, the vignettes of this volume are bricks building up a new home made of words imported from both worlds and cultures, both already hybrid. To use Salazar’s words, Cisneros’s “appropriation of aesthetic practice as an instrument to remake the self” results in a novel that “supports the viability of its individual agency” (395) and successfully traces the rims of her inter-American identity.

In the thirteen stories contained in *Woman Hollering Creek*, the metaphor of the house and home has wider connotations and is present as more or less abstract mundane pieces or people scattered in the chain of the volume’s stories such as orange Popsicles friends split so they could be sisters and Lucy, the narrator’s friend “who smells like corn” (Cisneros 1992, 5), Barbie’s MOD’ern cousin, Francie, in her new Prom Pinks outfit, whose left foot is melted a little in the short story entitled “Barbie-Q,” “runaway balloons” marking the age of the protagonist in “Eleven,” religious objects in “Anguiano Religious Articles Rosaries Statues Medals Incense Candles Talismans Perfumes Oils Herbs” and “Little Miracles, Kept Promises;” all identity tags building the greater picture of the Chicana identity living in the textual *Nepantla* of *Woman Hollering Creek*. Furthermore, the inter-American identity is also laconically defined by a truncated word imported from the vernacular speech, “Merrican,” instead of the all-encompassing American: “We’re Mericans, we’re Merricans” (20). Being “Merrican” is another tag for the mixed fringe identity in which *Mexican* and *American* can both melt, as Barbie’s left foot.

Analogous to the borderlands, home in this collection of stories is also a place of blunt contradictions: of longing, of crossing over the limits, of internalized dissent, of assertion but also of hopeless homecoming made impossible for the humiliated woman, who does not obey Chicano patriarchy anymore and runs away from her (husband’s) house to find a safe haven in a paradoxically similar place:

Sweet sweet homecoming [...]. Wrinkle in the brain crumpling to a crease. [...] Sometimes she thinks of her father's house. But how could she go back there? What a disgrace. What would the neighbors say? Coming home like that with one baby on her hip and the one in the oven (50).

A particular identity facet of Cisneros's women characters in *Woman Hollering Creek*, according to Deborah L. Madsen, is "divided between a celebration of the power of a demythologized feminine sexuality" combined with "a powerful awareness of misogyny and the control of women through the control of their sexuality" (117). Moreover, "the effort to negotiate a cross-cultural identity" is further "complicated by the need to challenge the deeply rooted patriarchal values of both Mexican and American cultures" (108), leading to a redefinition of the place called home. As Anna Marie Sandoval remarked, the concept of "homeplace" described in 1990 by bell hooks as a site of resistance has "gendered connotations that perpetuate the association of women with the domestic realm" (291) that is gazed upon and guarded as a border crossing by the (patriarchal) surveillance system. Therefore in Cisneros's work "the evocation of spaces of intimacy is tied to a sense of individual freedom that is inextricable" from the collective needs (292) of her own group but also that of a larger (inter-)nation. Home becomes, occasionally, an interchangeable concept with marriage or with voluntary single motherhood (for example, as the one described in "Eyes of Zapata"); coupled with the shift of home from the traditional to an unusual one (as in "Never Marry a Mexican" where there is "no home to go home to") it can be best described by the term of migrant homelessness. Cleófilas, the protagonist of the title story, is one of these migrants caught in an idiosyncratic *Nepantla*: she crosses the border between Mexico and the United States with her husband, in hope of a better life she equates with those seen daily in *telenovelas*. However, after crossing the legal border, the life *en le otro lado* does not grant her salvation: she is still abused and lives in poverty. Hence, after several traumas, her homeplace is mentally relocated in a natural setting, a creek, bearing the mythical subtext of the *La Gritona* or *La Llorona*, a mythical feminine figure cursed to haunt water places, who weeps for her dead children and seeks to punish men for her suffering, by emphasizing the paradox behind its name: "*La Gritona* [...]. Such a funny name for a creek so pretty and full of happily ever after" (47). The weeping woman, the name giver of the *arroyo*, inherited the complex, controversial identity traits of the Nahua Malintzin or La Malinche and that of the Virgin de Guadalupe embodying the sexualized figure of the Aztec *vendida* woman, *la puta*, who keeps weeping for her lost children, merging with the sacred figure of a syncretic, *mestiza* Virgin Mary in the blended image of a Hollering Woman, a *mestiza* Stabat Mater exhibiting her threefold nature of lover, mother and saint and letting her voice out at the crossroads of cultures.

Caramelo, or, Puro Cuento is – according to its subtitle – based on a true story. As María Alonso Alonso writes, it is the "autobiography of the author, with added fictionalisations" (16). As Esperanza in *The House on Mango Street*, Celaya (Lala) Reyes is also an outcast character that willingly-unwillingly deconstructs the concept of house and

home through her multiple journeys across the Mexican-American border. Celaya's perennial displacement, the yearly travels from her real and imaginary homelands, ranging from the Chicago family house through the rarely opened "storage rooms" of her Awful Grandmother's [*abuelita*] home in colorful Ciudad de México to their new family home in San Antonio, Texas, put her in a constant play of (re)constructing her own identity. Celaya emphasizes that each year when she crosses borders "it's the same – my mind forgets. But my body always remembers" (2013) and wonders about the location of her real home in trying to find her own place within this: "Home? Where's that? North? South? Mexico? San Antonio? Chicago?" (2015). Her Mexicanness as well as her Americanness unveil an admixture of home and homelessness that lead her to ceaselessly remodel her subsequent Mexican and American identity into a new, inter-American one. As Alonso Alonso aptly put it, the house and the home as

territory and language are important issues which are present in most Chicana writing and in particular in *Caramelo*. These are usually ambivalent concepts ruled by exclusive binary codes. History has divided territories or moved borders from one place to another, which means that Chicanas/os are doomed to a constant search for a particular identity in order to reconcile their Mexican origin with their everyday life in an Anglo environment. Second – and third-generation Chicanas/os like Celaya find themselves in this situation and consequently struggle to find their own individuality (25).

Topologies of Home 2: Sandra Cisneros's Extra-textual HomeWorks

The House on Mango Street, *Woman Hollering Creek* and *Caramelo*, or, *Puro Cuento* have opened a special literary window of transgression for various articulations of inter-American Chicanisma in Cisneros's narratives. Apart from these texts, the identity construction in Cisneros's non-narrative world operates in pluralistic modes on manifold levels, including the extradiegetic shift of homes and homelands in various spaces where identity is negotiated by alternating across the boundaries of fiction and reality. Such spaces of creative transaction include, besides her poetry, children's book and picture book, the author's official *homepage*, a number of recent documents in the media concerning the disputes over her real-life home and Cisneros's 2015 installation of her mother's room at the Smithsonian National American History Museum, Latino Center.

The negotiation of identities – here, across the borders of fiction and reality – depends on the performativity of the subject involved. As Enikő Bollobás writes in *They Aren't Until I Call Them*, performativity "has the ability to signal the borderline, ambivalent and receding between the text and outside it" significantly contributing "to the understanding of the constructedness of the real and the reality of the constructed world and how we can know, if at all, where the boundaries are" (202). Performativity in the context of Cisneros's extra-textual world, includes the side of *performance*, which is "a particular mode of performativity, characterized by a mimetic replaying of norms and

the replaying of ruling ideologies when constructing the subject” intrinsically connected with the performative aspect, which “refers to another mode of performativity characterized by a resistance to ruling ideologies and the bringing about of new discursive entities in subject construction” (2010, 21).

Cisneros’s webpage bears one of her foremost blueprints of Chicana identity. An idiosyncratic assembly, both *performance* and *performative*, her homepage links Cisneros’s literary texts and off-texts that are combined to form the metaphoric unity of the home she has been constructing in her narratives and outside of them. Its architecture, made of eight major clusters as rooms in a house (Home, Letter, About, News, Books, Events, Favorites, Guestbook), envisage the function of a real residence open to anyone – regardless of borders. It is transnational by function; however, by design and content is more Nepantla and inter-American. So was her Tejano-colored American heritage house in San Antonio, which had a story of its own, too. As Candace LaBalle noted, in 1995

Cisneros achieved what many consider to be the height of artistic success when she was awarded the MacArthur Genius Fellowship. Its \$225,000 purse allowed Cisneros to finally realize her childhood dream – a house of her own. She bought a large Victorian home in a historic district of San Antonio that she painted a bright neon purple. The local historic board promptly challenged her color choice saying it was not a historically accurate color. Not one to sit idly by while decisions are made for her, Cisneros clad in purple held news conferences on her lawn. She passed out petitions on purple paper. She declared the color a part of her Mexican heritage and accused the board of bias against Hispanic culture. “We are a people *sin papeles* [without papers]!” she was quoted in *Texas Monthly*. “We don’t exist. This isn’t about my little purple house. It’s about the entire Tejano community” (2002).

Two years later, the board withdrew its objections and Cisneros’s purple house retained its ethnic color. She could have her own purple house – finally. In “My Purple House – Color is a Language and a History,” Cisneros equated this process with a fictive happening by saying that it resembled a *telenovela*, one that was heavily mediatized: “One day I painted my house tejano colors; the next day, my house is in all the news” (1997). This house – as the records of *mySA* show – was sold not long ago, in January 2015 (Olivo 2015). According to the information on her webpage, Cisneros lives today “with many creatures, little and large, in central Mexico” publishing her work across the border in the U.S.; moreover, her new book – not surprisingly entitled – *A House of My Own: Stories from My Life* will be released in October 2015.

Through her textual and extra-textual performativity, Cisneros continuously reshapes the codified limits of her identity and continues to thrive, as her characters do, in an interstitial place of “borderlands between Mexico and the US as sites of *imagined* common culture” (Salazar 397). And, while complying with a set of norms, Cisneros, also

goes against the grain in building her versatile homeplace and her house, “one of the great powers of integration for the thoughts” (Bachelard 6) that “guides and encloses” her (and her characters’) earliest dreams (239). The conflation of the social and the imaginary at the borderlands of her literary and non-literary texts/works result in an additional, composite process of inter-American identity construction of the author of fiction and non-fiction and the real life person, who expands the boundaries of her home across the globe through the digital wording of her books and homepage and who, unlike her protagonists of her narratives, finally owned a house and even builds an inter-American, transgenerational identity through the museum installation made for and in memory of her mother, Sandra’s first ever home, Elvira Cordero Cisneros (1929–2007), in a canonized space of American culture. This is “My Mother’s Altar,” a room installation in the tradition of *Día de Muertos* at the Smithsonian National American History Museum, Latino Center (open from October 31, 2014 through September 7, 2015).

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The “Exemplary Citizens”

The Mission of the Japanese American Citizens League¹

The prewar and wartime controversial policy and mission of the Japanese American Citizens League (J.A.C.L.) to counter the anti-Japanese phobia – the image of the disloyal Japanese American – is the focus of the present study. The leadership of the J.A.C.L. was convinced that it was a crucial time to confirm the Americanism of citizens of Japanese descent as relations were deteriorating and conflict between the United States and the Empire of Japan was imminent. The portrayal of Japanese Americans as loyal, patriotic, and model citizens was intended to change the previous stereotypes that had dominated the identity and history of the community, the image of the ‘alien,’ the ‘enemy within,’ and the ‘Fifth Column.’ Since the arrival of the Japanese immigrants the Japanese American community had been the target of racial discrimination and prejudice in the United States, as well as anti-Japanese fear and paranoia as a direct consequence of the expansionist foreign policy of Japan. The peak of the anti-Japanese sentiments came after the unprovoked and sudden attack on Pearl Harbor with President Franklin D. Roosevelt signing Executive Order No. 9066¹² on February 19, 1942.

A Brief Introduction of the Japanese American Citizens League

The history of the Japanese American Citizens League can be traced back to the early 1920s with the series of loyalty leagues established on the West Coast. The first rec-

- 1 The present study was made possible through the research scholarship awarded by the Hungarian-American Fulbright Commission and the Roosevelt Institute for American Studies (Middelburg, The Netherlands, 2014). The research was also supported by the Asian American Studies Department, College of Ethnic Studies, San Francisco State University, and the Japanese American National Library (San Francisco, 2016).
- 2 Executive Order No. 9066 authorized the Secretary of War and the appointed Military Commander to designate military areas and to exclude any or all citizens from the prescribed zones on the West Coast. The order approved the mass forced exclusion and incarceration of persons of Japanese ancestry citing military necessity and national defense. The order was broadly defined and did not single out Japanese aliens and American citizens of Japanese descent; yet, it only applied to persons of Japanese parentage on a collective basis. Ten incarceration camps were established on the Continental United States and over 110,000 Japanese Americans – American citizens of Japanese ancestry and Japanese aliens – were incarcerated without any regard to the individual's age, gender, or citizenship. The civilian exclusion orders were eventually revoked on December 17, 1944. The ‘incarcerees’ were allowed to leave the incarceration camps and resettle on the West Coast on January 2, 1945. Exec. Order. No. 9066, 7 Fed. Reg. 1407 (February 25, 1942), <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/5730250> (accessed May 24, 2017).

ordered meeting organized by American citizens of Japanese parentage was held in Seattle with the Progressive Citizens League founded on September 27, 1921.³ The formation of the Seattle Progressive Citizens League is a significant event in light of the fact that the motivation and support for such organization came from the Issei.⁴ The first generation wished for the Nisei⁵ to embrace their Americanism. The *JACL Historical* record described the desire of the Issei as the following, for “the Second Generation to ‘become more deeply conscious of their American citizenship and obligations.’”⁶ It signified a clear support by the Issei to have the second generation aware of its rights, privileges, and obligations as citizens of the United States. Furthermore, the Progressive Citizens League was a principal entity in founding the Japanese American Citizens League, a national Japanese American civil rights organization. The Progressive Citizens League of Seattle was followed by subsequent American loyalty leagues established by the Nisei along the Pacific Coast, predominantly in California and the State of Washington; there is a scarcity of records on the initial period of the earliest citizens groups.

The Seattle group played a key role in not only expanding the number of chapters, but also in founding the J.A.C.L. Clarence Arai and George Ishihara of the Seattle League were supposed to have attended a conference of the American Loyalty Leagues in Fresno, however the conference was cancelled during their trip. The Seattle representatives completed their journey and decided to visit various Japanese communities and helped establish local chapters. As a result of their efforts the Los Angeles, Stockton, and

3 JACL Historical, Box 1, Folder Early History of JACL 1937, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco (hereafter cited as Early History of JACL 1937).

4 The Issei were the first generation of Japanese Americans – Japanese-born immigrants, aliens, 55 to 65 years old – who were ineligible for citizenship until the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. The Munson report of 1941 described them as “loyal romantically” to Japan. However, it did not neglect to clarify their deep roots in and strong connection to America. Curtis B. Munson on the loyalty of the Issei: “They have made this their home. They have brought up children here, their wealth accumulated by hard labor is here, and many would have become American citizens had they been allowed to do so” (Curtis B. Munson, *Japanese on the West Coast Report*, November 7, 1941, *President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Office Files, 1933–1945. Part 3: Departmental Correspondence Files*, microfilm, Roosevelt Study Center, Middelburg, Netherlands, Reel 33 [hereafter cited as FDR Departmental Correspondence Files]).

5 The Nisei are second generation Japanese Americans – American citizens of Japanese ancestry, 1 to 30 years old – who were raised and educated in the United States. They embraced their Americanism, and as Curtis B. Munson emphasized in his report, “in spite of discrimination against them and a certain amount of insults accumulated through the years from irresponsible elements, show a pathetic eagerness to be Americans.” The Nisei were generally 90% to 98% loyal to the United States, which they were “pathetically eager” to prove according to the Munson report (Munson, *Japanese on the West Coast Report*, 1941, FDR Departmental Correspondence Files).

6 JACL Historical, Early History of JACL 1937.

Brawley branches were founded in California in 1928.⁷ Clarence Arai and George Ishihara also participated at a meeting in San Francisco, where it was decided that a conference should be held in San Francisco in April of 1929.

The San Francisco conference was held on April 5 and 6, 1929. The importance of the San Francisco citizens league conference is exemplified by the correspondence between the San Francisco and Fresno chapters on March 18, 1929.⁸ The conference was described as a place where the representatives could come together and collaborate, share their thoughts and ideas, and plans for the future of the Japanese American community. The future of the leagues looked promising to the author of the letter, since the movement was gaining momentum. "The movement for the organization of citizens leagues is going on at a rapid rate and in the near future, it is safe to predict that the Federation will be a power to be recognized. We have to work hard till this day arrives."⁹ The Japanese American Citizens League was established in 1929 as a result of the combined effort of the leagues after the various Japanese American citizens groups of the West Coast merged to form the first national organization. Nevertheless, it should not be neglected that the initial push came from the Issei. The Issei encouraged the assimilation and Americanization of their children. Clarence Arai congratulated Saburo Kido in a telegram on October 26, 1929, on the occasion of the Japanese American Citizens Banquet celebrating the foundation of the J.A.C.L.

The telegram read as the following:¹⁰

OUR CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES MAY THE LEAGUE GROW
AND BE OF SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY STATE AND COUNTRY MORE
POWER TO THE JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENRY

The Seattle League not only instructed Clarence Arai to name the new national organization the Japanese American Citizens League at the San Francisco conference, but also to convene a conference for 1930 in Seattle, Washington.¹¹ The Seattle conference was the first national convention of the newly formed J.A.C.L., it was held between August 29 and September 1, 1930, with eight chapters (Los Angeles Calif., San Jose Calif., Fresno Calif., Stockton Calif., Placer County Calif., Seattle Wash., San Francisco Calif.,

7 JACL Historical, Early History of JACL 1937.

8 The letter was probably written by Saburo Kido, with the initials SK typed on the lower left side of the letter, although the signature is faded. San Francisco to Fresno American Loyalty League, March 18, 1929, Box 1, Folder Correspondence – San Francisco Chapter 1929, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco (hereafter cited as Correspondence – San Francisco Chapter 1929).

9 San Francisco to Fresno American Loyalty League, 1929, Correspondence – San Francisco Chapter 1929.

10 Clarence Arai to Saburo Kido, October 26, 1929, Box 1, Folder Correspondence – San Francisco Chapter 1929, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco.

11 JACL Historical, Early History of JACL 1937.

and Portland Ore.) represented by 109 delegates.¹² The delegates agreed to name the new organization the Japanese American Citizens League and also adopted the Constitution that was drafted by Saburo Kido.

The Controversial Wartime Policy and Mission of the J.A.C.L.

In order to better understand the wartime policy and mission of the Japanese American Citizens League we have to consider the relevance of the Japanese American identity and the public image advocated by the leadership with regard to the threat of war with Japan. It was the intent of the League to assume moral leadership of the Japanese American community based on the principles of American value. Under the leadership of Saburo Kido¹³ and Mike Masaoka¹⁴ 1941 proved to be a turning point in the history of the J.A.C.L. and the Japanese American community. Two crucial documents have to be mentioned and analyzed in relation to the mission and policy of the J.A.C.L., *The Japanese American Creed* and the *A Declaration of Policy*. *The Japanese American Creed*¹⁵ was written by Mike Masaoka in 1941 and expressed the philosophy of what it meant to be an American, the loyalty and patriotism of Japanese Americans. The message was read before the United States Congress on May 9, 1941. It stated that American citizens of Japanese ancestry should believe in and be proud of being citizens of the United States. Notwithstanding, Mike Masaoka's message did not mention the Issei and could be interpreted as a way of distancing the second generation from the Japanese aliens in order to strengthen the image of the loyal and patriotic Nisei, to portray Japanese Americans as exemplary/model citizens. This intent is quite contentious if we take into account the role of the Issei in the establishment of the League and that there was no Japanese 'problem' on the West Coast according to the Munson report¹⁶ of 1941.

*The Japanese American Creed:*¹⁷

I am proud that I am an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, for my very background makes me appreciate more fully the wonderful advantages of this nation. I believe in her institutions, ideals, and traditions; I glory in her heritage; I boast of her history; I trust in her future. She has granted me liberties and opportunities such as no individual enjoys in this world today. She

12 JACL Historical, Early History of JACL 1937.

13 Saburo Kido was the President of the J.A.C.L. during the wartime years.

14 Mike Masaoka was the National Secretary and Field Executive of the J.A.C.L. and a prominent member of the leadership during its controversial years.

15 Mike Masaoka, *The Japanese American Creed*, May 9, 1941, Box 1, Folder Nisei Loyalty, 1934, 1938–1942, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco (hereafter cited as Nisei Loyalty, 1934, 1938–1942).

16 Munson, *Japanese on the West Coast Report*, 1941, FDR Departmental Correspondence Files.

17 Masaoka, *The Japanese American Creed*, 1941, Nisei Loyalty, 1934, 1938–1942.

has given me an education befitting kings. She has entrusted me with the responsibilities of the franchise. She has permitted me to build a home, to earn a livelihood, to worship, think, speak, and act as I please – as a free man equal to every other man.

In *The Japanese American Creed*, which can be interpreted as an ode to what it meant to be an American according to Mike Masaoka, the author does allude to existing discrimination and prejudice that Japanese Americans had to face, although it is stated that such mentality did not represent the majority of Americans. Masaoka emphasizes that discrimination should be discouraged, but by means of the "American way": openly, via the courts of law, education, and by proving to be worthy of equal treatment.¹⁸ This in itself is contradictory, since the League initially did not support the test cases that questioned the constitutionality of the restrictive military orders and the incarceration of persons of Japanese descent. The National Secretary expressed his unyielding belief in the values of "American sportsmanship" and "fair play": "I am firm in my belief that American sportsmanship and attitude of fair play will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of action and achievement, and not on the basis of physical characteristics."¹⁹ *The Japanese American Creed* concludes with a pledge of allegiance to defend the United States and to shoulder obligations as a citizen in order to become a "better American." The leadership of the J.A.C.L. was willing to "cheerfully" bear this burden, although they did so unilaterally in the name of the entire community.

The Japanese American Creed's pledge to become a "better American":²⁰

I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and in all places; to support her constitution; to obey her laws; to respect her flag; to defend her against all enemies, foreign or domestic; to actively assume my duties and obligations as a citizen, cheerfully and without any reservations whatsoever, in the hope that I may become a better American in a greater America.

The manifesto *A Declaration of Policy*²¹ was prepared by the J.A.C.L. and was approved by the National Board in 1942 as the official policy that governed the organization. It was a critical time for the Japanese American community forced to endure anti-Japanese prejudice, the fallout and shock of Pearl Harbor, and the war with Japan. The reason for the *Declaration of Policy* was, as stated in the proclamation, that "the Japanese American Citizens League is devoted to those tasks which are calculated to win for ourselves and our posterity the status outlined by our two national slogans: 'For Better

18 Masaoka, *The Japanese American Creed*, 1941, Nisei Loyalty, 1934, 1938–1942.

19 Masaoka, *The Japanese American Creed*, 1941, Nisei Loyalty, 1934, 1938–1942.

20 Masaoka, *The Japanese American Creed*, 1941, Nisei Loyalty, 1934, 1938–1942.

21 *A Declaration of Policy by the Japanese American Citizens League*, 1942, Box 1, Folder Nisei Loyalty, 1934, 1938–1942, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco (hereafter cited as Nisei Loyalty, 1934, 1938–1942).

Americans in a Greater America' and 'Security Through Unity'.²² The term 'calculated' does have a negative connotation, invoking doubts over such expression as Justice, Americanism, Citizenship, and Leadership, all for which the J.A.C.L. stood for as claimed in its policy. Moreover, the 'calculative' nature of the League casts a dark shadow over its founding and core principle as a civil rights organization, considering how a proportion of the Japanese community was left behind in the name of public and political acceptance.

The mission statement was represented by the letters of the J.A.C.L. acronym: "J" for Justice, "A" for Americanism, "C" for Citizenship, and "L" for Leadership. The J.A.C.L. represented the ideas formulated as its official standpoint to attain equal treatment and the privileges of citizenship from a legal perspective, furthermore, to be considered "good Americans" and worthy citizens who embodied the American ideals, and over all to become "exemplary citizens."²³ The policy placed emphasis on *The Japanese American Creed* by Mike Masaoka – again neglecting to mention the Issei, placing greater importance on American citizens of Japanese descent – and provided a direct reference to military service as an inherent obligation and duty of citizenship. The declaration not only focused on the Nisei, but also consolidated the status of the J.A.C.L. as the sole national organization to represent and lead the community. It was a bit of an overstatement, since according to *The Japanese-American Directory of 1941* – cited in the Munson report of 1941 – there were roughly 1,563 Japanese associations in the United States.²⁴

The Call for Loyalty and Patriotism by the League

In response to the attack on Pearl Harbor Mike Masaoka, as the National Secretary and Field Executive, sent a letter to the Honorable Culbert L. Olson, the Governor of California, on December 22, 1941. The letter forwarded the unanimous *A Resolution* of the Northern California District Council of the League in which it condemned the attack on the United States by the Japanese Government: "[...] we American citizens of Japanese ancestry, appreciative of our priceless heritage of American traditions and ideals of liberty, fair play, and sportsmanship, do unanimously condemn the infamous and perfidious attack of the Imperial Japanese Government upon our American soil..."²⁵ The Northern California District Council of the J.A.C.L. gathered for a 'special session' in San Francisco on December 21, 1941, with twenty-seven chapters represented at the emergency

22 *A Declaration of Policy by the Japanese American Citizens League*, 1942, Nisei Loyalty, 1934, 1938–1942.

23 *A Declaration of Policy by the Japanese American Citizens League*, 1942, Nisei Loyalty, 1934, 1938–1942.

24 Munson, *Japanese on the West Coast Report*, 1941, FDR Departmental Correspondence Files.

25 Mike Masaoka to Honorable Culbert L. Olson, December 22, 1941, Box 1, Folder States-War-time Legislation Against Japanese Americans 1941, 1943, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco (hereafter cited as States-War-time Legislation Against Japanese Americans 1941, 1943).

meeting. The resolution was drafted in the name of the Nisei and signaled the commitment of American citizens of Japanese descent to defend the country with their lives against all enemies, since it was their "sacred privilege" as Americans. The J.A.C.L. called on the Nisei to support the national defense of America, declaring "[t]hat we do hereby urge and direct every American citizen of Japanese extraction to volunteer for the military and the civilian defense of our beloved land..."²⁶

When the war broke out the J.A.C.L. was a national organization with over sixty chapters and approximately 20,000 members in over 300 communities.²⁷ The League called on all Americans of Japanese parentage to support the war effort²⁸ of the United States government at all levels, by all means. The Nisei were encouraged to purchase defense bonds and stamps as a form of monetary assistance, also to cooperate with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Navy and Army Intelligence to counter subversive activities. Japanese Americans were advised to support state and local government officials, to volunteer for the Red Cross and other social service agencies, and to conserve and contribute to the production of essential defense materials. The Japanese American community was instructed to do their part in achieving complete victory, "[t]o do everything possible to insure the complete and ultimate victory of freedom's forces over those of greed, hate, and tyranny..."²⁹ Furthermore, the organization offered its services and facilities, and pledged its allegiance to the United States government.

In order to propagate patriotism and as a show of loyalty the Japanese American Citizens League implemented an *Oath of Allegiance*³⁰ in 1942 as a strict prerequisite to membership, it can be considered as a forerunner of the national *Loyalty Questionnaire*³¹

26 Masaoka to Olson, 1941, States-Wartime Legislation Against Japanese Americans 1941, 1943.

27 Saburo Kido, *Japanese American Citizens League Oath of Allegiance*, March, 1942, Box 2, Folder JACL Oath of Identification + Allegiance, 1942, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco (hereafter cited as JACL Oath of Identification + Allegiance, 1942).

28 Masaoka to Olson, 1941, States-Wartime Legislation Against Japanese Americans 1941, 1943.

29 Masaoka to Olson, 1941, States-Wartime Legislation Against Japanese Americans 1941, 1943.

30 The *Oaths of Allegiance* filled out by Saburo Kido (J.A.C.L. President) and Mike Masaoka (National Secretary and Field Executive) were used as examples for studying the relevance of the document. Kido, *Japanese American Citizens League Oath of Allegiance*, 1942, JACL Oath of Identification + Allegiance, 1942; Mike Masaru Masaoka, *Japanese American Citizens League Oath of Allegiance*, March 20, 1942, Box 2, Folder JACL Oath of Identification + Allegiance, 1942, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco.

31 The Loyalty Questionnaire was drawn up by the War Department and the War Relocation Authority to determine the loyalty of American citizens of Japanese ancestry (the Nisei) and Japanese aliens (the Issei) – men and women 17 years and older – in early 1943. The survey facilitated the procedure of relocating, releasing, the loyal Japanese from the incarceration camps, segregate the disloyal, and it allowed the War Department to draft and accept Nisei volunteers to serve in the United States Army. *Question 27* asked whether the responder was willing to serve in the United States Armed Forces in combat. *Question 28* was drawn up to determine whether the responder was willing to swear unqualified allegiance to the United

of 1943 by the War Department and the War Relocation Authority (W.R.A.). Only a month had passed since February 19, 1942, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066. The form was filled out by members of the organization, required to provide personal information such as the individual's name, place of residence, height, weight, distinctive marks, birthplace, and the name of the J.A.C.L. chapter; the document even included the person's photo and fingerprint. The *Oaths of Allegiance* were certified by a public notary who signed and stamped the document. Certain parts of the oath distinctly possessed certain features of an institutional loyalty program, similar to that of the *Loyalty Questionnaire*, focusing on forswearing any other allegiance and defending the Constitution from foreign or domestic forces.

*Japanese American Citizens League Oath of Allegiance:*³²

I, the undersigned, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I do hereby forswear and repudiate any other allegiance which I knowingly or unknowingly may have held heretofore; and that I take these obligations freely, without any mental reservation whatsoever or purpose of evasion. So help me God.

The 'Sacred Privilege' and the Nisei Servicemen

One of the controversial J.A.C.L. programs worth highlighting is the military service by Nisei volunteers and draftees during World War II. The League encouraged the military service of the second generation Japanese Americans to demonstrate their patriotism and loyalty. It was a way to once and for all end the accusations that Japanese Americans were disloyal. This policy by the League was described as the following in an Inter-Office Correspondence,³³ "Upon inauguration of a special Japanese American combat team,

States and defend her from foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any foreign government. Those who answered No-No or refused to answer the questions did so with the intention of either wanting to repatriate / return to Japan, did not want to be separated from their segregated family members, or took a stand against the infringement of their constitutional rights and liberties. "The 'Loyalty Questionnaire,' 1943," *Densho Encyclopedia*, <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/sources/endorshopd-p72-00004-1/> (accessed June 21, 2017).

32 Kido, *Japanese American Citizens League Oath of Allegiance*, 1942, JACL Oath of Identification + Allegiance, 1942.

33 The J.A.C.L. Inter-Office Correspondence circa 1944 titled *Salt Lake City Widow Has Five Sons in the U.S. Army* introduced the Masaoka family, portrayed as an exemplary Japanese American family. Mrs. Masaoka – a widow after the death of her husband in an automobile accident in 1924 – raised her eight children (six boys and two girls) on her own. All of Mrs. Masaoka's sons, except for the oldest, were in the United States Army. *Salt Lake City Widow Has Five Sons in the U.S. Army*, J.A.C.L. Inter-Office Correspondence, circa 1944, Box 1, Folder Reports – Mike Masaoka 1941, 1944, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco (hereafter cited as Reports – Mike Masaoka 1941, 1944).

the Japanese American Citizens League through its National Secretary [Mike Masaoka] urged Japanese Americans to volunteer in order to demonstrate the patriotism of all Americans, regardless of race, to crush the common foe."³⁴ Mike Masaoka wired Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson to volunteer for military service; four of his brothers followed his example and volunteered as well.

The National Secretary felt that if Japanese Americans acted courageously on the battlefield they would be able to break down the barrier of hatred that had hindered their life on the Pacific Coast, a clear intent by the League to counter prejudice with courage and patriotism. As Masaoka wrote in a letter dated May 22, 1944: "We feel, and naturally, that since we are soon to risk life and limb for our country, "our people" should be given every possible consideration. While we realize that the combination of war hysteria and professional West Coast agitators will be a difficult barrier to overcome, we are ever hopeful that should we conduct ourselves with valor and credit in battle even these formidable obstacles can be broken down."³⁵

In a previous letter he touched upon the same topic, writing that he and his fellow soldiers would be privileged to prove their loyalty – beyond a doubt – on the battlefield. Nevertheless, he expressed his doubt over their sacrifice, "I am tempted to ask myself whether all our sacrifices will again be in vain, whether it is worth while to risk life and limb for the perpetuation of what some Californians seem to believe is the American way of life."³⁶ He shared the common thoughts/ideas of the 'evacuee' volunteers on the issue, their discussions as they were being shipped overseas to fight for the nation that removed and incarcerated their families. According to Masaoka's letter the volunteers were optimistic and agreed that they were fighting not to preserve the America they knew, but rather for a "greater America" that was to come as a result of their contribution. They also believed that the present-day West Coast hatred directed against Japanese Americans originated more from war hysteria than prejudice.³⁷ The Nisei still possessed a "child-like faith" – as described by Masaoka – in the American value of sportsmanship and fair play. They believed that if they fought with valor against the common enemy they would be recognized as "co-Americans" after the war, accepted even by such nativist organizations as the Native Sons and Daughters.³⁸ The Nisei volunteers needed to become "Japyanks," "'damn' good soldiers," in order to achieve their objectives.³⁹

34 *Salt Lake City Widow Has Five Sons in the U.S. Army*, circa 1944, Reports – Mike Masaoka 1941, 1944.

35 Mike Masaoka wrote the letter to Mr. Lewis aboard a U.S. vessel while being shipped overseas as a member of the 442nd Infantry Regiment bound for an unknown destination. Mike Masaoka to Mr. Lewis, May 22, 1944, Box 1, Folder Reports – Mike Masaoka 1941, 1944, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco.

36 Mike Masaoka to Mr. Pickett, May 20, 1944, Box 1, Folder Reports – Mike Masaoka 1941, 1944, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco (hereafter cited as Reports – Mike Masaoka 1941, 1944).

37 Masaoka to Pickett, 1944, Reports – Mike Masaoka 1941, 1944.

38 Masaoka to Pickett, 1944, Reports – Mike Masaoka 1941, 1944.

39 Masaoka to Pickett, 1944, Reports – Mike Masaoka 1941, 1944.

The J.A.C.L. promoted the volunteerism and service of the Nisei after they became eligible for military service and Selective Service was reinstated for Japanese Americans by the War Department. The League was concerned over how the War Department will publicize the achievements of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (R.C.T.) on the battlefields. It was assumed after the formation of the unit that the accomplishments of the Combat Team would be publicized to depict their Americanism, to show what kind of Americans they were. Mike Masaoka insisted that the J.A.C.L. was interested in the publicity of the 442nd R.C.T. not because of self-publicity, but because of the opportunity to enlighten the public on how the Japanese American servicemen were fighting for America.⁴⁰ However, we should not fail to recall the importance of “acceptance” for the League. The courage, patriotism, and sacrifice of the Nisei GIs was widely publicized because it was seen as a means of gaining acceptance for Japanese Americans and their resettlement, return to the West Coast. Draft resisters were condemned by the J.A.C.L. and the organization placed great emphasis on discouraging young Nisei from following in their footsteps, some were even pressured through such actions. Based on the data provided by the W.R.A. Statistics Section⁴¹ by June of 1945 the number of Nisei conscripts and volunteers reached 6,090 since January 20, 1944. On the other hand, the number of draft resisters arrested was 310, with 144 convicted and 97 cases in progress.

The J.A.C.L. publicized the war effort of the Japanese Americans, one instance is the lecture tour of infantryman Pfc. Thomas Higa – organized and sponsored by the League – which lasted for more than a hundred days from August 15 until December 10, 1944.⁴² Private Higa was on a 121-day-long furlough from the United States Army. Based on Thomas Higa’s itinerary during the speaking tour he attended about sixty engagements in twenty states with his destinations including the Gila River (AZ), Heart Mountain (WY), Manzanar (CA), Minidoka (ID), Poston (AZ), Rohwer (AR), and Topaz Incarceration Camps (UT). The purpose of the tour was to inform Japanese Americans at the incarceration centers, mainly the Issei, on what their sons were doing in the United States Army, to counter the rumors that the Nisei soldiers were used as “cannon fodder,” and to tell the Nisei that the Japanese American soldiers have realized that they can disprove the rumors of disloyalty on the battlefield.⁴³

40 Masaoka to Pickett, 1944, Reports – Mike Masaoka 1941, 1944.

41 Selective Service And Volunteers, Weekly Report No. 41, June 9, 1945, Box 46, Folder Induction of Japanese Americans (Selective Service) 1944–1945, Series 14, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco.

42 Itinerary of Pfc. Thomas Higa Speaking Tour, 1944, Box 1, Folder Private Higa’s Lecture Tour 1944, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco.

43 “Japanese-American Private Tells of Italian Campaigns,” *Ann Arbor News*, November 6, 1944, Box 1, Folder Private Higa’s Lecture Tour 1944, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco; “Japanese-American, Wounded In Italy, Says Unit Was Treated Like Other GIs,” *The New York Times*, November 10, 1944, Box 1, Folder Private Higa’s Lecture Tour 1944, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco.

The J.A.C.L. supported the liberalized Selective Service and the draft of Japanese Americans, the right of the Nisei to serve in the United States Army. After the war broke out the Nisei men of draft age were classified as 4-C, 'enemy aliens,' by the War Department on January 5, 1942. They were not allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces until January of 1943 when the War Department announced its plan to establish a Japanese American combat unit. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team, an all-Japanese segregated unit, was activated a few months later in April. Quotas were assigned for the Japanese living on the Hawaiian Islands and the Continental United States, the number of volunteers was set at 1,500 for the Hawaiian Japanese⁴⁴ and about 10,000 applied; the quota for the mainland Japanese Americans was at 3,000 and only 1,200 volunteered.⁴⁵ We have to keep in mind that by the spring of 1943 the incarceration of the Japanese community on the Continent was in full swing, meaning that the 1,200 mainland Nisei volunteers came from the incarceration camps. The number of volunteers from the Continent was much lower, even with the support of the J.A.C.L., although it is quite understandable taking into account the series of traumatic events that transpired on the Pacific Coast. The Nisei had to wait until January of 1944 to have their draft status restored by the War Department. By and large 33,000 Nisei served in the United States Army during the war. Due to the courage and patriotism of the Nisei servicemen the 442nd Regimental Combat Team⁴⁶ became the most decorated unit in the history of the United States Army, for its size and length of service.

44 The immense difference in the number of Hawaiian and Mainland volunteers can be attributed to numerous factors. The Hawaiian Islands were regarded as a multicultural and ethnic environment – the plantation economy and lifestyle greatly contributed to its diversity –, which cultivated the greater acceptance of the Hawaiian Japanese, the largest ethnic group. Hawaii was characterized by Curtis B. Munson as a "melting pot" due to the significant proportion of dark-skinned inhabitants of the islands. As a direct result of its ethnic and cultural diversity the Japanese residents were only faced with social and economic discrimination and did not experience an "inferiority complex" as the West Coast Japanese. Furthermore, the Hawaiian Japanese were not removed and incarcerated on a collective basis, rather a case by case principle was imposed to determine their loyalty. Curtis B. Munson, Report On Hawaiian Islands, December 8, 1941, Box 1, Folder Roosevelt Lib. Materials, 1941–1942, Series 1, JACL Redress Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco.

45 Clifford Uyeda, "Japanese Hawaiians," *Nikkei Heritage* 4.1 (Winter 1992), 5.

46 The 100th Infantry Battalion – the Hawaiian Nisei unit formed in May of 1942 and attached in June of 1944 to the 442nd Regimental Combat Team – and the 442nd R.C.T. received 18,143 individual decorations (including 9,486 Purple Hearts, 21 Congressional Medal of Honors, 52 Distinguished Service Crosses, 1 Distinguished Service Medal, 560 Silver Stars with 28 Oak Leaf Clusters, and 4,000 Bronze Stars with 1,200 Oak Leaf Clusters), and seven Presidential Unit Citations. The 100th Infantry Battalion/442nd Regimental Combat Team suffered 28.5% casualties during World War II. Clifford I. Uyeda, ed., *Due Process: Americans of Japanese Ancestry and the United States Constitution 1787–1994* (San Francisco: National Japanese American Historical Society, 1995), 70, 72–73.

Conclusion

The overstated concept of Americanism by the League – the extent to which the Nisei should go to prove their loyalty and patriotism – proved to be divisive, since the organization no longer represented all of its fellow Japanese Americans. The League was only open to the Nisei (American citizens) and the Issei (Japanese aliens) were denied membership. Those individuals who did not accept and support the policies of the J.A.C.L. were left defenseless against the violations of their rights and freedoms. Japanese Americans who opposed cooperation with the United States government during their wartime forced mass removal and incarceration, who wanted to test the constitutionality of the restrictive wartime military orders and the incarceration, the No-No resisters, and the Nisei draft resisters were all considered as dissenters by the J.A.C.L. They were not seen as patriots who embraced and embodied true Americanism. They were dissenters who threatened the public and political acceptance of Japanese Americans as loyal and exemplary citizens. The J.A.C.L.'s standpoint on Selective Service and the subsequent segregation⁴⁷ of disloyal persons – 'non-loyal,' 'agitators,' and 'radical' elements based on the *Loyalty Questionnaire* of 1943 – created further heightened tension within the community, and in some cases it resulted in violence. One notable case of reprisal was the attack on J.A.C.L. President Saburo Kido⁴⁸ in Poston Incarceration Center in 1943, the incident forced him and his family to leave the camp for Salt Lake City. As a consequence of its controversial wartime policy the membership⁴⁹ of the J.A.C.L. dropped significantly, from close to 20,000 at the beginning of the war to about 4,000 in 1943; the League hoped to reach over 5,000 in 1944.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude for all the help and guidance that my mentor Prof. Tibor Frank has provided me during my PhD studies and research.

47 The League believed that segregation was the only solution to end the intimidation of loyal Japanese Americans by "pro[-]axis elements" – as Mike Masaoka referred to them in a telegram to W.R.A. Director Dillon S. Myer –, and the fear of violence. Mike Masaoka to Dillon S. Myer, December 21, 1942, Box 4, Folder JACL Telegrams 1942, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco.

48 Letter to Mike Masaoka, February 7, 1943, Box 1, Folder Poston, Arizona (WRA), Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco.

49 Saburo Kido to Dr. T. T. Hayashi, January 10, 1944, Box 3, Folder Correspondence – Saburo Kido 1944, Series 1, JACL History Collection, Japanese American National Library, San Francisco.

Pulitzertől Donald Trumpig

Mit tehet a szabad sajtó?

„Egy ország annyit ér, amennyit a sajtója.”

(Albert Camus)

A nemzetközileg elismert, washingtoni székhelyű *Freedom House* demokráciafigyelő szervezet 2017-ben az amerikai média helyzetéről kénytelen volt elmarasztaló jelentést közzétenni: „Az Egyesült Államok elnöke, Donald Trump gyalázza a sajtót, s nem fogadja el a hírmédiának azt a szerepét, hogy a kormányzatot szavai és tettei alapján felelősségre vonja. Az utóbbi időben egyetlen amerikai elnök sem mutatott nagyobb megvetést a sajtó iránt, mint Trump hivatalának első hónapjaiban... Megjegyzései a sajtószabadság alapelveihez, céljaihoz való ellenséges viszonyulását tükrözik... Aggodalomra ad okot, hogy az Egyesült Államok elnöke ezáltal végső soron máshol is legitimálhat olyan politikai vezetőket, akik önkényuralmuk megszilárdítása érdekében már lesújtottak a médiára.”¹ A világ országait szigorú kritériumok szerint elemző szervezet jelentésében reményét fejezte ki, hogy Amerikában az alkotmányos garanciát élvező sajtó- és szólásszabadság kiállja a próbát, hiszen a végrehajtó hatalom a törvényhozás és az igazságszolgáltatás ellenőrzése alatt áll. Az alábbiakban azt kívánjuk áttekinteni, hogy milyen elvek szerint működik és milyen változásokon ment keresztül az USA-ban a szabad sajtó, illetve mennyire tudott eddig helytállni egy szokatlanul öntörvényű, megosztó személyiség hatalmával szemben.

A sajtószabadság pulitzeri értelmezése

A magyar származású Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911), az egyetemes sajtótörténet kiemelkedő alakja megkülönböztetett helyet foglalt el az USA politikai és társadalmi életében a modern újságírás kialakulásának korában, a 19–20. század fordulóján. Mint lapkiadó – aki a kongresszusi képviselőségig vitte – évtizedeken át meghatározó személyisége volt az Egyesült Államok sajtójának, egyben részese a politikai életnek. Az *új hírlapírás* (*new journalism*) módszereinek kidolgozása és alkalmazása révén élen járt a modern tömegsajtó létrehozásában. Haladó társadalmi reformokért küzdő munkássága modellértékű lett; kortársai és a későbbi újságíró nemzedékek sok szempontból követendő példának tartották. A zszurnalisztika felsőfokú oktatásának szorgalmazásával, majd a New York-i

1 *Freedom of the Press, 2017. Press Freedom's Dark Horizon.* Freedom House. Washington, 2017
<<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2017>>.

Columbia Egyetemen létrejött első önálló újságíró-fakultással együtt nevéhez fűződik a Pulitzer-díj, a szakma rangos elismerésének alapítása is.²

Pulitzer már mintegy száznegyven évvel ezelőtt világosan látta: ha befolyásolni akarja az elnökválasztást és az ország politikai életét, széles néptömeget kell megszólítani, mégpedig oly módon, hogy újságját, a New York-i *The World*-öt tömeglappá teszi. Saját megfogalmazása szerint: „Egy nemzethez akarok szólni és nem egy kiválasztott csoporthoz.”³ Ennek sikeres megvalósításához számára olyan szerkesztői politikán keresztül vezetett az út, melynek lényege a népszerű tömeglap és a minőségi újságírás elemeinek vegyítése volt. Ugyanakkor felismerte az összefüggést a nagy példányszám és a sajtószabadságot biztosító függetlenség között is: „Ha egy újság csakugyan a köz érdekét akarja szolgálni, nagy példányszámra van szüksége, először is, mert híreit és véleményét a lehető legszélesebb körben kell terjesztenie; másodsor, mert a példányszám hirdetést jelent, a hirdetés pénzt hoz, a pénz pedig függetlenséget biztosít.”⁴ Egyértelmű volt számára, hogy eredményes üzleti tevékenység nélkül nem lett volna esélye reformelképzeléseit kifejezésre juttatni. Ily módon országos tekintélyű napilapja segítségével Pulitzer az amerikai sajtó történetében először valósította meg a gyakorlatban azt a liberális gondolatot, miszerint a gazdasági siker összeegyeztethető a társadalmi felelősségvállalással. Lapjából progresszív politikai és társadalmi változásokat követelő bátor és független sajtóorgánium lett a korrupcióval átszótt „vadkapitalizmus” világában.

„A sajtó legfőbb küldetése nem csupán a hírközlés, hanem a *közszolgálatosság* (*public service*)” – hangzott Pulitzer legfontosabb zszurnalisztikai elveinek egyike.⁵ A politikailag-üzletileg elkötelezett napisajtóval szemben ezzel a közjó, a közérdek szolgálatát helyezte előtérbe mint elsőrendű (morális) feladatot. A *The World* „A sajtó küldetése” című szerkesztőségi cikkében így fogalmazott: „A legfőbb küldetéséhez hű lap azzal foglalkozik, hogy mi legyen holnap... Nem elegendő krónikásként beszámolni az emberek életéről, gondolatairól s visszatükrözni hangulatukat... A sajtó legfőbb feladata a közszolgálati tevékenység. Ennek úgy tehet eleget, hogy közli a híreket, és az aktuális eseményekkel kapcsolatban félelem nélkül kimondja az igazságot...”⁶ Így tartotta magát a minőségi újságírás akkor még íratlan szabályához, miszerint „*a hír szent, a vélemény szabad* (*comment is free but facts are sacred*)”, vagyis a hírek, a tények nem manipulálhatók, nem hamisíthatók, a (szubjektív) véleményt pedig ezektől elkülönítve kell közölni. Ám lapja kétarcúságában – egyszerre tömeglap és elitlap – számára a meghatározó alkotórész a közszolgálati törekvéseket kifejező véleményrovat, a sajtós és egyedülállóan színvonalas *szerkesztőségi oldal* (*editorial page*) volt. Itt, a belső

2 A témáról bővebben lásd Csillag András: *Joseph Pulitzer és az amerikai sajtó*. Osiris Kiadó. Budapest, 2000. Csillag András: Progresszivitás és példaérték a Pulitzeri sajtóban. *Magyar Média*, 2000/4. 34–39.

3 J. Creelman: Joseph Pulitzer – Master Journalist. *Pearson's Magazine*, 1909. március. 246.

4 A. Ireland: *An Adventure with a Genius*. New York, 1920. 115.

5 *The World*, 1886. okt. 3., illetve 1888. máj. 10.

6 *The World*, 1886. okt. 3.

vezércikkek között látott napvilágot Pulitzer tökéletesre csiszolt, nagy elméleti felkészültséget tükröző publicisztikája 1883-tól, a *The World* megszerzésének pillanatától kezdve. Miután tulajdonos-főszerkesztője kongresszusi képviselői mandátumáról rövidesen lemondott, a *The World* az 1880-as évek közepére konszolidált anyagi helyzetben lévő, szuverén intézmény lett. A kormányzattal, pártokkal, gazdasági érdekcsoportokkal alárendeltségi vagy függőségi viszonyban nem lévén, mind több sikerrel tudott eleget tenni a köz érdekében kritikát és ellenőrzést gyakorló funkciójának. Számos eset bizonyítja, hogy ennek során nem volt zsarolható vagy megvesztegethető; nem lehetett neki diktálni vagy elhallgattatni; a magánérdeket sohasem támogatta a közérdekkel szemben.

A Pulitzer által képviselt új hírlapírás másik elve a *sajtó nyilvánosságának* (*publicity*) leleplező erejére utalt: „A nyilvánosság a világon a legnagyobb morális hatóerő.”⁷ A *The World* közszolgálatísága mindenekelőtt a nyilvánosság erejére támaszkodott. A szerkesztő-kiadó munkatársait egy-egy tényfeltáró/oknyomozó sajtókampány előtt gyakran e szavakkal biztatta: „Gyűjtsunk világosságot, a nyilvánosság világosságát.”⁸ A lap talán leghíresebb leleplező akciója, melynek során feltárta és nyilvánosságra hozta a nagy New York-i életbiztosító-társaságoknál folyó visszaéléseket, 1905-ben zajlott. A vezetők az ügyfelek pénzét korrupt módon saját célra, spekulációra, politikusok és a sajtó megvesztegetésére, illetve választási kampányadományként használták fel. A hatóságok felelősségének felvetése után magas szintű vizsgálatra került sor, s annak eredményeként valamint a közvélemény nyomására átfogó reformokat, új törvényi szabályozást vezettek be New York államban. Elnökválasztások idején a lap olvasóinak a tiszta kezű, feddhetetlen jellemű, haladó nézeteket valló jelölt támogatását ajánlotta, miközben bátor sajtóhadjáratokban irányította a figyelmet a társadalmat aggasztó kérdésekre, a megoldásra váró problémákra. Így például nem csekély része volt abban, hogy negyedszázados republikánus uralom után 1884-ben a demokrata párti Grover Cleveland lett az elnök, aki a *The World* támogatásának jelentőségét maga is nyilvánosan elismerte. James G. Blaine, a republikánusok jelöltje Pulitzer szemében az ipari és banktőke korrupcióval átszótt, szociálisan érzéketlen, reakciós hatalmának volt a megszemélyesítője.

Elmondható, hogy Amerikában a sajtó valódi politikai hatalommá válása Pulitzer színre lépésével teljesedett ki. Abban az értelemben legalábbis, amiért a 20. században kiérdemelte a „*kormányzat negyedik hatalmi ága*” megtisztelő címet: nincs ugyan formális döntéshozó helyzetben, ám ellenőrző funkciót gyakorol, akár elnököt képes hatalomra segíteni vagy székében megingatni, s lényegi politikai folyamatokat tud hatékonyan befolyásolni. Nem véletlen, hogy Pulitzer felnézett Thomas Jeffersonra, aki a függetlenségi háború után – a centralizált kormányhatalom ellenzőjeként – amellet érvelt, hogy az Egyesült Államok az alkotmányban rögzített sajtószabadság szülőházája legyen. Szívesen idézte a nagy államférfinak ezt alátámasztó sorait: „Ha aközött kellene döntene-

7 Pulitzer levele a *The World* szerkesztőjéhez 1895. febr. 1-jén. Idézi a *The World*, 1903. május 10.

8 *The World*, 1908. máj. 10.

nem, hogy sajtó nélküli kormányunk vagy pedig kormány nélküli sajtónk legyen, habozás nélkül az utóbbit választanám.”⁹ A napisajtó megújulásával kapcsolatos szakmai viták közepette Pulitzer maga is lankadatlan idealizmussal és pátozzsal öntötte szavakba a sajtószabadságról alkotott nézeteit: „E köztársaság és sajtója együtt fog felemelkedni, vagy elbukni. Egy életrevaló, elfogulatlan, közszellemtől áthatott sajtó, amely megfelelő felkészültséggel rendelkezvén tudja mi a helyes út, s van bátorsága annak hirdetésére, fenntarthatja azt a morált, amely nélkül a demokratikus kormányzás is képmutatássá aljasulna. Egy cinikus, mások zsoldjába szegődő, demagóg sajtó idővel magát a népet is erre a szintre zulesztetheti le.”¹⁰ A modern hírlapírás úttörőjének meggyőződése volt, hogy szabad politikai rendszer nem létezhet szabad sajtó nélkül – mint ahogy ez fordítva sem lehetséges. Értelmezése szerint az alkotmányban garantált sajtószabadság előfeltétele nem csupán a mindenkorai kormányzattól, hanem a pártoktól, sőt gazdasági-üzleti érdekeltségektől való politikai és anyagi függetlenség kellett, hogy legyen. Tisztában volt a sajtó politikai hatalmával, de nem kérkedett és nem fenyegetőzött vele, zsarolásra – mint afféle „revolveres” újságíró – nem használta. Nagy riválisával, *William R. Hearst*tel ellentétben, személyes politikai ambícióinak megvalósítása céljára sem vette igénybe. A spanyol–amerikai háború (1898) idején a sajtófronton dúló kíméletlen konkurenciaharc aberrációitól („*sárga sajtó*”) eltekintve, felelősségteljesen igyekezett lapjainak befolyását a haladás irányába terelni. A pulitzeri sajtó csak így tudott maradéktalanul eleget tenni a modern újságírás alapvető funkcióinak: sokoldalú, hiteles tájékoztatás; kritika és ellenőrzés a köz érdekében; tanítás és nevelés; szórakoztatás.

A szabad sajtó bíróság előtt

Megtörtént, hogy a sajtószabadság érvényre juttatásáért Pulitzernek a bíróság előtt kellett kiállnia, még hozzá nem kisebb személyiséggel, mint az Egyesült Államok akkori elnökével szemben. Hitvallásszerű útmutatásának megfelelően – „a lap mindig a haladásért és a reformokért fog harcolni; sohasem nézi el az igazságtalanságot és a korrupciót”¹¹ – a *The World* számos leleplező kampánya közül az egyik legemlékezetesebbre a Panama-ügy kapcsán került sor 1908-ban. Ezúttal azonban nem csupán a csatorna építésével összefüggő átláthatatlan pénzügyi tranzakciók feltárásáról volt szó, hanem egy olyan sajtóperről, amelyben magát a sajtószabadságot érte támadás a kormányzat részéről *Theodore Roosevelt* elnöksége idején. A (független) demokrata Pulitzer és a republikánus elnök egyébként régi ellenfelek voltak: Roosevelt mint hangadó politikus már a brit–venezuelai határviszály idején (1895) legszívesebben börtönbe csukatta volna a lapkiadót annak békepártisága miatt, míg a *The World* helytelenítette a „Rough Rider”-

9 Thomas Jefferson levele Edward Carrington kongresszusi delegálthoz. Párizs, 1787. jan. 16. Idézi: *The World*, 1903. május 10. Pulitzer végakarátának megfelelően a New York-i Columbia Egyetem újságíró kara előtt Thomas Jefferson egész alakos bronzszobra áll.

10 Joseph Pulitzer: *The College of Journalism*. *North American Review*. 1904. május. 68o.

11 J. Pulitzer távirata lapjai szerkesztőségéhez Franciaországból. Cap Martin, 1907. ápr. 10. Közölve: *Birthday Anniversary Dinner... April 10, 1907*. A *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* kiadványa, 1907.

nek is nevezett Rooseveltt imperialista aspirációit és „firkósbot-politikáját”. Az elnökségének utolsó esztendejében járó Rooseveltt és a lap(tulajdonos) közötti feszült viszony a Panama-botrányban csúcsosodott ki.

A *The World* birtokába jutott annak az információnak, miszerint az Egyesült Államok kormánya azáltal, hogy 40 millió dollárt fizetett a Franciaországban bejegyzett Új Panama-csatorna Társaság vagyonáért és koncessziós jogáért, valószínűleg amerikai spekuláns befektetők egy csoportjával tett jót, akik a várható haszon reményében előzőleg jutányos áron felvásárolták a csőd szélén álló francia céget. A korrupciógyanús ügyben a *The World* állítása szerint a fő bonyolító William Nelson Cromwell, a Republikánus Párt vezetőinek bizalmát élvező személy volt, aki jelentős összegű kampányadománnyal járult hozzá a párt választási költségeihez, és korábban mindent elkövetett azért, hogy az USA Panamában építse meg a csatornát. Az érdekelt amerikai részvényesek között emlegették még Rooseveltt rokonát, továbbá Morgan bankár és még néhány jól ismert republikánus bennfentes nevét. A gyanút csak fokozta, hogy a 40 millió átutalása épp a Morgan-bankházon keresztül történt, ám a jelentős profithoz jutó befektetők kilétéről semmi bizonyosat sem lehetett megtudni. A rejtélyes ügyben az elnökre háruló felelősség kérdése a *The World* tényfeltáró kampánya nyomán országos sajtótéma lett. Kézzelfogható bizonyítékot ugyan nem sikerült találni a kedvezményezettek személyére nézve, ám Rooseveltt, aki tagadta a visszaélés tényét, maga sem tudta igazolni a tranzakció szabályosságát.

Az elnöknek is szerepe volt abban, hogy az ügyből szenzáció lett: a Kongresszus előtt felolvasott üzenetében – szokatlan módon – személyes sérelmét afféle felség sértesként a kormánynra, sőt az amerikai népre vetítve szinte árulóknak kijáró büntetőeljárást helyezett kilátásba Pulitzer és lapja ellen. Míg a *The World* egyre csak azt firtatta, hogy „Kik kapták a pénzt?” és kongresszusi vizsgálatot követelt, Rooseveltt rágalmazás címén bűnvádi eljárást indított a főügyésszel, hogy lesújtson régi ellenfelére. A koncepció perben Pulitzernek az erőszakos „Rough Rider” vezette szövetségi kormány hatalmával szemben kellett védenie magát és a sajtószabadságot a nagy nyilvánosság előtt. A lap eközben azt hangoztatta, hogy ily módon nem lehet elhallgattatni, s a „szólás- és sajtószabadságot semmibe vevő önkényes alkotmánymódosításáért” hibáztatta a „hatalmával visszaélő” elnököt. Belátva a vád megalapozatlanságát, a New York-i szövetségi ügyészség később már csupán „felforgató tevékenység” címén bocsátott ki (újabb) vádiratot a lap ellen. Az elavult törvényre hivatkozó vádemelés igazságtalan volt; így Pulitzer további erőfeszítéseket tett a Panama-ügy haszonélvezőinek leleplezésére, ám a per során ennél is fontosabb volt számára, hogy győzelemre vigye a sajtószabadság alkotmányos garanciájának sérthetetlenségét. A bíróság, elfogadva a védelem érvelését, eljárásjogi alapon ejtette a vádat, amit a Legfelsőbb Bíróság csak megerősített. A Theodore Rooseveltt által kezdeményezett eljárás – az 1798-as Zendülési Törvény óta az egyetlen kísérlet arra, hogy a szövetségi kormány újságot rágalmazásért perbe fogjon – jogilag megalapozatlan és alkotmányellenes volt. Így az elnököt vagy az adminisztrációt „megsértő” sajtó szankcionálására szövetségi törvényi szinten nem sikerült precedenst teremteni. Habár a „Kik kapták a pénzt?” kérdése megválaszolatlan maradt, „Felség sértes

mint olyan nem lehetséges. Az elnök nem némíthatja el a sajtót” – zárta le az ügyet a pernyertes *The World*.¹²

A *The World* húsz évvel élte túl neves tulajdonosát: 1931-ben megszűnt, az akkori nagy gazdasági világválság áldozata lett. Szellemiségét azonban – többek között – olyan tekintélyes lapok vitték tovább, mint Pulitzer másik újságja, a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, valamint a *The New York Times* és a *The Washington Post*. De az 1950-es évek elejétől a fáklyavivőkhöz sorolhatjuk oknyomozó műsorával a CBS tv-társaságot is. Gondoljunk nem csekély bátorságukra és kockázatvállalásukra, amikor felléptek Joseph McCarthy hidegháborús kommunistaüldözése ellen, vagy amikor az 1970-es évek elején – szembeállva az amerikai kormányzat apparátusával – megjelentették a vietnami háborúval kapcsolatos kompromittáló *Pentagon-iratokat*, vagy amikor kirobbantották a Nixon elnök lemondásához vezető *Watergate-botrányt*. Az Egyesült Államokban Pulitzer óta tudják: ha a sajtó nem kezdeményez, nem „nyomul” és nem „nyüzsög”, a politikusok hajlamosak megfélemezni arról, hogy a választópolgároknak elszámolással tartoznak.¹³

Változások a médianyilvánosságban

A 20. században számos változás ment végbe a tömegkommunikációban: megszűnt a nyomtatott sajtó kizárólagossága, megjelent a rádió, a mozikban játszott filmhíradó, majd a televízió és az internet. A *hírszolgáltató médiumok (news media)* gyűjtőneve – szinonimája – továbbra is a „sajtó” maradt, hiszen a tartalom előállítását rendszerint újságírók végzik. A modern tömegkommunikációs eszközök – a nyomtatott sajtóval együtt – a maguk módján ma is az újságírás klasszikus funkcióinak tesznek eleget bizonyos hangsúlyeltolódással, így fontos feladatot látnak el a tájékoztatás, a közszolgálati-ság, a kultúráközvetítés és a szórakoztatás terén. A sajtószabadságra és a média működésére pedig – jogállami keretek között – manapság nagyjából hasonló törvényi szabályozás vonatkozik világszerte. Különbség azonban, hogy az USA-ban az alkotmányos garancia egyik záloga hagyományosan a *hírmédia magántulajdonban* léte, méghozzá az államtól való függetlenség jogának megőrzése érdekében. Ezzel szemben diktatúrákban, önkényuralmi rendszerekben a sajtó – részben vagy egészben – nem csupán állami tulajdonban van, hanem olyan kormányzati befolyás alatt áll, ami propagandaeszközzé teszi azt.

A Pulitzer óta eltelt évszázadban a fentiekén kívül más tendenciák is érvényesültek. Jelentősen bővültek például az információszerezés módozatai, lehetőségei a tartalomszolgáltatók számára. Itt nem csupán a hírügynökségekre vagy egyéb technikai fejlődésre kell gondolnunk, hanem a hivatalos adatszolgáltatási kötelezettségre, beleértve a rendszeres kormányzati sajtótájékoztatást. Ezzel együtt Amerikában és más országokban is immár évtizedek óta létezik egy sajtószabadságot hátrányosan érintő jelenség:

12 History of the Panama Libel Case... *The World*, 1911. jan. 4.

13 A média történelmi szerepéről lásd Csillag András: Democratic Commitment vs. Opportunism. The Media in American History. In: *HUSSE Papers 2001. Proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Conference* (szerk. Vadon Lehel). Eszterházy Károly College. Eger, 2002. 283–295.

radikális változás a tulajdonviszonyokban. Pulitzer korában egy-egy „sajtóorgánium” fő-szerkesztője, kiadója és nyomdájának tulajdonosa jellemző módon ugyanaz a személy, illetve család volt. Így az egész sajtóvállalat mint üzleti vállalkozás egy kézben lehetett, ami optimális esetben teljes anyagi függetlenséget biztosított a lap működéséhez. A kapitalista gazdaság szabályai szerinti tőkekoncentráció következtében azonban idővel nagy (esetenként multinacionális) kiadóvállalatok jöttek létre, amelyek sorra felvásárolták a gazdasági nehézségekkel küzdő konkurenciát, és kényük-kedvük szerint befolyásolták annak működését vagy egyszerűen felszámolták azt. Ez az ezredforduló táján oda vezetett, hogy még a legnagyobb médiatársaságok közül is nem egy a szakmától idegen, profitorientált tőkés befektetőcsoport kezére jutott, melynek során az új tulajdonos a szerkesztői kollektívának több-kevesebb önállóságot biztosított.

Egy másik negatív tendencia különösen a közszolgáltatóság, a jogállami kontroll dolgát nehezítette meg a média számára. Korábban a sajtószabadságnak e kulcseleme a nyilvánosság leleplező, megszégyenítő erejére tudott támaszkodni. Még a 20. század közepén bátor és felelősségüket átérző újságírók közreműködésének volt köszönhető, hogy véget ért McCarthy boszorkányüldözése: a Kongresszus főleg a tv-közvetítések hatására megváltozó közvélemény akaratának megfelelően vetett véget a több éves politikai ámokfutásnak. A század vége felé azonban Amerikától Európáig azt tapasztalhattuk, hogy a nyilvánosság mind kevesebb morális kényszerítő erővel bír. Hiába a sok bűnösséget bizonyító tényfeltárás és leleplezés, azt láthatuk: a politika, a közélet, sőt maga a közvélemény is *egyre immunisabbá vált a médianyilvánosság hatásával szemben.* A Pentagon-iratok kiszivárogtatása és a Watergate-ügy után számos újságíró és szerkesztőség került fel Nixon elnök legfőbb ellenségeiről titokban vezetett listájára. Velük ugyan hadban állt, de mielőtt alkotmányos vád alá helyezésének folyamata a Kongresszusban lezajlott volna – a politika és a sajtó kettős nyomásának engedve – legalább lemondott. Alig több mint két évtized múltán azonban a helyzet nagyot változott. Amikor Bill Clinton és Monica Lewinsky fehér házi kalandja után az elnök magánéleti kicsapongásai politikai síkra terelődtek, ismét napirendre került az *impeachment.* Jóllehet az elnök elmozdítását célzó jogi eljárás végül a szenátusban elakadt, bebizonyosodott, hogy a médianyilvánosságnak nem volt átütő ereje. Hiába volt ugyanis látható világszerte a televízió képernyőin Clinton szálnalmasnak tűnő magyarázkodása valamint a megalázó kongresszusi vita, az elnök morális alapon sem érezte szükségét annak, hogy a végén önkritikát gyakoroljon és lemondjon. Pedig az addig példátlan botrány következtében az elnökség tekintélye súlyosan csorbult. A média tette a dolgát: sokoldalúan bemutatta, részletesen elemezte az ügyet. Utólag Bill Clinton – Nixonnal ellentétben – nem hibáztatta a sajtót, mint ahogy az amerikai közvélemény is viszonylag könnyen túllépett e különös történelmi epizódon.

Újabb két évtized elteltével, a 2016. évi elnökválasztás kapcsán tovább bonyolódott az amerikai sajtó helyzete. A tárgyilagos és kiegyensúlyozott minőségi újságírás elveit követő, mértékadó *mainstream média* ezúttal is feladatának tekintette, hogy a választópolgárokat orientálja. Ám váratlanul új szituációban találta magát, miután a republikánusok esélytelennek tartott jelöltje szembeszállt az őt bírálókkal. A minimális politikai

tapasztalattal rendelkező sikeres üzletember, Donald J. Trump gorombán „visszaütött”: hadjáratot indított a szabad sajtó ellen a lejáratás szándékával. Magánakciója – amely elnöksége első esztendejében még javában tartott – sok szempontból felülmúlta Richard Nixon konfliktusát az újságírókkal. Már a választási kampány alatt alkalmatlanságát sejtető, rapszodikus magatartást tanúsított: nem tette közzé vagyonynyilatkozatát, vádaskodott, rágalmazott, nőket inzultált, fenyegetett, címkézett és nem utolsósorban felelőtlenül ígérgetett.¹⁴ A választási eljárást előre manipuláltnak, ellenfeleit hazugnak vagy csalónak nevezte, Hillary Clintonnak, a demokraták jelöltjének pedig börtönt helyezett kilátásba. Populizmussal és demagógiával átszőtt beszédei ugyanakkor nagy hatást gyakoroltak a (jobb) munkahelyek után vágyó, kevésbé művelt, értelmiséggellenes tömegekre. Jóllehet a hírmédia teret adott szerepléseinek, de – kevés kivételtől eltekintve – félrevezető állításai mellett nem ment el szó nélkül. A népszerűsége vágyó elnökjelölt mindig is sokat adott a sajtóban tükröződő imázsára, ezért kezdettől fogva sérelmezte annak kritikus hangvételét vele szemben. Trump – akiről egyébként lepergett a bíráló – haragját a megfogalmazása szerinti „álhírmédia” („fake news media”) ellen fordította. Megnyilvánulásaiban állandósította a címkézését: az újságírókat „igazságtalanak, becstelennek, hazugnak, hírhamisítónak, az amerikai nép ellenségének” és ehhez hasonlóknak nevezte.¹⁵

Világszerte meglepetést keltő választási győzelme, majd beiktatása után Donald Trump folytatta háborúját a média ellen. Öntelt stílusa, állandó jelzői mit sem változtak: ettől kezdve úgy látszott, hogy számára a legfőbb ellenzék nem is a Demokrata Párt, hanem a szabad sajtó. „Ellenségének” a muníciót továbbra is saját maga szolgáltatta. Sokszor meggondolatlan, minden valóságálapot nélkülöző, abszurd kijelentéseivel, rögtönzéseivel szinte provokálta a hiteles fehér házi tájékoztatáshoz szokott mainstream médiát.¹⁶ Olykor vezető lapok, televíziós hírműsorok munkatársai kerültek fel a bojkottálandók listájára. Az afféle családi-üzleti vállalkozás benyomását keltő Fehér Ház több kétes múltú, szélsőséges nézeteket valló politikai tanácsadó (Steve Bannon), illetve minden hájjal megkent *spin doctor* (Kellyanne Conway) segédletével kezdte meg működését. Bár a médianyilvánosságnak köszönhetően a valóságot nem lehetett elfedni, úgy

14 Korábbi, feltűnést keltő politikai megnyilvánulásaiban megkérdőjelezte Barack Obama elnökségének legitimitását, váltig állítva, hogy nem Amerikában született, így nem is lehet amerikai állampolgár. Szerinte a vietnami háborúban pilótaként lelőtt, súlyosan megsebesült, majd évekig hadifogoly John McCain elnökjelölt-szenátor sem érdemelt hősnek kijáró tiszteletet.

15 Paul Farhi: A defiant Trump blasts TV news in private meeting – then snubs New York Times. *The Washington Post*, 2016. nov. 22.; Charles M. Blow: No, Trump, We Can't Just Get Along. *The New York Times*, 2016. nov. 23.; Paul Farhi: Trump's «war» with the media (and the facts) forces journalists to question their role. *The Washington Post*, 2017. jan. 26.

16 Obama elnököt azzal rágalmazta meg, hogy „lehallgatta” őt a New York-i Trump-toronyban. Másik abszurd állítása szerint Hillary Clinton 3 millió választásra jogosulatlan illegális bevándorlónak köszönhetette, hogy több közvetlen szavazatot kapott, mint ő.

tűnt, annak *morális visszatartó ereje csődöt mondott* Amerikában. A megszerzett hatalmát féltő republikánus establishment fogcsikorgatva ugyan, de felsorakozott az „elszabadult hajóágyú” mögé.

Ám a többségében liberális újságíró-társadalom a Trump csalódást keltő győzelmével együtt neki jutó ledorongolás után pár hónappal magához tért. Az érintett nagy médiacégek, sajtóorgánumok és szaktekinélyek felelősségük tudatában egységesen arra jutottak, hogy a „gyászmunka” végeztével félelem nélkül folytatniuk kell a kormányzat ellenőrzését, és továbbra is nyilvánosság elé kell tární minden leleplezett bűnt, hazugságot, visszaélést. Az új esztendő első hónapjaiban ország-világ előtt bebizonyosodott, hogy vádlójuk hamiskártyás. Miközben az internet közösségi hálóján keresztül szorgalmasan küldözte a szavazóbázisának szánt – de hivatalosnak minősülő – szubjektív, önigazoló üzeneteit éppen aktuális politikai témákról, a mainstream média ezekre összehangoltan reagált. A *The Washington Post* és a *The New York Times* visszatérően foglalkozott az új elnök valótlan állításainak tényszerű cáfolatával, ugyanakkor egyre több friss információval állt elő környezetének meglehetősen bizarr orosz kapcsolatairól. Trump – aki a kampány során, de még győzelme után is igyekezett szisztematikusan aláásni az amerikai választási rendszer tisztaságába vetett hitet – amióta gyanúba keveredett, határozottan tagadta a vádat, miszerint akár valamelyik munkatársán vagy családtagján keresztül összejátszott volna Oroszországgal az elnökválasztás befolyásolására. Ugyanakkor tény, hogy előzőleg orosz kormányzati hackerek feltörték a Demokrata Párt informatikai rendszerét, ahonnan bizalmas adatok szivárogtak ki. Feltűnt, hogy ennek ellenére Trump soha egy rossz szót nem szólt Oroszországról vagy elnökének politikájáról, sőt inkább dicsérte Vlagyimir Putyint. Korábbi moszkvai szórakoztatóipari vállalkozása, ottani ingatlanberuházási szándéka ismert volt. Tényfeltáró „médiamunkások” azonban kiderítették, hogy Trump kampányfőnöke, nemzetbiztonsági főtanácsadója, saját fia és veje – különböző anyagi, üzleti, politikai érdekeltségeik révén – orosz kormányközeli körökkel álltak kapcsolatban, amit addig eltitkoltak.¹⁷ Amikor a Kongresszus megszigorította a szankciókat Oroszország informatikai kalózkodása miatt, Trump vonakodva írta azt alá, a válaszlépést pedig – 755 amerikai követségi alkalmazott kiutasítását – megköszönte (!) Putyinnak. Mivel a kényes orosz ügyeket nem segítette „elsimítani”, az FBI vezetőjét azonnali hatállyal felmentette. Az igazság tisztázása érdekében – akárcsak Nixon és Clinton esetében – kongresszusi vizsgálat indult, valamint Robert Mueller korábbi FBI-igazgató személyében egy különleges megbízatású független államügyész kinevezése is sor került. A helyzet komolysága miatt már 2017 tavaszán, ha nem is hivatalosan, de felmerült az államfő alkalmatlanságát kimondó *impeachment* ötlete.

E tárgykörben apránként napvilágra kerülő információknak köszönhetően az elnök számára rendkívül kínos „szappanopera” nem ért véget. Ha a nyomozás során az derülne ki, hogy jelentős orosz beavatkozás történt az amerikai választás manipulálása

17 A szóban forgó személyek: Paul Manafort, Michael Flynn, ifjabb Donald Trump és az elnök Ivanka nevű lányának férje, Jared Kushner fehér házi tanácsadó, akinek nagyszülei a Szovjetunióból vándoroltak ki Amerikába.

céljából, ráadásul Trump tudtával és beleegyezésével, az államfői legitimációjának megszűnéséhez vezetne. Míg az elnök a liberális médiát az ügy „felfújásával” vádolta, az utóbbi mindent elkövetett annak napirenden tartásáért a Kongresszus demokrata frakciójának támogatásával. A példátlanul kritikus sajtó kezére játszott az államfő látványos kudarca az előző kormány által bevezetett *Obamacare* néven ismert egészségügyi törvénycsomaggal kapcsolatban is. A republikánus kongresszusi többség ugyanis sokáig képtelennek bizonyult a törvény visszavonására vagy megreformálására, ami egyike volt Trump könnyelmű választási ígéreteinek. A mainstream média – meglehetősen kárörömmel – ezen keresztül is az elnök tehetetlenségét, illetve alkalmatlanságát igyekezett sugallni. De más lépései miatt is támadta, így pl. bevándorlás-korlátozó törvényjavaslatáért vagy a 2015-ös párizsi klímaegyezmény felmondásáért.¹⁸ A szemrehányásokat az elnök a közösségi hálón és szóvivőin keresztül erőteljes kommunikációval igyekezett hátrítani. Intézkedéseinek, nyilatkozatainak elfogadtatása, imázsának fényezése a Fehér Ház többször átszervezett kommunikációs stábjának lett a feladata úgy, hogy közben szabadon élhetett a tagadás, az elhallgatás vagy akár a tények elferdítésének („alternatív tények”) módszerével.¹⁹ Az első év nyarára eluralkodó kaotikus személyzeti viszonyok normalizálása érdekében Trump – Nixonhoz hasonlóan – egy erőskezű tábornokot nevezett ki fehér házi kabinetfőnökének (John Kelly).

Donald Trump mindig is különös vonzalmat érzett az ünnepektől hírességek világa iránt. Már fiatal, sikeres üzletemberként is a „celebek” dicsfényére vágyott, s meggyőződése szerint ehhez a média nyilvánosságán keresztül vezetett az út. Felismerte a televízió és a népszerű sajtótermékek ilyen értelemben vett reklámértékét. Ezért nem véletlenül lett „mellékfoglalkozásban” a Miss Universe nemzetközi szépségversenyt rendező szervezet tulajdonosa, a 2000-es évek elején pedig saját tv-műsort indított *A gyakornok* (*The Apprentice*) címmel az NBC országos hálózatán. E kiszavazós valóságshow műsorvezetőjeként elsősorban persze saját üzleti érzékét csillogtatta. De időnként ennél furfangosabb eszközökhöz is nyúlt önmaga népszerűsítése érdekében. Nem egyszer saját szóvivőjének kiadva magát telefonált be élő rádióadásba, hogy álnéven dicsérje magát, s az sem zavarta, ha olykor lebukott. Irodájának és golfklubjainak falát szerette az ő arcásával megjelent magazin-címlapokkal díszíteni, ám ezek közé egy-egy öntömjénező hamisítvány is bekerült, amit csak a szemfüles látogató vett észre.²⁰

18 A bevándorlás korlátozása, továbbá egy fal építése a mexikói határ mentén („Mexikó fogja fizetni”) már a kampány idején is szerepelt Trump meglepő ígéretei között. A kampány alatt az is kiderült, hogy Trump nem igazán hisz a klímaváltozásban.

19 Lásd Elekes Éva: Álhírgyártás a Fehér Házban. *Népszava*, 2017. aug. 11.

20 A *Time* magazin fiktív dátummal (2009. márc. 1.) ellátott, hamisított címlapján a portréja mellett ez áll: DONALD TRUMP. The „Apprentice” is a television smash! Lásd Kristine Phillips: A look at Trump’s... *The Washington Post*, 2017. nov. 25.



1. ábra. A Time magazin 2009. március 1-jei címlapja önreklámozást szolgáló hamisítvány.



2. ábra. „Lustaság.” Newsweek, 2017. augusztus 11.

Immár hívatásos politikusként is Trump egyik kedvenc időöltése a televíziózás maradt. Köztudott, hogy a különböző hírműsorokat főleg olyan szempontból követi, hogy saját imázsa miként jelenik meg a képernyőn. Az Egyesült Államok jelenlegi elnökének első számú információforrása a vele szimpatizáló *Fox News* konzervatív jobboldali hírcsatorna, amely az ő republikánus szavazóbázisának szája íze szerint értelmezi a politikai eseményeket. Kritikus hangvétele miatt azonban nem szereti a mainstream minőségi médiát: súlyos összetűzései voltak a *CNN*, *MSNBC*, *ABC*, *CBS*, *NBC* tv-csatornákkal, illetve azok közismert műsorvezetőivel. Vitát provokáló nemtetszését általában az interneten, a Twitter közösségi hálóján olvasható rövid blogbejegyzéseiben juttatja kifejezésre, meglehetősen ösztönös és nyers stílusban. A világ talán legprofesszionálisabb, egyben legnézettebb 24 órás hírtévézióját gúnyosan csak „Fake News CNN” néven emlegeti minden fórumon, miközben munkatársait becsmérli. A *CNN* kénytelen volt megtagadni az elnök első száz napjáról készült reklámfilm sugárzását, mert a média több reprezentánsa, így ők is, hírhamisítóként voltak benne feltüntetve. Ezután a Fehér Ház kommunikációs boszorkánykonyhája az interneten megosztott egy videót, amelyben Trump mint pankrátor ököllel leteríti valakit, akinek a fején *CNN*-logó látható. Címe: „Trump szembeszáll a hamis médiával.” A kábelcsatorna válasza: „Szomorú az a nap, amikor az Egyesült Államok elnöke erőszakra buzdít a médiával szemben.” Carl Bernstein, a Watergate-ügyben elhíresült újságíró szerint „Trump üzenete a

sajtószabadság elleni támadás” volt.²¹ Elmarasztaló véleményük miatt az elnök az MSNBC közkedvelt műsorvezetői közül az egyiket őrültnek, a másikat – történetesen Zbigniew Brzezinski lányát – „kőostobának” minősítette mikroüzenetében, ami nagy felháborodást váltott ki. Aznap este a Kennedy Centerben élőszóban folytatta a sajtó demonizálását: „A hamis média megpróbál bennünket elhallgattatni, de nem hagyjuk. Az emberek tudják, mi az igazság. A hamis média megpróbálta megakadályozni, hogy mi kerüljünk a Fehér Házba, de mégis én lettem az elnök és nem ők!”²²

Trump és a média konfliktusa

Mi állt valójában a Trump által kezdeményezett nyílt konfrontáció háttérében? Megítélésünk szerint jól átgondolt taktika és stratégia. Amikor hosszas mérlegelés után eldöntötte, hogy indul a választáson – éppen a médiából való ismertségére/népszerűségére, valamint befolyásos kapcsolataira számítva – Trump joggal bízhatott abban, hogy a sajtó támogatni fogja. A választók közül sokan vevők voltak a kampánygyűléseken előadott retorikájára: a politikában csalódott kétkezi munkásemberek, a politikai és a szellemi elit véleményére nem sokat adó, tanulatlan tömegek olyan szókimondó, közvetlen, hétköznapi embert láttak benne, aki őszintén meg akarja oldani a problémáikat. Beszédei bővelkedtek hangzatos, ám inkább blöffnek számító jelszavakban, pl. „Csupoljuk le a washingtoni mocsarat!” vagy „Tegyük újra nagygyá Amerikát!” De a kampány során – mint már említettük – az egyébként tárgyilagos, Hillary Clintonnal szemben is kritikus mainstream média nem állt mellé, hanem „bántotta”. A tömegkommunikációban személye többnyire „úgy jött át” mint politikailag képzetlen, az elnöki posztra alkalmatlan, komolytalan figura, afféle „empty suit”. Ettől kezdve Trump a mainstream minőségi médiát – akárcsak vetélytársait – olyan legyőzendő riválisnak tekintette, amely meg akarja gátolni őt célja elérésében, ezért keményen küzdeni kell ellene. Szokatlanul durva kiszólásaival, méltóságon aluli megjegyzéseivel a kampány során végig nagy zavart keltett a sajtó berkeiben. Szélsőségesektől sem mentes szavazóbázisának ugyanakkor tetszett az újságírók agresszív ostromozása. Mindez stratégiailag azzal a haszonnal járt, hogy esetleges választási vereségéért akár a médiát is okolhatta volna, a viszály tehát ilyen értelemben még jól is jött neki.

Meglepő, de a vele nem rokonszenvező, vagy a kampányszerepléseit negligáló sajtóorgánumok lejáratásában Trump módszerei meglehetősen hasonlítottak Joe McCarthy hidegháborúban alkalmazott taktikájára. A szenátor is a média kegyeit kereste, nyilvánosságra, tevékenységének elismerésére volt szüksége. Ám ha ezt nem kapta meg,

21 Lásd Erik Wemple: No, Trump campaign. You don't get to call CNN »fake news« on CNN. *The Washington Post*, 2017. május 2.; Kathleen Parker: Bizarre. Absurd. Ridiculous. Embarrassing. Trump. *The Washington Post*, 2017. július 4.; Elekes Éva: Harcba a médiával. *Népszava*, 2017. július 4.

22 David Nakamura: Trump attacks MSNBC and CNN, defends his use of social media in series of tweets. *The Washington Post*, 2017. július 1.

a „büntetés” eszközéhez folyamodott. McCarthy célja is az volt, hogy megingassa az embereknek a kritikus sajtóba vetett bizalmát, miközben annak egyes munkatársait megszegyenítette, fenyegette, vagy a nép ellenségének nevezte. Kettejük között a párhuzam nem véletlen: fiatal ingatlanbefektető korában Trump ügyvédje és mentora New Yorkban nem volt más, mint Roy Cohn, az „inkvizíció” idején McCarthy jogi főtanácsadója. Az ifjú Donald tőle sajátította el majdani üzleti és politikai stratégiájának két fő pillérét: állandó jelenlét a közéletben a médián keresztül; ha pedig bírál-
nak, üss vissza, de nagyon!²³



3. ábra. Donald Trump kongresszusi beszéde az Unió helyzetéről. *The Washington Post*, 2017. február 27.

A Trump választási győzelme után folytatódó médiaháborúban taktikai és stratégiai változások történtek. Miután beköltözött a Fehér Házba és megkezdte kormányzati tevékenységét – mint afféle „elefánt a porcelánboltban” – többnyire csupán a jobboldali Murdoch médiabirodalomhoz tartozó *Fox News Channel*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *New York Post* fogadta kisebb-nagyobb szimpátiával. Azt követően, hogy a magához tért mainstream média defenzívából ellentámadásba ment át, az elnököt láthatóan az irritálta, hogy nincs semmiféle hatalma felette. Jóllehet PR-célból híveivel időnként nagygyűléseken ünnepeltette magát, lépten-nyomon megmutatkozott vezetői képességeinek hiánya, népszerűsége pedig a közvéleménykutatások szerint jelentősen csökkent. Bár igyekezett palástolni, maga is érezte a reá nehezedő nyomást, hiszen a belföldi sajtó részéről amerikai elnökre ilyen heves összűz emberemlékezet óta nem zúdult. A lekezelő, semmitmondó sajtótájékoztatók miatt például egyes tv-csatornák kabaréműsoraikban rendszeresen és kíméletlenül kifigurázták őt és szökvívőit. Ekkor Trump is módosított taktikáján: az „emberiség aljának” nevezett újságírók összeesküvéséről kezdett el beszélni, olyan „boszorkányüldözésről”, amelynek célja az ő programjának aláásása.²⁴

²³ Marc Fisher: Who did Trump borrow his press tactics from? Joe McCarthy. *The Washington Post*, 2017. aug. 11. McCarthy és a sajtó viszonyáról lásd még Csillag András: Moral Courage or Collective Responsibility? The Media vs. McCarthyism in the 1950s. In: *The 1950s. Proceedings of the 2003 Biennial Conference of the Hungarian Association for American Studies* (szerk. Bollobás Enikő, Nagy Szilvia). Eötvös Loránd University. Budapest, 2005. 53–60.

²⁴ Colbert I. King: Why Trump wants a war on the media. *The Washington Post*, 2017. július 3.

Trump szerint még a Fehér Házban is voltak cinkosai: bennfentesek, akik információkat szivárogtattak ki az ellenséges sajtónak, még hozzá titkos orosz kapcsolatokról. Lejáratozó taktikája mögött – a jelek szerint – immár az a stratégiai megfontolás húzódott meg, hogy ha egyszer elérkezik a bukás pillanata, és hírhedt elődjének példáját követve nem marad más hátra, mint a lemondás, akkor azért majd a „hazug média” tehető felelőssé!²⁵ Valóban feszült viszonyt tükröz, hogy az elnök – a hagyománnyal szakítva – már két ízben is bojkottálta a fehér házi tudósítók évente megrendezett bankettjét, amire szerveztük így reagált: „Mi sem hagyhatjuk figyelmen kívül azt a stílust, ahogyan az elnök szokott beszélni arról, kik is vagyunk, és mit csinálunk. Nem vagyunk hírhamisítók. Nem csőd közeli hírmédiumoknak dolgozunk. És nem vagyunk az amerikai nép ellensége.”²⁶

Amint azt Pulitzer és Theodore Roosevelt konfliktusa is megmutatta, egy szabad országban, egy jogállamban a köztársaság elnöke sem képes elhallgattatni a független sajtót. Nos, ez – McCarthyhoz, Nixonhoz hasonlóan – Trumpnak sem sikerült. Verbális gyalázkodásai ellenére a minőség iránt elkötelezett, tekintélyes médiatársaságok láthatóan bátran kitartottak amellett, hogy oknyomozással, tényfeltárással folytassák a hatalmon lévők ellenőrzését, még hozzá valódi tények és nem álhírek alapján. A Trump-jelenség kapcsán már utaltunk arra, hogy a médianyilvánosság morális visszatartó ereje ugyanakkor kevésnek bizonyult: nem volt össznépi tiltakozás, az elnök pedig magától nem mutatott hajlandóságot a távozásra. Pulitzer erre vonatkozó megállapítása óta azonban több mint egy évszázad telt el. Azóta – megítélésünk szerint – a közfelfogás minden szempontból liberalizálódott. Ezért manapság a közvélemény ingerküszöbét még az igazán nagy politikai vagy korrupciós botrányok is csak ritkán lépik át. A *toleranciahatár kitolódása* mellett ugyanakkor aktuális pártpolitikai szempontok is nagy szerepet játszanak az elnök sorsát illetően. Mindaddig, amíg a kongresszusi többséget élvező Republikánus Párt számára – különösen a 2018. évi időközi választások kimenetele szempontjából – az elnök személye nem jelent súlyos tehertételt, addig e képviselők *saját hatalmuk stabilitása érdekében* nem mozdítják el. Ilyen tehertétel volna például, ha az oroszokkal való összejátszás ténye bizonyítást nyerne, vagy ha valamilyen neki fontos ügyben (pl. a mexikói fal finanszírozása) nyíltan konfrontálódna a Kongresszussal. Ez esetben a közvélemény egyetértésével, pláne demokrata többség esetén, a Kongresszusban sor kerülhetne alkotmányos eltávolítására.

Mindazonáltal a Republikánus Párt a sorozatosan előforduló ballépések és botrányok közül eddig egyet sem tartott elégségesnek ahhoz, hogy megszabaduljon a Fehér Ház narcisztikus lakójától. Így például azt sem, amikor 2017 augusztusában a virginiai Charlottesville-ben történt szélsőjobboldali zavargást követően egyenlőségelet tett a fehér felsőbbrendűséget hirdető, rasszista provokátorok (KKK) és az ellentüntetők közé, figyelmen kívül hagyva a neonácik halált okozó agresszivitását. A terrorcselekmény

25 Pl. egy Phoenixben tartott, gyűlölettel teli PR-beszédében a „szélhámos” médiát tette felelőssé a társadalom megosztottságáért. Lásd Mark Landler, Maggie Haberman: At Rally, Trump Blames Media for Country's Deepening Divisions. *The New York Times*, 2017. aug. 22.

26 Monica Hesse: „We are not fake news”: At a Trump-free correspondents' dinner, White House press has its say. *The Washington Post*, 2017. ápr. 30.

utáni kettős beszédével csak szította az ellentéteket, ami szintén azt tanúsította, hogy inkább megosztó személyiség, mintsem jó vezető. A bűnösöket mentegető nyilatkozata arra volt bizonyíték, hogy továbbra is számít a szélsőjobb szavazataira. Hiába a média megbotránkozása, a hatalmas társadalmi felháborodás, pártja jóvoltából Trump mégis a helyén maradt.²⁷ Viszont sokak megkönnyebbülésére az incidens után a Fehér Házból távozni kényszerült Steve Bannon nacionalista-protekcionista stratégiai főtanácsadó, a szélső-jobboldali „alt-right” mozgalom támogatója, akit az elnök „rossz szellemének” tartottak.

Az alkotmányban garantált sajtószabadság érvényesülése miatt a világ eddig felnevelt Amerikára. Az sok ország számára követendő példa, a globális demokrácia egyik legfőbb biztosítéka volt. Ám az a tény, hogy a munkáját végző szabad sajtó az Egyesült Államok legfelső szintjéről immár folyamatosan *oltalom helyett kollektív megalázásban részesül*, más országok újságíróit is méltán tolthette el aggodalommal. A mainstream média és a mögötte álló amerikai újságíró-társadalom azonban robusztus erőt képvisel, nagy hagyományokkal és komoly hivatástudattal. Természetesen vannak gyenge minőségű „megélhetési” sajtómunkásai is, akik nem a Pulitzer által lefektetett zszurnalisztikai elvek szerint végzik dolgukat. Donald Trumpnak azonban nem a gátlástalan, szenzációéhes bulvármédiával, nem az igazi hírhamisítókkal volt mind-edig baja. Hanem azzal a médiával, amely átlátott a szítán s már az elején kimondta, hogy a „király meztelen.” Mert ez az ő „üzletét” rontotta, a közvélemény és az establishment nem csekély részét ellene hangolta, külföldi imázsáról nem is beszélve... A tendenciák már 2017 nyarára kirajzolódtak. Az elnök választói tömegbázisa, vele együtt országos és párton belüli támogatottsága a fogyatkozás jeleit mutatta. A hatalom megtartásáért vívott küzdelmében nem egyszer elszigetelődött, miközben sokat látott jogászok hadával vette magát körül. Vezető kongresszusi politikusokkal került több ízben konfliktusba, republikánus képviselők egynémelyikén pedig már ekkor látszottak a nemtetszés és az elidegenedés jelei.²⁸ Amennyiben túlságosan önjáró és kiszámíthatatlan marad, pláne ha eltitkolt visszaélésekre, törvénytelenésre is fény derül, opportunista republikánus szövetségesei várhatóan elengedik a kezét. A néha házőrző kutyához hasonlított szabad sajtó viszont a rárótt embertelen megpróbáltatásokat – inkább megtépázva, mint megdicsőítve – átvészelte, miközben igyekezett magasztos küldetésének is eleget tenni.²⁹

27 A szélsőjobb erőszakos demonstrációja után több amerikai nagyvárosban antirasszista tüntetések zajlottak, a déli államokban pedig „szobordöntési láz” tört ki, melynek során – az elnök rosszsallása ellenére – a rasszizmus szimbólumainak tekintett konföderációs emlékművek közül jó párat eltávolítottak. Trump relativizáló véleményét még az őt támogató *Fox News Channel* tulajdonosa, James Murdoch is határozottan elítélte. Lásd Emily Steel: For Murdoch Empire, Perhaps a Decisive Point in Relationship to Trump. *The New York Times*, 2017. aug. 18. Charles M. Blow: Failing All Tests of the Presidency. *The New York Times*, 2017. aug. 21.

28 Lásd Elaine C. Kamarck: Trump is just six Senate votes away from impeachment. *Newsweek*, 2017. aug. 17.

29 Az *elnök emberei* (*All the President's Men*) című híres filmdráma hajdani főszereplőinek egyike, Robert Redford a Watergate-ügy évfordulója kapcsán véleménycikket publikált. Eszerint amiben a sajtó szerepe Nixon és Trump elnöksége idején leginkább megegyezett:

Ám a médiaháború nem ért véget. Az Egyesült Államok elnöke továbbra sincs tisztában a szabad sajtó jelentőségével, csupán azt látja, hogy az nem akarja szolgálakulni a szekerét tolni. Ezért legszívesebben akár meg is szabadulna tőle. Szüntelen propagandával küzd ellene és erőfeszítései nem is sikertelenek: egy 2018 nyarán végzett felmérés szerint az ország felnőtt lakosságának már csaknem harmada (29%) hiszi el, hogy a hírközlő média az amerikai nép ellensége.³⁰ Ezért a „negyedik hatalmi ág” a közelmúltban összehangolt offenzívát indított, megmutatva, hogy a média világában létezik még kollektív szolidaritás. Az akció akár Pulitzer ötlete is lehetett volna, annak idején ő alkalmazott hasonló módszereket. A *The Boston Globe* figyelemkeltő felhívást intézett az Egyesült Államokban megjelenő lapтарыaihoz azzal a helyzettel kapcsolatban, amit maga így jellemzett: „Trump elnök politikájának egyik központi eleme a szabad sajtó ellen kitaróan vívott harc. Az újságírók nem számítanak honfitársaknak, ők »a nép ellensége«. E szabad sajtó elleni könyörtelen hadviselés veszélyes következményekkel fog járni.”³¹ A *Globe* felszólítására több mint 350 helyi, illetve országos napilap 2018. augusztus 16-án egyidejűleg fejtette ki véleményét szerkesztőségi cikkében a sajtó szabadságának és „a nép ellenségének” problémájáról. A ritkán tapasztalható, koordinált megmozdulás során Kaliforniától New Yorkig, Alaszkától Floridáig az írott sajtó reprezentánsainak elsöprő többsége aznap számában az újságírói hivatás védelmében emelt szót. Az akciót bojkottáló konzervatív *The Wall Street Journal* ugyanakkor – nem kevés cinizmussal – kinyilvánította, hogy a *Globe* kezdeményezése ellentmondott a szerkesztői függetlenség elvének, az elnöknek pedig ugyanúgy joga van a szólásszabadsághoz, mint ellenfeleinek a médiában. Nem tudható, hogy e sajtókampánynak milyen társadalmi hatása lesz. Mindenesetre Trump hí maradt önmagához. Első reakciója dacos volt, semmint békülékeny: „Az álhírmédia ellenzéki pártként viselkedik. Ez nagyon rossz a mi nagyszerű hazánknak. De mi állunk nyeresre.”³²

Végezetül arra szeretnénk utalni, hogy a szabad sajtó működése révén napjainkban – akaratlanul is – összekapcsolódik Joseph Pulitzer és Donald Trump személye az elvekben és a gyakorlatban. Van azonban egy szimbolikus kapcsolódási pont is közöttük, amelyről eddig nem esett szó. Azt már említettük, hogy a Pulitzeri új hírlapírás

„a szabad és független média fontossága demokráciánk védelmében.” Lásd Robert Redford: 45 years after Watergate, the truth is again in danger. *The Washington Post*, 2017. március 31.

³⁰ Az Ipsos felmérését ismerteti: Journalists are not the enemy. *The Boston Globe*, 2018. aug. 15.

³¹ Journalists are not the enemy. *The Boston Globe*, 2018. aug. 15. (vezércikk).

³² Az akcióról lásd Journalists are not the enemy. *The Boston Globe*, 2018. aug. 15. (vezércikk). News Organizations Respond to Free Press Editorial Campaign. *The Pulitzer Prizes*. <http://www.pulitzer.org/news/news-organizations-respond-free-press-editorial-campaign>. Brian Stelter: Coast to coast, and in between, local news is standing up to Trump's press attacks. *CNN Reliable Sources*. <https://money.cnn.com/2018/08/15/media/newspaper-editorials-free-press-trump/index.html>, 2018. aug. 16. Erin Durkin: Trump lashes out against US news outlets defending press freedom. *The Guardian*, 2018. aug. 16. James Freeman: Trump's honeymoon with media almost over. *Boston Globe* urges independent newspapers to collude for the sake of criticizing Trump. *The Wall Street Journal*, 2018. aug. 13.

egyik elve a sajtónyilvánosság leleplező erejére, annak morális hatására vonatkozott. Jóllehet Donald Trump esetében a toleranciahatárok kitolódása miatt ez eddig nem érvényesült, a tényfeltáró/oknyomozó újságírásnak továbbra is komoly presztízse van. Az amerikai újságíró-társadalomban egyedülálló tekintélynek örvendő Pulitzer-díj kritériumai között természetesen ma is szerepelnek az alapító által lefektetett elvek. Ennek fényében nem meglepő tehát, hogy a bíráló bizottság 2018-ban a belföldi tudósítás kategóriájában a *The New York Times* és a *The Washington Post* kollektívájának közösen ítélte oda a díjat, ezzel az indoklással: „A közérdeket szolgáló, sok forrásra támaszkodó, bátor tudósításokért, amelyek drámaian járultak hozzá annak megértéséhez, hogy az oroszok hogyan avatkoztak be a 2016. évi elnökválasztásba és milyen kapcsolatokat ápoltak Trump kampánystábjával, az átmeneti időszakban a megválasztott elnök munkatársaival, majd a megalakult kormánnyal.”³³ Elmondható, hogy a megítélt Pulitzer-díj ily módon inspirálta és honorálta azokat az erőfeszítéseket, amelyek az amerikai társadalmi és politikai élet aktuális kérdéseinek megoldásán fáradoznak. Ha a média által feltárt tények a vizsgálóbizottságok által hivatalosan is megerősítést nyernek, Donald Trump nem kerülheti el lelepleződésének következményeit: a politikai felelősségre vonást és a morális megszégyenülést. Egyébként tetteiért, beleértve a szabad sajtóhoz való viszonyulását, a történelem ítélőszéke előtt kell majd felelnie.

A világ pedig egyelőre értetlenül szemléli, ahogy megszokott és bevett dolgok az utóbbi időben felülíródnak a demokrácia fellegvárában. A helyzet Frank Tibor találó szavaival így jellemezhető: „Nincsen béke Amerikában. Az Egyesült Államok ma a konfliktusok hazája.”³⁴

33 *The Pulitzer Prizes*. (A Pulitzer-díj Bizottság hivatalos honlapja.) 2018. <http://www.pulitzer.org/>.

34 Frank Tibor: Amerikai felülírások. *Élet és Irodalom*, 2018. aug. 10.

The U.S. Federal Congress and the Officialization of English

Arguments, Ideas, and Ideologies in Federal-Level Legislative Proposals

1. Introduction:

Language policy, language management and language ideologies

According to Bernard Spolsky's definition, "language policy" may refer to "all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity."¹

The first component ("language practices") is defined as the observable behaviors and choices – i.e. what people actually do, what linguistic features are chosen, which varieties of language are used.² The second component of language policy consists of beliefs about language, sometimes collectively called "an ideology."³ While Harold Schiffman prefers the term "linguistic culture" in the same context, there is an almost total overlap between the two concepts, with the latter having been defined as "the set of behaviors, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religio-historical circumstances associated with a particular language."⁴ The third component of policy according to Spolsky is language management, i.e. the "explicit and observable efforts" to modify practices or beliefs.⁵

This analysis approaches the surface manifestations of language policy (i.e. explicit policy initiatives at federal level) in order to gain a deeper insight into the ideological background of the proposals, which supposedly reflect the shifting language-related perceptions by the people in general, expressed from time to time through their elected representatives.

The term "language ideology" was probably introduced for the first time by Heath in 1977 as "the self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning the roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of that group."⁶ Juan Cobarrubias proposed four typical ideologies that may justify lan-

1 Bernard Spolsky, *Language Policy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 9.

2 Bernard Spolsky, *Language Management* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 4.

3 Spolsky, *Language Management*, 4.

4 Harold Schiffman, *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy* (London: Routledge, 1996), 5.

5 Spolsky, *Language Management*, 4.

6 Quoted in René Galindo, "Language Wars: The ideological dimensions of the debates on bilingual education," *Bilingual Research Journal* 21.2–3 (1997), 170.

guage policymaking in a particular community: linguistic assimilation, linguistic pluralism, vernacularization, and internationalism.⁷ More recently, Irvine defined language ideologies as “conceptualizations about languages, speakers, and discursive practices.”⁸

A considerable number of LP scholars seem to agree that US language ideologies have mostly been dominated by a discernible “English-only” strain;⁹ “linguistic nativism”;¹⁰ or even “xenoglossophobia.”¹¹ Similarly, Wiley argues that “Americanization” in the name of the “melting pot” tradition has been the guiding nation-building principle since the foundation of the Republic.¹²

Official English proposals – by their very nature – are expected to corroborate the assimilationist nation-building narrative, which emphasizes the “national unity” theme as opposed to the pluralist perspective, whose central tenet is the provision of ever greater equality for (language) minorities.¹³ Either way, language policy conflicts are by and large inseparable from identity politics, interpreted as the “wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups.”¹⁴

2. Official English Legislation in the United States

Since the 1990s, “Official English” has become a “mainstream phenomenon,”¹⁵ increasingly seen as a sign of patriotism rather than the latest manifestation of xenophobia and linguistic nativism. This development appears to have proven Schildkraut’s argument that liberalism alone (i.e. viewing America as “a land of freedom and opportunity”) is insufficient to explain fully the nature of American identity. In reality, there are at least

- 7 Juan Cobarrubias, “Ethical Issues in Status Planning,” in *Progress in Language Planning. International Perspectives*, ed. Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (Berlin/New York/Amsterdam: Mouton, 1983), 63–66.
- 8 Judith T. Irvine, “Language Ideology,” *Oxford Bibliographies* (January 2012).
- 9 Reynaldo F. Macías, “Language Politics and the Sociolinguistic Historiography of Spanish in the United States,” in *Language in Action: New Studies of Language in Society Essays in Honor of Roger W. Shuy*, ed. Joy K. Peyton, Peg Griffin, Walt Wolfram, and Ralph Fasold (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2000), 53.
- 10 Terrence G. Wiley, “Continuity and Change in the Function of Language Ideologies in the United States,” in *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies. Focus on English*, ed. Thomas Ricento (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), 84.
- 11 Sandy Cutshall, “Why We Need ‘The Year of Languages,’” *Educational Leadership* 62.4 (2004/2005): 21.
- 12 Terrence G. Wiley, “Diversity, Super-Diversity, and Monolingual Language Ideology in the United States: Tolerance or Intolerance?” *Review of Research in Education* 38 (March 2014): 1–32.
- 13 Ronald Schmidt, Sr., *Language Policy and Identity Politics in the United States* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 37–38.
- 14 Cressida Heyes, “Identity Politics,” in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford University. Published in the 2016 summer edition <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/identity-politics>>.
- 15 James Crawford, *At War with Diversity: US Language Policy in an Age of Anxiety* (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 2000), 4–5.

three other related conceptions to be taken into consideration: the civic republican tradition (“America as a participatory democracy with vibrant communities and dutiful citizens”); the ethnocultural tradition (“America as a nation of white Protestants”); and the incorporationist tradition (“America as a diverse ‘nation of immigrants’ trying to find the balance between cultural assimilation and maintenance”).¹⁶ “Official English” legislative proposals generally reflect elements of all but the ethnocultural tradition – although pluralist critics (e.g. James Crawford) frequently point out the alleged nativist agenda behind the so-called “English-only” initiatives.

State-level officialization attempts in the United States can be traced back to the immediate post-WWI period, while the more recent wave of officialization gained momentum in the 1980s and 1990s – and it has continued ever since. In 2017, *ProEnglish* (a leading advocate of the issue) listed 32 states with similar symbolic or – especially in recent years: substantive and enforceable – officialization policies.¹⁷

The formal beginnings of the “Official English” movement at the national (or: federal) level date back to April 27, 1981, when Senator S.I. Hayakawa (R-California) introduced into the Senate a proposed amendment to the Constitution (S.J.Res. 72),¹⁸ which would have designated English as the sole official language of the United States. Hayakawa’s joint resolution failed, just like the more than 100 similar bills and resolutions introduced in Congress between 1981 and December 2016. So far, only the Emerson “English Language Empowerment Act”¹⁹ (H.R. 123, 104th Congress, 2nd Session) reached the Congressional floor on August 1, 1996, and was passed by the House of Representatives – but not by the Senate. All the other, similar proposals died in committee.

3. Aims and Corpus

The aims of this paper are to collect, review and classify the arguments surrounding the officialization issue as reflected in the relevant legislative proposals of the U.S. Federal Congress. Focusing on all the “explicit and observable” language management efforts²⁰ by an entity which represents the entire electorate (and even the nonvoting members of society), this paper also strives to gain a deeper insight into the shifts in American language ideology or “linguistic culture” over time.

The corpus, which attempts to be as representative as possible, is based on the legislative database of the U.S. Federal Congress (congress.gov), and is comprised of all those proposals – including bills; simple resolutions; concurrent resolutions; and joint

16 Deborah J. Schildkraut, *Press “ONE” for English: Language Policy, Public Opinion, and American Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 6.

17 “Official English Map,” *ProEnglish*, <https://proenglish.org/official-english-map-2/>.

18 S.J.Res.72, “A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to proceedings and documents in the English language,” 97th Cong. (1981).

19 H.R.123 EH, “Bill Emerson English Language Empowerment Act of 1996,” 104th Cong. (1996). <https://www.congress.gov/104/bills/hr123/BILLS-104hr123eh.pdf>.

20 Spolsky, *Language Management*, 4.

resolutions from the 97th to the 114th Congress (1981–2016) – that contained both “English” and “official language” in the title and/or in the body of the proposal.

The online search (finalized on August 5, 2017) returned 128 such proposals, out of which 93 were at least marginally relevant to the officialization issue. The rest included 9 pluralist and wholly symbolic “English Plus” resolutions (introduced between 1995 and 2011 by Rep. José Serrano, D-NY) in addition to 11 proposals that attempted to strengthen Native Hawaiian education and heritage language maintenance in the state of Hawaii, plus nearly a dozen omnibus bills that contained “English” and “official language” in totally unrelated sections.

Due to the limitations of the online congressional database – in which the full text of bills is not available for proposals introduced prior to 1993 (103rd Congress) – the examined corpus is divided into two subcorpora: the designation “Corp.81-92” (including 29 bills) will refer to the collection of bills from the “outline years” (1981–92), while “Corp.93-16” (64 bills) will indicate the “full text years” data. “Corpus” – without post-modification – will be used for the entire set.

4. Methods

On the basis of the “Official English”-related proposals of the U.S. Federal Congress, the present analysis focuses on (1) the alleged threats to English; (2) the “English-intrinsic”; (3) “English-extrinsic”; and (4) “English-functional” arguments which are mustered to justify the legal enshrinement of the majority language. In addition, (5) the “needs” of English (i.e. whether the majority language should be protected, cultivated or promoted by the government); and (6) the references to other languages are also highlighted and briefly discussed.

The categories are loosely based on Robert Phillipson’s classification,²¹ where “English-intrinsic” refers to “what English is”; “English-extrinsic” focuses on “what English has” (in terms of infrastructure and resources); and “English-functional” is the shorthand for “what English does” or is supposed to do. The “English-functional” arguments are often closely related to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, whose renaissance has been observed in the past few years – in (popular) scientific articles and in state-level Official English proposals as well.²²

21 Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism*, 271–72; Rebecca Mead, “The Prophet of Dystopia,” *New Yorker*, April 17, 2017, 43.

22 See e.g. Lera Boroditsky, “Lost in Translation: New Cognitive Research Suggests that Language Profoundly Influences the Way People See the World,” *The Wall Street Journal*, Saturday, July 24, 2010. <http://lera.ucsd.edu/papers/wsj.pdf>; Keith M. Chen, “The Effect of Language on Economic Behavior: Evidence from Savings Rates, Health Behaviors, and Retirement Assets,” *American Economic Review* 103.2 (2013): 690–731, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/aer.103.2.690>; Sándor Czeglédi, “The ‘Image of English’ in State-level Official English Proposals,” in *Languages in Contact* (Vol. 1), ed. Piotr P. Chruszczewski, John R. Rickford, Katarzyna Buczek, Aleksandra R. Knapik, and Jacek Mianowski (Wrocław: Wyższa Szkoła Filologiczna we Wrocławiu & Polska Akademia Nauk, 2014), 45–61.

The elements of the corpus are also examined from three additional aspects. First, a readily available feature is whether the given proposal was introduced in the House of Representatives, whose membership is elected for a two-year period, or in the Senate, where the members are more isolated from immediate voter control due to their six-year tenure. Second, the proposals are also weighted according to the type of legislation: simple and concurrent resolutions have no legal force, thus they are considered to be purely “symbolic”: they simply express the “sense” (i.e. collective opinion) of one or both chambers, whereas bills and joint resolutions are binding (“substantive”) if passed and signed by the President. Finally, the support behind each proposal is clearly indicated by the number of supporters (“sponsors” and “cosponsors”) backing the given initiative.

5. Hypotheses and Assumptions

Republican-controlled legislatures are considerably more supportive of the officialization idea; thus this aspect is not going to be examined in detail. Democratic cosponsors of Official English (hence: OE) proposals are few and far between.

Based on previous research,²³ the following initial assumptions are made:

- (1) The perceived need to protect English is becoming an integral element of OE proposals.
- (2) As OE is becoming a mainstream idea, similar proposals appear on the agenda of the Senate more frequently (and garner increasingly higher support).
- (3) Overall, Senate proposals are more moderate and less alarmist.
- (4) 9/11 represents a discernible watershed in OE legislation, increasing OE-related activity in both chambers.
- (5) OE proposals also try to ban strong (“maintenance-oriented”) forms of bilingual education (BE) and seek to curtail access-related minority language rights, i.e. the OE initiatives attempt to erode the pluralist achievements in other areas of LP conflict as well.
- (6) Both English-intrinsic and English-functional arguments appear more frequently in recent OE proposals.
- (7) The overall belief in the transformative power of English is growing (mirroring the recent tendencies in state-level proposals).
- (8) OE proposals support foreign language learning but stop short of endorsing immigrant heritage language maintenance.
- (9) On the other hand, recent OE proposals support indigenous language maintenance without reservations.

23 Sándor Czeglédi, “A multikulturalizmus alkonya? Nyelvi ideológiák és a hivatalos nyelv kérdése az Egyesült Államokban,” in *Anglisztika és amerikanisztika: Magyar kutatások az ezredfordulón*, ed. Tibor Frank and Krisztina Károly (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2009), 247–55; Czeglédi, “The ‘Image of English,’” 58–61.

- (10) OE proposals generally reinforce the civic republican interpretation of American identity (i.e. “America is a participatory democracy with vibrant communities and dutiful citizens”).

6. Findings I: General Trends

Out of the 93 relevant OE proposal versions there were 61 pieces introduced in the House; 19 in the Senate (13 proposals were versions of the introduced bills and resolutions reappearing – usually in an amended form – at later stages of the lawmaking process).

House	Senate	Congress (nr.)	Year
1	1	97	1981–1982
1	1	98	1983–1984
2	2	99	1985–1986
6	1	100	1987–1988
5	2	101	1989–1990
2	1	102	1991–1992
3	1	103	1993–1994
8	2	104	1995–1996
3	1	105	1997–1998
5	0	106	1999–2000
4	0	107	2001–2002
3	0	108	2003–2004
4	1	109	2005–2006
6	1	110	2007–2008
2	1	111	2009–2010
2	1	112	2011–2012
2	1	113	2013–2014
1	1	114	2015–2016

Figure 1. The distribution of introduced OE proposals in the two chambers (1981–2016)

In the House, the overwhelming majority of introduced pieces (59 proposals) were substantive. The two symbolic concurrent resolutions date back to 1985 (H.Con.Res. 127)²⁴ and to 1987 (H.Con.Res. 129).²⁵ Both proposals expressed “the sense of the Congress that the English language is the official language of the United States.”

²⁴ H.Con.Res.127, “A concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the English language is the official language of the United States,” 99th Cong. (1985).

²⁵ H.Con.Res.129, “A concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the English language is the official language of the United States,” 100th Cong. (1987).

The Senate witnessed the introduction of 18 substantive pieces and 1 symbolic resolution (S.Con.Res. 43 from 1985),²⁶ which was an identical proposal to (H.Con.Res. 127).

Figure 1 indicates that the peak years of OE-activism (in terms of the number of introduced pieces) happened during the 100th and 101st Congresses (1987–90); then in 1995–96 (104th Congress); in 1999–2000 (106th Congress), and finally in 2007–08 (110th Congress).

However, it was only the House of Representatives that reacted with a flurry of OE-related legislative activity to real and perceived crises and/or political opportunities (e.g. ESEA-reauthorization debates and the “Republican Revolution” of 1994) – the Senate remained largely detached from OE issues during the examined period.

Nevertheless, the fluctuation of support behind the flagship OE bill in each Congress – calculated as the percentage of the total membership of the given chamber (435 in the House; 100 in the Senate) – appears to be more informative than simply the number of introduced proposals:

House (%)	Senate (%)	Congress (nr.)	Year
0.002	11	97	1981–1982
4.1	8	98	1983–1984
12.2	17	99	1985–1986
13.6	6	100	1987–1988
16.9	4	101	1989–1990
32.2	9	102	1991–1992
37.5	14	103	1993–1994
45.3	23	104	1995–1996
9.0	22	105	1997–1998
32.0	0	106	1999–2000
11.5	0	107	2001–2002
25.1	0	108	2003–2004
37.9	4	109	2005–2006
35.4	10	110	2007–2008
32.0	4	111	2009–2010
28.3	4	112	2011–2012
21.8	7	113	2013–2014
20.9	8	114	2015–2016

Figure 2. Percentage of support behind the leading OE proposal during each Congress

Here it can be seen that S. I. Hayakawa’s OE joint resolution (S.J.Res. 72, 1981) attracted 11% support in the Senate during the 97th Congress, but this level of endorsement was not to be reached in the House for similar measures until 1985. By that time, the relevant

26 S.Con.Res.43, “A concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the English language is the official language of the United States,” 99th Cong. (1985).

percentage in the Senate was 17%, and topped at 23% in 1995–96, during the 104th Congress.

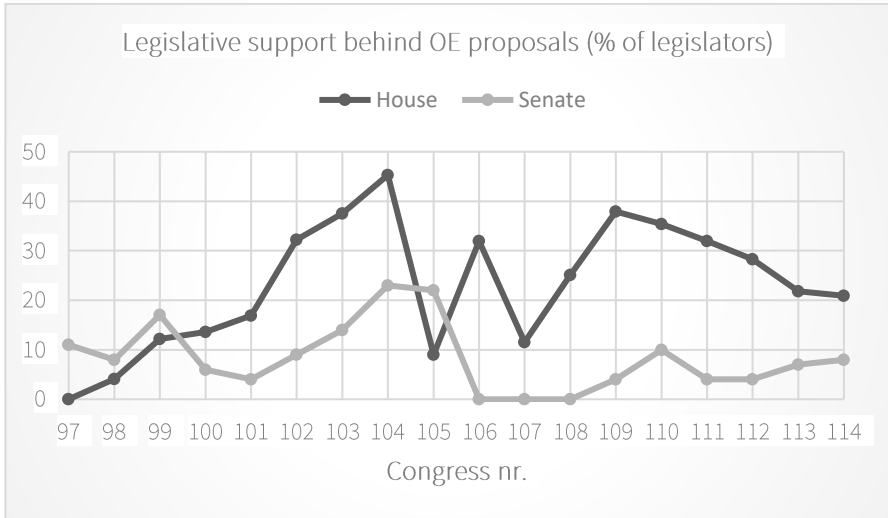


Figure 3. Percentage of support behind the leading OE proposal during each Congress

The absolute peak years for OE support in the House came during the very same 104th Congress in 1995–96, when the most successful OE bill to date, the Bill Emerson “English Language Empowerment Act”²⁷ was passed by the House of Representatives on August 1, 1996.

H.R. 123 reversed the pluralist critique of quick transitional bilingual education (BE) models (i.e. that early-exit BE frequently “disempowers” minority students) by trying to codify the hotly debated “time-on-task” (or “maximum exposure”) hypothesis, implying that the way to empower immigrants was through maximized exposure to English.

In the “Findings” section, H.R. 123 seemed to relish the idea of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity characterizing the United States.²⁸ The English language was described as a “common thread binding individuals of differing backgrounds,” which needed federal intervention to be able to fulfill this historical function properly:

In order to preserve unity in diversity, and to prevent division along linguistic lines, the Federal Government should maintain a language common to all people.²⁹

27 H.R.123 EH, 104th Cong. (1996).

28 H.R.123 EH (Title I, Sec. 101(1–2)), 104th Cong. (1996).

29 H.R.123 EH (Title I, Sec. 101(4)), 104th Cong. (1996).

H.R. 123 intended to facilitate immigrant assimilation and empower immigrants to take advantage of economic and occupational opportunities in the United States. Moreover, English language skills and literacy were also deemed “necessary” in order to turn immigrants into “responsible citizens and productive workers.”³⁰

The perceived correlation between a responsible attitude and English proficiency is vaguely similar to early 20th century “scientific” study findings, which frequently linked non-English proficiency with lower intelligence.³¹

As its main goal, H.R. 123 declared English the sole official language of government (although oral communication with public officials in non-English languages was allowed even in official situations); required “fluency in English” as a prerequisite to naturalization (with ceremonies conducted entirely in English); and repealed the bilingual voting requirements as specified in the later amendments of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.³² The “teaching of languages” and the preservation of Native American and Native Alaskan languages were not to be affected by the provisions of HR 123.³³

Eventually, the “English Language Empowerment Act” of 1996 did not get further than passing the House by the healthy majority of 259 votes to 169. Despite its success in the lower chamber, the Senate failed to act on the measure after President Clinton hinted at the possibility of a presidential veto – and there was neither veto-proof majority on the part of the proponents, nor the political will to pursue the matter any further around election period.³⁴

H.R. 123 was the leading OE bill in the House between 1991 and 1999. Since the 108th Congress (2003–2004) its role has been taken over by H.R. 997, the “English Language Unity Act,” which is a very similar measure, although it contains far fewer English-intrinsic and English-functional arguments than H.R. 123 did: only the English-intrinsic “common thread binding individuals of differing background” phrase has remained in the proposal.³⁵

More importantly, however, H.R. 997 would require the implementation of uniform English language testing standards as a naturalization requirement stating that “All citizens should be able to read and understand generally the English language text of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the laws of the United States.”³⁶ The idea of employing the key documents of the American Creed as an English language proficiency-based gatekeeping mechanism or obstacle for future citizens is not a new

30 H.R.123 EH (Title I, Sec. 101(6–7)), 104th Cong. (1996).

31 April Linton, *Spanish for Americans? The Politics of Bilingualism in the United States* (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2002), 18.

32 H.R.123 EH (Title I, Sec. 102, Title II), 104th Cong. (1996).

33 H.R.123 EH (Title I, Sec. 102(a), Ch. 6, Sec. 167(2)). 104th Cong. (1996).

34 Crawford, *At War*, 47–49.

35 H.R.997, “English Language Unity Act of 2015,” (Sec. 2(2)), 114th Cong. (2015). <https://www.congress.gov/114/bills/hr997/BILLS-114hr997ih.pdf>.

36 H.R.997, “English Language Unity Act of 2015,” (Sec. 3(a) Ch. 6, Sec. 164(a)), 114th Cong. (2015).

one, though: the very first version of H.R. 997 already contained such stipulations in 2003.³⁷

What is more, two years before, in 2001, an identical “English Language Unity Act” had been introduced in the House³⁸ with the same requirements. Although it would be tempting to associate that proposal with the immediate gut-reactions following 9/11, the sponsor of H.R. 1984, Rep. Bob Barr (R-GA) actually introduced the bill on May 24, three and a half months *before* the Al-Qaeda terrorist attacks.

7. Findings II: English-language Related Arguments in OE Proposals

This part of the analysis focuses on “Corp.93-16,” which contained 62 full-text proposals.

7.1 *Threats to English*

Only 13 proposals contained any references to the threats to English, with the most frequent alarmist scenario being the fear from “division along linguistic lines,” which was to become a recurrent feature of OE proposals at least from 1993 onwards. Yet, although the phrase was a characteristic feature of OE bills in 1995–1996, it has never surfaced after 1999.

7.2 *“English-intrinsic” arguments*

The “English-intrinsic” arguments have also been present in the proposals at least since 1993. Approximately half of the pieces contained such arguments: 23 House bills and 9 Senate proposals.

In the House bills the most frequent theme identified was the “language of opportunity” idea, occurring 15 times altogether between 1993 and 2010 in various proposals, followed by the “common thread” phrase (13 times) between 1993–2016. The “common language” phrase (cropping up 5 times between 1993 and 2000) achieved the third place in the frequency ranking. Although, numerically speaking, it is the “language of opportunity” designation that turned out to be the hands-down winner, the “common thread” description has proved to be the most constantly enduring idea over the entire examined period.

In addition, the House witnessed the introduction of a few especially restrictive bills describing English as the “preferred language of communication” among U.S. citizens. The “Declaration of Official Language Act” contained this phrase 4 times: in 1993, 1995, 1997, and in 1999, respectively. The most successful version of the Act reached 24% support in the House in 1995.³⁹

37 H.R.997, “English Language Unity Act of 2003,” (Sec. 3(a) Ch. 6, Sec. 164(a)), 108th Cong. (2003). <https://www.congress.gov/108/bills/hr997/BILLS-108hr997ih.pdf>.

38 H.R.1984, “English Language Unity Act of 2001,” 107th Cong. (2001). <https://www.congress.gov/107/bills/hr1984/BILLS-107hr1984ih.pdf>.

39 H.R.739, “Declaration of Official Language Act,” (Sec. 2(a) Ch. 6, Sec. 162), 104th Cong. (1995). <https://www.congress.gov/104/bills/hr739/BILLS-104hr739ih.pdf>.

Preferred Language	Common Language	Language of opportunity	Common thread	Cong. (nr.)	Year
1	1	1	1	103	1993–1994
1	3	5	4	104	1995–1996
1		4		105	1997–1998
1	1	2		106	1999–2000
		1	1	107	2001–2002
			1	108	2003–2004
			1	109	2005–2006
			1	110	2007–2008
		2	1	111	2009–2010
			1	112	2011–2012
			1	113	2013–2014
			1	114	2015–2016
4	5	15	13	SUM	

Figure 4. The distribution of “English-intrinsic” arguments in the House OE proposals (1993–2016).

In the Senate, however, the “preferred language” idea never emerged. As a further difference, OE proposals in the upper chamber tended to emphasize the “common thread” function of the English language (8 instances), while the “language of opportunity” idea (occurring 4 times) took the second place only.

Preferred Language	Common Language	Language of opportunity	Common thread	Cong. (nr.)	Year
	1	1	1	103	1993–1994
	2	2	2	104	1995–1996
	1	1	1	105	1997–1998
				106	1999–2000
				107	2001–2002
				108	2003–2004
				109	2005–2006
				110	2007–2008
			1	111	2009–2010
			1	112	2011–2012
			1	113	2013–2014
			1	114	2015–2016
	4	4	8	SUM	

Figure 5. The distribution of “English-intrinsic” arguments in the Senate OE proposals (1993–2016).

In both chambers the combined frequencies of “common language” and “common thread” are roughly equal to those of “language of opportunity,” but the “common thread” theme appears to be a more predictable feature of the recent bills and resolutions.

7.3 “English-extrinsic” arguments

“English-extrinsic” arguments, i.e. the material and immaterial resources behind the language⁴⁰ are not utilized in the OE proposals at all – references to the “resource power” of the language are mostly deployed in campaigns focusing on the international promotion of the language.

7.4 “English-functional” arguments

Contrary to initial expectations, about two-thirds of the proposals from the 62-element “Corp.93-16” did *not* contain any “English-functional” arguments at all.

Furthermore, those bills that eventually did were concentrated in the period between 1993 and 2001 (comprising 14 House proposals and 4 Senate bills or resolutions). There have been no similar, explicit arguments embedded in the post-2001 proposals:

English empowers immigrants to become “responsible citizens and productive workers”		3	1	1	
English promotes “efficiency and fairness”	1	5	1	1	
English promotes “full citizenship”		5	2	2	1
Congress	103	104	105	106	107
Year	93 94	95 96	97 98	99 00	01 02

Figure 6. “English-functional” arguments in the House OE proposals (1993–2002)

English empowers immigrants to become “responsible citizens and productive workers”		3	1	1	
English promotes “efficiency and fairness”	1	5	1	1	
English promotes “full citizenship”		5	2	2	1
Congress	103	104	105	106	107
Year	93 94	95 96	97 98	99 00	01 02

Figure 7. “English-functional” arguments in the Senate OE proposals (1993–2002)

40 Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism*, 276–77.

The appearance of the “empowerment through English”-theme around 1995–96 is related to the legislative successes of the eponymous “English Language Empowerment Act” (H.R. 123, see above in 6.1).

Nevertheless, it was a considerably less controversial idea (“English promotes efficiency and fairness”) which turned out to be more acceptable in both chambers during the relatively short careers of “English-functional” arguments.

7.5 What English needs

Although the Constitution is silent about linguistic matters, the majority of OE proposals in “Corp.93-16” – 44 out of 62 – were to compel the government to take an active role in protecting and promoting the majority language. Somewhat contrary to certain European practices, this recommended protection never amounted to a purist, corpus planning-oriented attitude; instead, the government was expected to be an active agent in enshrining the legal status of English and was frequently obliged to encourage internal language spread.

Already in 1993, the “Language of Government Act” of 1993 declared that “The Government shall have an affirmative obligation to preserve and enhance the role of English as the official language of the United States Government. Such obligation shall include encouraging greater opportunities for individuals to learn the English language.”⁴¹ Despite the fact that the full text of the pre-1993 proposals is not (yet) available, even the outlines of the 1989–93 period show that this obligation had already been an integral part of similar “Language of Government” bills at least since 1990, and it has remained a key feature of OE bills ever since.

In addition to protecting and enhancing the role of English as the sole official language of the United States, several proposals tried to abolish certain existing minority language accommodations directly. The most frequent targets of OE bills and resolutions were:

- (a) bilingual education (i.e. the repeal of the Bilingual Education Act or BEA);
- (b) the abolition of bilingual election materials (i.e. the repeal of the relevant Voting Rights Act [VRA] amendments);
- (c) setting compulsory English language proficiency tests as a prerequisite to naturalization;
- (d) naturalization ceremonies to be conducted in English;
- (e) repeal of EO 13166 (the executive order from August 2000 aimed at “Improving Access to Services for Persons with Limited English Proficiency” (LEP) by requiring Federal agencies to examine their services and implement a system to provide meaningful LEP-access to those services).

Theoretically, the most stringent OE bills are those that require the government to function as an English-language guardian and promoter plus also include all of the five goals mentioned above. Practically, it is not possible, though, due to the different timeframes

⁴¹ H.R.123, “Language of Government Act of 1993,” (Sec. 3(a) “Ch. 6, “Sec. 162), 103rd Cong. (1993). <https://www.congress.gov/103/bills/hr123/BILLS-103hr123ih.pdf>.

associated with some of these policies: e.g. EO 13166 had not been a problem prior to its signing by Bill Clinton in the summer of 2000; conversely, the repeal of the BEA disappeared from the agenda after the passage of the assimilation-oriented “No Child Left Behind” Act in 2001.

Nevertheless, there appeared one single proposal containing all of the goals above except the repeal of EO13166: it was H.R. 3333,⁴² the “Declaration of Official Language Act of 2001” (sponsored by Rep. Bob Stump [R-AZ]). The measure (which eventually reached a very modest 6.4% support) was introduced on November 16, 2001 – two months after 9/11.

As a tendency, prior to 2006 Senate bills had been more lenient than their House counterparts: none of them contained any references to any of the five goals above. Since 2009, the situation has changed: with the regular introduction of the “English Language Unity Act” (which is H.R. 997’s identical companion bill) in the upper chamber, the differences between the House and Senate OE proposal versions have started to fade: now the Senate versions also contain the English-only naturalization requirements and the idea of the Constitution-based proficiency test, too.

7.6 References to other languages

The OE proposals frequently make a distinction between indigenous (Native American, Native Alaskan, Native Hawaiian) languages and “foreign” languages: the intergenerational transmission of the former category has been a supported goal roughly since the passage of the Native American Languages Acts (NALA) in 1990 and 1992, whereas foreign language teaching (FLT) and learning (FLL) have generally been granted exemption from the scope of the proposed OE laws.

In addition to the substantive guarantees concerning indigenous languages and FLT / FLL, the symbolic praising of diversity is an almost ubiquitous phenomenon in the nonbinding “Findings” sections of OE pieces.

8. Summary and Conclusions: Dis/proving the assumptions

After analyzing the general legislative trends and particular, diachronic distributions of the language-related arguments surrounding the officialization issue in the United States, the following findings appear to crystallize around the hypotheses and assumptions listed in Section 5:

The perceived need to protect English is becoming an integral element of OE proposals. Pre-1999 OE bills and resolutions had tended to emphasize openly the threats to the *de facto* status of English but this type of explicitness is becoming extremely rare nowadays. On the other hand, despite the supposedly *laissez-faire* governmental attitude and the Republican opposition to the idea of “big government,” two-thirds of the OE bills of the past two decades would have empowered the government to act as the defender and promoter of the national language.

42 H.R.3333, “Declaration of Official Language Act of 2001,” 107th Cong. (2001). <https://www.congress.gov/107/bills/hr3333/BILLS-107hr3333ih.pdf>.

As OE is becoming a less controversial concept, similar proposals appear on the agenda of the Senate as well more frequently (and garner higher support). On the basis of the congress.gov corpus, it is difficult to determine exactly when OE became a mainstream idea. Since the first OE proposals were introduced in the Senate (and attracted relatively more cosponsors than their House counterparts) it is possible to argue that OE has always been – i.e. since its first emergence in the Senate in 1981 – a mainstream phenomenon. However, between 1999 and 2005 the issue had disappeared from the Senate agenda. After it resurfaced in 2005, the introduction of the “English Language Unity” Act (H.R. 997) in the Senate in 2009 (in the form of an identical companion bill) could be regarded as a symbolic step towards the general acceptance of English as the “common thread” that binds together the increasingly diverse American society.

Overall, Senate proposals are more moderate and less alarmist. This expectation has turned out to be true, although the differences between the House and Senate versions of OE bills started to disappear after 2009. Nevertheless, House support for the same OE bill has routinely exceeded two to three times the Senate popularity of the companion measure.

As it has turned out, 9/11 did not represent a particularly characteristic let alone cataclysmic watershed in OE legislation. As a matter of fact, more dramatic events had taken place 5-6 years before, immediately after the “Republican Revolution” of 1994, during the 104th Congress (see 7.2 and 7.4). The only direct consequence of 9/11 might have been the introduction of the harsh H.R. 3333 (107th Congress, 1st Session) (see 7.5). However, as a symbolic consequence, the strengthening of the English-intrinsic “common thread” notion may be regarded as a long-term effect of the September 11 trauma.

OE proposals also tried to ban strong (i.e. maintenance-oriented) forms of bilingual education (BE) in the past and have regularly attempted to curtail access-related minority language rights. These stipulations have routinely been present in the House bills for the past two decades, and they appeared in the Senate proposals as well in 2006, which development reinforces the previous observations concerning the general, assimilation-oriented shift in American language ideology as far as non-indigenous minority languages are concerned.

Contrary to the initial expectations based on previous research findings, with the exception of the “common thread” idea both the English-intrinsic and English-functional arguments are actually disappearing from OE proposals.

Consequently, it cannot be proved, either, that the overall (legislative) belief in the transformative power of English is growing. The “English empowers immigrants to become ‘responsible citizens and productive workers’” idea was strong during the 1995–96 Congressional sessions, but never since.

Both the “OE proposals support foreign language learning but not immigrant heritage language maintenance” and the “OE proposals support indigenous language maintenance” hypotheses appear to be correct.

OE proposals emphasize the civic republican interpretation of American identity (i.e. “America is a participatory democracy with vibrant communities and dutiful citi-

zens”). This hypothesis could be regarded as partly true: the “duty to learn English” theme features prominently in several proposals, mostly in the substantive, compulsory sections of the OE bills. Yet, exactly there we can find frequent references to the “opportunity” idea as well. In addition, the symbolic “Findings” sections of the majority of OE bills are replete with the incorporationist “nation of immigrants” image, which appears to be a permanent feature of the nonbinding sections of the Official English proposals, yet the substantive, enforceable parts of the very same legislative initiatives routinely assume a significantly more “problem-oriented” mindset regarding the role of immigrant languages in the nation-building process.

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A Carnegie-örökség magyar könyvtári vonatkozása

Az Americana-könyvadomány sorsa

Régi adósságomat szeretném törleszteni ennek a témának a feldolgozásával, amely az ünnepeltnek is már régóta szívügye.

A történet – amelybe én 2001-ben kapcsolódtam be – szálai egészen az 1920-as évek végéig vezetnek vissza... Annak eredek most nyomába, hogy hogyan került közel 1200 amerikanisztika témájú kötet Budapestre, az Egyetemi Könyvtárba? Kik voltak az akkori történet főszereplői, miket tartalmazott a könyvadomány, és vajon kik használhatták a könyveket az idők során? A szálak és a nyomok az Egyetemi Levéltárból indultak, és egészen a Columbia University Butler Library Rare Book and Manuscript Library, azaz a Columbia Egyetem Kézirattárába vezettek.¹ A történet apropóját és aktualitását pedig az adja, hogy 1928-ban, tehát 90 évvel ezelőtt kapott az Egyetemi Könyvtár 766 műből álló gyűjteményt – ami 1195 kötetet jelentett – a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace alapítványtól (Carnegie Nemzetközi Békealapítvány, máshol Alapítvány a Nemzetközi Békéért néven szerepel, angol rövidítése: CEIP).

Előzmények

Petri Pál (1881–1945) volt az, aki a Vallás- és Közoktatási Minisztérium államtitkáráként, 1922-től egyben, mint a nem katolikus ügyek és a népoktatás irányítója, 1925. december 21-én először Henry S. Haskell részére, majd 1926. február 27-én másodszor James Brown Scott alapítványi titkár részére levelet küldött, amelyben a prágai és a belgrádi gyűjteményekhez hasonló könyvek adományozását kéri a budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár számára is: „procuring a gift of a collection of books concerning American life to be sent to the library of the Budapest University, such as the Endowment had already bestowed upon the libraries of Prague and Belgrade.”²

S mivel indokolja kérését? „A világháború – folytatódik a levél – következményei jóval nagyobb mértékben sújtják Magyarországot, mint a győztes hatalmakat, a gazdasági és pénzügyi válság pedig nehézségeket okoz a tudományos munkák, köztük a külföldi szakkönyvek beszerzésében; azonban mindezen nehézségek ellenére Magyarország komoly erőfeszítéseket tesz korábbi kultúrájának visszaállítására és fejlesztése érdekében.” [A szerző ford.] Ehhez kéri tehát a Carnegie Alapítvány támogatását Petri. Az

1 Jelen kutatásomhoz nyújtott segítségért – dokumentumok kikeresése irattárból, indexek és nyilvántartások alapján, kikészítése és/vagy szkennelése, elküldése miatt – köszönet illeti: Varga Júlia és Hős János (Egyetemi Levéltár, Budapest), Székelyné Török Tünde és Vajda Zsuzsanna (Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest), Jennifer S. Comins (Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New York), valamint az ELTE Angol-Amerikai Intézeti Könyvtár munkatársait odaadó és szakszerű feldolgozó munkájukért.

2 Dr. Petry [sic!] P. levélmásolata James Brown Scott részére, 1926. február 27. CU, RBML: CEIP Volume 64 Box 416 (a mappán 417!) Folder 2 Series III. A./204.

Alapítvány titkára Nicholas Murray Butlerhez továbbítja a kérést, aki azon túl, hogy a Kapcsolattartásért és Oktatásért felelős részleg – Division of Intercourse and Education – vezetője, egyben az Alapítvány elnöke is ebben az időben.³ Úgy tűnik, hogy már az első levél is eljutott hozzá, mert időközben február 19-i dátummal elküldte válaszát az amerikai témájú könyvgyűjteménnyel kapcsolatban, amint az a rendelkezésre álló dokumentumból kiderül.⁴

Nagyjából ugyanebben az időszakban, 1926. márciusában nyoma van egy nem hivatalos levélváltásnak Dr. Erdély Sándor (Alexandre Erdely) – Budapest, Margit krt. 5/B⁵ – és Irving Fisher, a Yale Egyetem professzora (Department of Political Economy) között: ekkor már a CEIP Executive Committee döntést hozott arról, hogy Budapestre küldenek egy könyvgyűjteményt amerikai történelem és kultúra témában 1-2 éven belül, azzal a kikötéssel, hogy az olvasók szabadon hozzáférhetnek a könyvekhez.⁶

Az 1920-as évek második felében élénknek voltak mondhatók a kétoldali amerikai-magyar kulturális kapcsolatok. Míg a (kül)politikai és gazdasági életet áthatotta a revíziós kérdés napirenden tartása, a kulturális diplomácia a maga eszközeivel törekedett propagandát folytatni a két nemzet egymás iránti pozitív kép kialakítása és növelése érdekében. „Az első világháború után megnőtt az Amerika iránti közéleti és tudományos érdeklődés... Amerika népszerűségét az is jelezte, hogy az Amerikai Magyar Társaság kezdeményezésére minden évben megünnepelték a Függetlenség Napját [a városligeti George Washington szobornál], ezzel a népszerű hagyománnyal is erősítve a magyarok Amerikáról alkotott pozitív képét.”⁷ Petri kultuszállamtitkár például, aki az 1928-as Kossuth-zarándoklat tagjaként már harmadszor járt az Egyesült Államokban,

ahol most is a magyarság érdekében használta fel előkelő összeköttetéseit, nagy nyelvtudását, az iskolázott diplomata ügyességével és a kulturpolitikusi államférfiúi tudásával szerzett barátokat hazája számára.

– *A csehek és a románok három évtized óta folytatják propagandamunkájukat Amerikában. [...] Nekünk is minden erőnkel azon kell törekednünk, hogy évről-évre lassu, szívós munkával fejlesszük ki azt a szimpátiát, amelynek alapjait az amerikai nemzet lakosainak szívében Kossuth Lajos alapozta meg.*⁸

3 Nicholas Murray Butler (1862–1947), alma matere a Columbia Egyetem elődje volt, 1902–1945 között az egyetem rektora (President), 1925–1945 között a CEIP második kuratóriumi elnöke (President) szerepét töltötte be.

4 Henry S. Haskell levele James Brown Scott részére, 1926. március 19. CU, RBML: CEIP Volume 64 Box 416 (a folderen 417!) Folder 2 Series III. A./206.

5 Budapesti Czim- és Lakásjegyzék 1928 (29. évfolyam) / 1. rész VIII. Hites szakértők: Könyv és írás, 649. o.; 2. rész Lakás-jegyzék, 167. o. szerint banktisztv.

6 CU, RBML: Series VII.Z. Library Aid, American Library, 1926, 1927, 1936. Iratszámok: 93542–93545.

7 Mathey Éva: „Az amerikai kormányzati körök és a magyar revízió kérdése a két világháború között,” *AETAS* 29., 3. szám (2014): 109–126, 118.

8 *Órai Ujság*: „Petri Pál államtitkár Newyorkból [sic!] hazaérkezett” (1928), 2.

Ugyanebben a cikkben tesz Petri említést arról, hogy „a Carnegie-Intézet 2000 művet küldött a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumnak, amely munkák az amerikai tudományos irodalom alapvető művei.”

Püspökladányban a Petri Pálról elnevezett utcában 2008 óta mellszobor állításával emlékeznek meg róla. Az emlékkő felirata szerint: „1922–1935-ig térségünk országgyűlési képviselője, 1922-től kultuszminiszteri államtitkár, majd Klebelsberg Kuno gróf kultúrpolitikai programja kidolgozásának egyik legfőbb munkatársa. Önzetlen áldozatvállalásának köszönhető a helyi iskolarendszer, és a Petri telepi városrész kiépülése. Városunk díszpolgára.”⁹

„A gazdagság evangéliuma”¹⁰ és az üdvözítő jótékonyosság

Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919), a skót városkából induló Amerikában multimilliomossá lett acélmágnás könyvtár-építési jótékony akciója jól ismert lehetett már ebben az időszakban: az iskola- és a templomépületek mellett az Egyesült Államok településeinek képehez ugyanis hozzátartozott a Carnegie könyvtárépület is, amely amellett, hogy intézményesült, szinte fogalommá is vált. Az ún. Carnegie ingyenes közkönyvtárak létrehozása 1889 óta folyamatban volt elsősorban Nagy-Britannia és Amerika-szerte: amelyik település vállalta a könyvtár fenntartását és rendszeres gyarapítását, az épület megépítését Carnegie finanszírozta. Rhode Island államon kívül nem volt olyan állam, ahol nem lett volna legalább egy belőle, a pálmát pedig Indiana állam vitte el 164-gyel. Amerikában végül összesen 1681, a világon pedig 2589 építése valósult meg.¹¹ „Carnegie adományai közt legkiválóbbak könyvtáralapításai (mintegy 3000 könyvtár, 60 millió dollárral), a tudomány továbbfejlesztését előmozdító intézményei (legkiválóbb a *Carnegie Corporation of New York* 125 millió dollárral) és a világbékét szolgáló alapítványai” – írja Braun Róbert bevezetőjében Carnegie magyarul megjelent írásaihoz.¹² „[M]inden alapítványa abból a célból jött létre, hogy akik élni tudnak a lehetőségekkel, azok számára bővítsön e lehetőségek köre, akik pedig amúgy kihullanának a rendszerből, nagyobb valószínűséggel jussanak maguk is lehetőséghez.”¹³ Nem véletlen tehát, és ezzel is magyarázható a támogatások egyik legnagyobbabbszámú és legsikeresebb formája, még akkor is, ha szigorú feltétel volt a könyvbeszerzésre és könyvtári szolgáltatásokra a közönségnek előteremteni és hosszú távon biztosítani a pénzt.

Bármilyen hihetetlen, de az egyik legismertebb és leggazdagabb amerikai filantrópról nincs – legalábbis nem találtam – magyar nyelvű (ön)életrajz sem fordításban,

9 Szoborlap, https://www.kozterkep.hu/~17498/Petri_Pal_dr_Puspokladany_2008.html (utolsó letöltés: 2017. augusztus 14.).

10 Eredetileg megjelent a *North American Review* 148. évf., 391. számában (1889. június), a részleteket belőle ugyanezzel a címmel Upor László fordította. In: *Café Babel*, 28. szám (1998): 23–36.

11 Az adatokat közli Joseph Frazier Wall: *Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Oxford University Press), 828–829, 1101, Ch. XXII, n1.

12 Andrew Carnegie: *Napjaink problémái*, fordította Bartos Zoltán (Budapest: Révai, [1919]), 9.

13 Barry D. Karl: „Andrew Carnegie és a jótékonyosság evangéliuma: Tanulmány a felelősségvállalás etikájáról”, *Café Babel*, 28. szám (1998): 23–36, 30.

sem eredeti monográfiaként. Angol nyelvű önéletrajza, amely közvetlenül halála után 1920-ban már napvilágot látott, viszont – stílszerűen – része az Americana gyűjteménynek.

A világbéke elérésének gondolata ugyan naivnak, optimistának és ambiciózusnak tűnhet számunkra, ám ugyanaz az életszemlélet áll mögötte, mint a Carnegie-vagyonból alapított többi jótékony intézménynél: a lehetőség megteremtése – a gazdasági, kulturális, és társadalmi felemelkedésre, valamint törekvés arra, hogy a világ egy jobb, élhetőbb hely legyen. „[U]tolsó reménységét a világbékében látta, és alapított egy intézményt, amelyet e célnak szentelt.”¹⁴ Hetvenötödik születésnapján, 1910. november 25-én jelentette be és december 14-én hozta létre 10 000 000 dolláros pénzalappal a Carnegie Nemzetközi Békealapítványt, azzal a szándékkal, hogy „megakadályozzák a világháborút, amely a legocsmányabb folt civilizációnkon.”¹⁵ A kuratórium második elnöke, Nicholas Murray Butler által összeállított kiadványból kiderül, hogy mik voltak azok a tevékenységek, amiket az 1911 tavaszára kialakult szervezet a korai időszakban fontosnak tartott és támogatott. A három részleg – Division of Intercourse and Education, Division of International Law és Division of Economics and History – közül témánk szempontjából az első a meghatározó. Az általános célkitűzéseken belül egyrészt a háború okaival, lényegével és hatásaival kapcsolatos, valamint elkerülésére és megakadályozására vonatkozó információk terjesztése, a közvélemény alakítása; másrészt a különböző népek közötti barátság, továbbá egymás jobb megismerésének és megértésének elősegítése; végül pedig olyan szervezetek, egyesületek, társaságok fenntartása és támogatása, amelyek az alapítvány céljainak eléréséhez szükségesek és hasznosak. Bár ez utóbbi támogatási forma elég hamar megszűnt, az alapítvány tevékenységei közé tartozott saját kiadványok – folyóiratok, monográfiák és sorozatok – például az „Austrian and Hungarian Series”¹⁶ – megjelentetése éppúgy, mint részvétel az 1. világháborút követő újjáépítésben olyan könyvtárak helyreállításával, mint a Belgrádi Királyi Egyetem könyvtára, a Reimsi Közkönyvtár, és a Louvaini Egyetem könyvtára, amelyek súlyos háborús károkat és számottevő veszteségeket szenvedtek el. Az alapítvány sokrétű kulturális missziójára olyan magyar vonatkozású példákat is hozhatunk, mint például Henry Suzzallo (1875–1933)¹⁷ professzor, a Washingtoni Állami Egyetem volt rektorának előadás-sorozata a budapesti egyetemen 1928-ban a CEIP által támogatott vendégtanárként, vagy 24 amerikai újságíró magyarországi látogatása 1927-ben európai tanulmányútjuk részeként. Nicholas Murray Butler 1931 júniusában Európában tett körútja során – Párizs, Bécs és Prága mellett – Budapesten is járt, ahol június 16-án beszédet tartott az Országházban

14 Karl, 35.

15 *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Summary of Organization and Work*, 1911–1941. Washington, D.C.: CEIP, 1941, 1.

16 1923 és 1934 között 15 kötet jelent meg (Carnegie, 107–108).

17 A korabeli sajtó sokszor tévesen írta nevét, amelyet magyarosan Suzallo [sic!] Henrikként használtak. 1915 és 1926 között töltötte be a University of Washington rektori tisztségét.

*Biztonságra törekedve*¹⁸ címmel. Valószínűleg a látogatás alkalmával kapta meg a budapesti egyetem díszdoktori címét¹⁹, „a magyar-amerikai kulturkapcsolatok kimélyítése terén szerzett érdemeinek elismeréseként”.²⁰ Magyarországi látogatásának történetét érdemes volna külön is megvizsgálni a források és a korabeli sajtó tükrében. Szintén 1931-ben, másodszori felterjesztésre, megosztott Nobel-békedíjban részesült Elihu Roothoz hasonlóan, aki a CEIP első elnökeként 1913-ban vehette át az 1912-ben neki ítélte díjat.²¹ Az Andrew Carnegie közvetlen szellemi és politikai köréhez tartozó Butler rektorsága alatt, 1931–1934 között épült – ezúttal nem barátjának adományából – a Columbia új campus könyvtára, mivel a Low Memorial Library kicsinek bizonyult. A South Hall központi egyetemi könyvtárat nyugdíjba vonulása után, 1946-ban róla nevezték el²² és azóta is a Butler Library nevet viseli ez a rangos és színvonalas intézmény.

Az 1910-ben életre hívott Békealapítványnak ugyan nem a könyvtártámogatás volt a fő profilja és célkitűzése, ám az 1920-as évek elején-közepe táján több projekten keresztül is igyekeztek közelebb kerülni a nemzetközi béke megteremtéséhez, az alapító eredeti szándéka értelmében, szellemiségét mindenen előtt szem előtt tartva. Az egyik ilyen volt például köteles-könyvtárak (depository libraries) működtetése világszerte, ahová eljuttatták az alapítvány kiadványait. Voltak-e vajon ilyen magyarországi letéti könyvtárak? Igen, voltak bizony! Az 1941-es adatok szerint ilyen volt: 1. a Budapest Egyetemi Könyvtár (Universitäts-Bibliothek, Budapest), 2. a Fővárosi Nyilvános Könyvtár (Municipal Public Library, Budapest), 3. a Magyar Királyi Pázmány Péter Egyetem Nemzetközi Jog Tanszéke (Seminar of International Law, Royal Hungarian Pázmány Peter University, Budapest), 4. a M. kir. Tisza István Tudományegyetem könyvtára, Debrecen, 5. az Egyetemi Könyvtár, Pécs (Library of Elizabeth University), és 6. a Magyar Királyi Ferenc József Egyetem Könyvtára (Library of the Hungarian Royal Francis Joseph University, Szeged).²³ Igaz, ez egy kissé későbbi lista, ám mutatja, hogy magyar könyvtárak is részesei voltak ennek a hálózatnak, az első és a harmadik kivételével 1926. január 1. óta.²⁴

A másik nagyszabású projekt lehetett az ún. Amerikanisztika Központok létrehozása egy könyvtári alapgyűjtemény segítségével. 1921-ben erre utal Henry S. Haskell egy

18 „The Search for Security”, in *Looking Forward: What Will the American People Do about It? Essays and Addresses on Matters National and International* (1932), p. 155–161.

19 Az ELTE díszdoktorai, https://www.elte.hu/file/ELTE_diszdoktorok.pdf (utolsó letöltés: 2017. szeptember 16.)

20 A Budapesti Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem almanachja az 1931–1932. tanévre. Budapest, 1932, 119.

21 All Nobel Peace Prizes, https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/index.html, valamint Nobel-békedíjasok listája, https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nobel-b%C3%A9ked%C3%ADjasok_list%C3%A1ja (utolsó letöltés: 2017. szeptember 16.).

22 About Butler Library, <http://library.columbia.edu/locations/butler/about.html> (utolsó letöltés: 2017. szeptember 16.)

23 Carnegie, 70.

24 Depository Libraries placed on the list by the Executive Committee since January 1, 1926. CU, RBML: CEIP Volume 64 Box 416 Folder 1 Series III. A./70.

megjegyzése²⁵ (1921. június 3.): létezett egy gépelt katalógus amerikai történelem és intézményeik témakörben azokról a könyvekről, amelyeket az alapítvány Angliába, Olaszországba, Franciaországba, Japánba, Kínába és Svájcba juttatott el. Fennmaradt például a „Library for American Studies in Italy” – Olaszországi Amerikanisztikai Könyvtár – ismertetője gyűjteményükről, szerzői és tárgyszó-katalógusukról, valamint szolgáltatásaiukról. Ennek a könyvtárnak a hitezes állományából 1500 kötet a CEIP alapítvány jóvoltából állt rendelkezésre.²⁶ Az eredeti terv a Budapestre került könyvadománnyal is az volt, hogy a külön Americana szakcsoportba „idővel a Könyvtárnak az Egyesült-Államokra vonatkozó teljes könyvanyaga beolvasztást fog nyerni.”²⁷ Kerültek is további kötetek a gyűjteménybe,²⁸ de korántsem olyan mértékben, amire utalhatott Pasteiner könyvtárigazgató. Az Előszó így folytatódik: „Ilyenképpen [...] ez ajándék megvetette alapját hazánkban is egy American Library-nek, mely méltóan fog sorakozni a Carnegie Endowment által Hamburgban és Bécsben létesített hasonló gyűjteményekhez.” A CEIP levéltári anyagában, ha ezekről a helyszínekről nem is, de Prágára vonatkozó dokumentum létezik: a Károly Egyetem Szenátusa ugyanis elfogadott egy hasonló, amerikai történelemmel, politikával, szociológiával és gazdasággal foglalkozó könyvekből álló adományt a Carnegie Alapítványtól 1925 folyamán, és ünnepélyes keretek között tervezték lebonyolítani az átadást 1926-ban.²⁹

Átadási ünnepség Budapesten

Mindkét levéltárban gondosan őrzik az adomány megérkezetről és a könyvek feldolgozásáról szóló levelet, valamint az ünnepi átadásra invitáló meghívó egy-egy példányát.³⁰

A meghívó tárgysorozata szerint ugyan gróf Klebelsberg Kuno magyar királyi választás- és közoktatásügyi miniszter volt megnevezve, mint aki az adományt átveszi, ám ténylegesen Petri Pál, az adományozás létrejöttében tevékeny és hatásos szerepet betöltő államtitkár, helyettesítette a magas rangú meghívottat. Az egyetemet az a Fináczy Ernő (1860–1935) egyetemi tanár és az MTA rendes tagja képviselte, aki az előző 1927/28-as tanévben rektor, az adott évben pedig rektor-helyettes (akkori szóhasználatban pro-rektor) és egyben a könyvtári bizottság elnöke volt.

25 CU, RBML: CEIP Volume 56 Box 408 Folder 3 Series III.A./879.

26 CU, RBML: CEIP Volume 56 Box 408 Folder 3 Series III.A./887–889.

27 Pasteiner Iván: „Előszó”, in *Americana. A Carnegie Endowment for International Peace könyvadományának cúnjegyzeke*, [III]–IV (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1928), IV.

28 Vajda Zsuzsanna, az Egyetemi Könyvtár főtanácsosának közlése nyomán.

29 Dr. Peregrin Fisa levele Henry S. Haskell részére, 1926. január 5. CU, RBML: Series VII.Z. Library Aid, Charles University, Box 320 (1926). Iratszám: 93801.

30 Geo. A. Finch levele Pasteiner Iván részére, 1928. július 7.: EKL: Egyetemi Könyvtár iktatott iratai, 569/928. és CU, RBML: CEIP Volume 67 Box 419 Folder 2 Series III.A./214. Meghívó: EKL: Egyetemi Könyvtár iktatott iratai, szám nélküli és CU, RBML: CEIP Volume 67 Box 419 Folder 5 Series III.A./635.

Az MTI-hez³¹ és több szerkesztőségbe eljuttatott sajtóközlemény³² gondoskodott a megfelelő publicitásról. A *8 Órai Ujság* például így számolt be röviden hírei között az eseményről:

Az egyetemi könyvár átvette a Carnegie-alapítvány könyvadományát. A Ferenciek-terén levő egyetemi könyvtár épületében szép ünnepség keretében tegnap adta át Buttler [sic!] *Wright* amerikai követ az amerikai Carnegie-alapítványnak a tudományegyetem részére ajándékozott 1195 kötetét, amelyek a legmodernebb amerikai gazdasági, szociálpolitikai és statisztikai munkákat foglalják magukban és értékük meghaladja a 25 ezer pengőt. Az adományért *Petri* Pál kultuszminiszteri államtitkár mondott szép beszédben köszönetet, átvéve a könyveket a kultuszminiszter nevében és átadva azokat a tudományegyetemnek. Dr. *Fináczy* Ernő prorektor vette át az egyetem nevében az adományt, majd *Pasteiner* Iván könyvtárigazgató mondott köszönetet az adományért, amelyet „Americana” név alatt külön fognak kezelni.³³

Az *Est* című újság szintén rövid hírben még azt megemlítette, hogy „Buttler [sic!] *Wright* amerikai követ... beszéd kíséretében átnyújtotta az alapítvány adományozó levelet *Petri* Pál államtitkárnak...”³⁴

Sokkal részletesebb – német nyelvű – tudósítást közölt viszont a *Pester Lloyd*.³⁵ Ebben is szó van egy „bekeretezett alapító oklevél” (eingerahmte Stiftungsurkunde) átadásáról. Az amerikai nagykövet a beszédét követően tolmácsolta azt a köszöntő táviratot, amelyet Nicholas Murray Butler, a Columbia Egyetem rektora és egyben a Carnegie Intézet³⁶ igazgatója, ebből az alkalomból intézett az ünnepség résztvevőihöz: „Cordial greetings to Budapest University and the Hungarian People.” Közli a cikk annak a márványtáblának a szövegét – eredeti magyar nyelven és német fordításban is –, amely erre az alkalomra készült és azóta is a Nagyolvasóterem falán állít emléket az adománynak: „A Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 1928. évi értékes könyvadományával alapját vetette az egyetemi könyvtár »Americana« gyűjteményének.”³⁷

31 EKL: Egyetemi Könyvtár iktatott iratai, 25/929.

32 EKL: Egyetemi Könyvtár iktatott iratai, 28/929.

33 *8 Órai Ujság*: „Az egyetemi könyvár átvette a Carnegie-alapítvány könyvadományát” (1929), 7.

34 *Az Est*, 1929. január 15., 9.

35 A cikk megjelenéséről John Pelényi, azaz Pelényi János (1885–1974), a washingtoni magyar követség (Royal Hungarian Legation) I. osztályú követségi tanácsnoka, értesítette a Carnegie Alapítványt, ám a mellékelt cikk nem található a CU RBML iratai között. Köszönet illeti Mátyás Melindát (Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest) a cikk megkereséséért és szkenneléséért, valamint Gálffy Zsuzsannát a fordításért és az ötletért az Arcanum Digitális Tudománytár használatára.

36 A tudósító felváltva használja az alapítvány és intézet elnevezéseket ugyanarra a szervezetre.

37 *Pester Lloyd*: „Feierliche Uebergabe der Carnegie-Bücherspende an die Budapester Universitätsbibliothek” (1929), 4.



1. ábra. Márványtábla az Egyetemi Könyvtár Dísztermében (a szerző saját felvétele)

A *Budapesti Hírlap* tudósítása szintén alapos, és részletekbe menően számolt be az eseményről és annak jelentőségéről, „Átadták a Carnegie Endowment-alapítvány könyveit a Tudományegyetem könyvtárának” címmel.³⁸ Ez utóbbi két cikkből érzékelhető, hogy milyen rangos eseménynek számított ennek a könyvadományának az átadása abban az időben. Hiszen egyrészt a protokollszemélyiségen kívül a tudományos és művészeti közelet számos elismert képviselője tisztelte meg jelenlétével az ünnepséget: Végh Gyula az Iparművészeti Múzeum főigazgatója, Paikert Alajos a Mezőgazdasági Múzeum igazgatója, Preszly Elemér Pest megyei főispán, Tass Antal a svábhegyi Csillagvizsgáló Intézet igazgatója, Hóman Bálint³⁹ a Nemzeti Múzeum főigazgatója, Lukinich Imre a múzeumi könyvtár igazgatója. A *Pester Lloyd* a vendégek között megemlíti továbbá Haas Aladár kultuszminisztériumi osztálytanácsost, Berzeviczy Albertet a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia elnökét, Harkányi Béla bárót, és Glück Frigyes főtanácsost is. Rajtuk kívül több egyetemi tanár, köztük Angyal Dávid, Szentpéteri Imre, Veckler Antal, Nékán Lajos, Hornyánszky Gyula, és Grósz Emil is részt vett az ünnepélyes átadáson.

Másrészt az eseményt egy ügyes húzással – mai szóhasználattal akár PR-fogásnak is mondhatnánk – összekapcsolták 35 kódex bemutatásával. A két világháború közti időszakra jellemző propaganda a jelek szerint működött, hiszen pl. a nagykövet élénk érdeklődést mutatott a bemutatott könyvritkaságok iránt is. Az apropót különben az adhatta, hogy a román megszállás idején, 1919. október elején Harry Hill Bandholtz (1864–1925) tábornok, az amerikai katonai misszió vezetője megakadályozta, hogy Romániába

³⁸ *Budapesti Hírlap*, 1929. január 15., 6.

³⁹ Hóman Bálint (1885–1951): „Egyetemi tanulmányai alatt 1903-ban kezdett el dolgozni az Egyetemi Könyvtárban, ahol különböző pozíciókat betöltve, 1922-ig működött” (Knapp Éva és Szögi László: *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Könyvtára* [Budapest: ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, 2012], 38).

vigyék a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum kincseit, köztük az akkor még a múzeum épületében működő Széchényi Könyvtár értékes dokumentumait is – a korabeli sajtó szerint úgy, hogy a saját lakására vitette a könyvritkaságokat, szinte városi legendát teremtve ez által. A tábornok naplója történetünket követően, 1933-ban jelent csak meg angolul, nem túl színvonalas magyar fordítása pedig csupán 60 évvel később. Ebből viszont az derül ki, hogy a 3 bejárati ajtó lepecsételése és a raktárhelyiség kulcsának a megőrzése révén sikerült elkerülni, hogy a megszállók a Romániából vagy Erdélyből „származó” műtárgyakat erőszakkal magukkal vigyék.⁴⁰ A napló nem tartalmaz konkrét utalást kódexekre vagy ritka és védett könyvekre. A hálás utókor szobrot emelt a Szabadság téren az amerikai tábornoknak, amiért a nemzet kulturális értékeit megvédte a fosztogató román katonáktól, először 1936-ban, majd 40 évnyi kihagyás után 1989-ben ezzel a megújult kísé-
rőszöveggel: „Harry Hill Bandholtz tábornok, az amerikai katonai misszió vezetője 1919. október 5-én megakadályozta, hogy Romániába szállítsák a Nemzeti Múzeum műkin-
cseit. Bandholtz tábornok szobrát, Ligeti Miklós alkotását 1936-ban avatták, 1949-ben eltávolították. 1989-ben újra felállította Budapest Főváros Tanácsa.”

Visszatérve az ünnepséghez és az esemény jelentőségéhez, érdemes kiemelni, hogy az Egyesült Államok képviselőjében Joshua Butler Wright (1877–1939) követ jelent meg. Wrightot 1927-ben tapasztalt diplomataként Coolidge elnök nevezte ki budapesti követnek. „Naplóbejegyzéseiben számos alkalommal említést tett a magyar kérdésről... Az amerikai külügyminisztériummal folytatott hivatalos levelezéséből kiderül, hogy Wright élénk figyelemmel kísérte a magyar ügyeket, különösképpen a revíziós propagandát...”⁴¹ Naplójában azt is feljegyezte, hogy a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 1200 kötetet adományozott a Budapesti Könyvtárnak.⁴²

Idézzük fel Pasteiner Iván könyvtárigazgató⁴³ beszédét, amelyben megköszönte és átvette megőrzésre az adományt:⁴⁴

Magnifice Prorektor!

Egyetemi hatóságom elhatározásából a Carnegie Endowment értékes adományát a vezetésem alatt álló Egyetemi könyvtár kezelésébe veszem. Hálás szívvel és mélységes örömmel teszem ezt.

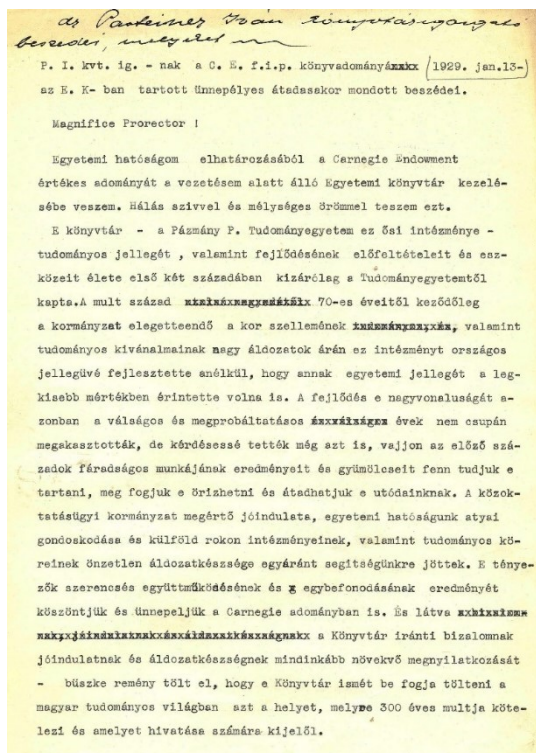
40 Harry Hill Bandholtz: *Román megszállás Magyarországon. Napló nem diplomata módra*, fordította Baktay Ervin (Budapest: Magyar Világ, 1993), 98.

41 Mathey, 120.

42 Princeton University Library Finding Aids. Joshua Butler Wright Papers, Series VI: Diaries, 1909–1936: „Wright chronicled trips to the interior of Hungary in 1917 [sic!] in a ten-page entry entitled »Impressions of Hungarians« which defines the food and culture of the country and the fact that the Carnegie Endowment on December 7, 1917 [sic!] donated 1200 volumes of books to the Budapest Library.” <https://findingaids.princeton.edu/collections/MC137/coo7> (utolsó letöltés: 2017. szeptember 14.).

43 Pasteiner Iván (1887–1962): „1909-től volt az Egyetemi Könyvtár munkatársa, 1926-tól pedig irányította azt” (Knapp és Szögi, 38).

44 Az eredeti írógépet szöveg átirata napjaink helyesírása szerint és az írógép miatti betűtívesztések javításával. ELTE Levéltára, 19/a. Egyetemi Könyvtár iktatott iratai, 1929.



2. ábra. Pasteiner Iván könyvtárigazgató beszédének gépielt változata

E könyvtár – a Pászmany P. Tudományegyetem ez ősi intézménye – tudományos jellegét, valamint fejlődésének előfeltételeit és eszközeit élete első két századában kizárólag a Tudományegyetemtől kapta. A múlt század 70-es éveitől kezdődően a kormányzat eleget tevő a kor szellemének, valamint tudományos kíváncsalmának nagy áldozatok árán ez intézményt országos jellegűvé fejlesztette anélkül, hogy annak egyetemi jellegét a legkisebb mértékben érintette volna is. A fejlődés e nagyvonalúságát azonban a válságos és megpróbáltatásos évek nem csupán megakasztották, de kérdésessé tették még azt is, vajon az előző századok fáradságos munkájának eredményeit és gyümölcseit fenn tudjuk-e tartani, meg fogjuk-e őrizhetni és átadhatjuk-e

utódainknak. A közoktatásügyi kormányzat megértő jóindulata, egyetemi hatóságunk atyai gondoskodása és külföldi rokon intézményeinek, valamint tudományos köreinek önzetlen áldozatkészsége egyaránt segítségünkre jöttek. E tényezők szerencsés együttműködésének és egybefonódásának eredményét köszöntjük és ünnepeljük a Carnegie adományban is. És látva a Könyvtár iránti bizalomnak, jóindulatnak és áldozatkészségnek mindinkább növekvő megnyilatkozását – büszke remény tölt el, hogy e Könyvtár ismét be fogja tölteni a magyar tudományos világban azt a helyet, melyre 300 éves múltja kötelezi és amelyet hivatása számára kijelöl.⁴⁵

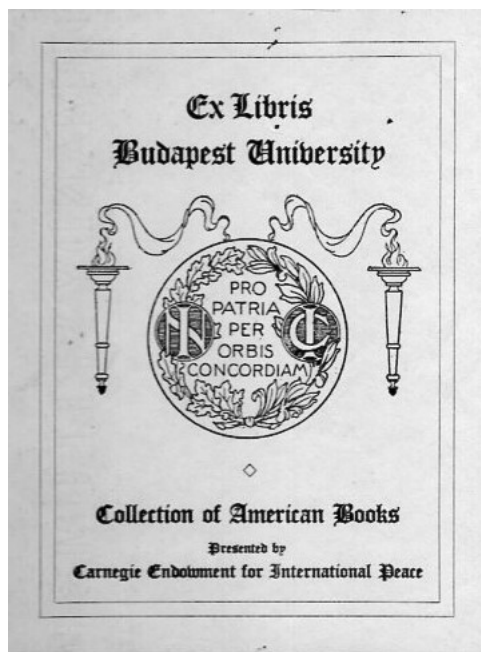
A gyűjteményről

A könyvgyűjtemény összetételéről a rendelkezésünkre álló két forrás – az adománnyal szinte egy időben megjelent katalógus bevezetője, illetve a címjegyzék ismertetője

⁴⁵ Pasteiner Iván: „P.I. kvt. ig.-nak a C.E.f.i.p. könyvadománya 1929. jan. 13-án az E.K.-ban tartott ünnepélyes átadásakor tartott beszéde,” *Pasteiner Iván könyvtárigazgató beszédei* (1929. január 13.).

– nyújtott, és a mai napig is nyújt áttekinthető ismereteket. Példás gyorsasággal, mindössze 3 hét alatt készültek el a könyvek feldolgozásával az Egyetemi Könyvtárban, a katalógus pedig még abban az évben meg is jelent, hogy rendelkezésre állhasson az 1929. januári átadási ünnepségen. „Ez adomány [...] felöleli az Északamerikai Egyesült-Államokbeli könyvtermelésnek mindazokat az alapvető munkáit, melyek annak politikai, alkotmányjogi, társadalmi és gazdasági viszonyaira vonatkoznak, úgyszintén irodalmát, történelmét és földrajzi ismertetését tárgyalják, továbbá amerikai szerzőknek e tárgykörbe tartozó tisztán elméleti munkáit, végül megtalálhatók benne a legkiválóbb amerikai szépírók műveinek egységes kiadása is.”⁴⁶ A gyarapítás szempontjait tükröző felsorolásból Vértesy Miklós (1907–1991)⁴⁷ előkelő

helyen emeli ki, hogy „Az egyéb jelentős külföldi adományok közül a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 766 művet és 1195 kötetet tartalmazó küldeménye 1928 nyarán érkezett meg. Az Egyesült Államok történelmére, társadalmi struktúrájára, művelődési viszonyaira, közgazdaságára és irodalmára vonatkozó könyvekből áll.”⁴⁸ A gyűjtemény egy ritkán emlegetett, ám említésre és tanulmányozásra méltó műveiről állapítja meg Zádor Anna, hogy „a művészeti vonatkozásúak vannak – sajnos – legkisebb számban képviselve...” Az egy-egy festészeti és építészeti, valamint két szobrászattal foglalkozó mű ismertetése mellett megjegyzi: „kiemelünk a könyvanyagból néhány értékes művet, melyek Amerika természeti szépségeiről, parkjairól stb. számolnak be... Valóban e téren is hatalmas gazdagsággal állunk szemben és természetesnek tartjuk azt a nagy propagandát, melyet Amerika ezek érdekében kifejt.”⁴⁹



3. ábra. Ex libris az Americana gyűjtemény könyveiben

46 Pasteiner: „Előszó”, IV.

47 Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Ritkaságtárának egykori vezetője, 1933 óta munkatársa, könyvtörténész.

