

In Exile

BETWEEN RED AND WHITE: THE MOOD AND MIND OF HUNGARY'S RADICALS, 1919-1920

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Hungary, as is generally known, was particularly hard hit by the consequences of World War I. Not only was she associated with Germany and thus irreparably on the losing side, but the lost war released long simmering social tensions and energies, and facilitated the outbreak of subsequent revolutions. To boot, the country ultimately had to accept a humiliating peace treaty which paved the way toward Hungary's involvement in World War II. Though much of it is textbook knowledge, we may have to review some of the crucial points of Hungarian history in 1918-1920 to serve as a background to a devastating intellectual exodus that followed the post-war events.¹

The Great War was immediately followed by the 'Frost Flower Revolution' (October 31, 1918), preceding even the German armistice. Headed by Count Mihály Károlyi, a magnate and one of the few steady opponents of the war right from its beginning, the 1918 revolution was essentially geared toward a liberal transformation of Hungary from a largely feudal to a bourgeois-democratic system with well-known Radicals and Liberals including scholars and social scientists in the government. The liberal-democratic, occasionally leftist élite, the radical elements in early 20th century Hungarian politics, academia, literature, and the arts may have felt, at least for a brief period of time, that their long fight against the repressive régimes of pre-World War I Hungary for the modernization of the country had finally come to a successful and promising climax. Prime Minister turned President in the newly proclaimed Republic of Hungary, Count Károlyi promoted a much overdue land reform and cared for major social problems. He failed, however, to handle the extremely rapidly deteriorating international as well as domestic political and economic situation, and half-heartedly handed over power to the Communists, whom his government quite stubbornly and effectively oppressed until their sudden takeover on March 21, 1919.

The short-lived Hungarian 'Republic of Councils' (in Hungarian *Tanácsköztársaság*), was, indeed, a translation of the 'Soviets' and was largely imported from Soviet Russia by former Hungarian prisoners of war who spent

quite some time, eventually years in Russian POW camps during the great war where they were increasingly indoctrinated with the ideas and ideals of Communism. The 'Soviet' Republic of Hungary tried to realize Lenin's dream of a permanent, worldwide revolution: its actual leader, Béla Kun, as well as some of his associates, were in constant, sometimes even personal, touch with Lenin himself. The leaders of 1919 outdid those of 1918 in terms of radicalism, social engineering, and imported visionary utopianism, often completely detached from the realities of post-World War I Hungary. Theirs was a major social experiment turned into total disaster. Initially popular among certain groups of workers, poor people in general, and some intellectuals, the system succeeded in alienating not only the middle class but even the peasantry and ended up after 133 days with no social backing whatsoever. Its only visible success was a nationally popular effort to retake former Hungarian territories that by 1919 had become dominated by the Czechs, and its willingness to fight for Transylvania, occupied by Roumania, which used the political vacuum to move well into the heart of Hungary. By early August 1919 all was over, and Béla Kun's régime had to go.²

It is generally understood that many of the leaders in both revolutions, but particularly in the 1919 Republic of Councils, came from a Jewish background. About two third of the 'people's commissars' (as members of the government were then called) and their deputies were Jews. Jewish presence was particularly noted in the police forces and in cultural government. To appreciate and understand 1919 we must set it against the background of Jewish-Hungarian social history.

In little over two generations turn-of-the-century Hungary absorbed a vast influx of several hundred thousands of Jewish immigrants from mostly Russia and Russian or Austrian Poland. They were for the most part little tolerated or outright despised by the happier few who arrived earlier, any time between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century, somewhere from Moravia or other Westernized territories of the Habsburg Monarchy/Central Europe. An important part of them soon assimilated to the Hungarian traditions, learnt the Hungarian language and appreciated the dominant Hungarian culture, and became devoted to the nationalist sentiment that swept across the country during much of the 19th century. They had a very important role in building up the new Hungary of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1867-1918), her economy, her professional class, her culture and knowledge. They quickly entered politics, even Parliament, and the government. Just like their equivalents in Vienna, they received titles from the Emperor-King Francis Joseph I, entered the ranks of the nobility and some even the aristocracy. They produced and owned much of the new wealth and had very

considerable influence by the time when most of the newcomers from Galicia or Russia were just trying to make their very first move in their new country. It is almost natural that the two groups did not like each other and their internal conflicts also contributed to the end of what some like to call the 'love affair' between Jew and gentry in the Hungary of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.³

After the takeover of Adm. Miklós Horthy's white army in August 1919 and a succession of extremely right wing governments, Jew and Communist became almost synonyms. "The identification of 'the Jews' with 'godless revolution' and 'atheistic socialism,' characteristic of the Russian political class from 1881 to 1917, was now also largely accepted by the corresponding class in Hungary."⁴ Bolshevism was considered "a purely Jewish product," as Oscar Jászi put it in his reminiscences. Jews were punished for the Commune as a group.⁵ For quite some time, at least until Horthy was proclaimed Regent of Hungary on March 1, 1920, the country lived under the constant threat of extremist, sometimes paramilitary, commandos, who tortured and killed almost anybody, Jew or, often, non-Jew, who was said or thought to have been associated with the Béla Kun government, at any level or in any capacity. Intellectual leaders lost their jobs as a matter of course. Jewish students were repeatedly beaten. In Prague and Brünn [Brno] there were a lot of Hungarians, "indeed almost Hungarian colonies, of some 100-200 people" who in New York engineer Marcel Stein's memory "came away from Hungary not as Communists but as Jews".⁶ 1920 saw the introduction of a new bill (1920:XXV) which established a 5% quota for Jewish students to be admitted to universities. For anybody who was Jewish, or a noted liberal, or a radical leftist in politics, starting a career was becoming well-nigh impossible. There were only very limited ways to survive politically, economically, and intellectually; the safest way was to escape the country.⁷

On top of all this, Hungary was forced to sign the devastating Peace Treaty of Trianon (in the Grand Trianon Palace of Versailles), on June 4, 1920, which effectively transferred well over 2/3 of the territory of the former Kingdom of Hungary to mostly newly created or aggrandized, neighboring "nation-states" such as Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and "the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes" (later, as of 1929, Yugoslavia). The Hungarians of those territories, some three and a half million people, started immediately to have a very rough time. Once again, there was very little choice left to the Hungarian intellectuals or would-be intellectuals of those regions but to leave.

Budapest was frustrated, angry, and dangerous in the Fall of 1919. Leaders and members of the Radical Party felt particularly bitter and lost.⁸ A former cabinet minister under Count Károlyi and one of his few personal friends, the anti-Bolshevik, Radical Oscar Jászi⁹ had fled to Austria earlier in 1919. Jászi

(1875–1957), was a versatile and original social scientist, politician, “Minister Entrusted with the Preparation of the Right of Self-Determination for Nationalities Living in Hungary” in late 1918, professor at Oberlin College, Ohio, from the 1920s through his death; author of *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*. Jászi’s Hungarian friends included some of the best liberal and radical minds of early 20th century Hungary who centered mostly around the *Társadalomtudományi Társaság* (Society for Social Sciences) as well as its journal *Huszadik Század* (Twentieth Century) that was introduced by no less a patron than Herbert Spencer. Jászi and the *Huszadik Század* were indeed surrounded by a galaxy of outstanding sociologists, philosophers, art-historians, literary critics, most of whom left Hungary after 1918–1919 and made their reputation abroad. The spectacular list included Frederick Antal, Béla Balázs, Arnold Hauser, Georg Lukács, Karl Mannheim, Karl and Michael Polányi, Charles de Tolnay, and many others.

Jászi’s first marriage provided a good example of some of the social patterns of Hungarian Jewry. The gifted author and artist Anna Lesznai (1885–1966) came from a prominent, gentrified, upper middle class, Jewish–Hungarian family. Her grandfather was a celebrated doctor in the North-East of Hungary who distinguished himself during his fights against the cholera epidemic of 1831 and could even boast of personal relations to Hungary’s great patriot Lajos Kossuth. Lesznai’s father, Geyza Moscowitz de Zemplén was a rich landowner who gave important support to Count Gyula Andrassy, the first Hungarian Prime Minister in the new Monarchy (1867–1871) and later, more importantly, Austro–Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs (1871–1879). He received a title and was the only Jewish member of the discriminating aristocratic *Nemzeti Casino* (National Club).¹⁰ Anna Lesznai changed her name and took one from the family estate at Körtvélyes (today Hrušov in Slovakia) where she grew up. It is interesting to note that one of Anna Lesznai’s cousins was the eminent patron and man of letters Baron Lajos Hatvany.

Jászi’s sister Alice married the outstanding social scientist József Madzsar, a doctor, scholar and librarian working for the City of Budapest as well as an Adjunct Professor of the University of Budapest. Madzsar was a non-Jew.