48 Vértesy Miklós: „Az Egyetemi Könyvtár a Horthy-korszakban”, *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei* V. (1971): 123–172, 148.

49 Zádor Anna: „Amerikai művészeti könyvek az Egyetemi Könyvtárban,” *Magyar Művészet* 5 (1929): 363–364.

Az első világháborút követő kilátástalan gazdasági és pénzügyi nehézségek, nemzetközi elszigeteltség idején szinte teljesen megszűnt a külföldi dokumentumbeszerzés lehetősége. „Egyik olvasó 1928-ban azt panaszolta, hogy a könyvtárban nem talál az utolsó harminc-negyven év angol-amerikai irodalmával foglalkozó munkát” – olvasható szintén Vértessy tanulmányában.⁵⁰ A gyarapodás mértéke és értéke ennek tükrében még jelentősebbnek tűnhetett. A Carnegie Alapítvány kiadása közel 3150 dollárt tett ki,⁵¹ míg az Egyetemi Könyvtár mintegy 23–25 000 Pengőben⁵² állapította meg az adomány értékét.

A Carnegie Békealapítvány jelmondata, mely megegyezett a francia elődszervezetnek tekinthető Conciliation internationale mottójával, lett a könyvekben elhelyezett *ex libris* – melyről az Alapítvány gondoskodott a Putnam kiadó képviselőjével lezajlott levelezés értelmében⁵³ – felirata: „Pro patria per orbis concordiam” [Világbéke a hazáért]. A nemzeti érdekek és a nemzetközi együttműködés védelmére szervezett bizottság (röviden Conciliation internationale) létrehozója, Paul Henri d’Estournelles de Constant (1852–1924) hasonló elveket vallott, mint Carnegie és Butler az Egyesült Államokban. Tevékenységéért, melyet a Nemzetközi Döntőbíróság francia parlamenti csoportjának alapító elnökeként kifejtett, 1909-ben ő is megosztott Nobel-békedíjban részesült. Nem véletlen tehát, hogy a CEIP európai irodáját is ő irányította.⁵⁴

A kötetkatalóguson kívül a kiadványok az Egyetemi Könyvtár állomány-nyilvántartásában és úgynevezett Alapkatalógusában is szerepelnek. A dokumentumok használatáról nem állnak rendelkezésre kölcsönzési adatok, ezért nehéz megállapítani, hogy mennyire volt ismert a gyűjtemény a köztudatban. Véletlenszerű – és egyáltalán nem reprezentatív – mintavétel alapján néhány személyt érdemes kiragadni, akiknek a neve szerepel a kölcsönzési nyilvántartásként működő könyvkártyákon: az egyetem oktatói közül például Szenczi Miklós, Kretzoi Miklósné, Lutter Tibor; vagy olyan ismertebb írók és műfordítók, mint Réz Ádám és Pál, illetve Karig Sára és Szinnai Tivadar. Használta a gyűjteményt Fallenbüchl Zoltán történész-könyvtáros, Vasy Géza irodalomtörténész, Vecseklőy József jogász. A zömében 50-es, 60-as évek kölcsönzéseit dokumentáló cédulákon 50 különböző nevet lehet olvasni. „A gyűjtemény jellegét az ajándékozás célja adja meg. Ez a cél: propaganda, de a legjobb értelemben; módot adni a külföldnek arra, hogy

⁵⁰ Vértessy, 145.

⁵¹ Henry S. Haskell levele M. J. Leder részére, 1927. november 22. CU, RBML Series VII.Z. Folder: Library Aid-American Library-1926,1927,1936. Iratszám: 93562.

⁵² Pasteiner Iván: „Előszó”, IV.

⁵³ „We shall wish to have a book-plate, which we shall supply, pasted on the inside of the front cover of each volume...” Henry S. Haskell levelezése M. J. Lederrel, a G. P. Putnam’s Sons képviselőjével, 1927. június 10., 15., 16. CU, RBML Series VII.Z. Folder: Library Aid-American Library-1926,1927,1936. Iratszámok: 93546, 93550, 93549.

⁵⁴ All Nobel Peace Prizes, https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1909/balluet-facts.html; illetve Nobel-békedíjasok listája, https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nobel-b%C3%A9ked%C3%ADjasok_list%C3%A1ja (utolsó letöltés: 2017. szeptember 16.).

irodalmának legkiválóbb termékeiben ismerhesse meg Amerikát és az amerikai gondolkozást, megismerhesse olyanak, amilyenek az U.S.A. legkiválóbb fiai látták és látják.”⁵⁵ Az adományt fogadó intézmény részéről viszont, mint korábban utaltunk rá, egy rendkívül fontos gyarapítási forrásnak bizonyult, Magyarország számára pedig jelentős kultúrdiplomáciai és külpolitikai eszközt jelentett a nemzetközi porondon.

Egy utolsó adalék a történethez az ünnepségen készült fotó, amelynek felkutatása hosszú időbe telt, és felbukkanása egy véletlennek és a korszerű technikának köszönhető. A *Pesti Hírlap* képes mellékletében megjelent sajtófotó az Arcanum Digitális Tudománytárban hozzáférhető.



A Pesti Hírlap képes melléklete, 1929. január 15. (51. évfolyam, 11. szám), 42. lap.

Mint minden, úgy ez is: relatív

A közel 300 éves múltra visszatekintő és a századfordulóra elért és kivívtat nyilvános státuszú budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár számára logikus lépésnek, indokolt döntésnek minősült egy külön Americana szakcsoport létrehozása, s így a gyűjtemény egyben tartása. Az elképzelések szerint ez lett volna az alapja egy amerikai könyvtárnak Magyarországon.

A tudományágak fejlődése és továbbosztása szűkebb szaktudományokra hozta létre az ELTE-n az amerikanisztika szakot, szervezetileg pedig az Amerikanisztika Tanszéket az 1990-es évek elején, amely 1994-től lett része az Angol-Amerikai Intézetnek.

⁵⁵ Domanovszky Sándor: „A budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár »Americana« gyűjteménye,” *Magyar Könyvszemle Új Folyam* 36., 1–2. szám (január-június 1929): 136–137, 136.

Az Intézeti Könyvtár – funkciójából és felépítéséből adódóan – jóval aprólékosabb tematikus bontásban, szakrendben osztályozza a dokumentumokat, mégpedig az amerikai Kongresszusi Könyvtár Osztályozási Rendszere szerint. A feldolgozáskor tehát az tűnt célszerűnek, hogy kerüljenek az egyes művek a megfelelő szakrendbe. A 21. század technikai megoldásai ugyanakkor lehetővé teszik, hogy virtuálisan egyben maradjon a gyűjtemény.

Bibliográfia

Kiadatlan források

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The Man with Three Nationalities

A Story from Bengal

A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of nationalism. The following is a salutory story from Bengal 200 years ago about a European who, a modern search engine can easily disclose, adopted or was credited by his family with three nationalities.

The Neel Kuthi, the Blue House, at Maheshgunj in Bengal is one of those imposing neo-Classical piles that, at the turn of the 19th century, came to displace the Mughal palaces and traditional Bangla bungalows as the British stamped their imperial presence on India in the architecture of their new capital, Calcutta. It was a style that advanced upriver with their trade.

Maheshgunj, about 70 miles upriver, is a hamlet just across the Hoogly, or western arm of the Ganges river, from the ancient capital and Sanskrit university town of Nadiya, on the road to the district county town of Krishnanagar, which came into prominence under a devout Raja and Rani in the 18th century. The two towns were then linked as much by river as road, the serpentine and crystal clear Jalangi. This was an ideal corner in which to establish an indigo plantation and, during the great indigo boom of that time, it is how the Blue House, with its wide front veranda bolstered by double Doric columns, came to be built and to acquire its name.



Mr Ranodhir Palchaudhuri, the present owner of the house, now a heritage homestay of at least as much historical importance as any nearby site a tourist might be coming to see, tells how it was acquired for his grandfather, an engineer who, having crossed the Black Waters to England to study engineering, returned to find himself in something more constricting than purdah. Eventually he used his newfound skills to build not only schools, a hospital and a co-operative bank but a whole new railway for some miles

round one side of the estate while on the other pushed the Jalangi back several hundred yards when it threatened to flood his property.

Mr Palchaudhuri had been told that his family had bought the house in the 1870s from an Englishman named H. N. Savis. It was said to have been built earlier in the century by a Frenchman, an indigo planter, who must have sold it on at some point to the Savi family.

It is a peculiarity of the time Dr Frank has lived in that he has seen much of the historical research that was once confined to dusty archives become available at the flick of an Internet finger. Very few such flicks were required to show (via the births, deaths and marriages columns of Calcutta registers and directories) that there were very many Savis in Bengal in the 19th century, planting out indigo in places as diverse as Malda and Kulberia, Rajmahal and Jessore. Since there was no sign of anyone called Savis, it seemed likely that H. N.'s surname of Savi had simply acquired an additional 's.'

This seemed the likelier since contemporary journals made reference to a Thomas Savi being resident at Moisingunge in the middle decades of the century, having financial problems with creditors while being quarter owner of the Indigo Concern in 1832–34 but being settled enough as a stalwart resident to be listed as a member of the Agricultural & Horticultural Society of India in 1842 and to be credited with providing reliable weather readings during the great cyclone of 1864. Old India hands, used to the vagaries of English spellings of Indian names, will have no difficulty in detecting that Moisingunge is a (phonetic) corruption of Maheshgunj.

However painstaking, probably no historian would have scoured provincial Welsh newspapers for clues to the Savi family but an ingenious search engine did just that. In 1919 in Wales there died a man who had acquired the right to an obituary by winning a V.C. at Delhi in 1857. His name was Sir James Hill-Johnes of the Bengal Horse Artillery, born 1833. It recorded that his mother, Charlotte [Marie or Mary], married to James Hills of Nechindipore [Nischintapur], was the daughter of Signor John Angelo Savi, of 1, Moisingunge (the name of our Bengali hamlet further corrupted). So, a further generation back, one part of the estate (and the façade of a second house, destroyed in an earthquake, still stands), was in the possession of a Savi who was evidently Italian.

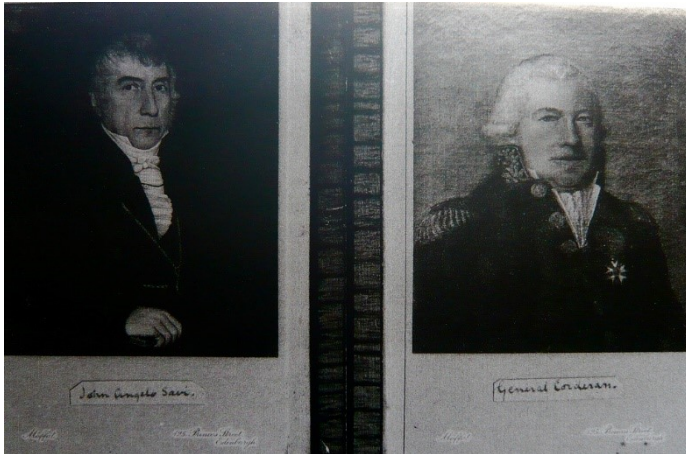
There is actually a portrait of John Angelo Savi on Flickr. His dates are given as 1765–1830 and he is said to be the son of a Florentine admiral, Antonio Savi (1720–1806) and to have married Elisabeth, daughter of the Napoleonic Marine-General André-François Corderan (1742–1816), also portrayed on Flickr. Here then is a French connection and not a surprising one. Italy did not at that time exist as a nation-state and initially when the Corsican Napoleon Buonaparte, who spoke Italian before he spoke French, marched into Italy in 1796 it was at the head of a republican army of liberation.

By this point, the Net had gathered in as many Savis across several generations as the Ficus Benghalensis puts down branches as roots. But, given so many children born across so many years in any one generation, it was still impossible to tell how many more there were and how they were related. Though sets of two or three pieces of the Savi jigsaw puzzle might fit together, there were still large gaps in the picture as a whole.

The Net threw up a further crucial piece of information. Early in 2016, there had been a lecture on the subject of indigo planters and notably on John Angelo Savi himself by a lady who is curator of the Bath Institution in England, Madame Marie-Louise Luxemburg. Contacted, she revealed that she was a descendant of John Angelo's daughter, Elisabeth-Theresa, who had been married out of the Maheshgunj house (to Francis William Durand, son of the Dean of Guernsey) in 1826. This, together with a date from a Calcutta journal giving the birth of a Savi boy in August 1822, was the earliest reference we had to the family being at Maheshgunj and that a full half a century before the sale to the Palchaudhuris.

Mme Luxemburg had a comprehensive knowledge of the labyrinthine Savi Indian family tree. John Angelo was the progenitor of them all. Born on Elba, described as Tuscan, he qualified as a physician and surgeon, served in the French navy under General de Bussy and, among other things, it is thought, acted as surgeon to Tipu Sultan when he was seeking an alliance with the French against the British. Family legend has it that it was on a sea voyage John Angelo met and then married Elisabeth, who was possibly country-born in Pondicherry, and that after their marriage, they headed for Bengal to seek their fortune cultivating what came to be known as the Blue Gold.

The H. N. Savi who sold the Maheshgunj estate was Henry Nesbitt (1834–1918), one of his many grandchildren, being the son of the above-mentioned Thomas Savi (1801–1880). Henry Nesbitt had been born in the house shortly after his grandfather's death and, after selling it early on in his married life, migrated to live in Guildford in England, taking with him, it is assumed, the gold pencil-case his great-grandfather General Corderan had been given by Napoleon.



The Moisingunge Indigo Concern was itself extensive, including (old-time Raj spelling) “Panchilla, Sumbhonagur and Sootraghur” and the Savis also had the Moisday [Maheshdev? Mahadev?] or, elsewhere, Moisharah [Maheshwar] Indigo Concern at “Burdwan, including Moodpore and Kissenpore” (this last being one of the fore-names

given to H. N.'s elder brother). But it is the plantation John Angelo first established at Coolberia or Kulberia just to the east of the great entrepôt at Cossim or Kazimbazar and Berhampore that points to a possible solution to the question of who the Frenchman was who built the Neel Kuthi at Maheshgunj.

Mme Luxemburg has written a novel, *Fragments of Indigo*, based on her historical research into the family and it gives such a detailed and convincing account of the plantations and the districts 200 years ago it seemed that she, surely, would be able to name the French planter who had built it. Not only could she not do so, she was astonished to hear that the house she had described so well still existed. But while Mme Luxemburg was not able to solve the mystery of its construction directly she may well have done so indirectly.

We already know that John Angelo, though born Italian at a time when Italy was under foreign occupation, had married the daughter of a Frenchman. It so happens there is an account written by an Englishwoman, Mrs A. Deane, of a visit to their plantation at Kulberia. In her book, *A Tour through the Upper Provinces of India, 1804–1814*, she tells how, after crossing the “Jellingy” at what she tells us is commonly called “Krishna-ghur,” she makes her way to the house in “Shoolbereah” where she is most hospitably entertained one Catholic Sunday.

Her host is a Frenchman, Monsieur Savi, and the only regret Mrs Deane has about a day of feasting, singing and dancing, of gaiety and (on account of so many untimely deaths) grief, with the family and their friends, 18 in all, is that she has so little French while they are all francophone: “None of them spoke English.” The exact year of this visit is uncertain but Napoleon still bestrode Europe like a colossus and the French, though on the back foot, still had their enclaves in India (three of the second Savi generation married Deverines from Chandernagore).

We cannot be sure that John Angelo, the grand progenitor of a myriad of 19th century Savis in Bengal, when he extended his prospering indigo interests to Maheshgunj sometime around 1820, actually built the mansion that stands there today. He could have bought it from someone else, a Frenchman, who built it and then sold it on. That seems very unlikely.

Much more likely is it that the Italian physician Signor John Angelo who surfaces as French indigo planter Monsieur Savi in Kulberia and retires in his old age to become (as he is referred to in another Welsh newspaper reference to his daughter Charlotte's marriage) the British-sounding Dr John Angelo Savi of Moisgunj also built the opulent Neel Kuthi. As time and tide dictated, he had three nationalities.

If Dr Savi's story is to have a moral, as stories did in his own times, perhaps it is that we should enjoy a national identity as something not fixed but fluid, not singular but multiple.

Seeing the Wood and the Trees

Károly Tagányi and His *Magyar Erdészeti Oklevéltár*

Festschriften are inherently personal documents. In that they celebrate one individual, they encourage closer reflection on other individuals. In commemorating one oeuvre, they point to the particularities of the works of others. Tibor has himself illuminated many such texts: I adduce for example his notable forensic examination of the memoirs and papers of the American diplomat, John F. Montgomery.

The focus in what follows is a text I encountered many years ago, gathering dust on the open shelves of a Budapest library. It seemed remarkable at the time; yet I never saw reference to it, either then or long afterwards (indeed, in the meantime I even forgot who it was by). Whereas Tibor has spent his career exploring Hungary's links to the USA and UK, often identifying mutual influences, especially in spheres of Anglo-Saxon prowess, my text is different. It derives from an area of study slow to take root in English-speaking countries: forest science, or *Forstwissenschaft*, in fact one of the most remarkable cultural exports from central Europe to the rest of the world. Not that my hero can count as one of its apostles: no single copy of his *chef d'oeuvre* has found its way to Britain.

The last item in Károly Tagányi's *Magyar Erdészeti Oklevéltár* (MEOⁱ) records a meeting in 1866 at which the Ungarischer Forstverein was relaunched as the Magyar Erdészeti Egyesület, a culturally and linguistically Hungarian society grafted on to existing German stock. It had already founded a pioneering journal, the *Erdészeti Lapok*, which soon escaped from the shadow of its Austrian models.² At first its editors, Adolf Divald and Károly Wagner, operated in a semi-clandestine way (under rather obvious punning pseudonyms as Adolf Erdődi and Károly Mérei) from their professional base at Selmecebánya; but soon they, along with the society's long-serving secretary, Albert Bedő, could engage in a mission from Budapest to the whole of Dualist Hungary.

They sought to remedy the perceived neglect of the country's woodland, its primitive condition, low returns, nebulous ownership, and lack of effective management.³ The forest law, *Erdőtörvény*, of 1879 was their work: it provided a framework for preservation and plantation, for planning and minute administrative controls, not least through a raft of penalties for delinquency ('erdőrendészeti áthágások').⁴ Their inspiration was squarely the example of Germany, where forestry already had a century and a half of professional development and official direction behind it. From the first enunciation there of rational and sustainable principles by Hans Carl von Carlowitz in 1713, through the institution of training courses (most famously that established by Heinrich Cotta at Tharandt, near Dresden, in 1811), to the massive and lucrative state forestry programmes evolved in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and elsewhere, Germany had led the way.

Hungary's emulative activity in the field of silviculture ran *pari passu* with other aspects of her rapid material advance under Dualism. The country's enhanced status

was likewise conjoined to an explosion of patriotic sentiment and a craving for full international recognition. Hence the project for grandiose celebration of the Magyar Millennium in the year 1896. And foresters wanted to be part of that. Led by the indefatigable Bedő, the Magyar Erdészeti Egyesület decided to commission a millenary documentation of the evolution of Hungary's woodland.

* * *

Their choice as compiler fell upon Károly Tagányi: not a forester, but a historian. Born in 1858 at Nyitra, of part-German burgher stock, Tagányi early stood out as a rising archivist: from 1879 he was one of those who under Gyula Pauler created the Országos Levéltár. Tagányi at first concentrated on medieval and technical materials, including seals, pedigrees, and heraldry. Meanwhile he read widely and, under the influence especially of Hippolyte Taine, began to take issue with what he saw as the conservative self-indulgence, sloppy standards and parochial vision of Hungary's existing historical establishment.⁵

In 1894, the very year he accepted Bedő's invitation, Tagányi joined together with a few like-minded colleagues to found a journal of economic, particularly agricultural, history, the *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle*. This was a precocious venture by any standards: next to the almost simultaneous *Zeitschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* in Germany, apparently the first periodical of its kind anywhere. The subsequently prominent agronomist Alajos Paikert acted as co-editor (though Tagányi did most of the work). Others in the group were Sándor Takáts, later to be known as an anecdotal chronicler of popular culture; Ignác Acsády, pioneering expositor of the history of Hungary's peasants; and Ferenc Kováts, who took over the journal from Tagányi after 1900 for a few more years, and continued these approaches, albeit with diminishing resonance, through the inter-war period.⁶

Tagányi's research themes in the 1890s can be appreciated against this background. He became fascinated by the past worlds of ordinary people and by folklore (in later years he served as president of the Magyar Néprajzi Társaság). For our purposes two of his subjects at that time are especially relevant. One is the village community, the *faluközösség*, about which he wrote a notable article for the first volume of *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* (thus in the year he was also hired for MEO). Against a widespread contemporary presumption that the open-field system was a recent institution, the result of subdivision of plots or of Turkish depredation, Tagányi demonstrated its ancient origins, back into an age when tribal peoples were more important than land, and when broad social co-operation, involving local nobles too, was vital. As elsewhere in Europe – and Tagányi was acquainted with Seeböhm, Vinogradov, et al. – the pristine right of *prima occupatio* (*első foglалás*) gradually gave way to a system of common fields and regularly repartitioned strips. Particularly in remoter areas he could show that this had survived into his own day.⁷

A few years later, as his inaugural lecture on election to the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Tagányi set out a similarly *longue-durée* analysis of Hungary's county administration. Here, in a reverse development, the institution of the *comitatus*, called into

being as an arm of royal authority, then undermined by aristocratic lawlessness, was transformed by the concerted activity of the lower nobility (*köznemesség*) into a stable instrument of local government and self-rule. And one of which, he concludes, Hungary can be proud: 'Európa legrégebb politikai intézménye a magyar vármegye'.⁸

* * *

This, then, was the agenda that Tagányi brought – along with his prodigious appetite for work – to preparation of *MEO*. It duly appeared in time for the 1896 millennium: an astounding achievement in two years of what he himself describes as 'szakadatlanul folytatott kutatásaim.' There are three stout volumes, two and a half thousand pages, with extended introduction and exhaustive index. The sources, in Latin, German, and Hungarian, are mainly archival, ranging from the Országos Levéltár and the Nemzeti Múzeum to Viennese repositories and private ones, such as those of the Csáky, Kornis, and Károlyi families. Some are from printed collections, especially those of Hungarian mining legislation edited by Franz Anton Schmidt, and of municipal statutes by Sándor Kolosvári and Kelemen Óvári.

The fruit of Tagányi's labours may look dull and forbidding; but it's an early ecological treasury. What story did he tell through his *MEO*? Already in the earlier documents he finds plenty of evidence for his theories about communality. Royal forests, like royal lands as a whole, were gradually alienated, but some central control over them seems to have been retained. Much woodland came to be held by joint owners, in the form of the *compossessoratus* (*közbirtokosság*) of nobles or peasants (and often both together). These, and other kinds of woodland holding, were typically regulated by compacts: settlements within and between villages and families.⁹ And they were very long-lived, notably in remoter parts of Transylvania.

Another long-lasting form of regulation which Tagányi must have enjoyed recording are the numerous examinations of witnesses (*tanúvallatások*), the most colourful of all his sources and the most Magyar in language. In these, local inhabitants testified to their own and others' customary rights in woodland. The inquisitions continued throughout the early modern period.¹⁰ In one case, from 1733, called to arbitrate the common woods of Aranyosszék, 191 witnesses were summoned. Such later examples mainly come from Transylvania.¹¹ The *tanúvallatások* reveal rich evidence of usage, especially of course in cases where this was being challenged. Everywhere *MEO* attests to traditional management of woodlands, with apportionment (*nyílas osztás*) among local inhabitants, allowance being made for quality, distance, species, etc., and with much picturesque detail about pristine woodland husbandry over the long centuries of its ecological dominance. One instance among very many would be the countrywide valuation essayed in 1486 of various types of wood: *eresztvény* (i.e. *Niederwald* or coppice), *bárdos* (*Hochwald*), *makkos* (*Mittelwald*) and so forth; which can be compared with the relevant provisions in Werbőczy's *Tripartitum*.¹²

* * *

Attempts at official intervention in this self-regulatory silvan world commence in and around the Upper Hungarian mining towns¹³ from the 16th century onwards; and these are tellingly the first German-language items in *MEO*. They reflect a growing awareness of the need to protect resources and plan for their balanced exploitation, and emanated from the governmental treasuries or chambers (*Kammern*; *kamarák*), Hungarian, Lower Austrian and Imperial, all of which long asserted some jurisdiction there. A ready supply of wood, above all as fuel, was crucial for these profitable operations. A weighty document of 1565 is the first Hungarian *Ordo silvarum*, an Austrian *Waldordnung* translated into Latin (though not by the man initially approached to do it, the famous humanist Johannes Sambucus, who reveals how forestry already possessed a technical vocabulary that was beyond him!).¹⁴

The countrywide implications of this were minimal as yet. Diet attention to environmental issues was perfunctory at best. Much destruction and dereliction of woodland took place, especially in areas laid waste by the Ottoman wars and ravaged by the supply demands of armies and frontier fortresses. In this setting there emerged the next phase recorded in *MEO*. It began in the Banat of Temesvár, once that territory had been recovered from the Turks,¹⁵ and extended into a general state-directed campaign during the second half of the 18th century. Tighter, minuter regulation went with exhortation to improvement: fresh plantings, novel species, and trees to fix the shifting sand (*futóhomok*) of the Alföld.¹⁶ Detailed advice of the Maria Theresan and Josephinist kind, and mainly in German, ranged from elaborate codes of conduct for *Waldmeister*, initially above all in mining areas,¹⁷ to explanations of such things as why saws should be used rather than axes. The initiative culminated in exhaustive internal debates which led to a massive new *Waldordnung* or *Ordo silvarum*, issued for Hungary in 1769, and extended to Transylvania in 1781 after similar concerns had been raised there about ‘die Ursachen der Holzverminderung.’¹⁸

By the 1790s heightened anxiety about the state of woodlands was reflected in discussions of diet committees and the like, and some tinkering with peasant rights and policing.¹⁹ The first fledgling projects for forestry education took shape.²⁰ In 1809 the authorities revamped the whole administration in Transylvania as well as Hungary, with four new woodland inspectorates (*Erdőfelügyelőiségek*) headed by – and this is the language in which they still thought – *Forstoberinspektoren* (‘einige in der Forstwissenschaft bewanderte und mit ihrer Ausübung praktisch bekannte Männer’).²¹ A proper *Forstinstitut* was founded as part of the mining academy at Selmecbánya, with a professor ‘of the higher theoretical and practical-systematic forest sciences.’²² Model state forests were cultivated, notably that at Hradek-Lykava (in Liptó county), for which a range of immensely detailed *Dienst-Instruktionen* appeared in 1811,²³ evidently the prototype for an even longer general directive to forestry employees on all crown, cameral and fiscal lands in the country, together with a tabulation of their extent in 1816–17. By that time everyone in the higher service grades needed professional qualifications.²⁴

By contrast with the innovative decades around 1800, no major advances are recorded in *MEO* during the *Reformkor* – aside from a few inconclusive diet debates and

many more instructions for the growing workforce – and the national government of 1848 had no time to address the issues raised by forest management. The first phase of real transformation, from the 1850s on, provides Tagányi's coda. He records the neoabsolutist regime's ambitions for intervention and standardization, through the *Forstgesetz* extended to Hungary in 1857, with an accompanying programme of woodland mensuration and valuation across the empire.²⁵ And finally he records their antithesis: the equal and opposite reaction generated in that newly vibrant Hungarian intellectual climate by the 1860s that we have already encountered.

* * *

What did *MEO* achieve in its own day? It had clearly been conceived as a prestige project, intended to enhance the profile of Hungary's silvicultural heritage at home and abroad. But who actually cared? Again we must turn to Germany for a comparative perspective.

In the 19th century Germany's woodlands became envisioned as a collective national entity. Under the influence of popular romantic enthusiasts like Ernst Moritz Arndt and especially Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, 'der deutsche Wald' acquired something close to patriotic cult status among significant segments of the population. Had it not yielded crucial cultural values and material benefits, and protected against foreign invaders through the ages? The pride was shared by specialists in forest science themselves. Woodland is 'a significant part of our national honour': thus Carl Fraas, compiler of a compendium of German expertise in the subject which appeared in 1865.²⁶ At the same time, in counterpoint to this professional enthusiasm, often for regimented coniferous plantations, there developed a movement for conservation of traditional woods, as part of a wider emphasis on *Naturschutz*.²⁷ Altogether perceptions of a distinctive German natural landscape were associated with liberal-bourgeois individualism at least as much as with radical state-centred nationalism.²⁸

This German model clearly had not just been a foreign encumbrance, but an inspiration to the likes of Divald and Wagner. '[E]gyedül a német nemzet az [...] akire e tekintetben támaszkodhatunk...' ²⁹ And these pioneers detected in the ideals of its forestry a way to raise Hungarian culture too.³⁰ As political Dualism took shape, they saw the chance to emancipate their country from its unregarded position on the periphery of Germanic forestry, the *démarche* recorded in loving detail at the end of *MEO*.³¹ In 1884 Tagányi's historian-archivist colleague Elek Jakab composed a passionate appeal for Hungary's woods as a national treasure, both economically and spiritually, actually citing Fraas and the German patriotic prototype, even as he sought emancipation from it.³²

But was there such a 'silvan discourse' in Hungary? *MEO*, including its long analytical introduction, is strikingly sober and objective. Tagányi chronicles time-honoured customs equally with progressive reforms; the standpoint a Magyar one, but always restrainedly so. He would later defend Gyula Szekfű against his chauvinist detractors in the *Számüzött Rákóczi* affair.³³ Tagányi's compilation correspondingly lacked popular resonance, like the rest of the 'economic-history' agenda. Even if the launch of the *Mag-*

yar *Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* was the product of another millennial initiative, it proved a premature growth in the intellectual climate of Dualism.

Native forests do not appear to have played any special role in the contemporary Hungarian imagination, except perhaps as part of conservative-romantic perceptions of Transylvania. Early nature protection in Hungary, led by Ottó Herman and István Csernel, focused on ornithology. Contrast equivalent activities in Germany, with their central place for woods and trees as 'natural monuments' (*Naturdenkmäler*).³⁴ There may be a parallel with the Polish lands, where the historiography of woodlands was initiated in the 1860s (by Aleksander Połujański's two volumes on *Leśnictwo polskie*), but where forests also provided a medium, material and cultural, for German assaults on 'polnische Wirtschaft,' i.e. the incompetence of the native Slavs.³⁵ In a way Hungary might also be compared to Great Britain, where forestry was likewise a German import, introduced by such experts as (Sir) Dietrich Brandis and Wilhelm/William Schlich who had pursued careers in India.³⁶ In mainland Britain too, woodlands made little mark. They occupied a comparatively small area anyway. After Trianon, that would also be true for Hungary.

* * *

What of *MEO* in the comparative perspective of *our* own day? Its impact has remained slight. Only Hungarian forest science has drawn on it.³⁷ It is (so far as I am aware) almost entirely unknown abroad, even though Latin and German are the languages of the bulk of its material. Yet, in virtual terms at least, *MEO* can bear silent witness to the relevant international debates. These have – predictably – once more been focused on the German experience; and the single most important of them can very profitably be followed on Tagányi's pages.

The key issue of recent decades has been the so-called *Holznot*, or 'wood shortage,' debate. Against the backdrop of central Europe's *Waldsterben* crisis of the 1980s, historians have asked whether, roughly two centuries earlier, between 1750 and 1850, there was another dangerous scarcity.³⁸ They addressed the received hypothesis that the inefficiency and ignorance of a silvan *ancien régime* had, in an era of explosive demographic and economic change, held back the proper and sustainable exploitation of wood resources. There is now widespread agreement among researchers that the problems were often exaggerated and instrumentalised by vested interests. Whereas temporary local shortages certainly occurred, it suited various parties to have a pretext for higher prices, exclusion of outsiders, assertion and demarcation of exclusive rights of ownership, and specialized management.

In the process of studying this topic, much has been learned about both sides of the contraposition. On the one hand we have the old world of woods, with its customary rights and permissions, its close interplay with peasant agriculture and local trades.³⁹ It was characterized by selective clearance (typically *Plenterbetrieb*) and natural regeneration, all invested with deep folkloric significance. On the other hand stood the enlightened, rational, systematic, and 'sustainable' (*nachhaltig*) regime of clear-felling and

plantation (typically *Schlagbetrieb*).⁴⁰ In legal and occupational terms this was the contrast between the *dominium utile* of tenants (typically peasants), for whom access to woodland formed an indispensable part of their husbandry and household economy, and the *dominium directum* of proprietors (typically princes and other nobles), who utilized increasingly professional methods of management.⁴¹ The sharpest clashes of all came after 1800 in parts of Bavaria, where the expanding and profit-oriented state with its ideals of *Hochwald* restricted supplies and infringed entrenched claims, leading to huge levels of woodland crime (*Waldfrevel*).⁴² But there is a clear example much closer to Hungary in the Beskid uplands of Teschen in Silesia, where semi-nomadic local herds-men, the *salašníci*, were evicted from the forests by a reformist Habsburg administration.⁴³

Hungary's pristine woodcraft is documented in *MEO* in many ways, beginning with the testimony from medieval charters and beatings of parish bounds (*határjárások*). The rights of estovers (*faízás*) and pannage (*makkoltatás*) were exercised within regimes where wood-pasture coexisted – uneasily – with coppice, and both of these with the dictates of seigneurial hunting.⁴⁴ The evidence supports comparison with ancestral woodmanship of a west-European kind, which the country's subsequent debt to German approaches has long obscured.⁴⁵ The lineaments of this socio-economic structure are still apparent in the provisions of the 1767 Urbarium: peasants are entitled to wood products for their own use, though only their lord can trade in them.⁴⁶

Systematic regulation began in the mining towns, from the 1560s onward: attempts to limit damage to the raw materials of local industry from goats and sheep and other kinds of detriment. But there was no sustained policy to protect timber or to guard against shortage.⁴⁷ We find something similar in Germany's Harz Mountains at that time, where likewise the extensive forests had to serve the needs of the mines.⁴⁸ Hungarian landowners began to recognize the worsening state of their woodlands. In two documents from the 1630s, relating to the Rákóczi and Nádasdy estates, one begins 'látván az mi rákóczi és morvai erdőnknek nagy pusztulását'; the other 'mivel minden erdeink elpusztultanak, szorgalmatos gondja legyen az erdükre...'⁴⁹

Regulation found its classic 18th-century form in Maria Theresa's *Ordo silvarum* of 1769, which commends the 'strength and utility that derive from perpetual conservation of woods in a good and flourishing state, as against the damage of their ruin and desolation if felled indiscriminately.'⁵⁰ The message was conveyed more tersely in a diet article of 1791: 'De sylvarum devastatione praecavenda.'⁵¹ Since Tagányi's time the tight management in 18th-century Debrecen has been highlighted, as the town, prompted by its royal officials, sought to use its unusually large area of woodland as a sustainable resource.⁵² A lengthy 1800 'Instruction,' with its concern for 'gleichmässige eintheilung der holzbestände' and its 'sorge für die zukunft' provided for a thorough survey and stock-taking of state forestry holdings throughout the country in the same spirit.⁵³

By that time *Holznot* had become a recurrent rationale for the introduction of tighter controls, as in the cameral woods of Arad in 1812, 'weil auch schon die meisten waldungen dem Untergang nahe gekommen sind.'⁵⁴ By 1836, as the reform movement

began to assert itself, a diet resolution gave more weight to peasant rights in woodlands, but only 'az erdei rend sérelme nélkül'; while a subsequent enactment on rural policing implies a rise in the incidence of related criminality.⁵⁵ Similar concerns inform contemporary codes for the good order of woods in Transylvanian Saxony.⁵⁶ Much more could be adduced from *MEO* to illustrate this archetypal central-European environmental debate.

* * *

It might be thought, from all the foregoing, that the achievement of *MEO* has been to allow us, across Hungary's history, to see the wood for the trees. However I should add, finally, that it frequently shows the trees themselves too. Individual trees, identified by species, first appear as medieval boundary markers, with beech and oak predominating. Later we find particular species being planted, or at least ordained. The first of these was willow, which Mihály Teleki already advocated in 1683: 'Mivel a fa igen szűk ebben a helyben, szükséges fűzfákat szaporítani...'⁵⁷ By the mid-18th century willow-planting came to be widely urged by the authorities: across the Alföld, indeed in all wet places, said the Lieutenancy Council; twelve a year by each noble and peasant in Moson county.⁵⁸ But we also meet with advice about a whole range of species, as in an instruction of 1743 for 'unterschiedliche pflanzung und setzung des holzes in Banat'; and there is much on the same lines in Maria Theresa's 1769 decree.⁵⁹ Elsewhere we learn how to plant elms from seed, for example, and encounter the first experiments with acacia and sugar-maple.⁶⁰

This, then, was the diverse world of trees, separate and collective, familiar to Tagányi's commoners and lower nobles. It remained, through most of the *MEO*, a world of woodcraft, rather than forest science, though of course the single word *erdő* in Hungarian elides the difference, which was anyway never clear-cut. We might think that Tagányi preferred traditional woodlands, with all their collectivist connotations; yet without forestry there would have been no Magyar Erdészeti Egyesület, no *MEO*. It is surely time for a more measured and informed view of both; and, with rising environmental and ecological awareness, perhaps Tagányi's compilatory masterpiece may at last come to be better appreciated.

Endnotes

- 1 I have used the digital version prepared by the Klimo Library in Pécs: <<http://kt.lib.pte.hu/cgi-bin/kt.cgi?konyvtar/kt05012101>>.
- 2 The complete run of *Erdészeti* [originally *Erdőszeti*] *Lapok* from 1862 at <http://www.oee.hu/digitalis_archivum_erdeszetilapok>.
- 3 Several articles on these lines by 'Erdődi' and 'Mérei' in *Erdőszeti Lapok*, 1 (1862).
- 4 1879:xxxii tc. at <<https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3&param=5861>>.
- 5 Károly Tagányi, 'Styl és történelem (Jegyzetek az ötvösműkiállításról)', *Századok* 18 (1884), 493–503; cf. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, *A pozitívista történet szemlélet a magyar tör-*

- ténetírásban (2 vols., Budapest, 1973), i.165–168 (who otherwise mentions Tagányi only *en passant*).
- 6 Edit Izsépy, 'A Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle történetéhez,' *Századok* 103 (1969), 1077–1103; Szabina Bognár, 'Tagányi Károly a Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle élén,' *Ethnographia* 124 (2013), 273–296. Brief treatment in Steven B Vardy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography* (Boulder, Colo/New York, 1976), 37, 40f; Péter Gunst, *A magyar történetírás története* (Debrecen, 1995), 157, 164, 168.
 - 7 Károly Tagányi, 'A földközösség története Magyarországon,' *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* 1 (1894), 199–238.
 - 8 Károly Tagányi, 'Megyei önkormányzatunk keletkezése,' *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből* 18.6 (Budapest, 1899), 399–413.
 - 9 Examples: *MEO*, i, nos. 252–254, 256, 266.
 - 10 Examples: *MEO*, i, nos. 160, 168, 186, 205, 251, 290, 292, 305. They had Latin introductions and were occasionally all in Latin (e.g. i, nos. 169, 213).
 - 11 *MEO*, i, no. 362, cf. 365; ii, nos. 154, 232; iii, no. 9 (the last one, from Vizakna, 1810).
 - 12 *MEO*, i, nos. 97, 105–106.
 - 13 Selmechánya, Besztercebánya, Körmöcbánya, etc. These were at that time mainly part of Lower Hungary (as viewed from Austria); the terminology of 'Felvidék' arose later, but I use it here to avoid confusion.
 - 14 *MEO*, i, nos. 140–141, 143.
 - 15 See *MEO*, i, nos. 340ff. *passim*; then esp. ii, nos. 20, 60, 62–64, 76, 83 (a chronicle).
 - 16 *MEO*, ii, nos. 207–208, 302–303, 306.
 - 17 Examples: *MEO*, ii, no. 16, for Zalatna; no. 20, for the Banat; nos. 165–167, for Nagybánya; nos. 169–170, for Kapnik; nos. 173ff., for Selmechánya.
 - 18 For Hungary: *MEO*, ii, nos. 105–113 (preparations), 116, 119ff., esp. 139 (impact). For Transylvania: ii, nos. 151, 168.
 - 19 *MEO*, ii, nos. 193ff., 212–213.
 - 20 *MEO*, ii, nos. 104, 225, 238–239, 275, 281–282, 284, 301, 304; iii, nos. 13, 25, 33.
 - 21 *MEO*, iii, no. 7.
 - 22 *MEO*, iii, no. 1.
 - 23 *MEO*, iii, nos. 16–19; cf. no. 53 for Sónár later.
 - 24 *MEO*, iii, nos. 38, 42–44.
 - 25 *MEO*, iii, nos. 80, 82. Seeing the Wood and the Trees 129
 - 26 '... ein erheblicher Teil unserer Nationalehre': C. Fraas, *Geschichte der Landbau- und Forstwissenschaft seit dem 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1865), 483–668, at 484.
 - 27 See, in general, Alfred Barthelmess, *Wald: Umwelt des Menschen. Dokumente zu einer Problemgeschichte von Naturschutz, Landschaftspflege und Humanökologie* (Munich, 1972); Hansjörg Küster, *Geschichte des Waldes, von der Urzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1998).
 - 28 Jeffrey K. Wilson, *The German Forest: Nature, Identity and the Contestation of a National Symbol, 1871–1914* (Toronto, 2012).

- 29 *Erdőszeti Lapok* 1 (1862), 19.
- 30 'A magyart első sorban nemzetiségének szellemi fensőbbisége biztosíthatja a végbukás ellen; ismereteink fejlesztése minden irányban – ez fennmaradásunk talpköve; e nélkül – fényesen vagy észrevétlenül – de sírba dőlünk'; *Erdőszeti Lapok* 1 (1862), 353.
- 31 *MEO*, iii, no. 92.
- 32 Elek Jakab, 'Erdőink hajdan és ma,' *Erdészeti Lapok* 23 (1884), 599–609, 676–685.
- 33 Ágnes R. Várkonyi, *Thaly Kálmán és történetírása* (Budapest, 1961), 320f.
- 34 Friedemann Schmoll, *Erinnerung an die Natur: Die Geschichte des Naturschutzes im deutsch Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004), esp. 93ff.
- 35 Józef Babicz et al (ed.), *Studia z dziejów ochrony przyrody w Polsce* (Wrocław etc., 1985); Wilson, *The German Forest*, 132–174.
- 36 See, for the larger picture, S. Ravi Rajan, *Modernizing Nature: Forestry and Imperial Eco-development, 1800–1950* (Oxford, 2006).
- 37 Cf. Bognár, 'Tagányi Károly,' 285f.; [Martha] Kolossváry (ed.), *Az erdőgazdálkodás története Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1975). The approving mentions in Gunst, *A magyar történetírás*, 168 ('szakszerű és szakmailag megbízható'), and Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forest in Medieval Hungary* (Oxford, 2005), 21, seem exceptional among Hungarian historians.
- 38 Key texts: Joachim Radkau, 'Holzverknappung und Krisenbewußtsein im 18. Jahrhundert,' *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 9 (1983), 513–543; Radkau, 'Zur angeblichen Energiekrise des 18. Jahrhunderts. Revisionistische Betrachtungen zur "Holznot",' *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 73 (1986), 1–37. Surveys in Frank Uekötter, *Umweltgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2007), 51ff.; Bernd-Stefan Grewe, *Der versperrte Wald. Ressourcenmangel in der bayrischen Pfalz, 1814–70* (Cologne, 2004), 34ff.
- 39 Much material in Friedrich Mager, *Der Wald in Altpreußen als Wirtschaftsraum* (2 vols., Cologne, 1960); Elisabeth Weinberger, *Waldnutzung und Waldgewerbe in Altbayern im 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2001).
- 40 Joachim Allmann, *Der Wald in der frühen Neuzeit: Eine Mentalitäts- und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung am Beispiel des Pfälzer Raumes, 1500–1800* (Berlin, 1989). Richard Hölzl, *Umkämpfte Wälder: Die Geschichte einer ökologischen Reform in Deutschland, 1760–1860* (Frankfurt, 2010).
- 41 Stefan von Below and Stefan Breit, *Wald, von der Gottesgabe zum Privateigentum: Gerichtliche Konflikte zwischen Landesherren und Untertanen um den Wald in der frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 1998); Christoph Ernst, *Den Wald entwickeln: Ein Politik- und Konfliktfeld in Hunsrück und Eifel im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2000).
- 42 Grewe, esp. 194–220; Hölzl, 267–414.
- 43 Blanka Pitronová, *Těšínské Beskydy na sklonku feudalismu: Salašnictví a lesní hospodářství v Těšínských Beskydech na přelomu 18. a 19. století* (Brno, 1968), esp. 91–135.
- 44 Cf. Pál Csőre, *A magyar erdőgazdálkodás története: középkor* (Budapest, 1980).

- 45 Szabó, *Woodland and Forest*.
- 46 *MEO*, ii, no. 99.
- 47 Eszter Magyar, *A feudalizmus kori erdőgazdálkodás az alsó-magyarországi bányavárosokban, 1255–1747* (Budapest, 1983).
- 48 On which see Peter-Michael Steinsiek, *Nachhaltigkeit auf Zeit. Waldschutz im Westharz vor 1800* (Münster, 1999).
- 49 *MEO*, i, nos. 231, 242.
- 50 *MEO*, ii, no. 116: 'Materna cura et tenerrima [...] sollicitudo benignum animum nostrum advertit, quanti sit momenti atque utilitatis perpetua nemorum in bono, florentique statu conservatio, nociva e contra si promiscue caedantur, horum ruina et desolatio. Quapropter indispensabilem esse comperimus boni ordinis in succisione et usu silvarum hoc etiam in regno quamprimum introducendi necessitatem...' (p. 297).
- 51 *MEO*, ii, no. 219.
- 52 Dénes Penyigey, *Debrecen erdőgazdálkodása a XVIII. században és a XIX. század első felében* (Budapest, 1980).
- 53 *MEO*, ii, nos. 253–255.
- 54 *MEO*, iii, no. 27.
- 55 *MEO*, iii, no. 57 (1836: vi.4); no. 62 (1840: ix, 'A mezei rendőrségről').
- 56 *MEO*, iii, nos. 68–69.
- 57 *MEO*, i, no. 316.
- 58 *MEO*, ii, nos. 47–48, 164 (Moson); nos. 49–50, cf. 163–164 (Alföld); no. 28, cf. 46 (Moson).
- 59 *MEO*, ii, no. 1 (Banat); no. 116 (Maria Theresa).
- 60 *MEO*, ii, no. 94; iii, nos. 11, 14.

On Being Aware of Unknowing

Thomas Hardy, "The Darkling Thrush"¹

Poems that I find memorable often record trivial moments of insight with sudden transformative power. One such poem is a brief lyric piece by Robert Frost, 'Dust of Snow':

The way a crow
Shook down on me
The dust of snow
From a hemlock tree

Has given my heart
A change of mood
And saved some part
Of a day I had rued.²

Robert Frost's poem imprints on the mind the fleeting impression of a changing mood. It recalls a moment in a day that, as Frost claims and the intensity, or rather the integrity, of his description seems to validate his conclusion, 'saved' the rest of his day. But what indeed happened? A crow, a bird that does not dwell in our field of positive connotations but rather evokes foreboding associations instead, shook down a little dust of snow on the poet. Can this incident really carry a decisive force? Frost does not seem to be surprised by it. He is certainly amused. A change of mood was communicated to him, and he does not ask why or how it happened. He does not even overstate the significance of the case. He does not consider it a mythical rebirth, or re-baptism, or even a spiritual fertilization by snow. It is only that 'some part of a day' was saved, and that was all. In consequence, the memory of the poem may save some part of some readers' days.

William Wordsworth also recorded similar such incidents. Best known are perhaps 'I wandered lonely as a Cloud' and 'The Solitary Reaper.' In the latter poem the song of a Highland girl in Gaelic is compared to the nightingale's 'chaunting.' And while the poet neatly articulates how the song affected him, halfway through the poem he almost accidentally exclaims, 'Will no one tell me what she sings?'³ A hermeneutical question is raised here in embarrassment when being exposed to an elementary force that has been unknown and thus remains out of reach of interpretation.

Another poem, 'The Reverie of Poor Susan' by Wordsworth, depicts a caged thrush:

1 This paper is a revised version of 'Conquered Non-Knowledge: Thomas Hardy's "The Darkling Thrush",' *Neohelicon* 28, 2, 2001, 207–217.

2 Frost, 1979, 221.

3 Wordsworth, 1984, 319.

At the corner of Wood-Street, when day-light appears,
There's a Thrush that sings loud, it has sung for three years;
Poor Susan has pass'd by the spot, and has heard
In the silence of morning the song of the bird.⁴

Poor Susan, a girl from the country, works in London as a maid. The early morning song of the caged thrush in a London street enchants her into a vision of some sort of a pastoral paradise, 'her heart is in Heaven' as the images of 'Green pastures' and 'a single small cottage' are evoked. The poem however ends on an ambiguous note. When the vision fades away, 'the colours have all pass'd away from her eyes.' If the vision is to be illuminated by Karl Jaspers's concept of 'boundary situations'⁵ then this poem is perhaps as much about getting back to this side of the borderline as getting beyond.

A century later Thomas Hardy also composed a villanelle, *The Caged Thrush Freed and Home Again*. In the poem the bird that transgresses the borders between imprisonment and liberty, ponders upon the range of human knowledge, 'Men know but little more than we, / Who count us least of things terrene.'⁶

Such experiences were termed by the existentialist philosopher Karl Jaspers 'boundary situations' or 'ultimate situations.'⁷ As he explained, 'In ultimate situations man either perceives nothingness or senses true being in spite of and above all ephemeral worldly existence. Even despair, by the very fact that it is possible in the world, points beyond the world.'⁸ 'The word *boundary* implies that there is something else, but it indicates at the same time that this other thing is not for an existing consciousness. For consciousness at large a boundary situation is not a situation any more because a knowing, purposively acting consciousness will either take it to be purely objective or else avoid it, ignore it, and forget about it.'⁹ This definition seems almost to accord with Wordsworth's poetic program as recalled by Coleridge in *Biographia Literaria*:

Mr. Wordsworth [...] was to propose to himself, as his object, to give the charm of novelty to things of every day, and to excite a feeling analogous to the supernatural, by awakening the mind's attention from the lethargy of custom, and directing it to the loveliness and the wonders of the world before us; an inexhaustible treasure.¹⁰

4 Wordsworth, 1991, 170.

5 Jaspers, 1970, 178.

6 Hardy, 1976, 147.

7 Jaspers, 1954, 20.

8 Jaspers, 1954, 23.

9 Jaspers, 1970, 178–179.

10 Coleridge, 1983, 6–7.

Let us consider some of Wordsworth's own verses together with this passage by Coleridge in mind. The closing lines of the poem commonly referred to as the *Immortality Ode* are: 'To me the meanest flower that blows can give / Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.'¹¹ Although Hardy was well-versed in Wordsworth, a substantial difference separated them concerning the application of those 'things of every day.' Wordsworth was to exhibit the inherent value of things that exist in the world unnoticed by most people. But those things, whether noticed and interpreted or not, despite circumstances, did carry value. Hardy also held up common incidents and phenomena but, in the absence of a belief in a grand divine design or at least a universal organizing principle in human life, his observations remain scattered incidents. At best they defy the void created by non-knowledge and leave the question open.

Epistemological uncertainties, accumulating towards feelings of ontological loneliness and isolation, were remarkably intensified by the developments of prevailing 18th and 19th century theories such as empiricism, positivism, liberalism, evolutionism, agnosticism, and several more that Hardy, though denied the fact, quite systematically studied but did not find in any of them a satisfying vindication. He retained his touselled High Anglican faith, went to church till the end of his life.

Evolution through natural selection, the origin of man, the long stretch of geological time behind him, the displacement of a transcendent personal Deity by immanent process without mind or purpose, the 'Higher Criticism' of sacred texts, Herbert Spencer's philosophy of the Unknowable, John Stuart Mill's essays on the religious and social liberty of the individual – all left their mark on Hardy's vision of man's place in nature.¹²

Hardy himself emphasised, though not without irony, that his 1901 collection *Poems of the Past and the Present* 'comprises a series of feelings and fancies written down in widely differing moods and circumstances.' At the same time he also noted that 'Unadjusted impressions have their value, and the road to a true philosophy of life seems to lie in humbly recording diverse readings of its phenomena as they are forced upon us by chance and change.'¹³ As Tom Paulin observed, it is in fact a variety of poetic impressionism 'developed out of empirical philosophy'¹⁴ of David Hume who makes distinction between impressions and ideas, the first including 'perceptions, when we hear or see, or feel, or love, or hate, or desire, or will, 'while the second being 'less lively perceptions of which we are conscious, when we reflect on any of those sensations or movements

11 Wordsworth, 1984, 302.

12 Brooks, 1971, 9.

13 Hardy, 1976, 84.

14 Paulin, 1975, 27.

above mentioned.¹⁵ 'For Hardy, Paulin argues, 'as for Locke, the mind is passive in perception. Objects and events force themselves upon us as sensations.'¹⁶

Though it failed to resolve Hardy's ontological agony caused by notion of the 'unknowable',¹⁷ his constant struggle to find a however narrow escape route via meliorism or some other tangential theoretical aids yielded an abundant late-harvest in his poetry.

This awareness of unknowing is the main theme of *The Darkling Thrush*. The poem was first published under the title *By the Century's Deathbed* that connects it to the tradition of almanac or calendar lyric, capturing the transition of time between two centuries. Hardy later changed it into what links it with another rich tradition of nature and, more narrowly, bird poems. I have given a few samples of them in the preceding paragraphs.

As J. O. Bailey points out,

The word *darkling* is a poetic word with the general meaning of 'shrouded in darkness.' It had been used in three great poems known to Hardy: in two of them in connection with a bird's song and in the third in connection with the intellectual confusions of the nineteenth century.¹⁸

The three poems, successively, are John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book III, line 39, in which a bird 'sings darkling',¹⁹ John Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale*, in which, while the nightingale sings, the poet appears as 'Darkling, I listen',²⁰ and Matthew Arnold's 'Dover Beach,' in which the poet provides description of 'a darkling plain',²¹ a metaphor of the intellectual battlefield of nineteenth-century ideas.²²

In Hardy's poem 'darkling' ambiguously refers to both the physical state of the thrush and to the poet's spiritual condition. The thrush itself, similarly to Wordsworth's solitary reaper, may have been inspired by a literary description in a topographical guide.

15 Quoted in Paulin, 1975, 25–26.

16 Paulin, 1975, 27.

17 A term introduced by Herbert Spencer: 'By continually seeking to know and being continually thrown back with a deepened conviction of the impossibility of knowing, we may keep alive the consciousness that it is alike our highest wisdom and our highest duty to regard that through which all things exist as the Unknowable' (Spencer, 1908, 707, quoted in Maynard, 1991, 173).

18 Bailey, 1970, 166.

19 Milton, 1968, 563.

20 Keats, 1970, 529. As Bailey convincingly proves, Keats's 'spectre-thin,' 'full-throated ease,' 'pouring forth thy soul' and 'such an ecstasy' are echoed by Hardy's 'spectre-gray,' 'full-hearted evensong,' 'fling his soul' and 'ecstatic sound,' respectively (Bailey, 1970, 168).

21 Arnold, 1930, 402.

22 I would like to express my gratitude to Michael Alexander for his attentive reading of this essay. He called my attention to 'the first significant poetic usage' of the word in William Shakespeare's *King Lear*, I. iv: 'and we were left darkling' (from an e-mail to me by Michael Alexander on 22 January 2013, 21:36). For the quotation from the play, see Shakespeare, 2000, 135.

The thrush of the poem is evidently a missel-thrush, which sings cheerfully in winter. Among other inspirations for the poem, Hardy may have read Hudson's *Nature in Downland*, published in 1900, containing this passage: 'Mid-winter is the season of the missel-thrush. [...] But when it is too gloomy for even his [the song-thrush's] fine temper, when there is no gleam of light anywhere and no change in that darkness of immense ever-moving cloud above; and the south-west raves all day and all night, and day after day, then the storm-cock [missel-thrush] sings his loudest from a tree-top and has no rival. [...] If you should observe him in rough or gloomy weather, perched on an elm-top, swayed about this way and that by the gusts, singing his best, you must believe [...] that his pleasure in life [...] must greatly exceed in degree the contentment and bliss that is ours.'²³

This is exactly what Hardy grasped in his poem: the thrush that sings loudly under hostile conditions transcends human bliss. The thrush gains additional attributes in the poem at two levels. One is the level of physical appearance. The thrush is 'aged,' 'frail,' 'gaunt,' and 'small.' Its plume is 'blast-beruffled.' The appearance of the thrush is in close harmony with the devastated environment, the bird is not exempted from the sufferings of earthly existence, cannot escape hunger and cold, aging and death. Yet the bird resists these inimical circumstances and sings triumphantly. Bliss and triumph are amplified by its contrasting miserable appearance. The other level is that of the sphere of meta-physical transcendence. The contrast between 'full-hearted evensong / Of joy illimited' and the fragile and weather-tortured creature that performs it is a carefully calculated dramatic design serving to contextualize the meaning of 'evensong.'

In the Anglican Church evensong is an evening service of thanksgiving for the day. The implied religious reference in stanza three thus prefigures the phrase 'Some blessed Hope' in stanza four. Hardy skilfully balances out these quasi-religious allusions. 'Hope' capitalized calls for a religious interpretation, especially as it is preceded by the adjective 'blessed.' Yet 'Some' that actually begins the whole phrase soberly qualifies any high religious aspirations and suggests that, unlike infinite divine benevolence, 'blessed Hope' seems to have its own limits.

The metrical design of the poem is also responsible for some part of the religious inference. The alternately four and three beat iambic lines are built up on the pattern of traditional church hymns. Isaac Watts, Nahum Tate, Charles Wesley, William Cowper, J. H. Newman, to name just a few authors of such poems, used the form widely. The naive pietism of William Cowper's 'Light Shining out of Darkness' from the *Olney Hymns* presents the reverse side of Hardy's problem and draws a contrary conclusion to his: 'God moves in a mysterious way, / His wonders to perform' and 'God is his own interpreter, / And he will make it plain.'²⁴ *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, first published in 1861, contains

²³ Weber, 1965, 234.

²⁴ Cowper, 1931, 188–189.

not only a great number of poems written in the so-called common metre, but also an evensong by John Keble.²⁵ Keble was the initiator of the Oxford Tractarian Movement and his two-volume *The Christian Year*, first published in 1827, was thoroughly read by Hardy. As F. B. Pinion points out, 'The Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity' explores the same theme as 'The Darkling Thrush,' the only difference being that Keble's setting is autumnal and it is a redbreast that warbles in celebration of the return of morning glory.²⁶ Keble, remarkably, also uses the word 'darkling' in his poem. Illuminated by the birdsong the speaker, seeking an answer from heaven, is: 'Contented in his darkling round, / If only he be faithful found.'²⁷ It is the direct opposite of Hardy's position.

The metre was quite common for Hardy. Out of the ninety-eight poems in *Poems of the Past and the Present*, fifteen were composed in it and two of them, *The Bedridden Peasant* and *By the Earth's Corpse*, are in close thematic relationship with *The Darkling Thrush*. Both poems appear to mock the tone of devotional hymns.

'The Darkling Thrush' is unique in that it handles the metre counter to Hardy's standard way of using it. Hardy was not an experimenter with modernist free or semi-free verse. His main contribution to modernist metrics lay in his slyly refined use of strict lyric forms. Typically in his work the speaking voice, the sentence structure, and the incident described cut across the metrical framework and very often the expected emotional connotations of a specific stanzaic pattern. It is the source of discrepancy between the regulated language stresses and the erratic pulsation of narration. In *The Darkling Thrush*, however, Hardy does not play off the regular metre against language. Although there are sharp edges of enjambments, such as 'At once a voice arose among / The bleak twigs overhead / In a full-hearted evensong / Of joy illimited,' every period, or if not every period then every half stanza, finds its resting place at the end of an even-numbered line. The verse sentences steadfastly meander through the lines, filling in the rhetorical frame without any seeming effort. The best example is perhaps the last stanza where, halfway through, there is only a light pause so the compound sentence flows delicately towards a closure:

So little cause for carolings
Of such ecstatic sound
Was written on terrestrial things
Afar or nigh around,
That I could think there trembled through
His happy good-night air
Some blessed Hope, whereof he knew
And I was unaware.

²⁵ *Hymns*, 1983, 19.

²⁶ Pinion, 1976, 53.

²⁷ Keble, 1828, 254.

The narrative movement of the poem is also characteristically balanced. The argumentative line of the text thematically divides itself first into two halves, then into further halves. The first stanza establishes the image of desolation and decay in a winter landscape, while the phrase 'all mankind' subtly prepares expansion of the second stanza into a grand, but somewhat awkward, allegorical vision of the dying century.

I leant upon a coppice gate
When Frost was spectre-gray,
And Winter's dregs made desolate
The weakening eye of day.
The tangled bine-stems scored the sky
Like strings of broken lyres,
And all mankind that haunted night
Had sought their household fires.

The land's sharp features seemed to be
The Century's corpse outleant,
His crypt the cloudy canopy,
The wind his death-lament.
The ancient pulse of germ and birth
Was shrunken hard and dry,
And ever spirit upon earth
Seemed fervourless as I.

The last two stanzas asymmetrically counterpoint these images. The grandeur and pathos of stanza two is counterbalanced by the humble appearance of the bird. From 'arose' to 'full-hearted evensong' there takes place a musical 'molto stringendo,' yet the closure with the note on unawareness wheels back the interrupted cadence of apathy in stanza two.

At once a voice arose among
The bleak twigs overhead
In a full-hearted evensong
Of joy illimited;
An aged thrush, frail, gaunt, and small,
In blast-beruffled plumage,
Had chosen thus to fling his soul
Upon the growing gloom.

The exterior of the bird makes it look like a homeless tramp and harks back to stanza one over the contrapuntal corpse image. The appearance of the bird is a direct consequence of winter and in accord with the landscape. Yet frozen nature is getting to be

revitalized by the defiant birdsong. The last stanza further amplifies the ecstasy of music but only to deflate it with the last line: 'And I was unaware.' The 'blessed Hope,' which the poet 'could think there trembled through,' is then hardly more than an illusion, perhaps straightforward self-deception. The dying century leaves behind a wasteland that displays no sign of a governing scheme, refutes any effort to rationalize the meaning of its own existence.

The deflated mock-religious revelation of the poem due to lack of firm evidence either contradicts and reason for believing in 'Some blessed Hope' or also without firm evidence communicates an irrational or intuitive knowledge that lies deeper than, or floats over human perception. At this point it is worth examining the speaking voice that talks about the singing voice. The speaking 'I' shows up three times in the poem: in stanza one, line one, introducing the setting and the speaker's position as observer ('I leant upon a coppice gate'); midway through the poem in stanza two, line eight, when the speaker internalizes the seasonal desolation and presents himself as 'fervourless'; and finally in stanza four, lines five and eight, when, after the invigorating effect of the birdsong admits to having been and possibly ever after being unaware of the existence of hope. Hardy thus opens his poem into bleak nothingness. But then the closing sentence starts to work itself backward for a re-consideration. Does the word 'unaware' annul 'Hope'? Does it not reaffirm its validity rather? The whole problem, I think, turns on Hardy's masterly use of syntax. The prepositional segment of the adjective phrase 'aware of' is taken over by the adverb 'whereof' thus creating an acoustic void of a mute rhyme. The unfulfilled expectation results in an intricate after-effect. By ripping off the prepositional complement (*of*), an extra emphasis is laid on the privative prefix (*un-*). The word 'unaware' dangles nakedly and vulnerably in the final position leaving behind some uneasy feeling of deficiency or incompleteness. Hardy's agnosticism is perhaps the instinctive common sense of a countryman who did not confide in his own eyes and even less in his own ears. Yet his dauntless awareness of unknowing opened up language to unheard vibrancies and prolonged reverberations.

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Cold War and Civil Rights Era Narratives Revisited

“Contested History, Politics, and Textbooks: The American War in Vietnam, Dissent, and Civil Rights,” Karl P. Benziger (Department of History, Rhode Island College)

“Shall Negro sharecroppers from Mississippi be sent to shoot down brown-skinned peasants in Vietnam – to serve the interests of those who oppose Negro liberation at home and colonial freedom abroad?” Paul Robeson, “Ho Chi Minh Is the Toussaint L’Overture of Indo-China,” March 1954¹

“No Mississippi Negroes should be fighting in Vietnam for the White Man’s freedom, until all Negro people are free in Mississippi.” A McComb, Mississippi Protest, 28 July, 1965²

The narrative of the Cold War found in American history textbooks at the secondary and higher education level tells the story of how children were socialized during the first decades of the affair. Duck and cover drills and requisite civil defense shelters were explicit reminders of the nuclear contest between the United States and the Soviet Union in the bipolar construct of the global system. The drama of the Cuban Missile Crisis found in all texts emphasizes the cataclysmic prospects that one false move could make on the global stage. In this light, the politics of decolonization and civil rights needed to take second place to superpower confrontation and the American commitment to contain the spread of communism. And yet, for those being denied basic civil rights in the United States, or bearing the brunt of the politics of decolonization, taking a back seat was no longer an option.

The Vietnamese bid for independence from France was dominated by the communists and led by their charismatic leader Ho Chi Minh. The United States was committed to contain communism in Asia, and because of this was gradually drawn into its longest and costliest war of the Cold War period in Vietnam. Perhaps the most poignant critique of American foreign policy during the Cold War linked African American aspirations for civil rights to the cause of Vietnamese national liberation. This was exemplified by the McComb Mississippi Protest that captured the growing antiwar sentiment among many within the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and eloquently expressed by Robert Moses in August 1964. Moses’ opposition to the war and its intimate connection to civil rights germinated in the context of the lynchings that marked the Freedom Summer in Mississippi. Freedom Summer was a massive effort led

1 Paul Robeson, “Ho Chi Minh is the Toussaint L’Overture of Indo-China,” March 1954, in *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918–1974*, ed. Philip Foner (New York: Brunner/Mazel Publishers, 1978), 377–378.

2 “A McComb, Mississippi, Protest, 28 July 1965” in, *Black Protest: 350 Years of History, Documents, and Analysis*, ed. Joanne Grant (New York: Fawcett, 1996), 415–416.

by SNCC and other civil rights organizations to register African Americans to vote.³ The savage violence used against African Americans and civil rights workers in Mississippi to maintain segregation and disenfranchisement was likened to the violence used against Vietnamese peasants in order to quell the National Liberation Front.⁴ In spite of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, resistance to civil rights continued unabated. At the same time, African Americans were being drafted into the United States army to fight in Vietnam. The solution offered by Moses and many within SNCC was resistance to the draft.⁵ To many Americans the idea was shocking, especially because by the summer of 1965 over 82,000 American troops had been committed to this effort of containment in Vietnam.⁶ Textbooks continue to leave out the origins of this critique, creating the illusion that it simply appeared in the mid-1960s with the radicalization of the civil rights and antiwar movements. This should not be surprising, given that the critique was initially sidelined, and then in the wake of a lost war, ignored. This in fact exemplifies the painful history of racism that characterized the post-World War II period in the United States. This paper traces the origins of this narrative and then turns to the more difficult question of how to incorporate this globalized narrative into the classroom.

African Americans long understood the symmetry between their plight in an America characterized by brutal racial segregation and that of people of color living under the thrall of colonial oppression. As early as World War I African Americans linked

3 Three civil rights workers, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman were murdered in June 1964 by members of the Ku Klux Klan in Neshoba County, Mississippi. The Imperial Wizard of United Klans of America claimed that the lynchings were a hoax perpetrated to raise money for the voter registration drive. A sentiment shared by many whites in Mississippi. The bodies were found in August 1964. According to SNCC the first two months of Freedom Summer were marked by 25 bombings in addition to reports of beatings, shootings, and other forms of intimidation. See Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 114–115, 122, David Cunningham, *Klansville, USA: The Rise and Fall of the Civil Rights-Era Ku Klux Klan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 55–57, and William P. Jones, *The March on Washington: Jobs, Freedom, and the Forgotten History of Civil Rights* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2013), 229–234.

4 Eric Burner, *And Gently He Shall Lead Them: Robert Paris Moses and Civil Rights in Mississippi* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 40–42, 49–53, 156.

5 "Vietnam Pamphlet Distorted" and "A Freedom Worker's View on War and Peace" in *The Movement: 1964–1970*, ed. Clayborne Carson (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993), 66, 82, Russell Burns, "[John] Lewis [Chairman of SNCC] Lashes KKK-ism in Vietnam, Urges Unity of Black Leaders in U.S.," *Muhammad Speaks*, April 23, 1965, 7, Carson, *In Struggle*, 184–185, Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 191–192, and Wesley C. Hogan, *Many Hearts, One Mind: SNCC's Dream for a New America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 291–292.

6 "Memorandum from the Secretary of Defense to President Johnson," April 21, 1965, *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter *FRUS*), 1964–1968, Vol. 2, Vietnam (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1992), 574–576 and John Prados, *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War, 1945–1975* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009), 127–129.

their struggle for civil rights with the aspirations for freedom in the colonial world. The promise of self-determination enshrined in the Atlantic Charter that undergirded the war aims of the Allies in their fight against the Axis powers during World War II further cemented this linkage. The Double V campaign initiated by African Americans through the *Pittsburgh Courier* in the United States proclaimed victory over the Axis abroad and Jim Crow at home seemed inextricably linked to the demand for national liberation from colonial masters throughout the world.⁷ The Vietnamese Declaration of Independence proclaimed by Ho Chi Minh on September 2, 1945 challenged France to live up to these war aims. But by November 1946 the Vietnamese were locked in a war for national liberation as the French attempted to reestablish control over Indochina. The Vietnamese struggle for independence and America's role assisting France to maintain hegemony over their former colony caught the attention of members within the civil rights community. Just as France had failed to live up to goals proclaimed in Allied War aims, the United States did little to ameliorate the open and institutionalized racism faced by African Americans in the years following the war.

Journalist George Padmore met with Ho Chi Minh in mid-September 1946. Padmore was in Paris helping organize the fifth Pan African Congress.⁸ Ho Chi Minh had been in Paris attempting to negotiate a settlement with France. The French agreed to Vietnamese independence in March 1946 as part of the French Union, but then backtracked demanding that France control Vietnamese foreign affairs and the economy, leaving the country as a protectorate of France. The negotiations failed, and Ho needed to prepare the fledgling Republic to fight.⁹ Ho linked civil rights with national liberation exclaiming, "I know the struggle of the Negroes in America and they have my goodwill."¹⁰

Vietnam became entwined in the neo-colonial critique that emanated from African Americans associated with the old left. Fighting in Vietnam was brutal costing thousands of Vietnamese lives. France was allowed to buy American surplus war material left over from World War II at bargain prices. Though many within the United States government were uneasy about providing aid to help France recover their colony, the increasing fear of the communist threat led to a policy that firmly backed the French.¹¹ American support for the French pawn Bao Dai in Vietnam in 1949 was reinforced by the People's Republic of China's recognition of Ho Chi Minh's Democratic Republic of Vietnam that same year. Between 1950 and 1954 the United States provided over to 2.6

7 Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 15-18, 83-86 and Jonathan Rosenberg, *How Far the Promised Land? World Affairs and the American Civil Rights Movement from the First World War to Vietnam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 42-46, 51-58, 142-143.

8 Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 155-156.

9 Mark Atwood Lawrence, *Assuming the Burden: Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 129-147.

10 George Padmore, "U.S. Lynchings Called Barbarism," *Chicago Defender*, September 28, 1946.

11 Lawrence, *Assuming the Burden*, 192-201 and Prados, *Vietnam*, 21-22.

billion dollars of assistance to the French effort. At the same time, international attention focused on the unending brutality of segregation and poverty found in the United States.¹² Singer and actor Paul Robeson likened the oppression of South Africans to that of the Vietnamese, claiming that Jan Smuts' regime had resurrected the "evil forces" that World War II was meant to stamp out.¹³ This sentiment resonated within parts of the American Labor movement as well. In spite of intense scrutiny given to organized labor in the growing red scare politics of the Cold War, Walter Reuther and The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) provided robust support for Civil Rights and the anti-colonialist agenda akin to that of progressives within the Democratic Party and Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas.¹⁴

Howard University President Mordecai Johnson was a strong supporter of labor and intensely critical of the contradictions that segregation and colonialism posed for the United States during the Cold War.¹⁵ On November 21, 1950 the *New York Times* reminded Americans of the increasing costs of aiding the French effort in Vietnam and included France's request for 721 million dollars in aid to help fight the war.¹⁶ In an address to the CIO Convention on November 24, 1950 Johnson rebuked assertions that America was the leader of the free world. Responding to increased American aid to the French in Indochina he stated that the French had held sway over the Indochinese for more than a century "[but] we haven't ever sat down with the French and demand they change their system."¹⁷ Johnson warned that Russia was likely to win the allegiance of peoples of the colonial countries unless the United States took the lead in performing "a great act of expiation." He called on the United States to provide 25 billion dollars per year to raise the standard of living in Africa and Asia.¹⁸

The old left included individuals and organizations with multi-faceted interests from the anti-communist stance of Mordecai Johnson and Walter Reuther to the communist affiliated Paul Robeson. They were united however, on the issue of decolonization and race. Robeson underwent intense scrutiny by the federal government because

12 Lawrence, *Assuming the Burden*, 69–70, 132–133, 174–176, 192–194, 234, George C. Herring, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950–1975*, 3rd edition (New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1996), 44, Prados, *Vietnam*, 23–25, and Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 18–32.

13 "Racialism in South Africa," Friends' House, London, March 25, 1949, in Foner, *Paul Robeson Speaks*, 194–195.

14 Kevin Boyle, *The UAW and the Heyday of American Liberalism: 1945–1968* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 39–40, 54–55, 72 and H. Bruce Franklin, *Vietnam and Other American Fantasies* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 50–51.

15 Richard I. McKinney, *Mordecai, The Man and the Message: The Story of Mordecai Johnson* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1997), 111–115.

16 "Paris Hit by Indo-China War: France Sees Deficit in 1951 as She Tries to Arm in Europe While Fighting in Asia," *The New York Times*, November 21, 1950, 6.

17 Foner, *Paul Robeson Speaks*, 572, n. 4.

18 "CIO is Set to Give High Post to Quill: Way Clear for Election Today as VP as Green of Shipbuilders Withdraws," *The New York Times*, November 24, 1950, 22.

of his outspoken criticisms of American foreign policy and admiration for the Soviet Union. Robeson was impressed by Soviet strides to break poverty and the absence of racial animosity that pervaded the United States. On April 20, 1949 at the Paris Peace Conference he asserted, "Negroes would not fight against Russia [...]. Go ask the Negro workers in the cotton plantations of Alabama... Will they fight for peace so that new ways can be opened up for freedom [...] or be drawn into a war in the interest of the senators who have just filibustered them out of their civil rights."¹⁹ This was viewed as subversive by the House Un-American Affairs Committee (HUAC). Robeson's stance revealed fissures both within the old left and the civil rights community spawned by the red scare. He was denounced by baseball legend Jackie Robinson and other institutions such as the Urban League.²⁰ W.E.B. DuBois, on the other hand, rejected this critique claiming that Robeson was pointing to the contradictions of European neocolonialism as found in Indochina and its American mirror in the United States, in contrast to the Soviet Union where racism was a crime.²¹ But the American government would have none of it and Robeson would lose his passport and be blacklisted for his critique of American Cold War policy and race. This was followed by an unsuccessful attempt by the federal government to frame DuBois in 1951 as an unregistered foreign agent.²²

The Vietnamese thwarted France's design to reestablish hegemony over Indochina. As the French effort faltered, the United States became more deeply involved. Journalist William Worthy critiqued America's role in Vietnam in February 1954. After reviewing American support for the French in Vietnam he attacked America's "conspiracy of silence about not only the internal slavery our witch hunters are leading us step by step; but also slavery's external counterpart: namely, [the] counter-revolutionary direction of American policies among darker peoples." He concluded, "When [...] does a citizen brace his feet and ask why?"²³ Robeson's incendiary "Ho Chi Minh is the Trousseau of Indo-China" followed the next month as direct American intervention was considered. In spite of Americans' unwillingness to intervene in Vietnam, public debate never considered connecting America's intransigent problem with race to the plight of the Vietnamese. The critique served up by Worthy and Robeson seemed radical and out of step with mainstream American politics. Robeson remained blacklisted and

19 "Paris Peace Conference," News Release, Council on African Affairs, May 11, 1949, in *Paul Robeson Speaks*, 198.

20 C.P. Trussell, "Jackie Robinson Terms Stand of Robeson on Negroes False," *The New York Times*, July 19, 1949, 14 and Doris Greenberg, "Urban League Set to Chide Robeson," *The New York Times*, September 9, 1949. ProQuest Historical Newspapers, *The New York Times* (1851–2006).

21 W.E.B. DuBois, "Paul Robeson: Right or Wrong? Right," *Writings by W.E.B. DuBois in Periodicals Edited by Others*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited, 1982), 136–140.

22 Jonathan Rosenberg, *How Far the Promised Land? 196–198*, Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 61–63, and Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 65–67.

23 William Worthy, "Our Disgrace in Indochina," *The Crisis*, 61, 2 (February, 1954): 83.

was hauled before HUAC in 1955 for a humiliating grilling that challenged his identity as an American citizen, a point not lost by those within the Old Left.²⁴

Walter Reuther's anti-communism allowed him to continue to pressure for civil rights in a way that echoed the sentiments of Mordecai Johnson. Addressing the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) on June 26, 1957 Reuther explained, "This [the Cold War] is a struggle for hearts and minds [...] America's immorality in the field of civil rights could be the Achilles' heel of American democracy in the struggle against communist tyranny."²⁵ Gone however was the connection between American foreign policy in Vietnam and civil rights. After 1955 Reuther's foreign policy positions were compromised by the newly formed American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL CIO) dominated by its new President George Meany and Jay Lovestone who insisted that American foreign policy could not be questioned.²⁶

The French disaster at the battle of Dien Bien Phu set the stage for American consideration of direct intervention, a proposition which 68% of the American public rejected in a Gallup Poll May 1954. The international community ended the conflict in July.²⁷ Vietnam was neutralized through the Geneva Accords, but the United States decided to continue its policy of containment in Vietnam through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) treaty and support of what became the Republic of South Vietnam. Americans fared no better than the French.²⁸ In spite of the insertion of over 16,000 advisors and an aid package costing hundreds of millions of dollars a year by 1963, the United States was thwarted by a determined National Liberation Front. Worse still, the deliberate antagonism of the Buddhist majority by the American backed regime exploded into violence in May 1963 and exposed the magnitude of the opposition to the government.²⁹ By fall of 1963 the dramatic escalation of the American effort by President

24 "Investigation of the Unauthorized Use of Passports – Part 3," in *Paul Robeson Speaks*, 427.

25 "Address of Walter P. Reuther Before the Annual Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Detroit, Michigan, June 26, 1957" in *The Black Worker since the AFL-CIO Merger, 1955–1980*, Vol. VIII, ed. Philip S. Foner, Ronald L. Lewis, and Robert Cvornyek (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 424–425.

26 Boyle, *The UAW and the Heyday of American Liberalism*, 103–106.

27 Prados, *Vietnam*, 27–30 and Franklin, *Vietnam and Other American Fantasies*, 51–52.

28 Though the United States had agreed not to disturb the Geneva Accords it had created SEATO in September 1954 that included a protocol that would protect the southern portion of Vietnam from the communist north. To that end they supported Ngo Dinh Diem as the leader of South Vietnam whose patron/client system and brutality largely worked against the American aim of creating a democratic counter to the north. See: Robert J. McMahon, *The Limits of Empire: The United States in Southeast Asia Since World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 63–68, 95–96 and Seth Jacobs, *Cold War Mandarin: Ngo Dinh Diem and the Origins of America's War in Vietnam, 1950–1963* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2006), 102–107.

29 Fredrik Logevall, *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 2, 37–42, Robert J. Topmiller, *The Lotus Unleashed: The Buddhist Peace Movement in Vietnam, 1964–1966* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 2002), 2–3, 8, and Jacobs, *Cold War Mandarin*, 144–149.

John F. Kennedy had largely failed, leaving Lyndon B. Johnson with the unenviable problem of how to resolve the chaotic political situation in South Vietnam beset by an internal revolution and open civil war with North Vietnam.³⁰ Dissent with American policy in Vietnam had largely been shut down by 1955. Popular dissent with what became the American War in Vietnam and its connection to the neo-colonial critique developed slowly. What is the connection between old left dissent as resurrected by SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)?

The connection was made by a variety of actors on both the international and domestic stage. The Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia April 1955 that included newly independent countries such as Egypt and India demanded a place in global politics and economics that assured their sovereignty. Importantly, they demanded an end to the bloody contest being waged throughout the former colonial world by the superpowers.³¹ Bandung provided the foundation for the non-aligned movement and intensified the neo-colonial critique leveled against the superpowers. In the United States a collection of diverse groups such as the American Friends Service, the War Resisters League, and the Student Peace Union (SPU) opposed American Cold War policy in general and worked together on issues such as nuclear testing. The SPU was the largest student organization until 1963.³² By 1960 labor cooperation between older civil rights groups was extended to a younger generation through the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID), who in 1960 changed their name to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). This was seen as advantageous for labor and civil rights. This cooperation which included financial support further cemented the relationship between the old and what would become the new left.³³ However, this same financial support by the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) through the AFL CIO initially served to restrain connecting civil rights to American foreign policy in Vietnam. SNCC was certainly one of the critical engines that spawned the New Left, but it was the SPU that acted as a bridge to publicly resurrect the fiery neo-colonial critique that directly connected American foreign policy in Vietnam to the politics of race as offered by the likes of Robeson and William Worthly.

To the chagrin of many within the Old Left SPU directly criticized the militarization of American policy in Southeast Asia on college campuses. The SPU monthly bulletin for October, 1959 featured a story on the Laotian elections of May 1959 that resulted

30 See Lawrence Freedman, *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 396–399 and Andrew Preston, *The War Council: McGeorge Bundy, The NSC, and Vietnam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 76–93, 101–149.

31 McMahon, *The Limits of Empire*, 73–74 and Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 95–97.

32 Melvin Small, *Antiwarriors: The Vietnam War and the Battle for America's Hearts and Minds* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 5–6.

33 Peter B. Levy, *The New Left and Labor in the 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994) 11–14. The role SNCC played in shaping the New Left is crucial see: "Bridges to the North" in Hogan, *Many Minds, One Heart*, 95–116.

in the Communist MP's going to prison and the International Control Commission established by the Geneva Convention of 1954 leaving in protest. Beginning in 1958 the United States had backed a coup that unseated neutralist Souvanna Phouma for a more aggressive pro American General Phoui Sanankone which initiated a bitter Civil War that was stoked directly by both the United States and the Soviet Union.³⁴ The November bulletin featured University of California student, Fred Moore who went on a fast to protest compulsory Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) on the campus. In two days he had collected 1,000 signatures.³⁵

By 1962 SPU targeted Kennedy's escalation in Vietnam, insisting on self-determination for the people of Vietnam "without the fear of American troops intervening in [their] civil war."³⁶ SPU also became deeply enmeshed in civil rights, which included the campaign to desegregate Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The consequences of accelerating violence unleashed against civil rights projects in the United States and the unrelenting brutality of the Vietnam War came together at the SPU National Convention in June, 1963. The Convention likened Vietnam to an imperialist adventure at the expense "of first class citizenship for Negroes and other minorities."³⁷ Though the SDS Port Huron Statement June 1962 poignantly exposed contradictions between post World War II ideals and American Cold War policy, it failed to connect these ideas to specific policies as SPU had done. SDS was funded by organized labor through the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) who insisted that SDS not engage in united action with procommunist organizations. SPU unconstrained by such financial ties went bankrupt in 1964. It would be Robert Moses along with other parts of SNCC that would forcefully bring the connection of civil rights and Vietnam to the fore. SDS broke with LID in 1965 and was then free to officially adopt this line of protest.³⁸ The old left critique certainly resonated with Martin Luther King who in 1967 would elegantly explain the brutal connection between

34 Tamiment (hereafter TAM) Student Peace Union Records, 1959–1964, Box 1, TAM-057. SPU Bulletin October 1959, "Memorandum From the Deputy Director of the Office of Southeast Asian Affairs to the Deputy Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs," September 17, 1958 and "Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Laos, September 29, 1958 in *FRUS*, 1958–1960, Volume XVI, East Asia-Pacific Region; Cambodia; Laos (Washington: United States Government Printing Office), 479–482, and McMahon, *The Limits of Empire*, 80–81.

35 TAM, SPU Bulletin, November, 1959.

36 TAM, National Council, Convention, 1962 Folder, 1962 National Convention, Political Action Resolution.

37 TAM, Correspondence et al., 1963–1964. SPU News Notes 7, SPU Field Worker Pat Cusick, Report from Chapel Hill, NC and National Council, Convention, 1963, Minutes, Resolution on Vietnam and Statement of Purpose, Civil Rights.

38 TAM, SDS Ephemera, Box 2, Letter from Vera Rony, Executive Secretary, LID to SDS, July 2, 1962, Letter from Tom Hayden to Vera Rony, July 24, 1962, LID News Bulletin, 1965 and Box 11, SDS, 1962–1963 Development, Letter from Tom Hayden to Todd Gitlin, August 2, 1963, National Secretary's Report, SDS National Convention, June 1963.

civil rights and foreign policy at the Riverside Church in New York City on April 5, 1967. "If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read Vietnam."³⁹

How do we teach this narrative in the classroom?

Americans remain uncomfortable with this type of story as it sets the egalitarian ideals forwarded by the United States during the Cold War against the bitter reality of civil rights at home and its connection to American foreign policy in Vietnam. In 2010 the Texas School Board proposed that High School students learning about civil rights be required to understand that segregationists such as George Wallace were attempting to maintain the "status quo."⁴⁰ While this may be viewed as a distortion of the civil rights narrative, and one that distracts attention from Klan violence, there are other ways to avoid making connections between foreign and domestic policy. The State of Virginia's Standards of Learning underscores the importance of the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* decision and Virginia's response, which forces students to confront the State's segregation policies of the time. *Davis v County School Board of Prince Edward County*, located in Virginia, became one of the cases challenging school segregation that was taken up by the Supreme Court as part of *Brown v Board of Education*.⁴¹ Furthermore, the curriculum indicates that students must understand the importance of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Yet the requirements seem to stop at what Manning Marable calls the politics of engagement. Missing is the connection that would help students understand the politics of confrontation.⁴² This is due to an interpretation of the Vietnam War in which "the Geneva Accords divided Vietnam into two countries," or that "the communist government of North Vietnam attempted to instill through force a communist government in South Vietnam." In this light American containment policy in Southeast Asia makes sense, but problematizes another standard that encourages students to understand how the war "bitterly divided" Americans.⁴³ The State of Rhode Island Grade Span Expectations for Civics and Government and Historical Perspectives/Rhode Island History take a different approach, as they were designed to "capture the big ideas of civics and history" and not "narrow or

39 Martin Luther King Jr. "Declares His Opposition to the War," in *Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War*, ed. Robert J. McMahon (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co., 1995), 470–475.

40 Michael Brick, "Texas School Board Set to Vote on Textbook Revisions," *The New York Times*, May 20, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/21/education/21textbooks.html?ref=education&pagewanted=fullpage>.

41 See especially "The Pride of Virginia" in Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 480–508, 540, 723–747.

42 Manning Marable identifies the politics of the Civil Rights movement following World War II to 1965 as that of engagement more in line with the non-violent tactics of Martin Luther King and SNCC, whereas after 1965 [in line with the escalation of the Vietnam War] politics become confrontational as evidenced by the demand for Black Power. See: Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), 84–105.

43 State of Virginia, History and Social Science Standards of Learning, 2004. http://www.doe.virginia.gov/testing/sol/standards_docs/history_socialscience/index.shtml.

replace existing social studies curriculum." Students are expected to "analyze democratic ideals" opposed to the "realities of American social and political life exemplified by the concept of equal protection of the law and the reality of discrimination." In another section, students are expected to "analyze multiple perspectives on current and historical events" such as Vietnam.⁴⁴ The concepts are important for high school students to understand, but in spite of attempts to understand American/Rhode Island history at a global level, the connection between civil rights and Vietnam remains absent. If these connections are not mandated, how and where can students make these connections?

Connections between America's enemies and dissent remain a volatile issue in American politics, exemplified by revelations about the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is not surprising, therefore, that connections made by Paul Robeson about the plight of people of color in Vietnam and the United States are absent in textbooks.⁴⁵ Interestingly, two recent textbooks proposed for use in Rhode Island utilize excerpts from Martin Luther King's Riverside address in 1967 in an attempt to reveal these connections. In Prentice Hall's *United States History* we find his devastating critique: "We have been repeatedly faced with the irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same school."⁴⁶ Glencoe's *American Vision*, considered for use by the Providence School District, features another King segment, "I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price for smashed hopes at home and death and corruption in Vietnam [...]. The great initiative in this war is ours. The initiative to stop must be ours."⁴⁷ Though the connection is made, it is not connected to the evolution of the critique reviewed here. Both texts indicate that opposition to the war began either in 1965 or 1966, affirming Bruce J. Schulman's criticism that early opposition to the war, with the exception of the free speech movement, is largely ignored.⁴⁸ The war is framed in foreign policy terms in which the United States continues its policy of containment. American support for French involvement in Vietnam is based on this bi-polar dichotomy, and though we find

44 Rhode Island Grade Span Expectations for Civics and Government and Historical Perspectives/Rhode Island History, Final Version, December 2008, 1, 7, 10.

45 Lorne Mason, Jesus Garcia, Francis Powell, and C. Frederick Risinger, *America's Past and Promise* (Evanston: McDougal Littell, 1988), Herman Viola, *Why We Remember: United States History* (Menlo Park: Addison Wesley, 1998), Lewis P. Todd and Merle Curti, *Triumph of the American Nation* (Chicago: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1986), David King, Norman McRae, and Jaye Zola, *The United States and Its People* (Menlo Park: Addison Wesley, 1993), and Daniel Boorstein and Brooks Mather Kelley, *A History of the United States* (Needham: Prentice Hall, 1996).

46 Emma J. Lapansky-Werner et al., *United States History* (Boston: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2008) 993.

47 Joyce Appleby et al., *The American Vision* (New York: McGraw Hill/Glencoe, 2008) 894.

48 Bruce J. Schulman, "Out of the Streets and Into the Classroom? The New Left and the Counterculture in the United States," *Journal of American History*, 85, 4 (March, 1999): 1530, Lapansky-Werner, 992, Appleby, 893.

ourselves enmeshed in the terms of an authoritarian regime our intentions are noble.⁴⁹ Escalation becomes inevitable and the root causes of dissent encapsulated by World War II war aims are avoided. The power of this revitalized old left critique to shatter the liberal Cold War consensus in 1965 is obscured making it appear radical and unique.

After a review of the American escalation and expansion of the war, the texts continue to the politics of détente and the Cold War, moving away from the complexity of Vietnam to the inevitable conclusion of the Cold War. This mirrors the discomfort that many teachers have with Vietnam and its connections with the freedom movement.⁵⁰ In Rhode Island many teachers are unable to cover the topic, or do so, only at a surface level, because of time and a curriculum that packs all of United States history into one year. Others avoid teaching about Vietnam altogether, by ending U.S. History at the end of World War II. Some even jump over the topic.

Vietnam is difficult to teach in a narrative that points to a victorious past and to the promise of the future. Vietnam is sandwiched in between complicated discussions of Civil Rights centered on the politics of engagement, America's technological prowess, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and American success at reducing Cold War tension. Commitment to this narrative assures less possibility of criticism from nervous parents and an inoculation against the volatile politics that surround the story. Avoiding these painful connections remains the rule, despite the fact that students enjoy the challenge laid out by contested history. Engaging in creative activities enables students to grapple with some of the seemingly impossible choices and compromises that plagued the actors at all levels during this time.⁵¹

Most recently I had the opportunity to stage a role play I created with students from one of my foreign policy courses "The American War in Vietnam" at Rhode Island College and an advanced placement U.S. History class from Lincoln High School through a mini-grant from the State of Rhode Island which encourages collaborations between secondary and higher education. "A Cold War Reenactment: July 1965: America at the Crossroads, Vietnam" enabled students to participate in a fictitious debate regarding American escalation in Vietnam. Students play the roles of Lyndon Johnson, key players from the National Security Council, Dissenters within the National Security Council and the United States Senate, as well as Popular Dissent that included players from SNCC, SDS and notables such as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, and a skeptical press corps. The purpose of the exercise is to develop student's historical skills through formulating interpretations and analyses based on multiple perspectives and competing narratives in order to understand the intersections between United States foreign and domestic policy from a global perspective.

49 Lapansky-Werner, 982–983, Appleby, 882–885.

50 Lapansky-Werner, 1008–1013, 1087–1092, Appleby, 937–939, 990–992.

51 Karl P. Benziger and Robert Cvornyek, "American Foreign Policy at an Impasse: Teaching about Vietnam and the Civil Rights Movement," *Perspectives on History*, 45, 5 (May, 2010): 41–43.

The players are chosen at random. Students are required to research their particular character in depth and to create detailed outlines or notecards that they use in the context of the reenactment. All players are provided with a basic set of documents that provide them with an outline of their character's argument and clues where to find more documents. To add depth and context for their character students make use of materials that shaped their particular character's point of view. For example, the Robert Moses and Malcolm X characters include old left critique as described earlier in this paper, whereas Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy characters make use of previous rationales made by their predecessors such as John Foster Dulles and the SEATO treaty to explain the need to contain communism. The press corps is divided into four groups in order to focus in on one point of view and formulate questions designed to challenge the arguments. This means they need to get into their documents and familiarize themselves with counter-arguments. All players make use of biographies and other interpretive materials.

The National Security Council presents its arguments for escalation. They are followed by dissenters within the executive and legislative branches, and finally the voices of popular dissent are heard. The three groups are provided with a follow up in order to respond to critique and undermine their opponent's position. At this point the President closely questions each group in order to weigh the options as he decides whether to escalate the war in Vietnam. This is followed by a twenty-minute press conference in which the press grills all parties. The reenactment closes with the President's decision and an examination of the rationale he used in making it.

This cooperative exercise provides students with the opportunity to test arguments they have formulated, and through debate understand where they need to fill in gaps in their research. Preparation for the group presentations provides students with a chance to examine a wider range of research models and character sketches which they can utilize in their final papers. Students in my class are required to write a research paper that cogently presents their particular character's point of view and actions. The exercise is reinforced on my final exam through an essay in which students are asked to weigh the arguments and rationale for escalation of the war in 1965. The high school students wrote an essay about their experience in which they explained what they might have argued differently resulting from the exercise.

Students from both classes became deeply engaged in the role play. The high school students took a cue from my students as they presented arguments designed to undermine their opponents. It was clear that the younger students enjoyed having the opportunity to argue forcefully with adults. The interaction between college and high school students proved interesting and certainly helped all students to better clarify their arguments. Important for both the high school and college students was the fact that the exercise quickly gets to the deep divisions that marked American society at this time and the volatility engendered by the connections of race and foreign policy. It also showed how our present understanding of this period is shaped by the contested politics of 1965 that were rooted in the promises of what the post-World War II world would be

as interpreted by all involved in the debate at the time. All parties in the debate undergirded the veracity of their claims with the promises of freedom enshrined both in America's rational legal documents and Charter of the United Nations. The stakes couldn't have been higher for all parties involved.

Race was a key component of politics in the post war WWII world as the former colonies broke the chains of the masters who had excused their domination of the third world based on the discredited theory of eugenics. The new world order envisioned by the Atlantic Charter seemed to be the death knell of old world order and the United States could not escape the new global reality that placed its policies of segregation under the spotlight. The logic of segregation was no longer acceptable to the freedom movement confronted by the Ku Klux Klan and institutionalized racism. The escalation of the Vietnam War coincided with the demand for civil rights, and by 1965 the arguments had begun to change from the politics of engagement to confrontation that would hasten the coming of Black Power in 1966.⁵² What burned 1965 indelibly into the consciousness of both those within and outside the United States was the symmetry of violence exacted against people of color in Vietnam and places like McComb County, Mississippi. The violence that erupted in Watts on August 11, 1965 was emblematic of what the denial of access to the levers of economic power coupled with racism had wrought.⁵³ These problems could not be ignored. What Paul Robeson and W.E.B. DuBois understood in 1949 certainly held true in 1965. What was viewed as fringe politics in the aftermath of World War II became the frame for popular dissent after 1965. It is no wonder then that it is a story many preferred to forget in the post 1945 Cold War world when the United States held sway as the bastion of freedom and democratic change.

52 Joseph E. Peniel, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power* (New York: Owl Books, 2006), 141–142.

53 The Watts riot lasted for six days, left thirty-four dead, and caused over two hundred million dollars of property damage. According to Adam Fairclough "Lyndon Johnson's 'War on Poverty' raised black expectations, but offered no route out of the ghetto" in *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890–2000* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 295–297.

Unaccounted For

Scientist Martyrs of Hungary in the Horthy Era and the Holocaust¹

The anti-Semitism of the Horthy regime and the Hungarian Holocaust caused tragic losses in Hungarian scientific life. The author – a chemistry professor and Holocaust survivor – calls for a reliable assessment of the losses preceded by thorough research. He laments the absence of proper remembrance of the martyrs who have already been identified.

Introduction

A few years ago, my wife and I collected the images of the memorials of science in Budapest – statues, busts, and memorial plaques. Augmented with related stories, we published a guidebook.² Our collection was inclusive as in addition to fundamental science we considered applications, technology and innovation, medicine, and education. On the backdrop of the large number of memorials, it was conspicuous that hardly any scientist victim of the Hungarian Holocaust has been remembered in such a way. During the preparation of the book, I published an account of this observation in *Magyar Tudomány*, the periodical of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.³ It appeared in 2013, amid the preparations for the 70th anniversary of the deportation of Hungarian Jewry in 1944. I hoped that my paper would turn attention to the losses of Hungarian science in the Holocaust and research would be initiated to take account of those losses. It did not happen.

Ours was a limited consideration as our attention was directed to existing memorials and it was limited to Budapest. The present writing is an expanded version of my 2013 paper. I have added emphasis to the need of a comprehensive project, but my considerations still did not expand beyond Budapest.

The Hungarian scientific establishment owes such a comprehensive project to the martyrs and it owes such a project to itself as well. The Hungarian Holocaust usually refers to the events of the 1944–1945 period and I stress that a meticulous discussion should also extend the time period it covers. What happened in Hungary in 1944–1945 was the culmination of the history of the entire Horthy era lasting 25 years between 1920 and 1944.

Sadly, the situation in the summer of 2017 is worse than it was in 2013. In 2016, an account, “History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,” appeared on the official web site of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Rather than remedying the situation, this document aggravates it. There is no mention in it of the anti-Semitic discrimination in scientific life during the Horthy era and no mention of any losses in the Holocaust, not even that there was a Holocaust (or a Second World War, for that matter).

Following the war and revolutions, the Academy's work restarted with a lot of difficulty as war inflation had consumed many of its assets. After the Treaty of Trianon came into effect the institution was supported with regular state subsidies administered by Count Kunó Klebelsberg, Minister for Education, who planned to provide pivotal roles for culture and science in the reconstruction of the country. The Academy did not regain its financial stability until the late 1920s when Count Ferenc Vigyázó left his entire estate to it. From this point on the yearly income of 500–600 thousand pengő from the Vigyázó legacy was spent on scientific purposes.

Between the two world wars, the Academy was characterised by a peculiar duality. Its spirituality and its leaders stubbornly stuck to the conservatism of the late 19th century. At the same time internationally renowned natural scientists became members of the Academy, including biochemist Albert Szent-Györgyi (the first Hungarian Nobel Prize Winner), mechanical engineer Kálmán Kandó and chemist Géza Zemplén.⁴

I called the attention of the Department of Communication of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to this misrepresentation. The response was that the inclusion of the items whose absence I lamented (that is, that there was anti-Jewish discrimination, that there were losses in the Holocaust, and that there was a Holocaust in the first place) would not be possible in the limited framework of the treatise.⁵ The question arises how much this section should be expanded to make it possible to mention the impact of anti-Semitism of the Horthy era, the destruction of Hungarian Jewry, and World War II – and not only on the Jewish component of Hungarian scientific life? Albert Szent-Györgyi was highly critical of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences during the Horthy era and pointed to its considerable responsibility for the national catastrophe. This he stated and elaborated in his letter of November 30, 1945, addressed to the Secretary General of the Academy.⁶

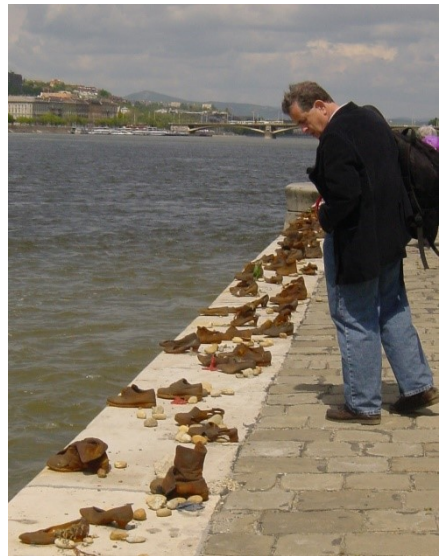
In Budapest, there are moving memorials of the victims of the Hungarian Holocaust, but there is no memorial in public space to the over four hundred thousand Hungarian Jews who perished in Auschwitz. The "Emanuel Tree of the Holocaust" (by Imre Varga, 1990) in the Raoul Wallenberg Memorial Park in the garden of the Great Synagogue of Dohány Street is not in public space and it has limited opening hours. The Emanuel Foundation of New York sponsored the establishment of the Emanuel Tree, which remembers all the Jews killed during the Holocaust. I attended its inauguration and one of its speakers was the then Prime Minister elected recently in the first democratic elections after the fall of communism. Mr. József Antall was mourning the victims, but he was mourning them not as Hungarians that they also were. He appeared to divide the people present at the dedication into two groups, "You" and "We," and made it clear that this memorial was "Yours," and not "Ours."



*The Nobel laureate American scientist James D. Watson
at (the closed gate to) the Emanuel Tree of the Holocaust memorial in 2002.*

The “Shoes on the Danube Bank” memorial (by János Can Togay and Gyula Pauer, 2005) honors the Jewish victims shot into the river by Arrow Cross men. The Arrow Cross was the Hungarian Nazi movement that took over the country on October 15, 1944. The memorial tablets in Hungarian, English, and Hebrew read: “To the memory of the victims shot into the Danube by Arrow Cross militiamen in 1944–45.” It is not mentioned that the victims were Jews; it is just assumed as obvious – I think it should be mentioned.

There is a memorial to the victims of fascism on the bank of the Danube in Viza Street (by Agamemnon Makris, 1986). It is a half-size copy of the original, which stands at the Mauthausen Nazi concentration camp in Austria. According to the English translation of the inscription of



*The Nobel laureate Israeli scientist
Aaron Ciechanover at the “Shoes on the
Danube Bank” memorial in 2005.*

the Budapest version, it commemorates “the resistance fighters, deserters, and the persecuted whom the Fascists murdered on the Pest bank of the Danube in the winter of 1944–45.” This dedication was typical of the ambivalence of the communist regime toward the Hungarian Holocaust. The principal victims were Jews and the murderers were Hungarian Nazis – the Arrow Cross – but János Kádár’s regime did not consider spelling this out. The memorial was once again unveiled in 2010, with unchanged inscription. In 2012, unknown perpetrators painted anti-Jewish slogans of hate on the memorial. The euphemism of the text of the monument did not mislead them.



Memorial to the victims of fascism at Viza Street, District XIII.

The expression “victims of fascism” is ambiguous at best, but it is, really, misleading. There was Mussolini’s Italian fascism and Hitler’s German National Socialism. In Hungary, there was Horthy’s autocratic and anti-Semitic regime, which started in 1920 with the introduction of post-WWI Europe’s first anti-Semitic legislation. It continued with increasingly harsh anti-Semitic legislation in the late 1930s and early 1940s, and culminated in the deportation of countryside Jewry still under Horthy’s reign. Speaking about the “victims of fascism” is a camouflage masking Hungarian responsibility.

The Arrow Cross movement took over Hungary from Nicholas Horthy on October 15, 1944. By then, under Horthy, well over four hundred thousand Jews, mostly from the

countryside, outside of Budapest, had been deported, primarily to Auschwitz. The discrimination against Jews, their persecution, and annihilation had been going on in Hungary even before the German invasion of the country on March 19, 1944, even if by means of less efficient technologies than those employed by Germany. Thus, when, from 1941, the slave laborer Jews were sent to the Eastern Front, their guards knew that none of their charges were expected to survive the ordeal and they did their best to comply with this expectation.

In Budapest, the Arrow Cross murdered an estimated one hundred thousand Jews. They hunted out their victims and shot them into the Danube often after they had tortured them. There were scientists among the murdered.

I describe a few individual fates below so that we see them beyond the statistics. In the existing memorials in public space, the fact that the victims were Jews is usually masked. Camouflaging this information is misleading and for future generations it will mean a falsification of history. This falsification is though consistent with the efforts to ascribe the crimes against the Jews exclusively to the Germans and to the Arrow Cross.

Victims

The pharmacist entrepreneur Gedeon Richter (1872–1944)⁷ was born into an assimilated Jewish landowner family, in an East Hungarian village, Ecséd, near the town of Gyöngyös. Before completion of his high school studies, he started working in a pharmacy in Gyöngyös. It was at the time that new legislation required university training



Memorial plaque of Gedeon Richter (by István Buda) on the façade of 21 Katona József Street, District XIII. On December 30, 1944, Richter was taken from here and murdered.

for pharmacists, and he successfully completed the prescribed higher education. After this, he spent two years working in various pharmacies to acquire the qualifications to open his own pharmacy. He soon found his real vocation in the creation of an independent Hungarian pharmaceutical industry. He spent four years in Italy, Germany, France, and England, preparing himself for the task. He was 29 years old when he bought a pharmacy in Budapest and started his own manufacturing laboratory using the money from the sale of his family's estate. The pharmacy he ran is still there, at the corner of Üllői Avenue and Márton Street in District IX.

Richter focused on deficiency diseases. The necessary ingredients for the therapy, called organotherapia, were extracted from animal endocrine glands. Richter built up a strong research section in his laboratory and kept close contact with the medical profession. By 1902, he had already started publishing an information bulletin and was distributing it among medical doctors, free of charge. The laboratory soon proved inadequate for his goals and he founded a plant for manufacturing his preparations, which extended to plant extracts and synthetic drugs. One of his associates, Emil Wolf, soon left him to found another future giant pharmaceutical company, Chinoin.

The Richter chemical factory acquired fame for some long-lasting products, such as kalmopyrin (comparable with aspirin), insulin, and the Glandtrin injection, which contained oxytocin and proved efficient in gynecological applications. Insulin was discovered in 1921 with its first testing on humans in 1922, and Richter was already manufacturing it by 1926. In the early 1930s, Richter became one of the leading worldwide manufacturers of estrogens. Richter created subsidiaries and expanded internationally. In 1923, the Richter chemical factory became a shareholders' company with Gedeon Richter retaining the majority of shares. By the mid-1930s, Richter products were marketed in 100 countries. By the late 1930s, the Richter Company was second only to the United Incandescent Lamp Company (Tungsram) among Hungarian exporters.

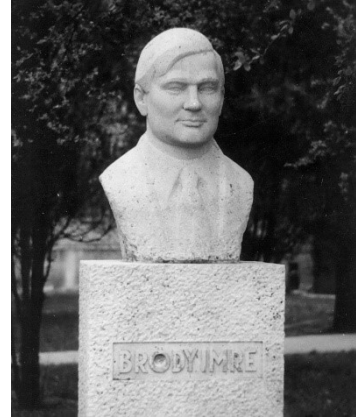
From the late 1930s, increasingly harsh anti-Jewish legislation was hindering the normal operations of the company. It was placed under military control; Richter was under attack and had to resign as Chairman of the Board. In 1942, he was stripped of the rest of his functions in the company, and soon he was banned from entering the plant. He offered his services without remuneration, but his offer was rejected. For some time, he was still participating covertly in directing his company through his faithful associates. While it was still possible, he rejected suggestions that he should escape. His only concern was how to save the company.

On December 30, 1944, the Arrow Cross took him to the embankment of the Danube and murdered him. His corpse was never found. The company has survived; today, it carries Gedeon Richter's name.

Emil Wolf (1886–1947) studied in Munich and graduated in 1910 as a chemical engineer. He and György Kereszty (1885–1937) co-founded the chemical factory from which the Chinoin Chemical and Pharmaceutical Company was created in 1913. They produced mainly synthetic drugs in close cooperation with Géza Zemplén, professor of organic chemistry, at the Technical University. In 1944, the Jewish Wolf was deported to



Bust of Emil Wolf (by Dávid Tóth, 2010) at the corner of István and Nyár Street, District IV.



Bust of Imre Bródy in the garden of Bródy Gimnázium, Ajka.

a concentration camp in Germany. He survived and returned, continuing to direct Chinoín, but died in 1947.

Imre Bródy (1891–1944) was born in Gyula, in southeastern Hungary. Between 1909 and 1914, he studied mathematics and physics at Budapest University. He began teaching in a high school, and conducted research in theoretical physics at the University. In 1918 he earned his doctorate and the university invited him to be an assistant professor. Following the period of WWI and the revolutions, the virulent anti-Semitism engulfing the country prevented a university career for Bródy. In 1920, he left for Germany, and joined the great physicist Max Born in Göttingen. Many of the world's best young physicists, among them Werner Heisenberg, congregated around Born. Therefore, Born's words with respect to Bródy's talent carry exceptional weight: "There was the little Hungarian Jew, E. Bródy, perhaps *the most gifted of them all*, who could solve intricate problems"⁸ (my emphasis). Here E. stands for Emerich, the German equivalent of Imre. Bródy seemed destined for a great career, but after two years he returned to Hungary. He joined the research laboratory of the United Incandescent Lamp Company, known by its trademark, Tungstram. The sagacious director general, Lipót Aschner, developed a research laboratory under the leadership of Ignác Pfeifer.

Ignác Pfeifer (1868–1941) was a chemical engineer who at one time was in charge of the chemistry institute of the Technical University (today, Budapest University of Technology and Economics).



Bust of Ignác Pfeifer (by Sándor Mikus, 1975) on the campus of the University of Technology and Economics.

His area of research was water softening. He was accused of involvement in the 1919 communist regime, and had to leave the Technical University. He was invited to head the research laboratory of Tungsram, where Pfeifer created a modern research organization, the first such entity in Hungary. At the end of the 1930s, the anti-Jewish laws jeopardized his employment at Tungsram. While Pfeifer was with Tungsram, he attracted excellent scientists to work there, such as Bródy, Pál Selényi (see below), and others. Even expatriate scientists, such as Michael Polanyi (physical chemist in the UK, later, philosopher) and Dennis Gabor (physicist in the UK, future Nobel laureate inventor of holography), took up part-time appointments as external advisors.

Bródy demonstrated great versatility when he transformed himself from a successful theoretician into an innovative technologist. His best-known invention was the krypton lamp, which had great advantages over the previously used argon lamp. The application necessitated new ways of producing the expensive krypton gas, in which Bródy cooperated with others, such as Ferenc Kőrösy (physical chemist, later in Israel) and Polanyi. The krypton lamp became an international success, and in 1937, the company built a new manufacturing plant for the lamp near the town of Ajka.

The intensifying anti-Semitism in Hungary and the increasingly harsh anti-Jewish legislation reached Tungsram as well. The company had to replace both Pfeifer and Aschner. The new man in charge, Zoltán Bay, was both an excellent scientist and a caring human being. He achieved special status for the company as being important for defense. A number of leading researchers and engineers, including Bródy, received exemption from the slave labor service that Jewish men were subject to. This saved them for some time. However, when Bródy's wife and daughter were deported, he gave up his exempt status. The Nazis arrested him on July 3, 1944. Inmates sighted him at various camps, including Auschwitz–Birkenau. His wife and daughter probably perished upon their arrival in Auschwitz; by the end

of 1944, Bródy too was dead.



Lajos Steiner medal of the Hungarian Meteorological Society (by Miklós Borsos, from unknown source).

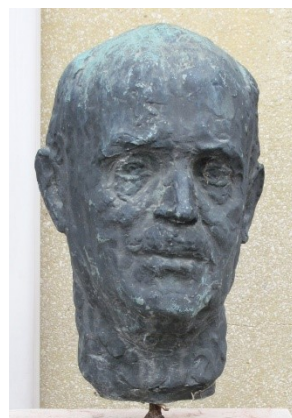
Lajos Steiner (1871–1944) was a meteorologist and geophysicist. He studied at the University of Budapest and for some time he was Loránd Eötvös's associate. Loránd Eötvös was the doyen of Hungarian physicists, a famous researcher of gravitation. Between 1892 and 1932, Steiner served at the Royal Hungarian Central Institute of Meteorology and Earth Magnetism; from 1927, as its director. His principal research concerned the theory of geomagnetism. His main achievement was the introduction of the weather forecasting service in Hungary. In 1917, he was elected a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. On April 2, 1944, he committed suicide, thus escaping further anti-Jewish persecution.

Nándor Mauthner (1879–1944) was a chemical engineer who studied at the ETH Zurich and graduated in 1902. In 1903, he received his doctorate at the University of Geneva. For a few years, he did research in Emil Fischer's organic chemistry institute in Berlin. From 1911, he worked at the University of Budapest with an interruption between 1917 and 1918 when he served as a military chemist in Vienna. He received a promotion in May 1919, during the communist dictatorship, and this caused hurdles in his subsequent career. His main field of interest was sugar chemistry. In 1934, he was elected a corresponding member of the Academy. After the mid-1930s there is no information about Mauthner, except for the rumors that on May 21, 1944, he committed suicide as an escape from anti-Jewish persecution.

Adolf Káldor (1882–1944) was born in Modor (now, in Slovakia). He was the first municipal physician of the town Budafok – today, part of District XXII of Budapest. He was popular among his patients. Together with his family he was deported early summer 1944 and perished in Auschwitz.

The physicist and inventor Pál Selényi (1884–1954) survived the slave labor camp, but his two sons were murdered, György Selényi (1915–1944) and Tamás Selényi (1923–1944). Pál Selényi graduated as a high school teacher of physics and mathematics and embarked on a career at the University. Following Loránd Eötvös's death he was appointed lecturer in experimental physics. In 1919, he was a member of the leadership of scientific societies and museums. After the collapse of the communist dictatorship, he could not hold a state supported position. He became an associate of Tungsram and excelled with numerous inventions. One of these is considered to be the forerunner of photocopying. The anti-Jewish legislation forced him into retirement in 1939. He returned from the slave labor camp severely ill, but continued his work. After Liberation, he was elected to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and taught at the Technical University.

Frigyes Fellner (1871–1945) was an internationally renowned economist and statistician. He trained at the law school of the University of Budapest, and in 1897, he earned the qualification of lawyer. He achieved high positions in banking, but when he embarked on a career in academia, he withdrew from direct involvement in finance. He



*Memorial of Adolf Káldor
(by Erzsébet Schaár) at 2,
Duna Street, District XXII.*



*Grave stone of Pál Selényi
and his wife in the Kozma
Street Jewish cemetery
(courtesy of József Varga).
The inscription commemorates
their two martyr
sons.*



*Frigyes Fellner (source:
<http://www.magyarzsido.hu>, May 12, 2017).*

pioneered the determination of gross national income in Hungary. He was a professor both at the University of Budapest and the Technical University. In 1917, he was elevated to nobility. He was a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In 1927, soon after the Upper House of Parliament formed, Fellner became an alternate member, and in 1938, he became a full member, when Pál Teleki resigned his membership (due to Teleki's election to the lower chamber). Fellner was never directly involved in politics.

Fellner's spectacular career ended abruptly. The timing coincided with the introduction of the anti-Jewish legislation in 1939. It may be that he had kept his Jewish origins secret or might not have been aware of them. His membership in the Upper House of Parliament was terminated although such membership was for a lifetime. His publishing activities came to a halt in 1939, at which time he had 130 publications. There is no information about his last five years. He was arrested soon after the German invasion of Hungary on March 19, 1944. He was taken to the Mauthausen concentration camp where in early 1945, he starved to death.

Discrimination in the Academy elections

Three members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences mentioned above (Steiner, Mauthner, and Fellner) perished between 1944–1945 because of their Jewish roots. We cannot know whether there were more. It appears that relatively few Jewish members of the Academy of Sciences had fallen victim of persecution. However, this is a misleading impression. The fact is that due to its discriminative elections, hardly any Jewish scientists became members of the Academy during the Horthy era. Mauthner's election to corresponding member was a rare exception. Fellner's election is irrelevant in this respect because his possible Jewish background was not known.

The following list contains the names of academicians elected during the Horthy era whose background and religion might have any relevance to Jewish origin. It is based on a data bank,⁹ which, of course, may be incomplete. It does not contain information about Nándor Mauthner, elected corresponding member in 1934 (for whom the document of nomination stressed his religion as Roman Catholic).¹⁰ If only Christian religion is indicated, it means that already the parents had converted. The elections during the Horthy era are underlined. According to this data bank, for the 25-year period between 1920 and 1944, only two scientists of Jewish religion were elected; both were world-renowned mathematicians.

András Alföldi (1895–1981, Lutheran) archeologist, corresponding member, 1933, full member, 1945; he was excluded in 1949, and reinstated in 1989. *Dávid Angyal* (1857–1943, converted, 1895) historian, corresponding member, 1902, full member, 1917, honorary member, 1936.¹¹ *Lipót Fejér* (1880–1959, Jewish) mathematician, corresponding member, 1908, full member, 1930, honorary member, 1946. *Frigyes Fellner* (1871–1945, converted, 1903) economist, corresponding member, 1915, full member, 1936. *Béla Földes* (1848–1945, converted, 1879) economist, corresponding member, 1893, full member, 1901, honorary member, 1933. *Alfréd Haar* (1885–1933, Jewish) mathematician, corresponding member, 1931. *Sándor Korányi* (1866–1944, Roman Catholic) physician, honorary member, 1935. *István Möller* (1860–1934, converted, 1882) architect, corresponding member, 1927. *Gusztáv Rados* (1862–1942, converted some time between 1875 and 1884), corresponding member, 1894, full member, 1907, honorary member, 1937. *Frigyes Riesz* (1880–1956, converted) mathematician, corresponding member, 1916, full member, 1936. *Lajos Winkler* (1863–1939, Calvinist) chemist, pharmacist, corresponding member, 1896, full member, 1922.

Anti-Jewish bias in the elections to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is difficult to investigate. Data on the ethnicity and religion of the members of the Academy are scarce, and elections depend on so many factors that demonstration of bias can hardly be unambiguous. The conspicuously small number of Jewish scientists elected to the Academy suggests a strong anti-Jewish bias. I offer only one example of a failed election in spite of the candidate's strong credentials.

In 1934, eight members of the Academy nominated John von Neumann for membership. The nominators were outstanding scientists whose scholarship enabled them to appreciate von Neumann's achievements in mathematics and theoretical physics. In addition to a descriptive recommendation, they listed von Neumann's 49 publications in support of their nomination. The signatories were Ottó Titusz Bláthy, Gusztáv Rados, Radó Kövesligethy, Károly Tangl, Lipót Fejér, Béla Pogány, István Rybár, and Rudolf Ortway. Alas, von Neumann was not elected. He was 31 years old at the time and looking back from today's perspective when new members of the Academy are often over 60 years of age, one might think that he may have been too young for this honor. However, this was not the case. Just consider von Neumann's nominators, who, apart from Bláthy, were all elected



Bust of John von Neumann with Edward Teller visiting it on the campus of the University of Technology and Economics in the early 1990s (courtesy of János Philip).

at a young age; Fejér at 28 (in 1908), Pogány at 31 (1918), Rados (1894) and Rybár (1918) both at 32, and Kövesligethy at 33 (1895). In 1937, von Neumann naturalized as a U.S. citizen and in the same year, he was elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences of the U.S.A.

A worthy candidate did not need to be Jewish to be declined. Thus, for example, Albert Szent-Györgyi was elected to full membership in 1938, only after he had received the Nobel Prize in 1937.

I am aware of two academicians of Jewish background who had been excluded from the Academy on the pretext of their participation in the revolutions of 1918–1919. They were Bernát Alexander (1850–1927) and Manó Beke (1862–1946). Alexander was a philosopher who was elected corresponding member in 1892 and full member in 1915. He was excluded on November 24, 1919. His membership was reinstated posthumously in 1989. Beke was a mathematician, elected corresponding member in 1914; he was excluded in 1920, and his membership was reinstated in 1945.

Numerus Clausus

On June 4, 1920, the so-called Trianon Peace Treaty was concluded – named after the Versailles palace where it was signed – with tragic consequences for Hungary. It dismembered historic Hungary by giving independence to Croatia and Slovakia and carved out large chunks of the country to add them to Romania, with some territory even given to Austria. In the “happy peacetime” between 1867 and 1914, the presence of an assimilated Jewish population strengthened the Hungarian population, which was appreciated, because the Hungarian population was in a minority in this multiethnic country. After Trianon, there were hardly any sizeable minorities within the new borders.

Many young Hungarians who suddenly found themselves living outside of Hungary as a consequence of the Trianon Treaty moved to Budapest seeking higher education. The relatively large Jewish student body became a target and the infamous Law XXV in 1920 – usually referred to as *numerus clausus*, that is, closed number – was enacted. This was the first anti-Jewish legislation in post-WWI Europe and it severely limited the number of Jewish students at the universities. This happened under Prime Minister Pál Teleki, a noted scientist in geography. His reign was short lived, but he would be back as prime minister toward the late 1930s, with more severe anti-Jewish legislation.

The exodus of young ambitious Jews who were eager to acquire a higher education was a direct consequence of the *numerus clausus* law. Even some Jewish and non-Jewish youths who might not have been directly impacted by this law, such as John von Neumann and (the future Nobel laureate theoretical physicist) Eugene P. Wigner left Hungary in the 1920s because they envisioned their future hopeless had they stayed.

This law remained in effect throughout the Horthy era in spirit, even if its stipulations loosened toward the late 1920s. Kuno Klebelsberg (1875–1932), the minister of reli-

gion and public education between 1922 and 1931, proposed replacing references to racial and national origin in the law by national loyalty and moral reliability. Teleki, Klebelsberg, and their colleagues understood that the *numerus clausus* legislation reflected negatively on Hungary in the civilized world, and Klebelsberg practiced a sophisticated double talk. In the West he said what he supposed was acceptable there and at home he continued the rhetoric that served domestic politics. In 1924, he made this cynical statement in the Hungarian Parliament, as though shifting the responsibility to the West: "Give us back the old Greater Hungary and then we will be able to revoke *numerus clausus*."¹²

Klebelsberg had a broad vision for the dominance of Hungary in the region through Hungarian "cultural superiority." He aimed at bringing back some of the talent that had left the country. It is doubtful though that he would have welcomed the return of Jewish expatriate scientists. None of the attempts to gain professorial appointments for expatriate Jewish physicists or mathematicians turned out to be successful, although they had in the meantime become top players, internationally, in their fields.

Max Born, the doyen of the famous Göttingen School of physics tells an amusing story. It happened in about 1930 that Klebelsberg visited this famous university and its chief administrator, J. T. Valentiner, gave a luncheon party for the distinguished visitor to allow him to meet with the luminaries of the school. This is how Born remembered it when the high guest asked him what he [Born] "thought about the Hungarian mathematicians and physicists. I replied with a hymn of praise for my Hungarian colleagues,



Bust of Eugene P. Wigner with the Hungarian-born Israeli Nobel laureate Avram Hershko on the campus of the University of Technology and Economics in January 2005.



*Leo Szilard (courtesy of the
US Department of Energy
photography).*

mentioning first my old friends [Alfred] Haar and [Theodore von] Kármán, then [George] Polya in Zürich and others I cannot now remember, and finally the young generation who were at present in Göttingen: John von Neumann, Eugene Wigner and Edward Teller. At this point, I got a fearful kick on the shin from [James] Franck, whereupon I stopped and let him continue the discussion. I did not understand what he meant by this violent interruption until he explained it to me after lunch. All I had mentioned were Jews, and therefore, in the eyes of a representative of that anti-Semitic government, not Hungarians at all.¹³

I show another example of how well understood it was that the Horthy regime did not consider Jewish scientists and scientists of Jewish origin to be genuinely Hungarian. In 1935, there was an opening for a physics professorship at the University of Szeged. The former Szeged physics professor, now, Professor of Physics of the University of Budapest, mentioned this possibility to Eugene P. Wigner. By then, Wigner was a recognized physics professor in the United States. In his letter of January 13, 1936, Wigner wrote to Ortway, that exactly those non-scientific considerations, that is, anti-Semitism, that would prevent his [Wigner's] appointment to this position made this position undesirable for him [for Wigner].¹⁴

The law of *numerus clausus* was enacted in accord with the anti-Semitism of a considerable portion of the society. There was no *numerus clausus* yet when nationalistic students prevented Leo Szilard from continuing his studies at the Technical University in fall 1919. Szilard started his studies as an engineering student in the academic year 1916/17. Then he had his military service in the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1917/18 after which he wanted to resume his studies. However, nationalistic students kicked him down the stairs in front of the main entrance of the School. Szilard had converted and wanted to show his certificate about it but the nationalist students were not interested in it. Szilard was Jewish and no conversion changed this fact for them. It was at that moment that Szilard decided to leave the country. Even the limited amount of time Szilard spent as a student of the Technical University is noteworthy and a reason for pride on the part of the University. For years, in the early 2000s, I kept suggesting to the leadership of the University to erect a bust for Szilard in the sculpture garden of the campus, but it did not happen.

The beating of Jewish students by their nationalistic peers was a daily event for years in the 1920s. Eugene P. Wigner, who also spent a short period of time at the Technical University, maintained that he did not remember any of it, but he added, had he remembered, he would have denied that it happened. He was a proud Hungarian, who

felt embarrassed for the actions of those nationalist students. When pressed for remembering, he admitted an episode when three students attacked and beat him, but he hastened to add that it did not hurt too much.

In the mid-1930s the anti-Semitic incidents at the universities intensified. This was going on even before the increasingly harsh and comprehensive anti-Jewish laws were introduced starting in the late 1930s. It happened, for example, that all non-Jewish students, including the converted ones, a total of about 250, refused to sit together with the handful of Jewish students during a lecture of Tivadar Huzella at the medical school. The only exception was Count Miklós Wenckheim who kept sitting with the Jewish students and ignored the verbal abuse directed at him. Professor Huzella was a humanitarian and kept lecturing, paying no attention to the protest. Other professors though joined in the frequent demonstrations of overt anti-Semitism.

The *numerus clausus* law prevented the higher education of many. Those who could afford it attended universities in foreign countries. Some stayed away for good, but many returned to Hungary after graduation. There are no data of either category and it has not been considered polite to find out whether or not someone might have acquired a higher education abroad because of the *numerus clausus*. Considering memorials, three examples of renowned engineers follow who had to attend universities of technology abroad and became successful professionals. Their biographers duly record the fact that they studied abroad though not the reason why they had to acquire their qualifications outside of Hungary.

László Kozma (1902–1983) was rejected because of the *numerus clausus* when in 1921 he wanted to enroll at the Technical University. For years, he worked as an electrician. Between 1925 and 1930, he studied at the Brno Technical University (Czechoslovakia at the time; today, Czech Republic), and graduated as an electrical engineer. He worked in Belgium, but in 1942, upon the German invasion, he lost his job. He returned to Hungary and in 1944, he was deported to the Mauthausen concentration camp. He survived, but was severely ill when he returned to Hungary. He worked in industry and taught at the Technical University until 1949, when the communist dictatorship arrested him on false charges, tried, and sentenced him. He spent five years in prison and was freed in 1954. In 1955, he was rehabilitated and continued teaching at the Technical University. In 1958, he built the first digital and programmable computer in Hungary. He worked out plans for modernization of the Hungarian telephone system. He reformed the training of electrical engineers, and initiated the specialization of electronic technology.

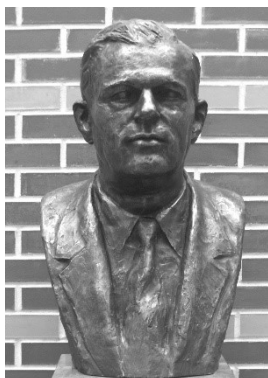


Bust of László Kozma on the campus of the University of Technology and Economics.

László Heller (1907–1980) studied mechanical engineering at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) in Zurich and graduated in 1931. He stayed in Zurich for two more years before returning to Hungary where he worked in private engineering business. We have no information about him during the last years of the Horthy era and the Holocaust. In 1948, he defended his doctoral dissertation at the ETH. Heller and his associate, László Forgó, invented a cooling technique utilizing air condensation. Power stations still use this method. He founded the department of energy studies at the Technical University. He is buried in the Kozma Street Jewish Cemetery.



Bust of László Heller on the campus of the University of Technology and Economics.



Bust of István Barta on the campus of the University of Technology and Economics.

István Barta (1910–1978) studied in the technical universities of Vienna, Brno, and Karlsruhe following his high school graduation in Budapest. He received his Diploma in 1933 and his doctorate (1934) as an electrical engineer from the Technical University of Karlsruhe. He returned to Hungary and worked first for the Ericsson Company, then for Tungstam. After the war he worked in industry and was a professor and chair of the department of communications engineering at the Technical University. His research was on radio and television techniques, as well as acoustics. He was instrumental in the development of the Hungarian electronics industry. We have no information about how he survived the last years of the Horthy era and the Holocaust.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the *numerus clausus* gradually became *numerus nullus*, and there was increasing discrimination against the remaining Jewish students. As war was approaching, paramilitary instructions became more rigorous. From 1942, Jewish students had to wear yellow armbands and the converted Jewish students white armbands. Thus, such visible anti-Jewish discrimination predated the German occupation of Hungary (on March 19, 1944) after which the Jews in Hungary had to wear the yellow six-pointed star. In the early summer of 1944, many Jewish university instructors and students were deported to concentration camps, where most of them perished.

Bálint Hóman, the leading politician of education and cultural affairs of the second half of the Horthy era advocated the extension of *numerus clausus* to include the high schools. His ministry of religion and public education issued a classified circular in summer 1939, which extended the *numerus clausus* to high schools.¹⁵

Slave Labor and Deportation

From 1939, the Horthy regime conscripted Jewish men and from 1941, after Hungary entered the war, used them as auxiliary troops – in reality as a punitive slave labor force – on the Eastern Front and elsewhere. In addition to the hardship and dangers that accompany wartime conditions, they suffered from humiliation and sadistic treatment by their supervising Hungarian army personnel, the so-called skeleton staff. To be sure, there were exceptions. Many of the inmates of slave labor camps never returned, and there were among them representatives of Hungarian scientific life.



Memorial to the Jewish slave laborers, 1939–1945, at 2 Bethlen Gábor Square, District VII.

There is a memorial to the Jewish slave laborers at 2 Bethlen Gábor Square. Its inscription says that they stood unarmed on the minefields. This is in reference to Miklós Radnóti's poem, "A la recherche," "standing unarmed on distant and freezing minefields..."⁶ The inscription applies, among many others, to the father of the author, Dr. Jenő Wilhelm, who was made to sweep a minefield with bare hands and a mine blew him apart in the fall of 1942; his remains rest in a mass grave in Western Russia.

We have no specific information about the scientists who perished in slave labor camps, but we offer the list below as a symbolic reminder. It enumerates the names of former slave laborers who later became members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

György Ádám (1922–2013), physiologist; Pál Benedek (1921–2009), chemical engineer; Frigyes Csáki (1921–1977), mechanical engineer; Ervin G. Erdős (1922–), external member, pharmacologist; Jenő Ernst (1895–1981), biophysicist; Dávid Rafael Fokos Fuchs (1884–1977), philologist; László Fuchs (1924–), external member, mathematician; Tibor Gallai (1912–1992), mathematician; János Gergely (1925–2008), physician, immunologist; István Hahn (1913–1984), historian; Péter Hanák (1921–1997), historian; Róbert Hoch (1926–1993), economist; Miklós Julesz (1904–1972), physician; László Kalmár (1905–1976), mathematician; László Kardos (1898–1987), historian of literature; Béla

Kellner (1904–1975), physician, oncologist; György (Georg) Klein (1925–2016), honorary member, physician, immunologist; Károly Lempert (1924–), chemist; József Lukács (1922–1987), philosopher; Károly Marót (1885–1963), classical philologist; Gyula Mérei (1911–2002), historian; Zsigmond Pál Pach (1919–2001), historian; Alfréd Rényi (1921–1970), mathematician; László (Ladislav) Robert (1924–), external member, biologist; Pál Selényi (1884–1954), physicist; István Simonovits (1907–1985), physician; Bence Szabolcsi (1899–1973), musicologist; Sándor Szalai (1912–1983), sociologist; Pál Turán (1910–1976), mathematician; György Vajda (1927–), mechanical engineer; Imre Vajda (1900–1969), economist; Tibor Vámos (1926–), electrical engineer; Andor Weltner (1910–1978), jurist; Ervin Wolfram (1923–1985), chemist; László Zsigmond (1907–1992), historian

The next list contains the names of former deportees who later became members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Let this list be again a symbolic reminder of those deportees who perished.

Iván Berend T. (1930–), economist historian, Dachau; Samu Borbély (1907–1984), mathematician, mechanical engineer, ?; Ervin G. Erdős (1922–), external member, pharmacologist, Sachsenhausen; János Frühling (1937–2015), external member, physician, oncologist, Strasshof; István Hargittai (1941–), chemist, Strasshof; Avram Herszko (1937–), honorary member, physician, biochemist, Strasshof; Miklós Julesz (1904–1972), physician, Buchenwald; Béla Kellner (1904–1975), physician, oncologist; József Knoll (1925–), physician, pharmacologist, Auschwitz; László Kozma (1902–1983), electrical engineer, Mauthausen-Gunskirchen; Károly Lempert (1924–), chemist, Mauthausen; Géza Mansfeld (1882–1950), physician, pharmacologist, Auschwitz; Pál Pándi (Kardos) (1926–1987), historian of literature, Laxenburg (Austria); Rezső (Ruben) Pauncz (1920–), external member, chemist, Strasshof; György Ránki (1930–1988), historian, Auschwitz; Gábor Szabó (1927–1996), biologist, Auschwitz; Andor Weltner (1910–1978), jurist, Buchenwald, Dachau

A few names appear in both lists. Some survivors of the slave labor camps were then deported to concentration camps.

Mathematicians

There is a plaque with two sets of names in the entrance hall of the Rényi Institute of Mathematics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. One of the sets is “Our Greats” and the other is “They Embarked on the Road of Creating.” There is then a third list that is conspicuously missing, because it would be for those “many young talents that prepared for their start.”

Our Greats

Mihály Bauer 1874–1945, Pál Csillag 1893–1944, Géza Grünwald 1913–1943, Dénes Kőnig 1884–1944, Simon Sidon 1892–1941, Adolf Szűcs 1884–1945,

They Embarked on the Road of Creating

Ervin Aczél –1942, István Ádám 1925–1944, Ervin Feldheim 1912–1944, József Krausz –1944, Dezső Lázár 1913–1943, Gyula Sándor 1921–1945, Miklós Schweitzer 1923–1945, István Valkó 1904–1945, László Waldapfel 1911–1942.



Memorial tablet for mathematician victims, 13–15 Reáltanoda Street, District V.

The memorial plaque was unveiled in 1976, that is, much earlier than most of the Holocaust memorials. A memorial to the Jewish victims outside of Jewish institutions was such a novelty that the euphemism of “victims of fascism” could be easily overlooked. The former slave laborer Pál Turán spoke at the ceremony. There is a Miklós Radnóti quote on the plaque, “my words, they will yet ring out by those new walls...”¹⁷

Here, we say a few more words about some of the people on the lists. Mihály Bauer studied at the Budapest Technical University where Gusztáv Rados and Gyula Kőnig were among his teachers. Bauer started writing mathematics papers at the age of eighteen. In 1918, he received his professorial appointment at the Technical University. In 1922, Bauer was the first recipient of the newly established Kőnig Gyula Prize of the Eötvös Loránd Mathematical and Physical Society. In contrast, he was kept at a low-level position at the Technical University, where anti-Semitic students often disturbed his lectures. In around 1936, the university forced him into retirement. In 1944, he was taken to a concentration camp from where he returned, but he died in February 1945.

Dénes Kőnig was the son of Gyula Kőnig (1849–1913), a former rector of the Technical University. Dénes studied in Budapest and Göttingen. In 1907, he received his doctoral degree and joined the Budapest Technical University. He was a pioneer of graph theory, and in 1935 he reached the rank of full professor. In 1936, he published a monograph, *Theorie der endlichen und unendlichen Graphen*. It has remained a fundamental treatise in the field and in 1990 it was published in English translation, *Theory of finite and infinite graphs* (Birkhauser). Following the Nazi occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, Dénes Kőnig helped persecuted mathematicians. A few days after the Arrow Cross takeover, on October 15, 1944, Dénes Kőnig committed suicide.



From left to right: Dénes Kőnig (courtesy of Vera T. Sós), Géza Grünwald (courtesy of Éva Gergő), and Dezső Lázár (source: <http://www.komal.hu>).

Adolf Szűcs studied in Budapest and Paris, taught in high school, and in the late 1920s he received an appointment at Gusztáv Rados's department at the Technical University. His research concerned variation calculations and differential equations. On February 3, 1945, a group of the Arrow Cross took him from his home. He was last seen on February 4, 1945.

Pál Csillag studied with Lipót Fejér and earned his doctorate when he was 21 years old. The Budapest Goldberger Textile Works employed him as a mathematician, but they had to retire him in 1938 because he was Jewish. He perished in 1944, but there is no exact information about his death.

Géza Grünwald (1910–1942)¹⁸ studied in Szeged and earned his doctorate in 1935. Approximation theory was his principal research interest. He was member of a circle of young mathematicians that held weekly meetings in the City Park at the statue of Anonymous. He was murdered in one of the slave labor camps that were often indeed death camps. Today, the Bolyai János Mathematical Society has a Géza Grünwald memorial medal. This annual award is given to mathematicians under 30 years of age who have demonstrated considerable achievements in fundamental mathematical research.

Dezső Lázár began his studies in Budapest, but had to continue in Szeged because of the numerous *clausus* law. He could not find employment following graduation and worked as an apprentice to a cabinet maker. Then, he was offered a job in Kolozsvár (today, Cluj-Napoca in Romania) which had again become part of Hungary. In 1942, he was ordered for slave labor. He had one printed publication while he lived; it was in set theory, in the early 1930s. Pál Erdős found this paper important and showed it to John von Neumann who arranged for its publication in the periodical *Compositio Mathematica*. In 1947 Lázár had another publication, posthumously, arranged for him by his surviving friends.

We learned more about Dezső Lázár from the renowned late mathematician László Fejes Tóth:¹⁹ "My dear friend, Dezső Lázár, turned my attention to the area of re-

search that I worked in during my entire life; this was the project of arranging and covering the surface. [...] About Dezső Lázár I would like to say that when I moved to Kolozsvár, he was there, working as a teacher in the Jewish Gimnázium. Later, he was called upon for forced labor service. He was made to detect mines, was wounded in the thigh, and left to bleed to death. While he was in the forced labor service, we kept in close contact with his family. We often visited his wife and two small children. We learned about what happened with him from his wife. I don't remember when this exactly happened, because the years have become blurred in my memory. His wife was a refined, beautiful lady and the thought horrifies me to this day that she was dragged away in a box-car and after a lot of suffering they murdered her with her two small children in the gas chambers of Auschwitz."²⁰



Dániel Arany (courtesy of the Révai Miklós Gimnázium, Győr) and the gravestone of Arany and his wife over one of the mass graves of Holocaust victims of the Heroes' Cemetery in the garden of the Dohány Street Synagogue.

We conclude with a few words about the mathematician Dániel Arany (1863–1945). While working as a high school math teacher, in 1893, he founded a mathematical magazine, *Középiskolai Matematikai Lapok*, for high-school pupils. He edited this for a few years; then, he passed the editorship over to László Rátz. The magazine has fostered ever since young talent in mathematics. Between 1905 and 1919, Arany taught in a technical college, but after 1919, he was forced into retirement for alleged involvement in the communist dictatorship. He never found employment again. He continued his research in probability theory and game theory, and co-authored a monograph in actuarial mathematics. His most important contribution remained in the area of high school mathematical education. In 1944, the Jewish Arany and his wife were incarcerated in the ghetto where they both died. Before moving into the ghetto, Arany donated his valuable collection of mathematical books to the Eötvös Loránd Mathematical and Physical Society. Today, the mathematical competition of 1st and 2nd grade high school pupils carries Dániel Arany's name.

Invisible Memorial in Trefort Garden

In fall 2014, an unusual and moving memorial was unveiled in the Trefort Garden campus of Eötvös Loránd University. Its title is “Sign in the Garden.” The memorial, created by a group of architects and others, is a long metallic strip inserted in between the bricks of two buildings. The introduction in the strip says in Hungarian, English, and Braille that it honors the memory of those university members who were victim of the anti-Jewish laws, the Holocaust, and World War II. The overwhelming majority of the victims were Jewish, but the strip gives only the following information: names, dates of birth and death, and status. The latter appears in one of the following designations: deported, slave laborer, deported slave laborer, civilian victim, taken by force, died by suicide, forced laborer, officer-candidate corporal in reserve-titular lance sergeant, officer-candidate sergeant in reserve, vanished, murdered, shot, or simply, nothing. The designations demonstrate considerable insensitivity: How could a deported or a slave laborer be different from a civilian victim? Were not those deported to Auschwitz or murdered on the bank of the Danube, civilian victims? When I asked about this one of the spiritual leaders of the memorial, the response was that the designations followed the usage of designations of the time. This is, however, unacceptable, because succumbing to the usage of designations of the time will only facilitate conserving the judgments of the time.



This is one of the 198 names of martyrs on a metallic strip in between the bricks of the wall at the Trefort Garden of Eötvös Loránd University.

Sadly, the memorial strip stays practically invisible to anybody who is unaware of its existence. Apart from the strip itself, there is no indication of the memorial; it is as if it should be kept in strict confidence. When I visited the memorial soon after its inauguration, I thought an information tablet or something directing the attention to the strip would be added later. In May 2017, there was still nothing.

Professor Géza Komoróczy raised the issue of the missing text in Hebrew on the strip at the inauguration. This omission symbolizes the ambiguity of the memorial. Subsequently, Komoróczy²¹ interpreted the ambiguity of the memorial as a limited apology from the University. According to him, the University restores the university membership of the victims, all the victims. However, this restoration concerns them all, as Hungarians, but not as Jews, for which they had been murdered in the first place. According to Komoróczy, and I fully agree with his assessment, this is an example how remembrance is subordinated to the “politics of remembrance.”

So Many More to Remember

A unique memorial tablet was unveiled in 2014 in the waiting room of what is called officially, the Department of Dermatology, Venereology, and Dermato-Oncology. It is for 41 Hungarian Jewish dermatologist victims of the Holocaust 1944–1945. The uniqueness of this memorial is that it commemorates not only dermatologists of this University, but the dermatologist victims from all over Hungary. This circumstance is as uplifting as is painful to think that this is the only such commemoration among all the clinics of Semmelweis University. Browsing the tablet in the crowded waiting room, the viewer involuntarily has the unreal sensation that the waiting time in this crowded venue might be reduced had these dermatologists been still around.

This thought association brought me to thinking of the many other Jewish physicians who perished in concentration camps and in punitive slave labor units. The anti-Semitic hatred caused the guards of these units and responsible army officers to prevent the incarcerated doctors from helping wounded soldiers in nearby units of the Hungarian Army, who were often left untreated.

István Zoltán (1899–1945) attended the famous Lutheran Gimnázium in Budapest and then



Memorial tablet for 41 dermatologists in the waiting room of the Dermatological Clinic of Semmelweis University, 41 Mária Street, District VIII.



Mária Flóra Zoltán's portrait of Dr. István Zoltán (courtesy of Mária Flóra Zoltán).

graduated as an MD from the Royal Pázmány Péter University in 1923. He became an ear, nose and throat specialist and specialized also in surgery and in pathology. At the invitation of Professor Zoltán Lénárt, he joined the Clinic of what the Department of Otorhinolaryngology, Head and Neck Surgery is today. Dr. Zoltán was a clinician, a researcher, and in charge of the histology laboratory. His publications and activities in congresses drew international attention to his achievements. He was expected to succeed Professor Lénárt upon his retirement scheduled for 1941. Alas, this was not to happen because Dr. Zoltán was Jewish. International invitations offered an escape for him from the ever-worsening situation, but he declined to leave his aging parents and his patients. The Arrow Cross took him in 1944 and he perished in the Mauthausen concentration camp only days before its liberation. His artist daughter painted his portrait and donated it to her father's former clinic. When after years it was still not displayed, the daughter took back the painting. There is thus no remembrance there of the martyr physician István Zoltán.

There is a memorial brick honoring István Zoltán in front of the apartment house in Andrásy Avenue where the Zoltán family used to live. The family would like to erect a memorial plaque on the façade of the building and they have the consent of the district authority. However, the principal proprietor of the building has so far prevented this commemoration.

An internationally renowned Hungarian-American scientist told me about his horrible experiences in Budapest in 1944–1945. However, he asked me for discretion to avoid his Hungarian friends learning about his Jewish origins. He said he would not like to lose his friends in Hungary. I wondered how good friends those people can be. It is also possible that he supposes their anti-Semitism without foundation.

The misuse of the label “Martians” comes to mind. The label originated at the Manhattan Project in a conversation between Enrico Fermi and Leo Szilard. They joked that the conspicuously large number of Hungarian participants were in reality Martians and they spoke Hungarian for camouflage. The emigration of Theodore von Kármán, Leo Szilard, Eugene P. Wigner, John von Neumann, and Edward Teller – the five truly Martians – is often ascribed to their curiosity and thirst for adventure. Thus the label becomes a euphemism to mask the real reason for their emigration. This misleading approach was compounded by Edward Teller when he turned to his audience at a meeting with the following words: “Véreim, Magyarok!” meaning “My blood brother Hungarians!” This could have been the playing out of a childhood fantasy. In high school he suffered from anti-Semitism and he could have not used this expression at the time. In the early 1990s, so soon after the political changes, this expression, however dated it sounded, was consistent with the gradual return to the Hungary of the 1920s and 1930s.

To this day, mentioning someone's being Jewish or being of Jewish origin is considered impolite in Hungary. Teller noted that “In Hungary, even if you were born there, being a Jew you do not feel at home.”²² In this, Teller referred to his high school years. The question is, has the situation changed? There was an interesting case in connection

with Teller's election to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1990, right after the political changes. Here I quote the story on the basis of published reference and archival material in the Teller Folder at the Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.²³

A memorandum was prepared in February 1990 for Teller's election to honorary membership of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It was at the time of the great political changes in Hungary when the one-party system was giving way to a multi-party democratic system. In this memorandum, there are four references to Teller's being Jewish. One mentions that one of Teller's high school teachers used to address the class as "Gentlemen and the Jews!" Another is that Teller's father did not see the conditions in Hungary encouraging for his Jewish son's scientific career. The third mentions that Teller's family had to wear the yellow star under Nicholas Horthy, was incarcerated in a ghetto under the Hungarian Nazi leader Ferenc Szálasi, and was exiled from Budapest to the countryside in the early 1950s under the communist leader Mátyás Rákosi. The fourth reference is that Teller always stressed his Hungarian and Jewish origins.

The final, "official" nomination does not contain any of these four references to Teller's being Jewish. Teller was elected honorary member in 1990.

Saviors and the Saved

In paying tribute to the saviors – symbolically, to all saviors – we single out two individuals among the heroes of the Hungarian Holocaust. They were the Lutheran minister Gábor Sztéhlo (1909–1974) and the Swedish trade representative Raoul Wallenberg (1912–1947?).

Left: One of Raoul Wallenberg's memorials in Budapest, Szent István Park, District XIII. It is a copy by Sándor Győrfi (1999) of Pál Pátzay's original work (1949). Right: Raoul Wallenberg, November 26, 1944 (photograph by Tamás Veres, courtesy of the late László Ernster).



Among the saved, there were many young people who then became renowned scientists. For example, Gábor Sztéhlo saved the Hungarian-born American Nobel laureate chemist George A. Olah (1927–2017) and Wallenberg saved the internationally famous Hungarian-born Swedish biochemist Lars Ernster (1920–1998).



Left: Gábor Sztéhlo's memorial plaque on the façade of the Lutheran Church, Bécsi Kapu Square, District I. Right: Sztéhlo's memorial (by Tamás Vigh and Barnabás Vinkler, 2009), Dedk Square, District V.



George A. Olah as a high school student (courtesy of the late George A. Olah) and Olah among other Nobel laureates in Stockholm in 2001 (photography © Hans Mehlin, courtesy of the Nobel Foundation). The conspicuously tall Olah is in the middle of the picture.

Sad Conclusion

It appears that hardly any scientist martyr of the Hungarian Holocaust is remembered as victim of the Holocaust by a personal memorial. In the second half of the 2010s this is the more gruesome observation, because the number of memorials honoring anti-Semitic authors, politicians, and other public figures of the Horthy era steadily increases. There is a strengthening impression that it is not only that official Hungary avoids facing the Past, but that beyond the falsification of history, it carries on the political legacy of the era between the two world wars that led to a national catastrophe.



Left: László Ernster in the Jewish Hospital as Dr. Alfréd Lajta's assistant. Middle: Dr. Lajta, murdered by the Arrow Cross with all the other doctors and patients of the Jewish Hospital (Ernster was elsewhere at the time). Right: The Queen of Sweden at the Nobel Prize award ceremony in 1978. Ernster is on her right (all 3 photographs courtesy of the late Lars Ernster).

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Endnotes

- 1 First appeared in Hungarian in the Jewish cultural periodical *Múlt és Jövő* (Fall 2017, pp. 102–124). Photographs, unless indicated otherwise, are by the author (© István Hargittai).
- 2 Istvan Hargittai and Magdolna Hargittai, *Budapest Scientific: A Guidebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Since then, we have published a similar volume for New York: Istvan Hargittai and Magdolna Hargittai, *New York Scientific: A Culture of Inquiry, Knowledge, and Learning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). We are currently completing Istvan Hargittai and Magdolna Hargittai, *Moscow Scientific: Memorabilia of a Research Empire*.
- 3 Hargittai István, "Hetvenéves fehér folt," *Magyar Tudomány* (2013): 1035–1045.
- 4 http://mta.hu/data/MTA_Tortenete_ENG.pdf (last access December 30, 2017).
- 5 Communication by e-mail from Soma Rédey, deputy-head of the Department of Communication, June 13, 2017.
- 6 Letter of November 30, 1945, from Albert Szent-Györgyi to the Secretary General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The letter is stored under registry number 48/1946 in the Manuscript Archive of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

- 7 Lajos Pillich, "Richter Gedeon (1872–1944)," in Krisztina Novák Takács and István Hermecz (ed.), *Esti beszélgetés: Magyar gyógyszerészkutatók portréi* (Budapest: Magyar Gyógyszerésztudományi Társaság, 2005), 69–82.
- 8 Max Born, *My Life: Recollections of a Nobel Laureate* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), p. 214.
- 9 "Diszkrimináció, Emancipáció – Asszimiláció," *Diszkrimináció: Magyarországi egyetemi tanárok életrajzi adattára 1848–1944. I. Zsidó és zsidó származású egyetemi tanárok*, ed. Gábor I. Kovács, compiled by Gábor I. Kovács, Zsuzsanna Kiss, and Árpád Takács (Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2012).
- 10 "Tagajánlások 1934-ben," Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest, 1934 (unpublished manuscript), p. 62.
- 11 Prior to 1949, honorary membership was given to officers of the Academy, prominent members of public life, politics, the churches, and the financial world. Also, elder academicians were recognized for their achievements by this distinction. See *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia tagjai 1825–2002*, MTA Társadalomkutató Központ – Tudománytár, Vol. 1 (Budapest, 2003), p. 14.
- 12 *Nemzetgyűlési Napló, 1922–1926*, Vol. XXIV, Session 295, p. 320 (June 4, 1924), in Mária Kovács M., *Törvénytől sújtva: A numerus clausus Magyarországon, 1920–1945* (Budapest: Napvilág, 2012), p. 50.
- 13 Max Born, *My Life: Recollections of a Nobel Laureate* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), p. 236.
- 14 Letter labeled K785/139 in the Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; quoted in István Hargittai, "Wigner Jenőről," *Élet és Irodalom* (October 10, 2014), p. 12.
- 15 Claudia K. Farkas, "Jogok nélkül: A zsidó lét Magyarországon, 1920–1944," in Mária Kovács M., *Törvénytől sújtva: A numerus clausus Magyarországon, 1920–1945* (Budapest: Napvilág, 2012), p. 218.
- 16 Thomas Orszag-Land (translator), *The Witness: Selected Poems by Miklós Radnóti* (London: Tern Press, 1977), p. 42. Other translations exist.
- 17 Quote from "The Protector" by Miklós Radnóti, in Thomas Orszag-Land (translator), *The Witness*, p. 35. Other translations exist.
- 18 Éva Gergő, Géza Grünwald's daughter, informed me about the correct years of birth and death.
- 19 Hargittai István, "Fejes Tóth László." *Magyar Tudomány* 166 (March 2005), 318–324.
- 20 In 1942, my father was killed the same way as Dezső Lázár. Then, our story continued as that of his family's, but only up to a point. In June 1944, my mother, my brother, and I were put into a box-car and the train departed for Auschwitz. Along the way, somewhere, however, the train stopped, moved back for a while, and continued in a different direction, toward Vienna. What happened was that a train that had been destined for Austria had already left for Auschwitz, by mistake. Our train was the replacement. My brother was ten years old and I was not yet three.

Cf. I. Hargittai, *Our Lives: Encounters of a Scientist* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 2004), pp. 52–54.

- 21 Géza Komoróczy, “Öt héber szó,” *Élet és Irodalom* (December 4, 2015).
- 22 Istvan Hargittai, *Judging Edward Teller: A Closer Look at One of the Most Influential Scientists of the Twentieth Century* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2010), p. 48.
- 23 Balazs Hargittai and Istvan Hargittai, *Wisdom of the Martians of Science: In Their Own Words with Commentaries* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2016), p. 191.

Icons Bridging Past and Present

Brooklyn Bridge (NYC) and Chain Bridge (Budapest)¹

Bridging Icons

Nowadays a shift towards exploiting the power of icons and placing them into the service of education is coming to the forefront. In the field of Global American Studies special attention is given to American icons that have traveled to many parts of the world. In the 1980s the U.S. had been often accused of cultural imperialism, as more and more products became not only known, but due to the market economy, also globally available. This was partly the result of the development and the diversification of media outlets and, from the mid-1990s, following the creation of the Internet and the launch of the Web, media shifted to a new paradigm. Reacting to critical instances, more voices started to be heard, which dismissed the imperialistic claims by explaining that all the products that have ever left the U.S. shores to become icons had first been “digested” and critically evaluated by the residents of the highly multicultural and diverse U.S. society, which homes people coming from the entire world. In 1992 the famous sociologist Todd Gitlin argued that “[b]y the time it leaves our shores, U.S. popular culture has been ‘pretested’ by a heterogeneous public – a huge internal market with hybrid tastes and a tradition of juxtaposition and recombining disparate elements, melting them into a Hollywood *mélange*.”² Consequently, American icons were deemed to find their way also to other continents, as they have always universally carried valid symbolic values. Following the technological developments of the 20th century, we may argue that national symbols from any country in the world could rightfully turn into globally accessible icons.

Similarly to proverbs, whose lexical inventory and sense relations usually provide a snapshot of the longtime forgotten functioning of a society, icons can also behave as bi- or even tridimensional diachronic and synchronic “print screens” of the cultures and nations that have generated them. In order to fully exploit the symbolic load of the chosen two icons – Brooklyn Bridge (New York) and Chain Bridge (Budapest) – the perspectives of analysis have to be established.

From an educational perspective, firstly we have to consider the form and content of the knowledge we wish to impart. With the digital culture gaining considerable

1 This paper is dedicated to Professor Tibor Frank, whom I am crediting for the success I have attained in my professional career in American Studies in the past nearly three decades. For the academic world, to this day, Professor Frank has been and will always remain a pre-eminent iconic scholar, who – with thoughtful guidance and highly seasoned professional background – has bridged past and present, national and international boulevards of knowledge, allowing and providing access to and offering understandings of major global issues.

2 “Tömegkultúra: Változások és változatok,” *USA* 78 (1993): 51–66.

ground, and the young “now” generation of digital natives living in a media saturated world where information is available 24/7 and where news become obsolete in a matter of hours at best, the current educational trends are characterized by an important paradigmatic shift from an old or canonized curriculum based on memorizing information from “Great Books” to a new one aimed at introducing students to major approaches to develop critical thinking and knowledge structures. With this in mind one might have to reconsider the teaching process and adopt what is being labeled currently as “flipped learning,” where students operate with information available from an environment familiar to them, namely with all the information that is available through new media in general, and the presence of the iconic perspective of their micro- and macro society in particular. The current young generation undeniably needs constant stimulation, which can be achieved best through offering them the relevant information – once an organic part of the curricula – through new approaches and devices.

Secondly, we have to analyze the channel through which the information is transmitted. As we have mentioned before, a new – apparently chaotic – communication paradigm is impacting cognitive processes. As media is continuously flooding us, we put our minds on automatic pilot to protect ourselves, which might not be the best solution, as thus our minds are unconsciously manipulated. What is important is to consciously develop media literacy, which is not a palpable “thing” or “product,” but a process in itself.

My decision to highlight the role of the two bridges has a two-fold aim. On the one hand, the paper intends to analyze the process of iconization of two major constructions in the history of both the American and the Hungarian nations, and to provide a snapshot of the societal background against which they had been created. On the other hand, it tries to reveal similarities and an unquestionable link between cultures during a historical time in which information did not travel at such high speed. In this light, the major scope of the paper is to find what approaches should be adopted when exploiting the multidimensional messages of these two icons.

In intercultural communication, the first step in developing cultural awareness, which further generates acceptance and empathy, is to admit that all cognitive processes are highly ethnocentric as any individual starts to dissect the world through their own individual prism. Thus, an icon which has already been evaluated by smaller communities as well as by the society at large over decades or even centuries, first and foremost expresses the idea that the traditional concept of culture is a concept of inner homogenization and an outer separation at the same time. An icon encompasses all the underlying values a smaller or a larger community attributes to a particular construction, which finally labels it as unique. Although this traditional concept of interior homogenization and exterior delimitation might generate cultural fundamentalism, it is important to consider this concept when examining the birth of a construct and how ultimately this can be considered a record of the historical times in which it was created. Therefore, I will consider the two bridges from this perspective, and will analyze what

led to their construction and what values they have been carrying ever since their erection.

In our times, cultures are interconnected and mixed, thus their entanglement engenders new identifications with local and global issues. Icons no longer carry only national values, as they leave the borders of national cultures. Interculturality and multiculturalism have benevolent effects, as they overcome and repair the flaws that can be encountered in the traditional ethnocentric approach to culture and they overcome and repair these flaws. Iconicity begins when a construction or a masterpiece of art moves from very famous to iconic and starts exhibiting also an emblematic power. Iconic images have a set of underlying features, which help them achieve a high status. Once reaching iconic status, they are adapted to commercial and advertising ends.³ Questions arise as to whether icons can travel with the same message load over generations, or to what extent an interest can be raised in people towards feel an inner drive to analyzing and understanding the transformation of icons.

In American Studies, the Brooklyn Bridge might rightfully prove a topic of interest. For pedagogical ends, this outstanding construction can be a starting point in drawing a parallel between the United States and Hungary at the onset of the 20th century, as very often an international icon can place similar national icons on our own radar – for instance the Chain Bridge – which carry similar messages.

Bridging Social, Economic and Political Issues

As to the geopolitical background, Thomas Bender and Carl E. Schorske, in the Introduction to their book entitled *Budapest and New York, Studies in Metropolitan Transformation, 1870–1930*⁴ argued that in 1870 New York and Budapest were “peripheral cities” on the perimeters of the European core and had metropolitan ambitions which would raise them to the levels of importance of Paris and London for New York City, and of Paris and Vienna for Budapest. This metropolitan ambition also had political significance and was coupled with civic aspirations. In both cases the cities were the expression of powerful and fast modernizing states, which were gradually gaining political significance. For the United States the end of the Civil War (1865), while in Hungary the formation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1867) set the framework for the development. Beyond their historical importance and past, Budapest and New York were striving to become centers for economic modernization. Although in the history of Hungary the Dual Monarchy had left equivocal feelings, we may admit that at that time Austria-Hungary was the greatest multinational state in Europe, with several ethnic groups not having always had a well-balanced presence in the partnership. The two cities, New York and Budapest, wanted to be more a metropolis than a historical center of their countries.

3 Martin Kemp, *Christ to Coke, How an Image Becomes an Icon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1–10.

4 Thomas Bender and Carl E. Schorske, eds., *Budapest and New York, Studies in Metropolitan Transformation, 1870–1930* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1994), 1–28.

What is the iconic meaning of a bridge? Literally it fosters mobility and links people on both sides of a water stretch, figuratively it unites values and sets a new pace in the development of a country or region. The Széchenyi Chain Bridge in Budapest, also known as Iron Bridge, was designed by the English architect William Tierney Clark and built by the Scottish civil engineer Adam Clark (1849), while Brooklyn Bridge in New York City was designed and built by German immigrant John Roebling and his son Washington (1867–1883); two bridges whose completion preceded and forecast political consolidation. Important infrastructural steps followed: in Hungary the historical districts of Buda, Óbuda and Pest were united in 1872. Manhattan and Bronx were unified in 1876 with Brooklyn and Queens, and in 1898 with Staten Island. In addition to bridges, urban modernity was also emerging in the form of a new technological invention – the subways – which have become iconic for the respective cities: Budapest (1896) and New York City (1904).

The birth of both cities is closely related to stories and also urban legends according to which physical impediment of crossing the river in wintertime urged the progressive thinkers of the era to design and build a permanent crossing. In Budapest this decision had been taken after Count Széchenyi, the driving force behind the construction of the bridge, could not attend his father's funeral as the drift ice on the Danube had closed the pontoon bridge. In New York a story reveals that

[o]n a wintry 1853 day, John Roebling found himself stranded on the East River between New York and Brooklyn when ice chunks in the East River prevented the ferry from moving. According to his son Washington, the incident inspired the progressive engineer and nascent philosopher to build a bridge that would tame the tumultuous channel and connect the two cities.⁵

Two days after the inauguration on May 26, 1883, commenting on the architectural value of Brooklyn Bridge, *Harper's Weekly* published an article written by Montgomery Schuyler entitled *The Bridge as a Monument*, where the author talks about incorporating tensions in the bridge: "It so happens that the work which is likely to be our most durable monument, and to convey some knowledge of us to the most remote posterity, is a work of bare utility; not a shrine, not a fortress, but a bridge."⁶ Thus the form and function of the bridge integrate the contradictory values of a rapidly changing America. Modernism, while improving communication and transportation, widened the gap between the working and the middle classes, simultaneously unifying and stratifying, and Brooklyn Bridge was situated where the two processes intersected. "The success of a suspension

5 Jennifer Pricola, "Incorporating Tensions in the Brooklyn Bridge," Epilogue; University of Virginia, accessed August 23, 2015, <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma03/pricola/bridge/home.html>.

6 David McCullough, "The Great Bridge: The Epic Story of the Building of the Brooklyn Bridge," Erenow, accessed July 17, 2015, <https://erenow.com/common/the-great-bridge-the-epic-story-of-the-building-of-the-brooklyn-bridge/25.html>

bridge relies on the inherent tension of its structure. Just as with the physics of a suspension bridge, tensions bind America; its society stands on – and gains strength from – the incorporation of conflicting interests and ideologies.”⁷

The bridge over the Danube, built between 1839 and 1848, inaugurated on November 21, 1849 and fully accomplished in 1857 with the opening of the tunnel linking it with the Castle area, was not just the embodiment of the export of British technology, but also an ignitor of the reform movement, starting with the traditional Hungarian privileges, and consequently the feudal system, having been breached by compelling the nobility to pay bridge tolls, thus the project had opened the way towards the establishment of a capitalist financial and banking system.⁸ Similarly to Brooklyn Bridge, Chain Bridge, an iconic symbol of Budapest, has been considered not only a magnificent but also a masterpiece of art, useful to the country ever since its erection.⁹

The Bridges as Heideggerian “Things”

Before tackling the physical birth of the two bridges in more detail, I propose to approach the question equally from a philosophical perspective. Quoting Paddock we may say that the concept and the interpretation of bridges is “firmly grounded in the physical and geographical impact that bridges have on space and place.”¹⁰ At this point it is worth remembering Martin Heidegger, who explored the impact that technology has had on mankind’s relationship with its immediate surroundings. According to him, technology has eradicated distinctions created by time and space. Human history in its entirety has been documented, filmed and laid before the audience for consumption. The presentation of distant cultures as final products, without an understanding of the background of the cultures resulted in the transformation of *things* into *objects*.¹¹ During a seminar in U.S. Media and Communication, when analyzing iconic sites in a TV series, blockbusters, on posters and book covers, very few students could talk about the values these two bridges represent, although they had studied both U.S. and Hungarian history, literature or even arts. The question then arises as to how we can incorporate the canonic knowledge of the Great Books in understanding iconicity.

At the time of their construction the two bridges had been the first to link Brooklyn and Manhattan, and Buda and Pest respectively, “physical things” that united two important settlements and spurred the development of the area. Thus, in both countries the bridges had proved to be a tangible symbol of the shift from agriculture to industry. Long Island and Pest meant the agriculture, New York and Buda meant the governance

7 Pricola, Introduction.

8 Troy R. E. Paddock, “Bridges: Technology and the Social,” *Environment, Space, Place* 2.2 (2010): 15.

9 András Török, *A Lánchíd mai fénytörésben* (Budapest: Ingatlanfejlesztői Kerekasztal Egyesület, 2013), 7.

10 Paddock, 8.

11 Martin Heidegger, “Building, Dwelling, Thinking,” *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter, 143–62 (New York: Harper and Row), 166, quoted in Paddock, 10.

on the way to industrialization and commerce, and a bridge was even more than a financial imperative. Many had been proponents, but at least as many had been opponents. In New York the construction of the bridge was seen as a menace to maritime commerce, a bad decision favoring a bridge that “would join two islands and neither link to the main land.”¹² In Hungary the bridge was felt to be a first step in weakening the feudal system and the privileges of the nobility. But time and fame have turned these two spans into pre-eminent icons, and all the subsequent bridges simply facilitated the further economic and socio-political growth of the two metropolises.

The picturesque opening line of the *Brooklyn Album* sets the geo-political framework for the Brooklyn Bridge at the beginning of the 19th century. “New York is a fantastic incongruity: at once a centralized metropolis through which the wealth of a nation flows and an isolated island community cut from its neighbors and the rest of the world [...]. [In 1811 the entire region was described as] those large arms of the seas which embrace New-York Island: the Hudson and the East rivers.”¹³ Public utility was behind the need of constructing the bridge, which seemed indispensable for the daily supply of the New York Borough and the enhancement of the inconveniences of daily commuting between the two banks. As Haw remarks: “The purpose of the bridge was for swift and sure transportation from bustling Brooklyn and lower New York, not from an unpopulated rural area to another.”¹⁴ Having completed the world’s first and longest suspension bridge carrying also railroad traffic over the Niagara Falls, Roebling designed the modernist iconic Brooklyn Bridge as a “pre-modern creation, built without trucks, telephones or any other now standard technologies [...]. Quite literally, the bridge was hand-made.”¹⁵

Before commissioning the construction of the bridge, count István Széchenyi travelled on several occasions to England to study from the most technologically advanced nation of his time.¹⁶ The “Report” Széchenyi had written included answers he had received from outstanding representatives of civil engineering, Thomas Telford, William Butler Ogden¹⁷ and Marc Isambard Brunel, famous for his tunnel beneath the Thames in London, who had advised him to opt for a suspended bridge in Budapest. For the Brooklyn Bridge, in a period when suspension bridges came of age 1829–1855, Telford’s Menai Straits Bridge in Wales¹⁸ had been a solid and common source of inspiration. As only a highly professional and seasoned architect should be commissioned with the building, Széchenyi argued that “this engineer has to be looked for in Britain and its American

12 Richard Haw, *Brooklyn Album: Art of the Brooklyn Bridge: A Visual History* (New York: Routledge / Taylor & Francis, 2008), 3.

13 Haw, 1.

14 Haw, 12.

15 Haw, 25.

16 Paddock, 14.

17 Lóránt Radnai, *A Lánchíd* (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Alap Kiadványai, 1961), 14.

18 Haw, 11.

ally.”¹⁹ Telford’s former apprentice, Tierney Clark, builder of the wonderful Hammer-smith Bridge in London had been commissioned to design the bridge. The Chain Bridge finished in 1849 was a larger scale version of his suspension bridge over the Thames at Marlow, Buckinghamshire (1829–1832).

In New York, during the construction of Brooklyn Bridge, the physical hardships the workers had to endure while working in the deep caissons to stabilize the two towers in the unstable sandy sea bedrock yielded results and advancement in medical research related to the decompression sickness known as bends or caisson disease. Similar problems had also been experienced while constructing Chain Bridge in Budapest, although the problems with the pillars concerned the leaking of the caissons. As to the cables, both constructions had witnessed issues related to the wiring. In the case of the Brooklyn Bridge, at the beginning of the cabling process, substandard wire had been woven into the cable, causing fatalities among the workers. In Budapest, the members of the Bridge Consortium, in order to avoid fraud, had travelled abroad to check and purchase the best steel cables, trying to oversee their transportation as well, which sometimes took years before they reached their destination. Nevertheless, an incident went down in history when a chain link broke, hitting the working platform from which the workers, and the visiting Széchenyi fell into the river, but as a good swimmer the count made it safely to the shore. This had been his last official presence on the bridge, of which the final completion and inauguration, similarly to the Roeblings, he could not attend.

In addition to the physical construction, contemporary reports and related sources unveil the socio-economic and demographic fabric of the era. Bender and Schorske²⁰ provide an exquisite description of New York and Budapest, both of which having grown much faster than any other European and American cities. At the turn of the 20th century, Budapest grew twice as fast as Vienna, and three times as fast as Paris and London, by 1910 becoming the seventh largest city in Europe by exhibiting an “American pattern of growth.”

As far as the demographics are concerned, in Budapest the Chain Bridge had been a mediator fostering the unification of the traditional aristocratic elite identified with Buda and the emerging bourgeoisie elites identified with Pest. In New York bourgeois values were shared at both ends of the bridge. Another common aspect is that interestingly, the migrants and immigrants of New York and Budapest originated from the same regions of Central and Eastern Europe, but in Budapest the urban demography was very different from New York, where immigration increased the diversity of the population, which till then had predominantly been Dutch, English, German and Irish. In the wake of the 1867 reforms, the Kingdom of Hungary saw a consolidation in the use of the Hungarian language. As a result, and quoting Bender and Schorske, “In 1880, 18 percent of Budapest’s population spoke only Magyar. In 1910, one generation later, 47 percent of

¹⁹ Radnai, 17.