Jászi’s own reminiscences clearly indicate his position, equally detesting “Bolshevism” as well as “the White Terror,” a critical stance typically shared by the Radicals of Hungary.¹¹ He soon came to the conclusion that “the mechanical State Communism of the Marxists cannot be a higher stage of development, as it would completely absorb the freedom and self-direction of the individual.”¹² Jászi provided the first scholarly and penetrating “critical estimate of the proletarian dictatorship” and demonstrated “the economic and

moral bankruptcy of the Soviet Republic".¹³ However, he was equally abhorred by the raging of the White Terror which he described as "one of the darkest pages of Hungarian history," and condemned the new régime, just as uncompromisingly, for "the complete suppression of popular liberties".¹⁴

The letters Jászi received in his 1919–1920 Vienna exile from family and friends in Budapest show most of the anguish, distress, and misery of the post-revolutionary period. Father Sándor Giesswein's letter to him reflected the Budapest mood in the Fall of 1919. "With us the atmosphere is like in the middle of July 1914 – were we not at the outset of Winter we would again hear the voice subdued in so many bosoms: Long live the war! This is what the Hungarian needs."¹⁵ The successful author and playwright Lajos Bíró received similar news in Florence from his friends in Hungary: "Letters from home keep telling me that everybody reckons with the opportunity of a new war by next Spring. The war is unimaginable, impossible, madness; but in Hungary, so it seems, it is the unimaginable that always happens."¹⁶ Jászi's brother-in-law, Professor József Madzsar added, "... the distant future is dark. The air is unbelievably poisoned, it feels as if in a room filled with carbon dioxide, one must get out of here, anywhere, otherwise it gets suffocating. Please write to me whether there is something toward Yugoslavia or whether or not something can be done in Czechoslovakia. There are serious negotiations here with the British and there is some chance toward Australia, the very best prepare themselves, it will be good company."¹⁷ Others also placed high hopes in newly established Czechoslovakia. Lajos Bíró, however, had a number of questions: "What do the Czechs say? How do they envisage the future? How does Masaryk? If they took an effort to give autonomy to the Slovaks, the situation would perhaps immediately ease. But until it is generally believed in Hungary, that revolting Slovakia can be reclaimed by a military gang, it is understandable if everybody is lured by the spirit that urges in fact to send that military band."¹⁸ On another occasion Bíró, with some characteristic bitterness and mockery, felt he had a bad choice in front of him when it came to Czechoslovakia: "If news about Horthy turn out to be true and he resorts to conscription and attacks the Czechs, then – then one can only shoot oneself in desperation over the fate of Hungary or else... one can volunteer to join Horthy's army."¹⁹

"To live here in [Buda]Pest today is very obnoxious, the uncertainty, that on anybody's petty accusations or charges you could get into prison, how nauseating," wrote the influential avant-garde artist Károly Kernstok.²⁰ The air was filled with fear. "Dénes Nagy resigned from the secretaryship of the Free School, *he is afraid as are most people*, he is anxious to keep his job in the [Ministry of] Public Food Supply"²¹ – an admirer of Jászi, Ambró Czakó,

informed him at the time. "I was also hit by clericalism, I lost my job (in the pedagogical institute)," he went on, "that is although the faculty nominated me three times in the first place, it was the secretary of the Calvinist department of the Christ[ian] Soc[ialist] Party who got the job. ... This is how I also remained without a job, but my backbone is uninjured and erect. ... It is a great pity, that the element which supported us in the progressive cause is – cowardly."²² "Béla Somogyi²³ was right when he said to me the other day: It is very bad that however outstanding a man Jászi is, there is no one behind him, as there is no radical bourgeoisie, only cowardly Jews. Though this is not true that way, but it does contain some truth. ... The Hungarians are indeed angry at the Jews, the clericals for Bolshevism, we on the other hand for their recent spineless behavior,"²⁴ – a reference to the lack of courage or simply willingness of Jewish intellectuals to rally against the White Terror of the Fall and Winter of 1919–20 and stand up against the "White" army of Adm. Miklós Horthy. Madzsar made the same point in a different way: "Should you return, you will find all the valuable people of the former Radical Party around you, the Gentiles without exception, ... the Jews are much more cowardly."²⁵ Anything but an anti-Semite, Jászi himself came quickly to the conclusion, "On the whole, the atmosphere of the Socialist parties is poisoned, made terribly Jewish through a grocery spirit. This should be cured in some way, as in the Church through the Reformation, since this current Social Democracy is unable to prepare the future."²⁶

The Freemasons of Hungary were also Jewish to a very considerable extent and Czakó blamed them as well for not doing anything, remarking: "[...]Balassa e.g. (for whom I have otherwise high regard!) has no courage to summon the :-s and the Symbolic Grand Lodge did not make a single step toward foreign lodges, particularly toward the French Grand Orient to support the Hungarian progressives."²⁷ Others were also giving up hope about Freemasons, and the Liberal daily *Világ* came under heavy criticism for its failing tenacity to represent basic Liberal values and its lack of moral strength. Early in December 1919 Lajos Bíró received firsthand information on Hungarian Freemasonry and the daily *Világ* when Dr. Arnold Hauser²⁸ arrived in Florence from Budapest. "I was most embarrassed and upset when he spoke to me about the tone of *Világ*," Bíró wrote. "He cannot exactly quote the articles but he says, *Világ* disavows even the revolution of October [1918]. If this be the case, it's most deplorable. The white terror does not last for ever, and how does *Világ* want to do politics later if it denies everything three times before the cock will crow?"²⁹ According to Hauser, Bíró continued, "Freemasons told him they support *Világ* only for *your* sake. That you should have a springboard also in the future... – I don't know how this stands. If it is the