²⁰ Bender and Schorske, 2.

the population spoke only Magyar, with nearly all of the remaining Budapesters speaking Magyar as a second language.”²¹

Valuable information related to the urban fabric of contemporary Budapest can be found in accounts made by travelers. In his book entitled *The History of the Chain Bridge* (1947), Pál Vajda quotes fragments from a German travelogue,²² which among others describes the treatment of social classes and nationalities on the temporary pontoon bridge. From the account we learn that tall, young males with a big moustache standing at both ends of the bridge and “unfortunately speaking only German” allowed free passage on the bridge to the nobility, to the residents of the royal town, and based on well-established common law, to all the well-dressed, affluent people. Meanwhile the poor young craftsmen, the unlicensed beggars the young Jews, or for that matter the entire Jewish community whether rich or poor, the peasants and the poorly dressed foreigners were denied free access. The guards had become skilled in spotting a person’s rank or social status, recognized almost all the residents of both Pest and Buda, and on Sundays and holidays could easily spot the poor youngsters dressed in their most elegant festive clothes that would confer them a higher, toll-free rank. This tourist had witnessed additional inexplicable double standards. On several occasions he had seen that ragged Jewish children were denied free passage. He had also learned that the rich Jewish families from Pest usually paid an annual passage allowance for all the members of their families and to the domestics as well to avoid unpleasant treatment. Another piece of information – according to the writer, coming from an untrustworthy source – informs the reader about the Gypsies, who were always guaranteed free passage, regardless of their financial background.²³ In the book we can also find information about the origins of the workers on the construction site. On a prestige scale, the English workers were at the top as highly skilled, hard-working and extremely diligent. The Italians, usually from Trieste and Venice, were experts in bridge building. The scale continued with the locals – Germans and Hungarians, and ended with workers of Slavic origin at the bottom of the line. The double standards were also visible in the amount and way of payment. The English workers had been paid their weekly wages in separate barracks by English foremen, while the other nationalities got their money at an open air desk. The Italians were considered better labor force than the native German or Hungarian workers, which manifested in the 25 and 10 forints a week wages for the two groups respectively.²⁴

The Chain Bridge of Budapest, as the first permanent bridge linking Buda and Pest, had triggered considerable changes in the Hungarian mentality as well. We know that bridges not only link the opposite banks of a river, but they also unite nations and cultures. In his book dedicated to the birth of the bridge, Radnai²⁵ argued that the lack of a permanent connection must have been the source of the visible and persisting tension,

21 Bender and Schorske, 3–4.

22 Pál R. Vajda, *A Láncid története* (Budapest: Szikra Kiadás, 1947), 14.

23 Vajda, 14–15 (unless stated otherwise, all translations into English are mine).

24 Vajda, 30–31.

25 Radnai, 5.

and sharp differences in the mentality and behavior patterns of the people living on opposite riverbanks. People living west of the Danube had open and easy access to the latest gains of industrialization, could travel and do commerce all-year round. Whereas the eastern bank of the river, due to sometimes 5-month periods of frost and ice drifting on the Danube, remained in temporary isolation, consequently much of the eastern part of the country was disabled in keeping up with the pace of western development.

As a landmark, the Brooklyn Bridge – opened to the public on May 24, 1883, just three years prior to the Statue of Liberty, dedicated to the United States by France on October 28, 1886 – was among the first things the immigrants saw when arriving into the New World. A symbol of faith, “the fact that the bridge had been designed by an immigrant and built largely by immigrant workers did much naturally to enhance the appeal.”²⁶

The Bridges as Heideggerian “Objects”

Borrowing the term from functional-cognitive linguistics and echoing John Haiman (1980)²⁷ and Zoltán Kövecses (1995),²⁸ *iconicity* may also refer to a tendency to create a similarity or analogy between form and meaning. We might infer that icons in a new setting show a tendency of raising a sense of analogy, thus if something is iconic, it carries its own meaning, permeates many walks of life and facilitates the decoding of the message it vehiculates.

The bridge has captivated people throughout the U.S. as it stands for a local and national emblem of pride and achievement. Americans have received a new perspective on themselves and the world. Lewis Mumford argues that “[i]n this structure, the architecture of the past, massive and protective, meets the architecture of the future, light, aerial, open to sunlight, an architecture of voids rather than solids.”²⁹

Let us get a glimpse at some of the instances that vested the bridges with an immense iconic power and have taken them down into immortal history. In terms of mediation, the two bridges have reconfigured the two cities, physically altering the space and how people thought about and lived in that city.³⁰ In the planning phase John Roebling had already predicted that the bridge would also function as a destination: “Strangers in the city will be induced to make a trip for the sole purpose of enjoying the grand sight [...] observatories placed at the top of the towers would further enhance the bridge’s role as a tourism beacon.”³¹ Even during the building process, the workmen, calling themselves “Cowboys of the Skies” swinging on cables in the air conveyed a very cheerful and festive atmosphere to the construction site, creating “the cheapest and

26 McCullough, 547.

27 John Haiman, “The Iconicity of Grammar: Isomorphism and Motivation,” *Language* 56:3 (1980): 515–540.

28 Zoltán Kövecses, *American English: An Introduction* (Budapest: ELTE, 1995), 181.

29 Lewis Mumford, *Sticks and Stones* (New York, 1924), quoted in McCullough, 550.

30 Paddock, 23.

31 Haw, 16–17.

most entertaining circus of the world.”³² These first performances turned the span into “an energetic, fascinating new arena, a new Broadway and a forerunner to Times Square.”³³ Following its inauguration, and supported by the *New York Gazette*, the bridge experienced a cultural change, from a “sublime urban thoroughfare” to a public stage defined by human activity and show. The walkway itself was “alive to the sights and sounds of daily human life.”³⁴ The bridge, as a “thing” is an example of architectural eclecticism, weaving the modern steel filigree of the cables with the monumental Gothic towers. As an “object,” in a city “divided by money, class, and geography, the images showed the bridge as a popular, democratic space where the well-heeled shared space with the down-trodden.”³⁵

When talking about the rich photographic art of both bridges, we borrow Haw’s subtle description of the portraits and still images. “Viewed as a narrative, these static images read like the separate frames of time-lapse cinematography”³⁶ long before the birth of the movie industry. Out of the numerous photographers my interest has been raised by Alvin Langdon Coburn and Alfred Stieglitz, who combined art, science and technology to highlight the multiple faces of the bridge.

Both bridges have gained popularity being the launching pads of massive firework displays during national celebrations. As early as the end of the 1880s in New York Brooklyn Bridge had been the first electrified icon, and the sight of the lit bridge disseminated throughout the world the invention of the electric bulb in 1882 and the first step in the development of the electrified cityscape. The Chain Bridge, originally wonderfully illuminated with gas and oil candelabras finally, in the inter-war period, received magnificent lighting preserved and enjoyed to the present time.

The beauty and value of the bridges opened a new movement, when popular culture reached the realms of high Culture. The advertised icons were present not only on marketable products, but were cherished also in paintings, literature and theatre. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to list all the representations of the bridge, therefore I have chosen some of the masterpieces that have played an important role in shaping my esthetic development throughout the decades.

Very often paintings represented Brooklyn Bridge in the wintertime with reverberations of the river and the snow in contrast with the sky. This is best illustrated in the paintings of the impressionist Childe Hassam, who painted the bridge four times during his lifetime. On his canvases, we can see Roebling’s predictions, and also the “melting pot” concept of the multicultural society, namely that the span and its walkway are an urban thoroughfare in a space where high and low-class people walk side by side. As Henry James remarked, the bridge expressed both the polyglot and the densely inhabited New York City. In 1915 Albert Gleizer, famous Cubist painter and writer paints the

32 Haw, 45.

33 Haw, 108.

34 Haw, 105.

35 Haw, 87.

36 Haw, 61.

first of a series of four abstract representations of the bridge, unmatched to this day. Drawing on the ideology of the Hudson Valley School and of Manifest Destiny, the bridge was a heroic representation of “physical expansion and national glory.”³⁷ For John Marin, the bridge was “an active participant in the process speeding into a new century of modernity.”³⁸ The bridge has always been the reflection of contemporary times. From Haw’s historical album we learn that in the 1930s the Brooklyn Bridge was a reflection of the American crisis rather than of the American dream. Paradoxically, in the wake of the Great Depression, the New Deal Programs supported the work of the artists, who continued to add to the artistic patrimony of the nation. The famous romantic walkway lost its symbolic prevalence, and the bridge was represented as a backdrop for labor. In some paintings we can see the transition from rural poverty to urban development.

In pictography, the Chain Bridge has been immortalized in Miklós Barabás’s paintings depicting the laying of the foundation stone. Highlighting the role of the bridge in the further development of the country, the foregrounded crowd might suggest that collective action leads to independence. The two different versions illustrate the power of the bridge, as in the first one the notoriety of the country are in the foreground, while following the completion of the bridge, the renewed and re-thought painting opened the vantage point and focused on the people, showing how important the bridge had turned out to be soon after its completion. From among the great number of painters, I would like to mention Adolphe Rouargue, depicting the Chain Bridge around 1850, the several winter series painted by Antal Berkes – similarly to Hassan’s Brooklyn Bridge in winter time. Contemporary representations are also available, such as Éva Vaskó (2007) or a painting in the gilded era style by Éva Bényi (2016).

The media has always used the bridges to advertise magazines and books, posters of famous movies, even if the bridges did not play a part in the film. Brooklyn Bridge has been the graphic setting for *Cowboy from Brooklyn*, *Brooklyn Orchid*, *Blonde from Brooklyn*, just to mention a few from the past, current popular culture featuring the bridge in the *Castle* TV series (2008–2016). By the same token, we can also provide a counterexample, with the iconic novel *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* written by Betty Smith in 1943, whose plot starts in Williamsburg to continue in Brooklyn and New York City. From the title one would expect to see Brooklyn rather than Williamsburg Bridge on the cover of the book.

The Chain Bridge was featured in iconic movies *I Spy*, *Au Pair* and *Walking with the Enemy*. The blockbuster of the Bollywood movie *Hum Dil De Chuke Sanam* (Straight from my Heart) features the Chain Bridge, Budapest, although the plot, parts of it having been filmed in Hungary, takes the viewer to Italy. There might be some reason behind the choice, as interestingly the Chain Bridge does have an alter-ego in the tiny little town of Bagni di Lucca in Toscana, a suspended bridge built in 1860.

37 Haw, 100.

38 Haw, 123–124.

The Brooklyn Bridge also brought changes to New York's physical, and with time the Manhattan skyline grew taller compared to the majestic power of the bridge, which no longer dominated the cityscape. In the past, celebrating the technological achievements of the times, people standing on the bridge were looking into the future. Nowadays standing on the bridge often calls for remembering the past. Since the end of the 20th century, the bridge has become more a symbol of Brooklyn rather than that of New York City, with people longing for quiet, small, tree-lined streets and cozy restaurants. The movie industry positioned the bridge as a cinematic icon on the screens turning it into an enigmatic symbol, carrying the past and heralding the future. The Brooklyn Bridge was the catalyst for the phenomenon of the skyscraper in New York City, foreshadowing a new standard of life. David McCullough noted in his book, *The Great Bridge: The Epic Story of the Building of the Brooklyn Bridge*, that "[e]ven before the bridge was opened it had become a symbol of something impossible to define that made New York different from every other city on earth. The bridge dominated the imagination the way it dominated the skyline."³⁹ The Brooklyn Bridge is the essential symbol of the American dream of success through hard work and perseverance, a perfect balance between the tangible and the ideal. It was tangible proof to the inhabitants of Brooklyn and Manhattan that the two cities could be united and transportation between the two sides became unproblematic. It also had the ideal air that somehow touched the lives of many people and the heart of culture in New York City.⁴⁰

With the help of the new technological devices, icons have started living their own lives. The World Wide Web has allowed the setting up of online summaries, anthologies of literature and arts revolving around an iconic "object," which has its own life. The website *God's Works Are Great, But Man's Are Greater: Bridging the Gap in New York City* provides a most valuable inventory of underlying literary passages dedicated to the bridge. The Brooklyn Bridge, the icon of unity and beauty, has served as a muse for writers since the time of its creation. They have analyzed its importance and used the bridge in metaphors; making the solid structure truly immortal.⁴¹ Lewis Mumford wrote in 1924, "Beyond any other aspect of New York, the Brooklyn Bridge has been a source of joy and inspiration to the artist."⁴² The list of artists who have venerated the bridge in their works is extremely long, therefore I will only highlight a few names that have added to my personal love for and interest in the bridge. Walt Whitman, who was born on Long Island and raised in Brooklyn, had always expressed the need of a bridge that would unite the two separate cities, "joining rural Brooklyn with energetic Manhattan." His poem, *Crossing the Brooklyn Ferry*, heralds the creation of "Brooklyniana" series, a collection of twenty-five histories on Brooklyn, in which "there is ample evidence to suggest that the

39 McCullough, 512.

40 <http://www.mapsites.net/gotham01/webpages/gabbyl/affects.htm>.

41 <http://www.mapsites.net/gotham01/webpages/gabbyl/literature.htm>.

42 Lewis Mumford, *Sticks and Stones* (New York, 1924). In Alan Trachtenberg's *Fact and Symbol*, 139, <http://www.mapsites.net/gotham01/webpages/gabbyl/literature.htm>, accessed August 3, 2016.

overwhelming majority of the material in 'Brooklyniana' was recycled from a book of Brooklyn history that Whitman was planning and drafting in the early 1850s," while editing the *Brooklyn Freeman*.⁴³ More abstract is Hart Crane's epic poem written in 1924 entitled *The Bridge*, in which the author intended to exploit the myths of New York and America. Arthur Miller, as a key figure of American theater, has used the Brooklyn Bridge to provide the background for tensions related to immigration in his ever since iconic play *A View from the Bridge* 1955.

Pál Vajda⁴⁴ considered the Chain Bridge the jewel of the capital, acknowledged as the boldest and best-created bridge of the era. András Török⁴⁵ saw it as a magnificent masterpiece of art, an icon of Budapest. Related to literature, Török mentions a most poetic description of the majestic bridge in wintertime, written in 1908 by Ágai Adolf Porzó entitled *Traveling from Pest to Budapest*.⁴⁶ Another fascinating description of the bridge can be found in a short novel also available in English translation, written by Antal Szerb titled *A Martian's Guide to Budapest* (1935). "Although the Chain Bridge was built most presumably during all the four seasons, nevertheless, it has still remained a winter bridge. A winter and a night bridge, with its distinctive black color, and also chocolate brown, the color of the metropolitan bitumen coating of the road when wet. And it is a winter bridge, because its ancestor wasn't a winter bridge."⁴⁷ József Lengyel's *The Bridge-builders* (1960) tells the story of the three men who built the bridge.

The iconic status of both bridges has always guaranteed open and large publicity, no wonder that from their very creation both protesters and celebrators have used the locations to gain attention.

The 21st century of Brooklyn Bridge as an "object" can be well illustrated in a modern embodiment of the iconic span. At the Digital Media Festival in 2009 an installation called Oporto-Brooklyn Bridge won the 2nd Prize. Jurors Hugh Forrest, Karen Kocher and Cristina Sá described the project as follows: "Based on their observation that the Dom Luis I Bridge and the Brooklyn Bridge roughly reflect one another across a horizontal axis, their elegant project explores the thin line where two different linguistic and cultural territories can connect and engage in conversation. The engaging and very tactile project allows for user created conversation, as well as deep reflection on the metaphor of wire in today's digital society."⁴⁸ Two artists, Israeli New Media Artist Naomi Kaly, and American painter and paper maker Alyssa Casey, have exemplified how the latest technology and the new forms of communication can create a "thought bridge" to fill in cultural, linguistic and ethnic gaps. Prior to the festival, and in line with

43 <http://whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/journalism/tei/per.00255.html>.

44 Vajda, 37.

45 Török, 37.

46 Török, 46.

47 Török, 45.

48 Naomi Kaly & Alyssa Casey, "Oporto-Brooklyn Bridge, Future Places," accessed Aug 24, 2017. <http://futureplaces.org/essays/oporto-brooklyn-bridge/>.

Heidegger's interpretation of a bridge ("The bridge is a location"), pedestrians representing a diversity of cultures, genders and ages, were asked to stop for a short interview while crossing the Brooklyn Bridge in New York and Dom Luis I Bridge in Oporto. Questions had been asked about "personal interpretations" of the bridge.

Individuals were encouraged to go beyond the actual definition, to imagine and describe their fantasy bridge: "Given unlimited resources (time, materials) what would be your fantasy bridge? Where would it lead? What would it be made of? What would be the shape? How would you call it?" Final fragments of audio – syllables, words and sentences – collected, processed, and edited – were merged into a hybrid conversational space: local visitors bring to life distant people and remote locations, challenging notions of community, proximity, connection, and interaction.

[...]

Sliding a small bead along the conductive threads, participants trigger a program that scans, deciphers, and plays the encoded audio; walking to the west or east reveals sections of English or Portuguese audio respectively. The conductive thread is mapped into sections each encoding a pair of English and Portuguese audio tracks that creating a dialogue carefully selected according to content, identity of the speaker, or voice intonation. For example, the final Portuguese track, spoken by an elderly gentleman, "Now I'm waiting for the last bridge to take me to the other side" pairs with a young woman, "To see the people from your past." The illusorily continuous audio offers points of transition; hardware and software allow readers to explore and manipulate the usually inaccessible intersections between two tongues: unfamiliar sounds emerge, new language is born. Sliding the bead along the conductive strings, visitors construct the Oporto-Brooklyn Bridge: linear gesture is translated into a non-linear sonic narrative; the audience decodes the hidden audio, unfolding a multilingual and multicultural intricate oral web of urbanism.⁴⁹

The above project illustrates how powerful icons can exert their influence all over the world and how old and new technologies, mentalities, histories merge into a new icon that spreads over the world igniting new thoughts that bridge people and values. We should not disregard or downgrade the often-criticized icons that pop up on all possible platforms offering themselves for purchase, as they will generate a new interest, a new perspective.

In the end, it may be concluded that the multidimensional messages of these two iconic constructions could be best exploited if one follows the current paradigmatic

49 Kaly and Casey.

shift in undergraduate education aiming at introducing students to the major approaches to knowledge in domains the faculty considers indispensable. Proceeding from the assumption that nowadays students rely extensively on computer mediated communication tools, multidisciplinary knowledge can be enhanced if the significance of icons is properly recognized and their ubiquitous presence is exploited to decode and re-encode old information in the aim to negotiate new meanings.

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Hungarian Jews in the Nation Building Process of a Multi-Cultural Society

Aspects of the Multi-cultural Set-up

The main historical given for Hungary in this respect was the exceptionally complex multicultural nature of late feudal society. Hungary was the only country in modern Europe where the nation building 'titular elite' represented a minority in the population. There was only less than 40% of Magyar speakers in the population in the early 19th century (the estimations varying from 29% to 39% for the whole kingdom, somewhat more for the territory without Croatia¹) and no other ethnic group had a larger share than this, with some 20% of Romanians, 15% of Slovaks, 12% of Germans and a number of smaller ethnic-cultural brackets (among them approximately 3% of Serbians and Ruthenes each, as well as a growing proportion of Jews, mostly new immigrants).² This fundamental ethnic-cultural imbalance differed vastly within the landed aristocracy (with only one third of purely Magyar families³) and the rank and file nobility (among which 85% could be identified as Magyars by Elek Fényes⁴). The urban bourgeoisie and patriciate however was largely Germanic, but also Armenian, Serbian, Slovak and – later – more and more Jewish. The peasantry was divided among Romanians, Slovaks, Swabians, Serbians, Ruthenes and only in part Magyar.

This ethnic imbalance was heavily coupled with a denominational one, the former state religion, Roman Catholicism not reaching demographic majority in the population (with 47–49%), the rest being divided between Lutherans (6%), Calvinists (14%), Unitarians (0.5%), Greek Catholics (13%), Greek Orthodox (14%) as well as Jews with somewhat changing proportions over the 19th century. This is the only modern European nation state or national empire – besides those with a federal structure (like Switzerland or the Habsburg conglomerate) – without a hegemonic denominational majority. Moreover the ethnic-cultural set-up of the country was strongly marked by residential and regional divisions, cases of separatism as well as – in times of crisis, like in the 1848/49 war of independence – violent antagonisms.

This multicultural set-up was also heavily correlated with social class divisions, a very difficult issue in a summary presentation, especially when dealing with the central

1 Andrew C. Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary, 1825–1945*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 10.

2 The proportion of Jews increases during the long 19th century from some 1% to over 5%. Data for 1850 in László Katus, "Multinational Hungary in the light of statistics," in *Ethnicity and Society in Hungary, Etudes Historiques Hongroises 1990*, publiées à l'occasion du XVIIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, par le Comité National des Historiens Hongrois, edited by Ferenc Glatz, p. 118.

3 Lakatos, 19.

4 Janos, 19/25.

processes of modernization of post-feudal Hungarian society after the 1867 Compromise. This had to do with the political and institutional consolidation of the nation state, the large scale transformation of the residential infrastructure via urbanization (with Budapest becoming the biggest metropolis between Vienna and Moscow), the emergence of laissez-faire capitalism and the industrialization of the country with ensuing multiple consequences in terms of new trends of professional mobility, changes of basic social structures, notably movements of de-gentrification of the nobility and the gentrification of a strata of upcoming commoners, rampant and highly diversified but decisive movements of secularization and religious diversification, the progressive modernization, growth and nationalization of the educational system, finally the in part spontaneous, in part publicly enforced, in part strategically engaged process of ethnic-cultural nationalization – that is Magyarization – variously and unequally guiding the self-perception, patterns of conduct and public image of originally non-Magyar population clusters. The involved shift of collective identity has been commonly qualified as the process of assimilation. This is what this paper is dedicated to in a shortcut.

The very multi-cultural set-up of the country put indeed into the centre of the nation building project the agenda of ‘assimilation’ of the ‘minorities,’ together with major social reforms terminating the political incapacity and exclusion of non-nobles as well as all the hitherto dis-affranchised sectors of the population (like the bonded peasantry or the legally ‘non received’ churches or sects). The major policy aspects of the project implied were formulated since the Reform Era like an unwritten ‘assimilationist social contract.’ In brief, it offered minority members more or less free upwards economic and professional mobility and a large-scale (though cautiously negotiated) admission in the Magyar ruling elites (including those in government) in exchange for Magyar acculturation and political loyalty. An extended historiographical literature has shown that there was basically two kinds of responses to ‘the contract.’ Most Jews and Catholic Germans as well as many Slovaks accepted the project, while the other ethnic-denominational clusters manifested their opposition – with various intensity and historical ups and downs, starting with the 1848/49 civil war.

This is not the place to explore the huge problem area of the assimilation process, the major socio-historical issue in the post-feudal modernization of nation-building societies all over Europe and – following mostly European patterns – in the world. Let us content ourselves with a brief reminder of its main topical areas, which I classify under the four headings of (1) procedures of rapprochement with the dominant elites, (2) developments related to mobility investments (whether educational, residential, professional or other), (3) consequences for the restratification of the middle classes, (4) strategies of identity modification destined to social integration and mixing.

Acculturation and Nationalization

Linguistic Magyarization was, even in feudal times, an ongoing process over time, but not always a one-way process. New settlers in towns took up regularly the language of

local majorities which were not infrequently non-Magyar, especially German. This was particularly true in most regions of Northern, Western and Eastern Hungary where the Ottoman occupation in the 16th and 17th centuries did not break the continuous development of urban centres. Instead of adopting Hungarian, city dwellers often became multi-lingual, whereby the Magyar tongue could play a subservient role as secondary language. Even in matters legal, educational and political the would-be 'national language' was far from having paramount importance before it was made official state language by law (1843). A more general movement of linguistic Magyarization started only afterwards, especially for Jews in the pre-revolutionary decade of the 1840s and – after the absolutist deadlock of the 1850s – following the 1867 Compromise (*Ausgleich*). The outcome was not fast coming, but by 1900 there was for the first times a qualified majority of the population declaring to be Magyar speakers at the census. In those claims for mother tongue or 'first language of everyday usage' (*erste Umgangssprache*) various forms of linguistic loyalty to Magyartdom could also be identified, together with actual linguistic competences. Still, linguistic Magyarization proved to be highly unequal by the main groups engaged in the process, almost exclusively recruited from Western Christian and Jewish circles as exemplified in Table 1.

		<i>Budapest</i>	<i>Hungary</i>
Roman Catholics	1880	48.4	55.1
	1910	83.9	64.8
Lutherans	1880	51.8	23.4
	1910	78.9	31.8
Jews	1880	61.0	58.5
	1910	90.1	76.9

Table 1. Proportions (%) of Magyar speakers in three denominations (1880–1910)⁵

Two results stand out clearly from the table. First, urban residence was an important factor of Magyarization. In Budapest the intensity of the process exceeded largely what could be observed on the country level. The alien (German and Slovak) majorities among Roman Catholics changed in Budapest into an absolute majority of Magyar speakers in the thirty years period observed, while nothing comparable was noted on the country level. The same applied to Jews, but the proportion of Magyar speakers among them was even higher in cities with predominantly Magyar populations, like Debrecen, Győr, Miskolc, Nagyváradi, Pécs, Szabadka, and Szeged. Second, general differences between the three denominational clusters of the table were also very significant. Jews appeared to be champions of Magyarization even for the whole country, but especially for the capital city. Here Magyar became a Jewish language of sorts, while this was less the case in the other groups. In the whole country Catholics

5 Source: Census data in *Publications statistiques hongroises*, 27, 134–135; 64, 138–139.

and Lutherans took only moderately the train of linguistic Magyarism. Among Lutherans at the end of the dualist period Magyar speakers were still a small minority of less than a third, as against larger German and Slovak brackets. Now, if one takes the other minority denominations with initially exclusively non-Magyar clusters – Romanians, Ruthenes or Serbs of Greek ritual obedience, not referred to in the table – even less progress of this kind can be noticed. Among the Greek Orthodox the 1910 census found less than 2% of Magyar speakers...

Bilingualism was actually spreading – logically enough – with the progress of Magyarization, since the language shift meant in most cases the conservation of the former first language as a home tongue or – for educated former German speakers – as the language of advanced learning, especially when they opted (as many did) for higher training abroad (in Vienna, Prague or Germany). A crucial source of data is presented in a survey of the population in Budapest affected to the utmost by linguistic assimilation. In the years of the turn of the century the number of languages for 100 persons concerned stood at 190 among Jews, 184 among Lutherans, 153 among Roman Catholics and at 135 only among Calvinists.⁶ If we disregard the latter, most Calvinists being initially of Magyar background, the rank order of foreign language competences was broadly the same as that of linguistic Magyarization.

One can add that such differential effort at Magyarization depended vastly on the disposition of the ethnic leadership and/or related Church authorities maintaining the network of primary schools. Elementary education was indeed controlled and carried out still mostly by the latter, the network of primary schools remaining strongly segregated along denominational lines. Now school statistics clearly demonstrate the efforts of self-assimilation in Jewish primary schools, which came to be fully Magyarized by the end of the 19th century, while this was very far from being achieved for other erstwhile mixed networks (like for Catholics or Lutherans).⁷

Another aspect of the state supported process of nationalization concerned the movement to Magyarize surnames. That was a symbolic action to stress national loyalties and identities in the self-presentation of individuals, especially those connected in one way or another to the state authorities and the Magyar ruling elite. It was both an initiative of civil society (started already in the revolutionary months of 1848–49) which responded later to a consciously pursued state policy under the regime of national independence after the Compromise (1867) and accelerated from the 1890s. Under the years of the so-called 'Bánky Terror' (a telling nickname for Prime minister Bánky's harsh nationalist policies in 1895–1899) non Hungarian first names of drafted soldiers (a majority in the *Honvéd* Army at that time) were forcefully Magyarized as well

6 Source: *Budapest székesfőváros statisztikai közleményei* [Statistical reports of the residential capital Budapest], 33/2 (Budapest, 1905), 93.

7 For the whole problem area of language change see the essay (alas, only in Hungarian) at a global overview in my book *Zsidóság, modernizáció, asszimiláció* [Jewry, modernization, assimilation] (Budapest: Cserépfalvi, 1997), 151–249.

as all village names inhabited by minority populations. In 1898 the mandatory Magyarization of family names of non-Hungarian civil servants was also decreed, a measure followed mostly by public employees of lower ranks. Anyhow, the global outcome of the movement was extremely diversified. This may exemplify fundamental ethnic-cultural inequalities as to the Magyarization process. There again the Jewish participation in the movement proved to be paramount with some 57% of Jews among all name Magyarizers in the years 1894–1913, followed with a distance by German and Slovak Roman Catholics and Lutherans, while other clusters with non-Magyar surnames practically abstained. Hereafter, as an illustration, see the estimated number of population for 1 surname Magyarizer (1894–1913) among the main participant groups:⁸

Jews	18
German Catholics	137
Slovak Catholics	190
German Lutherans	426
Slovak Lutherans	335
Serbian Greek Orthodox	1193
Romanian Greek Orthodox	1907
Slav Greek Catholics (Ukrainians)	964
Romanian Greek Catholics	953

Assimilation and Mobility

Formal schooling must be, logically, regarded as the main vehicle of assimilation in various forms, since it constituted more or less at all its levels and stages a transmission machine for the inculcation of everything ‘national’ as defined by the state authorities – language, common values, political targets as well as cultural assets. Moreover, secondary and higher education served also the social mixing of elite clusters, given their limited inclusiveness in terms of social class. *Matura* itself was the entry ticket to the gentlemanly middle class. It involved such officially granted privileges as the shorter ‘voluntary’ military service, leading to the position of ‘reserve officer’ in the army – and the social capacity to fight in duels (*Satisfaktionsfähigkeit*) as well as the conditional liability to be accepted in gentry salons (*Salonfähigkeit*). By the common people a secondary school alumnus was considered a gentleman and addressed as such (*Herr*). This was the royal path of minority youth to find social allies in the ruling elite and occasionally succeed on the road to integration in its circles.

Such function of social integration was less true though in primary and to some extent also in lower echelons of secondary schooling (like in *Bürgerschulen*), neglected

8 Source: in my book with István Kozma, *Név és nemzet: Névpolitika, névváltoztatási mozgalom és nemzetiségi erőviszonyok Magyarországon a reformkortól a kommunizmusig* [Name and nation: The policy of naming, the movement of surname modification and relations of ethnic forces in Hungary from the Vormärz till Communism] (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 83.

or used only in a selective manner by social elites. Indeed, since primary education had been historically trusted to the care of the Churches it remained heavily segregated and largely reserved for their own religious clientele. But this also meant that primary schools of 'ethnic Churches' (like those of Eastern Christians, Lutheran Saxons in Transylvania or the Swabians – Catholic Germans – in the Banat region or elsewhere) continued to enjoy for a long time a relative liberty from Magyar nationalist pressures, when they were not motivated by 'assimilationist' targets. It has been mentioned already that the 400-to-500-odd Jewish community schools represented the latter case: they Magyarized themselves almost fully by the end of the 19th century. Other non-Magyar minorities were either reluctant to make a similar effort (like German or Slovakian Catholics or Lutherans) or were simply hostile to any form of Magyar hegemony (like Romanians or other Slavic groups) and resisted enforced educational Magyarization. But the situation changed over time. The state and communal as well as municipal authorities started to develop their own network of primary schools with almost exclusively Magyar tuition language immediately after the 1867 Compromise. By 1907 close to a quarter of primary schools (24.3%) were run by secular authorities. More and more demands were imposed on minority schools for the teaching of the state language and aspects of the Magyar civilization. Finally the unduly infamous Lex Apponyi (1907) abolished fees in primary schooling, offered substantial subsidies for schools adopting Magyar tuition and penalized the rest. Hence the decisive growth of the proportion of schools teaching in Hungarian from a mere 43% in 1868/69⁹ to 79% by 1910/11¹⁰ in a country where almost half of the upcoming generation was still non-Magyar speaker in this period. The basic 'assimilationist' function of primary schooling was by the early 20th century efficiently enforced for the majority of pupils.

This was even more so in elite education. Indeed higher education was from the beginning exclusively organized via tuition in Hungarian, switching from Latin after 1843 (with a transitory stint in German during the 1850s, years of the post-revolutionary absolutist rule). After 1867 already secondary education was more and more heavily directed towards the representation of Magyar cultural hegemony. In 1885 still 30% of the 195 gymnasiums and *Realschulen* were teaching in a language other than Hungarian or in Hungarian combined with other tuition languages (German, Romanian or Serbian).¹¹ By 1910 teaching in several tongues in the same institution was completely abolished and only a few schools with 'foreign' tuition language survived. Out of 205 gymnasiums and *Realschulen* 9 were using German, 6 Romanian and 1 Serbian, altogether a mere 8% of the institutions concerned.¹² The only regional and ethnic minority capable of responding to the educational demand of its offspring in its mother tongue was that of Lutheran Saxons in Transylvania (a heritage of the historic privilege of the *Universitas*

9 See *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények* (MSK) [Hungarian Statistical Reports], 31.

10 See *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv* (MSÉ) [Hungarian Statistical Yearbook], 1911, 347.

11 MSÉ, 1885, 92–116.

12 MSÉ, 1911, 375–378.

Saxorum). All other descendants of minorities had to face the severe scarcity or inexistence of schooling options available in their own tongue up to *Matura*. Thus secondary schooling tended to serve – even more than primary schooling – the project of Magyar assimilation.

Our concern here is to show that this dominantly Magyar elite training system attracted very unequally minority and majority groups. It may be clear from the analysis of survey data shown on Table 2 below that only two minority clusters – Jews and Germans – attested to a significantly high level of over the average presence in elite education. Jews could be identified by information on religion in inscription files. The representation of Germans could be estimated only by their family names, a problematic and partial approach of the definition of those of German family origin, but the only one which could be operationally applied from available sources.

	Jews	Germans by name	Others	Total %	Figures
Population by mother tongue 1880	4.6	12.1	83.3	100.0	13,721,900
graduates of secondary schools – provinces 1891–1919	24.0	18.4	57.6	100.0	7,840
graduates of secondary schools – Budapest 1891–1919	31.8	27.4	40.8	100.0	7,748
University of Budapest 1900	34.8	15.9	49.3	100.0	4,903
Budapest Polytechnics, mechanical engineers 1880–1899	41.7	20.5	37.8	100.0	2,295
University of Kolozsvár 1900	13.4	14.6	72.0	100.0	1,236
Universities, academies – Vienna 1890–1919	23.4	41.2	35.4	100.0	5,987
Universities, academies – Germany 1880–1918	25.8	42.0	32.2	100.0	3,565

Table 2. Proportions (%) of students in various stages and institutions of advanced learning by the main ethnic-cultural clusters concerned¹³

13 Source related to students (if not otherwise indicated): survey data from the overall prosopographical study of secondary school graduates and students enrolled in various institutions of higher education where the presence of students from Hungary was attested. For Hungarian institutions of higher education the survey was carried out in the framework of the ELITES08 project funded as an Advanced Team Leadership scheme of the European Research Council under my direction together with Professor Peter Tibor Nagy.

Table 2 has been specially constructed to present the rather stupendous result that two small minority clusters of less than an estimated one sixth of the global population – Jews and those of partially German background – made up around 1900 the rather large majority of all students from Hungary in elite education (except for secondary school graduates in Budapest and students of the University in Kolozsvár). The most spectacular results concern the already well-attested trend of over-education of Jews. But the German side of the picture should not be neglected neither, especially as to students abroad, receiving professional training in some of the best contemporary universities in Europe.

These objectified data on basic educational inequalities, which would, in a study with more space at its disposal, require and be worth of an in-depth analysis in terms of residential, regional and social class recruitment of the students concerned, can be most interestingly completed by and compared with a set of denomination specific survey information on performances of secondary school graduates. The structure of achievement inequalities appears to be indeed closely reminiscent of the previous findings about quantitative inequalities of enrolment.

	1851–1890	rank order	1891–1918	rank order
Lutherans	1.98	1	2.35	2
Jews	2.11	2	2.23	1
Roman Catholics	2.31	3	2.36	3
Calvinists	2.35	4	2.38	4
Other	2.40	5	2.49	5
Together	2.26		2.35	

Table 3. Average marks obtained by graduates of secondary education by denominations¹⁴

Population by mother tongue 1880: Census data on mother tongue or first everyday language in Károly Keleti, *Magyarország nemzetiségei* [Ethnic groups in Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1882), 22 ('Értekezések a társadalomtudomány köréből'). The mother tongue of the population serves here to estimate its approximate divisions by those ethnic-denominational groups which were the biggest users of the infrastructure of elite training.

Universities, academies – Vienna 1890–1919: source: Gábor Patyi, *Magyarországi diákok bécsi egyetemeken és főiskolákon, 1890–1918* [Students from Hungary in universities and academies of Vienna, 1890–1918] (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2004).

Universities, academies – Germany 1880–1918: source: *Ungarländische Studenten an den deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen, 1789–1919* (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2001).

- ¹⁴ The data are weighted on the basis of the scale: 1 = excellent, 2 = good, 3 = pass, 4 = fail mark. The lower the average, the higher was the performance. Average marks referred to here draw on results in the six main 'intellectual' subjects obtained in graduating (8th) classes of gymnasias and *Realschulen*. The study was carried out in the ELITES08 project as in note 13 above. For sources see my study, "Les inégalités ethniques et confessionnelles dans les

Without attempting here an in-depth analysis – proposed elsewhere¹⁵ – of these rather unique survey results (without precedents or equivalents elsewhere in the educational literature, to my knowledge), the Table displays a clear hierarchy of scholarly excellence with Jews and Lutherans as top performers, covering largely the biggest users of elite educational facilities of the time. Further data of the same survey prove that Jews and (at a distance) Lutherans (mostly those of German background) remained the absolutely best performers after 1919 too up to 1948.¹⁶ They were followed by Roman Catholics comprising important population sections of German background. Further down to the bottom of the rank order of achievements were located the Calvinists and then, with another distance, all other low achieving minorities engaged in advanced secondary schooling.

Besides education, one could observe a number of other strategies of social mobility liable to support the assimilation of minorities. The simplest and most visible one had to do with residential movements. In this respect Jews, a markedly immigrant group since the late 18th century, happened to display exceptional agency in two directions. One was, coming from the North either from the Czech lands (in the 18th century) or from Austrian Galicia (since the final partition of Poland in 1795 up to 1848), their continued dispersion Southwards in the Hungarian Plain and Transdanubia with Magyar population majorities. This served already for an elementary motivation for Magyar acculturation. The second movement was directed towards cities, especially after 1840, when this was secured for them by law. Jews joined in masses mostly German city dwellers to become by the second part of the 19th century the by far most urbanized ethnic-cultural segment of Hungarian society. By 1900 not less than one quarter of all Jews in Hungary was living in Budapest as against a mere 3-4% of other denominational clusters. In Table 1 above it was shown that Budapest like other bigger cities acted as fundamental melting pots for ethnic-cultural minorities, but also as centres of Magyar assimilation. For Jews like for some other minorities, settling in big cities provided not only the chance of residential and social mixture in everyday life but also access to schooling on all levels as well as the access to professional markets of emerging capitalism which was from the *Gründerzeit* in the 1860s concentrated mostly in cities.

Without much simplification, there again Jews and – to some extent – descendants of various German clusters were in the forefront to exploit opportunities of professional re-stratification in the late 19th century. Upwards social mobility of minorities made

performances scolaires des bacheliers en Hongrie (1851–1918),” *Histoire et mesure* (June 2014): 167–193.

15 See, among others, Viktor Karády, “Tantárgy-sajátos alkulturális egyenlőtlenségek a dualista kor középiskolásainak tanulmányi teljesítményeiben” [Subject-specific inequalities in the scholarly achievements of secondary school pupils of the Dualist Period], *Educatio* 21.4 (2012): 513–534.

16 See my study, “Vészorszak és iskolai kitűnőség (Esettanulmány az érettségizők tanulmányi teljesítményeinek konjunkturális alakulásáról)” [Shoah and educational excellence, case study of changes in the academic achievements of secondary school graduates over time], in Judit Molnár (ed.), *A nagypolitikától a hétköznapiig* [From global politics to everyday life] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2016), 193–205.

them – not without resistance and different ups and downs – unavoidable partners of the hitherto ruling, Magyar dominated aristocratic and gentry elites. This was partly due to the loss of economic leverage of the traditional landowning ruling class following the termination of serfdom (of the bonded peasantry) and its incapacity to adopt modern ways of economic management. When ruined, their properties were often taken over by new landowners belonging to upcoming minority clusters, above all Jews and Germans who, in their intercourse with noble neighbours, had to adopt Magyar gentry ways. But social transformations of laissez-faire capitalism, together with the building up of a modern nation state generated the need for a growing mass of professionals.

New Divisions of the Middle Classes and the Ruling Elites

Hence a veritable division of labour was established among new and old elites. The new ones, essentially coming from ethnic minorities (above all those of Jewish and German background), took on the charge to develop the modern industrial and communicational infrastructures of the country (including city building, as in Budapest). The aristocracy and the gentry continued to exert political power and bring about the modern administrative structures (territorial administration, justice, the organization of health services and the educational networks, etc.) in association with upcoming ethnic elite clusters – educated assimilates of mostly Western Christian background of essentially Germans and Slovakian extraction. Jews were as a rule accepted in civil service only after baptism, or else thanks to exceptional competences or services. Once converted, the road was open to them even to political functions. An estimation put the proportion of MPs of Jewish parentage under the authoritarian nationalist-liberal premier István Tisza (1905–1910) at 22%.¹⁷ In 1917 under the new emperor Charles a first ever minister of Jewish faith Vilmos Vázsonyi took the portfolio of Justice and Electoral Reform in several governments.

However liberal and inclusive the nation-building establishment proved to be in Hungary under the Dual Monarchy vis-à-vis loyalist minorities, all this was conducive to a fundamental division of the middle classes. The ‘productive’ sectors of entrepreneurs and affiliated staffs as well as professional intellectuals active on free markets were mostly recruited from educationally and economically mobile minorities, that is essentially from Jews and Germans. On the other hand public employees and all those existentially dependent on the state and territorial authorities continued to belong to a combination of old and new Western Christian middle classes, made up by offspring of the gentry and mobile commoners with a large share of those of German and Slovakian background. (Even later, in the post-Trianon rump state, with ethnic minorities not amounting even to a tenth of the population, some 42% of the ministerial high bureaucracy consisted of a staff of non-Magyar origin.¹⁸)

17 Janos, 178.

18 These results emanate from a survey by the notoriously right extremist statistician Alajos Kovács, “A nevek és névváltoztatások statisztikája” [Statistics of names and changes of surnames], *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* 3 (1930), 228–240.

Ferenc Erdei, the knowledgeable observer of Hungarian society in the interwar period, went as far as suggesting that Hungarian elites displayed 'a dual structure' along ethnic-cultural lines, as an outcome of developments accomplished under the pre-1919 Dual Monarchy.¹⁹ He meant by that the opposition between middle class elements of mostly Magyar stock with assimilated Magyars, on the one hand, and self-employed intellectuals as well as employees and patrons of the private economy of mostly 'alien' (above all Jewish and German) background. Traces of such duality can be actually observed in data on the denominational divisions of 'intellectuals' in the broad sense (those in 'non-manual' occupations). Highly multi-cultural Transylvania offers an experimental case of sorts for such an analysis.

Employment type \ Denomination	Roman Catholics	Lutherans	Jews	Together*
private employees	20.6	29.3	62.0	18.6
free professionals	5.3	7.0	8.6	5.7
employees in transports	20.9	6.5	12.3	10.6
civil servants	28.0	13.5	6.0	17.9
priests, clerics	6.6	13.9	4.7	20.1
primary school teachers	14.0	24.9	6.0	24.0
high school and other teachers	4.5	4.9	0.5	3.2
<i>Altogether</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
figures	3,295	2,260	1,309	14,629
distribution (%)	22.5	15.4	8.9	100.0*
% in the population	13.4	9.0	2.1	100.0*

* Including all other ethnic-denominational categories

Table 4. 'Non-manual' employees and intellectual professionals in Transylvania by selected denominations (1900)²⁰

For the purposes under scrutiny two types of observations (besides several others) can be particularly stressed as to Table 4. First, while the three denominational groups with large 'alien' ethnic fractions were all strongly over-represented among 'intellectual' professionals in Transylvania, this was particularly true of Jews. Their share here was more than four times superior to the demographic weight of the kin population.

19 Ferenc Erdei, "A magyar társadalom a két háború között" [Hungarian society between the two wars], *Valóság* 19.4 (1976): 23–53.

20 Source: MSK, 16, 134–236, *passim*.

Ethnic-cultural mixity can thus be generally regarded as a significant factor in propensities to entry into middle class professions essentially based on the possession of special competences ('educational capital'). But this applied much more to Jews than to other groups as illustrated in data of the two bottom lines of the table. Second, it appears clearly that more a cluster had components perceived as 'assimilated alien,' more it was represented in the 'modern,' entrepreneurial or professional sectors of 'intellectual' employment. The most striking contrast is visibly perceptible between Jews and others here since the vast majority of Jews (over 80%) were active in the private sector and the professions proper, while this applied only to 36% of Lutherans and just a quarter of other denominations implied. Thus, most Jews asserted themselves in activities on free, competitive markets, while the vast majority of their educated Christian counterparts remained active in civil or church service. The contrast is manifestly liable to an interpretation in terms of the 'dual structure' of the recomposed middle classes.

Another scholarly observer of the stratification of elites in the interwar years – the known statistician of the extreme right, already cited – produced a more operational evaluation of the various ethnic-cultural components of those in 'intellectual occupation' in the 1930s, making a distinction between 'Aryans' (non-Jews) of various ethnic origin, much in the proto-Nazi vocabulary of the times, as follows. This report concerns of course the inter-war rump state, but its results may just as well illustrate – at least broadly – the main elements of the situation as developed by the end of the long 19th century in the multi-ethnic 'Hungarian Empire' (outside Croatia). The racist formulation of the categories applied can easily be freed from its odious ideological halo and translated in neutral terms with reference to ethnic-cultural background. When this is accomplished, the results are illuminating the in-depth inequalities in the investment of the three main branches of middle-class activities.

The most remarkable observation is related to the spectacularly weak presence of the official nation-building ethnic stock in elite groups. Given their settlement pattern in the central regions of the historic kingdom, people of Magyar origin must have represented the absolute majority (may be up to three quarter) of the population of the post-Trianon rump state. In terms of mother tongue or first language they made up less than 10% of the population in the census of 1920. Now, in the estimations of the size of various educated middle class clusters presented in Table 5 they do not reach a majority even in the politically most sensitive civil service positions, let alone in the others. In the free market economy their share (less than one fifth) compares most unfavourably with that of non-Magyar 'Aryans' (32%) and Jews (44%). Yet the Jewish participation here bears already the mark of various restrictions imposed on the economic agency of Jews in the years of the academic *numerus clausus*, preceding the much more drastic, Nazi type anti-Jewish legislation starting in 1938. Their share in the private economy and the professions had been certainly more important before 1919. The *numerus clausus* drastically and directly curbed their access to the professions, notably. As for those of German background, it is very remarkable that this cluster with an estimated 12–15% in the population in the pre-1919 kingdom, but probably much less afterwards (due to the loss of heavily German

inhabited territories of Transylvania, Eastern Burgenland, the Banat and Slovakia) appears to have been vastly over-represented in every 'intellectual' market to a degree close to the ruling Magyar stock. This cannot be said about Slavic groups (mostly Slovaks), whose presence was significant though in civil service and free professional occupations but certainly below their share of their kin in the global population. 'Other Aryans' may refer to assimilated Armenians, Romanians and members of unidentifiable groups.

'Racial groups'	in the civil service	free professionals	in the private economy
'Indigenous stock' (Magyars)	42.2	34.9	23.9
'German Aryans'	33.0	27.3	18.7
'Slavic Aryans'	17.6	14.3	10.0
'Other Aryans'	5.5	4.6	3.2
Jews	1.7	16.6	44.2
Altogether	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5. A racist perception of the division of the educated middle classes in the main activity markets in the 1930s²¹

In these data a 'dual structural' stratification of elites is clearly reflected. Whatever the reasons of this situation, the working hypothesis of major disparities in historically developed and then in-built looking dispositions and proclivities to forms of 'modernity' in different ethnic-cultural clusters cannot be dispensed with.

Other Strategies of Assimilation Involving Changing Self-definition and Shifts of Collective Identity

Societal togetherness of collectives with different cultural habits, memories, dispositions and strategies of group reproduction, especially in urban environments, generated various forms of interaction and patterns of common or hybrid behaviours. In 19th century Hungary all this may be interpreted though under the aegis of the nationalist hegemony of Magyardom. It must be added, that most of the strategies of identity transformations cited below affected differently Jewish and Christian minorities. For Christians, inherited or remembered background variables lost their social relevance, after a

²¹ Source: a study attributed to the notable statistician Alajos Kovács, anonymously published in the political monthly *Sárkány* (December 1938). See it in our book with István Kozma, 127. The author was director of the Central Statistical Office in Budapest between 1924 and 1936.

degree of linguistic and cultural Magyarization. They could get integration in Magyar dominated elite clusters without much reservations. Their origins, ethnic traditions or souvenirs played less and less role in their destinies in social space. Jews did not have the same fortune. Jewish background could emerge even after several generations of complete assimilation and integration as a cause for discrimination or even stigmatization.

The first and foremost attitude developed along these lines had to do precisely with the relationship to the Magyar nation state and its nationalist projects. This was political Magyarism, enthusiastically embraced by some minorities – especially the majority of Jews (particularly those of the modernist, ‘neolog’ type), Catholic Germans, Lutheran ‘Saxons’ of the North (but not those of Transylvania) and many Slovaks, especially descendants of the *Hungarus* gentry and others living inside Magyar populated central regions of the country. For Western Christians of minority background there was indeed no real hindrance before political careers. This included baptized Jews as well, but not those of Jewish faith, in spite of the appointment of Vilmos Vázsonyi as minister of justice and electoral reform (1917): he was an important political figure in Budapest, representative of a Jewish petty bourgeois district (*Terézváros*). His example may serve as an exception to the rule. For all practical purposes positions in a field connected to public power or authority remained till the end of the pre-socialist Old Regime reserved to Western Christians. This included administrative, educational and military positions of the civil service as well as those in public industries (railways, electricity works, etc.). The less strictly controlled area in this respect was academe, where a number of Jewish scholars could obtain posts in the universities or membership in the Academy of Sciences in the long 19th century. Their representation remained nevertheless modest, on the whole, especially as compared to the high proportions of Jewish students (ere the *numerus clausus* in 1920). The expectation to get baptized applied to them too, even if less strictly as in other fields of state controlled activities. After 1919 new nominations of Jews in higher education came to be completely blocked.

However it was, these cases of social exclusion, limitation or forms of implicit stigmatization of Jews – which were kept up without any official endorsement by ruling parties or consecutive nationalist-liberal governments – contributed to strengthen the inclination of some Jews (mostly in cities) to get baptized. Such modification of publicly professed denominational identity could indeed help career advancement and facilitate integration in the gentile middle class. Still, this trend did not affect significantly the social set up of Jewish milieus up to a situation of major social crisis, like the defeat in the war (October 1918), followed by the fall of the Dual Monarchy, the dismantlement of the historic Hungarian Kingdom, the failed transitory democratic republican experience, the Communist adventure of a Republic of Councils (March-July 1919) and the White terror, introducing the new ‘Christian Regime.’ While during the liberal Monarchy the yearly rate of baptism oscillated around a mere 0.05% of the Jewish population (with 400–500 annual cases), this proportion amounted to close to 1% in the critical year 1919 (with more than 8000 cases).

Living together of groups with different traditions, habits and cultural assets could produce tensions in a multi-ethnic set-up. It could also give rise to patterns of organized mixing. These affected vastly the intensity and the particular conditions as well as the results of the assimilation process.

The historically first and foremost of them had to do with residential mixing, the nature of which changed with the progress of urbanization. While statisticians of the early 19th century could still identify the majority of the village population as residents in separate ethnic communities, ethnic mixing became rather the rule by the end of the period, even if various forms of segregation survived – sometimes till the present. Gypsies are still now living ordinarily in separate village quarters. Jews used to do so also in smaller settlements, but less and less in towns. Even in Budapest, the erstwhile ghetto district never had a global Jewish majority, except may be in a few blocks around synagogues. Anyhow, historically there had never been closed ghettos in the country but just 'Jewish streets' with open ending and mixed populations. In 19th century Budapest patterns of social segregation prevailed over ethnic ones, though some districts kept their traditionally particular image. Buda was regarded as more Christian and Pest as more Jewish in general, or the Castle district as aristocratic and the central Pest avenue (Andrássy Street) as the siege of the Jewish upper classes, the buildings of the latter having been actually commissioned, constructed and inhabited largely (if not exclusively) by Jewish entrepreneurs and professionals.

Urbanization and the break-up of feudal patterns of organized social life – with formal preference for those of equal economic or social status within the titled nobility, the *bene possessionati* gentry or the corporate patriciate, etc. – contributed to the multiplication of civil society initiatives and to the rise of civic associations. Residential togetherness as well as segregation along ethnic-cultural – most often denominational – lines were equally reflected in these civic gatherings. They assumed various prefixed functions of common interest, including philanthropic actions, but above all the formalization of belonging to some brackets of the elite. Associations of women, circles to support local schools, hunting societies, rifle clubs, or even high tables or 'reserved tables' in pubs were part of this network of semi-private collectives liable to be divided by their ethnic-cultural connections. Admission into one of the circles presided by members of the established old elites accounted for a real success in terms of 'assimilation' for ethnic outsiders (Jews, Germans, etc.). Some of the associations were set up on a secular and ethnically neutral basis, but others had specific particularistic references. In larger towns a Christian and a Jewish (middle class) women's association could typically rival in philanthropic actions just as well as in the arrangement of festive events. In those cases the Christian side would be usually more exclusivist – granting help or extending invitations preferentially to Christians – while their Jewish equivalents would be programmatically more open to non-Jews, whenever possible, as part of 'the logic of assimilation.'

Educational mixing proved to be a major field of the homogenization of social elites in the country, with a heavy impact on the integration of outsiders, though trends of segregation and ethnic-cultural 'streaming' could occasionally also be observed in the

school market. Minority secondary schools with instruction in minority languages obviously selected their ethnic-cultural or denominational clientele of their own. But their role remained limited on the country level, given their small and ever diminishing share in the school market over time, as already mentioned above. It may be paradoxical that during most of the 19th century segregation in schooling operated mostly in the shape of self-segregation. Protestants, Catholics and Eastern Christians tended to isolate themselves in their own institutions. But there was hardly any anti-Jewish bias in the enrolment policies of church schools, while state or municipal institutions were by definition open to all. The first signs of anti-Jewish discrimination in Catholic schools started to be perceptible only after 1900, that is, following the secularizing 'laws of religious policy' of the late 1890s, much against the antagonism of the Catholic hierarchy. But it developed into a general policy of anti-Jewish segregation only after 1919 during the 'Christian regime' of the rump state.

The integrative function of elite education applied, obviously enough, to higher education as well, as it was entirely run by the state which, since the decrees of Joseph II in the 1780s up to 1920, guaranteed the access to universities and vocational academies without any discrimination in terms of feudal status, ethnicity or religion (even for Jews). Still, this liberal principle was not respected equally everywhere, even after 1867. A combination of choices of educational tracks and institutional preferences contributed to the fact that practically no Jews (with very few exceptions indeed) were admitted into Hungarian military academies or in the first and for a time only place of technical training, the *Selmezbánya* Academy of mining and forestry. But higher education, starting with graduation from secondary schools, granted every ethnic or cultural outsider concerned (including Jews), the entitlement of membership in the gentlemanly elites with all their formal or informal privileges like shorter military service (*voluntariat*), the chance to become 'reserve officer' in the army and the right to fight in duels. Unlike in other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy or Germany, Jews became thus *satisfaktionsfähig*. The first generations of Jews integrated in elite circles made ample use of this mark of social distinction as attested by their significant over-representation among those condemned for duels.²² Famous duels were indeed fought by such prominent Jews as Vilmos Vázsonyi or Moritz Wahrmann. The cause of the then president of the Pest Neolog Israelite Community was officially adopted by the Parliament in 1882 as a response to the insult made to the national assembly itself.²³ Thus MP Wahrmann was expected to defend the honour of the very Budapest Chamber by challenging the anti-Semitic leader Istóczy.

The most important individual strategy of crossing ethnic-cultural boundaries without complete symbolic self-denial (like in religious conversion) was matrimonial

22 See my study, "Denominational Dimensions of Crime in Late Dualist Hungary," *Yearbook 2001–2002* (History Department, Central European University, 2002): 187–197, especially 191.

23 See *Honszeretet és felekezeti hűség: Wahrmann Mór, 1831–1892* [Love of the fatherland and denominational fidelity, Mór Wahrmann, 1831–1892], ed. Tibor Frank (Budapest: Argumentum, 2006), 559–561.

mixing, since it provoked the at least partial discontinuity of the physical reproduction and possible growth of the kin communities within the given family. Marriages were regularly counteracted, discouraged or frankly obstructed by the large family when the bride and the bridegroom were not of the same religious or ethnic cluster. This is a very complex issue with regional, indeed local factors at play and seriously over-determined by state regulations. For example Jewish-Christian matches remained properly outlawed till the legalization of civil marriage in 1895. Ethnic mixing was not governed by public law, but customary rules of the communities affected often opposed it. Denominational mixing followed for each religious community strict regulations, usually detrimental to the multiplication of mixed matches. Catholic canon law and the specific dispositions of the other churches also could be obstacles to inter-religious unions. After 1895 special legal arrangement was admitted by the state – the so-called *reverzális* (“reversal”) – a pre-marital contract of would-be spouses to define the religion of expected offspring. The Catholic Church accepted a marital mixing only if the contract stipulated that the children should be raised as Catholics. Statistical findings prove that the two Catholic persuasions were the main beneficiaries of this religious intransigence as against all other denominations, most drastically Jews.

The frequency of mixed marriages was closely linked to the distance separating the communities of the partners in social space. It was thus from early on much more probable among Protestants of various persuasions than between Protestants and other Christians, particularly Catholics. Eastern and Roman Catholics could get married without hindrance. The social distance between Jews and Gentiles being regarded as substantial on both sides, the rate of this kind of matches can serve as a partial but (with some reservations) quite objective indicator of Jewish social integration. Indeed Jewish-Gentile marriages occurred first in urban environments and circles of the ‘assimilated’ middle class, above all in the capital city. For Jews it led to the loss or radical slackening of community ties, liable to be compensated though by the symbolic status mobility of entering in kinship and social alliance with gentile elite groups. For Christian partners, not infrequently belonging to impoverished gentry clusters, marriage with upcoming Jewish professionals or members of the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie could mean an economic salvation of sorts, liable to affect the whole kinship. This was in a way an exchange of different assets, precisely those badly needed and searched for by the respective partners concerned. The global frequency of Jewish-Gentile marriages responded thus to general trends of Jewish assimilation and integration, but also to critical situations, when the control exerted by families and the kin (usually opposing marital mixing) could be overcome or ignored. Hence, it was increasing steadily but slowly till the Great War from a mere 12% of Jewish bridegrooms involved in the years 1896–1900 up to 20% in 1911–13. The leap upwards to as high as 36% in 1915 can be attributed to the war emergency,²⁴ when prospective partners – most of the male ones facing service in the trenches (and mortal dangers)

24 Data from MSE, *passim*.

for an unpredictably long period – felt much less obliged to cede to occasional family obstruction than in normal times.

More importantly, different degrees of secularization can be identified in Hungarian elites in the late 19th century, particularly in denominational minorities, starting with Protestants and Jews but embracing all Western Christians later.²⁵ The message of neo-Catholicism was a reaction to it including a new social discourse in support of the losers of laissez-faire capitalism, with marginal references to a Christian Socialist option and adopting – more heavily – political anti-Semitism. This was often openly professed in the renovated Catholic press but also disguised in anti-Liberal utterances of the Catholic People's Party (1895). Selective trends of secularism were a rather typical outcome of the accelerated modernization of emancipated Jewry, but also a response to the growing tide of anti-Jewish attacks in universities and in Catholic political and spiritual organizations, particularly after 1900. Secularism meant first and foremost religious indifference, clearly observable in urban Jewry of formally 'neolog' spiritual obedience (nicknamed by their traditionalist coreligionists as 'Kippur-Jewry' – since they would attend synagogue services on high holidays only. It was spreading in other denominational sectors of the proletariat and the urbanized educated middle classes as well. In Hungary it was even officially recognized by law since 1895, when the category 'without religion' (*bekennntnislos*) was inserted among the mandatory denominational choices for public records. But secularism – regularly accompanied by anti-clericalism – was also an ideological meeting ground of various neo-humanist and collectivist currents of modernizing elites. Ethnic-cultural minorities had a strong share in these clusters, engaged in the invention and formulation of new societal projects running against all forms of traditionalism shored up by the 'historic churches.'

Since religion divided populations, inserting them into different and frequently antagonistic communities, secularism produced ideological platforms on universalist basis, ignoring habitual social divisions. The oldest and the most influential current of thought of this kind was represented by the Freemasonry since the Enlightenment. It was officially banned by the Catholic Church in the 18th century. This did not completely hinder the joining of Catholics (sometimes even priests), but enhanced the proclivity of participation from milieus with other spiritual background, having reasons to oppose Catholicism. Members of the modern Jewish elites were among them. Though we have as yet no data on the denominational set-up of the Hungarian lodges in the period under scrutiny, my survey data show that 64% of those who joined a lodge in 1854–1890 bore German surnames and only 19% Magyar ones, with a presumable majority of Jews in both clusters. Freemasonry was everywhere carrying liberal ideas, to the extent of being sometimes identified with Liberalism. But political Liberalism, grounded on fundamental ideas of the Enlightenment – like 'natural' human rights, equality before the law, etc. – could be easily combined with other social projects (or utopias) of

25 László Katus, *A modern Magyarország születése: Magyarország története, 1711–1914* [The birth of modern Hungary: A history of Hungary, 1711–1914] (Pécs: Kronosz, 2012), 487.

universalist type represented for example by feminism, pacifism, anti-alcoholism or Esperantism. In all these currents of publicly reflected societal projects in Hungary too the presence of secularized Jewish intellectuals – men but also some women – appeared to be remarkable. They included not infrequently both members and renegades of the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie.

Jews were even more spectacularly present among activists of political movements carrying a radical critique of contemporary power relations with the claim for collective salvation, as adherents of socialist and later communist utopias. In the so called Galilei Circle (1907), the radical wing of the Society for Social Science (1900), some 80% of activists were Jewish, following survey results, just like later on in the leadership of the political parties staging the 1918 Hungarian October Revolution (with the project of a Western type democracy) and in March-July 1919 the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The outcome of these developments led to the generalization of the public stigmatization of Jewry as such, but formally as responsible for the defeat and the disappearance of the historic state, the culprit for Communism and also the scapegoat for the ills of capitalism and the poor living conditions in modern cities (all this amalgamated in the right radical catchword: 'Criminal Budapest').

The White terror, the anti-Semitic persecutions, the emergence and consolidation of the 'Christian regime' and the consecutive crackdown on liberals, social democrats and other non-conformists, together with the properly anti-Jewish academic *numerus clausus* Law (1920), all this was generating the hitherto biggest current of middle class emigration to the West and also to the East, the Soviet Union attracting many survivors of the Communist leadership. Among them could be found – with the benefit of hindsight – some of the best minds of the country.

They felt obliged to leave together with the '*numerus clausus* refugees,' giving rise to what became, paradoxically enough, the selection pool of the best known Hungarian celebrities in the world, all but two Noble prize laureates, major natural scientists (like Neumann, Teller, Wigner), scholars of social disciplines (like Mannheim, Hauser, Polányi, Lukács, Balázs), but also a number of psychoanalysts, musicians, painters and other artists.²⁶

One can say as a conclusion that the year 1919 constitute the end of the Western type nation building process in multi-ethnic Hungary with its successes and failures as to the ethnic-cultural homogenization of a population which had been bearing, initially, the mark of a unique ethnic diversity. While becoming a quasi uni-ethnic rump state after the Trianon Peace Treaty, Hungary also started its political landslide away from democratic Western patterns. This would lead after 1938 to Nazification proper, the military and political subservience to Nazi Germany, the *Shoah* in 1944 and the ruinous collapse of the Old Regime in 1945, followed shortly thereafter by the communist take-over, signifying up to 1989 the end of the independent nation state.

26 See the seminal study by Tibor Frank, *Double Exile: Migrations of Jewish-Hungarian Professionals through Germany to the United States, 1919–1945* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009).

Migration and Exile

Hungarian Medical Students in Vienna and Prague, 1920–1938

Introduction

“I was poor, yet satisfied” – remembered the psychiatrist Miklós Kun of his youthful years spent studying medicine in Vienna and Prague.¹ The medical faculties of the University of Vienna and of the German University of Prague were among the most prestigious of East Central Europe, the former being the single most important medical school of the continent East of Paris;² and the latter employing numerous alumni of the former who would later return to Vienna at the peak of their careers.³ Yet Kun’s road to these institutions was paved with random choices, as was the case of many other Hungarian Jewish students confronted with the harsh reality of the *numerus clausus* – a restrictive Jewish quota in interwar Hungarian higher education. On the whole, three groups of people were discriminated against by Hungarian universities in the interwar period and were therefore highly motivated to emigrate for the sake of studies: Jews, left-wingers, and women.

The present chapter is dedicated to the experience of Hungarian medical students of the University of Vienna and of the German University of Prague in the age of the *numerus clausus* (1920–1938)⁴ when an overwhelming majority (85%) of such students were Jewish, alongside an analysis of their geographical and social origin. They were Jewish in the sense of the anti-Semitic Hungarian *numerus clausus* law, thus belonged to the so called “*numerus clausus* exiles.” My analysis is based on a sample of Hungarian medical students in both universities containing all enrolled Hungarians in every fifth year of the period from 1921, the first academic year when the impact of the *numerus*

1 Miklós Kun, *Kedves Hilda: Egy elmeorvos az elmebeteg huszadik században* [Dear Hilda: A Psychiatrist in the Insane Twentieth Century] (Budapest: Medicina, 2004), 31.

2 Victor Karady, “Funktionswandel der österreichischen Hochschulen in der Ausbildung der ungarischen Fachintelligenz vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg” in *Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Education and Social Structure in Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Victor Karady and Wolfgang Mitter (Köln-Wien: Böhlau, 1990), 179.

3 Kun, 31.

4 According to Mária M. Kovács, the age of the *numeri clausi* lasted until 1945. Cf. Mária M. Kovács, *Törvénytől sújtva: A numerus clausus Magyarországon, 1920–1945* [Stricken by the Law: The Numerus Clausus in Hungary, 1920–1945] (Budapest: Napvilág, 2012). While I agree with Mária M. Kovács that the age of the *numerus clausus* did not end with its amendment in 1928, I count it until 1938 because from 1938 new anti-Semitic laws were introduced, targeting a larger part of the Jewish population. In addition, in the same year it also became impossible for Hungarian Jews to study in their traditional target countries due to the Anschluss, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the introduction of anti-Semitic legislation in Italy.

clausus became measurable.⁵ Such analysis of the students' background is meant to test three hypotheses connected to the student migration provoked by the *numerus clausus*. So far no one backed up such common assumptions with empirical data. This is the gap in the research field I wish to fill with my contribution, in the present study limiting my scope to *numerus clausus* exiles who studied medicine in Vienna and in Prague.

Firstly, it is expected that in Vienna we find more non-Jewish Hungarian students than in Prague. Secondly, that in Vienna students were mostly recruited from Western Hungary and in Prague they mostly came from former "Upper Hungary" and Transcarpathia, from 1920 parts of Czechoslovakia. Thus, that besides random choices exemplified by Kun's itinerary, one's geographical origin also played a role in the choice of university when looking at the pattern to be found in the collective story of migrants. Finally, it is expected that migrant students were likely to come from intellectual families since such background increased both the willingness and the capability of studying abroad.

My sample contains seven hundred and fifteen students. There were more Hungarian students in Vienna and Prague during the period, considering that albeit medical faculties were the most popular among them, the German technical colleges were also highly popular and I did not include all academic years. Naturally the *numerus clausus* was far from being the only possible motivation for Hungarians to study abroad and even those targeted by the *numerus clausus* might have had multiple reasons to emigrate. Yet, as I demonstrated elsewhere, most Hungarians who studied abroad between 1920 and 1938, fell in the category of Jews under the *numerus clausus* and their emigration was connected to the Jewish quota and to the anti-Semitic atmosphere in Hungary.⁶ At the same time, since Hungarian academia was as unfriendly towards women as towards Jews, the story of Hungarian peregrination in the interwar period is not only the story of *numerus clausus* refugees but also of the exiles of academic misogyny.

Vienna and Prague belonged to the most important destinations of the emigration provoked by the *numerus clausus*. Literally speaking, "*numerus clausus* exiles" should not necessarily refer to Jews only – although historically the term has only been used for Jews – but to those as well who were expelled from or not admitted to Hungarian universities because of missing "the requirements of unwavering loyalty to Hungary and impeccable moral being" (i.e. had taken part in revolutionary activity in 1918–1919).⁷ However, over the years as new cohorts applied to university, the significance of one's

5 Thus, my sample includes all Hungarians who enrolled in the academic years 1921/22, 1926/27, 1931/32 and 1936/37.

6 Ágnes Katalin Kelemen, "The Exiles of the *Numerus Clausus* in Italy," *Judaica Olomucensia* (2014): 56–103.

7 "1920. évi XXV. törvénycikk a tudományegyetemekre, a budapesti közgazdaságtudományi karra és a jogakadémiákra való beiratkozás szabályozásáról" (Law XXV of 1920 on the Regulation of Enrolment in the Universities, in the Faculty of Economics at the University of Budapest and in the Academies of Law), 1920, <https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3&param=7440> (accessed: September 8, 2017)

activity in 1918–1919 decreased, while anti-Semitic discrimination did not. Discrimination against women also remained dominant and received more official backing as years went by.

At the same time, Vienna hosted the populous group of Hungarian political refugees who had been forced to leave their homeland after the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Many of these refugees fled Hungary through Czechoslovakia.⁸ Among the political refugees there were students, Jews and Jewish students as well. However, as the steady level of Hungarian Jewish student migration over the 1920s and 1930s shows, the *numerus clausus* related emigration was a phenomenon characteristic of Jewish, rather than of left-wing youth.

Vienna and Prague drew the first large waves of Hungarian migrant students right after the introduction of the *numerus clausus* in Hungary in 1920. These cities had a liminal position between inland and abroad on Hungarians' mental map, as 1920 was the year of the dismemberment of "Greater Hungary"; Austria-Hungary had fallen apart just two years earlier. The generation that had trouble getting into higher education in the early 1920s had been raised in "Greater Hungary" that existed in the framework of the spacious Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which used to have a unified educational system and educational market.⁹ This generation started high school with the expectation that their high school diploma would entitle them to enrol in a Hungarian university, but also enable them to easily study at any university within the Monarchy. Thus, wandering around universities in Austria and Czechoslovakia did not mean an Odyssey on unknown troubled waters, but rather a wandering in a homey space which had just recently become hard to navigate. It became clear only by the passing of time that the *numerus clausus* and its anti-Semitic spirit was there to stay in Hungary and many younger cohorts were to navigate the same waters while discovering new destinations in Western Europe.

Hungarian Jewish Students on the Move

While the Hungarian legislators aimed to remove Jewish youth from the intellectual professions, numerous Jews asked themselves "Where should I study?" rather than asking what alternative career they should choose instead of their field of interest. The above quoted Miklós Kun first thought of moving to Vienna to study medicine. However, it was unappealing, because his aunt whom he disliked lived there. Therefore, he went to Graz and started to look for a room to rent. Since all landladies asked his religion, he left with the impression that Austria was a place full of anti-Semites where he had no intention to stay. Hence, he came back to Budapest and asked a former (Jewish) school-mate where he was going to study. He said Brünn (the German name for Brno). Kun was first surprised that there was a university in that city, then quickly decided to try his luck

8 Eszter B. Gantner, *Budapest–Berlin: Die Koordinaten einer Emigration, 1919–1933* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011), 13.

9 Karady, "Funktionswandel," 180–181.

there. In the train to Brno he started to chat with a German gentleman who informed him that in Brno medicine was only taught in Czech. Thus, Kun accidentally realized that he had to change his destination to find a medical faculty with German as the language of instruction. So, he asked the gentleman where he should go. He answered the closest German medical faculties were in Dresden and in Prague. As Prague was closer, Kun went to Prague.¹⁰ At the German University of Prague he was inspired by Otto Plötl – a professor of psychiatry, a prominent member of the famous *Viennese school* – to such an extent that he followed him to Vienna, despite of the presence of the annoying aunt, when Plötl was offered an appointment at the University of Vienna.¹¹

It is important to note that Hungarian student migration was not a novel phenomenon, but indeed had a long pre-history and the universities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had been important targets before 1918. Ever since Jews were allowed to study at university, they were also “overrepresented” among Hungarians studying at Austrian and German universities.¹² However, the promulgation of the *numerus clausus* law was followed by a conspicuous exodus of Hungarian Jewish students to German speaking universities and their proportion among Hungarians abroad reached over 90% in the early 1920s,¹³ while before the First World War it was 20%.¹⁴

The coeval Hungarian Jewish public discourse referred to the émigré Hungarian Jewish students as “*numerus clausus* exiles” and historians followed suit. After a short debate, the Jewish community leadership and the Jewish members of the Hungarian Parliament gave up on fighting the *numerus clausus* and concentrated their efforts on helping Jewish youth to study abroad. Lajos Szabolcsi, a prominent intellectual as poet, translator and editor, quickly recognized the significance of the spontaneous “flocking” of Hungarian Jewish youth to foreign universities. The *Central Student Aid Committee* established by Szabolcsi engaged in fundraising from Jewish communities and from individual donors between 1922 and 1929 and thereby enabled fifteen hundred students to graduate abroad.¹⁵ There is no trace of the committee’s activity after 1929. Presumably

10 Kun, 26.

11 Kun, 32.

12 László Szögi, “Magyarországi zsidó egyetemi hallgatók a német nyelvterület egyetemén és főiskoláin, 1789–1919” [Jewish Students from Hungary at Universities and Colleges in the German-speaking Area, 1789–1919], *ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei* 10.1 (2011): 107–18.

13 Victor Karady, “Egyetemi antiszemitizmus és értelmiségi kényszerpályák: Magyar zsidó diákság a nyugat-európai főiskolákon a *numerus clausus* alatt” [Academic Anti-Semitism and Forced Intellectual Careers. Hungarian Jewish Students at Western European Colleges in the Age of the *Numerus Clausus*], *Levéltári Szemle* 42.3 (1992): 21–30.

14 Szögi.

15 Lajos Szabolcsi, “Szabolcsi Lajos jelentése a Központi Zsidó Diákbizottság működéséről. Jelentés Magyarországi Izraeliták Országos Irodájának 1929. évi működéséről” [Report by Lajos Szabolcsi on the activity of the Central Jewish Student Aid Committee to the National Office of the Israelites of Hungary. Report on the activities of the National Office of the Israelites of Hungary in 1929] (1929), K 28. Department of Nationalities and Minorities 14/53rd item, Hungarian National Archives.

it failed as a consequence of the Great Economic Crisis which decreased capabilities of donation.

However, not all *numerus clausus* exiles received stipend from the committee. Some were financed by their own Jewish community, by their families or earned a living while studying abroad. Financial struggles are central in students' narratives about their student life abroad both in coeval documents and in autobiographies written long after. For example, Miklós Kun received 100 pengő (pengő was the Hungarian currency of the time) each month from his uncle, however, when the Jewish community of Buda granted 40 pengő to him, the uncle decreased his support to 60 pengő without knowing that 100 pengő was a low income for a life in Prague. Kun was also helped by his mother, who sent him goose liver which he divided into portions of "microscopic slices" in order to have something to eat besides sardines that he could buy on credit at the end of the month.¹⁶ Later on, he starved even more in Vienna. Arthur Linksz, another Hungarian Jewish medical student at the German University of Prague, was helped to start his life in Prague by his relatives in Czechoslovakia and then maintained himself by preparing fellow students (preferably beautiful and wealthy female colleagues) for the difficult comprehensive exams in anatomy and biology.¹⁷

Vienna was central to the education of Hungarian physicians also before the First World War. In the early 20th century, Vienna offered medical education with an international prestige for the same tuition fees as the internationally less recognized Hungarian institutions of higher education.¹⁸ Thus, a Viennese degree was the most efficient means of upwards social mobility for groups that could hardly rely on any other social capital, which was the case of Jews at the turn of the 20th century.¹⁹ With such pre-history it seems to be a most natural phenomenon that Vienna attracted large numbers of Jews escaping Hungarian academic anti-Semitism after 1920. Although they did not find a friendlier reception in Vienna. As Herbert Posch highlights, "the introduction of the Republic and democracy in Austria scarcely left a mark on the universities,"²⁰ and anti-Semitic abuses took place on the Viennese campus on a regular basis, just like in Budapest. At the Technical College of Vienna a *numerus clausus* was implemented in the form of a 10% quota on foreign applicants of Jewish *Volksbürgerschaft* (ethnic citizenship) between 1923 and 1933, despite the disapproval of the Ministry of Education.²¹ The campaign of the German Student Union (*Deutsche Studentenschaft*) leading up to this

¹⁶ Kun, 30.

¹⁷ Arthur Linksz, *Harc a harmadik halállal: Ifjúkorom Magyarországon* [Fighting the Third Death: My Youth in Hungary] (Budapest: Magvető, 1990), 350.

¹⁸ Karady, "Funktionswandel," 180.

¹⁹ Karady, "Funktionswandel," 181.

²⁰ Werner Hanak-Lettner, "The University: A Battleground (1875–1945). A Discussion with Mitchell Ash, Gabriella Hauch, Herbert Posch, and Oliver Rathkolb," in *Die Universität: Eine Kampfzone*, ed. Werner Hanak-Lettner (Wien: Picus Verlag, 2015), 73.

²¹ In 1933 admission of foreigners to all Austrian universities was restricted.

numerous *clausus* was triggered by a Jewish professor, Samuel Steiner, becoming rector at the German University of Prague in 1922,²² which will be detailed later in the present chapter.

This episode demonstrates the strength of the academic ties between Vienna and Prague. At the University of Vienna, however, where the medical faculty belonged, the situation was different than in the Viennese Technical College. Anti-Semitism was strong and violent, however, Jews were not pushed out, but rather segregated. In each subject there was a course taught by an “Aryan” professor, in case the German nationalist students boycotted another one because of being Jewish or liberal or left-wing. For instance, the world-famous anatomy professor and public health and welfare innovator, Julius Tandler, led the “1st Anatomy Institute.” He was both Jewish and a Social-Democrat, a city councillor of Red Vienna – plenty of reasons to be the main target of anti-Semitic attacks which he documented in his *Chronology of terror*, ignored by all interwar rectors.²³ And there was a “2nd Anatomy Institute” led by the right-wing Ferdinand Hochstetter. The nationalist students chose Hochstetter’s lecture and from time to time attacked Tandler’s students, because one’s choice of anatomy institute and lecturer implied opting for a political outlook and worldview.²⁴ Students’ suffering at abusive anti-Semitic students’ hands interested the university administration even less than the appeals of Tandler.

Yet the presence of a strong left-wing student movement made an enormous difference for Jewish students. As the Hungarian László Farádi put it in his memoir, unlike in Hungary, “in Vienna there were *tussles*, not *beatings*.”²⁵ While in Hungary in the case of a “Jew beating” the non-Jewish students passively stood by, in Vienna there were Social Democratic students who got involved and sided with the abused Jewish fellow students.

Prague, unlike Vienna, was a novelty in its function as a destination for a large number of foreign Jewish students. The new Czechoslovak Republic quickly established its image as a democratic and tolerant country. While the Czechoslovak state indeed

22 Juliane and Paulus Ebner Mikoletzky, *The Technische Hochschule in Vienna 1914–1955: Hidden Growth between War and Crisis (1914–1937)*, Vol. 1 (Wien: Böhlau, 2016), 95–101.

23 Werner Hanak-Lettner, “Exclusion, Terror and Pogroms: News, Reports, and Recollections 1918–1938,” in *Die Universität: Eine Kampfzone*, ed. Werner Hanak-Lettner (Wien: Picus, 2015), 154.

24 László Farádi, *Diagnózis az életemről* [A Diagnosis of My Life] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1983), 70–71.

25 Farádi, 65. The situation in Romania was similar to that in Hungary or possibly even worse both in terms of widespread anti-Semitic campus violence and in terms of the lack of solidarity shown by non-Jewish students. The journals of the Romanian Jewish writer Mihail Sebastian record several instances of severely violent acts perpetrated by students inspired by the virulent anti-Semitism of the so-called Legion of the Order of St Michael, also known as the Iron Guard. Mihail Sebastian, *Journal 1934–1944* (London: Heinemann, 2001), e.g., 49, 114, 120.

stood up against anti-Semitism, being a migrant from Hungary was not a favourable status, since this state owed its existence to the collapse of Austro-Hungary. In addition, the German University of Prague as an institution was much less welcoming towards Jews than the Czechoslovak state, despite being among the least anti-Semitic German universities since the 1880s.²⁶

This institution, the main higher educational resource of Bohemian Germans, had such a hard time with the transition to Czech dominance that it almost moved abroad in 1918. Rector August Naegle did not accept the authority of the new Czechoslovak state, instead he declared the extraterritoriality of the university and placed it under the jurisdiction of the also new Republic of Austria. Alongside radical German nationalist students, he also considered moving the university to the Sudetenland or abroad. The more pragmatic German professors, however, achieved that in April 1919 the university declared its loyalty to Czechoslovakia and remained in Prague. Thereby it gained a central role in the education of the German minority of Czechoslovakia and Jews from the Slovak territories and from Hungary who did not speak Czech or Slovak, but spoke German.²⁷ Polish Jews were also to be found here, just like at the German Technical College of Prague where Simon Wiesenthal, the future Nazi-hunter studied as in his home town, Łwów (now Lviv in Ukraine), there was a Jewish quota in the technical college.

Despite the continuous protest of local German students, the proportion of foreigners – many of them Jews – in the student body of the German University of Prague grew over the 1920s. In 1920 one tenth of the students were foreigners, in 1930 one fifth of them.²⁸ This shows that the university administration recognized that the enrolment of foreign students served the institution's interest in the new Czechoslovak environment that was unfavourable to institutions where German was kept as the language of instruction. At the same time state intervention was also needed to stop anti-Semitic excesses. Prior to the 1920s, Jewish professors kept an unwritten harsh rule, imposed on them by their nationalist German colleagues, that if and when a Jewish professor was elected as rector, they would turn this position down. However, in July 1922 the historian Samuel Steinherz broke this tradition and accepted the position after being elected. This provoked an intense wave of anti-Semitic protests from professors and students of the university itself and even from a number of Austrian universities.

Some students were not willing to accept their degrees in the graduation ceremony "from the hands of a Jewish rector." Steinherz broke under this pressure and resigned. However, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education declared that someone being forced

26 Hanak-Lettner, "The University: A Battleground," 66.

27 Jiří Pešek, "Jüdische Studenten an den Prager Universitäten 1882–1939" [Jewish Students at the Prague Universities 1882–1939], in *Jeho Praha: výbor statí Jiřího Peška k dějinám Prahy: vydáno k životnímu jubileu autora. / Ausgewählte Studien von Jiří Pešek zur Geschichte Prags: Herausgegeben zum 60. Lebensjubiläum des Autors* [Selected Studies by Jiří Pešek on the history of Prague. Published for the 60th birthday of the author] (Praha: Scriptorium – Archiv hlavního města, 2014), 427–28.

28 Pešek, 428.

to give up a position because he was Jewish was such a nonsense that could not happen in the Czechoslovak Republic where everyone was equal. Hence Steinherz had to serve his full mandate as rector.²⁹ The frequency of anti-Semitic student demonstrations decreased after 1923, however in 1929 both Czech and German students demonstrated in Prague for the introduction of a numerus clausus against foreign, Jewish and poor students. They did not achieve this goal while the first Czechoslovak Republic existed.³⁰

Thus, student life was not free from anti-Semitic excesses and dramatic events in Prague. Yet the exiles of the Hungarian numerus clausus preserved Prague in their memory as a peaceful haven where they could forget about anti-Semitism, which haunted them both in their home country and in their often chosen next places of study in Austria and Germany. Jakab Fürth, a future Harvard professor of pathology, is actually said to have left Hungary “because of the saddening situation” for Prague as early as 1918.³¹ Similarly to Miklós Kun, he stayed until an inspiring professor left (in his case Edmund Weil in 1922). Arthur Linksz, who was studying medicine at the German University in Prague in 1922–1923, when the crisis over the rectorate of Samuel Steinherz took place, fails to mention the whole affair and any of the related anti-Semitic protests in his memoir where he reflects on his student life in Prague in quite some detail.³² This is all the more noteworthy as politics, anti-Semitism and his Hungarian and Jewish identities play a large role in this autobiography.

This example demonstrates that while autobiographical writings are valuable sources to shed light on how individuals put up with historical situations, they are dangerously selective. Additionally, to test hypotheses related to a group, we need to turn to sources that tell us about a great number of them rather than to memories of a few of them.

Social and Geographical Origin and Patterns of Identification

I collected the enrolment forms of all Hungarians enrolled in medicine in every fifth year between 1921 and 1936 in the archives of the University of Vienna and in the archives of Charles University in Prague, which preserves the documents of the German University of Prague which was closed down in 1945. It is not evident whom to regard as Hungarian in these enrolment books, since in different years different kinds of data was asked regarding origin (citizenship, nationality, or mother tongue) and also in the early 1920s citizenship in the territories freshly lost by Hungary in the Treaty of Trianon was still fluid. Hence I used a broad definition. I basically included every student who had something to do with post-Trianon Hungary, thus was born there, was resident there or had studied there before enrolling in Vienna or in Prague. My reason was that such people

29 Pešek, 430.

30 Pešek, 430–431.

31 Alexander Emed, *Zsidó származású magyar orvosok* [Hungarian Physicians of Jewish Origin] (Budapest: Fapadoskönyv Kiadó, 2011), 118.

32 Linksz.

were more probably influenced by the *numerus clausus* introduced in 1920 when making a decision about their studies than Hungarians who had spent all their life in former “Upper Hungary” and in Transcarpathia that now became parts of Czechoslovakia.

(Perhaps) ironically, it was much easier to decide whom to regard as Jewish. The *numerus clausus* law targeted everyone born in the Israelite denomination, even if they belonged to a Christian denomination at the time of their enrolment in a university (although some university authorities made exception in this case). And denomination was a very easily accessible public data in this period in East Central Europe. It was included even in the high school degree, which was necessary for university enrolment, thus it did not make much sense for a person to deny their Jewish origin. With regard to the German University of Prague, Jiří Pešek notes that the administrators never checked the veracity of the self-reported data on religion and nationality that students wrote on their enrolment form.³³ Therefore the frequency of Jewish religious self-identification and the rareness of leaving this row blank is all the more worthy of our attention.

I constructed a database of seven hundred and fifty-six Hungarian enrolments, four hundred and five of them in Vienna and three hundred and fifty-one in Prague. As the following data in the table shows, contrary to the assumption based on the pre-existing prestige of the two universities, the German University of Prague was a more popular choice in the beginning of the age of the *numerus clausus* than the University of Vienna. This is, of course, connected to the general circumstances prevailing in these cities, which were more difficult in Vienna that had turned almost overnight from the capital of an empire into the oversized capital of a small country, the leftover of the Monarchy after basically all nationalities had split away. By the mid-1920s Hungarian enrolment in Vienna picked up very significantly though, while in Prague it dropped as living costs rose after the Czechoslovak financial reform of 1923. During the 1930s the number of Hungarian medical students was similar in both cities.

	1921/22	1926/27	1931/32	1936/37
University of Vienna	38	232	82	53
German University of Prague	161	50	91	49

Number of Hungarian medical students

However, if we want to look at who the people behind these numbers were, we must take into account the overlaps between the groups enrolled in these two different cities, as the typical *numerus clausus* refugee studied in multiple cities and countries during their university studies. In addition, the connection of the Viennese and Prague medical faculties was strong, as many Viennese alumni were part of the Prague faculty and returned to Vienna later as professors. Students quite often followed professors, the case of Miklós Kun leaving Prague when Otto Plötl was appointed in Vienna, is a case in point. Yet of course there are overlaps between the group of Hungarians enrolled in

33 Pešek, 424.

Vienna in different academic years and the same is true for Prague. Fortunately, the enrolment forms provide rich enough information (including place of birth, residence, father's name and profession and address) to enable us to distinguish between students who had the same last name and first name as several colleagues of theirs in case of very common names. After counting all these overlaps, my sample includes seven hundred and fifteen students, three hundred and eighty-two in Vienna and three hundred and thirty-eight in Prague. Five students studied in both of the universities in an academic year that was relevant for this research.

The share of Jews was almost the same in the two groups, 85% in Vienna and 86% in Prague. However, in the Viennese sample everyone declared a religious affiliation except for three students (which is less than 1%); whereas in Prague twenty-one did not (6%). It is a fortunate coincidence that almost nobody's religious affiliation is missing in the Viennese sample, as this enables me to test the first hypothesis.

The share of Jews among Hungarian medical students in Vienna was hardly lower than in Prague. It was logical to assume the contrary, since Vienna having a very prestigious medical school and as home to a significant Hungarian refugee population was an attractive destination for students who did not leave Hungary because of being Jewish, but were either simply ambitious or exiled for their left-wing politics. The reason is that on the one hand – as mentioned earlier – as years went by, younger cohorts applied to university in Hungary who could not be accused of participating in the revolutions in 1918–1919. On the other hand, as the mutual recognition of university degrees between Austria and Hungary ended with the collapse of Austro-Hungary, for youngsters who aimed at a career in Hungary and were not hindered in enrolling in a Hungarian university by the *numerus clausus* (thus not of Jewish origin), it made less sense to study in Austria now than for an older generation before 1918.

There were three different ways to express Jewish religious affiliation during the act of enrolment: *mosaisch* (Mosaic), *israelitisch* (Israelite) and *jüdisch* (Jewish). I did not standardize them, but kept them as three different categories because I initially believed it would enable me to trace different patterns of Jewish self-perception. To my disappointment this is not the case, as the two dozen students who turn up in different academic years turned out to use these expressions interchangeably. However, although in the Hungarian context where these people came from, Israelite was the most widespread version, among the Viennese enrolments we find “Mosaic” more often, while the sample of enrolment forms from Prague is dominated by “Israelites,” as it would also be the case in a Hungarian context at that time.

Both in Vienna and in Prague, there was a possibility to self-identify as Jewish in terms of religion *and* nation in three out of four of the academic years examined here (1926, 1931 and 1936). In Vienna the enrolment forms asked the student's *Volksbürgerschaft* (ethnicity), in Prague they asked their nationality. We know the ethnicity or nationality of 81% of the Viennese and of 53% of the Prague students. In both places at least three quarters (in Vienna 75%, in Prague 77%) identified themselves as Hungarian.

In Vienna almost one fifth (19%) identified themselves as Jewish, in Prague a lower proportion (16%).

It is important to note that students of Jewish nationality who turn up in more than one enrolment form in my research, because they enrolled in two different years I examined, often switch between Jewish and Hungarian nationality. Thus, their Jewish national self-identification is not necessarily an expression of Zionism, it merely means that they did not reject the idea that Jews were possibly a nation.

The students who opted for Jewish national self-identification in the context of university enrolment in Vienna or in Prague used an opportunity they did not have in their home country. For in the Hungarian legal system the Jewish nation did not exist. The *numerus clausus* was endorsed on the basis of religion. The Jewish nationality, or more often the Jewish “race” existed mostly in an anti-Semitic context, in the executive ordinance of the *numerus clausus* law and in anti-Semitic press. A positive claim to Jewish nationality was not widespread. In fact, Zionism was significantly more popular among Hungarian Jews in Czechoslovakia and Transylvania in this period than within Hungary. It must be noted that high quality Zionist journalism and literary work existed even in Hungary.³⁴ However, the Jewish communities’ institutional structure – on whom fundraising activity for the sake of *numerus clausus* refugees relied – was dominated by assimilationists, and first of all by conservatives who had been terrified enough by Bolshevism in 1919 to be supportive of the anti-Semitic new Christian Course for its anti-Communism.

Compared to this situation, the *numerus clausus* refugees confronted an entirely different reality both in Vienna and in Prague. In Vienna Zionism was one of the three main categories of student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*), besides Pan-Germanists and Liberals. And the *Burschenschaft* scene was a central part of student life, as half of the students “wore colours,” thus belonged to a *Burschenschaft*.³⁵ The Zionist *Burschenschaften* were diverse among themselves as well and many of them were descendants of pre-Zionist Jewish national student fraternities which had been organized on a territorial basis. For example, the first one, *Kadimah* was established in 1883 by East European students, *Bar Giora* was for Jewish students from the Southern Slavic countries, while *Ivria* was established for alumni of Silesian schools. Importantly, there is no trace of any Hungarian Jewish or Hungarian Zionist student fraternity in Vienna either from before or after the First World War.

In the 1920s, twelve different Zionist fraternities were active in Austria and by this time they had become more political than before the war. The youngest person to be the president of the Convention of all Austrian Zionist student fraternities was in fact the future famous author Arthur Koestler, who was born and raised until his teens in

34 For instance, on the columns of the weekly *Múlt és Jövő* [Past and Present].

35 Arthur Koestler, *Arrow in the Blue. The First Volume of an Autobiography: 1905–1931* (London: Vintage, 2005), 107–109.

Budapest.³⁶ However, as we know from his extensive autobiographical writings, he encountered and started to follow Zionism only in Vienna. There were also student clubs for Jewish students organized by study field, such as the *Jüdisch-akademischer Techniker Verband* (Jewish-Academic Engineer Association) and the *Akademischer Verein Jüdischer Mediziner*. The latter had twelve members who also belonged to the *Bécsi Magyar-nyelvű Főiskolai Hallgatók Egyesülete / Verein Ungarisch Sprechender Wiener Hochschüler* (Association of Hungarian Speaking Viennese Students).³⁷

In addition, among the ninety-two medical student members of the *Bécsi Magyar-nyelvű Főiskolai Hallgatók Egyesülete*, eighty-one were Jewish, including the president and the first secretary.³⁸ Seven of the medical student members were not Hungarian citizens, and six of these seven were Jewish. Thus, this club also attracted Jews who came from territories lost to Hungary in 1920 who were still interested in maintaining their Hungarian ties. In addition, a case proving that by calling the club an association of Hungarian speakers rather than of Hungarians was a choice for the sake of inclusion: one of the members was a Jew from Transylvania with a Hungarian name and Hungarian native speaker (of Jewish religion) and Romanian by nationality. It seems that those students who were interested at all in joining groups based on their origin, were enthusiastic both about their Jewish and Hungarian identities.

Similarly to Austria, Zionism in general was more popular in Czechoslovakia than in Hungary. According to the memories of Miklós Kun, approximately one hundred students had lunch every day in the Jewish canteen in Karlovska ulica in Prague in the mid-1920s. Half of the students were Zionist and half of them Communist. The debate whether the canteen should be closed on Labour Day or on Yom Kippur even led to tussles.³⁹ Kun does not mention the stand of his Hungarian fellow students. However, the Zionist socialist Ha-Shomer Ha-Tsair movement's Prague branch was anecdotally dominated by Hungarian speakers in the 1930s. However, it is not known what proportion of these dominant Hungarians were students.⁴⁰

36 Koestler, 109. This must be taken with a grain of salt, however, since Koestler is known for deliberate inaccuracies in his narratives. Judit Szapor, *A világhírű Polányiak: Egy elfeledett család regényes története* [The world-famous Polányis: The adventurous story of a forgotten family] (Budapest: Aura, 2017), 199.

37 "Mitgliederliste des akademischen Vereines jüdischer Mediziner aufgenommen am 5. November 1927" [List of Members of the Academic Association of Jewish Medical Students admitted on the 5th of November 1927], S164.120, Archives of the University of Vienna.; "Statuten des Vereines ungarisch sprechender Wiener Hochschüler 6.XII.1929" [Statutes of the Association of Hungarian Speaking Viennese Students December 6, 1929], S164.201, Archives of the University of Vienna.

38 Looking at the whole membership, not only at medical students (who were the majority with ninety-two students out of one hundred and forty-eight), we find that seventeen out of twenty students who were in the leading committee of the association, were Jewish.

39 Kun, 28.

40 Tatjana Lichtenstein, *Zionists in Interwar Czechoslovakia. Minority Nationalism and the Politics of Belonging* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 287.

Besides the share of Jews, the gender proportion was also almost identical between the Viennese and the Prague sample, with 16% of the Viennese students being women, 84% men; and 14% of the Prague group being women, 86% men. The presence of women among migrant students (not only among Jewish ones) is an important question not only for its own sake, but also because they were exiles of academic misogyny. The new Hungarian rulers hurried to curtail female access to higher education, because their full access to universities under the same conditions as for men had been a policy of the Károlyi government in late 1918.

Since the *numerus clausus* was a cornerstone of the new right wing authoritarian so called “Christian Course” in interwar Hungary, it was meant to reinforce male, nationalist, conservative hegemony and to secure the educational reproduction of the Christian (i.e. non-Jewish) middle class. As the country’s territory was reduced to one third and its population to one half, the labour market for intellectuals decreased dramatically after the First World War. The new right wing rulers saw it best to decrease competition for scarce resources by promoting the interest of the sons of the historical “Christian” middle class – which originated in the *déclassé* nobility – at the expense of women and Jews. As Katalin Fenyves put it, “the *Numerus Clausus* was the symbolic moment when anti-Semitism and sexism met.”⁴¹

By the time the *numerus clausus* developed from an idea into an actual law, it restricted the eligibility of applicants only on a nationalist and political basis, directed only against Jews and left-wingers.⁴² However, in 1927 a new decree on women’s access to higher education denied their access to legal, chemical engineering and mechanical engineering education. In addition, in the architecture department of the Budapest University of Technology and Economics, a 5% quota was imposed on them and even this low proportion could be admitted only if the number of male applicants did not fill the pre-defined number of admissible students (which was defined for each faculty by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education each year in order to prevent overcrowding).⁴³ With regard to medicine and humanities, the 1927 decree granted access to women without any gender quota (within the limit of the pre-defined number of admissible students). However, in practice women were often discriminated against by admission committees even if based on their secondary school leaving exam grades they should have been admitted.⁴⁴ Hence, academic misogyny’s role in the emigration of Hungarian female students must be recognized throughout the interwar period, just like the role of the ongoing enforcement of the anti-Jewish quota in the emigration of Jewish students even though the Jewish quota did theoretically not exist after the 1928 amendment of

41 Katalin Fenyves, “When Sexism Meets Racism: The 1920 *Numerus Clausus* Law in Hungary,” *Hungarian Cultural Studies* 4 (2011): 87–102, <http://ahea.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/ahea/article/view/35/26> (accessed: September 3, 2017).

42 However, the Ministry of Education allowed the medical faculty in Budapest to deny access to all women in 1920–21.

43 Fenyves, 98.

44 Fenyves, 98.

the higher educational law.⁴⁵ As a consequence, it is obvious that female Jewish migrant students were escaping a double pressure when leaving Hungary.

In addition, a new restrictive decree on women's higher education was introduced in Hungary in 1934, which maximized their share in faculties of medicine and arts at 30%; in pharmacy at 50%, and also at 50% in departments of business and economy. This decree remained in vigour until the end of the Second World War.⁴⁶

And indeed while at first glance the 15% share of women in my sample might seem a small minority, it was still higher than women's share in the student body of Hungarian universities in those years. In Hungary, the proportion of women in higher education achieved its peak with 16.1% (1187 students) in 1916–17, and then it never again reached 15% until the Second World War.⁴⁷ The academic year 1920–21, when the medical faculty of the Pázmány Péter University of Budapest did not admit women at all, saw the low point of women's presence in interwar Hungarian higher education with 6.7% (six hundred and seventy-four students).⁴⁸

In my sample altogether one hundred and eight students were women and the great majority of them (86%) Jewish. Jews were generally overschooled in Hungary when compared to non-Jews in the same socio-economic clusters. However, Jewish overschooling was even more pronounced and conspicuous among women, as urban Jewish families pioneered in sending their daughters to secondary schools that was a pre-requirement of university studies.

In terms of transnational comparison, Pascale Falek's doctoral dissertation, *A Precarious Life: East European Female Jewish Students in Interwar Belgium*,⁴⁹ is a relevant case in point. The author investigated the social background and university trajectories of approximately one thousand women. Most of them were not married when they migrated, and the married ones came with their husbands who were also students.⁵⁰ Similarly to the Belgian university documents, the sources I investigated in the university archives in Vienna and Prague, do not include marital status. Only one woman out of one hundred and eight was definitely married and seven others had different last names from their fathers, thus they might have been married, too. Seven women were sisters

45 See more details on how the amended law made it actually very easy to discriminate against Jewish applicants and to hold on to a Jewish quota in the admission policies of universities: Andor Ladányi, "On the 1928 Amendment to the Hungarian Numerus Clausus Act," in *The Numerus Clausus in Hungary: Studies on the First Anti-Jewish Law and Academic Anti-Semitism in Modern Central Europe*, eds. Victor Karady and Péter Tibor Nagy (Budapest: Pasts Inc. Centre for Historical Research, History Department of the Central European University, 2012), 69–111.; M. Kovács, *passim*.

46 Fenyves, 99.

47 Fenyves, 98.

48 Fenyves, 99.

49 Pascale Falek, *A Precarious Life: East European Female Jewish Students in Interwar Belgium*, Ph.D. dissertation (Florence: European University Institute, 2011).

50 Falek, 93.

of male students, and four women had a sister within the sample, however, other family connections cannot be identified within the sample.

After mapping the places of birth of the Viennese and the Prague group with the QGIS software, I found that the Viennese students' places of birth were contrary to the hypothesis not concentrated in Western Hungary. However, they were much more concentrated within the borders of post-Trianon Hungary than the places of birth of the Prague students. As was to be expected, indeed many of the latter were born in localities that after 1920 became parts of Czechoslovakia, with a high concentration in Transcarpathia that now is part of Ukraine. The maps of the places of residence of the students show that the Viennese students were almost without exception people resident in post-Trianon Hungary (with no concentration in Western Hungary), whereas the Prague students' places of residence are concentrated in the territory that until 1920 belonged to Hungary and then to Czechoslovakia.

However, with regard to this information we must be cautious, as they are self-reported and it was in the students' interest to claim residence in Czechoslovakia even if they were not living there except for their studies. In addition, for most Hungarian Jews (and Jews are a great majority of my sample) it was rather easy to get an official residence in Slovakia and Transcarpathia, as Hungarian Jewish families tended to have branches in different parts of former Greater-Hungary. Thus, many of them had relatives in Slovakia and Transcarpathia, after 1920 parts of Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak authorities suspected that many Hungarian students claimed false Czechoslovak residence. This is a question where autobiographical sources help out and let us see a more authentic picture than data found in official documents such as the university enrolment forms. The sources suggest that indeed most students in the precarious situation the numerus clausus put them in, did try to play out every possible card to be able to study abroad and decrease the costs.

However, two phenomena must be added to this point. First of all, the migration of families was a normal fact of life in the first decades of the 20th century, and these cohorts were born when it was still just inner migration within Hungary (i.e. before the end of the First World War) to move from Slovakia to Budapest, or even further away. Hence, the fact that the country of birth and the country of residence was different in 57% of the cases in the Prague sample – counting on the basis of the post-1920 borders, thus involving moving of the person not only of the border – cannot be automatically attributed to false residence claims. Many people moved around already in their childhood. The reflection of Arthur Linksz can be described as typical:

what should I respond to the question where I come from? From Pest? I lived there some of the good years of my adulthood and I came here [in the United States] from there. From Galgóc? There I was merely born. From Devecser? I was a child there. Some say I am from Pápa, I indeed went to secondary school

there, some say I am from Kőszeg, because my father became the rabbi of Kőszeg later.⁵¹

Linkszt indeed did not really belong to former Upper Hungary or Slovakia, from the point of view of Czechoslovak authorities it was logical to see him as someone exploiting every contingent circumstance he could (that he happened to be born in Galgóc). However, he was also right in claiming the right to enrol as a Czechoslovak as he had been born there. Even an own relative of his saw him as a traitor for escaping the Czechoslovak military service after all that he owed to this new state where he could study, and could have even practiced his medical profession without learning Czech or Slovak, relying on his German only.⁵² Yet, he left Prague in 1923 to never return and next time he claimed to be a Czechoslovak was for the sake of getting in the United States in the late 1930s in the Czechoslovak quota, which was easier than getting in under the Hungarian quota.⁵³

In addition, both state borders and citizenship was fluid between Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the period between the collapse of Austro-Hungary and the de-facto establishment of Czechoslovakia (1918) and the Treaty of Trianon (1920) that officially defined the new borders. Not to mention residence, which is fluid at all times. Although the white terror of 1919 shocked Hungarian Jewry tremendously, they did not know until September 1920, the promulgation of the *numerus clausus* law, that they had to get used to anti-Semitic discrimination by the state for decades to come. Meanwhile citizenship continued to be fluid in the early 1920s since Hungarians of the territories that were now lost to the country, had to officially declare their chosen citizenship by a legal process called *optálás* (opting), which gave yet another occasion for anti-Jewish discrimination.⁵⁴ Thus, Hungarian Jews born or living in Slovakia and Transcarpathia had indeed good reasons to move back and forth in those years even beyond avoiding the status of foreign students.

This being said, among the students enrolled in Vienna, 85% were resident in the same country where they were born, so those who enrolled in Prague clearly show a higher likelihood of either having really moved out of Hungary or of not saying the exact truth about their residence – as the Czechoslovak authorities feared. In fact, Jewish families extended to the Austrian part of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and it was disadvantageous to be a foreign student in Austria. Foreigners paid a triple tuition fee.

⁵¹ Linkszt, 49.

⁵² Linkszt, 348.

⁵³ Tibor Frank also draws attention to the fact that it was worth for Hungarians who could do that due to their geographical origin, to identify themselves as Czechoslovaks, Romanians or Yugoslavs in order to increase their chance to get in the United States. Cf. Tibor Frank, *Double Exile: Migrations of Jewish-Hungarian Professionals through Germany to the United States, 1919–1945* (Oxford and Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009), 16.

⁵⁴ Vilmosné Vázsonyi, *Egyszer volt... Emlékirat 1947-ből* [Once upon a time... Memoir from 1947] (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 2015), 149–151.

If they passed a colloquium successfully each semester, they could be *gleichgestellt* (equalized) with Austrian students, while Austrian students were exempted from tuition fees for the same achievement.⁵⁵ Yet, almost no student in my sample reported Austrian residence. Thus, residence without citizenship apparently did not help.

Fortunately, the enrolment forms in most cases contain the father's residence as well. They provide an insight into whether or not the students lived where their families did when they were not at the university. While in Vienna, over four fifths (84%) of the students declared the same place of residence as that of their fathers,' in Prague only 63%. However, unfortunately in Vienna we do not have the fathers' addresses for 11% of the students and in Prague for every fifth student. We know explicitly only of about twenty-one Viennese students (5%) who were resident at addresses other than their families' and in Prague of about fifty-one students (15%). The difference between the two groups is striking regarding the maps of their fathers' addresses, the Viennese students' overwhelming majority reporting that their fathers lived in Hungary. Many of the Prague students' fathers lived in Czechoslovakia. Yet not as many fathers' residence was claimed to be in Czechoslovakia (one hundred and fourteen fathers – 34%) as of students (one hundred and seventy-two – 51%).

With regard to family background, I regarded those fathers as intellectuals whose occupation either required a university degree or a secondary school leaving exam (*érettségi*) or was at the time considered to be working in an intellectual profession. Hence not only doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers, professors, rabbis and priests were taken into account as intellectual fathers, but also journalists, artists and clerks. The first superficial impression would suggest that the Viennese group with 31% of them having an intellectual father came from a more intellectual background than the Prague group with its 23% being children of intellectual fathers. However, in this category unfortunately too many people's data are missing with regard to Prague to make a conclusion. In Prague more than one third of the students (35%) did not fill in the data on their father's profession. The proportion of students not reporting their father's occupation is lower in Vienna, but still one fifth (21%). In addition, a bigger proportion of Viennese students' fathers are known to have a *non*-intellectual profession – almost half of them (48%) – than of Prague students' fathers (41%). Looking at both groups together, about 28% we do not know the father's profession, however, we know that another 28% of them had an intellectual father and 45% of them had a father who did not work in an intellectual profession. The amount of missing data is regrettably too high to make a strong claim regarding the hypothesis that migrant students were likely to come from intellectual families. However, the fact that almost half of them came from non-intellectual families, enables me to claim that the emigration did promote Jewish upwards educational mobility in an age when the Hungarian state aimed at preventing it with the *numerus clausus*.

55 Farádi, 54.

Conclusion

Vienna continued to be central to Hungarian peregrination after the First World War, and the German University of Prague achieved a comparable significance in it. Both the Viennese and the German medical faculty in Prague provided excellent professional training, due to the latter's strong ties to the Viennese medical school. Although in reality the situation was not black and white, Prague emerges from autobiographical sources by its alumni as an island of peace in an international Central European sea of anti-Semitism, while Vienna appears in an ambivalent light as both a place of traumatic experiences of anti-Semitic violence and as a city of inspiration with its dynamic scientific and cultural life, for some also attractive for the strength of social democracy in Red Vienna. One of the left-wing minded alumni, László Farádi, remembered his Viennese student years in the following way:

Not only the gigantic personalities of the medical school fascinated me, but also the vibrant literary and music and theatre scene, the lights and the shadows of the metropolis, the mixture of white and coloured people, the thirsty-for-knowledge people flocking there from everywhere, the mass of asylum-seeker emigrants, who were either absorbed by the metropolis, or dispersed in different countries of the world and served the workers' movement faithfully and selflessly as internationalists, or ended up in the trash bin of history.⁵⁶

In Prague Hungarian students did not participate in the local cultural life to the extent they did in Vienna, because most of them did not speak Czech. However, they saw Czechoslovakia very positively, as Miklós Kun put it "Masaryk's Bohemia was extraordinarily liberal, an ideal democracy."⁵⁷

Besides autobiographical sources, the information on students' background found in enrolment forms were also central to the present chapter. The analysis of the sample of the seven hundred and thirty-one Hungarian medical students enrolled in the University of Vienna and in the German University of Prague in 1921, 1926, 1931 and 1936 falsified the first hypothesis, partially verified the second hypothesis and provided a counter-indication to the third hypothesis. Thus, the share of Jews among Hungarians in the Viennese medical faculty was not lower than at the German University of Prague. In Vienna as many as 85% and in Prague 86% of the Hungarians were Jewish, thus belonged to the *numerus clausus* exiles. Geographical origin on the whole did play a role in whether one ended up in Vienna or in Prague. However, Vienna drew students from all parts of Hungary. Regarding the Prague students, many of them were indeed connected to territories in Czechoslovakia, whereas Hungarians in Vienna were almost only residents of post-Trianon Hungary. The data on family background with regard to the

⁵⁶ Farádi, 58–59.

⁵⁷ Kun, 27.

level of education are hard to compare because of the different proportion of missing data in Vienna and Prague. Yet, altogether 45% of the sample were children of non-intellectual fathers, which falsifies the third hypothesis and demonstrates that emigration promoted upwards educational mobility of Hungarian Jewry in the age of the *numerus clausus*.

Austro-fascism greatly decreased the possibilities and the willingness of *numerus clausus* exiles to study in Vienna after 1934. In March 1938 the Anschluss of Austria to Nazi Germany was immediately followed by the *Ausschluss* (exclusion) of Jews from universities. By the end of March 1938, Jews could not enrol in the University of Vienna. In late April they were even forbidden to enter the campus, except for a few who were permitted to continue their studies on the basis of a 2% *numerus clausus*.⁵⁸ A half year after the Anschluss, as a consequence of the Munich Pact and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, Prague also ceased to be an option for foreign Jews as a destination. Due to the deterioration of circumstances all over Europe, most *numerus clausus* exiles had no other option than to return to Hungary. In the next few years Hungary even seemed to be a safe shelter compared to territories controlled by the Nazis. However, as is well known, Hungary sided with the Third Reich in the Second World War.

Unsurprisingly, many characters of the story here told fell victims to the Shoah. They were mostly Jewish men belonging to that generation which was primarily taken into forced labour service during the Second World War. A few of the survivor Vienna and Prague alumni doctors made successful medical careers in post-1945 Hungary. Miklós Kun became a prominent psychiatrist who introduced group therapy, family therapy and a 24 hour telephone helpline for the first time in Hungary. László Farádi became deputy health care minister between 1968 and 1973 and an advisor to the World Health Organization between 1970 and 1973. György Gottsegen founded the Hungarian cardiological institute, which nowadays is named after him. Emmi Pikler founded a new school of childcare. Pál Schwarczmann became the director of the Israelite Charity Hospital in Budapest. Béla Wald edited the first Hungarian oncology book.

Others made internationally recognized careers because after their studies in Vienna or Prague they emigrated to the United States through Germany, like Jakab Fürth, who taught at Harvard University and Arthur Linksz who pioneered research on dyslexia. Researching their trajectories is a logical continuation of the story told in *Double Exile* by Tibor Frank.

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Tibor Frank's monograph *Double Exile: Migrations of Jewish-Hungarian Professionals through Germany to the United States, 1919–1945* has been a great inspiration for me ever since I wanted to be a historian of the *numerus clausus* exiles.

⁵⁸ Adina Seeger, "Expulsion, exile and (no) return: Jewish academics and students at the Viennese Universities in 1938 and afterwards," in *Die Universität: Eine Kampfzone*, ed. Werner Hanak-Lettner (Wien: Picus Verlag, 2015), 160.

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Migrants in Literature

Hungarians in Canada

In recent years, migration has become a global issue, with heated debates about immigration and its consequences. This is especially true of Europe, where policy makers and a significant part of the general public consider the arrival of refugees and migrants as a dangerous process, posing a threat to the established social order and disintegrating the nation conceived of as an ethnically uniform and culturally homogeneous entity. As Tibor Frank, the pre-eminent scholar of migration, observes, “migration is as old as humanity” but the “size of the mass of migrants is constantly growing” and the “sympathetic reception of migration as well as the deep revulsion against it are ultimately governed by national stereotypes, the theoretical background of which are described, inter alia, by national characterology” (Frank, my translation).

In the current political and ideological environment, it is interesting to examine how Hungarian immigrants have been viewed and received in Canada as reflected in literary works. Therefore, in the following pages I wish to examine some literary representations portraying Hungarian themes and characters in the work of non-Hungarian-Canadian authors. The category “non-Hungarian-Canadian” is arbitrary and non-literary, but for my purposes it is unavoidable in order to explore how immigrants, in our case, Hungarians, are perceived by their new compatriots in their new homeland. This representation shows the other side of the coin, as it were; in a multicultural country where immigration has been considered for several decades as a positive process with significant benefits for Canada both by the various governments of Canada and the general public, literature may serve as a test to show how politics and ideology boil down to tangible cultural manifestations.

In some works, Hungarian characters have no special features attaching them to Hungary or its culture. As Richard Teleky claims about the protagonist of Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient* (1992), “Nothing we learn about Almásy gives him the identity of a Hungarian. His ethnicity is without meaning – merely a word [...]” (Teleky 61). Although this is true, the English patient's background as a Hungarian Count adds to the oddity of the protagonist. In other works, too, “Hungarianness” expresses a sense of strangeness, the atmosphere of otherness, often coupled with some rough-and-ready stereotypes applied to Eastern-Europe or Central Europe as a region. To say that Hungarian ethnicity is without meaning is true only to the extent that the nature of Hungarian identity often remains unspecified, and it is mostly used to express a feeling of estrangement and a difference from the social level, mind-set or perspective of the other characters of the work, the narrator or the general reader. In what follows, I will proceed from simple to more complex descriptions of Hungarians.

As for Me and My House is a novel by Sinclair Ross consisting of fictional diary entries by the wife of a preacher during the Great Depression. In the novel, published in 1941, we come across these lines:

he went on to tell us about one of the boys at school he lets go riding. Steve was the first name, Rumanian or Hungarian, about twelve or thirteen, his mother dead and his father a labourer on the railroad. Not very-well looked after, living in a little shack near the station with his father and some other woman (Ross 48).

In the background of the story there looms a hostile small-town community unwilling to accept the boy. Steve's identity as a Rumanian or Hungarian clearly indicates that what matters is his East European background, which associates him with poverty and ill-treatment in this Canadian prairie fiction. However, Steve, as an individual, is described with some more sophistication, he is represented as having positive and negative features as well: "Sensitive and high-strung, hot-bloodied and quick-fisted" (Ross 48) and also an "ominously good-looking boy. The limbs were free and well-proportioned (Ross 54)"; at the same time, there is a sense of strangeness about his language: "He speaks good English, but with a force and inflection that in contrast to our monotonous sounds a little impetuous" (Ross 55).

In the novel the preacher and his wife wish to adopt the boy but the plan falls through; two Catholic priests come and take him to an orphanage on religious grounds.

In Leonard Cohen's first novel, *The Favourite Game* (1963), we find these lines: "Steve, the Hungarian tractor driver, passed below the balcony, picking a white flower from a bush. They were levelling out some land for another playing field, filling in a marsh" (214). Later in the novel we learn this:

Martin Stark was killed in the first week of August 1958. He was accidentally run over by a bulldozer, which was clearing a marshy area. The driver of the bulldozer, the Hungarian named Steve, was not aware that he had hit anything except the usual clumps, roots, stones. Martin was probably hiding in the reeds the better to trap his enemy (221).

Although it turns out that Mrs. Stark does not press charges for criminal negligence, the reader is not informed of any more details about Steve, the Hungarian tractor and bulldozer driver.

In Margaret Laurence's novel *A Jest of God*, published in 1966, the owner of the Parthenon Café is called "Miklos," with a short "o." If this is the only typo in his name, he is probably Hungarian, if a caron or hacek is also missing from top of the letter "s," he may be a Slovak or Czech. His nationality is not mentioned explicitly when he appears in chapter four: "Outside the Parthenon Café, Miklos is sponging his windows dawdly, spinning the job out to last the morning while his wife waits stoically on the customers

inside" (Laurence 74). Later, in chapter nine, he is again mentioned briefly with no specific reference to his nationality or characteristics:

"Could I – could I have another coffee, please?"

"Certainly, madam."

Madam. Ten years ago Miklos would have said Miss. He has a built-in acclimatizer to take note of the years without having to notice (Laurence 195).

A Hungarian tractor driver, a poor boy with no mother and a reckless father; a café owner sponging his windows; when these features are put together, they carry a clear message about the social standing of the Hungarian and/or East European immigrant to Canada.¹

There are, however, other associations and connotations that the word "Hungarian" may invoke. In Leonard Cohen's famous song "Take This Waltz" (1986), based on Federico Garcia Lorca's poem "Pequeño vals vienés," the image of the "Hungarian lanterns" creates a slightly decadent and dilapidated Central European atmosphere, since the Hungarian lanterns are linked to Vienna: "Now in Vienna there's ten pretty women [...] There's a concert hall in Vienna [...] In a dream of Hungarian lanterns [...]" (Cohen, "Take this Waltz").

Often, Hungarian is not an essentialist concept but embodies a sense of hybridity, while the characters are credible and lifelike, such as the Hungarian-Gypsy mother in Robertson Davies's *The Rebel Angels* (1981), where the narrator's father is a Polish engineer:

Not all Gypsies are nomads, and my Mother's family had been musicians in Budapest for generations, because the Gypsy musicians would much rather play in comfortable restaurants, officers' clubs, and the houses of rich people than wander the roads. [...]

My Father was a strong character, and though he loved my Mother greatly, and loved to think of her as a Gypsy girl, it was clear that he wanted things in the family to go in the upper-class Polish way. My Mother dressed like a woman of means, and some good shops repressed her taste for gaudy colours and droopy silhouettes. She rarely spoke the Romany that was her cradle lan-

1 As Marilyn Rose has noted, the meaning of the word "hunky" is highly ambiguous. In the Canadian context, it may refer to Hungarians, Lithuanians, Poles, Tyrolians, Russians, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Galicians, Slavs and Bohemians; it also has a pejorative meaning as a synonym of "bohunk," denoting "uneducated and unskilled Eastern European" immigrants; however, it may also mean "'being in a good position' and being 'all right'" (Rose 93). As far as Canadian literature is concerned, Rose invokes Hugh Garner's "Hunky" (1963), Robert Kroetsch's *But We are Exiles* (1965) and Sinclair Ross's *Sawbones Memorial* (1974) as using the term.

guage except to me and to Yerko, and her ordinary language with my Father was Hungarian... (Davies 130–131).

In addition to the vivid characterisation, Hungarian words like “Édesapa,” “Édesanya,” “Mamika” or “Ciganyak” (even though the latter has two typos) all add to the authenticity of the atmosphere depicted (Davies 132–133), and their meanings are either carefully explained by the narrator or can be inferred from the context. However, the Hungarian-Gypsy-Polish hybridity ends up in the narrator’s identity crisis, which happens to surface at a Hungarian concert:

I did not like the first part of the concert, which included a Festival Overture by Dohnanyi and something by Kodaly; the conductor was giving us a Hungarian night. When Egressy appeared on the platform to play the Liszt Piano Concerto No. 2 I felt hostile toward him. I turned off my ears [...]. During the fifteenth [Hungarian Rhapsody], in which the Rakoczi March appears in so many disguises, I became a wreck, emotionally and to some degree physically, for I wept and wept beyond the power of my handkerchief to staunch my tears (Davies 151).

Mavis Gallant’s short story “His Mother,” first published in 1973, takes the reader to the Budapest of post-1956 Hungary and depicts the bleak and dreary life of a widow whose only son emigrates to Scotland, leaving her behind. Although the plot of the story is not centred around Hungarian-Canadian immigrant experience or the reception of Hungarians in North America, the Canadian author’s narrative shows a multi-faceted picture of Budapest, ranging from the elegant and aristocratic atmosphere still present to the poverty of post-World War II Hungary, which can nevertheless be surpassed by style and social rank, as is suggested. The mother, who is never invited by her son for a visit to Scotland, is described in the following way:

a stately careless widow with unbrushed red hair, wearing an old fur coat over her nightgown, her last dressing gown had been worn to ribbons and she said she had no money for another. [...] On Saturday afternoons she put on a hat and soft gray gloves and went to the Vörösmarty Café. It had once had a French name, Gerbeaud, and the circle of émigrés’ mothers still called it that. ‘Gerbeaud’ was a sign of caste [...]. The aristocrats were those whose children never left Europe, the poorest of the poor were not likely ever to see their sons again, for they had gone to Chile or South Africa. Switzerland was superior to California. A city earned more points than a town. There was no mistaking her precedence here; she was a grand duchess (Gallant 28).

The mother’s pretentious aristocratic lifestyle is counterpointed with a photograph of her otherwise happy son’s way of life in Glasgow:

He had never missed a monthly transfer of money, he was faithful about sending his over stamped letters and the colored snapshots of his wife, his child, their Christmas tree and his wife's parents side by side upon a modern-looking sofa. One unposed picture had him up a ladder pasting sheets of plastic tiles on a kitchen wall. She could not understand the meaning of this photograph [...]. This was a picture she never showed anyone at Vörösmarty Place, though she examined it often, by several kinds of light. What did it mean, what was its secret expression? She looked for the invisible ink that might describe her son as a husband and father. He was twenty-eight, he had a mustache, he worked in his own home as a common laborer (Gallant 30).

The story depicts various character-types and social classes through the tenants of the mother, employing a narrative technique which uses the shifting perspective of the characters. The eastern physical features of Hungarians are expressly mentioned by the narrator; one of the tenants, Ilona, has "a cross-looking little Tartar face" (Gallant 31), while her grandfather, as he is getting old and strained, looks Chinese (Gallant 32). The story raises the question of language as well: over time, the son's Hungarian letters to his mother contain more and more English words, and Ilona is criticized by her grandfather for failing to speak Hungarian in a proper and educated way.

Tito, the Hungarian character in Yann Martel's *Self* (1997) comes from the Hungarian minority living in south-western Slovakia. Martel – author of the renowned novel *The Life of Pi* (2001) – is a careful and well-prepared writer and the fact that Tito is not a typical Hungarian name and that it reminds one of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia is specifically mentioned by the first-person narrator (250). As a commentator has noted, "[i]n the depiction of Tito's character we can follow the way in which Martel proceeds from the figure of the 'exotic' immigrant, now and again invested with stereotypes, to the representation of the colourfully attractive personality of the lover" (Kürtösi 175–176, my translation). The most prominent Hungarian feature of this postmodern novel, however, is its use of the Hungarian language; apart from a few sporadic Hungarian words and phrases, four and a half pages of the novel contain two columns, of which one is an (abbreviated) excerpt from Béla Balázs's libretto for Bartók's *Bluebeard's Castle*, entirely in Hungarian, whereas the other column is a lyrical rendering of the scattered thoughts and emotions of the narrator triggered by listening to and being exposed to Hungarians and the Hungarian language, including the contemplation about the change of personality caused by shifting from one language to another:

The first time I heard Tito speak his mother tongue, with ease and delight, my draw jopped, as I put it to him later. A new Tito seemed to arise before my eyes. With a changed mien, with a different register in his voice, with expressions and gestures hadn't seen before. I wasn't sure I knew this Tito. I had to tap him on the shoulder and say, 'Tito, is that you?' He laughed. 'Yes, of course it is.' He was Tito again, and I had another visa stamp in my passport. Even

after three years I could renew my sense of wonder at his fluid gibberish. When I didn't want to travel, when I tuned out, then Magyar became a sea-shore, a soothing background noise amidst which my day-dreams could float. Anyway, whether flying for free on Malev or sitting by the seashore, I was never alone for long. One Hungarian or another invariably interrupted my reverie with words that I understood (Martel, *Self*, 263–264).

The use of a foreign language and the deliberate colloquial mistake “my draw jopped” (in place of “my jaw dropped”) reveal Martel's fascination with language in the tradition of James Joyce, whereas the Orlando plot of the novel is strongly linked to Virginia Woolf.

Martel's interest in things Hungarian is also demonstrated by his short fiction “The Facts behind the Helsinki Roccamatios” (1993), where the narrator and his dying friend suffering from AIDS are passing the time by making up the story of an imaginary family in Helsinki while recalling important events of the 20th century – one event for each year. 1956 is dedicated to Hungary: “1956—The Soviet Union invades Hungary to bring to heel a country reluctant to march to the drumbeat of communist totalitarianism. Material damage to the country is heavy, and two hundred thousand refugees flee the country for the West” (Martel, *The Facts*, 62). Dry words serving as bare facts in a story otherwise steeped in emotion. If Martel's short story can be trusted in such matters, Hungary in the 20th century is largely remembered for 1956. In the story, the only other Hungarian reference is made to “Lazlo Biro,” who, in 1938, invented the ballpoint pen.

Margaret Atwood's “Wilderness Tips” is the title story of a collection of short stories published in 1991. The main character of this short fiction is George, “whose name is not really George” (Atwood 197). He is in fact Hungarian, who “spent the forties rooting through garbage heaps and begging, and doing other things unsuitable for a child” (Atwood 197). There is no mention of the war, there is no mention of any excuse. The third person narrator does not seem to be interested. George fled from Hungary in 1956, became very rich in Canada through unscrupulous business dealings and married into a wealthy Ontario family. In Toronto he first became the lover of Prue, but eventually married Portia, Prue's younger sister, although continued to sleep with Prue on and off. The story takes place at Wacousta Lodge, which was named by the sisters' great-grandfather after John Richardson's novel, a place where George loves spending his time. As to the characterization of George, he has “a foxy smile,” “long canines,” a “dangerous-looking scar over one eye and a few bizarre stories” (198). He is a womanizer, constantly cheating on his wife. The narrator makes sure that George is not someone the reader should trust.

As Kürtösi notes, in portraying the character of the Hungarian “George,” Atwood “uses the well-known stereotypes about Hungarians: Hungarians are, on the one hand, endowed with special sensuality, while, on the other hand, they are extremely inventive in difficult situations. As the popular saying goes, a Hungarian will step in the revolving door behind you but will eventually emerge ahead of you” (Kürtösi 170, my translation).

Kürtösi's sense of objectivity in describing such a portrayal prevents her from making any critical comments. As opposed to such a detached critical stand, Richard Teleky has described Atwood's narrative technique with harsh words that carry their implications to the value of the whole short story: "By reducing George's connection with humanity to a kind of ethnic shtick and making a joke of his ethnicity, the story loses its moral centre, and any potential for social criticism," adding that "George comes from a genre different from the story's naturalistic Canadian characters" (Teleky 59).

Upon further scrutiny it appears, however, that there is no single positive character in the story: the three sisters and their brother all have their own failings; and the narrator is keen to put some distance between herself and each one of them. Atwood's narrator is ironic, witty and removed, and apparently finds pleasure in being unpleasant. Thus, the characterization of George is somewhat harsh and exaggerated. He is someone from Eastern Europe who has killed three people once, to which the narrator ironically adds that "though only two of them were strictly necessary" (Atwood 203). Moreover, he has engaged in shady deals in Canada, becoming rich by misusing the benevolent nature of Canadians: "He made his money quickly, and then he'd made more. [...] These people were lax and trusting, and easily embarrassed by a hint of their own intolerance or lack of hospitality to strangers. They weren't ready for him. [...] A hint of opposition and he'd thicken his accent and refer darkly to Communist atrocities" (206–207).

George's difference manifests itself in his language use and language competence as well. At one point of the story, he spills his coffee and exclaims "Fene egye meg!" (209). Apart from his heavy accent, he has difficulty understanding certain expressions in English. He contemplates what "Wilderness Tips" might mean (207), and is also bothered, according to the narrator, with the meaning of "a sea of maggots" (202), even though this latter metaphorical phrase would pose no problem to any Hungarian speaker.²

The sisters' brother, Roland, is completely unable to come to terms with the otherness of George; he regards him as a stranger, an immigrant, a nomad, a barbarian: driving in his car, he sees "new townhouses with little pointed roofs – like tents, like an invasion. The tents of the Goths and the Vandals. The tents of the Huns and the Magyars. The tents of George" (Atwood 211). This vision of George is similar to the colonial conception of Indigenous people as being uncivilised, bloodthirsty and cruel, posing a threat to the colonists, and equally similar to the way in which migrants are often viewed in Europe and elsewhere in the world these days. Roland's associations are certainly not flattering to George, nor to his fellow Hungarians in Canada or his old homeland; however, on the diegetic level of the story, due to his ways and success in business life, George is just the opposite of this vision. Even though he is an immigrant, he becomes the winner in this Anglo-Saxon family, where the three sisters and their brother fail to achieve their goals in life. The only true representative of the family's social status was the great-grandfather, long ago, whose painting is now hanging on the wall, and George

2 The same metaphor works in Hungarian: "tengernyi kukac," "tengernyi lárva," "tengernyi féreg" – no matter how "maggot" is translated.

and the great-grandfather are expressly connected and identified in the text, offering insight into one of the sister's, Portia's mind: "Her great-grandfather watches her in the mirror, disapproving of her as he always has, although he was dead long before she was born. 'I did the best I could,' she tells him. I married a man like you. A robber king" (Atwood 218). What happens here is that the text subverts its own prejudices and exalts George as the true descendant of the great-grandfather and thus the role model of the family, eventually becoming, quite paradoxically, the positive character of the story, an immigrant J. R. Ewing in Canada. This view of George stays with the reader, even in the face of Portia's suicide by drowning herself in the lake as a result of seeing George, her husband, betraying her with Pamela, her sister, at the conclusion of the story.

If Atwood's short story focuses on a Hungarian character depicted, to a significant extent, as a male sexual predator, Morley Callaghan's novel *Our Lady of the Snows*, published in 1985, centres around a Hungarian high-class female prostitute, Ilona Tomory, who, in contrast, has expressly noble and sophisticated personality traits in addition to being extremely beautiful, aristocratic and attractive. The theme of sexuality nevertheless connects Atwood's short story and Callaghan's novel, and one wonders why two prominent Canadian fictional works link Hungarian characters to this theme. It is difficult to provide an adequate explanation in lack of empirical evidence suggesting that Hungarians in Canada have been prone to leading more promiscuous sexual lives than any other ethnic groups; however, the concept of literature imitating literature may provide an answer. The Hungarian-Canadian Stephen Vizinczey's *In Praise of Older Women: The Amorous Recollections of András Vajda* quickly became a leading bestseller in Canada, where it was first published in 1965 before becoming a roaring success selling about five million copies worldwide in the subsequent decades. Vizinczey's novel centres on the early sexual adventures of its male protagonist, the Hungarian-born András Vajda, a middle-aged philosophy professor at the University of Michigan. The great success and fame of the book could easily offer the association of sex and eroticism with Hungarian immigrants. In addition to employing the theme of sex and eroticism, Callaghan's *Our Lady of the Snows* also contains a good deal of Hungarian history, including the way in which Hungarians were perceived in Canada in the aftermath of the 1956 revolution. The latter is well-exemplified by the following lines, told by one of the Canadian characters:

I talked to her about Hungary. She was born there but came here with her parents in '56, the Hungarian revolt, Cardinal Mindszenty and all that stuff. Remember? It looked for a while like all Budapest was going to land in town, the sympathy for them got a bit ridiculous. I'm told there actually was a campaign to move the whole Budapest Opera Company here. A cultural blessing and all – and then someone pointed out that the local opera company wouldn't take too kindly to this. Now all those Hungarians you meet around here [...] are, or were, aristocrats. Ever meet one who wasn't an aristocrat? (Callaghan 37–38).

The title of the novel, *Our Lady of the Snows*, is open to multiple interpretations, including reference to the Holy Mother, the sparkling white Bradley House where most of the plot is set, and Ilona Tomory, who at one point of the story is described as follows: “the snow swirled around her, the flakes in the light dancing around her head. In no time, the snow whitened the long mink coat. Then, moving towards the taxi, she was a tall and superior white lady coming out of the brightness into the shadows” (32–33).

As has been seen, Hungarian (or half- or partly-Hungarian) characters represent (or more accurately, are represented as) various types of immigrants, ranging from the lower social classes to aristocracy and the artistically or sexually inspirational, from the inscrutable alien to the successful wealthy businessman, at times combining these aspects in ways where even the Hungarian language plays a pivotal role. At the same time, it should be noted that the concepts, plans and specific steps taken in the context of the official Canadian multiculturalism policy, whose main objective has been to assist immigrants, are reflected only to a rather limited extent in the literary works examined. One reason for this fact is that part of the works mentioned above had been written before the multiculturalism policy was implemented; moreover, art does not serve as a direct mouthpiece for political ideas. Literature reveals such layers of the human predicament, human fate and human conflicts for which even the most attentive, accepting and helpful social atmosphere can only partly provide solutions.

Although what the word Hungarian means is never told precisely, Canadian literary representations, when viewed synoptically, offer a remarkable variety of different forms, types and features. It is this diversity which has a real meaning and significance.

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A felvilágosult elbeszélés a „liberális reform” korában William Robertson Magyarországon¹

Bevezetés

A néhai Hont István vetette fel egykor, hogy a skót felvilágosodás és a magyar reformkor összehasonlító tanulmányozása érdekes új eredményekkel kecsegtet.² Javaslatának alapja az 1707-es angol-skót unió és a Rákóczi-felkelést követő alkotmányos kompromisszum hatásai között megfigyelhető „családi hasonlóság”. A rendezés mindkét esetben azt célozta, hogy kölcsönösen kielégítő, az új politikai realitásokat tükröző módon tisztázzák egy összetett állam³ két elsőrendű partnere között a reciprocitás és az egyenlőtlenség elemeit egyaránt magában hordozó, évszázados konfliktusokkal terhelt viszonyt. Az egyik esetben ezek az új realitások abból adódtak, hogy az 1688-as forradalom és a spanyol örökösödési háború következményeként Anglia birodalmi metropolisszá emelkedett. Ennek párhuzama a másik esetben az oszmánok kiűzése Magyarországról és a Habsburgok „dunai fordulata”: a nyugati (ti. német-római császársági) dominancia igényének fokozatos, bár mindvégig részleges feladása és az újonnan szerzett közép-európai területek konszolidálásának törekvése. A rendezés ugyanakkor mindkét esetben regisztrálta a gyöngébbik fél gazdasági és kulturális sebezhetőségét és makacs ragaszkodását különleges identitásához, s hosszabb távon a birodalom-építésben és a civilizálódás folyamatában való részvétel lehetőségét ajánlotta számára.

Igaz, hogy különösen I. Lipót ez irányú erőfeszítései ellenére Magyarország esetében az alkotmányos beolvasztás elmaradt: az ország területi integritása fennmaradt, kormányzásában saját szokásai és törvényei voltak irányadók, az uralkodóknak koronázási hitlevelet kellett kibocsátani, és rendszeresen összehívni a diétát. Ezzel összefüggésben a nemesség mint a par excellence politikai osztály megőrizte jogilag rögzített

1 Robertson német recepcióját feldolgozó MTA doktori értekezésem opponenseként Frank Tibor sürgette, hogy foglalkozzam a magyarországgal is. E részleges válasszal (melynek angol változata megjelent: *History of European Ideas* 2017, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01916599.2017.1314155>) köszönöm neki az inspirációt. A tanulmány korábbi változatainak konferenciákon, szemináriumokon való bemutatására biztosított lehetőségekért hálás vagyok Szi-jártó Istvánnak, Richard Whatmore-nak, Guido Abbattistának, Edoardo Tortarolónak, Péter Róbertnek, Takáts Józsefnek és Miru Györgynek. Köszönöm Tóth Kálmán értékes bibliográfiai tanácsait és a kéziratra vonatkozó észrevételeit.

2 Hont nem publikált a témáról, de szóban több alkalommal értekezett róla.

3 A hazai történetírásban még mindig nem eléggé meghonosodott, legalábbis kevésbé explicit és reflektált módon használt fogalom az olyan, jellemzően kora újkori államalakulatokat jelölő, amelyekben egy uralkodó(ház) több országot kormányoz, elvileg önálló entitásként, saját politikai intézményei által, hagyományaival és jogrendszerével összhangban – ennek minden konfliktusforrásával és teherterhelével. A klasszikus historiográfiából lásd H. G. Koenigsberg: „Monarchies and Parliaments in Early Modern Europe: *Dominium Regale* or *Dominium Politicum et Regale*”, *Theory and Society* 5:1 (1978), 191–217; J. H. Elliott: „A Europe of Composite Monarchies”, *Past & Present* 137 (1992), 48–71.

kiváltságait és társadalmi elsőbbségét. Ennek – bár ezen osztály számos tagja együttműködött felvilágosult uralkodókkal és adminisztrátorokkal ígéretes (és kevésbé ígéretes) reform-kezdeményezésekben – szerepe volt abban, hogy az erőgyűjtés és felzárkózás útja rögzesebb és elhúzódóbb volt, és egy valódi „jobbítás korára” (*age of improvement*) az 1848-at megelőző évtizedekig várni kellett.

Éppen az „elhúzódás” jelensége irányítja a figyelmet a „hosszú felvilágosodás” problémájára. Ez a mostanában a nemzetközi irodalomban divatos, de képlékeny és talán nem elég pontosan használt fogalom⁴ a magyar kutatási kontextusban természetesen a „kontinuitás” kérdéseként jelentkezik – ti. hogy volt-e folytonosság II. József reformkísérletei és az ezekre adott válaszok (beleértve a közép-európai „nemzeti ébredés” kezdeteit, de az 1790-es évek magyar politikai mozgalmát is) és az 1825 utáni, liberális hatásokkal is átszótt törekvések között. Az egyik álláspont szerint nem kétséges, hogy Magyarországon és általában a régióban a felvilágosodás nem ért véget a francia forradalommal, és a személyi kapcsolatok, hálózatok terén csakúgy, mint szellemi tartalom tekintetében kimutatható a kontinuitás.⁵ Mások szerint a forradalmi háborúk légkörében bekövetkező, a jakobinus-perekben kulmináló konzervatív visszavágás, az ezt követő szigorú rendőri felügyelet, majd az udvar és az ország közötti forradalom- és Napóleon-ellenes szövetség felbomlása az 1812-es diétán olyan helyzetet eredményezett, amely a következő nemzedéktől teljes újrakezdést követelt meg.⁶

Hont felvetését több oknál fogva is érdemes fontolóra venni. Az alábbiakban ezt az által kísérlem meg, hogy megvizsgálom William Robertson (1721–1793) történeti gondolkodásának és írásainak magyarországi befogadását. Robertson – a skót felvilágosodás virágkorának befolyásos *establishment* figurája: Skócia királyi történésze, az Edinburgh-i Egyetem principálisa, a presbiteriánus egyház vezéralakja, a nemzeti, európai és (ma úgy mondanánk) globális történelem témáiban született nagy hatású művek szerzője – nemzetközi recepcióját a kutatás francia, olasz, spanyol és német

4 Ez általában a felvilágosodás korabeli gondolkodásmódok, kulturális gyakorlatok 19. századi továbbélését jelenti, de a közelmúltban pl. a tudományos eszmék és a gazdasági növekedés mintázatai közötti hosszútávú összefonódásra is alkalmazták. Lásd Joel Mokyr: *A Culture of Growth. The Origins of the Modern Economy* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2016).

5 Lásd H. Balázs Éva: *Bécs és Pest-Buda a régi századvégen* (Budapest, Magvető, 1987) és e kötet javított, apparátussal ellátott angol változatát: *Hungary and the Habsburgs 1765–1800. An Experiment in Enlightened Absolutism* (Budapest, Central European University Press, 1997), kül. 10. fej. (A szerző Hont egyik budapesti mentora volt utóbbi emigrálását megelőzően.) Vö. Moritz Csáky: *Von der Aufklärung zum Liberalismus. Studien zum Frühliberalismus in Ungarn* (Bécs, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981); Miskolczy Ámbros, *A felvilágosodás és a liberalizmus között: Folyamatosság vagy megszakítotttság? Egy magyar történészvita anatómiája* (Budapest, Lucidus, 2007); Kecskeméti Károly, *Magyar liberalizmus 1790–1848* (Budapest, Argumentum, 2008).

6 Pl. Vermes Gábor: *Kulturális változások sodrában. Magyarország 1711 és 1848 között* (Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 2011). A „kontinuitásvita” rövid összefoglalójáért lásd Hörcher Ferenc: „Enlightened Reform or National Reform? The Continuity Debate about the Hungarian Reform Era and the Example of the Two Széchenyis (1790–1848)”, *Hungarian Historical Review*, 51 (2016), 22–45.

nyelvterületre vonatkozóan széles körűen feltárta, ezt kívánom e tanulmányban bővíteni.⁷ Robertson hozzájárulásai a „polgári kormányzat felvilágosult elbeszéléséhez”⁸ és a 18. századi „kozmpolita történetíráshoz”⁹ olyan témákat dolgoztak fel, mint a Brit-szigetek társadalmi és politikai fejlődésének az 1707-es unióhoz vezető belső dinamikája; a nemzetközi versengés és hatalmi egyensúly problémája az európai államok rendszerként meghatározott közösségében; és az e rendszerre jellemző civilizáció mind kiterjedtebb, globálissá váló érintkezési felülete azokkal a kultúrákkal, amelyek ekkoriban tárulkoztak föl az európaiak tekintete előtt.¹⁰ E műveket áthatotta a modernség több szinten működő, 18. századi felfogása, mely egyfelől felvilágosult volt abban az értelemben, hogy elkötelezte magát ez emberi fejlődés és boldogulás evilági lehetőségeinek keresése mellett (függetlenül attól, hogy mit tartott a másvilágról),¹¹ másfelől összeegyeztethető maradt a történelemtől mint az isteni gondviselés tervének kibontakozásáról vallott keresztény nézetekkel.¹² A nemzeti diskurzus szintjén a robertsoni felvilágosult elbeszélés a progresszió, a kereskedelem és a csiszolt érintkezés normáit állította szembe a talmi ősi alkotmányosságból származtatott elvekkel a hazafiasság és a szabadságseretet követelményeinek újradefiniálásában. Kontinentális léptékben azt a nézőpontját szerint meghaladott (felvilágosulatlan) kort mutatta be, amikor a magas adókat kivétől, hatalmas állandó hadseregeket fenntartó területiális monarchiákat belülről még nem korlátozták a fékek és ellensúlyok, kívülről pedig a

- 7 Lásd Gianfranco Tarabuzzi: „Le traduzioni italiane settecentesche delle opere di William Robertson”, *Rivista storica italiana* 91/2–3 (1979): 486–509; Robin A. Humphreys: „William Robertson and His History of America” [1954], in *Tradition and Revolt in Latin America and Other Essays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 34–36; John Renwick: „The Reception of William Robertson’s Historical Writings in Eighteenth-Century France,” in Stuart J. Brown (szerk.): *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 145–63; Alessia Castignano: „Per uno studio storico sulle traduzioni. Le traduzioni italiane dei »classici« dell’ »Illuminismo scozzese« (1765–1838)”, doktori értekezés, Università Ca’ Foscari, Velence (2014), 4.2, 4.3 és 5.2 fejezet; Kontler László: *Translations, Histories, Enlightenments. William Robertson in Germany, 1760–1795* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- 8 J. G. A. Pocock: *Barbarism and Religion*, 2. köt.: *Narratives of Civil Government* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- 9 Karen O’Brien: *Narratives of Enlightenment. Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- 10 *The History of Scotland* (1759); *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769); *The History of America* (1777); *An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge Which The Ancients Had of India* (1791).
- 11 A felvilágosodás „legkisebb közös többszörösének” ilyen értelmű meghatározására lásd John Robertson: *The Case for the Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples 1680–1750* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005); John Robertson: *The Enlightenment* (Oxford. Oxford University Press, 2015).
- 12 Azzal, hogy Robertsonra „a” felvilágosult történeti elbeszélés képviselőjeként hivatkozom, osztom Pocock és O’Brien megközelítését, miközben nem becslöm le más (viszonylag) friss felvilágosodás-értelmezések (pl. Jonathan Israelé) értékét, illetve ezek esetleges hasznát a 18–19. századi magyar fejlemények jobb megértésére nézve. Vö. Balázs Péter: *Biblia, história és bölcsélet a felvilágosodás korában* (Budapest, L’Harmattan, 2013), küll. 9–60.

hatalmi egyensúly, ráadásul az európaiakat a tolerancia eszméje még nem békítette meg a vallási pluralizmussal, s mindezek együttes következményeként az abszolutizmus, az egyetemes monarchia és a vallásháborúk évszázados megpróbáltatásait kellett elszenvedniük. Végül, bár globális víziója kétségkívül „eurocentrikus” volt, Robertson figyelemre méltó érzékenységet tanúsított a kulturális különbségek iránt. Ami az elméleti hozzájárulást illeti, míg a történelem művelése az ő és a környezete számára egyaránt (még mindig) írói foglalatosság, egyúttal a politikai beszéd egyik formája volt, úttörőként igyekezett azt felruházni a tudományos diszciplínaként való elismerés elnyerésére törekvő tudásterület tulajdonságaival, amennyiben narratív vállalkozásaiban következetesen alkalmazta az akkoriban edinburgh-i védjegygyé váló új „embertudományok” szolgáltatta módszertani eszközöket.¹³

E kvalitásokat a recepció során Európa-szerte fel- és elismerték, igaz, eltérő hangsúlyokkal és más-más mértékben. Míg Robertson műveinek magyarországi visszhangjába beletartozik a *History of America* 1807–1809-ben megjelent fordítása is,¹⁴ az alábbiakban az *A View of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the Subversion of the Roman Empire, to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, a *History of Charles V* (1769) kötetnyi bevezetése néhány lefordított részére koncentrálok.¹⁵ A *View of the Progress of Society* Robertson mesteri társadalmi-strukturális elbeszélése arról, miként lábalt ki Európa abból a szakadékból, amelybe a római birodalom bukása és azt követően a hódító barbár népek által alapított királyságokban eluralkodó anarchia taszította: lenyűgöző tabló tíz évszázad kezdetben lassú, de a kereskedelem megélénkülésétől és a városok megerősödésétől lendülethez jutó, az erőszakos szenvedélyek megfékezésétől – így a kiszámíthatóbb jogi intézmények és politikai rendszerek, azaz az erős és rendezett monarchia alatti joguralom iránti igénytől – is ösztönzött anyagi és kulturális növekedéséről. Robertson ábrázolásában V. Károly német-római császárrá koronázásának idejére Európa elérkezett az újkor küszöbére – ahol azonban (mint munkásságának többi része bőségesen illusztrálja) szembe kellett néznie a birodalmi ambícióból, a polgári és vallási békétlenségből és saját, globális folyamatokba való bekapcsolódásából adódó kihívásokkal és krízisekkel.¹⁶

13 Ennek klasszikus, erős kritikai válaszokat is kiváltó feldolgozásaira lásd pl. Gladys Bryson: *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945); Ronald L. Meek: *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976). Robertson történeti munkásságában való jelenlétére lásd Nicholas Phillipson: „Providence and Progress. An Introduction to the Historical Thought of William Robertson”, in Brown (szerk.), *Robertson and the Expansion of Empire*, 55–73.

14 *Robertson Vilhelm Amérikiai históriája*, ford. Tanárki János, 2 köt. (Pest, Patzko, 1807–1809).

15 William Robertson: *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (London, Routledge / Thoemmes Press, 1996), I. köt. – A *View of the Progress*ből ugyancsak magyarra fordított részeket olvashatunk Horkay Hörcher Ferenc (szerk.): *A skót felvilágosodás* (Budapest, Osiris Kiadó, 1996).

16 Robertson elméleti síkon innovatív, kozmopolita és strukturalista történészként elismert érdemeivel kapcsolatban újabban több szakember kételyeket támaszt, és inkább a humanista-moralista narratív hagyománynak való adósságait hangsúlyozza. E nézetekre a *History*

A fordítás a Magyar Tudós Társaság (azaz az Akadémia) folyóiratában jelent meg az 1830-as évek közepén. A recepció merőben antikvárius érdekű, mikroszkopikus epizódnak tűnhet. Azért bír tágasabb, akár elméleti jelentőséggel, mert a szöveggörnyezet és a szélesebb kontextus, melyben Robertson e „megkésett” magyar felfedezése lezajlott, arra enged következtetni, hogy a felfedezők a „liberális” kor fontos nemzetközi és hazai gondolkodóinak szellemi kortársára ismertek benne, akinek gondolatai relevanciával bírnak a nemzeti progresszió és a polgári emancipáció kérdéseit illetően egy közép-európai összetett monarchia gyöngébbik partnerének elitje számára. Ugyanakkor, mivel a *View of the Progress* – talán a sajátjai között is minden más szövegénél egyértelműbben – megalkuvás nélküli fejlődéspártinak mutatja Robertsont, a magyar fogyasztásra adaptált szakaszokban az eredetihez képest megfigyelhető hangsúlyeltolódások olyan fordítói stratégiára vallanak, amely számol a célközönség jelentős része által osztott, a Robertsonra jellemző érték-együttessel kapcsolatos aggodalmakkal és kételyekkel.

Liberalizmus mint csiszoltság

Érdemes először is egy pillantást vetni a kronológia és a terminológia egymással összefüggő kérdésére. Mivel 1848 előestéjén Magyarországon formálisan megalakult egy konzervatív és egy liberális (szabadelvű) párt, s vitájuk tovább bonyolította a magyar politikai osztály Bécshez fűződő viszonyát is, a reformkort hagyományosan a modern politikai ideológiák és táborok kialakulásának időszakaként tartjuk számon. A résztvevők maguk is úgy tekinthettek önmagukra, mint akik e folyamat tevékeny alakítói. Újabbban azonban többen felhívták a figyelmet arra, hogy mivel szellemi eszköztáruk és szókincsük mélyen gyökerezett korábbi tradíciókban, helyénvaló e folyamatok vizsgálatában – amennyire lehet – elvonatkoztatni az 1848–1849-es kifejtet ismeretéből merített utólagos bölcsességtől. Kézenfekvő példa a Széchenyi-kép revíziója.¹⁷ A *Hitelet* a tulajdon szabadságát béklyózó feudális korlátokról közölt koherens bírálata okán általában (és méltán) a liberális politikai érvelés magyarországi *terminus ad quem*jének tekintjük. Változatlanul úgy véljük továbbá, hogy következetesen dicsérte a józan (hűvös) utilitárius számítás hasznait, és hogy a könyv címében szereplő kulcsszó a „megbízhatóság” olyan jelentés-árnyalataival bír, amelyek nemcsak az üzleti szférában, hanem a magán- és köz-

of Charles V és a View of the Progress kapcsán lásd Neil Hargraves: „The »Progress of Ambition«. Character, Narrative, and Philosophy in the Works of William Robertson”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 63 (2002), 261–282; Alexander Du Toit: „Cosmopolitanism, Despotism and Patriotic Resistance: William Robertson on the Spanish Revolts against Charles V”, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, LXXXVI:1 (2009), 19–43. Ugyanerre Robertson munkásságát átfogóan, sőt a 18. századi skót történetírás egészét illetően lásd David Allan: *Virtue, Learning, and the Scottish Enlightenment: Ideas of Scholarship in Early Modern History* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1993). Véleményem szerint ez a hasznos revízió alapjaiban véve nem rengeti meg a Robertsonról fentebb adott jellemzést. Vö. Kontler: *Translations, Histories, Enlightenments*, 27–31, 179–183 és *passim*.

¹⁷ Hites Sándor (szerk.): *Jólét és erény. Tanulmányok Széchenyi István Hitel című művéről* (Budapest, Reciti, 2014)

élet egészére nézve, s ekképpen általánosságban egy modern, racionális rend feltételeinek kialakítását illetően is érvényesek. Mégis, ha Széchenyi politikai gazdaságtana a liberalizmus irányába mutató elemekből építkezik, olyan – kortársai által osztott, vitatott, elutasított – liberalizmus volt ez, mely a rendelkezésre álló („megörökölt”), egymással vetélkedő és egymást metsző politikai nyelvek univerzumában fogant.¹⁸ Ezek közül a legfontosabb a főként az 1770-es évektől a Bécsben iskolázott nemesi írók körében hódító „csinosodás” nyelve, középpontjában a társiaság és az udvariasság erényeivel, melyeket gyakran ábrázolt a modor és a kereskedelem fejlődésével összefüggésben.¹⁹ A *Hitel* szövege ismételtelen utal a vadság és az állatias lét szintjéről a csinosodás vagy finomság szintjére való emelkedésre illetve fejlődésre. Ezekben az utalásokban a kézenfekvő, materiális és társias élvezetekkel kapcsolatos alaphanghoz erős, a spirituális tökéletesbecsülettel kapcsolatos keresztény zöngék vegyülnek, a jólét, erény és boldogság integrált vízióját eredményezve. Másodikként kell említeni a felvilágosult kormányzás nyelvét, középpontjában a jó törvények, valamint az oktatás és az infrastruktúra fejlődése által biztosított közjó eszméjével, melyet Széchenyi a jozefinus reformok támogatóinak (többek között saját apjának) örökségeként sajátított el, s fordított az osztályának jelentős része által követett gravaminális politika kritikájára. E politika hivatkozási keretétül Magyarország „ősi alkotmányának” védelme szolgált, ahogyan a törvények és szokások együttesét az 1790-es évektől mindinkább előszeretettel emlegették. Az alkotmányvédő álláspont fontos támasztéka volt a honfíúi buzgalom és az idegen befolyás iránti gyanakvás elegye, amely jellegzetes összetevője volt a kora újkori és újkori Magyarországon Európa bármely más vidékéhez hasonlóan széles körben elterjedt republikánus politikai nyelvnek. Hozzá kell tenni, hogy Széchenyit és „liberális” honfitársait éppúgy aggasztotta az a lehetőség, hogy a modernség körülményei között a „luxuszjavak” fogyasztása „(meg)romláshoz” (korrupcióhoz) és az erény elenyészéséhez, következésképpen a szabadság összeomlásához vezet, mint hasonló gondolkodású kortársaikat szerte a kontinensen. Elkötelezettségük összességében mégis eléggé szilárd volt.

Ezt azonban nem vehették készpénznek célközönségük jelentős részének esetében. Széchenyi a magyar politikai spektrumot alapjában véve bipolárisnak látta, s egy

18 E nyelvek körvonalainak rekonstrukciójára lásd mindenekelőtt Takáts József: „Politikai beszédmodok a magyar 19. század elején”, *Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 52:5–6 (1998), 668–686; Takáts József: *Modern magyar politikai eszmetörténet* (Budapest: Osiris, 2007), 12–21. A kontextusra, melyből a 18. század végi és 19. század eleji status quo sarjadt, lásd Kontler László, Trencsényi Balázs: „Hungary”, in Howell Lloyd, Glenn Burges, Simon Hodson (szerk.): *European Political Thought 1450–1700. Religion, Law and Philosophy* (New Haven és London, Yale University Press, 2007), 176–207; Kovács Ákos András, Szűcs Zoltán Gábor, „Hogyan olvassuk a 18. század magyar politikai irodalmát?”, *Korall* 35 (2009. április), 147–174.

19 Az „udvariasságnak” a 18. század középső harmadától kezdve jelentős irodalma volt Magyarországon, de a csinosodás nyelvének *locus classicus*a Kármán József 1794-es esszéje, *A nemzet tsinosodása*. A fogalom prominens szerepet játszott számos más szerzőnél és több folyóiratban is. Széchenyi elköteleződésére a hagyomány mellett lásd Bodrogi Ferenc Máté: „Széchenyi István és a gentlemanek nyelve”, *Irodalomtörténet* 42:2 (2011), 150–176.

„udvari” („külföldies”) és egy „falusi” („törzsökös”) tábor együtteseként jellemezte. Míg önmagát úgy mutatta be, mint aki e megosztottság meghaladásán dolgozik, a kozmopolita fejlődés értékei melletti világos, kérlelhetetlen kiállása ezt a törekvést féloldalassá teszi. A *Hitel* lapjain Széchenyi a sokat utazott és tapasztalt ember pozíciójába helyezkedik, aki képes az összehasonlító látásmód alkalmazására és arra, hogy hazája értékelésében megfelelő távolságtartással járjon el. Gyakran szarkazmussal jellemezi a „heves patriotát”, aki „egy lépésnyire sem akar a’ világban haladni”, mivel túl szorosan ágyazódik az ősi alkotmányra, ősi törvényekre és általában a nemzeti múltra hivatkozó politikai kultúrába.²⁰ Ugyanakkor – éppen azért, mert a „heves patrioták” igen nagy súllyal képviseltették magukat a magyar nemesség derékhadában, vagyis az egyetlen olyan társadalmi csoportban, amelynek a „csinosodás” útjára való megtérítésétől igazi változást lehetett remélni –, taktikus eljárás mód mutatkozott szükségesnek: megfontolt rábeszélés, gesztusok, ideiglenes kompromisszumok. Esettanulmányomban arra teszek kísérletet, hogy rámutassak: a „magyar(ított) Robertson” olyan tulajdonságokkal bír, amelyek éppen egy ilyen eljárás mód követelményeinek felelnek meg.

Az említett fordításnak helyt adó *Tudománytár*, melynek elindításáról a Magyar Tudós Társaság közgyűlése 1833 novemberében hozott határozatot, maga is Széchenyi komplex programja részének tekinthető.²¹ Az első szám előszava szerint (mely a határozat szövegét követi) a folyóirat, [t]artalma tudományos encyklopaediai lenne, az emberi tudás’ minden ágaira kiterjeszkedő, de leginkább a’ jelenkor’ haladásaira, az előadásban pedig köz értelmességre ügyelvén. [...] Az előadás formája ne bírálgató és vitatkozó, hanem inkább értesítő és közlő legyen; iránya pedig az, hogy azon hazánkfiak, kik külföldi folyóiratokat nem tarthatnak, ebben néminemű pótlékát leljék szükségüknek. Kútfői: eredeti dolgozatok, a’ mennyiben a’ fenn kitett czélnek megfelelők, ’s a külföld’ jelesb folyóiratai, melyekből a’ Tudománytár cikkelei fordítva, kivonva vagy összeállítva lennének. A szerkeztető kötelessége az e’ végre tartandó folyóiratokat szorgos szemügy alatt tartani ’s belőlők a’ legérdeklőbbeket a’ Társaság által mellérendelt 3-4 tudóssal lefordítatni ’s a’ fordításért kezeskedni. Ezekhez járulnának a’ tagok által készült bel és külföldi bibliographiai közlések...”²² A külföldi irodalom hangsúlya összhangban állt Széchenyi „utazói” nézőpontjával, akinek idegenben gyűjtött tapasztalata elősegítheti a hazai szellemi horizont tágítását. A távolságtartó, semleges hangvétellel kapcsolatos ajánlás azzal állhat összefüggésben, hogy egyes tagok, főleg jeles írók, aggályokat fogal-

20 Széchenyi István: *Hitel* (Budapest, Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1979 [az 1830-as kiadás reprintje]), xiii–xv, 65, 119. Részletes elemzést lásd Takáts József, „Metaforák, elbeszéléssémák és politikai nyelvek a *Hitel*ben”, in Hites (szerk.): *Jólét és erény*, 39–60.

21 A folyóirat átfogó feldolgozására lásd Fenyő István: „Akadémiánk első folyóirata, a *Tudománytár*”, in Kókay György (szerk.): *A magyar sajtó története* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), I. 465–488. Lásd még *Tudománytár (1834–1844) Repertórium*, szerk. Rózsa Mária (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1999) <http://mek.oszk.hu/00000/00038/html/>.

22 Schedel Ferenc: „Vezérszó”, *Tudománytár*, 1. köt. (1834), iii–iv. Vö. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár és Információs Központ, Kézirattár (MTA KIK Kt), RAL 1/1833.

maztak meg a kritikai él potenciálisan megosztó hatásaival kapcsolatban.²³ Ez a döntés, feltehetőleg a szerkesztők cenzúra iránti figyelme által ösztönzött önfegyelme a jelek szerint a *Tudománytár* minőségének és vonzerejének hullámvázához vezetett. Hozzá kell tenni, hogy pályafutásának csúcán, az 1830–1840-es évek fordulóján, amikor a *Tudománytár*at „Értekezések” és „Literatúra” szekciókra osztották, az utóbbiban a külföldi munkák bemutatásában az eredeti óvatos hangvételt mindinkább feladták. A domináns témák között szerepelt pl. az államelméletek fejlődése Arisztotelésztől kezdve Locken, Rousseau-n, Montesquieu-n keresztül a kortárs filozófusokig; újabb francia, angol, német irodalom; politikai gazdaságtan Smith, Ricardo, List, Sismondi és számos más szerző előadásában; de a szerzők némelyike már a liberális mainstreamet is megkérdőjelezte, és kritikát fogalmazott meg pl. az amerikai demokrácia ellentmondásaival kapcsolatban.²⁴

A *Tudománytár* első szerkesztője a még mindig ifjú, de tekintélyes író, tudós, kritikus és a magyar irodalmi szcéna *spiritus movense*, Schedel (Toldy) Ferenc volt,²⁵ de az 1834–1844 közötti években publikált²⁶ lap profilja és iránya szorosan köthető a progresszió és csiszoltság eszményeihez abban a formában, ahogyan Széchenyi képviselte azokat, és ahogyan azokat a felvilágosult „embertudományok” megközelítésmódjában és fogalmi apparátusával szokásosan tárgyalták. A szokások és erkölcsök finomodása, a társas viszonyok, kapcsolatok fejlődése, szellemi és alkotmányos haladás, jogi és politikai intézmények és a szokásokhoz való viszonyok összehasonlító elemzése franciából, németből, angoltól fordított szövegekben és 1837-től az „Értekezések” szekcióban magyar szerzők tollából rendre visszaköszönő témák a *Tudománytár* köteteiben. Pontosan ezek a témák prominens szerepet játszottak más európai kiterjesztett politikai entitásokban az alárendelt partner mérsékelt, felvilágosult elitjének diskurzusában is: akárcsak Robertson és skót literátor-társai bő két emberöltővel korábban, Széchenyi és követői is úgy gondolkodtak, hogy sem a jobbítás, sem a szilárd polgári öntudat nem múlik feltétlenül a teljes politikai szuverenitáson, és az utóbbi csak akkor kívánatos, ha az előbbiek társulnak hozzá.

23 E vitákhoz fűzött kommentárként írta a főszerkesztőnek 1833. május 21-én Robertson fordítója, Kis János, aki tevékenyen részt vett a korai Akadémia és folyóirata körüli munkában: „Jóllehet a Tudomány Tárnak a' Társaság által kiadatását, valamint eléb kívántam, ugy most is kívánnám; mindazonáltal minthogy minden környülmények meggondolása után nem tudom annak olly módon mint illendőnek tartanám, kiadatását reményleni, ezért tanácsosabbnak tartom a' kiadást egészen abba hagyni.” MTA KIK Kt. M. Irodalom. Levelezés. 4^{drét} 77. no. 180.

24 Fenyő: „Akadémiánk első folyóirata”, 487.

25 Toldyról az alapmű Dávidházi Péter, *Egy nemzeti tudomány születése. Toldy Ferenc és a magyar irodalomtörténet* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004).

26 A lap beszüntetésével kapcsolatos döntést tíz évi működés után az Akadémia egy, „a Tudománytár ügyével” kapcsolatos bizottsági vizsgálat nyomán hozta meg. E szerint a folyóirat iránti érdeklődés a tudományos és a szélesebb közönség körében egyaránt drasztikusan csökkent (az előfizetések száma az egykori 527-es csúcstról mindössze 79-re zuhant), mert a tartalom nem volt eléggé vonzó, kivált a laikus olvasók számára, akinek érdeklődése mindinkább a politika felé fordult. Vö. MTA KIK, Kt, RAL 38/1844.

A *Tudománytárban* publikált sok tucatnyi fordítás legtöbbjét viszonylag friss eredetiből ültették át, s a fordítók közül nem egy a korabeli hazai szellemi és közélet legjobbjai közé tartozott. A lefordított művek között olyanok szerepelnek – találmra –, mint a német orientalista, Johann Heinrich Klaproth beszámolója a japán birodalomról az 1830-as évek jelentős etnográfiai folyóirata, az *Annalen der Erd-, Völker- und Staatenkunde* lapjain;²⁷ Hegel reflexiói a kínai és görög történetfilozófiáról,²⁸ akárcsak Guizot tanulmányai a római városi kormányzatról;²⁹ az *Edinburgh Review*, a *La France Littéraire*, sőt a *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* hasábjain megjelent cikkek; válogatás a németországi Aarau városában megjelenő, Heinrich Müller Maltens szerkesztette, „a Föld minden népe irodalmi, politikai és erkölcsi életének történeti áttekintését” célul tűző sorozat, a *Bibliothek der neuesten Weltkunde* számaiból,³⁰ hasonlóan a francia saint-simonista Jacques Hippolyte Roux-Ferrand *Histoire de Progrès de la Civilisation en Europe* (1833)³¹ című művéhez. A sort hosszan folytathatnánk. Megjegyzendő, hogy az összesen három 18. századi forrásból származó szöveg közül kettő skót szerzők munkája: a *View of the Progress of Society* mellett Hume esszéje az ékesszólásról³² (a harmadik a német filozófus, Christian Garve hozzájárulása a nyelvújítás kérdésében folytatott vitához).³³

Robertson magyar közvetítője

Robertson (és az említett Hume esszé) magyar fordítója Kis János (1770–1846)³⁴ evangélikus lelkész majd *superintendens* volt. Kis saját korában jelentős irodalmi megbecsülésnek örvendett, bár az utókor főleg mellékszereplőként, közvetítőként játszott szerepvállalását értékeli. Igen szerény háttérből származott Nyugat-Magyarországról – szülei a Festetics grófok jobbágysai voltak –, a jó képességeket benne felismerő helybéli tanítóknak köszönhetette, hogy a soproni evangélikus líceumban folytathatta tanulmányait. Később eljutott Göttingenbe és Jenába, ahol már a kor vezető tudósainak előadásait

27 [Bajza József] Széplaki Erneszt: „A’ japán birodalom. Japán irományok után Klaproth”, *Tudománytár*, 1. köt. (1834), 146–160.

28 Vajda Péter: „Görögország történetének philosophiája”, *Tudománytár*, Értekezések, 7. köt. (1840), 37–58, 114–137

29 Szalay László: „Municipális igazgatás a’ római birodalomban”, *Tudománytár*, Értekezések, 6. köt. (1839), 188–199, 302–313, 71; 7. köt. (1840), 7–22.

30 Czuczor Gergely: „Szellemi mozgás Angliában ’s annak haladása, tekintettel más europai nemzetekre”, *Tudománytár*, 5. köt. (1835), 28–60.

31 Zsivora György: „Az europai polgárisodás’ haladásának története. A’ keresztény évszámítás-tól a’ XIX. századig. Roux-Ferrand által”, *Tudománytár*, Értekezések, 4. köt. (1838), 122–157, 6; 5 (1839), 31–65.

32 Kis János: „Az ékesszólás”, *Tudománytár*, Értekezések, 5. köt. (1839), 183–194.

33 Kis János: „Néhány észrevétel a’ nyelvjavításról”, *Tudománytár*, Értekezések, 7. köt. (1840), 249–264.

34 Kistről nem született monográfia. Rövid életrajzára lásd Szinnyei József, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, VI. köt. (Budapest, Hornyánszky, 1899), <http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/k/ku1179.htm>. Igen érdekes önéletrajzi emlékezéseit dolgozza fel Tóth Kálmán: „Nemzedéki emlékezet és kulturális identitás Kis János superintendens *Emlékezései életéből* című művében”, PhD értekezés (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest, 2012).

hallgatta. 1793-ban tért haza, először tanítóként helyezkedett el a győri evangélikus iskolában, majd pappá szentelése után egyik dunántúli lelkészi hivatalból a másikba lépett, a jelek szerint azért, mert ez több szabadidőt hagyott számára irodalmi törekvéseinek megvalósítására. Szoros barátságba került Kazinczy Ferencsel. Kist 1812-ben választották püspökké, 1828-tól pedig aktívan bekapcsolódott az Akadémia szabályzatának kidolgozásába. Az Akadémián a történeti osztály tagja lett. A *Tudománytár* mellett más kulturális és irodalmi lapokban illetve önállóan is rendszeresen közölt fordításokat – több klasszikus és modern nyelvet jól ismert – és saját esszéket, emellett sok verset írt.³⁵ Részletes nyilvántartást vezetett munkáiról, amelyekről rendszeresen megküldött listákban tájékoztatta Toldyt (aki 1835-től az Akadémia titoknoki tisztjét is betöltötte).³⁶

E munkák iránya, valamint szerzőjük személyes tanúságtétele röviddel halála előtt publikált emlékirataiban Kist a csiszoltság és a társiaság Magyarország számára mérvadó értékeinek szilárd híveként mutatja be, valamint a nemzetközi történeti, szociológiai, esztétikai és egyéb irodalmi corpus szakavatott tolmácsaként, amelynek ismerete felkészítheti az országot a szükséges változás tétjeinek felmérésére. Elmélyülten tanulmányozta és magasra értékelte a fordítások (beleértve a saját fordításai) jelentőségét egy olyan ország számára, amely még mindig messze elmaradt a progresszió úttörői mögött. Kazinczyról szólva hangsúlyozta, hogy pályafutásának kezdetén „nagyon szükséges volt a’ magyar olvasást minél előbb, ’s minél többekkel megszerettetni; ez pedig hamarabb történhetett alkalmas fordítások, mint lassabban készülhető jó eredeti munkák által.”³⁷ Fordításainak csupán 1836-os jegyzéke 21 egységet számlál;³⁸ 1840 előtti „jelentősebb fordításainak” egy dátumozatlan listáján 47 mű szerepel.³⁹ A skót felvilágosodás természetéből a már említett Robertson- és Hume-szövegek mellett Kis fordította („némely kihagyásokkal és rövidítésekkel”) Hugh Blair *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* című munkáját.⁴⁰ Érdemes megemlíteni, hogy szintén ő ültette magyarra az *Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen* (1796) című művet, mely az úriemberi viselkedés legsikeresebb korabeli kézikönyve volt Adolf Knigge, egy másik volt göttingeni diák tollából.⁴¹ A fordítókat, köztük saját magát, az írók „második osztályába” sorolta (az elsőbe a tartós hírnévre törekvő

35 Fordítóként szerzett érdemeit széles körben elismerték a magyar irodalmi élet nagyjai, akik kevésbé lelkesedtek költészetéért. Kisről szóló emlékbeszédében Toldy arra helyezte a hangsúlyt, hogy e lelkes férfiú fáradhatatlan odaadással szolgálta a klasszikus irodalom ügyét, és általában a modor és az erkölcsök jobbítását. Lásd Tóth: „Nemzedéki emlékezet”, 16–21.

36 MTA KIK Kt., RAL 284/1839, no. 1, 3, 6, 7, 12; M. Irodalom. Levelezés. 4^{drét} 77. no. 177.

37 Kis János: *Emlékezései életéből. Maga által feljegyezve. Második közlemény. Írói pályáját tárgyzó emlékezések* (Sopron, Kulcsárné, 1846), 75.

38 A szerzők skáláján megtalálható Cicero, Montaigne, Bacon, Leibniz, Locke, Diderot, d’Al-embert, Wieland, Sulzer. MTA KIK, Kt., RAL 284/1839, no. 7.

39 MTA KIK, Kt., M. Irodalom. Levelezés. 4^{drét} 77. no. 202.

40 Blair Hugo *rhetorikai esztétikai leczkéi*, 2 köt. (Buda, 1838).

41 *Az emberekkel való társalkodásról vagy: Miképpen kellésék minden rendbéli emberekhez magunkat úgy alkalmaztatnunk, hogy a’ Világban boldogulhassunk*, 3 köt. (Győr, 1798).

eredeti géniuszek tartoznának), melynek tagjai „esmeretes igazságokat [akarnak] a’ műveletlenebb közönség között terjesztetni, ’s azok által a’ tudatlanságot oszlatni ’s igaz felvilágosodást eszközölni és elősegíteni” – amivel igen fontos szerepet töltenek be.⁴² „Ezek a’ tudomány országában megannyi földmivelők, mesteremberek, iparüzők és kereskedők”, s általában a tudós írók sikeresen eleget tettek küldetésüknek, ti. „hogy a’ világ legfőbb javait a’ szellemeket gyarapítsák, ’s hogy a’ tökéletesedésben az emberi nemzet tanítói, nevelői, vezetői ’s példányai legyenek” – aminek köszönhetően kétségen felül áll,

hogy az igazság és való szépség szeretete időnkben többeket lelkesít mint akármikor előbb, hogy a’ közjó iránti részvétel időnkben élénkebb és kiterjedtebb mint akármikor előbb, hogy a’ régi tapasztalások időnkben célszerűbben használtatnak, mint akármikor előbb, hogy a’ különböző nemzetek egymással könnyebben közlekedhetnek és gyakrabban közlekednek mint akár mikor előbb, hogy az ipar és kereskedés különféle ágai és a’ mesterségek különféle nemei időnkben jobban virágoznak mint akármikor előbb, hogy a’ közzép rend jogai időnkben jobban esmertetnek ’s méltányoltatnak mint akármikor előbb ’s hogy az emberi nemzet erkölcsi méltóságán alapuló ’s azt gondosan őriző közvélemény időnkben hatalmasabban uralkodik mint akármikor előbb...⁴³

Jóllehet Magyarországon az irodalom és a tudomány megélénkülését, s általában a felvilágosult progressziót súlyos akadályok hátráltatták – mint például az oszmán hódítás és háborúk öröksége –, Kis elismeri, hogy a 18. század közepétől Mária Terézia uralkodása alatt már ígéretes változásokra került sor, amelyeket előbb II. József korának „világosságot terjesztő sok újításai” követtek, majd II. Lipót idején már egy „nagyon fényes epocha látszott feltűnni”.⁴⁴ Nagyvonalúan átsiklik annak okai fölött, hogy ezen ígéret valóra váltása helyett a stagnálás évtizedei következtek, de hangsúlyozza:

42 Kis: *Emlékezései...* Második közlemény, 150. A fordítás problematikája a jelek szerint tartósan foglalkoztatta Kist. Egy 1835-ben Toldyhoz intézett levelében megvallja: „akar restségem, akár tehetségeim iránti bizodalmatlanságom, a kár azon remekeknek, mellyekkel korán megismerkedtem, méltán visszatartóztató jelessége fiatal koromban a’ fordításhoz szoktatott, ’s utóbb egy felől a’ szokás természetemmé vált, más felől hivatalbéli dolgaim nagyon megsaporodván, a’ könyvirásra tsupán pihenő óráimat engedték fordítani.” Azt is elismeri, hogy még a saját neve alatt publikált néhány írásban is olykor „kölcsonzott” másoktól, de ezt „jelenteni elmulattam, [ami] olly hiba, mellyet nem mentek, sőt mellynek elkerülése minden írónak kötelessége. Magam megnyugtatóására e’ részben tsak azt mondhatom, hogy e’ hibám nem ditsőség kívánásból, hanem inkább az írói ditsőséggel keveset gondolásból származott. [...] Ez az oka, hogy általlában gondatlanabbúl irtam, mint kell vala.” MTA KIK, Kt., M. Irodalom. Levelezés. 4^{drét} 77. no. 186. Kis Toldynak, 1835. január 16.

43 Kis: *Emlékezései...* Második közlemény, 177–178.

44 Kis: *Emlékezései...* Második közlemény, 8–10.

A' korombeli írók bizonyosan tettek a' nyelv és a' tudományok mívelésében annyit vagy még többet is, amennyit tőlök méltányosan kívánni lehetett [...] Minthogy nemzetünk jelesebbjei korunkban olly buzgón törekednek a' mezei gazdaságot, a' kézi mesterségeket, az ipart és kereskedést előmozdítani, a' nevelést jobbitani 's hazánkban a' szolgaság maradványait kiirtani, irodalmunknak is a' béke árnyékában szerencsés jövőndőt ígérhetünk. Ha az alsó néposztályok virágzásra jutnak, ha megtanulnak jó földművelők lenni, kézi mesterségeket ügyesen űzni, 's mindenféle gyárműveket készíteni, gyorsan fognak gazdag családok támadni, 's ezek olly gyermekeket nevelnek, kik atyjaiik vesződséges mesterségét el hagyván gondolkodni, tudományos dolgokról beszélgetni, könyveket olvasni, művészségeket gyakorolni szeretnek, 's akkor lesznek költőink, bölcsészeink, szónokaink, szobrászaink, 's festészeink, 's ezeknek munkáikra és készítményeikre reá szorulnak a' gazdagok 's megveszik azokat. 'S e' kép az irodalom és a művészség minden nemei hatalmasan gyarapodnak.⁴⁵

Kis bőségesen értekezik a Széchenyitől kapott inspirációról. A grófot a jobbítás legfőbb motorjaként jellemzi: az ő kezdeményezéseinek volt köszönhető, hogy „életem azon korában, melyben az írói buzgalom tüze kialudni készül, azt nem csak élesztette, hanem lángra is lobbantotta. [...] [H]azafiui érzelmeimet is csuda erővel elektrizálta. Hogy is ne elektrizálta volna? Az addig magyar könyvekben sehol nem találtathatott becses nézeteivel 's tanácslásaival egyszerre más, miveltebb országba bájoltak éreztem magamat.”⁴⁶

Hozzátehetjük, hogy Kis fontolva haladó volt: lelkesedett a 18. században, különösen annak második felében tett felfedezésekért és az anyagi és szellemi élet feltételeinek jobbításáért, miközben a felvilágosult progresszió ügyével ellenkezőnek minősítette, ezért kárhoztatta a „szofisták”, a költői és vallási divatok rabjai, a teológiai újítók és a „vádaskodók” törekvéseit.⁴⁷ Ez burke-i nyelvezet, és a kutatás fel is hívta a figyelmet arra, hogy bár közvetlen bizonyíték nincs Burke Kisre gyakorolt hatására, göttingeni tanulmányai idején 1791–1792-ben remek alkalmak kínálkoztak számára, hogy megismerje a francia forradalom burke-i értelmezését és hasonló álláspontokat – többek között a *Töprengések a francia forradalomról* recenzensét, a történész Ludwig Timotheus Spittlerét, akinek előadásait Kis csodálattal hallgatta.⁴⁸ Itt ennek az a jelentősége, hogy illusztrálja

45 Kis: *Emlékezései...* Második közlemény, 35–36.

46 Kis: *Emlékezései...* Második közlemény, 41–42.

47 Kis János: *Emlékezései életéből. Maga által feljegyezve. Első közlemény. Nevendékségét, professzorságát és prédikátorságát tárgyazó emlékezések* (Sopron, Kulcsárné, 1845), 121.

48 Tóth: „Nemzedéki emlékezet”, 152–157; Tóth Kálmán: „»Oltár és trónus a föld két kincse.« Edmund Burke esztétikai és politikai nézetei Kis János kontextusában”, in Horkay Hörcher Ferenc és Szilágyi Márton (szerk.): *Edmund Burke esztétikája és az európai felvilágosodás* (Budapest, Ráció Kiadó, 2011), 231–247.

Robertson helyét Kis szellemi horizontján: Burke az európai modern *ancien régime* civilizációjáról nyújtott elemzésének és e civilizáció védelmének kialakításában erősen támaszkodott a skót felvilágosodás filozófusainak és történészeinek teljesítményére, konkrétan áradozva Robertsonnak „a modor filozofikus megítélése” terén elért sikereiről.⁴⁹

Ami Kis Robertson-fordítását illeti, Toldyval folytatott levelezéséből úgy tűnik, az jelentőséggel bírt számára: 1831–1833 közötti munkáinak (dátumozatlan) jegyzékében befejezetlen kéziratként szerepel, egy 1834. október 10-i levélben pedig konkrétan érdeklődik, hogy a mellékletként küldött „pár csekélység [...] különösen a Robertson szerénti fordításnak folytatása találhat-e helyet a Tud. tárban vagy nem.”⁵⁰ Itt pontosításra van szükség: amint a levelezésből is kiviláglik, a *Tudománytár* „Robertson és Remer után” közöl beszámolót Európa átalakulásáról a római birodalom bukása után, a „mostani” európai államok kialakulásáról, illetve azok alkotmányos fejlődéséről.⁵¹ Még pontosabban: a *Tudománytár*ban Robertson *View of the Progress*ének Julius August Remer (1738–1803), a történelem és az államtudományok helmstedti professzora és a német Robertson-recepció igen aktív részese általi átdolgozásából jelentek meg részletek (kihagyásokkal nagyjából a német változat első fele). Remer először, 1778–1779-ben javította és jegyzetekkel látta el a *History of Charles V* első német kiadását, majd 1792–1796 egy me-

49 *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, 10 köt., szerk. Thomas W. Copeland (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1958–1978), 3. köt., 350–351. Míg Burke itt a *History of America* iránt adózik elismeréssel, lehet úgy tekinteni, mint ami általánosságban szól Robertson munkásságának. A tisztelet kölcsönös lehetett, igaz, a *Töprengések* „örjögése” (ahogy Robertson nyilatkozott a műről) ezt átmenetileg aláasta (hogy aztán rövidesen Robertson nézetei a témáról maguk is alaposan megváltozzanak). Lásd Richard B. Sher: „1688 and 1788: William Robertson on Revolution in Britain and France,” in Paul Dukes és John Dunkley (szerk.): *Culture and Revolution* (London és New York, Pinter Publishers, 1990), 103. Robertson német fordítója és átdolgozója, akire Kis támaszkodott (lásd alább), Julius August Remer ugyancsak Burke nagy tisztelője volt: „angol Démoszthenészt” látott benne, akinek politikai bölcsessége, a kereskedelemre és a nemzeti jellemre vonatkozó tudása, s főként szabadságszeretete páratlan – mindaddig, amíg Burke kései forradalomellenes írásai nem keltették Remerben azt a benyomást, hogy az öregedés „meggyöngítette értelmét”. Lásd Charles Stedman, *Geschichte des Ursprungs, des Fortgangs und der Beendigung des Amerikanischen Krieges*, 2 köt., ford. Julius August Remer (Berlin, Voß, 1795), 1. köt., 117. Burke és a skótok témájára lásd még J. G. A. Pocock: „The Political Economy of Burke's Analysis of the French Revolution,” *The Historical Journal* 25 (1982): 331–349, repr. in Pocock: *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985), 198–199.

50 MTAK KIK, Kt., RAL 284/1839, no. 3; M. Irodalom. Levelezés. 4^{drét} 77. no. 181.

51 „Az európai országok' első alakulása”, *Tudománytár*, 3. köt. (1834), 169–191; „A' mostani európai országok első alakulása”, *Tudománytár*, 5. köt. (1835), 91–147; „A' mostani európai polgári alkotmányok' alapulása. Középkor. Nagy Károlytól a' kereszties hadak utánig”, *Tudománytár*, 11. köt. (1836), 3–83.

részebb átdolgozásba vágott. Beavatkozásai átstrukturálták Robertson avant-garde bevezetését,⁵² és jelentősen megnövelték annak terjedelmét – sok empirikus adalékkal gazdagítva a szöveget, de aláásva annak módszertanilag koherens, elméleti igényű elbeszélésként kivívott státusát.⁵³

A magyar történetírók, így Horváth Mihály főként Remer (1819-ben Bécsben újra kiadott) adaptációján keresztül támaszkodtak Robertsonra. Horváth a honfoglaló magyar törzsek és a korabeli európai nemzetek összehasonlító elemzésében több ízben hivatkozik rá ekképpen: „Remer (sic) Gesch. K. Karls V”.⁵⁴ Horváth későbbi munkáiban következetesen nyílt „robertsoni” témákhoz, és tárgyalta azokat a skót történészéhez hasonló megközelítéssel és hangvétellel: ő volt talán a legalkalmasabb a „magyar Robertson” szerepének eljátszására, amivel kapcsolatban az erdélyi politikus és történetíró, Bethlen Imre egy ízben reménységének adott hangot.⁵⁵ Ha valaki ismeri Robertson ábrázolását Skócia unió előtti és utáni viszonyairól a *History of Scotland* lapjain, annak *déjà vu* érzése támad Horváth 1840-ben megjelent műve, *Az ipar és a kereskedelem története Magyarországon, a három utolsó század alatt* olvastán és viszont: a fejlődés mindkét esetben stagnál a független, de feudális állapotú monarchiában, és erős ösztönzést kap egy kiterjedtebb, birodalmi léptékű rendszerbe történő integrálódástól.⁵⁶ Ám jöllehet a *History of Charles V* korabeli példányai – mai könyvtári katalógusokból kiindulva – hozzáférhetők voltak hazai gyűjteményekben, semmi jele annak, hogy Robertson vagy más magyar történészek forgatták ezeket.⁵⁷ Ez vonatkozik Kisre is, akinek pedig angol nyelvtudása – egyéb fordításai tanúsága szerint – aligha maradt el a német mögött. Hogy en-

52 *Dr. Wilhelm Robertsons Geschichte der Regierung Kaiser Karls V. Erster Theil: Abriss des gesellschaftlichen Lebens in Europa bis zum Anfange des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts. Völlig umgearbeitet von Julius August Remer Professor in Helmstedt* (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1792–1796), 3 köt.

53 Részletesen lásd Kontler: *Translations, Histories, Enlightenments*, 3. és 4. feje.

54 Horváth Mihály: *Párhuzam az Európába költözködő magyar nemzet és az akkori Európa politikai és erkölcsi műveltsége között* (Pest: Emich, 1847), 4, 9, 21, 69. Horváth, aki ugyancsak a Tudománytár szerzője volt és könyvét eredetileg 1836-ban az Akadémia által hirdetett pályázatra írta, helyenként „Robertson és Remer”, olykor pedig „Robertson” műveként utal az V. Károly történetére – de mindig a német változatra. Vö. Mónika Baár: *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), 114–115.

55 Bethlen Imre, *II. Rákóczi György ideje* (Nagyenyed, 1829), idézi R. Várkonyi Ágnes: *A pozitívista történelemszemlélet a magyar történetírásban* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), II. köt., 44.

56 E párhuzamokra bővebben lásd Kontler László: „Historians from the Enlightened Periphery. William Robertson and Mihály Horváth”, *The Hungarian Quarterly*, 45:173 (2004), 109–126.

Érdemes hozzátenni, hogy Kis a Horváth munkájáról írt értékelésében méltatta annak előítélet-mentességét, világos előadásmódját, az igazság keresése melletti elkötelezettségét. MTAK KIK, Kt., RAL 8/1841.

57 18. századi londoni, edinburgh-i és bázeli kiadások találhatóak az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban, a sárospataki és debreceni református kollégiumok könyvtárában, a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Klebelsberg Könyvtárában.

nek ellenére „Robertson és Remer” (nem egyedül Robertson) nyomán haladt, annak lehet jelentősége: mivel Remer sok tekintetben elrugaskodott Robertsontól, a döntés olyan intellektuális és közéleti-politikai preferenciákról árulkodhat, amelyek az 1830-as évek Magyarországon szárnyait bontogató „liberalizmusának” sajátos helyzetéből, légköréből sarjadtak.

A fordítás

Kis fordítása általában véve igen színvonalas: helyenként némileg archaikus, de jobbra sikerrel alkalmazza magyar irodalmi nyelv standardizálása terén elért eredményeket, a szöveg folyékony, a terminológiai választások adekvátak és célszerűek. Mint azonban máshol részletesen kifejtettem,⁵⁸ Remer előadásában, melyet Kis hűségesen követ, Robertson szigorú, a 18. századi skót „embertudományok” szókinszének következetes alkalmazásával összetartott stadiális és materialista logikája szétesik: megszűnik *szókinszként* működni, részben az angol és a német mint természetes nyelvek közötti különbségek, részben pedig Remer mint fordító-közvetítő szándékos választásai miatt. A legfeltűnőbb példa Robertson szövegének központi szervező fogalma, a *manners* („modor”). Robertson és a stadiális – a társadalmak fejlődését lépcsőzetesen egymásra következő szintek összefüggésében elgondoló – elmélettel dolgozó skót kortársainak számára a modor az emberi érintkezés, a társasság etikai és esztétikai normáinak együttesét jelentette, melynek durvasága vagy csiszoltsága tükrözi az adott társadalom létfenntartási módjának primitívségét vagy összetettségét – a gyűjtögetéstől és a vadásztól kezdve a pásztorkodáson és a földművelésen keresztül a kereskedelemig ívelő fejlődés folyamatában. Ugyancsak a modor az alapzat, amelyre – csiszolódása esetén – a jogrendszer és a politikai intézmények stabilitása, kiszámíthatósága építhető. Mármost ahol (mint – jobb híján – túlnyomórészt) a *manners* német megfelelője *Sitten*, ott a jelentés etikai összetevője maga alá gyűri az esztétikait; a *Sitten und Gewohnheiten* (azaz „és szokások” hozzáadása az erkölcsökhöz) mint megoldási kísérlet ezen aligha segít; a helyenként szintén bevetett *Bildung* összemosza a modort a kultúrával és a neveléssel; s természetesen pontatlan az *innere Verfassung* is (még ha nem feltétlenül „alkotmányt”, hanem „alkatot” értünk is rajta).

Ugyanezeket a pontatlanságokat és homályosságokat óhatatlanul reprodukálja Remer terminológiájának hűséges magyar átültetése: „erkölcsök”, „erkölcsök és szokások”, „míveltség”, „belső alkotmány”. Az utóbbi kettő, amelyeket a *manners* legkevésbé adekvát megfelelőjének tekinthetünk, Kis szövegében (Remer nyomán) felbukkan a két legelső alkalommal, ahol Robertson a kifejezést használja.⁵⁹ Feltételezhetjük, hogy Remer választásai nem voltak „ártatlanok”, azaz esze ágában sem volt a *Bildungot* vagy az *innere Verfassungot* a *manners* ekvivalenseként használni: inkább tudatos erőfeszítés lehetett ez, hogy a híres eredeti felhajtóerejét új tartalom létrehozására használja fel. Mindenesetre akár szándékosan, akár nem, az efféle megoldások

⁵⁸ Kontler: *Translations, Histories, Enlightenments*, 3. feje.

⁵⁹ *Tudománytár*, 3. köt. (1834), 169 (a szöveg első mondata) és 170.

éket vertek Robertson eredetileg szándékolt jelentése és a német – s ez által a magyar – olvasók által befogadott jelentés közé.⁶⁰ Ami azt a szóbokrot illeti, amelynek segítségével Robertson arra utal, hogy az anyagi kultúra „csiszoltságának” (*polish*) és a társas érintkezésben gyakorolt modor „udvariasságának” (*politeness*) avagy „civilitásának” (*civility*) mértéke összefüggésben áll a „politikai” illetve „polgári” (*political, civil*) intézmények fejlettségével vagy fejletlenségével, a feltételezett etimológiai áthallások nem működnek, amennyiben az előbbiek fordítása *gesittet, gebildet* illetve *cultivirt*; s mivel az ugyancsak előforduló *polizirt* kapcsán a német olvasónak feltehetőleg a *Polizey* (a korabeli német államtudományokban az állam rendészeti funkciója és tevékenysége) jut eszébe, a konnotációk megint csak más irányba mutatnak. A Remer által alkalmazott szókészlet a legkevésbé sem segíti az olvasót abban, hogy hozzáférjen Robertson materialisztikus, a gazdasági struktúrák, a társadalmi érintkezési normák, a jogi eljárások, a politikai intézmények és folyamatok szoros összefüggését feltételező gondolkodásához. Míg a *polieren / politieren* ige és a belőle származó *Politur* létezett a korabeli német nyelvben, sőt *politúr / politura* formában a magyarba is bekerült (többek között a Kissel szoros kapcsolatot ápoló Kazinczy munkáiban),⁶¹ tekintettel arra, hogy Remer nem élt az általa kínált lehetőségekkel, nem volna méltányos szemrehányást tenni Kisnek – aki a *polished / refined / civilized* német átültetésének valamennyi verziójára a „(ki)mívelt” szót használta⁶² – amiért elmulasztotta az általa eredetiként használt szövegben keletkezett zűrzavar kibogozását. Kisnek éppenséggel ja-

60 Mindez tökéletes összhangban állt a fordítással kapcsolatos korabeli elvárásokkal. A fordítások eszmetörténeti igényű tanulmányozásának kérdéseiről, interpretációs kihívásairól lásd Kontler László: „Fordítás és összehasonlítás a kora újkori eszmetörténetben”, *Helikon* 55:1–2 (2009), 142–182 (bővebb változata két részben: „Translation and Comparison: Early-Modern and Current Perspectives”, *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, 3:1 (2007), 71–103; „Translation and Comparison II: A Methodological Inquiry into reception in the History of Ideas”, *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, 4:1 [2008], 27–56); Kontler László: „Fogalmak, konfliktusok, kontextusok: a fordítás problémája és az eszmetörténet”, in Fazakas Gergely, Miru György, Velkey Ferenc (szerk.), „*Politica philosophiai okoskodás*”. *Politikai nyelvek és történeti kontextusok a középkortól a 20. századig* (Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem, 2013), 23–34 (bővebb változata: „Concepts, Contests and Contexts: Conceptual History and the Problem of Translatability”, in Michael Freeden, Willibald Steinmetz, Javier Fernández-Sebastián [szerk.], *Conceptual History in the European Space* [New York, Berghahn, 2017], 197–211). Lásd még Fania Oz-Salzberger: „The Enlightenment in Translation: Regional, Cosmopolitan and National Aspects”, *European Review of History / Revue européenne d'histoire*, 13:3 (2006), 385–410.

61 Bodrogi Ferenc Máté: *Kazinczy arca és a csiszoltság nyelve* (Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2012), 64.

62 Pl. *Tudománytár*, 3. köt. (1834), 178 (*cultivirt*), 185 (*civilized / gesittet*); *Tudománytár*, 5. köt. (1835), 92 (*polizirt*), 95 (*civilisirt* – de néhány sorral lejjebb *gebildet*). mindegyikre több további példa van. Ahol az angol kifejezést nem adom meg, annak Remer átdolgozása és bővítése az oka: nem mindig lehet azonosítani egy-egy kifejezés (mellékmondat, mondat, bekezdés) megfelelőjét Robertson eredetijében.

vára írhatjuk, hogy nyelvhasználatában bizonyos értelemben következetesebb, mint Remeré – igaz, természetesen anélkül, hogy a jelentést illetően helyreállíthatta volna Robertson szövegének következetességét. A magyar változatban található még néhány érdekes anomália, így a *Stand* (rend: sajátos jogi státussal és politikai jogokkal rendelkező társadalmi csoport) fordítása „karzat”-ként,⁶³ feltehetőleg az alsóházi küldöttek „karok és rendek”-kenti gyűjtőnevéből, bár közvetlenül és szó szerint az általuk a diétán elfoglalt hely elnevezéséből levezetve.

A *View of the Progress of Society* német, és következésképpen magyar változatában alkalmazott terminológia tehát önmagában is messzire ment Robertson materialisztikus, strukturalista és determinista megközelítésének aláásásában. Ugyanezt tovább fokozták Remer beavatkozásai a mű szerkezetébe: Robertson három hosszú fejezetét nyolc viszonylag rövidebbre darabolta, úgy, hogy közben a témák sorrendjét is megváltoztatta és tárgyalásukat jócskán kibővítette, mintegy a duplájára növelve a mű terjedelmét. Ha ez nem lett volna elég, Kis verziója az *Abriß* első négy fejezetének közlésére szorítkozott (három részletben).⁶⁴ Remer (aki elégedetlen volt Robertson azon megoldásával, hogy a főszövegben széles ecsetvonásokkal felvitt összehasonlító társadalomrajz feszségének kedvéért a mű végén elhelyezett „Proofs and Illustrations” című egységbe számúzi a narratív részeket) már az első fejezetet alaposan felduzzasztotta adatokkal és elbeszélő szakaszokkal. A továbbiakban Robertson analitikus előadását Remer adaptációjában meg-megszakítják olykor releváns és hasznos, máskor kifejezetten fárasztó és félrevivő tényközlések a kora középkori európai monarchiák eseménytörténetéből, intézményeiről, gyakorlatairól stb., miközben a skót történész elméleti és interpretációs arzenáljának számos kulcseleme elsikkad. Remer szövegében hiába keresnénk például a nyugati világ kora középkori mélypontjáról a következő, tömörségében is lényeglátó, provokatív észrevételt:

Az emberi társadalom állapota abban a korszakban a legromlottabb, amelyben az emberek már elveszítették modoruk eredeti egyszerűségét és füg-

63 Pl. *Tudománýtár*, 5. köt. (1835), 99, 100, 118, 123; *Tudománýtár*, 11. köt. (1836), 12. Egy ízben (a mű egyik legfontosabb szakaszában, mely a barbár népek inváziója és megtelepedése által okozott átalakulások mélységét jellemzi) Kis – csak hogy tovább bonyolítsa a helyzetet – a „polgári karzat” összetételt használja a *Verhältnisse* (viszonyok) visszaadására, amely ugyanakkor az egyetlen alkalom, amikor Remer ezt a kifejezést alkalmazza a *manners* helyén. *Tudománýtár*, 3. köt. (1834), 189. Vö. Robertson, *View of the Progress of Society*, 12; *Abriß*, I. 32.

64 Nem lehetünk biztosak abban, hogy Kis részéről tudatos szelekciós stratégiáról van-e szó. Saját megnyilatkozásai alapján lehetséges, hogy pusztán esetlegesség okán szorítkozott a *Tudománýtár* lapjain megjelent részekre. 1835. május 9-én Kis elárulta Toldynak, aki feltehetőleg érdeklődött a folytatást illetően, hogy „[a]’ Robertsoni Rajzolatra nézve már most semmitsem tehetek; mert látván magam is annak hosszúságát, tsak azt fordítottam le belőle a’ mit már megküldöttem, ’s már most a könyvet is, melyből fordítottam ’s mely nem enyim volt, birtokosának visszaküldöttem. Méltóztassék az Úr a’ fordításból annyit iktatni a tudománytárba, a’ mennyit jónak talál.” MTAK KIK, Kt., M. Irodalom. Levelezés. 4^{drét} 77. no. 187.

getlenségét, de még nem érték el a finomságnak azt a szintjét, amely a förtelmes bűnökhöz vezető szenvedélyek félkjeként kialakítja az illendőség és a helyes viselkedés iránti érzéket.⁶⁵

Remer úgy döntött továbbá, hogy az Európa barbárságból való, a virágzó közép-korban történt fokozatos kilábalásának tárgyalását, mely Robertsonnál az első fejezet második részében található, a későbbiekre halasztja, és a maga második, harmadik és negyedik fejezetét a „frank és a német (azaz német-római) birodalom”, valamint a spanyol és a francia monarchia „politikai alkotmányának” szenteli (amit Robertson a *View of the Progress of Society* harmadik fejezetében mutatott be).

Ezen átszervezések együttes hatásaként a Kis által a *Tudománytárban* publikált szöveg olvasói elestek attól a lehetőségtől, hogy megismerjék Robertson kulcsfontosságú nézeteit a kereskedelem civilizációs funkcióiról, melyek Európában a keresztesháborúk „szándékolatlan következményeként” kezdtek érvényesülni. Remer az *Abriß* egy későbbi szakaszában elhelyezett egy variációt erre a témára, ez a szakasz azonban már kimaradt a magyar fordításból. Az abba bekerült részekben a csiszolódás előnyei főként annak ellenpólusai (durvaság, vadság, barbárság) kritikáján és elutasításán keresztül domborodnak ki. Közvetlen és explicit dicséretük egy, az Ibér-félsziget civilizált muszlim hódítóira vonatkozó részletben található, ám annak a megjegyzésnek a kíséretében, hogy míg ezeknek a városi fényűzés iránti fogékonysága civilizáló hatást gyakorolt az elmaradottabb helyi lakosságra, egyúttal „elpuhulttá” s ezzel sebezhetővé tette őket magukat a *reconquista* csapásaival szemben. „A' mesterségek' és tudományok' gyakorlásából származott csinosodás, 's annak kísérője a' fényűzés alkalmatlannabbakká tette őket a' hadakozásra.”⁶⁶ Végül érdemes megemlíteni, hogy a *History of Charles V* eredeti megjelenését a Remer általi átdolgozástól elválasztó évtizedekben a német szellemi élet fejleményei közül kiemelten fontos volt a *Volksgeist* eszméjének megfogalmazódása Herder műveiben (Újabb történetfilozófia az emberiség nevelésére, 1774; *Eszmék az emberiség történetének filozófiájáról*, 1784). Ezért aligha meglepő, hogy a társadalmi-gazdasági struktúrák viszonylagos leértékelését az emberi magatartás magyarázatának rendező elveként a Remeréhez hasonló feldolgozásokban az etnicitásra helyezett erősebb hangsúllyal kompenzálták. A Kis által Remertől átvett szövegrészek a „németek” (ti. a római birodalom provinciáit előzőnlő germán törzsek, amelyekről a későbbi európai királyságok és nemzetek erednek) *Sitten* tekintetében megfigyelhető egyöntetűségét nem a társadalmi állapotok hasonlóságának tulajdonítják, hanem annak, hogy egyazon népből (Remernél *Stammvolk*, Kislénél „törzsök”) sarjadnak.⁶⁷

65 Robertson: *History of Charles V*, I. 24.

66 *Tudománytár*, 11. köt. (1836), 47–48. Vö. Robertson: *History of Charles V*, I. 174; *Abriß*, I. 185.

67 Vö. *Abriß*, I. 74 és *Tudománytár*, 3. köt. (1834), 116.

Konklúzió

Ezen a ponton megvonhatjuk a Kis János tolmácsolásában a magyar közönségnek felkínált *View of the Progress of Society* mérlegét. Az Akadémia folyóiratában megjelent szövegbe Remer szűrőjén keresztül átszivárgó Robertson kétségkívül elkötelezett a fejlődés és a csiszoltság értékei és az általuk kijelölt társadalmi célok iránt, de az „igazínál” jobban aggasztja az erény és a nemzeti jellem romlása, mely esetleg fakadhat a progresszióból. Emellett hajlamos feladni az edinburgh-i embertudományok szocio-kulturális értelmezési keretét, s helyette az etno-nemzeti látásmódból merített érvelésre hagyatkozni. Ez persze egyáltalán nem volt inadekvát az 1830-as évek közepének Magyarországon, ahol a csinosodásként felfogott „liberalizmus” ügyének megnyerhető potenciális hívek közül sokan viseltettek fenntartásokkal a modernség e változatának bizonyos vonásai iránt. Ennek az az oka, hogy „nacionalisták” voltak, mielőtt „liberálissá” lettek volna, amennyiben úgy érezték, hogy ezek a kereskedésből, jólétből és kozmopolita érintkezésből adódó vonások fenyegetést jelentenek a nemzeti hagyományokra és jellemzőiségekre csak úgy, mint a politikai közösség e hagyományokhoz való kötődésére.

Hozzá kell tenni, hogy az efféle aggodalmak nem voltak ismeretlenek Robertson felvilágosult kortársainak körében, akár Skóciában, akár szerte Európában. Mi több, tovább kísértettek a 19. századi liberálisok körében, és kreatív megoldási javaslatokat ihlettek olyan gondolkodók részéről, mint Benjamin Constant, Alexis de Tocqueville és John Stuart Mill – akár a politikai tunyaság, a fogyasztói társadalom otrombasága, netán a „tömegtársadalom” (demokrácia) dehumanizáló hatása izgatta fel képzeletüket. Ám a hazafias odaadás aktivista változataival összefüggő értékekhez sajátos mellézköngék társultak a Habsburgok közép-európai összetett monarchiájának soknemzetiségű közegében, különösen a halmozottan sokszínű, és a nyugatiakhoz képest elmaradott magyarországi és erdélyi provinciákban. A fejletlen helyi nyelvek művelése és alkalmassá tétele (egyebek közt a mérvadó nyugati művek színvonalas fordításaival) arra, hogy a legfrissebb tudományos, művészeti, technikai, irodalmi stb. vívmányokról folytatott értelmes eszmecsere médiumává váljanak, e régióban a felvilágosult jobbítás nélkülözhetetlen eszközeként tűnt fel. A nyelv előtérbe kerülése azonban magában hordozta azt a lehetőséget, amelynek beváltása visszatekintve szinte elkerülhetetlennek látszik: hogy a jobbítás folyamatát kitérítse olyan öncélú irányba, amelyben a nyelv először az identitás, rövidesen pedig egy, a beszélői által meghatározott terület elsődleges jelölőjévé válik – így az etnikai szuverenitás szorgalmazásának eszközévé. Ennek baljós implikációi voltak egy olyan régióban, amelynek etnikai-nyelvi térképe tucatnyi, földrajzilag a kibogozhatatlanságig egymásba fonódó kisebb-nagyobb csoport együttese volt, amelyek közül egyik sem bírt abszolút többséggel. Ez a status quo kedvezett a nemzetről alkotott féltékeny és introvertált felfogás kialakulásának és ápolásának, és táplálta a gyanakvást a kereskedés útján történő fejlődéssel kapcsolatban, mint ami alááshatja a politikai osztály és ősi intézményei integritása iránti éberséget. A „csinosodás” hívei ezért célszerűen cselekedtek, ha óvatosan („fontolva”), lépésről lépésre haladva munkálkodtak azon, hogy ezen osztály kritikus tömegét inspirálják, megnyerjék, összekovácsolják

és mozgósítsák a felvilágosult jobbítás céljaira. A progresszív szövegekben megfogalmazott üzenetek e komplex művelet eszközét alkották, s a „fontolás” e téren abból állt, hogy az üzeneteket az archaikusabb, az ősi alkotmányosság és a republikanizmus politikai nyelvein kifejezett, valamint újabb keletű, de ezekkel könnyen harmonizálható, az etnicitás köré rendezett gondolkodási formák iránti gesztusokkal itatták át. Szándékosan vagy sem, a robertsoni *View of the Progress of Society*nek a *Tudománytár* olvasói számára hozzáférhetővé tett változata – köszönhetően a válogatás tematikai fókuszának, valamint annak, hogy a német áültetést vette alapul, annak fordítói korlátaival és döntéseivel együtt – harmonikusan simult a korabeli magyar szellemi és politikai élet egy olyan, igen fontos szegmensének preferenciáihoz, amelyet még meg kellett hódítani a csiszolt-ságként felfogott „liberalizmus” ügyének számára.

Az amerikai függetlenségi háború és John Adams tevékenységének hollandiai visszhangja

A Holland Egyesült Tartományok Franciaország után a világon másodikként 1782-ben ismerte el az Amerikai Egyesült Államok függetlenségét. Ekkor került sor a két állam között a hivatalos kapcsolatfelvételre. Az amerikai gyarmatok és Hollandia együttműködése azonban már jóval korábban kezdődött, elsősorban a kereskedelem révén, mely a függetlenségi háború alatt még inkább megélénkült. A hollandokat több egyezmény is kötötte Nagy-Britanniához,¹ ezért a hágai kormány az összecsapások kezdetekor semlegességet deklarált és megtiltotta a hadianyagok szállítását.² A franciákon kívül mégis nagyrészt a holland kereskedők és hajózási vállalkozók szervezték meg és bonyolították le az amerikai hadsereg hajózási és hadifelszerelésekkel történő ellátását.³

A holland segítség súlyos következményekkel járt az évszázados múltra visszatekintő holland-angol barátságra nézve, s végül szakításhoz vezetett. 1780. december 20-án Nagy-Britannia hadat üzent a Holland Egyesült Tartományoknak.⁴ A negyedik angol-holland háború kitörése idején az amerikai Kongresszus hivatalos megbízottjaként már az Egyesült Tartományokban tárgyalt John Adams. Több mint egy év alatt sikerült elérnie, hogy az üzleti körök után hivatalosan is fogadják az Egyesült Tartományokban, átvegyék követi megbízását, kölcsönt nyújtsanak országának, majd kereskedelmi és barátsági szerződést kössenek vele. Jelen írásban először röviden áttekintem az ehhez vezető utat, majd pedig tevékenységének visszhangját értékelve megpróbálok azokra a kérdésekre is választ adni, hogyan vélekedtek a hollandok a függetlenségi háborúról, mit tudtak Amerikáról, s milyen hatással voltak rájuk az események.

- 1 A 17. század második felében a két ország több szerződést is kötött egymással. Ezek közül a harmadik angol-holland háborút lezáró 1674-es westminsteri béke és az azt követő 1678-as védelmi szövetség új alapokra helyezte az egykori riválisok viszonyát. Az 1674-es béke egyik záradéka szerint háború idején bármelyik félnek jogában állt árut szállítani a másik ország ellenségeinek is, meghatározott hadianyagok kivételével.
- 2 Barbara W. Tuchman: *The First Salute* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 9. *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken* (a továbbiakban *Jaarboeken*) 1775, 196–199, 226.
- 3 A kereskedelem lebonyolításában fontos szerep jutott mind átrakási helyként, mind raktárként egy apró karib-tengeri szigetnek, St. Eustatiusnak. A sziget jelentőségéről és a holland-amerikai viszonyról lásd: Kökény Andrea: „Az első tisztelgés. St. Eustatius és a holland-amerikai kapcsolatok kezdetei,” in Fervagner Péter Ákos és Kalmár Zoltán, szerk., *Távolabbra tekintve. Tanulmányok J. Nagy László 65. születésnapjára* (Szeged: UNIV Kiadó, 2010), 81–95. Wayne Te Brake, „The Dutch Republic and the Creation of the United States,” in Hans Krabbendam and Cornelis Van Minnen and Giles Scott-Smith, szerk., *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609–2009* (Middelburg: SUNY Press, 2009), 206. Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1096–1097. Tuchman, 18–22.
- 4 Tuchman, 90–93. Friedrich Edler, *The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1911), 190, *Jaarboeken*, 1780, 909–923.

John Adams 1780. augusztus 14-én érkezett meg Amszterdamba, s egy hónappal később, szeptember 19-én kapta kézhez a Kongresszus júniusi megbízását arról, hogy tárgyalásokat kezdjen az Egyesült Államoknak nyújtandó kölcsönökről.⁵ Az amerikai Kongresszus eredetileg Henry Laurenst nevezte ki teljhatalmú követté a holland rendi gyűléshez még 1779. november 1-jén. Ő azonban késlekedett, s csak 1780 augusztusában indult útnak. 1780. szeptember 3-án azonban hajója brit fogságba esett. Az angolok ráadásul megtalálták nála azt a titkos szerződést, melyet 1778-ban Amszterdam városa kötött az amerikaiak egyik megbízottjával az együttműködésről.⁶ Az ügy felháborodást keltett Nagy-Britanniában. Bármennyire is erős volt még Hollandiában az angol párt, a fenyegető hangvételű brit ultimátumokra csak egyféleképpen reagálhattak. 1780. november 20-án az Egyesült Tartományok csatlakozott a II. Katalin által létrehozott Fegyveres Semlegesség Ligájához, melynek legfőbb célja a semleges országok védelme volt a brit flotta atrocitásaival szemben.⁷ Erre válaszul 1780. december 20-án Nagy-Britannia hadat üzent a Holland Egyesült Tartományoknak.⁸

A negyedik angol-holland háború kitörését követően, 1781. január 1-jén a Kongresszus John Adamst nevezte ki az Egyesült Államok hivatalos követévé. Megbízását március elején kapta kézhez.⁹ Március 8-án memorandumot intézett a holland rendi gyűléshez, melyben szabad, de védett tengeri hajózást javasolt, vagyis az Egyesült Államok belépését a Fegyveres Semlegesség Ligájába, valamint a holland kikötők megnyitását az amerikai hajók előtt.¹⁰ Erre mindössze három Holland tartományban lévő város válaszolt pozitívan, de ők sem hivatalosan.¹¹

A hivatalos körök, köztük a helytartó, V. Vilmos továbbra is elleneztek a lázadó gyarmatokkal történő kapcsolatfelvételt, s országszerte felélénkült a vita és az esélylatolgatás a várható előnyökkel és hátrányokkal kapcsolatban. Sokan példaként hozták fel a németalföldi szabadságharcot, s a párhuzamokra hivatkozva az Egyesült Államok mellett emeltek szót, mások féltek attól, hogy a segítség tovább provokálja Nagy-Britanniát, s így megnehezíti a háború lezárását. A vitákból azonban az is kiderült, hogy nem csupán a külpolitikai eseményekkel összefüggő döntés volt a tét, hanem a helytartó befolyásának csökkentése, a régi, elavult kormányzati rendszer és tartományi széttagoeltság

5 Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt, *The Dutch Republic and American Independence* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1982), 108. *Jaarboeken*, 1781, 156.

6 Tuchman, 90–91. *Jaarboeken*, 1781, 156.

7 Tuchman, 92. Frederik Willem Van Wijk, *De Republiek en Amerika 1776 tot 1782* (Leiden: N. V. Boekhandel and Drukkerij Vorheen A. J. Brill, 1921), 63. Israel, 1095. Magyarics Tamás: *Az Egyesült Államok külpolitikájának története. Mítosz és valóság: érdekek és értékek* (Budapest, 2014), 24.

8 Edler, 190. *Jaarboeken*, 1780, 909–923.

9 John Adams 1781. március 1-jei levele Bickernek. Charles Francis Adams, szerk., *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States with a Life of the Author Notes and Illustrations*, 7. köt., *Letters and State Papers 1777–1782* (a továbbiakban *The Works of John Adams*) (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1852), 372.

10 Memorandum a *Staten Generaal*hoz. *The Works of John Adams*, 373.

11 A három város Amszterdam, Dordrecht és Haarlem volt. Nordholt, 159.

megreformálása is. Mindez az ún. patrióta mozgalom kialakulásához és megélénküléséhez vezetett. Az oranzsisták ellentáborának növekedése hatással volt John Adams küldetésére is.

1781 őszére a holland-amerikai hivatalos kapcsolatfelvétel egyre nagyobb támogatásra talált. Friesland tartomány azt az utasítást adta képviselőjének, hogy lépjen fel a rendi gyűlésben John Adams követként való elismertetésének érdekében.¹² Ezt követően pedig előbb Holland tartomány, majd a többi tartomány városai is petíciókkal fordultak a rendekhez, melyekben Adams követi megbízásának és az Egyesült Államok függetlenségének elismerését kérték.¹³ 1782 áprilisának első heteiben a tartományi gyűlések sorra Adams elismerése mellett döntöttek.¹⁴ A vitákban újra és újra előkerültek a kapcsolattól várható előnyök és hátrányok, de egyre nagyobb súllyal esett latba a kereskedelmi együttműködéstől remélhető haszon is. S bár az angolok azon igyekeztek, hogy különbékét kössenek az Egyesült Tartományokkal, a Rendeket nem lehetett már befolyásolni. 1782. április 19-én a *Staten Generaal* határozatot hozott, melyben John Adamst az Amerikai Egyesült Államok követeként ismerte el.¹⁵ Április 22-én fogadta a helytartó, V. Vilmos, másnap pedig átadta a kereskedelmi és barátsági szerződésről szóló javaslatot a rendi gyűlésnek.¹⁶ A testület kijelölte tárgyalópartnereit és elküldött egy-egy példányt a szerződéstervezetből a tartományokba.

Adamsnek sikerült előre lépnie a kölcsön ügyében is. Májusban megállapodást kötött három amszterdami bankházzal arról, hogy öt millió guldent bocsátanak az Egyesült Államok rendelkezésére öt százalékos kamatra.¹⁷ Kormányá nevében Adams írta alá a kötelezvényeket, melyekből szeptember végére gyűlt össze másfél millió gulden.¹⁸ A nyarat ennek intézésével, illetve az egyezményről folytatott tárgyalásokkal töltötte. A holland döntési mechanizmus nehézkessége miatt csak augusztus végére érkeztek vissza a vélemények a tartományokból. Ezután a Rendek felállítottak egy bizottságot, mely szeptemberben egyeztetette Adams-szel a szerződés szövegét.¹⁹ A végleges dokumentum aláírására 1782. október 7-én került sor. Az amerikai Kongresszus 1783. január 23-án, a holland rendi gyűlés májusban ratifikálta az egyezményt, melyet június 23-án cseréltek

12 *Jaarboeken*, 1782, 396–397.

13 Haarlem, Leiden és Rotterdam 1782. március 18-án, Amszterdam március 19-én küldött petíciót a *Staten Generaal*hoz. *Jaarboeken*, 1782, 278–299, 300–308, 313–319, 334–336.

14 Holland tartomány 1782. március 29-én, Zeeland április 4-én, Overijsszel április 5-én, Utrecht április 10-én, Gelderland április 17-én határozott Adams elismeréséről. *Jaarboeken*, 1782, 286–287, 511–512, 616–617, 516–518, 433–434.

15 *Jaarboeken*, 1782, 456–459.

16 Adams 1782. április 23-i levelében számolt be ezekről Livingstonnak, s azt is tudatta vele, hogy a francia követ fogadást rendezett a diplomatáknak az Egyesült Államok tiszteletére, melyen bemutatta őt a hágai követeknek. *The Works of John Adams*, 572–575.

17 A szerződést szeptemberben ratifikálta az amerikai Kongresszus. John Adams 1782. szeptember 29-i levele La Fayette-nek. *The Works of John Adams*, 642.

18 A teljes összeg 1786-ra gyűlt össze, melyet 1797-re fizetett vissza az Egyesült Államok. Edler, 215.

19 John Adams szeptember 29-i levele La Fayette-nek. *The Works of John Adams*, 642.

ki a két állam között.²⁰ A megállapodás huszonkilenc cikkelyt tartalmazott, melyből huszonegy megegyezett Adams Kongresszustól kapott megbízásának pontjaival.²¹

Az amerikai függetlenségi háború és John Adams tevékenységének hollandiai visszhangja

Amikor John Adams megérkezett Hollandiába, Hágában zárt ajtókat talált, az amszterdamiak viszont készek voltak fogadni. Itt is elég kevés embernek volt azonban reális ismerete arról, valójában mi történt Észak-Amerikában. A függetlenségi háború és kimenetele elsősorban az üzleti körökben keltett érdeklődést. A kíváncsiság a kereskedelmi érdekekkel járt együtt, de voltak olyanok is, akik az ügy iránti lelkesedésből próbáltak az amerikaiaknak, illetve Adamsnek segíteni. Joggal tehető fel a kérdés, milyen információval rendelkeztek a hollandok az amerikai gyarmatokkal, illetve az Egyesült Államokkal kapcsolatban. John Adams leveleiben bizonytalanság tükröződik: van, amikor kiábrándult, mert úgy érzi, az ügy, amit képvisel, senkit sem érdekel, máskor pedig lelkesen számol be a támogatóiról.

Schulte Nordholt szerint az 1770-es évek előtt a hollandok elég keveset tudtak az amerikai viszonyokról, bár valaha gyarmatuk volt ott, s a Hudson folyó völgyében használták a holland nyelvet még a 18. században is. Az 1770-es években azután ugrásszerűen megnőtt a kíváncsiság, egymás után jelentek meg a könyvek, pamfletek és az Újvilág jelentőségéről szóló franciáról hollandra fordított filozófálgatások. Ezeknek azonban kevés köze volt a valósághoz. Többek között azon korabeli véleményt próbálták meg igazolni, miszerint az amerikai kontinens természeti adottságai és éghajlati viszonyai miatt kizárt volt, hogy ott egészséges fejlődésen menjen keresztül az állat- és a növényvilág, vagy épp maga az emberi faj. Amikor azonban elkezdődött az amerikai függetlenségi háború, az események épp az ellenkezőjét bizonyították. 1775-től ezért számos írás született a brit-amerikai konfliktussal kapcsolatban is. Ezek nagyrészt pamfletek és politikai kommentárral ellátott útleírások voltak, melyek már közvetlenebb és konkrétabb információval szolgáltak és kevésbé mitikus képet festettek.²² Frederik Van Wijk össze-számolta az 1775 és 1783 közötti időből fennmaradt pamfleteket – együtödiük, szám szerint kilencvenhét szolt az amerikai eseményekről.²³

Az 1770-es évektől a holland újságok között egyfajta konkurencia harc folyt az amerikai hírekért. Talán a legfrissebb és legtöbb információt a *Leiden Gazette* közölte, melynek szerkesztője, John Luzac ügyvéd és egyetemi tanár volt. Ő már 1780 őszétől szoros kapcsolatban állt Adams-szel is, akit rendszeresen arra kért leveleiben, hogy a friss hí-

20 John Adams 1782. október 8-i levele Livingstonnak. *The Works of John Adams*, 646–648; Edler, 231.

21 *Jaarboeken*, 1782, 1161–1181.

22 Nordholt, 133–134.

23 Van Wijk, xxii.

rekről először őt tájékoztassa. Kérésére azonban gyakran válaszolta azt az amerikai diplomata, hogy szerinte Luzac sokszor több mindenről és jóval hamarabb értesült, mint ő maga.²⁴

A hollandok Amerika-képéről – a könyveken, pamfleteken és újságcikkeken kívül – azok a levelek árulnak el sokat, amelyeket a Kongresszus tagjaihoz, főleg Benjamin Franklinhez, majd Adamshez intéztek holland magánszemélyek. Közéjük tartozott Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol báró, az amerikai függetlenségi háború egyik leglelkesebb híve. Birtokai és nemesi származása révén harmincegy évesen, 1772-ben került be Overijssel tartományi gyűlésének felső házába. Konzervatív neveltetésben részesült, ugyanakkor – elsősorban angol gondolkodók művein keresztül – korán átítatódott liberális elvekkel, melyek hamarosan a helytartó ellentáborába vezették. Neve akkor került be a köztudatba, amikor 1775. december 16-án Overijssel tartomány gyűlésében élesen szembeszállt azzal a javaslattal, hogy a Hollandia területén állomásozó ún. Skót Brigádot Nagy-Britannia rendelkezésére bocsássák.²⁵

Kijelentette, hogy bármi legyen is az amerikai gyarmatok sorsa, mindig dicsőségesnek és megtiszteltetésnek fogja tekinteni, hogy nyíltan védheti ügyüket, melyet az egész emberiség ügyének tekint. A holland Köztársaság számára elengedhetetlenül szükséges, hogy megőrizze semlegességét Nagy-Britannia és gyarmatai konfliktusában. Ezért, ha az Egyesült tartományok segítséget nyújt Angliának, ugyanazt kell tenni az amerikaiak irányában is. Az angolok magatartása ráadásul nem is olyan, hogy érte érdemes lenne szakítani a köztársaság békés szomszédjával, Franciaországgal. Valamikor az Egyesült Tartományok is így harcolt függetlenségéért – érvelt Van der Capellen – ezért sem fordulhatnak a hollandok most az amerikaiak ellen, akik kivívták a világ tiszteletét és habozás nélkül megvédték jogaikat, amelyeket nem Angliától kaptak, hanem amelyek a Mindenható Istentől származnak. Van der Capellen a szabadsághoz való jogot elidegeníthetetlennek nevezte, s érvelésében egészen közel jutott azokhoz a megfogalmazásokhoz, amelyek alig félévvel később az amerikai Függetlenségi nyilatkozatban öltöttek testet. Beszéde nagy felbolydulást keltett, különösen akkor, amikor nyomtatásban is megjelentette, s Hollandia-szerte terjeszteni kezdte. Overijssel tartomány 1777. március 14-én törölte a szöveget a gyűlés jegyzőkönyvéből, arra hivatkozva, hogy az nem a megfelelő

24 John Adams 1780. szeptember 15-i levele John Luzac számára, *The Works of John Adams*, 255–256.

25 Nordholt, 26. A Holland Köztársaság területén 1648 óta állomásoztak skót katonák, skót tisztekkel az élükön, elsősorban a független állam védelmére a spanyol, majd a francia befolyással szemben. Az 1678-as angol-holland egyezmény értelmében a kölcsönös segítségnyújtás jegyében szükség esetén az angolok érdekében is bevetették őket. Az egységet többször küldték Nagy-Britanniába, például 1715-ben és 1745-ben, hogy megvédje a protestáns örökösödési jogot az elűzött II. Jakab, majd fia híveinek felkelése ellen. Az 1760–70-es évekre azonban a Brigád jelentősen megváltozott. Már mindenféle nemzetből verbuvált zsoldosok alkották, s létszáma is csökkent. Borus György: *Az angol-holland forradalom háttere* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2007), 77, 136. Tuchman, 73–74, 90.

hangnemben készült. Hamarosán semmisnek nyilvánították Van der Capellen régensi státuszát is, és kizárták a testületből.²⁶

Az Egyesült Államokban viszont számtalan barátot és csodálót szerzett. Henry Laurens, a Kongresszus akkori elnöke, William Livingston, New Jersey kormányzója, Jonathan Trumbull, Connecticut kormányzója, Benjamin Franklin, és mások levelei tanúsítottak erről.²⁷ Népszerűsége otthon, a patrióták körében is megnőtt. Egy évvel később pedig már lelkesen agitált az amerikaiaknak nyújtandó kölcsön ügyében a holland bankároknál, de még nem sok sikerrel. 1779 nyarán végre kedvező változásokat vélt felfedezni az Egyesült Tartományokban. Ekkor küldte el levelét az amerikai Kongresszusnak, melyben javaslatot tett a kapcsolatfelvételt. Arra kérte a testületet, hogy folyamatosan lássa el a hollandokat hiteles információkkal. Ő is mindent megtett az ügy támogatása érdekében, többek között részleteket jelentetett meg a vezető amerikaiakkal folytatott levelezéséből. Barátait, rokonait pedig a kölcsönökhöz való hozzájárulásra biztatta. A hivatalos körökben azonban csalódnia kellett, mivel a holland rendi gyűlés, a *Staten Generaal* meghátrált és az angolok kérésére a fegyverembargó kihirdetése mellett döntött.

A holland sajtó, amely 1780-ig sokszor csak rövid hírekben regisztrálta a történéseket, az angol-holland háború kitörése után széles teret adott az oranzsisták és a patrióták vitáinak.²⁸ A pártharcok publikálása óriási szerepet töltött be az ország politikai átalakulásában, s ez érthető módon nagyban befolyásolta az Egyesült Tartományok külpolitikáját is. Az egyik legnagyobb hatású pamflet Van der Capellen nevéhez fűződik.

*Az Egyesült Tartományok Népe*hez címzett hetvenhat oldalas írás elsősorban az Orániai-ház és V. Vilmos ellen irányuló vádirat.²⁹ Szerinte a helytartó, bár hatalmában állna cselekedni, semmit sem tesz, de arra mindig kész, hogy a nép jogait eltiporja, és szuverenitását megsértse. A régensek és az arisztokraták sem különben – ők sem vállalják a felelősséget azért, amit az országnak és a népnek el kell tennie. Van der Capellen arra szólítja fel polgártársait, hogy együttes erővel szerezze vissza jogait. Fel akarja nyitni az emberek szemét, hogy vegyék észre: a Köztársaság népét Anglia csak kihasználja, s miatta kell „megaláztatásokat elszenvedniük”.³⁰ Hiába történt sok minden a 17. század angol-holland viszályai óta, sőt került szorosabb kapcsolatba a két ország családi kötelékek és egyezmények révén, Nagy-Britannia akkor is ellenség maradt – érvel Van der Capellen. Jól mutatja ezt a negyedik angol-holland háború is. A helytartó az, aki „megakadályozza az előnyös és oly természetes kapcsolatok kiépítését Ősellenségünk Ellenségeivel, a Bourbon-házzal és Amerikával”.³¹ Összefogásra van szükség, s a sajtóban időről időre nyilvánosságra kell hozni V. Vilmos tetteit. A sajtó szabadsága a nemzet szabadságának egyetlen biztosítója, írja. Végül fegyverbe szólítja Hollandiát, hiszen most

26 Nordholt, 26.

27 Nordholt, 26.

28 Edler, 169.

29 Murk de Jong Hendrikszoön, *Joan Derk van der Capellen* (Groningen, Den Haag: J. B. Wolters, 1921) 388–437.

30 Hendrikszoön, 417.

31 Hendrikszoön, 417.

már kezébe kell vennie sorsa irányítását, amit „meg is tesz majd, éppen úgy, mint Amerika Népe, ahol egyetlen csepp vér sem folyt addig, amíg az angolok nem támadtak rá”.³²

Kétségtelen, hogy *Az Egyesült Tartományok Népéhez* a forradalmi irodalom egyik legvilágosabb és leglogikusabb érvelésű, ugyanakkor tömören és érthetően megfogalmazott darabja. Tükröződik benne a 18. század végi mentalitás és gondolkodásmód, ezért válik a demokrácia ügye nemzeti üggyé abból az eszméből kiindulva, hogy nép és nemzet egy és elválaszthatatlan fogalom. A függetlenségi háború példájának említése pedig nemcsak a patrióták számára tartalmazott programot, hanem hozzájárult a brit párt befolyásának csökkenéséhez és amerikaiak ügyének népszerűsítéséhez is. A pamfletet 1781. szeptember 25-én és 26-án eljuttatták a legfontosabb hollandiai városokba és vidékre is.³³ Visszhangja, hasonlóan Van der Capellen Overijsszel tartományi gyűlésén elhangzott korábbi beszédéhez, vegyes volt.³⁴

Van der Capellen a tartományi gyűlésből történt kizárása óta eltelt négy év alatt hivatalos fórumon nem segíthette az Egyesült Államokat, de állandó kapcsolatban állt a Kongresszus tagjaival, s Adams egyik legodaadóbb támogatója volt. Maga is hozzájárult a kölcsönhöz. Előbb huszonnégy, majd tizenkét ezer guldent adott.³⁵ Erőfeszítéseinek sikertelenségei és a lassú holland eszmélés azonban odáig juttatták, hogy egyik Adamsnek írt levelében kijelentette: „szégyellem, hogy hollandnak születtem”.³⁶

John Adams követként történő elismerése és a kereskedelmi és barátsági szerződés megkötése után azonban Van der Capellen helyzete is megváltozott. Az újságok most közzétették azokat az 1778-as leveleit, melyekben javaslatot tett az együttműködésre és sürgette a kölcsönnyújtást és a kereskedelmi kapcsolatok kiépítését.³⁷ Ünnepeket rendeztek tiszteletére, 1782. november 1-jén pedig visszakapta helyét Overijsszel tartományi gyűlésében is.³⁸

A Van der Capellen típusú lángelklű forradalmárokon kívül John Adams az üzleti körökkel alakított ki kapcsolatokat. Nem sokkal megérkezése után vállalkozókkal vacsorázott együtt. A társaságban jelen volt a neves amszterdami ügyvéd, Hendrik Calkoen is, aki számtalan kérdéssel fordult hozzá az amerikai eseményekkel és lehetőségekkel kapcsolatban. Mivel azonban csak tolmács segítségével tudtak beszélgetni, abban egyeztek meg, hogy Adams írásban válaszol a kérdésekre. Válaszait folytatásokban küldte el – ez

32 Hendrikszoon, 437.

33 Hendrikszoon, 388.

34 Van der Capellen nem írta alá a pamfletet, de 1781. október 26-án a *Staten Generaal* betiltotta a művet és ezer gulden jutalmat tűzött ki az író vagy a nyomdász nyomravezetőjének. Ennek ellenére még 1781-ben háromszor nyomták újra, s megjelent francia, angol és német fordításban is. 1795-ig összesen tizenöt kiadást ért meg. A kutatások csak 1966-ban bizonyították, hogy a szerző Van der Capellen volt.

35 Edler, ii. John Adams 1782. január 14-i levele Van der Capellennek. *The Works of John Adams*, 502.

36 Idézi Edler, 224.

37 *Jaarboeken*, 1781, 196–206.

38 *Jaarboeken*, 1782, 1665–1670.

vált ismeretessé *Huszonhat levél az amerikai forradalommal kapcsolatos érdekes kérdésekről* címmel.³⁹

A levelekben először a háború kirobbanásához vezető okokat vázolta fel Adams. Kiemelte az angol parlament azon törvényeit, melyek az amerikai gyarmatok iparának és kereskedelmének korlátozására, illetve a brit érdekeknek megfelelő szabályozására, adóztatására vonatkoztak. Amikor Calkoen arra kérte, bizonyítsa, hogy az Egyesült Államok ereje a háború ellenére is nőtt, Adams adatokkal szolgált a népességről, a betelepített területek nagyságáról és a termelésről. Határozottan leszögezte, hogy akkor is képesek lesznek folytatni a háborút, ha szövetségesei esetleg magára hagyják, vagy a britek blokád alá vonnák kikötőit. Utóbbi lehetőséget Calkoen vetette fel, de Adams kizártnak tartotta.

Az Egyesült Államok pénzügyi helyzetére öt kérdés vonatkozott: az adósságokra és törlesztésükre, a forgalomban lévő papírpénz mennyiségére, az állam éves bevételeire és kiadásaira, s a különböző jövedelmi forrásokra. Adams beszámolt azokról az intézkedésekről, melyeket a Kongresszus az infláció megállítása érdekében tett. Legfőbb bevételi forrásként pedig a munkaerőt és a földet jelölte meg. A kereskedelem és a vállalkozások fellendítését viszont egyelőre csak külföldi kölcsön segítségével látta megoldhatónak, ami „levenné az emberek válláról a jelenlegi túlságosan nagy terheket”⁴⁰ és stabilizálhatná az amerikai valutát, mely – lévén papírpénz – még nem volt más, mint kötelezvény, „mellyel az emberek ígéretet tettek, hogy meghatározott időn belül fizetni fognak”.⁴¹ Ehhez lett volna szükség az európai országok, köztük Hollandia segítségére is, érvelt Adams.

Az utolsó kérdéscsoport a függetlenségi háborúval, illetve annak befejezésével volt kapcsolatos. Válaszában a hadseregek létszámáról, felszereltségéről, a hadifoglyok ellátásáról, s a fogságba esett és ejtett hajókról, valamint a dezertálók számáról és a háború által okozott károkról készített összefoglalót Adams. Újra és újra hangsúlyozta, hogy bár az emberek ugyanúgy áhítoztak a békére, mint bármilyen más háború alatt tennék, ezt csak akkor hajlandók elfogadni, ha Nagy-Britannia elismeri az Amerikai Egyesült Államok függetlenségét. Addig viszont türelemmel viselik a megpróbáltatásokat, s hazafiként tűrik a helyzetet, hiszen tudják, hogy a brit uralom fennmaradása esetén megszorozódnának nehézségeik. A háborús szükség sok mindenre megtanította az amerikaiakat. A sereg és a lakosság ellátására számos új iparág indult be, nőtt a mezőgazdasági termelés, s mivel a külkereskedelem csökkent, az Egyesült Államok sokkal önállóbb és függetlenebb lett. A háború után viszont intenzív kapcsolatokra fog törekedni minden potenciális partnerrel a szabad kereskedelem elve alapján. Az egyébként is lelkes Calkoent meggyőzte John Adams érvelése, s a frissen szerzett információkat széles körben terjesztette.⁴²

39 John Adams, „Twenty-six Letters upon Interesting Subjects Respecting the Revolution in America Written in Holland, in the Year MDCCLXXX”, *The Works of John Adams*, 265–315.

40 *The Works of John Adams*, 299.

41 *The Works of John Adams*, 296.

42 Nordholt, 114, 203.

Hamarosan megjelentették az egyes amerikai államok alkotmányait is hollandul.⁴³ A függetlenségi háború egyre gyakoribb beszédtemává vált. A vélemények két nagy csoportra különíthetők el. Az egyik tábor már türelmetlenül várta a független állam megszületését, mert a kereskedelmi kapcsolatoktól a holland gazdaság fellendítését remélte. „Csak Amerika keltheti új életre kereskedelmünket és hajózásunkat, Amerika teheti újra virágzóvá műhelyeinket”,⁴⁴ írta Van der Kemp, a radikális mennonita prédikátor, aki 1781-ben dokumentumgyűjteményt adott ki Trumbull és Livingston Van der Capellen-hez írt leveleiből és az amerikaiak érdekében elhangzott beszédekből. Már korábban is állást foglalt különböző politikai kérdésekben, fellépett Van der Capellen védelmében, majd segítette *Az Egyesült Tartományok Népe*hez terjesztésében is. Az általa összeállított kötet bevezetőjében Amerikát példaként állította az egész világ elé. „Amerika taníthatja meg nekünk, hogyan állítsuk meg a Nemzeti Jellem elkorcsosodását, hogyan tartsuk féken az erkölcs romlását, hogyan akadályozzuk meg a megvesztegetést, és hogyan irtsuk ki a zsarnokság magvait és állítsuk helyre a haldokló Szabadság egészségét [...]” – írta.⁴⁵

Ettől a kissé idealizált képtől teljesen eltért a vélemények másik fő vonala, mely elsősorban az éppen létrejövő új állam méretei miatt helyezkedett szembe a létesítendő kapcsolatok tervével. Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok soha nem lesz független és fejlődő nemzet, hangoztatták sokan, mivel túl nagy és megosztott ahhoz, hogy egyetlen országot alkosson. Mások viszont azt vetették fel, hogy a fiatal állam éppen óriási mérete miatt olyan erős hatalommá válhat, mely veszélyt jelenthet a holland kereskedelemre, illetve Hollandia gyarmataira.⁴⁶

A bizonytalan latolgatások és kételkedő elméletek dacára, az Egyesült Államok a legtöbb ember számára a lehetőségek, az ígéret földjeként jelent meg a vitákban. A hollandok többségének véleményét egyre inkább az a nézet határozta meg, hogy nem szabad késlekedniük. Mi lesz, ha az amerikaiak valahogy mégis kibékülnek a britekkel? Mi történik, ha Franciaország – az Amerikával kötött egyezmény révén – kiváltságos pozíciókra tesz szert? Akárhogyan alakulnak is a dolgok, a késlekedés a holland kereskedelemnek árt.

A növekvő érdeklődés nyomán egyre többen kezdték leveleikkel ostromolni John Adamst. „Mindenki jósol valamit, és minden jóslat egy paradoxon” – írta Franklinnek.⁴⁷ A különböző érdekek és vélemények ütközése bizonyos szempontból azonban jól jött Adamsnek, hiszen így megsokszorozódott publikációs lehetőségei száma. Igyekezett is minél több – sokszor kifejezetten holland belpolitikai – kérdésben megnyilatkozni, állást foglalni, s egyben felhasználni az adott eseteket, vitákat az amerikai ügy propagálá-

43 Simon Schama, *Patriots and Liberators. Revolution in the Netherlands, 1780–1813* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 59.

44 Idézi Nordholt, 118.

45 Nordholt, 121.

46 Nordholt, 137–138.

47 John Adams 1780. augusztus 17-i levele Benjamin Franklinnek. *The Works of John Adams*, 247.

sára is. Neve azonban igazán azután vált széles körben ismertté, hogy megérkezett Hollandiába a yorktowni győzelem híre. A lapok addig szinte kizárólag az angol-holland konfliktusról számoltak be, s a haditudósításokban az amerikai függetlenségi háborúról alig esett szó. A *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken* 1780-ban például a Brit Korona és Hollandia közötti „félreértésről” írt,⁴⁸ 1781 elején pedig feladta korábbi semleges álláspontját és Nagy-Britannia mellett foglalt állást a függetlenségi harcban, miközben a kirobbant háborúért a „lázadó gyarmatokat” okolta.⁴⁹ Yorktown után azonban fordult a kocka. Igaz, különösebb kommentár nélkül, de az *Amsterdamsche Courant* 1782 januárjában már folytatásokban közölt áttekintést az amerikai eseményekről egészen 1764-ig visszamenőleg.⁵⁰ Ezután közölték az újságok John Adams második, 1782. január 9-i *Staten Generaal*-hoz intézett memorandumát, majd március folyamán mindazokat a petíciókat, melyeket a különböző városok kereskedői, iparosai és vállalkozói John Adams elismerése érdekében a Rendekhez benyújtottak.⁵¹ Mindezekből magánlevelekben is kapott legalább egy-egy példányt Adams, aki egy idő után alig győzte írni a köszönő leveleket az amerikai ügy lelkes támogatóinak.

A *Staten Generaal* április 19-i elismerő határozata után pedig végre valóban alkalom nyílt az ünneplésre. Amszterdam, Rotterdam, Vlissingen, Utrecht, Enkhuizen és más városok polgárai és gyűlései köszönőleveleket küldtek a Rendekhez John Adams elismeréséért.⁵² Ő pedig számtalan gratulációt és vacsora meghívást kapott, még V. Vilmos is fogadta egy protokoll látogatásra.⁵³

Schulte Nordholt *The Dutch Republic and American Independence* című művében egy egész fejezetet szentel az elismerés visszhangjának.⁵⁴ Két újságban lelte nyomát annak, amire valószínűleg a holland kormány tagjai sem figyeltek fel: a *Leiden Gazette* és a *Rotterdamsche Courant* kiemelte, hogy John Adams követi elismerése a lexingtoni csata hetedik évfordulóján történt.⁵⁵

Különböző köszöntő versek születtek, tűzijátékokat, banketteket, nagy ünnepségeket rendeztek Amszterdamban, Hágában, s az ország más városaiban is. Többen terveket szőttek, hogy elmennek az amerikai kontinensre harcolni, vagy éppen szerencsét próbálni, de végül mégsem sokan keltek útra. Az „AMERIKA” szó továbbra is olyasvalamit szimbolizált, amit az emberek nem ismertek igazán. Meglehetősen romantikus Amerika-kép csillant fel megint: az Óvilággal a megrontatlan nyugati féltekét állították szembe, s a kereskedelemből nyerhető haszonról fantáziálgattak. Amerika álom maradt, mely az üzleti körök és a patrióták lelkes reményeit testesítette meg.

48 *Jaarboeken*, 1780, 438–439.

49 *Jaarboeken*, 1781, Voorrede.

50 *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 1783. január 3., 10.

51 *Jaarboeken*, 1782, 27, 278–299, 300–308, 313–319, 334–336.

52 *Jaarboeken*, 1782, 505–508, 509–516, 597–603.

53 1782. április 22-i levelében számolt be erről Livingstonnak. *The Works of John Adams*, 571.

54 Nordholt, 214–226.

55 Nordholt, 217.

Adams is örömmel és emelkedett hangon számolt be sikeréről. Végre eljött az ő ideje.⁵⁶ Az amerikai Kongresszus titkos ügynöke, Dumas segítségével még februárban házat vett Hágában, ahová május elején költözött be.⁵⁷ Ez lett az első amerikai nagykövetség a világon. Bár Adams puritán volt, a berendezés gazdag, hiszen az új nemzet képviselőjét reprezentálta. Hamarosan megkötötte a megállapodást a kölcsönről, majd a kereskedelmi és barátsági szerződést, s ezzel sikere teljessé vált. Mindkét dokumentumot közölte a holland sajtó,⁵⁸ s akárcsak követi elismerése után, most is megjelentek a fiatal állam szimbólumai nyomtatásban és medálokon egyaránt. Általában egy gyönyörű fiatal nő vagy egy meztelen indián fiú szimbolizálta az Egyesült Államokat, s mindkettőjük fején tolldisz volt. Jellegzetes azonban az az ábrázolás is, melyen a nemzet színeibe öltözött asszony jelenítette meg a független országot, aki fegyvereken és kereskedőbálákon ült s kezében tizenhárom nyilat tartott. Leewardenben – Friesland tartomány engedélyével pályázatot írtak ki „Mr. Adams az Észak-Amerikai Egyesült Államok követeként való fogadásának és az Angliával kötendő különbéke elutasításának” medálron történő megörökítésére. A medál egyik oldalán egy jellegzetes népviseletbe öltözött fríz állt, s egyik kezét az Amerikát szimbolizáló nő felé nyújtotta, másikkal viszont elutasította a béketervet tartó angolt, mert időben észrevette a fűben rejtőző kígyót. Friesland képviselői, Adams, a Kongresszus tagjai, a francia követ, s a vezető patrióták, Amszterdam polgármestere, Van der Capellen és Dumas is kapott egy-egy medált.⁵⁹

Annak azonban, hogy az emberi képzelőerő nem ismert határt talán az a desszert a legjobb példája, melyet 1783. április 26-án szolgáltak fel egy bálon, melyet Van der Capellen tiszteletére rendeztek Amszterdamban. Többek között a szabadság temploma, a szabad tenger, a letűnt zsarnokság és az Egyesült Államokhoz fűző kötelék megformálására vállalkoztak a cukrászok. Utóbbit így írta le a *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken*. „Az oroszlánbőrbe öltözött észak-amerikai Asszony baljában Hercules buzogányával, fenséggel tiporja el a törött karddal előtte fekvő, de még mindig fenyegető koronás férfit, miközben jobb kezét egy oltár fölött – melyen a Függetlenség nyugszik – a holland Asszonynak nyújtja [...] Mögöttük egy pálmafa áll, melyen a két Köztársaság zászlaja van összekötve ezekkel a szavakkal: „Indissolubilia vincula jungo”, vagyis: Eltérphetetlen kötélekkel egyesítem őket”.⁶⁰

* * *

John Adams sikerét hónapokon keresztül ünnepelték Hollandiában és az Amerikai Egyesült Államokban is. Az ünnepi kötet egyik szerzőjeként bizonyos vagyok abban,

56 Amikor eljött az idő, Adams készen állt a diplomataszerepre. Fogadásokon és vacsorákon vett részt, festmény készült róla. Külön „tanár” foglalkozott vele, hogy elsajátítsa a francia etikettet. Feleségének, Abigailnek nagy lelkesedéssel számolt be helyzetének átalakulásáról. Nordholt, 242.

57 *Jaarboeken*, 1782, 319.

58 *Jaarboeken*, 1161–1181.

59 Schama, 61.

60 Nordholt, 223–225.

Kökény Andrea

hogy kollégák, tanítványok és barátok hosszú sora fogja köszönteni Frank Tibort is születésnapja alkalmából. Megtiszteltetés számomra, hogy köztük lehetek.

Boldog születésnapot kívánok!

Hartelijk gefeliciteerd!

Americanization and Immigrant Education

Mrs. Helen Horvath's Dual Role in the Americanization and Identity Maintenance of Hungarian Immigrants in Cleveland: A Unique Model

Introduction¹

This study focuses on the life and activity of Mrs. Helen Horvath's connection with the Americanization program that transformed millions of immigrants and their life. Although she was recognized by her contemporaries and registered by information sources, neither the Hungarian, nor the American immigration history did serious research on her role in the social history of Cleveland, and even on a wider scale on her educational method as a successful working model of Americanization for the benefit of the immigrants and Americans as well.



Mrs. Helen Horvath
(1872–1943)

Who Was Mrs. Helen Horvath?

She was a well-known personality of the Hungarian community in Cleveland in the first four decades of the 20th century. She was a devoted educator, an open-minded social activist, and a great organizer. As an English teacher she provided helping hand for immigrants while integrating into American society, but she believed that the immigrants must not forget the value of their original culture. She was such a central figure of the Hungarian community of Cleveland that even István Eszterhás, writer and journalist of Cleveland, immortalized her figure and activity in his documentary novel of the Hungarian immigrant community of the city titled *Amerikai magyar regény*.² She arrived from Szeged as a Hungarian immigrant in the United States in 1897. She was a young woman following her husband, Ferenc Horváth, who had started business in Cleveland. She was born as Ilona Zalaváry in 1872. On arrival she was one of the thousands of immigrants who faced the same experiences, but she was among those few who gave a special and unique response: an educational program for adult immigrants.³

1 A short version of this paper was presented at HAAS 10, May 30–31, 2014, Budapest.

2 István Eszterhás, *Amerikai magyar regény* (Cleveland: Eszterhás I., c1989), 614–646.

3 The biographical information on Mrs. Helen Horvath is based on the following sources: "Horvath, Mrs. Helen," in *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press and CWRU, c1987), <https://case.edu/ech/articles/h/horvath-helen/>, accessed August 29, 2017; "Horváth Ferencné, szül. Zalaváry Ilona," in Kálmán Káldor, ed., *Magyar Amerika írásban és képen: amerikai magyar úttörők és vezető férfiak arcképes életrajza, magyar*

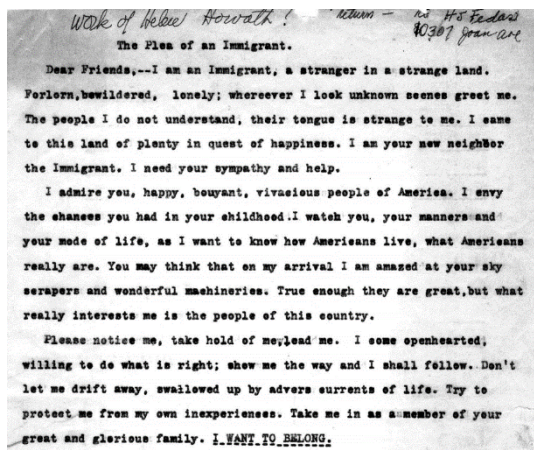
Aspects of Americanization

Although the Americanization of immigrants is a well-known area of American Studies, to understand the value of Mrs. Helen Horvath's choices and role in connection with Americanization, let us have a short overview of some aspects of the Americanization programs of her time.

The Americanization of immigrants meant changing home and culture, breaking borders of all fields of life; it was a painful, demanding, though often liberating process, full of challenges, but many times with severe consequences. The task was to convince the newcomers of all these changes and at the same time save their integrity. How? That was the question. This had been debated for decades since the problems of immigration were recognized by the American society. By the end of the 19th century it seemed it needed some control. The Federal Government kept the flow of immigration under control by rules, statistics, reports, and later restriction laws. The integration and acculturation of the foreigners, however, was a different issue. It was recognized that the assimilation of the newcomers did not proceed as it was expected to during the 19th century. To deal with the problem hundreds of civil organizations, leagues, associations, committees were born to represent the different views concerning assimilation. John

Higham's *Strangers in the Land*, one of the best books in the field, offers a broad overview about them.⁴

Because of the growing worries of the society by the 1910s, and especially in the times of the two World Wars, different movements emerged. There were two main types: (1) On the one hand, conservative programs expected the Federal Government to force Americanization by introducing patriotic education, rules and laws of Americanization. (2) On the other hand, democratic, tolerant groups had an entirely different approach. They did not force the immigrant to change. They rather



Mrs. Helen Horvath, "The Plea of an Immigrant"

egyházak, egyletek, közintézmények története és működése 1 (St. Louis, Hungarian Publ. Co., 1937), 47; Papp, Susan M.: *Hungarian Americans and Their Communities of Cleveland*, in *Ethnic Heritage Studies* (Cleveland: Cleveland State University, 1981), 214–218; Becker, Thea Gallo, *Legendary Local of Cleveland* (Mount Pleasant, NC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.), 34, <https://goo.gl/eMFjuA>, accessed July 4, 2017; "Mrs. Helen Horvath" [Obituary] in *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (July 17, 1943).

⁴ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism: 1860–1925* (New York, Athenaeum, 1973).

wanted to serve the immigrant's needs⁵ and to help them to integrate by getting acquainted with the American way of life, and they wanted to assist their mutual understanding.⁶

In most theories, the education got special attention among the many Americanization factors of the immigrant's daily activities in the workplace, the neighborhood, the American institutions, the streets, the press, social events, etc. A good selection of studies on the history and contents of these educational programs was published in a volume by Oscar Handlin and others, as edited by Bernard J. Weiss, under the title *American Education and the European Immigrant*.⁷

The formal education was considered the best means to Americanize the immigrants from the early 1900s. At that time the ethnic culture did not represent value, moreover, during the war years the cultural diversity was considered dangerous to national security. In this period the public schools strived to erase all the features of ethnic culture, such as the ethnic name, language, costumes, habits, i.e., all the formal signs of dissimilarity, however, not much attention was paid to convincing and assisting the immigrant to follow these changes with sympathy and understanding.⁸

The adult immigrant education was started by the public schools during the First World War. Evening courses for English language and citizenship were organized in great numbers by the schools. The Bureau of Naturalization tried to convince as many school authorities of voluntary cooperation as they could. Besides the public schools, hundreds of additional Americanization programs were also sponsored by communities, unions, businesses, the industry, religious, civic and other organizations. Although the statistics are not complete, they give an idea about the measures of this crusade. For example, during the 1921 fiscal year, 154,384 immigrants registered for these courses in 3,526 cities and towns in 6,171 classes. Altogether, in the period between 1914 and 1925, they estimated the number of registrations at 1 million. In spite of the high statistical data the researchers question the results and success of this system of adult education of immigrants. Already the contemporaries had their critics because of the content and the methods. For example, the number of registrations was high, but a high proportion quit the courses; the methods for children were not adjusted to grown-ups; the knowledge conveyed did not match the immigrants' needs, and many of the teachers were untrained. Critics also missed the federal coordinating center of all these educational programs. Among many others two agencies, the National Americanization Committee and the Bureau of Naturalization made attempts to take the central role at the national level, but finally no federal law was accepted to support this centralization and

5 Ilona Kovács, *Az amerikai közkönyvtárak magyar gyűjteményeinek szerepe az asszimiláció és az identitás megőrzésének kettős folyamatában: 1890–1940* (Budapest: OSZK, 1997).

6 Higham, 234–263; John Daniels, *Via the Neighborhood* (New York, London: Harper, 1920).

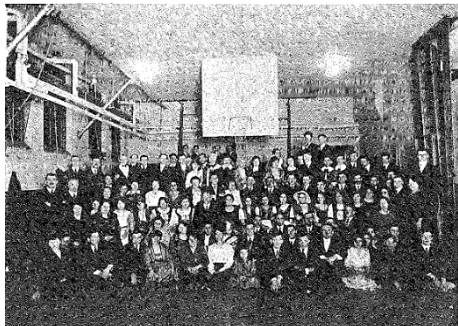
7 Bernard J. Weiss, ed., *American Education and the European Immigrant: 1840–1940* (Urbana, Chicago, London: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1982).

8 Higham, Strangers, 235; Yolan Varga, *Children of Ellis Island* (New Brunswick, NJ: I.H. Printing, c1988), 142–145.

to force Americanization. In fact Americanization was organized at the state level and by local organizations.⁹ "By 1921 more than thirty states had Americanization laws, as did hundreds of cities and towns."¹⁰ They represented different types and had different standards.

Americanization in Ohio State and in the City of Cleveland

What was it like in Ohio State and in Cleveland where Mrs. Helen Horvath was active? At the state level one of the first was Ohio, and among the cities, Cleveland as an industrial



*Mrs. Helen Horvath's
Hungarian Students in 1910*

center to face the task of Americanization because of its rapidly changing population. Among the US cities, the second largest Hungarian community lived in Cleveland.¹¹ The Americanization Committee of Ohio was created following the time of anti-immigrant hysteria during the First World War. Their goal was "to promote American values and the teaching of the English language to immigrants who wanted to become American citizens."¹²

The Committee was prepared to deal with problems. Their information publication had the subtitle "Constructive Program for Communities Having a Foreign Problem."¹³ They were friendly toward the immigrant, but openly expressed their expectations while explaining what Americanization was:

Americanization is the bringing together of the old and new America. It is the interpretation of America to the foreign born and the interpretation of the foreign-born to America. [...] We Americans honestly welcome you to the opportunities that a free land can offer. [...] I want to make you feel at home here with us, I shall give you the chance to learn our language, I shall give you the opportunity becoming an American citizen, I shall assist you to know a wider group than your own nationality. [...] Let us understand each other. Let us get together.

9 McClymer, "The Americanization Movement and the Education of the Foreign-born Adult 1911–25," in Weiss, 99–106.

10 McClymer, "The Americanization," 98.

11 Julianna Puskás, *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban: 1880–1940* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982), 494–495; Julianna Puskás "The Magyars in Cleveland: 1880–1930" in *Identity, Conflict and Cooperation*, ed. by David C. Hammack et al. (Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 2002), 135–184.

12 Ohio History Central. On-line database, <https://goo.gl/Hw8iKW>, accessed July 4, 2017.

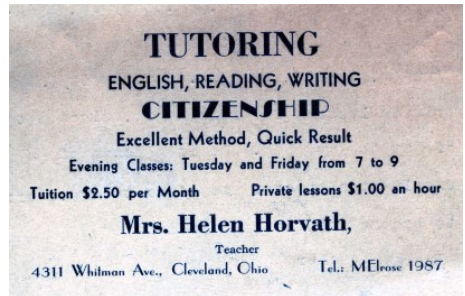
13 *Americanization in Ohio: A Constructive Program for Communities Having a Foreign Problem* (Columbus, OH: Americanization Committee of Ohio, 1920).

In exchange, the committee expected willingness to participate on the part of the immigrant.¹⁴ To accomplish this cooperation, Americans were also expected to make efforts. The committee suggested “every city of Ohio” apply their recommendations “in a practical program of Americanization.”¹⁵ They gave detailed recommendations for the task and listed and explained how the specific institutions and organizations of Ohio could contribute to successful Americanization. The list of the organizations included almost all types of agencies from the Board of Education, Chamber of Commerce, industries, social, civic, patriotic organizations, libraries, churches, the teachers of the day schools, to Americans, and immigrants themselves.¹⁶

In Cleveland, at the city level the first organization which provided some solution to the problems of immigration was founded as early as in 1911 under the name of the *Immigration League*. In 1912, the *City Immigration Bureau* began its work. The formation of the *Cleveland Americanization Committee* evolving from these earlier organizations took place in 1917, soon after the USA declared war upon Germany.¹⁷ Of course the goal of *Americanization in Cleveland* was assimilation of the immigrant as well, but their definition of Americanization showed more interest and empathy toward the immigrant values. “We feel that the best type of Americanization is a fair recognition that every ‘foreigner’ who comes to us brings something which can make America a richer and a better place. If we wish him to respect us we must respect him. [...] Hence the beginning of Americanization is a recognition by Americans of the value of the newcomer.”¹⁸



Mrs. Helen Horvath with one of the many classes she led for Hungarians, 1919



Advertisement of Mrs. Helen Horvath's citizenship class

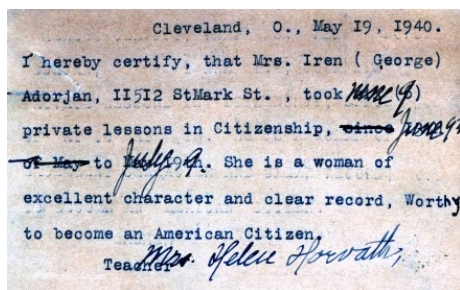
14 *Americanization in Ohio*, 7.

15 *Americanization in Ohio*, 9.

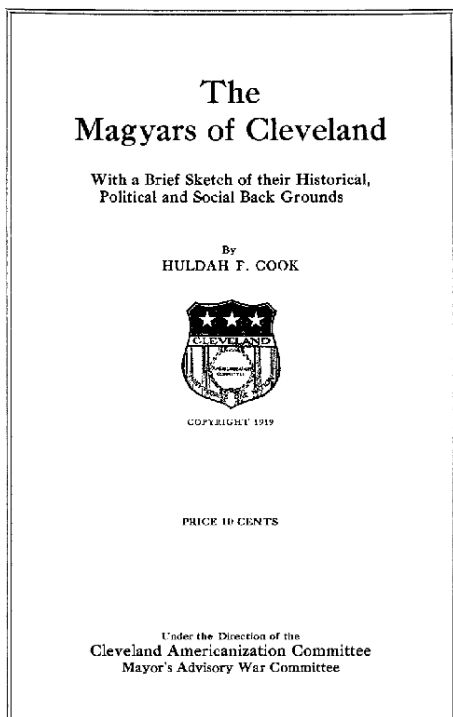
16 *Americanization in Ohio*, 3.

17 *Americanization in Cleveland: An Account of the Work which Has Been Done in Cleveland to Develop and Maintain a City Morale* (Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Americanization Committee of the Mayor's War Board, [1944]).

18 *Americanization in Cleveland*, 3.



*Certificate of Mrs. Helen Horvath's
citizenship class*



*Frontispiece of The Magyars of Cleveland
by Huldah F. Cook*

It seems the Committee took this program seriously and made a survey on the ethnic groups residing in Cleveland, among them on Hungarians as well, and these studies were published in a series of pamphlets.¹⁹ The committee, however, had a definite opinion about the participation and the leadership of immigrants in the work of Americanization: "while the Committee is convinced that the most useful workers in Americanization are to be found among foreign born people, the most valuable leaders in the work are native born Americans."²⁰

They tried to reach out and find all who did not speak English and were not citizens. They estimated at least 150,000 people in Cleveland, who spoke no English. Their number could come not only from the group of first generation adults, but even from second generation children as well because there were quite many ethnic parochial schools in Cleveland, among them Hungarians. According to Zoltán Fejős's research, these schools educated hundreds of children in the first decades of the 20th century. Even though these schools had to teach English, and according to the law certain proportion of the classes were held in English, the children grew up without satisfactory knowledge of the English language.²¹

19 Huldah F. Cook, *The Magyars of Cleveland with a Brief Sketch of Their Historical, Political and Social Back Grounds* (Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Americanization Committee, 1919).

20 *Americanization in Cleveland*, 4.

21 Zoltán Fejős, "Az anyanyelvi oktatástól az etnikus kultúra átörökléséig: magyar iskolaügy Amerikában 1890 és 1940 között," in *Magyarságtudomány* (Budapest: Magyarságtudományi Intézet, 1990–91), 7–39.

Mrs. Helen Horvath's Role in the Immigrant Education and Americanization Program of Cleveland: The Teacher and Her Method or Philosophy

Mrs. Helen Horvath was about 25 when she arrived in Cleveland, young but mature and talented enough to recognize both the disadvantages and the challenges of the immigrant life. At the very beginning of her life in Cleveland, like many other immigrants, she suffered humiliation because of her accent. As the *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* summarizes, "she was politicized by an incident in a store where a clerk mocked her accent."²²



Mrs. Helen Horvath with her students, Cleveland Plain Dealer (June 30, 1929)

This incident determined all her future. Even 33 years later, she called back memories of her painful experiences as her main motivation for her future plans. A manuscript of hers survived entitled "Immigrants' Plea." It is a true statement of her ideals on the mutual relationship of immigrants and Americans, expecting responsibility on both sides in combating intolerance of established Americans toward the newcomers. She fought not by creating new conflicts and deepening the gap between old and new Americans, but by offering solutions by means of education.

To avoid new humiliations she invested four years of studies in learning proper English. Besides correct English, she gained self-confidence as well. She felt an urge to share all these experiences with other Hungarians. While looking for language schools, she experienced that almost no evening schools existed for grown-up immigrants. To fill the gap she established one. As early as 1901 she opened her private English language

²² "Horvath, Mrs. Helen" in *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, <https://case.edu/ech/articles/h/horvath-helen/>, accessed August 29, 2017.

school in the Merrell Hall²³ first for Hungarians, then for immigrants in general. Note the foundation date comparing to the initiation of the Americanization program in Cleveland in 1911 or by Ohio State in 1917. Her school was a forerunner of the state and city Americanization programs. Susan Papp, the chronicler of the history of the Cleveland Hungarian community, states that 1901 was a “landmark year in the history of adult education in Cleveland.”²⁴ The school was popular and successful.



*Mrs. Helen Horvath's
citizenship class with her students of a
play 1925*



*Mrs. Helen Horvath and the citizenship
class in front of the Carnegie Library
ready for a city tour*

What was the clue to her success? She was a pioneer not only in establishing the program, but she was also a pioneer with her approach, with her methods, with her broad interpretation of education over formal education. We know little about her teaching methods, about the material and the way she presented it in the classroom, but we know more about her talent in sharing and initiating motivation. Mrs. Helen Horvath's plus was her philosophy, which generated motivation. It seems from the sources that she made genuine effort to uplift the humiliated immigrant to become a confident partner of Americans and to enable them to take advantage of the opportunities offered by America. There is an important sentence in her manuscript that expresses her philosophy, a sentence on the immigrant's expectations: "I WANT TO BELONG." She knew the English language has a key role in this. She proved it with her own life. She presented this philosophy publicly many times and probably in the classroom to her pupils as well to motivate them, and it worked.

Learning through experience also formed part of her method. Besides language, she felt important to learn about the country and its culture as well. She arranged educational tours for her students to the capital, Washington, D.C., and later to California, Colorado, Arizona and Alaska.²⁵ In the White House the groups were welcomed by the

23 "Foreign born to do library honor: Program to show gratitude to West Branch for services," in *Cleveland Plain Dealer* CPS (March 24, 1935).

24 Papp, *Hungarian Americans*, 215.

25 "Foreign born" (March 24, 1935).

First Ladies, by Mrs. Hoover, Mrs. Coolidge and Mrs. Roosevelt. She gave the following title to her English language courses: "Speak United States." And she named the travel program "See United States." As a result of her success, she was invited by universities to share her method of teaching adult immigrants. In 1917–1919, she taught in the program of the New York Summer University.

Cooperation

For more than a decade, however, her work was a lone effort. After thirteen years, in 1914, the Cleveland Board of Education recognized her successful activity in immigrant education. They invited her with her adult education program to join the city system and to open more schools. She became the member of the newly formed Cleveland Americanization Committee.²⁶ However, according to the Committee's policy she did not get the leading role as ethnic educator but became the member of the General Committee. The cooperation had started that way.

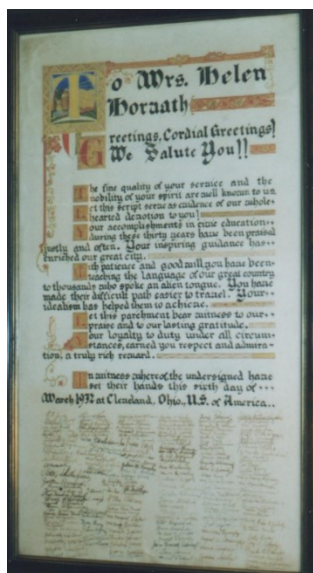
Her participation in the work of the Committee must have been an important source of information and of experience for Americans. At the same time this recognition must have meant an important response from the American society to her and motivated her to working on further common activities. Probably as the result of this cooperation she began citizenship courses and the so-called "mothers' class"²⁷ as well, because she believed the mother was the key figure in the assimilation of the family by adjusting the food and other details of the household. She introduced English lessons during the day for women to prevent their isolation. She applied again the method of teaching through experience as they performed plays on American holidays and everyday life with the students of the citizenship courses. She organized walking tours in Cleveland and explained the functions of the cultural and government buildings on the site for women.

The cooperation with the committee was based on the similarity of their concept about the relationship of the immigrants and Americans. The Committee's attempt for mutual understanding of the two matched Mrs. Helen Horvath's ideas. István Eszterhás in his documentary novel of Cleveland refers to Mrs. Helen Horvath's well-known philosophy of this mutuality when he quotes her saying: "It is not enough if we love America, it is equally important that Americans would love us."²⁸ She invested a lot of work in this program.

26 *Report of the Cleveland Americanization Committee of the Mayor's Advisory War Board, July 1917–July 1918* (Cleveland, 1918), 10, <https://goo.gl/NZbsfG>, accessed August 29, 2017.

27 CPL Archive. Carnegie West Branch Annual Report 1918; Elizabeth F. Copland: *A History of Carnegie West Branch of the Cleveland Public Library*, for the degree [...] of Master of Library Science (Cleveland, OH: Western Reserve University, School of Library Science, 1954), 20–22.

28 Eszterhás, *Amerikai*, 614. This idea returns repeatedly among the characters of the novel.



The 30th Anniversary of Mrs. Helen Horvath's school, 1931

She also worked a lot on presenting Hungarian culture to Americans partly with the help of the Hungarian community, and partly on the request of the city. Her views about the issue got more impetus and better chances when in the late 20s and 30s – with the new trends of Americanization –, the idea of pluralism initiated the program of intercultural education.²⁹ Good examples of these possibilities were the series of cultural programs called Hungarian Forum and concerts of Hungarian music with the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra in the series of Nations' Nights, and other events organized by her.³⁰

Over the years, however, she remained faithful to her very strong Hungarian identity. She joined several Hungarian organizations, participated in their work and programs. She served as a highly devoted activist of the Hungarian community.³¹ She had a key role in developing a large, about 9,000-volume Hungarian book collection by 1930 in the Carnegie West Branch Library of the Cleveland Public Library located in the Hungarian district. This building was opened in 1910 and became the site of her English and citizenship courses and Hungarian exhibitions, and many other Hungarian events organized by Mrs. Helen Horvath.³²

29 Nicholas V. Montalto, "Intercultural education movement, 1924–1941: the growth of tolerance as a form of intolerance," in Weiss, 142–160.

30 "Present portrait of Mrs. Horvath: pupils honor instructor of English classes at library," in *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (April 26, 1935); "Italian Band park tonight. Gordon Program to open Nationality Series," in *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (07.07.1928)

31 Rebecca Barrett, "Carnegie West Branch. P. 3. Providing a century of service to Ohio City," in *Ohio City Argus* (Fall 2011): 4.

32 "Hungarian clubs praise cultural work of library," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (November 12, 1937); Kovács, 197. With other Hungarian intellectuals Mrs. Helen Horvath urged and helped the



Carnegie West Branch Library Cleveland, 1910 the site of Mrs. Helen Horvath's activity

She built good contacts with Hungary as well. She played an important role in the relief program arranged for the benefit of Hungary. This was the time when the interest of Hungary turned toward Hungarians living abroad, scattered in the world,³³ and the World Congress of Hungarians and the World Organization of Hungarian Women, the "Pro Hungaria" was organized. Helen Horvath was among the founders for the Chapter of "Pro Hungaria" in Cleveland.³⁴ As its president she arranged countless Hungarian cultural programs and events in Hungarian and in English as well. She organized trips to Hungary for groups of American-Hungarians. Even 50 years later, her niece was enchanted to recall memories of those trips and the beauties of Hungary in an interview given to me in 1995.³⁵

Honors

Her valuable activity was honored many times by both Hungary and America as in various ways. In 1925, as the acknowledgement of her professional achievements in the area of adult education her teacher's position was confirmed by the city as lifelong government employment. The anniversaries of her school were celebrated by both Hungarians and Americans. For her role in the Hungarian relief program she got the Red Cross

librarians to develop the Hungarian collection in the Carnegie West Branch Library of the Cleveland Public Library. Hungarians appreciated this service: the circulation of these books was about 30,000 that time. The Carnegie West Branch was built and opened on May 23, 1910. There was a separate area of the library, the so-called Hungarian alcove for the collection, which existed until the 80s, until there was demand for it. Later it was withdrawn to the central Foreign Language Division of the Cleveland Public Library.

33 Dezső Halácsy, *A világ magyarságáért* (Budapest, 1944). The World Congress of Hungarians (Magyarok Világkongresszusa) was established in Budapest in 1929, and the "Pro Hungaria" World Organization of Hungarian Women for the Hungarians Abroad ("Pro Hungaria" Nők Világszövetsége a külföldi magyarságért) in 1928.

34 Halácsy, 243–246.

35 Interview with Mrs. Helen Fedas by Ilona Kovács, in 1995.

award from Hungary in 1929. However, the most beautiful appreciation she had ever received was the honor of the people. In 1935, the students of her 33-year-long career donated her portrait as a gift to the Carnegie West Branch Library to acknowledge the service and “hospitality the library extended to their classes.” The unveiling of the picture³⁶ took place in the auditorium of the library in the presence of 600 people. As it was published in the Cleveland press even the city and the Hungarian Embassy sent their messages, so this celebration became a great cultural event and a reunion of her students.³⁷ During her career she had about 8,000 students in her schools or courses that also welcomed other immigrants from all over the city.

Conclusions Represented by a Portrait

The picture had its own history. Probably around the 1980s, at the time of the withdrawal of the Hungarian collection to the central Foreign Language Department, the portrait had disappeared from the library along with Mrs. Helen Horvath from the memory of the changing population of the district. By chance, in 1995, I could locate it in a private home while making an interview with an old lady, Mrs. Helen Fedas, one time a children librarian of Hungarian origin. Just before I visited her, I learnt that she was Mrs. Helen Horvath's niece. To my surprise, upon entering her home I had faced the painting lost to the public for the first time in my life.³⁸ I was thrilled. Then I lost track of it again, but in the spring of 2014, with the help of modern telecommunication I found it in the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum.³⁹

The painting is important even for us because through visual art it adds to the facts by preserving symbols that bespeak Mrs. Helen Horvath's emotions and thoughts. The Red Cross Award on her left chest talks about her devotion to Hungary. The book in brown leather binding in her hands gained meaning for me only recently, after reading again István Eszterhás documentary novel. He mentions Mrs. Helen Horvath's passion of collecting and saving Hungarian American poetry in her brown book. It must have been so well-known that it was immortalized in this picture even by the painter. It is

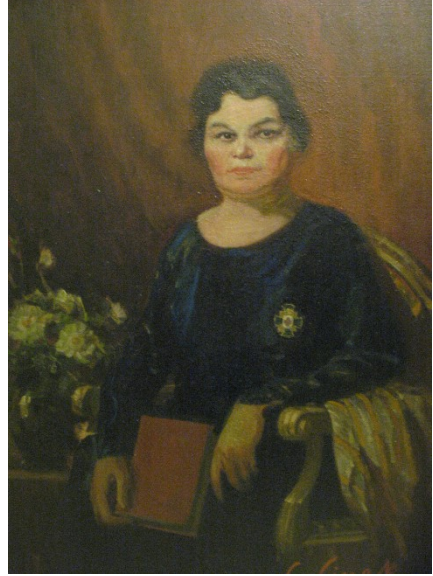
36 The portrait was painted by Louis Linek, a Hungarian immigrant artist from Szeged (Linek Lajos, Gyöngy 1859–Cleveland, 1941); *Kieselbach aukciók*, <https://goo.gl/PmvgC1>, accessed July 4, 2017; *Magyar életrajzi lexikon. Arcanum kézikönyvtár*, <https://goo.gl/ZgMvUN>, accessed July 4, 2017; *Országos Széchényi Könyvtár. Digitális Képtárház (DKA) – National Széchényi Library Digital Picture Archive*, <https://goo.gl/PRxmwV>, accessed July 4, 2017.

37 “Foreign born” (March 24, 1935); “Present portrait” (April 26, 1935).

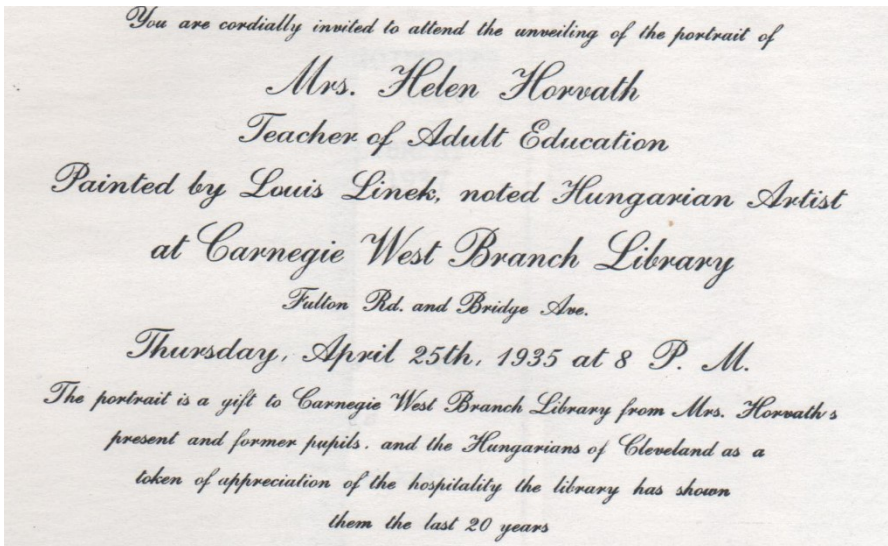
38 The painting was preserved by her family, by Mrs. Helen Fedas, Helen Horvath's niece, her adopted daughter. Mrs. Fedas was a children librarian employed by the Cleveland Public Library. She also preserved Helen Horvath's documents, photos and memorabilia. Around the 1990s the Helen Horvath's bequest was donated along with the portrait to the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum. They preserved the bequest carefully but it has not been processed yet. However, the generous staff provides services for research purposes.

39 Many thanks to Pamela J. Eyerdam (Cleveland Public Library), to Magdolna Mészáros and Mihály Bodor (Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum) for their cooperation and assistance in providing the necessary information sources for this research, and to Andrew Lázár for the photo of Helen Horvath's portrait by Louis Linek.

important because it represents her recognition of the new value born through Hungarian–American poetry, the overall value of ethnic culture and ethnic identity. Her life represented and proved these values to the community.



Left: Mrs. Helen Horvath in 1929. Right: Mrs. Helen Horvath's portrait by Louis Linek.



Invitation to the unveiling of Louis Linek's portrait of Mrs. Helen Horvath

The complexity of the ethnic (Hungarian) and American relationship during the process of Americanization is expressed well by the history of the painting. The picture honoring the Hungarian Mrs. Helen Horvath, was donated by Hungarian immigrants to the American institute, the library for its generosity in helping the work of the Hungarian teacher by providing space for her Americanization courses and for her service to Hungarians. The whole situation represents Mrs. Helen Horvath's dual role in Americanization and in the maintenance of ethnic identity. She was a devoted envoy of this duality based on mutual understanding.

Picture Credits

The reproductions of most archival documents, the painting, and photos were provided by the Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Museum from its collection from Mrs. Helen Horvath's bequest. Mrs. Helen Horvath's photo along with her biography was published by Kálmán Káldor in the volume *Magyar Amerika* he edited (St. Louis: Hungarian Publishing Company, 1937). Reproductions of publications and articles from periodicals were located in the digital sources of the Cleveland Public Library.

Metaphors for the Concept of Nation in Hungarian *

Introduction

Recently, there is heated debate in Hungary, as well as in Europe in general, about the concept of NATION. Various parties to the debate make conflicting claims about the notion. Some claim it is a bad thing, according to some others it is a good thing. Allegations of all sorts are made without first getting clear about the concept itself. What do people have in mind when they use the term? And how indeed can we find out about its content? I will suggest one way of doing this: a corpus-based metaphor analysis. The present paper intends to be an attempt to clarify the concept and take a modest first step in outlining in its most general form the content of the word *nation* in Hungarian on the basis of linguistic data from the *Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár* (Hungarian National Corpus) (<http://clara.nytud.hu/mnsz2-dev/>).

The adjective “modest” is not used here out of modesty. Instead, there are at least two factors that render this undertaking truly modest. First, since the corpus includes 90,000 example sentences that contain the word *nation*, the randomized sample of 1,000 examples I work with in the paper cannot probably be considered representative (although corpus linguistic studies typically work with 1,000–2,000 examples to study a linguistic phenomenon; see Deignan, 2005). Second, the present study focuses on metaphors only – to the exclusion of several other potential conceptual ingredients that might make up the concept. Again, there is some justification for this focus: it is that nation is an abstract concept, and as we know from the extensive literature on conceptual metaphor theory, abstract concepts are metaphorically constructed and comprehended by means of what are called “conceptual metaphors” (see Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999; Kövecses, 2002/2010).

In a nutshell, conceptual metaphors are cognitive structures that consist of two concepts: a source domain and a target domain. The source domain is typically concrete, while the target domain is typically abstract. Since we have direct perceptual experiences in connection with concrete source domains, we use them to structure abstract target domains that cannot be directly (perceptually) comprehended. This way, abstract concepts, such as that of NATION, become perceptually based and thus meaningful. The structuring occurs by means of “mappings,” or “correspondences,” between the two domains, as we will see shortly below. The resulting knowledge (conceptual content) about target domains is also enriched by “metaphorical inferences, implications, or consequences,” terms which for the present purpose are used synonymously here. They are pieces of knowledge about the source domain that speakers “carry over” to the target domain.

* Isten éltesen, Tibor! And thank you for your friendship over the years.

Hungarian metaphors for the concept of *nemzet* (nation)

Based on the more than one-billion word database of the *Hungarian National Corpus* (Oravecz, et al., 2014), the most frequently employed conceptual metaphors were identified for the concept of NATION in Hungarian in the past 25 years by using standard corpus-linguistic procedures (see, e.g., Deignan, 2005). I worked with a randomized sample of 1,000 examples containing the word *nation*. The following conceptual metaphors were found:

THE NATION IS A LIVING ORGANISM

THE NATION IS THE HUMAN BODY

THE NATION IS A PERSON

THE NATION IS A FAMILY

THE NATION IS A COMMUNITY

THE NATION IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT

THE NATION IS A BUILDING

By far the most common source domain was that of PERSON, which manifested itself in almost 400 metaphorical examples in the portion of the corpus I examined (a concordance list of 1,000 items). The least common source domain was that of BUILDING. I will discuss the seven conceptual metaphors above in the present section.

THE NATION IS A LIVING ORGANISM

This conceptual metaphor was identified in 7 examples. The examples had to do with notions of existence, development, transformation, as well as the strength and survival of the nation. These properties are equally applicable to humans, animals, and plants. In other words, the LIVING ORGANISM conceptual metaphor is a generic-level one that includes all three entities. Nevertheless, the best-known and most used version of the metaphor involves human beings.

One of the examples in the corpus reflects this construal of living organisms:

611 doc#1090 Ebben az esztétikai-kritikai írásában, amelyet az Élet és Literatura elnevezésű, saját folyóiratában közölt, ő is Herder alapján indult ki a már említett organikus fejlődéelméletből: a < nemzeteknek > van gyermek-, ifjú-, férfi- és öregkoruk. [In this esthetic-critical piece of writing, which he published in his own journal Life and Literature, like Herder, he also starts out from the already mentioned organic theory of development: < nations > have a childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and old age (my translation).]

People talk about the childhood, youth, adulthood, and old age of the nation. The metaphor is constituted by the following mappings, or correspondences, between the source domain (LIVING ORGANISM) and the target domain (NATION).

the living organism (a human being) → the nation
the life of the living organism → the life of the nation
the initial stage of the living organism → the initial stage of the nation
the early stage of the living organism → the early stage of the nation
the most fully developed stage of the living organism
→ the most fully developed stage of the nation
the final stage of the living organism → the final stage of the nation

The source domain has an important consequence in the interpretation of the target: namely, that the nation is strongest and most productive in its fully developed stage. We can represent this piece of knowledge about the nation in the form of a metaphorical inference that is carried over from the source to the target:

A human being is strongest and most productive in his or her most fully developed stage (adulthood). → The nation is strongest and most productive in its fully developed stage.

The inference gives rise to thinking about the nation as capable of being in its prime, its fully developed stage, when it is the strongest.

THE NATION IS THE HUMAN BODY

The HUMAN BODY source domain was realized in linguistic usage 19 times in the corpus in relation to the nation as a target. The main conceptual elements that are represented in the linguistic examples of the conceptual metaphor include the body itself, its strength, its health and illness (together with weight loss), and parts of the body. The mappings are the following:

the human body → the nation
the parts of the body → the parts of the nation
the strength of the body → the strength of the nation
the health of the body → the health of the nation
the illness of the body → the problems besetting the nation
weight loss → dwindling nation (population)

One interesting metaphorical consequence of this metaphor has to do with the parts of the nation:

A part of the body can be removed. → A part of the nation can be removed.

This metaphorical consequence is common in everyday Hungarian usage after the Trianon Peace Treaty in the wake of the First World War (see Putz, 2016). The notion of a “truncated Hungary” (“csonka Magyarország”) that is frequently used by Hungarians is based on THE NATION IS A HUMAN BODY conceptual metaphor.

THE NATION IS A PERSON

In the corpus (of 1,000 examples) the PERSON metaphor (source domain) is by far the most common. The number of examples relating to PERSON in one way or another is 369. As we will see, this number is much higher than the number of metaphorical examples belonging to other source domains put together.

The PERSON source domain differs from both the LIVING ORGANISM and HUMAN BODY source domains. A person has many properties that the latter two source domains do not. The PERSON metaphor is characterized by such aspects of a person as conscience (2 examples), responsibility (3 examples), will (3 examples), self-identity (4 examples), success (6 examples), matters to handle (8 examples), and emotions (9 examples). These properties are mapped onto the concept of NATION as follows:

the conscience of a person → the conscience of a nation
the responsibility of a person for another person
 → the responsibility of a person for the nation
the will of a person → the will of the nation
the self-identity of a person → national identity
the success of a person → the success of the nation
the matters a person has to handle → the matters the nation has to handle
the emotions of a person → the emotions of the nation

Such properties of the nation as the above can only be thought and talked about in a metaphorical way (for instance, “the success of the nation,” “national identity”). The PERSON metaphor is deeply entrenched in the way we think about the concept of NATION; it has become unavoidable and indispensable. Certain psychological, emotional, and social properties of individual people are used as properties of the nation.

THE INTEREST OF A PERSON

As the numbers above indicate, these metaphorical properties occurred relatively infrequently in the corpus. Much more frequent were other properties that characterize people. For example, the “interest” of the nation occurred 28 times out of the 369 metaphorical expressions related to the PERSON metaphor. In this case, the conceptual correspondence, or mapping, between the PERSON source and the NATION target was as follows:

the interest of the person → the interest of the nation

In the corpus, I identified several metaphorical consequences based on this mapping. One was the following:

A person can act in the interest of another person.
 → A person can act in the interest of the nation.

This metaphorical inference was reflected in several expressions, such as “serving the nation” or “being at service for the nation.”

Other metaphorical inferences, or consequences, of the metaphor included the following:

- It is a person's interest to be healthy.
 - It is the nation's interest to be healthy.
- A person fights for his/her interests.
 - The nation has to fight for its interests.
- Certain things damage a person's interests.
 - Certain things damage the nation's interests.

We find metaphorical expressions in the database for all of the metaphorical inferences above. Their large number indicates that the idea of "national interest" is of major significance for Hungarians.

THE FATE OF A PERSON

Another frequently occurring property of the concept of NATION related to the PERSON source domain is the "fate" of a person. It occurred 15 times in the corpus (of 1,000 examples). The property is based on the mapping:

the fate of a person → the fate of a nation

That is, in the same way as a person has a fate, so does the nation. This idea can be found in various forms in the corpus, including:

- We may feel responsible for the fate of a person.
 - We feel responsible for the fate of the nation.
- In some cases, the fate of a person can be predicted.
 - In some cases, the fate of the nation can be predicted.

At the same time, some other examples indicate the opposite way of conceptualizing a nation's fate. This is achieved by means of the metaphor DEVELOPMENT IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT. In this case it is not fate that decides what happens to the nation, but the nation itself as a PERSON. In other words, the PERSON source domain is combined with the MOVEMENT source domain, yielding: A DEVELOPING NATION IS A MOVING PERSON.

In this case, it depends on the person in which direction he/she is moving. The resulting metaphorical inference is:

- It is up to the person which direction he/she is taking.
 - It is up to the nation which direction it is developing.

THE PAST AND FUTURE OF A PERSON

The nation conceptualized as a person can have a past and a future. The FUTURE of the nation was mentioned in 13 instances. This is based on the mapping:

the future of a person → the future of the nation

This mapping resulted in two metaphorical consequences in the corpus: the person, as well as the nation, can make his/her future better and, as its negative counterpart, the person, as well as the nation, can do things that are detrimental to his/her future.

Unlike the FUTURE, the PAST was mentioned only 6 times. The mapping here is:

the past of a person → the past of the nation

The metaphorical inferences of this mapping have to do with how the NATION-AS-PERSON relates to his/her past.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF A PERSON

The future and the past of a person imply the concepts of LIFE and DEATH, which also apply to the nation:

the life of a person → the life of the nation

the death of a person → the death of the nation

The mapping “the life of a person → the life of a nation” occurred 21 times in the corpus. The concept of LIFE in the PERSON metaphor is different from the notion of LIFE in the LIVING ORGANISM metaphor. LIFE as found in the PERSON metaphor is characterized by self-identity, fate, goals, will, future, etc. These cannot be found in the notion of LIFE in the LIVING ORGANISM metaphor. A living organism has biological life, but cannot have sublime or tragic experiences. In other words, the meaning of “life” depends on the frame within which we interpret it.

Several metaphorical inferences attach to the concept of LIFE in the PERSON metaphor, including:

A person can live an independent life.

→ The nation can live an independent life.

A person can have goals.

→ The nation can have goals (such as its development).

A person can have a happy life. → A nation can have a happy life.

In contrast to LIFE, DEATH only appeared in 9 examples in the sample under consideration. The conceptualization of the nation as capable of dying also invites metaphorical inferences, such as:

The most frightening experience in a person's life is death.

→ The most frightening experience in the nation's life is death.

In the same way as the metaphorical inferences in connection with life go beyond biological life, so the inferences attaching to death go beyond mere biological death. In them, we have the death of a person that lives in a complex social web consisting of sets of values, norms, customs, emotions, etc.

THE NATION IS A FAMILY

The NATION AS FAMILY conceptual metaphor is reflected in 16 examples in the corpus. Of these, it was the word *family* the occurred most frequently. It was used as a synonym of the word *nation*. Within this lexical field, in addition to the *family*, several other expressions were employed: *father*, *children*, *siblings*, but also *festive family occasions*. Given these, we can postulate the following mappings:

the family → the nation the father → the founder of the nation the children →
all Hungarians the siblings → members of the nation festive family occasions
→ the festive occasions of the nation

In one of the examples, corresponding to the father is the first Hungarian king Saint Stephen. Interestingly, the word *mother*, also belonging to this semantic field, only occurred in relation to the Hungarians living outside Hungary in the neighboring countries (*anya+ország* = mother country).

THE NATION IS A COMMUNITY

I found 11 linguistic metaphors in the corpus that indicate that Hungarians can also conceive of the nation as a community (a less specific, more generic concept than family). Although the concept of NATION can be thought of as a community in a sense that would render this conceptualization non-metaphorical (i.e., literal), I use the concept of COMMUNITY more narrowly here. In this narrower sense, a community is a group of people (such as a person's friends, a school class, a sports team, office co-workers) where people know each other in person and interact with each other.

Given our data from the corpus, THE NATION IS A COMMUNITY metaphor is made up of the following correspondences:

the community → the nation
the members of the community → the people constituting the nation
the interaction among the members of the community
→ the interaction among the people that constitute the nation

Beyond these basic mappings, we find examples that utilize our everyday knowledge about communities in comprehending the concept of NATION. Such pieces of knowledge include that members of a community tend to display solidarity with each other within the group and that members of a community strive for cooperation. In other words, the metaphorical inferences are:

Members of a community show solidarity with each other.
→ The members of the nation show solidarity with each other.
The members of a community strive to cooperate with each other.
→ The members of the nation strive to cooperate with each other.

THE NATION IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT

As regards its frequency, the source domain of PHYSICAL OBJECT ranks second as a source domain with 28 metaphorical examples. The most general mappings of this conceptual metaphor are as follows:

- the physical object → the nation
- the continued existence of the physical object
→ the continued existence of the nation
- the wholeness/completeness of the physical object
→ the wholeness/completeness of the nation

Due to their general character, other source domains can also be used to express these aspects of the concept of NATION: it is not only physical objects that have continued existence and that can represent wholeness or completeness but also living organisms. Nonetheless, it appears that it is mostly the source domain of PHYSICAL OBJECT that is relied on to conceptualize these two properties of the nation. At the same time, the major and more specific focus of the PHYSICAL OBJECT source domain is that of “belonging together” and “unity.” The former notion is based on the mappings below:

- the parts of the physical object → the parts of the nation
- the constituent elements of the physical object → the members of the nation
- the belonging together of the parts and constituent elements of the object
→ the non-physical belonging together of the parts and members of the nation

Thus, in the same way as the parts and constituent elements of the physical object belong together, so do the parts and members of the nation. One example for this from the corpus is:

555 A Duna TV továbbra is meghatározó szerepet tölt be a történelem által szétdarabolt < nemzet > szellemi és lelki összetartozásában. [Duna TV (a Hungarian television channel) continues to play a defining role in the intellectual and spiritual belonging together of the nation broken up by history (my translation).]

As can be seen below, the belonging together of the parts and constituent elements of the physical object serves as a basis for a variety of metaphorical consequences or inferences. This fact indicates the unique significance of the metaphor in constructing the concept of NATION in Hungarian. The inferences include the following:

First:

The constituent elements and parts of the physical object belong to the physical object. → The people constituting the nation and the parts of the nation belong to the nation.

Second:

The physical belonging together of the constituent elements and the parts of the object must be preserved. → The non-physical belonging together of the people constituting the nation and that of the parts of the nation must be preserved.

Third:

The physical belonging together between the constituent elements and parts of the nation can be broken up. → The non-physical belonging together between the people and that of the parts of the nation can be broken up.

Fourth:

The broken-up parts of the object can be put together again. → The parts of the nation living outside Hungary can be reunited (non-physically).

Fifth:

The physical force keeping the elements and parts of the object together is considerably strong. → The cohesive force keeping the people and the parts of the nation together is considerably strong.

Another important focus of the PHYSICAL OBJECT source domain is on the notion of UNITY. Just as elements and parts of a physical object form a unified whole, and thus create the perception of unity, so the people constituting the nation and the parts of the nation form a unity, a unified whole. This is based on a basic mapping of the metaphor:

the unity of the elements and parts constituting the physical object
→ the unity of the people and parts constituting the nation

THE NATION IS A BUILDING

The BUILDING source domain is a specific case of the concept of PHYSICAL OBJECT. Only a few linguistic examples of this metaphor were found in the corpus: 7 altogether. The mappings of the metaphor are as follows:

the building → the nation
the process of building a building → creating the nation
the planning of the building → the planning (of the future) of the nation
the builders → the members of the nation

These are standard mappings, or correspondences, of THE NATION IS A BUILDING metaphor. Interestingly enough, an uncommonly used element of the source domain, the building material, also appear in the Hungarian data. This was found in a quote by the great Hungarian composer Zoltán Kodály, who identified traditions as a necessary ingredient in rebuilding the devastated country after the war. Thus, we have in addition:

the building material → traditions

It should be observed that, unlike in the case of the general PHYSICAL OBJECT metaphor, the BUILDING metaphor also profiles the planning and creation of the building, the latter corresponding to the creation of the nation.

These mappings explain two possible senses of the word *nemzet* (*nation*). In one, the nation is a created abstract entity – corresponding to the building itself. That is to say, this sense of the word is based on the mapping “the building → the nation.” Another sense of the word, however, is based on the builders of the building: the people who correspond to the members of the nation. (See the mapping “the builders → the members of the nation”). In the first, the nation appears as a product, whereas in the second, as the agents creating the product.

Despite its infrequent linguistic realization in the corpus, this conceptual metaphor has two important metaphorical implications:

First:

A building can be destroyed. → The nation can be destroyed.

Second:

A building can be rebuilt. → The nation can be rebuilt.

This completes our survey of nation-related metaphors in a sample of the Hungarian corpus.

Summary and discussion

Given the sample of metaphorical statements about the concept of NATION, the rank order of the conceptual metaphors according to their frequency of occurrence was the following (the names for the conceptual metaphors are followed by the number of their occurrence in the corpus):

THE NATION IS A PERSON	369
THE NATION IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT	28
THE NATION IS THE HUMAN BODY	19
THE NATION IS A FAMILY	16
THE NATION IS A COMMUNITY	11
THE NATION IS A BUILDING	7
THE NATION IS A LIVING ORGANISM	7

As was pointed out above, the most commonly used conceptual metaphor in the sample was the PERSON metaphor and the least common ones were the BUILDING and LIVING ORGANISM metaphors. It is probably not too surprising that the PERSON metaphor far outnumbers all the other metaphors. In the PERSON metaphor, a virtual person serves to metaphorically represent a diverse multitude. A single virtual person also stands metonymically for all the real persons that make up the nation. The relative coherence and complexity of the single person is used to conceptualize a much larger,

more diverse, and more complex multitude of people. This makes the metaphor conceptually useful and thus may lend it a potentially universal character.

The qualitative analysis of the metaphors is just as or even more important than the quantitative results. By performing a deep analysis of the most common source domains, we could get an idea of the actual content of the concept of NATION. The mappings and the metaphorical inferences reveal what each source domain contributes to the way the Hungarian language codes this content. This is implicit knowledge, and no claim is made that individual speakers of Hungarian are all consciously aware of what is given below. At the same time, we can expect that individuals make active use of at least parts of the metaphor-based knowledge system.

Let us now consider what conceptual content is created for the concept by the respective source domains (not all of the propositions below were exemplified in the text above):

PERSON

The nation has conscience, a sense of responsibility, will, identity, emotions, successes, and most importantly, interests. The interests of the nation demand that the nation take advantage of opportunities that arise. People can contribute to the nation. The nation comes first, and it is its interests that people should serve. The nation should face its past. The government may act in favor of or against the interests of the nation. It is in the interest of the nation to be healthy. The nation must pursue its own interests. Certain things hurt the nation's interests (such as environmental pollution).

We must feel responsible for the fate of the nation. In certain cases, the fate of the nation is predictable. The development of the nation has a direction. It is up to the nation in which direction it is developing.

The nation can do things that affect its future adversely. The nation can make its future better. The nation can accept its history. The nation remembers its past. The nation appreciates its traditions. The nation may forget its belonging together and its shared past. One precondition for the success of the nation is that the nation should accurately judge its past.

The nation can live an independent life. The nation has goals. There are festive occasions in the life of the nation. A nation needs security to live. A nation can lead a happy life. Public life must deal with the problems of the nation. A nation's life may have many trials and tribulations.

The most shocking experience of the nation is death. The death of a nation can be glorious or shameful.

PHYSICAL OBJECT

The people and the communities constituting the nation belong together. The non-physical belonging together of the people and the parts of the nation must be preserved. The non-physical belonging together may be broken. The cohesive force among the people constituting the nation and among the parts of the nation living outside Hungary is strong.

The people and the parts of the nation form a unity. The parts of the nation that live outside Hungary can be reunited with Hungary (in a non-physical way). The unity among the people and parts of the nation can break up as a result of the effect of (bad) politics.

HUMAN BODY

The nation has parts. The nation can be healthy or can have problems. The nation is dwindling. A part of the nation can be removed from the nation, but the parts of the nation belong to the nation even if they are removed from it.

FAMILY

The nation has a founder. The members of the nation are all the Hungarians who have ever lived since the foundation of the country. They form the community of the nation.

COMMUNITY

The members of the nation show solidarity with each other. The members of the nation strive to cooperate with each other.

BUILDING

The nation that was built can be destroyed. But a destroyed nation can be rebuilt. To rebuild the nation, its traditions must be preserved.

LIVING ORGANISM

The nation's life consists of stages. The nation is strongest at its fully developed stage.

It should be observed that there is a loose correlation between the frequency of occurrence of a conceptual metaphor and the amount of conceptual content that the metaphor contributes to the knowledge associated with the concept of NATION. The rank order according to frequency also shows rank order according to how much content the metaphorical sources contribute to the concept.

Although, due to the limitations of the methodology, this system of knowledge (in the form of the propositions above) is not, and cannot be, complete, it reflects the major

trends and tendencies of speaking and thinking about the concept in Hungarian public discourse in the past 20-25 years.

This construal of the nation is quite different from what some contemporary Hungarian social scientists find in present-day Hungarian society. For example, Csepeli (1988: 549) suggests that the Hungarian (and more generally, the East-European) conception of nation is largely based on and operates with “apologetic-romantic-heroic” elements. The knowledge system that was extracted from instances of public discourse shows otherwise. It centers on the interests of the nation, good governance, rational decisions concerning the future, respecting and understanding the past, living in security, the importance of the health of the nation, feeling responsible for the nation, serving the nation, the sense of belonging together among Hungarians, maintaining (spiritual, economic, emotional, etc.) ties with Hungarians living outside Hungary, striving toward cooperation, showing solidarity with others, and many others. These properties reveal more of a rational than an irrational person metaphorically representing the nation. For the most part, these are not “apologetic-romantic-heroic” ideas concerning nationhood but features of a dynamic and “thinking” nation that is struggling to understand itself and to find its due place in the world.

Conclusions

As we saw, several conceptual metaphors participate in contributing conceptual content to the body of knowledge about nationhood in Hungarian public discourse. Of these, the most frequently used metaphor was that of a PERSON, which was exploited to the greatest extent to conceptualize the nation. The PHYSICAL OBJECT metaphor was second in the rank order according to frequency of use and the amount of contributed knowledge. While the former metaphor emphasizes the interests of the nation, the appropriate attitude of the individual toward the nation, the issue of the relationship between the present and the past, and the future of the nation, the latter stresses the belonging together of the nation, not just within the country but also outside it, as well as our responsibilities involved in achieving this.

The view of the nation emerging from Hungarian public discourse in the past 25 years is anything but old-fashioned, backward-looking, pessimistic, and isolationist. It is a modern, dynamic, and optimistic view that pays due attention to the past but also to the present and future, and reflects a “thinking” nation that is self-reflectively shaping its own idea of nationhood in relation to the world that surrounds it.

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Benjamin Franklin és a rabszolgaság kérdése

„Értelmük ugyanolyan gyorsnak, memóriájuk ugyanolyan erősnek, felfogóképességük pedig minden vonatkozásban egyenlőnek tűnik a fehér gyerekekével...”

avagy

„az ön nemzete [...] arra ösztöklélte [...] rabszolgáinkat, hogy legvilkolják gazdáikat...”¹

Praeambulum

Nem az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetemre jártam, angol szakot sem végeztem, s annak ellenére is Frank Tibor professzor tanítványának tartom magam, hogy szakmai pályafutásomnak már egy viszonylag kései pontján kerültem vele először személyes kapcsolatba. Debrecenben végeztem magyar–történelem szakon, de jó sorsom úgy hozta, hogy az Amerikai Egyesült Államok és a magyar–amerikai kapcsolatok korai történelmével kezdtem foglalkozni, ami elkerülhetetlenné tette, hogy kapcsolatba kerüljek Frank professzor munkásságával. Közeledésünk a szakmán keresztül indult el, s úgy érzem, hogy ma már emberileg is közel állunk egymáshoz. Frank Tibor az idősebb pályatárs gondoskodó szeretetével és támogatásával hívott meg általa szerkesztett kötetek szerzői közé s hallgatta meg konferencia-előadásaimat. Szigorú, ámde igazságos ítéletmondóként vett részt a habilitációs eljárásomban. Frank Tibor számomra egy olyan tudós- és embereszményt testesít meg, akinek szemében mindig a szakmai és az emberi értékek jelentik az elsődleges mérlegelési szempontot. Isten éltesse 70. születésnapján!

* * *

Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) már életében az amerikai forradalom eszményeit megtestesítő személyiségként jelent meg a közvélemény szemében, s ezt a szerepét nem csupán az események által közvetlenebbül érintett Franciaországban és Nyugat-Európában, hanem Magyarországon is be tudta tölteni. Az amerikai tudós-politikus természettudományos eredményei már az amerikai forradalom előtt ismertté váltak hazánkban, a forradalom idején pedig több olyan kortárs magyarországi személyiség is volt, akik levelezés útján kapcsolatba kerültek az 1776 és 1785 között az Amerikai Egyesült

¹ Benjamin Franklin levele John Waringnak, 1763. december 17., illetve David Hartley-nak, 1775. szeptember 12. A levélhivatkozások forrása: <http://franklinpapers.org/framedNames.jsp>. A letöltés ideje: 2018. december 29.

Államok megbízottjaként majd nagyköveteként Párizsban tartózkodó amerikai politikus-polihisztorral. Amint azt Závodszy Géza megállapította, a 18. század utolsó évtizedeiben Franklin volt a „legismertebb és legnépszerűbb amerikai hazánkban”.²

A pennsylvaniai polihisztor hatása a 19. századi Magyarországon sem csökkent s bizvást állíthatjuk, hogy az amerikai forradalom vezetői közül e tekintetben csak George Washington (1732–1799) vetekedhetett vele. Závodszy kutatásai szerint a 19. század elején a „felvilágosodás racionalizmusa fokozatosan a romantika korának humanitáseményébe tűnt át” s ezzel összefüggésben „a zsarnok jogarát elragadó” politikus képe helyett Franklin „a belső szabadság, az erkölcsi tökéletességre törekvés ihletőjeként” jelent egyre inkább meg a magyarországi olvasó közvélemény szemében. A philadelphiai tudós-politikus életművének ez utóbbi aspektusa volt az, amely a fiatal, útját kereső Széchenyi István (1791–1860) gondolkodására is nagy hatással volt. A gróf 1825. augusztus 4-én vásárolta meg Franklin egyik francia nyelvű kötetét Montpellier-ben, s az amerikai gondolkodó korabeli hatására jellemző módon még elolvasása előtt azt jegyezte fel a naplójában, hogy „ez az a könyv, melynek egész életemre a legnagyobb hatása lesz”. Széchenyi 1826-ban Benjamin Franklin útmutatásait követve vonalazott erénytáblázatok segítségével igyekezett megmérni saját erkölcsi színvonalát és haladását s Závodszy Géza szerint „a változó hazai közélet és Franklin életterve” döntő szerepet játszott „a hazája és saját jövőjéről alkotott képe” ekkoriban végbemenő megváltozásában. Az 1830–1840-es években pedig olyan reformkori nagyjaink hivatkoztak elismerően az amerikai bölcselőre, mint Bajza József (1804–1858), Eötvös József (1813–1871) vagy Kosuth Lajos (1802–1894).³

Franklin kultuszának hazai kibontakozását az 1848–49-es forradalom és szabadságharc bukása sem törte meg, amit legjobban a róla elnevezett *Franklin Társulat Magyar Irodalmi Intézet és Könyvnyomda Rt.* 1873-as megalapítása jelzett a legjobban. Ennek korabeli rangját és elismertségét az is jól jelzi, hogy elnöki tisztét a kor olyan meghatározó irodalmi nagyságai is betöltötték, mint Gyulai Pál (1826–1909) vagy Arany

2 Horányi Elek (1736–1809) piarista tanár 1756-ban megvédett fizikai tárgyú doktori értekezésének tézisei már felhasználták Franklin elektromossággal kapcsolatos kutatásainak eredményeit. Erre lásd: Závodszy Géza, *Az Amerika motívum és a polgárosodó Magyarország a kezdetektől 1848-ig* (Budapest: Atlanti Kutató és Kiadó Társulat – Tankönyvkiadó, 1992), 22–23. Kováts Mihály (1724–1779) karcagi születésű huszártiszt egy 1777. január 13-án Bordeaux-ban kelt latin nyelvű levelében kereste meg Benjamin Franklint, hogy felajánlja szolgálatait az amerikai Kontinentális Kongresszusnak. A levelet magyarul közli: Póka-Pivny Aladár – Zachar József, *Az amerikai függetlenségi háború magyar hőse* (Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1982), 99–100. Zinner János Károly a „budai császári és királyi akadémia előljárója”, majd a kassai királyi akadémia történelem professzora két francia nyelvű levelet írt Franklinnek Budáról, illetve Bécsből (1778. október 26., 1783. szeptember 23.), amelyekben anyagokat kért tőle az amerikai forradalom történetéről készülő német nyelvű munkája számára. E levelek a világhálón is elérhetők: <http://www franklinpapers.org/framednames.jsp>. Zinner tevékenységére lásd: Závodszy, 1992, 28–34. Závodszy, 1992, 22.

3 Závodszy, 1992, 79. Széchenyi István, *Napló* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1982), 378. Závodszy, 1992, 98–99, 169–170, 200, 238, 254.

László (1844–1898).⁴ De Benjamin Franklin magyarországi népszerűsége – részben a Franklin Társulat tevékenységének eredményeként – a két világháború közötti korszakban sem csökkent, hiszen több műve több kiadást is megért a korban.⁵ Mi több, a leleményes amerikai tudós-feltaláló még a szocialista rendszer időszakára is „át tudta menteni magát”, amennyiben az 1948. március 25-én államosított Franklin Társulat – a Szent István Társulat tulajdonában lévő nyomdával egyesítve – Franklin Nyomda néven folytatta tevékenységét s Benjamin Franklinnek több magyar nyelvű életrajza és saját munkája is megjelent a korszakban. A sorozat a rendszerváltás után sem szakadt meg, hiszen Franklin művei ezt követően is folyamatosan jelentek meg.⁶

Ezen állandó és bőséges magyarországi „jelenlét” ellenére, történész szemmel nézve mégis van hiányérzetünk a magyar nyelvű Benjamin Franklin irodalommal kapcsolatban. Egyrészt az, hogy a megjelent munkák egy része a tudományos népszerűsítést tekintette feladatának s ezért nem felel meg a szakszerű történettudomány igényeinek. Itt érdemes megjegyezni, hogy a magyarul napvilágot látott eredeti Franklin művek is e „népszerűsítő” vonulatba illenek, amennyiben a köznép okulására szánt erkölcsnevelő szándékkal írt munkákról van szó. A magyar nyelvű Franklin irodalom másik része pedig természettudósi tevékenységével foglalkozik s ezért megint csak nem alkalmas arra, hogy a philadelphiai polihisztor politikusi tevékenysége vizsgálatának kiindulópontjaként szolgáljon. Ez azt jelenti, hogy magyar nyelven nem áll rendelkezésre olyan korszerű munka, amely Benjamin Franklint mint politikust, politikai gondolkodót, az amerikai forradalom egyik vezető személyiségét történeti szempontból venné górcső alá. Ezt a hiányt igyekszik pótolni ez a tanulmány egyetlen aspektus kiemelésével, amennyiben annak vizsgálatára tesz kísérletet, hogy hosszú élete során hogyan alakult az amerikai bölcsele és a rabszolgaság kapcsolata.⁷

4 A *Franklin Társulat* történetére lásd: Baranyi M. Dóra: *A Franklin nyomda százéves története* (Budapest: Franklin nyomda, 1973); Francois-Auguste-Marie-Alexis Mignet: *Franklin Benjamin élete* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1874); Joób Lajos: *Washington és Franklin. Két tanulmány* (Budapest: Kilján Frigyes utóda, 1910).

5 Benjamin Franklin: *A gazdagodás útja. Amint azt a szegény Richard egy pennsylvaniai kalendáriumban világosan megmutatja* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1914). Ez a munka a Franklin Társulat kiadásában aztán 1927-ben és 1928-ban is napvilágot látott. *Franklin Benjamin önéletrajza* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1921). Ez utóbbi kiadás a világhálón is elérhető: <http://mek.oszk.hu/148001/14879/14879.pdf>, *Franklin Benjamin önéletrajza* (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa, 1921). Ez a kiadás 1923-ban is megjelent.

6 Sós Endre: *Aki az égből elragadta a villámot. Benjamin Franklin életregénye* (Budapest: Móra, 1957). Ez a mű 1959-ben és 1962-ben is napvilágot látott. Sós Endre – Vámos Magda: *Franklin vagyok Philadelphiából. Benjamin Franklin élete* (Budapest – Bratislava: Móra – Madách, 1970). Ezt a művet 1976-ban is kiadták. *Franklin Benjamin számadása életéről* (Budapest: Európa, 1961). Ez a munka 1989-ben is megjelent. Franklin Benjamin: *Az erény művészete* (Budapest: Bagolyvár, 2004). Franklin magyarországi képére lásd még: Halácsy Katalin: „Benjamin Franklin's Image in Hungary”, *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 17.64 (1976): 121–124. Kátóna Anna: „The Hungarian Image of Benjamin Franklin”, *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies* 4.1 (1977): 43–57.

7 Természetesen tisztában vagyok azzal, hogy csak egyetlen, egységes Benjamin Franklin létezett, aki nem szedhető szét természettudós, politikus, politikai gondolkodó, diplomata,

Egészen élete végéig egyfajta kettősség jellemezte Benjamin Franklin rabszolgaságról vallott felfogását. Philadelphiai nyomdászként nem csupán a szökött rabszolgákat felkutatni vágyó helyi rabszolgatartók hirdetéseit közölte újságjában, hanem a Pennsylvániában kiadott első rabszolgaság-ellenes traktátusok is nála jelentek meg. Ugyanakkor rabszolgatartó is volt, aki az 1730-as évek elején vásárolta az első rabszolgáit, akik nyomdájában vagy háziszolgaként dolgoztak. Annak ellenére sem szabadította fel egyetlen rabszolgáját sem, hogy az 1770-es évektől kezdődően egyre szorosabb kapcsolatot épített ki a nemzetközi rabszolgaság-ellenes mozgalom olyan képviselőivel, mint Granville Sharp (1735–1813) vagy Jacques-Pierre Brissot (1754–1793). Jellemző, hogy utolsó rabszolgája nem felszabadítás útján, hanem úgy került ki szolgálatából, hogy 1781-ben elhalálozott. Ez azt jelenti, hogy Franklin egy fél évszázadon keresztül birtokolt rabszolgákat.⁸

Egy 1733-ban az általa nyomtatott újságban, a *Pennsylvania Gazette*-ben megjelent írásában Franklin a feltörekvő philadelphiai újjgazdagok sznobságát kritizálta. Úgy látta, hogy ez a társadalmi ranglétrán arrogánsan felfelé törekvő csoport megpróbálja kiradírozni a múltjából alacsony társadalmi származását. Erről a témáról azért is tudott hitelesen írni, mivel maga is szökött szerződéses szolgából lett a város egyik elismert vállalkozója, aki azonban sohasem tagadta meg gyökereit. Az újjgazdagok képmutatását Philadelphia akkor még csekély számú, de faji szempontból kevert lakosságának példájával támasztotta alá. Franklin úgy találta, hogy a félvér mulattok lenézik a feketéket, miközben a fehérek státusa után ácsingóznak. Az eredmény azonban az lett, hogy a két szék között a földre esnek, mivel a feketék nem kérnek a mulattok fennhéjázásából, a fehérek pedig elutasítják azt, hogy a mulattok velük egyenlők lennének. Franklin felfogásában a mulattok nem középen, a feketéktől és a fehérektől egyenlő távolságra helyezkedtek el, hanem alig valamivel a feketék fölött voltak találhatók.⁹

Benjamin Franklin 1751-ben publikálta a modern demográfia megalapozásában nagy szerepet játszó *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* (Megfigyelések az emberiség növekedésére vonatkozóan) című dolgozatát, amelyik Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834) *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (Értekezés a népesedés elvéről, első kiadás, 1798) című munkájára is nagy hatást gyakorolt. Ebben egyértelmű rangsort állított fel az egyes embercsoportok vonatkozásában, s rendszerében a fekete afrikaiak helyét is világosan kijelölte:

közéleti személyiség, vállalkozó, üzletember stb. részegységekre, hiszen életének ezen aspektusai szoros kölcsönhatásban voltak egymással. A jelen tanulmány céljából kiválasztott „részelemet” is a többi aspektussal összefüggésben igyekszem tárgyalni – amennyire ezt a tartalmi és terjedelmi keretek megengedik.

8 Nicholas Guyatt: „The Complexion of My Country: Benjamin Franklin and the Problem of Racial Diversity”, in *A Companion to Benjamin Franklin*, szerk. David Waldstreicher (Malden and Oxford: Wiley – Blackwell, 2011), 191.

9 Guyatt, 2011, 191–192.

A tisztán fehér emberek aránya a Földön nagyon csekély. Egész Afrika fekete vagy sárgásbarna (tawny). Ázsia főként sárgásbarna. Csakúgy, mint egész Amerika (kivéve az újonnan érkezetteket). Európában pedig a spanyolokat, az olaszokat, a franciákat, az oroszokat és a svédeket általában napbarnított arcszínűeknek nevezhetjük, csakúgy, mint a németeket, kivéve a szászokat, akik az angolokkal együtt a fehér emberek fő részét alkotják a Föld színén. Azt kívánom, hogy ez utóbbiak száma növekedjen. S azt mondhatom, hogy az amerikai erdőségek kiirtásával *megtisztítván* ezt a bolygót, glóbuszunknak ezt a felét olyanná tesszük, hogy az fényesebben jelenik meg a Mars vagy a Vénusz lakói szemében, akkor miért kellene e felsőbbrendű lények látókörében sötétebbé tenni a népünket? Miért növeljük Afrika fiainak a számát azáltal, hogy megtelepítjük őket Amerikában, amikor olyan kedvező lehetőségünk van a feketék és a sárgásbarnák kirekesztésére és a szeretetre méltó fehérek és vörösök növelésére.¹⁰

Ebből a részletből több érdekes következtetés adódik Franklin korabeli, a fekete afrikaiakra vonatkozó nézeteit illetően. Mint látható, egyedül az angolokat, illetve az angolok angolszász eredete miatt a szászokat tekintette a „tisztán fehér emberek” képviselőinek, s ebbe a kategóriába a többi európai népet sem sorolta be. Ez utóbbiakra és a fekete afrikaiakra is úgy tekintett, mint akik nemkívánatosak Amerikában, mivel ott a fenti, szűken értelmezett fehér faj számának emelésére van szükség. Ebben az értelemben, Franklin a fekete afrikaiakat egy szintre helyezte az angolszász fehér fajon kívüli összes más európai, ázsiai és amerikai néppel. Franklinnek ez az értékelése szoros összefüggésben volt azzal, hogy ebben az időszakban elítélte az angolokétól szerinte nagyon eltérő fizikai tulajdonságokkal jellemzett németek Pennsylvaniába történő bevándorlását, akik ekkoriban nagy számban érkeztek ide. Ezt a véleményét könnyebben támaszthatta alá azzal, hogy a németeket – őket a fekete afrikaiakkal egy szintre helyezve – nem tekintette a szűken felfogott fehér fajhoz tartozóknak.¹¹ Ami pedig a részlet utolsó mondatát illeti, a „szeretetre méltó fehérek és vörösök” preferálása nem azt jelentette Franklin számára, hogy Amerikát a fehér angolszászok és a vörös indiánok közös otthonaként képzelte el. Mint emlékezhetünk rá, az amerikai indiánokat nem a vörösök, hanem a sárgásbarna színűek közé sorolta. Amint arra Nicholas Guyatt felhívta a figyelmet, a fehér és a vörös „a britek arcszínének két árnyalatára utalt, amelyeket világos módon szembeállított a »teljesen sárgásbarna« bennszülött amerikaiakkal”.¹²

10 Idézi: Guyatt, 2011, 184.

11 A németek és az angolszászok közötti különbségek kialakulását az eltérő intézményekkel magyarázta Franklin, s ebben nagy hatással volt rá Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–1788) *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* című munkája, amelyet 1747 óta ismert. Guyatt, 2011, 187. A németek Brit Észak-Amerikába történő 18. századi bevándorlására lásd Aaron S. Fogleman: *Hopeful Journeys. German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

12 Guyatt, 2011, 185.

Ugyanakkor, ebben az 1751-ben megjelent munkájában található Franklin első olyan fejtegetése is, amelyben egyértelműen elvetette a rabszolgatartás intézményét. Ezt azonban úgy tette, hogy az nem volt ellentmondásban a feketék és a fehérek egyenlőtlenségére vonatkozó felfogásával, mivel gazdasági szempontból bírálta a rabszolgatartó rendszert. Megállapította, hogy a feketék rabszolgái állapotuknak köszönhetően természetes hajlammal bírnak a lopásra s a rabszolgák alkalmazása azért sem hasznos, mivel az intézmény aláássa a kemény munka és az azzal elnyerhető anyagi értelemben vett jutalom közötti kapcsolatot, s így módon a szabad munkásokat is lustává teszi. Ráadásul a rabszolgák elveszik a szabad fehér munkaerő elől a munkahelyeket, a föld pedig rabszolgatartó ültetvényesek kezében koncentrálódik, ahelyett, hogy fehér farmereknek jutna. 1757 áprilisában egy felszabadítási záradékkal egészítette ki a végrendeletét, amely halála után tette volna szabaddá rabszolgáit. Franklin azonban nagyon hosszú ideig élt, s ennek következtében utolsó rabszolgái is hamarabb haltak meg annál, hogy végakarátának ez a rendelkezése hatályba léphetett volna.¹³

Nagyjából ugyanakkor, 1757–1758 folyamán egy londoni lelkész, John Waring (1716–1794) tanácsot kért Franklintól arra vonatkozóan, hogy miként és kinek a segítségével lehetne létrehozni Philadelphiában egy „néger iskolát”. Waring egy olyan társaság (Bray Society) tagja volt, amelyik a feketék keresztény hitre térítését tűzte ki célul, s az iskola ezen erőfeszítés eszköze lett volna. Waringnak és társainak nem állott szándékában a rabszolgatartó rendszer felszámolása, hanem a rabszolga gyerekek gazdáik engedélyével és anyagi támogatásával látogatták volna az iskolákat. Úgy vélték, hogy a keresztény hitre térített és némi nevelésben részesített fekete rabszolgák így „gazdáik még hűségesebb és becsületesebb szolgálivá” válnának. Válaszlevelében Franklin támogatásáról biztosította Waringot és társait.¹⁴

Benjamin Franklin Pennsylvania gyarmat ügynökeként időközben Londonba távozott, ám Waring és társai folyamatosan tájékoztatták az iskola terv állásáról. Felesége 1759-ben arról értesítette, hogy szándékában áll egyik, Othello nevű rabszolgájukat beírni az időközben megnyílt intézménybe. Franklin 1762-ben tért vissza Amerikába s ígéretet tett Waringnak arra, hogy támogatni fogja újabb iskolák létrehozását New Yorkban, Rhode Islandben és Virginiában. A philadelphiai iskolát pedig meg is látogatta, s az ott tapasztaltak alapján arra a következtetésre jutott, hogy bizonyos képességek vonatkozásában a feketék egyértelműen egyenlők a fehérekkel. Amint azt egy Waringnak 1763. december 17-én írott levelében megfogalmazta:

Összességében nagyon meg voltam elégedve, s az alapján, amit ott láttam jobb véleményem alakult ki a fekete faj természetes képességeiről annál, mint ahogyan azt valaha is gondoltam. Értelmük ugyanolyan gyorsnak, memóriájuk ugyanolyan erősnek, felfogó képességük pedig minden vonatkozásban egyenlőnek látszik lenni a fehér gyerekekével. Csodálkozhat persze, hogy

13 Guyatt, 2011, 192.

14 Guyatt, 2011, 192–193. John Waring levele Benjamin Franklinnek, 1757. január 24. Benjamin Franklin levele John Waringnak, 1758. január 3.

miért is kellene egyáltalán kételkednem ebben, s nem vállalkozom arra, hogy igazoljam minden előítéletemet, ahogyan arra sem, hogy megindokoljam azokat.¹⁵

Az anyaország és az észak-amerikai gyarmatok közötti feszültség kiéleződése, majd a függetlenségi háború kirobbanása Benjamin Franklin számára is olyan új helyzetet teremtett, ami a rabszolgaságról alkotott véleményére is hatással volt. A pennsylvaniai politikus nagyon kényelmetlen helyzetbe került. Egyfelől, az amerikai függetlenség ügyét kellett képviselnie, amelyért olyan rabszolgatartó hazafiak is küzdöttek, mint George Washington vagy Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826). Ez viszont arra készítette Franklint, hogy magát a rabszolgatartó rendszert is védelmébe vegye. Másfelől, az amerikai forradalom szabadságpárti eszményei és retorikája Észak-Amerikában és Európában is a rabszolgaság-ellenes mozgalmak fellendüléséhez vezetett, s ezek Franklin támogatására is számítottak.

Ami az első kérdést illeti, az amerikai szerzők gyakorta vádolták azzal Nagy-Britanniát, hogy intézkedéseivel „rabszolga sorba akarja taszítani” a gyarmatokat. Az amerikaiakkal vitázó brit pamflet írók viszont nagy élvezettel vádolták az amerikaiakat képmutatással, mondván, hogy azok az amerikaiak beszélnek „rabszolga sorba vetésről” és a szabadságukért vívott harcról, akik emberek tízezreit dolgoztatják rabszolgaként. Ezt a retorikai fordulatot a rabszolgaság felszámolásáért küzdő brit aktivisták is felhasználták. Ilyen volt például Granville Sharp, aki a *Dangerous Tendency of Tolerating Slavery* (A rabszolgaság eltűrésének veszedelemes tendenciája) című, 1769-ben megjelent könyvében mutatott rá a rabszolgatartó amerikai hazafiak képmutatására. Mint megfogalmazta: „Azok a férfiak, akiknek nincsenek kétségeik afelől, hogy másokat rabszolgaságban tartsanak, csak nagyon részlegesen és igazságtalan módon tarthatnak igényt a szabadság törvényeinek védelmére.”¹⁶

Franklin egy névtelenül megjelentetett pamfletben válaszolt Sharp támadására, amelyben olyan gondolatokat is kifejtett, amelyek szinte megelőlegezték a rabszolgatartó rendszer azon 19. századi védelmezőinek érvelését, akik a rabszolgaságot „pozitív jó dolognak” tartották. Rámutatott, hogy sok rabszolgatartó „nagyon humánusan” bánik rabszolgáival, s hogy az anyaországbeli fehér munkások körülményei „egy kissé hasonlatosak a rabszolgasághoz”. Arról nem is beszélve, hogy a fekete rabszolgák többsége „a lehető legsötétebb, legmogorvább, legcsalárdabb, legbosszúsomjasabb és leggonoszabb” emberek közül került ki, egyszóval „országaik ártalmas gonosztevői” voltak. Az

15 Guyatt, 2011, 193. Benjamin Franklin levele John Waringnak, 1763. december 17.

16 Idézi: Guyatt, 2011, 197. A szabadságért küzdő amerikaiak és rabszolgatartó mivoltuk közötti ellentmondásra a leghatásosabban Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) angol tory költő, esztéta, kritikus, szerkesztő és lexikonszerző hívta fel a figyelmet *Taxation no Tyranny* (Az adózás nem azonos a zsarnoksággal, 1775) című munkájában. Ebben tette fel azt a sokat idézett kérdést, hogy „[m]iként lehetséges, hogy azok ugatnak a leghangosabban a szabadságért, akik négerek hajcsárai?” <http://www.samueljohnson.com/tnt.html#top>. A letöltés ideje: 2017. június 12.

afrikai vezetők ugyanis a transzatlanti rabszolga-kereskedelmet arra használták fel, hogy nemkívánatos alattvalóiktól megszabaduljanak, ahhoz hasonlóan, ahogyan az anyaország Amerikába szállította az angol elítélteket. Franklin mindkét gyakorlatot mélységesen elítélte, s azt is hozzátette, hogy a brit kereskedelmi érdekcsoportok – elsősorban a *Royal African Company* (Királyi Afrika Társaság) – voltak azok, amelyek a rabszolgatartást ráerőszakolták az amerikaiakra. Jellemző, hogy ez utóbbi érvelést Thomas Jefferson is megismételte a *The Summary View of the Rights of British America* (Brit Amerika jogainak összefoglaló áttekintése, 1774) című munkájában, majd a *Független-ségi nyilatkozatban* (1776).¹⁷

Alig valamivel később viszont Franklin már az abolicionista eszmék szószólójaként jelent meg. A Nagy-Britanniában tartózkodó philadelphiai ismerősei – például a neves abolicionista Anthony Benezet (1713–1784) – arról tájékoztatták, hogy az északi gyarmatokon a hangulat erőteljesen a rabszolga-kereskedelem ellen fordult, s ez az érzés még a Felső-Délén is megjelent. Londonban Franklin Granville Sharppal is megismerkedett, s ez is szerepet játszott abban, hogy 1772-ben nyílt támadást tett közzé a rabszolgaság ellen a *London Chronicle* című lapban. Ez már az után történt, hogy William Murray, Mansfield első grófja (1705–1793), mint királyi főbíró (Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench) meghozta híres ítéletét az ún. Somerset-ügyben. Ez lényegében azt jelentette ki, hogy a Brit-szigeteken tilos a rabszolgatartás, s hogy a gyarmatokról oda bevitt rabszolgák visszanyerhetik szabadságukat. Cikkében a pennsylvaniai politikus a rabszolga-kereskedelem eltörlése mellett érvelt, s úgy gondolta, hogy a már Amerikában lévő rabszolgákat egy bizonyos életkor elérése után kellene felszabadítani.¹⁸

17 Franklint idézi: Guyatt, 2011, 197. A rabszolgaság, mint „pozitív jó dolog” felfogásra magyarul lásd: Vajda Zoltán: „Rasszizmus és a fejlődés eszméje John C. Calhoun politikai gondolkodásában”, *Aetas* 16.1 (2001): 72–86. A *Royal African Company* rabszolga-kereskedelemben játszott szerepére lásd: William A. Pettigrew: *Freedom's Debt. The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672–1752* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013). Thomas Jefferson: „Brit-Amerika jogainak összefoglaló áttekintése”, in *Új rend egy új világban. Dokumentumok az amerikai politikai gondolkodás korai történetéhez*, szerk. Lévai Csaba (Debrecen: Multiplex Media – Debrecen University Press, 1997), 86. Thomas Jefferson: „Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok kongresszusban összegyűlt képviselőinek nyilatkozata”, in *Új rend egy új világban. Dokumentumok az amerikai politikai gondolkodás korai történetéhez*, szerk. Lévai Csaba (Debrecen: Multiplex Media – Debrecen University Press, 1997), 100.

18 A 18. század közepére kialakult tizenhárom észak-amerikai brit gyarmat közül, rabszolgatartó rendszerük itt nem részletezendő sajátosságai alapján Marylandet, Virginiát, Delaware-t és Észak-Karolinát szokás a Felső-Dél (Upper South) régiójához sorolni. Ezekkel szemben állt az Alsó-Dél (Lower South), amely övezethez Dél-Karolina és Georgia tartozott. A két régió pontosabb meghatározására magyarul lásd: Lévai Csaba: „Rizs és indigó: a rabszolgatartás az észak-amerikai szárazföldi brit gyarmatok legdélibb övezetében, az Alsó-Délén”, in *Emlékkönyv Barta János 70. születésnapjára*, szerk. Papp Imre – Angi János – Pallai László (Debrecen: A Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézete, 2010), 251. A Somerset-ügyre lásd: Simon Schama: *Rough Crossings. Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2005), 35–57; Guyatt, 2011, 198.

Amint arra Nicholas Guyatt felhívta a figyelmet, Sharp és társai „abban hittek, hogy a felszabadítás gondolata kibékítheti egymással a gyarmatokat és az anyaországot... A brit reformerek azt képzelték, hogy Lord North (1732–1792) kormányzata hamarosan össze fog omlani saját elnyomó politikájának súlya alatt, az ellenzék pedig az átfogó jellegű birodalmi reform gondolata körül tömörül majd, amelyben a szabadság különféle koncepcióit (ti. a gyarmatok és a rabszolgák szabadságát – L. Cs.) összehangolják majd és általánossá teszik”. Ezen új politika jegyében, Sharp és társai véget vetettek az amerikaiak képmutatását ostorozó korábbi gyakorlatuknak, s az amerikaiak csendestársaivá váltak. Franklin kettős állásfoglalása azonban ezt követően sem szűnt meg. Egyfelől elfogadta azt a támogatást, amit britanniai abolicionista barátai az amerikai ügynek nyújtottak és „meghagyta őket abban a hitben, hogy maga is várja a rabszolgaság-ellenes ügy diadalát”. Másfelől viszont élesen elítélte azt, hogy a brit kormányzat felszabadításuk ígéretével arra ösztökelte az amerikai „lázadók” rabszolgáit, hogy gazdáik ellen forduljanak.¹⁹

Robert G. Parkinson mutatott rá arra, hogy a forradalom idején Franklin az egyik „legkreatívabb publicistája” volt annak az amerikai szerzők által sűrűn emlegetett toposznak, hogy a britek által a szabadság ígéretével az oldalukra állított rabszolgák a zsarnokság eszközeivé – vagyis az amerikaiak szabadságának ellenségeivé – váltak, s ezért nem alkalmasak arra, hogy az új nemzet állampolgárai legyenek. Ez az érvelés a legtöbbször együtt szerepelt azzal, hogy a brit uralkodó a „barbár vad indiánokat” és a „kegyetlen külföldi zsoldosokat” is rászabadította a gyarmatokra. E három motívum a *Függetlenségi nyilatkozat* eredeti fogalmazványába is bekerült, de Benjamin Franklin is sokszor elővette különböző írásaiban. Az egyik angliai barátjának 1775 őszén azt írta, hogy „az ön nemzete... arra ösztökelte az indiánokat, hogy rátámadjanak a hátországunk (ti. a nyugati határvidék – L. Cs.) ártatlan lakóira, a rabszolgáinkat pedig arra, hogy legyilkolják gazdáikat.” Egy nappal később egy másik anyaországbeli ismerősének írott levelében ezt az érvet még hatásosabb módon fejtette ki, mivel a britek által felizgatott rabszolgák és indiánok kegyetlenkedéseit egy látványos hasonlattal még drámaibb színben tüntette fel: „Mit gondolnának önök arról, ha a Kongresszus egy itáliai orrgyilkost bérelne fel arra, hogy egyik miniszterük házába betörve az ágyában gyilkolja meg őt? Minden barátja bennünket merénylőknek, gyilkosoknak és gazembereknek nevezve kelne ki hangosan ellenünk, Parlamentjük épülete pedig utálatuk hangjait visszhangozná!”²⁰

19 Guyatt, 2011, 198. Arra, hogy a függetlenségi háború idején (1775–1783) a britek milyen kísérleteket tettek a rabszolgák maguk oldalára állítására lásd: Robert G. Parkinson: *The Common Cause. Creating Race and Nation in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 141–184. Alan Taylor: *The Internal Enemy. Slavery and War in Virginia 1772–1832* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 2013), 23–30. Mindkét szerző azt, az utóbbi években előtérbe került nézetet fejté ki, hogy a háború idején a britekkel szembeni ellenállás – s így az amerikai forradalom – egyik fő mozgató ereje és motiválója a széleskörű rabszolga felkeléstől való félelem volt az észak-amerikai gyarmatokon.

20 Parkinson, 2016, 635. Thomas Jefferson: „Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok kongresszusban összegyűlt képviselőinek nyilatkozata”, 1997, 100. Benjamin Franklin levele David Hartley-

Ugyanezen érvek a háború során később írott leveleiben is szinte szóról-szóra ismétlődtek, de propagandisztikus szándékuk egy 1779-ben megfogalmazott tervben jelent meg a legerőteljesebben.²¹ Ekkor a Kongresszus arra kérte fel Franklint, az Egyesült Államok párizsi nagykövetét, hogy egy francia művésztől rendeljen egy harmincöt darabból álló metszet sorozatot, amely egy gyerekeknek írandó tankönyvben mutatta volna be az amerikai forradalom történetét. Amint azt egy 1780-ban írott levelében megfogalmazta, a könyv célja az lett volna, hogy „mély benyomást tegyen a gyerekek és az utókor gondolkodására az önök véres és kielégíthetetlen rosszakaratáról és gonoszágáról.”²² Az amerikai követ az ekkor Franciaországba ideiglenesen visszatért Lafayette márki (1757–1834) segítségével készítette el azokat a leírásokat, amelyeket a művész instruálására szántak annak érdekében, hogy a leghatásosabban végezhesse el feladatát. A végül elkészült huszonhat leírásból húszat Franklin, hatot pedig a márki készített. A tizedik illusztráció a doktor leírásában az alábbiakat ábrázolta volna:

Dunmore felbérelti a négereket, hogy meggyilkolják a gazdáik családrait
Egy nagy ház
Feketék puskákkal és kardokkal felfegyverkezve
A gazda és fiai holtan fekszenek a földön
A feleséget és a lányokat éppen felemelik a négerek, amint elhurcolják őket.

A tizenkilencedik kép Lafayette által készített leírása pedig az alábbiakat tartalmazta:

A becsületszóra hadifogoly (ti. szabadon mozgó – L. Cs.) brit tiszteket jól fogadják a legjobb amerikai családoknál, akik azonban ezt arra használják fel, hogy a négereket megrontva arra vegyék rá őket, hogy szökjenek el a háztól, rabolják ki, mi több gyilkolják meg gazdáikat.²³

A történészek véleménye megoszlik arról, hogy a fentebb elmondottak tükrében hogyan értékelendő Franklinnak az a tette, hogy 1787-ben elvállalta a *Pennsylvania Abolition Society* (Pennsylvaniai Abolicionista Társaság – a továbbiakban PAS) elnöki tisztét. Mi több ebben a minőségében aláírta azt a petíciót, amit a társaság az időközben elfogadott új alkotmány alapján összeülő szövetségi Képviselőháznak nyújtott be 1790-ben.²⁴ Egyes szakemberek életpályája megkoronázásaként értékelték ezeket a lépéseket,

nak, 1775. szeptember 12.; Benjamin Franklin levele Jonathan Shipley-nek, 1775. szeptember 13. Idézi: Parkinson, 2016, 180.

21 A további hasonló tartalmú levelekre lásd: Benjamin Franklin levele Lord Richard Howenak, 1776. július 20.; Benjamin Franklin levele David Hartley-nak, 1777. október 14.

22 Benjamin Franklin levele David Hartley-nak, 1780. február 2.

23 *Franklin and Lafayette's List of Prints to Illustrate British Cruelties*, 1779. május, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-29-02-0477>. A letöltés ideje: 2018. december 29.

24 A társaságot többségében kvéker abolicionisták alapították 1775-ben Anthony Benezet vezetésével. Eredeti teljes neve az volt, hogy *Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully*

ami annak volt egyértelmű jele, hogy Franklin – sok neves kortársától eltérően – felismerte, hogy a rabszolgaság jelenléte a fiatal amerikai köztársaságban milyen súlyos hosszú távú veszélyeket rejt magában, illetve, hogy ellene erőteljes és azonnali fellépésre van szükség. Nicholas Guyatt azonban úgy vélte, hogy „ennek a történetnek megvannak a maga hátulütői. A petíció egy rabszolgaság elleni nemzetközi erőfeszítés csúcspontját jelentette, s ha saját kontextusába helyezzük, kiderül, hogy kevésbé volt kivételes.”²⁵

Az utolsó rabszolgája elhunyt (1781) és a saját halála (1790) közötti szűk évtizedben Franklin fokozatosan jutott el a nevezetes petíció aláírásáig. A pennsylvaniai politikus tagja volt a függetlenségi háborút lezáró béketárgyalásokon résztvevő amerikai delegációnak. A Konföderációs Kongresszus az amerikai küldötteket arra utasította, hogy követeljék azon rabszolgák visszaadását, akik a háború alatt „lázadó” gazdáiktól a britekhez szöktek, s a brit csapatokkal együtt elhagyták az Egyesült Államokat. A brit kormányzat azonban nem tett ennek a kérésnek eleget, nem ürtett ki kilenc, az új Egyesült Államok területére eső erdőt s ahhoz is ragaszkodott, hogy az amerikaiak fizessék vissza a brit hitelezőikkel szemben fennálló adósságaikat. A béketárgyalásokon Franklin hűségesen képviselte a szökött rabszolgákat visszakövetelő amerikai álláspontot s az említett brit lépésekre válaszul néhány évvel később egy rövid írást is szerkesztett *The Retort Courteous* (Az udvarias viszontválasz, 1786) címmel.

Franklin ebben a munkájában a függetlenségi háború alatt emlegetett vádakat elevenítette fel és Samuel Johnson korábban említett *Taxation no Tyranny* (Az adózás nem zsarnokság) című traktátusát úgy állította be, mint amelyben a britek „legünnepeltebb moralistája... a rabszolgákat felkelésre ösztökölte, hogy elvágják megvásárlóik torkát, hogy szökjének a brit hadsereghez, ahol majd szabadsággal jutalmazzzák őket. Mindez így is lett és az ültetvényeseket majdnem harmincezer dolgozó emberüktől fosztották meg”. Ez azonban nem volt elég a briteknek, akik „a fogságukba esett négerek közül néhányat beoltottak... s aztán engedték a himlővel megfertőzötteket megszökni vagy visszaküldték őket, hogy elvegyüljenek és elterjesszék a betegséget azonos bőrszínű társaik között valamint a vidéki fehér emberek körében, ami mindkét vonatkozásban nagy halálozáshoz vezetett.” A pennsylvaniai politikus mindennek háttérében egy ördögi brit terv körvonalait látta felsejleni, nevezetesen hogy az anyaország döntéshozói mindezzel

Held in Bondage (A törvénytelenül fogságban tartott szabad feketéket segélyező társaság). A társaságot 1784-ben átszervezték, s ekkor már a rabszolga-felszabadítás célkitűzése is bekeverült a szervezet nevébe: *Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage* (A rabszolgaság eltörlését célul tűző és a törvénytelenül fogságban tartott szabad feketéket segélyező társaság), azonban közkeletűen csak a *Pennsylvania Abolition Society*ként (Pennsylvaniai Abolicionista Társaság) emlegették.

- 25 Franklin lépésének pozitív megközelítésére lásd: Gordon S. Wood: *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004), 226–229. Franklin rabszolgaságról szóló nézeteinek negatívabb megítélésére lásd: David Waldstreicher: *Runaway America. Benjamin Franklin, Slavery, and the American Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), xii; Guyatt, 2011, 201.

egy újabb Amerika elleni háború magvait vetették el. A hozzájuk szökött rabszolgák visszaadását megtagadó brit álláspont Franklin szerint egyértelmű bizonyítéka volt annak, hogy a britek „inkább maradtak hűségesek régi fekete barátaikhoz, mint újszülött fehér barátaikhoz, s ez a körülmény napnál világosabban mutatja meg, hogy egy eljövendő háború lehetőségét mérlegelik és remélik, hogy ha a *legutóbbiban* nem is sikerült a rabszolgák ígért felszabadítását keresztülvinni, a *következőben* nagyobb sikerrel járhatnak.” Franklin még három évvel a béke megkötése után is azt a háborús retorikát elevenítette fel, hogy a fekete rabszolgák az amerikaiak szabadsága ellen harcoltak, amikor saját szabadságukat igyekeztek biztosítani. Ha nem is abban az értelemben, ahogyan ebben a művében szándékolta, a doktornak abban mégis igaza lett, hogy 1812–14-ben egy újabb háború zajlott Nagy-Britannia és az Egyesült Államok között, s a britek akkor is megkísérelték az oldalukra állítani az amerikai rabszolgákat – meglehetősen sikerrel.²⁶

Ugyanakkor, nyilvánosságra nem hozott írásaiban már ekkoriban is merészebb nézeteket fogalmazott meg a rabszolgasággal kapcsolatban. Ezekben a hadifogollyá válás elméletét elevenítette fel a rabszolgaság kialakulásával kapcsolatban, de úgy vélte, hogy a hadifoglyokkal való bánásmód tekintetében ez a megoldás már kiment a divatból, hiszen a modern nemzetek már a fogolycsere gyakorlatával élnek. Egy 1782-ben írott publikálatlan vázlatában pedig már az általános rabszolga-felszabadítás gondolatát is felvetette. Az 1783-as békekötés után az európai kivándorlók érdeklődése is megnőtt az amerikai köztársaság iránt. Franklin egy tájékoztató pamfletet állított össze a potenciális kivándorlók számára s ebben azt hangsúlyozta, hogy Amerikában csak kemény munkával lehet boldogulni. Ezt azért tartotta fontosnak kiemelni, mert az Európába látogató rabszolgatartó ültetvényesek fényűző életmódja azt a benyomást kelthette az óvilágbeli megfigyelőkben, hogy a rabszolgák „segítségével” Amerikában könnyedén meg lehet gazdagodni. Franklinnek ezt a véleményét megint csak a rabszolgatartás elleni állásfoglalásként lehetett értékelni. Anthony Benezet pedig azt a megfigyelését osztotta meg vele, hogy a szabadságról regélő retorika ellenére az új Egyesült Államokban továbbra is legális a rabszolgatartás, illetve arra próbálta meg rávenni Franklint, hogy a francia udvarnál meglévő befolyását a rabszolga-kereskedelem betiltását követelő ottani mozgalom támogatására használja fel.²⁷

Az Egyesült Államokba történt hazatérte után Franklin egyre szorosabb kapcsolatba került az amerikai és az európai abolicionista vezetőkkel. Nagy-Britanniában továbbra is Granville Sharp, Franciaországban pedig Jacques-Pierre Brissot, a későbbi girondista vezető voltak fő levelező partnerei. Az utóbbi nevéhez fűződik a legfontosabb

26 Franklin munkáját idézi: Parkinson, 2016, 636; Taylor, 2013, 145–349. Pulitzer-díjnyertes könyvében Alan Taylor amellett érvelt, hogy a britek által is támogatott nagyméretű rabszolgafelkelés veszélyének gondolata mind a függetlenségi háborúban, mind pedig az 1812–1814-es háborúban nagy szerepet játszott a virginiai fehér népesség egységének és háborús elköteleződésének megeremtésében.