case, the Masonry turned out to be much better than what I thought of it. To be frank, I expected friedrichism³⁰ [sic!] to spill over all around Podmaniczky Street, and if Freemasonry survives at all it will become one single 'Hungaria' Lodge. Had this been the case I wouldn't wonder. The opposite is a surprise to me."³¹ Bíró was so enthusiastic about the news Hauser brought from home that he seriously suggested to Jászi that by next Spring they could both return to Hungary, which was of course complete naiveté. Nevertheless, he repeated his encouraging news from Hauser to Jászi in just a few weeks. "I have not expected anything good from the Masonry. On the contrary, I expected them to become whiter than Friedrich³² and more hortist than Horthy³³ himself. Yet I was astonished to hear such news as were brought here by Mr. Hauser. There are some real men in Podmaniczky Street.³⁴ – It is a pity that only so few and it is also a pity that they are not enough to get also to Andrassy Street.³⁵ The way *Világ*³⁶ behaves is shameful and deplorable. I am afraid it will perish as a consequence of this and other things.³⁷ *Világ* made a lot of its former friends and readers unhappy". "A number of people come to me who are dissatisfied with Világ and Co, they would want a little more serious, combating approach"³⁸ – József Madzsar reported to Jászi.

The dangerous and often demoralizing ambience increasingly made people think about leaving the country. Emigration for Hungarians was not a novel idea: some 1.5 to 2 million people left the country between 1880 and 1914 for the United States. Few of these early emigrants were intellectuals, however. By 1919 the situation had changed. "Today it is good for any honest man to have a passport" – Mrs. Madzsar summarized the case in a late 1919 letter to her brother Oscar in Vienna. Many didn't wait to get a real one and used a fake: "...there are any number of people now trying to leave the country for various purposes with false passports," US General Harry Hill Bandholtz of the Inter-Allied Military Mission in Budapest reported in early January 1920 to the American Mission in Vienna.³⁹ A lot of people had little else in mind but emigration, leading Communists had no other option. Some people may have had mixed feelings about it, though, as Madzsar reported to Jászi, "Alkó (Jászi's sister Alice) is very nervous, she is terribly excited about my thinking of emigration, it is only yesterday that has value for her, and she looks forward to tomorrow terrified. And yet, this is going to be the end of it."⁴⁰ Mrs. Madzsar, however, was much more understanding. "[Husband] Józsi is strongly concerned with the idea of emigration, which can only be understood by those who went through all this, from March [1919] till now. But particularly the last 4 months. I did not believe that there could be anything which I detested more than Communism. ... Be that as it may, wherever we settle down, I only wish to live where you do. Though I can't deny, I would suffer

very much from leaving Hungary."⁴¹ The idea of emigration obsessed Madzsar entirely, this became his only dream. "There is one hope to keep me alive, perhaps one could emigrate. This is the only thing I can think of, and I start next Spring if there is just the tiniest opportunity to make a living somewhere else. I do not see this matter so impossible toward Serbia. I received some encouragement."⁴² Some of the people, like author Lajos Bíró, had already been on their way toward some unknown destination. Bíró (1880–1948), an acclaimed novelist, playwright, and journalist went on to become a success in Hollywood as a script writer for several films directed by fellow-Hungarian Sir Alexander Korda (1893–1956). Gloomy and forlorn as Bíró felt, he settled temporarily in Florence, Italy, and derived moral strength from Jászi's friendship to whom he wrote at the end of December 1919: "I am full of doubt and wavering, even my health was in terrible shape until very recently. I had unhappy and aimless weeks and in these deaf weeks I am sometimes inclined to commit moral suicides. In soul only, of course; one mentally breaks with everything, that is dear to him and says, this hopeless race, man, should be damned: he does not deserve anything else but what in fact happens to him."⁴³

Bíró was himself contemplating going over to the United States to work for Hungarian papers and discussed his plans with Jászi who harbored similar ideas already at that point. Bíró was successful and, unlike most Hungarian authors, was well-known even outside Hungary, yet, he felt uncertain about leaving Italy. "One or two of my plays will be soon shown and one or two of my novels published. Perhaps they also show one of my plays in London; if I happened to have success, that would at any rate facilitate my American trip. By any means I want to spend half a year there and want to learn English well enough to write for papers in English."⁴⁴ He just couldn't decide what to expect and kept himself open to both options: "I do believe that it will be possible to return home in the Spring (of 1920). Yet it would be good to keep the way open toward the West."⁴⁵ Others like Kernstok were also open to a measure of optimism and formulated the basic agenda with precision. "I don't see things lost myself, that is it all depends on what the great tendency is throughout Europe: *Byzantium or Rome*."⁴⁶