27 Guyatt, 2011, 202.

franciaországi rabszolgaság-ellenes szervezet a *Société des amis des Noirs* (A feketék barátainak társasága) megalapítása 1788-ban. Brissot nem sokkal később Philadelphiában meg is látogatta Franklint.²⁸

A pennsylvaniai politikus a *Pennsylvania Abolition Society* munkájába is egyre aktívabban kapcsolódott be. Nicholas Guyatt megállapította:

A PAS-t 1784-ben megújító kvéker aktivisták Franklinre kulcsfontosságú új tagként tekintettek. Tudatában voltak annak, hogy tagságukat diverzifikálni szükséges, érvelésükben pedig túl kell lépni a vallási megalapozottságon s Franklin ismertségét is készek voltak kihasználni. 1787-ben a pennsylvaniai politikus közreműködésével újították meg a PAS alkotmányát, amely három fő érvet sorakoztatott fel a rabszolgaság ellen: a vallási tiltást, az emberiség egységének hangoztatását, valamint azt, hogy a szabadság áldásaiban az emberi faj minden részének részesülnie kell. Ez utóbbi érv egyértelműen a *Függetlenségi nyilatkozat* és az amerikai forradalom retorikájára alapozott.²⁹

1788 elején Franklin a PAS elnökeként, az Egyesült Államok minden tagállama kormányzójának levelet küldött, amelyben arra hívta fel figyelmüket, hogy a PAS szerint a rabszolgatartás összeegyeztethetetlen azokkal az eszményekkel, amelyek nevében az Egyesült Államok létrejött. Érdemes részletesebben is idéznünk azt a levelet, amelyet John Collinsnak (1717–1795), Rhode Island kormányzójának küldött. A PAS ekkoriban elsősorban a rabszolga-kereskedelem betiltásán fáradozott s a Rhode Island-i kereskedők ebben nagyon fontos szerepet játszottak. Mint Franklin megfogalmazta:

Társaságunk nagy aggodalommal értesült arról, hogy a békeszerződés megkötése óta a déli államokba eladott rabszolgákat jelentős részben olyan hajókon szállították oda, amelyeket abban az államban szereltek fel, amelynek excellenciád az elnöke. Excellenciád állásából kiindulva azt remélik, hogy befolyását arra fogja fordítani, hogy megakadályozza ezt a gyakorlatot, amelyik oly nyilvánvalóan ellentétes azokkal a politikai elvekkel és azzal a kormányzati formával, amelyet az Egyesült Államok polgárai nemrégiben elfogadtak.

Franklin nagy örömmel vette kézhez John Collins válaszát, amelyben megjegyezte:

Úgy látom, excellenciádnak még nem jutott tudomására az a törvény, amelyet Rhode Island állam törvényhozása a múlt októberben fogadott el a rabszolga-kereskedelem eltörlésére vonatkozóan. Az Ön és a társaság tájékoztatása végett csatolom a törvény egy példányát... amelyet a törvényhozás két háza mindössze négy ellenszavazattal fogadott el. Mindez nem mutat mást,

28 Guyatt, 2011, 203.

29 Guyatt, 2011, 204.

mint azt, hogy Rhode Island állam – az unió bármely más államához hasonlóan – annak ellenére is nagy utálattal viseltetik a rabszolgaság iránt, hogy ezen állam kereskedői a nyereséget szem előtt tartva nagymértékben részt vettek a rabszolga-kereskedelemben, ám az állam többsége elítélte ezt a kereskedelmet.

Franklin és a PAS több más államból is hasonló, nekik kedvező válaszokat kapott.³⁰

Franklin legfontosabb európai abolicionista levelezőtársa Granville Sharp volt, aki nagy reményeket fűzött az Egyesült Államokhoz. Úgy vélte, hogy a régebben létrejött atlanti parti államok nehezebben győzhetők meg a rabszolga-felszabadításról, s ezért úgy vélte, hogy a felszabadítandó feketéknek a nyugati területeken kellene helyet biztosítani. Az 1787-es alkotmányozó konvención résztvevő Benjamin Franklint szeretne volna meggyőzni arról, hogy ismertesse meg a tanácskozás részvevőit elképzeléseivel. A konvención küldöttei azonban „nem voltak vevők” Sharp eszméire, aki elkeseredetten vette tudomásul, hogy az új alkotmány, ahelyett, hogy döntő lépéseket tett volna a rabszolgatartó rendszer felszámolására, még engedményeket is tett annak. Amint azt Franklinnek írott levelében megfogalmazta: „Mínthogy mindig is a *szabad kormányzatok* becsületének lelkes támogatója voltam, a legőszintébb szomorúsággal kell látnom, hogy az új szövetségi alkotmányt két kifogásolható cikkely mocskolta be.” Sharp egyrészt arra a rendelkezésre gondolt, amely szerint 1808 előtt a Kongresszus nem fogadhat el a rabszolga-kereskedelmet korlátozó intézkedéseket, másrészt pedig arra, hogy az alkotmány a szökött rabszolgák tulajdonosaikhoz való visszaszállításáról is rendelkezett. Sharp úgy vélte, hogy „*gonosz* jellegükből adódóan ezek nyilvánvalóan érvénytelenek s még az is *bűnnek* tekinthető, hogy törvényeknek tekintsük őket!” Érdekes, hogy a Sharp levelére adott nagyon rövid válaszában Franklin egyáltalán nem reagált a rabszolgasággal kapcsolatos felvetésekre. Amint Nicholas Guyatt megjegyezte: „Franklin azzal a gondolattal áltathatta magát, hogy az alkotmány semleges volt a rabszolgaság kérdésében vagy azzal, hogy az 1808-ra vonatkozó rendelkezés a fokozatos felszabadítás egyik formájaként is felfogható.”³¹

Ennek ellenére, Franklint egyre több olyan impulzus érte, amelyek megerősítették a rabszolgaság elleni elkötelezettségét. A rabszolgaság-ellenesség ügyével szimpatizáló

30 Benjamin Franklin levele John Collinsnak, 1788. január 12. John Collins levele Benjamin Franklinnek, 1788. május 12. Az észak-amerikai brit gyarmatok közül a Rhode Island-i kereskedők játszották a vezető szerepet a rabszolga-kereskedelemben. Erre lásd: Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle. Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700–1787* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981).

31 Granville Sharp levele Benjamin Franklinnek, 1788. január 10.; Benjamin Franklin levele Granville Sharpnak, 1788. május 15. Guyatt, 2011, 204. Sharp életére lásd: Schama, 2007, 21–57. Az 1787-ben kidolgozott szövetségi alkotmány és a rabszolgaság kapcsolatára magyarul lásd: Lévai Csaba: „Szabadságot a szolgaság fenntartásával: az amerikai forradalom alapdokumentumai és a rabszolgaság kérdése”, in *Emlékkönyv Gunst Péter 70. születésnapjára*, szerk. Barta János–Pallai László (Debrecen: Multiplex Media–DUP, Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézete, 2004), 139–152.

kormányzók levelein túlmenően ilyen volt mindenekelőtt az, hogy Nagy-Britanniában felerősödött a rabszolga-kereskedelem, majd a rabszolgaság betiltásáért küzdő mozgalom s ennek egyes brit képviselői az anyaországbeli és az amerikai abolícionisták összefogásától remélték az áttörést. Amint azt Franklin régi londoni barátja David Hartley (1732–1813) megfogalmazta: „Remélem, hogy országainkat – amelyek eredetüket és elveiket tekintve valójában egyek –, vérokonságukból adódóan újból örök barátság és kapcsolat fogja összefűzni, s hogy az emberiség testi és lelki jellegű általános felszabadítása a zsarnokság és a rabszolgaság minden fajtája alól, egyesült elveink áldott gyümölcse lesz.” E hírek is szerepet játszottak abban, hogy Franklin aláírta azt a petíciót, amelyet a PAS 1790. február 3-án nyújtott be az új alkotmány alapján összeülő szövetségi Képviselőháznak. Az okirat szerint a Kongresszust az alkotmány azért hozta létre, hogy „az Egyesült Államok népe számára biztosítsa a szabadság áldásait”, mely áldásban „megkülönböztetés nélkül mindenfajta embernek részesülnie kell.” Egyértelműen a *Függetlenségi nyilatkozatra* utalva a petíció szerzői azt is megfogalmazták, hogy „az emberiséget ugyanazon Örökkévaló Lény alkotta, mindannyian gondoskodásának tárgyai s mindannyian a boldogság élvezésére teremtettek.”³²

A petíció benyújtása élénk vitát váltott ki a Képviselőházban, annál is inkább, mivel az alkotmányozó konvenció zárt tárgyalásain megkerülték a kérdést. Helyesebben, az alkotmány úgy gondoskodott a rabszolgatartó rendszer fennmaradásáról és védelméről, hogy a konvención folytatott vitákon számot vetettek volna annak morális vonzataival. Jellemző, hogy az alkotmány anélkül tartalmazott határozott rendelkezéseket a rabszolgatartásra vonatkozóan, hogy a rabszolga szót egyszer is megemlítték volna benne.³³

Az alsó-déli képviselők kikeltek a PAS petíciója ellen. James Jackson (1757–1806) georgiai politikus például olyan érveket fogalmazott meg, amelyeket a későbbiekben is sokszor hangoztattak az alsó-déli kongresszusi tagok. Azzal érvelt, hogy a Biblia elfogadta a rabszolgaságot, s ezért a kvékerek semmiféle vallási vagy isteni felhatalmazással sem rendelkeznek a rabszolgaság eltörlésének követelését illetően. Jackson úgy vélte, hogy ha lenne egy olyan szövetségi bíró, aki illegálisnak minősítené a rabszolgaságot, nagy nehézségekbe ütközne, ha ezt a döntését Georgiában is érvényesíteni akarná, mi több „egy ilyen bíró létezése is veszélybe kerülne”. Az alsó-déli képviselők azonban ekkoriban még nem élvezték az összes déli képviselő egyértelmű támogatását. A Felső-Délen ekkor még tartott az a felszabadítási „lendület”, ami a forradalom eredményeként bontakozott ki. Ennek is volt köszönhető, hogy a virginiai képviselők majd mindegyike megszavazta, hogy a PAS petícióját vegyék bele a Képviselőház jegyzőkönyvébe. Ezzel együtt a Kongresszus illetékes bizottsága 1790. március 5-én úgy döntött, hogy mivel a törvényhozásnak nincs hatásköre arra, hogy beavatkozzon a tagállamok belügyeibe, a petíciót elutasítja.³⁴

32 David Hartley levele Benjamin Franklinnek, 1789. augusztus. Guyatt, 2011, 205. A petíció szövegét idézi: Wood, 2004, 228.

33 Guyatt, 2011, 205. Lévai, 2004, 147.

34 Jacksont idézi Guyatt, 2011, 205. Wood, 2004, 228.

Franklin egy kíméletlen szatírával válaszolt Jackson képviselő beszédére, amely a *Federal Gazette* című újság 1790. március 25-i számában látott napvilágot. Ebben egy képzeletbeli 17. század végi algíri szerző, bizonyos Szidi Mehmet Ibrahim vette védelmébe a rabszolgaságot. Franklin története szerint egy bizonyos Erikának nevezett valási szekta petícióval fordult az Algíri Divánhoz, a kalózkodás és a rabszolgaság eltörlését követelve. Franklin ebben az írásában maró gúny tárgyává tette azt az érvelést, amely a rabszolgaságot „pozitív jó dologként” tüntette fel, s amely olyan gyakran jelent meg az elkövetkező évtizedekben déli írók tollából. Érvelésében egyértelműen olyan elemek voltak megtalálhatók, amelyek nem az észak-afrikai, hanem az észak-amerikai viszonyokra vonatkoztak.³⁵

A képzeletbeli arab szerző nevében Franklin azt a kérdést tette fel, hogy ha

megtartóztatjuk magunkat a rabszolgaságtól, akkor ezen a forró éghajlaton ki fogja megművelni a földjeinket? Ki fogja akkor a városainkban és a családjaink körében szükséges munkákat ellátni?... Most körülbelül 50 000 rabszolgát tartunk Algír közelében. Ha ehhez nem adunk hozzá friss szállítmányokat, hamarosan lecsökken a számuk s fokozatosan elfogynak. Vagyis ha megszüntetjük a hitetlenek hajóinak fosztogatását és tengerészeik, valamint utasaik rabszolgává tételét, akkor földjeink értéktelenné válnak... a városi házbérleti díjak felére esnek vissza? Az ezekre a zsákmányokra kivetett kormányzati bevételek pedig teljesen megszűnnek!³⁶

A pennsylvaniai politikus ezt követően a tulajdonosok kárpótlására, illetve arra a kérdésre tért rá, hogy mi történjen a felszabadított rabszolgákkal:

De ki fogja kártalanítani a tulajdonosokat az őket ért veszteséget? Az állam? Elegendő ehhez a kincstárunk? Vajon az Erika fogja ezt megtenni?... S ha felszabadítjuk a rabszolgáinkat, mi történjen velük ezután? Közülük csak nagyon kevesen térnének vissza országaikba, jól tudják, hogy ott még nagyobb nehézségekkel kellene számolniuk. Nem tették magukévá szent vallásunkat, nem alkalmazkodtak a szokásainkhoz, a mi népünk pedig nem szennyezi be

35 Az algíri rabszolgaság nagyon ismert és érzékeny pont volt a korabeli Egyesült Államokban, mivel az észak-afrikai partvidék ún. „barbár államainak” (Tripoli, Tunisz, Algír, Marokkó) hajói rendszeresen ejtették fogságba a Mediterrán térséggel élénk kereskedelmi forgalmat bonyolító amerikai kereskedelmi hajók legénységét. A kiszabaduló amerikai rabok nagy publicitást kapó fogságnaplókban számoltak be „élményeikről”. Erről magyarul lásd: Lévai Csaba: „Egy elfeledett konfliktus? Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok és Tripoli háborúja 1801 és 1805 között”, in *A Balkán és a keleti kérdés a nagyhatalmi politikában*, szerk. Árvay Tibor – Bodnár Erzsébet – Demeter Gábor (Budapest: Hungarovox, 2005), 50–64; Palotás Zsolt, *Bejek, korzárók és diplomaták. A tuniszi kormányzóság kapcsolatai nyugat-európai országokkal és az Egyesült Államokkal, 1605–1830* (Szeged: Ph.D. értekezés, 2017).

36 „To the Editor of the Federal Gazette”, <http://franklinpapers.org/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=46&page=402>. A letöltés ideje: 2018. december 29.

magát azzal, hogy összeházasodik velük... Úgy hozzá vannak szokva a rabszolgasághoz, hogy nem dolgoznának a megélhetésükért, ha nem kényszerítik erre őket. Vagy nem voltak-e maguk is rabszolgák a saját országaikban?... Rosszabb körülmények közé kerültek-e azáltal, hogy a kezünkbe kerültek? Nem, mivel az egyik rabszolgaságot csak egy másikra cserélték, s azt mondhatom, hogy egy jobbra, mivel egy olyan országba kerültek, amelyben az iszlám napja teljes fényességgel szórja sugarait, s így lehetőségük van rá, hogy megismerkedjenek az igaz tanítással, megmentvén ezáltal halhatatlan lelkeiket.

Vagyis a rabszolgák kifejezetten jól jártak azzal, hogy rabszolgasorba vetették őket.³⁷

A képzeletbeli arab író azt a megoldást is elvetette, hogy még lakatlan területekre telepítsék a felszabaduló rabszolgákat, mivel „kétlem, hogy kényszer nélkül képesek lennének dolgozni, ahhoz pedig túlságosan is tudatlanok, hogy egy jó kormányzatot hozzanak létre s a vad arabok hamarosan zaklatni kezdenék őket, majd megsemmisítenék és újból rabszolga sorba vetnék őket.” Franklin itt nyilván az amerikai indiánokra gondolt, s ez a gondolata azért is olyan érdekes, mivel számos, a rabszolgaságot elítélő korabeli szerző játszott azzal a gondolattal, hogy a felszabaduló rabszolgákat az Egyesült Államok még „be nem telepített” nyugati területén kellene otthonhoz juttatni. Egy időben Thomas Jefferson is pártolta ezt a gondolatot.³⁸

Szidi Mehmet Ibrahim ezután áttért azon pontok felsorolására, amelyek a „rabszolgaság mint pozitív jó” érvelés középpontjában álltak. A rabszolgatartók „figyelnek arra, hogy mindennel ellássák őket és humanusan bánnak velük”. Viszont a „munkások a saját származási országaikban – amennyire én tudom – rosszabbul tápláltak, rosszabb körülmények között laknak és rosszabb öltözképet viselnek.” Itt a képzeletbeli arab szerző azt az érvet vette elő, amelyet gyakran hangoztatnak majd az elkövetkező évtizedek rabszolgatartás párti szerzői az Egyesült Államokban, nevezetesen, hogy a brit és az északi abolícionisták „anyaországaiban” az ipari munkások sokkal rosszabb körülmények között élnek és dolgoznak, mint a déli rabszolgák.³⁹

A Franklin képzelete által szült arab író azt az érvet is elvetette, hogy a rabszolgatartás ellentétes lenne a Koránnal, illetve az „iszlám vallás” parancsolataival, hiszen a szent írásban az is olvasható, hogy „gazdák, bánjatok kedvesen a szolgálítókkal”, illetve, hogy „szolgák, szolgáljátok örömmel és hűségesen gazdáitokat”. Szidi Mehmet Ibrahim érvelésének aztán meg is lett az eredménye, hiszen az algíri Diván (vagyis az amerikai Képviselőház) az alábbi határozatot hozta az Erika – vagyis a PAS – által benyújtott petícióról: „Az a doktrína, miszerint a keresztények kifosztása és rabszolga sorba vetése

37 „To the Editor of the Federal Gazette”.

38 „To the Editor of the Federal Gazette”. Vö. „Reszketek hazámért, ha arra gondolok, hogy Isten igazságos (Thomas Jefferson és a rabszolgaság problémája).” *Aetas* 16.1 (2001): 5–26.

39 „To the Editor of the Federal Gazette”.

igazságtalan, legalábbis problematikus, ám az is világos, hogy ennek az államnak e gyakorlat folytatása áll az érdekében, tehát a beadványt elutasítjuk.”⁴⁰

Franklin még élt, amikor a Képviselőház elutasította a PAS beadványát, ám britanai barátaitól nagyon kedvező híreket kapott arra vonatkozóan, hogy a brit parlament miként fog dönteni az ottani abolicionisták hasonló beadványáról, amely a rabszolga-kereskedelem betiltását követelte. Ennek eredményét azonban már nem élte meg. Amint azt Nicholas Guyatt találóan megállapította: „Franklin... tökéletes időzítéssel lépett le a színről... Az, hogy ilyen sokáig élt, megszabadította őt a rabszolgaság morális szégyenfoltjától s élete utolsó évtizedében tagja lett annak a nemzetközi mozgalomnak, amelyik az intézmény korlátozását célozta.”⁴¹

Az 1790-es években azonban nem úgy alakultak a dolgok, ahogyan azt 1790-ben Franklin még képzelhette. A francia forradalom radikalizálódása, majd 1793-ban a Franciaország és Nagy-Britannia között kirobbant háború eltávolította egymástól a brit és a francia abolicionistákat. A francia mozgalom élén álló Brissot a francia belpolitika felé fordult és a girondisták egyik vezetőjeként a jakobinus diktatúra idején a vérpadon lelte halálát. A haiti rabszolgafelkelés kirobbanása (1791) s az ottani véres erőszakkal kapcsolatos hírek pedig szintén a rabszolga-felszabadítással kapcsolatos aggodalmakat erősítették. Bonaparte Napóleon (1769–1821) hatalomra jutása (1799) után pedig a francia kormányzat megkísérelte helyreállítani a rabszolgatartó rendszert a szigeten. E fejlemények hatására a brit abolicionista mozgalom is elveszítette korábbi lendületét. Amint arra Nicholas Guyatt rámutatott:

Franklin nehézkes abolicionizmusa nemzetközi kontextusban bontakozott ki. Granville Sharp, David Hartley, Richard Price (1723–1791), Lafayette márki és sok más európai barátja sürgette Franklint, hogy egy rabszolgaság nélküli amerikai jövőt képzeljen el, s abban erősítették meg, hogy nemzeteik majd együttesen fogják támogatni a felszabadítási erőfeszítéseket. Az 1790-es évekre azonban majdnem lehetetlennek bizonyult e nemzetközi koalíció összetartása, ami nagyon hátrányos következményekkel járt az ügyre nézve Amerikában.⁴²

Benjamin Franklin rabszolgaságról alkotott felfogása azzal a jelenséggel szembesíti a 21. századi olvasót, amelyet a korai amerikai történelem egyik legnagyobb hatású kutatója, Edmund S. Morgan (1916–2013) „az amerikai történelem központi paradoxonának” nevezett. Arról van szó, hogy „Amerikában a szabadság és az egyenlőség felemelkedését a rabszolgaság felemelkedése kísérte.” Az amerikai forradalom mindegyik vezetőjének, sőt minden résztvevőjének szembe kellett néznie ezzel a paradoxonnal.

40 „To the Editor of the Federal Gazette”.

41 Guyatt, 2011, 206. A brit rabszolga-kereskedelem betiltására irányuló törekvésekre lásd: Kenneth Morgan: *Slavery and the British Empire. From Africa to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 148–171.

42 Guyatt, 2011, 209.

Amint Morgan megfogalmazta: „Azok a szabadság és az egyenlőség mellett elkötelezett férfiak, akik azért jöttek össze, hogy megalapítsák a független Egyesült Államokat, vagy maguk is rabszolgatartók voltak, vagy készek voltak együttműködni amazokkal. Egyikőjüknek sem volt teljes a komfortérzete emiatt, de nem is érezték magukat felelősnek ezért.”⁴³

A philadelphiai doktor sem úszhatta meg a szembenézést ezzel a dilemmával s a történészek véleménye megoszlik arról, hogy ez összességében milyen eredménnyel zárult. Gordon Wood az élete végén a rabszolgasággal szembehelyezkedő bölcselőre helyezte a hangsúlyt, aki a forradalom és a függetlenségi háború idején a rabszolgaság kérdésében is „a nagyon különböző vélemények közötti praktikus kompromisszumra törekvő tapintatos egyeztetőként” működött, s ezzel magyarázható, hogy ekkoriban maga is gyakran alkalmazta a britek ellen azt az érvet, hogy azok, a rabszolgák fellátásával akarják megfosztani az amerikaiakat kivívott szabadságuktól, vagyis a rabszolgák az amerikai ügy ellenségei.⁴⁴

Kritikusabban fogalmazott 2016-ban megjelent könyvében Robert G. Parkinson. Ő is úgy látta, hogy Benjamin Franklin „nem szerette a rabszolgaságot... s továbbra is biztos állíthatjuk, hogy Franklin nem akarta látni az intézmény megerősödését az új nemzet körében. A feketét sem tekintette nem emberi jellegű tulajdonformának.” Parkinson ugyanakkor azt is hozzátette, hogy a fekete rabszolgákat a (fehér) amerikaiak szabadsága ellenségeként beállító háború alatti írásaival, más hazafi publicistákkal együtt

az új köztársaság politikai struktúrájába mélyen elültette azt az eszmét, hogy bizonyos csoportok nem alkalmasak a befogadásra. A hazafi politikai és kommunikációs vezetők egészen más célt szem előtt tartva konstruálták meg ezt az érvelést: a világ legnagyobb katonai hatalmával szembeni egység és kiállítás biztosítása céljából. A félelemre játszó polémia azonban többet tett annál, mintsem, hogy a britek legyőzésére mozgósították volna az amerikaiakat. Egy olyan új retorikai fegyvert is adtak a rabszolgatartók kezébe, amit a rabszolgaság megvédelmezésére tudtak használni: minden abolitionistát úgy tudtak megtámadni, mint akik a forradalom brit párti ellenségei. Ez az eszköz több mint egy nemzedéknyi időre az amerikai politika összetartó tényezőjévé vált.⁴⁵

Milyen következtetésekre juthat a 21. századi olvasó az amerikai történelem „központi paradoxonával” szembesülve? Felmenthetjük-e az Alapító Atyákat mondván,

43 „E két látszólag egymással ellentmondásban lévő fejlemény egyszerre volt egy hosszú időtartamon keresztül jelen a 17. századtól a 19. századig, s ez jelenti az amerikai történelem központi paradoxonát”. Edmund S. Morgan: *American Slavery American Freedom. The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), 4. A könyv eredetileg 1975-ben jelent meg.

44 Wood, 2004, 227.

45 Parkinson, 2016, 638–639.

hogy a „különféle rangok függőségi viszonyaival és a szabadságnélküliséggel jellemezhető hierarchikus” 18. századi társadalomban élő kortársak „a rabszolgaságot magától értetődő dologként fogadták el.”⁴⁶ Vagyis koruk gyermekeiként nem is tehettek volna másként. Vagy vessük fel azt a történészek többsége által történelmietlennek tekintett kérdést, hogy ha a rabszolgaság ellen határozottabban léptek *volna* fel, akkor az egész amerikai történelem is másképpen alakulhatott *volna*? Jelen írással támpontokat kívántam szolgáltatni jelenkori olvasóim számára, hogy azok mérlegelésével dönthesék el a maguk számára az amerikai történelem „központi paradoxona” által felvetett dilemmát.

46 Wood, 2004, 226.

Railways and Diplomats

The Failure of the League of Nations to Settle the Manchurian Crisis, 1931–1933

This is a case study in the ethics of international governance during the ‘hinge years’¹ of the interwar period. It will be argued that, rather than being an early manifestation of appeasement, the League’s failure in Manchuria in the early 1930s was caused by a clash between the pre- and post-First World War ethical paradigms governing international affairs. A further investigation might conclude that Manchuria represented a link between the Wilsonian supranational idealism of the immediate post-war years and the classical instances of appeasement in the second half of the 1930s, but this step in thinking points beyond the scope of this essay. Instead, it is proposed that it is possible, through a focused summation of the external and internal situation of China at the time of the crisis and a close look at the work of the Lytton Commission to throw light on the moral and ethical environment that is likely to have pre-determined the failure of the League in deterring and/or reversing aggression in East Asia in the early 1930s.

* * *

President Wilson’s lofty principles gave birth to the modern concept of a ‘global moral neighbourhood,’ upon which concept the League of Nations was built. But how did these principles fare in the case of the first serious challenge to the international order predicated on these ideals: The Manchurian Crisis of 1931–33? We have learnt from our history textbooks that the League failed to stop and reverse aggression in Manchuria for the following main reasons:

- it was constituted of *weak powers*; neither the United States nor the Soviet Union were members at the time;
- the League’s structure and organisation were inefficient;
- the League was Eurocentric;
- most countries were still in the grips of post-war reconstruction;
- the Great Depression made nations less co-operative;
- the more the League had failed the less authority it had;
- the members themselves betrayed the League and let it down;
- the League was fixated at the time on reaching an international disarmament agreement, the goals and spirit of which were contrary to taking coercive measures against a member state; and

1 Zara Steiner, *The Lights That Failed: European International History 1919–1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), ‘Part II. The Hinge Years, 1929–33,’ 633–816.

- the League faced militarist and fascist powers the like of which had not been contemplated at the time of drafting the Covenant.

I will argue that, while necessary, the above explanations are not sufficient to explain the outcome of the events of 1931–33 in the Far East. To understand the essence of the two clashing moral paradigms or *ethea* outlined in the first paragraph, we need to revisit the historical background of the Manchurian Crisis in considerable depth and detail. The British and other western European protagonists of 1931–33 whom we as posterity see and judge with the hindsight of both world wars as well as the Cold War, had gained social and professional experience in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, the cultural values of which had only recently been questioned as a result of the First World War. While this mere biographical circumstance did not relieve them of their responsibilities under international law, it certainly explains some of their instinctive reactions during this major upheaval in an increasingly interconnected world.

Background

Railways in China were the leading instrument of the coercive foreign powers (broadly: West Europeans, Russia and Japan) for penetration, control and prestige. No wonder that the ‘incident’ sparking the crisis under review occurred on the railways.

For the early 19th century British imperialists in particular, ‘China was the Eldorado never fully explored, whose riches in concessions and customers were immeasurable.’² The ‘Old China Hands’ were British expatriates resident in the treaty ports, many of whom learnt Mandarin, and adapted to the local ways. They were, as argued by Nathan Pelcovits in his seminal work *Old China Hands and the Foreign Office* (1948), an offshoot of the rose tinted folklore that grew up around the China trade among Lancashire textile magnates and Manchester cotton mill owners. ‘Another India along the Yangtze.’ But just as in India, British traders needed Government support. ‘Indianize the Manchu Empire’ was the message from the Old China Hands. By establishing a British protectorate over the Yangtze region, British traders would gain fiscal and administrative control in this vast region. Before the control, however, communication lines, means of penetration had to be established, railways to be built.

As early as mid-century, the Palmerstonian policy of forthright expansion was effectively reversed and replaced by caution. A parliamentary select committee report of 1847 and the Mitchell Report of 1852 stressed the pessimistic view that the self-contained nature of the Chinese economy would never allow an appreciable extension of her foreign trade: China was no India. Thus the British government began to pursue a policy of limited advances and conciliation from the 1860s. In 1869, the Board of Trade officially declared that the time had come for Great Britain to awaken from the China dream: the mercantile community had to be disabused of its illusions. Instead of colonial style trade

2 Nathan A. Pelcovits, *Old China Hands and the Foreign Office* (New York: King’s Crown Press, 1948), 3.

adventures, the Foreign Office would embark on a policy of 'treating China as a civilized state in international relations,' which led to 'bitter differences' between merchants and officials.³ Instead of an orderly retreat and retrenchment, however, British national interest was reignited by the appearance of foreign European competition. It was the menace of international rivalry that led to a renewed espousal of the mercantile philosophy of expansion. At the same time, the British and Chinese Corporation to whom the bulk of the railway concessions were granted accepted the official policy of limited commitments.

During the last years of the 19th century, in one of the last great imperial scrambles for spheres of influence, Germany had sought and asserted monopolies to build railway lines in territories north of the Yangtze River and on the Shandong Peninsula; the British asserted similar rights – and acquired informal recognition as the hegemon of investments – along the Yangtze valley and south of the Yangtze, while the French explored the possibilities of building railways in Yunnan to connect southern Chinese trade with French Indo-China.

The British and Chinese Corporation (BCC) received the unopposed go-ahead to build the Shanghai-Nanking Railway line, while the capital for the contentious Tientsin-Yangtze line was to be raised by Britain and Germany as a shared project: a German group would build and operate the section from Tientsin to Tsinan on the Shandong border, and a British consortium would do the same from Tsinan to Chinkiang on the Yangtze River. Meanwhile, the boundaries of Russo-British control had also been carved out.

In the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war, China appeared to wake up from half a century of political slumber. Recognising the growing national hostility to 'political railways,' in July 1906, Sir Ernest Satow, British minister in Peking (earlier in Bangkok), intimated to the new British Foreign Secretary, Edward Grey, that 'the policies of "pacific penetration," "partition," "spheres of interest" are dead.'⁴ It was thought that the era of carving up China into spheres of influence was finally coming to an end.⁵ Yet, Satow, an accomplished orientalist, appears to have misconstrued the signs. Albeit in slightly altered form and without most of its former German component, the process continued throughout the inter-war years with an increasingly important part played by the Japanese, ostensibly as a co-equal with the European coercive powers who inherited several German territorial and trading concessions in the peace treaties after World War I.

Criticism of Japan's aims, methods and actions in China had come slowly and incompletely to the west Europeans who would become dominant in the League of Nations. The vision of the new world order as embodied in the League Covenant did not

3 Pelcovits, 3–6.

4 The National Archives, Kew, FO 371/35/18909, quoted in Thomas G. Otte, "The Baghdad Railway of the Far East": The Tientsin-Yangtze railway and Anglo-German Relations, 1898–1911, in Thomas G. Otte and Keith Neilson, ed., *Railways and International Politics: Paths of Empire 1848–1945* (London: Routledge, 2006), 128.

5 Otte, 120.

automatically result in the instantaneous espousal of those values by the member states. The United States did not share this difficulty. It had not been among the original coercive powers nor was it a member of the League. The Stimson Doctrine (non-recognition of states created as a result of aggression) could be issued in January 1932 without any inherent logical or moral contradictions.

The rise of the nationalist movement and the collapse of the imperial system in China were compounded by turmoil, indecision, factionalism, warlordism and foreign interference. The insecurity resulted in the *de facto* division of the Republic of China into a northern half where the old factional ways persisted and a southern part where Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) was beginning to emerge as the controlling force. By the end of 1927, the Nationalists had found it impossible to hold on to Peking as their capital and formally moved the seat of government to Nanking (Nanjing) in the south where they had local support, but some forty hours' train ride away from the northern capital. Peking or Beijing (北京), where the foreign legations remained sequestered in the so-called Legation Quarter, was renamed Peiping or Beiping (北平) in 1928.

For a time, the Nationalists had been penetrated by Russian Bolshevik agents, but they rid themselves of these in fraught struggles without help from the anti-Bolshevik leaders in the North and without foreign assistance during the fulcrum years of 1927–28. It was the Nationalist Kuomintang Government of Chiang Kai-shek that first began to assert China's sovereignty over the diverse territories comprising the new Republic; challenging the concessionaires' right to run the railways and the adjacent zones for their own profits and strategic control. Most notably, while in practice the Northern warlord Zhang Xueliang (the so-called Young Marshal) remained in charge of the North, Chiang's challenge to Zhang's authority became one of the central questions of the Sino-Japanese conflict in Manchuria.

The North and South division was compounded by further serious sectional differences. Shanghai, the capital of commerce and banking, dominated by the so-called International Settlement, comprised a world of its own. The three north-eastern provinces of Manchuria (itself divided into North and South) had been a separate political and ethnic entity for centuries. The province of Yunnan in the deep south-east bordering on French Indo-China and British Burma, a separate sultanate in the 19th century and descending into warlordism after 1911, continued to be remote from central government control, north or south. Hong Kong and Macau were not part of the sovereign territory of China. Add to the above the disputed quasi-independence of Tibet (1912–1951) and the sparsely populated Xinjiang regions (ruled by warlords and regularly under Russian encroachment) in the west as well as the mini enclave-concessions on the Pacific coastline and the mosaic of national, political, military and business interests and autonomies emerges that was unique in the world during the inter-war years.

Railways: The C.E.R and the S.M.R.

While for many years railway construction had been the single most important commercial undertaking in China, especially in Manchuria, the primary motive for this boom was, perhaps surprisingly, *not* commercial profit. The three historic coercive Powers: Russia, France and Germany, as well as the British, were constructing, owning and operating railway lines mainly for political and strategic reasons. Sergei Iulevich Witte, Russian Minister of Finance and the chief of the 'railway technocrats' who pioneered the Chinese Eastern Railway construction in Manchuria, once said that the railway was a 'leaven' which caused 'cultural fermentation' wherever it was built.⁶ Commercial exploitation seemed to be of secondary importance in the late nineteenth-century beginnings of the race to build.⁷ Only for the Japanese did control of rail communication bring, over and above strategic advantage, substantial economic wealth. Britain's colonial and semi-colonial involvement as well as its close ties with Japan complicated the overall picture further still.

The three north-eastern provinces of China – Liaoning (old name Fengtian also Mukden), Jilin and Heilongjiang – better known together as Manchuria, with the Liaodong Peninsula at its commercial centre – much of it long disputed between China and Imperial, and later Soviet, Russia as well as Japan – developed into the most hotly contested area of railway concessions. These concessions were acquired even before the commercial resources of the region had been explored. The private or public financing of the railway projects was also an important part of the developing rivalries. The grantees of the railway zones often challenged each other's rights and ability to control their zones, turning the railway zones into proxy conflict areas among foreign powers. The ramifications of the subject were such that British ministers in Peking⁸ and Tokyo as well as British consuls and vice-consuls in major Chinese cities such as Harbin, Mukden (Shenyang), Dairen (Dalian) and Shanghai received regular updates on railway construction in Manchuria and its political implications.⁹

6 David Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898–1914* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 5.

7 Otte, 112.

8 The capital of the Republic of China was moved to Nanking (Nanjing) in early 1928 and the name of the northern city was changed from Peking (Beijing) to Peiping (Beiping) – a name first used in the 14th century – on 28 June 1928, only reverting to Beijing on 31 January 1949. The British Legation, which stayed in 'Peking' until 1936 (though the minister Miles Lampson's representatives spent most of their time in Nanking and Shanghai), was upgraded to embassy status in 1935. The Embassy was then formally relocated to Nanking during 1936–37 to reflect the political realities. Following the Japanese attack on Nanking, the Embassy moved to the temporary Nationalist capital Chongqing, with embassy offices also located in Shanghai (1937–45).

9 See, e.g., Foreign Office memorandum of 26 June 1926; 'Memorandum on the Manchurian Railway Construction' with detailed map supplement, by W.R. Connor Green, 1 October 1927, Enclosure in Lampson to Chamberlain, 4 October 1927, BT 60/11/4, No. 49; and Frank Roberts's (Far Eastern Department) noted railway memorandum for Francis Lindley, the

The South Manchurian Railway (SMR) was originally a branch line (spur) of the China Far East Railway (Chinese Eastern Railway – CER) built by the Russians between 1898 and 1903 from Harbin to Dalian and Lüshun (Port Arthur), running north to south through Changchun¹⁰ and Mukden, the old capital of Manchuria. The line south of the city of Changchun, was transferred to Japanese control after the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and was thence administered and operated through the South Manchuria Railway Company within the South Manchuria Railway Zone (largely coinciding with the Kwantung (Guangdong) Lease Territory) protected by the regular Japanese troops, the so-called Kwantung Army. The question of control over the remaining sections of the Chinese Eastern Railway then developed into a hugely contested set of strategic issues between Imperial, and later Soviet, Russia;¹¹ imperial, and later republican, China; the local Manchurian-Chinese authorities; Japan, as well as the western creditor powers (mainly France) who supplied the capital to set up the financing constructions that allowed the railway development to take place.

Japan, which had long-acquired vested interests in Manchuria, in the name of the new ‘positive policy’ introduced by the Tanaka government, sent troops to Shantung (Shandong) thereby warding off the Nationalists from what the northerners called the sacred soil of Manchuria. One leading Japanese politician, Prince Konoye, a Japanese delegate at Paris Peace Conference, who believed in supporting the spirit of the League of Nations, also thought Japan was ‘perfectly entitled to aggrandize [its] Chinese territory to meet the needs of its own exploding surplus population’ and that ‘it was only natural for China to sacrifice itself for the sake of Japan’s social and industrial needs.’¹²

Armed conflict broke out in 1929 between Soviet Russia and China over the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria when the Kuomintang seized the Manchurian Chinese Eastern Railway. A Soviet military intervention forced the Chinese to accept restoration of joint Soviet-Chinese administration of the railway. By the early 1930s, there were twelve separate railway systems criss-crossing Manchuria, where the Japanese government was still maintaining a controlling presence supported by around 30,000 regular troops. The railway boom in Manchuria appeared to be endless as both the old political rivalries and the growing thirst for trade in China’s inland resources through concession ports pointed in this direction.

It had been in such circumstances that Manchuria developed into the power vacuum in which the Japanese could act with little or no Chinese, western or even Soviet interference. Yet, amidst all the complications and obfuscation, the international legal

British Ambassador in Tokyo: ‘Sino-Japanese Relations in Manchuria and the Mukden Negotiations on Manchurian Railway Problems,’ 27 July 1931 (sent to Lindley on 6 October 1931), Rohan Butler, J. P. T. Bury, eds., *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Second Series, vol. VIII (London: HMSO, 1960) (hereafter: *DBFP*), 646–50.

10 Changchun, renamed as Hsinking (Xinjing), became the capital of the Japanese client state of Manchukuo in 1932.

11 The Soviet Union sold the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan in March 1935.

12 Jonathan Fenby, *Chiang Kai-shek: China’s Generalissimo and the Nation He Lost* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2004), 201.

presumption remained that China was a single national entity with the Young Marshal (Zhang Xueliang) exercising nominal civilian authority in Manchuria in a more or less hopeless endeavour to somehow please the Japanese whilst maintaining Chinese sovereignty. Chiang Kai-shek himself remained a mere spectator of the events that unfolded in Manchuria in the early 1930s.

The diplomat presiding over Sino-British relations amidst these intricate conflicts from 1926 to 1933 was Sir Miles Lampson (later Lord Killearn). The British mission in Peking had Legation status, only to be upgraded to Embassy status in 1935, so Lampson was British minister in China. Like his predecessors, he initially sympathised with Japanese claims and extraterritorial rights as being similar to those of the British, and only gradually adopted a moderately pro-Chinese Nationalist stance following the September 1931 attacks.

The notoriously unequal Sino-British treaties had come under review ('rendited' in Lampson's terminology) by that time. Extraterritoriality was slowly coming to an end. By following this path, British diplomacy could not avoid collision with the entrenched British trading community residing in Shanghai and the Treaty Ports conjuring up the same dilemma that had bugged Lampson's predecessors since mid-Victorian times. Lampson freely admitted in 1933 that 'It cannot be claimed that the policy pursued by His Majesty's Government during the past seven years is popular with the British communities of the Treaty Ports, who have grown up under the semi-colonial conditions prevailing in China in the past.'¹³

The Japanese acquisition of the southern part of Manchuria as a result of Tokyo's victory in the 1904–5 Russo-Japanese War, the division of the Chinese Eastern Railway into two parts, with Japan obtaining the 400-mile railway line connecting Port Arthur and Dailan with the interior began the lengthy series of events that culminated in the September 1931 Mukden Incident and the subsequent formation of the puppet state of Manchukuo under Japanese tutelage. During this twenty-six year period, Japan's principal agency of colonial transformation was railway construction under the control of a quasi-official corporation known as the South Manchuria Railway (SMR) Company. The SMR not only provided the scaffolding and the flesh for Manchukuo but helped shape the Japanese imperial ethos, combined with the 'material and technological resources that made Japan's experiment in "imperial socialism" on the continent possible.'¹⁴

Having embarked on the colonial project, Japan began a campaign to encourage immigration to the new lands. In this context, the Southern Manchurian Railway Company produced its own travelogues and a large number of silent films designed to advertise Manchuria to prospective business investors. Especially after the Mukden incident,

13 'Sir M. Lampson's review of events in China, 1926–1933,' Lampson to Sir John Simon, Peking, August 24, 1933, *DBFP*, Second Series, vol. XI (hereafter: 'Lampson's Review'), 590.

14 Y. Tak Matsusaka, 'Japan's South Manchuria Railway Company in Northeast China, 1906–1934,' in Bruce Elleman and Stephen Kotkin eds., *Manchurian Railways and the Opening of China: An International History* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2010), 52.

the film unit of the Southern Manchurian Railway Company began to produce propaganda films such as *The Railway and New Manchuria* (1936) and *Pioneering Shock Troops* (1936), showing the founding of the new Manchukuo state, the enthronement of Pu Yi (China's erstwhile emperor) as head of state, as well as scenes of a peaceful land criss-crossed by luxurious trains; homes and classy hotels, mining, shipping, and other attractive business opportunities. The land was open to Japanese immigration and settlement.

Mukden

When the Young Marshal Zhang Xueliang proved less accommodating than the Japanese expected, the Kwantung Army Lieutenant Colonel Ishiwara Kanji proposed 'a fabricated pretext for military action' to overthrow him. 'It is Japan's divine mission to assist the Chinese people,' added Ishiwara, who wanted to engage the Chinese in an anti-Western crusade. 'The four races of Japan, China, Korea and Manchuria will share a common prosperity through a division of responsibility: Japanese political leadership and large industry; Chinese labour and small industry; Korean rice; and Manchurian animal husbandry,' declared the general.¹⁵

On the night of September 18, 1931, at around 22:00 hours, Japanese officers of the Kwantung Army, stationed there under the terms of an agreed lease, blew up a section of the South Manchurian Railway line at Liutiaohu just north of Mukden. The line was owned by the Japanese themselves. The explosion was designed to overturn an express train that was to come twenty minutes later but the damage was comparatively slight so the train somehow managed to pass through, helped by acceleration on a downward slope. According to the contemporary Japanese version, as later recorded in the Lytton Report, on arrival, the Japanese patrol was fired upon first by an attacking body of about five or six from the fields on the east side of the line, then by a larger group of several hundred. The Lytton Commission later established that these shootings never took place. Much to the contrary, there had been night manoeuvres conducted by the Kwantung Army around the same area for four consecutive nights before September 18, and as the Kwantung Army claimed that Chinese soldiers had sabotaged the railway, Chinese troops garrisoned in the nearby Main North Barracks came under Japanese artillery fire within an hour.¹⁶ The garrison, under orders from the Nationalist government as well as Zhang Xueliang to avoid all confrontation with Japan, put up no resistance. It is important to note in advance that the League Commission accepted the Chinese version of these events and not the Japanese one. Adding that even if the Chinese had anything to do with the explosion, 'the military operations of the Japanese troops during this night [...] cannot be regarded as measures of legitimate self-defence.'¹⁷

15 Fenby, 201–202.

16 Chushichi Tzuzuki, *The Pursuit of Power in Modern Japan, 1825–1995* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 281.

17 'League of Nations: Appeal by the Chinese Government. Report of the Commission of Enquiry' (hereafter: 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry'), Geneva, 4 September 1932, Royal Society of Asian Affairs Archive, London, M/186, 71.

The incident quickly escalated into a wider conflict: within five months most major cities in the three provinces of Manchuria had come under Japanese control. In March 1932, the puppet state of Manchukuo was established, which the League of Nations refused to recognise. The Mukden Incident was subsequently labelled as the beginning of the Pacific War.

The League of Nations Commission of Inquiry

The Chinese government appealed to the League of Nations for help on 21 September 1931 and made a second appeal under articles 10, 11 and paragraph 9 of article 15 of the Covenant of the League on 29 January 1932. The Chinese representative to the League of Nations expressed the view that 'the best method that may be devised by the Council for securing the prompt and complete withdrawal of the Japanese troops and police and the full re-establishment of the *status quo ante* is the sending of a neutral commission to Manchuria.'¹⁸ Because of the procrastination of the Japanese delegate,¹⁹ any resolution for sending an international commission of Inquiry was only adopted on 10 December.

It is important to stress at this point that Chinese membership of the League had had a chequered past. The Kuomintang government initially recoiled from the obligations and limitations imposed by the Covenant and there was talk in the early 1920s of Chinese withdrawal from the League. The relationship changed fundamentally after the appearance on the scene of an unlikely interlocutor in the proceedings: Ludwig W. Rajchman, the Polish Director of the Health Department of the League who espoused Chinese nationalism with unusual vigour taking a lead role in schemes for the economic reconstruction of China. This description of Rajchman's role in one of Lampson's reports makes interesting reading. It also shows Lampson's ambivalent attitude to Chinese nationalism and to the League itself:

[Rajchman] made it his duty to act as propagandist for Geneva and who also incidentally espoused the cause of Chinese nationalism with what was deemed by some unseemly zeal. There thus developed a new and welcome tendency on the part of the Chinese Government to turn to the League of Nations for technical assistance in the task of national reconstruction; and when the conflict in Manchuria occurred and China, appealing to the Council, made of Geneva a sounding box for her grievances against Japan, the

18 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry': Resolution of the Council of the League, 30 September 1931, 6.

19 Unanimity was required for the decisions of both the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations. However, in cases of disputes the consent of the parties to the dispute was not required for unanimity. Where the reference of a dispute was made to the Assembly, a decision required the consent only of the majority of the Assembly, but including all member states of the Council.

League of Nations, hitherto largely unknown to the Chinese people, became a household word amongst the literate throughout the country.²⁰

While the League agreed to set up a commission of inquiry, it is important to add that the international climate was not unequivocally on China's side. Like the UN today the League's opinion equalled the opinions of its members, especially those of the great power members. We learn from Miles Lampson's reports that the international community was far less convinced of the rights and wrongs of the case that we tend to see it today. Except in the United States, Western opinion of the Chinese nationalist movement was lukewarm at best. It had only been a few years before that Western military forces were deployed to quash the Boxer Rebellion, followed by the collective punishment of China for the uprising. Meanwhile, Japan, a formal ally of Britain from 1902 to 1923, had been allowed to enjoy the spoils of its victory over China in 1895 and over Russia in 1905. In alliance with the Entente Powers during the First World War, Japan played a decisive part in securing the sea routes in the Pacific and Indian oceans for the Royal Navy and Allied merchant shipping, using every opportunity also to strengthen and expand its spheres of influence in China. The Paris Peace Conference transferred to Japan the privileges held previously by Imperial Germany in the province of Shandong.

These antecedents make it easier to understand why the realities and values of the post-WWI international order in the Far East were only absorbed by Western diplomats gradually and also why, for instance, the brief Japanese attack on Shanghai which followed the Mukden incident was not condemned by the majority of the Western community. They were 'strongly inclined to take the view that the Japanese and the Chinese should be left to fight out their differences without outside interference and that it would be to the advantage of foreign interests if the Japanese forces were left free to chastise the Chinese, to clear the Shanghai area of Chinese troops.'²¹

While the dangers inherent in the Japanese aggression in Manchuria dawned on the Europeans, the mechanisms of the League under articles 10, 11 and 15 began to roll into action for the first time. On 14 January 1932, the President of the Council, Aristide Briand, appointed, on the recommendation of the governments whose nationals they were, the members of the commission as follows: Count Luigi Aldrovandi-Marescotti (Italy), General Henri Claudel (France), the Right Honourable Victor Bulwer-Lytton, the 2nd Earl of Lytton (Great Britain), Major General Frank Ross McCoy (United States),²² and Dr Heinrich Schnee (lawyer and colonial civil servant, Germany). On 21 January, Lord Lytton was unanimously elected Chairman of the Commission by the other four members and officials were appointed to assist the work of the Commission in Geneva.

²⁰ 'Lampson's Review,' 595.

²¹ 'Lampson's Review,' 587.

²² The appointment of a prominent American military expert to the Commission was a token of the expanding US involvement in the League under the presidency of Herbert Hoover.

The long voyage by ship delayed the Lytton Commission which arrived in Tokyo on 29 February 1932. Eight days were spent in the Japanese capital with daily conferences, including talks with the Japanese business community. They were told about the rights, interests and historic associations of Japan in Manchuria. It was at the end of the Lytton Commission's stay in Japan that the entire area of Manchuria, its historic three provinces, were renamed Manchukuo by the Japanese authorities and on 9 March 1932 a puppet government was installed with Henry Pu-yi, the former emperor of China, as its head. The new entity was recognised only by the governments of Italy and Nazi Germany; the rest of the world still considered Manchuria legally part of China. Undaunted by the apparent pre-emption of its activity, the Commission carried on to accomplish its remarkable tour of the regions affected by the conflict. They reached Shanghai on March 14 where they intervened to obtain an armistice between Japanese and Chinese forces. Arriving in Nanking on March 26, they held several rounds of negotiations with the Kuomintang government. After an eventful journey north, they arrived in Beiping where they met Chinese military commanders who had just been ousted from Manchuria; entering Manchuria itself on April 20 where they stayed for six weeks until June 4. In the new puppet state, the Manchukuo authorities objected to the presence of Dr Wellington Koo, the remarkable Chinese statesman²³ who joined the Commission as the Chinese Assessor, their objections were only withdrawn after the Commission's arrival in Changchun, the northern terminus of the official Japanese railway area.

In Manchuria, the Commission visited Mukden, Jilin, Harbin, Changchun, Dairen (Dalian), Port Arthur, Anshan, Fushun and Jinzhou (to study the Jinzhou Operation of the Japanese army in November 1931, preliminary to escalation). A separate trip was organised to Tsitsihar in the north-west (Heilongjiang). Almost all of these place names had been changed by the Japanese either to Japanese names or old medieval Chinese usage by the time of the visit. Conferences were also held with Kwantung Army officials.²⁴

Unattributed Film Footage

One of the main recent sources for studying the Lytton Commission's activities in Manchuria is a sixty-five minute long 16mm propaganda film with caption cards in English which was probably prepared by the film unit of the Southern Manchurian Railway Company under the title *Investigation of the Lord Lytton Mission into the Manchurian*

23 Wellington Koo, who represented the Republic of China at the League of Nations during the time of the Manchurian crisis, had been Prime Minister of the Republic in 1924, 1925–26, and acting president in 1926–27.

24 Meanwhile, in Geneva, a Committee of Nineteen was set up in March 1932 for the purpose of supervising the steps to be taken for the settlement of the dispute in accordance with the anticipated recommendations of the Lytton Committee. The Committee of Nineteen was composed of the President of the Assembly (Nicolae Titulescu and later Paul Hymans), the chief delegates of the 12 members of the Council and those of Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland.

Incident. The uncut film footage is hosted on the website of the University of Heidelberg.²⁵ The film is not accompanied by any certified information regarding its provenance, but given its extremely tendentious character, it is almost certainly a Japanese propaganda device. It presents the League of Nations commission as emissaries of the world bestowing the new state of Manchukuo with a diplomatic legitimization, part of the founding myth of the puppet state of Manchukuo. Yet, in the midst of enthusiastic flag waving for Manchukuo and title cards denouncing the local Chinese forces as bandits and criminals, there are glimpses of members of the visiting Commission, including Lord Lytton, showing moments of frustration and even exasperation. Lytton complained later about being 'treated as prisoners' in Mukden. The film footage also proves that in spite of the ubiquitous Japanese minders, the Commission carried out its fact finding work meticulous and conscientiously. This is particularly in evidence at the railway embankment at Liutiaohu near Mukden where the original explosion had taken place and where the Commission reconstructed the events of September 1931 with painstaking care. For a few seconds (near the 48th minute of the film footage), we see a recently erected signboard which reads: 'Manchurian Incident. Explosion Site. Occurred on the night of the 18 September of the 6th year of Shōwa [the reign of the Emperor Hirohito].' The sign with its unmistakable message of foreign occupation is in Japanese and only appears very briefly – the international audience is unlikely to notice or understand it.

The Report's Findings

The Report of the Commission was drafted in Peiping from 20 July to 4 September 1932. Its members tirelessly processed and collated 1550 letters received in Chinese and 400 in Russian. It concluded that the events were 'not a simple case of the violation of the frontier of one country by the armed forces of a neighbouring country, because in Manchuria there are many features without an exact parallel in other parts of the world.'²⁶ Not least because Russian interests (which couldn't be ascertained by the Commission) were also involved. Japan's economic interests in Manchuria were substantial and had to be recognised. Furthermore, there was no question of returning to the *status quo ante* as that would only have led to a repetition of the events witnessed recently.

The most important recommendations of the Report were as follows.

- a) New treaty relations between China and Japan: 'A re-statement of the respective rights, interests and responsibilities of both China and Japan in Manchuria in new treaties.'

25 See <http://kjc-sv030.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de/V/player/> – originally located in the Library of Congress, Washington D. C.

26 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry': Chapter IX, 'Principles and Conditions of Settlement,' 126.

- b) Manchurian autonomy: 'The government in Manchuria should be modified in such a way as to secure, consistently with the sovereignty and administrative integrity of China, a large measure of autonomy designed to meet the local conditions and special characteristics of the Three Provinces.'
- c) Internal order and security against external aggression: 'The internal order of the country should be secured by an effective local gendarmerie force, and security against external aggression should be provided by *the withdrawal of all armed forces other than gendarmerie*, and by the conclusion of a treaty of non-aggression between the countries interested.'
- d) 'International co-operation in the internal reconstruction of China, as suggested by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen.'²⁷

The Japanese Response

In their counterclaim, entitled 'Observations on the Report of the Commission of Enquiry...' submitted to the League on 21 November 1932, the Japanese government argued that the Commission did not know how to assess the evidence. Above all because 'the struggles of the rival militarists, have become ingrained and endemic' and because 'China is not an organized state, [it] is in a condition of complete chaos and incredible anarchy.' Therefore, the country's government is not in a position to represent it. Also, as the Report itself recognised, 'the Chinese boycotts have become a definite expression of a hostile attitude on the part of China towards Japan.' The Kuomintang are unilateralists, revolutionaries, have declared war on all foreigners, as a result of which 'Japan has suffered more than any other Power from this lawless condition.' Manchuria in particular does not fall under the jurisdiction of the Kuomintang government, 'it had never been subject to its sway.' Misgovernment under Zhang Xueliang had become endemic. Japan occupies a special position in Manchuria, 'in which she must defend herself with uncommon energy against military attack.' The Japanese response, while making rather far-fetched allusions to the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928) and the Battle of Navarino (1827), points out that the Report made no acknowledgement of the 'great work of civilization' accomplished by Japan in Manchuria through the agency of the South Manchurian Railway Company. The 'Observations' maintain that the Chinese soldiers in the North Barracks at Mukden engineered and carried out the explosion. To the Report's claim that the Japanese military response 'cannot be regarded as measures of legitimate self-defence,' the Japanese delegation responded that 'it was entirely impossible to accept this gratuitous opinion.' In any case, 'Japan cannot afford to leave her relation with [the new state of] Manchukuo in a state of instability, therefore, it cannot withdraw its troops. By

²⁷ 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry': Chapter IX, 'Principles and Conditions of Settlement,' 130–131, my emphasis.

doing so, it would destroy the current conditions of peace and order there and open the floodgates to 'a new era of disputes and difficulties.'²⁸

The League Assembly Votes

Before the report could be voted on by the Assembly, Japan announced its intention to push further into China. The Report was adopted and thus Japan's 'Observations' effectively rejected by a vote of 42 to 1 in the Assembly on 24 February 1933, only Japan voting against. Paul Hymans, presiding, announced it was unanimous, since the vote of interested parties did not count.

Therefore, despite Japan's high standing in the League, the Lytton Report attributed most of the blame to Japan for the events in Manchuria, effectively declaring Japan to be the aggressor and demanding that Manchuria be returned to the Chinese. While these points were being established and debated, there was constant escalation of hostilities on the ground.²⁹

Instead of removing its troops from China, on 24 February 1933, the Japanese delegation withdrew from the League of Nations Assembly. The formal withdrawal took effect on 27 March 1933. Technically, in accordance with the League Covenant, two years were required to make a withdrawal final, and therefore Japan would be held responsible for the fulfilment of her international obligations until the spring of 1935, but this was not seriously followed up in Geneva at the time.

Great Power Scepticism

As the representative of the key foreign power in China, Miles Lampson's advice to the Kuomintang government was that 'they would be well advised to cut their losses over Manchuria, come to terms, without compromise of principle, with Japan, and concentrate on internal reconstruction.'³⁰ As late as the summer of 1933, Lampson opined that the British 'may to some degree have to adjust our policy to the future actions of Japan.'³¹ His further assessment of Japanese policy betrays an ambivalent attitude to the value of League diplomacy:

Japan, having left the League of Nations on 24 February 1933 on the account of the impossibility of reconciling her China policy with the views of Geneva, has made it clearly and unequivocally known that she objects to and disapproves of China receiving the co-operation and assistance of the League. At the same time, she is making every effort to get on terms again with China

28 'Observations on the Report of the Commission of Enquiry Appointed by the Resolution of December 10, 1931 of the Council of the League of Nations,' 21 November 1932, The National Archives, Kew, FO 262/1802.

29 'League of Nations Assembly Report on the Sino-Japanese Dispute,' *The American Journal of International Law* 27.3, Supplement: *Official Documents* (July 1933), 119–153.

30 'Lampson's Review,' 588.

31 'Lampson's Review,' 591.

and to wean the latter from the affectations of the West. One can thus foresee an intensifying struggle between the League of Nations and America, on the one hand, and Japan on the other, for the privilege of assisting China to her feet – with perhaps rather different ideas as to the posture she should adopt when she has found them.³²

An even more serious degree of scepticism towards the League's role and its very *raison d'être* can be read in the dispatches of Sir Francis Lindley, the British Ambassador in Tokyo from 1931 to 1934. Lindley's detailed arguments, dated 24 February 1933, for instance, quite openly belittle the value of League diplomacy while reasserting the hard logic of pre-war Great Power settlements:

- [1] As soon as the Manchurian trouble broke out in September 1931, it was clear to any observer who knew the temper of Japan and had experience of foreign policy that the only course of wisdom was for China to agree with her adversary quickly. [...] But the juridical [international law] point of view held ever since with a tenacity which can best be described as theological, prevailed; and it was laid down that the presence of Japanese troops on Chinese soil gave Japan such an unfair advantage in negotiating that China could not be advised to accept the Japanese offer. The 'principles of the League,' instead of being followed with that circumspection for the peculiarities of the case which political prudence, common sense, and above all a regard for British interests, demanded, were applied as if they had descended on Geneva directly from Heaven. No compromise with those principles was possible, however grievous the consequences for all concerned. Foreign policy in the Far East cannot be conducted on such lines without disaster.
- [2] I am aware that these strong expressions of opinion may be thought as unbecoming as they are unusual in an official dispatch. My excuse, and I believe my justification, is that during my tenure of the post of Ambassador in Tokyo, with all its unique advantage for judging events, I have entirely failed to bring home to His Majesty's Government the danger to the Empire of drifting into open antagonism with Japan over Manchuria. [...] I blame myself grievously for any failure to convince His Majesty's Government of the risks they were running by allowing matters to take their course according to the fixed and immutable principles of the League.³³

³² 'Lampson's Review,' 596.

³³ Sir Francis Lindley (Tokyo) to Sir John Simon, 24 February 1933, FO 676/138. A minute (signature unclear but possibly by V A L Mallet of the Far Eastern Department of the Foreign Office) dated 22 March 1933 warns: 'Sir F. Lindley is surrounded by the *Tokyo* atmosphere

Not a ringing endorsement of the international legal order by the British Ambassador. Sixty-one years old when he wrote this dispatch, forty-eight at the time of the foundation of the League of Nations, Lindley could be considered as a mature diplomat, at the height of his career. Yet the contrast between the old diplomacy and the new with its Wilsonian moral overtones visibly unsettled him. He also noted, significantly, that his views were shared 'by every well-informed mission in Tokyo.' Yet, it was not only Lindley's scepticism in Tokyo (who might have gone slightly 'native') but also the British Minister in Peking's (de facto in Nanking) impatience with the Chinese that point to a culture of resistance to recognising the *modern* meaning of Japan's recent actions. On 6 February, Lampson suggested that 'the Chinese are fast becoming almost hysterical,' comparing them to 'a "mad dog" which on slightest provocation will snap at anyone in their path – if in any way we get drawn in between them and their indignation against Japan.'³⁴

Torn between the old diplomatic paradigm and the new, Lampson's analysis from China often reads like a colonial narrative, seeing the Japanese as just one of the traditional foreign coercive powers with legitimate interests in China: 'The foreign powers have in the past had occasion to chastise the Chinese and have been able thereafter to resume friendly relations on a footing of possible increased mutual respect,' wrote Lampson in one of his dispatches in the aftermath of Mukden. The Japanese sympathies of an old Far Eastern are unmistakable:

So far things have not gone well for the Japanese, but at the time of writing it seems possible that their policy may after all, at least as far as Manchuria is concerned, be justified by its results. If so, the moral will be that it is a question, when embarking on strong action against Nationalist China, of being prepared to continue and see the business through.³⁵

The British minister went so far as to hint at approval of the successful Russian intervention in 1929 to retain their control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which may have provided 'the example which the Japanese sought to emulate in September 1931' and that '[t]o no small extent has Japan been the victim of historical circumstances in

which naturally colours his views. [Others] may be affected equally by the China environment! So it lies with H.M.G. to hear both & come to their own conclusions. // *Personally*, I have always felt that the danger of a *clash* with us was very greatly exaggerated. I frankly do not believe in anything of this kind. But I *do* hold that our plighted word cannot lightly be gone back upon.'

³⁴ Lampson to Simon, 6 February 1933, *DBFP*, Series II, Vol. XI, Doc. 293, 308–309.

³⁵ 'Lampson's Review,' 593–94.

Manchuria, and the future alone can decide whether her adventure will return the dividends for which she hopes.³⁶ Adding the proviso elsewhere that 'our moral and material positions in China are at this moment at stake. [...] If we seem in any way to condone injustice or try to shield Japan the effects might well be deplorable and world-wide.'³⁷

Aftermath

Notwithstanding the considerable initial resistance to the findings and recommendations of the Lytton Report, Western opinion began to shift in the aftermath of Japan's lightning attack on Jehol Province, adjacent to Manchuria to the west, in January 1933. While the Chinese military resistance was quickly overcome by superior Japanese forces, the largely German trained Kuomintang Army evinced a new spirit and efficiency which now had to be reckoned with.³⁸ The Province of Jehol had been created by the Republic of China in 1923 to form a buffer zone between what may be called China proper and the foreign-dominated three Manchurian provinces. Following the Japanese occupation of Jehol – an extension of their earlier operations in Manchuria, the 'Empire of Manchukuo' annexed Jehol and called it the Province of Rehe. The seizure of Jehol permanently poisoned relations between Japan and China and pointed towards worse to come. The impression was that the ulterior aim of Japan was the detaching under a pro-Japanese regime of the whole of North China from the Nanking-led South. Such a prospect could not to be contemplated positively by any Western government. At the same time, by reaching far into Northern China, the Japanese overextended their line of communication which resulted in an armistice agreement on 31 May 1933 which saved Peiping from falling to the Japanese forces throughout the Second World War.

Conclusion

The fact remains that, according to its Covenant, the League should have responded by enacting economic sanctions or by asserting its will by the use of force on the aggressor and it did neither. True, economic sanctions would have been largely ineffectual because the United States, a non-League member, could continue to trade with Japan. The League could have assembled a coercive armed force, but major powers like Britain and France were too preoccupied with their own affairs, such as keeping control of their extensive colonies and economic reconstruction. Above all, neither was at heart convinced of the rights and wrongs of the case. The decision to do nothing boiled down to the fact that the most powerful members of the League themselves had not yet embraced the ethos of international governance that had inspired the very foundation of the League of Nations back in 1920.

36 'Lampson's Review,' 594.

37 Lampson to Simon, 6 February 1933, *DBFP*, Series II, Vol. XI, Doc. 293, 308–309.

38 The inadequate coordination between the German military mission attached to the Kuomintang government and the German Legation in the immediate aftermath of Hitler's accession to the chancellorship of Germany deserves attention in this respect but lies beyond the scope of this paper.

But what did Lord Lytton, the dedicated and conscientious chairman of the League's mission whose name became synonymous with the international peace making effort, think of the aftermath? While clearly dedicated to the League's aims and principles, he too seems to have judged these events through the spectacles of a bygone age, or perhaps an age that never was and never came. Lytton, who was awarded the Order of the Garter in 1933 no doubt in recognition of spearheading the supreme diplomatic exercise on behalf of the League, was strongly opposed to economic sanctions and even more to military action against Japan. Applying such methods would, in his view, only have exacerbated the conflict. Instead, he believed that if Japan, thus disgraced, had been left alone to reflect on its aggression, Japanese public opinion would turn against the militarists who would then have to change their policy. Lytton, a disciple of the American educationalist and psychotherapist Homer Lane (1875–1925) who advocated 'creative love' as a means of resolving conflict situations, also a prominent peace campaigner and executive of the League of Nations Union, as well as a previous Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India who 'believed in preparing India for responsible government' well before the half-hearted Government of India Act (1935),³⁹ could not have thought and acted differently.

Postscript

Japan was therefore left in effective possession of Manchuria until the Soviet Red Army took over the area at the end of the Second World War and returned it to Chinese control as represented by Mao's communists, who, in turn, kept the Kuomintang well out of the three provinces. For a time, the main street in Mukden was renamed Stalin Prospekt. Russian Soviet troops only left Manchuria in 1955.

39 Jason Tames, 'Lytton, Victor Alexander George Robert Bulwer, second earl of Lytton (1876–1947),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, Jan 2008 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32169>, accessed 19 July 2016).

Gene Wise and American Studies

An Unfinished Legacy

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The death on July 12, 2017 of the renowned American intellectual historian Thomas L. Haskell, from the effects of Alzheimer's disease, came as an unexpected blow to me, despite the years of decline that had preceded his passing. For over a quarter of a century, Haskell had been to me a friend, a mentor, and an exemplar of both moral commitment and steadfast rigor in the pursuit of valid historical explanations. As his Rice University colleagues wrote, to Haskell, "History was the fearless search for truth, no matter how uncomfortable that truth could make people. Truth was essential, as was criticism."¹ But this loss had another effect as well; it threw into relief certain affinities I had observed long ago between Haskell's work and that of another historian, now unjustly neglected, whose work had, for many years, intrigued as well as exasperated me. He was once a titan in that cacophonous, combustible semi-discipline known as American Studies. His name was Gene Wise.

Haskell's magisterial book, *Objectivity is Not Neutrality*, took its title from a much-discussed review essay that he had produced for the journal *History and Theory*; its subject was Peter Novick's gargantuan history of history in the United States, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*.² With its stately pace, moral earnestness, logical rigor, and formidable word-count, the article was typical of Haskell's output. In it, Haskell articulated a nuanced but fervent defense of the value of objectivity in historical writing, in contrast to what he identified as a fundamental error in Novick's analysis. This error lay in Novick's claim that objectivity is the same as neutrality: that the historian has no grounding or basis on which to render judgments as to the ethical implications of his or her subject. Haskell's argument pivoted on "the relation between a debater's position and the rhetoric he or she employs to defend it." In this case the obvious (to him) contradiction in Novick's book was the one between his questionable theory, which was that objectivity was a form of neutrality, and the scrupulously objective practice that he followed in writing the book, which does not follow from the theoretical premise. Novick's radical claim on the rhetorical level about the impossibility of objectivity was antithetical to the "moderate position he actually seems to occupy," Haskell wrote. But neutrality, in itself, is "nothing to admire," he insisted, while "objectivity [...] is compatible with strong political commitment."³ Stressing the urgent conditions under which he composed the essay, Haskell explained that he was writing during the summer of 1989, "just as the Chinese government rewrites the history of the Tiananmen Square killing and as intellectuals in the USSR and central Europe put their lives on the line by publicly challenging state-sponsored orthodoxies in historical interpretation."⁴

But while the title of Haskell's book referred to the objectivity question, it was the subtitle that described the overarching theme of the book – *Explanatory Schemes in History*. Haskell located the source of historical meaning in “shared conceptual frameworks” which, since they alter with time and circumstance, are themselves the indispensable grounding for historical investigation. Explanatory schemes “are not only the means by which we make sense of history, they are historical phenomena in their own right that have a history.”⁵

The subject of forms of explanation in American history and American Studies was also the central scholarly project of Gene Wise, a brilliant, powerful, and eccentric voice in the profession during the 1970s who is seldom mentioned today. Wise would certainly have echoed this declaration of Haskell's as an endorsement of his own professional obligation, as he came to understand it: “One of my abiding preoccupations [is] a long-standing curiosity about the *explanatory schemes* on which we humans rely to make sense of our experience.”⁶

The historian R. Gordon Kelly, whom Wise had recruited to the University of Maryland from the University of Pennsylvania in 1978, and who had been serving as chair of the American Studies Department there when Wise tragically took his own life in August 1983 at the age of 46, told me that there is virtually no awareness – even within the current department that he once chaired and developed into a powerhouse – of Wise and his preeminent stature in former times.⁷ And in spite of the fact that virtually all of Wise's publications addressed the theory and practice of writing U. S. history, Ellen Fitzpatrick made no mention of him in her definitive study of twentieth-century American-history writing.⁸ This omission is even more striking in light of the fact that Wise's conclusions ran along much the same lines as Fitzpatrick's.

But if he is not well remembered today, Wise was a highly respected, even beloved figure in American Studies at the time of his passing – “generous, well-loved, close to many,” said John Stephens, the executive director of the American Studies Association.⁹ Gordon Kelly and his colleagues never got over the shock of Wise's suicide. “We were all mystified,” Kelly recalled.¹⁰

An informal survey of my own graduate students revealed that many did recognize Wise's name, largely because they had been assigned his 1979 essay, “‘Paradigm Dramas’ in American Studies,”¹¹ at an early stage of their graduate training. Even this article, however, no longer occupies its once-unassailable position of prominence as the canonical account of the history of American Studies.¹² With its bold generalizing, daring inferences, great range of reference, deployment of Thomas Kuhn's theories of scientific revolutions, and seemingly authoritative taxonomy, “Paradigm Dramas” epitomizes the strengths and weaknesses of Wise's approach to historical explanation, as well as his resemblances to Thomas Haskell.

Ralph Eugene Wise was an American Studies *Wunderkind*. He was born in 1937 and raised in Union City, a small Indiana town (population 3,535 in the 1940 census; 3,487

today) right at the Ohio border. It is, in fact, one half of a double town: Union City, Indiana/ Union City, Ohio. Ralph could walk out his front door at 1108 West Oak Street, turn left, and walk about a kilometer to East Oak Street and the state of Ohio.

After high school, Wise “went away” to college, yet also lingered in the area. He attended a tiny Presbyterian college in Hanover, Indiana (population 3,586, exactly the size of Union City). Hanover is also boundary-town, located on the Ohio River 125 miles south of Union City, right at the Kentucky border. Hanover College, which is also the alma mater of the current U. S. Vice-President, Mike Pence, boasted good academic standards and strict Presbyterian morality, and Wise, despite his strong Methodist allegiance, flourished there, receiving his B.A. *magna cum laude* in 1958. For the first twenty-one years of his life, and for all of his formal education from kindergarten through college, Wise never lived, or spent any extended period in, any town with a population greater than 3,600 persons.

From rural, Midwestern Hanover, Wise migrated to the snowy precincts of Syracuse University in upstate New York for graduate school. There he “caught the fever of ideas” from “a great graduate teacher” and American Studies enthusiast named Stuart Gerry Brown.¹³ Brown’s influence and example were clearly the most decisive of Wise’s formal education, although the catalog of Wise’s influences was enormous, and always growing.

The annals of American scholarship, indeed of global scholarly achievement, are replete with stories of the young men and women from the hinterlands showing up in a state of mingled anxiety and ambition at the gates of the great centers of erudition in their lands, and those of other countries as well. Gene Wise might easily have fallen into this category by moving from Hanover to Columbia, Chicago, Yale, or any number of first-rate universities, many of which had distinguished programs in the fairly new field in which he was developing an interest, American Studies. Instead he chose Syracuse, an institution of the second rank, for his graduate training. The selection was both purposeful and telling. Syracuse did have a top-level school, which was a graduate-oriented public affairs and social sciences faculty – the Maxwell School of Public Affairs – and it was there that Wise enrolled, and where he underwent the first of two key intellectual transitions in his career.

Maxwell, founded in 1924, was already nationally prominent in the social sciences, public administration, labor relations, and international relations. Immediately after World War Two, a social sciences and education professor at Maxwell, Roy Arthur Price, had founded the first interdisciplinary doctoral program in the social sciences in the United States. At first it was termed D.S.S., or Doctor of Social Sciences, which was the degree that Wise earned. It was, however, in every respect identical to a PhD program in a traditional discipline in terms of course hours, oral and written examination requirements, and the production of a dissertation, and it currently exists at Maxwell as the PhD in Social Sciences.¹⁴

A considerable share of the program’s course offerings and research projects fell into the category of American Studies, and among the American Studies faculty Stuart

Gerry Brown was preeminent. Like Wise, Brown was a talented, restless interdisciplinary. He received his PhD in English from Princeton in 1937, at only 25 years of age, and taught and wrote about poetry for a decade at the University of Wisconsin and at Grinnell College in Iowa, but when he joined the Maxwell faculty in 1947, it was as Professor of Citizenship and American Culture.¹⁵ In 1941 Brown had produced a major poetry textbook for Oxford University Press; at Syracuse, however, he turned to political history, and published a book on policy-making in the early Republic, a popular biography of Thomas Jefferson, and a study of Adlai Stevenson, for whom he served as an aide in the 1956 presidential campaign. Brown also prepared a school edition of documents of American political history that went through five printings in 42 years.¹⁶

At Syracuse, then, Wise took a rich but focused variety of courses, not only in American history, politics, and literature, but also in social psychology, art, myth, and European history.¹⁷ Brown once chided him for trying to range too widely, to do too much in his dissertation.¹⁸ It was advice that Wise heeded at that time, but his tendency for overcommitment would often reappear in the coming years. He served for two years as Brown's research assistant, and was clearly the graduate-student star of the Maxwell program.¹⁹ He identified the three main fields of his graduate education as social science, humanities, and behavioral sciences.²⁰

In 1962 Wise began to work on a dissertation on three Protestant Christian philosophers – Jonathan Edwards, Paul Elmer More, and Reinhold Niebuhr – who had wrestled with the problem of how to locate the sources of evil in both man and society. But it was characteristic of the young scholar that he harbored a deeper purpose in this work than completing a degree requirement and receiving a professional credential. He sought in the fields of depth psychology and social history a path to understanding modernity itself, one that neither the attenuated liberalism nor the provincial conservatism of the age could hope to deliver.²¹ On Brown's advice, and undoubtedly to his own relief, Wise dropped Jonathan Edwards from his proposal and produced instead a dissertation on "Irrational Man and the Modern Dilemma: An Inquiry into the World and Thought of Paul Elmer More and Reinhold Niebuhr."

In the spring of 1963 Wise gladly accepted an appointment as Assistant Professor of Social Sciences at a university that he candidly if indecorously identified as "a small, intellectually undistinguished institution located in Stockton, California, [...] [with] a well-deserved reputation as a congenial, relaxed party school, where Stanford rejects and the sons and daughters of proper San Joaquin Valley Methodists could be sent."²² This undistinguished institution was the University of the Pacific, and the reason that Wise accepted the job offer was that the university had just established Raymond College, one of the experimental undergraduate schools that were sprouting up in the more traditional soil of established universities around that time. Like other institutions that engaged in such efforts, the University of the Pacific was willing to go to extremes of academic experimentation, while it remained stolidly traditional in most other matters.

Established by Methodist missionaries in 1851, the University of the Pacific had found in R. Eugene Wise the perfect candidate for its position in Raymond College: a

radical interdisciplinarian who was viable in the national job market and self-identified as a Methodist. The university pointed out in a press release written by the Provost himself that Wise had attended Syracuse on a scholarship reserved for Methodist students – the Cokesbury award – and identified him as affiliated with the Methodist church.²³

Raymond College provided the second of the two intellectual revolutions that were decisive to Wise's development as a scholar. "Raymond – rather than my professional associations – provided my basic reference point for scholarly inquiry."²⁴

Raymond was a residential, "cluster" college that manifested an astounding lack of conventional academic practices. It was founded in 1962 and lasted as a distinct entity until 1982; it was an obvious advantage for Pacific to be able to point to the brand-new experimental college when it was trying to recruit the Syracuse-trained interdisciplinary scholar who had just entered the academic job market. When he arrived in Stockton, Wise was immediately thrilled with his choice. He was elated by the atmosphere and by the students, and he threw himself into his teaching – deliberately disregarding his research program to do so for the first two years.²⁵ "In my half-dozen years at Raymond," Wise recalled, "I never had to teach a lecture course, never gave a final exam, never had a class larger than 18 students, knew all my students by their first names, never had to assign an official grade."²⁶ Students took their courses five days a week, almost year-round, and received their degrees in three years. Despite these meanderings from traditional academic practices, Raymond College graduates were highly successful by the traditional forms of evaluation. An exhilarated Wise reported in 1965 that Raymond's first graduating class of thirty-nine students included thirty-five who were going on to graduate or professional schools, of whom three received Fulbright scholarships and two were awarded Rockefeller Foundation grants. Two of Wise's American Civilization students from that class went on to the American Studies graduate program at Emory University, and another to the University of Wyoming. Students' percentile scores on that year's Graduate Record Examination reached an impressive average of 84 in social science, 82 in the humanities, and 79 in natural science. The following year's scores were slightly higher-ranking "with the top schools in the country."²⁷

At Raymond, free to teach both content and method pretty much as he desired, Wise became fascinated with the transformation that was overtaking the patterns of historical explanation that had dominated the profession since the turn of the century – the so-called Progressive interpretation. In particular he noted carefully the crashing chords of irony that counter-Progressives like Perry Miller, Lionel Trilling, and Richard Hofstadter brought down on the Progressives. In 1967 and 1968 he published two major articles, the first in the *American Quarterly* on "symbolist" treatments of political reality in both historical and psychological texts; the other, in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, on the ironic cast of Perry Miller's *The New England Mind*. The former essay earned Wise the *American Quarterly*'s best article prize – at the age of thirty.²⁸

But by 1966 a “critical state of confusion [...] plagued the faculty” at Raymond,²⁹ and according to a report that Wise prepared for the University of the Pacific’s administration, the demands of the Raymond ideal outran the university’s administrative and financial resources.

After what must have been a massive disillusionment at Pacific, then, Wise moved to Case Western Reserve University, which had just instituted an American Studies program, in the fall of 1969. He relocated again to the University of Maryland in 1977, where he published another pair of influential essays. The first was the aforementioned “Paradigm Dramas,” and the second was a highly programmatic, almost overbearing exposition of what he thought were “elementary axioms” for American Studies.³⁰

In the following year, 1980, Wise presided at a colloquium arranged by his former boss at Maryland, Robert Corrigan, when Corrigan was installed as Chancellor of the University of Massachusetts at Boston. Corrigan gathered together – in his words – “some of the sharpest and most current thinking as to what is going on in American Studies today in the 1980s” for the event.³¹ Presenters included Nathan Huggins, Linda Kerber, John William Ward, Leo Marx, and Murray Murphey.

By 1980, then, Wise stood absolutely at the center of the field in terms of scholarship, program building, and association leadership; he was by this time the Vice-President of the American Studies Association, and a member of the Executive Council. His range of elite contacts in the discipline was unmatched.

When “Paradigm Dramas” appeared in the *American Quarterly* in 1979, Wise was absorbed in the task of writing a long prologue to the second edition of his major work, *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry*. Like a mist-covered mountain in a Chinese landscape painting, *American Historical Explanations* conveyed a mood of grandeur, profundity, loftiness, and a hint of elusiveness. First published in 1973, this book earned generally positive yet also pointedly critical reviews, most of them from historians who are now at the top of the profession, although some were lesser lights forty-five years ago, such as Linda Kerber, David Hollinger, and Allan Bogue.

As Haskell would do twenty years later, when he situated his attack on historians’ posture of “neutrality” in the struggle against state-sponsored orthodoxy in China, the Soviet Union, and central Europe, Wise would locate his arguments about historical explanation in a particular historic configuration: Chicago, 1968. In the 1980 prologue, Wise explained how his book had grown out of his response to the Chicago Democratic Convention. Ideas about American history were floating around in the atmosphere of 1968, Wise thought, but he could not come up with any way to anchor those ideas to the concrete experiences of the decade: the string of assassinations, the demonstrations on campuses of all types in all parts of the country, the riots in Watts, Detroit, Newark, and of course the war in Viet Nam. “What I lacked was a way to get ideas out of the air and onto the ground,” he reflected³² – which meant, for him, that a radical change of metaphor was needed to understand changes in how American history had been and could be written: specifically, a change from an atmospheric “climate of opinion” family of tropes conventional in intellectual history to a more grounded yet still volatile group

concerned with earthquakes. "Chicago 1968," he wrote, "seemed to me not a weather front but an earthquake."³³ By wrapping Kuhnian analysis in the earthquake metaphor, Wise explained change in twentieth-century historiography this way:

What happens is this. Some time after adjustments in the ongoing system have settled in [...] strains begin to build up in the form, usually along a fault-line. Existing alignments channel and harness some of those strains. But a few cannot be contained. At some point, the stress becomes uncontrollable [sic], it passes over a critical threshold, and bursts through the old forms. A massive upheaval takes place then, shattering the contours of everything around it. For a few moments, all is blind chaos and uproar. [...] After a time, though, things begin to take on recognizable shape again. [...] New solidarities and new channels for handling potential stress get formed.³⁴

But here, as he admitted in the prologue, Wise got into some trouble.

In 1973, the year that *American Historical Explanations* appeared, David Hollinger wrote an incisive article about historians' use and abuse of the theories of Thomas Kuhn about revolutions in scientific thinking.³⁵ When he came to review Wise's book two years later, Hollinger strongly criticized Wise's appropriation of Kuhn's schemata. "The actual innovation Wise seeks to introduce into our historiographical tradition," he wrote, "consists largely in the acceptance of a very dubious presupposition about the discourse of working historians. This discourse, we are to believe, has an endemic structure so fixed and determinate that we can fairly represent it by a set of interlocking, jargon-bound concepts of Wise's invention. [He demonstrates] an overly literal attachment to this pretentious and stifling analytical apparatus."³⁶

A historian of science, James G. Blight, described *American Historical Explanations* as "a vast, chaotic patchwork" that was "held together by the assumptions, terms, and format of Thomas S. Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. [...] He holds, in effect, that one can write 'the structure of historians' revolutions' as a complete and unproblematic analogue to Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*." And Blight went after the earthquake metaphor itself as "wildly inappropriate and his dependence upon it displays unmistakably his innocence in pertinent issues in the philosophy of science."³⁷

If the detractors of *American Historical Explanations* often hit their mark with their criticisms, they did not constitute the reviewers' consensus about the book, which was quite positive. An opinion characteristic of the reviews as a group was offered by economic historian Allan G. Bogue, who concluded, "Despite caveats the book is a considerable achievement, opening the way for real progress in an important area of the discipline and carrying considerably in the way of methodological implications beyond the scope of intellectual history and American studies."³⁸

But Wise was in very good company among historians who creatively appropriated Kuhn's ideas in the mid-seventies. David Hollinger's article shows just how many in the profession had trailed after Kuhn with perhaps insufficient critical bearings, as long ago

as 1973. "The 'historiographic revolution' that [Kuhn] optimistically described in natural science must occur also in the history of social science, social thought, and intellectual history generally," Thomas Haskell wrote in his first, seminal book, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science*.³⁹ This was exactly the argument and point of view of Gene Wise.

I have identified Gene Wise also as a taxonomist, and, as we know, there is taxonomy of taxonomists. It was, fittingly, first used by Charles Darwin: the division between lumpers and splitters. Isaiah Berlin's famous binary division of thinkers into hedgehogs and foxes is a variant of Darwin's classification of biologists as lumpers and splitters. The *Oxford English Dictionary* locates the first definition of the difference in an article in the *Cornhill Magazine* for March 1894: "Modern biologists are divided into the two camps of the splitters and the lumpers. The first are in favour of making a species out of every petty [...] variety; the second are all for lumping unimportant minor forms into a single species."

Wise was an enthusiastic lumper. To him, all of twentieth-century American history writing could be separated into three grand categories, the Progressive, the counter-Progressive, and the New Left. This is not to argue that Wise ignored or leveled out the enormous differences among historians; far from doing so, he showed great sensitivity to their individuality as scholars. But like all good lumpers he did not allow those variations to rise to the level of specific categories. His entire two-decade effort as a publishing scholar was dedicated to registering the strength, rapidity, and extent of the earthquakes in American-history scholarship that resulted in the shift from one of those major categorial structures to another. By this means, he intended to found a new specialty that he called "explanation in American historical-cultural studies"; he seems to have thought that such a specialty would effectively constitute American Studies in due time.⁴⁰

Attacks on *American Historical Explanation* on grounds of Wise's allegedly naïve employment of Kuhn's theories, moreover, completely neglected his almost equal reliance on the literary critical principles of Kenneth Burke. What Wise attempted to do was audacious; he brought together Kuhn's notion of professional paradigms in science with Burke's "'situation-strategy' approach" to texts.⁴¹ Wise, who knew that metaphors could be as influential as governing concepts, also valued Burke's dramatic and dialogic quality – hence the governing structure of "paradigm dramas," a composite term echoing both Kuhn and Burke, in one of his best-known articles. "I believe drama metaphors offer enormous potential for future work in American Studies, and are especially useful in bridging the long-lamented gap between humanistic and social scientific approaches to culture," he argued. In his "axioms" article he was more prescriptive: "Scholarship in American Culture Studies [should be seen as] a series of dialogues – transactions with an unfinished, and inherently unfinishable world of cultural experience."⁴²

In highly compressed summary, then, Wise endorsed a Burkean, dynamic and dramatistic approach to the study of individual historical texts, which he thought should

be understood as encounters between an author's unique mind with his or her materials. Such an encounter reflected a specific strategic approach to some problem in both the materials and in the author's personal and historic situation.⁴³ Readers, he further advocated, should not simply sum up the information they find in history books and declare that they had thereby acquired units of knowledge, but rather strive to comprehend the mind of that particular historian as he or she worked with those materials; in doing so the reader should be sensitive to pressures along fault lines that prefigure the direction and intensity of change in the period when the book or article was written.

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In the summer of 1986, readers of the American Studies Association's official publication, the *American Quarterly*, opened their copies of that journal to find news of a catastrophic event that had befallen their discipline. It is a tragedy from which, to my mind, the field has yet to fully recover – at least at its higher reaches, at the level of the journal's editors and board and the association's officer ranks.

Of course, the information about this catastrophe was not reported as I've described it; the *American Quarterly's* table of contents contained no headline or article entitled "Catastrophe Strikes American Studies!" Instead there was a six-page string of "In Memoriams" for three men who had died in the space of less than two years between 1983 and 1985.⁴⁴ Two of them had died by their own hand: John William Ward and Gene Wise; while the third, Warren Susman, was felled by a heart attack literally while standing at the podium during a session of the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians in Minneapolis in March 1985. He was fifty-eight.

John William Ward was the *beau ideal* of his field in Wise's generation: the brilliant author of *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age*, the Amherst College President who was arrested along with his students in front of Westover Air Force Base while protesting the escalation of the bombing campaign in Southeast Asia.⁴⁵ Ward's suicide on August 3, 1985 was almost as much of a mystery to his friends as that of Gene Wise had been two years earlier.⁴⁶ To come full circle, Ward had also been Thomas Haskell's undergraduate teacher and faculty advisor at Princeton; and, as Haskell told me, had seemed to be a model practitioner of the new kind of American-culture scholarship that was emerging in the 1960s. In fact it was Ward who, Haskell wrote, "introduced me to the field [and] suggested the [American Social Science Association] as a topic."⁴⁷ On the day of his appointment as Amherst president, Ward visited the apartment of three college seniors; one of them, Richard Teichgraeber III of Tulane University – remembered how excited the students were at the news of the elevation of their great teacher to this position. They could scarcely believe the news fourteen years later when they learned he had sliced his forearms in his spartan room at the Harvard Club in New York.⁴⁸

In July 1985, Ward delivered his last public address; it was in Budapest, where he signed an academic exchange agreement on behalf of the American Council of Learned

Societies, of which he was president, and gave a lecture on individualism, the subject of the long-awaited, second major book that he found it impossible to complete.⁴⁹

Warren Susman, a pioneer of American cultural history at Rutgers University and the author of *Culture as History*, could not have been more different from Ward as an individual: he was wide of girth, often arrogant, always effusive, and far from diplomatic in his relationships with authority. No one would imagine Warren Susman as the president of Amherst College. But Susman was at least as formidable an intellectual historian as either Ward or Wise – or arguably, Haskell.

Like Wise, like Haskell, Susman affirmed that the cultural historian, although bursting with particular data about dispersed events and institutions, was primarily engaged in a search for patterns of cultural expression. Such a historian “seeks to discover the *forms* in which people have experienced the world – the patterns of life, the symbols by which they cope with the world.” In a brilliant and programmatic introduction to a collection of texts from the Great Depression and Second World War, Susman stressed his focus on “forms, patterns, and symbols” that Americans employed to deal with their experiences, “and not on these experiences themselves.” With a reflexivity that explicitly echoed the precept of the great Johan Huizinga, a founder of cultural history, Susman argued that the historian “must, as a matter of fact, also create forms so that he can best understand the forms which make up the culture he is studying.”⁵⁰

What made these three scholars’ deaths a shared tragedy specifically for American Studies was the simple fact that, with their passing, the field was suddenly bereft of its strongest intellectual historians. Their collective loss created a vacuum in an area that had once been alive with new information, debate, publication, and teaching.

That vacuum was, in part, filled by what Haskell once called “the boundlessness of interpretation,”⁵¹ by something that had been bearing down on American Studies for years but to which the field was completely oblivious as late as the early 1980s: the locomotive of postmodernism. Gene Wise’s work was, as I have said, characterized in part by an amazing range of citations, both in his notes and in his texts. But nowhere in his writings have I seen a reference to Baudrillard, Bourdieu, Derrida, Foucault, Lyotard, or any of the mainly French philosophers with whose names, at least, everyone in the field was familiar by the end of the decade.

In his introductory remarks for the Robert Corrigan event at the University of Massachusetts-Boston, Irving Bartlett said, “As an historian who spent a good part of the conservative 50’s thinking about radicalism and a good part of the radical and rowdy 60’s thinking about conservatism and the best part of the 70’s being utterly confused, I will be listening very attentively this afternoon to see if I can’t pick up the right beat for the 80’s.” If that were his objective in attending the conference, poor Professor Bartlett was destined to be disappointed, for, had he taken the Corrigan event as a guide to future developments, he would have been just as confused in 1989 as he’d been in 1979. The presentations by these scholars, although impressive in themselves, gave no indication of the direction that American Studies actually would take in the decade and beyond. Corrigan had indeed collected “people from around the country who represent

some of the sharpest and most current thinking" about American Studies, but none of these men and women on the leading edge betrayed the slightest awareness of postmodern modes of interpretation.

In the five years after Haskell's "Rights Talk" essay appeared, that is, from 1987 to 1992, almost twenty percent of the articles in *American Quarterly* were on postmodern issues and themes.⁵²

I do not maintain that postmodernist interpretation somehow took over American Studies *tout court*. It never attained the sway in American Studies that it achieved in English; moreover other preoccupations, especially Orientalism, imperialism, and studies rooted in considerations of gender and race, exercised a greater hold on the field. Nor, by any stretch, do I perceive such interpretations as having been something "bad" that could have been counterbalanced by the solidly grounded work of intellectual and cultural historians like Susman, Ward, and Wise. No, the tragedy was that we did not get to experience the clashes and accommodations that would definitely have occurred as these restless and talented intellects came to grips with these new ideas.

It was at just this time, around 1985 and 1986, when issues of postmodern interpretation began to blip on Haskell's radar screen. His great essay, "The Curious Persistence of Rights Talk in the Age of Interpretation," was first delivered at a conference at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst in November of 1986. From the mid '80s on, Haskell and other leading intellectual historians began to meet the challenges thrown down by writers who contended that, because language constitutes reality and all scholarly practices are conventional, there was no scholarly path to take that was in principle more justifiable than any other.

By the term "meet the challenges" I do not mean that Haskell and others were combatants in a struggle to rescue a bedrock conception of reality. They had absorbed much from Nietzsche, Rorty, Foucault, Hayden White, and others; they changed and sharpened their categories as a consequence of these encounters. But as Haskell wrote, "rights need not become arbitrary just because they are conventions; some conventions are better than others, more rational, more in accord with our values, better suited to the problems we face."⁵³ Susman and Wise in particular (since Ward had retired from scholarship in 1971 and from academia in 1979) would have been powerful interlocutors and probably allies in the camp of moderate historicism that Haskell staked out and recruited for after 1987. The evidence shows that Gene Wise particularly admired the Rice historian. Wise's publications "track" Haskell's closely – that is, Haskell's most recent writings showed up in Wise's footnotes as Wise's articles appeared over the course of time. Gordon Kelly told me that he had been made aware of Haskell's *The Emergence of Professional Social Science* after Wise specifically pointed it out to Kelly.⁵⁴

On the other hand, as Wise's dear friend Carl Bode conjectured, it may have been impossible for Wise to find solace in any camp. Bode, more than any single person, deserves the credit for founding the American Studies Association in 1951. A brilliant cultural critic, folklorist, and humorist in his own right, Bode stepped into academic mud

when he proposed the new group for scholars “between” disciplines.⁵⁵ Later, as a professor at the University of Maryland, Bode acted as a mentor during what could have been Wise’s mid-career, in a way that was analogous to that of Stuart Gerry Brown in Wise’s early days in the field. Bode believed that Gene Wise would step forward and write the great synthesis for American Studies that is a requisite for every field, a catalog of its self-understanding with which it can critically and creatively debate.⁵⁶ The absence of such an overarching narrative continues to trouble this precarious semi-discipline to the present.

As Bode observed, Gene Wise was concerned as a scholar with appearances – with myths, illusions, dramas, masks, paradigms, patterns. The search for reality itself, however, was to Wise, “ultimately hopeless.” Bode “was inclined to believe that for him [the reality beneath appearances] lay somewhere near Union City, Indiana. [...] I believe that he left a simpler life in small-town Indiana for a more complex one on our two coasts. I think he gradually comprehended the extended truth in Thomas Wolfe’s title, ‘You Can’t Go Home Again.’ I think that this comprehension deepened the depression that finally overcame him.”⁵⁷

The reality Wise sought was a coherent American culture, and he discovered it did not exist. While Wise’s identification of masks, paradigms and patterns in American civilization will continue to provide insights for future scholars, the reality beneath these appearances was, for him, unfathomable, and therefore terrible.

In Chapter 58 of *Moby-Dick*, Ishmael exclaims: “For as this appalling ocean surrounds the verdant land, so in the soul of man there lies one insular Tahiti, full of peace and joy, but encompassed by all the horrors of the half known life. God keep thee! Push not off from that isle, thou canst never return!”

Endnotes

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- 46 Townsend, 229–230.
- 47 Haskell, *Emergence*, viii. The nineteenth-century American Social Science Association had been the subject of Haskell's Stanford PhD dissertation; it was published in revised form as *The Emergence of Professional Social Science*.
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- 55 Historian Roy Nichols sardonically observed to Bode, "I occasionally run across resistance among historians to a new organization that takes on any elaborate proportions" (Roy F. Nichols to Carl Bode, February 5, 1951, Box I: 86, folder 2, American Studies Association Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).
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Francis Bowen, “War of Races in Hungary,” and a Lost Harvard Professorship, Or a Tempest in a Boston Tea Pot¹

On February 6, 1851, the Board of Overseers of Harvard University voted against confirming Francis Bowen as McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History, a post he had occupied since May the year before. Bowen had, for the past year, received much negative press concerning two anti-Hungarian articles he had written for the *North American Review*, the leading literary journal in the United States at that time, a journal that he edited. The focus of this paper is how two articles about a country most Americans knew very little about led to a professor being denied tenure at Harvard.

The American press followed the wars and revolutions in Europe in 1848–49 with great interest and sympathy. They viewed these events as a continuation of the American and French revolutions, the throwing off of kings and nobility, and the inevitable march toward a republican form of government. As the events unfolded, and the uprisings in France, Italy, and Germany were suppressed, Hungary became the focus of press attention as the last man standing, so to speak. The American press carried stories (although not always accurate) of Hungary’s victories and defeats, and news of the surrender of the Hungarian army at Világos was received with great disappointment when it arrived in the US in September 1849. Then Senator Daniel Webster summed up the national mood in a speech in Boston in November when he said that “[w]e have all had our sympathies much enlisted in the Hungarian effort for liberty. We have all wept at its failure. We thought we saw a more rational hope of establishing free government in Hungary than in any other part of Europe.”²

Against this general tide of sympathy for Hungary stood several editors of prominent newspapers and journals. The common theme of these publications was their opposition to the Hungarian cause, although they were dissimilar in their focus. *Brownson’s Quarterly Review*, edited by Orestes Brownson, staunch Catholic and cultural critic, attacked Lajos Kossuth as an enemy of the Catholic Church and of one of its strongest supporters, the Habsburg dynasty.³ James Watson Webb, editor of the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, attacked the Hungarian cause because he believed that sympathy for it in the United States Senate derailed his nomination to be United States Charge d’Affaires

1 Library of Congress. Ideas and opinions expressed here are the author’s own and not that of the Library of Congress or the United States Government.

2 “Festival of the Sons of New Hampshire” [Speech delivered on November 7, 1849, in Boston, MA], in *Works of Daniel Webster*, Vol. 2 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1864), 514.

3 Kenneth Nyirady, “Orestes Brownson and Catholic Opposition to Kossuth in the U.S.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Hungarian Educators’ Association, Pittsburgh, PA, May 8–10, 2008.

to Vienna in 1850.⁴ Discussed here will be the case of Francis Bowen, editor of the *North American Review*, the leading literary journal in the United States. Bowen was also an instructor in history at Harvard University. In January 1850 and again in April, Bowen published articles in his journal highly critical of Hungary and its war of independence, in which he claimed Austria to be the force of progress and Hungary the force of reaction in that struggle. These two articles provoked a controversy that carried over into the Boston newspapers, the *New-York Daily Tribune*, and other newspapers and journals around the nation, eventually costing Bowen a professorship at Harvard.

Francis Bowen, despite his attainments, was not a member of the Boston elite. Born in 1811 into a family of modest means, he attended Phillips Exeter Academy but was obliged to hold a job to support himself there. Nevertheless, he graduated from Harvard in 1833 at the head of his class,⁵ and was invited back two years later to teach. He visited Paris in 1839 and spent several years in France, returning to the US and becoming editor of the *North American Review* in 1843. He has been described as a “professional literary man” credited with reviving a dull journal, a “[g]ood critic, better journalist and editor”; and he did not shrink from controversy. According to one historian of literary criticism, “Bowen was that rare and beautiful specimen, a political reactionary with a turn for literary and moral radicalism.”⁶ A history of the journal, published in 1935, described him as a “man of broad learning and varied interests; but he was prejudiced, belligerent, and far too unmindful of his audience.”⁷

While tutoring and teaching at Harvard, he was appointed McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History on May 25, 1850, and lectured on English constitutional, modern European and Greek history. However, appointment was only the first step in the hiring process; confirmation by the state legislature was the second, and as Harvard’s by-laws required the state legislature to be in session for confirmation, it would have to wait until the following February. For Francis Bowen those would be eight long and agonizing months.

The controversy concerning Bowen’s opinions about Hungary did not begin with the publication of his articles but rather with a lecture he delivered in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the fall of 1849. Bowen based his lecture on an article he was writing for

4 Kenneth Nyirady, “Yet Another American Editor Opposes Kossuth: James Watson Webb.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Hungarian Educators’ Association, Kolozsvár/Cluj, Romania, July 9–11, 2015.

5 Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), 291.

6 George E. DeMille, “The Birth of the Brahmins,” *Sewanee Review* 37.2 (Apr. 1929), 183–184.

7 F. L. Mott, “One Hundred Twenty Years,” *North American Review* 240.1 (June 1935), 158. It should be pointed out that even before the Hungarian controversy, Bowen had his detractors. In a letter dated October 24, 1849, published in the *Springfield Republican* and extracted in the *Salem Register* on November 1, it was noted that Bowen was one of two possible candidates for the soon-to-be vacated McLean Professorship at Harvard, but that he “has made himself obnoxious to many of the friends of the College by several severe attacks, which he has made upon its management, and his chance is therefore a poor one.”

the forthcoming issue of the *North American Review*, an article highly critical of Hungary and its War of Independence that had recently concluded. Word of this lecture reached the Boston newspapers and provoked a negative response. One letter to the *Daily Evening Transcript* even called for subscribers to the *North American Review* to cancel their subscriptions. Bowen expressed dismay at the “gross personal abuse” he was experiencing, especially as no part of the lecture had appeared in print. He suspected that none of the newspaper editors of the offending papers had actually attended his presentation.⁸

In fact, that article was a book review. “The War of Races in Hungary,”⁹ reviewed *De l'esprit public en Hongrie depuis la révolution française*, by Auguste De Gérando (Paris: 1848). De Gérando was married to Emma Teleki, had lived on the Teleki estate in Transylvania, and was generally sympathetic to the Hungarian cause. Bowen early in this review noted that he also drew information from a series of articles by Hippolyte Desprez and Emilie de Langsdorff in the French journal *Revue des deux Mondes*.

According to Bowen, Americans were misled by the press, which republished reports from the French and German papers, whose purpose was to gain sympathy for the Magyars (Bowen distinguishes between Magyars, the ethnic group, and Hungarians, the inhabitants of the country.) These foreign papers exaggerated reports of Magyar victories and distorted the causes and aims of the war. Bowen's main point was that the Hungarian war was not a war for national independence or for establishing a republic but rather a civil war between the Magyars, who constituted only one-third of the population of Hungary, and what he called their “subject races,” that is, the Croats, Serbs, Romanians, Slovaks, and Germans. Bowen insisted that the Magyars only declared independence when the Habsburgs enacted a “liberal” constitution in March 1849 that granted equality of all peoples in the empire. The Magyars then fought to retain their ancient rights, that is, domination over and subjugation of the non-Magyars in Hungary. Bowen argued that if the Magyars had renounced their “enormous and unjust privileges” and “the insolent supremacy of their race” and granted “confederation and equality of political rights” to the non-Magyars, they could have destroyed the Austrian Empire and prevented a Russian invasion.¹⁰

It would be one thing if Bowen's article were merely a reinterpretation of the Hungarian War of Independence; but, as his critics will point out below, his article was filled with errors and distortions of fact. A few will be mentioned here as a general illustration. Bowen claimed that the nobility of Hungary was exclusively Magyar, that every Magyar nobleman owned land, that the Magyar peasant formed the higher stratum of the peasantry, and, of course, the one that persists even to this day, that Kossuth was not a Mag-

8 Letter to the editor, *Daily Evening Transcript* (Boston), Dec. 1, 1849; Francis Bowen, letter to the editor, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 6, 1849.

9 Francis Bowen, “The War of Races in Hungary,” review of *De l'Esprit Public en Hongrie, depuis la Révolution Française* by A. Degerando, *North American Review* 70.146 (Jan. 1850): 78–136.

10 Bowen, “The War of Races,” 82, 100.

yar but actually a “Magyarized Slowack lawyer.”¹¹ In one place Bowen equated this alleged Magyar overlordship of the “present” [Jan. 1850] to that of the Normans in England in the years following the conquest, i.e., brutal subjection of the conquered people. Yet in another he weakened his own argument by admitting that these things were true only if one overlooked “the changes which have been made within the last ten years...”¹² And those changes of 1848–49, as any student of Hungarian history knows, were revolutionary.

Bowen concluded by criticizing Austria’s treatment of the vanquished Magyars, calling it both cruel and imprudent. The executions and retributions have forever alienated the Magyars and Hungary in the future will be a source of instability and insecurity for Austria, as Ireland became for England after the suppression of the Irish rebellion in 1798.¹³

The press reaction to Bowen’s first article was swift. For example, the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* already in January republished an article from the *Philadelphia Ledger*, and commented on an article in the *Washington Republic*, both pointing out what they perceived as the obvious errors in Bowen’s analysis; the *Republic* contrasting the testimony of the Hungarian émigrés already in Washington with the assertions of “a review editor, who confessedly draws all his knowledge, on the subject of which he treats, from a book, which book may or not possess any weight or authority.”¹⁴ The editor of the journal *Ladies’ Repository*, Benjamin Tefft, called Bowen’s article “libelous and false in every part of it,” that every paragraph “contains a misstatement of facts,” and even accused Bowen of being the anonymous author of “several” articles opposing the revolutions of 1848 that appeared in the English journal *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*.¹⁵

Bowen’s second article concerning Hungary appeared in April 1850, in which he reviewed four books: two British, one French, and one published in the United States. “The Politics of Europe”¹⁶ opened by discussing the revolutionary movements in Europe

11 Bowen, “The War of Races,” 88–89; see Istvan Deak, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians 1848–1849* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 9–10, for a more nuanced discussion of the Kossuth family origins.

12 Bowen, “The War of Races,” 88–90.

13 Bowen, “The War of Races,” 135–136.

14 *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, Jan. 21, 1850; Jan. 31, 1850.

15 “Editors Table,” *Ladies’ Repository* 10.3 (March 1850), 103. The articles in question from *Blackwood’s*, which Tefft does not enumerate, are all signed “Ernest”; the first two are entitled “American Thoughts on European Revolutions,” dated Boston, May 1848 (*Blackwood’s*, July 1848, 31–39); the second dated Boston, December 1848 (*Blackwood’s*, Feb. 1849, 190–201); and the third, “The Reaction, or Foreign Conservatism,” dated Boston, Feb. 1849 (*Blackwood’s*, May 1849, 529–541).

16 Francis Bowen, “The Politics of Europe,” Review of 1. *Les Guerre d’Idiome et de Nationalité: Tableaux, Esquisses, et Souvenirs d’Histoire Contemporaine*, by Paul de Bourgoing, Ancien Ministre de France en Russie et en Allemagne; 2. *Austria*, by Edward P. Thompson; 3. *The Annual Register, or a View of the History and Politics of the Year 1848*; 4. *A Brief Explanatory Report as to the Termination of the Hungarian Struggle, the Capitulation of the Fortress of*

in 1848–49. Bowen observed how the public's sympathy shifted according to the fortunes of the parties at war, and how humiliating it was "to look back upon changes of opinion so frequent and violent"; and lamented that public opinion had been "lavished upon demagogues, savage fanatics, or disguised supporters of despotism, the admiration which was intended for the brave, enlightened, and disinterested champions of human freedom and defenders of their country's rights." Bowen, quoting one of the sources in his review, called the revolutionary movements primarily a "war of races, in which different nationalities, speaking different languages, came in contact with each other by seeking to vindicate or preserve a superior relative position." He observed that "[t]he principle of the division of nationalities by their languages thus appears to be in truth the ruling political idea of our times. [...] Hence, when wars break out in which these questions of language and race are concerned, it is difficult to get at the merits of the case, or to certain which party is in the right." Bowen's disapproval was not limited to the Magyars. He harshly criticized Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, calling the former "a veteran conspirator" and the latter "a brigand and the leader of brigands."¹⁷

Bowen was convinced that Americans were deceived about the aims of the revolutions in Europe, and too quickly jumped to the conclusion, "that a revolution in a monarchy necessarily tended to the establishment of a republic; and that, of two parties in a war, the one which had the misfortune to obtain the assistance either of Austria or Russia was unquestionably in the wrong." Bowen noted the Magyars were not fighting to establish a republic, despite the prevailing public opinion to the contrary. But the enthusiasm for the refugees and support for Hungary in the United States had been artificially kept alive by the press, "the only despotic power which exists in this country..."¹⁸ Bowen, obviously, was smarting under the attacks he had just received from the press.

Bowen denigrated the reforms of the Hungarian government of 1848–49, stating that they actually began with Széchenyi, and the Batthyány–Kossuth government "only reluctantly" went along with them. He cited John Paget's book *Hungary and Transylvania*¹⁹ concerning the brutal treatment of the Hungarian peasantry, but failed to realize that by noting that Paget lived in Hungary in 1835 Bowen admitted that Paget's observations preceded the reforms regarding the serfs by a dozen years.²⁰

Despite his harsh criticism of the Magyars, Bowen insisted he was not defending Austria. He would have welcomed, he said, "the dethronement of the House of Hapsburg, whose very name is a byword in history for perfidy, cruelty, and oppression." More-

Comorn, and the Objects, Probable Extent, and Other Circumstances of the Hungarian Emigration, *North American Review* 70: 147, 473–520.

17 Bowen, "The Politics of Europe," 474, 476, 478, 483.

18 Bowen, "The Politics of Europe," 485, 496–498, 500.

19 John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania; with Remarks on Their Condition, Social, Political and Economical* (London: J. Murray, 1839), 2 vols.

20 Bowen, "The Politics of Europe," 516–517.

over, the United States should welcome the Hungarian refugees as it welcomed refugees of all political opinions, with open arms and grant them land to settle.²¹

Soon after Bowen's second article appeared in the April issue of the *North American Review*, another journal, the *Christian Examiner*, published a 45-page article under the title "Hungary and Austria" written by an author with the initials M.L.P. The article was a straightforward, rather complimentary history of Hungary, emphasizing its relations with the Habsburgs until 1848, did not mention Bowen by name, and gave no hint of the later battle that would develop between these two authors.²²

M.L.P. was none other than Mary Lowell Putnam (1810–1898), who came from a distinguished Boston family.²³ Her brother, James Russell Lowell, was already an established poet, and her mother was said to be "a woman of 'remarkable mind,' and gifted with an extraordinary facility of acquiring languages."²⁴ This facility she passed on to her daughter. The number of languages Mary Lowell Putnam herself mastered varies, according to the source, but Robert Carter, a close family friend, declared that she knew Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German, Swedish, Danish, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Turkish, Sanskrit, and "several other European and Asiatic languages which [he is] not able to designate with accuracy."²⁵ She had lived in Poland and Hungary, and later spent six years in France and Germany.²⁶ She also had acquired some literary fame for her 1844 translation from Swedish of Fredrika Bremer's novel, *The Bondmaid*, and she used her knowledge of Hungarian to pen a review of the six-volume collected works of Károly Kisfaludy,²⁷ ironically in the same issue of the *North American Review* that Francis Bowen published his second attack on the Hungarians. Lowell Putnam also later contributed approximately 44 pages of material relating to Hungary to Elizabeth Peabody's 1852 book *Crimes of the House of Austria against Mankind*.²⁸

21 Bowen, "The Politics of Europe," 500–501.

22 M.L.P. [Mary Lowell Putnam], "Hungary and Austria," *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* 48 (May 1850), 444–498.

23 The social standing of the Lowells in Boston was well stated in a verse by John Collins Bossidy (1860–1928), as part of a toast at the Holy Cross Alumni Dinner in 1919: "And this is good old Boston, / The home of the bean and the cod / Where the Lowells talk to the Cabots / And the Cabots talk only to God" (John Bartlett, *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations: a Collection of Passages, Phrases, and Proverbs Traced to their Sources in Ancient and Modern Literature*, 18th ed. [New York: Little, Brown, 2012], 577).

24 *Homes of American Authors; Comprising Anecdotal, Personal, and Descriptive Sketches, by Various Writers* (New York: G.P. Lowell Putnam, 1853), 359.

25 Robert Carter, "Mr. Bowen's Attack on Mrs. Lowell Putnam," *Boston Daily Atlas*, Dec. 23, 1850.

26 Joseph Adelman, *Famous Women, an Outline of Feminine Achievement through the Ages with Life Stories of Five Hundred Noted Women* (New York: Ellis M. Lonow, [c1926]), 177.

27 Mary Lowell Putnam, "Review of *Kisfaludi Kisfaludy Károly's Minden Munkái*. Pestén. 1843–4 (The Complete Works of Charles Kisfaludy, of Kisfalud. Pest)," *North American Review* 70.147 (Apr. 1850): 289–330.

28 Elizabeth P. Peabody, *Crimes of the House of Austria against Mankind* (New-York: R. Garrigue, 1852).

In "Hungary and Austria," Lowell Putnam compared the similarities between the Hungarian War of Independence 1848–49 with Rákóczi's War of Independence of 1703–11, both the result of the Habsburgs refusal to honor their coronation oaths as kings of Hungary. She lamented the falsehoods appearing in the "German" [i.e. Austrian] press about a semi-barbarian Hungary resisting the enlightened reforms of Austria. She disparaged the *Revue des deux Mondes*, the main source of Bowen's first article, considering Desprez one of those who "discuss subjects with which they are only half acquainted," whereas de Langsdorff was merely "one of the least unjust, and not the most ignorant" of the writers of the *Revue*. She refuted many of Bowen's points without naming Bowen himself. In her opinion, the Hungarians placed great weight on law and legal agreements, and that the Habsburgs had broken such agreements in an attempt to turn Hungary into just another province in the Austrian domains. Even when Napoleon offered independence to the Hungarians, they would not break their oath to their king to accept it. She observed that reforms in Hungary came about through the initiative of the nobles and not a reaction to peasant uprisings. What took blood and turmoil in France and Italy came about peacefully in Hungary on March 15, 1848. Clearly, the events in Hungary were not as Bowen had described them.²⁹

This author is unaware of anything that transpired between Lowell Putnam and Bowen from May through the early fall of 1850. But in November Lowell Putnam published a seventy-page article with the innocuous title "The *North American Review* on Hungary," an article devoted to a point-by-point refutation of Bowen's arguments, dismantling each in a logical and systematic fashion.³⁰

First, she noted that after the war "slandorous tales" started coming out of Europe, impugning the motives and actions of the Hungarians. Francis Bowen, being unfamiliar with the history and politics of Hungary, had not the background to evaluate the validity of these stories. Lowell Putnam was concerned that Bowen's misrepresentations, coming from the authoritative *North American Review*, would not only damage the reputation of the New England literary community, but would also turn public opinion against the Hungarian émigrés who, flowing into the United States, depended on the generosity of others to survive. As the business community, the likely source of this generosity, lacked the leisure to study the question, it was most likely to base its opinions on such "constituted authorities" as the *North American Review*. Some had hoped the author would revise his opinions in his second article but instead he strongly repeated his original assertions.³¹

Lowell Putnam then put forth her main point: while she wished to avoid "severity of comment," she must plainly and openly state that no part of Bowen's "War of the Races" was accurate. "We do not exaggerate, and we believe that all these persons who have an acquaintance with the history of Hungary, and who have read the article in the

29 M.L.P., "Hungary and Austria," 445, 447–448, 455, 472, 493.

30 M.L.P. [Mary Lowell Putnam], "The *North American Review* on Hungary," *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* 49 (Nov. 1850), 417–481.

31 M.L.P., "The *North American Review*," 418–422.

North American, will sustain us when we say, that there is hardly a sentence in this article in which an error is not either expressed or implied; in many portions of it, error is so interwoven with error, that the baffled critic turns from the task of refutation as from the entrance to an inextricable labyrinth." Lowell Putnam believed that nobody had written a detailed refutation of Bowen's article so far because a thorough refutation would require "Herculean labor" to correct all the errors.³²

For example, Lowell Putnam pointed out that although Bowen's first article was supposed to be a review of De Gérando's *De l'esprit public en Hongrie depuis la révolution française*, there is not a single instance where Bowen actually cites De Gérando; instead he relied on highly biased, anti-Hungarian French sources, and then selectively edited out any references that might throw a good light on the Hungarians. Lowell Putnam acknowledged that De Gérando contained "full and accurate accounts" of the political and social institutions of the country, but only through 1847, as the book was published in 1848. Therefore, it did not cover the sweeping social changes that took place in that year, beginning with the April Laws.³³

Lowell Putnam then proceeded to refute, in great detail, all the errors in Bowen's articles, both concerning his historical facts as well as in his analysis of modern Hungarian society and politics. It would take an article as long as Lowell Putnam's to fully describe the details of the arguments, but in summary, she demonstrated that Bowen's review concerned a book he never cited, he got his historical and demographic facts wrong, he truncated quotations in order to leave out information contrary to his conclusions and favorable to the Magyars, as well as a host of other sins. She dismantled Bowen's arguments in a workman-like fashion, one-by-one, correcting error upon error.

Concerning the historical facts (persons and dates), Lowell Putnam argued that if Bowen could not get the details right, how could he be correct about the larger themes? For example, Bowen asserted that all the nobility in Hungary were Magyar, and all owned land. Lowell Putnam provided statistical data to show that in one northern county there were 2,200 nobles yet only 200 Magyar inhabitants, and in another county with no Magyars there were 638 nobles. She also provided instances to demonstrate that some nobles were poorer than the well-to-do peasants!³⁴

Despite the national reach of the *North American Review* and the *Christian Examiner*, both were Boston publications and it could be said that this polemic was mainly a local affair. But then the *New-York Daily Tribune* reviewed Lowell Putnam's *Christian Examiner* article and published a summary of it in its November 13, 1850 issue. Although unsigned, the reviewer was also a Bostonian and Harvard graduate, George Ripley, now employed by Horace Greeley's *Tribune*. Lowell Putnam refuted Bowen, Ripley observed, "with great suavity of manner, but with a deadly purpose to effect his demolition. [...]"

32 M.L.P., "The *North American Review*," 428; see also Heléna Tóth, *An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848–1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 124–128.

33 M.L.P., "The *North American Review*," 423–424.

34 M.L.P., "The *North American Review*," 438.

Mr. Bowen's blunders, inconsistencies and false reasonings are so unrelentingly exposed, as to deprive his statements, when supported only by his own assertions, of all validity for the future." Ripley repeated Lowell Putnam's main arguments, and added that "[i]t will not appease the mortification of the erudite Professor to know that he has experienced such a summary defeat at the hands of a lady. [...] She writes with the graceful facility of one who is entirely at home on the subject, conversant from long familiarity with its leading points, and possessing a large surplus of information. [...] She conducts the argument with an almost legal precision. [...] Such a fine specimen of historical discussion is rare from any pen, though we are not among those who are astonished at high intellectual production from a woman." Ripley then questioned Bowen's fitness to be editor of the *North American Review* and a professor of history at Harvard. He concluded that "[i]n the attempt to prejudice the brave and martyred heroes of Hungary, he [Bowen] has ruined his own reputation forever."³⁵ A week later, this story was republished on page one of the Boston newspaper *Emancipator & Republican*.³⁶

Bowen soon counterattacked with a letter that appeared in the November 28 issue of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. He claimed to be weary of the topic. "It is now more than a year," he wrote, "since some evil genius prompted me to give the leisure of a few weeks to an investigation of the causes and nature of the war which was then raging in Hungary." He complained of nearly 12 months of attacks: "these attempts to ostracize me, to hold me up to public reprobation as a monarchist, an Austro-Russian professor, and a blasphemer of God and liberty, – to muzzle me, so that I should not be able to utter a word in my defense, – to destroy my property by taking away the circulation of the *Review*, to deprive me of my office in the University, with which I have been connected in various relations for more than ten years, and at last to make me the object of mob-law?" Bowen observed that none of the "respectable newspapers" in Boston had joined in on the attack; most come from that "curious triad," the *Boston Evening Transcript*, the *Boston Daily Times*, and the *New-York Daily Tribune*. He attributed the *Transcript's* hostility to a poor review he had given to a book of poetry³⁷ published by its editor; while the reviewer of the *Tribune*, George Ripley, he dismissed as "a former clergyman of Boston, who long ago abandoned his profession and his faith, to wander in the wilds of infidel socialism." Why was he being accused, Bowen asked, of being pro-Austrian and pro-absolutism based on only two articles about Hungary, "a country upon the eastern confines

35 "Bowen and His Blunders – The *North American Review* Reviewed. *The Christian Examiner*. Nov.," *New-York Daily Tribune* (Nov. 13, 1850): 5.

36 "Bowen and His Blunders – The *North American Review* Reviewed," *Emancipator & Republican* (Boston) (Nov. 21, 1850): 1.

37 Francis Bowen, review of 1. *Poems*, by R. W. Emerson; 2. *Poems*, by William Ellery Channing; 3. *Schiller's Homage of the Arts, with Miscellaneous Pieces from Rückert, Freiligrath, and other German Poets*, by Charles T. Brooks; 4. *Poems*, by William W. Story; 5. *Poems*, by Thomas Buchanan Read; 6. *The Island Bride and other Poems*, by James F. Colman; 7. *Poems*, by Frances Elizabeth Browne; 8. *Songs of the Sea, with other Poems*, by Epes Sargent; 9. *Shells from the Strand of the Sea of Genius*, by Harriet Farley, *North American Review*, 64:135 (Apr. 1847), 402–435; particularly 433.

of Europe, inhabited for the most part by half-civilized races..." As editor of the "oldest literary periodicals in America" for seven years, widely read in the United States and in Europe, his opinions were well-known. He was completing a course of twelve lectures at the Lowell Institute about political economy and social philosophy to audiences of 500-to-1,000 people. He lectured almost daily to 150 students at Harvard about English history. Bowen insisted that he had never "maligned those who were fighting for freedom" nor, "defended the cause of their oppressors." This was the first time in the history of Massachusetts where the voters have been asked to throw out a professor because of "obnoxious opinions about the affairs of a distant country in Europe" with no other fault found.³⁸

Bowen's second letter to the *Advertiser*, published two days later, dealt with the specifics of Lowell Putnam's article. He admitted that he read it "with astonishment and profound regret. It is not merely written in a sneering and offensive tone throughout, but its apparent object is, not so much to defend the Hungarians, as to damage the character of the Reviewer." "Of course," he added, "I immediately formed the opinion [...] that it was not written by the person whose initials it bears, and who has unwarily lent the sanction of a highly respectable name to statements and language furnished by another."³⁹

One can only speculate why Bowen decided to publicly dispute the authorship of Lowell Putnam's article. Most likely he did not wish to appear attacking a woman of high social standing, one from one of the leading families of Boston. Yet his statement that the article appeared to have "been prepared by one who had a profound knowledge of the Magyar language, and a profound ignorance of history" indicated that he knew Lowell Putnam was the author but decided to insult her anyway. Again, Bowen returned to the theme that the article aimed to damage his reputation and remove him from his position. He asked if the prominent historians he cited could be discounted merely because they are unfamiliar with the Magyar language? Bowen again returned to the disputed historical facts and accuses the author of the *Examiner* article of being "grossly ignorant of the most historical facts stated by the most common historians, or it has deliberately forged historical statements in order to damage my reputation, and deprive me of my office..." He repeated this charge again later in his letter.⁴⁰

Two weeks later, Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*, devoted an editorial that reviewed the history of Hungary, its constant struggle with the Habsburgs to maintain its constitutional rights, the War of 1848–49, and its brutal aftermath. Greeley accused the Habsburgs of fomenting the "War of Races in Hungary," and then turned his attention to Bowen, whose article attempted "to make the Hungarian fugitives odious to our people." Noting that Bowen was a candidate for "a lucrative professorship" at Harvard, Greeley wondered "[h]ow any sincere lover of Liberty can vote to

38 Francis Bowen, "Hungary Again," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 28, 1850.

39 Francis Bowen, "Hungary – No. 2," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 30, 1850.

40 Bowen, "Hungary – No. 2."

confirm him as Professor of *History* we cannot perceive." Bowen claimed that his opponents are trying to take away his family's bread, but he should remember that the fugitives from Hungary in our country, whom he has slandered, do not have "Review Editorships, nor Harvard tutorships, nor Lowell lectures to fall back on."⁴¹ The Boston *Emancipator & Republican* republished part of Greeley's editorial, then alerted its New York cousin: "We can assure the *Tribune* that his fate is sealed. He will be rejected, and branded with the disgrace and infamy he deserves."⁴²

The Hungarian controversy⁴³ was not winding down; it was in fact escalating. Bowen soon received a broadside in the form of two letters each from two voices so far unheard in this controversy: that of James Russell Lowell, the poet, brother of Mary Lowell Putnam, and Robert Carter, friend and literary collaborator with Lowell, and, at that time, the private secretary to the historian William H. Prescott. Lowell's letters appeared in the *Advertiser* and Carter's in the *Atlas* over the span of late December through early February. Lowell claimed that he did not see Carter's first letter until his own was nearly completed, but published it anyway as he wanted to reach the same audience that had read Bowen's letters a month before.

Lowell was furious.⁴⁴ Bowen had accused his sister Mary of ignorance at best, and untruth at worst. His dislike of Bowen went back to his Harvard days, when Bowen was a teacher and Lowell the student;⁴⁵ and Lowell may have had disparaged Bowen in Lowell's long poem "A Fable for Critics."⁴⁶

Lowell's letter, published on December 28 in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, did not mix words. He called Bowen a "fallacious reasoner," "when at a loss for argument, resorts to such gross charges as those of falsehood and forgery," accusations "coupled with imputations of private malice and covert attempts at personal injury." Lowell reminded his readers that the "original question was whether the Editor of the *N[orth] A[merican] Review* was right in the view which he took of the causes and conduct of the late struggle in Hungary, and not whether Mr. Bowen was a competent person to fulfil the duties of

41 Horace Greeley, "The Cause of Hungary and Its Foes – Francis Bowen," *New-York Daily Tribune* (Dec. 12, 1850).

42 "The Cause of Hungary and its Foes – Francis Bowen," *Emancipator & Republican* (Boston) (Dec. 19, 1850).

43 A term Robert Carter later used to entitle his 1852 book on this controversy.

44 "The suggestion of the latter that his sister was either ignorant or had misrepresented her sources made Lowell [...] more angry than he had ever been at Webster or even at John C. Calhoun. The rhetorical self-portrait of the learned father of a family being damaged by malicious persecution was sufficiently artificial to destroy any humane feeling Lowell might have held toward the person who drew it. He set out to tear up the picture by wrecking Bowen's claim to learning, satirizing the professor who would hide his ignorance behind his wife and children, and challenging the honesty of a man who would use the prestige of his professorial chair to support his errors as a journalist" (Leon Howard, *Victorian Knight-Errent; a Study of the Early Literary Career of James Russell Lowell* [Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971], 303–304).

45 Howard, 15.

46 Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Old Cambridge* (Cambridge, MA: Macmillan, 1899), 46–47.

perhaps the most important professorship in our University." "Was it proper for him to bring his private affairs into the controversy and to place his family between him and a purely abstract historical investigation?" Did Bowen ever take into account the financial situation of the authors' families when he wrote highly critical reviews in his *Review*, Lowell asked? In response to Lowell Putnam's pointing out his errors and carelessness, all Bowen could see was an attempt to damage his reputation, which was "neither commendable nor proper to attribute unworthy motives to an antagonist in a historical controversy."⁴⁷

In his January 2 letter, Lowell continued the polemics over the disputed historical facts, but also asked the question: why did Bowen assume that if "there was anything like a war of races, it follows necessarily that the Hungarians were in the wrong. This is a kind of logic which we do not understand." The war, Lowell continued, was forced upon the Hungarians by the deceit of the Austrian government, a deceit which Bowen himself admits. "Would he have had the Hungarians sit still and have their throats cut?" "It is no answer to the *Examiner* to lose his temper and his manners," Lowell continued, "and to attribute the exposure of his want of logic and accuracy to a desire of injuring his reputation as a professor of history and depriving him of office – as if the reputation of a heroic people whom he had maligned, were of less important than that of an individual!" Lowell characterized Bowen's method of historical research in this fashion: "[W]hen the potato was first introduced into Ireland, it is said that some well-meaning persons carefully gathered the tops, leaving the roots underground as worthless. This is very much as Mr. Bowen treats his authorities in making extracts from them." Bowen ought to know that acquiring and analyzing the information on such a complex subject as the Hungarian War cannot be "got up" in the "hasty and desultory manner which will pass muster in an ordinary review article. [...] But if the speculative and hearsay calumnies of pamphleteers often in the interest of despotism are to be taken as better evidence than the public speeches, declarations and acts of the Hungarian leaders, and the proceedings of the Diet for successive years, we have nothing more to say."⁴⁸

In his first letter, Robert Carter praised Lowell Putnam who, despite her household duties and weak eyesight, had impressive literary and linguistic accomplishments. Her article proved that Bowen "pretended to knowledge on the subject which he did not possess, and that he greatly misrepresented the Hungarians and their cause." "Inaccurate, illogical, and unjust," was how Carter summed it up. He did not expect the editor of a critical literary review to be so sensitive himself to criticism, as Bowen was not known for sugarcoating his words in his reviews. Moreover, Bowen had no reason to

47 J. R. L. [James Russell Lowell], "Mr. Bowen and the *Christian Examiner*," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 28, 1850.

48 J. R. L. [James Russell Lowell], "Mr. Bowen and the *Christian Examiner*, No. II," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 2, 1851.

suppose that Lowell Putnam did not write the article as he knew the quality of her contributions to the *Review* and that she would never accept credit for materials written by another.⁴⁹

Before Carter's second letter appeared, Bowen published yet a third article in the *North American Review*, consisting of thirty pages of quotations and then continued with his original theme, calling the "policy even of Austrian despotism was liberal and enlightened" compared with that of the Magyar nobility. Bowen stressed that the controversy showed how dangerous it was to speak the truth, despite Americans' attachment to freedom of speech and the press. Fortunately, this type of "terrorism" he believed was extremely rare.⁵⁰

In his second letter Carter reviewed Bowen's third article, questioning the accuracy and political sympathies of his sources. First, Carter disassembles Bowen's sources. Of the ten English- and German-language books, four were published in Vienna 1849–50 and one in Pressburg (1849) and therefore subject to Habsburg censorship; another two were published anonymously, one was authored by Count Mailath, a "notorious Austrian partisan," and one published eleven years ago. Carter also brought up Bowen's alleged plagiarism in "War of the Races." Of the 60 pages in that article, four to five consisted of "acknowledged quotations" but at least 50 pages consist of text that was taken without acknowledgment from the French *Revue des deux Mondes*, "either by literal translation or by a process of abridgement" and the abridgement often distorted the original meaning of the author.⁵¹

Bowen made one final appeal, published in the *Boston Daily Atlas*, on February 6. He asked the editors of the *Atlas* to grant him a column or two to respond to the "twelve or fourteen" columns in the paper that recently attacked him. Bowen recounted that his first article offended "a few Magyar and Polish⁵² nobles resident in this country." His second article was aimed to put all questions to rest concerning his alleged holding of anti-

49 R.C. [Robert Carter], "Mr. Bowen's Attack on Mrs. Putnam," *Boston Daily Atlas*, Dec. 23, 1850.

50 Francis Bowen, "The Rebellion of the Slavonic, Wallachian and German Hungarians against the Magyars," Review of 1. "The *North American Review* on Hungary"; 2. *The War in Hungary 1848–1849*, by Max Schlesinger; 3. *Hungary: its Constitution and its Catastrophe*, by Corvinus; 4. *Austria*, by Peter E. Turnbull; 5. *Verzeichniss der unter den Insurrectionellen Regierung Ungarns durch Martial-oder Statarialgerichte hingerichteten, oder ohne all Justiz hingsgeschlachteten Individuen*; 6. *Genesis der Revolution in Oesterreich im Jahre 1848*; 7. *Thronfolge und die Pragmatische Sanction in Ungarn; nebst einer Skizzirten Geschichte der neunmonatlichen Ofen-Pester Parteiherrschaft unter ihrer Umtriebe*; 8. *Geschichte des Oestreichischen Kaiserstaates* by Johann Graf Mailath; 9. *Die Letzten zwei Jahre Ungarns. Chronologisches Tagebuch der Magyarischen Revolution*, by J. J. von Adlerstein, *North American Review* 72:150 (Jan. 1851): 205–249.

51 R.C. [Robert Carter], "Mr. Bowen's Authorities on Hungary," *Boston Daily Atlas*, Feb. 3, 1851.

52 Bowen here is referring to Count Adam Gurowski, a Polish émigré residing in the United States, who called Bowen's "War of Races" "a thick and dark forest of errors in historical or rather unhistorical quotations, as well as in reasoning. Almost every line requires rectification" ("Mr. Bowen's Authorities on Hungary," Feb. 3, 1851).

republican sympathies. Forced to break silence “only reluctantly” because of recent attempts to discredit his opinions, including his latest [or third] article in the *Review*, where he “summoned into court a crowd of witnesses, English, French, German, and Hungarian,” of all political persuasions, “a string of citations,” telling the story of the Hungarian civil war using the language of others. He explained that he used ellipses not to mislead but to save space; any reader could easily check the originals. To the charge of plagiarism, Bowen responded that he gave “full credit” to his sources. He also quoted an unnamed Hungarian clergyman “of Slavonic decent,” now in the United States, who fully endorsed his first article, calling it a “truthful sketch.”

Summing up, Bowen asked the papers to cease attacking him. He calculated that in December alone about thirty newspaper columns were devoted to the exposure of his “sins and errors.” All he asked for was “to be allowed to eat his bread and read his books in peace and quietness.” All this controversy, he claimed, simply because he published “some few historical facts about an isolated tribe of Tatar origin, who dwell somewhere in the neighborhood of the Black Sea.” Bowen then appealed to the editors:

When the time comes for waging a grand war against all the despotic powers in Europe, I have no doubt you will all be found in the front rank, bravely contending for liberty or death. But will you be kind enough to reserve a portion of your courage and ardor for this great emergency, and not expend them all in crushing a poor book worm. You have now killed me often enough, and there is no need of fighting your battles over again.⁵³

Bowen's name finally came up before the Board of Overseers of Harvard University on February 6, and was rejected for the McLean professorship, with 33 votes for confirmation to 39 against. Surprisingly, Bowen himself believed he was rejected not because of his articles about Hungary but because of his July 1850 article defending Daniel Webster and the Compromise of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Law, which was very unpopular in Massachusetts, especially with the newly formed Free Soil Party.⁵⁴ But given

53 Francis Bowen, “The Magyar Nobility and Their Supporters,” *Boston Daily Atlas*, Feb. 6, 1851.

54 Francis Bowen, “The Action of Congress on the California and Territorial Question,” review of 1. Speech of Henry Clay, of Kentucky, on the Resolutions of Compromise offered by him to settle and adjust amicably all Existing Questions of Controversy between the States, arising out of the Institution of Slavery; delivered in the Senate of the United States, February 5th, 1850; 2. Speech of Samuel S. Phelps, of Vermont on the Subject of Slavery; delivered in the Senate, January 23, 1850; 3. Speech of John M. Berrien, of Georgia, on Mr. Clay's Proposed Compromise; delivered in the Senate, February 11th, 1850; 4. Speech of Solomon U. Downs, of Louisiana, on the Compromise Resolutions of Mr. Clay; delivered in the Senate, February 18th, 1850; 5. Speech of Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, on Mr. Clay's Compromise Resolutions; delivered in the Senate, March 7th, 1850. As revised and corrected by Himself (Boston: Redding & Co, [1850]); 6. Speech of Horace Mann, of Massachusetts, on the Subject of Slavery in the Territories, and the Consequences of a Dissolution of the Union; delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, February 15th, 1850 (Boston: Redding &

the extensive nature of the criticism of his Hungary articles and the weight of his attackers, it is difficult to believe that his published opinions about Hungary were not part of the issue, if not the main issue. He was rejected despite an endorsement by the junior and senior classes of Harvard, presented to the Board by the President of Harvard himself, Edward Everett.⁵⁵ It was also Bowen's bad luck to come up for confirmation during the short-lived Democratic and Free-Soil Party coalition that governed Massachusetts for two brief years. Every Free-Soil and ex-officio member on the Board had voted against him, while the Whigs and nearly every elected member voted for him.⁵⁶

But the controversy continued even after Bowen's rejection. A month later, in March, Mary Lowell Putnam published a second article in the *Christian Examiner*, again examining and refuting Bowen's ideas. An article in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, dated January 9, 1851, suggested that the publication of Lowell Putnam's article had been delayed and that the decision to delay it had not been her decision.⁵⁷ A letter to the *Tribune* published four days later and merely signed "C." provided more detail, suggesting that the article had been "ready for the press," already in January, but that Bowen had asked the editor of the *Christian Examiner* to delay its publication until after his confirmation hearing, as he needed the Harvard salary to support his family. The editor then made the request to Lowell Putnam and she agreed. Bowen then repaid her kindness by continuing his attack on her and Hungary in the January issue of the *North American Review*.⁵⁸

In her second article titled "The *North American Review* on Hungary,"⁵⁹ Lowell Putnam saw a systematic effort by friends of despotism to misrepresent the character of the

Co., 1850); 7. Letter of Hon. Horace Mann to his Constituents on the Slavery Question. Revised and corrected by the Author for the *Evening Traveller*; 8. Report of the Select Committee of Thirteen, of the United States Senate, to whom were referred Various Resolutions respecting California, the Other Territories recently acquired from Mexico, and the Institution of Slavery; together with the Speech of Henry Clay upon the said Report, delivered in the Senate, May 13th, 1850," *North American Review* 71:148 (July 1850): 221–268.

55 "Harvard University," *Boston Daily Atlas*, Feb. 6, 1851; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), 292–293.

56 Morison noted that the subsequent Act of May 22, 1851, removed the clerics from the board as well as the Council and State Senate, the only ex officio members remaining were the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate, Speaker of the House, Secretary of the Board of Education, and President and Treasurer of the University. The Act of 1851 removed most of the political members of the board, and Morison asserts that "the sacrifice of Bowen was the price that the University paid to oust the Council and State Senate from its senior Governing Board." Morison sees the whole affair as teaching Harvard that politicians and academic freedom do not mix, and that the University should rely on the public and its own alumni for support, not the state. Cf. Morison, 289, 293.

57 "New Publications," *New-York Daily Tribune*, January 9, 1851.

58 C. "Francis Bowen and Mrs. Lowell Putnam on Hungarian History," *New-York Daily Tribune*, Jan. 13, 1851. "C." claimed to have no connection at all with Mary Lowell Putnam, which, if true, would rule out Robert Carter as the author.

59 M. L. P. [Mary Lowell Putnam], "The *North American Review* on Hungary," *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* 50 (Mar. 1851), 279–352.

Hungarian war, both as subversive of established order and as the attempts of a dominant race to “usurp unjust dominion” over the subject races. Both accusations, she insisted, were false. The Hungarians did not set out to overthrow the Habsburgs, but only insisted that they honor their coronation oath. The Hungarians did not use the excuse of the revolution in France to desert their monarch, even though at that moment the monarchy was weak. Without pressure from below, the Hungarian nobles relinquished their privileges and expanded voting rights to include all, save for “small property qualifications,” which was not unusual for the times. They wished to make Hungarian citizens out of all the population, regardless of nationality. Lowell Putnam repeated her observation that Bowen’s “War of Races” completely ignored the changes that took place in Hungary in 1848.⁶⁰

Lowell Putnam insisted that the Hungarians fought to maintain their liberties and their constitutional form of government. It was a war of defense. There would have been no war had the Habsburgs not incited the nationalities, had the abdication of Ferdinand and the accession of Franz Joseph been put before the Diet for confirmation, and had Franz Joseph not attempted to incorporate Hungary into the empire as merely another province.⁶¹

Lowell Putnam argued that it was only logical that Hungarian be the language of the new state; Latin was known only to the nobility and the Slavic languages were regional. Bowen’s claim that the Magyars forbade the nationalities to use their own languages was simply untrue. To decree that Hungarian must be taught in all the schools meant that the nationalities would learn the language of the state and therefore have the right to participate in the administration of the state.⁶²

Concerning the Croat supporters of Josip Jellachich,⁶³ Lowell Putnam accused them of wishing to transform the empire from German rule to Slavic. The Hungarians, she noted, made every attempt to reach accommodation with the Croats but were rebuffed. She insisted that Jellachich was acting more as an agent of the Habsburgs than the Croats. Concerning the Romanians, Lowell Putnam noted that their insistence to be corporately recognized in Transylvania would have made sense only before Transylvania was incorporated into Hungary, at a time when only “official” nationalities were recognized. It made no sense in the new Hungary, where corporate rights were abolished and individuals became equal before the law.⁶⁴

Bowen stated that the Magyars did not intend to establish a republic. This may have been true initially, Lowell Putnam admitted, but as the struggle continued the re-

60 M. L. P., “The *North American Review* on Hungary,” 279–282.

61 M. L. P., “The *North American Review* on Hungary,” 307.

62 M. L. P., “The *North American Review* on Hungary,” 289–294.

63 Count Josip Jellachich (Jelačić) was a general in the Habsburg army and also Ban (Viceroy) of Croatia.

64 M. L. P., “The *North American Review* on Hungary,” 296–303, 318–320, 332–333, 350–351.

publican party in the government increasingly became more dominant, to the point where, after March 1849, Kossuth openly revealed "his republican plans."⁶⁵

In the course of her article, Lowell Putnam continued to point out the defects in Bowen's scholarship. For example, she noted that he changed his chronology of events on several occasions between his two articles; e.g. the events of the Croatian crisis in the summer-fall of 1848. He continued to selectively edit sources, omitting that which undermined his arguments. Concluding her article, she admitted that there were many more aspects of Bowen's work she could cover but that she merely wanted to cover the more prominent points subject to dispute.⁶⁶

The final battle in the saga of Francis Bowen and the Hungarian War of Independence was the appearance of Robert Carter's *The Hungarian Controversy: an Exposure of the Falsifications and Perversions of the Slanderers of Hungary*. Carter's preface is dated December 24, 1851, so it was penned at the time when Kossuth was already in the United States as the nation's guest and had already received a tumultuous welcome in New York City. The book itself was published in 1852, presumably during the time when Kossuth was still in the United States, and if it appeared in April it would have been about the time Kossuth was touring New England.⁶⁷

In his preface, Carter described the Hungarian War as "a contest for freedom and democratic institutions, against despotism, usurpation and perfidy." If any held contrary opinions, it was "owing altogether" to the work of Francis Bowen and James Watson Webb (editor of the *New York Courier and Enquirer*). According to Carter, their smears had even reached the United States Senate, and were used by those senators who opposed the Resolution of Welcome to Kossuth.⁶⁸

Carter then reviewed the controversy, beginning with Bowen's articles, Lowell Putnam's response, and the letters to the Boston newspapers. In this work of nearly fifty pages, Carter doggedly picks apart Bowen's arguments, relying on Lowell Putnam and his own published articles. He especially focused on what he called Bowen's "grossly unfair reply to Mrs. Lowell Putnam" and demonstrates that Bowen's own sources proved that he was wrong and she was right. He even critiqued Bowen's final (February 6) letter to the *Boston Daily Atlas*, refuting his opponent point-by-point. Carter devoted a small section of the book to debunking the anti-Hungarian articles of James Watson Webb, whose commercial newspaper reached a wider audience than Bowen's literary journal did.

Toward the end of the work, Carter discussed what he called the "political state of Hungary," in which he reiterated his and Lowell Putnam's ideas about questions of race

65 M. L. P., "The *North American Review* on Hungary," 320–328.

66 M. L. P., "The *North American Review* on Hungary," 316, 352.

67 Robert Carter, *The Hungarian Controversy: An Exposure of the Falsifications and Perversions of the Slanderers of Hungary* (Boston: Redding, 1852), [2].

68 *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess. 1851, *The Laws of the United States: Public Acts of the Thirty-Second Congress of the United States*, No. 1. "A Resolution of Welcome to Louis Kossuth," xliii.

and social class in Hungary. In the section "The War with Austria," Carter provided evidence that the Hungarians eventually were attempting to establish a republic. And in the final section, "Kossuth in Hungary," he assembled lengthy quotations from Max Schlesinger's *War in Hungary*, praising Kossuth as "not only a man of the loftiest genius, but of the purest and noblest character." Undoubtedly, Carter still felt the need to neutralize what he saw as the damage to the reputation of Hungary and its exiled leader caused by Bowen and Webb.

In the meanwhile, the Whigs reassumed power in Massachusetts. And despite all of the bad press, in 1853 Francis Bowen was nominated for another professorship at Harvard – this time the Alford Professorship of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity. He was confirmed by nearly a unanimous vote. A biographer of Lowell later quipped that if "a man is thought unqualified to represent one field, the obvious solution is to allow him to teach three."⁶⁹

Bowen went on to teach 36 years at Harvard.

69 Martin Duberman, *James Russell Lowell* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), 413n12.

Riporterek, királyok és egyéb csavargók

Egy amerikai magyar újságíró

ellentmondásos kapcsolata a magyar hírszerzéssel

Bevezető

Amikor 1946 elején Koppenhágában létrejött az *International Organization of Journalists* (Nemzetközi Újságíró Szervezet – NÚSZ), a korábban totális elzárkózást hirdető Szovjetunió és a befolyási övezetébe került országok is csatlakoztak. A sajtószabadság igen eltérő szovjet és nyugati értelmezése és az ezzel kapcsolatos véleménykülönbség azonban oda vezetett, hogy a NÚSZ központját 1947-ben áthelyezték Prágába. A második kongresszus alkalmával az Egyesült Államok már azzal vádolta a Szovjetuniót, hogy erőteljesen nyomást gyakorol a NÚSZ vezetőségére, végül 1950-ben a nyugati újságírók többsége kilépett a szövetségből. Moszkva egyrészt saját propagandájának terjesztésére, másrészt a nyugati közvélemény befolyásolására, illetve – lehetőség szerint – hírszerzésre próbálta felhasználni az ominózus szakmai szervezetet.¹ Miután 1950. január elsejétől az Államvédelmi Hatóság (ÁVH) már deklaráltnak is kiterjesztette tevékenységét az ország határain túl,² a Hírszerző Főosztály az emigráció elleni küzdelem égisze alatt megtette az első kísérleteit a külföldi magyar sajtó direkt vagy indirekt befolyásolására. A szóban forgó törekvés kezdetben inkább a jobboldali emigráns újságok ellensúlyozására irányult, ám 1956 körül már a rendszer szolgálatában álló hírtügynökség alapítására irányuló próbálkozás tanúi lehetünk, amely a sötétben folytatott hírszerzést, vagy a későbbi stádiumban az ennek segítségével történő ügynöki beszervezést tűzte ki célul.³ Az első kísérlet nem véletlenül kötődött az 1951-ben megalakult washingtoni rezidentúrához, ugyanis az ÁVH Hírszerző Főosztály abból indult ki, hogy a letelepedés időpontja törésvonalat képez az amerikai magyarságban, amely a nyugat-németországi emigránstól eltérően politikailag is megosztott. A magyar hírszerzés az anyanyelvű sajtónak a hivatalos amerikai propagandát közvetítő, túlságosan liberális vagy konzervatív hatásának ellensúlyozására Szebenyei József révén egy olyan újságíró felhasználásában gondolkodott, aki ugyan nem elkötelezett híve a marxizmusnak, ám a holokauszt személyes tragédiája, valamint széles körű kapcsolatrendszere – így a tanácsköztársasági emigránssokkal és a kinti szélső baloldali személyiségeivel fennálló korrekt viszonya révén – jól jöhet az emigráció feltérképezéséhez és megoldozásához. Ám jogos lehet a kérdés, hogy Szebenyei József alkalmas volt-e a feladatra.

1 Borvendég Zsuzsanna: *Újságírásnak álcázva. A Nemzetközi Újságíró Szervezet Magyarországon* (Budapest: Nemzeti Emlékezet Bizottság, 2015), 7–10.

2 Tóth Eszter: „A politikai és gazdasági hírszerzés szervezettörténete 1945–1990”, in: *A megtorlás szervezete. A politikai rendőrség újjászervezése és működése 1956–1962*, szerk. Cseh Gergő Bendegúz és Okváth Imre (Budapest: ÁBTL – L'Harmattan, 2013), 389–390.

3 Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára (ÁBTL) – 3. 2. 4 – K – 574 – [Lesley Kuhn] – Évkör: 1952–1960. 112 oldal.

A célszemély életútja

Szebenyei József 1881. február 26-án született Kecelen,⁴ ahonnan a család 1889-ben kivándorolt az Egyesült Államokba. Miután apja 1898-ban váratlanul elhunyt, Szebenyei hazaköltözött, majd érettségi után Debrecenben lett joghallgató, miközben újságíróként dolgozott. Irodalmi munkásságának első darabja, az „Elsüllyedt lelkek” című regény 1901-ben jelent meg,⁵ az első verseskötete – *Dalok egy poéta lányához* – pedig egy évvel később Debrecenben került az olvasóközönség elé.⁶ Az újságíró 1902-ben tagja volt annak a delegációnak, amely Zseni József vezetésével az Egyesült Államokban élő magyarok számára készített, díszes hímezésű nemzeti lobogót kísért el Hollandiából New Yorkba,⁷ amelynek segítségével Rákosi Jenő az Amerikában élő magyarokat szeretettel vona rávenni a hazatérésre.⁸ Az újságíró 1903-as év folyamán még Debrecenben nősült, de már Nagyváradon élt, amikor 1904-ben válogatást adott ki az ismert angol költő, Rudyard Kipling verseinek fordításából. 1905 végétől egy fél éven át a *Kassai Hírlap* főszerkesztőjeként tevékenykedett, azonban 1906 nyarán végérvényesen Budapestre költözött.⁹ Szebenyei a legnagyobb magyar költő személyével kapcsolatos apró nézeteltérés ellenére is¹⁰ jó viszonyban volt Ady Endrével, ti. Diósiné Brüll Adél (Léda) édesanyjának, özvegy Brüll Sámuelné, Stern Ceciliának halálhíre személyesen a költőtől jutott el hozzá. Az 1907. július 5-én megrendezett gyászszertartáson Szebenyei nem lehetett jelen, de két nappal a temetés után levelet írt, amelyben részvétét nyilvánította Ady múzsájának.¹¹ Az 1910-es évek elején lefordította Oscar Wilde „A readingi fegyház balladája” című művét, amelyet 1912-ben adtak ki Nagyváradon.¹² Az újságíró kitűnő angol nyelvtudásának köszönhetően Theodore Roosevelttől tolmácsa volt, amikor az Egyesült Államok 26. elnöke mandátumának lejártával magánlátogatást tett Magyarországon,¹³ ugyanakkor rendszeres jelleggel informálta a különböző brit és amerikai lapokat a magyarországi eseményekről. Az első világháború előtti években az angol *Daily Express* hivatalos budapesti tudósítójaként tevékenykedett, ám végül 1914 kora tavaszán

4 *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon, Harmadik kötet S–Z*, főszerkesztő: Benedek Marcell (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1965), 160.

5 Szebenyei József: *Riporterek, királyok és egyéb csavargók (önéletrajz)* (New York: Horizon House, 1945), 11–27.

6 Szebenyei József: *Dalok egy poéta-lányhoz* (Debrecen: László Ny., 1902), 1–111.

7 Joseph Szebenyei: „Hungarians Arrive with Their Flag. Duty of \$240 Levied on the Banner of the Fatherland”, *The New York Times* (1902. augusztus 31.), 27.

8 Szebenyei: *Riporterek*, 29–35.

9 Szinnyi József: *Magyar írók élete és munkái. XIII. kötet. Steiner–Télly* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1909), 479.

10 Szebenyei József: „Különös esetem Léda asszonnyal, Ady Endrével és Petőfi Sándorral”, *Magyar Magazin* 1.4 (1948), 7–9/27.

11 Ady Endre Diósi Ödönnének [Budapest, 1907. júl. 8.] – <http://mek.oszk.hu/05500/05565/html/alo405.html> – letöltés: 2013. III. 15.

12 Oscar Wilde: *A readingi fegyház balladája* [The Ballad of Reading Gaol] (Nagyvárad: Sebő, 1912), 1–37.

13 Szebenyei: *Riporterek*, 65–71.

Londonba távozott.¹⁴ Szebenyei az első világháború kitörését követően H. A. Gwynne főszerkesztő jóvoltából különféle írásokat helyezett el az ultrakonzervatív és németellenes londoni *Morning Post* hasábjain, amelyek azt próbálták sugallni a brit közvélemény számára, hogy van egy szövetségesük az ellenség táborában. Az összes ilyen cikk a Nagy-Britannia iránt érzett csodálatot, a közös tradíciókat, a lovagiasság és a *fair play* szabályainak tiszteletben tartását hangsúlyozta.¹⁵ Az újságíró rendszeresen angolbarát és egyben németellenes megnyilvánulásokat tulajdonított egyes magyar kormányzati szereplőknek,¹⁶ ugyanakkor 1915-ben a Scotland Yard *Special Branch* (a nagy-londoni rendőrfőkapitányság elhárítási csoportja)¹⁷ előtt is bizonyította a korona iránti hűségét.¹⁸ 1917 áprilisában azonban már nem kerülhette el az internálást. A bizonytalan hadi helyzetre való tekintettel továbbra is fordíthatott magyar vonatkozású anyagokat, még ha a *Morning Post* főszerkesztőjével nem léphetett kapcsolatba.¹⁹ Szebenyei fogva tartásával kapcsolatban Frederick Whyte liberális parlamenti képviselő interpellált a *Home Office* (a brit belügyminisztérium) államtitkáránál, William Brace azonban úgy nyilatkozott, hogy alapos vizsgálatot követően döntött az újságíró őrizetbe vételéről.²⁰

Szebenyei családjával 1920. január 15-én a *Lapland* fedélzetén átkelt az Atlanti-óceánon, majd a New York-i Ellis Island határátlépőnél deklarálta szándékát, miszerint véglegesen az Amerikai Egyesült Államokban kíván maradni.²¹ Az újságíró nem sokkal később nyilvános polémiaiba keveredett Eugen Neuwalddal, az *Előre* című szélsőbaloldali lap korábbi főszerkesztőjével a közép-európai munkások tömeges hazatéréséről. Míg Szebenyei a háború alatt elért, tekintélyes összegű megtakarításokra, a dollárnak a közép-európai valutákkal szembeni felértékelődésére hivatkozott,²² Neuwald azzal indokolta a jelenséget, hogy sok ember csalódott az amerikai szabadságesszménnyel és a demokráciával kapcsolatos szölamokban. A korábbi főszerkesztő úgy vélte, hogy – az A. Mitchell Palmer igazságügyi miniszter és más, befolyásos politikai és gazdasági vezetők

14 *Új Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon P-ZS. Harmadik kötet*, főszerkesztő: Péter László, második javított, bővített kiadás (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 2065.

15 Mark Cornwall: „Great-Britain and the Splintering of »Greater-Hungary« 1914–1918”, in: *British-Hungarian Relations since 1848*, szerk. Peter Laszlo – Martin C. Rady (London: London School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies, 2004), 120.

16 Deák István: „A dualizmus kora a modern amerikai történetírás tükrében”, *Századok* 101.1–2 (1967), 1410–1411.

17 Rupert Allason: *The Branch. A History of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch 1883–1983* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1983), 38–47.

18 Szebenyei: *Riporterek*, 149–153.

19 Cornwall, 121–122.

20 House of Commons Session 1916–17, Volume 92, 25 April 1917. Column 2419 W.

21 National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) – Publication Number: M1972 – Record Group 21 – Roll 0387 – NAC 575701 – Petition for Naturalization of the US District Court for the Southern District of New York 1897–1944. 15 January 1920. – <https://www.fold3.com/image/200049713> – letöltés: 2013. V. 20.

22 Joseph Szebenyei: „The Alien Exodus: 6,000 Now Leave Weekly for Europe, Where Dollar Is Potent and Beer Obtainable”, *New York Times* (1920. március 21.).

ellen elkövetett bombamerényletek nyomán²³ – a szövetségi és a helyi rendfenntartó erők részéről brutális fellépés sújtotta a kizárólag az életkörülmények javítására irányuló érdekképviselői szervezkedéseket.²⁴

Szebenyei 1920-tól előbb az *Amerikai Futár*, majd 1921-től a *Magyar Futár* szerkesztőjeként tevékenykedett, ugyanakkor megalakította a *Color Guide Publishing Co.* illetve az *Immigrants Publishing Co.* nevű kiadóvállalatot,²⁵ amely a kortárs magyar irodalom amerikai népszerűsítését tekintette céljának. Az irodalmi művek kiadásával elvi síkon lehetőség nyílt arra, hogy a kinti közvélemény figyelmébe ajánlja a trianoni békével meghurcolt Magyarországot, de azt sem hagyhatjuk figyelmet kívül, hogy otthon maradt íróársainak próbált segíteni. Az önként vállalt misszió egyáltalán nem volt könnyű feladat, mert a magyar írók nem ismerték az ottani kulturális közeg elvárásait. Például, Füst Milán (1888–1967)²⁶ egyik cím szerint nem azonosítható művéről úgy nyilatkozott, hogy azt az üzleti alapon működő amerikai színházak nem tűznék műsorra. Szebenyei időközben megírta az amerikai színdarabok stilisztikai jellemzőit a *Nyugat* számára, ám arról már nem értesült, hogy Osvát Ernő (1876–1929)²⁷ közölte-e a cikket.²⁸ Szebenyei 1922 áprilisában lefordította Heltai Jenő négy novelláját, ezek egyikét Benjamin Hazer (Molnár Ferenc amerikai kiadója) sikeresen elhelyezett a *Vanity Fair* magazinban. Az újságíró megígérte Heltainak, hogy „Az Orvos és a halál” publikálásáról személyesen intézkedik a *World Fiction Magazine* szerkesztőségénél, miközben a „11-es szoba” című novellát tartotta a legalkalmasabbnak az amerikai piacon történő megjelentetésre, amit az ügynökök kikapcsolásával szeretett volna véghezvinni.²⁹ Szebenyei nyolc nappal később megírta Heltainak, hogy néhány kinti magazin magyar novellákat szeretne közölni, viszont sürget a határidő. „Főleg dialogue formában írt novellákat, olyan »csattanós véggel«, sok humorral és lehetőleg jó és szolid, bár nemi alapon írott dolgokat”.

Szebenyei a kortárs magyar irodalom szereplői között Molnár Ferencen kívül csak Heltait vehette számításba, akit arra kért fel, hogy – a még az első világháború előtt kiadott *Írók, színésznők és más csirkefogók* című könyvön kívül, amelyben a legkomolyabb sikerre esélyes mű „A halál és az orvos” címen szerepelt³⁰ – küldjön egy hasonló műfajú

23 Raymond J. Batvinis: *The Origins of FBI Counterintelligence* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 37–39.

24 NARA Publication Number: M1085 – Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation 1908–1922 – Old German Files 1909–1921 – Case Number 8000 – 208369 – Roll 616 – Page 273. – April 10, 1920 – <https://www.fold3.com/image/2600596/> – letöltés: 2019. I. 3.

25 Nagy Csaba: *A magyar emigráns irodalom lexikona* (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó – Petőfi Irodalmi Múzeum és Kortárs Irodalmi Központ, 2000), 918.

26 Somlyó György: *Füst Milán, vagy, A lesütöttszemű ember: emlékezés és tanulmány* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1993), 1–265.

27 Fráter Zoltán: *Osvát Ernő élete és halála* (Budapest, Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1987), 1–301.

28 Petőfi Irodalmi Múzeum Kézirattár (PIMK) – V4140/493/1–5. – SZEKENYEI, [JÓZSEF] – FÜST, MILÁN-nak. – Április 7, 1922. – New York, Augustus 5, 1922. – Április 7, 1922. 1–2.

29 PIMK – V. 3823/7261–4. – SZEKENYEI [JÓZSEF] – HELTAI [Jenőnek] – London, márcz. 27, 1914. – New York június 9, 1922. – New York, április 16, 1922. 1–2.

30 Győrei Zsolt: *Heltai Jenő drámai életműve* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2005), 91–92.

alkotást.³¹ Füst Milán „Az advent” című írásáról úgy nyilatkozott, hogy a kitűnő felütés ellenére a novella a végén eltért attól a vonaltól, ami alkalmassá tette volna az Amerikában történő megjelenésre. Szebenyei arra a következtetésre jutott, hogy Füst Milán kvázi összes műve novellának túl hosszú, regénynek túl rövid. Ezzel egy időben arra figyelmeztette szerzőtársát, hogy a kiadók nem az elvekből, hanem az üzleti haszonból kiindulván formálják az irodalmat. Szebenyei idegenül szemlélte azt a felfogást, hogy egy irodalmi folyóirat ne adjon üzleti jellegű tanácsokat az írók számára, mert úgy vélte, anyagi háttér nélkül nem lehet művészt alkotni. Az újságíró kidolgozott egy tervet annak érdekében, hogy Füst Milánt és Szini Gyulát (1876–1932)³² némi munkához juttassa. Az elképzelés szerint népszerű amerikai regények fordítására kérte volna fel őket az eredeti szerzőtől kapott 75–100 dollárért, miközben a Tolna Könyvesház az eladási árból példányonként az Amerikában szokásos 10–15%-ot fizetett volna az egyes íróknak. Szebenyei érzekelte az otthon maradt íróársak lehangoltságát és a kilátástalan élethelyzeteket, hozzátéve, hogy a boldogulásért neki is meg kell küzdenie. Az előző évben felhalmozott, több ezer dolláros adósság az író bevételeinek 50%-ot lekötötte, ráadásul jövedelmi viszonyai is kedvezőtlenül alakultak. Saját elmondása szerint sokat és intenzíven kellett dolgoznia, amihez nem szokott hozzá, ti. Londonban napi 1–2 órai munkával többet keresett, mint New Yorkban 9–10 órányival.

Az újságíró a *Literary Digest* alkalmazásában állt, akkoriban épp egy történelmi könyvsorozaton dolgoztak – *The New Nations of Europe* – ahol neki kellett szerkesztenie a német, osztrák, cseh, magyar, jugoszláv országokról szóló köteteket. Egy-egy ország bemutatására kb. 300 oldalt szántak, amihez egyrészt összekötő szöveget vártak Szebenyeitől, másrészt a szóban forgó művek összeállítására pusztán három hét állt rendelkezésre.³³ Amikor Heltai május 26-i levelében arról érdeklődött, hogy miként áll írásainak megjelentetése és a honorárium ügye, Szebenyei azzal próbálta megnyugtatni, hogy Hazer sikeresen elhelyezte műveit, ugyanakkor Magyarországon személyesen kifizeti az író tiszteletdíját. Heltai viszont attól tette függővé a Szebenyei által kért meghatalmazás ellenjegyzését, hogy a lefordított novellái ellenében pénzt is kap vagy csak dicséretet. Az újságíró finoman rászólt kollégájára, hogy az USA-ban szerződés nélkül nem megy a publikálás. Ti. Hazer azzal adta le kiadóhoz a három művet, hogy a megjelentetés idejére megérkezik a felhatalmazás vagy ezt személyesen megkapja a szerzőtől budapesti útja alkalmával. Ezzel párhuzamosan arra is rávilágított, hogy Heltai megjegyzése, hogy „Miller és Emerson el fogják olvasni a dolgokat, és hogy ezen az alapon sok mindenre van kilátás Amerikában”, túlzott várakozásokról árulkodik. Saját magától egyik kiadótulajdonos sem fordította volna le egy külföldi író alkotását, hiszen számolni kellett azzal,

31 PIMK – V. 3823/7261–4. – SZEKENYEI [JÓZSEF] – HELTAI [Jenőnek] – New York, április 24., '22. 1–2.

32 Vargha Kálmán: „A novellista Szini Gyula”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 67:3 (1963), 303–316.

33 PIMK – V4140/493/1–5. – SZEKENYEI, [JÓZSEF] – FÜST, MILÁN-nak. – New York Május 30, 1922. 1–4.

hogy a mű tolmácsolójának és kiadójának több heti munkája nem hozza a kívánt eredményt.

„A 111-es szoba” érdekelte az egyik kiadót, mire Szebenyei egy tíz oldalas kivonattal állított be hozzájuk, abban a reményben, hogy Heltaitól megérkezik a meghatalmazás. Mivel úgy tűnt, a megjelentetés kútba esik, felszólította, hogy ha Hazernek nem adta volna át, már ne küldje el neki, mert a jövőben nem óhajt a dologgal foglalkozni. Szebenyei azt hangsúlyozta, hogy a fordításokkal a magyar íróársainak próbált a segítségére sietni, hiszen saját műveiért többet kap, mint az idegen nyelvű darabok tolmácsolásáért. Az Egyesült Államokban csupán olyan külföldi író számára termett babér, akit egy népszerű amerikai kollégája képviselt, és aki folyamatosan közbenjárt az illető érdekében.³⁴ Füst Milán „Az aranytál” című regényének kiadása megtorpant, ugyanis a *Century Magazine* főszerkesztője szólt neki, hogy nyolc hónapra való anyaguk van, így nem tudnak előre befektetni a később leadandó írásokba. Szebenyei megjegyezte, hogy a fordítás nagy munka volt, és nem igazán rentábilis, hiszen a gépiró heti három estére alkalmanként 20 dollárba került, míg a végleges változat leírása 25-be. Az újságíró saját műveinek elhelyezését meg tudta oldani, hiszen ismerte az amerikaiak észjárását, míg a fordítások mindig csalódással végződtek.³⁵ Szebenyei a kinti irodalmi életbe a „*The Golden Platter*” című műve révén próbált bekapcsolódni, amelynek megjelentetéséhez a *Century Magazine* főszerkesztőjének, Maxwell Aley-nek a segítségét kérte. Aley a kézirat elolvasása után úgy nyilatkozott, hogy „az egy érdekes műalkotás, de attól tartok, túlságosan bonyolult/kifinomult az átlag amerikai olvasó számára. Mindazonáltal, nagyon lekötelez bennünket, hogy lehetővé tette számunkra a megtekintését. Mr. Frank egy pár napon belül írni fog Önnek a másik kézirattal kapcsolatban”.³⁶ Szebenyei 1922. október közepén arról értesítette Füst Milánt, hogy saját dolgai sem úgy alakultak, ahogy szeretne volna. A *Century Magazine* visszaadta a kéziratot, az irodalmi ügynök átvette, de az eredményről még ők sem értesítették. Ezzel egy időben Szebenyei felesége két hónapja betegeskedett, naponta járt orvoshoz, ami iszonyúan sokba került, húga már egy éve az Erzsébet szanatóriumban tartózkodott, ráadásul öccse is elveszítette vagyonát.³⁷ Szini Gyula Füst Milán kérésére ugyan tárgyalt a Weiler és Társával az amerikai művek fordításáról, és szándéknyilatkozatot is kapott tőlük, azonban a szenvedélyes kártyásra nem merték rábízni a pénzüket.³⁸ Miután a tervben szereplő üzlet meghiúsult, Szebenyei

34 PIMK – V. 3823/7261–4. – SZEZENYEI [JÓZSEF] – HELTAI [JENŐ-nek] – New York, június 9, 1922. 1–3.

35 PIMK – V4140/493/1–5. – SZEZENYEI, [JÓZSEF] – FÜST, MILÁN-nak. – August 5, 1922. – New York, August 5, 1922. 1.

36 PIMK – V4140/665 – ALEY, MAXWELL – SZEZENYEI, JOSEPH [JÓZSEF-nek] – September 15, 1922. 1.

37 PIMK – V4140/493/1–5. – SZEZENYEI, [JÓZSEF] – FÜST, MILÁN-nak. – New York, October 11, 1922. 1.

38 PIMK – V4140/493/1–5. – SZEZENYEI, [JÓZSEF] – FÜST, MILÁN-nak. – Ápril 7, 1922. – New York, August 5, 1922. – New York, October 15, 1922. 1.

1925-ben először lefordította, majd előszót írt a *Rabok* című regényének amerikai kiadásához, amely Molnár munkásságát próbálta megismertetni az amerikai olvasóközönséggel.³⁹

Az újságíró 1925-26 folyamán újból belesodródott a Közép-Európa sorsával kapcsolatos vitákba. Amikor Károlyi Mihály 1925 tavaszán csak azzal a feltétellel csatlakozhatott a tifusz miatti gyógykezelésen New Yorkban tartózkodó feleségéhez, hogy nem tart nyilvános felszólalásokat és nem nyilatkozik a sajtónak,⁴⁰ Jászi Oszkár úgy döntött, hogy megpróbálja ráirányítani az amerikai közvélemény érdeklődését a gróf visszaemlékezésére (*Egy egész világ ellen*). Szebenyei József aktív közreműködésével egy ötezer szavas ismertető készült a könyvről a *Current History Magazine*, azaz a *New York Times* havonta megjelenő történelmi különszámának.⁴¹ Szebenyei sajátos helyzetére itt találjuk az első utalást, miszerint egy közismert, de meg nem nevezhető legitimista személyiség azzal a kívánsággal kereste fel őt New Yorkban, hogy kezdeményezzen propaganda kampányt az akkor 12 esztendőes Habsburg Ottó amerikai elfogadtatásáért. Szebenyei azonban nem vállalkozott a feladatra, mivel az ismeretlen politikus nem tudott fizetni,⁴² miközben ráérezhetett, hogy a hivatalos washingtoni kormánykörök egyáltalán nem helyeslik az európai *status quo* megbontására irányuló kísérletezést.⁴³ A publicista a közlés időpontjában még mindig nem volt amerikai állampolgár.⁴⁴ A sajtópolémiával párhuzamosan Szebenyei, a felesége, Rose, valamint három gyerekük – Clara (sz. 1908. augusztus 17.), Agnes (sz. 1909. augusztus 30.) és Eva (sz. 1916. március 5.) – jogi értelemben lemondott a Magyarország és Románia iránti elkötelezettségről.⁴⁵ Szebenyei József végül egy közel öt esztendeig tartó procedúrát követően 1927 nyarán tette le állampolgári esküjét a Dél-New York-i körzeti Szövetségi Bíróság előtt.⁴⁶

39 Franz Molnar: *Prisoners* (New York: Bobbs-Merill Co., 1925), IX–XXI.

40 Károlyi Mihály: *Hit, illúziók nélkül* (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 2013), 264–270.

41 Litván György: *Jászi Oszkár* (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 246.

42 Joseph Szebenyei: „Legitimists Keep Hungary Seething”, *New York Times* (1926. január 10.), 2.

43 Éva Mathey: „Attempts at the Revision of the Treaty of Trianon in the Light of American Hungarian Relations in the Interwar Period”, in: *My Fulbright Experience. Reports of Academic Grantees. Academic Years 2002/2003, 2003/2004, 2004/2005*, szerk. Krisztina Dietz (Budapest, Hungarian–American Commission for Educational Exchange, 2006), 97–111.

44 NARA – Publication Number: M1972 – Record Group 21 – Roll 0387 – CERTIFICATE OF ARRIVAL – 87997 – DEC 9. 1925. – <https://www.fold3.com/image/#200049710> – letöltés: 2013. V. 20.

45 NARA – Publication Number: M1972 – Record Group 21 – Roll 0387 – Petitions for Naturalization – US District Court for the Southern District of New York 1897–1944. – Petition for Naturalization New York State 1824–1991 – 85014 – Aug. 24. 1926. – <https://www.fold3.com/image/#200049696> – letöltés: 2013. V. 20.

46 NARA Publication Number: M1972 – Record Group 21 – Roll 0387 – Petitions for Naturalization New York State 1824–1991 – US District Court for Southern District of New York 1897–1944. – 575701. <https://www.fold3.com/document/200049716> – Fold3 Publication: 2008. – letöltés: 2013. IV. 27.

Az Immigrants Publishing Co. Bíró Lajos (1880–1954)⁴⁷ amerikai népszerűsítése érdekében is tett jó néhány lépést, azonban a promócióra kijelölt három mű egyikét sem válogatták be az iskoláknak szánt tananyagba.⁴⁸ Szebenyei viszont a saját sikerének is tekinthette, hogy az általa propagált *Rabok* című Molnár Ferenc-regényből 1929 folyamán a korszak egyik kiemelkedő producere, Walter Morosco bábáskodásával, a némafilm és a hangosfilm közötti átmenet népszerű színészeinek főszereplésével igazi hollywoodi produkció készült.⁴⁹ A 28. házassági évfordulójukra *Temetés a Cromwell Roadon* címmel megjelentette legjobban sikerült költeményeit, a kötetet feleségének ajánlotta.⁵⁰ Szebenyei életútjának 1930-as évekbeli eseményeit már sokkal nehezebb rekonstruálni, mivel itt pusztán önéletrajzára hagyatkozhatunk. Mindazonáltal, a legfontosabb változást az jelentette, hogy megvált az *Amerikai Magyar Népszavától*, majd – a CPUSA (*Communist Party of the United States of America* / az USA Kommunista Pártja) magyar tagozatához közel álló⁵¹ – *Amerikai Magyar Jövő* című lapban kezdett publikálni.⁵²

Szebenyei 1942 decemberében kéréssel fordult Tábori Pál újságíróhoz, akinek az édesapjával, Tábori Kornéllal az 1910-es években együtt dolgozott a *Pesti Naplónál*. Szebenyei Londonban élő testvérét már egy éve nem érte utol, csupán annyit tudott róla, hogy Szekulesz Ernő túlélte a *SS City of Benares* nevű hajó ellen 1941 szeptemberében elkövetett torpedótámadást. Ezért arra kérte Tábori Pált, hogy mutassa meg Ernőnek a szóban forgó levelet vagy legyen a segítségére a címe megszerzésében. A publicista dicsérte Tábori Pál lényegre törő és rendkívül informatív cikkeit, miközben remélte, hogy Tábori Kornélról és annak családjáról is jó híreket fog hallani. Szebenyei csak annyit kért, hogy Tábori tegyen róla említést az édesapjának.⁵³ Ezt azonban már szinte bizonyos, hogy nem sikerült abszolválni, ti. Nagy-Britannia és Magyarország között 1942-ben már szünetelt a postaforgalom, végül Tábori Kornélt 1944-ben Auschwitzba deportálták, ahol feltételezések szerint az év júliusában életét veszítette.⁵⁴ Tábori Pál a második világ-

47 „Bíró Lajos; Blau”, in: *Magyar Színházművészeti Lexikon*. Főszerkesztő: SZÉKELY György. Szerkesztő: TÖRÖK Margit. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994. – <http://www.mek.oszk.hu/02100/02139/html/szo2/513.html> – letöltés: 2015. XII. 28.

48 PIMK – V. 5365/82 – Szebenyei József – Bíró Lajos – New York, 1927. máj. 21. 1.

49 WARNER BROS – WALTER MOROSCO PRODUCTION: *Prisoners* (1929), szereplők: Corinne Griffith, Ian Keith, Otto Matieson; rend.: William A. Seiter; producer Walter Morosco. – <https://www.imdb.com> – letöltés: 2013. IV. 29.

50 Szebenyei József: *Temetés a Cromwell Roadon* (Newark: Erma Art Printing. And Publishing Company, 1931), 7–31.

51 Várdy Béla–Várdy Huszár Ágnes: *Újvilági küzdelmek. Az amerikai magyarság élete és az óhaza* (Budapest: Mundus Magyar Egyetemi Kiadó, 2005), 111.

52 Szebenyei: *Riporterek*, 154–160.

53 PIMK – V. 4741/157/1–7. [Szebenyei József] – [Tábori Pálnak] – New York, Dec. 15, 1942 – New York, Márc. 13, 1951. [és K. n.] Részben ang. – New York, Dec. 15, 1942. 1.

54 Anat Feinberg: *Embodied Memory. The Theatre of George Tabori* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), 1–12.

háborút követően már nem tért vissza Magyarországra, hiszen a koalíciós időszak lezárulása után nem kívánatos személynek minősült, ráadásul az állambiztonsági szervek egészen a haláláig a brit hírszerzés ügynökének tekintették az újságíró.⁵⁵

Szebenyei 1945-ben *Europe in Review* címmel folyóiratot tervezett indítani, amely a különböző európai országok életével foglalkozik, miközben az amerikaiak és az európai népek közötti jobb megértést szolgálja. Január 29-én Huntington Cairnsnek, az *American Commission of National Gallery of Art* (Az Amerikai Nemzeti Galéria Felügyelőbizottsága) titkárának írt levelében arra kérte a szervezet titkárát, hogy a Dr. Elizabeth Hajós művészettörténész által a háborús zónában lévő műalkotások védelméről készített írását mielőbb véleményezze, hogy március 15-én megjelenhessen a folyóirat első száma.⁵⁶ Mr. Cairns végül arról informálta a főszerkesztőt, hogy a *Civil Affairs Division of the War Department* (a Védelmi Minisztérium Polgári Ügyek Osztálya) áttekintette a *Metropolitan Museum of Art* konferenciáján elhangzott előadásokat, és nem emel kifogást E. Hajós cikkének nyilvánosságra hozatala ellen.⁵⁷ Még e sorsfordító esztendő folyamán *Riporterek, királyok és egyéb csavargók* címen önéletrajzi ihletésű regényt adott ki a Testvériség Betegsegélyző és Biztosító Egyesület tagjainak szóló ajánlással,⁵⁸ de ugyanakkor a nevéhez fűződött a Belgiumból Buchenwaldba deportált Weinstock Jenő 1947-ben megjelentetett visszaemlékezésének előszava. A publicista már kikelt az ellen, hogy sokan nem hiszik el a történeteket, hozzátéve, hogy nehéz volt a koncentrációs táborban átélt borzalmakról úgy beszámolni, hogy az ne járjon a történet meghamisításával, ugyanakkor ne okozzon álmatlan éjszakákat a jó szándékú olvasónak.⁵⁹

Szebenyei 1948. elején útjára indította a *Magyar Magazin* című folyóiratot, majd nem sokkal később összeveszett Vadnai Lászlóval, az 1938-tól az USA-ban élő humoristával. Szebenyei 1947-ben elküldte a Vadnai számára a legújabb, *The Defense Rests* (A védelem tartózkodik) című írását, amiről senki másnak nem tett említést. Ám rövid idő elteltével a sajtóban arról lehetett olvasni, hogy a *Republic Pictures* megvásárolt egy darabot, amiből Stephen Auer (1900–1954)⁶⁰ rendezésében film készül. A címe ugyanaz maradt, noha szerzőként mást tüntettek fel. Két ismerős forgatókönyvíró, Lengyel Menyhért (1880–1974)⁶¹ és Herczeg Géza (1888–1954)⁶² azt tanácsolták, hogy Szebenyei

55 Gervai András: *Fedőneve: „Szocializmus”. Művészek, ügynökök, titkos szolgák* (Pécs: Jelenkor Kiadó, 2010), 149.

56 NARA 839 – *Europe in Review*. January 29. 1945. – <https://www.fold3.com/image/#270027058> – letöltés: 2013. V. 20.

57 NARA 839 – *Europe in Review*. February 8. 1945. – <https://www.fold3.com/image/#2700270583> – letöltés: 2013. V. 20.

58 Szebenyei: *Riporterek*, 1–3.

59 Weinstock Jenő: *Túl az ösvényen* (New York: H. D. J. Association, 1947), 3–4.

60 STEPHEN AUER (1900–1954) – <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0041690/> – letöltés: 2015. XII. 26.

61 Vinkó József: „Egy drámaíró vallomása. Lengyel Menyhértről naplói ürügyén”, *Színház* 20.7 (1987), 3–8.

62 GEZA HERCZEG (1888–1954) – <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm/0378773/> – letöltés: 2015. XII. 28.

várja meg a premiért, és utána pereljen, máskülönben nem lesz miből fizetniük. A filmstúdió végül *Gyilkosság hármában*⁶³ címmel mutatta be a filmet, feltehetően azért, mert 13 évvel korábban már elkészült egy azonos címen futó krimi.⁶⁴ A biztonság kedvéért a történetet is átírták, de a párbeszédekből rá lehetett ismerni az eredeti műre. A szerző feltételezése szerint Vadnai volt a felelős a történetért, hiszen fűnek-fának megmutatta a darabot. Szebenyei a nyilvánosság elé akarta tární az ügyet, ha Vadnai nem áll elő hihető magyarázattal, nem kis részben azért, mert az akkor az Egyesült Államokban tartózkodó Tábori Pál épp Vadnaival közösen írt forgatókönyvet.⁶⁵ Pár nappal később elnézést kért Táboritól és Vadnaitól, mivel előbbit ártatlanul belekeverte egy lopási ügybe, utóbbit pedig csúnyán meggyanúsította. Szebenyei viszont indulatosan azt hangsúlyozta: Vadnai 97%-ban saját magának köszönheti a kellemetlen szituációt, hiszen ha barátjától kap elolvasásra egy színművet, a legkomolyabb elfoglaltságai közepette is illett volna írni egy pár sort, hogy „megkaptam a darabot, nem érek rá elolvasni, majd három év múlva elolvasom, és az inasommal visszaküldetem”. Szebenyei alkotását Edmond Pauker (1887–1962) impresszárió⁶⁶ ugyan dicsérte, ám a megjelentetéshez egy komolyabb szerelmi szálát is kért a szerzőtől. Az alkotó erre nem vállalkozott, de 1947 februárjában megkérte Vadnait, hogy 50%-os jutalék fejében egészítse ki pár sorral és próbálja átadni egy ügynöknek. A *The Defense Rests* című darab, amely egy jogásznőről szólt, aki tárgyalótermi védő akart lenni, május környékén került a *Republic Pictures* birtokába. Szebenyei továbbra is úgy vélte, hogy akkora véletlen nincs, ahol minden ennyire egyezik, ráadásul az eladók között az általa magyar sviháknak titulált Stephen Auer is feltűnt. Azt ugyanis nem tudta elképzelni, hogy Vadnaitól tudtán kívül ellopták volna a forgatókönyvet.⁶⁷ Az újévet követően Szebenyei arról értesítette Tábori Pált, hogy angol nyelvű könyve – önéletrajza⁶⁸ – február végére várható, amivel kapcsolatban egy kb. 6–700 szavas, őszinte kritikát kért a *Magyar Magazin* számára. Az újságíró arra is rákérdezett, hogy miként alakult a Vadnaival közös filmforgatókönyv sorsa. Szebenyei a könyvről a Metro–Goldwyn–Mayer stúdióval tárgyalt, de még várakozó állásponton

63 REPUBLIC PICTURES: *Homicide for Three* (1948) – Írta: Hugh Wheeler. – Rendezte: George Blair. – Szereplők: Warren Douglas, Audrey Long, Grant Withers. – <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt040447/> – letöltés: 2015. XII. 25.

64 COLUMBIA PICTURES CORPORATION: *The Defense Rests*. – Írta: Jo Swinger. – Rendezte: Lambert Hilyer. – Főszereplők: Jack Holt, Jean Arthur, Nat Randelton. – https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0025040/?ref=fn_tt_tt_1 – letöltés: 2015. III. 31.

65 PIMK – V. 4741/157/1–7. [Szebenyei József] – [Tábori Pálnak] – New York, Dec. 15. 1942 – New York, Márc. 13. 1951. [és K. n.] Részben ang. – MAGYAR MAGAZIN, New York, October 23, 1950. 1.

66 Edmond Pauker Papers 1910–1957, „Biographical Note”, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York. 2. – http://archives.nypl.org/uploads/collection/pdf_finding_aid/thepauker.pdf – letöltés: 2015. XII. 24.

67 PIMK – V. 4741/157/1–7. [Szebenyei József] – [Tábori Pálnak] – New York, Dec. 15. 1942 – New York, Márc. 13. 1951. [és K. n.] Részben ang. – MAGYAR MAGAZIN, New York, October 31, 1950. 1–2.

68 Joseph Szebenyei: *Reporters, Kings and Other Vagabonds: An Autobiography* (New York: Coldwell, 1951), 1–343.

volt a kritikák megjelenéséig, mivel a pozitív fogadtatás akár tízszeres honoráriumot is hozhatott. Szebenyei ugyanakkor megígérte, hogy ha művét megfilmesítik, Táborit kéri fel a forgatókönyv megírására.⁶⁹ Amikor Tábori feleségének vissza kellett térnie Angliába a gyerekük miatt, Szebenyei sajnálkozott, hozzátéve, hogy ha előbb szólnak neki, talán el lehetett volna intézni a tartózkodási engedélyt. A publicista itt arra hivatkozott, hogy van egy pár barátja Washingtonban, két szenátor és egy volt államtitkár, akikhez bármikor fordulhat viszonzószívességet. Ezen kívül azzal is eldicsekedett, hogy már több olyan embert is visszarántott, aki már a hajó fedélzetén várt a deportálásra. Szebenyei sokakat ismert Hollywoodban, amiről úgy nyilatkozott, hogy az „egy ronda kávéház”. Táborit próbálta eltéríteni a filmipartól, mondván ott csak az viheti valamire, aki nagy gazember és képes a másikat egy kanál vízben megfojtani. Szebenyei mindettől függetlenül remélte, hogy barátja el fogja érni kitűzött céljait, így családjá később csatlakozhat hozzá.⁷⁰ Az újságíró azonban alig egy héttel később elveszítette feleségét: Klem Mária egykori pedagógus, 1952. március 21-én 65 éves korában agyvérzésben elhunyt.⁷¹ A gyászszertartást dr. Takaró Géza református lelkész tartotta.⁷²

Szebenyei mint ügynökjelölt

A washingtoni rezidentúrától Szigeti Károly (1926–2011) államvédelmi hadnagy – fedőnevén (fn.) „Borsodi”⁷³ – 1952. április 11-én a New York-i Herbst cukrászdában találkozott először a *Magyar Magazin* szerkesztőjével, majd a beszélgetés este 7 óráig a Balaton vendéglőben folytatódott. Az újságíró részletesen elmesélte a magyar diplomatának felesége elvesztését, de nyomban hozzátette, hogy gyászában nem maradt egyedül. Deák Zoltán, a *Magyar Jövő* főszerkesztője felkérte, hogy térjen vissza a korábban nevével fémjelezhető rovat vezetéséhez, míg a Joseph McCarthy nevével fémjelezhető antikommunista hadjárat nyomán Mexikóba áttelepült Székely János (1901–1958) forgatókönyvíró⁷⁴ is meghívta magához. Szigetinek az is feltűnt, hogy amint a vendéglőbe más, régóta kint élő magyarok is betértek, mindannyian felismerték és üdvözölték az újságírót. Sze-

69 PIMK – V. 4741/157/1–7. [Szebenyei József] – [Tábori Pálnak] – New York, Dec. 15. 1942 – New York, Márc. 13. 1951. [és K. n.] Részben ang. – MAGYAR MAGAZIN, New York, Jan. 20, 1951. 1.

70 PIMK – V. 4741/157/1–7. [Szebenyei József] – [Tábori Pálnak] – New York, Dec. 15. 1942 – New York, March 13. 1951. [és K. n.] Részben ang. – MAGYAR MAGAZIN, New York, Márc. 13, 1951. 1.

71 „Mrs. Joseph Szebenyei”, *New York Times* (1952. március 22.), 7.

72 Szebenyei József: „Elment a Marcsa. – Búcsúztatom életem Párját”, *Magyar Magazin* 5.3 (1952), 3–4.

73 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 6 – OL 16 – Washingtoni rezidentúra – OL – 011/1. Tárgy: munkaterv az USA-ban felállítandó rezidentúra három hónapos munkájához. Munkaterv. Budapest, 1951. V. 9. 29–34.

74 *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon. Második kötet (L–Z)*, főszerkesztő Kenyeres Ágnes (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 733.

benyei saját elmondása alapján kb. 5-600 magyar származású filmet számolt össze Hollywoodban, akik közül 50-60 volt forgatókönyvíró. A publicista Gerő Jenő korábbi humoristát – művésznevén Szőke Szakáll (1884–1955)⁷⁵ – tekintette a legtehetségesebbnek. A filmiparban dolgozó barátainak egy tekintélyes részével már régen nem találkozott, hiszen az Amerika-ellenes tevékenységet vizsgáló bizottság fenyegetése miatt az újságíró kommunistagyanús kapcsolataira való tekintettel sokan nem keresték vele az érintkezést. Szebenyeit nem sokkal a beszélgetés előtt Nagy Vince (1886–1965) egykori Szabadság Párti képviselő⁷⁶ felkérte, hogy egy újonnan Amerikába került barátja által írt művet fordítson le angolra. Az újságíró értesülései szerint a politikus barátja 1945 előtt táblabíró volt, majd a koalíciós években tagja lett az FKGP parlamenti frakciójának. Szebenyei ki akart bújni a feladat alól, majd 3000 dollárt kért, amit a nevezett személy ki akart fizetni. Végül közölte: a könyv kódoltan antiszemitizmust sugall, ehhez viszont nem hajlandó a nevét adni.

Szebenyei ugyanakkor elmondta, hogy unokája az atomenergia jövőjéről írt dolgozatával elnyerte a Westinghouse vállalat ösztöndíját, amivel bekerült az egyetemre. Ezzel egy időben egy tudományos folyóiratnál volt korrektor, de azóta szerkesztőnek nevezték ki. Az unokának időközben meg kellett jelennie a sorozóbizottság előtt, ahol kijelentette, inkább vállalja a szolgálat megtagadásáért járó öt év börtönt, de akkor sem lesz katona. A bizottság vezetője rászólt, hogy erre nem is lesz feltétlenül szükség, ha találnak nála valami egészségügyi problémát. Az intelligenciatesztjére 100 pontot kapott, ami igen ritka, erre megkísérelték rábeszélni, hogy mégis vonuljon be, de nem sikerült. Az utolsó tisztnél, aki erős német akcentussal beszélt, dühösen megjegyezte: zárják be vagy engedjék el, mert oktalannak tartja a háborút. Végső soron a katonasággal szembeni ellenérzését betegségnek fogták fel, és elbocsátották. Az újságíró, aki unokájához jött Washingtonba, megígérte, hogy legközelebb fel fogja keresni Szigeti Borsodit, de Weil Emil követel (1897–1954)⁷⁷ is beszélni kívánt, hiszen a tőle kapott adatokat engedély nélkül nem közölhette irodalmi folyóiratában.⁷⁸ Ám az újságíró valahol félrevezette Szigetit, amikor azt állította: *Az Ember* című jobboldali (inkább liberális) újság⁷⁹ főszerkesztőjével – Göndör Ferencsel (1885–1954)⁸⁰ – ugyanabban az erdélyi városban

75 Szőke Szakáll: *Vonósnégyes Casablancában – Életem Ferenc József császár, Adolf Hitler és a Warner Brothers uralma alatt* (Budapest: K. u. K. Könyvkiadó, 2015), 253–256.

76 Borbándi Gyula: *A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945–1985. Első kötet* (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1989), 144/157–159.

77 Baráth Magdolna – Gecsényi Lajos: *Főkonzulok, követek és nagykövetek* (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2015), 293.

78 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – Tárgy: Szebenyei József újságíró. – JELEN-TÉS. Washington, 1952. V. 8. 3–4.

79 Borbándi Gyula: *A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945–1985. Második kötet* (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1989), 50–51.

80 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL OL) – XIX – J – 1 – j – USA 1945–1964 – 22-es d. – 113.) tétel – 20/b – 1952. – Tárgy: „Az amerikai magyarság helyzete és sorsának alakulása”. – 1952. V. 24. 39.

születtek, ugyanis csak fiatalságuk egy részét töltötték Nagyváradon.⁸¹ Szebenyei és Göndör egykor igen jó barátok voltak, de amióta Göndör a felesége irányítása alá került, eltávolodtak egymástól. Szebenyei meglátása szerint már nem Göndör írta az újságot, hiszen amikor szóvá tette a Weil ellen írt cikket, utóbbi azzal reagált, hogy azt egyik munkatársa jegyzi.

Szigeti főhadnagy az újságíróval történő foglalkozásnak azért látta értelmét, mert unokája érdekes személynek tűnt, ugyanakkor a kinti magyar értelmiség helyzetéről és tevékenységéről reméltek tőle információkat, mondván a legkülönbözőbb beállítottságú körökben is vannak barátai.⁸² Szigeti Károly levélben köszönetet mondott az újságírónak a tőle kapott könyvért, ugyanakkor arra kérte, hogy keresse fel, ha Washingtonban jár. Szebenyei 1952. május 20-án megjelent a washingtoni magyar követség másodtitkárának⁸³ hivatalában, majd egy vendéglőben folytatták a beszélgetést. Az újságíró és ügyvéd barátja Lehman szenátorral, Connecticut állam korábbi kormányzójával találkozott, hogy segítséget kérjenek tőle Kreizler, a magyar származású acélipari szakszervezeti vezető deportálásának leállításhoz, akit azzal vádoltak, hogy amerikai állampolgárságának megszerzésekor nem beszélt a kommunista pártban játszott szerepéről. Szebenyeinek a jogászon kívül két ismerőse volt Washingtonban. Teher László költő, a Pénzügyminisztérium alkalmazottja, két évvel azelőttig gyakran forgolódott a társaságában, de a kommunista párt elleni represszió fokozódásával már nem merte Szebenyeivel a barátságot ápolni. Teher korábban mindig felajánlotta a lakását Szebenyeinek, ha az későig maradt Washingtonban. A legutóbbi alkalommal ez már fel sem merült, ugyanis megijedt attól, hogy kommunista szimpatizánsnak fogják tekinteni. A másik, Feldmann Klára 1945-ben férjhez ment egy kb. 30-35 évvel idősebb amerikai milliomoshoz, aki félévvel később meghalt. Az asszony, aki a beszélgetés pillanatában 35 éves lehetett, férje után 2 háztartásivegyiáru-kereskedést, valamint 1,5 millió dollárt örökölt, lépésenként kivitette a rokonságát az Egyesült Államokba. Az özvegynek három férfi – két ügyvéd és egy tábornok, a partvédelmi erők parancsnoka – is udvarolt. Szigeti ekkor rákérdezett: miként reagált Nagy Vince az általa protezsált író regényével kapcsolatban tanúsított magatartására. Szebenyei elmondásából úgy tűnt, hogy a visszautasítás nem jelentette a viszonyuk megromlását, hiszen amikor felesége elhunyt, Nagy részvételét nyilvánította. Az újságíró megmutatta a szóban forgó levelet Szigetinek, amely meggyezett azzal, amit Szebenyei a *Magyar Magazin*ban már közzétett.

A diplomatának feltűnt, hogy Nagy Vince nem politizál, amit az újságíró azzal magyarázott, hogy Nagyné tüdőbetegsége miatt Floridába költözött. Igaz, nyomban hozzá is tette, hogy a liberális gondolkodású egykori politikus nem óhajt a jobboldaliak által kisajátított Magyar Nemzeti Bizottmány munkájában részt venni. A feltevést az is igaz-

81 Szebenyei: *Riporterek*, 9–10.

82 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – Tárgy: Szebenyei József újságíró. – JELENTÉS. Washington, 1952. V. 8. 5.

83 Baráth–Gecsényi, 269.

zolni látszott, hogy Nagy 1952-ben megalakította a jogvédői tevékenysége folytán alapállásból liberális Amerikai Szabad Magyar Jogászok Szövetségét.⁸⁴ Szebenyei azt is megemlítette, hogy Fábián Béla (1889–1965) egykori szabadelvű országgyűlési képviselő – aki a *New York Times* hasábjain tiltakozott az 1951-es kitelepítési hullám miatt⁸⁵ – újból kórházba került, mivel egy hét alatt két szívrohama is volt. A főszerkesztő még Nagyváradról ismerte Fábiánt, akivel szemben végig ellenséges érzülettel viseltetett, amiért az lepaktált a nyilasokkal. A *Magyar Magazin* időről időre történeteket közölt Fábiánról, aki megüzente neki, hogy fejezze be a piszkálódást, hiszen soha nem bántotta Sebenyeit. Göndör bizalmasa, Kéri Pál egy – két évvel korábban egy erősen szovjetellenes cikket írt *Az Ember* című lapnak – pedig az állítólagos hordozható szovjet atombomba kapcsán tárgyyszerűen beszélt a háborús hisztériáról⁸⁶ –, mire Szebenyei felhívta a figyelmét, hogy Kéri igen sokat köszönhet a Szovjetunióknak,⁸⁷ ti. Tisza István meggyilkolásáért az illető halálos ítéletet kapott, de Moszkva kicserélte őt nemesi származású tiszt ellenében. Kéri néhány évig Oroszországban tartózkodott, majd Párizson keresztül érkezett az Egyesült Államokba.⁸⁸ Szebenyei a cikkekre válaszolni akart, de Göndör a régi barátságra hivatkozással ezt nem hozta le a lapjában. Kérivel a köszönőviszony megmaradt, nem bántják egymást, de nem is foglalkoznak a másikkal. A főszerkesztőnek volt egy jó ismerőse Santiago de Chilében, aki 19 éves – Inez nevű⁸⁹ – lányát New Yorkba küldte tanulni, hogy később zökkenőmentes lehessen a külkereskedő cégének átadása. A lányt sikerült elhelyezni egy Argentínára specializálódott export-importvállalkozásnál, ahol szintén egy magyar származású üzletember, a 25 éven át Argentínában élő Fábián Miklós a tulajdonos.

Szebenyei a szülők kérésére vigyázott a lányra, akit el akartak téríteni attól, hogy chilei vőlegényéhez menjen hozzá, de azt sem bánták volna, ha férjhez adja egy amerikai állampolgárhoz. Szebenyei veje a Rockefeller cégnél volt villamosmérnök, akkoriban az alapítvány által létrehozott dél-amerikai kórházak berendezéseit tervezte. Az újságíró végül szóba hozta, hogy amennyiben sikerül útlevelet szereznie, meglátogatja Londonban élő testvérét, Szebenyei Ernőt, aki lexikonok és hasonló könyvek kiadásával foglalkozik. A búcsúzás előtt egy váratlan húzással elkérte Szigeti szüleinek a címét, hogy el tudja küldeni számukra a *Magyar Magazin* tiszteletpéldányát. A konzul ez ellen szabadkozott, mondván az óriási költséggel jár. A főszerkesztő kimutatta, hogy nem kerül sokba, viszont az elutasítást úgy veszi, hogy nem tartja elég színvonalasnak a lapját. Szigeti végső soron megadta a címet, hogy az újságíró ne haragítsa magát. A konspirációval nem foglalkozott, mondván az általa folytatott levelezésből az amerikaiak már

84 Borbándi: *A magyar emigráció életrajza, első kötet*, 334.

85 Bela Fabian: „Terror in Hungary Charged. Deportations to Slave Labor Areas Compared to Nazi Methods”, *New York Times* (1951. július 10.), 25.

86 Kéri Pál: „Ez is hisztéria”, *Az Ember* 26.6 (1951. február 10.), 1–2.

87 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – Tárgy: Szebenyei József. – JELENTÉS. Washington, 1952. V. 20. 6.

88 Pölöskei Ferenc: *A rejtélyes Tisza-gyilkosság* (Budapest, Helikon Kiadó, 1988), 108–122.

89 Szebenyei József: „Fábián Ines. Egy chilei magyar szépség”, *Magyar Magazin* 5.4 (1952), 2.

egyébként is ismerik. A beszélgetést úgy értékelte, hogy azt elég volt irányítani, hiszen Szebenyei önállóan is kibontakozott, miközben igyekszik önmagát jelentős személyként feltüntetni, így azzal büszkélkedett, hogy a legkülönbözőbb politikai nézetű emberek között vannak ismerősei. A rezidens úgy értékelte a jelentést, hogy rendszeres kapcsolattartás révén lehet tőle híryanagokat szerezni, főleg a jobboldali emigráns vezetőkre.⁹⁰

A Központ szerint Szebenyei megbízhatónak tűnt, hiszen állításait minden körülmények között igyekezett dokumentálni, például elővette az újságot vagy a folyóiratot, ha a sajtóról beszélt. H. Fehér István százados azt sem kérdőjelezte meg, hogy a főszerkesztő közel áll a haladó mozgalomhoz, hiszen ezt a VIII. (Hírszerző) Főosztály adatai is megerősítették,⁹¹ ahogy a Székely Jánosra (írói álnevéen John Pen) és a Kreizler nevű emigránstra vonatkozó értesülés is igaznak bizonyult.⁹² A Központ 1952. június 27-én jóváhagyta, hogy Szebenyei József (a jövőben „Földes Imre”) újságíró személyével továbbra is foglalkozzanak, viszont ennek irányát arra kellett vinni, hogy mennél több el- lentséges és lojális emigráns politikusról adjon jellemzést. A rezidens Török Pál őrnagy⁹³ – fn. „Iványi” – utasításba kapta, hogy Szigeti főhadnagynak „Földes Imre” személyéről meg kell szereznie kvázi az összes elérhető anyagot, és a beszélgetések során magyarországi rokonairól, ismerőseiről is tudjon meg minél többet, amelynek jóvoltából a főszerkesztő személyét megnyugtatóan lehet ellenőrizni. A követségi beosztottal szemben viszont megfogalmazódott az elvárás, hogy mindezt feltűnés nélkül kell véghezvinnie, máskülönben az újságíró fel fogja ismerni az ÁVH érdeklődésének jellegét. A találkozót arra tervezték felhasználni, hogy a Magyar Nemzeti Bizottmány (MNB) Szebenyei által ismert tagjairól jellemzést kapjanak, miközben Szigetit arra is utasították, hogy a célszemélyt vejéről, unokájáról, Göndör Ferencről és Szent-Györgyi Albertről és a vele dolgozó tudósokról is beszéltesse. A kapcsolat elmélyítése érdekében a misszió megrendelte a *Magyar Magazin* című folyóiratot.⁹⁴ A főszerkesztő június közepén jelezte, hogy rövidesen elutazik, és egy időre valóban eltűnt a rezidentúra szeme elől. Szigeti Chicagóból kapott tőle egy képeslapot, majd július első napjaiban megjelent nála az újságíró egyik ismerőse, Herman Sándor, aki közölte: Szebenyei arra vár, hogy választ kapjon a levelére, mielőtt Washingtonba jön. A levél nem érkezett meg a követségre, viszont a

90 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – Tárgy: Szebenyei József. – JELENTÉS. Washington, 1952. V. 20. 7–8.

91 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – Tárgy: Szebenyei József újságíró. – Jelentés. Budapest, 1952. VI. 4. 9–11.

92 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – Tárgy: Székely János író/Kreizler USA emigráns. – Jelentés. Budapest, 1952. VI. 10. 12–13.

93 *Trójai faló a Belügyminisztériumban. Az ÁVH szervezete és vezérkara 1953–1956*, szerk. Gyarmati György – Palasik Mária (Budapest: Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára – L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2013), 454–455.

94 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 2/5/B. sz. levél Washingtonnak, 1952. VI. 27. Tárgy: Szebenyei József ügye. 18.

Magyar Magazin lehozta az újságíró élményeit.⁹⁵ A rezidentúra viszont még a célszemély családi viszonyaival sem volt tisztában,⁹⁶ hiszen nem tudta, hogy az újságíró három lánya közül Mrs. Clara Ryan és Ágnes Kovách New Yorkban, Mrs. Éva Mincz Chicagóban élt.⁹⁷ Deák Zoltán később arról tájékoztatta Szigetit, hogy Szebenyei egy új hetilap létrehozataláról tárgyalna, amelyben saját, humoros hangvételű cikkei mellé a *Magyar Jövő*-ből is vehet át írásokat. A célközönséget azok a kinti magyarok képezték, akik nem vállalkoztak rá, hogy a *Magyar Jövőt* járassák, de nem tolódtak úgy jobbra, hogy az új emigránsok újságjaiból tájékozódjanak. Deák szerint a sikerhez hozzájárult volna Szebenyei népszerűsége, az előfizetői kör bővítésére pedig a mozgalomhoz közel álló M. Brack üzletember által fenntartott csomagküldő szolgálat 20 000 névből álló listáját tervezték megszerezni.

Török Pál őrnagy jónak tartotta, hogy Szebenyei ne írjon a *Magyar Jövőbe*, mert az rá nézve is negatív következményekkel járna. Szebenyeit az amerikai hatóságok humoros írásai végett nem vették annyira komolyan és nem úgy bírálták el, mint a kommunista párt aktív személyiségeit. Mindettől függetlenül megvolt a veszély, hogy Deák túl éles hangvételt választ, de ez még mindig kisebb baj volt, mint Szebenyei írásainak felbukkanása a *Magyar Jövő* hasábjain.⁹⁸ Amikor augusztus 26-án a rezidens és az újságíró együtt vacsorázott, az őrnagynak Szebenyei egyik lányával is sikerült beszélgetnie. Szebenyei Klára a háború előtt maga is párttag volt, de gyerekei születése óta már nem vett részt a mozgalomban. A nő apolitikusnak tűnt, a magyar ügyek iránt érdeklődést mutatott, de nem szakadt el annak a hangoztatásától, hogy Magyarországon erős az antiszemitizmus. A rezidens úgy érezte, hogy valamelyest ki tudta egyensúlyozni az amerikai sajtó által sugallt egyoldalú képet, azonban nem tudott elvonatkoztatni attól, hogy a párttól való eltávolodásnak világnézeti okai is lehettek. A nő férje – Mr. Ryan – benne volt a haladó mozgalom ír tagozatában, de Török számára úgy tűnt, a házaspár inkább az ír és a zsidó nacionalizmust képviseli, ráadásul a feleség az első adandó alkalommal visszahúzódott a közszerepléstől, amint az kockázattal járt.⁹⁹ A Balaton vendéglőben megrendezett vacsorán a követség munkatársain kívül jelen volt még a *Magyar Jövőtől* Pogány Béla, Balogh Klára (Mrs. Pierre) és Bodnár József New York-i borbély, aki kérelemmel akart a diplomatakhöz fordulni. A vendégek nem egy időben érkeztek, a társalgás akadozott, ráadásul kb. 5 percen keresztül Göndör Zoltán lefoglalta Szebenyeit. Az újságíró másnapra találkozót kért Szigetitől, ami nem jött össze, hiszen a sok beérkezett kérelem és a *Magyar Magazin* postázása elvitte a főszerkesztő idejét, miközben a had-

95 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – Tárgy: „Földes”. – JELENTÉS. Washington, 1952. VII. 12. 19.

96 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – Tárgy: Földes József. – JELENTÉS. 1952. VIII. 7. 20–21.

97 „Mrs. Joseph Szebenyei”, *New York Times* (1952. március 22.), 13.

98 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – Tárgy: Földes József. – JELENTÉS. 1952. VIII. 8. 24–25.

99 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 6/„B” sz. levél – Tárgy: Földes leánya. – Jelentés. 1952. VIII. 30. 27–28.

nagy pihenni szeretett volna az augusztus 27-én este megtartandó ünnepség előtt. Szebenyei mindenképp beszélni akart a diplomatával, ezért javasolta, menjenek el vacsorázni, amit az utóbbi azzal hárított, hogy a fogadásról nem mehet el. Szigeti délután 3-ra ígérte, hogy felugrik Balogh Klárához, ám csak hat órára ért Szebenyei lakására a csomagjával. Szebenyei átadta önéletrajzi művét, majd a rendezvényre vezető séta közben azzal dicsekedett, hogy még a *Szabad Nép* is lehozta egyik írását, ugyanakkor azt is elmondta, hogy az első világháború után már csak magyar lapoknál tevékenykedett. A 30-as évek végén az *Amerikai Magyar Népszavánál* is dolgozott, de a lap szellemiségével nem azonosult, így attól fogva az *Új Előre* és a későbbi *Magyar Jövő* számára írt. Balogh-nál kisebb politikai vita keveredett abból, hogy a főszerkesztő egyik ismerőse, egy olasz fiatalasszony elismeréssel szólt Mussoliniról. Szigeti a maga részéről némiképp csalódásának adott hangot, amiért Földes „ismeretségi köre túlnyomó részét a liberálisabb gondolkodású, de félnék polgárok és intellektuelek teszik ki”. Emellett az is felmerült benne, hogy a célszemély azért szállt rá a követségi emberekre, mert „igyekszik szembeállítani bennünket a haladó vezetőkkel”.¹⁰⁰

1952. szeptember 15-én Borsodi együtt ebédelt az újságíróval, aki elmesélte, hogy miként szakított az *Amerikai Magyar Népszavával*. Abban az időben évente tartottak szépségversenyt a legszebb amerikai magyar lány címének elnyeréséért, amely kb. 40000 dollár tiszta nyereséget hozott az újságnak. 1937-ben egy környékbeli hentes felesége és a lánya váratlanul azt állították, hogy Szebenyei nevében valaki megkereste őket a szerkesztőségtől, hogy 500 dollár ellenében az ifjú hölgy fog győzni. Az újságíró ezt dühösen visszautasította, majd közölte a tulajdonossal: ha nem állítja le a szépségversenyt, világra szóló botrányt csap, és a befektető börtönbe kerül. Több mint valószínű, hogy a South Milwaukee-i illetőségű Mészáros Júlia azért lett az 1937. május elseji gálaest különdíjasa,¹⁰¹ hogy a hasonló eseményekre jellemző csalásból ne legyen büntetőeljárás. A hagyomány ezennel megszakadt, Szebenyei pedig minden következmény nélkül átment a *Magyar Jövő*höz. A főszerkesztő beszámolt arról, hogy időről időre megkapja a jobboldali emigráció kiadványait, amelyek automatikusan a papírkosárban landolnak. Szigeti ekkor azzal fordult hozzá, hogy inkább juttassa el számára ezeket az anyagokat, amit az újságíró el is vállalt, mondván már Sík Endre is felkérte arra, hogy írjon neki a jobboldali emigrációról. Állítása szerint az egyik írás annyira megtetszett Rákosinak, hogy 100 vagy 200 dollárt kapott érte a követségtől. Szebenyei azt a metódust használta, hogy az egyes jobboldali politikusok egymás közötti személyes ellentéteire alapozván provokatív kérdésekkel – megjegyzésekkel állt elő, mire az érintettek bosszúból mindent elmondtak a riváisaik életéről. Ezzel egy időben kijelentette, most is nagyon szívesen készít beszámolókat, hozzátéve, hogy értesüléseit a lapokban is megírja a szereplők kifigurázásával, amely az Egyesült Államokban természetesnek számít. A Központ nem látott akadályt a célszemély felhasználása előtt, de nyomatékosan kérte, hogy

100 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 6/„B” sz. levél 6. sz. melléklete – Tárgy: Földes. – JELENTÉS. 1952. IX. 3. 29–37.

101 „Ötezer főnyi közönség részvételével minden eddigit felülmúló fénnel és sikerrel folyt a Szépségverseny Bál”, *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* 34 (1937. május 4.), 1–3.

a küldeményeknél a misszió legyen a címzett,¹⁰² ugyanakkor a rezidentúrának figyelembe kellett venni a feladatok meghatározásánál, hogy az újságíró nem tekinthető ügynöknek.¹⁰³ Az október elejei megbeszélés csupán 15 percig tartott, ahol Szebenyei vállalta, hogy a régi időkhöz hasonlóan beszámol az MHBK – Magyar Harcosok Bajtársi Községe,¹⁰⁴ az AMSZ (Amerikai Magyar Szövetség), a Nemzeti Bizottmány, valamint Peyer [Károly] (1881–1956)¹⁰⁵ és Sulyok [Dezső] (1897–1965)¹⁰⁶ működéséről, ellentéteikről és terveiről.

Szigeti arról is adatokat várt, hogy az emigránsok kapnak-e az amerikai kormánytól segítséget. A rezidentúra már a propaganda célból írt könyvek tervezetéről is szeretett volna tudomást szerezni Szebenyei révén, aki ezt szívesen vállalta, majd közölte, hogy már tudomással bír a készülő művekről. Az újságíró kb. 2-3 héten belül ígérte, hogy a beszámolóval együtt elhozza a felsorolt szervezetek kiadványait, de nem adja postára, mert ott jó eséllyel eltűnnének.¹⁰⁷ Szebenyei időközben ajánlatot kapott a *Népszavától*, miszerint havi 500 dollár ellenében vállalja el a szerkesztői feladatokat. Az újságíró számára viszont feltűnt, hogy egy anyagi gondokkal küszködő lapnak váratlanul milyen jól megy. A változás hátterében az állt, hogy Gombos [Zoltán] (1905–1984), az ohiói nyomdatulajdonos¹⁰⁸ átvette a lapot, amely ugyan elvitte a tulajdonában lévő *Szabadság* nyereségét, de arra jó volt, hogy a *Magyar Jövő* elterjedését megakadályozza.¹⁰⁹ A Központ részéről ugyanakkor rászóltak Borsodira, hogy az ügy kezelése során legyen kritikus a *Magyar Magazin* főszerkesztőjével, ugyanis – a magyar és a szovjet követség állandó megfigyelése folytán¹¹⁰ – az FBI (*Federal Bureau of Investigation* / Szövetségi Nyomozó Iroda) alaposan ismeri Szebenyei tevékenységét. Szigetinek azt is figyelembe kellett vennie, „hogy nevezett tipikus polgár, bohém, könnyelmű és nincs egy kialakult szilárd elvi álláspontja, amit bizonyít az, hogy baráti köréhez tartoznak egyaránt haladó gondolkodású személyek és fasiszta beállítottságú személyek is, mint pl. Göndör Ferenc”.¹¹¹

102 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 6/„B” sz. levél 6. sz. melléklete – Tárgy: Földes. – JELENTÉS. 1952. IX. 18. 39–43.

103 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 1/8/B. sz. levél Washingtonnak. 1952. X. 1. Tárgy: „Földes Imre” ügye. 49.

104 Borbándi: *A magyar emigráció életrajza, első kötet*, 71–72.

105 Simon István: *Vezérelőzet. A Peyer-kérdés és a magyar szociáldemokrácia* (Budapest: Századvég Kiadó, 2003), 5–78.

106 Szerencsés Károly: *A nemzeti demokráciáért: [Sulyok Dezső 1897–1997]* (Pápa: Pápa Város Önkormányzata, 1997), 1–351.

107 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 6/„B” sz. levél 5 sz. melléklet – Tárgy: Földes JELENTÉS 1952. X. 4. 50–52.

108 GOMBOS, ZOLTAN – *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* – <https://ech.cwru.edu/ech-cgi/article.pl?id=GZ> – letöltés: 2015. XII. 24.

109 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 7/B sz. levél 1. sz. melléklet – Tárgy: Földes. JELENTÉS. 1952. X. 19. 54–60.

110 William C. Sullivan – Bill Brown: *The Bureau. My Thirty Years in Hoover's FBI. The Untold Story of the Life at the Top of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, by the Former Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover* (London – New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 175–179.

111 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 3/9/B. sz. levél Washingtonnak. 1952. X. 30. Tárgy: „Földes Imre” ügye. 61.

Szebenyei 1952. november 12-én újból Washingtonba utazott, hogy a követségen felkeresse Szigeti másodtitkárt. A diplomata leültette a televízió elé, majd az újságíró kérdésére azt mondta: „már benne van ez az öreg amerikai szokás, hogy a vendéget a televízió elé ültetik, hogy esetleg ne unatkozzon a társalgás közben”. Szebenyei a megbeszélés során elismerte, hogy értesülései zömmel Dr. Deák Zoltántól származtak, akinek 30 dollárt adott, de ugyanennyit fizetett a másik dokumentáció ellenében egy általa meg nem nevezett személynek, aki viszont csak ígérgette a munka leszállítását. Szigeti ekkor arra figyelmeztette a főszerkesztőt, hogy ne hozzon le részleteket abból, amit bemutatott, mert az csökkenti a propaganda értékét. Szebenyei csak annyit mondott: informátoraival már a kezdet kezdetén közölte, hogy csak annyit publikál belőlük, amennyit érdemesnek vél. Amikor Szigeti és Szebenyei elmentek az újságíró unokájához, a diplomata Szebenyei Ágnes férjéről érdeklődött. Az újságíró elmondása szerint Kovácsot a hadsereg kölcsönkérte a vállalatától, majd Grönlandra küldte a katonai repülőtér műszaki berendezéseinek vizsgálatára. Miután bizonyította rátermettségét, Franciaországba került, ahol az Eiffel tornyon telepítendő radarral foglalkozott. Eredetileg két hónapra volt szó, az európai tartózkodás mégis öt hónapra nyúlt, ugyanis a projektvezető idegösszeomlása következtében Kovácsnak kellett átvennie az irányítást. Kovács a fizetésén felül évi 20 000 dollár prémiumban részesült, ugyanakkor azt a 12 dolláros napidíjat is megállapították neki, ami a külföldre helyezett magas rangú katonának járt. Szebenyei cáfolta, hogy veje bevonult a hadseregbe, Szigeti azonban kétkedett, hogy egy civil, aki otthon kórházi berendezésekkel foglalkozik, ennyire magas szinten ért a radarokhoz. A főszerkesztő elárulta, hogy Kovács igen szűkszavú, ha a munkájáról beszél, de hallott már tőle olyan megjegyzést, hogy szigorúan titkos tevékenységének köszönhetően egyszer valósággá válhat a holdutazás.

Szebenyei a kollégiumban kb. 15 percig beszélgetett lányunokájával, aki a nyáron a barátnőjéhez készül New Foundlandba, végül a társalgást egy vendéglőben folytatták, amelynek magyar tulajdonosa az újságíró baráti köréhez tartozott. Az üzletvezető arra kérdezett rá, hogy áll Feldmann Panni ügye. A fiatalasszonyt nővérének kérésére elvette egy másodgenerációs magyar, így kikerülhetett Amerikába, de 3 évnyi nagyon rossz házasságot követően épp akkor váltak. A nő újból férjhez szeretett volna menni, amihez egy Neu nevezetű washingtoni ügyvéd segítségére hagyatkozott. A főszerkesztő azért kereste fel a georgiai születésű jogászt, mert az Igazságügyi Minisztériumban meglévő kapcsolatai révén a bevándorlással kapcsolatos ügyeket általában Mr. Neu intézte. Bár a szóban forgó ügyvéd republikánusnak számított, a koreai háborúval összefüggésben megemlítette, hogy a dél-koreai nagykövetség az irodáján keresztül próbált fegyvereket szerezni, de az amerikai kormány megijedt Szöul ez irányú törekvéseitől, így a kísérlet kudarcra végződött. Az iráni nagykövetség is az ügyfelei közé tartozott, noha ennek jelentősége csökkent, miután a kereskedelmi attasé két hónappal azelőtt visszatért a hazájába. Amikor az este végeztével az ügyvéd elvitte az újságírót és a diplomatát, az előbbi rendes embernek nevezte ismerősét, hiszen 10 példányban is előfizette a *Magyar Magazint*, holott egyáltalán nem beszélt magyarul. Szigeti arra gondolt, hogy Mr. Neu

ezzel hálálta meg Szebenyeinek, hogy az barátai köréből üzletfeleket szállított, ám a rezidens azt sem tudta kizárni, hogy a magyar követség jogi képviselőjére hajt, ugyanis a fent említett esetekben is diplomata ismerősein keresztül szerezte ez irányú megbízatásait. Szebenyei Ágnes férjének tevékenységét figyelemre méltónak találták, mivel Kovács nem kizárólag a Franciaországban telepítendő repülőterek felszerelésében játszott komoly szerepet, hanem a rakétakutatásokban is benne volt. Mindazonáltal, a Szebenyei által hozott anyag nem állt össze, ráadásul tele volt átfedésekkel. Eckhardt [Tibor] tekintetében az bizonyult a legérdekesebbnek, hogy az emigráns politikus a Pentagon kiértékelő irodájában dolgozik,¹¹² amelynek lehetett valamennyi alapja, ugyanis Eckhardt a háború elejétől közvetlen kapcsolatban állt a MIS (*Military Intelligence Service* / az amerikai Katonai Hírszerző Szolgálat) egyik magas rangú tisztjével.¹¹³ A Központ arra a következtetésre jutott, hogy az értesülések jó része *Az Ember* című ellenséges lapból és a MNB Összeférhetetlenségi Bizottságának jelentéseiből származott, egyedül a Deák értesüléseiben volt újdonság. Az adatgyűjtéssel Szebenyeit arra próbálták volna rávenni, hogy legközelebb olyan anyagokkal álljon elő, amit közvetlenül az emigráns vezetőktől szerzett. Szigetitől pedig azt várták, hogy minden esetben tisztázza a főszerkesztővel, kitől szerezte értesüléseit. A Központ Szebenyei vejét – továbbá a „Pesti Miklós” (Horányi Tibor), „Kovács Mihály” (Horváth Péter) és „Kis Menyhért” (dr. Hám Tibor)¹¹⁴ fedőnéven szereplő személyeket – vélte érdekesnek.¹¹⁵

1953. január 22-én Szebenyei a Schaffer-vendéglőbe hívta Szigeti Károlyt, aki ezt elhárította, mondván sürgős teendőire való tekintettel du. 4 és 5 között tudja fogadni a követségen. Az újságíró a megbeszélte időpontban nem ment Washingtonba, amit azzal magyarázott, hogy egyrészt nem lett volna mit elhoznia, másrészt Stella nevű nővére idegösszeroppanást kapott. A főszerkesztő elmondta, hogy az anyagait olyan emberektől kérte, akiket jól ismert, a megkeresést pedig azzal indokolta, hogy könyvet szándékozik írni a jobboldali emigrációról, amihez szüksége van Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Cleveland, Chicago és Philadelphia mozgalmaival kapcsolatos információkra. Szebenyei az egyetemi oktatók névsoráért 90 dollárt kapott Szigetitől, majd megpróbálta előterjeszteni Regőczyné, a híres zongoraművész kérését, hogy gyerekei kimehessenek hozzá az Egyesült Államokba. Szigeti az anyagok átnézése után Schaffer vendéglőjében találkozott Szebenyeivel, majd az este folyamán hozzájuk csapódott egy George Hayes nevű orvos, aki az első világháború után a katonai misszió tagjaként járt Budapesten. A be-

112 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 7/„B”. sz. levél 1. sz. melléklete. – Tárgy: Földes. JELENTÉS. 1952. XI. 12. 62–73.

113 Kádár Lynn Katalin: *Eckhardt Tibor amerikai évei 1941–1972* (Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2006), 89–102/143–144.

114 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 6 – OL 16 – Washingtoni rezidentúra – OL – 011/6/b – Iványi elvtársnak, Washington. Budapest, 1952. VI. 27. 14–20.

115 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 10/B. sz. levél Washingtonnak. 1952. XII. 2. Tárgy: „Földes Imre” ügye. 74–75.

szélgetés irodalmi-művészeti vitába ment át, amely Karinthy Frigyes nagyságáról – illetve Molnár Ferencnek a kinti magyarsággal szembeni tartózkodásáról¹¹⁶ – folyt. Az újságíró csak egy hiányos névsorral szolgált, az egyetemi tanárok közül az orvosokat és a mérnököket kihagyta, inkább arra ment rá, hogy olcsóbban megkapható egyetemi címlistát szerezzen.¹¹⁷ A Központ nehezményezte, hogy Szigeti túl nagy összeget adott az anyagért, még ha abban egyet is értett Török őrnaggyal, hogy a publicista előrehaladott korából kifolyólag már nehezen mozog. Mindazonáltal, Farkas Vladimir főosztályvezető nem volt elragadtatva az újságíró hozzáállásától.¹¹⁸ A rezidentúra és a *Magyar Magazin* főszerkesztőjének kapcsolata már nem tartott sokáig: Szebenyei József 1953. február 26-án, 73 évesen hunyt el egy New York-i kórházban.¹¹⁹

Több mint félévszázad távlatából nehéz ítéletet mondani, de nagyon valószínű, hogy az ÁVH Hírszerző Főosztálya nem a megfelelő embert szemelte ki az újonnan létrejött pártállami rendszerrel szemben óhatatlanul ellenséges emigráció feltérképezésére. Szebenyei József egyrészt idős volt már ahhoz, hogy ilyen kalandra vállalkozzon, másrészt az első világháború idején Angliában tanúsított magatartása is arról tanúskodott, hogy nem kíván szembefordulni azzal az országgal, ahol éppen tartózkodik. Mindettől eltekintve feltételezhető, hogy az általa publikált folyóirat előállítási költségéhez jól jött a Magyar Népköztársaság követségétől kapott anyagi segítség, ezt azonban az újságíró plagizált anyagokkal, másodkézből kapott értesülésekkel viszonzta. A Szigeti hadnagyhoz fűződő kapcsolat viszont lehetőséget adhatott arra, hogy az FBI vagy a New York City Police Department Bureau of Special Services (New York Városi Rendőrség Különleges Szolgálatok Irodája – a politikai rendészeti ügyosztály)¹²⁰ megbízásából felmérje a magyar diplomaták/hírszerzők tevékenységét. Az, hogy Szebenyei soha nem panaszkodott az elhárítás jelenlétére vagy az ellene irányuló zaklatására, olyan érzést keltethet az olvasóban, hogy az újságíró igazából nekik dolgozott, így már a *Magyar Jövő* című laphoz történő átállást is megrendezett jelenetként lehet interpretálni. Igaz, az amerikai forrásokhoz már csak azért sem lehet hozzáférni, mert az informátori tevékenységre vonatkozó iratokat 80-90 évre titkosítják.

116 Csordás Lajos: *Molnár Ferenc. Élet-Kép Sorozat* (Budapest: Elektra Kiadóház, 2004), 142–146.

117 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 9/B. sz. levél 12. sz. mell. – Jelentés. 1953. I. 22. Tárgy: „Földes”. 77–92.

118 ÁBTL – 3. 2. 4 – K – 886/T – [Szebenyei József] – 12/B. sz. levél Washingtonnak. 1953. II. 11. Tárgy: „Földes Imre” ügye. 93.

119 „Joseph Szebenyei, 73, Author and Editor”, *New York Times* (1953. február 26.).

120 Frank Donner: *Protectors of Privilege. Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America* (Los Angeles: Berkeley University of California Press, 1990), 49.

The Home Front in Hungary

On June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip assassinated the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, Sophia, while they were on a ceremonial visit to the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo. The nineteen-year-old Bosnian Serb youth was a member of a group of conspirators whose weapons were supplied by officials of the Serb state who were also members of the nationalist Black Hand (otherwise called Union or Death) organization. A month later Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, but within days the local war developed into a World War due to the bipolar nature of the alliance system. Though the belligerents expected the war to end by winter, it lasted for four years. The conflict evolved into total war where the successful mobilization of the home front was crucial for sustaining the fighting at the war front.¹ The history of the Hungarian war effort indicates that although prewar military problems came into sharper focus, the home front was able to hold; it collapsed into revolution only following military defeat at the war front.

At the time of the double murder, the royal victim did not have a reputation as a friend of the Hungarians. He believed that the *Ausgleich* was a mistake and charged that the goal of the Hungarians was to achieve sovereignty. He blamed the Hungarians for embracing the revolutionary spirit of Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the 1848–49 Revolution and War of Hungarian Independence. The heir to the throne saw them as the gravediggers of the Habsburg Monarchy and blamed them for the alleged influence of the Freemasons and Jewish elements.²

Hungarian reaction among the intellectuals was epitomized by the art historian and publicist Marcel Benedek, whose diary entry stated that “the heir and his wife were murdered in Sarajevo. We are sorry for their orphaned children, but otherwise let’s confess, we must feel at ease at the thought that Franz Ferdinand, who wanted to violate the Hungarian constitution and wanted to give us a role in a God knows what kind of Austro-Slav, Hungarian trialism, is not our king.”³ While there was little grief among the establishment, during the July Crisis, which preceded the outbreak of the war, the streets already experienced a psychological mobilization for war calling for the punishment of Serbia. The Serbs for a change became more hated than were the Romanians.

1 Ágnes Pogány, “A nagy háború hosszú árnyéka: Az I. világháború gazdasági következményei,” in *Az első világháború következményei Magyarországon*, ed. Béla Tomka (Budapest: Országgyűlés Hivatala, 2015), 260–261.

2 Edward Crankshaw, *The Fall of the House of Habsburg* (New York: The Viking Press, 1963), 348–349, 351, 357. Győző Bruckner, *Ferenc Ferdinánd trónörökös magyarországi tervei* (Miskolc: Magyar Jövő Nyomda, 1929), 13–16, 56–57, 63, http://mtdaportal.extra.hu/books/bruckner_gyozo_ferenc_ferdinand_magyarorszagra_vonatkozó_politikai_tervei.pdf (accessed 04/09/2017).

3 Lajos Sipos, “‘Sodrában a szörnyű malomnak...’: Magyar költők és írók az I. világháború idején,” *Irodalmi Magazin* 2.2 (2014): 5.

The Hungarian mass circulation newspapers called for the war against Serbia; only the socialist *Népszava* voiced antiwar sentiments.⁴

The declaration of war on Serbia was received with unbounded enthusiasm by the crowds in the capital city of Budapest and in other towns.⁵ Although some scholars have recently claimed that the mass enthusiasm for the war is a myth,⁶ the examined literature about Hungary reinforces the old interpretation, at least for the urban areas.⁷ A contemporary witness, who in World War II was head of military intelligence recalled: "In Debrecen, one of the most Hungarian and revolutionary of the cities, night and day the people crowded the street. They cheered the war. They sang the stupidest song: 'Just wait you dog Serbia, you will never get Bosnia!' All the gypsy bands were playing on Market Street [...]. The girls were wearing hussar shakos, and they urged on some soap-box orator. The picture is unforgettable."⁸ The song became the most popular song of the moment, emotionally mobilizing the crowds for war. The actual words differed somewhat from place to place; they were less sanguine on the countryside than in the cities.⁹

On July 24, in preparation for the war, a Military Supervisory Committee was set up which was to make preparations for prepublication censorship. The legal justification was based on the government activated 1912 War Services Law, Act LXIII enacted during the Balkan crisis, which gave the green light to exceptional decrees in case of war. With the outbreak of the war censorship was put into practice.¹⁰ Consequently, newspaper reports often appeared with blank columns. Following the spirit of Act LXIII, on July 25 all political meetings, including demonstrations, were also prohibited. Strikes and job actions were also outlawed.¹¹ Partial mobilization began the next day.

4 Lajos Varga, *Háború, forradalom, szociáldemokrácia Magyarországon: 1914. július–1919. március* (Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó, 2010), 18.

5 Alice Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848–1914* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 306; Dániel Szabó, "A Magyar háborús lelkesedés az első világháború kitörésekor," in 1918, *korszakvég-korszakkezdő*, ed. Cornel Grad and Viorel Ciubota (Zalau: Lekton, 1998), 75–78.

6 "Pörölycsapás a szívre és észre: A történészek kétségbe vonják a néptömegek 1914. őszi háborús lelkesedésének legendáját," in *Az első világháború: A 20. század őskatasztrófiája*, ed. Stephan Burgdorff and Klaus Wiegrefe (Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó, 2010), 53; Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe went into War in 1914* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2013), 553; Tibor Hajdú and Ferenc Pollmann, *A régi Magyarország utolsó háborúja 1914–1918* (Budapest: Osiris, 2014), 69–70.

7 Two French historians who also question the old interpretation suggest that popular enthusiasm was limited to the capitals and large cities. See Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *14–18, retrouver la Guerre* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 133.

8 Gyula Kádár, *A Ludovikától Sopronkőhidáig* (Budapest: Magvető, 1978), 39.

9 Dániel Szabó, "Katonadalok és az első világháború," *Aetas* 22.1 (2007), 48. <http://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00861/00036/pdf/044-062.pdf> (accessed 04/09/2017).

10 András Gerő, *Merénylétől hadüzenetig: A béke utolsó hónapja a Monarchia Magyarországon (1914. június 28–1914. július 28)* (Budapest: Habsburg Történeti Intézet, 2014), 9.

11 Varga, 20.

The outbreak of the war seemed to bring radical changes in the political picture. In the long turbulent Hungarian Parliament a truce was launched among the major political parties, particularly Prime Minister István Tisza's Party of Work and the opposition Independents. The largest political party, the Social Democratic Party, which due to the restrictive election laws was not in Parliament, also went on to support the war, much like its Western sister parties. Nationalism thus carried the day over working-class internationalism.

For the Hungarians, living in a multinational state, where the Hungarians represented a bare majority, the war was seen as a conflict for national survival. The expected victory was seen preserving Hungarian territorial integrity and Hungarian supremacy.¹² The editor-in-chief of the liberal journal *Nyugat* (West), Hugó Ignóty, epitomized this outlook. Reacting to the war against Serbia, in his lead article of August 1, 1914, entitled "War" (Háború), Ignóty projected what he identified as the "Russian enticement," the image of a "Little-Hungary" shorn of its lands populated by the nationalities on the country's periphery. Asking the question as to whether or not he wanted to live in such a country his response was: only if Little Hungary were located where Switzerland, Belgium, or Luxembourg were. "But," he continued, "to live in the midst of Illiria, Serbia, Romania, and, my apologies, Poland, [...] this perspective makes light of the heaviest risk, that perhaps it could turn out badly [...]. It is in the personal interest of every Hungarian that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy survive so that they could live in peace. And by now this cannot happen without a war. [...] Who is so stupid or vile that he does not see the Serb or Romanian or any one else as a human being, or does not respect his dreams, his self-interest or begrudge him whatever happiness? But we cannot take our benevolence so far that we commit suicide."¹³

This perception led to a situation in Hungary wherein the Habsburg monarch, Franz Joseph, came to be recognized as a truly Hungarian king among the populace for the first time since his coronation in 1867.¹⁴ Ignóty in another essay declared: "It is no exaggeration to state that Hungary has not had a national king like Franz Joseph since King Mathias [Corvinus]."¹⁵

Between August 1 and 4, the local war between Austria-Hungary and Serbia turned into a world war due to the peculiarities of the bipolar alliance system. The bubble of

12 Gerő, *Merénylettől hadüzenetig*, 20.

13 Ignóty, "Háború," *Nyugat* 7.15 (Aug 1, 1915): 129.

14 András Gerő, *Ferenc József* (Budapest: Pannonica, 1999), 255–256.

15 Quoted in Ivan Sanders, "Hungarian Writers and Literature in World War I," in *East Central European Society in World War I*, ed. Béla K. Király and Nándor Dreisziger (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1985), 147. For an overview of the impact of war on writers, see Joseph Held, "Culture in Hungary during World War I," in *European Culture in the Great War. The Arts, Entertainment, and Propaganda, 1914–1918*, ed. Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 176–192; Dániel Szabó, "Magyarország nem volt, hanem lesz: Háborús lelkesedés a populáris színelőadások tükrében," in *A pesti polgár: Tanulmányok Vörös Károly emlékére*, ed. Gábor Gyáni and Gábor Pajkossy (Debrecen: Csonkai, 1999), 185–194.

the “short war illusion,” shared by all belligerents, burst by December 1914. The assumption that the troops had to return victorious by Christmas – as after that date the huge national armies would run out of logistical supplies – was shared by all war planners. This problem, however, was overcome by the mobilization of the civilian population for the production of military supplies through the coordination of industry and agriculture. Hence the continuation of warfare was made possible. The development of this type of command economy came to be known as war socialism and it became an aspect of the concept of total war.¹⁶

The degree of mobilization and regimentation of the civilians for the war effort was unparalleled until that date. The practice gave birth to the “home front,” which not only denoted the application of authoritarian measures to civilians, but also connoted the need to create the kind of social cohesion that existed in the trenches. Governments employed social, political, and economic measures and propaganda to that end.

Increased governmental power in Hungary was assured by the War Services Law of 1912. This law stipulated that in the event of war emergency power was to remain in the hands of the civilian government; even military requisitions were to be implemented by civilian authorities. The Hungarian home front system, therefore, tended to be closer to the type Britain had, rather than the one Germany or Austria shared, where there was an ascendancy of the military over the civilian administration.¹⁷

The first major intervention in Hungary’s laissez-faire economy, introduced on August 12, 1914, prefigured of things to come. It was a two-month moratorium on loans and debts. It was intended to prevent a run on the banks by worried depositors. The life of the moratorium was extended in one form or another for a year. The policy backfired as it halted orders, created hardship for companies producing for the civilian market and led to lay-offs. It became difficult for small firms to borrow money and even state owned companies halted investments.¹⁸

Late in December and early January the government placed defense-related industries under military discipline and workers under fifty were drafted into militia labor battalions, which were then placed in designated factories where civilian management remained in place. Other government acts also drafted some women and men over fifty, but they were not put under martial law.¹⁹ Act XIII of 1915 stated that both males and females alike could be required to do public work, and in order to fill jobs in the absence of the mobilized workers who were sent to the front, adolescents over thirteen years of

16 Peter Pastor, “The Home Front in Hungary, 1914–1918,” in *East Central European Society in World War I*, ed. Király and Dreisziger. According to François Furet, the term total war was first used by Ernst Jünger in 1930. See François Furet, *The Passing of an Illusion: The Idea of Communism in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), 506n28.

17 József Galántai, “A háborús állam: A ‘kivételes hatalom’ kodifikálása és alkalmazása 1914–1916-ban,” in *A magyarországi polgári államrendszerek (Tanulmánykötet)*, ed. Ferenc Pölöskei and György Ránki (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1981), 199–200.

18 Varga, 22–23.

19 Galántai, 201–202.

age were permitted to work.²⁰ Within a year about 600,000 males and 145,000 females were employed in the war-related industries. Women were mostly employed in food processing, textile, and service industries.²¹ Most women entered the labor market out of economic necessity caused by the absence of the traditional male wage earner doing front-line service. Since the wages of the female workers were traditionally lower, their increased employment led to the decline of wages paid to men, though never to the level of female wage earners. In fact, during the war, only teamsters earned less than women.²²

Female labor also increased in agriculture. Agrarian labor laws issued at the beginning of the war denied financial support to able-bodied members of soldiers' families. This law forced not only women, but children and the elderly to perform agricultural labor. Despite the involuntary mobilization of villagers, labor shortages persisted. There were attempts to solve the problem by giving leaves at planting and harvest time to those peasants in uniform who were performing rear-area duties. Military labor battalions and some 300,000-400,000 Russian and Serb POWs were assigned to do agricultural work.²³

By the end of 1914 it became evident that the grain and flour supplies will not be sufficient to provide for both the home and war fronts. A projection indicated two million quintals short fall in the grain supplies.²⁴ As the war progressed flour coupons were issued in Budapest in April 1915 and bread coupons followed in January 1916. Coupons were also issued for other food stuff in short supply. As shortages increased, the rations were reduced by the authorities.²⁵

The flow of production was assured by centralized government-controlled monopolies. In mid-1915 the War Produce Corporation was set up. Financed by state and bank investments, the firm had a monopoly on the acquisition and sale of grain. Other monopolies that were established included the so-called centers for metals, textiles, sugar, etc. By the end of the war there were 291 such centers. A number of committees made up of government officials and trade specialists were also involved in the coordination of production and distribution.²⁶

20 Varga, 28.

21 Varga, 24-25.

22 Irén Nevelő, *A háború és a magyarországi munkásság 1914-1917* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1980).

23 Béla Katona, *Magyarország közgazdasága: pénzügyi és közgazdasági évkönyv 1915. évről* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1916), 367-71; Peter Hidas, "The Dance of Death World War I and the Hungarian Peasants," in *The Modernization of Agriculture: Rural Transformation in Hungary, 1848-1975*, ed. Joseph Held (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1980), 176; Dezső Pap, *A magyar szociálpolitika a világháborúban* (Budapest: Grill, 1934), 233-234; Hajdú and Pollmann, 203.

24 Anikó S. Nagy and József Spekál, *Gulyásagyú és rohamsisak: A Nagy Háború gyomornézetből* (Budapest: Magyar Kereskedelmi és Vendéglátóipari Múzeum, 2016), 93.

25 S. Nagy and Spekál, 139-141; Hajdú and Pollmann, 114 and 205; Károly Vörös, *Budapest története* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 744.

26 Emma Iványi, *Minisztertanácsai jegyzőkönyvek az első világháború korából* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960), 340-341; József Sztérenyi and Jenő Ladányi, *A magyar ipar a világháborúban* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1933), 148-151.

A command economy geared to fighting the war led to serious shortages in consumer products. A price freeze failed to slow down the inflation caused by shortages. The slow rise of inflation during the first eighteen months of the war gave way to galloping inflation as there was also an attempt to finance the war by printing more money.²⁷

Economic hardship led to social tensions. Wildcat strikes by 1916 appeared frequently and continued into 1917 and 1918. The government responded to unrest by setting up grievance committees, which were to arbitrate between workers and management. Most of the decisions favored the workers,²⁸ indicating the seriousness of the plight of the workers, as well as the government's concern about the decline of morale on the home front as a result.

Another problem that contributed to the decline of morale at the home front was the shortage of coal. By 1917 this resulted in industrial slowdowns and in some factories a complete halt to production. Responding to the problem, the government prohibited the temporary lay-off of workers from the idled factories and, on the initiative of the Ministry of National Defense, offered "coal aid" to those workers who were laid off on account of the shortage. This unemployment benefit amounted to 75 percent of the worker's wage. Half of the sum was paid by the treasury, half by the employer.²⁹ For the first time, therefore, the state paid unemployment benefits instead of it being paid by private insurance. The war, therefore, was responsible for the start of the welfare state. The diminution of laissez-faire economics was also demonstrated through rent control and a rent moratorium for the dependents of the conscripted soldier.³⁰

Social tension also existed in the countryside as the price ceilings for agrarian produce and rising prices for industrial products created hardship. The peasant's response was withholding and hoarding for the black market. The government responded by forced requisitioning which did not solve the problem. Agrarian violence, however, did not develop as a peasant response.³¹

Social tensions and declining morale brought to the fore the pre-war issue of electoral reforms. The suffrage question, in effect, caused the collapse of the parliamentary truce. The conflict was in part due to the fact that in Hungary, alone among the belligerents, a national government never materialized.³² On June 21, 1915, the five-year term of Parliament expired, but elections were postponed to six months after the peace treaty was signed. At the same time, however, Parliament was not prorogued; rather, it was to sit and practice politics as usual during the war.³³ Parliamentary debates over suffrage

27 Marc Ferro, *The Great War 1914–1918* (London: Routledge, 1974), 171; János Teleszky, *A magyar állam pénzügyei a háború alatt* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1924), 345–346; Nevelő, 107.

28 Sztérényi and Ladányi, 85.

29 Sztérényi and Ladányi, 72 and 156; Iványi, 359–360.

30 Teleszky, 365.

31 András Siklós, "Adalékok az Osztrák Magyar Monarchia belső helyzetéhez, 1918 tavaszán és nyarán," *Történelmi Szemle* 26 (1983): 5; Hidas, 182–183; András Siklós, *A Habsburg-Birodalom felbomlása 1918* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1987), 69–70.

32 Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of the War of 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 2: 127.

33 Pap, 92–94.

were resolved in a compromise law passed on July 19, 1918, which broadened the vote for men from 7.7 percent of the population to 13 percent. This modest reform failed to satisfy the opposition parties in Parliament, or the Socialists outside of it.³⁴

The prewar tensions with the nationalities were exacerbated by the conflict with Hungary's neighbors. At the outbreak of the war, in order to win over the nationalities, amnesty was proclaimed to political prisoners. State schools were instructed to teach non-Hungarians not only in Hungarian, but also in the mother tongue. National colors were allowed to be displayed along with the Hungarian colors, as long as these were not the same as the enemy's. Prime Minister Tisza offered the leaders of the Romanian minority educational reforms, concessions on language use, and the formation of electoral districts favoring the Romanian population, but these offers were not seen by the nationality leaders as going far enough.³⁵ The ethnic Romanians in Transylvania began to look toward the Romanian kingdom for liberation by force of arms. A solution to appease the irredentists and Romania would have required some territorial concessions, but Tisza refused to support such a deal, fearing that it would lead to Romanian claims for the whole of Transylvania.³⁶

By the second half of 1915 the Romanian ethnic press was vigorously prosecuted.³⁷ In the summer of 1916, Romania attacked Hungary and briefly invaded Transylvania. The sympathetic reception of enemy troops by the indigenous Romanian population led to the further hardening of Hungarian attitudes. Local Romanians outside of the war zone also came to be seen as "internal enemies."³⁸ Consequently, two to three thousand pro-Rogat intellectuals were interned in the western Hungarian city of Sopron.³⁹ In 1917, Minister of Education Albert Apponyi had the Romanian teacher colleges closed, indicating a return to a policy of forced assimilation.⁴⁰

The appeal of the Entente to the national minorities to undermine the home front in 1917–1918 also contributed to seeing the nationalities as a potential fifth column. The government's insensitivity in the handling of the nationalities question under the stress

34 Varga, 236–237.

35 Peter Pastor, "The Transylvanian Question in War and Revolution," in *Transylvania, the Roots of Ethnic Conflict*, ed. John F. Cadzow, Andrew Ludanyi and Louis F. Elteto (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1983), 156.

36 Gabor Vermes, *István Tisza: The Liberal Vision and Conservative Statecraft of a Magyar Nationalist* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1985), 309–314; Leo Valiani, "Italian–Austro-Hungarian Negotiations 1914–1915," in Walter Laqueur and George L. Mosse, ed., *1914: The Coming of the First World War* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 113.

37 Tibor Zsuppán, "The Hungarian Political Scene, 1908–1918," in *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary*, ed. Mark Cornwall (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990), 71.

38 Robert Nemes, "Refugees and Antisemitism in Hungary during The First World War," in *Sites of European Antisemitism in the Age of Mass Politics, 1980–1918*, ed. Robert Nemes and Daniel Unowsky (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2014), 249.

39 Mark Cornwall, "The Dissolution of Austria-Hungary," in *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary*, ed. Mark Cornwall (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990), 134; and Tibor Hajdú, *Az 1918-as magyarországi polgári demokratikus forradalom* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1968), 13.

40 Cornwall, 134.

of war acted as a catalyst and contributed the secession of the minorities from Hungary when the Dual Monarchy collapsed at the end of October 1918.⁴¹

The social tensions as the war progressed also had an impact on the Jewish religious minority as prewar anti-Semitism flared anew. By 1910, the mostly Hungarian speaking Jewry formed 5 percent of the total population of the kingdom of 18,264,533. This also means that their number represented 10 percent of all Hungarians (9,944,627). When the war broke out in 1914, most of the Jewish population was supporting the war enthusiastically, seeing in the expected defeat of tsarist Russia the end of official anti-Semitism there and the liberation of their coreligionists from tsarist oppression.⁴² The assimilated Hungarian Jews also expected that their support of the war effort would accelerate their march to complete acceptance.⁴³ The popular plays written and staged in response to the war in August and September seemed to reflect these hopes. Jews, in contrast to previously existing prejudices, were depicted as being as patriotic as others were. In one play a Jewish son of a banker volunteers to the hussars and at the end becomes a lieutenant. In another, the Jewish grocery store owner, by volunteering to military service, is accepted by the gentlemen of the gentry as their equal.⁴⁴

In real life not only grocers, but as noted by István Deák in his monograph, "Jewish writers, and journalists did signal service as war propagandists, and thousands of Jewish reserve officers willingly assumed command of their troops. Never again would Jews be allowed to play such a dignified role in the history of German-Austrians, Magyars and Slavs."⁴⁵ The specter of defeat reflected in the lack of breakthrough at the war front and the deprivations and hardship experienced at the home front was leading people to search for scapegoats in the Jews as anti-Semitism flared anew.

By 1916 scapegoating anti-Semitic talk and writing in certain papers was a daily occurrence and even filtered into parliamentary speeches.⁴⁶ In the Jewish weekly *Egyenlőség* it was reported that twenty-three dailies and ten weeklies incited hatred

41 Cornwall, 140.

42 Péter Bihari, *Lövészárkok a hátszágban: Középosztály, zsidókérdés, antiszemitizmus az első világháború Magyarországon* (Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó, 2008), 187.

43 István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 195.

44 Szabó, "Magyarország nem volt, hanem lesz," 191; and András Gerő, "Nemzeti delírium: Háborús propaganda a színházban," *Élet és Irodalom*, July 25, 2014.

45 Deák, 195.

46 Zoltán Paksy, "A zsidóság bűnbakká válása és az antiszemita hisztéria kezdete Magyarországon az első világháború végén," in *Bűnbak minden időben: Bűnbakok a magyar és egyetemes történelemben*, ed. György Gyarmati et al. (Budapest: Kronosz Kiadó, 2013), 287–288; Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, "Hosszú évszázad: Antiszemita erőszak Magyarországon 1848–1956," in *A holokausz Magyarországon hetven év múltán: Történelem és emlékezet*, ed. Randolph L. Braham and András Kovács (Budapest: Múlt és Jövő Könyvkiadó, 2015), 89.

through the airing of the so-called "Jewish question."⁴⁷ The general theme was the contrast between the capitalist profiteer at the home front who made a fortune out of war materiel deliveries and the majority of the exploited at home and the bleeding soldier on the war front sacrificing life and limb. The capitalist minority was identified with the Jews and the majority was the increasingly impoverished Christian society.⁴⁸

Another venue of anti-Semitic attack was directed against the so-called eastern Jews, or Galician Jews. The migration of Galician Jews peaked in the 1850s but the anti-Semitic stereotypes survived their assimilation. They were depicted as peddlers, speculators, business cheats.⁴⁹ The successful Russian campaign in the fall of 1914 in Galicia and the Subcarpathian area started the influx of Jewish refugees from there. Their number was estimated to be about 8,000 in October. In 1917, in response to a member of parliament's charge that there were 300,000 so-called "Galician" refugees who created all kinds of problems in the population, the Minister of Interior Gábor Ugron reported the arrival of only 25,000 refugees, of which 16,000 remained in Hungary. Most of the refugees found shelter in the Jewish district in Budapest,⁵⁰ but a small number found asylum in other Hungarian cities. One such city was Nagyvárad (Oradea) a city in the Partium, close to Transylvania. There in mid 1918, the local city fathers complained that Nagyvárad had too many "Galicians" taking housing away from Hungarians. As it turned out the police found that originally there were only fifty-three families, of whom seventeen had already left.⁵¹ Clearly the focus on the Galician problem was another signpost for the growth of wartime anti-Semitism on the home front.

Zoltán Patai, the editor of a Jewish journal aptly noted: "When the Jew haters speak or write about Galicians, they do not mean the few hundred stranded 'Galician' refugees, but in fact the children and grandchildren of yesterday's 'Galicians,' that is the entire Hungarian Jewry."⁵²

On September 29, 1918, an exhausted Germany and Austria-Hungary agreed to appeal to Washington to initiate armistice negotiations on the basis of President Wilson's "Fourteen Points." To save his crumbling realm, the Habsburg emperor-king issued his manifesto on August 16, proclaiming the federalization of Austria. This declaration was tantamount to an admission of defeat. The following day the former prime minister, István Tisza, who had given his blessing to the start of the war admitted in Parliament: "We have lost the war." Defeat on the war front led to the collapse of the home front and on October 31, 1918, a revolutionary government was established that aimed to sweep away the remnants of the old regime and establish a world modeled on the Western

47 János Pelle, *A gyűlölet vetése: A zsidó törvények és a magyar közvélemény 1918–1944* (Budapest: Európa, 2001), 18; and Krisztián Ungváry, *A Horthy-rendszer mérége: Diszkrimináció, szociálpolitika és antiszemitizmus Magyarországon* (Pécs: Jelenkor Kiadó, 2012), 70.

48 Bihari, 194.

49 Paksy, 286.

50 Bihari, 152.

51 Nemes, 236.

52 Quoted in Nemes, 252; and Bihari, 153.

experience. Three days later, on November 3, the military representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which had already ceased to exist, signed the armistice in Padua with General Diaz. The human cost for the Hungarian war front was enormous. Of the 3,614,179 men drafted for the conflict 381,000 were killed, 743,000 wounded, 400,000 were missing in action, and 615,000 became POWs.⁵³

The home front survived throughout the war, and only cracked following the collapse of the war front. There was no possibility for the creation of a stab-in-the-back myth as it was done in Germany. The deprivations on the home front during the war, however, created social and economic tensions among the peasants and the workers. The latter were more willing to enter into illegal actions such as strikes and riots. Demands were also made for radical changes in the suffrage law. All these fissures in the home front prepared public opinion to accept a revolutionary change, which by November 16, 1918, dethroned the Habsburgs and created the First Republic in Hungary.

The hardening of the ill-treatment of the nationalities through governmental policy led to the rejection by the nationalities the offer of equality within the revolutionary republic. They opted out and welcomed the chance to join the neighbor states of Hungary. The stress of war caused the resurfacing of virulent anti-Semitism which was rejected by the October revolution but which became the life-blood of the so-called “counterrevolution” and the Horthy regime it spawned by 1920. Finally, the Peace Treaty of Trianon, signed by Hungary on June 4, 1920, created the Little Hungary – one third of its prewar size – that Hungarians had believed they were averting by supporting the conflict both on the home and war fronts. The tragedy of the senseless war had reached its full circle.

53 *Háborúk, válságok, diktatúrák demográfiai hatásai. I. A Nagy Háború* (Budapest: KSH, 2014), 49–50, https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/haboruvalsag/nagy_haboru.pdf (accessed 04/09/2017). In the same work (50) it is estimated that one-third of the missing died in battle, two-thirds became POWs of whom one-sixth died in captivity. Consequently the final estimate for the dead is 661,000.

Az amerikai elnökök civil vallási retorikája

Egy hagyomány vége, avagy újjászületése?¹

Tanulmányom két kutatási terület metszetét kívánja górcső alá venni: egyfelől az amerikai elnökök nyilvános beszédeinek tudományos igényű tanulmányozása, másfelől az amerikai civil vallás jelenségegyüttese, illetve ezek érintkezési pontjai képezik vizsgálatom tárgyát. Az alábbiakban azt a kérdést szeretném körüljárni, hogy voltaképpen mit is értünk civil vallási retorika alatt, és milyen sajátos átalakuláson ment át az elnökök vallásos jellegű nyilvános kommunikációja az elmúlt fél évszázadban.

Miközben a szónoklástan tudománya tekintélyes ókori és középkori hagyományra tekinthet vissza, az amerikai elnökök nyilvános beszédeinek tudományos igényű vizsgálata viszonylag új keletű szakterületnek számít. Martin Medhurst, az elnöki retorika szaktekintélye egyik tanulmányában áttekintette az előzményeket, és azt állapította meg, hogy 1945 előtt gyakorlatilag senki nem foglalkozott az elnökök nyilvános kommunikációjával, és önálló szakterületként igazából az 1980-as években bontakozott ki, amikor több idevágó monográfia mellett Theodore Windt 1984-es tanulmányában mintegy kihirdette a diszciplína megszületését és egyben definiálta tárgyát.² Mary Stuckey ugyancsak az 1980-as évekre teszi az elnöki retorika önálló vizsgálatának kezdetét, de ő egy másik írást tekint mérföldkőnek: a több szerző által írott „The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency” (A retorikus elnökség felemelkedése) című 1981-es tanulmányt, amelyet az egyik társszerző, Jeffrey Tulis hasonló című monográfiája követett 1987-ben.³ Mind az esszé, mind a könyv ugyanabból az alapvető megfigyelésből indult ki: a XX. század második felétől az amerikai elnökök egyre nagyobb mértékben használják fel nyilvános megszólalásaikat arra, hogy befolyásolják a közvéleményt és a politikai vitákat, aminek következtében a szövetségi végrehajtó hatalom vezetője egyfajta „főszónoki” szerepet is magára öltött. Ahogy azt az 1981-es esszé szerzői megállapították: „az elnöki beszéd és cselekvés egyre inkább azt a nézetet tükrözi, hogy a beszéd maga a kormányzás. A beszédeket azzal a szándékkal írják, hogy olyan események legyenek, amelyekre az emberek hasonlóan reagálnak, mint magukra a »valódi« eseményekre”.⁴

1 A tanulmány a Bolyai János Kutatási Ösztöndíj és a Notre Dame Egyetem Nanovic Intézetének kutatási ösztöndíja támogatásával készült.

2 Martin J. Medhurst: „From Retrospect to Prospect. The Study of Presidential Rhetoric, 1915–2005”, in *The Prospect of Presidential Rhetoric*, szerk. James Arnt Aune és Martin J. Medhurst (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2008), 3–27; Theodore Otto Windt: „Presidential Rhetoric. Definition of a Field of Study”, *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 16.1 (1986): 102–16.

3 Mary E. Stuckey: „Rethinking the Rhetorical Presidency and Presidential Rhetoric”, *Review of Communication* 10.1 (2010): 38–40.

4 James W. Ceaser *et al.*: „The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency”, *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 11.2 (1981), 159. Az angol nyelvű idézetek fordításai itt és a továbbiakban is tőlem származnak.

Három okot soroltak fel ennek a fejleménynek a magyarázatára: az 1960-as évektől kezdődően a televízió jóformán minden amerikai háztartásban jelen van, az előválasztások révén az elnökválasztási kampányok rendkívüli módon meghosszabbodtak, ám még ezeknél is fontosabb az „elnöki vezérszerep modern doktrínája”.⁵ Érvelésük lényege – amelyet Tulis sokkal bővebben fejtett ki és indokolt könyvében –, hogy az amerikai alkotmány eredeti szerzői, az „alapító atyák” még kifejezetten bizalmatlanok voltak a népszerű szónokokkal szemben, akik demagóg eszközökkel hergelik fel a nép indulatait, éppen ezért a hatalmi ágak elkülönítése részben azt a célt is szolgálta, nehogy egy veszélyes populistá túlzott hatalomra tehesen szert. Ugyancsak hasonló félelmek ihlették az elnökválasztás közvetett, elektorokra alapozott rendszerét.⁶ A XIX. század során az elnökök nagyjából-egészében megfeleltek az alapító atyák elvárásainak: kommunikációjuk döntő többsége a Kongresszus felé irányult, még az alkotmány által előírt, az Unió állapotáról szóló éves beszámolójukat sem mondták el szóban, csupán írásban nyújtották be, és nyilvános beszédekre ritkán, különleges alkalmakkor kerítették sort, amikor is többnyire általános hazafias témákra szorítkoztak, aktuális politikai kérdéseket ritkán boncolgattak.⁷

A nagy fordulópontot Woodrow Wilson elnöksége jelentette, aki céltudatosan szakított az addigi elnökök visszafogott nyilvános szerepkörével és szándékosan helyezte magát előtérbe azért, mert meggyőződése szerint a szövetségi kormányzaton belül a Kongresszus korábban túlságosan domináns szerepet töltött be.⁸ Ő honosította meg azt a modern hagyományt, miszerint az elnök személyesen mondja el az Unió állapotáról szóló beszédét a Kongresszus két házának együttes ülésén, nyilvános megszólalásaiban előszeretettel tárgyalt napi politikai kérdéseket, és a híres-hírhedt népszövetségi konfliktus idején 1919-ben országos kampánykörütra indult, hogy a közvéleményt közvetlenül győzze meg a Népszövetségről szóló egyezmény ratifikálásának előnyeiről, így akarván nyomást gyakorolni a szenátus neki ellenszegülő republikánus többségére.⁹

A Wilson által meghonosított újfajta „rétor-elnök” szerepkört, aki nyilvános szereplésein keresztül a nemzet erkölcsi vezetőjének szerepére aspirál, nálánál jóval nagyobb sikerrel töltötte be Franklin D. Roosevelt az 1930-as években, elsősorban az új tömegkommunikációs eszköz, a rádió által kínált lehetőségek kiaknázása által. Híres „kandalló melletti csevegéseiben”, vagyis alkalmankénti hosszú rádióbeszédeiben közvetlenül az amerikai néptömegeknek fejtette ki politikájának céljait és indokait, és ezzel olyan tartós népszerűsége tett szert, hogy a New Deal program felemás sikerei ellenére

5 Ceaser *et al.*, 161.

6 Ceaser *et al.*, 161–62; Jeffrey Tulis: *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), 25–59.

7 Tulis, 62–87.

8 Ceaser *et al.*, 162–63.

9 Tulis, 118–36, 147–61.

is gond nélkül háromszor újraválasztották.¹⁰ Az ő nyomdokain haladó háború utáni elnökök már nem térhettek vissza a XIX. századi elnöki viselkedéshez: tőlük már mind a közvélemény, mind a média azt várta el, hogy „főkommunikátori” szerepet töltsenek be a nemzet élén. Ebben természetesen változó sikereket értek el: mindegyikük arra kényszerült, hogy politikai üzeneteit a televízió új igényeihez igazítsa, vagyis tömör, rövid, jól megjegyezhető kijelentéseket tegyen, amelyeket akár egy az egyben bevághatnak az esti híradóműsorokba: ahogy Ceaser és szerzőtársai megjegyezték, „az érvelés helyét átveszi az aforizma”.¹¹ A mind gyakoribb nyilvános szereplések és beszédek kikényszerítették azt, hogy a Fehér Ház elnöki stábján belül egész beszédíró csapat jöjjön létre, ami persze felvetheti azt a kérdést is, hogy az elnök nyilvános beszédei vajon mennyiben tükrözik saját elképzeléseit és politikai céljait, és mennyiben a neki dolgozó hivatásos szövegírók kreativitásának gyümölcsei. Az elnöki retorika szerepét még inkább felértékelte az előválasztások elszaporodása 1968 után, hiszen az egyes pártok egymással rivalizáló jelöltjei alapvetően retorikai csatákat vívnak egymással, és kampánybeszédeikből médiaeseményt kreálva igyekeznek riválsaik fölé kerekedni. A kampányretorika jelentőségét fényesen igazolta Donald Trump 2016-os sikere előbb a republikánus előválasztásokon, majd az elnökválasztáson, hiszen a politikai közbeszéd korábbi normáit sutba dobva botrányos, provokatív, gátlástalan megnyilvánulásaival példátlan médiafigyelmet tudott kelteni saját maga iránt.

Míg más tudósok vitatták a „retorikai elnökség” fentebb ismertetett történelmi fejlődésvázlatának helytálló mivoltát, abban túlnyomórészt egyetértenek, hogy napjainkban Stuckey szavaival élve „az elnöki beszéd legalábbis potenciálisan olyan hatalom és olyan jelentős politikai erőforrás, amelyet meg kell érteni és bölcsen kell alkalmazni”.¹² Ennek megfelelően az elmúlt negyedszázadban tisztes mennyiségű tudományos publikáció született az elnöki retorika legkülönbözőbb aspektusairól, a kampánybeszédektől kezdve egyes politikai témák tárgyalásán át egészen a meggyőzés retorikai eszköztáráig.¹³

Az elnöki retorika tanulmányozásán belül sajátos alterületet képez az elnökök nyilvános beszédeiben alkalmazott vallásos nyelvezet vizsgálata. Ez az aspektus főként azután került a tudományos vizsgálódások célkeresztjébe, hogy Robert N. Bellah 1967-

¹⁰ A „kandalló melletti csevegésekről” mint politikai eszközről részletesen lásd David Michael Ryfe: „Franklin Roosevelt and the Fireside Chats”, *Journal of Communication* 49.4 (1999): 80–103.

¹¹ Ceaser *et al.*, 165.

¹² Stuckey, 40.

¹³ Néhány példa a könyv terjedelmű monográfiák közül: K. K. Campbell – K. H. Jamieson: *Deeds Done in Words* (1990); Vanessa B. Beasley: *You, the People* (2004); Colleen Kelley: *Post-9/11 American Presidential Rhetoric* (2007); Elvin T. Lim: *The Anti-Intellectual Presidency* (2008); Jason A. Edwards: *Navigating the Post-Cold War World* (2008); Antonio de Velasco: *Centrist Rhetoric* (2010); Christopher B. Chapp: *Religious Rhetoric and American Politics* (2012).

ben John Kennedy és Lyndon Johnson beszédeinek elemzésével igyekezett bebizonyítani az általa amerikai civil vallásnak keresztelt jelenség létezését.¹⁴ Az ő nyomán elsőként Martin Marty különböztette meg az elnökök „papi és prófétai” retorikai szerepeit a civil valláson belül, majd Michael Novak egy lépéssel továbbmenve az elnöki hivatalt a „nemzet központi vallási jelképé”-nek nevezte, az elnököt pedig olyan személyiségnek, aki egyesíti magában a választott király, a főpap és a próféta szimbolikus szerepköreit.¹⁵ Charles Henderson amellet érvelt, hogy éppen az elnöki hivatal biztosít intézményes alapot annak az egyébként eléggé laza és inkohereus kulturális jelenséghalmaznak, amit a „civil vallás” fedőnév alatt emlegetnek: „az elnöki hivatal az a színpad, amelyen a nemzet vezetői eljátszzák szerepüket, betöltik papi és prófétai funkcióikat [...]. A civil vallás fókuszpontja nem a nemzet, hanem az elnök”.¹⁶ E felismerések által inspirálva Richard Pierard és Robert Linder egész monográfiát szentelt az elnökség és a civil vallás bonyolult összefüggéseinek. Bevezetőjükben ők úgy foglalták össze az elnökök szerepét, mint „próféta, a pap, a prédikátor és a lelkipásztor keveréke”, ami összességében azt eredményezi, hogy az elnök de facto „az amerikai civil vallás pontifex maximusa”.¹⁷

De vajon mit is csinálnak az elnökök, amikor nem hivatalos funkciójuk szerint a „civil vallás főpapjának” szerepét játsszák? Roderick Hart szerint Bellah tévedett eredeti definíciójának megfogalmazásakor, ugyanis „Bellah nem egy »vallást«, hanem érdekes retorikai kijelentéseket fedezett fel”.¹⁸ Míg Bellah eredeti meghatározása szerint a civil vallás hiedelmek, jelképek és rituálék összessége, nem csupán retorika, a civil vallási diskurzus példáit szinte kizárólag nyilvános politikai beszédekből merítette.¹⁹ John Wilson, miután alaposan áttanulmányozta az elnöki beiktatási beszédek, az Unió állapotáról szóló beszédek és a hálaadási proklamációk vallási jellegű hivatkozásait Washingtontól kezdve egészen az 1970-es évekig, arra a megállapításra jutott, hogy „az elnöki beszédek [...] túlnyomórészt nem igazolják, hogy egy erősen strukturált vallás létezne a közzsférában. Még a hálaadási források sem bizonyítják egy rituális jellegű vallás létezését”.²⁰ Mindezekből a meglátásokból az következik, hogy a civil vallás – legalábbis ami az elnöki megnyilvánulásokat illeti – nem elsősorban önálló kultuszként fogható fel, amely-

14 Robert N. Bellah: „Civil Religion in America”, *Daedalus* 96.1 (1967): 1–5, 13–15.

15 Martin E. Marty: „Two Kinds of Two Kinds of Civil Religion”, in *American Civil Religion*, szerk. Russell E. Richey és Donald G. Jones (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 145–52. Michael Novak: *Choosing Presidents. Symbols of Political Leadership*, 2. kiadás (New Brunswick, U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers, 1992 [1974]), xxviii–xxix, 3.

16 Charles P. Henderson: „Civil Religion and the American Presidency”, *Religious Education* 70.5 (September 1975), 484.

17 Richard V. Pierard–Robert D. Linder: *Civil Religion and the Presidency* (Grand Rapids, MI: Academic Books, 1988), 26, 28.

18 Roderick P. Hart–John Lester Pauley: *The Political Pulpit Revisited*, 2. kiadás (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2005 [1977]), 39.

19 Bellah, 4.

20 John Frederick Wilson: *Public Religion in American Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979), 66.

nek saját teológiai tézisei és szabályos szertartásai vannak, hanem inkább visszatérő retorikai minták halmazaként, melyekben megfigyelhető a folyamatosság éppúgy, mint hosszabb időkeretben a jellegzetes változások és variációk.

Miközben a civil vallás sajátos képeit és fordulatait számtalan szóнок alkalmazza jelentős és jelentéktelen alkalmakkor egyaránt, az elnöki beszédeknek kiemelkedően nagy hatása van a közvéleményre, ami nem is csoda, hiszen az elnök az egyetlen országosan választott politikai vezető az USA-ban. Az amerikai civil vallás hagyományos retorikáját alapvetően az alapító atyák írásai és kijelentései formálták, különösen George Washington, Thomas Jefferson és James Madison, akik egyaránt 8 éven át töltötték be az elnöki posztot.²¹ Abraham Lincoln, aki leghíresebb beszédeiben tudatosan idézte fel az alapító atyák emlékét, alapelveit és időnként még a nyelvezetét is, ugyancsak kulcsszerepet játszott az amerikai civil vallás értékrendjének és fogalomrendszerének kialakításában. Az őt követő elnökök és politikusok a XIX. század második felében nagyjából standardizálták a civil vallás retorikai arzenálját, mivel a legtöbb szóнок előszeretettel alkalmazta a neves elődök gondolatait, stílusát és fordulatait.²²

Ami a Bellah 1967-es tanulmánya óta eltelt fél évszázad elnökeinek civil vallási retorikáját illeti, a szakirodalom elsősorban abban a kérdésben oszlik élesen két táborra, hogy a Bellah által kialakított modell mennyiben alkalmazható egyáltalán az 1970-es évektől kormányzó amerikai államfőkre. Jimmy Carter elnöksége ugyanis éles fordulatot hozott az elnökök és a vallásos retorika viszonyában: elődei kifejezetten ódzkodtak attól, hogy személyes vallási nézeteiket megosszák a közvéleménnyel abból a nyilvánvaló megfontolásból, hogy az ország államfője és egyetlen országosan választott vezetője minden amerikai elnöke kell legyen vallási hovatartozásra való tekintet nélkül. John

21 Noha a pontosság kedvéért érdemes megjegyezni – ahogy azt Richard Hutcheson is tette –, hogy míg Washington kulcsszerepet játszott a korai amerikai köztársaság civil vallási retorikájának és rituáléinak kialakításában, Jefferson és Madison főként elnöki időszaka előtti tevékenységével járult hozzá a civil vallás megalapozásához; Richard G. Hutcheson: *God in the White House. How Religion Has Changed the Modern Presidency* (New York: London: Macmillan, 1988), 36–40. Washington hatásáról részletesen lásd Pierard – Linder, 65–86.

22 Lincoln hatásáról részletesen lásd Pierard – Linder, 87–113. A korai elnökök meghatározó befolyását ugyancsak jól illusztrálja azon szövegek listája, amelyet az alkotmányjogász Akhil Amar állított össze és az Egyesült Államok „jelképes alkotmányá”-nak nevez. A listán szerepel a *Függetlenségi nyilatkozat* (melynek első változatát Jefferson írta), Lincoln gettysburgi emlékbeszéde (amely idéz a *Függetlenségi nyilatkozatból*), valamint Martin Luther King „Van egy álmom” kezdetű híres szónoklata, amely visszatérően utal Lincolnra és retorikájára. Amar listáján szerepel még a *Föderalista* című kötet is, amelyben az eredeti alkotmány 1788-as ratifikálása idején írott, az alkotmány mellett érvelő cikkeket gyűjtötték össze, és amelynek egyik szerzője James Madison volt. Lásd Akhil Reed Amar: *America's Unwritten Constitution. The Precedents and Principles We Live By* (New York: Basic Books, 2012), 247–51. Egy másik hasznos, „kanonikus” szövegeket felsoroló lista – amely nagy átfedést mutat Amaréval – tartalmazza Washington búcsúüzenetét is, amelyet 1796-ban, az elnöki hivatalból való távozása előtt tett közzé. Lásd Philip Bobbitt: „The Constitutional Canon”, in *Legal Canons*, szerk. J. M. Balkin és Sanford Levinson (New York; London: New York University Press, 2000), 348–51.

F. Kennedy, akinek katolikus mivolta kényes kérdés volt az 1960-as elnökválasztási kampányban, emlékezetes beszédet mondott déli, konzervatív protestáns lelkészek előtt Houstonban: ebben világosan kifejtette azt a meggyőződését, hogy egy elnökjelölt személyes vallásos hite nem szabad, hogy szempont legyen alkalmasságának megítélésakor: „Olyan elnökben hiszek, akinek vallási nézetei kizárólag őrá tartoznak, sem a nemzet nem erőlteti őrá, sem pedig ő nem erőlteti rá a nemzetre azokat, mint a hivatal birtoklásának egyik feltételét. [...] Olyan kormányfőt szeretnék [...] akinek az elnöki hivatal betöltéséhez nem írnak elő semmilyen vallási esküt, rituálét vagy egyéb kötelezettséget.”²³

Jimmy Carter azonban markánsan szakított a Kennedy és elődei által képviselt állásponttal, amely éles választóvonalat húzott a személyes vallásos hit és a nyilvános vallási retorika közé. Carter már választási kampányának kezdetén így jellemezte magát: „Farmer vagyok, mérnök, üzletember, tervező, tudós, kormányzó és keresztény”.²⁴ Gondosan ápolta nyilvános imázsának integráns része volt nemcsak washingtoni kívülálló mivolta, hanem megbízható, becsületes jelleme, beleértve „újjászületett” evangéliumi keresztény hitét is.²⁵ Választási sikere új korszakot nyitott az elnökök nyilvános vallási retorikája terén, valamint a szavazók egy részének elvárásait is megváltoztatta: sokan – elsősorban a konzervatív vallásos meggyőződésűek közül – immár elvárták, hogy a jelöltek valljanak szint vallási meggyőződésükről és megválasztott elnökként is maradjanak hűségesekek morális elveikhez. Brian T. Kaylor szerint:

Különösen Carter 1976-os választási kampányától kezdve egészen a 2008-as választásokig az elnökjelöltek vallási-politikai retorikát is bevetettek kampányaikban: nyíltan beszéltek személyes hitükről és arról, hogyan inspirálja és befolyásolja vallási meggyőződésük politikai döntéseiket.²⁶

Carter példáját sikeresen utánozta Ronald Reagan is, aki feltűnően visszafogottan alkalmazta a vallási retorikát az 1976-os republikánus előválasztási kampányban, ám 1980-ban erőteljesen célba vette a konzervatív vallásos szavazókat.²⁷ Az 1980-as kampány egyfajta vízválasztó az amerikai politikatörténetben, hiszen első ízben két nyíltan

23 John Fitzgerald Kennedy: *Address to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association* (1960. szeptember 12.); <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jfkhoustonministers.html>.

24 Andrew P. Hogue: *Stumping God. Reagan, Carter, and the Invention of a Political Faith* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), 101.

25 Hogue, 120–31. Az „újjászületett” keresztény jellegzetesen amerikai vallási fogalom, ami elsősorban a konzervatív, ún. evangéliumi (Evangelical) protestáns egyházakban használatos: lényege, hogy az „újjászületett” hívő olyan meghatározó spirituális élményen esik át, amely alapjaiban változtatja meg Istenhez és Jézus Krisztushoz való viszonyát, tehát vallási értelemben „újjászületik”, valódi kereszténnyé válik.

26 Brian T. Kaylor: *Presidential Campaign Rhetoric in an Age of Confessional Politics* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012), 37.

27 Részletesen lásd Hogue, 107–10, 169–205.

és harsányan vallásos jelöltet állított szembe egymással, de még inkább azért, mert Reagan elsöprő sikere tartósan a republikánusok oldalára állította a déli konzervatív vallásos szavazókat, akik azt megelőzően több mint egy évszázadig a demokrata párt leghűségesebb híveinek számítottak. A vallásos jobboldal (maga a fogalom is ekkortájt jött divatba az USA-ban) politikai aktivizálódása és a Republikánus Párt melletti elköteleződése hatalmas mértékben és visszavonhatatlanul átalakította az amerikai pártrendszert, beleértve mindkét párt jellegét és szavazóbázisát: míg a konzervatív déli bázisától elszakadt demokratákat balra, addig a republikánusokat jobbra tolta, fokozatosan kiürítve a mérsékelt közepet.²⁸

Miként befolyásolta mindez az elnökök civil vallási retorikáját? Az egyes szerzők markánsan eltérő válaszokat adnak erre a kérdésre. David Weiss egy tömör, de rendkívül alapos áttekintő tanulmányban sorra vette mindkét oldal érveit: összefoglalta azokat a nézeteket is, melyek szerint az elmúlt 30 év amerikai elnökei – kisebb egyéni eltéréseik dacára – összességében hűen követték a civil vallás retorikai hagyományait, valamint áttekintette azokat a véleményeket is, melyek szerint a Bellah által leírt klasszikus civil vallási hagyomány reménytelenül elavult és lényegileg halott, mivel a késő XX. és a korai XXI. század elnökei személyes vallási nézeteiket politikai előnyszerzésre igyekeznek felhasználni.²⁹ Mindkét oldal különös előszeretettel hozza fel George W. Busht példaként, aki – főleg kritikusai szerint – teljesen szakított a civil vallási retorika bevett hagyományaival akkor, amikor nyilvános megszólalásaiban nyíltan utalt saját vallásos hitére és meggyőződésére.³⁰ A vallásos szavazók szimpátiájának elnyerésére irányuló ilyen és hasonló módszereket nevezte David Domke és Kevin Coe „Isten-stratégiá”-nak.³¹

A vita objektív értékelését azonban megnehezíti, hogy mindkét oldal nézetrendszérében könnyen felfedezhetők olyan elfogultságok és aktuálpolitikai motívumok, amelyek az egyes szerzők kiindulópontját erőteljesen befolyásolják, és ezáltal következtéseikre is nagy hatással vannak. Nagy általánosságban két iskola különböztethető meg: az egyik a civil vallás tanainak hirdetését az amerikai nemzettudat megőrzése és továbbörökítése, valamint a nemzet kohéziója szempontjából értékes és fontos hagyománynak tekinti, és ebből a pozitívan elfogult alapállásból közelít különféle megnyilvánulásaihoz. Ők nem akadnak fenn azon – sőt, többnyire kifejezetten szimpatizálnak azal –, hogy a civil vallási retorika számos vonatkozásában feltűnően hasonlít a hagyományos keresztény vallásos nyelvezetre, és az sem zavarja őket, ha egy elnök nyíltan

28 Részletesen lásd Daniel K. Williams: *God's Own Party. The Making of the Christian Right* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 187–211.

29 David Weiss: „Civil Religion or Mere Religion? The Debate over Presidential Religious Rhetoric”, in *The Rhetoric of American Civil Religion. Symbols, Sinners, and Saints*, szerk. Jason A. Edwards és Joseph M. Valenzano (Lanham, MD & London: Lexington Books, 2016), 151–157.

30 Lásd például Martin J. Medhurst: „Forging a Civil-Religious Contract for the Twenty-First Century. Should Hart's »Contract« Be Renewed?”, in *The Political Pulpit Revisited*, szerk. Roderick P. Hart és John Lester Pauley (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2005), 157.

31 David Domke–Kevin Coe: *The God Strategy. How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

megvallja vallásos hitét, mivel ezt nem tekintik összeegyeztethetetlennek sem magával az elnöki hivatallal (gyakran hivatkoznak arra, hogy Washingtontól kezdve minden elnök önként kiegészítette az elnöki beiktató eskü alkotmányban rögzített szövegét az „Isten engem úgy segítjen” zárófordulattal), sem pedig azzal, hogy állam- és kormányfői funkcióit pártatlanul lássa el.

A másik nézet szerint a civil vallás több szempontból ellentmondásos és fenntartásokkal kezelendő, vagy éppenséggel mindenestül elutasítandó jelenség, elsősorban azért, mert az amerikai nemzet túlzott és kritikátlan magasztalására hajlamos, másként fogalmazva nyíltan vagy burkoltan az amerikai kivételesség doktrínáját hirdeti és ezáltal a mérsékelt patriotizmus helyett sokkal inkább az önelégült arroganciába hajló nacionalizmust képviseli: Martin Marty ezt a hangütést nevezte a civil vallás papi válfajának, amelynek kézenfekvő főpapja az elnök.³² A civil vallás szekuláris alapállású ellenzőinek másik gyakori ellenérve, hogy a civil vallás fellazítja avagy megkerüli az állam és egyház elválasztásának szigorú amerikai politikai alapelvét és egyfajta istenhívó szemléletet „csempész” be a nemzet vezetőinek politikai retorikájába, az „Isten és haza” közismert hagyományos szlogenje segítségével összemossa a vallásos hitet és a nemzet kultuszát. A civil vallás hívei erre gyakran azzal vágnak vissza, hogy ellenlábasaik az ateizmust vagy legalábbis a szekularizmust szeretnék de facto államvallássá nyilvánítani az Egyesült Államokban – és máris a 80-as években kibontakozott „kultúrháború” közismert lövész-árokharcainál járunk.³³

Donald Trump elnökké választása ismét sajátos aktualitást kölcsönöz az elnök és a civil vallási retorika viszonyának. Miközben Trump jó eséllyel a II. világháború óta (de könnyen lehet, hogy az USA fennállása óta) a legkevésbé vallásos amerikai elnök, és eddigi magánélete (jelenleg harmadik házasságában él, fiatalabb korában közismert New

32 Martin E. Marty: „Two Kinds of Two Kinds of Civil Religion”, in *American Civil Religion*, szerk. Russell E. Richey és Donald G. Jones (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 145–147.

33 A „kultúrháború” az angol „culture war” kifejezés tükörfordítása, ám maga az angol fordulat is a késő 19. századi német „Kulturkampf” átültetéséből ered, jelentése azonban nem felel meg a német eredetinek. Míg a német történelemben – és annak nyomán a magyarban is – a „kultúrharc” a modern, világiasodó és centralizációra törekvő államhatalom és a hagyományos privilégiumaihoz (elsősorban az egyházi házassághoz) ragaszkodó katolikus egyház között zajlott le, az amerikai „kultúrháború” olyan világnézeti alapú viták összefoglaló neve, amelyek bizonyos erkölcsileg erősen ellentmondásos társadalmi jelenségek megítélése körül alakultak ki. Kibontakozása egyfelől az 1960-as évek utáni amerikai társadalom liberalizálódó közerkölcsének, másfelől az amerikai konzervatív vallásos jobboldal erre reagáló politikai aktivizálódásának a következménye volt. Az amerikai „kultúrháború” visszatérő témái az abortusz, a melegek jogai, a hagyományos családmodell védelme, a szabad fegyvertartás, a droghasználat, a szex és az erőszak gyakorisága a populáris kultúrában, és más hasonló, elsősorban erkölcsi jellegű, de komoly jogi vonatkozásokkal is rendelkező kérdések, amelyek jellemzően élesen megosztják a közvélemény liberális, illetve konzervatív szimpátiájú tagjait. Magát a fogalmat James Davison Hunter vezette be az amerikai köznyelvbe. Lásd James Davison Hunter: *Culture Wars. The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991).

York-i aranyifjú volt) sem felel meg a konzervatív monogám erkölcsi értékrend elvárásainak, ennek ellenére az amerikai vallásos jobboldali szavazók túlnyomó többsége (mintegy 80%-a) őrá adta a szavazatát a 2016-os elnökválasztáson.³⁴ A jelenségnek nyilván számos különféle lehetséges magyarázata lehet: a Demokrata Párt és elnökjelöltje, Hillary Clinton iránti mély ellenszenv, a „kisebbik rossz” melletti állásfoglalás, vagy olyasfajta pragmatikus politikai gondolkodás, amely nem az elnök privát erkölcsiségét, hanem az általa képviselt politikai program szimpatikus vagy pozitív mivoltát tekinti mérvadónak (igaz, éppen a keresztény jobboldal egyik markáns jellemzője volt a múltban, hogy az effajta politikai pragmatizmust elutasítja, és az általa támogatott politikuskától következetes elvhűséget vár el minden téren). Mindazonáltal nem lehet kihagyni a számításból Trump erőteljes patrióta kampányüzeneteit: a „Tegyük ismét nagygyá Amerikát” szlogen, az elnök rutinszerűen ismétlődő kinyilatkoztatásai az Egyesült Államok magától értetődő felsőbbrendűségéről, amelynek gazdasági, politikai és katonai téren egyaránt érvényt akar szerezni, az amerikai kivételesség hagyományos retorikáját visszhangozzák, amely komoly vonzerővel bír a vallásos jobboldali szavazók körében is.³⁵ A civil vallási retorika vonzereje tehát nemcsak a hagyományos vallásos nyelvezet kontextusában működőképes, és nem feltétlenül szükséges hozzá, hogy a mögötte álló személy – az elnök – személyes hite kölcsönözzön hitelességet a számára.

34 Lásd Sarah Pulliam Bailey: „White Evangelicals Voted Overwhelmingly for Donald Trump, Exit Polls Show”, *The Washington Post* (2016. november 9.); https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2016/11/09/exit-polls-show-white-evangelicals-voted-overwhelmingly-for-donald-trump/?utm_term=.891b9b242775.

35 Az amerikai kivételesség fogalmának jelentésmezőjét és különféle értelmezési lehetőségeit magyar nyelven Peterecz Zoltán tekintette át könyvében: *A kivételes Amerika* (Budapest: Gondolat, 2016), 11–31.

Két hazához tartozni

A New Jersey-ben felnőtt „hazatelepülő” amerikai magyarok identitása és nyelvhasználata¹

A 2000-es évek elejéig alig születtek olyan kutatások, amelyek a második és későbbi generációs bevándorlók hazatérő migrációjával vagy transznacionális kapcsolataival foglalkoztak volna, mivel addig a kutatók figyelme leginkább az első, külföldön született generáció tevékenységeire összpontosult.² A nemzetközi irodalmon belül csak elvétve lehetett olyan tanulmányokat olvasni, amelyek az amerikai magyarok szülőföldjükre vagy őseik földjére való hazatérését tárgyalták, sőt, a meglévő tanulmányok középpontjában is sokáig csak az első generáció hazatérő migrációja állt.

A szociológiában általánosan elfogadott terminus alapján a *második nemzedék* (vagy második generáció) alatt olyan Amerikában született állampolgárokat értek, akiknek szülei maguk vándoroltak ki az Egyesült Államokba. Fontos megjegyezni, hogy a *másodgenerációs* (*second generation*) kifejezés ugyanakkor több fogalmat is takarhat. Sok európai valamint észak-amerikai tanulmány azokat az egyéneket is második generációs bevándorlóknak tekinti, akik fiatal gyermekkoruk, pl. 6 éves koruktól fogva a befogadó országban élnek.³ Portes és Rumbaut ezt a korhatárt 12 éves korig terjesztik ki, és emellett azokat is ebbe a kategóriába sorolják, akiknek egyik szülője a befogadó országban született (*native-born*).⁴ Szintén Rumbaut más társszerzőkkel írt cikkében különbséget tesz a *második* és a *másfeledik* generáció között (*1,5 generation*): másodgenerációsoknak azokat az Amerikában született egyéneket nevezi, akiknek legalább egy szülője külföldön született, míg azokat, akik 15 éves korukig érkeztek az Egyesült Államokba és ott települtek le, másfeledik generációsoknak nevezi.⁵

1 A jelen dolgozat eredeti változata Bartha Csilla szociolingvisztika témájú PhD szemináriumára készült 2014-ben.

2 Russell King – Anastasia Christou: „Diaspora, migration and transnationalism. Insights from the study of second-generation »returnees«”, in *Diaspora and Transnationalism. Concepts, Theories and Methods*, szerk. Rainer Bauböck és Thomas Faist (Amsterdam University Press, 2010), http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/14318/Diaspora_and_Transnationalism.pdf.

3 King – Christou: „Diaspora”, 168–169.

4 Alejandro Portes – Rubén G. Rumbaut: *Legacies. The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Rubén G. Rumbaut – Alejandro Portes (szerk.): *Ethnicities. Children of Immigrants in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), idézi King – Christou: „Diaspora”, 168–169.

5 Rubén G. Rumbaut – Douglass S. Massey – Frank D. Bean: „Linguistic Life Expectancies. Immigrant Language Retention in Southern California”, *Population and Development Review* 32.3 (2006. szeptember), 449–450.

Sok másodgenerációs New Brunswick-i magyar kétkultúrájú egyénnek vallja magát, akiket otthon a magyar nyelv használatára neveltek a családban. Bár vannak közöttük olyanok, akiknek az óhazához fűződő kapcsolataik erősen visszaszorultak a kommunizmus időszaka alatt, mostanra ezek a szálak már megerősödtek, és sokan közülük rendszeresen látogatnak el származási országukba. Sőt, nem ritka az sem, hogy egyesek hosszabb időre telepednek le Magyarországon. Ennek ellenére mégis csak egy szűk réteg kíván véglegesen letelepedni az országban.

A keleti parton élő amerikai magyarok, főként a New Jersey-ben, elsősorban New Brunswick és Garfield/Passaic városaikban élő magyarok közül sokan még ma is erősen őrzik magyar identitásukat, mely elsősorban a magyar nyelv használatában és a néptánchoz, népi kultúrához való ragaszkodásukban nyilvánul meg.⁶ Egy sajátos szubkultúrát hoztak létre a befogadó országukban, melyet a magyar kultúra egyes elemeire építettek, és melyek a kint élő amerikai magyarok számára a magyarság szimbólumaiként szolgálnak.

Érdekes kérdés, hogy milyen nyelvi és kulturális tapasztalatokon megy keresztül egy Amerikában született vagy ott felnőtt magyar, aki hosszabb időre költözik Magyarországra egyedül vagy a családjával. Milyen nyelven beszélnek egymás között és gyerekeikkel? Itthon is ragaszkodnak-e a hagyományos amerikai magyar szimbólumokhoz és kulturális tevékenységekhez? Mennyire értik meg egymást az óhazai magyarokkal, és mennyiben változik az identitásuk, miután Magyarországra költöztek? Ezekről a kérdésekről beszélgettem tíz New Jersey-ben felnőtt magyar származású amerikaival (akik közül kilencen Amerikában születtek, egy pedig 12 évesen vándorolt ki a szüleiével), és akik különböző okokból kifolyólag úgy döntöttek, hogy hosszabb időre Magyarországon fognak élni, tehát itt telepednek le ideiglenesen vagy véglegesen. Erről a tíz esettanulmányról szeretnék részletesen beszámolni a jelen dolgozatban.

Jogi szempontból nézve a hazatelepülés feltétele a magyar állampolgárság megléte. Bár magyar útlevél és egy évnél nem régebbi állampolgársági bizonyítvány birtokában korlátlan ideig lehet Magyarországon tartózkodni, mégis bizonyos kedvezmények (pl. vámkedvezmények) igénybe vételéhez szükséges a magyar lakcímkártya és személyi igazolvány kiváltása.⁷ Kulturális szempontból azonban sokkal összetettebb a kérdés: vajon a New Brunswick-i és Garfield/Passaicból származó magyarok ideiglenesen szándékoznak-e itt élni, esetleg 5-10 évre és utána hazatérni „szülőhazájukba”, vagy véglegesen döntöttek úgy, hogy nem térnek vissza Amerikába? Egyáltalán hol a hazájuk? Mi képezi identitástudatuk alapját? Hogyan fejeződik ki identitástudatuk a nyelvhasználatukon és a kulturális magatartásukon keresztül?

6 Garfield és Passaic két szomszédos város, melyek magyarsága közös intézményeivel lényegében egy emigrációs közösséget alkot.

7 „Hazatelepülés Magyarországra: tájékoztató a véglegesen hazatelepülni szándékozó magyar állampolgárok részére”, mfa.gov.hu, letöltve 2017. január 17-én. <http://www.mfa.gov.hu/NR/rdonlyres/B7533849-FF2A-40F6-9105-18296A4C153F/0/0710Hazatelep%C3%BC1%C3%A9sMagyarorsz%C3%A1gra.pdf>.

Kutatási tapasztalataim és módszerem

A New Brunswick-i magyar közösség helyzetét és az onnan hazatelepült amerikai magyarok sorsát igyekszem egyfajta longitudinális kutatás keretében folyamatosan figyelemmel kísérni. Gyermekkoromban és fiatal felnőttként szüleimmel több évet töltötünk az Egyesült Államok keleti partján, és így lehetőségem volt bekapcsolódni a közeli New Brunswick-i magyar emigrációs közösség életébe. Később 2008-ban 5 hetet, majd 2009-ben 6 hetet töltöttem New Jersey-ben, első alkalommal szakdolgozatírás céljából, másodszor pedig édesapám munkájából kifolyólag. A 2008–2009-es tanulmányi útjaim során több mint 40 interjút készítettem amerikai magyarokkal és a helyi magyar nyelvhez és kultúrához kötődő intézmények vezetőivel. Ezeket azóta főképp egyes házasságban élőkkel és hazatelepült (részben első-, de főként másod-, és harmadgenerációs) amerikai magyarok interjúival egészítettem ki, valamint folyamatban van egy terepmunka New Brunswick városában is.

Ami a jelen dolgozatot illeti, a tíz interjúból kettőt 2011-ben készítettem egy testvérpárral, hármat 2014-ben, kettőt 2016-ban, és hármat 2017-ben. Olyan adatközlőket választottam, akik az Egyesült Államokban, lehetőleg New Jersey államban születtek, és valamilyen módon bekapcsolódtak az ottani magyar közösségekbe (a New Brunswick-i és Garfield/Passaic-i közösségekbe). A nemek tekintetében a 10 interjúalanyból 7 nő és 3 férfi. Ami a többi szociológiai tényezőt illeti, az interjúalanyaim sok tekintetben homogén csoportot alkotnak. Egy Magyarországon született interjúalanyom kivételével, aki 12 évesen emigrált szüleivel New Jersey-be, mindenkiről elmondható, hogy mindkét szülőjük magyar, azonos államban (New Jersey-ben) születtek, és Amerikában sajátították el a magyart, anyanyelvükként.

Egy kis variáció azonban van a csoporton belül. Ugyan az adatközlőim 50 százaléka tisztán másodgenerációs magyar (öten), egy adatközlő a másfeledik generációba sorolható, egy pedig a harmadik nemzedékhez tartozik. Mások nem sorolhatók be tiszta kategóriába generációs szempontból. Két adatközlőmnek, akik egy testvérpárt alkotnak, az édesapja Argentínában született második generációs magyar, az édesanyjuk pedig a másfeledik generációhoz tartozik. Egy másiknak az édesanyja Amerikában született második generációs magyar, édesapja pedig fiatal gyermekkorában (10 évesen) érkezett az országba a családjával. Életkori szempontból hárman a 21 és 28 év közötti korosztályba tartoztak az interjú idején, egy adatközlőm 38 éves volt, négyen 43–45 év között, valamint ketten 55, illetve 56 évesek voltak. Szinte mindenki egyetemi végzettséggel rendelkezik (hárman Magyarországon szereztek diplomát, akik közül ketten a SOTE-n, egy pedig az ELTE néprajz szakán), egy adatközlő kivételével, akinek azonban folyamatban vannak Magyarországon az egyetemi tanulmányai, szintén a SOTE-n, és a többi Semmelweis hallgatóhoz hasonlóan szintén angol nyelven végezte tanulmányait.⁸ Általánosan jellemző a már dolgozó adatközlőimre, hogy angol nyelvű munkakörben dolgoznak

8 Az egyetemi végzettséggel bírók magas száma általánosan is jellemzi az Amerika keleti partján született magyar származásúak helyzetét.

– anyanyelvi szintű nyelvtudásuknak köszönhetően általában jó pozícióban –, jó nevű amerikai, magyar vagy nemzetközi cégeknél vagy intézményeknél.

Néhány tekintetben azonban van variáció. Az adatközlőknek a Magyarországon töltött éveinek számában van eltérés: az interjú idejéhez képest négyen 1-től 2 évig terjedő időtartamot töltöttek már itt, a többiek egyenként 3, 4 és fél, 7, 9 és fél, 12, és a legrégbben hazánkban tartózkodó 37 évet, aki az 1980-as években egyetemre jött ide tanulni. Két adatközlőm korábban is élt már Magyarországon hosszabb ideig. Az egyik az interjú idejéhez képest másfél éve élt Budapesten, de korábban hat évet töltött itt egyetemista hallgatóként az 1990-es évek második felében; a másik pedig ugyancsak egy éve él jelenleg Budapesten, egy év megszakítással korábban is ide járt magyar nyelvi és kulturális kurzusokra, egy évig. Az interjúalanyok közül heten jelenleg is Budapesten élnek, ketten mostanra már visszaköltöztek Budapestről Amerikába, egy pedig az interjú idején egy kis településen élt Nógrád megyében, azóta azonban Budapestre költözött.

A visszatérés okai

Az általam megkérdezetteknek különböző okaik voltak a visszatérésre. Többen kalandvágyból döntöttek így, hogy kipróbálják a magyarországi életet, akár munka, akár tanulmányok kapcsán. A tanulmányaikat végzők között volt olyan, akit az amerikai magas tandíjakkal szemben a magyar egyetemek megfizethetősége vonzott ide. Voltak, akiket családi szálak hoztak ide, pl. hazatelepült szülők és magyarországi házastárs szülei révén. Bár volt olyan megkérdezett, aki „hazatelepülése” előtt csak egy alkalommal járt Magyarországon, többségüknek aktív kapcsolatai voltak Magyarországgal fiatalkoruk óta, és a nyári vakációk is hozzásegítették őket a letelepedés döntésének meghozatalához. Ugyan a magyarországiak sokszor meg nem értéssel fogadják „hazatérésüket”, ők maguk hangsúlyozták, hogy Amerikából való hazatérésük oka nem az, hogy integrációs problémákkal küszködtek volna ott.⁹ Bár ezt kevesen emelték ki, de feltételezhető, hogy akinek fontos a magyar nyelv és identitás továbbadása a családban, vagy, hogy magyar házastársat találjon, az egyfajta anti-asszimilációs törekvésből is dönthet úgy, hogy gyermekeivel vagy egyedül több évre Magyarországra költözik.

A Magyarországra való hazatérés okaival Gyuricza Péter is foglalkozik *Visszidensek* (2017) című interjúkötetében. Interjúalanyainak többségére jellemző, hogy őkseik vagy ők maguk a hidegháború idején hagyták el az országot, majd Magyarországra a rendszerváltozást követően települtek haza Latin-Amerikából, Észak-Amerikából, valamint

9 Puskás Julianna *Ties that Bind, Ties that Divide* című könyvében is foglalkozik ezzel a kérdéssel az öregamerikások hazatérése kapcsán. Mivel a kivándorlók többségének eredeti célja az volt, hogy az Amerikában összegyűjtött pénzből hazatérésükkor majd földet tudjanak vásárolni, és eredeti hazájukban újra letelepedjenek, általánosságban véve nem a legsikeresebbek voltak azok, akik külföldön maradtak, és nem is a legkevésbé sikeresek döntöttek úgy, hogy hazatelepülnek. A szerző arról is említést tesz, hogy a korabeli túlzottan pozitív Amerika-kép szétszűzása helyett a sikertelen kivándorlók közül sokan annyira szegényelltek szegénységüket, hogy nem tértek haza és véglegesen Amerikában maradtak. Puskás Julianna: *Ties that Bind, Ties that Divide* (New York/London: Holmes & Meier, 2000), 53–54, 84.

Nyugat-Európából. Az általam megkérdezettekhez hasonlóan Gyuricza Péter interjúalanyai is mind erős nemzet tudattal rendelkeznek: hazatelepülésüket sok esetben a hazáépítés vagy a magyar kultúra (pl. néptánc és magyar cigányzene) iránti vonzalom motíválta.¹⁰

A beilleszkedés kérdése a visszatérő migráció szakirodalmában

Napjainkban népszerű szakterület a visszatérő migráció, az úgynevezett *return migration* kutatása, mely elsősorban a visszatérő migránsok beilleszkedésével és identitásváltozásával foglalkozik. Takeyuki Tsuda a braziliai japán származású többgenerációs hazatérő migránsokat kutatta részletesen. Tsuda észrevétele alapján a Brazíliában született japán származásúak esetében őseik szülőföldjére való visszatérésükkor gyakran lép fel egyfajta identitásváltás. A szerző több tanulmányában is kifejti, hogy a braziliai japán származásúak „hazatérésük” után elégtelen nyelvtudásuk és társadalmi helyzetükből kifolyólag (egy kevésbé fejlett országból érkezve) marginalizálódnak, és lassanként brazil identitásuk helyeződik előtérbe. Viselkedésükben a brazilokhoz válnak hasonlóvá: a szambát kezdik táncolni (amelynek autentikus változatát valójában csak néhányan ismerik) és brazil nemzeti szimbólumokat ábrázoló ruhákat öltenek magukra (pl. brazil zászlós pólóinget).¹¹ Gyermekeik ugyanakkor a japán iskola rendszer asszimiláló hatására, amely brazil gyökereik feladására készíti őket, teljesen beolvadnak a japán társadalomba.¹²

Anastasia Christou és Russell King a görög diaszpórából (az Egyesült Államokból és Németországból) Görögországba hazatérő másodgenerációs görögök identitásváltozását és a görög társadalomba való beilleszkedését, valamint a diaszpórával való kapcsolattartásukat tanulmányozták. A diaszpórából „hazatérő” görögök elsősorban idealista indíttatásból vándorolnak vissza, azonban hazatérésük után megbotránkozást kelt bennük a görögországi korrupció és a kaotikus helyzet. Emellett nehezen tudnak integrálódni a görög társadalomba, amely nem tekinti őket teljesen görögnek. Ezek a tapasztalatok sokaknál a diaszpórához fűződő kapcsolatok megerősödéséhez vezetnek az otthon (emigrációs hazában) maradt rokonokkal. Sokan végül a szülőföldjükre való „hazatérés” mellett döntenek.¹³

Sossie Kasbarian az örmény diaszpóra és az Örmény Köztársaság viszonyát vizsgálta (2009). A szerző kiemeli azt a tényt, hogy a diaszpórábeli örmények többsége a mai

¹⁰ Gyuricza Péter: *Visszidensek* (Budapest: Magyarország Barátai Alapítvány, 2017).

¹¹ Takeyuki Tsuda: *Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland. Japanese Brazilian Return Migration in Transnational Perspective* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 283–289; Takeyuki Tsuda: „From ethnic affinity to alienation in the global ecumene. The encounter between the Japanese and Japanese-Brazilian return migrants”, *Diaspora* 10.1 (2001), 67–70, idézi King–Christou: „Diaspora”, 174.

¹² King–Christou: „Diaspora”, 175.

¹³ Russell King–Anastasia Christou: „Second-Generation »Return« to Greece. New Dynamics of Transnationalism and Integration”, *International Migration* 52.6 (2014), 85, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/imig.12149/full>

Kelet-Törökországból származik, és nem a mai Örményország területéről. A poszt-genocídiumi diaszpórából változó időtartamra visszatérő migránsokat (a volt Szovjetunió Köztárságaiból visszatérőkkel szemben, akik egy újabb diaszpórát alkotnak) nem *hazatelepülő*eknek nevezi (*repatriates*), hanem *ideiglenesen tartózkodó*knak (*sojourners*). Ezzel a szerző rávilágít arra a tényre, hogy a nyugati örménység számára a mai Örményország területe valójában nem őseik szülőföldje, mivel a mai Örményország a történelmi Örményország, vagyis a mai Törökország határain kívül esik. Kasbarian szerint egy olyan „visszatérésről” van esetükben szó, amely nem végleges, és amely nem az ősi hazára irányul. A szerző állítása szerint az ideiglenes tartózkodás fogalma azt is takarja, hogy az egyén nem óhajt beilleszkedni az új társadalomba. Kasbarian megjegyzi azt is, hogy azok is, akik hosszú időre kívánnak letelepedni és transznacionális életformát élve oda-vissza utaznak a két ország között, családi és szakmai kapcsolatokat ápolnak mindkét hazájukkal.¹⁴ Legtöbbjük biztonsági hálóként fizikai otthonát is megtartotta, ahová bármikor visszatérhetnek.

Daniel Fittante az Észak-Amerikából „visszatérő” migránsokat kutatta Jerevánban egy kilenc hónapos terepmunka alkalmával a 2015–2016-os egyetemi tanév során. Sok visszatérő bevándorlóval ellentétben, akik fejlődő országokból települtek vissza őseik földjére (pl. a Brazíliából hazatelepült japán származásúak), az észak-amerikai visszatérő migránsok általában nemzettudati okból választják a „hazatelepülést”. Fittante interjúalanyainak többsége a középosztályhoz tartozott és egy kivétellel mind egyetemi végzettséggel rendelkezett, és viszonylag friss „hazatelepülő”knak számítanak. Legtöbbjük egészen 1991-ig, a Szovjetunió felbomlásáig politikai okokból kifolyólag nagyjából közömbösen viszonyult az akkori Szovjet Örményországhoz. Nagyjából ebben az időszakban, a pár évvel korábban történt (1988) 6,8-as erősségű földrengés és az azeri-örmény konfliktusok kirobbanásának hatására a diaszpóra figyelme szintén Örményországra összpontosult (1992). Mindezen események hatására az 1990-es évek végén sok diaszpórabeli örmény döntött úgy, hogy „visszaköltözik” Örményországba, akiknek a fejében az ország egészen addig inkább absztrakcióként élt, mintsem hogy realitásként, sőt akár őseik földjeként tarthassák számon.

Korábbi tanulmányok alapján Fittante rávilágít arra a tényre, hogy sok származási országába hazatérő migráns (*ethnic return migrant*), aki érzelmi és nem gazdasági vagy politikai okokból tér haza, csalódottság élményen megy keresztül, integrációs problémákkal küszködik, és végül visszatér a befogadó országába, vagy egy másik képzelt hazába vándorol. Ezek hátterében rendszerint túlzott elvárások állnak, valamint egyfajta hamis identitásképp, amely sok nemzet diaszpójánál tapasztalható. Fittante paradoxonnak nevezi, hogy sok hazatérő migráns negatív tapasztalatai ellenére is származási országában marad és érzelmi szálakkal továbbra is ehhez kötődik, akkor is, ha nem ér-

14 Sossie Kasbarian: „The Myth and Reality of »Return« – Diaspora in the »Homeland«”, *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 18.3 (2009), 365.

deklódnak a helyi realitások iránt.¹⁵ A szerző kutatásai során arra a következtetésre jutott, hogy az észak-amerikai örmények egyrészt kiületéstudatból döntenek úgy, hogy Örményországban maradnak, azért, hogy újjáépítsék az országot, másrészt szeretnének jobb képet kölcsönözni neki. Ugyanakkor sem érzelmileg, sem nyelviileg, sem kulturálisán nem kötődnek a helyi lakossághoz, amely velük ellentétben a keleti-örmény nyelvvaltozatot beszéli és erős orosz kulturális hatás alatt áll. Az előbbiekhöz azt is hozzá kell fűzni, hogy az Egyesült Államokból és Kanadából érkező örmények privilegizáltabb társadalmi helyzetben vannak, magasabb keresettel bírnak, és kényelmesebb életvitelt engedhetnek meg maguknak, mint a helyiek.¹⁶ Fittante megjegyzi, hogy a többségnek nincs szándékában a helyi örmény kultúrát elsajátítani, és mivel az integráció nem tartozik elsődleges céljaik közé, ezért a helyi lakossággal való kapcsolattartás hiánya számukra nem jelent áthidalhatatlan problémát.

A kevés Magyarországra hazatelepülőkről szóló tanulmányok egyike Huseby-Darvas Évától származik, „Extra Hungariam Non Est Vita? The Relationships between Hungarian Immigrants and Their Homeland” címmel, mely arra a Magyarországon ismert közmondásra utal, hogy „Magyarországon kívül nincsen élet”. Benedict Anderson *Long-distance Nationalism* (1992) című tanulmányára hivatkozva Huseby-Darvas Éva arra a fontos tényre világít rá, hogy sok amerikai magyar távpatriótaként kötődik az anyaországhoz, mely a politikai emigránsok részéről a rendszerváltozás után gyakran csak egy virtuális, de mégsem valódi hazatérésben valósult meg: a hazatérésről ugyan sokan beszéltek, de legtöbbjük sosem valósította azt meg a vasfüggöny leomlása után.¹⁷ A szerző több évtizedes Michiganben végzett terepmunkája és néhány filmes valamint színházi produkció alapján azt a tényt állapítja meg, hogy az elképzelt meleg fogadtatás helyett, amelyre a rendszerváltozás után hazatérő emigránsok számítanak, a hazai honfitársaikkal való találkozás gyakran egymás kölcsönös félreértésében végződik. A szerző azt sugallja, hogy egy ilyen mély csalódás átélése után „one can never really go home again”.¹⁸ Ez alól néhány kivételt képeznek azok a nyugdíjasok, akik luxus körülményeket bizto-

15 Daniel Fittante, „Connection without Engagement. The Paradoxes of North American Armenian Return Migration”, *Diaspora. A Journal of Transnational Studies* 19.2–3 (2017), 154.

16 Fittante, 161–162.

17 A *long-distance nationalism* kifejezést eredetileg maga Benedict Anderson alkotta meg. Benedict R. O’G. Anderson: *Long-distance Nationalism. World Capitalism and the Rise of Identity Politics* (Amsterdam: Centre for Asian Studies, 1992), idézi Huseby-Darvas Éva: „Extra Hungariam Non Est Vita? The Relationships between Hungarian Immigrants and Their Homeland”, *AHEA. E-journal of the American Hungarian Educators Association* 5 (2012), 3–4, <http://ahea.net/e-journal/volume-5-2012>; előző megjelenés: „Extra Hungariam Non Est Vita? The Relationships between Hungarian Immigrants and Their Homeland”, in *Homecomings. Unsettling Paths of Return*, szerk. Fran Markowitz és Anders H. Stefansson (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2004), 76–90.

18 Huseby-Darvas, 3.

sító idők otthonába költöznek, valamint azoknak az amerikai magyaroknak az újrate-metése, akik magyar földben kívánnak nyugodni.¹⁹ Végül, a cikk címének állítását meg-cáfolva a szerző azt állítja, hogy Magyarországon kívül igenis van élet.

A beilleszkedés kérdése a New Jersey-ből hazatért magyarok esetében

Annak ellenére, hogy a New Brunswick-i amerikai magyarok egy számottevő része dön-tött úgy, hogy hosszú távra telepedik le Magyarországon – gyakran több évre –, legtöbb-jüknek csak felszínes kapcsolatai alakultak ki a hazai lakossággal. Sokan számoltak be a helyi társadalomba való beilleszkedési problémáikról, ami abból ered, hogy az elsődle-ges szocializációjuk egy külföldi országban, az Egyesült Államokban zajlott, és más kul-turális közegben nevelkedtek, még akkor is, ha a szüleik Magyarországról jöttek. Ebből kifolyólag sok adatközlőm tapasztalt félreértéseket és meg nem értést, amikor a helyi lakossággal került kapcsolatba.

A Görögországba hazatérő görög származásúakhoz hasonlóan sok amerikai ma-gyar szintén egyfajta családottság élményen megy keresztül. Ez részben abból az idea-lista magyarság- vagy Magyarországgépből fakad, amit a DP (*Displaced Persons*) és az 56-os emigránsok adtak át gyermekeiknek, és amelyet a már Amerikában született ge-nerációk pl. a cserkészeten keresztül most is igyekeznek közvetíteni a kisgyermeknek (pl. a népdalokon és magyar történelmi események és legendák tanításán keresztül). Ez a fajta magyarságkép kevésbé épül a realitásra, inkább egyfajta pozitív érzelmet közvetít a magyarságról, amelyhez a kint született gyermekek is kötődni tudnak. Magyarországra hazatérve csakúgy, mint a Görögországba, valamint Örményországba hazatérő görög és örmény származásúak, többen éltek át kiábrándulást. Egyesek hangsúlyozták, a magyar-orosz magyarok részéről azt hiányolják, hogy nem értékelik eléggé saját kultúrájukat, magyarságukat.

A kiábrándulás megtapasztalása minden bizonnyal főleg a hidegháború alatt szü-letett vagy felnőtt generációkra jellemző, amikor a két ország közötti kapcsolatok erősen korlátozva voltak, és Benedict Anderson valamint Huseby-Darvas Éva szavaival élve a magyar emigránsok magyarságukhoz táv-patriotizmus útján kötődtek (*long-distance nationalism*). Hasonlóképpen azokat is nagy valószínűséggel ez a gondolkodásmód jel-lemzi, akik pl. pénzügyi okok miatt nem tehetik meg, hogy rendszeresen Magyaror-szágra utazzanak, ezért kevésbé ismerik a magyarországi realitásokat.

Fontos megemlíteni, hogy a rendszerváltozás után megnőtt az érdeklődés Magyar-ország iránt a második generációs fiatalok, főleg az 1956-osok gyermekeinek körében, és többen jöttek ide az 1990-es évek során egyetemi tanulmányaikat végezni. Hozzájuk ha-sonlóan a New Brunswick-hoz kötődő amerikai magyarok is, valamint egyeseknek szülei is véglegesen hazatelepültek vagy kétlaki életformát élnek az Egyesült Államok és Ma-gyarország között. Manapság az óhazát és az emigráns közösségeket nagyon szoros transznacionális szálak kötik össze. Gyermekeik magyar nyelvre tanítása érdekében sok

¹⁹ Huseby-Darvas, 8–11.

család igyekszik nyáron minél több időt Magyarországon tölteni gyermekeivel, és a hazautazást más európai országokban töltött vakációval is egybeköttni. Valószínűsíthető, hogy az ő gyermekeiknek (rendszerint harmadik generációs gyermekekről van szó) már sokkal realitásabb Magyarország-képük, ugyanakkor szerényebb elvárásaik vannak, ezért kevésbé élik át a fent említett kiábránduláselményt.

Érdekes kérdés, hogy az Amerikában felnőtt generáció tagjai mennyire tudnak beilleszkedni szüleik hazájába. 6-os számú (férfi) interjúalanyom fejezte ki legjobban kérdésemre a választ: az integrációnak két fajtája van, az egyik az egzisztencia teremtetés (pl. az otthon kialakítása és berendezése), a másik pedig a helyi lakossággal való kapcsolat kialakítása. Mint sokak számára, az ő számára is az otthonteremtés volt a könnyebb, a helyi lakosokkal baráti viszonyt kialakítani volt a nehezebb. Általánosságban elmondható, hogy az Amerikában felnőtt és hazánkba tartós időre visszatérő magyarok eleinte nehezen találják meg a hangot a magyarországi magyarokkal, ami abból fakad, hogy bár otthon családjaikban sok magyar szokást (pl. nemzeti és vallási-családi ünnepeket) megtartottak, mégis mentalitásukat az amerikai iskolarendszerből nyerték. Ilyen mentalitásbeli különbség, amit többen említettek, az amerikaiak általános optimizmusa, bátorítása a magyarországiak általános pesszimizmusával szemben. Sokan világítottak rá, hogy úgy érzik, ez a magyarországi gondolkodásmód a kommunizmusból ered, és bár mára a helyzet sokat javult, a korábbi negatív tapasztalatok még a most felnövekvő generációra is hatással vannak. 9-es számú (nő) interjúalanyom például, aki még az 1980-as évek elején érkezett hazánkba egyetemi hallgatóként, még egy olyan Magyarországot ismert meg, ahol általános volt az árucikkek és a választék hiánya. Optimizmusa miatt, amit az amerikai iskolarendszerben neveltek belé (ahol a gyerekeket gyakran úgy biztatják, hogy *„you can even become an astronaut”* vagy *„you can even become the President of the United States”*), a csoporttársai gyakran úgy néztek rá, mintha egy másik bolygóról érkezett volna.

Egyéb kulturális vagy helyi ismeretek hiánya is okozhat gondot még azoknak az amerikai magyaroknak is, akikről magas szintű nyelvtudásuk miatt első hallásra nem lehet megállapítani, hogy nem Magyarországon nőttek föl. Egyik adatközlőmmel fordult elő egy céges kapcsolatfelvételkor, hogy egy ismertebb belvárosi étteremről (a Mátyás pincéről) megkérdezte, hogy merre található, és emiatt a másik fél nem vette komolyan, mint üzleti partnert. Ehhez hasonló helyzetről más, csak látogatóba érkező Amerikában született magyar ismerősöm is beszámolt (pl. hogy jó magyar kiejtése miatt furcsán néztek rá, hogy nem tudta, merre van Gödöllő), melyek azzal együtt, hogy az amerikai felek általában nem szívesen árulják el, hogy Amerikából jöttek, mind félreértésekhez vezethetnek.

Érdekes megjegyezni, hogy a gyermekek és a néptánc is elősegíthetik a magyarországi magyarokkal való kapcsolatteremtést. (A néptáncról később lesz részletesebben szó.) Észrevételem szerint azok a családok, akiknek gyermekei iskolába járnak, gyermekeiken keresztül jobban tudnak kapcsolódni a helyi magyar családokhoz is. Gyermekeik az iskolán, zeneiskolán, néptáncban, vagy cserkészeten keresztül barátságokat alakítottak ki a helyi kortársaikkal, és teljesen otthonosan mozognak a magyarországi közegben.

Gyermekeik által azok barátainak szüleinek is közelebbi kapcsolatba kerültek, akik általában hozzájuk hasonló értékeket vallanak.

Az integráció témaköréhez kapcsolódó érdekes jelenség, hogy az Örményországba visszatérő örmény származásúakhoz hasonlóan, a legtöbb magyar származású Amerikában született vagy felnőtt egyénnek sincs határozott letelepedési terve. Sossie Kasbarian szóhasználatával élve az ő esetükben is ideiglenes migránsokról vagy itt-tartózkodókról lehet beszélni, mivel legtöbbjük nem végleges szándékkal tért vissza Magyarországra, és születési vagy befogadó országukkal nem vesztették el a kapcsolatot. Sőt, mindnyájan családi és baráti szálakkal (pl. a nyári észak-amerikai tánc táborok kapcsán) kötődnek az amerikai magyar diaszpórához. 6-os számú interjúalanyom kiemelte, hogy érzelmileg erősen kötődik a befogadó országához: bár már 9 éve él Magyarországon, mégis megtartotta az amerikai házáat, minden évben fizet egészségbiztosítást, és egy esetleges visszatérés lehetőségének fenntartása közben is ügyel arra, hogy az adózása rendben legyen, így ne égesse fel minden hidat maga mögött.

Természetesen vannak olyanok is, akik azt nyilatkozták, hogy Magyarországon képzelik el jövőjüket, és akár véglegesen is itt szeretnének letelepedni. Budapest komoly attrakció nemcsak sok külföldi, de az amerikai magyarok számára is: többen nyilatkozták, hogy itt találták meg a helyüket. Egyik interjúalanyom pénzkeresési szándékból azóta visszaköltözött magyarországi férjével az Egyesült Államokba, de egzisztenciájuk megteremtése után néhány éven belül tervezik a hazatérést Magyarországra, ahol egy tanyán szeretnének letelepedni.

Kettős identitás

A magyarságukat aktívan őrző és közösséget képező amerikai magyarok többsége egyfajta kettős identitással rendelkezik. Nagy Károly szociológus többkultúrájú személyiségeknek is nevezi őket. Az Amerikában nevelkedettek többsége, eltekintve azoktól, akik vegyes amerikai-magyar háttérű családban nőttek fel, elsődleges szocializációjuk során a magyar kultúrával ismerkednek meg, majd másodlagos szocializációjuk során az amerikai kultúrával. Ennek során mindkét kultúra nyelvét, szokásait és értékrendszerét is elsajátítják.²⁰ Ez a fajta többkultúrájúság vagy kettős identitástudat csak akkor lehetséges, ha a két ország értékrendszere nem zárja ki egymást. Az Egyesült Államok esetében az ötvenes évek vége óta felismerték, hogy a korábbi *melting pot* (olvasztótégely) koncepciót egy újfajta koncepció kell, hogy fölváltsa, a *mozaik* metafora képében. Ez pedig a kulturális másságra és sokszínűsége épül, már nem a korábban hangoztatott homogenitásra.²¹

Megfigyeléseim szerint a Magyarországon élő magyarok többsége itthon is folytatja azt az életmódot, ami Amerikában határozta meg életét. Kulturálisan nem olvadnak be teljesen a magyarországi magyarok közé, nem tudnak velük azonosulni. Meglá-

²⁰ Nagy Károly: *Amerikai magyar szigetvilágban* (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 2009), 57–64.

²¹ Nagy, 80–82.

tásom szerint mentalitásukban ők már amerikaiak. Egyes magyar – főleg népi – tradíciókat (locsolás), kulturális elemeket (népzene és táncok ismerete) és történelmi értékeket (1956), fontosabbnak tartanak, mint az anyaországiak többsége. Ebből kifolyólag egy külön, pozitív értelemben vett szubkultúrát alkotnak itthon is, csakúgy, mint Amerikában.

Vannak köztük olyanok, akik annak ellenére, hogy mindkét ország kultúrájához tartozónak vallják magukat, mégis hazátlanság érzéssel küszködnek. Ezt nyilatkozta az *Inkubátor* című filmben Pigniczky Réka testvére, Pigniczky Eszti is, arra a kérdésre, hogy amerikainak vagy magyarnak vallja-e magát: „Én amerikai magyar vagyok. [...] Amerikában születtem, magyar családban, magyar kultúrában nevelkedtem. De egyben amerikai kultúrában is nevelkedtem. Tehát se ide, se oda nem tartozom. Ez egy új képződmény.”²² Hasonlóképpen fogalmazott 3-as számú (nő) interjúalanyom is 2014-ben:

Ez egy nagyon hontalan érzés. Tehát, hogy én hontalannak érzem magam, hogy amikor ott vagyok [Amerikában], akkor meg azt tudom, hogy már tervezni fogom, hogy – mikor már visszaköltözzünk [Amerikába] – akkor, hogy pontosan tudom, hogy mik lesznek a terveim, hogy itt töltsük a nyarat két hónapra. [...] Igen, mert igazi amerikai magyar vagyok. Nem, egyik sem erősebb, mint a másik.

Hasonló észrevételeket fogalmaz meg Takeyuki Tsuda is 2013-ban írt tanulmányában, aki a Brazíliából Japánba „visszatérő” japán származásúak identitásváltozását kutatta. Tsuda szerint az őseik földjére hazatérő második vagy későbbi generációs migránsoknak gyakorlatilag két hazájuk van, a szülőhazájuk (*natal homeland*) és származási hazájuk (*ethnic homeland*). Amikor a bevándorlók leszármazottai visszatérnek származási országukba, ott az idegen kultúrában való nevelkedésükből kifolyólag ismét kisebbséggé válnak, ami gyakran hazátlanság érzéshez vezet. Tsuda különbséget tesz a *haza* (*homeland*) és az *otthon* (*home*) fogalmi között. *Homeland* kifejezéssel illeti azt az országot, amelyhez valaki érzelmileg kötődik, míg *home* kifejezés alatt egy olyan helyet ért, amely biztonságos, kényelmes és családias stabil lakhelynek minősül. Állítása szerint az őseik földjére visszatérő migránsok gyakran az elvándorlás és a fizikai távolság eredményeképp fedezik föl, hogy mely ország a hazájuk, és ilyenkor gyakran a születési országukat helyezik előtérbe a származási országukkal szemben.²³

A New Jersey-ből hazatért magyarok kettős identitása kifejeződik nyelvhasználatukban – elmondásuk szerint ugyanannyira keverik az angolt és a magyart, mint otthon Amerikában – és abban, hogy elsősorban más amerikai magyarokkal és külföldi magyarokkal (kanadaiakkal, erdélyiekkel, felvidékiekkel, stb.) tartják a kapcsolatot itthon is.

22 Pigniczky Réka (rendező): *Inkubátor* (56Films, 2009), DVD.

23 Takeyuki Tsuda: „When the Diaspora Returns Home. Ambivalent Encounters with the Ethnic Homeland”, in *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism*, szerk. Ato Quayson és Girish Dashwani (Wiley Blackwell, 2013), 184–185, <http://arenet.org/img/A%20Companion%20to%20Diaspora%20and%20Transnationalism.pdf>.

Mivel a kanadai, erdélyi, szlovákiai vagy délvidéki magyarok is kisebbségi helyzetben, kisebbségi nyelvet beszélőként nőttek fel, az amerikai magyarok szerint ők könnyebben megértik hátterüket, mint a hazai magyarok.

A kettős identitás kérdéséhez kapcsolódik a kettős állampolgárság kérdése is. Mint korábban utaltam rá, a hazatelepülés feltétele jogi értelemben az, hogy a hazatérő kettős állampolgársággal is rendelkezzen. Bár ezt a kérdést külön nem vettem fel, az adatközlőim közül többen említették, hogy kettős állampolgársággal rendelkeznek. Érdekes megfigyelés, hogy New Jersey-ben is több, magyarságukat aktívan őrző magyar származású is maga említette a közelmúltban, hogy ők vagy gyermekeik szeretnék felvenni a magyar állampolgárságot is az amerikai mellé, gyakran a fiatalabb, harmadik generáció kezdeményezésére (olyan esetben is, amikor a harmadik nemzedékbe tartozó fiatal már nem beszél magyarul, de kulturálisan még kötődik magyarságához).

Kulturális változások a „hazatérés” után

Az interjúk alapján általánosan megállapítható a hazatérőknél, hogy egyes szokásaikban, attitűdjeikben, amelyek előtte Amerikában az életük szerves részét jelentették, bizonyos mértékig változások lépnek fel. Ezek közé sorolható az otthoni nyelvhasználatuk és az amerikai magyarság etnikai szimbólumaihoz és kulturális tevékenységeihez való hozzáállásuk, mint pl. a cserkészethez és a népszokások gyakorlásához. Egyesek identitásában felerősödik az amerikai vonás.

Ami a családon belüli nyelvhasználatot illeti, Amerikában, a New Brunswick-i közösségen belül sokan törekednek csak magyarul beszélni gyermekeikkel. Bartha Csilla ezt egy purista nyelvdeológiához köti, és a módszert, amit az otthon kizárólag magyarul beszélő szülők alkalmaznak gyermekeikkel, *autoritatív stratégiának* nevezi. Ez főleg a dípis (*Displaced Persons*) bevándorlókra jellemző, akik gyermekeiket és unokáikat is ez alapján nevelték,²⁴ és akiknek a családtagjaik tapasztalataim szerint általában a közösség magyarul legjobban beszélő tagjait képezik az Amerikában születettek között (New Brunswick esetében az 56-osok gyermekeivel együtt).

2-es számú (nő) interjúalanyom szerint azok a szülők, akik több évre Magyarországra költöznek, általában magyarul beszélnek a gyermekeikkel, mert számukra is ez volt az elsődleges szocializáció nyelve. Emellett fontosnak tartom még azt a megfigyelésemet, mely szerint a New Brunswick-i közösség felnőtt tagjai általában jobban odafigyelnek, hogy magyarul beszéljenek a gyerekekkel, mint amikor egymás között vannak, mivel igyekeznek a magyar nyelvet a következő generációnak is átadni. Ez részben abból adódhat, hogy a közösség tagjai között is sokan cserkészek voltak fiatalabb korukban, ahol elvárás, hogy minden beszélgetés lehetőleg magyarul folyjon. Az amerikai cserkészlet körében ugyanis a „kikényszerített” magyar nyelvhasználat közösségi formájában a családon belüli autoritatív stratégia alkalmazását tükrözi.

24 Bartha Csilla: „Nyelvhasználat, nyelvmegtartás, nyelvcsere amerikai magyar közösségekben”, in *Tér és terep. Tanulmányok az etnicitás és az identitás kérdésköréből*, szerk. Kovács Nóra és Szarka László (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2002), 1. kötet, 127, <http://mek.oszk.hu/04100/04126/04126.pdf>.

Így tehát azok közül, akiknek már az interjú idején voltak gyermekei és Magyarországon élnek (tíz emberből hatan), négyen azt nyilatkozták, hogy bár fontosnak tartják, hogy a gyermekeik is tudjanak angolul, ők maguk nem képesek az anyanyelvi vagy majdnem anyanyelvi szintű angoltudásukat átadni, mert ők is magyar nyelvi közegben nevelkedtek, és iskolás korukig csak ezt a nyelvet beszélték, tehát a családban beszélt nyelv nem az angol volt. 3-as számú interjúalanyom kifejtette, hogy bár amióta itt élnek másfél éve, törekednek arra, hogy angolul is beszéljenek otthon, mégis mindig visszaváltanak a magyar nyelvre. Három gyermekükhöz, akik az interjú idején (2014-ben) 8, 7, és 5 évesek voltak, egy amerikai magántanárnőt fogadtak, aki csak angolul beszél, és aki átveszi velük az amerikai iskolai szintjüknek megfelelő tananyagot. Ugyan a férjével készült követéses interjúból (2017) kiderült, hogy a zenei különórák miatt az amerikai tananyag követése azóta háttérbe szorult, még mindig igyekszenek lépést tartani az amerikai tananyaggal, és örülnek, hogy a gyermekeik a már csak angolul beszélő másod-unokatestvéikkel Amerikában gond nélkül és akcentus nélkül tudnak társalogni.

Egy másik adatközlőnek (4-es számú, férfi) is hasonló tapasztalatai vannak. Felesége romániai magyar, aki szerette volna, hogy férje gyerekeihez (akik 2014-ben, az interjú idején 4 és 2 évesek voltak, Magyarországon születtek) angolul beszéljen. Bár az említett interjúalanyom tökéletesen beszél angolul, mivel családjában mindig magyarul beszéltek otthon, és ez volt az elsődleges szocializációjának nyelve, nem volt hajlandó angolul beszélni a gyerekeihez. A felesége egészen addig a pontig nem értette meg álláspontját, amíg ő ki nem jelentette, hogy csak akkor hajlandó angolul beszélni hozzájuk, ha felesége pedig románul fog őhozzájuk szólani. Ez volt az a pont, amikor felesége megértette hozzáállását. Ennek ellenére az angol nyelv valamilyen szinten jelen van gyermekeik életében. Nagyobbik kisfiukat az interjú idején a Helen Doron angol nyelvű óvodába járatták, amivel nem voltak túlságosan megelégedve, ráadásul kisfiuk az óvodában erős magyar akcentussal sajátította el a nyelvet. A nyelvtanulás céljából sok amerikai DVD-t hoztak a gyerekeknek. Érdekes megjegyezni, hogy a kezdetekkor családjukban mind az angol, mind a román nyelv titkos nyelvként szolgált a gyerekek előtt. 4-es számú interjúalanyom feleségével angolul beszélt, ha nem akarták, hogy a gyerekeik megértsék mondanivalójukat. Felesége pedig édesanyjával és nagynénjével ugyanilyen okból kifelé románul beszélt, akik gyakran vigyáztak a gyerekekre, míg azok kicsik voltak. 2014-ben, az interjú idején a gyermekei már egész sokat értettek románul és angolul. Mára már az angol megszűnt titkos nyelvként létezni, mivel az interjúhoz képest később a gyermekeket egy budapesti nemzetközi óvodába íratják, ahol az óvodások is nemzetközi származásúak, alapvetően nem magyarok. A legnagyobb fiuk már elballagott az óvodából, a kisebbik jelenleg még mindig oda jár.

Habár mindegyik adatközlő magyarul beszélt gyermekeihez szinte csecsemőkoruk óta, ketten említették, hogy angolul és magyarul is beszélnek hozzájuk, és, hogy ez természetesen megy nekik. 5-ös számú interjúalanyom (nő), aki amerikai-magyar vegyes házasságot kötött, és a gyermekei Amerikában születtek, 6 hónapos koráig angolul beszélt a legnagyobb gyerekéhez, utána váltott tudatosan magyarra. Ő elmondása szerint alapvetően angolul gondolkodik sok évnyi Magyarországon töltött idő után is, tehát

olyan helyzetekben, amikor nehezebb kontrollálni a beszédét (pl. düh érzetekor) inkább angolul szól a gyermekeihez. 9-es számú interjúalanyom (szintén nő) egyetemista kora óta él Magyarországon, és gyermekei is már itt születtek. Azt állítja, hogy az identitáshoz hozzátartozik, hogy bizonyos dolgokról angolul tud felszabadultabban beszélni. Habár amikor gyermekei megszülettek, nem volt számára természetes, hogy velük is angolul beszéljen (New Brunswick-i és családi neveltetéséből fakadóan, ahol nagy hangsúlyt fektettek a magyar nyelvhasználatra), miután elérték a néhány éves kort, tudatosan beszélt hozzájuk angolul, pl. lányával a villamoson, aki magyarul válaszolt vissza neki. Ezen kívül a gyermekeik Amerikában is jártak egy félévet iskolába. Saját bevallása szerint érzelmeiről főleg angolul beszél lányával és fiával. A már felnőtt gyermekei angol nyelvi kompetenciáját illetően, míg a lányának nincs angol nyelven akcentusa, a fiának ugyan van egy enyhe akcentusa, azonban neki a helyesírás könnyebben ment angolul, mint a lányának, aki csak tudatos gyakorlással tudott eljutni testvére szintjére.

A Magyarországra költöző amerikai magyarok esetleges identitásváltozásának kérdése is érdekes. Sokuknál a magyar identitás az erősebb, de előfordul, hogy hazatelepülésük után az amerikai identitásuk felerősödik. 2-es számú adatközlőm említette, hogy gyakran érezte, hogy se az Egyesült Államokban, se Magyarországon nem érezte száz százalékosan otthon magát. Az Egyesült Államokban, az iskolájában mindig úgy tartották számon, mint a magyar lányt, és mindig azt mondta: *„I’m Hungarian”*. Miután Magyarországra jött tanulni az állatorvosi egyetemre, abból kifolyólag, hogy nem beszélt tökéletesen a magyar nyelvet (egyes kifejezéseket és a magázási formát nem ismerte) azt kellett, hogy mondja, hogy ő amerikai. Az interjú idején még mindig nem tudta magáról eldönteni, hogy amerikai-e vagy magyar: *„Mindig magyarnak fogom vallani magam, akármikor, csak az a kérdés, hogy mennyire mondom azt, hogy amerikai magyar, vagy magyar amerikai, vagy amerikai magyar csak”*. Bár az asszimiláció ereje nagyon erős Amerikában, egy befogadó szabad ország lévén csak a családi körülményektől és egyéni döntéstől függ, hogy a bevándorlók és a leszármazottaik mennyire képesek sikeresen megőrizni egy más nemzetből származó identitástudatukat. Ez okból kifolyólag ragaszkodik 2-es számú interjúalanyom az amerikai identitáshoz is.

A mai észak-amerikai magyar közösségek legfőbb identitáselemei a magyar néptáncok, népzene és a népi kultúra tárgyi megjelenési formái (bútorok, hímzések, kerámiák), valamint az amerikai magyar cserkészlet. Bár egyesek itthon valamennyivel ritkábban járnak el táncház találkozókra és néptáncestekre, az amerikai magyarok „hazatértük” után továbbra is nagyra értékelik a népi művészet ezen megjelenési formáit, mint az autentikus népi kultúra megtestesítőit. Annak ellenére, hogy sok általam megkérdezett amerikai magyar hiányolja az anyaországiak részéről a népi kultúra általános megbecsülését, többen említették, hogy a néptánc mozgalom kapocsként is szolgál közöttük és a hazai magyarok között. 7-es számú (nő) interjúalanyom számára (aki kislány kora óta gyakorolja a néptáncot, és ennek köszönhetően később sport ösztöndíjjal tanulhatott a Dusquesne Egyetemen egy kelet-európai néptáncokat művelő csoport, a Tamburitzens tagjaként) a hazai táncházak megismerése számára egy tiszta forrásból

való merítéssel egyenértékű, hiszen a táncház mozgalom eredetileg Magyarországról indult el, és jutott ki Amerikába. Ebben nagy szerepet játszott a Hungária táncegyüttes, melynek ő is tagja volt.

2015-ben és 2016-ban egy New Brunswick-i magyar közösségből származó amerikai magyar testvérpárra figyelt fel a magyar média a *Fölszállott a páva* vetélkedő kapcsán. Hajdú-Németh László 2015-ben, 9 évesen hegedűvel egészen a középdöntőig jutott, melynek kapcsán a többi versenyzővel olyan jó barátságok alakultak ki, hogy a következő évben már *Sarjú banda* néven indultak a versenyen, amelyhez öccse, Balázs is csatlakozott. Édesapja szerint az idősebb fia már a szüleinél is jobban hegedül és néptáncol, akik pedig az észak-amerikai Életfa Zenekar tagjaiként Észak-Amerika és Magyarország több városában is felléptek már.

Az észak-amerikai és számos egyéb diaszpóra helyzetben élő magyarok számára a cserkészlet (Külföldi Magyar Cserkészszövetség) egyfajta összekötő szerepet játszik, melyen keresztül a más-más országban élő magyar származásúak kapcsolatot tarthatnak fent egymással. Az interjúalanyaim többsége fiatalkorában részt vett az amerikai magyar cserkészmozgalomban, amely sokak számára életre szóló élményeket nyújtott. Ezen kívül a külföldi magyar cserkészlet közösségformáló ereje sem elhanyagolható. Egyesek gyermekei is Magyarországra költözésük előtt vagy hosszabb Amerikában tartózkodásuk idején New Brunswickban magyar cserkészek voltak, és mind pozitív élményekről számoltak be. Érthető tehát, hogy többen szerették volna, hogy gyermekük itthon Magyarországon is csatlakozzon a cserkészmozgalomhoz, sőt, egyesek gyermekei maguktól csatlakoztak a szervezethez.

A magyarországi cserkészlettel kapcsolatban azonban általánosan csalódottság érzet tapasztalható a hazatelepült amerikai magyarok körében. A hazai cserkészszövetségből (a Külföldi Magyar Cserkészszövetséggel szemben), ami Magyarországon elsősorban a vallási értékekre koncentrál, többen említették, hogy hiányolják a szervezet „magyar” jellegét. Két interjúalanyom (az 5-ös számú 2014-ben és a 9-es számú 2017-ben) is említette, hogy gyermekeik amerikai magyar pozitív cserkészélményeik után Magyarországon is csatlakoztak a hazai cserkészethez. Mindkét család gyermekei azonban rövid idő eltelte után kiábrándultság miatt abbahagyták a magyarországi cserkészfoglalkozásokat. 5-ös számú adatközlőm elmondása szerint neki és gyermekeinek nem sikerült megragadniuk a hazai cserkészlet lényegét. Mivel az interjú idején még a szlovák határhoz közeli kistelepülésen éltek (Nógrád megyében), ismerősük ajánlására 5-ös számú adatközlőmnek megfordult a fejében, hogy az autóval húsz perces távolságra levő szlovákiai Fülekre vinné gyermekeit magyar cserkészfoglalkozásra, ahol nagyobb harcot kell vívni a magyarság megtartásáért. Negatív tapasztalataikból kifolyólag azonban gyermekei nem voltak hajlandók azt sem megpróbálni (azt mondták, egyedül New Brunswickba térnének vissza cserkészetre).

2-es számú adatközlőm (2011) elmondása alapján Magyarországon „cserkészesebb a cserkészlet. Itt a cserkészetről szól, csakis. És otthon Amerikában a cserkészlet az egy eszköz volt, hogy a magyarságot továbbadják.” Tehát egyik interjúalanyom sem kapcsolódott be itthon a cserkészletbe – részben felnőtt korukból kifolyólag –, mindenesetre

egyikük kivételével a gyermekeiket sem járatták hosszú távon cserkészfoglalkozásokra. Mivel többségük előbb-utóbb szeretne hazaköltözni Amerikába, úgy gondolják, hogy ha szükséges lesz, gyermekeik ott majd gyorsan leteszik az adott vizsgákat, hogy be tudjanak kapcsolódni az ottani közösségi életbe.

A megkérdezettek közül mindössze egy édesapa nem hiányolta a cserkészet magyar jellegét itthon. Azt nyilatkozta (6-os számú adatközlőm, 2016-ban), hogy elégedett a magyarországi cserkészzel, mert úgy érzi, a fiaira jó hatással van: „Egy tinédzser fiú mindig keresi a határokat, hogy mire képes, és a cserkészlet mindig próbára teszi – játékosan, de mindig próbára teszi. Ez nem csak ügyességi próbák, de feladatok megoldása is, meg jellemben is próbák.” Magyarországon felnőtt felesége, aki szintén jelen volt a beszélgetéskor, kiemelte, hogy „a cserkészlet kicsit az ár ellenében megy, mert a globális, mi a menő kultúra ellenében értékeket tanít. [...] Minden már nem jó, hanem a minőség kell. Tudjuk, hogy papolhatunk mi [szülők], amennyit akarunk, de a kortársak közössége nagyobb hatással lesz egy idő után.”

Többekkel beszélgetve került szóba, hogy sokan a magyarországi cserkészletet inkább átpolitizálnak látják, mint a jelenlegi amerikai magyar cserkészletet. 9-es számú interjúalanyom szerint Magyarországon népzenei berkekben is inkább kívülről érzik magukat azok, akik nem jobboldaliak, csakúgy, mint a cserkészletben. Amerikában ezzel szemben ezek a tevékenységek már kevésbé kötődnek politikai beállítottsághoz: míg a rendszerváltásig igen erősen jelen voltak a kommunista-antikommunista ellentétek, a mai keleti parton felnőtt magyar származású fiatalok liberálisabb beállítottságúak, mint szüleik generációja, és kevertebb háttérű a magyarság (az utóbbi évtizedekben sok 1989 után érkezett gazdasági bevándorló gyermeke is csatlakozott a cserkészlethez), mint a hidegháború idején, amikor főképp DP és 56-os emigránsokból tevődött össze a cserkészek háttere.

Nyelvi jelenségek és változások

Bár magyarnyelv-tudásuk sokat fejlődött a korábbiakhoz képest (szinte mindenki említette, hogy már nem nézik őket külföldinek, csak vidékinek), bizonyos jegyek még több éves magyarországi tartózkodásuk után is tükrözik amerikai magyar származásukat. Ennek mértéke személyenként változó. Ezt a változatosságot több tényező okozhatja, melyek között említendő az alap nyelvtudás, amivel érkeztek (mi volt a domináns nyelvük), a környezet hatása (szülők származása, házastárs anyanyelve), a motiváció és nyelvi tudatosság, nyelvérzék, és – meglátásom szerint – csak enyhébb mértékben döntő a Magyarországon eltöltött időtartam hosszúsága. Az angol nyelv interferenciája hangtani és grammatikai szempontból pl. erősebben mutatkozott annál az adatközlőnél, aki az interjú idejéhez képest már hét éve Magyarországon élt, és akinek a házastársa angol anyanyelvű. Néhány második nemzedékbe tartozónak sikerült olyan szinten és akcentusmentesen vagy szinte akcentus nélkül megtanulniuk magyarul, hogy munkahelyükön az új kollégák maguktól általában nem jönnek rá, hogy ők nem Budapesten nőttek fel,

hacsak nem egy hosszabb beszélgetés után. Az egyik harmadik generációs fiatal egyetemista lányt (8-as számú adatközlő, 2017) is többen magyarországi magyarnak hitték már otthon, míg más másodgenerációs Amerikából hazánkba látogató barátnőjével ez nem fordult elő. Fontos azonban megjegyezni, hogy ezekkel az adatközlőkkel Magyarországra költözésük előtt is találkoztam már a 2000-es évek elején, és személyes észrevételeim szerint akkor is nagyon enyhe akcentussal beszéltek magyarul.

A tíz adatközlő közül négygel már az Egyesült Államokban is készítettem korábbi interjúfelvételeket 2008-ban, illetve egyikőjük velem készített interjút a magyar rádió számára, aminek megőriztem a hanganyagát. Általános észrevétel mindenkinél, hogy a beszédtempójuk érezhetően gyorsabbá vált, kevesebb hezitációs szünetet tartottak, mint az amerikai felvételek idejekor. Ketten közülük ösztöndíjasként a Balassi Intézetben is tanultak egy évet, amely magyar nyelv és kultúra kurzusokat kínál magyar származású, vagy magyarul tanulni kívánó fiatal hallgatók számára. Mindkettőjüknél érezhetően kevesebb tükröfordítás fordult elő (első alkalommal pl. „Nem jött a szó az eszemre”, „Egész hétvégénket, péntektől vasárnapig *arra töltjük*”), mivel a Balassi Intézetben komoly hangsúlyt fektetnek a helyes nyelvtan elsajátítására. Továbbá mindketten ritkábban váltottak kódot a korábbi alkalomhoz képest, amikor egyes szavakat angolul mondtak, mert nem jutottak eszükbe (*individualism, dubbed, cartoon sit-comedy*).