Bíró was optimistic about Jászi's own emigration plans, noting: "What you wrote about American plans is entirely convincing to me. That English-speaking America would give you as much as you modestly need or even a lot more is quite clear to me. My doubts concern Hungarian America. But I might be wrong even there. I think that the New York reporters would welcome me already on the ship, will write a lot of nonsense, in some sensationalist fashion, on what I may have to say; but this great reception will perhaps impress our good Hungarians to an extent that even they would behave like a man."⁴⁷ At

other times, however, writing again to Jászi, he felt "convinced that a few years would bring about the magnificent resurrection of your politics and that Károlyi would triumphantly return to Hungary but to this end, in my mind, both you and Károlyi must also choose the time when you start speaking up. For the moment, the best policy is silence."⁴⁸

Few if any of even the Liberals of Hungary could accept psychologically what had happened to the country and her borders in the treaty of Trianon (1920). Lajos Bíró's assessment of the political situation of partitioned Hungary was not just a personal one: it was, indeed, a statement for very nearly his entire generation. "I am very biased against the Czechs," Bíró admitted,

particularly because they are the finest of our enemies (and because their expansion is the most absurd). I think if I was in charge of Hungarian politics I would compromise with everybody but them. Here I would want the whole: retaking complete Upper Hungary, from the Morava to the Tisza [Rivers]. I don't know the situation well enough but I have the feeling that Hungarian irredentism will very soon make life miserable for the Czech state and that the Slovak part will tear away from the Czechs sooner than we thought. Then we can make good friends with the Czechs.⁴⁹

Bíró's vision proved to be prophetic in some ways though, as was fairly typical among assimilated Jewish-Hungarian intellectuals at the turn-of-the-century, he proved to be very much of a Hungarian nationalist when deliberating the partition of former Hungarian territories and their possible return to Hungary.

I don't know how you see the future, maybe you will consider my bias very ugly and dangerous. To me, I confess, any tool served well that would unite the dissected parts with Hungary. I feel personal anger and pain whenever I think for example of the Czechs deceiving the Ruthenland. I really think any tool is good that would explode this region out from the Czech state. I believe in general that Hungarian nationalism will now receive the ethical justification which she so far totally lacked; nations subjugated and robbed have not only the right but also the duty to be nationalistic. We must see whether or not the League of Nations will be an instrument to render justice to the peoples robbed. If yes, good. If not: then all other tools are justified. First everything must be taken back from the Czechs that they themselves took away, as this will be the easiest. Then from the Serbs. Finally from the Roumanians. This is going to be the toughest. But this will also happen, at the latest when Russia will pull herself together.⁵⁰

Nonetheless, Bíró felt personally very pessimistic about the prospects of returning to Hungary and thought, somewhat oddly but not untypically, that his Jewishness compelled him to demonstrate his Hungarian patriotism by way of making himself financially independent of Hungary.

I have settled for a long, long stay abroad. I hope I will be able to live here or elsewhere and make a living. I have a burning desire to make my personal economy completely independent from any financial source at home: I want to prove to myself that my painful love toward Hungary and the Hungarians is independent from what the Hungarian bookmarket can give me, just because I do not happen to be an engineer or a doctor but an author. – Sometimes I think that this feeling is a Jewish feeling, Ady⁵¹ might not even have such an idea. All the worse for me. To be a Hungarian is quite a problem. To be a Hungarian Jew is doubly so. To be a Hungarian Jewish author: this is the piling of pains by way of [Heinrich] Heine.⁵²

In virtual exile since before the Republic of Councils which he detested, Jászi did not feel more optimistic. In letters to Mihály Károlyi in the early Fall of 1919 he spelled this out very clearly. “The situation is undoubtedly dark” – he wrote from Prague. “Vienna is swirling again and rough. The whole of Europe is like a mortally operated man sick in fever, and poor Hungary, to boot, as Návay added, received a cadaverous poisoning.”⁵³ Jászi’s sister Mrs. Alice Madzsar made her brother particularly distressed by telling him that the “white” régime was by no means attacking Communists only.