Az általános jelenségek az adatközlőim beszédét illetően a következők voltak. A szimplifikációs tendenciák közül, melyek Kovács Tímea szerint jellemzőek az amerikai magyar nyelvhasználatra, gyakori az általa és más szerzők által is említett az inessivusi *-ban/-ben* használata helyett az illativusi *-ba/-be* használata.²⁵ Számos interferenciahatás is érzékelhető beszédükben. Fonetikai szempontból nem mindenkinél fordult elő, azonban Magyarországra költözésük után sem ritka az aspirált /k/ és /t/ zárhangok ejtése, az amerikai retroflex /r/-hez közelítő hangok, valamint sötét /l/, melyek Kovács Tímea szerint is gyakoriak a Balassi Intézetben tanuló amerikai magyar diákoknál.²⁶ Jellemző ezen kívül még a degemináció is: „ketős állampolgár”, „kelett”, „lene”.²⁷ Grammatikai szempontból néhány interjúalany esetében jellemző a személyes névmás redundáns használata is.²⁸ Érdekes azonban, hogy az Amerikában általánosan használt „um” hezitációs szó helyett a Magyarországon élő amerikaiak inkább „öm”, „mmm”, „ö”, és

25 Kovács Tímea: „Kétnyelvűség, nyelvi interferencia”, *Hungarológiai évkönyv*, 6.1 (2005), 110. Fenyvesi Anna: „A toledói magyarok nyelve. Nem standard nyelvhasználat vagy a nyelvkontaktus hatása?”, in *Tanulmányok a diaszpóráról*, szerk. Kovács Nóra (Budapest: Gondolat, MTA Etnikai-nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet, 2005), 58–73.

26 Kovács, 111.

27 Kontra Miklós: *Fejezetek a South Bend-i magyar nyelvhasználatból* (Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet, 1990), 182–183, idézi Pintz Katalin: „Hungarian Heritage Maintenance in the USA. New Brunswick, N.J., as a Magyar Ethnic Island”, *Hungarian Studies Review* 38.1–2 (2011), 118.

28 Bartha Csilla: „Social and Linguistic Characteristics of Immigrant Language Shift. The Case of Hungarian in Detroit”, in *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 43.3–4 (1995/1996), 426, idézi Kovács, 110.

„ah” hezitációs szavakat használják, és kevesebb szókölcsonzést alkalmaznak. A tükkörfordítások továbbra is jellemzőek („ha hallok valamit a *híreken*” [on the news], „itt is tudsz *cuccot* venni” [buy stuff]), azonban kevésbé, mint Amerikában.²⁹ Általában jellemző rájuk a kreatív nyelvi kompetencia, tehát ha egy kifejezés nem jut eszükbe, ügyesen magyarázzák el más metaforák segítségével. (Pl.: „mi *templomvásárlásra* [templomkeresésre] indultunk”, „ez csak egy *puha* [képlékeny] terv”).

Bár mind a tíz interjú magyarul készült, időnként előfordultak kódváltások az interjúk alatt. Míg ezek rendszerint tudatos kódváltások voltak („tudod ezt, hogy mondják angolul: *the real deal*”, „visszamegyünk *la-la landbe*”), hosszabb-rövidebb öntudatlan kódváltások is előfordultak, illetve az egyik adatközlő esetében egész tagmondatokra kiterjedők is:

- 1) Mikor én ideköltöztem, I didn't want anybody to think that I was pökhendi. Because there is a prejudice, I'm sorry. Mihelyst megtudják, hogy amerikai vagy, 'ah, te milliomos vagy. That's the worst thing: you have a ton of money.
- 2) Mikor én gyerek voltam, nemcsak egy pár utcát zártak le [a magyar fesztivál idején], hanem *downtown New Brunswick was shut down too*.

Az ő esetében talán azért fordultak elő ilyen nagy számban kódváltások, mert az interjú idején (2014) egy kis faluban élt, ahol el volt zárva az amerikai és amerikai magyar világtól, és elmondása szerint ki volt éhezve minden angol szóra. Borbély Anna szerint „a kétnyelvűek nem használják a kódváltásos stílust azokkal a kétnyelvűekkel, akiknek nem ismerik az egyéni háttérét vagy attitűdjeit”, tehát teljesen ismeretlenekkel.³⁰ Bár az adatközlővel korábbi (angol nyelvű) levelezéseken kívül nem volt az interjú előtt személyes ismeretségem, mivel tudta, hogy én is a New Brunswick-i közösséghez tartoztam korábban, feltehetőleg úgy érezte, hogy szabadon használhatja a kódváltásos stílust.

Összegzés

Az asszimiláció ereje az Egyesült Államokban nagyon nagy, szinte minden közösséget és családot érint. Magyarországra településükkel kapcsolatban az amerikai magyarok többsége ugyan nem mondta ki, de bizonyosan egyfajta asszimilációellenes indítatásból is érkeztek hazánkba. Bár a magyar jog szerint sokan hivatalosan hazatelepülteknek számítanak, a Magyarországon élő amerikai magyarok többsége nem szándékozik örökre hazánkban letelepedni. Mindegyik interjúalanyom aktív kapcsolatot tart fenn közösségével a diaszpórában, szülők, testvérek, és a néptánc révén. Részben ebből kifolyólag többségüknek nem célja teljesen asszimilálódni a magyarországi magyarok közé.

29 Pintz, 118.

30 Borbély Anna: „Kétnyelvűség és többnyelvűség”, in *Magyar Nyelv*, szerk. Kiefer Ferenc (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006), 595–627.

Mivel két kultúrához tartozónak vallják magukat, melyek értékrendszerében és mentalitásában időnként eltérések fedezhetők fel, sem az egy kultúrájú amerikaiakkal, sem az egy kultúrájú magyarországiakkal nem tudnak teljesen azonosulni. Ebből kifolyólag egy sajátos, pozitív értelemben vett szubkultúra tagjainak tekinthetők és tekintik magukat, akiknek ugyanakkor az amerikai társadalomba való integrációja sikeresnek tekinthető, hiszen jó pozíciókat töltenek be jelenleg mind itthon, mind korábban az Egyesült Államokban. Nyelvhasználatukban, bár gyermekeikkel többségük általában a magyar nyelvet használja, az angol nyelv és ennek interferenciája továbbra is jelen van, mely identitástudatuknak is fontos részét képezi.

#	nem	születési állam	születési év	iskolai végzettség	interjú típusa	korábbi interjú (USA-ban)	interjú ideje (Budapest)
1	nő	New Jersey	1983	egyetemi	személyes	2008	2011. január 19.
2	nő	New Jersey	1985	egyetemi			2011. április 20.
3	nő	New Jersey	1971	egyetemi		2008	2014. június 11.
4	férfi	New Jersey	1969	egyetemi			2014. június 15.
5	nő	New Jersey	1970	egyetemi			2014. május 12.
6	férfi	Magyarország	1960	egyetemi			2016. július 20.
7	nő	New Jersey	1978	egyetemi			2016. augusztus 8.
8	nő	New Jersey	1996	egyetemi – folyamatban		2008	2017. június 9.
9	nő	New Jersey	1962	egyetemi			2017. június 22.
10	férfi	New Jersey	1973	egyetemi		2008	2017. július 12.

Adatközlők összesített táblázata

Public and Political Uses and Abuses of Liszt

A Hungarian proverb says that it is the occasion that creates the thief, not some genetically or socially predetermined destiny. That is also the case with papers to be delivered on certain occasions, especially when commemorating anniversaries. The occasion might be a good opportunity to broaden a scholar's horizon when he or she is not a specialist of the field but has to find some kind of a connection between the issue on the agenda and his or her established research interest. My major field is modern Hungarian political thought, especially the process how certain very long term patterns of politically motivated enthusiasm and hatred, prevailing throughout generations and political systems, can have a powerful impact on smaller or larger scale political action. It turned out that the political uses and abuses of Liszt is a very apt case study of this problem.¹

Liszt in Politics

From his youth on, from the very beginning of his spectacular virtuoso successes that gave him fame all over Europe, Liszt was and has been ever since celebrated in Hungary as a product, outcome of Hungarian soil and soul (in spite of the German mother and his lack of Hungarian language proficiency). On the occasion of his appearances in Buda and Pest (after 1873 Budapest), Sopron, Transylvanian towns and other places in Hungary, he always had most enthusiastic audiences, heard passionate speeches praising his patriotism, and was received with outbursts of Hungarian national sentiments. The object of this celebration, however, was not his real human person but rather an abstract image of the Hungarian musical genius (perceived and presented as one element of the overall Hungarian genius, a shining star on the sky of European civilization). My case studies of Liszt's career want to show that Hungarian politics was unable to properly deal with his complex, truly European personality, with his sincerely and deeply democratic views and missed a number of opportunities when by paying proper official tribute to his art and personality, could have used his world fame to improve the image of

1 The first version of this paper was presented at a conference at Columbia University in the City of New York on the occasion of Ferenc Liszt's 200th birthday on March 25, 2011 and the session was chaired by Tibor Frank. Tibor's exceptionally broad intellectual horizon includes a deep interest in music. On several occasions I also had the opportunity to attend piano concerts in his home as he does not only study the history of culture oriented forms of social life, but he also tries to continue great traditions along this line. – I relied mainly on the works of Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, 3 vols. (Knopf and Cornell University Press, 1983–1997); Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt* (Cambridge University Press, 1987); Klára Hamburger, *Ferenc Liszt* (Corvina, Budapest, 1986); Michael Stegemann, *Genie im Abseits* (Piper, 2011); and especially a collection of essays published in connection with the 1936 Liszt anniversary under the title *Liszt a miénk!* [*Liszt Belongs to Us!*] initiated by Jenő Hubay, edited by the Liszt Memorial Committee (Dante Könyvkiadó, 1936; further referred to as LM).

Hungarians and Hungary. Using Liszt could have helped to minimize the loss of prestige or to regain 'lost prestige' (to refer to Géza Jeszenszky's excellent monograph²).

Political Confessions of Liszt

In the course of his 1842 visit to Russia, when he was criticised by the Czar as he was not willing to play on the concert dedicated to the Russian war veterans of the 1812 war, Liszt summarized his political views as follows: "I do not represent any political platform and I will not represent any as long as I cannot support it with 300,000 bayonets."³ The title of Paul Merrick's most insightful book⁴ refers to religion and revolution as two pillars of Liszt's world view as reflected by his music. As Merrick puts it, twin facets of a single ideal, along the line of Lamennais's dream of an European Republic governed by the Pope. A deeply convinced democrat, who never considered himself inferior to the royal dignities he was introduced to, accepted the dogma of Papal infallibility without any reservations. The emperor who best personalized his political ideals was Napoleon III. Following Napoleon III's death in 1873, he said: "I honestly believed at the time, and do so still, that Napoleon's reign was the one most keeping with the requirements and advances of our era. He has set noble examples, and accomplished or undertaken great deeds [...] the protection of the church in Rome and in other countries [...] the earnest attention paid to the lot and to the interests of the country people and of the working classes, the generosity and encouragement to scholars and artists, all these things are historical facts."⁵ He also had the privilege of being the dinner guest of his political ideal on May 22, 1861. According to some sources the Emperor told him: "There are days when I feel as I had lived for a century." Liszt's reply that was frequently quoted impressed the emperor: "Sire, you are the century!" A week later Napoleon III made Liszt commander of the Legion of Honour.⁶

Writing wonderful *Funérailles* in October 1849 to commemorate the Hungarian generals executed by the Habsburgs, giving asylum to Wagner when Wagner was persecuted for his revolutionary activity, integrating *kuruc* tunes or the melodies of the Rákóczi march⁷ (one of the three most emblematic musical expressions of Hungarian national identity and national pride) into his works on the one hand and accepting decorations from Emperor Franz Joseph and other conservative monarchs were easily reconcilable gestures for him. I think that for Liszt the revolution was not an aim but a

2 Géza Jeszenszky, *Az elveszett presztízs: Magyarország megítélésének megváltozása Nagy-Britanniában (1894–1918)* [Prestige Lost: The Changing Image of Hungary in Great Britain, 1894–1918] (Budapest: Magvető, 1986), 369 pp.; 2nd ed. (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Kiadó, 1994), 360 pp.

3 LM, 149.

4 Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

5 Merrick, 33.

6 Walker, III/541.

7 See <https://rakoczi-indulo.oszk.hu/>.

means for the creation of his ideal society where a consolidated, strong, but morally unquestionable power supported by the wisdom and ethical standards of the church, first of all, of course, the Catholic church, guarantees the dignity of its citizens. In that sense Napoleon III was for him certainly a revolutionary. An interesting comparison can also illustrate the twin facets of a single ideal with Merrick's paradox: the 28-year-old musician had put religion into a revolutionary work (the unfinished *Revolutionary Symphony*), the 44-year-old genius put revolution into a religious work (the *Gran Mass* written on the occasion of the opening of the Esztergom Cathedral in 1856).⁸ A statement of his in the spring of 1848 presents a similar train of thought: "I would be the first to answer the call to arms, to give my blood and not tremble before the guillotine, if it were the guillotine that could give the world peace and mankind happiness. But who believes that?"⁹

Controversial Legacy

Following the 1936 festive commemorations (125th anniversary of his birth, 50th anniversary of his death), a thick book was published in Budapest under the title *Liszt a miénk!* (*Liszt Belongs to Us!*) taking stock of Liszt's contemporary standing in Hungary.¹⁰ It was initiated by Jenő Hubay and the articles were written by outstanding personalities, including Béla Bartók and Antal Molnár. The expected earnings were dedicated to the project of setting up Liszt's symbolic grave.

This book complains about the national negligence concerning the Liszt legacy. It points out the lack of a proper outdoor Liszt monument, the delays in transforming the old building of the Academy of Music into a museum and, first of all, argues that Liszt's remains should at last be brought home and a law should be passed by parliament acknowledging Liszt's merits. As a result of all these measures, the preface to the volume argued, the whole world would hopefully recognize Liszt's Hungarian identity that he himself never denied and it would be obvious that the bond between his homeland and himself was never broken.

Was this bond indeed so unbroken?

This controversy over Liszt's nationality became truly heated only after 1918 when his birth place Doborján (Raiding) became part of Austria. By now there are two plaques on his birth house, one from a Sopron civil organisation in 1881, stating in Hungarian: *Ferenc Liszt was born here*, and a German language one of 1926 donated by the Austrian and German governments and the Administration of the province of Burgenland in German: *This plaque has been dedicated to the German master by the German people*. There have also been sporadic attempts to make him part of the Slovak nation: Miroslav Demko's 2004 book "on a lost son of Slovakia"¹¹ argues that the French word '*hongrois*'

8 Merrick, 34.

9 Merrick, 32.

10 See footnote 1.

11 Miroslav Demko, *Franz Liszt – ukradený skladateľ* (Bratislava: Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2010).

(and Liszt used predominantly French), as Liszt generally described himself as '*hongrois*', in fact means Slovak. Another extremely strange point of the book: in Hungarian Slovaks were called *tóts* so Liszt's famous piece *Totentanz* (The Dance of the Dead) in fact means the Dance of the Slovaks!¹²

The Case with the Ennoblement: Franz Ritter von Liszt

On January 4, 1840 in Pest Liszt dedicated a concert to the benefit of the victims of the huge flood of 1839. It turned out to be a powerful, sweeping success and the celebration culminated in his being rewarded with a most beautifully decorated sabre, with an inscription in Hungarian on the blade:

To the great artist Ferenc Liszt,
for his artistic merit and
for his patriotism, from his
admiring compatriots.

Liszt was taken by complete surprise but came up with a fiery speech in French: "Does it not seem to say [...] that Hungary after having covered herself with glory on so many fields of battle, today asks the arts, literature and science, those friends of peace, for new illustriousness [...] men of intelligence and industry have also a noble task [...] to fulfil among you [...] and if ever anyone dares unjustly, and with violence, disturb us in the accomplishment of this task [...] let our swords be drawn again from the scabbard [...] and let our blood be shed to the last drop for freedom, king and country."¹³

According to some sources he immediately buckled the sabre to his right side: a double mistake, as sabres are to be worn on the left side (at least if you are right-handed) and only noblemen are allowed to wear it. There was a hasty attempt at dealing with the second problem, i.e., to get a patent of nobility for Liszt. Still before his arrival in Pest, two of his aristocratic friends, Leó Festetics and Lajos Batthyány, submitted a request to the emperor and after the January 4 concert the Municipality of Pest approached the imperial office in Vienna in support of the request. The request was flatly rejected (though Liszt was already designing his coat of arms) with the argument that the rank of nobility can only be bestowed for distinction on the battlefield or for a life of service to the Hungarian nation. The applicants also made the mistake that instead of Liszt's exceptional talent and fame they pointed out his contribution to helping the victims of the flood. However, the nobility was bestowed on Liszt a decade and a half later but it turned out to be the Austrian and not the Hungarian one. Namely, in April 1859 Emperor Franz Joseph bestowed on Liszt the Order of the Iron Crown (third class) that enabled him to submit a petition to become an Austrian knight. He received a hereditary knighthood and after the death of his son this was passed on to his cousin Eduard. According

¹² See <http://www.mult-kor.hu/cikk.php?id=7913> (last accessed November 27, 2017).

¹³ Walker, I/325–326.

to an anecdote in the early 1850s Liszt was invited to play in the Hofburg where he performed the *Rákóczi March*. The emperor remarked: "I seldom have the opportunity to listen to this beautiful march."¹⁴ The decoration, however, might have rewarded other services, such as the Gran Mass.

The Gran Mass and the Coronation Mass

The two *Masses* among his numerous works that got the greatest political publicity were the *Gran Mass* on the occasion of the festive consecration of the new basilica in Esztergom (1856) and the *Coronation Mass* composed on the occasion of the 1867 coronation of Franz Joseph following the Habsburg-Hungarian *Ausgleich*. In Esztergom on August 31, 1856 Franz Joseph was welcomed with a 101-gun salute. Liszt conducted a group of 140 musicians in front of an audience of 4,000. The musicians, together with him, arrived by a steamer from Pest the day before and had to perform without being properly accommodated and fed. Liszt was not invited to the royal table after the ceremony, and got no honorarium. Still, this commission gave him great satisfaction and according to numerous eyewitness reports both the music and his personality made a great impact on all those who were present. A member of the choir reported: "I cannot keep my eyes off his sublime face [...]. Enthusiasm, beatitude, spiritual fervour, all can be read in his eyes."¹⁵ For him these tasks were exclusively church affairs, obligations due to his Catholic faith. The mass was repeatedly performed on September 4 in Pest, according to Liszt's letter to his cousin Eduard: "Without exaggeration and with all Christian modesty I can assure you that many tears were shed [...] and everything was a humble prayer to the Almighty and to the Redeemer."¹⁶

As to the *Coronation Mass*, Liszt expressed an interest in composing it as early as 1865 when the political decision had not been taken yet. He discussed the issue with Primate János Scitovszky, an old friend of his over a glass of fiery Tokaj wine, and Liszt promised to combine Hungarian national feeling and Catholic faith into some essence of Tokaj.¹⁷ The formal commission came only about 6 weeks before the event on June 8, 1867. The deal was that Liszt's music would be performed by Austrian musicians. He was not even invited to the coronation, so he left the Matthias church before the ceremony was over. As he walked down from the Buda hill to Pest, the crowd that was waiting for the king recognized him and "soon a hundred thousand men and women were frantically applauding, wild with the excitement of this whirlwind of voices."¹⁸ Liszt received a high-level decoration, the title of the Commander of the Order of Franz Joseph. In his thank you letter to György Festetics, master of ceremonies at the Austrian court he

14 LM, 149.

15 Merrick, 111.

16 Merrick, 111.

17 Merrick, 128. According to a critical British assessment, "[t]he style of the entire Mass is as incongruous as a gypsy musician in a church vestment" (Merrick, 129).

18 Merrick, 130.

wrote: "Allow me to request, Monsieur le ministre, that you place at the feet of his Majesty my homage of deepest gratitude."¹⁹

The Royal Academy of Music and the Opera House in Budapest

In 1875 the establishment of the Academy of Music in Budapest was to a very great extent a tribute by the nation to the great master. Enthusiasm was running high when the young Albert Apponyi came up with the suggestion of establishing this institution in Parliament in February. The funds needed, however, were not available. Instead of the Hungarian Parliament, Franz Joseph made the funds available from his royal household budget for the first year. In the course of the negotiation Liszt's principle was "*Honorar mit Honneur, vernünftige Beschränkung ohne Bettelwirtschaft.*" He did not attend the opening ceremony in November 1875. Still, the Academy turned out to be a great success, moving into more spacious buildings in 1879 and next in 1907 when it was named after Liszt. This, however, did not consolidate his fame as the great Hungarian musician genius. When the next national institution of Hungarian music, the Budapest Opera house was inaugurated, it would have been quite natural that his music be played at the opening in 1884. However, this happened shortly after the publication of the second edition of his book entitled *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* with extensive additions on Jews. The argument in the book that Jews should recover their homeland in Palestine and let each nation live in their respective countries, outraged diaspora Jews and liberal non-Jews as well. The remarks that Hungarian folk songs had been taken from the Gypsies outraged Hungarian public opinion at large. The book came into public discourse at a time when Hungarian liberalism successfully tamed the outbursts of anti-Semitic hatred connected to the so-called Tiszaeszlár blood libel: a local kosher butcher was accused of killing a young girl in order to use her blood in the Unleavened Passover bread. Most Liszt researchers argue that the anti-Jewish parts were contributed by Princess Carolyne zu Sayn-Wittgenstein, his long-term partner, still the book did substantial harm to Liszt's reputation. However, when the building of the Opera was completed by early 1884 and a large statue of Liszt dominated the façade, and Liszt was officially asked to compose a work for the opening ceremony on September 27 in the presence of Franz Joseph and Elisabeth, Liszt submitted his *Ungarisches Königslied* well in advance but 10 days before the event Baron Frigyes Podmaniczky informed him (in his quality as the chairman of the Opera Project) that the national song he included in the piece, the Rákóczi song might hurt Franz Joseph. Liszt argued that he had the text rewritten by Kornél Ábrányi Jr. and changed the refrain from an anti-Habsburg slogan to *Long live the king!* If secular songs can be changed into religious songs, Catholic tunes to Protestant songs, a *kuruc* song can also be changed into a *Royal* song. It can represent a *Musical Ausgleich*.²⁰ The argument was refuted and the Opera opened without Liszt's presence and music. Liszt was shocked and wrote in a letter: "Everyone is against me.

¹⁹ Merrick, 130.

²⁰ LM, 96.

Catholics because they find my church music profane, Protestants because to them my music is Catholic, freemasons because they think my music is too clerical, to conservatives I am a revolutionary, to the 'Futurists' an old Jacobin. As for the Italians, in spite of Sgambati,²¹ if they support Garibaldi, they detest me as a hypocrite, if they are on the side of the Vatican, I am accused of bringing the Venusberg into the church. To Bayreuth I am not a composer but a publicity agent. The Germans reject my music as French, the French as German, to the Austrians I write Gypsy music, to the Hungarians foreign music. And the Jews loathe me, my music and myself, for no reason at all."²²

This atmosphere surrounding Liszt's personality did not change after his death either as reflected by the 1887 Hungarian parliamentary debate on the possible home-coming of his remains buried in Bayreuth.

The Funeral and the 1887 Parliamentary Debate

The parliamentary debate took place on February 17, 1887 on the basis of a request submitted, following the initiative of Cardinal Lajos Haynald, by the Association of Hungarian Writers and Artists and the National Hungarian Singer Association, on bringing home the remains of Liszt from Bayreuth. Presented by Ödön Gajári, the document asked for the moral support of the Hungarian state. Only after a few sentences of the speaker, the radical nationalist historian Kálmán Thaly interrupted him by shouting: "Bring home Rákóczi!" (that is, the aristocratic leader of the Hungarian anti-Habsburg war from 1703 to 1711). When he was given the floor, Thaly argued that more than 50 Hungarian municipalities had already asked for the repatriation of Ferenc Rákóczi's remnants from Turkey but lack of money and lack of willingness turned out to be unsurmountable obstacles. Thaly argued that Liszt transcribed a march dedicated to Rákóczi, the great prince without whom the Hungarian nation would not exist, in order to pay tribute to King-Emperor Franz Joseph. Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza, in spite of the arguments of the debate that had also brought up international comparisons (Rossini from France to Italy, Weber from Britain to Germany, Byron from Greece to Britain) showed very little sympathy²³ towards the idea. For him even the moral support was the utmost limit of governmental tolerance. He praised Liszt, the artist but could not disregard the fact that as he knew it at a time when Hungarian people had hardly anything left but Hungarian music, he advertised all over the world that that music was not Hungarian but Gypsy. He referred to Liszt's above-mentioned book, first published in 1859. This book was one of the issues Béla Bartók also addressed in his inaugural lecture at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Bartók pointed out that the concept of Gypsy music was not coined by Gypsies but rather reflected the expectations of the "consumers," mainly the upper and middle layers of the nobility. This music reflected more the musi-

21 The famous Italian pianist and composer Giovanni Sgambati (1841–1914) greatly admired Liszt.

22 Walker, III/411.

23 LM, 208.

cal taste of the listeners than an authentic Gypsy folklore. According to Bartók's experience the average member of the Hungarian landed nobility did not think highly of the quality of the peasants' folk-tunes.²⁴ The most passionate speech supporting the request came from a member of the German minority in Hungary, Ödön Steinacker. Although his Hungarian was perfect, he had every reason to argue that it was not the language that made the patriot but the person's contribution to the national legacy. Steinacker also referred to the fact that when "following huge catastrophes a great number of Hungarians were looking for an asylum abroad, Liszt was always taking care of them in the small German country that even at the time of the darkest reaction was the asylum of freedom."²⁵

In spite of the celebrations at the centenary of his birth in 1911 after so many changes Hungary went through during the following two decades, the Liszt legacy remained controversial.

In a speech in 1931 (on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the foundation of Hungarian Philharmonic) Kuno Klebelsberg, the great architect of post-World War One Hungarian cultural policy,²⁶ argued that Liszt was not the founder of German program music, of symphonic poems, he was not the pioneer of new German music.

We love this great nation as we were fighting together in the Great War and nothing connects two nations more than the jointly split blood on the battlefield, still we have to protest against taking Liszt away from us. Liszt's glory as the founder of program music just the same way as Ferenc Liszt himself belongs to us [...]. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary [of the 1848 revolution] our meritorious national poet, Emil Ábrányi referred to the symphonic orchestra as the substitute of disarmed Hungarian honveds at a time when there was no way for an armed defense of the Hungarian cause only with the strength of the music instruments [...] It is part of the Hungarian nation's tragedy that following the Compromise, Franz Joseph's happy times, today again instead of the disarmed honveds, instead of the disarmed nation young Hungarian artists have to proclaim the justice for Hungary in the international language of music.²⁷

Still, as late as at the time of the large 1936 celebrations there was not yet a proper Liszt statue in Hungary, the museum was not yet set up, and his remains have not been brought to Hungary up to the present day.

24 David Taylor Nelson, "Béla Bartók, the Father of Ethnomusicology," *Musical Offerings* 3.2 (2012); Anna G. Piotrowska, "Gypsy music as the music of the Other in European Culture," *Patterns of Prejudice* 47.4–5 (2013): 395–408.

25 LM, 206.

26 LM, 198.

27 LM, 206.

Liszt and Communist Cultural Policy

It is interesting that the communist cultural policy that carefully built up an overall progressive tradition in Hungarian history (1437–1514–Rákóczi–1848–1849–1919–1945) and literature (Petőfi–Ady–József versus Arany–Vajda–Kosztolányi) was unwilling or unable to do the same in music. Kodály had unquestioned, absolute authority but no effort was made to place him at the end of a progressive musical tradition, the point of reference was folk music.

It is quite remarkable that the initiative to place Liszt into the cultural life of Kádár's socialist Hungary came from the 'grassroot' level; the reorganized Ferenc Liszt Society was the first truly civil organisation in socialist Hungary. Namely, like all other civil associations, the Liszt Society was also dissolved in the aftermath of the communist takeover in 1948/49. The opportunity came as a result of good personal contacts between Miklós Forrai, who, after his Budapest Choir was dissolved (as it also functioned as an association), for a while worked for the Arts Ensemble of the Hungarian People's Army where Pál Ilku, the later Minister for Culture was the party commissar. In the first half of the 1970s, not long before the Helsinki summit, in September 1972, the request was submitted to Ilku as a Minister. Seventeen well-known personalities, including famous artists and scholars (e.g., János Ferencsik, Annie Fischer, Kálmán Nádasdy, Pál Pátzay, József Újfalussy) and even two politically active public intellectuals, György Csánádi and Rezső Trautmann, members of the government at that time, signed the petition that, among others, referred to the Bach Gesellschaft in Leipzig, the Schütz Gesellschaft in Kassel and the European Liszt Centre in London as examples to be followed. They also pointed out that a Liszt Society could be the basis for the preparations to commemorate the centenary of the foundations of the Academy of Music in 1975. The permission was granted and the Society started its most active work. With the help of various subsidies they started giving out the annual international Liszt Record Award, awardees included Leonard Bernstein, János Ferencsik, Herbert von Karajan, George Solti, György Cziffra, and Alfred Brendel among others. By 1986 (the year of the double anniversary: the 175th anniversary of the birthday and 100th anniversary of the death of Liszt) they set up a Liszt Museum and Research Centre in the old Music Academy building that was returned to the Academy of Music. A special privilege was also granted to the members of the society, their organized trips to West European locations were permitted above the rather limited quota of western travel.

Conclusion

It seems that Liszt had the most perfect, shadeless image of Hungary when he was outside Hungary, the loud and passionate celebrations on the occasions if his concerts in Hungary paid tribute more to an image, an embodiment of the imagined ingenious Hungarian talent, less to a more complex human being. He was a sincere, open-minded, self-regulatory personality who could not be integrated into hierarchical structures of any kind. If, with the help of his biographers, we scratch the surface of the cult, there are

always frictions, tensions underneath. This did not change for a long time after his death either: be it the fate of his Budapest apartment, the debates about bringing home his earthly remnants, derogatory comments on his book on gypsy music, the disgusting exchanges about his bank accounts. There was no regime in Hungary since the Reform Age that would have had a truly unbroken bond to Liszt's person and even his image or myth could not be fully integrated into the construction of the image of a harmonious Hungary. Most recently these days the Budapest airport was renamed after him, a powerful step towards fully connecting him to Hungary, reminding the world of his Hungarian identity. Not everyone was however happy, as soon as the news spread about renaming the airport, the Mayerffy family raised objections. The airport was previously bearing one of their ancestors, Ferenc Mayerffy Xavér's name. He was a member of a German family which moved into Hungary during the second half of the 18th century; and the family was ennobled for their services and donations. They invested much of the family wealth into vineyards including Ferihegy where the airport was built. Franz Mayerffy Xavér was a friend of Miklós Wesselényi's and István Széchenyi's; the first Hungarian racecourse, initiated by Széchenyi, was built on his land. Hungarian folklore already found the solution: Liszt Ferihegy Airport, Feri being the informal Hungarian version for Franz.

Egy válás anatómiája

Forráskritikai tanulmány

Jászi Oszkár (1875–1957) hét esztendőn át, 1913-tól 1920 derekáig volt hites férje Lesznai Annának (1885–1962). Ám emberi kapcsolatuk 1908-tól kezdődött és a férfi haláláig tartott. Sok egyéb mellett a 80. születésnapjára Málitól kapott, *Ünnepi korholás* című megrendítően szép vers is ezt tanúsítja.

*Semmi sem maradt ép, csak a barátságunk,
barátságunk, amely páratlanul páros,
kemény hűségében mesével határos.
Még a hűtlenségünk is többet ér százszor
mint száz egyéb hűség... – mondja az Asszony*

A bukott politikus 1919. május elsején hagyta el – messze nem sejtve, hogy végleg – hazáját. 1926-ig zömmel Bécsben ette az emigránsok keserű kenyerét. Baját tetézte, hogy 1919 augusztusára be kellett látnia: hiába asszonyának sok jeles vonása, hiába az *istenáldáska*¹ két fiúcskájuk, az 1915-ben született Gyuri és az 1917-ben született Andriská, házasságukban sincs maradása. Bármily bizarnak hat (és természetesen nem e sorok írója kombinálja), maga a rendkívüli Férfiú írta le a tényt,² hogy magánéleti fordulatára döntően a Magyarországi Tanácsköztársaság összeomlása ösztönözte.³ Jászi pontokba szedett levélben jelentette be válási szándékát, felesége pedig harminc oldalas levélben válaszolt. Ám – téves állításokkal szemben – aligha augusztusban.⁴

* * *

Jászi Oszkár életét – annak ellenére is, hogy sok minden abból elpusztult, vagy tán csak elkallódott – szinte áttekinthetetlenül hatalmas írott anyag dokumentálja. Annak zöme eredetiben a New York-i Columbia egyetem Butler könyvtárában található. Vezér Erzsébet 1979-ben jegyzetek nélküli kis kötetben írta meg Lesznai Anna életét. Akkor már ismerte a jelen sorok írója szerint 1919. október 18–19-i válaszlevelet. A *Kritika* című művelődéspolitikai és kritikai lap 1983. évi 9. számában – lapidáris bevezetővel, kilenc jegyzettel – publikálta.⁵

Bevezetője így hangzik:

Lesznai Anna és Jászi Oszkár házassága még a hivatalos válás előtt, 1919-ben felbomlott. Jászi sok töprengés után Bécsből levélben jelentette be válási szándékát. Erre válaszol Lesznai Anna alábbi levelével, mely még Pesten, 1919 végén kelt, röviddel Bécsbe utazása előtt.⁶ A levél nemcsak Lesznai Anna rendkívüli nagyvonalúságáról, okosságáról és tapintatáról tanúskodik, de jól

dokumentálja azokat a szemléleti különbségeket is, melyek a kissé dogmatikusan moralista, aszkézisre hajlamos Jászi és a nála sokkal nyitottabb Lesznai Anna közt fennálltak, s melyek csak Jászi életének utolsó éveiben enyhültek szinte páratlan megértéssé és egymás tiszteletévé.

A helyzet ennél – a legtapintatosabban fogalmazva is – összetettebb volt. Ezt önmagában a Lesznai-levél alapos szemügyre vétele alapján is elmondhatjuk. A forrásközlés természetesen csak akkor lenne teljesen megnyugtató, ha Jászi Oszkár kezdeményező levelét is felölelné. Azt azonban – bár a jelek szerint Vezér Erzsébet és Litván György is látta – úgy tűnik, a föld nyelte.⁷

Íme, a levél:

1919. augusztus⁸

Drága öregem, hosszú és becsületes írásodra egy baráti csókkal válaszolok, legyen hát, és Isten segedelmével *nektek*⁹ legyen jó. Nekem, lelkem az élet dolgai (kivéve ments Isten és ments Istenségek a 37.1-eket, ha másokat érnek) egyáltalán olyan tanulságok, hogy alig osztom őket a „jó” és „rossz” kategóriába: feldolgozom őket. – Mindenesetre *te büntelen vagy*:

1. nem akartál elvenni¹⁰

2. nem hivatásod a szeretés

3. Mindig jó szándékkal voltál hozzám. Együttélésünk az *én szeretetemre* volt alapítva, mely, büszkén mondom, nem volt csekély. És ez rendjén: mindig az asszony szeressen jobban; nekünk úgyis kevesebb jut az élet zamatjából, jusson hát több szeretés, szeretni jó. De te, szívem, mint minden „hivatott”, nehezen szerethető ember vagy. Minden hivatásos ember olyan, mint a terhes asszony, tele „önzetlen” szent önzéssel műve mián (sic!). Éppen *ezt*¹¹ szerettem benned legjobban – ezt tiszteltem – de nem volt elég a szeretetem ehhez a teherhez. Neked, szívem, az asszonyod csak egy értelmes visszhang, egy gyöngéd tükör lehet. Téged szeretni bizonyos értelemben „harakiri”. Amíg meleg szerelemszínű szeretettel tartottál jól, addig tudtam csinálni, de amikor azt mondtad, „ne nehezedjek rád egész boldogság-vágyam súlyával, legyek újra önmagam”, tudtam és mondtam neked: elidegenedsz tőlem.¹² Akkor bukott el a szeretésem – nem tudtalak a szerelemtől lemondva szerelmes odaadással szeretni –

És két dolog fáj:

1. hogy nem tudtam egy egész szerelmet adni neked

2. és hogy lebecsülöd a közösségünket. Előbbi emberi sors – *egy egész szeretet*¹³ megváltás volna. A másik férfi-gyengeség, »tu en revien dras«¹⁴ Ez olyan fájás, nem, mint a fogfájás, de mint az, hogy nem élünk örökké. Vele jár az étellel.

Egyre kérlek, szívem, számíts rám az életben, mint legmegértőbb barátodra, ha valaha nem *várnál* tőlem tiszta szeretetnél is melegebb összetartást:

ezt nem bocsátanám meg. Jogom van hozzá, hogy húgod legyek. Nem perelni készülök hozzád, sem külsőségeket agyon rágcsálni, de lelki szükségem van legdrágább, legrégebb barátomra, rád, édes öregem. Ezer átélés, mely csak akkor lesz tiszta bennem, ha veled együtt átrágtuk. Ugye fogunk még együtt tanulni életet és könyveket, és szidni egymás írásait, édesem. Mert egy biztos ugye, két buzgó kis iskolásfiúja vagyunk a nagy életiskolának, és a jó Isten tán elnézi majd a hibákat a nagy iparkodás kedvéért. Nagyon *kellesz* nekem. Ne búsulj miattam, nem izgulok, nem dühösködöm, *értem* érzéseidet, és „lefordítom őket a szeretet nyelvére”. Mielőtt Bécsbe megyek, nem beszélek ügyvéddel, de *ne félj*, állom a helyzetet, nem keresek kibúvót. (Illetve meglássuk, hogy tán beszélek ügyvéddel.)¹⁵ Pusztá játékból, mert ez most nem aktuális, felelek a táblázatod egyes pontjaira:

1. Saját rokoni köröm – nekem is idegen. Barátaim is *mások*, mint én. Benne azonban sok érzék van az emberek sokfélesége iránt, *a hibáikkal tudom őket szeretni*. A maga barátait szeretem *legalább is* annyira, mint maga rokonait is, mamát kivéve. Mamát is szeretem, *amint nem érzem*, hogy ő nem szeret (egy év óta), és ha nem vagyok féltékeny rá.¹⁶

2. A széles összejöveleteket *sohasem szerettem*, de az emberi érintkezésre tényleg több szükségem van, mint magának. Hivatása magát túlszaturálja emberekkel, azonkívül engem, mint író (ha keveset is írok) érdekel az ember, mint téma. Azonkívül mindig beszéd közben tisztázódnak a gondolataim. És mi fő, hiszem, hogy a jóindulatú emberi érintkezés felébreszti az emberekben a „közös emberi sors” érzését, és *lehet egymáson segíteni és egymástól tanulni*.

3. A dohányfüstöt tényleg nem¹⁷ szeretem – mi tűrés tagadás – és bár *mindig* barátja voltam a félhomálynak, ha rajzolok vagy stikkelek,¹⁸ jó világításra van szükségem.

4. Étvágyam – bevallom – jó, valóban a pecsenyéhez mindig *mások miatt* ragaszkodom, *nekem* nem fontos, mit eszem, ez biztos. De ha éppen ízlik valami, ezt az örömet sem vetem meg. Szerintem *a lélek és a test megférnek egy egész emberben*, és minden szerény örömke, bármely anyagi is legyen az a *maga helyén*, elfér. Pláne megértem, ha gyerekek és cselédek és naiv emberek örülnek az ételnek: ez természetes. És hidd el, sok minden intellektuális élvezetünk csak „pecsenye” számba mehetne egy magasabb rendű lélek számára, »die zur heiligen Einfalt gelangen ist«¹⁹ – s nekiünk mégis jól tesz.²⁰

5. Nem az óramutató és a naptár szerint élek, de szeretem alávetni az időrendet idegrendszeremnek: este munkaképesebb vagyok, tehát későn kelek. Ha azonban értelmé van a felkelésnek, meg tudom tenni. És, szívem, ha boldognak, rendben éreztem magam: jobban is tudtam felébredni, emlékezz, mennyit tudtam veled lenni reggel. A pontosság számomra azonban *csupán eszköz lehet*, de nem »érték an sich«.²¹

6. A vallás lényege tényleg túlmege az erkölcsön. Hívónek lenni annyi, mint *harmonióban lenni egy felsőbb renddel* számomra. Az ember lehet hívó

különböző síkon, az erkölcs mindenesetre egyik legmagasabb. De van valami »voulu«²² még az erkölcsben is, a vallásosság önkéntelenebb. A szeretet nélküli erkölcs mindig engedelmesség valakinek, ami ha bennünk van is, mégsem »eleven-mi-vagyunk« legmélyebb értelemben. Egynek lenni az isteni renddel több mint engedelmeskedni. Szeretni több mint a jót akarni, és »azonosnak érezni magát« több annál, amit közönségesen szeretetnek nevezünk. Ennek az érzésnek intenzív és közvetlen villanásai és dadogó megfogni és lerögzíteni próbálásai – ez az én miszticizmusom. A ceremónia ilyen »szimbólum-dadogás«, a vallásos ember túlhaladja ezt a fokot, de rendesen nem kerülheti el. Esztétikailag mindketten érezzük a ceremónia értékét – nem?

7. *A társadalmat szeretetre kell alapítani minden nap és minden tevékenységgel.* Ha ez nekem nem is sikerül, csak néha egy-egy kicsiny gesztus, ez nem menti fel a tétélezés alól. Az igazság látszólag több mint a „gyenge szeretet” – de könnyen válik fallá ember és ember között. Csak az egyéni lélekben hiszek Istenen kívül. A „társadalom, emberiség” nem létezik a lélek síkján. Krisztus minden egyes emberhez szólt, minden lélek Istenbe torkoll. Sőt még az egyes individuumon belül is individualizálni kell. *A bűnöző nem azonos bűnével,* minden egyes eset külön nézendő. Krisztus úgy nézett rá közvetlen frissességgel minden emberre és esetre, mintha impresszionista volna, viszont minden esetet és embert az Abszolútomhoz, Istenhez vonatkoztatott. *Ez a kettős képessége mentette őt meg „az impresszionista és dogmatikus korlátoktól egyaránt”. Erre az életérzésre kell törekednünk. Az igazságos ember,* bizonyos értelemben *dogmatikus,* bevallom a *gyenge szeretet* mindig *impresszionista* viszont. *Az igazi „az erős szeretet”, „mely erős, mint a halál és kemény, mint a koporsó”* a szentírás szavai szerint.²³

7.²⁴ Minden szép forma iránt teljes érzékkel bírok, a szép testet többre becsülöm a rendes ruhánál, és éppen múltamnál fogva sokat szépnek tudok látni, ami laikusnak csúnya. A festői szép sokszor ellentétbe kerül látszólag a biológiai széppel. Igaz, hogy *csúnya emberekben és nőkben*²⁵ gyakran – talán gyakrabban – »válík értelmessé és értékessé a lélek küzdelme«, a szépek számára nagy a csábítás boldogan megállni és önmaguk felszínén maradni. Azonkívül csúnya embereknek több szeretetre van szükségük, mert kevesebb szerelem jut nekik.²⁶

8. A testi munkát ma többre becsülöm, mint eddig, a sportot számos elfajulás miatt kissé lenézem, a „sportszerű” műveltséget éppúgy, mint a testi sportot. *„An ihren Früchten soll ihr sie erkennen.”*²⁷ Fizikai alkatom és e téren rossz nevelésem engem még a józan sportra is alkalmatlanná tesz. (testi nevelésben hiszek!)

10.²⁸ Nevelés.²⁹ Vagy ajándéknak érezzük és rendeltetésnek lelkünk mélyén az életet vagy sem. Ha nem: egy gyereket sem szabad szülni, ha igen, minél többet, annyit, amennyit egészségi és anyagi vagy munkabeli körülményeink

és szerelmi szükségleteink megszabnak. A szerelemben sem szeretem az alá húzott „sportszerűséget” – itt is „An ihren Früchten soll ihr sie erkennen”. Azonkívül magad is tudod, mennyire kizökkenti a szeretést a szépség medréből minden óvakodás. De távolról sem állítom, hogy csak gyermek lehet a szerelem gyümölcse, egy igaz szerelemből munka, erő, szeretet, hit kell hogy fakadjon. *A szóval való nevelésben nem hiszek.* Az állandó példában igen: a környezetben is. Viszont ez kissé kiszámíthatatlan terület: sokszor ellentétes hatást vált ki. Mindenkit arra kell nevelni, hogy önmagát kell nevelni. Egy kis hanyagság, túlzott szisztematikusság elkerülése nem árt, azt hiszem, *az élet tarkaságából kiválasztja a lélek a neki valót.* Ezt tapasztaltam magamon. – Kémény, zárt nevelési rendszer olyan, mint az egyirányú edzés, ha mindig hideg fürdővel edzünk egy embert, az boldogtalan lesz, ha két hétig nem fürödhet, és vagy meghűl vagy elszédül, forró fürdőt vesz. *Sokkal jobb, ha nem méri, az ember „lelki fürdővizét” sem túl skrupulózusan.* A pofontól eltértem, fejlődőképes vagyok és utálok a terrort újabban. (Nem azokat, akik a terror bűnébe estek tévedésből, különben ma mindenkit kéne majdnem utálnom kívüled és kívülem, és ennyi utáló képesség nincs bennem!) Aki fegyvert ragad, fegyvertől esik el, és ez lenne a kisebb hiba, de a Sátán műveivel nem lehet Krisztus országát előkészíteni, ezt vallom. A terror nem szükséges rossz, nem is kerülő út, de zsákutca. Viszont estek el már sötét zsákutcában.

„Wohlgeboren”³⁰ lenni – feltétele annak, hogy fogjon az emberen a nevelés, viszont a nem wohlgeborenen mi sem fog. Ez nem jelenti azt, hogy az ingadozókat nem istápolja, a jókat nem viszi hamarabb céljukhoz a nevelés. *De nem túltaksálandó,* és főleg kiszámíthatatlan. Én nem vagyok pedagógiai zseni, ezért jobb, ha nem „akarnokoskodom túlontúl”.³¹

Édes lelkem, mindez nem empirikus lényem védelme, csak célkitűzésemé. Nagyon igaz és mély az, *hogy az ember addig felelős, amíg hatalma terjed.* De most vádolok: *az ember hatalma bizonyos fokig addig terjed, míg szeretete, mert a szeretet nagy hatalom. Duplán igaz volt ez kettőnk esetében. Velem szemben annyi hatalmad volt, amennyinek felelősségét vállaltad volna.* Az én anyagi helyzetemet mindig vétkesnek éreztem, vártam segítő kezdetet, hogy kihúzzál belőle, de te nem vállaltad a felelősséget. Viszont ez sem vád: neked nem hivatásod a szeretés, nekem kellett volna még erősebben szeretnem. Ma erősebb vagyok e téren, tanultam, és *sokat vallok fontosnak veled, amit lényegtelennek láttam a múltban.* Remélem, fogsz tettel és tanáccsal segíteni, ha a jó Isten is megsegít. – Önérzetedet nem értem mivel ástam volna alá, *mindig bíztam benned, és hittem benned* (ha neked nem is hittem el mindig mindent) a jó Isten segedelmével. Igazad mindig az enyém volt politika terén, a »hit« terén én többet gondolkodván többnek tudtam kifejezést adni, »voilà tout«, ugyanígy művészetben, végre ez nem métier-m. De ez nem lekicsinylés, nem is idegenség. Valóban ma is állítom: *egy Istent imádunk.* És édes pajtás, kívánok neked olyan lebecsülőt, mint amilyen én vagyok, mert akkor sok híved

lesz. Látom gyengéidet, sőt azt is látom, gyengeség és nem erő az, ami eltávolít tőlem: ha egészen erős lettél volna szeretetben, jobban vállaltad volna magadhoz-váltásomat; ha egészen erős lettél volna és lennél önbizalomban, nem éreznéd »más voltomat« magadra sérelmesnek és veszélyesnek. Utóbbi rám nézve hízelgő, úgy látszik van tér, melyen én erős vagyok. Viszont ha úgy érzed, hogy én ártok önbizalmadnak, jól teszed, ha kissé eltolsz – ez is erő – bár inkább intellektuális, mint spontán megnyilatkozása az erőnek.³²

Meg kell jegyeznem, *komolyan nem mondhattam célkitűzéseidet eklektikusnak*, épp oly végleges és tiszta mint „másoké”, (csak bölcsőbb) Egyéniséged néha hajlik az eklekticizmusra, *ez minden nem fanatikus és igazságos ember veszedelme, és te ez a típus vagy. De ez más oldalról nézve és kordában tartva erő, amint sokszor én mondtam neked.*

Bennem az a hiba, nem volt elég erős a szeretetem, bennem a hiba (nem abszolút, csak velem szemben), nem volt elég erős a vállalásod. Én csak 90%-ig szerettem, te 50%-ot vállaltál. Most tegyük jóvá: én szeretlek 50 percentes vállalásod gyengesége ellenére, te vállald emberi viszonyunkat 90%-os szeretésem tökéletlensége dacára. Mint jó öreg barát vállalam velem szembeni vállalni nem akarásodat, mint jó öreg testvér, szeress tökéletlen szeretni tudásommal, mely bizony metafizikai bukása életemnek. Mert számomra nem hiszem, hogy van más út, mely az ember szívén keresztül vezet, *mégis csak asszony vagyok és érzem ezen métier-ben való tökéletlenségemet.* Bajom, hogy én szeretetet várok, *mégis várok* partneremtől, és nem tudok teljesen önzetlen lenni. Viszont ez ma enyhíti válásunkat: nincs tehetségem a viszonzatlan szerelemre. Addig és olyan mértékben vagyok szerelmes, adni képes, hű, ameddig kérnek tőlem. *Ezért nem is leszek az elhagyott Didóhoz hasonló.* Viszont amire kellek neked, megértés, szeretet, testvéri *hozzád tartozás*, veled azonos szeretet, ha parancsolsz belőle, csak tessék a mese szavaival „terülj, terülj asztalkám” – és lesz minden: főzelék, kenyér, vaj, sütemény (húsételek szigorúan mellőztetnek!) Bevallom, édes, édes öreg párom, – nagyon fájna, ha keveset kérnél, keveset fogadnál el.³³

A kicsiny meg nem érdemelt Istenáldások *érdeke ebben az ügyben csak egy, hogy mi megértsük és szeressük egymást*, a jó Isten segedelmével.

Surányról szó sincs – nem is hív H.A.³⁴ Kényelmetlenek volnánk neki mint família. Elég undok szegény, mióta „igaza van”.³⁵ H[atvan]-ról van szó, hol nincs senki, üres a kastély, és a jó Isten segedelmével van fűtő- és evőanyag.

Nagyon vágyódik utánad öreg húgocskád, ki mégis szerelemmentesen is, *tehozzád érzi legerősebben összetartozását (kölyköcskét kivéve).* Nem hiszem, hogy legyen szerelem számomra, mely ehhez mérten erősebb emberi közösséget jelenthetne számomra.

A jó Isten veled és velünk.

Megengedem, hogy te is eltedd ezt a szép levelet.³⁶ A jó Isten óvjon és áldjon bennünket.

Én is³⁸ újra átolvasom leveletemet, és nincs rajta módosítani valóm, legfőlebb a pacák és kissé ideges stílus: de hiszen tudod, hogy tudok szebb is írni. A lényeg áll. Minden hibád és hibám dacára nagyon szeretlek: nincs neve az érzésnek, nem barátság, emberileg elhagynál, árva lennék. A házasság formája, sőt talán a szerelem formája, mely részedről rég megszűnt, nem mélyebb a legmélyebb szempontból.

Átnézem a *fő vádakat*, ami vád leveledben. Dohányfüst és Istenhit alatta és felette vannak a vád szférának. Körtvélyesben *igazad* van, de segítened kellett volna. E célból *elejétől* fogva közelebb kellett volna jutnod anyámhoz és Karihoz.³⁹ Nem volt rá mód és jog *erőszakkal* befolyásolnom a dolgot – e téren (emlékezz!) úgyis sokat tettem. Viszont azért, amiben ők élnek (50 év felett jó úri morál), nem tudok sem egy öregasszonyt, sem egy kisfiút elítélni. Remélem, ezt Kari Isten jó segedelmével kinövi, de *ehhez* is fontos, hogy engem szeressen. Azzal, ha *Pesten fogyasztom el* a jogtalan jövedelmet, viszont nem éreztem magam erkölcsösebbnek: ez az *adni és bölcsen* mások javára felhasználni, nem volt módomban, ehhez több erő és segítség kellett volna; lemondani, erre részedről is több vállalás kellett volna (nem volt jogom ezt kérni sem). Viszont szegénységet pózolni, ezt nem érzem erkölcsösnek. – Politika: soha egy percig *eléggé nehéz* helyzetekben sem tagadtam meg a vörös időkben a te józan és erkölcsös lényedet. Erre tanúm néhány akkori hatalmasság, kivel szembehelyezkedtem. – Az embereket viszont *el tudom és akarom* választani bűnös vagy fanatikus tévedéseiktől: a szándékot látom és a pozitív jókat. Jobb szeretek egy embert, kiből sok a jó és esetleg bűn is van, mint a lanyhákat. Ebben *régen* egyet értettünk, talán ma is. Barátaimmal szemben *legalább is* úgy megőriztem magam, mint veled szemben: *egy igaz, és ez tán hiba nőnél*: nem tudom hitemet még szerelemből sem megtagadni. De benned, a jó Isten adja mindig úgy lehessen, állandóan hittem. De avégre, hogy szerethesselek nem kellett magamat csalnom, kevés hibád van, azokat látnom szabadott, és *vélük együtt szerettelek*. Adja a jó Isten, hogy te *épp úgy* tudd szeretni az én gyengeségemet, akkor emberileg együtt leszünk.

A jó Istennek hála rendben vagyunk. 9 fokos szobában fázunk, útra készülünk. 25-ike táján remélem nálad. Kérlek, keress szobát, mivel még nem vagyok *teljesen* egészséges:⁴⁰ kis kényelemre; sok mosdás, meleg víz lehetősége (semmi egyéb), szükségem van. Mamáék Isten segedelmével H-ba, anyád Ali-cehoz készül.

Sürgönyödnék örültem, de fáj, hogy aggódsz. Minden nap próbáltam levelet meneszteni. Szeretettel csókollak és vágyódom öreg pajtásom után. A jó Isten áldjon téged és bennünket.

* * *

A szöveg töretlen olvasása érdekében a magunk szükségesnek gondolt megjegyzéseit, kiegészítéseit, elemzéseit lábjegyzetekbe illesztettük. Ám az összegzésnek – amely természetesen nem csupán épít az elbeszélő lábjegyzetek nyújtotta ismeretekre, hanem mondanivalónk világos érthetősége végett helyenként a szó szerinti ismétlés nyomatékosító eszközét is alkalmazza – itt a helye. És annak élén Jászi önképét kell megrajzolnunk.

Mert természetesen ő is önképe lencséjén keresztül cselekedett, ítélte meg mások dolgait. Nos, mérhetetlenül nagyra gondolta magát. Valóban nagy volt. Ám nem akkora, hogy köz- és magánéleti bukását elkerülhesse. 1905. február 21-én Párizsból írja Szabó Ervinnek: „Mi intellektuelek azon dolgozunk, hogy azt, ami a nagy néptömegekben félig tisztán él, egy integrális világnézetté gyúrjuk át s morális, tudományos, művészeti fegyverekkel aknázzuk alá a társadalmat.”⁴¹ Nem kétséges, hogy a *mi intellektuelek* fordulat mögött – széles bázis helyett – csupán néhány ember állt. Szabó Ervin, Somló Bódog és még néhány személy. A feladat irgalmatlan nagyságához képest oly kevés ember, hogy azok heroszokként sem lettek volna képesek feladatuk kivitelezésére. Ám ők „csak” hatalmas koponyák voltak, kiknek társadalom-átalakító céljaikhoz többnyire csupán szálnalmasan gyenge eszközeik voltak. Amikor pedig a polgári demokratikus forradalom a társadalom élére dobja őket, akkor kétszeresen megoldhatatlan helyzet miatt vallanak teljes csődöt. 1. Nincsen semmi érdemleges ország-vezető tapasztalatuk. 2. Képtelenség polgári demokratikus államot és társadalmat teremteni abban a nemzetközi helyzetben. Mert az egyik oldalon a győztesek nem csupán kemény békét készültek az országra kényszeríteni, hanem magát az ezer esztendő bírodalmát is feldarabolták, a másik oldalon pedig a magyar társadalom egyik, akkor mértékadó része ugyancsak fogékony volt a bolsevik imporra.

Innen lehet meglátni Jászi nőkhöz való felettébb összetett viszonyát is. Az ilyen embereknek semmi esélyük arra, hogy magukhoz illő nőt találjanak. Ezért ők poligámmá válnak, ha ugyan génjeikben eleve nem hordozzák az arra való hajlamot. Jászi olyan asszonyt akart, akivel szemben való viszonyában „az abszolútumot” érzi.⁴² És mivel ilyen nem volt – miért is lett volna –, ezért ha tehetette, párhuzamos kapcsolatokat tartott fenn.

A legfontosabb, a benne legmélyebben élő nő, két gyermekének édesanyja, Lesznai Anna volt. Máli – aki képes volt „utólérhetetlenül kedves” lenni, aki a „körtvélyesi fészekben” „valódi nagyasszony” volt, aki „lelke elragadó szárnyalásával, szelleme szédítő mélységeivel” kápráztatta el férjét,⁴³ aki képes volt arra is, hogy amikor az hosszú hónapokon át (sikertelenül) a marxizmus rendszeres cáfolatának megalkotásán fáradozott, akkor ezen erőfeszítésében is férjének sok ösztönzést adott.”⁴⁴

Ugyanekkor ezzel az asszonnyal lesz az ő viszonya a legellentmondásosabb. Képes őt időnkint – maga vallja – meggyűlölni.⁴⁵ Míg Jászi roppant fegyelmezett elme volt, addig Máli helyenként „féktelen és zavaros”.⁴⁶ Még 54 esztendő korában is „a régi óriási baby, minden realitás érzék híján [...]. Olykor játszik, olykor kétségbeesik.” Jászi ekkor is „nagy pesszimizmussal” nézi volt neje lehetőségeit, „világ- és emberszemléletét még

kevésbé” tudja követni, mint régen. Ekkor is úgy látja, hogy „nagyon kevés ellenállása van a kor áramlataival szemben.”⁴⁷

1919-ben Jászi számára nem szemlélődési kérdés volt, hogy Máli nemhogy semmi ellenállást nem tanúsított a kommunizmussal szemben, hanem kifejezetten „életszükségletévé” vált a Lukács György vezette Vasárnapi Körrel való kapcsolattartása. Ő ezt a világot meggyűlölte, s nem tudta megakadályozni, hogy „valóságos fizikai undorra” vált ellenszenve ne menjen át feleségére is...

Elválnak, s mindig együtt maradnak.

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Végjegyzetek

1 Lesznai Anna szóeleménye.

2 „Ez a probléma nekem különösen fájdalmas és éjjel-nappal foglalkoztat. Elviselhetetlennek érzem, hogy M[áli] baráti köre egy társaság legyen, melynek lelki-erkölcsi defektusait mindig ösztönösen átéreztem. A Szamuely cimboráivá vált fichtei idealisták oly gyűlöletesek előttem, hogy félek M[álival] szemben igazságtalanná leszek. De mily helyesen ítélt meg a helyzetet s még helyesebben jártam volna el, ha M[áli] nem traktált volna a vasárnapi társaság ítéleteivel és hangulataival. És ez az, ami lehetetlenné teszi a régi életformát. A küzdő férfi nem bírja ki, hogy egyidejűleg egy belső fronton is kelljen harcolnia neki nem tetsző esztétikai és erkölcsi formák ellen. Ez a keserves történelmi dátum [a Magyarországi Tanácsköztársaság bukása – P.P.] egyben, úgy érzem cezúra életemben is. Új életformára van szükség

– ha még egyáltalán marad számomra életlehetőség. – Nem tudom megtagadni – még a gyermekek kedvéért sem, amit lelki fejlődésem előfeltételének kell tartanom” (Jászi 2001, 53). Jászi tehát a gyermekek kedvéért sem volt hajlandó a házasságot fenntartani.

- 3 Jászi Oszkár ugyan 1919 márciusában egy pillanatra arra az álláspontra jutott, ha már adódott rá lehetőség, ki kell próbálni a kommunizmust, ám azután szinte napok alatt kialakul benne a kommunizmus kilátástalanságára vonatkozó meggyőződése. Ellenben feleségének – Jászi szavai szerint – „életszükségletté” vált a kommunista vizekre evezett Vasárnapi Körrel való kapcsolata. Arról (az előző jegyzetben már Jászi szavaival jellemzett) körről van szó, amelynek Lukács György volt a vezetője, melynek a Magyarországi Tanácsköztársaság vezetőire igen mély volt a hatása, melynek tagjai augusztus elseje után (két személy kivételével) emigrálniuk kellett. Bár Mályusz Elemér *Vörös emigráció* c. – ma is mérgező – munkája az egész külföldre ment és menekült táborot vörösre festi, Jászi kifejezett averzióval viseltetett azokkal szemben, akik a bukás következményeinek levonása helyett – mint a vele Bécsben találkozó Lukács is – fanatikusan hittek a világforradalomban, a kapitalizmus közeli bukásában. (Május elsején Jászit semmilyen külső kényszer nem szorította emigrációba. Azért tett így, mert a proletárdiktatúra bukását elkerülhetetlennek tartotta, nyomában fehérterrorral számolt, s tudta, hogy annak ő lesz az egyik fő céltáblája.)
- 4 Lesznai 1983, 27; Litván 2003, 93.
- 5 A harminc oldalas, kézzel írt levél a nagyformátumú folyóirat apró betűivel két nyomtatott oldalon elért. Litván György Jászi-monográfiájában azt írja, hogy Vezér Erzsébet neki adta át a Butler könyvtárban általa gyűjtött, Lesznaihoz érkezett leveleket (Litván 2003, 14). Tehát minden bizonnyal Jászinak a Bécsből (vélelmem szerint) 1919. október 7-én Málihoz írott levelét is, amelyet Litván minden bizonnyal tévesen datál augusztusra. Litván 2003, 93.
- 6 Eufemisztikus kifejezés. Lesznai Annának a határt csak embercsempész segítségével sikerült kalandosan átlépnie. November 30-án érkezett Bécsbe (Jászi 2001, 77).
- 7 Kérésemre Peter Pastor, majd George Deak volt szíves a Butler könyvtárban kikérni az 1919-es Jászi-levelezést. Egyikük sem találta meg e levelet. Magam Jászi Oszkár roppant terjedelmes naplófolyamából az 1919–1923-as éveket felölelő, Litván György által 2001-ben kiadott kötet szövegének, valamint Lesznai Anna 1983-ban publikált levelének a naplóval való egybevetése alapján jutottam arra a következtetésre, hogy a Jászi-levél október 7-én, felesége válasza október 18–19-én íródott.
- 8 George Deak révén – ezúton is köszönöm – ismerem (a 30. oldal kivételével) e levél digitális másolatát. Azon nincs dátum.
- 9 Kiemelés tőlem – P.P.
- 10 Lizó és Ákos – vagyis Lesznai Anna és Jászi Oszkár – között pajtáskodó barátság volt. Lizónak Cserháthy Józsi volt a nagy szerelme, aki Lesznai Annát élete legszenvedélyesebb tüzéire lobbantotta. A szakma nem tudta eddig beazonosítani valódi nevét. Balázs Béla ismerte, de visszaemlékezéseiben csak L. Z.-ként, s nem kevés

ellenszenvvel említi: egy olyan „senki”, „egy csúnya, jelentéktelen, minden íz és erő nélküli paraszt” volt, aki Lesznait kínoztta, lépten-nyomon megalázta (Balázs 1982 I, 553). Minden bizonnyal nagy név lehetett. Balázs Béla nem kockáztathatott. Máli naplójából tudható, hogy a Z. betű mögött Zoltán keresztnév rejtőzött. A naplóban Zoltán a viszony kihűltével is fel-felbukkan. Vezér Erzsébet szerint a románc 1912-ben véget ért, Török Petra 1912–1913 körülre datálja a kapcsolatot. A regénnyel való egybevetés alapján nem kétséges, hogy ő került közelebb a valósághoz – indifferens, hogy ott mintegy három esztendővel későbbi történet (Vezér 1979, 53; Lesznai 2010, 520). Egy ízben Lizó elfogadta Ákosnak a lakására szóló invitációját. Nem sokkal később testében számára már ismerős dolgok kezdtek történni. Hiszen első házasságában szült ő már gyermeket. Ákos azonban – tudta – „borzad a házasságtól”. „Lizó, testvérem vagy a lélekben... De mégse vehet kölöncöt a nyakába az, aki elígérkezett a hivatásának!” Lizónak meg a „karja lúdbőrzött félelmében”. Mit fog szólni Józsi, ha megtudja, hogy „Ákostól vár gyereket, mit szólna hozzá?” Hamarabb tudta meg, mint Ákos. „Négy nap múlva együtt lesz Józsival... De a következő percben már Ákos meleg, datolyaszeme nézett rá. Képzelete, mint bolond hinta-palinta, felváltva emelte hol Józsit, hol Ákost a magasba. Mindkettőjük ellen vétett, most jön a büntetés” (Lesznai 2015, II, 358, 371, 422, 427). A büntetés megjött, de másként. Lizó az élet mellett döntött, Ákos pedig tudta a kötelességét. Ám a megszületett csecsemő Jászi és Lesznai házasságkötése után nem sokkal meghalt.

11 Ezt az egyetlen szót kurziválta Litván 2003, 93–94.

12 Eddig idézi Litván 2003, 93–94. Sok központozási változtatással, az előző jegyzetben jelzett szó kivételével minden kurziválás nélkül. Egyben úgy hagyja ki az alábbi szöveget, hogy nem jelzi annak saját kihagyás voltát: „Nekem, lelkem az élet dolgai (kivéve ments Isten és ments Istenségek a 37.1-eket, ha másokat érnek) egyáltalán olyan tanulságok, hogy alig osztom őket a 'jó' és 'rossz' kategóriába: feldolgozom őket. –”

13 Ez már a Meluzina-képlet. Részletesebben lásd Lesznai 2010, 522–523.

14 „majd rájössz” – VE jegyzete.

15 Nem szabad ennek a libikókának jelentőséget tulajdonítani. A következő hetek kettejük viszonyában tele voltak fordulatokkal. Amikor Máli november 30-án váratlanul megérkezik Bécsbe, akkor Jászi úgy látja, hogy neje „a válásba belenyugodott”, de bántja férje „elhidegülése”. „A régi barátságot szeretné visszaállítani”, s zokog, mert „nyomorgása” ellenére Jászi nem fogad el tőle pénzt. Jászi is óhajtja a régi barátságot, de csak akkor „ha behegednek a sebek.” Az értelmet ellenben folyton keresztülhúzza az érzelem. Hatására Jászi számtalanszor magát vádolja házasságuk válságba jutásáért. És újból és újból megsajnálja a kétségbe esett Málit. Hiszen „alapjában tiszta és nemes lélek, de féktelen és zavaros. Lehetetlen bohém-jüngli köre újra fölébe került. S látva körülötte ezt a gyűlöletes világot” Jászi nem tudja megakadályozni, hogy ellenszenve át ne menjen feleségére is. Ez az ellenszenve „valóságos fizikai undorra” fokozódott. A „szeretet és gyűlölet, vonzalom és undor”

közötti kilengései pedig enerválttá, beteggé tették. Ám nem annyira, hogy ne tudott volna örülni a december elején Bécs érkezett Kunffy Lajosnénak, Ellának, akiben a legtöbb „női finomságot” érzi, aki „egyedüli vigasz”, s „legszilárdabb pont” „hányt-vetett” életében. Ám az „egyedüli vigasz” elkövette azt a nagy hibát, hogy „nagyon lesújtó” kritikát gyakorolt a feleségen. Miközben a férj – ismételjük – gyakorta magát vádolta a házasság kudarcáért. Ella tehát a kritikájával maga alatt vágta a fát. Jászi december 5-én írja: „Sok részlet a közelmúltból nagyon sért, de azt hiszem, helyes az az ítéletem, mely a hiba nagyobbik részét a saját magam számlájára teszi. Hibáztam, bűnhődtem, felelős vagyok, hogy a jövőjét lehetőleg egyen- gessem!” (Jászi 2001, 78.) Vajon – kérdezhetjük – mit is érthetett ezen a *jövő-egyen- getésen* a nyomorgó számkivetett? Úgy véljük, se többet se kevesebbet, csak azt, hogy a feleségével *együtt* megy el az Amerikai Egyesült Államokba. A terv a követ- kező hetekben születhetett meg a fejében/fejükben. Miközben nem csupán lábá- ban gennyes, operációval végződő kötőszövet-gyulladással, hanem lelki kínokkal is szenvedett: a vele anyaként, testvérként odaadón törődő, s mind e közben szer- telen Máli „újabb vallomásokat tett élete újabb fordulatáról”, a Vasárnapi Körben megismert Gergely Tiborral való románcáról. Ez ugyan bősztítette, kétségbe ejtette a férjet, ám saját maga *akkori* életvezetését is aligha feledhetve látta, hogy nejének „nemes és nagyarányú lelke [...] felül áll minden salakon.” Mindeközben ott van a közéletben is: a fehérterror újabb dolgai okán memorandumot ír az antant „prog- reszív közvéleményéhez”, s azt Málival sokszorosítják. Azt reméli, hogy Eduard Beneš az USA-ba diplomáciai úton *számukra* beutazási engedélyt kér. A *szá- munkra* értelmét a másnapi, 1920. január 18-i bejegyzése már újabb fordulata kere- tében adja meg. Ti. abban Máli *is benne volt*, de gyorsan meggondolta magát. „Máli dolgai újra összetéptek, újra kínozta ama szörnyű kis beteg bócher (vagyis Gergely Tibor – P. P.) alakja. Tisztán éreztem, hogy egy reprízről óvakodni kell. Teljes lehe- tetlenség együtt kimenni Amerikába. Ez csak a házassági tortúra megismétlődése volna egy még lehetetlenebb formában.” És az is kiderül, hogy e napokban kapcso- latukat a „talán erősebben, mint eddig” fellobbant erotika is élte. „Jobb volt ma ezt elmondani neki – írja este naplójába Jászi –, mint egy új próbálkozásba bele- menni, amelytől mindketten még megtépettebben kerülnénk ki.” A közlés a „sze- gény” Málit, aki alaposan beleélhette magát, hogy elmennek, sőt férj és feleségként az USA-ba „nagyon felizgatta.” Jászi pedig még aznap levelet írt egyik ifjúkori sze- relmének, Margicinek, vagyis Kendeffy Margitnak, Ezének, vagyis özvegy Pap Dá- vidnénak, akinek az 1912-ben megjelent nagy könyvét ajánlotta, akin életveszélyes, arcát eltorzító műtetet hajtottak végre, ha nem a szokott túlzásairól van szó – írja előző nap naplójába Jászi. És még futotta erejéből, hogy Ellának is írjon, „aki hol- nap érkezik” (Jászi 2001, 81–82).

- 16 Nagyon nem szerette Jászi édesanyját, akinek kemény elvei voltak az életre vonat- kozóan, aki – mint Jászi írja kései visszaemlékezéseiben – magát nem kímélve dol- goztatta keményen a cselédeit, s akit Jászi rajongásig szeretett.

- 17 Az értelemzavaró *nem* szócska nincs benne a levélben. Azt – ki tudja milyen, freudi alapon – a szövegközlő szúrta közbe.
- 18 „hímezek” – VE jegyzete.
- 19 „aki elérkezett a szent együgyűség fokára” – VE jegyzete.
- 20 Mindemögött az van, hogy Máli 1919-re alaposan elhízott, alakja előnytelenné vált. Itt ugyan szemmel láthatólag elhárítja férje kritikáját, ám aztán Bécsben mégis – aligha kétséges, hogy e kritika hatására – koplalásba fogott. Majd – mert férje válási szándékát nem tudta megmászítani – hónapokon belül megint elhízott. Ellenben az akkor már Jászit messze nem zavarja annyira. Mivel 1920 késő tavaszán, kora nyarán, a sok bécsi keserű, fázós, betegeskedő hónap után „álomszerű varázssal” vette őt körül (a hajdani Zemplén vármegyéhez, ma Szlovákiához tartozó) Körtvélyes. Ebben az „álomszerű ragyogás”-ban – nem e sorok szerzője, hanem írásának főhőse ismétli magát a sok mardosódás után – hirtelen úgy látta, hogy most „nem volt semmi kényszer, sem irritáltság közöttünk”. És annak hatására – írja naplójában Prágában június 7-én, visszatekintően, tehát *nem* a pillanat varázsában, hanem a megélt boldog napok emlékében fürödve – „a házasságunk előtti Máli bontakozott ki teljes gyönyörűségében: a gyöngéd nővér, az odaadó barát, a mindent megértő és inspiráló munkatárs, a lendületes szerető” (Jászi 2001, 115; kiemelés tőlem – P.P.).
- 21 Nem nehéz megmondani, hogy meddig nem okozott a nő és a férfi között feszültséget a nőnek a férfitől merőben eltérő időbeosztása. Addig, ameddig a férfi Asszonyát *meleg szerelemszínű szeretettel tartotta* jól. És a nő addig, s csak addig volt képes arra, hogy időrendjét a férfihez, s ne idegrendszeréhez igazítsa, következőleg csak addig volt képes sokat férjével reggel együtt lenni, amíg az őt *meleg szerelemszínű szeretettel tartotta* jól. Egyszer Oszi elérkezett oda, hogy Málinak az mondja: *ne nehezedjék rá egész boldogság-vágyának súlyával*. És azt is mondta, hogy *legyen újra ön maga*. És jöllehet levelében most fentebb Máli azt írja, hogy ő ebben a pillanatban *tudta és mondta, hogy elidegenedsz tőlem*, az egyidejűségben joggal kételkedünk. Tudta, ám nem mondta. És ha mondta, akkor azt nem szóval, hanem *tettel* mondta. A tettével mondta, hogy ettől a pillanattól már nem a Férfinak, hanem idegrendszerének engedelmeskedik. Bár Oszi az óramutató és a naptár szerint élt tovább, Máli már nem hozzá, hanem az idegrendszeréhez igazodott. És azzal a férfi idegrendszerét kezdte el irritálni. Meglehet: tovább irritálni.
- 22 „akart” – VE jegyzete.
- 23 E sorok írója ebből a fejtegetésből – bevallja – sok mindent nem tud követni. Ám Lesznai Annának egy ideális társadalmi rendszer iránt erős törekvését természetesen látja. Aligha kétséges, hogy az vitte őt a Vasárnapi Kör gondolkodóihoz, ezért volt az, hogy a tomboló ellenforradalom elől menekülnie kellett, s ezért volt az, hogy a polgári Csehszlovákiában legalább személyileg biztonságban volt. Vagyoniilag már messze nem, hiszen a jelentős mértékben kifejezetten magyarellenes éllel végrehajtott radikális földreform keresztülvitele – hiába gondolta Jászi Oszkár,

hogy erős világnézeti, baráti szálakkal kötődik hozzá T. Masaryk és E. Beneš – számukra a négyezer holdas földbirtok elvételével járt. Ám megmaradt a tágas kúria és az azt övező hatalmas, park, szépséges arborétum. És e fejtegetések is megmutatják, hogy míg Jászi dogmatikus, ő impresszionista volt. Ám mivel ő és férjei, Jászi, majd Gergely Tibor is vallásosak voltak, ezért 1920 karácsonyán együtt mennek el a körtvélyesi római katolikus templomba éjféli misére. „Karácsony éjféli mise – írja naplójába Máli. Nem tudok imádkozni – szeretettől és csudálkozástól. Arany ragyogás Krisztus képén, ki a kenyeret és bort osztogatja. Mellettem Oszi és Gerg. Én szeretném mindkettő kezét megfogni, de mozdulatlan vagyok a szeretettől. Mágikus minden, templom és hívők, nyakig mágia, fejünk felett mágia. „Add meg mindennapi kenyerünket ma” – mágikus könyörgés az Atyához, ki maga is mágikus. Hadd együk a mágia kenyerét, hogy erőre kapva tőle megszüljük a fiút, a szeretetet. A Fiút mi szüljük. A mágikus Isten bennünk duzzad terhessé, váltódik meg szeretetté. A mágiát teremteni = az Anyát és Apát teremtés. A művész és Mária viszonya. A művész vállalja mágikus szerepét, és csak indirekt van köze, mint művésznek a szeretethez – amennyiben művész. Gerg ugyanezeket gondolta, mint utóbb megtudtam.” Lesznai 2010, 207. – Az előfej szerint 1921-ben járunk, a szövegösszefüggésből nem kétséges, hogy a bejegyzés 1920 karácsonyára vonatkozik.

24 Ismét a 7. szám olvasható.

25 Kiemelés tőlem – P.P. Lesznai Anna ugyancsak összetett személyiségének roppant konzervatív vonásai is voltak. Az egyik bizonyíték erre az *emberek és nők* megkülönböztetése.

26 Máli – láthatjuk – igen nagy mélységekben tudott gondolkodni. Ám éppen ennek okán – bár elmaradhatott e téren akár jelentősen is az ő 1913–1920 közötti férjétől – bizony ő is hajlamos volt a doktriner gondolkodásra. Tehát ezzel rögvést azt is mondjuk, hogy – mint akár most is láthatjuk – *döntő* mértékben Jászi Oszkárt válásra aligha ösztönözte, hogy ő inkább a dogmatikus, Máli ellenben az impresszionista gondolkodásra volt hajlamos. Hiszen saját élettörténete, addigi élettörténete is cáfolja azon állítását, mely szerint *kevesebb szerelem jut a csúnya embereknek*. Bizonyára kisebbségben, ám messze nem törpe kisebbségben vannak, akik a csúnya emberekben is – legyenek bár *laikusok* – meglátják a szépet. Nem kell messzire mennünk. Lásd a 10. végjegyzetet.

27 „gyümölcsseikről ismerjétek meg őket (bibliai idézet)” – VE jegyzete.

28 Így van az eredetiben is – P.P.

29 Súlyos ellentét feszült e téren a házastársak között. Jászit teljesen elkeserítette, hogy két kisfia – akiket Édesanyja mellett legjobban szeretett a világon – „a leghelytelenebb és legkárosabb nevelési hatások alatt nőjenek fel. Rafinált francia konyha – tületetéssel terhelve – meleg vizes mosdatás, meghűléstől és légvonattól való örökös félelem, hermetikus elzárás a falutól és minden gyermeki társaságtól, állandó ideges kétségbeesés és jajveszékelés minden nátha miatt, a gyerekek minden szabadságának vagy iniciatívájának rendszeres tönkretétele: mindez valóban egy teljesen lehetetlen nevelés rendszert teremt, mely exasperál és kétségbe ejt”

(Jászi 2001, 131). Mindebben Máli „csak” követte a gyermekekkel vélhetőleg a legtöbb időt együtt töltő édesanyját – akiről más összefüggésben összegzően és lejtőtoán maga tartotta azt, hogy „zölden lett befőzve” (Lesznai 2010, 50), vagyis soha nem lett felnőtt ember. Ám más összefüggésben Máli „nevelési” gyakorlatáról férjének még lesújtóbb volt a véleménye: „teljes alkalmatlansága a gyermekek irányítására (nevelésről jobb nem is beszélni)” (Jászi 2001, 132).

30 „Itt: születésénél fogva tanulékony, fogékony. Mai jelentése: tekintetes (címzésben)” – VE jegyzete.

31 Itt a 10. sz. pont második bekezdésének a vége, s az új bekezdés már nem kap újabb számot. Annak tartalma is azt jelzi, hogy itt fejeződött be a férj „vádpontjaira” történő asszonyi reagálás. Ha egybevetjük e pontot, a két bekezdést a levél indításával, akkor látjuk: jóval alacsonyabb szinten állunk. Van itt minden, ám a neveléshez már aligha van sok közük. Illetve a második bekezdés egyértelműen a korábban általa követett gyakorlat megideologizálása: a nevelésnek nincs semmi értelme, mert az *a nem wohlgelborenen mit sem fog*.

Már az első mondat sem kimondottan a nevelésről, hanem arról szól, hogy szabad-e, kell-e gyermeket vállalni, és rögvést a szerelem témájára siklik, ám ott sem időzik sokáig: arról is áttér a szeretet témájára. Valahogyan úgy, ahogy anno Körtvéyesen esetenként, amikor a betelepedett vendégeknek már nemigen volt érdemi mondanivalójuk, ám a kellemes ingyenélésnek nem akartak véget vetni, s folydogált a beszélgetés estéről estére a kúria teraszán. Máli kötött, a szájában ott füstölgött az elmaradhatatlan cigaretta, s idővel közben már el-elbóbiskolt. És ahogy akkor fel-felriadt, most is vissza-visszazökken a nevelés témájára, hogy végül azzal zárja: nincs értelme nevelni. Becsületére váljék, bevallja: Én nem vagyok pedagógiai zseni, ezért jobb, ha nem „akarnokoskodom túlon túl”.

Amikor a szeretetről e pont az első bekezdésében visszakanyarodik a nevelés témájára, azt – tapintatosan szólva – nem túl magas színvonalon teszi. Hiszen nem valami magasröptű az az állítás, hogy a szóval való nevelésnél a jó példa többet ér. Természetesen teljesen helyesen beszél arról, hogy *mindenkit arra kell nevelni, hogy önmagát kell nevelni*. Ám ő esetenként nemhogy nem nevelte gyermekét, hanem egyszerűen nem is törődött vele. Amint azt a tragikusan 1945-ben, 42 évesen német katonák által agyonlőtt első gyermeke haláláról értesülve majd maga vallja be (Lesznai 2010, 505). Ha pedig törődött velük, akkor az minden volt csak nem nevelés, s az joggal váltotta ki 1919 augusztusában valón akaró férje kritikáját. Tehát a témáról a látott módon – *kemény, zárt nevelési rendszer olyan, mint az egyirányú edzés, ha mindig hideg fürdővel edzünk egy embert, az boldogtalan lesz* – nem volt túl szerencsés értekeznie. Hiszen követett gyakorlata felidézésével aligha remélhette valón akaró férjének a meggyőzését.

32 Ebben a bekezdésben nincs semmi színvonaltalanság. Sokkal inkább a gondolatok gazdagsága, s a pozitív érzelmek széles skálája. Közismert, hogy a *szeretet* szó tartalma szinte parttalanul gazdag, s még ha csupán a személyek közötti kapcsolat

tartalmára szűkítjük, akkor is hatalmas területet ölel fel. Ám az adott konkrét helyzetet nézve a képlet igencsak leegyszerűsödik. A házasság jogi kötelekének a felbontásáról van szó. Arról a jog világában pontosan meghatározott viszonyról, amelybe Jászi 1913-ban a születő élet megóvásának parancsa miatt ment bele. 1919 augusztusára – ismételjük – jutott arra az elhatározásra, hogy meg kell e kötelem-től szabadulnia. A házasság – bármennyit is változott, változik annak a tartalma – alapvetően egy férfi és egy nő szövetekezése. Védelemre szövetkeznek, szövetkeziünk. Tehát ha az egyik fél abból szabadulni akar, akkor az bizonyosan sérti a másik fél érdekét. Esetünkben Lesznai Anna érdekét sértette a tervezett válás. És ezért van az, hogy bár szinte az első szava a nagyvonalú igen, a várható jövő súlya mégis harminc oldal megírására késztette. És abban a felelősség kérdésének is fel kellett merülnie. Máli – láthattuk – azt tette, hogy a felelősséget nem csupán a hatalommal, hanem a szeretettel, a szeretet hatalmával is összekapcsolta. És itt hozza megint elő azt az állítását, amelyet már levele elején is leszegezett, hogy Jászinak nem lett volna hivatása a szeretés. Recha Wolmannt elvette, hogy azt öngyilkossági hajlamaitól megszabadítsa. Azután az emigrációban körülményei annyira leromlanak, hogy a házasság pokla is kisebb volt élete poklánál.

- 33 Máli ugyan azzal vigasztalja Oszit, hogy ne féljen, nem lesz Didóhoz hasonlóan öngyilkos, ám a feleségét (is) alaposan ismerő Jászit az efféle aggodalmakkal szemben sokkal inkább az zavarta – láthattuk –, hogy messze nem volt a válás zavartalanságában biztos. E bekezdés ugyan csupa – dialektikus fordulatokkal megtűzdelt – gondolati sziporka, ám a levél első, Litván Györgytől és másoktól is idézett bekezdésének súlyos, tömör tartalmasságához képest a lényegyet tekintve igazából csak ismétlés. És amit már nem szoktak idézni, ám roppant lényeges, ti. Máli nem bocsátaná meg, ha Jászi nem venné igénybe az ő testvéri szeretetét, az is ott van a levél elején. (*„Egyre kérlek, szívem, számíts rám az életben, mint legmegértőbb barátodra, ha valaha nem várnál tőlem tiszta szeretetnél is melegebb összetartást: ezt nem bocsátanám meg. Jogom van hozzá, hogy húgod legyek. Nem perelni készülök hozzád, sem külsőségeket agyon rágcsálni, de lelki szükségem van legdrágább, legrégebb barátomra, rád, édes öregem.”*) Ebben bizony az is benne van, hogy a szeretetnek jó adag önvédő funkciója van. Megvéd – például – az öngyilkosság gondolatától, tartalmat ad életünknek.
- 34 „Hirsch Albert, Lesznai Anna unokatestvérének, Hatvany Irénnek a férje, a nagysurányi cukorgyár vezérigazgatója” – VE jegyzete.
- 35 Nyilván arra történő utalás, hogy a vezérigazgató úr – mint általában „fenn” élők – a régi rend híve volt.
- 36 Arra a joggal felmerülő kérdésre, vajon szabad-e ezt a sok (általában csak az érintettekhez tartozó) intimtást megírni, boncolgatni, itt az igenlő, magától az érintettől származó igenlő válasz. Hiszen férje – tudta, írta *választott* ember volt, akinek saját életében igen, ám az utókor tisztán látni akaró tekintete előtt nem lehetett magánélete. És azzal, hogy Máli megengedte levele megőrzését, bizonyosan azt is

- mondta: nincsenek titkai az utókor előtt. – Az újabb közzétételt terjedelmes jegyzetekkel övező történész nem szeretne félreértetni: a levelet nem csupán nagyon szépnek, hanem megindítónak is tartja.
- 37 Jászi Oszkár naplóbejegyzéseiből, főleg a szeptember 29-iből és október 30-iból vonható le a következtetés, hogy Jászi október 7-i levelére Máli ezt a levelet október 18-án fogalmazta, s innen 19-én folytatta, majd fejezte be.
- 38 Vajon ki még? Esetleg Balázs Béla, akinek is Máli hosszú évek óta bepillantást nyújtott naplójába? Netán Gergely Tibor, a harmadik férj? Avagy Máli már maga előtt látja a levél olvasásába mélyedő Jászi Oszkárt?
- 39 „Garay Károly, Lesznai Anna első házasságából származott legidősebb fia” – VE jegyzete. (Lásd még a 29. végjegyzetet.)
- 40 Jászi október 30-i bejegyzésében, amelyben éppen nyugtázza, hogy már elolvasta Máli „memorandumát”, vagyis a harminc oldalas levelét, írja: „Mihamarabb meglátogat. De újabb furunkulózis megint akadályozza. Gyerekekkel 6-án Hatvanba mennek. A kastély üres. Élelmiszer- és fűtőanyag van” (Jászi 2001, 71).
- 41 Jászi 1991, 29. sz. levél, 74.
- 42 Amikor Ella 1920. derekán élére állítja a kérdést, akkor emlékezteti őt arra, hogy „mindig és őszintén” megmondotta neki, hogy nincsen így. Jászi 2001, 124. – június 24-i bejegyzés.
- 43 1920. augusztus 25-én írja Jászi, hogy Máli előző napi levelének „következő passzusa nagyon mély és igaz: »ohne mich wäre es Dir zu leicht rein zu bleiben – ich bin ein >trotzdem< in deinem Leben ohne dem du dich nie erreichen wirst – deine Reinheit bliebe ohne meine menschliche, reiche Zweifelhaftigkeit allzusehr förmlich. Und meine Zweifelhaftigkeit kann mich erheben, wenn dir zum Reichtum wird.«.” Vagyis – Litván György fordításában – „Nélkülem túl könnyen tudnál tiszta maradni – én vagyok a te életedben a >mégis<, ami nélkül sohasem juthatsz el önmagadhoz. Az én emberi és gazdag kétségem (egyértelműtlenségem) nélkül a te tisztaságod (egyértelműséged) nagyon is formális maradna. Ez az én kétségem felemel engem, ha téged gazdagít” (Jászi 2001, 138).
- 44 1920. március 6-án jegyzi fel Jászi: „Este Máli: folytattuk az Anti-Marxot. Hihetetlenül okos és mélyre látó ember. Nem csoda, ha ennyi ész és karakter mellett a rendes és kedvelt női típustól oly elütő” (Jászi 2001, 94).
- 45 Jászi 2001, 115.
- 46 Jászi 2001, 77. – 1919. december 2–3-i bejegyzése.
- 47 Jászi 1991, 29. sz. levél, 74.

The Concept of the NATION¹ in American English²

1. Introduction

What is the American nation like? If this question is raised, one could expect replies such as ‘It is like a *melting pot*,’ or ‘The American nation is a *salad bowl*.’ These are just two of the countless metaphoric linguistic expressions, which play a role in the mental representation of the American nation. This paper aims to identify the conceptual metaphors, applied by the members of the American nation, in the mental construction of the concept of the American NATION.

A sample of 1,000 items containing the concept of NATION was randomly generated in the COCA Corpus. Data gathering was carried out in all text types (spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers and academic texts), within the time span of 1990 and 2015. Titles (e.g. Talk of the Nation), identified 97 times, and statements about other nations (e.g. Muslim nation), occurred 57 times, were excluded. After filtering out the irrelevant elements of our dataset we got a list of 846 items. Each item was studied in context: every paragraph, comprising 3-4 sentences, was carefully read and the metaphorical linguistic expressions relating to the NATION target domain were identified. Then, on the basis of the metaphorical linguistic expressions, the conceptual metaphors were identified. A single metaphoric linguistic expression can be the linguistic representation of more than one conceptual metaphor (example 0). In other words, during the on-line conceptualization of the nation, more metaphors can be at work simultaneously.

- (0) A year later, several of *our nation's monuments* still need repairs, and they need money to do it.

Our nation's monuments is a metaphoric linguistic expression, which is the linguistic representation of two conceptual metaphors:

- (i) *our nation*: THE NATION IS A POSSESSED OBJECT
 - possessor → WE group, the members of the nation
 - the one possessed → nation
- (ii) *nation's monuments*: THE NATION IS A POSSESSOR
 - possessor → nation
 - the one possessed → monument (natural and cultural resources)

1 Following the traditions of Cognitive Linguistics, concepts, conceptual categories, frames, domains, conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies are in small capitals. Metaphoric linguistic expressions are italicized.

2 I thank Professor Zoltán Kövecses and Helen Shaw for their useful comments on this paper.

The following conceptual metaphors and sub-metaphors were identified in the corpus listed in the order of frequency:

- THE NATION IS A PERSON – 567
 - THE NATION IS A POSSESSOR – 205
 - THE NATION HAS A PERSONALITY – 101
 - THE NATION HAS A LIFE – 227
 - THE NATION IS AN ECONOMIC AGENT – 34
- THE NATION IS AN OBJECT – 146
 - THE NATION IS A POSSESSED OBJECT – 65
- THE NATION IS A GROUP – 92
 - THE NATION IS A CONTAINER – 76
- THE NATION IS AN ENTITY – 19
- THE NATION IS A BUILDING – 12
- THE NATION IS THE HUMAN BODY – 9
- THE NATION IS A LIVING ORGANISM – 7
- THE NATION IS A LAND – 1
- THE NATION IS A FAMILY – 1

The next section introduces the metaphors one by one, but instead of frequency order, another guideline is followed, namely the hierarchical organization of the source domains. On the top of the hierarchy, items with the most schematic structure and generic features are ranked, while the sub-groups are more specific and less schematic. Among the source domains of the nation target, the most generic one is the ENTITY, which includes objects and living organisms. LIVING ORGANISMS have the sub-groups of humans, animals and plants. The domain of the human being has two salient aspects: the PERSON and the HUMAN BODY. Persons are clustered in FAMILIES and in GROUPS. OBJECT is a more generic category than that of BUILDING and LAND.

2. THE NATION IS AN ENTITY

ENTITY is defined in FrameNet as follows:³ ‘This frame is for words that denote highly schematic entities.’ The core of the frame is: ‘A thing (either abstract or physical) that exists with some degree of permanence.’ The corpus also justifies that the ENTITY frame comprises our highly schematic knowledge about living organisms and objects. The following attributes are mapped from the source to the target domain:

- an entity exists → the nation exists (example 1)
- an entity is created → a nation is made (example 2)

³ “Entity,” FrameNet Search, accessed January 5, 2018, <https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Entity>.

- what makes an entity what it is: the essence of the entity → the essence of the nation: the inherent features of the nation (example 3)

The meaning of the word NATION is discussed in the corpus (example 4), which suggests that language not only represents the way people conceptualize NATION, but it also has a metalinguistic function⁴, i.e. to discuss the meaning of the words, and thus language itself. It also suggests that nation is a contested category, the features of which are being argued.

- (1) Culture, defined as a set of symbols, language and group patterns, allowing for mutual recognition, is essential to the *existence of a nation*.
- (2) But the Democrats were split between moderates who opposed secession, and radicals who wanted to *make a new nation*.
- (3) ‘*What is this nation* if they can let people be slaughtered like this, with the help of the military’, thunders Sammy Titaley, a leader of the Protestant Church of Maluku.
- (4) According to that view, the *nation* precedes the state, and it is very often interpreted as some kind of collective entity that transcends each and every individual. It is thus usually associated with a certain form of collectivism.

3. THE NATION IS A LIVING ORGANISM

Living organisms (humans, animals and plants) have a life-cycle: they are born, they live and they die. From this three-stage process only the first two are applied to the NATION target. The birth of the NATION is a salient event (example 5). As long as it exists it lives in particular circumstances, which highly determine the way it lives. Its status is not fixed, it changes with time (example 6). It can also change its living habitat (example 7).

- (5) Independence announced the *birth of a new nation* – the United States of America.
- (6) It is unmistakable that the demographic shift that is *changing the nation* is also changing the Burgh.
- (7) There is a body of song to document the *expansion of our nation* westward and our evolution as a society through the social upheaval.

4 Roman Jakobson, “Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” in *Style in Language*, ed. Thomas Sebeok (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1960), 350–377.

4. THE NATION IS A PERSON

4.1. THE NATION IS A POSSESSOR

This is considered the most salient sub-metaphor of the NATION IS A PERSON metaphor, with its 205 metaphoric linguistic expressions in the corpus. This metaphor represents the knowledge that the nation is a person who owns certain possessions.

Firstly, the possessed ones are the members of the nation. The members can be viewed as individuals (e.g. *scholars, founders, farmers*) or greater units, which are groups of individuals (e.g. *family, community, middle class, generation, population*).

The individuals are typically representatives of the following fields:

- politics: *the nation's governors, the nation's leaders, the nation's first black president*
- sport: *the nation's top college women's golfer, the nation's top defensive player*
- public service professions: *the nation's most decorated living soldier, the chief law enforcement officer of the nation, the nation's top forest fire investigator*
- social groups: *the nation's pregnant women and children, the taxpayers of the nation, the nation's poorest citizens, the nation's high school students*

The possessions of the owner are likely to be salient members of the nation. From the populous American nation, the best, the largest, the top and leading figures and groups are often highlighted (e.g. *the nation's best sleep and fatigue experts, the nation's most outstanding linebacker, the nation's most distinguished and respected scholars*).

Secondly, the possessed ones can be geographical or political units of the US. In this case the possessor is the nation, which metonymically stands for the country (NATION FOR COUNTRY). The possessions are the cities, districts, states, etc., namely the geographical and political units made up the country. They tend to be outstanding members of their category (e.g. *the nation's major cities, the nation's fastest growing metropolitan area*).

What is common in the first two groups is that they both express the relation of a category and its members. The nation is made up of individuals and the country is that of places, both of which can be organized into higher-level categories (e.g. *persons → family, cities → district*). The NATION can be understood as a category, which has certain members. Therefore, what we see here is that category membership is expressed by possession. A member of the category is the possession of the category. *Scholars, pitchers, farmers* are members of the NATION category, hence they are the ones possessed by the NATION. The same stands for the country, which – in the POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL LOCALE frame – is made up of smaller units. Geographical and political units are mem-

bers of the COUNTRY category, linguistically formulated as possessions. Since the country can metonymically be substituted by the nation, it is the nation who owns the *cities, states and districts*. The mappings of the metaphor are:

category → possessor

member of the category → possession/the one possessed by the possessor

belonging to a category → being owned by the possessor

Thirdly, the possessed ones can be institutions, material and cultural resources that are run by either the states/federation or by members of the nation on the one hand, and are used by the members of the nation, on the other hand. This idea is based on the CONTROL IS POSSESSION metaphor and on the NATION FOR COUNTRY and NATION FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE NATION metonymy. The country as a political unit, which is substituted by the nation, controls:

- public institutions: *our nation's schools, our nation's hospital and medical centers, the nation's community colleges*
- material and cultural resources: *the nation's monument, the nation's air, the nation's nuclear weapons*

The members of the nation, whom the nation stands for, control:

- institutions and organizations: *one of the nation's last guilds, the nation's largest hunger-relief charity, the nation's third largest teacher's union*
- material and cultural resources: *the nation's screens, the nation's grains, the nation's fruit and vegetables*

It is important to note that in some cases it is in the background of attention that the *military, courts, hospitals, firms, companies, charities, unions, retailers, agencies* etc. are controlled by the state or by members of the nation or even by a foreigner, since what is in the focus of attention is the fact that these institutions and organizations are all of the nation's service, in other words they are used by the members of the nation.

4.2. THE NATION HAS A PERSONALITY

A person is unique due to her attributes. Nations are (near) universally conceptualized as persons who have certain personalities. What makes the conceptualization of each nation unique is the fact that conceptualizers do select only certain attributes of a person from a numerous set. What differentiates the nations from each other is their characteristic features, which deliver information about a nation's identity, i.e. about the mental representation of itself. We can also trace back stereotypes of a nation in these attributes. The American nation as a person has the following attributes:

- outlook: weighty, fat
- dominant: self-disciplined, influential, independent, leader in global education and research innovation, superiority in nuclear weapons, economically important (example 8)
- valuable: it is loved, favored, great, the greatest, generous, warm-hearted (example 9)
- has a value system: sovereign, democratic, capitalistic, peaceful, dedicated to freedom, religious, has values
- has a culture: maintain traditions

- (8) Let us consider all the reasons why the United States remains *the most influential nation* in the world and is perhaps becoming the most influential nation in history.
- (9) America has been respected in the past as a *powerful nation, a purposeful nation, and a generous and warm-hearted nation*.

Based on the high number of the expressions of the *great nation* and the *greatest nation* it is assumed that the nation's self-evaluation is deeply entrenched in the American culture – it is part of the distributed, emergent cultural cognition⁵. The text producers argue that the status of being a great or the greatest nation has to be strengthened and preserved. The American nation is a person, who finds it essential to maintain its good reputation, which has a long tradition. She is concerned with preserving her prestige.

4.2.1. THE NATION IS A PERSON WHO HAS NEEDS AND INTERESTS

A distinguished feature of the nation is that it has certain needs and interests, which should be met. The mappings of this sub-metaphor are:

- the person with needs and interests → nation
- the persons who serve the person → the members of the nation
- sacrifice one's life for a person → sacrifice one's life for the nation
- if a person is served properly, one rewards you → if a nation is served properly, it rewards you

The nation needs certain persons (e.g. *committed citizens, persons starting a business, more clergy men*), institutions (e.g. *public research universities*) and actions (e.g. *labor*). Two social groups are highlighted among the members of the nation – the women

5 Farzad Sharifian, "Distributed, Emergent Cultural Cognition, Conceptualisation, and Language," in *Body, Language, and Mind (Vol. 2): Sociocultural Situatedness*, eds. Roslyn M. Frank, René Dirven, Tom Ziemke and Enrique Bernárdez (Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 109–136.

(example 10) and the veterans (example 11) who are the best examples (paragons) of how to serve (the interests of) the nation.

- (10) America's women veterans, and their years of *service and sacrifice in defense of our nation*, are receiving special recognition this Veterans Day.
- (11) James Lewis, chaplain of the Texas Division, said the ceremony, which came 130 years after the end of the war, was important to see that the veterans are respected and that *the blood and tears that they shed for our nation* are not forgotten

This metaphor implies the attitudes and actions expected from the citizens to be loyal to their nation. Being against the needs and interests of the nation is highly disapproved.

4.2.2. THE NATION IS AN ATHLETIC PERSON

It is well-known that Americans tend to conceptualize LIFE with the source domain of SPORT. The analysis suggests that sport also play a crucial role in the mental representation of the NATION. The American nation is a person who does sport (example 12), takes part and wins sport competitions. Furthermore, the nation is also conceptualized as a sport team with outstanding sportsmen (example 13).

- (12) Most often, this involves water, that wild rush of snowmelt heralding *the nation's most prolific rafting activity*.
- (13) *He led the nation with 41 touchdown passes* and ranked third in passing yards, with 4,002, while throwing just four interceptions in a spread offense that ranked second in the country in total yards (506.3 per game).

4.2.3. THE NATION IS AN EMOTIONAL PERSON

This metaphor is neither highly represented, nor so elaborated in the corpus. The nation is depicted as an EMOTIONAL SELF, who can be traumatized by certain acts of the citizens (example 14) or surprised by certain political events (example 15). It can have negative feelings (e.g. *hater, mourn, throe*) towards another person or an event. It suggests that the text producers tend to express the negative feelings of the nation, not the positive ones. *Happiness, joy and grace*, for example, are not attributed to the nation.

- (14) In October 1989, *the nation was shaken* when Boston's Charles Stuart murdered his pregnant wife and attributed the shooting to a black thief.
- (15) We are in Goshen, Indiana, today for our series on the Changing Face of America to talk with young Americans about what they have learned from the *political drama that has gripped the nation* for the last month.

4.2.4. THE NATION IS A RATIONAL PERSON

The nation is a person, who has cognitive abilities, perceives the world around her, mentally processes the information coming from the outer world and has a set of knowledge (example 16). The following aspects of the RATIONAL SELF were identified in the corpus:

- a person can mentally process the events (e.g. *observe, see, focus the nation's attention*)
- a person can think something over (e.g. *ponder*)
- a person's cognitive abilities can fail (e.g. *can forget something, can be sent into disarray*)
- a person has a mind (e.g. *somebody can do damage to the nation's psyche*)
- a person's thoughts can be influenced (e.g. *to shape the nation's conscience*)

The American nation is conceptualized as a conscious person, who is aware of the events happening to her, since she is continuously and actively processing them with the aim of understanding the world around her. It implies that the person intends to control her life.

The text producers place themselves to a position in which they have access to the nation's emotions and thoughts. It lets them report the emotional and rational status of the nation.

- (16) With the end of the cold war, the bust of our economic boom and the disintegration of our families, we are a *nation struggling to understand itself*.

4.3. THE NATION IS AN ECONOMIC AGENT

A significant amount of the metaphors are of the nation who is an economic agent, which seems reasonable, since the economic status of the US is a common topic of politicians, journalists, business analysts, etc. The mappings are the following:

- a person earns money → the nation earns money
- a person spends money → the nation spends money
- a person saves money → the nation saves money
- a person invests money → the nation invests money
- a person has debt/mortgage/bond fund/credits → the nation has debt/mortgage/bond fund/credits
- a person pays taxes → the nation pays taxes
- a person's spending/debt/credit is regulated → the nation's spending/debt/credit is regulated
- a person pays back the loan/money → the nation pays back the loan/money
- a person uses a certain currency → the nation uses a certain currency

- a person does business → the nation does business
- a person produces (e.g. energy) → the nation produces (e.g. energy)
- a person is supplied (e.g. with food, with gasoline) → the nation is supplied (e.g. with food, with gasoline)
- a person has shortage of workforce (e.g. doctors, utility workers) → the nation has shortage of workforce (e.g. doctors, utility workers)

The nation is an economic agent, who spends more than it saves, pays a modest sum of taxes, accumulated a serious amount of debt and credit (example 17). To overcome this disadvantageous financial situation its spending (example 18) has to be reduced and it has to pay back its loans (example 19).

In sum, the text producers analyze or even criticize the US's economic policy, they introduce facts and tendencies about the economy; and in some cases they are concerned with the economic stability of the country. However, it is not the country, but the nation whose economic situation is represented in the corpus by conceptualizing the nation as an economic agent.

- (17) *No nation spends more money on crime control, police, burglar alarms, bars on windows, and private security police.*
- (18) *They say that the nation will have to live with either higher taxes, budget deficits of \$100 billion to \$200 billion a year, or changes in Social Security retirement age and cost-of-living adjustments – or some combination of all these measures.*
- (19) *The nation is now trying to pay back what it borrowed during the decade of debt*

4.4. THE NATION HAS A LIFE

One of the most salient features of a person that she leads a life. LIFE is a frame that has infinite aspects, among which only a few are salient in respect of the American nation.

The nation is a person who has events in her life, some of which are worth celebrating. The chronological sequence of events of her life is the story of her life. It means she has past, present and future (example 20). It is the nation's past that is in the focus of attention.

- (20) *Freedom to dream and invent has produced the greatest nation on earth, past or present.*

4.4.1. Goals

She is not only the passive patient of her life, but also an active agent, who acts (e.g. can go to space, can organize competitions, can make decisions). She pursues certain life goals, which is conceptualized either without a metaphor (example 21) or by the LIFE IS

A JOURNEY metaphor (example 22). The main meaning foci are the person's life goals (target of the journey) and the way one reaches it (road), which are both argued.

- (21) Now is the time to rededicate this *nation to a new long-term strategy* much as we did following World War II, when we began exporting the security that has already made war only a memory for more than half the world's population, enabling hundreds of millions to lift themselves out of poverty in the last couple of decades alone.
- (22) But even Republicans acknowledged that the issue of corporate malfeasance could prove effective if, come October – when most voters are first beginning to focus on Congressional and Senate races in their states – the economy and the stock market are down, and Americans believe the *nation is heading in the wrong direction*.

the life of a person → the life of the nation
the past of a person → the past of the nation
a person acts in her life → the nation acts in its life
a person has goals → the nation has goals
life → journey
target of the journey → the goal of the nation
the road → the ways of reaching the goals of the nation
to travel → to pursue a goal

4.4.2. Problems

The nation is a person, who has problems and challenges during her life – expressed without a metaphor. The person needs to identify the problem either on one's own (example 23) or another person can make her single out the problem (e.g. to focus the nation's attention on the problem and to force a national debate). The person needs to cope with the problem or challenge (example 24). The issue can be viewed with summary scanning or with detailed attention. In the latter case the issues are specified: the taxes and spending; political instability; war and terrorism and corruption cause problem to the person (example 25). The correspondences are:

the problems of a person → the problems of the nation
a person needs to solve her problems → a nation needs to solve her problems
a person identifies her problems → a nation identifies its problems
another person make the person identify her problems → the members of the nation make the nation identify its problems

- (23) This election has been a renewing, I think, of the country's confidence and determination that we can *resolve the problems that face the nation*.

- (24) With the *wide range of issues facing our nation*, we cannot keep funding the government in two- or three-week increments, Carney said.
- (25) We live at a particular moment when our *nation is faced with war, and terrorism* has become an unwelcome guest.

PROBLEM is also conceptualized as an ENEMY (example 26). The nation's social, economic and environmental problems (e.g. *anthrax, smog, influenza, corruption, homelessness, drugs, AIDS*) are conceptualized as enemies, which have to be overcome. The person's greatest enemy is terrorism, against which it fights with endurance and commitment.

- (26) They wondered whether the *nation* could put this kind of effort into a *war on homelessness or drugs or AIDS*.

The mappings of the PROBLEM IS AN ENEMY metaphor are:

- enemy → problem
- fighting against the enemy → trying to solve the problem
- overcoming the enemy → eliminating the problem

4.4.3. Leader

A person (nation) can solve her problems and achieve her goals more effectively if a person helps and guides her. Consequently, the nation is conceptualized as a person who needs to be guided during her life (JOURNEY metaphor). The person strongly desires and requires a leader, because without one she would move along her path (JOURNEY metaphor) with no control, since she would be led by nobody (example 27). The leader ensures security in the person's life, namely it is the leader's responsibility that the person (nation) he moves to the right direction (JOURNEY metaphor). It is the leader's duty and responsibility to determine the correct direction (example 28). Consequently, the leader of the person (nation) is a key figure in the person's life. This is a prestigious, serious and responsible task, hence it is a great shame to mislead the nation (example 29).

Another essential aspect of the leader's role in the person's life is that it communicates with her: the leaders address the nation in their speeches.

The main meaning foci of the LEADERSHIP frame driven by the following questions are:

- who leads/governs the person? – the government or the president
- what are the guidelines? – policies
- how is the person led? – right or wrong direction

- (27) Clinton's focus will be on the nation's economic trouble, both as a problem on its own and as a metaphor for what the Democrat contends *is a nation adrift* after 12 years of Republican rule.
- (28) He called on our nation , ' to open doors of opportunity to all of God's children.
- (29) He did say he regretted misleading the nation.

4.4.4. Threats

The nation is a person whose life or certain fields of her life are threatened (example 30). The person's life, health, safety, future, survival and properties (material and cultural resources) are at risk. The person or the thing that is the cause of the uncertain status of the person is either specified or not. Other countries, homosexuals, terror threat, external threat, stress, nonmilitary concerns are conceptualized as threats to the person. It implies that the person (nation) cannot feel safe and she lives in fear due to the various kinds of threats. Threat is constantly present in the nation's life: it is not conceptualized as a phenomenon that may disappear or that can be eliminated. The correspondences are:

threats of a person's life → threats of the nation's life
insecure status of a person → insecure status of the nation

- (30) "We're concerned about the *continued threat to our nation*," said Dr. John Lumpkin, the agency's director.

4.4.5. War

One of the entailments of the THREAT metaphor is that if someone is threatened, she needs to be protected or defended. Certain institutions and social groups can defend one (example 31), but it is mainly the person itself who actively fights against an enemy. The focus is usually driven to the enemy, whom the nation is at war with (example 32).

- (31) Women have the same right to *defend their nation* as men do.
- (32) The recent arrests that our fellow citizens are now learning about are a stark reminder that this nation is at war with Islamic fascists who will use any means to destroy those of us who love freedom, *to hurt our nation*.

4.4.6. Relationship with other persons

Finally, the nation is a person, who has a relationship with other persons. Partnership means that the persons co-operate and help each other (example 33).

- (33) Under joint implementation, one country transfers resources to another *to help that nation* meet environmental targets.

5. THE NATION IS THE HUMAN BODY

The human body has two main meaning foci: the health condition of the body and the body parts. HEALTH can either be a source or a target domain.

Firstly, HEALTH as a target, various epidemics which the members of the nation suffer from are conceptualized as enemies. The ILLNESS is an ENEMY, which the person needs to fight against. In Talmy's force dynamic system⁶, illnesses are forces. The illness is the protagonist, whose goal is to change the person's (healthy) status, while the person is the agonist, whose goal is to preserve its healthy status. The mappings of the BATTLE metaphor are:

enemy → illness

the attack of the enemy → becoming ill (example 34)

protection against the enemy → protection against the illness

defeating the enemy → recovering from the illness

- (34) Indeed, the terrorism threat is a big issue in Florida, MacManus said, because the state has numerous major ports, tourist attractions and airports that make it vulnerable, not to mention the 2001 *anthrax attack* in South Florida that *shook the nation* in the aftermath of the Sept. 11 catastrophe.

Secondly, HEALTH as a source domain always marks an appropriate way of working, while illness does improper. The nation is ill, which means she has problems (e.g. *the nation's epidemic*). The solution of her problems is conceptualized as recovery from the illness (e.g. *needs to recover from the economic recession*; *heal the nation*). The mappings of the ILLNESS metaphor are:

health of the body → proper status of the nation

illness of the body → improper status of the nation

recovery from illness → solving the problems of the nation

The conceptualizers abuse not the body parts, but the functions of the certain body parts:

the pulse of the nation → the center of the nation = Washington (example 35)

- (35) "Where are you from?" "From Washington, D.C.," he said with pride.
"The pulse of the nation. I was born there. I was raised there."

6 Talmy, Leonard. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics. Volume I. Concept Structuring Systems*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000.

6. THE NATION IS A FAMILY

There is only one metaphoric linguistic expression in the corpus that represented the NATION IS A FAMILY metaphor (example 36). The mappings of the metaphor are:

parent → the nation
children → the members of the nation

- (36) Can a *nation* truly be connected to its *children* and committed to their futures when it allows one of out every five to grow up in poverty and often with violence?

7. THE NATION IS A GROUP

The nation is conceptualized as a group of people (example 37). The persons who are the members of the group are the members of the nation and the group they belong to is the nation.

Text producers tend to identify themselves as members of a WE group. The WE category represents a group of people, which is equated with the nation (example 38). The NATION is the value of the WE category.

Based on the SOCIAL GROUPS ARE CONTAINERS metaphor, the nation is conceptualized as a container (e.g. *in the nation, throughout the nation, inside the nation, within the nation*), in which the entities can be the:

- members of the nation
- certain places of the country
- phenomena that influence the life of the nation

- (37) I am a member of the Afrikaaner nation as you are a *member of the American nation* and I do not want other people to vote together with us.
- (38) We, *we believe, as a nation*, from the founding of this nation, that God gave the individual certain inalienable rights.

8. THE NATION IS AN OBJECT

The metaphor reflects our knowledge about objects, namely

- their physical attributes
 - size: an object can be large → a nation can be large
 - flexibility: an object can be flexible → a nation can be flexible
 - shape: an object can be reshaped → a nation can be reshaped
 - boundaries: an object extends between certain boundaries → a nation has boundaries

- structure: an object has a structure → a nation has a structure
- their material = they are composed of something
 - an object is made up of something → a nation is made up of something
 - laws, immigrants, abundance, couch potatoes, total idiots
- they can be owned by a person
 - an object can be lost → a nation can be lost
 - possessor → WE group, the speaker, certain members of the nation
 - possessed object → nation
- they can be made up of parts
 - whole → nation
 - parts → members of the nation
 - the parts belong together → the members of the nation belong together

The object is made up of parts, which function separately, but they contribute to the proper functioning of the whole. The parts can emerge in two ways: (1) they can originally be present since the emergence of the object (diversity) (example 39) or (2) the parts can emerge due to the interference of an outer force, which dissolved the WHOLE into PARTS (example 40). Attention can be driven to the relation of the PARTS and the WHOLE. Certain portion of the parts can be put into the foreground of attention (example 41). The object which is made up of parts entails that the parts form a unity. In this case the focus is not on the heterogeneous, but on the homogeneous nature of the object. It is one unit that functions as a WHOLE (example 42). In this case, the attribute of the object that it has identifiable and distinguishable parts get into the background of attention.

- (39) Speakers underscored the importance of parks as classrooms; the need to be more relevant to more people, particularly those who live in urban areas; and the need to recognize the *diversity of the nation* through our national and historic landmarks.
- (40) Impeachment is only the latest in a long series of Republican attempts at *distracting the nation* with divisive and inflammatory sideshows.
- (41) The family themselves – the direct mother and father – are in an extreme emotional state, so the grandparents took it upon themselves, very bravely, to speak out and try to show that their son is not a monster, despite what *the rest of the nation* has seen.
- (42) World War I put “Americanization,” as it was soon called, center stage in the home-front effort to *unite the nation* and, for the first time, the campaign involved the Federal government in the effort to make Americans out of immigrants.

9. THE NATION IS A BUILDING

The building source domain lends two main meaning foci to the NATION target domain: (1) the process to construct a building and (2) the physical attributes of the building. The mappings are:

- building → the nation
- builders → the members of the nation
- to build a building → to create the nation

The entailments are:

- a building can collapse and then re-built → the nation can cease to exist and then created again
- a building has foundations → the ideology along which a nation is organized
- a building has stability → the nation has (cultural, moral etc.) stability

One starts the process of building with laying down the foundations (example 43). It is essential to have strong foundations, because the whole building rests on it. You can build the foundations on a rock, hill, which is the equivalent of the ideology along which a nation is organized (example 44). A force can destroy a building. However it ceases to exist, it can be rebuilt, while, in contrast, if a living organism dies, it ceases to exist forever. In other words, the possibility of re-building the building is an essential potential of the building source domain. The stability of the building is also one of its salient features. It can be strong and solid (example 45) or weak and instable. It weakens due to the deviation of its building blocks, the first signs of which can be some fissures (example 46). Fissures of the nation are the indicators of the nation's future problems.

- (43) As much as or more than any other group, African-American bondsmen (and women) built *the foundations of our modern nation*.
- (44) The United States was, after all, the first great *nation founded on this principle*.
- (45) In fact, the real test of a *nation's stability* and dedication to freedom is not whether citizens' rights and democratic procedures are sometimes violated, but whether anyone reacts when this happens, and whether anyone bears the political consequences
- (46) Perhaps nothing revealed the *larger fissures underlying the nation* more vividly than the electoral map itself.

10. THE NATION IS A LAND

This is a unique metaphor of the nation, only represented by one metaphoric expression. A land can be either discovered or not (example 47). If a land is not known yet, it implies that humans are tempted to discover it. What is undiscovered can hide many curiosities.

(47) This *undiscovered nation* has been quietly gaining a thriving economy.

11. Conclusion

A sample of 1,000 occurrences of the concept of the NATION in various text types (spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers and academic texts) in the period between 1990 and 2015 suggests that the concept of the American NATION is conceptualized metaphorically. Far the most frequent conceptual metaphor is the NATION IS A PERSON metaphor. The main meaning foci of the PERSON domain are as follows.

(a) The nation possesses (salient) groups and individuals of the nation; geographical and political units of the US; institutions of the states and the federation; material and cultural resources of the country.

It assumes a collectivist way of thinking, namely that it is the members of the nation/the nation as a community who

- are proud of their outstanding individuals/social groups;
- benefit from the services of social, administrative, healthcare, educational etc. institutions;
- use/control the natural, cultural resources, geographical sites.

In sum, it is a community, which shares both the responsibilities and duties of possessing something and the benefits of it.

(b) The nation is a person, who is dominant, valuable, has a value system and a culture. The nation is conceptualized as a person who has mainly positive attributes, which presumes a person of positive self-evaluation. This self-image of the nation is part of the American nation's distributed, emergent cultural cognition⁷, which is a highly abstract phenomenon, evolving in time.

(c) The nation is an economic agent, who has financial problems.

⁷ Farzad Sharifian, "Distributed, Emergent Cultural Cognition, Conceptualisation, and Language," in *Body, Language, and Mind (Vol. 2): Sociocultural Situatedness*, eds. Roslyn M. Frank, René Dirven, Tom Ziemke and Enrique Bernárdez (Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 109–136.

- (d) The nation is a person, who has certain needs and interests to be met. The members of the nation are required to serve these needs and interests.
 - (e) The nation is a person, who has an emotional and rational self.
 - (f) The nation is a person, who leads a life. In her life, she:
 - has goals;
 - has problems;
 - has a leader, who guides her;
 - has to face threats;
 - is at war;
 - has a relationship with other persons.
-

The other dominant source domain of the NATION target domain is that of the OBJECT. The nation is conceptualized as an object, which is possessed by the members of the nation. It implies an emotional relationship between the owner and the owned one: the owner takes care of its possession, so it is emotionally related to it.

Furthermore, the main meaning foci of the OBJECT source domain are the object's:

- material;
- structure.

These aspects of the OBJECT source domain enable the conceptualizer to focus on the relations of the parts and on the relationship between the parts and the whole. On the one hand, what holds the members of the nation together and what makes them feel they belong together is that they obey commonly accepted laws and that many of them are immigrants or descendants of immigrants. On the other hand, the members of the nation as parts of the OBJECT are regarded as a WHOLE. A whole is more than just the sum of its parts, since the parts construct a UNITY.

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A Capital Contribution

John Everett Millais and the Vignettes for Trollope's *The Small House at Allington*

This paper presents the first investigation into the role in meaning production of the decorated capitals drawn by John Everett Millais for the serialisation of Anthony Trollope's *The Small House at Allington* in the *Cornhill Magazine* from September 1862 to April 1864. These decorated capitals are all pictorial, and are vignettes which incorporate the initial capital letter of the first word of a chapter within an image relevant to, or (as we might choose to say) illustrative of some aspect of the narrative of the novel. The terms "pictorial capital" and "decorated capital" are often used interchangeably, but the former is preferred in the present case, as all these vignettes incorporate relevant pictorial content. Historically, by far the majority of decorated capitals have had little or no pictorial element, or in many cases have had pictorial content not closely allied to the text, and it was well-established practice for publishers to re-use capitals they already had in stock as cut blocks or could buy off-the-shelf, adding them as part of the process of book reproduction rather than as a contribution to the meaning of the work, just as they would add ornaments, head- and tailpieces and other decorations. Bespoke pictorial capitals, such as those which are the subject of this essay, represent significant investment by a publisher in his product. A novel by Anthony Trollope, especially in these years, was a very marketable commodity, and well worth investing in. In the case of *The Small House at Allington*, no expense was spared, with nineteen pictorial capitals and eighteen full-page plates, all drawn by John Everett Millais and engraved by London's leading firm of wood-engravers, Dalziel Brothers, and all included in the Archives of the firm, held at the British Museum and described by Bethan Stevens of the University of Sussex (Stevens 2016). These archives are the sole authority for identifying Dalziel Brothers as the engravers for the two decorated capitals which do not bear their name. We can infer that the decorated capitals, though original works by a distinguished artist, had not been thoroughly discussed by all parties before serial publication, since on 8th September, with serialisation already started, Trollope writes to Smith, Elder & Co., "I did not hear from Mr Smith who was designing the Initial letters, but I presumed that it was Millais" (Trollope 1983, 199). Decorated capitals were clearly not thought of as usual in serial fiction. If Trollope didn't know about the pictorial capitals very far in advance, George Eliot made provision for them in her novel, *Romola*, which ran alongside the *Small House* as a serial in the *Cornhill Magazine* for twelve months. Her capitals were drawn by Frederik Leighton, and she demanded far greater control over the totality of her novel, and provided detailed specification for all the full-page plates and some of the vignettes. This essay will note further relevant differences of approach to pictorial capitals in the two novels.

Millais's illustrations to Trollope's fiction have received much praise, and he is universally regarded as the novelist's best illustrator. Trollope's *Autobiography* is worth quoting at some length to show the strength of the author's personal and professional regard for Millais: "When I did know [that Millais was engaged to illustrate *Framley Parsonage*], it made me very proud. He afterwards illustrated *Orley Farm*, *The Small House of* [sic] *Allington*, *Rachel Ray*, and *Phineas Finn*. Altogether he drew from my tales 87 drawings, and I do not think that more conscientious work was ever done by man" (Trollope 1998, 98). In the next generation, the art historian and later Director of the National Gallery of Ireland, Walter Armstrong declared "this verdict seems to me to be just" (Armstrong 1885). Trollope continues:

In every figure that he drew it was his object to promote the views of the writer whose work he had undertaken to illustrate, and he never spared himself any pains in studying that work so as to enable himself to do so. I have carried on some of those characters from book to book, and have had my own early ideas impressed indelibly on my memory by the excellence of his delineations. Those illustrations were commenced fifteen years ago, and from that time up to this day my affection for the man of whom I am speaking has increased [sic]. To see him has always been a pleasure. His voice has been a sweet sound in my ears. Behind his back I have never heard him praised without joining the eulogist; I have never heard a word spoken against him without opposing the censurer. These words, should he ever see them, will come to him from the grave, and will tell him of my regard, – as one living man never tells another (Trollope 1998, 98).

Not everyone was so positive. When reviewing *Millais' Illustrations: A Collection of Drawings on Wood* (1866) in the *Spectator* no. 1965 (24 February, 1866, 219–20), the anonymous art critic was disparaging about the artist's narrative ability in illustration: "he cannot [...] tell you a story so that you are in no doubt as to its meaning." On the other hand, Walter Armstrong later praised "the dramatic quality" in them (Armstrong 1885), and Julia Thomas remarks on their "sophistication and elegance" (Thomas 2016, 632), recent commentators generally agreeing that "Millais had a complete grasp of the Trollopian world and understood the significance of his characters' slightest words or smallest manoeuvres – 'the moral "hooks and eyes" of life,' as the *Spectator's* reviewer of the *Small House* put it" (Goldman and Skilton 2017, 216). Yet, while the full-page wood-engraved plates which Millais drew of this novel have received copious attention, the nineteen pictorial capitals which he produced to accompany the serialisation of *The Small House at Allington* in the *Cornhill Magazine* have been largely neglected. John Hall, in his important *Trollope and His Illustrators*, calls them "very fine chapter-heading vignettes," and reproduces two of them (Hall 1980, 56), but few critics of the novel have read it with all its dedicated images, and none of them have considered the meanings the vignettes might create or reinforce in a reading of the novel. One of the reasons for

this neglect is that no Victorian reprint of the novel included the vignettes, almost certainly because it would have been expensive to re-size them to fit the smaller pages of the first book edition. Another is the melancholy fact that ignorant prejudice or idleness prevented most twentieth-century commentators from taking due notice of illustration in the magazines of the period.

Although the publisher, George Smith, did not have the vignettes re-cut for book publication in March 1864, he was investing impressive sums in the *Cornhill Magazine*. As he himself later wrote, he had “set to work with energy to make the undertaking a success. We secured the most brilliant contributors from every quarter. Our terms were lavish almost to the point of recklessness. No pains and no cost were spared to make the new magazine the best periodical yet known to English literature.” (Smith 1901, 6). Illustration was an essential and an expensive part of his project, with sixteen prominent artists employed in the early years. The late 1850s and early 1860s were exciting years in the development of periodical literature, and in no branch more transformative than in illustrated, monthly magazines aimed at a middle-class readership. These new periodicals offered poetry, serialised fiction and articles on science, history, topography and current topics of the day. A boom in illustrated journals was aided by cheap postage and a reduction in taxes on newspapers, paper and advertising. The techniques for producing and printing black and white illustration had reached new heights of sophistication, with the large firms of wood-engravers like the Dalziel Brothers, Linton and Swain, achieving standards previously unimaginable in mass-production. All these developments were putting illustrated literature, which had previously been the preserve of the wealthy, within the reach of many in the rapidly expanding middle classes. And women readers were now targeted with unprecedented accuracy. In his prospectus dated November 1859, Thackeray, the first editor of the *Cornhill*, assumes that his magazine will be read by many women with an educated interest in the subjects covered (Thackeray 1859). In addition, these new print media propagated fashion and all the other products of the modern world that tradition has assumed are of particular interest to women. It used to be believed that the “modern” in consumerism and social aspiration was a specifically French cultural phenomenon, but social historians have come to recognise the self-same movements in Britain. Books and magazines themselves were consumer products, of course, and could be bought, or even rented from circulating libraries, as they were in their many thousands. All aspects of commissioning, production and distribution of literature had been transformed over a few years as part of the development of the new consumer culture. The firms of Macmillan and Smith, Elder were the first in the race for the new readership, launching their new monthly magazines, *Macmillan's Magazine* and the *Cornhill Magazine*, at the price of one shilling (5p) per issue in November 1859 and January 1860 respectively. The death of Charles Babington Macaulay on Boxing Day 1859, with a copy of the new *Cornhill Magazine* open before him, has often been seen as a symbolic moment of transition in the history of English literature and publishing. (The *Cornhill* was not alone in issuing its January number early enough to catch the Christmas market.) There were soon many monthly competitors on the market, but it

was the *Cornhill* alone which could boast of circulation figures exceeding 100,000, and none of its rivals could out-perform it in providing for a newly prosperous middle-class readership, with its social centre of gravity and level of education somewhat higher than the public for the hugely popular periodicals which Charles Dickens and his collaborators had established some years earlier. The Dickens name was invaluable for these publications, and George Smith had set about finding another big “name” for his distinctive venture, and eventually secured another great novelist, Thackeray, as his editor for the *Cornhill*. The list of its contributors in these early years reads like a *Who’s Who* of fiction, poetry, science, the arts and current affairs of the period.

In 1862 the *Cornhill* was serialising fiction by three of the principal novelists of the age, Thackeray himself, George Eliot and Anthony Trollope. Leading artists were commissioned to provide the plates and pictorial capitals for two of these prestigious serials: Frederic Leighton for George Eliot’s *Romola* and John Everett Millais for Anthony Trollope’s *The Small House at Allington*. George Smith’s commissioning of pictorial capital letters was a sign of his lavish expenditure. *Romola* appeared in fourteen instalments July 1862 to August 1863 in volumes six to eight of the magazine, with two full-page, wood-engraved plates to each instalment from one to thirteen, a pictorial capital to each of the fourteen instalments, and an additional vignette at the end of the “Proem” which opened the first instalment. For its part, *The Small House* was serialised in twenty instalments from September 1862 to April 1864, in volumes six to nine of the magazine, with a plate to each of the first eighteen instalments and pictorial capitals to all but number nineteen. A good number of earlier illustrated ventures had collapsed, and the discipline of the market dictated that pictorial capitals did not continue as a general feature of serial fiction. Full-page plates, printed on a higher grade of paper, on the other hand, could transfer effortlessly into book publication. Besides, however distinguished the artist drawing them, decorated capitals printed with the letterpress did not carry the same prestige as the larger plates, reproduced on a higher grade of paper.

Two novels of the period could not be more dissimilar than *Romola* and the *Small House*, and the relations of the two prominent artists to their respectively novelists were correspondingly unlike. George Smith had already employed Leighton to illustrate what became one of Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s better known poems, “A Musical Instrument,” which appeared in volume 2 of the magazine in July 1860. He had made his reputation in 1855 with a period painting, *Cimabue’s Celebrated Madonna is carried in Procession through the Streets of Florence*, and was a good choice to illustrate George Eliot’s novel set in the Florence of 1490s. The novelist directed him to what she considered the most significant representations of the people and places of the period, the frescoes of Ghirlandaio, who was active in the very years in which *Romola* is set. Specifically, she recommended particular frescoes in the church of Santa Maria Novella as models to emulate, though, at that time, because of restoration work, they could only be examined in reproduction (George Eliot 1956, 4). Millais was the foremost, realistic painter of the life of the day, and had already illustrated two Trollope novels, *Framley Parsonage* (1860–61) for Smith, Elder’s *Cornhill Magazine*, and *Orley Farm* (1861–62) for the rival

firm of Bradbury and Evans. The pictorial capitals from these artists for the two novels were the result of very different relations between novelist and artist in each case. George Eliot was scholarly in her approach to illustration, requiring a high degree of control, and making as exigent demands on her artist as she did on herself. Moreover, given her unorthodox domestic life and her intense wish for privacy, her relations with the artist were distant, and she communicated her intentions in formal letters specifying passages of detailed description for Leighton to follow in the plates and in a small number of the vignettes.

Here is Leighton's decorated capital to Chapter One of *Romola*, and the text which George Eliot gave him to illustrate (Fig. 1):

Under this loggia, in the early morning of the 9th of April, 1492, two men had their eyes fixed on each other: one was stooping slightly, and looking downward with the scrutiny of curiosity; the other, lying on the pavement, was looking upward with the startled gaze of a suddenly-awakened dreamer.

The standing figure was the first to speak. He was a grey-haired, broad-shouldered man, of the type which, in Tuscan phrase, is moulded with the fist and polished with the pickaxe; but the self-important gravity which had written itself out in the deep lines about his brow and mouth seemed intended to correct any contemptuous inferences from the hasty workmanship which Nature had bestowed on his exterior. He had deposited a large well-filled bag, made of skins, on the pavement, and before him hung a pedlar's basket, garnished partly with small woman's-ware, such as thread and pins, and partly with fragments of glass, which had probably been taken in exchange for those commodities.



Fig. 1. F. Leighton capital, Chapter 1, G. Eliot, Romola

George Eliot was less than satisfied with some of Leighton's plates, but it must be allowed that he copes rather well in this vignette with the overload of information. The vignette at the end of the Proem to the novel also corresponds to a lengthy and complex passage, requiring an exceptional degree of evocation not only of a topographical scene but of a complex phase in the European and Florentine history.

Annie Thackeray Ritchie, the great novelist's daughter, refers to Eliot and Leighton as "Two gifted workers, each steeped in Florence [...] moving on parallel lines which would not meet. Trollope, whose novels were illustrated for the CORNHILL by Millais, was less particular, or the artist was more complaisant" (Ritchie 1910, 25). Ritchie was a friend of both Trollope and Millais, and by "complaisant" we should understand her to

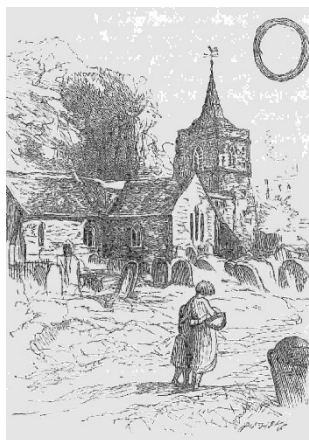


Fig. 2. J. E. Millais, *capital*
Chapter 1, Trollope, *The*
Small House at Allington
(Sept 1862)

mean that Millais was agreeable to fitting his work to the author's wishes. Trollope, understandably delighted that Millais was to illustrate another of his works, was relaxed about their relationship. It was not his way to be bother himself with fine art scholarship. His fiction was as up-to-date as a recent issue of *Punch* and it was enough that Millais was a leading realist. Trollope was highly gregarious, a clubman and confident that Millais's views would suit his fiction, so that he could leave many decisions to the artist. The two men were by now firm friends and shared much in outlook and habits, often hunting together, for example. Millais had once made a major mistake in a plate for *Framley Parsonage* (1860–61), giving a modest young orphan woman an expensive dress at the cutting edge of fashion (Skilton 2007), but thereafter all was well. Image and word worked in genial harmony to produce the fiction, Trollope leaving the design of the decorated capitals to the *Small House* to Millais and the publisher. In

place of the careful, historical establishment of the scene in *Romola*, we have a simple sentence from Trollope, summoning up what for his readers was a given. The combination of the vignette and the text at the opening of the *Small House at Allington* is an appeal to a widespread nostalgia for the traditional village in the South of England, in an act of ideological reinforcement (Fig. 2).

George Eliot needed to instruct her readers about the setting of her novel, whereas Trollope takes it for granted that his readers will be ready to recognise this English setting. "Of course there was a Great House at Allington. How otherwise should there have been a Small House?" This sentence allusively defines the type of fiction we are reading, and draws on established conventions for constructing a rural village that shall be representative of a southern county of England. Millais responded to Trollope's opening text with an appropriateness which makes them appear to be working as one. The vignette shows two children of agricultural labourers, in old-fashioned dress, passing the graves of their forebears in an attractively aged village churchyard. The "of course" involves the reader in adopting the fiction that is put forward, and promises that the traditional view of things shall be a matter of course in this fiction. Yet the experienced reader of Trollope will have learnt to distrust the reassuring modality of the phrase. To accept an oily probability of this kind is often to be misled, as Frank O'Connor explains: "His favourite device is to lead his reader very gently up the garden path of his own conventions and prejudices and then point out that the reader is wrong" (O'Connor 1956, 167–168). This country peace is about to be disturbed by a metropolitan intruder, while another central character moves to London to make a career for himself, and the rural world, as much as the metropolis, turns out to be pace of rush and railways, politics, mercenary motives and dishonesty. Richard Holt Hutton, literary editor of the *Spectator*,

put it clearly in an anonymous article, “From Miss Austen to Mr Trollope,” in the *Spectator* of 16th December 1882, a few days after Trollope’s death: “In Miss Austen’s novels – it is one of their chief attractions [...] you hardly see the crush of the world on any one. [...] Turn to Mr. Trollope, and everything is changed. The atmosphere of affairs is permanent.” A novel like the *Small House* “is, above all things, possessed with the sense of the aggressiveness of the outer world, of the hurry which threatens the tranquillity even of such still pools in the rapid currents of life as Hiram’s Hospital at Barchester, of the rush of commercial activity, of the competitiveness of fashion, of the conflict for existence even in out-lying farms and country parsonages.” What is important in our present context is that the fictional idyll is produced by the illustrator as well the novelist, and the two, although apparently operating independently, meld their visions into one. Trollope and Millais had already jointly practised a similar mild deception on their readers in *Framley Parsonage*, which was the first novel to appear in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1860–61, and which hinted at a future seduction of an impoverished middle-class orphan by an aristocrat, a narrative possibility quite at variance with the love story which actually ensues (Skilton 2007). All this, as I show elsewhere (Skilton 2016), takes place in novels which are loaded with evidence of the modern material world, and which record and exemplify the importance of periodical publications that propagate fashion in clothes, relationships, lifestyles and architecture.

In the vignette to the second instalment we see the sisters, Lily and Bell Dale, nieces of the Squire of Allington, playing croquet, one of the latest crazes, as they are seen to do in the text (Fig. 3). They are dressed as befits their class, and of course are *au fait* with fashion in dress and behaviour thanks to the rapid circulation of periodical literature, of which the *Cornhill* in which they appear is a leading example. Significantly, back in autumn 1861, Millais had written to advise his wife to practise croquet, which was then “all the rage” (John Guille Millais, vol. 1, 368). Artist and novelist notice and respond to what is in vogue. This is a simple demonstration of the strengths of their collaborative work. When the novel was published in book form without the pictorial capitals, an unknown artist supplied an alternative image of the sister playing croquet, in the form of a false title-page. From the artistic shorthand for grass in both images one might wonder if the lawn was adequate for serious play, and if we wished to enter petty objections, we should record that, as recorded in Chapter 2, Lily Dale was very particular that her uncle’s gardener, Hopkins, should keep the lawn of the Small House in tiptop condition for the game. The prominence of the two sisters in these and other images,



Fig. 3. J. E. Millais, *capital Chapter 4, Trollope, The Small House at Allington* (Sept 1862)

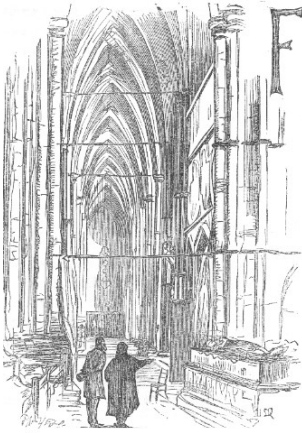


Fig. 4. J. E. Millais capital
Chapter 16, Trollope, *The
Small House at Allington*
(Feb 1863)

such as the plate to Chapter 7, is a reminder that Trollope first proposed the novel as “The Two Pearls of Allington,” but on 2nd May, 1862, eighteen days before he began to write, he was persuaded by George Smith to change the title because a novel entitled *The Pearl of Orr’s Island* by Harriet Beecher Stowe was announced for publication in 1862 (Trollope 1983, 179–180). So, as we learn from a letter of 2nd May 1862, Trollope’s novel became *The Small House at Allington* (Trollope 1983, 179–180 and footnote). In the capital which opens the third instalment we once more see the sisters, this time out for a quiet walk, and sheltering their complexions from the sun. The rural setting is quickly notated by Millais by a pair of haystacks. Although the young ladies are dressed in current fashion, this is still the country world, untroubled by the great city and the world of high fashion and high expenditure. The rural calm of the *Small House* is already made uneasy by the conscientious resolve of Mrs Dale, the mother of Bell

and Lily, not to continue to be accommodated at the expense of the brother of her late husband, who is the squire of the village and allows his sister-in-law and her daughters to live rent-free in a house which has over the generations been used as a dower-house, although in the present case the arrangement does not stand on that legal basis. In making this arrangement to provide for his brother’s widow, the squire is acting out his traditional view of his responsibilities as a hereditary landowner. Mrs Dale’s desire may be activated by pride alone, but may also, as far as the aware reader of the time is concerned, be associated with a new spirit of economic individualism among women, in the age of the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, which established the first divorce court, and in the years leading up to the first Married Women’s Property Act of 1870. But this vein of tension is as nothing to the arrival on the scene of Adolphus Crosbie, a rising Civil Servant, who, although not in command of inherited wealth, is handsome and fashionable, and as Bell says, is “a swell.”

He is seen in the vignette to the sixth instalment (Fig. 4) being shown around Barchester Cathedral by a verger, and this image ties the new novel into the series later known as the *Barchester Chronicles*, even though Allington lies in the next county. Crosbie is on a visit to the *Great House* as a friend of the Squire’s son, and rapidly forms a love relationship with Lily, proposes and is accepted. Critical opinion is divided as to whether Trollope expects the reader to understand that the couple consummated their relationship physically, but there is no doubt that there was a great deal of sexual as well as emotional warmth in their relationship, enough to make Lily refer to them ever afterwards as husband and wife. The village is naturally agog with excitement, and when Lily first rides through the village with her intended, Millais gives us a decorated capital which, in a charming but ominous way, depicts the couple as children at play.

This capital for instalment five at the head of Chapter 13 (Fig. 5) is at once an ill omen and a *homage* to Thackeray and his ironic depiction of Becky and Rawdon as children in his vignette to Chapter 36 of *Vanity Fair* (1847–48) (Thackeray 1848, 321). Thackeray's couple are flying a kite, and the phrase was slang for raising money by a promissory note. The aware reader of the images as well as the words may well feel anxious on Lily's behalf, having received a warning that all may not be as it seems. This relationship is not afflicted with money troubles but by Crosbie's ambition for social advancement, and he "teaches himself" that he will be doing no harm if jilts Lily and enters into a loveless marriage with the daughter of an earl. His punishment is both social and financial after the breakdown of this disastrous match, when he finds himself with fewer friends, no real home, and making heavy payments to maintain his wife and her mother in the spas of Germany.

The decorated capitals have helped to establish a rural environment where at first there are few threats to a contented life. Another sequence of capitals develops a second, metropolitan theme, and shows the increasing impact of life in London on the damaged rural idyll.

That to the fourth instalment, in which the action predates the catastrophe of Crosbie's villainous behaviour, shows Johnny Eames, a young man from Allington, in his lodgings in London (Fig. 6), where, very much like the young Anthony Trollope in 1834, he has entered the Civil Service as a lowly clerk in an unglamorous department, in contrast to the "swell," Adolphus Crosbie, a rising man in the prestigious General Committee Office. Eames is hopelessly in love with Lily, and is reading letters concerning the anxieties of his life in the capital city. These are not directly related to Allington, but give a picture of the temptations of the city, and the rather sordid alternative loves young clerks might fall into away from home. The capital to the tenth instalment, depicting Whitehall (Fig. 7), setting the scene for Crosbie's promotion to Secretary in his altogether higher sphere of professional life, and Johnny Eames's less meteoric rise in the Civil Service through time and diligence. The capital to the twelfth instalment shows Eames dressed for his Civil Service life (Fig. 8),



Fig. 5. J. E. Millais, *capital Chapter 13, Trollope, The Small House at Allington* (Jan 1863)



Fig. 6. J. E. Millais, *capital Chapter 10, Trollope, The Small House at Allington*

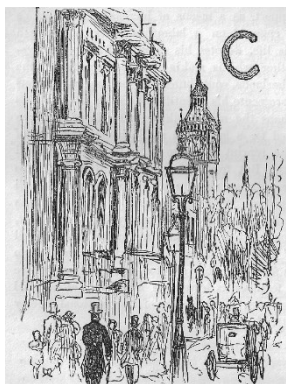


*Fig. 7. Chapter 34
(Aug 1863)*



*Fig. 8. Chapter 28
(June 1863)*

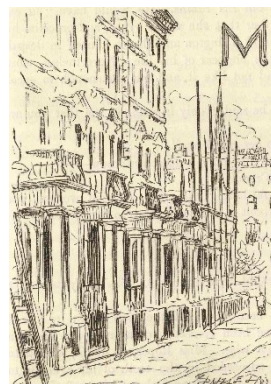


*Fig. 9. J.E. Millais, capital
Chapter 46, Trollope, The
Small House at Allington*

present and future. There is in the placing of these vignettes a reinforcement of a typically Trollopian irony, which Millais completely understands, arising from a simultaneous awareness of two opposing states: in this case, Crosbie's worldly success – promoted and about to marry the daughter of an earl – and his impending doom, as he realises he may never be happy again, and his colleagues harbour severe doubts about his marital ambitions. The decorated capital to instalment sixteen (Fig. 9), showing a pretentious but insubstantial terrace being built in a new part of West London, presents the new, cold and damp house into which Crosbie and his aristocratic wife move their cold, ill-founded marriage. It is also of course a token of the concern felt at the rapid expansion of London, in this case in housing to meet the pretensions of the newly wealthy. Impermanence here is in implicit contrast with the enduring qualities traditionally associated with the landed gentry, although Trollope's fiction, of course, commonly shows how industrial wealth is triumphing over the physiocratic myth of landed permanence. Along the way there has been one image for the fourteenth instalment, in the chapter about the Crosbie wedding, of an urn overflowing with weeds in what appears to be a suburban garden, and a second to the fifteenth instalment of a gate opening to an unpeopled house in the Scottish baronial style, almost "gothic" in its forbidding atmosphere.

There are two further vignettes associated with Mrs Dale's resolve to leave the Small House. The first, to instalment thirteen, shows the squire, pacing the terrace of the Great House, deep in thought, while the other second, to instalment seventeen, contains familiar iconography of an impending house-moving: cases packed and half-packed. The iconography is in itself emotionally neutral, since moving house may be a positive or negative experience, but here the imagery is made melancholy by the reader's acquaintance with the circumstances.



Fig. 10. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 19 Trollope, The Small House at Arlington (March 1863)



Fig. 11. Chapter 22 (April 1863)

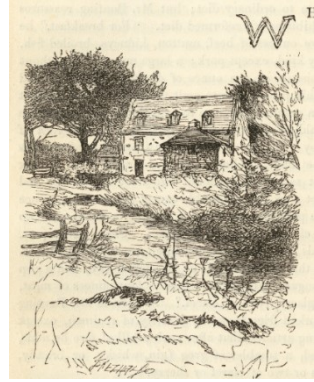


Fig. 12. Chapter 52 (Feb 1864)

A further capital to the eleventh instalment, showing two women, presumably Lily and her mother, and fits well to the title of Chapter 31, “The Wounded Fawn,” where it appears.

Three further decorated capitals, those to the seventh, eighth and eighteenth instalments (Figs. 10, 11 and 12), can be seen as developing the theme of Johnny Eames and his repeatedly unsuccessful attempts to woo Lily. In the first we see him lovelorn, an awkward, country hobbledehoy standing on a bridge he associates with his proposal to Lily. Already in Chapter Five we have read that “many of the attributes of a hobbledehoy had fallen from him, and even Lily Dale might now probably acknowledge that he was no longer a boy.” This is only the beginning of a process of growing into a mature mid-Victorian man, and three further stages in his development are recorded in the vignettes: having to come to terms with his unrequited love for Lily, receiving guidance from Earl De Guest, and making his way in the Civil Service in London. The vignette opening the eighth instalment records the moment when Johnny saves Earl De Guest from a charging bull, an event which cements a relationship in which the earl acts as a mentor and almost a father-figure to the young man, teaching him, among other things, how to drink wine after dinner and how properly to quote Latin tags in the company of educated men. I discuss the link between these two elsewhere. (Skilton 1988). The third, introducing instalment number eighteen, is an atmospheric picture of rural decay, showing the destruction of both Lily’s love and Johnny’s love. It lends an appropriate general aura of melancholy to conclude the story of two failed loves and a failed marriage. But Johnny Eames has now matured and freed himself from an entanglement with a young woman who is unworthy of him, and Chapter 59 is entitled “Johnny Eames Becomes a Man.” In the pictorial capital to the final instalment – one of the less accomplished of Millais’s vignettes – Lily is seen through a rustic arbour, standing alone, and

her isolation perhaps indicates her unmarried condition, which she describes as “widowhood.” She is contemplating an urn, which may be the same as portrayed in the capital to instalment fourteen, which seems a silent register of love denied. Once more Trollope and Millais are working together. It is not until Chapter 35 of Trollope’s next novel in the Chronicles of Barsetshire, *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, that she inscribes herself as “Lillian Dale – Old Maid” (Trollope 1866–67).

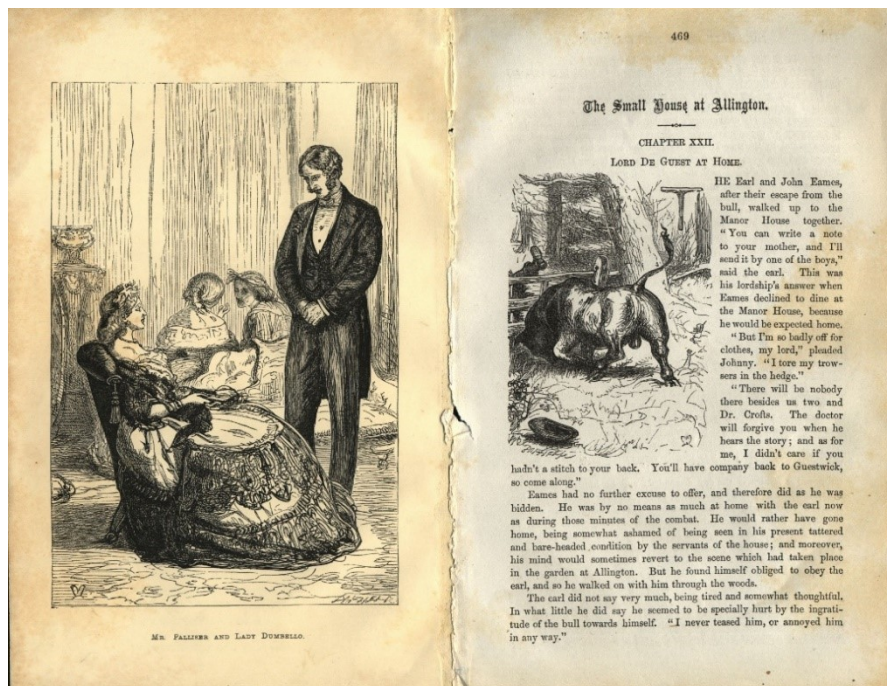


Fig. 13. Double page opening of Anthony Trollope, *The Small House at Allington*, in the bound *Cornhill Magazine*, showing a full-page plate, “Mr. Palliser and Lady Dumbello,” and the capital to Chapter 22. J. E. Millais, engraved Dalziel.

The vignette of the bull, however, which we have already noticed above, takes part in meaning-production that is considerably more complex than is ordinarily the case with decorated capitals. This particular one appears in the same instalment as a full-plate illustration, “Mr. Palliser and Lady Dumbello” (Fig. 13). In bound copies of the *Cornhill Magazine*, the two images are on facing pages, the plate being bound in as though a frontispiece to instalment eight. (The two images may be separated if bound differently but will always be closely allied.) The double-page opening reveals a surprising *double-entendre* such as we have only recently expected to find in mid-Victorian fiction. Mr Palliser is heir to the richest dukedom in the country, and devotes himself to service to his country in Parliament, his ambition being to devise a scheme for decimalisation of

the British currency. He finds himself taking particular interest in the coldly beautiful Lady Dumbello, who is what we might nowadays call “a fashion icon.” He is pictured standing a little awkwardly, looking perhaps a little too intently at Lady Dumbello’s corset, his hands clasped in front of him. Trollope is at his best presenting what may or may not be an attempted seduction – and what other people thought about it – including the Duke, who has a long-standing liaison with Lady Dumbello’s mother-in-law. As a contrast to the restraint of this amorous encounter (if that is what it is), Millais has drawn a vignette for the opening of the instalment which shows the bull which has nearly tossed the Earl De Guest. The bull, unlike the English gentleman, is unashamedly well-endowed, sexually speaking. The reader, progressing in the story, will after twenty-one chapters and seven months of serialisation, come to a passage in instalment fifteen, Chapter 43, which describes Mr Palliser’s reaction to Lady Dumbello: “It seemed as though a new vein in his body had been brought into use, and that blood was running where blood had never run before.” No further comment seems necessary. Seen in the context of Trollope’s more extended oeuvre, this insight into Plantagenet Palliser is invaluable. He will eventually be married by his family and friends to the richest heiress in the country, with whom he will have a troubled but ultimately rich relationship. He is developed over a further six novels to become the eponymous Prime Minister of the novel of 1875–76 (Trollope 1875–76), and the embodiment of Anthony Trollope’s own political ideals (Trollope 1996, 227–229 and 186–189).

It is striking that Millais deals so well with elements in Trollope’s texts which are carried forward into later novels, most prominent among them Lily Dale “Old Maid,” Johnny Eames become a man, and most importantly, the political future of Plantagenet Palliser. The loss of the vignettes from later book editions of the *Small House* is to be deplored not only for their own sake, as decorations which go far beyond decoration and collaborate with the text in producing meanings in terms of plot, of settings and of themes, but as images which act out in conjunction with the full-page plates and the text, of course, the invasion of the countryside by the metropolis, which must be considered, from the historical point of view, the most important feature of *The Small House at Allington*, and the other Trollopian novels associated with it. The two great realists, Trollope and Millais, joined forces to present the modern world at the very moment when the concept of modernity was being imported from the French (Skilton 2016).

Figures

NOTE. All the images reproduced in this essay are wood-engravings which first appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* (*CHM*) at the dates given in each entry. With the exception of the engraving reproduced as Figure 1, which was drawn by Frederic Leighton and engraved by Linton, they are all drawn by John Everett Millais and engraved by Dalziel Brothers, and they appeared in Anthony Trollope, *The Small House at Allington* (*The Small House*), 1862–1864.

- Fig. 1. Frederic Leighton, capital to Chapter 1 of George Eliot, *Romola* in *CHM* 6 (July 1862) wood-engraving, 76 mm × 51 mm, engr. Linton.
- Fig. 2. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 1 of Trollope, *The Small House* in *CHM* 6 (August 1862) 83 mm × 63 mm.
- Fig. 3. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 4 of Trollope, *The Small House* in *CHM* 6 (September 1862) 87 mm × 67 mm.
- Fig. 4. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 16 of Trollope, *The Small House* in *CHM* 7 (February 1863) 88 mm × 65 mm.
- Fig. 5. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 13 of Trollope, *The Small House* in *CHM* 7 (January 1863) 83 mm × 44 mm.
- Fig. 6. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 10 of Trollope, *The Small House* in *CHM* 6 (December 1862) 87 mm × 62 mm.
- Fig. 7. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 34 of Trollope, *The Small House* in *CHM* 8 (August 1863) 84 mm × 57 mm.
- Fig. 8. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 28 of Trollope, *The Small House* in *CHM* 7 (June 1863) 88 mm × 60 mm.
- Fig. 9. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 46 of Trollope, *The Small House* in *CHM* 8 (December 1863) 88 mm × 65 mm.
- Fig. 10. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 19 of Trollope, *The Small House* in *CHM* 7 (March 1863) 87 mm × 63 mm.
- Fig. 11. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 22 of Trollope, *The Small House* in *CHM* 7 (April 1863) 87 mm × 62 mm.
- Fig. 12. J. E. Millais, capital to Chapter 52 of Trollope, *The Small House* *CHM* 9 (February 1864) 83 mm × 63 mm.
- Fig. 13. *CHM* 7 (April 1863), page 469, and full-page plate facing it in bound copies of the magazine: J. E. Millais, "Mr Palliser and Lady Dumbello," 160 mm × 104 mm, and capital to Chapter 22, 87 mm × 62 mm, wood-engravings, engr. Dalziel, in Anthony Trollope, *The Small House at Allington*.

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A migráció külpolitikai érdekek szolgálatában

Az Egyesült Államok és

a Dominikai Köztársaság kapcsolatainak migrációs vonatkozásai

A mexikói, kubai vagy akár Puerto Ricó-i helyzettől eltérően a Dominikai Köztársaság Egyesült Államokba irányuló migrációjának története csupán az 1960-as években kezdett kibontakozni.¹ 1961 és 1966 között azonban a dominikai migráció hirtelen tömeges méreteket öltött és ez a jellegzetessége mind a mai napig fennmaradt. Ennek eredményeképpen jelenleg a mexikóiak, a kubaiak és a 2005 körül a harmadik helyre avanszáló salvadoriak után a dominikaiak alkotják a negyedik legnagyobb latin-amerikai bevándorló csoportot az 1932² és 2016 között regisztrált több mint 1 450 000 legális bevándorlóval, akiknek 98%-a 1961-et követően érkezett az Egyesült Államokba.³ Ami az USA-ban élő legnagyobb latinó közösségeket illeti, az 1980-as évektől egészen 2005-ig⁴ a dominikaiak alkották a negyedik legnagyobb közösséget a mexikóiak, a Puerto Ricó-iak⁵ és a kubaiak után, annak ellenére, hogy nem rendelkeztek jelentős bevándorlástörténeti gyökerekkel és viszonylag új jövevénynek számítottak a Latin-Amerikából az Egyesült Államokba vándorló etnikai csoportok között.⁶ A dominikai migráció különlegessége

- 1 Az Egyesült Államokba irányuló dominikai bevándorlásról szóló általam ismert forrásmunkákban az erről a népmozgásról szóló beszámolók legkorábban az 1930-as évekre datálódnak. Habár Silvio Torres-Saillant és Ramona Hernández megemlíti, hogy „az egyesült államokbeli dominikai jelenlétről már legalább a 19. század végétől tudunk”, erről a jelenlétről semmilyen további információt nem közölnek a forrásmunkában. Lásd *The Dominican Americans* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), xix.
- 2 Az USA Bevándorlási és Honosítási Hivatala (Immigration and Naturalization Service, INS) egészen 1932-ig nem közölt ország-specifikus adatokat a Karib-szigeteken belüli dominikai bevándorlással kapcsolatban.
- 3 U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, *2013 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, Table 2 – Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status by Region and Selected Country of Last Residence: Fiscal Years 1820 to 2013, August 2014, <https://bit.ly/2TgRXPS>; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, *2016 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, Table 2 – Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status by Region and Selected Country of Last Residence: Fiscal Years 2014 to 2016, November 2017, <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2016/table2>.
- 4 2016-ban a dominikaiak (3,3%) alkották az ötödik legnagyobb latinó közösséget a mexikóiak (63,2%), a Puerto Ricó-iak (9,5%), a kubaiak (3,9%) és salvadoriak (3,8%) után. Ez utóbbiak 2005 körül kerültek az élbolyba, maguk mögé utasítva először a dominikaiakat, majd 2018-ra a kubaiakat is. Lásd *2016 Yearbook*.
- 5 Puerto Rico az Egyesült Államok külbirtoka, ezért a Puerto Ricó-iak amerikai állampolgárok és így a többi latinó csoporttal ellentétben nem minősülnek bevándorlóknak.
- 6 U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000*, Table 1 – The Hispanic Population by Type, <https://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/c2kbr01-3.pdf>; U.S. Census Bureau, *2016 American Community Survey and 2005 American Community Survey*, 1-Year Estimates, Table B03001 –

abban áll, hogy bár története csupán ötvenöt évre nyúlik vissza, mégis a negyedik helyet foglalják el azon népcsoportok között, amelyek több mint százhusz éve vándorolnak már az Egyesült Államokba.

Az Egyesült Államokban élő dominikaiakra vonatkozó számadatok azonban nagy mértékben eltérnek. Nehéz pontosan meghatározni ennek a bevándorlási áramlatnak és magának a közösségnek a nagyságrendjét. Frank Moya Pons dominikai történész azt írja, hogy 1990-ben közel 900 000 dominikai, vagyis a teljes dominikai populáció 12%-a élt New Yorkban.⁷ Érdekes módon 1985-től egészen a 2010-es évek közepéig ők alkották a New Yorkban élő legnagyobb egységes bevándorló etnikai csoportot.⁸ Moya Pons adataihoz képest viszont a 2000. évi népszámlálás szerint csak 764 945 dominikai származású amerikai állampolgár élt az Egyesült Államokban; 2005-re ez a szám már 1 118 265 volt, a 2015-ös népszámlálás adatai szerint pedig több mint 1 866 000.⁹ A becslések és a hivatalos statisztikák közötti jelentős eltérésnek az illegális dominikai bevándorlás az oka, amit a törvényes bevándorlás 10 és 50 százalékaára becsülnek. Az 1980-as évek óta ez komoly gondokat okoz a kétoldalú kapcsolatokban. Az illegális utat választók többsége egyszerűen a turista vízum lejártá után is az országban marad, mások hamis iratokat használnak, néhányan pedig illegálisan lépik át a határt. Ez utóbbiak leggyakrabban először az USA-hoz tartozó szomszédos sziget, Puerto Rico területére érkeznek, megkockáztatva a Mona-csatornán keresztüli csónakos átkelést az ún. *yolasok* fedélzetén. A különösen az 1980-as évek közepétől tapasztalható illegális átkelések növekedése miatt, a Puerto Ricó-i Aguadilla az USA kontinentális területén kívüli egyetlen olyan térség, ahol 1987 óta határvédelmi járőrszolgálat működik. Habár sok dominikai Puerto Ricóban marad, ahol napjainkra mintegy 100 000 fős közösségük él,¹⁰ a migránsok többsége

Hispanic or Latino Origin by Specific Origin, <https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tables/services/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk>; 2013 Yearbook; 2016 Yearbook.

7 *The Dominican Republic. A National History* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), 436.

8 A 2010-es évek végére a dominikaiak a második helyre fognak szorulni és a kínai lesz a legnagyobb New York-i bevándorló csoport. *The Newest New Yorkers, Characteristics of the City's Foreign-Born Population*, New York City Department of City Planning, 2013, Tables 2-2 and 2-3, p. 13 and 16, https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/data-maps/nyc-population/nnny2013/nnny_2013.pdf; Pamela Graham: „Dominican Republic”, in James Ciment (szerk.): *Encyclopedia of American Immigration* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), 119, 121. – Az 1990-es népszámlálás adatai szerint az Egyesült Államok kontinensen lévő területén letelepedett 10 dominikaiból 7 New York Cityben és annak környékén lakott. A New Jersey észak-keleti részében, Miami-ban és Boston környékén lakó dominikai közösségek ebben a sorrendben követik a New York Cityben lakókat. Puerto Rico szintén nagy számban vonzza a dominikai bevándorlókat. Lásd U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Persons of Hispanic Origin in the United States: 1990* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Division, 1991); Graham, 119.

9 *Census 2000*; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, 2005 *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, November 2006, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/OIS_2005_Yearbook.pdf; 2016 *American Community Survey*.

10 „Puerto Rico – Dominicans”, *World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*, Minority Rights Group International, 2018, <http://minorityrights.org/minorities/dominicans/>.

az innen induló belföldi járatokkal az Egyesült Államokba repül, és Puerto Ricó-i származású USA állampolgárként próbál bejutni az országba.¹¹ Bár a kubai bevándorlással ellentétben a dominikai migráció illegális aspektusa jelentősebb mértékű, a közösség ugrásszerű és tömeges növekedése amerikai külpolitikai érdekek fennállására enged következtetni, amelyek megkönnyítették az áramlat beindulását, majd pedig hozzájárultak annak konszolidálódásához.

Ami a dominikai bevándorlók összetételét illeti, a dominikai emigrációval kapcsolatos legkorábbi szociológiai tanulmányok elsősorban azt hangsúlyozták, hogy a bevándorlók falusi környezetből származtak, többnyire parasztok és vidéki proletárok voltak.¹² Az első nemzetközi migrációval foglalkozó, egész országot átfogó tanulmány azonban megkérdőjelezte ezeket a megállapításokat,¹³ és az ezt követő tanulmányok is azt erősítették meg, hogy a dominikai migráció túlnyomórészt városi, közép- és munkásosztálybeli jelenség volt.¹⁴ Annak ellenére, hogy a Dominikai Köztársaság a migráció következtében elvesztette az értelmiségének jelentős részét – különösen 1961 és 1965 között, amikor az orvosainak, mérnökeinek és könyvelőinek több mint 10 százaléka hagyta el az országot¹⁵ –, a kutatók arra mutatnak rá, hogy a dominikai migrációt mégsem lehet „agyelszívásként” feltüntetni.¹⁶ Ugyanakkor nem a kisemmizettek és munkanélküliek vándorlása volt ez, hanem inkább a szakmunkásoké és középfokú képzettséggel rendelkezőké. Ezekkel a szocioökonómiai megállapításokkal összhangban, az Egyesült Államokba irányuló dominikai bevándorlást olyan munkaerő-áramlatként definiálták,

11 Az illegális bevándorlás jellemzőivel kapcsolatban lásd Patricia R. Pessar: *A Visa for a Dream. Dominicans in the United States* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1995), 9–10; Virginia R. Domínguez: *From Neighbor to Stranger: The Dilemma of Caribbean Peoples in the United States* (New Haven, CT: Antilles Research Program, Yale University, 1975), 19–20; David B. Bray: „The Dominican Exodus: Origins, Problems, Sources”, in Barry B. Levine (szerk.): *The Caribbean Exodus* (New York, NY: Praeger, 1986), 164–165; Christopher Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy and Dominican Migration to the United States”, in Christopher Mitchell (szerk.): *Western Hemisphere Immigration and United States Foreign Policy* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 93–96, 117–120.

12 Az ezzel a megközelítéssel kapcsolatos alapl munkákat lásd Nancie González: „Peasants’ Progress. Dominicans in New York”, *Caribbean Studies* 10 (October 1970), 154–171; Glenn Hendricks: *The Dominican Diaspora. From the Dominican Republic to New York City – Villagers in Transition* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1974); Sherezada Vicioso: „Dominican Migration to the United States”, *Migration Today* 20 (1976), 59–72.

13 Lásd az 1974-es Diagnos National Survey elemzését. Antonio Ugalde, Frank D. Bean, és Gilbert Cardenas, „International Migration from the Dominican Republic: Findings from a National Survey”, *International Migration Review* XIII/2 (1979), 235–254.

14 Az ide vonatkozó néhány fontosabb munka: Bray, 154–159; Franc Báez Evertsz–Frank D’Oleo Ramírez: *La emigración de dominicanos a los Estados Unidos: determinantes socio-económicos y consecuencias* (Santo Domingo: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1986).

15 Frank Hernández Marinóra hivatkozik G. Pope Atkins–Larman C. Wilson: *The Dominican Republic and the United States. From Imperialism to Transnationalism* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1997), 147.

16 Eugenia Georges: *The Making of a Transnational Community. Migration, Development, and Cultural Change in the Dominican Republic* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1990), 46–47.

amely a küldő ország gazdasági nehézségeiből, a magas munkanélküliségi rátából, valamint az USA és a Dominikai Köztársaság közötti nagy munkabérekülönbségekből táplálkozott.¹⁷ A fenti jellemzés minden bizonnyal helytálló az 1980-as és 1990-es évek dominikai beáramlásával kapcsolatban, azonban nem veszi figyelembe, hogy – például a mexikói, Puerto Ricó-i vagy akár a jamaicai munkaerő-áramlással ellentétben – a dominikai migráció nem lassanként bontakozott ki és nem fokozatosan fejlődött tovább. Ehelyett egyfajta vészhelyzet-típusú menekültáradatot jelezve tört ki. Amíg 1960-ban 756 bevándorló vízumot bocsátott ki az Egyesült Államok Nagykövetsége, addig 1963-ban 10 683 darabot, majd pedig 1966-ban a kiadott bevándorló vízumok száma elérte a 16 503 darabot, ami tizennégyszeres, illetve huszonegyszeres növekedésnek felel meg. Ehhez hasonlóan 1960-ban a követség 4437 turistavízumot bocsátott ki; 1963-ban ez a szám 56 236-ra emelkedett, míg 1966-ra elérte a 68 870-et, ami tizenkétszeres, illetve tizenöt-szörös növekedést jelentett.¹⁸ Egy efféle drasztikus emigrációs áradatot nem lehet pusztán az USA gazdasági vonzerejével magyarázni, amelyet az emberek tízezrei egy három-tól öt évig terjedő időszak alatt fedeztek fel, sem pedig azoknak a tiltó kiléptetési szabályoknak az 1961-es eltörlésével indokolni, melyeket még a vaskezű Rafael Leónidas Trujillo Molina diktátorsága alatt vezettek be 1930 és 1961 között az alulnépesedéssel küzdő szigetállam lakosságának világtól való elszigetelése és otthontartása céljából.

Ha az Egyesült Államok nem mozdította volna elő és nem elégítette volna ki a bevándorló és turista vízumok iránti hirtelen megnövekedett igényeket, a dominikai emigráció nem ölthetett volna ilyen rövid idő alatt ekkora méreteket. Az Egyesült Államok Dominikai Köztársasággal kapcsolatos külpolitikai érdekei fontos szerepet játszottak a migrációs folyamat felgyorsításában. Ez azt jelenti, hogy a dominikai kivándorlás valójában menekültek politikailag motivált kiáramlását jelentette. Ugyanakkor a kubaiakkal ellentétben, akik egy ellenséges politikai rendszerből érkeztek, ezekre az USA-barát rendszerből érkező bevándorlókra nem volt külpolitikailag célszerű a „menekült” kifejezést alkalmazni. A dominikai bevándorlást ezért gazdasági vagy munkaügyi migrációként kategorizálták. Miként látni fogjuk, e népességmozgás indítóokainak a vizsgálata arra utal, hogy az Egyesült Államokba irányuló dominikai migráció hirtelen és nagymértékű növekedéséért felelős döntő tényezőket az USA külpolitikájának és migrációs politikájának a korrelációjában találjuk, mivel ez tette lehetővé, hogy a dominikai áramlat az Egyesült Államok egyik leggyorsabban növekvő bevándorló közösségévé fejlődjön. Az USA bevándorlás-politikájának liberális végrehajtását egyfelől egy második Kuba létrejöttétől való félelem, másfelől pedig az a törekvés táplálta, hogy hozzájáruljanak a Trujillo meggyilkolását követő, 1961 és 1966 közötti kaotikus dominikai politikai és gazdasági helyzet stabilizációjához a migrációs nyomás csökkentésén keresztül. Ez határozta

17 Például David M. Reimers csak az 1965 utáni dominikai migrációval foglalkozik a könyvében, és nem említi a migráció kezdetekor fennálló politikai tényezőket vagy polgári küzdelmeket, továbbá nem tesz említést a kiadott turistavízumok számának drasztikus növekedéséről. Lásd *Still the Golden Door. The Third World Comes to America* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1992), 143–146.

18 Georges, 38; Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 35.

meg az Egyesült Államokba irányuló dominikai migráció időzítését, nagyságrendjét és kategorizálását.

Az emigráció egy viszonylag új jelenség annak a Dominikai Köztársaságnak az életében, amely történelmének túlnyomó részében az alulnépesedés problémájával küzdött. Az 1920-as évekig az ország munkaerőimportra szorult a többi karib-tengeri sziget-országból, különösen a szomszédos Haitiről, az egyre gyarapodó cukoripari munkaerő-szükséglet kielégítése érdekében. Azonban míg 1900-ban a Dominikai Köztársaság népessége 600 000 főt számlált, addig 1950-re elérte a 3 milliót. E miatt a népességrobbanás miatt a munkavállalók száma messze meghaladta azt a létszámot, amelyet a világpiac ingadozásának kiszolgáltatott dominikai gazdaság fel tudott szívni. A növekedés nagyrészt a Trujillo-rezsim (1930–1961) népesedéspolitikájának volt köszönhető, amelyben a nagy családoknak juttatott ösztönzésekkel jutalmazták a gyermekvállalást, támogatták a zömmel Európából érkező bevándorlást, és szigorúan korlátozták a kivándorlást. Trujillo számára a népesség növekedése az ország munkaerő-gondjaira adott megoldást jelentette, és emiatt a gazdasági fejlődés előfeltételeként és így a rendszer megerősítésének feltételeként kezelték, sőt figyelembe vették a Haiti¹⁹ szomszédsága miatti stratégiai megfontolásokat is. Az 1950-es évek végének világméretű recessziója alatt meredeken emelkedett a munkanélküliség és az alulfoglalkoztatottság mértéke, azonban az emigrációt továbbra is korlátozták azzal a céllal, hogy elszigeteljék a dominikai embereket a Karib-medencében akkortájt lezajló politikai földrengéstől, és úgy gondolták, hogy így a kiutazás korlátozásával további problémáktól kímélik meg a rendszert.²⁰ Trujillo biztonság iránti megszállottságából fakadóan nemcsak az emigrációt, hanem a nemzetközi idegenforgalmat is korlátozta. A dominikaiak közül kevesen rendelkeztek útlevelemmel is. Csak a feltétlenül lojális társadalmi és gazdasági elit számára adatott meg a lehetőség, hogy Trujillo titkosrendőrségének minden részletre kiterjedő vizsgálatát követően elutazzon vagy emigráljon. A korai kivándorlók másik fontos csoportja a politikai menekülteké volt, zömmel a demokratikus baloldal azon képviselőié, akiknek sikerült elhagyniuk a szigetet.²¹ 1932 és 1961 között körülbelül 16 700 dominikai bevándorlót

19 A Hispaniola szigetén fekvő két karibi ország kapcsolatai a XVIII. század végétől máig feszültnek mondhatók és történelmileg terheltek. Az eredetileg francia gyarmat, majd 1804-től független Haiti 1822 és 1844 között elfoglalta az akkor még Santo Domingo néven ismert, függetlenedni vágyó spanyol gyarmatot, amely végül 1844-ben Haititől nyerte el függetlenségét Dominikai Köztársaság néven. A Haitiből folyamatosan érkező bevándorlók miatt állandó feszültség jellemezte a határvidéket. Az ellentétek 1932-ben etnikai tisztogatásokba torkolltak, amelynek során a dominikai hadsereg mintegy 20 000 haitit mészárolt le. A haiti illegális bevándorlás napjainkban is súlyos problémát jelent, illetve ezek leszármazottainak jogai gyakran kérdőjeleződtek meg a dominikai parlamentben az elmúlt évtizedben.

20 Frank Moya Pons: *Manual de historia dominicana* (Santiago: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra, 1977), 516; Moya Pons: *The Dominican Republic*, 367–370, 377; Georges, 28–29; Pessar: *A Visa*, 1.

21 Georges, 37; Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 91; Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 109–111; a New York Cityben, Puerto Ricóban, Venezuelában, és Európában letelepedő menekültekkel kapcsolatban lásd Nicolás Silfa: *Guerra, traición y exilio* (Barcelona: Manuel Girón, 1983).

regisztrált az amerikai Bevándorlási Hivatal (INS),²² vagyis csupán a dominikaiak 2%-a érkezett Trujillo meggyilkolása és a tiltó kiléptetési szabályok feloldása előtt. A következő évtizedekben jelentős mértékű emigrációt tapasztalhatunk, amely nemzetközi téren új fejezetet nyitott a Dominikai Köztársaság életében, és új korszakot teremtett a kétoldalú kapcsolatok történetében. Az 1960-as évek óta a két ország közötti viszony és a migrációs kapcsolatok összefonódtak, habár nem annyira, mint Kuba esetében, ahol a migrációt túlzott mértékben átpolitizálták a hidegháborún keresztül és azt követően is. A dominikai migráció jellemző vonása, hogy habár a migrációs áramlat mindkét oldalán depolitizált volt ez a népességmozgás, mégis jól példázza azt, hogy milyen hatást gyakorolt az Egyesült Államokba irányuló tömeges migráció kibontakozására a külpolitikai célkitűzések előtérbe helyezése.

A fentiekben ábrázolt tömeges migrációs áramlat fejlődésének és dinamikájának a magyarázatához a folyamat kezdetét kell megragadnunk. Az 1961-től 1966-ig terjedő időszak különös jelentőséggel bír ennek a népességmozgásnak a megértése szempontjából az alábbi okok miatt. Először is ebben az időszakban élte át a Dominikai Köztársaság a legmélyebb és legviharosabb politikai átalakulását, amelyben a kubai forradalom miatt akkoriban különösen óvatos Egyesült Államok is aktívan részt vett. Az USA az instabil dominikai kormányzat miatt a rendszer megdöntésétől és a kommunizmus karib-tengeri továbbterjedésétől, és mivel már egyszer pórul járt Kubában, fokozottan óvatos volt a Dominikai Köztársasággal. Másodszor pedig 1961 és 1966 között az Egyesült Államok kormánya a bevándorlási szabályok liberális alkalmazásán és végrehajtásán alapuló bevándorláspolitikát vezetett be a dominikaiakkal szemben, amely lehetővé tette és elősegítette ennek a nagyszabású migrációs áramlatnak a kialakulását. A dominikai migráció felgyorsulása az USA-barát rendszer politikai stabilizációjának stratégiai érdekeit szolgálta azáltal, hogy enyhítette azokat a társadalmi feszültségeket, amelyek a politikai ellenzék tevékenysége és a forradalom melegágyának tartott nagyfokú munkanélküliség miatt fenyegették a dominikai kormányokat. Az ideológiai megfontolások nem játszottak szerepet a dominikai beáramlás elősegítésében, a stratégiai érdekek viszont létfontosságúak voltak abból a szempontból, hogy életre hívták a migrációs áramlat zökkenőmentes működtetéséhez szükséges adminisztratív módosításokat. A kubai esettel ellentétben azonban nem történtek jogszabály-módosítások, mivel a menekültáramlatot adminisztratív eszközökkel és eljárásrenddel is sikeresen tudták kezelni. A dominikai emigráció depolitizált aspektusa ennek a korszaknak a végére alakult ki. Annak ellenére, hogy sok dominikait – akik az 1965-ös áprilisi forradalom és az 1965–66-os amerikai megszállás után hagyták el az országot – menekültként tartottak számon, az 1966-os választásokat és az amerikai csapatok kivonását követően a dominikaiak már nem minősültek menekülteknek. A jobboldali, Trujillót követő Balaguer-rezsim 1966 és 1978 közötti „rendteremtési” erőfeszítéseit kísérő erőszak és jogsértések ellenére az USA-barát

rendszerből érkező bevándorlókat inkább gazdasági vándoroknak tekintették.²³ Az Egyesült Államok a Balaguer-rendszer konszolidációjának elősegítése érdekében folytatta az 1960-as évek elején bevezetett liberális beléptetési politikáját, amely kifejezetten hatékonynak bizonyult a politikai és társadalmi feszültségek csökkentésében. Így 1968-ra, amikor is az amerikai kontinensre, azaz a nyugati féltekére vonatkozó számbeli korlátozást bevezették, a dominikaiak már elérték azt a „kritikus tömeget” az Egyesült Államokban, amely a családok újraegyesítésének kvótán felüli kategóriájának kihasználásával gyorsan tovább tudott gyarapodni.²⁴ Majd 1976-tól a preferencia rendszer és a nyugati féltekére vonatkozó országonkénti 20 000 fős korlát kibővítését követően a bevándorlók még jobban ki tudták használni az Egyesült Államokban már gyökeret eresztett közösségüket. Ennek eredményeképpen 1983-tól napjainkig a dominikaiak száma mindig messze meghaladta az éves 20 000-es országonkénti határt, olyannyira, hogy 1990 és 1996 között, illetve 2010 és 2016 között évente körülbelül 40 000 dominikai bevándorló érkezett az Egyesült Államokba; 2016-ban ez a szám már meghaladta a 60 000-et is.²⁵ Természetesen úgy is érvelhetünk, hogy mihelyst véget ért a Trujillo-rezsim és megszűnt a tiltó emigrációs politika egy a világtól évtizedekig elszigetelt országban – amelyben mindeközben folyamatosan nőtt a munkanélküliség és az alulfoglalkoztatottság –, számítani lehetett az Egyesült Államokba történő emigráció jelentős mértékű növekedésére. Ráadásul 1961 és 1968 között még nem volt hatályban semmilyen számbeli korlátozás a nyugati féltekéről származó, Egyesült Államokba tartó bevándorlókka kapcsolatan.²⁶ Mint ahogy ezt Christopher Mitchell is aláhúzza:

A dominikaiak Egyesült Államokba való kivándorlását mintegy mesterségesen hátráltatták a politikai határok, és úgy is mondhatjuk, hogy [az 1960-as évekre] egy késleltetett „migrációs kereslet” jött létre. Azonban a dominikai migráció akkoriban tapasztalt növekedése a karibi társadalmakból kiinduló egyik leggyorsabban kibontakozó népességmozgást jelezte. Az Egyesült Államok által kezdeményezett egyszerűsített és gyorsított adminisztrációs eljárás [...] bizonyára jelentős mértékben hozzájárult ehhez a nagyfokú migrációhoz.²⁷

23 A dominikai migráció menekült aspektusaival kapcsolatban lásd Juan González, *Harvest of Empire. The History of Latinos in America* (New York, NY: Viking Penguin, 2000), 118; a Balaguer-rezsim (1966–1978) nagy részét jellemző erőszak történelmi feltárásáról pedig lásd Moya Pons: *The Dominican Republic*, 391–404.

24 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 91.

25 Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 34; U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1998 Statistical Yearbook of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Table 2. Immigration by Region and Selected Country of Last Residence, Fiscal Years 1820–1998, <https://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/1998/1998yb.pdf>; 2013 Yearbook; 2016 Yearbook.

26 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 100.

27 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 100.

Az amerikai kormányzat nagymértékben kihasználta a rendelkezésére álló adminisztratív eszközöket a dominikai bevándorlás elősegítése érdekében. A Külügyminisztérium és az USA Nagykövetsége minden tőle telhetőt megtett azért, hogy zökkenőmentesen és gyorsan lebonyolítsa mind a bevándorlók, mind pedig a nem bevándorló látogatók vízumkérelmeinek az elbírálását, miközben az INS elnéző volt a vízumban meghatározott tartózkodási idő túllépésekor, és elnéző jogi szankciókat alkalmazott az illegális bevándorlókkal szemben is. Annak ellenére, hogy Trujillo halála után megszűntették az emigrációra vonatkozó korlátozásokat, az ezt követő dominikai kormányoknak nem kellett kétoldalú tárgyalások útján rendezni a migrációs kérdéseket,²⁸ mivel – amint azt látni fogjuk – az USA kormányzata elébe ment a dolgoknak, és saját kezdeményezésével lehetővé tette az emigrációs biztonsági szelep megnyitását és működtetését. Ezek a lépések a Dominikai Köztársaság stabilizálásának külpolitikai célját szolgálták.²⁹ Így a dominikai esettanulmány alátámasztja az általam javasolt ún. bumerángeffektus-elméletet, amely arra mutat rá, hogy a külpolitika és migrációs politika korrelációján keresztül alapjában véve a fogadó ország felelős a tömeges migrációs áramlat megvalósulásáért és fenntartásáért.

1959-től az Egyesült Államok Dominikai Köztársasággal szembeni politikáját egy második Kuba kialakulásának a megakadályozására irányuló törekvések jellemezték. Amikor a Trujillo-rezsim 1961 májusában véget ért, az ország instabillá vált, és felszabadultak a politikai, szociális és gazdasági feszültségek. Augusztustól Dean Rusk külügyminiszter az alábbiakban foglalta össze az USA Dominikával kapcsolatos külpolitikai céljait:

Meg kell tenni azokat a lépéseket, amelyek enyhítik a Dominikai Köztársaságban fennálló jelenlegi feszültségeket, ugyanakkor elősegítik az Egyesült Államok alábbi alapvető céljainak megvalósítását is: (a) megakadályozzák, hogy Castro-típusú kommunizmus alakuljon ki vagy vegye át az ország felett az irányítást, és (b) a lehető legdemokratikusabb, baráti és stabil kormány alakuljon ki.³⁰

28 A migráció az 1980-as években vált a bilaterális tárgyalások témájává, mivel az USA egyre jobban aggódott a Puerto Ricón keresztülmenő illegális bevándorlás miatt, különösen az 1986-os bevándorlási reform és ellenőrzési törvény megszavazását követően (Immigration Reform and Control Act, IRCA). A dominikai kormány pedig attól tartott, hogy az illegális bevándorlást általánosan korlátozó törvény kihatásaként tömegesen fogják deportálni a dominikaiakat, ami feszültségekhez vezet majd az országban, és rontja majd a kétoldalú kapcsolatokat. Az 1990-es évekre azonban kiderült, hogy a dominikai aggodalmak túlzottnak bizonyultak. Továbbra is csak korlátozott mértékben került sor deportálásokra, amelyek száma nem érte el a néhány százat évente. Az ezzel a korszakkal kapcsolatos részleteket lásd Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 113–123.

29 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 99; Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 39–40.

30 *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1961–1963, Vol. XII, American Republics* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1996), 661.

A feszült dominikai helyzet pontosabb megismerése érdekében Kennedy elnök 1961 szeptemberében John Bartlow Martint küldte rendkívüli követként a Dominikai Köztársaságba előzetes tényfeltáró útra. A szabadúszó újságíró Martin, aki Kennedy választási kampánya során az elnök beszédeit írta, rendelkezett már némi helyismerettel, miután 1937 és 1938 között a Dominikai Köztársaságban élt néhány hónapot. Szeptember 10-én érkezett meg Santo Domingóba, amelyet akkor még mindig Ciudad Trujillónak hívtak, és három hét alatt szerte az országban feltérképezte a politikai helyzetet. Habár az ajánlásai, amelyeket október 3-án nyújtott át az elnöknek, nem tartalmaztak migrációval kapcsolatos kérdéseket,³¹ mégis – mint ahogyan ez a visszaemlékezéseiből kiderül – a későbbi nagykövet figyelt fel először a tömegtiltakozások és az amerikai vízumokkal kapcsolatos igények közötti összefüggésekre.

[Egyik este Santo Domingóban] bementem a városba Fred Somerforddal, az USA munkaügyi attaséjával, aki hétköznapi öltözképet viselt. A Parque Independencia, a dominikai szabadság szentélye, teljesen tele volt [...] emberekkel, [a tömeg azt kántálta, hogy] „*Da-da, li-ber-tad*” újra és újra [...], megálltunk, hogy beszéljessünk két huszonéves fiatalemberrel, és [...] egy pillanat múlva még harmincan vettek minket körül, aztán ötvenen lettek, és mindegyikük egyszerre beszélt. [...] Az egyikük rájött, hogy Somerford amerikai tisztviselő, és vízumot kért tőle. Somerford odaadta neki a névjegyét, és abban a pillanatban mindegyikük körbefogta, vízumért kezdett könyörögni, megpróbált egy névjegyet szerezni és azt kiabálta „*Consulado norteamericano*”. [Somerford később az alábbiakkal kommentálta a jelenetet:] „Azok a fiúk mindent megpróbálnának akárhol. Fel tudnák gyűjtani a várost. Gondolkodás nélkül szembeszállnának a hadsereggel is. Ledöntenék a szobrokat és felgyújtánák a házakat. Éheznek. Pokoli hosszú ideje nélkülöznek.”³²

Martin jelentése alapján a dominikai helyzetről szóló egyik legfontosabb véleményt, az elnök egyik asszisztense, Richard N. Goodwin fogalmazta meg: „[á]ltalában abban bízunk, hogy az Egyesült Államok majd megoldja az összes problémát. Ez egyfelől nagyon is érthető a kemény és brutális elnyomás 30 évének fényében, másfelől azonban

³¹ Az ajánlások az alábbiakat tartalmazták: (a) Az Egyesült Államoknak magas szintű diplomáciai képviselőt kellene küldenie az országba, hogy tárgyaljon a Trujillo-család gazdasági hatalmának felszámolásáról; (b) segítséget kellene nyújtania egy széles bázison nyugvó átmeneti kormány létrehozásához az OAS által szponzorált szabad választásokig; (c) meg kellene győznie a Trujillo-családot, hogy hagyja el békében az országot; (d) meg kellene szerveznie, hogy fokozatosan oldják fel a Dominikai Köztársaság elleni OAS-szankciót. Lásd John Bartlow Martin: *Overtaken by Events. The Dominican Crisis From the Fall of Trujillo to the Civil War* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 64–83.

³² Martin: *Overtaken*, 67–68.

olyan kikerülhetetlen tény is, amelyet figyelembe kell vennünk a politikánk kialakításában.³³ Az USA problémamegoldási stratégiájának hamarosan részévé vált, hogy a politikai és a társadalmi feszültségek csökkentése érdekében külpolitikai eszközként használja fel a bevándorláspolitikai végrehajtását. John Bartlow Martin döntő szerepet játszott a két politikai terület közötti összefüggés kidolgozásában, mielőst az USA új nagykövetévé nevezték ki a két ország közötti teljes körű diplomáciai kapcsolatokat 1962 januári helyreállítása után.³⁴ Azonban az ez irányba tett első lépéseket – a bajkeverők és agitátorok deportálását – a szükség diktálta.

1961 októberétől az Amerikai Államok Szervezete (AÁSZ) szankcióinak feloldásáért és a teljes körű diplomáciai kapcsolatok helyreállításáért cserébe az USA többek között azt követelte az akkoriban Balaguer elnök által vezetett dominikai kormánytól, hogy tegye meg a szükséges lépéseket az összes elnyomó és kommunista, vagyis minden olyan szélsőjobb- és szélsőbaloldali személy ellen, akinek a célja a demokratikus rendszer aláásása. Balaguer rámutatott, hogy néhány ilyen embert „már deportáltak, és azt tervezik, hogy hasonlóképpen járnak el a többiekkel szemben is.”³⁵ A deportáltakat az Egyesült Államokba akarták küldeni, és a főkonzulátus segítségére számítottak a deportálások lebonyolításában. Amikor 1962. március 9-én Martin nagykövet megérkezett, az átmeneti Államtanács (Consejo de Estado) tagjai „technikai segítséget kértek a rendőrség lázadásokkal szembeni fellépésének kiképzéséhez, illetve egy a Castro-féle kommunistákkal szembenálló, titkos, felforgatás-ellenes egység létrehozásához, továbbá a deportálások megszervezéséhez.”³⁶ Martin, akinek az volt a feladata, hogy segítséget nyújtson egy stabil, USA-barát kormány létrehozásában, „hiperaktív” módon látta el nagyköveti feladatait, és arra törekedett, hogy „a saját jelenlétén keresztül biztosítsa a politikai stabilitást”.³⁷ A vízumkiadási folyamat könnyítése és felgyorsítása feladatainak központi elemévé vált:

Az [1962-es] év végére, mintegy 125 deportált személyt küldtünk az Egyesült Államokba, a legtöbbször az előtt, hogy én megérkeztem. Egyre több volt a lázongás. A rendkívüli állapotra vonatkozó törvény alapján az Államtanács óvatosan elkezdte deportálni az agitátorokat. A Castro-féle kommunisták a

33 *FRUS, 1961–1963*, 671.

34 Az Egyesült Államokkal fennálló diplomáciai kapcsolatok először 1960 augusztusa és 1961 januárja között szakadtak meg, amikor Trujillo megkísérelte megöletni Betancourt venezuelai elnököt, másodszor pedig 1963 szeptembere és 1964 márciusa között az első demokratikusan megválasztott elnököt, Juan Boscht hatalmától megfosztó államcsíny miatt. Mindkét alkalommal érintetlenül hagyták a konzuli kapcsolatokat, és a Santo Domingo-i főkonzulátus a misszió vezetője nélkül is, ideiglenes ügyvivővel ugyanúgy folytatta munkáját, mint az előtt. Lásd U.S. Department of State, *Principal Officers of the Department of State and United States Chiefs of Mission, 1778–1990* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1991), 77–78.

35 *FRUS, 1961–1963*, 667, 669.

36 Martin: *Overtaken*, 8.

37 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 98.

szabadság nevében tiltakoztak a gyakorlat ellen, hasonlóképpen azokhoz a politikai pártokhoz, akik a deportáltak rokonainak a szavazatát akarták megszerezni. Ezen a ponton mi is belekerültünk az ügybe – amerikai vízumot kellett adnunk az Államtanács által az Egyesült Államokba deportált személyek számára.³⁸

Ekképpen már a Trujillo utáni korszak elején felmérte mindkét kormány, hogy milyen hatással van a vízumok kiadása a feszültség és az erőszak mérséklésére. Mégis, csak Martin megérkezését követően kezdték el jobban kihasználni ezt az összefüggést, és ekkor terjesztették ki az eljárást azokra is, akik bevándorló, illetve turista vízumot igényeltek. Trujillo halála óta folyamatosan magas volt a vízumkérelmek száma. Nap mint nap végeláthatatlanul kígyózó sorok alakultak ki az USA konzulátusa előtt Santo Domingo belvárosának keskeny utcáin. Az igénylők nagy száma miatt hamarosan húszezerre nőtt a vízumügyek hátraléka a korszerűtlen és kevés alkalmazottat foglalkoztató konzulátuson.³⁹ Martin nagykövet szemében a konzulátus előtt kialakuló mindennapos tömeg többféle fontos következménnyel járt. Mint ahogyan ezt saját maga megfogalmazta: „[s]emmi sem árt annyira az Egyesült Államok jó hírnevének, mint az USA konzulátusát megostromló, hosszan kígyózó sorok látványa, akik [...] könyörögve és hízelegve próbálnak vízumot szerezni.”⁴⁰ De – a nagykövet szerint – ennél sokkal fontosabb volt, hogy a lázongásoktól és tüntetésektől zajos Santo Domingóban a hatalmas és egyre növekvő vízum iránti igénynek politikai motivációi voltak: „Néhányan azonnal el akartak menekülni, mivel féltek, hogy a lázongások káoszba torkollnak. Mások egyszerűen azért akartak vízumot, hogy káosz esetén majd el tudjanak menekülni az országból.”⁴¹ Mégis, legjobban a konzulátus előtt hosszú sorokban várakozó emberek aggasztották, akikből bármikor válhatott „bevetésre kész” utcai lázadó Santo Domingo szívében.⁴² Valójában az a tény, hogy „Trujillo bukása óta a konzulátust szinte nap mint nap ostromolták a vízumok miatt”⁴³ annyira nyugtalanították Martint, hogy 1962 áprilisában, nagykövetségként Washingtonba tett első útján a „vízumkáoszként” emlegetett téma központi helyet foglalt el a Külügyminisztérium illetékeseivel, sőt magával a külügyminiszterrel folytatott megbeszélésein.

Beszámoltam a vízumkáoszról, és magát [Rusk] külügyminisztert kellett megkérnem, hogy oldja meg a problémát. Nagyon együtt érző volt, és azt ígérte, hogy haladéktalanul egy repülőgépnyi fiatal vízumtisztviselőt fog küldeni a Dominikai Köztársaságba. De ahogyan ez gyakran megesik, a monstnum

38 Martin: *Overtaken*, 99–100.

39 Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 44; Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 98.

40 John Bartlow Martin: *U.S. Policy in the Caribbean* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978), 235.

41 Martin: *Overtaken*, 98.

42 Martin: *Overtaken*, 98.

43 Martin: *U.S. Policy*, 235.

intézmény, a Külügyminisztérium, felülbírált a külügyminisztert. [...] Néhány hónappal később azonban mégis megkaptuk, amire szükségünk volt: egy új konzulátusi épületet kint a vásárterületnél, távol Santo Domingo belvárosától, három konzulhelyettest és egy új konzult. [...] Ószre véget ért a vízumizéria.⁴⁴

Habár az azonnali cselekvés több hónapba is beletelt, a Külügyminisztérium 1962. május 15-i irányelve felvette a vízumkérdést az 1962 májusa és 1963 februárja közötti periódusban, vagyis a demokratikusan megválasztott kormány beiktatásához vezető időszakban teljesítendő feladatok közé: „Haladéktalanul lépéseket kell tenni a Santo Domingo-i nagykövetségen tapasztalható vízumhátralék olyan szintre való csökkentése érdekében, ahol az már nem képez politikai teherteret.”⁴⁵ A vízumhátralék által keltett politikai teherteret csökkentése a gyakorlatban azt jelentette, hogy a megfelelően felszerelt konzulátus kibővített személyzetétől azt várták el, hogy leegyszerűsítse és felgyorsítsa a vízumelbírálási folyamatot mind a bevándorlók, mind pedig a turisták számára. 1963-ban egy újabb konzuli hivatal is megnyílt Santiago városban a turista vízumokkal kapcsolatos eljárás könnyebb lebonyolítása érdekében.⁴⁶ Ennek eredményeképpen csupán 1963-ban több mint 10 000 bevándorló és több mint 56 000 turista vízumot adtak ki, ami – miként erre már utaltunk – tizennégyszeres, illetve tizenkétszeres növekedést jelentett az 1960-ban kiadott vízumok számához képest.⁴⁷ A kivándorlási biztonsági szelepet az USA nagykövetségének kezdeményezésére nyitották meg ennyire a dominikaiak előtt. A politikai ellenzék deportálását leszámítva az 1962 és 1966 között hatalmon lévő dominikai kormányok egyike sem kérte hivatalosan az Egyesült Államoktól a vízumelbírálási folyamat felgyorsítását. Annak ellenére, hogy az egymást követő rendszerek elismerték a kivándorlás politikai és szociális feszültségeket csökkentő, pozitív hatását, a folyamat megkönnyítése amerikai oldalról adminisztratív rutinná tette a migrációt és kiemelte azt a politikai tárgyalások köréből. A Martin nagykövet által megalkotott adminisztratív keretnek köszönhetően – azaz viszonylag nagyszámú vízumot bocsátottak ki, a dominikai rendszer változásaitól függetlenül életben tartották a migrációs áramlatot, elkülönítették a vízumelbírálási eljárást a követség dominikai kormánnyal szemben fennálló egyéb politikai ügyeitől, továbbá nagy hangsúlyt fektettek a gyors ügyintézésre, miközben nem érintették a vízumkérelmek visszautasítását – a migráció gyakorlatilag politikamentes kérdéssé vált a két ország között. A megnyitott és adminisztratív eszköz-

44 Martin: *Overtaken*, 120. 1978-ban Martin a következőképpen foglalta össze ezeket az eseményeket: „Trujillo bukása után a konzulátusunkat szinte minden áldott nap darabokra szedték a vízumért tülekedők, és csak akkor költöztünk ki a város peremére, bővítettük a személyzetet, és alkalmaztunk biztonsági őrköt, miután a nagykövet elmondta a problémát magának Rusk külügyminiszternek.” Lásd Martin: *U.S. Policy*, 235–236.

45 *FRUS*, 1961–1963, 706 (kiemelés tőlem).

46 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 106. A santiagói konzulátus 1970-ig állt nyitva.

47 Georges, 38; Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 35.

zökön keresztül fenntartott „bevándorlási átjáró” az Egyesült Államok számára a politikai feszültségek csökkentésének és a két ország közötti kapcsolat fejlesztésének a külpolitikai célját szolgálta, anélkül hogy szükségessé tette volna az államközi csatornák bevonását.⁴⁸ A dominikai kivándorlás az ország konszolidációjának fontos tényezőjeként segítette az USA pozícióinak a megőrzését és az amerikai hegemonia megerősítését. Így a migráció megkönnyítése hozzájárult az USA biztonságához. Kennedy elnök így nyilatkozott erről a kapcsolatról:

Számos krízishelyzetben az adott ország jövőbeli függetlensége és az Egyesült Államok biztonsága a [külszolgálati tisztviselők] helyzetmegítélésén nyugszik. Számos ilyen esetet tudok felidézni az elmúlt két évben, amióta betöltöm az elnöki pozíciót; [például] a Dominikai Köztársaság konzuljának a munkáját azokban a kritikus napokban, amelyekben helyt kellett állniuk [1962-ben].⁴⁹

Az emigrációs biztonsági szelepet működtető adminisztratív rutin zökkenőmentesen funkcionált a tiszavirág életű Bosch-kormányzat alatt (1963 februárjától szeptemberéig), a Boscht hatalmától megfosztó államcsínyt követő időszakban, amelyben megszakadtak az USA és Dominika közötti diplomáciai kapcsolatok (1963 szeptemberétől decemberéig), valamint a katonaság által támogatott Triumvirátus korszakában (1963 szeptemberétől 1965 áprilisáig), amelyet Donald Reid Cabral irányítása alatt 1963 decemberében az Egyesült Államok diplomáciailag is elismert. Az 1965 áprilisában kitört tömeges felkelés, amely Bosch alkotmányos elnöki hatalmát kívánta visszaállítani, és néhány napon belül polgárháborúba csapott át, egy második Kuba létrejöttének rémképét vetítette előre, és ahhoz vezetett, hogy az Egyesült Államok az AASZ csapataival együtt megszállta az országot egészen a választások megtartásáig (1965 áprilisától 1966 júliusáig). A két ország közötti migrációs kapcsolat tovább erősödött a dominikai forradalom alatti és az azt követő amerikai szerepvállalás eredményeképpen. Az ország konszolidálása iránt érzett felelősség és elkötelezettség megerősítette a migrációs kapcsolatot. Annak ellenére, hogy nem írtak alá hivatalos megállapodást, és a dominikai ügyekben való intenzív, általános amerikai szerepvállalás ellenére változatlanul maradt az Egyesült Államokba irányuló dominikai bevándorlás depolitizált természete,⁵⁰ az áprilisi felkelést követően a két kormány együttműködött a további jelentős mértékű kivándorlás elősegítésében.⁵¹ A forradalmárok és a politikai ellenfelek deportálásának problémáját kellett a legsürgősebben megoldani. Ezúttal az Egyesült Államok kormányának szerepe nem csak arra korlátozódott, hogy vízumot adott a rendszer politikai

48 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 99–100.

49 John F. Kennedy, „Remarks to a Group of Newly Promoted Foreign Service Officers, March 6, 1963”, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. John F. Kennedy, January 1 to November 22, 1963* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), 236.

50 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 101–102.

51 Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 39–40, 42.

ellenfeleinek, hanem ezen túlmenően is „segítséget nyújtott [az ideiglenes García-Godoy kormány kérésére] abban, hogy megtagadta a deportáltaktól annak a lehetőségét, hogy elhagyják az Egyesült Államokat”.⁵² Ezen kívül az USA gyorsan megadta a vízumot a polgárháború két oldalán harcoló, életüket féltő katonai vezetőknek,⁵³ és ezzel is a politikai stabilitás visszaállítását segítette elő. A kongresszus elfogadta, hogy ezen személyek, illetve az 1965–1966-os időszak polgárháborús körülményei miatt elmenekülők emigrálása menekültyi vándorlásnak minősíthető. 1965. október 22-én törvényjavaslatot (S. 2727) nyújtottak be a Szenátusban „a Dominikai Köztársaságból érkező bizonyos menekültek megsegítéséről”.⁵⁴ A dominikai menekültet olyan személyként definiálták „aki 1965. április 24. után és 1966. június 2. előtt a katonai hadműveletek következtében volt kénytelen elhagyni a Dominikai Köztársaságban lévő rendes lakóhelyét, akit átvilágítottak és az országba bebocsátottak, illetve akinek rendkívüli beléptetést (parole) biztosítottak az Egyesült Államokban.”⁵⁵ Ez azt jelentette, hogy a belépés módjára tekintet nélkül menekültnek minősíthették azokat a dominikaiakat – összesen mintegy 100 000 embert⁵⁶ –, akik ez alatt az időszak alatt rendkívüli beléptetéssel vagy nem bevándorlóként érkeztek az Egyesült Államokba.⁵⁷ A Kongresszus 1966-ban fontolóra vette ezeknek a dominikai menekülteknek a párhuzamos státuszmódosítását a kubaiakkal egyetemben. A törvény a Képviselőház által megszavazott első formájában (H.R. 15183 avagy az 1966. évi kubai státuszmódosítási törvény) csak az 1959 januárja után érkezett kubaiakat vonta hatálya alá. A Szenátus ezt követően módosította a törvényjavaslatot (S. 3712) annak érdekében, hogy a státuszmódosítás hatálya az 1959 januárja előtt érkezett kubaiakra, valamint a forradalom és a katonai hadműveletek által lakóhelyüktől megfosztott dominikai menekültekre is kiterjedjen. Vagyis azok a dominikaiak, akik a fent említett időszak alatt érkeztek, módosíthatták a státuszukat anélkül, hogy előbb el kellett volna hagyniuk az országot, és bevándorlóként újra bebocsátást kellett volna kérniük egy harmadik országban vagy a saját országuk konzulátusán. Mivel a Kongresszus

52 Martin, *Overtaken*, 347.

53 García Godoy, ideiglenes elnök egyik 1966 januárjában elmondott beszédében bejelentette, hogy különböző szárazföldi és haditengerészeti tisztek, közöttük a konstitucionalista klikk előző vezetője, Caamaño Deñó ezredes és a lojalista klikk befolyásos tagja, Rivera Camiñero hajóparancsnok „egy olyan gesztussal, amely a nemzet helyzetének megértéséről” tanúskodik, hamarosan elhagyja a Dominikai Köztársaságot. Lásd „The Provisional Government [led by García Godoy] Appeals to the Harmony, Good Sense and Genuine Patriotism of the Dominicans, Document III-20, January 3, 1966”, in Department of State, *American Foreign Policy: Current Documents, 1966* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), 264, n61.

54 *Congressional Record*, 89th Congress, First Session, Vol. 111, Daily edition (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 27347.

55 *Congressional Record*, 89th Congress, Second Session, Vol. 112, Daily edition (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), 24453.

56 A szerző becslése Eugenia Georges munkája alapján (38).

57 *Congressional Serial Set*, Senate Report 1675, 89th Congress, Second Session, October 4, 1966 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), 4.

két háza eltérően szavazott a Szenátus törvénymódosítási javaslatáról, konferenciabizottságot hívtak össze. A konferenciabizottság állásfoglalása „hozzájárult a dominikai menekültekre vonatkozó rendelkezések törléséhez”, továbbá kimondta, hogy „a konferenciabizottság résztvevői azon a véleményen voltak, hogy a kisebb számú, Dominikai Köztársaságból érkező menekültek esetének a tárgyalását el kell halasztani, amíg [1967] januárjában újra össze nem ül a Kongresszus.”⁵⁸ A problémát azonban végérvényesen elnapolták. A kubaiak státuszmódosításról szóló 1966. évi törvény csak a kubaiakkal tett kivételt, mivel konzuli kapcsolatok sem álltak fenn az országgal. Miként arra az Igazságügy Minisztérium rámutatott, a nyugati félteke összes többi nemzete „könnyedén viszszerterhet a [saját] hazájába a vízum beszerzése érdekében.”⁵⁹

Érdekes, hogy a státuszmódosítással kapcsolatos kongresszusi viták szinte kizárólag a kubaiakra vonatkozó kérdésre összpontosultak, miközben semmilyen vita nem bontakozott ki a dominikai menekültekkel kapcsolatban, akiknek a helyzetét nyilvánvalóan mellékes kérdésként kezelték.⁶⁰ Többféle tényezővel indokolható, hogy miért becsülték alá a dominikai migráció menekült vonulatát az 1965–1966-os időszak alatt. Először is, mivel a menekültek egy USA-barát rendszerből érkeztek, nem rendelkeztek azzal a stratégiai, ideológiai, vagy propaganda értékkel, mint az ellenséges rendszerből érkező kubaiak. Ekképpen a közvetlen humanitárius probléma megoldását és az új rendszerre veszélyt jelentő politikai ellenfelek eltávolítását leszámítva a dominikai menekülteként való besorolása nem szolgálta az USA hidegháborús külpolitikai érdekeit. Az Egyesült Államok azt tűzte ki célul, hogy stabilizálja és megerősítse az új dominikai kormányt, nem pedig azt, hogy nyilvánosan rossz hírért keltse és aláássa tekintélyét azzal, hogy az országból érkező migránsokat menekültáradatnak nyilvánítja. Másodsorban, a dominikai elmenekülését nem csupán az anyaországot sújtó felfordulás motiválta, hanem az Egyesült Államok részvételével zajló hadműveletek is felelőssé tehetőek ezért. A dominikai forradalomban való közvetlen amerikai szerepvállalás következtében lakóhelyüket elhagyni kényszerülők iránti felelősségérzetet azzal kompenzálták, hogy ezeknek adták meg a rendkívüli beléptetést az Egyesült Államokba, és rekord mennyiségű bevándorlási (több mint 26 000) és turista (több mint 120 000) vízumot bocsátottak ki

58 *Congressional Record*, 89th Congress, Second Session, Vol. 112, 26903, 27449; *Congressional Serial Set*, House Report 2334, 89th Congress, Second Session, October 21, 1966 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), 3.

59 *Congressional Serial Set*, Senate Report 1675, 6.

60 A Szenátusban a kubai és dominikai menekülteknek szentelt eltérő figyelemmel kapcsolatban lásd például *Congressional Record*, 89th Congress, Second Session, Vol. 112, 24453–24455. – Edward Kennedy szenátor 1966. október 6-án az S. 3712 törvényjavaslat megszavazását támogató érvelése közben egy mondatot szentelt a Dominikai Köztársaságból érkező menekülteknek: „Habár a szóban forgó intézkedés elsősorban a kubai menekültekre vonatkozik, arra is felhívnam a figyelmüket, hogy a bizottságban akként módosították a tervezetet, hogy azokra a Dominikai Köztársaságból érkező bona fide menekültekre is kiterjedjen, akik az 1965 áprilisi dominikai forradalmat közvetlenül követő időszakban menekültek az Egyesült Államokba” (*Congressional Record*, 89th Congress, Second Session, Vol. 112, 24454).

az 1965–1966 közötti időszakban.⁶¹ Harmadszorra, mihelyst a közvetlen krízishelyzet megoldódott azzal, hogy humanitárius alapon befogadtak néhány menekültet, a további migrációs nyomást azokkal az adminisztratív eszközökkel is lehetett kezelni, amelyek már 1962 óta lehetővé tették az Egyesült Államokba irányuló dominikai bevándorlást. Következésképpen a dominikai menekültek befogadását szemmel láthatóan depolitizálták, nemcsak a kétoldali kapcsolatokban, hanem az amerikai politikai intézményrendszeren belül is. Ellentétes lett volna az Egyesült Államok érdekeivel, ha a kubaiakkal egyetemben a dominikaiaknak is megadták volna a rendkívüli státuszmozdósítás lehetőségét, hiszen a kubai és a dominikai rendszert szembe kívánták állítani egymással: a kommunizmust, amely több százezer embert kényszerített menekülésre, a demokratikus sikertörténettel, ahol a migráció csupán annak volt köszönhető, hogy az emberek egy fejlődő országból egy fejlett országba akartak vándorolni a jobb munkalehetőségek és magasabb bérek reményében. Ezért, amint véget ért a krízishelyzet, a dominikaiakat nem tekintették többé menekülteknek. Habár a legtöbb forrás főként politikai okokkal magyarázza az 1960-as évek eleji dominikai kivándorlást,⁶² kevés tesz említést annak menekült vetületéről.⁶³ Sőt, a dominikai migrációval foglalkozó tanulmányok többsége nem emeli ki azt a rengeteg erőszakot és jogsértést, amely Balaguer elnyomó „béketeremtését” jellemezte az 1966–1978 közötti időszakban, és nem húzza alá ennek migrációt előidéző hatását.⁶⁴

61 Georges, 38.

62 Lásd, például, Patricia R. Pessar (szerk.): *When Borders Don't Divide: Labor Migration and Refugee Movements in the Americas* (New York, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1988); Dominguez; Georges; Bray; Torres-Saillant – Hernández; Graham; Pessar: *A Visa*.

63 Juan González véleménye szerint például a dominikai kivándorlás „nagyreszt menekültáramlatnak indult az 1960-as évek közepén”. A szerző úgy látja, hogy az 1960-as évek végén és az 1970-es években elmenekültek mozgalmának hátterében az 1966-os választásokat követő jobboldali elnyomásból fakadó politikai okok álltak. Szerinte az 1980-as évekig nem volt gazdasági vetülete a dominikai kivándorlásnak. Mindazonáltal a dominikaiakat nem minősítették menekülteknek, és nem kaptak szövetségi segítséget. Lásd González, 118. Roy S. Bryce-Laporte „el nem ismert menekültekként” hivatkozik a dominikaiakra a haitibeliekkel együtt. Lásd „Caribbean Migration to the United States: Some Tentative Conclusions”, in Roy S. Bryce-Laporte – Dolores M. Mortimer (szerk.): *Caribbean Immigration to the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1976), 193. A világ menekültáramlatait meghatározó politikai tényezőkről rendelkezésre álló legátfogóbb tanulmány nem említi a Dominikai Köztársaságot a latin-amerikai társadalmi konfliktusoknak és menekülteknek szentelt fejezetében. Lásd Aristide R. Zolberg, Astri Suhrke, és Sergio Aguayo, *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), Chapter 7.

64 Frank Moya Pons kiemeli, hogy „[t]öbb mint 3 000 dominikai veszítette életét az 1966 és 1974 közötti terrorcselekményekben. Ez a helyzet csak akkor ért véget, amikor a baloldali pártokat elsöpörték, a pártok teljesen szétestek, és amikor 1972-ben az Egyesült Államok és más demokratikus országok azt követelték Balaguertől, hogy vessen véget a terrorizmusnak és az emberi jogok megsértésének.” Balaguer post-trujillista „béketeremtése” – amely dominikaiak ezreinek kemény elnyomását, bebörtönzését és megkínzását jelentette – az 1966 és 1978 közötti uralmának döntő részére jellemző volt. Lásd *The Dominican Republic*, 392. A Balaguer-korszak tizenkét évével kapcsolatban lásd 391–404.

Lehet, hogy a dominikai bevándorlás menekültáramlatnak történő címkézése nem szolgálta az Egyesült Államok politikai érdekeit, az új dominikai rezsim konszolidációját szolgáló emigrációs biztonsági szelep zavartalan működése azonban egyértelműen az USA érdekében állt. Nem volt új megoldás, hogy a migráció eszközét használták fel a túlnépesedéssel és nagymértékű munkanélküliséggel küzdő országok politikai és társadalmi feszültségeinek csökkentésére. Ezt az összefüggést a második világháború utáni Nyugat- és Dél-Európában ismerték fel, amelynek némely része túlnépesedéssel és/vagy súlyos menekültproblémákkal küzdött akkoriban. Az Elnöki Bevándorlási és Honosítási Bizottság, amelyet 1952-ben Truman elnök hozott létre a McCarran–Walter törvény felülvizsgálatára és az aktuális bevándorlási problémák megoldására, az alábbiakat hangsúlyozta:

Bármilyen olyan tényező, amely gyöngíti a partnereinket, az végeredményben az Egyesült Államok biztonságát is gyöngíti. Minden kétséget kizáróan ilyen tényező a túlnépesedés. Mivel a külgazdasági és katonai célkitűzéseink nagyrészt arra irányulnak, hogy visszaállítsák ezeknek az országoknak az erejét, ha nem sikerül gyorsan segítenünk nekik a túlnépesedési problémájuk megoldásában, az gyöngíteni fogja az ő erejüket és a mi biztonságunkat is.⁶⁵

Az 1960-as évektől a népesség növekedését és a magas munkanélküliséget komoly problémának tekintette mind az USA, mind pedig a dominikai kormány. Az Egyesült Államok által támogatott dominikai családtervezési program megvalósítása mellett,⁶⁶ a migrációt egyre inkább a fölösleges munkaerő elszívásának és a Balaguer-rendszer konszolidációjának eszközeként kezelték,⁶⁷ amely a kezdetektől fogva a dominikai munkavállalók 25%-át érintő, jelentős munkanélküliséggel kellett, hogy szembenézzon.⁶⁸ A munkanélküliséget a politikai radikalizmus és a társadalmi nyugtalanság forrásának tekintették, ezért annak csökkentése érdekében továbbra is fenntartották a liberális bevándorláspolitikát. Így ez a bevándorláspolitikai a gazdasági és társadalmi feszültségek

65 President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, *Whom We Shall Welcome* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953), 65.

66 Az USA hosszú távú külpolitikájához hozzátartozik a népességszabályozás részét képező családtervezés is az amerikai befektetésekből részesülő területeken, például a Dominikai Köztársaságban, ahol a családtervezést 1966-ban vezették be. Lásd Torres-Saillant – Hernánde, 40–41.

67 Aristide Zolberg: „From Invitation to Interdiction: U.S. Foreign Policies and Immigration since 1945”, in Michael S. Teitelbaum and Myron Weiner (szerk.): *Threatened Peoples, Threatened Borders. World Migration and U.S. Policy* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1995), 153; Robert L. Bach: „Immigration and U.S. Foreign Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean”, in Robert W. Tucker – Charles B. Keely – Linda Wrigley (szerk.): *Immigration and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press), 145–146.

68 A magas munkanélküliségi ráta miatti aggodalommal kapcsolatban lásd Lyndon B. Johnson, „The President's News Conference at LBJ Ranch, July 5, 1966”, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*. Lyndon B. Johnson, Book II, June 1 to December 31, 1966 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), 704.

csökkentésének külpolitikai célját szolgálta, és cserébe hozzájárult a politikai stabilitáshoz és az USA biztonsághoz. Mivel a bevándorlás kérdését az 1965. áprilisi forradalmat követő kritikus korszakban külpolitikai eszközként használták fel a Dominikai Köztársaságban, a Johnson-kormányzat és a Kongresszus számos tagja is határozottan ellenezte azt, hogy a bevándorlási és nemzetiségi törvény 1965-ös módosításaiban javasolt számbeli korlátozást bevezessék a nyugati féltekéről érkező bevándorlókkal szemben. Az évente összesen 120 000 nyugati féltekéről származó bevándorló befogadását nem csupán olyan intézkedésnek látták, amely veszélybe sodorja a pánamerikanizmus eszméjét, hanem úgy gondolták, hogy veszélyezteti az Egyesült Államok Dominikai Köztársasággal kapcsolatos külpolitikai célkitűzéseit is azért, hogy korlátozza a kiadható bevándorlási vízumok számát, és ezzel gátat szab az instabil, de baráti kormányt támogató liberális bevándorláspolitiká végrehajtásának. Annak ellenére, hogy elméletben elismerték a féltekére vonatkozó esetleges korlátozás majdani szükségességét, a konkrét bevezetés időzítését teljes mértékben szerencsétlennek ítélték a Dominikai Köztársaságban zajló események miatt, sőt, úgy látták, hogy hátráltatja a hidegháborús célkitűzések megvalósítását, mert a bevándorlás számbeli korlátozása Latin-Amerika elidegenedéséhez vezethet. Mint ahogyan ezt a Külügyminisztérium Johnson elnök számára 1965. május 8-án kibocsátott memoranduma is hangsúlyozta: „Rusk külügyminiszter szerint, ha támogatjuk [a nyugati féltekére vonatkozó kvóták bevezetésének kísérletét], felbosszantjuk és megdöbbsentjük vele a latin-amerikai barátainkat, akik így már bizonyosra fogják venni, hogy végleg ki akarunk vonulni a pánamerikanizmusból.”⁶⁹ 1965. május 20-án Abba Schwartz, a Biztonsági és Konzuli Hivatal vezetője, az alábbi módon kommentálta a helyzetet a külügyminiszternek és az igazságügyi miniszternek: „Ha most vezetnénk be [a bevándorlók] összlétszámának a korlátozását, akkor rontanánk a latin-amerikai szomszédainkkal való viszonyunkon, különösen a dominikai helyzet és a küszöbön álló Amerika-közi konferencia fényében.”⁷⁰ Továbbá egy a Fehér Ház stábjá által készített dokumentum a következőt hangsúlyozta: „el kell döntenünk, hogy jelenleg nem az szolgálja-e legjobban a latin-amerikai érdekeinket, ha lemondunk a bevándorlási törvény azonnali megszavazásáról. Várjunk addig, amíg Santo Domingót magunk mögött tudhatjuk, és akkor vizsgáljuk meg újra a kérdést!”⁷¹ Mindazonáltal ezeket a nézeteket talán legjobban Emanuel Celler képviselő foglalta össze 1965. augusztus 25-én, a törvényjavaslat megszavazásához vezető kongresszusi vitánapon:

69 Unsigned memorandum to President Johnson, 8 May 1965, White House Central Files, Papers of President Lyndon Johnson. Idézi Bach: „Immigration”, 144.

70 Memorandum, 20 May 1965, White House Central Files, Papers of President Lyndon Johnson. Idézi Bach: „Immigration”, 144.

71 Idézi Robert L. Bach: „Political Frameworks for International Migration”, in Steven E. Sanderson (szerk.): *The Americas in the New International Division of Labor* (New York, NY: Holmes and Meier, 1985), 113.

[A nyugati féltekére meghatározott korlátozásnak] nagyon súlyos következményei lennének. Jelenleg nem alkalmas az idő a külpolitikai szálak összekuszálására. Kritikus időköt élünk. Minden olyan barátra szükségünk van, akit magunk köré tudunk gyűjteni, különösen déli szomszédainkra. A módosítás elidegenítené tőlünk Latin-Amerikát. [...] Ennek a félelmének adott hangot a külügyminiszter is – ez az, amitől a legjobban tart, hogy felbosszantjuk őket, és ellenséges érzelmeket keltünk bennük. Nem engedhetjük meg, hogy kialakuljon ez a rosszindulat, különösen nem a jelenlegi nehézségeink közepette – Kuba, Santo Domingo és különösen Vietnam árnyékában. [...] Az extrém elszigetelődés időszaka alatt [...] és a keleti féltekére vonatkozó nemzeti eredet elvű bevándorlási kvóták bevezetését követően] 1924-től kezdődően [...] semmilyen korlátozást nem állítottunk a nyugati félteke egyik országa elé sem. Miért tegyük ezt meg most? Miért pont ezt a veszélyes időpontot választanánk ki erre? [...] [A korlátozás] teljes mértékben szükségtelen [...], mert minden ok nélkül irritáljuk vele barátainkat [és] mert valószínű, hogy megsértjük majd ezzel a spanyol származású amerikaiak büszkeségét. Ez a módosítás rossz tanács, mert megnehezítené és bonyolultabbá tenné külpolitikánk gyakorlását. A külügyminiszterünk határozottan hangot adott tiltakozásának, és végeredményben azt mondta, hogy a módosítás olyan lenne, mintha súlyos akadályokat gördítenénk a szívélyes és harmonikus latin-amerikai kapcsolatokhoz vezető út elé.⁷²

Azonban a bevándorlási reform sarokkövei, vagyis a keleti féltekére vonatkozó nemzeti eredet elvű kvótarendszer eltörlése és a nyugati féltekére vonatkozó korlátozás bevezetése szorosan összefüggött. A törvényjavaslatot végül 1965 októberében megszavazták, és az törvényerőre emelkedett. A törvény 1968. júliusi hatálybalépését megelőzően a Nyugati Félteke Bevándorlási Különbizottsága, amelyet a nyugati féltekére kiszabott éves küszöb potenciális kihatásának a vizsgálatára hoztak létre, figyelmeztetett a számbeli korlátozás negatív külpolitikai következményeire. Úgy látták, hogy súlyos vízumhátralék alakulhat ki, és ez általános ellenérzést válthat ki Latin-Amerikában. A Különbizottság úgy ítélte meg, hogy a nyugati féltekére bevezetendő korlátozás következményeinek pontosabb előrejelzéséhez további tanulmányozásra lenne szükség, és azt ajánlotta, hogy a korlátozás bevezetésének időpontját 1968 júliusáról 1969 júliusára halasszák el.⁷³ A Kongresszus azonban semmit sem tett, és az 1965-ös törvény az előzetes terveknek megfelelően hatályba lépett.

Mindazonáltal az 1965. évi bevándorlási törvény adminisztrációja és végrehajtása – mint minden bevándorlási törvény esetében – a kormányzat, azaz a végrehajtó ha-

⁷² *Congressional Record*, 89th Congress, First Session, Vol. 111, 20955.

⁷³ Select Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration, *Final Report* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), 9–11.

talmi ág kezében volt. 1968-tól folyamatosan nőtt a dominikaiak számára kiadott bevándorlási vízumok száma, és 1968 és 1977 között meghaladta az évi 10 000 vízumot.⁷⁴ Amikor 1976-ban az országonkénti 20 000 fős korlátot és a preferencia rendszert kiterjesztették a nyugati féltekéről érkező bevándorlókra is, ezek a rendelkezések elősegítették a dominikai bevándorlás további növekedését, főként a család újraegyesítés lehetőségének bővítése miatt.⁷⁵ De sokkal lényegesebb az, hogy a végrehajtó hatalom a dominikai migrációt feszültségcsökkentő eszközként kívánta alkalmazni, és ezt tisztán tükrözte a dominikaiak számára kiadott turista vízumok száma. A nyugati féltekéről érkező bevándorlással kapcsolatban bevezetett számbeli korlátozást, amely 1968 júliusában lépett hatályba, úgy kompenzálták, hogy a Santo Domingo-i és a santiagói USA-konzulátusokon egyre nagyvonalúbban kezelték a turista vízumok kiadásának kérdését. 1968-tól igencsak komoly mértékben emelkedett a kibocsátott turista vízumok száma. Évente jóval 100 000 fölötti látogató vízumot adtak ki a dominikaiaknak, sőt 1976-ban meghaladták a 200 000-es vízumszámot is.⁷⁶ Habár tudatában voltak annak, hogy a vízummal rendelkezők közül sokan túllépik a számukra engedélyezett tartózkodási időt és nem térnek haza, nem tettek semmilyen célzott lépést a vízummal visszaélő dominikaiak elrettentése érdekében.⁷⁷ Az amerikai hatóságok egyfelől soha nem támogatták speciális programokkal a dominikai bevándorlást, másfelől azonban nem is korlátozták azt, és a vonatkozó szabályokat nem tartatták be szigorúan.⁷⁸ Hangsúlyoznunk kell azonban,

74 Georges, 38; Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 35.

75 1921 óta az USA-állampolgárok hitvesei és egyedülálló, kiskorú gyermekei nem tartoztak a preferencia követelmények és számbeli kvóták hatálya alá. Majd 1965-ben az USA-állampolgárok szülei is ebbe a kvótán kívüli kategóriába kerültek. 1968-tól fogva ezek a családtagok a féltekére megszabott 120 000 fős kvóta fölött vándorolhattak be a nyugati félteke független államaiból is. A preferenciarendszert és az országonkénti korlátozást azonban nem terjesztették ki a nyugati féltekére 1976-ig. 1976-tól fogva a preferenciarendszer családegyesítési rendelkezései a nyugati féltekéről származó bevándorlókra is vonatkoztak. Ekképpen az USA állampolgárok nem házaspáros, felnőtt gyermekei, a letelepedettek hitvesei és nem házaspáros, felnőtt gyermekei, az USA-állampolgárok házaspáros gyermekei, valamint az USA-állampolgárok 21 évet betöltött testvérei kaptak preferenciát a kvótarendszeren belül. Lásd U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *U.S. Immigration Law and Policy: 1952–1979*, Committee Print, 96th Congress, First Session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1979), 62–64.

76 Georges, 38.

77 Zolberg, 153; Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 104, 106, 109–110, 123.

78 Alejandro Portes – Ramón Grosfoguel: „Caribbean Diasporas. Migration and Ethnic Communities”, *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 533 (May 1994), 64. Az Obama-adminisztráció alatt megnövekedett deportálások csak kis mértékben érintették a Dominikai Köztársaságot. 2017-ben, a Trump-adminisztráció első évében, a Syracuse Egyetem kutatóinak adatai szerint New York államból (232 fő) és Pennsylvániából (127 fő) deportálták a legtöbb dominikait bűnügyi vagy nemzetbiztonsági okok miatt. A deportálások viszonylag alacsony aránya (összesen 468 fő) miatt a kérdés továbbra sem képez kritikus kérdést a kétoldali kapcsolatokban. Lásd: „Outcomes of Deportation Proceedings in Immigration Court”, *TRAC Immigration*, TRAC Reports, 2017, http://trac.syr.edu/phptools/immigration/court_backlog/deport_outcome_charge.php.

hogy az 1980-as évek közepétől általánossá váló illegális bevándorlást egyre növekvő aggodalommal figyelték szerte az Egyesült Államokban, és ezért időnként feszültté vált a két ország közötti migrációs kapcsolat is, különösen a Puerto Ricón keresztül bonyolódó, nem dokumentált dominikai migrációból kifolyólag. De annak ellenére, hogy az illegális bevándorlás problémás üggyé vált az államközi kapcsolatokban, csupán kisebb gondokat okozott, mivel a dominikai kormány által megfogalmazott aggodalmak, tiltakozások és kezdeményezések – amelyek azt kívánták elérni, hogy az Egyesült Államok térjen vissza a dominikai illegális bevándorlás hagyományosan elnéző kezeléséhez – csak mérsékelt reakciót váltottak ki az Egyesült Államok kormányából.⁷⁹ Ez a hozzáállás tökéletesen illusztrálja a fogadó ország végső felelősségét és befolyását a migráció kimenetelének meghatározása szempontjából. A kibocsátó ország folytathat ugyan tárgyalásokat a változatlan vagy engedékenyebb migrációs kapcsolat érdekében, de a végeredményt a fogadó ország érdekei fogják meghatározni. Mindazonáltal az, hogy az Egyesült Államokba irányuló dominikai bevándorlás esetében az illegális bevándorlási kérdésekkel foglalkozó 1986. évi bevándorlási reform és ellenőrzési törvény (IRCA) elfogadása után a kibocsátó ország tárgyalásos erőfeszítéseire nem érkezett válasz a fogadó országból azt jelentette, hogy az USA kormánya tudatában volt annak, milyen értéket képvisel az emigrációs biztonsági szelep a Dominikai Köztársaság számára, és ismerte a karib-tengeri ország stabilitásában rejlő külpolitikai érdekeket is. Habár az Egyesült Államok illegális migráció miatt egyre növekvő aggodalma arra készítette a dominikai kormányt, hogy erőfeszítéseket tegyen az illegális kilépés korlátozása érdekében, az Egyesült Államokban nem került sor sem jelentős rajtaütésekre, sem tömeges deportálásokra. A dominikai kormány félt az 1986. évi IRCA-törvény szigorú végrehajtásának potenciálisan katasztrofális következményeitől, például a tömeges deportálások társadalmat destabilizáló hatásaitól, azonban ezek a félelmek 1990-re túlzottnak bizonyultak.⁸⁰ A 2010-es években sem merült fel egy olyan, az illegális vándorlásra nagy hangsúlyt fektető kétoldalú migrációs megállapodás aláírása, amelyet Haitivel 1981-ben, vagy Kubával 1984-ben, 1994–1995-ben kötöttek meg.⁸¹ Ehelyett az Egyesült Államoknak a Dominikai Köztársasággal kapcsolatos bevándorláspolitikája alapján véve az „engedékenység” politikája maradt, ami jól illusztrálja ennek a migrációnak a két ország államközi kapcsolataiban betöltött alapvetően depolitizált természetét.

79 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 113, 117–123.

80 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 120–123; Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 152–156; az IRCA nemzetközi-amerikai kapcsolatokra gyakorolt hatása viszonylatában lásd Georges Vernez (szerk.): *Immigration and International Relations. Proceedings of a Conference on the International Effects of the 1986 Immigration and Reform Control Act (IRCA)* (Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, 1990), 52–56; és Anthony P. Maingot: „United States–Caribbean Immigration Relations”, in Vernez, 167–176; Christopher Mitchell: „Changing the Rules: The Impact of the Simpson/Rodino Act on Inter-American Diplomacy”, in Vernez, 177–189.

81 Alex Stepick: „Unintended Consequences. Rejecting Haitian Boat People and Destabilizing Duvalier”, in Mitchell (szerk.): *Western Hemisphere*, 141–151; Ernesto Rodríguez Chávez: *Cuban Migration Today* (La Habana: Editorial José Martí, 1999), 151–155, 165–167, 171–172.

1961 és 1966 között megszilárdult a dominikai migrációs áramlatot elindító és fenntartó adminisztratív rutint irányító amerikai bevándorláspolitikai. Az Egyesült Államok egész korán felismerte ennek a migrációnak az egymást követő ideiglenes és választott dominikai kormányok stabilizációjában betöltött szerepét. Egyrészt a szigetről történő deportálási folyamat elősegítésével, valamint az egyre nagyobb számú bevándorló és turista vízum megadásával az volt az Egyesült Államok célja, hogy hozzájáruljon a politikai feszültségek csökkentéséhez. Másrészt a migrációs folyamat támogatása a magas munkanélküliségi ráta által okozott társadalmi feszültségek oldásának a célját is szolgálta, ami egyre inkább meghatározta az Egyesült Államok 1965-ös forradalmat követő dominikai szerepvállalását. Így a bevándorláspolitikai az USA külpolitikáját szolgáló eszközé vált, amely a karibi régió stabilitását volt hivatva fenntartani annak érdekében, hogy megakadályozza egy második Kuba létrejöttét, és megerősítse az Egyesült Államok biztonságát. A tömeges migrációs áramlat kialakulásáról szóló dominikai esettanulmány kiválóan illusztrálja a külpolitika és a bevándorláspolitikai összefüggését. Az Egyesült Államok kormánya az általa kitűzött külpolitikai célok megvalósítása érdekében liberális bevándorláspolitikát alkalmazott a Dominikai Köztársaságban a Trujillo halálát és az utána kirobbanó forradalmat követő kaotikus politikai és gazdasági helyzet stabilizálásának során, és elnézően kezelte a bevándorlási jogszabályok végrehajtását. Mivel ezeket a feladatokat hagyományosan a kormányzat és a hozzá tartozó hatóságok hajtották végre, nem okozott problémát a külpolitikai érdekek bevándorlási döntésekbe történő beillesztése. A dominikai áramlat másfelől olyan eszközként funkcionált, amely segített egy USA-barát rendszert létrehozni Kuba közvetlen szomszédságában.

Miként ezt a fentiekben is láthattuk, a tömeges dominikai bevándorlás létrejöttének elemzése alátámasztja azt az elképzelést, hogy a Dominikai Köztársasággal szembeni bevándorláspolitikai kialakításában meghatározóak voltak a külpolitikai érdekek. Az Egyesült Államok migrációs befogadó politikája volt az, ami lehetővé tette, hogy a dominikai áramlat nagyszabású jelenséggé fejlődjön. Habár a hagyományos vonzó és taszító tényezők vizsgálata is hasznos lehet az Egyesült Államokba irányuló dominikai migráció magyarázatánál, mégis a külpolitika és a bevándorláspolitikai korrelációjával válik érthetővé igazán ennek a migrációnak az időzítése, nagyságrendje és kategorizálása. A Dominikai Köztársasághoz kapcsolódó amerikai érdekeket történetileg a karibi ország gazdasági, politikai, katonai és kulturális szféráiba való nagyfokú beavatkozás tükrözte. Az 1960-as évek elején a külpolitika végrehajtásának új eszközeként kezdték el alkalmazni a bevándorláspolitikát az egymást követő dominikai kormányok stabilizálásának, és ekképpen az USA pozícióinak biztosítása és előremozdítása érdekében. A Dominikai Köztársaságból érkező tömeges bevándorlás megindulása az Egyesült Államok érdekeit szolgálta, és fontos politikai hasznot hozott a migrációs áramlat mindkét végén. Az Egyesült Államok egy megbízható, stabil, hidegháborús politikai szövetségest nyert Kuba tőszomszédságában. A Dominikai Köztársaság számára a munkaerő kivándorlása a helyi munkaerőpiac kínálatának csökkentésével enyhítette a társadalmi feszültségeket, a migránsok pénzátutalásai pedig javítottak az otthon maradtak életkö-

riülményein, mindemellett fontos valutaforrást⁸² is biztosítottak az államnak, így egyfajta gazdasági segélyt nyújtottak. Végül, a viszonylag problémamentes migrációs áramlat fennállása megerősítette az egymást követő dominikai kormányok politikai elfogadhatóságát Washingtonban, és ezáltal biztosította konszolidációjukat.⁸³ Azonban az a tömeges népességmozgás, amelyet a kezdetekben a külpolitika és a bevándorláspolitikai korrelációja hívott életre, a későbbiekben kialakította a saját, önálló áramlatát, és állandósult szocioökonomiai jelenséggé vált, amelyet már egy kiterjedt transznacionális közösség jelenléte határoz meg.

Az Egyesült Államokba irányuló dominikai bevándorlás depolitizáltsága szintén 1961 és 1966 között alakult ki. Annak ellenére, hogy a migrációs folyamat – amelyet a Kennedy-kormányzat, különösen Martin nagykövet indított útjára 1962–1963-ban – a Dominikai Köztársaság stabilizálásának politikai célkitűzését szolgálta, az adminisztratív csatornák önmagukban is elég hatékonynak bizonyultak ahhoz, hogy úgy tartsák mozgásban ezt a migrációs áramlatot, hogy az ne váljon jelentős kérdéssé az államközi kapcsolatokban. Az Egyesült Államokba irányuló dominikai bevándorlás döntő tényező maradt az ország konszolidációjában az 1965-ös forradalmat és az 1966-os választásokat követően is. Az engedékeny migrációs politika biztosította azt, hogy a Dominikai Köztársaság soha ne kerüljön közel egy Castro-típusú forradalomhoz. Az emigrációs biztonsági szelep ugyanis, amelyet a politikai ellenfelek és a fölösleges munkaerő számára folyamatosan nyitva tartottak, vitathatatlanul enyhítette a politikai és szociális feszültségeket, ami különösen fontosnak bizonyult az egymást követő dominikai kormányok számára. Így az Egyesült Államok migrációs befogadó politikája tényleg elérte a legfontosabb célkitűzését, azaz a Dominikai Köztársaság stabilizálását. Hosszú távon azonban ez azt vonta maga után, hogy a fenntartható stabilitás az emigrációs biztonsági szelephez való hozzáféréstől függött, ami az amerikai migrációs befogadó politika folyamatos alkalmazását tette szükségessé. Ezt tükrözte, hogy habár az 1986-os IRCA megszavazása kapcsán az USA–Dominikai Köztársaság migrációs kapcsolat a kétoldalú tárgyalások napirendi pontjává vált, a törvény csekély mértékben érintette csak a dominikai áramlatot.⁸⁴ A dominikai migráció vonatkozásában nem hajtották végre szigorúan a törvény rendelkezéseit, és az 1990-es évek elejétől – annak ellenére, hogy a bilaterális tárgyalásokon továbbra is problémás kérdés maradt az illegális bevándorlás – a migrációs kötelek tovább erősítette a két ország közötti kapcsolatokat azáltal, hogy egyre szorosabban fűzte a Dominikai Köztársaságot az Egyesült Államokhoz. Mitchell összegzése szerint „a dominikai migrációval kapcsolatos amerikai stratégia, amelyet politikai okok miatt kez-

82 1986-ban a migránsok pénzküldeményeinek nagysága körülbelül megegyezett a Dominikai Köztársaság éves költségvetésével; az ország bruttó nemzeti termékének hozzávetőlegesen egy tizedét és devizájának egynegyedét tették ki. Lásd Bernardo Vega, dominikai közzgázás gondolatát idézve Rodríguez Chávez, 114; lásd még Portes – Grosfoguel, 68.

83 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 103–115.

84 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 113–123; Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 152–156.

deményeztek és főként adminisztratív csatornákon keresztül tartottak fenn, sokkal szélesebb értelemben hozott külpolitikai hasznot, mint ahogy azt a döntéshozók tervezték.”⁸⁵

Az Egyesült Államok külpolitikai célkitűzések által meghatározott liberális befogadó politikájának hosszú távú következménye egy olyan transznacionális közösség kialakulása volt, amely az 1990-es évekre addig soha nem látott mértékben kapcsolta össze a két országot. Miként ezt Luis Guarnizo is leírja: „a dominikai bevándorlók közössége az Egyesült Államokban menedékre és jövedelemre vágyó helyi politikai aktivisták és munkavállalók szervezetlen tömegéből fejlődött ki, és egy komplex, társadalmilag heterogén csoporttá alakult, akiknek a politikai érdekei mindkét nemzethez kapcsolódnak.”⁸⁶ Sőt, a dominikai-amerikai közösség, amelynek a vállalkozói hajtóereje és egyre növekvő politikai szerepvállalása az egyik legszembetűnőbb bevándorló enklávává formálta a csoportot New Yorkban,⁸⁷ ezzel párhuzamosan egyre nagyobb befolyást szerzett a származási országuk politikai és gazdasági életében is. Ezt illusztrálta például az 1996-os elnökválasztás, amelynek győztese, Leonel Fernández Reyna, New Yorkban nőtt fel,⁸⁸ továbbá a dominikai alkotmány 1996-os módosítása is, amely lehetővé tette a kettős állampolgárságot,⁸⁹ illetve az, hogy a konzuli hivatalokban való szavazással a külföldön élő dominikaiaknak is lehetővé tették a részvételt az országos választásokon.⁹⁰ Az Egyesült Államok politikusai szintén a folyamat részeseivé váltak. A jelentős dominikai lakossággal rendelkező választókeretek helyi vagy tagállami hivatalaiért versengő jelöltek gyakran a Dominikai Köztársaságba is ellátogatnak a kampányuk részeként.⁹¹ A migrációs kapcsolat nem csupán az ország fejlődésének strukturális vonásává és kultúrájának részévé vált, hanem egy olyan problémakört is teremtett, amelyet csak mindkét nemzetet szem előtt tartva lehet kezelni, a migrációs áramlat mindkét oldalán lévő kormányok bevonásával. A két ország közötti kapcsolatokat nem lehet többé azon transznacionális közösség érdekeinek figyelembe vétele nélkül alakítani, amely hídként köti össze őket és elősegíti kölcsönös befolyásukat.

85 Mitchell: „U.S. Foreign Policy”, 123.

86 Luis E. Guarnizo, „Los Dominicanyorks: The Making of a Binational Society”, *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 533 (May 1994), 83.

87 A New York-beli dominikai közösséggel kapcsolatos részletekért lásd Portes – Grosfoguel, 63–64; Guarnizo; Pessar: *A Visa*; Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 3–5. fejezet.

88 Graham, 119.

89 Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 156–157.

90 Torres-Saillant – Hernández, 156–157; Graham, 1124.

91 Graham, 1124.

Gyarmatok és nemzetek

Mario Vargas Llosa, Roger Casement és Kossuth Lajos¹

Az irodalmi Nobel-díj 2010-es kitüntetettjének, Mario Vargas Llosa perui írónak ugyan- ebben az évben jelent meg *El sueño del celta* (*A kelta álma*) című regénye.² A talányos cím a regény talányos főhősére irányítja figyelmünket. Angol verscím fordítása: a *The Dream of the Celt* egy 1898-ban íródott elbeszélő költemény a tizenhatodik–tizenhetedik század ír történelmének viszontagságairól. Valóságos elem Vargas Llosa regényfikciójában, mint ahogy valóságos személy volt regényének hőse, a költemény szerzője is.

Roger Casementnek hívták. Írországbán, a Dublin melletti Sandycove-ban született 1864-ben. Apja protestáns északír volt, inkább angol, mintsem ír, anyja anglikán hitre áttért skót asszony. Szüleit korán elvesztette, Észak-Írországbán, Antrim grófságában nőtt fel nagybátyja családjában, iskoláit is itt végezte. Nagybátyja hajóstársaságánál helyezkedett el, írnokoskodott, hajópénztárosként dolgozott, majd diplomáciai pályára lépett, a brit külügyminisztérium konzuli osztályának tisztviselőjeként szolgálta a Koronát. Pályafutása sokáig töretlen volt, diplomataélete igen sikeresnek ígérkezett.

1900-ban külügyminisztériumi megbízás keretében Kongóba utazik, hogy ott megszervezze a brit konzulátust. Helyismerete megvan hozzá: már 1883 és 1892 között is itt dolgozott, kalandot és meggazdagodást keresve. 1892 után más afrikai gyarmati országokban – Nigériában, Mozambikban és Angolában is – megfordult, ekkor már brit konzuli minőségben. Közben a Dél-Afrikában folyó búr háborúban is szagolt némi puska- port.

Kongót ekkoriban – 1885 és 1908 között – Kongó Szabad Államnak hívták, mégpe- dig azért, mert egyetlen európai gyarmati hatalom fennhatósága alá sem tartozott. Ma- gántulajdonban volt ugyanis: az 1885-ös Berlini Kongresszus II. Lipót belga királynak ajándékozta, miután az uralkodó önzetlenül vállalta, hogy személyesen gondoskodik a Kongó-vidék (Magyarországnál huszonötször nagyobb terület) feltárásáról, gazdasági fejlesztéséről és bekapcsolásáról a civilizáció vérkeringésébe.

Casement hamarosan megtapasztalta, hogy miben is áll ez az önzetlen gondosko- dás. A tulajdonos és cégvezető Lipót király tisztviselői és pribékjei (a kettő között elmo-

1 Először megjelent: két részletben, Takács Ferenc: „Kapirgáló. Gyarmatok és nemzetek – Mario Vargas Llosa, Roger Casement, Kossuth Lajos – I. rész” (*Magyar Narancs*, XXIII. évf., 7. sz., 2011. február 17., 56–57); Takács Ferenc: „Kapirgáló. Gyarmatok és nemzetek – Mario Vargas Llosa, Roger Casement, Kossuth Lajos – II. rész” (*Magyar Narancs*, XXIII. évf., 8. sz., 2011. február 24., 54–55). Újra kiadva kisebb változtatásokkal: „Gyarmatok és nemzetek: Mario Vargas Llosa, Roger Casement, Kossuth Lajos”, in: Takács Ferenc: *Kapirgálókönyv* (Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó, 2017), 65–73. A jelen változat kisebb stílári változtatásoktól és kiegészíté- sektől eltekintve azonos a *Kapirgálókönyv*-ben megjelent szöveggel.

2 Mario Vargas Llosa: *El sueño del celta* (Madrid: Alfaguara, 2010). Magyarul: *A kelta álma*, ford. Tomcsányi Zsuzsanna (Budapest: Európa, 2011).

sódott a határ) a *de facto* rabszolgasorba döntött bennszülött lakosságot fizikailag kényszerítették az Európában busás haszonnal forgalmazható nyersanyagok – főként a vadon termő gumifákból kinyerhető nyersgumi (kaucsuk) – begyűjtésére és beszállítására. Aki nem teljesítette az embertelenül nagyra szabott kvótát, azokat kegyetlenül büntették, elsősorban kézlevágással, de gyakran meg is kínozták, sőt egyszerűen megölték őket, egyénileg vagy tömegmészárlás formájában.

A brit konzulnak ehhez nem volt gyomra. Beszámolóiban ismételten felhívta kormányára figyelmét ezekre a borzalmakra, majd hivatalos jelentést állított össze, mely 1904-ben kormánykiadványként jelent meg Londonban. (Néhány évvel korábban szépirodalmi lenyomata is napvilágot látott ezeknek a sötét borzalmaknak: Joseph Conrad, aki Kongóban találkozott – és barátkozott össze – Casementtel, a maga hasonlóan rettenetes itteni élményeit öntötte formába kisregényében, *A sötétség mélyénben* (*Heart of Darkness* – folyóirat: 1899, könyv: 1902).

A Casement-jelentés világbotrányt kavart. Neves személyiségek tiltakoztak zajosan a kongói atrocitások ellen, közöttük Casement barátja, a skóciai születésű író Arthur Conan Doyle, de az európai kormányok is megsokallták a dolgot: nemzetközi nyomásra Belgium 1908-ban „államosította” a Szabad Államot, és (viszonylagos) rendet teremtett (ekkor már) Belga-Kongóban.

A jelentés szerzője néhány évvel később Latin-Amerikában adhatott ismét hangot felháborodásának. Brit főkonzul volt Brazíliában, amikor 1910-ben kormánya utasítására a Putumayo folyó vidékére utazott, hogy kivizsgálja az ott folyó kaucsukkitermelésről érkező riasztó híreket. (A Putumayo – az Amazonas mellékfolyója – ma Kolumbia és Peru határfolyója, a nevét viselő körzet a huszadik század elején Brazíliával, Kolumbiával, Ecuadorral és Peruvál határos vitatott hovatartozású, országnyi méretű terület volt.)

Amit Casement a helyszínen látott és hallott, arra még rettenetes kongói tapasztalatai sem készítették fel eléggé. Egy Londonban bejegyzett cég a – szó szerint – befogott indián őslakosságot rabszolgamunkára kényszerítve „termelte ki” a nyersgumit. Aki nem engedelmeskedett, megkorbácsolták, megcsönkítették, megölték, az asszonyokat és kisgyerekeket tűszként karámokban tartották. Ha valaki megszökött, levadászták, kezét-lábát levágták, elevenen megégették. A munkafelügyelők, közöttük brit alattvalók, szórakozásból is kegyetlenkedtek: erőszakoskodtak az asszonyokkal, csecsemők agyát locsantották ki, célba lőttek futó indiánokra, stb.

Casement jelentése 1912-ben jelent meg Londonban. Kívíta vele minden humanitárius aktivista elismerését, s még gyakorlati haszna is volt: a Putumayo mentén véget vetettek a bízvást népirtásnak nevezhető gyilkos kegyetlenkedéseknek.

Az országot híven és hatékonyan szolgáló brit diplomata közben mindezért a legmagasabb uralkodói elismerésben részesült: 1911-ben lovaggá ütötték, Sir Roger Casement CMG lett a hivatalos neve (a rövidítés a *Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George*, „A Szent Mihály és Szent György Rend Bajtársa” címet rejti).

Ám a lovagi címet nem sokáig viselhette. Öt évvel később, 1916-ban felségárulási pert indítottak ellene, bűnösnek találták az ellenséggel való hazaáruló összezejátszásban,

minden kitiüntetésétől és címétől megfosztották, és kötél általi halálra ítélték. 1916. augusztus 3-án a londoni Pentonville-börtönben felakasztották. Még tartott a per, amikor – nyilván Casement befektetésének és diszkreditálásának a céljából – súlyosan kompromittáló részletek kerültek nyilvánosságra a vádlott titkos naplójából, amelyek Casement titkolt homoszexualitásáról és botrányos szexuális életviteléről tanúskodtak.

Mi történt, miért történt és hogyan történhetett meg mindez? És egyáltalán: miként került a száz éve halott braziliai brit főkonzul a perui szerző 2010-ben megjelent regényébe – bár Vargas Llosa esetében, aki Joseph Conradot tartja tanítómesterének, és alig néhány száz kilométerre lakik a Putumayótól, ezen talán nem is kell olyan sokat töprengeni. Ellenkezőleg: majdhogynem kézenfekvő dolog, hogy a perui szerző, a kortárs latin-amerikai regény büszkesége regényt írt Sir Roger Casementről, akinek élete és sorsa gyarmatok és nemzetek, lojalítások és pálfordulások máig fel- és megoldatlan paradoxonjaival kísérti meg posztkoloniális és identitásválságos jelenünket.

Casement ugyanis – mire 1904-ben befejezte brit konzulként hivatalos minőségben írott jelentését a II. Lipót belga király magáncégeként üzemelő Kongó Szabad Államban tapasztalt embertelenségekről – már egyáltalán nem volt meggyőződve arról, hogy a Brit Birodalom közszolgájaként ő a haladás, a civilizáció terjesztése és az elmaradottság felszámolása nagy és dicső projektjének a részese. Későbbi tapasztalatai, az 1909–10 táján Amazóniában, a Putumayo-körzetben folyó kaucsukkitermelés borzalmai is megerősítették benne a felismerést, hogy ő többé már nem ugyanaz az ember, aki volt. „Ezt a tragédiát – írta le később – egy másik emberfajta szemével néztem, azoknak a szemével, akikre egykor ugyanígy vadásztak, akiket ugyanígy irtottak, mint az ittenieket.”

Konverziós élménynek nevezik, ami vele történt: Casement „megtért”, az angol és skót felmenőktől származó, anglikán vallású brit felfedezte magában az ír identitást, tapasztalatai hatására szülőhazája gyarmati sorban tartott nemzetével immár mint az *ő nemzetével* azonosult. Megtérésének levonta gyakorlati következményeit is: 1905 táján kapcsolatba lépett a *Gaelic League*-gel, az ír kulturális újjászületés ügyében buzgólkodó „Kelta Ligával” és Arthur Griffith újságíró *Sinn Féin*jével, az angol–ír közjogi egyenlőséget az Osztrák–Magyar Monarchia mintájára megvalósítani próbáló alkotmányos politikai mozgalommal. Néhány évvel később pedig szorosra fűzte viszonyát a radikális függetlenségpárti republikánusok katonai szárnyával, az *Irish Volunteers* („Ír Önkéntesek”) 1913-ban megalakult szervezetével. Még ugyanebben az évben kilépett a brit külügyi szolgálatból.

1914 őszén, a háború kitörése után, Casement Németországba utazott, hogy a brit hadifoglyok közül ír önkénteseket toborozzon az ősellenség, Nagy-Britannia elleni harcra. A toborzás sikertelen volt, de a német vezérkartól kapott némi segítséget: 1916. április 21-én egy német tengeralattjáró Írországból partra tette Casementet. (Egy évvel később újra megpróbálkoztak ezzel a manőverrel a németek: 1917 tavaszán Zürichből titokban Pétervárra szállították V. I. Lenint.)

Casementet még aznap letartóztatták, a német fegyverrakományt szállító kísérőhajót másnap elfogták az angolok.

Három nappal később, április 24-én – szakrális időzítéssel: húsvéthétfő napján – Dublinban fegyveres felkelők kikiáltották az Ír Köztársaságot. A Nagypénteken őrizetbe vett Casement ekkor már Londonban volt, a felségárulók börtönébe, a Towerba zárták. A húsvéti felkelés néhány napos fegyveres harc után elbukott, vezetőit hadbíróság elé állították, közülük tizenötöt gyorsított eljárással halálra ítélték és kivégeztek.

Casement pere 1916 nyarán zajlott le. Sokan kiálltak mellette, nagy nevek is: W. B. Yeats, G. B. Shaw és Arthur Conan Doyle, de kompromittáló tartalmú naplójának, a *Black Diary*nak – titkolt homoszexuális életvitele krónikájának – a dehonesztáló célú megszéllőztetése sokat rontott esélyein. Kötél általi halálra ítélték, a kegyelmi kérvényt elutasították, és 1916. augusztus 3-án felakasztották. Némi késéssel, s az ír történeti tudat számára máig felemás és feltételes módon – lehet-e a nemzet szent ügyének vértanúja homoszexuális? – belépett az ír feltámadás mártírjainak a sorába, a *Tizenhat halott* – W. B. Yeats verscíme – közé a tizenhatodikként.

S belépett a szépirodalmi hősök sorába is. Diadalmas világhódító angol és gyarmati iga alatt senyvedő ír, a törvényt-rendet szolgáló állami tisztviselő és az államhatalom ellen fegyvert fogó terrorista, feddhetetlen úriember, tisztos férfiú és „elfajzott” homoszexuális bűnöző (az ilyesmit akkor még szigorúan büntették, lásd Casement honfitársának, Oscar Wilde-nak a sorsát) – a nemzeti, szociális és szexuális identitás ambivalenciáira, az Én paradox szerepsokszorozódásaira (hogy szakszerűen fogalmazunk) érzékeny modern irodalom nem véletlenül fordul Casement életéhez és halálához. Yeats több verset írt róla, enigmatikus alakját drámák, tv-játékok értelmezték. Egy kiváló BBC-hangjáték, David Rudkin 1973-as munkája a Magyar Rádióban is elhangzott 1983-ban, *Casement passiója* címmel (rögzítsük: Göncz Árpád fordításában, Balkay Géza főszereplésével, Hegyi Árpád Jutocsa rendezésében). Kiváltképp az önérzékelés és önmeghatározás alkotáslélektanilag termékeny zavaraival áldott-vert szerzők vonzódnak hozzá. A kortárs német irodalom Angliában élt kiválósága, Winfried G. Sebald (1944–2001) – magyarul is megjelent néhány regénye, az *Austerlitz*, a *Szédület*, *érzés* és az identitásproblematika szempontjából már címével is sokat mondó *Kivándoroltak* – a *Die Ringe des Saturn*. *Eine englische Wallfahrt* (A Szaturnusz gyűrtü. Angliai zárandoklat, 1995) című regénye ötödik fejezetében Roger Casement alakja az elbeszélő identitáspszichológiai elmélkedéseinek alkalma és tárgya. Ezt a szépirodalmi sort zárja most (minden bizonnyal csupán egyelőre) Mario Vargas Llosa regénye: Casementről szól, s Casement kapcsán politikáról és szexualitásról, gyarmatokról és nemzetekről, s az árulásról, amely valójában az igazi hűség, s a hűségről, amely bizony árulás.

De hát mi közünk van nekiünk, a dolog – mint minden dolog – általános érdekességén túlmenően, mindehhez? Nos, van némi közünk. Ha másért nem, már csupán azért is, mert az imént említett szépirodalmi sort történetesen magyar szerző nyitotta meg. Kiss József (1843–1921), *A Hét* szerkesztője W. B. Yeatsszel egy időben (ha nem korábban) ír – *Casement* címmel – verset a felakasztott szabadságharcosról (majd 1918-as *Avar* című kötetébe is felveszi):

Kis keskeny kék csik a nyakán,
Ugy szalad végig az éjszakán,
Éjbe, setétbe – kísértet talán.
[...]
Szalad az éjbe csikkal a nyakán,
Ugy törtet végig minden histórián.
Szabadság, bitó, hurok egy talán.

Zöld Erin! hő áram-mosta táj,
Lánczaid csörgése idáig fáj,
S egy régi emléket mélyebbre váj. [Eredeti helyesírással! – Takács Ferenc]

Hogy mi volt ez a régi és fájdalmas emlék, voltaképpen sejthető: az ír szabadság felakasztott mártírájáról alighanem a magyar szabadság elbukása, és a tizenhárom aradi halott – és nyakukon a kötél – jutott eszébe a lelkes magyar-zsidó költőnek.

Vele nagyjából egy időben Gyóni Géza, a *Csak egy éjszakára...* költője a krasznodari orosz hadifogolytábor poklában állít verses emlékművet az ír szabadság mártírjának. Az 1916-os keltezésű *Sir Roger Casement* című ballada is „áthallásos” vers:

Sir Roger szeme felragyog:
– Británia, én meghalok,
De él a bosszú és a jog.

Jön óra és a kocka fordul;
A nagy urnál jön még nagyobb úr
És letaszít a rablott trónról.

Jön óra és láncát lehányja
A Nilus és a Himalája
S fekete gögöd megalázza.

Pilátus-kezed bárhogy mossad,
Elér keze a Haragosnak –
S a páriák reád taposnak.

Británia, légy erre készen!
– Szólt és a véres hóhérkézben
Elszenderült Sir Roger Casement. [Eredeti helyesírással! – Takács Ferenc]³

3 A Gyóni-versre Géczi Gábor, a Civil Rádió szerkesztője hívta fel a figyelmemet. Itt mondok neki köszönetet.

Arról persze sem Kiss, sem Gyóni nem tudhatott, hogy Casementnek ehhez a másik ügyszög – a magyar szabadság ügyéhez – egészen konkrét köze is van.

A világházi fegyverletétel után Kossuth és bajtársai Orsovánál átkelnek a Dunán, és az Ottomán Birodalomban, Viddin városában (ma Vidin, Bulgária) találnak menedékre. Ám az osztrák és orosz kormány kiadatásukat szorgalmazza, követelik a török portát hadüzenettel fenyegetik, ha nem tesz eleget a követelésüknek. Kossuth az angolokba veti reményét: levelet fogalmaz, melyben Palmerstontól, a brit külügyminisztertől kéri, hogy gyakoroljon nyomást a magyar szabadságharcot vérbe fojtó hatalmakra. A kérdés csupán az, miként juttassák el a segélykérő felhívást Viddinből a Downing Streetre: az Ausztriát érintő postára nem bízhatják, a belgrádi brit konzul is messze van a Duna menti kisvárostól.

Miközben ezt latolgatják, beesik az ajtón egy – Kossuth *Irataim az emigrációban*-jának a III. kötetéből idézem – *tipikus angol alak, hátracsapott kürtő-kalappal, rengeteg esernyővel hóna alatt, poros-fáradtan*, s közli a kormányzóval, hogy mi járatban van: *Indiából jövök, oly célból, hogy harcoljak a magyar szabadságért*. Felvilágosítják, hogy sajnos, erről már lekésett, majd hirtelen ötlettől vezéreltetve megkérdezik tőle, hogy elvinné-e a levelet Palmerstonnak. Az idegen felugrott a székről, *Where is the letter? (Hol az a levél?)* kérdezte, majd miután megkapta, válltáskájába csúsztatta és elrohant. *Még csak a nevét sem mondta meg, nehogy tudjuk, kinek tartozunk köszönettel*.

Az idegen – mint később kiderült – lóhalálában vágatott át Erdélyen, osztrák zsoldárokat kerülgetve, kozák őrjáratokkal versenyt lovagolva, s tíz nap alatt kézbesítette a csizmaszárába rejtett levelet. Palmerston utasította a földközi-tengeri brit flottát, hogy induljon el a Dardanellák felé, ami az osztrákokat és az oroszokat jobb belátásra készítette, elálltak a kiadási követeléstől.

Kossuth csupán évekkel később tudta meg, ki volt a postása, akkor is bizarr körülmények között:

Amerikában létem alatt a Niagarához utazva, vonatunk egyik állomáson megállapodott, míg a szemközt jövő vonat mellettünk elvonul. Az összese-reglett nép kívánságára a vagon ablakához álltam. A mellettünk elvonuló vonat egyik ablakából egy férfikar nyul ki és egy látogatójegyet nyújt felém. Átvettem. „Mr. Roger Casement” név volt rajta s alatta rajzónnal im e szavak. „Átadtam a viddini levelet Palmerstonnak.”

Igy tudtam meg a derék ember nevét. [...] Isten legjobb áldása legyen utain, ha még él; porain, emléken, ha már meghalt.

Önkéntes futárát látván a meghatódott és hálás Kossuth egyébként az angol nemzeti karakter példaértékű magasabbrendűségére vonatkozó sztereotip vélekedésében vélte megerősítve magát. *Ilyen az angol jellem. Fővonását bámulatos egyéni erély s törhetetlen kitartás képezi. A ki Anglia csodás emelkedésének menetét itésszi szemmel vizsgálja, ebben fogja a kutfőt feltalálni.*

Nem tudhatta, hogy voltaképpen egy alacsonyabb rendű faj képviselőjével, ír áru-lóval van dolga: ez a Roger Casement – Sir Roger Casement édesapja – brit katonatiszt volt, az indiai hadseregben kapitányi rangig vitte, Indiában tartotta fenn kellő szigorral a rendet, keményen harcolt az 1842-es afgán háborúban az idegen uralmat nehezen szenvedhető bennszülöttek ellen. De egy szép napon a helyőrségi tiszti klubban a *The Timest* kinyitva a magyarországi forradalomról és Kossuth Lajosról szóló tudósításon akadt meg a szeme. A hír olvastán egy csapásra megvilágosodott előtte, hogy ő bizony az elnyomott ír nemzet sarja, akinek a nemzeti szabadság, adott esetben a magyar szabadság a dolga, s nem a Brit Birodalom. Lemondott tiszti rangjáról, Londonba utazott, ahol tevékenyen bekapcsolódott a magyar ügyet támogató egyesület munkájába, s vállalta, hogy eljuttatja az egyesület tisztelgő levelét Kossuthhoz. Mint láttuk, késve érkezett – de talán mégis tehetett egy keveset Kossuthért és Magyarorszáért.

Történetét, az India – London – Viddin – London kalandot fia, a későbbi Sir Roger Casement írta meg Arthur Griffith lapjának, a *United Irishmennek* (Egyesült Írek) 1905. február 25-i számában – Kossuth Lajos *Irataim az emigrációban*jának német nyelvű kiadását gondosan kijegyzetelve. Majd elindult az akasztófa felé.

Közhelyes tanulságokban az igazság.

Családi örökség.

Az alma nem esik messze a fájától.

Enlightenment Sympathy and the Ethics of Representation

Gergely Péterfy's *Stuffed Barbarian* in a European Context¹

In terms of its etymology, the ancient Greek word *barbarian* [βάρβαρος] is supposed to imitate the incomprehensible mumblings of the language of foreign peoples, sounding like “bar-bar” (or, as we would say today, “bla bla”). As such, it has a double implication: on a first level, it signifies a lack of understanding on the part of the other, since the language of the other is perceived as meaningless sounds. At the same time, it suggests an unwillingness to understand the other's language and thus to make the encounter with the other a communicative occasion. Consequently, the term *barbarian* entails a collective construction of the other in a way that helps define the civilized subject itself – by specifying its negative limits. In this construction, the other is supposedly invalidated because it can never speak back and question its construction (its language would not be understood). The barbarian thus appears as an abjected outside, which, according to Judith Butler, is always inside the subject “as its own founding repudiation.”²

Gergely Péterfy's *Kitömött barbár* [*Stuffed Barbarian*] was published in 2014 and is the outgrowth of Péterfy's doctoral thesis on the Hungarian poet, translator, and linguist Ferenc Kazinczy, and his friendship with Angelo Soliman, who was transported to Europe as a slave and lived in Vienna as a free man at the time of his meeting with Kazinczy. The novel was translated into German and is summarized in English on Péterfy's page as follows:

The book focuses on the most enigmatic and outlandish aspect of the poet's life: his close friendship with Angelo Soliman, a renowned scholar and high-society figure in 18th century Vienna, who was brought to Europe as a slave and managed, through his learning, to become the Grand Master of the Masonic lodge, and also a personal friend to Mozart and Emperor Joseph II. The story of this friendship and of those hectic, transformative years is narrated by Sophie Török, Kazinczy's wife in a truly memorably and iconic location: the attic of the Viennese Imperial Natural History Collection, among the dam-

1 The present paper grew out of Andrea Timár and Gyula Laczházi's “Ember” entry in *Kultúratudományi Kézikönyv*, eds. Beatrix Kircsfalusi, et al. (c. 22 pages, forthcoming).

2 Maria Boletski, “Barbarian Encounters,” *Comparative Literature Studies* 44.1–2 (2007): 67–96, 68.

aged and discarded exhibition items, facing the stuffed figure of the late Angelo Soliman. After a lifetime of scholarly achievements and of being considered a model of integration, the “enlightened” gentlemen of Vienna had used his actual skin to exemplify and realize the racist stereotype of the “savage African.” The terrifying and outrageous fate of his friend haunted Kazinczy all his life, not only because of the traumatic experience of losing a kindred spirit, but also because of the disheartening insight such a symbolic treatment brought to the internal contradictions of the “civilized” world of *Aufklärung* and *Bildung*. The Hungarian poet struggled with the meaning and the articulation of Angelo’s peculiar demise, and managed to pass on this unsettling and significant story only on his own deathbed.

Although this summary claims that the friendship is narrated by Kazinczy’s wife, almost two thirds of the novel, including the story of Soliman’s life in Vienna, is narrated, in the past tense, by an omniscient narrator who has unlimited access to Soliman’s life events, thoughts, feelings and memories, even to those that could not have been but unknown to his friend Ferenc, who entrusted Soliman’s story to his wife on his deathbed. Readers of the book either praise Péterfy’s originality in using a female, third person narrator,³ or note that Péterfy shifts to omniscient narration in those parts of the book that tell about Soliman’s life,⁴ or remark, I think correctly, that the implied author of the book pretends, but, in fact, fails to use character narration, i.e. Sophie’s voice all along.⁵ Indeed, the real author, Péterfy, explicitly says in an interview that he realised after having written the first two hundred pages, that he would continue to use Sophie as a narrator until the very end,⁶ and the very last words of the book allegedly written by Sophie herself equally indicate that the story is supposed to have been narrated by her. She reminisces that standing in front of the stuffed corps of Angelo Soliman, she thought: “I knew that I was standing in front of myself” (448). While these last words of the book

3 Péter Pogrányi, “Idegen Testek,” *Revizor* 2014/10, <http://www.revizoronline.com/hu/cikk/5243/peterfy-gergely-kitomott-barbar/>

4 Emese Ujvárosi, “Idegen Testek (Péterfy Gergely: *Kitömött Barbár*),” *Holmi* (August 2014) <https://bit.ly/2TDOG3W>.

5 Miklós Gyórfy, “Pályám képzelt emlékezete (Péterfy Gergely: *Kitömött barbár*),” *Jelenkor*, 2015/05 <https://bit.ly/2DuEb6w>; Tamás Koncz, “Péterfy Gergely: *Kitömött Barbár*,” <https://bit.ly/2MsUHAM>: “Péterfy Gergely az omnipotens írók gyakori hibájába esik, azt is láttatja, amit nem lehetne: Angelo Soliman élettörténetét Török Zsófia visszaemlékezésein keresztül mutatja be, de olyan intim részleteket is közöl, amit a Solimant csak Kazinczy Ferenc leírásából megismerő feleség biztosan nem tudhatott.”

6 See http://konyves.blog.hu/2014/08/04/peterfy_gergely_773: “Végül úgy döntöttél, Kazinczy feleségének, Török Sophie-nak hangján szóltatod meg a történetet. Ő hogyan került a képbe? / A szövegnek volt olyan verziója, ahol Báróczi Sándor az elbeszélő, meg olyan is, ahol több elbeszélőt alkalmaztam. Sophie nagyon sokadjára jött, de aztán annyira összebarátkoztunk, hogy remekül tudtunk együtt dolgozni. Annyira jól álltam neki, és ő is annyira jól állt nekem, hogy a hangja végül meg tudott szólalni egy olyan tónusban, amire azt tudtam mondani körülbelül kétszáz oldal után, hogy na Sophie, akkor te viszed a bulit.”

are meant to evoke the shared marginality of women and Africans in “Enlightened” 18th and 19th-century Europe, which made it easier for Sophie to sympathise, and eventually identify with Angelo⁷ (see: the critique of this equation in the previous chapter on *Foe*), from the ethico-political perspective this chapter wishes to advance, it is the narrative technique (rather than the amply reviewed content) of the novel that seems to be somewhat flawed, or, at least, it seems to be at odds with the ethico-political stakes implied by its content.

From an epistemological standpoint, Péterfy’s use of an improbably omniscient character narrator stems from an all too improbable disregard for the obvious difference between characters and real people. As Suzanne Keen succinctly points it out in an introductory work to narratology:

While your friend can tell you what he is thinking, or you may guess what your mother feels from her expression, or you may read in a diary entry another’s private thoughts, no living being experiences the sort of access to consciousness – including thoughts, emotions, memories, motives, and sub-verbal states – that modern and contemporary fictional narrators routinely render up to the reader about fictional characters. (Keen, *Narrative Form*, 59)

Obviously, therefore, a probable character narrator *cannot* have access to another character’s consciousness to such an extent as a fictional, omniscient narrator can. The purpose of this paper, however, is not to focus on this narrative inconsistency,⁸ but rather to investigate the ethico-political implications and the consequences of Péterfy’s past tense, omniscient, third person narration. In what follows, I shall first elaborate on the 18th century cultural-political context in which both contemporary novels inscribe itself, focusing, this time, on the second half of the 18th century.

According to Lynn Hunt, it was the 18th century sentimental novel, and its ability to generate sympathy that had paved the way for the invention of “human rights.” Para-

7 See Helena Woodard, *African-British Writings in the Eighteenth Century: The Politics of Race and Reason* (London Greenwood Press, 1991): “The unique subject of British women’s role in colonial slavery is explored in Moira Ferguson’s study, *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670–1834*, which critiques anti-slavery writings by Hannah More, Sarah Scott, and others. I am not altogether convinced, though, by Ferguson’s argument that Anglican women’s participation in the anti-slavery effort ‘displaced anxieties about their own assumed powerlessness and inferiority onto their representations of slaves.’ I believe that British women’s abolitionism more likely resulted from a dual, paradoxical identification with enslaved blacks because of shared forms of oppression. But because of racial acculturation, Anglican women also identified, in part, with a white, male patriarchy” (68).

8 This was amply commented upon by Csaba Károlyi, István Margócsy, and Beatrix Visy in *ÉS Kvartett*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EHUtEs3LcKk>.

doxically, however, while female subjectivities were often depicted in sentimental novels, such as Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) – which was one of the most influential novels of the time as far as gender politics was concerned – and readers indeed learnt to sympathise with protagonists who were emphatically different from them (because of the gender divide), “women’s rights,” such as, most importantly, women’s right to vote, were hardly ever discussed in (French and English) pre-Revolutionary debates about “human rights.”⁹ These latter, as Lynn Hunt points out in a different article, tended to focus on questions concerning the “humanity” of Africans, and the abolition of slavery, the rights of Jews, Protestants (in France) and Catholics (in England), or the rights of the poor and the dispossessed.¹⁰ Therefore, reading the work of the historian, Lynn Hunt, one has to accept that that even though 18th century sentimental fiction only centred upon the representation of female consciousness, and even if the “woman question” itself, i.e. women’s right to participate in the *political* sphere became an object of discussion only in the second half of the 19th century, 18th century sentimental fiction still contributed to a widespread discourse on human rights in *general*, and that Enlightenment discourse (contrary to Horkheimer’s and Adorno’s more pessimistic views) did indeed pave the way for our contemporary ideal of “universal” human rights.¹¹ Meanwhile, Hunt also calls our attention to the important bifurcation at the heart of the Enlightenment discourse on human rights, which cut through gender, racial and religious divides, and introduced the active vs. passive citizen binary. In fact, a distinction was made between

- 9 Hunt sums up the implications of our contemporary concept of human rights as follows: “(1) all human beings have certain inherent rights simply by virtue of being human, and not by virtue of their status in society; (2) these rights are consequently imagined as ‘natural,’ as stemming from human nature itself, and they have in the past often been called ‘natural rights’; (3) rights belong therefore to individuals and not to any social group, whether a sex, a race, an ethnicity, a group of families, a social class, an occupational group, a nation, or the like; (4) these rights must be made equally available by law to all individuals and cannot be denied as long as an individual lives under the law; (5) the legitimacy of any government rests on its ability to guarantee the rights of all its members” (2).
- 10 “Although many thinkers, both male and female, had raised the question of women’s status through the centuries, most of them had insisted primarily on women’s right to an education (rather than on the right to vote, for instance, which few men enjoyed) The status of women did not excite the same interest – as measured in terms of publications – as that of slaves, Calvinists, or even Jews in France; the issue of women’s rights did not lead to essay contests, official commissions, or Enlightenment-inspired clubs under the monarchy. In part this lack of interest followed from the fact that women were not considered a persecuted group in the same way as slaves, Calvinists, or Jews. Although women’s property rights and financial independence often met restrictions under French law and custom, most men and women agreed with Rousseau and other Enlightenment thinkers that women belonged in the private sphere of the home and therefore had no role to play in public affairs [...]. Women could ask for better education and protection of their property rights, but even the most politically vociferous among them did not yet demand full civil and political rights” (Lynn Hunt, ed., *The French Revolution and Human Rights* [New York, St Martin’s Press, 2016], pp. 11–12).
- 11 Ann Thompson, “Why Does the Enlightenment Still Matter?” *Diciottesimo Secolo I* (2016): 147–168.

those who were entitled active (political) rights, such as the right to elect representative and be elected as a representative, and those who possessed only passive (civil) rights, such as the right to marry, to acquire property, or religion (Hunt, 19.) Of course, it was, precisely, the question who (slaves? servants? Jews? Protestants? Catholics? actors? executioners? women?) were entitled to civil, and, then, to political rights that was the main object of Enlightenment discourses of human rights, which were obviously conditioned by questions concerning the boundaries of the human. And the answer to the question who counts as human (i.e. “who is in and who is out”¹²) has never been purely descriptive, but rather performative: “scientific” descriptions always had serious political consequences.

Discussing the “humanity” of Africans in his PhD dissertation, Péterfy draws attention to the outrageous racism of figures like Hume, Kant, and Blumenbach.¹³ Meanwhile, the dissertation does not seem to emphasise enough that epistemological questions of race were always deeply intertwined with the political discourse of slavery in the 18th and 19th centuries. More precisely, slavery was mostly justified and made legitimate by the “scientific” claims of Enlightenment anthropology. Carl von Linné in the 10th, authoritative edition of his *System of Nature* (1758) was the first to classify man as a species (*homo sapiens*) separate from the apes but still part of the animal kingdom (which he saw as an uninterrupted chain), and divided humans into four races, with the European at the peak. Later, Buffon, in *Natural History, General and Particular* (1748–1804), already drew a sharper dividing line between humans and animals, maintaining that humans, as opposed to animals, have soul, and while supporting the idea of monogenesis (i.e. that all humans share a single origin), he established a clear hierarchy between races, ascribing both climatic and biological causes to the alleged differences in the intellectual abilities, habits and customs of people of different skin colour.¹⁴ Indeed, as Silvia Sebastiani argues, Enlightenment science ended up fixing in biological terms the historically determined distances between races (12).

Sebastiani also outlines the causes – such as colonisation, and geographical discoveries – and the complex intellectual and political consequences of theories of both monogenesis (like Buffon’s), and the less widespread idea of polygenesis.¹⁵ According to polygenetic theories, the savage was no longer understood to have a Biblical descent,

12 Maria Kronfeldner et al., “Recent Work on Human Nature: Beyond Traditional Essences,” *Philosophy Compass* 9/9 (2014): 642–652.

13 Gergely Péterfy, *Orpheus és Massinissa: Kazinczy Ferenc és Angelo Soliman* (Miskolc, 2007). <https://bit.ly/2AYH8KZ>, 39–41.

14 Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment, an Anthology* (London: Blackwell, 1991), 15. On the question of the “Human” and the sciences behind it, see: Timár and Laczházi, “Ember,” forthcoming.

15 “[T]he polygenetic explanation was a response to the discovery of savages, to encountering peoples whose existence had not been envisaged or who did not fit into the traditional schemes with which European man had conceived himself until the sixteenth century” (Silvia Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender and the Limits of Progress* [New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2013], 9).

and these were the “scientific” classification, based on “objective” observation (skin colour, skull size, facial angle) of the polygenesists that contributed the most to the development of theories of racial inferiority, which then served as justifications for slavery (12).¹⁶ Other critics, however, argue that it was, in fact, slavery that produced “race” as a side effect of, and a justification for, the violence on which it depended. As George Boulukos puts it, the “dehumanisation of slavery, in this account, leads to the conceptualisation of blacks as less than fully human.”¹⁷

Meanwhile, Boulukos also suggests that in the second half of the Eighteenth century, metropolitan discourse in Britain already expressed a distaste for slavery and rejected “race” in both theory and practice, and that abolitionists maintained that planters on the colonies must have believed that their slaves are inferior only in order to be willing to treat them so cruelly (97–98). Indeed, the Enlightenment discourse of the metropolis (as opposed to the openly racist discourse of the colonies) in the second half of the century was generally abolitionist, and the Enlightened minority (such as Kazinczy, or Joseph II in Austria and Hungary) held that since slaves shared the humanity of Europeans, and their difference (esp. their skin colour) was the result of the different climate (see: famously Montaigne and Montesquieu’s influence on European thought), they were just as “perfectible” as a white child (see: Rousseau’s *Origins of Inequality* on human perfectibility). This, of course, did not amount to complete equality, since without proper *Bildung* and the entire, and, therefore, impossible, erasure of their past (i.e. biology, culture and climate), ex-slaves were still considered as less than human, less human than a white child. But while an ex-slave who freed himself in Europe (e.g. Angelo Soliman, or, as we will see, Ignatious Sancho) could be given certain rights, even the “active” right to vote based on their property, there is no depiction in 18th century literature of the actual liberation of a slave on the colonies themselves (see: Boulukos).

Indeed, the sympathetic portrayal of the “negro” as fully human, and, therefore, as possessing either passive, or, later, active political rights, required from the writer the previous erasure of his or her slave origins/past in the colonies, i.e. the demolition, and subsequent rebuilding, reshaping of his character and personality in Europe, presented (by novelists) as benevolent Enlightenment *Bildung*. Indeed, it was only this pre-configuration of his (!) “humanity” that could guarantee the awakening of readerly sympathy too. In other words, while the question of the shared humanity of the “barbarians”

16 Meanwhile, since monogenetic theories, in fact prevailed, and even in polygenetic theories, the different races were still considered as part of the same human species, while this latter was defined as the capacity to produce prolific offspring, white paranoia concerning potential contagion and impure mixture became also widespread. On the gender difference between slaves and their relationship with their masters, and the difference between the mainland and the colonies concerning the treatment of sexual relationship with slaves, see Felicity Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). (See also Doris Lessing’s *The Grass is Singing* for a 20th-century treatment of the problem.)

17 George Boulukos, *The Grateful Slave: The Emergence of Race in Eighteenth Century British and American Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 95.

was the subject of both scientific and political (especially) abolitionist discourses, which claimed that it was possible to “civilise” Africans (i.e. make them – almost – fully human), for an 18th century reader, sympathy with a “non-Enlightened,” i.e. “non-civilised” (“barbarian”) African slave would have been unimaginable.

Péterfy seems, therefore, to follow in the footsteps of Enlightenment humanism in that it is, precisely, the “non-barbarian” character of Angelo Soliman (the fact that he is cultivated, speaks many languages, is knowledgeable in the arts and sciences, all in all, that he already underwent a process of *Bildung*) that makes him worthy to be considered as a fully-fledged human, and, therefore, capable of awakening “our” readerly sympathy. Indeed, at first sight, the way in which Angelo’s fate is represented even looks similar to Friday’s in Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*: Friday’s native language is not evoked and Robinson Crusoe does not make any attempt at getting to know it. Likewise, while we do get to know that Angelo underwent terrible sufferings on the merchant ship that transported him to Europe, he is said to have entirely forgotten both his childhood memories and his native tongue. We could well speak of a traumatic erasure, but this “traumatic” past has been somewhat all too unproblematically (i.e. improbably) replaced and overwritten by his “new culture” and by his “new languages,” particularly German, and all the other languages he is made to learn in Europe. However, as opposed to Defoe’s Friday, Angelo does become one of the main focalisers of *Stuffed Barbarian*: even though we cannot hear his own voice, he is emphatically given a point of view, i.e. eyes that can see, and a vision of the (European) world and his own place in that world, which is represented by the narrator. Therefore, as opposed to Defoe’s Friday, with whom we are not “supposed to” sympathise as readers (i.e., we sympathise with Crusoe, because he is the focaliser-narrator of the story), Angelo is given eyes, and his point of view is represented, by the narrator. At the same time, when Péterfy invites us to sympathise with his “otherness,” our readerly sympathy cannot result but from an imaginative self-projection: Soliman is (almost) like us, and his consciousness is also perfectly accessible to us.

Interestingly, the historical Kazinczy, Angelo’s friend, was the first Hungarian translator of Laurence Sterne’s *Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768). Sterne, as is well known, both contributed to and ironically subverted the 18th century sentimental tradition. Yorick, the first person singular narrator of *Sentimental Journey*, stages both the recto and the verso of sympathy: while offering a bathetic ode to Sensibility,¹⁸ he eagerly looks forward to the pleasurable prospect of wiping down the tears of a suffering Lady:

18 “– Dear sensibility! source inexhausted of all that’s precious in our joys, or costly in our sorrows! thou chainest thy martyr down upon his bed of straw – and ’t is thou who lift’st him up to HEAVEN – eternal fountain of our feelings! – ’t is here I trace thee – and this is thy divinity which stirs within me – not that in some sad and sickening moments, ‘my soul shrinks back upon herself, and startles at destruction’ – mere pomp of words! – but that I feel some generous joys and generous cares beyond myself – all comes from thee, great – great SENSORIUM of the world! which vibrates, if a hair of our heads but falls upon the ground, in

with what a moral delight will it crown my journey, in sharing in the sickening incidents of a tale of misery told to me by such a sufferer? To see her weep! and, though I cannot dry up the fountain of her tears, what an exquisite sensation is there still left, in wiping them away from off the cheeks of the first and fairest of women, as I'm sitting with my handkerchief in my hand in silence the whole night beside her?¹⁹

Yorick famously finds the most (erotic) pleasure in being moved by the sufferings and plights of beautiful women. Meanwhile, although Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* is a masterpiece of irony too, it is, at the same time, the only canonised piece of 18th century sentimental fiction, which contains an allusion to the imperative to sympathise with "barbarian" "negros," only because they have "souls" and are able to exercise mercy (and are, therefore, distinct, from animals – see: Buffon). In volume 9 of *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne writes:

When Tom, an' please your honour, got to the shop, there was nobody in it, but a poor negro girl, with a bunch of white feathers slightly tied to the end of a long cane, flapping away flies – not killing them. – 'Tis a pretty picture! said my uncle Toby – she had suffered persecution, Trim, and had learnt mercy –

– She was good, an' please your honour, from nature, as well as from hardships; and there are circumstances in the story of that poor friendless slut, that would melt a heart of stone, said Trim; and some dismal winter's evening, when your honour is in the humour, they shall be told you with the rest of Tom's story, for it makes a part of it –

Then do not forget, Trim, said my uncle Toby.

A negro has a soul? an' please your honour, said the corporal (doubtingly).

I am not much versed, corporal, quoth my uncle Toby, in things of that kind; but I suppose, God would not leave him without one, any more than thee or me –

– It would be putting one sadly over the head of another, quoth the corporal.

It would so; said my uncle Toby. Why then, an' please your honour, is a black wench to be used worse than a white one?

I can give no reason, said my uncle Toby –

– Only, cried the corporal, shaking his head, because she has no one to stand up for her –

the remotest desert of thy creation. –" (Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy*, <http://www.bartleby.com/303/1/67.html>).

19 Sterne.

– 'Tis that very thing, Trim, quoth my uncle Toby, – which recommends her to protection – and her brethren with her; 'tis the fortune of war which has put the whip into our hands now – where it may be hereafter, heaven knows! – but be it where it will, the brave, Trim! will not use it unkindly.

– God forbid, said the corporal.

Amen, responded my uncle Toby, laying his hand upon his heart.²⁰

Here, uncle Toby argues that black people are used worse than whites only because there is no one to stand up for them (i.e. “represent” them in a modern sense), and are, therefore, in need of protection. This is a very advanced claim in the period, even though, as has been mentioned, people/readers did not necessarily act upon their sympathetic feelings with characters. As for Sterne himself, however, he did act upon a sympathetic impulse to protect black people: literary historians have shown that he included this specific passage into *Tristram Shandy* upon the request of an ex-slave, Ignatius Sancho, whose life of *Bildung* was surprisingly similar to that of Angelo Soliman – with the important exception that *his* life (i.e. Sancho's) did have a happy ending. Indeed, Péterfy mistakenly claims in his dissertation that we know of only two ex-slaves, besides Angelo Soliman, who achieved a higher social status, the philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Amo, and Pushkin's great grandfather Abram Petrovich Hanibal. For there is, in fact, at least one clear British parallel to the life of Angelo, Ignatius Sancho's, Sterne's friend's. He was a cultivated ex-slave, who had many influential (Whig) friends, bought his freedom, and even acquired the right to vote (based on his wealth), becoming the first black man to get an obituary in the periodical press when he died. Meanwhile, as opposed to Angelo, he also played a significant role in abolitionist debates, and managed to persuade the great “sentimental novelist” Sterne himself to stand up against slavery. In his often anthologised letter to Sterne, he awakens Sterne's sympathetic feelings through a first-person singular autobiographical narration of his fortune to acquire European learning (i.e. *Bildung*), and the way in which he himself was touched by Sterne's work:

[Sancho to Sterne]

REVEREND SIR,

It would be an insult on your humanity (or perhaps look like it) to apologize for the liberty I am taking. – I am one of those people whom the vulgar and illiberal call “*Negurs*.” – The first part of my life was rather unlucky, as I was placed in a family who judged ignorance the best and only security for obedience. – A little reading and writing I got by unwearied application. – The latter part of my life has been – thro' God's blessing, truly fortunate, having spent it in the service of one of the best families in the kingdom. – My chief pleasure has been books. – Philanthropy I adore. – How very much, good Sir, am I (amongst millions) indebted to you for the character of your

20 See <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1079/1079-h/1079-h.htm>.

amiable uncle Toby! – I declare, I would walk ten miles in the dog days, to shake hands with the honest corporal. – Your Sermons have touch'd me to the heart, and I hope have amended it, which brings me to the point. – In your tenth discourse, page seventy – eight, in the second volume – is this very affecting passage – “Consider how great a part of our species – in all ages down to this – have been trod under the feet of cruel and capricious tyrants, who would neither hear their cries, nor pity their distresses. – Consider slavery – what it is – how bitter a draught – and how many millions are made to drink it!” – Of all my favorite authors, not one has drawn a tear in favour of my miserable black brethren – excepting yourself, and the humane author of Sir George Ellison. – I think you will forgive me; – I am sure you will applaud me for beseeching you to give one half hour's attention to slavery, as it is at this day practised in our West Indies. – That subject, handled in your striking manner, would ease the yoke (perhaps) of many – but if only of one – Gracious God! – what a feast to a benevolent heart! – and, sure I am, you are an epicurean in acts of charity. – You, who are universally read, and as universally admired – you could not fail – Dear Sir, think in me you behold the uplifted hands of thousands of my brother Moors. – Grief (you pathetically observe) is eloquent; – figure to yourself their attitudes; hear their supplicating addresses! – alas! – you cannot refuse. – Humanity must comply – in which hope I beg permission to subscribe myself,

Reverend, Sir, &c.

I. SANCHO

[Sterne to Sancho]

Coxwold near York July 27. 1766

There is a strange coincidence, Sancho, in the little events (as well as in the great ones) of this world: for I had been writing a tender tale of the sorrows of a friendless poor negro – girl, and my eyes had scarce done smarting with it, when your Letter of recommendation in behalf of so many of her brethren and sisters, came to me – but why *her brethren*? – or yours, Sancho! any more than mine? It is by the finest tints, and most insensible gradations, that nature descends from the fairest face at St James's, to the sootiest complexion in Africa: at which tint of these, is it, that the ties of blood are to cease? and how many shades must we descend lower still in the scale, ere Mercy is to vanish with them? – but 'tis no uncommon thing, my good Sancho, for one half of the world to use the other half of it like brutes, & then endeavour to make 'em so. For my own part, I never look *Westward* (when I am in a pensive mood at least) but I think of the burdens which our Brothers & Sisters are *there* carrying – & could I ease their shoulders from one once of 'em, I declare I would set out this hour upon a pilgrimage to Mecca for their sakes – [which] by the by, Sancho, exceeds your Walk of ten miles, in about the same proportion,

that a Visit of Humanity, should one, of mere form – however if you meant my Uncle Toby, more – he is [your] Debter.

If I can weave the Tale I have wrote into the Work I'm [about] – tis at the service of the afflicted – and a much greater matter; for in serious truth, it casts a sad Shade upon the World, That so great a part of it, are and have been so long bound in chains of darkness & in Chains of Misery; & I cannot but both respect and felicitate You, that by so much laudable diligence you have broke the one – & that by falling into the hands of so good and merciful a family, Providence has rescued You from the other.

And so, good hearted Sancho! adieu! & believe me, I will not forget [your] Letter. [Yours]

L. STERNE²¹

Sterne, of course, is still talking about “most insensible gradations, that nature *descends* from the fairest face at St James's, to the sootiest complexion in Africa” (italics added), implying the existence of a great chain of being with Europeans at the top, and blacks serving as intermediaries between white men and animals. However, he does hear the plea of the oppressed and acknowledges the injustice of oppression. For him, one does not have to *earn* or *deserve* to be treated as fully fledged human, he does not say that the oppression of blacks can ever be justified by their lack of European *Bildung* or cultivation. On the contrary: he speaks up, both in his letter (privately) and in *Tristram Shandy* (publicly) against “one half of the world to use[ing] the other half of it like brutes, & then endeavour[ing] to make 'em so.”

Angelo Soliman, as opposed to Ignatius Sancho, does not mention the global problem of slavery in the novel and, unlike Sancho, he does not want to speak for his “brethren,” to “represent” them or “speak for them” in any sense. Partly because the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has, in fact, no colonies to speak up for, and partly as a (psychological and social) strategy, he chooses to assimilate into European (high) culture as much as he can, while, importantly, also playing the role of the “barbarian” assigned to him be the majority, forgetting, and, indeed, obliterating, the predicament he used to share with slaves.

Indeed, on a thematic level, Péterfy seems to exhibit an awareness of a few post-colonial theories, such as Edward Said's *Orientalism*, or Homi Bhabha's theories of mimicry: Angelo makes fun of those who “exoticise” him (or else “Orientalise” him), and is shown to have learnt to ward off all kinds of psychic and physic injuries provoked by his visible difference from the majority. He also plays the “barbarian” game, like Shakespeare's Othello, he dresses up as *if* he exemplified the prototype of the African *parvenu*, wearing colourful cloths and a turban. His subjective feelings and thoughts concerning the gentle *and* cruel ways in which Viennese society treats him are also wonderfully rendered by Péterfy, who conscientiously shows how Soliman both defies and is compelled

21 See <http://www.brycchancarey.com/sancho/letter1.htm>.

to conform to stereotypes, while also suffering from them (e.g. his first permanent lover is a Jewish woman, and his eventual wife is a French *déclassée*, implying that he cannot get access to and understood by but to women in marginal positions). How he is forced to be constantly conscious of his body, which others find either attractive, or disgusting or both, and how this repressed body-centeredness of the Viennese society will culminate in his stuffing after his death. In this sense, the Enlightenment of Vienna turns out to be a mock Enlightenment, their acceptance of the possibility of his *Bildung*, a process that, in Enlightenment Europe, mostly implied the transcendence of the “animal” body,²² turns out to be, in fact, fake. Indeed, in Péterfy’s novel, Angelo’s, the ex-barbarian’s *Bildung*, his civilised character stands in contrast with the true barbarism of provincial Hungarians, and the fake Enlightenment of Austrians. The main, Enlightenment argument of the novel, which is proven to be fake by Viennese society but which Péterfy still does endorse, is that you are not what you were born, but what you make of yourself. That is, even though Angelo was born African, he could become the epitome of the cultivated white European man, as opposed to provincial Hungarians (the “true barbarians”), who have, in principle, much better opportunities, but destroy everything culturally valuable or progressive. In many sense, the novel is “right”: it offers a perfect mirror to Hungarian society. What are then the ethical and political stances the emerge from the narrative technique Péterfy uses?

As was suggested above, apart from endorsing a specifically European, Enlightenment concept of what it means to be human, Péterfy fails to engage with the problems of narrative representation. In *Fiction across Borders: Imagining the Lives of Others in Late Twentieth Century Borders*, Shameem Black speaks about the need to confront “the spectre of invasive imagination”²³ and warns against the use of “representational violence” and “discursive domination.”²⁴ She evokes John Updike’s comic mock interview with one of his fictional creations:

Q (Beach): And this Jewishness you give me. What do you know about being Jewish? *Très pe*, I venture to estimate. As much as you learned listening to the *Jack Benny* program back in Shillington, Pennsylvania. Ask Cynthia Ozick. Ask Leon Wieseltier. Ask Orlando Cohen.²⁵

Updike’s irony is that Orlando Cohen is also his own creation, but Beach’s argument most obviously raises the question whether it is possible to have complete imaginative access to another person’s being. To put it differently, is Elizabeth Costello, J. M. Coetzee’s fictional character right in claiming that “[t]here is no limit to the extent to which

22 See Andrea Timár, *A Modern Coleridge* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), Introduction and Chapter 1.

23 Shameem Black, *Fiction across Borders: Imagining the Lives of Others in Late Twentieth Century Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 12.

24 Black, 23.

25 Black, 22.

we can think ourselves into the being of another. There are *no bounds* to the *sympathetic imagination*”?²⁶ Or else, *can* we access the mind of another, isn't there a limit to the extent to which we can think ourselves to the being of another? And even if there was no such limit (there is!), should *we* not *put* a limit to the extent to which we endeavour to access, and/or represent another person's mind? These are the basic questions Shameem Black asks throughout her work, focusing, largely speaking, on the ethics of narrative representation.

In fact, as she argues, since novels always speak about (and implicitly speak for) others, the representation of “other minds” is always present as a problem, and not only in cases when the other mind is very different as far as his or her social, geographical, historical or biological (i.e. gender) givens are concerned. However, the problem becomes an ethical problem only when the author speaks from a position of dominance (i.e. he belongs to the powerful majority of “white” / “healthy” / “rich or middle class” / “cultivated” / “heterosexual” / “men”). Péterfy himself exemplifies of all of these categories, and even though his endeavour to represent the “other” is “ethical,” the realisation is less so, since his omniscience also implies omnipotence, a God-like knowledge of a person's innermost thoughts and feelings. This technique *could* be used to reflect, precisely, on the ethical stakes involved in omniscient narration, but Péterfy's omniscience is *non-reflective*, *non-revelative* of its own stakes. Similarly, past tense, retrospective narration also implies a privileged position, the description of known, established facts, and a great, retrospective, omniscient insight into the importance of each event. Indeed, omniscient, retrospective narration is the most prone to what critics call a “totalising closure.” Of course, there is nothing inherently “wrong” with omniscient retrospection, this is the technique the most widely used in 19th century fiction. The problem is that a novel *about* otherness, which, didactically, advances the moral imperative to respect this otherness, calls for a narrative technique that equally respects the wholly otherness of the other (Spivak), without trying to imaginatively invade or appropriate it. This appropriative technique can only awaken narcissistic self-projections in the reader, masquerading as sympathetic benevolence.

Hence, one may conclude that the political agenda of Péterfy's book does not lie or does not stem from its figuration of Soliman's “otherness,” nor does it want to “speak for” or “bear witness to” the sufferings of the dispossessed, let alone the poor. Rather, Soliman's fate serves as an allegory for the “barbarian” way in which the Hungarian majority treats minorities, as well as speak up for those who, like Kazinczy himself, thrive for living a life of *Bildung*. And while Soliman and Kazinczy stand as allegories “for us all,” it shows a mirror to 21st century Hungarian society, which disavows more and more the heritage of European Enlightenment.

26 Elizabeth Costello's argument is supposed to be, in fact, a refutation of Thomas Nagel's claim that it is impossible to feel what it feels like to be a bat.

Magyarok a brit filmiparban

Pressburger Imre (1902–1988)

A brit filmtörténet kiemelkedő és nagyra becsült szerzőpárosának, a Michael Powell – Emeric Pressburger párosnak, és az *Archers* brit filmproduktív cég alapítóinak az egyik tagja magyar származású, Pressburger Imre néven látott napvilágot Magyarországon, Miskolcon 1902-ben. A brit filmeket közösen jegyző, a történeteket együtt író és rendező szerzőpároson belül Pressburger inkább íróként, forgatókönyvíróként a történetek szellemi atyja. Bár Pressburger Imre főként a forgatókönyveket írta, 1939 és 1972 közt az angol Michael Powell-lel közösen készített 20 filmjükön mégis az szerepel, hogy írta és rendezte Powell és Pressburger. Gyakran hivatkoznak rájuk közös angol film produkciós cégük neve alapján, egyszerűen csak *Archers*ként is.¹

Powell és Pressburger legismertebb filmjei közül alább is röviden megemlítsük a következő jelentősebb alkotások: *The Spy in Black* (A kém feketében, 1939), *Contraband* (Visszáru, 1940), *49th Parallel* (49. szélességi fok, 1941), *One of Our Aircraft Is Missing* (Eltűnt az egyik repülőnk, 1942), *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (Blimp ezredes élete és halála, 1943), *A Canterbury Tale* (Canterbury mesék, 1944), *I Know where I Am Going* (Vágyak szigete, 1945), *A Matter of Life and Death* (Diadalmas szerelem, 1946), *Black Narcissus* (Fekete nárcisz, 1947), *The Red Shoes* (A vörös cipellők, 1948), *The Tales of Hoffmann* (Hoffmann meséi, 1951), *Oh, Rosalinda!* (Ó, Rosalinda!, 1955), és az utolsó közös *Archers* filmük, az *Ill Met by Moonlight* (Szerencsétlen találkozás holdfényben, 1957) című.

A Powell – Pressburger filmes párost és munkásságát ugyan 1981-ben BAFTA életműdíjjal ismerte el a brit filmakadémia, de sokak, köztük Ian Christie filmtörténész szerint is a brit film történetében betöltött szerepük ennek ellenére nem nyert kellő méltatást, a brit filmtörténet a mai napig adós még a Powell – Pressburger szerzőpáros méltóbb elismerésével.² Robert Murphy, a *The British Cinema Book* című átfogó, és többszörösen újra kiadott (legutóbb 2009-ben) brit filmtörténet könyv szerzője szerint ennek egyik oka az lehet, hogy Powell és Pressburger a brit filmtörténet fő művészi (dokumentarista-realista) vonalát tekintve „kívülálló” maradtak filmjeik szürreális, misztikus fantáziája, illetve kontinensi hagyományaik és stábjuk miatt.³

Alulértékelésük részben a brit film történetének konzervatív és szocialista-realista megosztottságának útvesztőiből is adódott, hisz a brit művészfilmek hagyományosan a griersoni dokumentarista tradíciót követő szocialista-realista rendezői iskolából (Karel Reisz, Ken Loach, Mike Leigh, Stephen Frears stb.) kerültek ki, olykor ugyan néhányan egyéni művészi, pl. avantgárd utakra elkalandozva, mint pl. Derek Jarman, vagy Peter

1 A filmekre vonatkozó adatok a Powell and Pressburger IMDB oldaláról származnak (<http://www.imdb.com/list/ls000044495/>, letöltve: 2017.10.28), illetve Murphy 2009, 240.

2 Christie 1994, 1.

3 Murphy 2009, 240.

Greenaway, de minden, ami ezen kívül esett, gyanús, a konzervatív történelmi-kulturörökségi vonalba esőnek, és ez által művészileg megkérdőjelezhetőnek tűnik.⁴

Hazánkban a szűkebb filmes szakmai köröket leszámítva (Győri Zsolt és Váró Kata Anna fent említett tanulmányai mellett a *Filmvilág* 2009/9-es száma, illetve a *Filmtett* több tanulmányában is foglalkozott Pressburger Imrével, köztük Takács Ferenc és Vincze Teréz, illetve Irina Trocan alább idézett tanulmányai is) Pressburger Imre brit filmes karrierje, recepciója kevésbé ismert. Ezért interdiszciplináris angol történeti kutatásaim keretében írásommal más, határos tudományterületeken is szeretném alább jobban ráirányítani Pressburger Imre (és Michael Powell) munkásságára és recepciójára a figyelmet, és a magyar emigráns filmművészek szerepét nyomatékosítani a két világháború közti Londonban a magyar és a brit film történetírás és kritika néhány kurrens tanulmánya, illetve maga Michael Powell és Pressburger Imre unokája, Kevin Macdonald filmrendező életrajzi, illetve családi-életrajzi visszaemlékezései alapján.

A brit filmipar sokat köszönhet számos magyar filmesnek, köztük kiemelten Korda Sándornak, testvérének, Korda Zoltánnak, Bíró Lajosnak és mellettük a kevésbé ismert Pressburger Imrének is. E tanulmány további célja, hogy Frank Tibort köszöntse 70. születésnapján, aki, többek közt, az USA-ba kivándorolt tehetséges magyar tudósok életét és munkásságát tárta fel széleskörű kutatásaival, ezért írásommal nem csupán tisztelni szeretnék egykori tanárom, mentorom és későbbi kollégám előtt, akinek mind szakmailag, mind emberileg sokat köszönhetek, de a magyar emigránsok szerepével kapcsolatos kutatások fontosságát is hivatott aláhúzni, amelyben Frank Tibor munkássága utat mutatott.

A Powell–Pressburger filmes szerzőpáros találkozását részben a Londonban élő, szintén magyar származású filmrendezőnek, a *London Film Production / Studios* megalapítójának, Korda Sándornak köszönhetjük (akit a brit filmtörténet Alexander Kordaként ismer, sőt Korda Sándor elismeréseként nevéről a brit film akadémia a fiatal tehetséges brit első filmeseket jutalmazó BAFTA/ Korda díjat is elnevezte), ő ismertette ugyanis össze Michael Powellt 1939-ben Londonban Pressburger Imrével, aki 1935-ös Nagy-Britanniába érkezése óta dolgozott Kordánál. A már befutott Michael Powell a készülő, *The Spy in Black* (1940) című filmjének átdolgozásához keresett forgatókönyvíró, így találkozott Korda ajánlására Pressburgerrel. A filmben, ami a Powell–Pressburger együttműködés első darabja volt, Korda Sándor maga producerként volt érdekelt.⁵

Michael Powell nagyra tartotta Korda Sándort, ezért megbízott benne. Powell 1986-ban megjelent életrajzában azt írta Kordáról (pontosabban „Alexről”), hogy nagyon szerette ragyogásáért, eszéért, jó ízléséért, humoráért, továbbá amiért remekül kiigazodott az emberek, a filmek és a filmipar berkeiben, mert ő maga inkább csupán egy jó angol iparos ember volt és maradt, aki csak mind mélyebbre merült a filmkészítésben.⁶

4 Velich 2016, 221. Lásd még Váró 2016 és Győri 2010, valamint Monk–Sargeant 2002.

5 Velich 2016, 222, illetve Moor 2005, 27.

6 Powell 1986, 613.

Powell önéletrajzi visszaemlékezésében egyenesen kis magyar „puccsról” beszél, amelyet Powell szavaival a három „zseniális” Londonban élő magyar filmes (a Korda fivérek és Bíró Lajos) a *London Film Studios* irodájukban szóttek, hogy a tervezett új film leendő főszereplő sztárjainak, Laurence Olivier-nek és Ralph Richardsonnak kedvében járjanak, akik elégedetlenek voltak a *Q-planes* című film eredeti forgatókönyvével. Ezért ismertették meg Powellt Pressburger Imrével, aki Powell későbbi megfogalmazása szerint „valóban tudott írni.”⁷

Michael Powell Pressburgerre életrajzában később így emlékezett: Emeric gyökereitől átalakította, kiforgatta, feje tetejére állította a történeteket, a férfiből nőt, a nőből férfit faragott, újraírta a film végét, és én majd kiugrottam a bőrből, hogy egy ilyen kreatív emberrel dolgozhatok. Pressburger Imre, Powell visszaemlékezése szerint pedig azt híresztelte róla, hogy szerzőtársa már előre tudta, hogy mit fog mondani, mielőtt kinyitotta volna a száját, sőt tán még mielőtt kigondolta volna azt, ami persze nagyon ritka. Szerencsés az ember, ha egy ilyen emberrel akár életében csak egyszer is találkozik.⁸

A páros összeismertetése tehát szó szerint telitalálat és a filmiparnak nagy nyereség volt. Sőt, tanulmányomban amellet érvelek, hogy a Powell–Pressburger páros és Korda filmes együttműködése, ahogyan az *Archers* logó „telitalálatos nyilai” és filmjei is az emberi-társadalmi összetartásba, szolidaritásba és a győzelembe vetett hitüket, valamint minden bombázással, elsötétítéssel, áldozattal és ételjeggyel dacoló optimizmusukat tükrözték. Ezáltal az érintettek a II. világháború megnyerésében is fontos szociológiai, kulturális és pszichés szerepet tölthettek be.

Pressburger Imre filmtörténeti munkásságának első brit filmje mind szó szerint, mind képletesen a *The Challenge* (*A kihívás*, 1938) volt. A film szinte profetikusan bizonyult, egy expedíció, a Matterhorn csúcsát 1864-ben a britek közül elsőként elérő hegyászó, Edward Whymper történetét meséli el. A film idealizáló, romantizáló stílusban, brit-német koprodukcióban készült, amelyben már Korda Sándor is jelen volt producerként. A filmben a hóba burkolózó hegycsúcs mintegy profetikusan és szimbolikusan minden országhatárt elmos és elfed.⁹

Powell és Pressburger első közösen készített, írt és rendezett filmje, *The Spy in Black* (*A kém feketében*) 1939-ben szintén nagy „kihívás” volt, de ugyanakkor már egy másik korszak, kihívás és földrajzi határ történetét beszélte el, a Skóciában partra juttatott német tengeralattjáró-parancsnok, Hardt kapitány veszedelmes üzelmeinek, lelepleződésének, majd halálának a történetét. Ráadásul a parancsnokot is német emigráns alakította, Conrad Veidt, a némafilm és a korai hangosfilm-korszak talán legnagyobb sztárja, a „Weimar-film” ikonikus-emblematikus alakja. Takács Ferenc szerint Pressburger valójában azzal bízta meg Korda, hogy a forgatókönyvbe rendes, árnyalt és hiteles szerepet írjon Veidtnak.¹⁰

7 Powell 1986, 304–305.

8 Powell 1986, 302, 374.

9 Murphy 2009, 241.

10 Takács 2009, 34–37.

Ez úgy tűnik sikerült is, és amíg Conrad Veidt korábban a német UFA filmes korszakában deviáns karaktereket alakított, addig Nagy-Britanniában (némileg az emigránsok, köztük Pressburger életére emlékeztetően is) a társadalom periferiáján élő alakokat játszott. Bergfelder–Cargnelli észrevétele szerint Veidt német filmjeiben a karakterek belső feszültségei még arcán, mimikáján, illetve aszimmetrikus testtartásán is kiütköztek. Ezzel szemben brit filmjeiben már kiegyensúlyozott mimikája és testtartása volt, ami segítette többek közt a külső vagy a társadalmi konfliktusra koncentráló Hardt kapitány (*The Spy in Black*) szerepében. Hardt kapitány ugyanis az egy ügyhöz, vagy az országhoz való lojalitás és a szexuális vágyak kettősségének nyomása alatt állt, ugyanakkor Bergfelder–Cargnelli szerint Veidt mindezt érdekes és hiteles módon a poroszosság és a merev angolosság keverékével élte és játszotta meg.¹¹

A német vizuális hatás Pressburgerék filmjein számos ponton nyilvánvaló. Ez nem is csoda, hisz például Erwin Hillier, az *I Know where I Am Going* (*Vágyak szigete*, 1945) című film operatőre korábban Fritz Lang mellett dolgozott, képi hatásai, többek közt a tompított megvilágítás, és a mély fókuszú fotográfia révén elvitathatatlanok. Powell és Pressburger számos technikusa valójában a kontinensről érkezett, képi hatásuk Sarah Street brit filmtörténész szerint is megkérdőjelezhetetlen.¹²

Takács Ferenc is kiemeli a *The Spy in Black* „weimari” vizuális stílusát: „a filmet félhomály, kontrasztos szürkesség, arcok hipnotikus közeliken, képileg, tudatküszöb alatt sugallt érzelmi ambivalenciák és szorongató feszültségek jellemzik.” Takács szerint a filmben már megjelenik egy jellegzetes Powell–Pressburger-féle képi motívum is, amely a későbbi *Archers*-filmekben újra meg újra visszatér majd. Ez a tenger, mely „őselem, közömbös és kegyetlen emberfeletti erő, egyben a halálos fenyegetéssel szembeszegülő küzdelem, az egyszerre szimbolikus elvontságban megjelenített, egyszerre nagyon is konkrét, a politika nyelvére közvetlenül lefordított háború színtere.”¹³

A tenger mint alapotívum a legtöbb brit filmben valóban megjelenik, visszatér, hisz többek között a tenger feletti uralom, a brit flotta az egykori brit birodalom, birodalmi nagyság jelképe. A tenger és a hajó nem csupán a brit történelmi és kultúrörökségfilmek szinte kötelező eleme, hanem a brit szigeteken napjainkban játszódó szocialista realista művészfilmek sajátos, szinte kötelező kelléke, vezérmotívuma is, a szabadság és a hatalom megtestesítője, a filmek narratív szálának fontos eleme, mint például a *Billy Elliot* (Stephen Daldry, 2000), a *This Is England* (Shane Meadows, 2006), vagy a *From London to Brighton* (Paul Andrew Williams, 2006) című filmekben, hogy csak egy pár realista kortárs művészfilmet említsünk a közelmúltból.

A Powell–Pressburger együttműködés kezdetének vezértémája ugyanakkor a történelmi korszaknak, helyzetnek köszönhetően viszont nem csupán a tenger, hanem elsősorban a háború. Ez már nyilvánvaló az első közös filmjükben (*The Spy in Black*) is,

¹¹ Bergfelder–Cargnelli 2008, 145.

¹² Street 1997, 161.

¹³ Takács 2009, 35.

amely közvetlenül a második világháború kitörése előtt készült el. Az első világháborúban játszódó kémhistóriát 1939. augusztus 12-én mutatták be Angliában, pár héttel a II. világháború kitörése előtt.¹⁴

Powell 1940-ben, a háború kitörését követően új filmet készített Korda számára *Contraband* (*Visszáru*) címmel, amin újra Pressburgerrel együtt dolgozott. Ez meg is alapozta aztán a többi háborús filmjüket, későbbi szerzőpárosként történő alkotásukat, köztük a szintén Korda részére készülő *49th Parallel* (*49. szélességi fok*, 1941) című közös filmet. Mind a *Contraband* film-noiros világa, mind a *49th Parallel* az idegen leteleplülők problémáit, határait feszegeti.¹⁵

A *49th Parallel* című filmük egyben már a britek második világháborús propagandisztikus szolgálatát is nyíltan vállalta. A kanadai koprodukcióban készült, jelentős részben Kanadában forgatott film egy Kanadában partra szálló náci tengeralattjáró-egység történetét meséli el. Hajójukat megsemmisítik, ezért a németek egyetlen reménye, hogy Kanadát keresztezve délen átlépi a kanadai-USA határt (ez a 49. szélességi kör vonala), és az akkor még hadat nem viselő Egyesült Államokból hazajutnak a német „Harmadik Birodalomba”. Az egység támogatók hiányában fokozatosan felmorzsolódik. Egyedül parancsnokuk marad életben, de ő sem jut át a 49. szélességi körön, az utolsó pillanatban egy szellemes fordulattal a vonaton visszatoloncolják Kanadába, amely a Brit Nemzetközösség része, így trükkös megmenekülése helyett a német főhős elbukik és a britek kezébe kerül.¹⁶

A *49th Parallel* Oscar-díjat is hozott Pressburger Imrének a legjobb forgatókönyv kategóriában. Andrew Moor szerint a *The Spy in Black* és a *Contraband* egyaránt zsánerbeli ötvözet, amelyek az 1930-as évek második felének brit területi aggodalmait „gótikus stílusban” közvetítik azáltal, hogy a kém-történetek zsáneri sajátosságait expresszionista motívumokkal ötvözik.¹⁷ Mindkét film Hitchcock stílusú krimi, de egyben már Hitler ellenes fontos propaganda darab is volt. A filmben a fent említett motívum, a tenger újra megjelenik, illetve a tengerrel való küzdelem többszörös metaforaként is szolgált.

A *49th Parallel* (1941) és a *One of Our Aircraft Is Missing* (*Eltűnt egy repülőnk*, 1942) című filmekben már a Powell – Pressburger kézjegye, a valahová tartozás, a földrajzi terület, a haza fontossága, védelme, illetve a közösség és a csapatmunka jelentősége teljes díszében látható. A Kanadában játszódó *49th Parallel* (1941) fontos szerepet töltött be a későbbi háborús angol-amerikai csapatmunka előkészítésében, az USA háborúba történő belépésének ösztönzésében.¹⁸ A film költségeinek felét a kormány (*The Ministry of*

14 IMDB, *The Spy in Black* (1939, rendezte: Michael Powell) <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0031968/>, letöltve: 2017.10.25.

15 Murphy 2009, 242.

16 IMDB, *49th Parallel* (1940, rendezte: Michael Powell) <https://imdb.to/2Dtv8my>, letöltve: 2017.11.03.

17 Moor 2005, 28.

18 Moor 2005, 47.

Information), másik felét a producer, Arthur Rank állta, és ahogyan Hamid Naficy rámutat, a film jó példa volt a kormány és a filmipar termékeny együttműködésére.¹⁹

A *Contraband* (1940) című film már a háborút folytató Angliában, azon belül pedig a II. világháború alatti elsötétített Londonban játszódik. A városban egyszerre vannak jelen a védett és a veszélyes közösségek, szigetek, amit náci beszivárgók „fertőznek”, bomlasztanak. A filmben az ismét felbukkanó német sztárszínész, Conrad Veidt ismét egy kapitány szerepét kapta. Veidt ezúttal egy semleges dán hajóskapitány, Anderson kapitány szerepét alakítja a háború idején, akinek nem kis kockázatot vállalva személyazonossági okmányok nélkül kell kilépnie a brit földre, hogy felgöngyölítsen egy kém-történetet.²⁰ Joggal felmerülhet a nézőben az Anderson kapitány és Pressburger életében néhány hasonlóság.

Andrew Moor ugyanott hangsúlyozza, hogy számos Powell–Pressburger film foglalkozik az identitás és a közösségek kérdéseivel, hogy vajon mivel jár, mivel járhat a régi énünk, identitásunk esetleges feladása, elvesztése, és a közösségi koherencia milyen szerepet játszhat identitásunk megszerzésében és megőrzésében. Sarah Street a brit film és a nemzeti identitás összefüggéseit vizsgálva maga is kiemeli Pressburger munkáiban az 1920-as években a német UFA-nál eltöltött idejének szerepét, illetve ezek hatását és fontosságát a későbbi brit filmekben, különösen az 1930-as *Abschied (Búcsú)* című film hatásait az 1940-es *Contraband* című brit filmre. Street szerint Pressburgert az identitás kérdésein kívül mind Németországban, majd azt követő, pár éves francia korszakában (1933–35), mind később Nagy-Britanniában is sokat foglalkoztatta az *idő* szerepe is. A „valós idő” és az „idő a filmvásznon” közti különbség iránti érdeklődése a későbbi, *A Matter of Life and Death* című, 1946-os filmjében is szembevetőd.²¹

Powell és Pressburger közös munkásságában mérföldkő volt az *Archers* produkciós cég megalapítása. Pressburger unokája, Kevin Macdonald filmrendező kutatásai szerint Powell és Pressburger 1942-ben a következő elveket fektette le egy Wendy Hillernek írt levélben, amelyben a *Life and Death of Colonel Blimp*, azaz a *Blimp ezredes élete és halála* című filmben való szereplésre kérték fel. Ez az öt kiemelt pont később az *Archers* hitvallásaként lett közzismert:

1. Senki mellett nem kötelezzük el magunkat, kivéve a film anyagi megvalósíthatósága mellett, és mindent megteszünk, hogy az készítőinek profitot, ne pedig veszteséget hozzon.
2. Minden filmkocka a mi kizárólagos felelősségünk, senki másé, minden külső nyomásnak ellenállunk.
3. Egy új film megvalósítására legalább egy év kell, ezért mindenkor egy évvel előrébb kell járnunk, nem csupán versenytársaink, de a kor előtt is.

19 Naficy 1999, 31.

20 Moor 2005, 28–29.

21 Street 1997, 161.

4. Sem a művészek, sem a nézők nem hisznek a „valóság előli menekülésben” (*escapism*), az igazság megismeréséért fizetik ki a mozijegy árát, bár ez nem feltétlen a pusztá, vagy meztelen igazság kell, hogy legyen.
5. A filmkészítők mindegyikének (a rendezőtől a díszletesig) fontos az önbecslése és annak fenntartása, ami a film témájától is függ.²²

A Powell és Pressburger páros filmjeit közös néven jegyezte, a „filmet írta-rendezte és producere volt” felirat alatt mindkettőjük neve szerepelt 1943-tól, a *One of Our Aircraft is Missing* című filmjüktől kezdődően. Új, az *Archers*-re, azaz az „íjászokra” utaló nyíl-tábla logót is használtak ezután, ami egyben a szerzőpáros közös céljaira és művészi felelősségére is utalt.²³ Az angol és brit kulturális és történelmi emlékezetben az íjászok szerepe Robin Hood, Wales és Skócia 12–13. századi leigázása, majd a Százéves Háború (1337–1453) fényes íjász győzelmei (Crécy, Poitiers és Agincourt) óta nyilvánvaló. A szerzőpáros választása, kulturális elkötelezettsége a németek ellen újból háborúba sodródó Anglia, és az angol győzelem mellett szintén egyértelmű, és vizuálisan, illetve kulturálisan igazi *Archers*, azaz íjász „telitalálat” volt.

Az 1930-as években a közelgő háború előszelével, majd kitörésével egyidőben a történelmi filmek tovább növelték népszerűségüket, szerepük a társadalmi összefogás és szolidaritás hangsúlyozásában igen jelentős volt.²⁴ A háborús *Archers*-filmek közül a *Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (*Blimp ezredes élete és halála*, 1943) jó példa erre, nem véletlenül volt Pressburger Imre kedvenc filmje.²⁵

Takács Ferenc szerint a film alapötletét egy karikatúra-figura adta: David Low újszélandi származású angol karikaturista (1891–1963) a londoni *Evening Standard* hasábjain alkotta meg a harmincas években „Blimp ezredes”-t, a rozmárbajszú és rozmár-küllemű „vaskalapos” katonatisztet, aki többnyire kedvenc gőzfürdőjében tartózkodva fejti ki mindig hazafias szellemű, egyben a bárgyúságig konzervatív és páratlanul ostoba nézeteit az aktuális politikai és katonai kérdésekről. A figura és a név hamarosan része lett az angol mindennapok folklórjának, a *blimp* szó (magyarul jelentése kb. „vaskalapos”) pedig egy anakronisztikus és abszurd magatartás, világnézet és embertípus megjelöléseként gyökerezett meg a nyelvben.²⁶

A film a második világháború kellős közepén játszódik Angliában, és *flashback*-formában meséli el Clive Wynne-Candy vezérőrnagy élettörténetét és a búr háborúban induló katonai pályafutását. Szatírája könnyeden és játékosan űz gúnyt a brit katonai ére nyekből, emiatt a jól ismert konzervatív Winston Churchill be is akarta tiltatni a filmet, mondván, hogy háború idején megengedhetetlenül demoralizáló hatása lehet az ilyesminek.²⁷ Candy, a filmbeli *blimp* ábrázolása viszont jóval kevésbé karikaturisztikus,

22 Macdonald 1994, 189–190.

23 Powell 1986, 386–387.

24 Győri 2010, 14 és Velich 2016, 222.

25 Powell 1986, 388.

26 Takács 2009, 36.

27 Trocan 2015.06.29; <http://www.filmtett.ro/szerzo/452/irina-trocan>, letöltve: 2017.11.28.

mint a Low-féle eredetié, az alkotók elnéző, már-már szeretetteljes mosoly kíséretében ábrázolják jóhiszemű naivitását és egyenességét. A film technikailag is fontos állomása volt a szerzőpáros pályafutásának. A *Colonel Blimp*ben jelent meg először a Technicolor-technika lehetőségeinek maximális kiaknázásával az a merészen és hatásosan újszerű festői vizualitás, amely később a háború utáni *Archers*-filmekben teljesebben ki-²⁸

Ugyanakkor a griersoni dokumentarista film hagyományban szocializálódó filmkritikusok nem késtek kritikusan rámutatni, hogy a *Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* című film nem valós, hétköznapi emberekről, hanem karikatúra hősoőrkről szól, és bár a hiány és veszteség meghatározó érzelmek a filmben, a film hangvétele játékosan allegorikus, mint amikor például Candy alámerül, hogy aztán ifjabbik énjével kerülhessen a fel-színre.²⁹

Powell és Pressburger háborús filmjei közül az *A Canterbury Tale* (*Canterbury mesék*, 1944) árul el hitvallásukból tán a legtöbbet. Ahogy a II. világháborúban a bombázásoktól és a gazdasági megszorításoktól megtépzott és megfáradt Nagy-Britanniának mielőbb szüksége volt egy háború utáni jobb világ reményére (amely az 1942 végén készült „Beveridge-jelentés” kapcsán körvonalazódó jobb és igazságosabb világ, a jóléti állam alapjainak felvázolásában manifesztálódott), a mozinézőknek is szüksége volt belekapaszkodni a háborús győzelem reményébe a sok nehézséget leküzdő többszáz éves és dicsőséges angol történelem és kultúra filmes felidézésével.

Takács Ferenc kiemeli, hogy az *A Canterbury Tale* krimi-történet ürügy csupán Pressburgernek valamiféle „szemérmes szerelmi vallomásra Anglia iránt, ahol a tizenegyedik századi Geoffrey Chaucer *Canterbury mesék* című művében leírtak huszadik századi jelenvalósága, az élet mint állandóság és folyamatosság jelenik meg.”³⁰ James Chapman szerint a kettős idősíkon futó film (a film narratívája a középkort és a II. világháborút idézi) a mitikus angol táj szépségére és állandóságára épül, és a nézők történelmi-kulturális emlékezetére apellál. Powell maga a filmről szintén úgy nyilatkozott James Chapman szerint, mint amely azt a hagyományos angol festői és kulturális tájat mutatja be, amiért érdemes élni, harcolni, és akár még meg is halni.³¹

A filmben az angol táj szelíd szépsége, a falusi élet és munka tartalmas teljessége jelenik meg, az „angolság”, szinte misztikum és már-már vallásos érzület. Anglia olyan helyként jelenik meg, ahol csodák is történnek, és ahol végül minden rendbe jön. A film a lelki-spirituális megújulás meséje, és a csodás megújulás csodáiról szól. A tudományos előadásaira mintegy a figyelmet felhívandó, a tudomány védelmében „gonosz módszereket” alkalmazó, ifjú hölgyek hajára ragasztót dobó Thomas Colpeper (*the glueman*, Eric Portman) nem igazi ördögi figura azonban, hisz a film végén megkedveli a három vándort.

A film többek közt az emberi-társadalmi összefogás fontosságára, és a tudomány ellentmondásaira és felelősségére hívja fel a figyelmet. A filmbeli *Canterbury katedrálisa*

²⁸ Powell 1986, 399.

²⁹ Christie 1994, 3.

³⁰ Takács 2009, 37.

³¹ Chapman 2005, 111–112.

pedig nem csupán a csodák helyszíne és egyben a Powell–Pressburger szerzőpáros II. világháborús angol győzelembe vetett hitének közvetítője, szimbóluma, de a három, különféle kulturális, nemi és társadalmi háttérű főszereplő (egy angol nő, egy brit és egy amerikai férfi) zarándok barátsága metaforikusan a háborús összefogás szükségességét és annak megtérülését szimbolizálta 1944-ben. A zarándokok reményei, csodái és végső sikerük pedig komoly reménysugárt jelentett a háborútól kimerült és megtépzott Nagy-Britanniában.³²

Természetesen mindehhez szükség volt a brit film és mozi növekvő népszerűségére és látogatottságára is az 1940-es években. A számok önmagukért beszélnek: amíg 1940-ben közel egymillió mozijegyet adtak el Nagy-Britanniában, addig ez a szám 5 év alatt 1,632 millióra emelkedett. Ugyan főleg a 45 év alatti városi lakosság járt moziba más szórakozás hiányában, főként a nők, illetve az alsó középosztály és munkásosztály tagjai alkották a közönség nagy részét, de tán ők is voltak leginkább kitéve a háborús szenvedéseknek. Robert Murphy e számokat a későbbi mutatókkal összevetve (a háborút követően, 1950-re a brit mozinézők éves száma 58 millióra csökkent) arra a következtetésre jutott, hogy a II. világháború alatt méltán beszélhetünk „nemzeti” moziról, illetve a moziba járás és a buzdító filmek életbevágóan fontosak voltak.³³

A háború vége nem csupán általános megkönnyebbülést, de művészi fordulatot is hozott Powell és Pressburger pályáján, ahogy ez az 1946-os *A Matter of Life and Death* című filmből is kiderül. Szó szerinti fordításban a film címe Élet és halál kérdése lenne, ám a hivatalos magyar címe, *Diadalmas szerelem* elsődlegesen a filmbeli romantikus szálra utal. A filmet ugyanakkor az USA-ban *Stairway to Heaven* címen mutatták be, amely szó szerinti fordításban *Lépcső a mennybe* lenne, amely pedig elsődlegesen a film spirituális tartalmát emeli ki. Ez remek példa egy film különféle kulturális-történelmi és társadalmi kontextusban betöltött más-más szerepére, a filmkritikusok és a recepció kulturálisan eltérő hangsúlyaira. Mindez persze egyben felhívja figyelmünket a kulturális hangsúlyeltolódások létezésére, veszélyeire, illetve a film címeit fordítók felelősségére.

Az *A Matter of Life and Death* témája még háborús, egy angol pilóta a főhőse, akinek a La Manche-csatorna fölött lelőtték a gépét, de a feldolgozás módjában már nincs semmi a korábbi filmek propagandisztikus elemeiből. Ezek helyét a játékos fantasztiikum veszi át. A pilótának meg kellett volna halnia, de a mennyei hatalmak hibájából és gondatlanságából (avagy kegyelméből?) életben maradt, és esélyt kap rá, hogy a túlvilági bíróságot meggyőzhesse: életben is kell maradnia, hisz közben hangja alapján beleszeret a légiirányító kisasszonyba. A történet így aztán Takács Ferenc szerint színdramaturgiai értelemben is e világ és a túlvilág között ingázik, mivel a földi jelenetek színesek, a mennyiek viszont fekete-fehérek Fritz Lang *Metropolis*ának futurisztikus látványvilágát idézve.³⁴

32 Murphy 2009, 244.

33 Murphy 2009, 16.

34 Takács 2009, 37.

A II. világháború után készített sikeres Powell–Pressburger filmek közt találjuk a *Black Narcissus* (*Fekete nárcisz*, 1947), a *The Red Shoes* (*A vörös cipellők*, 1948), a *The Tales of Hoffmann* (*Hoffmann meséi*, 1951), az *Oh, Rosalinda!* (*Ó, Rosalinda!*, 1955), a *The Battle of the River Plate* (*Csata a Plate folyónál*, 1956), és az *Ill Met by Moonlight* (*Szerencsétlen találkozás holdfényben*, 1957) című filmeket.³⁵ A II. világháború utáni korszakban azonban propaganda és állásfoglalás helyett Powell és Pressburger filmjeiben már a „tisztá” művészet, a szigorúan önértékű látvány, a zenemű módjára megkomponált „abszolút film” jelenik meg, mely a szerzőpár sokoldalú kreativitását, művészi megújulási képességét már önmagában bizonyítja.

A „kései” Powell–Pressburger-filmek közül legpregnansabban három zenés film testesíti meg ezt a művészi programot és hitvallást: *The Red Shoes* (1948), az Offenbach-operából készült *The Tales of Hoffmann* (1951) és az *Oh, Rosalinda!* (1955), Johann Strauss *Denevére*nek filmadaptációja. Mindháromban a látvány uralkodik, az a fajta látvány, amely a filmen kívüli valóságban sehol sem látható, és csakis filmszalagon állítható elő.³⁶

Robert Murphy szerint is Michael Powell, mind Emeric Pressburger pályáján ez a korszak volt a csúcspont, innovatív, vizuálisan merész, látványos, megjelenítésben és elbeszélésben egyaránt szellemesen újszerű filmek sorát hozták közösen létre. Nemesen öncélú, „film-a-filmért”-filmek ezek, a díszlet, a kellék, a jelmez és a smink legapróbb részletei is mind ennek a szolgálatában állnak.³⁷

Pressburger forgatókönyvíróként kerülendőnek tartotta az irodalmias és túlbeszélt jelleget, mindazt, ami a filmes látványt pótolni próbálja, és nem csupán szolgálni és erősíteni. Powell visszaemlékezése szerint Pressburger meggyőződése volt, hogy „nincs történet [...] a film nem szavakból áll [...] hanem gondolatokból, érzésekből, meglepetésekből, feszültségből és véletlenből.”³⁸

Powell és Pressburger utolsó közös filmjét *Ill Met by Moonlight* (*Szerencsétlen találkozás holdfényben*) címen 1957-ben mutatták be, ezt követően Takács Ferenc megfogalmazása szerint „az ötvenes évek végére az angol filmben az „élet” győzött a művészet fölött, a „tisztá” filmszerűséget félretolta útjából a dokumentarizmus és a szociális realizmus új hulláma, Richardson, Anderson, Reisz, Schlesinger és a többiek iskolája.”³⁹

Az ötvenes évektől kezdve Powell kevesebb filmet rendezett, amik jóval kevésbé voltak sikeresek, így az *Archers* 1957-ben végül közös megegyezéssel megszűnt, a szerzőpáros barátságban szétvált, de életük végéig barátok maradtak. Néhány film erejéig azonban még együtt is dolgoztak, így közös munka volt a *They're a Weird Mob* (*Fura egy népség*, 1966) és a *The Boy who Turned Yellow* (*A fiú, akinek sárga lett a színe*, 1972) is.⁴⁰

35 IMDB, illetve Macdonald 1994, 24.

36 Trocan 2015.

37 Murphy 2009, 243.

38 Powell 1986, 611.

39 Takács 2009, 36.

40 IMDB; Murphy 2009, 245.

Powell később az *Archers*-korszak színvonalát többé már nem tudta hozni, csak kevésbé sikeres és egyre hűvösebben fogadott filmeket rendezett, ez alól tán a *Peeping Tom* (*Kamerales*) 1960-as fogadtatása volt némileg kivétel.⁴¹ Pressburger pedig még befejezett egy forgatókönyvet 1957-ben, amiből Julian Amies rendezett filmet, *Csoda a Sohóban* címmel, majd hosszú évekig inkább regényírással próbálkozott. Első regénye, a *Killing a Mouse on Sunday* (*Megölni egy egeret vasárnap*) 1962-ben jelent meg.⁴² Két évvel később ezt Fred Zinnemann *Behold a Pale Horse* címmel (*Ímé, egy sárgaszínű ló*, 1964) filmre vitte. A forgatókönyvet nem Pressburger írta, de talán éppen a Zinnemann-filmtől ismét kedve támadt a mozihoz: az ő munkája volt Richard Imrie álneven *A Crossbow-akció* (1964) című nemzetközi sztárparádés szuperprodukció forgatókönyve.⁴³

A hetvenes-nyolcvanas években ugyanakkor érdekes fordulat következett Powell és Pressburger recepciójában. Amerikai és európai rendezők egész sora talált ihletést Powell és Pressburger munkásságában, elsősorban a vizuális és narratív fantasztikum tekintetében. A Powell–Pressburger páros előtt tisztelgő filmrendezők névsora önmagáért beszél: Brian De Palma, Terry Gilliam, Peter Greenaway, Neil Jordan, Derek Jarman, Sally Porter, Francis Ford Coppola, Bernardo Bertolucci. Közéjük tartozik egyébként a kamaszkora óta *Archers*-rajongó Martin Scorsese is.⁴⁴

Martin Scorsese először 1975-ben találkozott Michael Powell-lel Londonban miután befejezte a *Taxisofőr* forgatását. Scorsese a Powell–Pressburger filmekben, történetekben a szerelem és a misztika finom ötvözetét szereti, például a *Blimp* filmben Wallbrook azt mondja Livesey-nek, hogy angol létére meglepően romantikus, ami találóan szimbolizálja, fejezi ki a film ars poeticáját is. Scorsese szerint a filmkészítés veszélyeire figyelmünket felhívó filmes műalkotások legjobbjai közé tartozik Fellini *8 és fél* című filmje mellett Powell *Kamerales* (*Peeping Tom*) című filmje is. Christie szerint érdekes művészi „tisztelgés” volt Scorsesétől, hogy egyik korai filmjében, a *Boxcar Berthában* (1972) szereplő két hobót Michael Powellnek és Emeric Pressburgernek hívják.⁴⁵

Ian Christie szerint Scorsese Powell és Pressburger iránti rajongása abból adódik, hogy filmjeik az amerikai filmek humorát az olasz filmek kecsességével és szépségével, hisztérikus hangulatával kombinálják, mégis egészen egyedien brit filmek maradnak, bár teljesen mások, mint a realista brit filmalkotások. Powell és Pressburger a legsikeresebb brit kísérleti filmesek voltak, meg tudtak maradni a rendszeren, a brit kereteken belül és mégis mások, egyediek lettek és maradtak.⁴⁶ Művészi érdemeiket Robert Murphy is elismeri, szerinte a brit filmkritikusok és filmtörténészek ugyanakkor még sosem ismerték el Powell és Pressburger valódi filmes érdemeit.⁴⁷

41 Trocan 2015.

42 Murphy 2009, 243.

43 Takács 2009, 37.

44 Christie 1994, xvi.

45 Christie 1994, xviii–xix.

46 Christie 1994, xix.

47 Murphy 2009, 9.

Vincze Teréz „társadalomkritikai tündérmeséknek” nevezte a Powell – Pressburger filmeket, és rámutatott arra a paradoxonra, hogy Powell és Pressburger filmjeiben „az az egységes, hogy nem egységesek.” Vincze szerint az egyik oldalon állandó törekvés látható a klasszikus realista elbeszélésmód fenntartására, másrészt folyamatosan jelentős teret kap a művész(et)i absztrakció, a húszas évek német expresszionizmusát idéző vizuális és gondolati anti-realizmus, a lélek felszín alatt rejtőző, racionálisan nem kontrollálható territóriumának, a misztikumnak és a fantáziának a realitással való szétválaszthatatlan összefonódása”. Vincze továbbá hangsúlyozza, hogy „stílusuk vizuálisan és tematikailag is állandó mozgásban van a realizmus és a fantasztikum között, miközben filmjeik általában erős szálakkal kötődnek konkrét kulturális, történeti, társadalmi jelenségekhez.”⁴⁸

Ez Pressburger többszörös kulturális identitásának és kötődéseinek, a magyar, a német és a francia filmiparban szerzett tapasztalatainak, az angol kultúra befogadásával szembeni nyitottságának és kreatív fantáziájának, illetve muzikalitásának éppúgy volt köszönhető, mint Powell kreatív képi és hiteles angol kulturális világának és kulturális nyitottságának, kettejük művészi összehangolásának, az *Archers* anyagi-művészi függetlenségének és a háborús filmek adta társadalmi fogadtatás ideiglenes védőernyőjének. Mindez a háború végével csökkent, majd tovaszállt, és a közös zenés filmek kivételével az 1950-es évek második felének szocialista realista művészfilmes törekvései mellett ez az irány megfeneklett és nem volt helyreállítható, Powell és Pressburger felett eljárt az idő.

Sarah Street szintén kiemeli a Powell és Pressburger filmek muzikalitását. A történetek alapjául sokszor egy zenemű vagy dallam szolgált.⁴⁹ Ez különösen a *Black Narcissus* (*Fekete nárcisz*, 1947), a *The Red Shoes* (*A vörös cipellők*, 1948) és a *The Tales of Hoffmann* (*Hoffmann meséi*, 1951) esetében nyilvánvaló. Bár a filmek a Vincze Teréz által is használt kifejezéssel élve „misztikus tündérmesékre” emlékeztetnek, Pressburger történetei vagy nem mindig tündérmesék, vagy megkérdőjelezzik azt az előfeltevést, hogy a tündérmesék mindig jól végződhetnek, mint az apáca halálával a *Fekete nárcisz* esetében.⁵⁰

A *Fekete nárcisz*hoz hasonlóan a *A vörös cipellők* története is a szépség és a szörnyűség (a horror), a realitás és a látvány (szürreális) ellentétének feszültségére épül. Vincze Teréz Susan Sontagot idézve hangsúlyozza, hogy a *camp*nek nevezett minőségben egyszerre érzünk vonzalmat az eltúlzott művésziesség iránt, ami ugyanakkor a fennkölt a neveltségéstől elválaszthatatlanná válik, amint a furcsán mozgó, harisnyanadrágos férfiakat, vagy a színpadi maszkot viselő szereplők ijesztő nagyközelijét figyeljük a filmben.⁵¹

Michael Powell önéletrajzában a művészetet nevezte a „végső célnak” (a „minden-nek”), amelyért még meghalni is érdemes, a *The Red Shoes* című film pedig ennek metaforája volt, hiszen a főszereplő balerina, Vicky a végén a művészet és a magánélet közti

48 Vincze 2009, 38–42.

49 Street 1997, 161.

50 Vincze 2009, 39.

51 Vincze 2009, 40.

meghasadtságában a vonat alá veti magát. Powell szerint amíg az 1940-es évek arról szóltak, hogy a szabadságért és a demokráciáért kellett meghalni, addig a háború végével a *The Red Shoes* új perspektívát nyitott: eljött az ideje, hogy a művészetért „haljon meg” az ember.⁵²

Sarah Street azt is kiemeli, hogy a Powell – Pressburger filmekben a zene mellett az angol és a skót táj metaforikus szerepe is nagyon fontos. Az *I Know where I Am Going* című filmben a skót felvidék urával tervezett házasságkötése helyszínére, Skóciába vonaton utazó Joan Webster (Wendy Hiller) belső vívódásai (még nem is ismeri személyesen leendő gazdag skót férjét, amikor az úton találkozik egy skót farmerrel, akivel egymásba szeretnek) során hangokat hall. E hangok az ipari táj látványával, realitásával keverednek, és ellenpontozzák a skót táj szépségét és tisztaságát, ami a békés természet (a táj) és a lélek, a lelki béke kontra materializmus antagonisztikus ellentétére is utalhat.⁵³

Powell és Pressburger mindketten a filmek producerei is voltak, hogy mások ne szőljanak bele az önálló alkotásaikba, mint azt az *Archers* kiáltványában láthattuk is. Pressburger némileg hatékonyabbnak bizonyult producerként, mert Powell nyers és szókimondó stílusa sok vihart kavart a filmiparban, amit Pressburger aztán igyekezett diplomatikusan lecsendesíteni, elsimítani. Művészi önállóságukat a Rank Organization vagy Arthur Rank égisze alatt is meg tudták őrizni. Bár a rendezésért főként Powell felelt, a forgatás alatt Pressburger is mindig jelen volt, hogy bármilyen változtatást a forgatókönyvben is lekövessen, elsimítson.⁵⁴

A forgatást követően Powell gyakran a skót hegyekben túrázva szellőztette ki a fejét, mialatt Pressburger a vágást felügyelte, zenészként (Pressburger korábban hegedült egy pesti zenekarban) főként a zene filmbeli szerepe, használata volt fontos számára. Powell visszatérte után viszont a film marketingje terén vetette latba tekintélyét és kapcsolatait, rendszeresen interjúkat adott filmes folyóiratoknak. A művészfilmeket általában rendezőik révén jelzik, ekként Pressburger neve gyakran csak mint a filmek forgatókönyvírója került megemlítésre, ugyanakkor maga Powell mondta számos interjújában, hogy filmjeit társa, Pressburger Imre nélkül nem tudta volna megcsinálni.⁵⁵

Egy hosszú, sokoldalú és színes nemzetközi művészpálya után Pressburger Imre 1988. február 5-én, 86 évesen lépett át a filmtörténet halhatatlanságába. Sírja utolsó lakhelyének, a kelet-angliai Aspall községnek a templomában található. Emeric Pressburger életrajzát unokája, Kevin Macdonald filmrendező (pl. *Egy nap szeptemberben*, 2000, *Az utolsó skót király*, 2007) írta meg, aki *Egy igazi angol úriember* címmel 1995-ben filmet is forgatott Miskolcon nagyapjáról.⁵⁶

Pressburger Imre tiszteletére 2007-ben szülővárosában, Miskolcon emléktáblát avattak, majd 2014-ben Pressburger (és Powell) emlékére Londonban a *Dorset House* falán is (ahol cégük, az *Archers* irodája volt 1942–47 közt) emléktáblát helyeztek el Martin

52 Powell 1986, 660, 610.

53 Street 1997, 165.

54 Powell 1986, 613, illetve Macdonald 1994, 192.

55 Powell 1986, 614, illetve Macdonald 1994, 193.

56 Macdonald 1994, illetve IMDB.

Scorsese kezdeményezésére. Amikor Kevin Macdonald 2013-ban ellátogatott a miskolci filmfesztiválra, a CineFestre, ő adta át az egyik fődíjat, amit éppen nagyapjáról, Pressburger Imréről neveztek el. Ezt követően Macdonald Miskolcon a Pressburger-émléktáblát is megkoszorúzta.⁵⁷

A két világháború között Londonban élő emigráns magyar filmes szakembereknek, a Korda fivéreknek (illetve Bíró Lajosnak) és Pressburger Imrének, Michael Powell szerzőtársának szerepe nem csupán a brit filmipar megizmosításában, hanem a nemzeti kultúra és identitás, a nemzeti összefogás és ellenállás erősítésében is megkérdőjelezhetetlen, a háborús játék- és propagandafilmjeik buzdítsái pedig indirekt módon a II. világháború megnyerésében is fontos szerepet játszottak, amikor az egyetlen szórakozás a mozi volt és filmjeiket több mint egy millióan láthatták. A Pressburger (és Powell) emléktáblák mind Londonban, mind Miskolcon erre is emlékeztetnek, ahogyan a Korda Sándorról és a Pressburger Imréről elnevezett rangos nemzetközi filmes díjak (BAFTA, CineFest) kiemelkedő művészi teljesítményeik emlékét szintén méltán őrzik.

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57 Brooks 2014, <https://bit.ly/2FT7O3b>, letöltve: 2017.12.16.; Köves 2009; illetve „Kevin Macdonald a CineFesten” in *Filmtett* 2009.09.01. <https://bit.ly/2UfvXFd>, letöltve: 2017.12.16.

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