In the University, [political] reaction is raging mostly in the school of medicine, led by Grand Master [Árpád] Bókai [Bókay]. ... The party started in the university faculty by first putting together a kangaroo-court with Bókai, [János] Bársony and I do not remember the third; the 4 professors of Jewish origin, Leo [Liebermann], [Rezső] Bálint, [Emil] Grósz, and [Adolf] Onody [Onodi] were ‘interrogated’ as defendants. [Baron Sándor] Korányi was spared with a view to the merits of his father. They voted after the interrogation and declared that the people in question are rehabilitated with flying colors except for Onodi against whom the process will continue... According to the blacklist compiled by [Professor Ernő] Jendrassik’s senior assistant Csika, the Adjunct Professorship⁵⁴ was taken from Józsi [József Madzsar], Lajos [Dienes], Pali Liebermann, Tibor Péterfi, [Miksa] Goldzieher, Jenő Pólya, [Sándor] Barron [Báron], Károly Engel and 54 people lost their job in the University. Among the Adjunct Professors as you can see there is not one Communist.⁵⁵

Madzsar himself wrote to Jászi to this very same effect about the purges in very early September adding that “their crime is mainly that they are Jews. They took my Adjunct Professorship without any hearing, and also from Pólya, Péterfi, Lajos Dienes, Goldzieher, Károly Engel and Pali Liebermann, as you can see, none of them is a Bolshevik, but this is now a good excuse to persecute all modern people”.⁵⁶ A little later, Madzsar repeated the phrase as if he found the point. “All modern people are persecuted, this company created a terrible atmosphere.”⁵⁷ No wonder that Jewish intellectuals in the Fall of 1919 were intimidated to a degree that they seemed, or, in fact became, “cowards”.

Alice Madzsar had hardly more encouraging news from other parts of the University of Budapest, "though the situation is perhaps milder than in the Medical School," she believed. "As I hear, [Manó] Beke, [Bernát] Alexander, [Géza] Révész, [Lipót] Fehér [Fejér] have to go.⁵⁸ On the suggestion of [Lajos] Lóci [Lóczy] the Hungarian Academy of Letters and Science declared that Jews can no longer be members."⁵⁹ Jászi received no better news from other intellectual quarters. "Action was taken in the [Municipal] Library against Józsi [József Madzsar], [Soma] Braun, Laci [László] Dienes, [Béla] Kőhalmi, Blanka Pikler. ... Poor Blanka, she was detained for 2 weeks, she, who just like us, despised these Communists. But at least she was not beaten. Terrible things go on in the police, in the Transdanubian area, everywhere. But you certainly know about these from the papers in Vienna."⁶⁰ Károly Kernstok was even more succinct about paradox of people with an anti-Communist record now going to the "white" prisons of Adm. Horthy's army all the same.

You know it was bad in the prison from the dirty worn out trousers to the prisoner-cap and the linen which witnessed the dream of prisoners, and from the rebuke, the kicking to the clearing of the table – [illegible word] we had a number of other pleasures like this, *pour compléter la biographie*. – Yet damn it, during the whole time I reproved the Commune, to peasant and gentleman and to Béla Kun. But you know the Hungarian country gentleman, who was reddest of them all, who remained and served the Bolsheviks, just as he did Károlyi, Tisza; this is how that country bumpkin wanted to deserve some praise.⁶¹

And yet, in the crestfallen mood of the Fall of 1919, after the fall of Béla Kun but before the consolidation of the Horthy régime, those at home hoped to get out while the émigrés hoped to get back. When Bíró tried to help his friend Jászi to find his way to the United States, he was desperate: "My heart is heavy when I write this letter. What misery and what sadness this is."⁶² And in four weeks, on Christmas Day, he added: "Sometimes I am tortured by unbearable homesickness."⁶³ This was not mellowed by some countries at all which wished to see the aliens out of their land and certainly denied jobs or other forms of livelihood. "... here in Switzerland thrusting the 'Usländers'⁶⁴ is just raging, so that a foreigner can hardly get here to some income, to boot, who is after this, will hardly be allowed in at all. ...your tendency is certainly right: emigrate."⁶⁵

The old animosities and personal, often petty, biases among the Hungarian Radicals were exacerbated and transferred even into the emigration. The Jászi circle for instance, partly at least because of its own mixed Jewish/Gentile, upper-class background, never liked the Polányis,⁶⁶ another significant group, and the division did a lot of harm to the chances of concentrated Radical-Liberal political action. The Polányi family is certainly one of the most outstanding in modern Hungarian intellectual history and a biographical note

is needed here to appreciate what follows. The Polányis have built up a truly remarkable and modern intellectual tradition. Of Russian-Jewish background, Cecilia Polányi, the mother of Michael and Karl and soon a widow, was the focus of a popular, largely though not exclusively Jewish intellectual circle. She was also an enthusiastic follower of Émile Jacques-Dalcroze and set up an "institute of eurhythmics"⁶⁷ in Budapest. She wrote for Liberal German papers in Budapest (*Pester Lloyd*, *Neues Pester Journal*), Vienna (*Neues Wiener Journal*), and Berlin (*Berliner Börsen-Courier* and the *Berliner Montagspost*). More importantly, she was one of the earliest feminists of Hungary and established and maintained, between 1912 and 1914, her own private "women college" called *Női Liceum*, which she interpreted as a kind of open university for Hungarian women. Its faculty included some of the best scholars, social scientists and artists of the day whose list adequately reflected the intellectual scope and horizon of the Polányi circle just before the Great War. The list of students indicated the social background of Mrs. Polányi's school, representing mostly rich, upper-middle-class, Jewish Budapest.

Family interests were truly encyclopaedic. One of "Aunt Cecile's" sons, Michael Polányi (1891–1976), was the distinguished physical chemist turned philosopher, first in Germany, later in Britain (*Personal Knowledge*); his brother Károly (Karl) (1886–1964), co-founder of the radical pre-World War I Galileo Circle in Budapest, became a pioneering economic historian/anthropologist in the United States (*The Great Transformation*, 1944; *Dahomey and the Slave Trade*, 1966) whose wife Ilona Duczynska (1897–1978) was also a leading figure in the radical movements of the early 20th century. Michael's son John C. Polanyi (b. 1929) received the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1986 in Canada. Several other members of the family were equally interesting and active.

Nonetheless, whatever their earlier or later record, Alice Jászi-Madzsar was particularly outspoken about Károly (Karl) Polányi and his followers and warned her brother against some possible cooperation with Károly in the United States that they seemed to have considered at that point.

As far as your American plans are concerned with Károly, though I know that nobody would take care of you with such devotion and friendship in an alien world, and this means a lot to me, yet I believe from a political standpoint it is a very mistaken step. Please don't be angry that I give you advice in political matters, but I perceive the atmosphere here; in the most liberal circles K[ároly] P[olányi] has already become a notion and I listened to discussions in which it was declared that they only do some work and bring sacrifices if the company will be positively devoid of [Károly] P[olányi]. Of course they themselves do not mean Károly himself, but the many chaos-minded, ill-mannered Jews who made up his entourage. ... Couldn't you rather stay with your first plan and go with Hock?⁶⁸

József Madzsar joined his wife in seriously attacking, in a separate letter, Jászi's plans to cooperate politically with Karl Polányi in the United States.

Our friends have been asking for several days whether or not it is true that you go to America accompanied by Karli [=Károly Polányi]? Of course I didn't take it seriously but it affected me in an unpleasant way. ... (1) It is unfortunate that the American plan is common knowledge, you still don't know the Polányis; (2) You couldn't have worse company in America than Karli; (3) All the plans of our friends concerning the future end with the *ceterum censeo*:⁶⁹ but without the Polányis! Those who would go for you into the fire make a proviso that the P[olányi] dynasty must not enter the club. There isn't a single Gentile among us (including myself) who would be once again willing to do any common work with any of the Polányis. ... I beg you in the name of all of us who believe that your time would come again not to make our work here at home impossible, don't alienate your best allies by exposing yourself again with a member of the P[olányi] dynasty. One cannot undertake this burden after their participation in the [Communist] dictatorship, not to speak about the damage done by their participation in the Radical Party.⁷⁰

This was more than just personal animosity against Karl Polányi, this was a dedicated attempt to draw the line between the Radicals and the Communists, between the two revolutions of 1918 and 1919, and to make the Radical-Liberal position clearer, devoid of all the extremities of both the Left and the Right. This included the avoidance of people discredited during what was commonly called the Commune. This became a running theme among Radicals and Liberals and distancing themselves from the memory of 1919 was certainly rapidly becoming an integral part of the new Progressive-Liberal agenda. A friend wrote to Jászi on the necessary changes some time during the Fall of 1919:

Czakó was here and we talked about the Free School and the Society for Social Sciences. They plan to reopen the Free School but the list of speakers is not good in my mind: mostly people who played a role during the Commune. This is not right today, an updated list and possibly a scholarly, almost purely scholarly direction is needed and it is not necessary to hurry with the start. In general, my feeling is, that the world, the public sentiment has changed very considerably, those who supported Hungarian progress up to now are disturbed; on the one hand they have a certain animosity against the progressive direction, on the other hand they do not like the contemporary state of affairs either. This mood makes a new, adapted method necessary. The old, excellent, aggressive, critical voice, dating back to some two years ago, is today out of place.⁷¹

It was certainly not the White Terror that created the "Jewish question" in 1919, it was already there, deeply embedded in early 20th century Hungarian society. There were of course biases of all sorts. The Polányi circle, typically, would only relate to Jews and was often convinced that everybody was, could

or should be, Jewish. This often severed their links with potential non-Jewish political allies. As a friend put it in mid-1921 writing to Michael and his family: "There is a new tenant in your apartment [in Germany], I don't know whether or not you know him, Sanyi [Sándor] Pap, a boy from Pozsony [today Bratislava in Slovakia], and he is not even Jewish. He has never been. None of his relatives have ever been. I don't believe the whole story; there is no such person in the world."⁷²

Whatever their faith, the drive to leave was imminent and pressing for thousands of people. Jews could evidently place no high hopes into a Hungarian higher education and a Hungarian career. Foreign universities and other institutions promised a good education and also perhaps a job. Good people freshly out of the then truly excellent secondary schools of the country started to gravitate towards German or Czechoslovak universities. Several of the latter also taught in German and the Hungarian middle-class of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Jew and Gentile alike, spoke German well. They brought it from home, learnt it at school, occasionally in the army or during holidays in Austria, and it now became their passport to some of the best universities of Europe. The papers of almost every major Hungarian scientist or scholar include requests for letters of recommendation to attend one or other of the fine German institutions. Already in Germany, Michael Polányi or Theodore von Kármán, for example, had been in constant contact with each other and with some of their best colleagues in Hungary and abroad and paved the way for many young talents who were unable or didn't want to stay in their native Hungary. This is partly how inter-war Hungarian émigrés started "cohorting" or "networking" at that early stage already and gradually built up a sizeable, interrelated community in exile.⁷³ The network of exiles often continued earlier patterns of friendship in Hungary.

Curiously enough, Vienna was not necessarily tempting. With his mother in Budapest and his adored brother Michael in Karlsruhe, Karl Polányi felt particularly bad about the place. Though he was recognized as an economist of some standing and soon became editor of *Der österreichische Volkswirt*, he complained bitterly about the ambiance of the city. "Intellectually this Vienna is a salt-desert, not even loneliness removes from someone the aggressive atmosphere of barrenness."⁷⁴ And again, he exclaimed in April 1920, "The spiritual Vienna is such disappointment, which is deserved to be experienced by those only who imagine the spirit to be bound to a source of income."⁷⁵

Germany was much more challenging. With all its sophistication and excellence, it was the dreamland of many to get a respectable degree or a fine job. Himself somewhat compromised under the Republic of Councils as a politically active student, young Leo Szilard found the Horthy régime "thor-

oughly distasteful, and dangerous.” “He thought he was in physical danger by staying because of his activities under the Béla Kun government.” He “was... afraid to come back. He stayed in Berlin.”⁷⁶ Szilárd first wanted “to continue my engineering studies in Berlin. However, the attraction of physics proved to be too great. Einstein, Planck, Von Laue, Schroedinger Nernst, Haber, and Franck were at that time all assembled in Berlin and attended a journal club in physics which was also open to students. I switched to physics and obtained a Doctor’s degree in physics at the University of Berlin under Von Laue in 1922.”⁷⁷

Already in Karlsruhe, Germany and on his way toward a career in Physical Chemistry, Michael Polányi was searching for a good job. He turned for help to the celebrated Hungarian-born Professor of Aerodynamics in Aachen, Germany, Theodore von Kármán, seeking his advice as to his future. Von Kármán himself came from a very distinguished, early assimilated Jewish-Hungarian professional family. Theodore went to study and work in Germany as early as 1908 and acquired his *Habilitation* there. By the end of World War I he already had a high reputation when, after a brief interlude in Hungary and some very superficially based accusations that he was a Communist, he quickly returned to Aachen in the Fall of 1919.⁷⁸

Young Michael Polányi’s questions to von Kármán about a job in Germany were answered politely but with caution. “The mood at the universities is for the moment most unsuitable for foreigners though this may change in some years, also, an individual case should never be dealt with by the general principles. ... To get an assistantship is in my mind not very difficult and I am happily prepared to eventually intervene on your behalf, as far as my acquaintance with chemists and physical chemists reaches. I ask you therefore to let me know if you hear about any vacancy and I will immediately write in your interest to the gentlemen concerned.”⁷⁹

Polányi’s Budapest University colleague and friend, Georg de Hevesy (1885–1966) chose Copenhagen. The prospective Nobel Laureate (Chemistry, 1943) who also came from a wealthy upper-middle class Jewish family was subjected to a humiliating procedure right after the Republic of Councils came to an end.⁸⁰ De Hevesy got his Associate Professorship (the title was actually called “Extraordinary Professor”) from the Károlyi Revolution and his Full Professorship from the Commune. He had a special task to perform with Theodore von Kármán in his short-lived, though influential job in the Ministry of Education as Head of the Department of Higher Education. De Hevesy tried to get enough money to equip the Institute of Physics at the University of Budapest with important new technology and materials that would also serve some other departments. Allegations were made that he used his

friendship with von Kármán to prepare the Institute of Physics for Kármán and the Department for Physical Chemistry for himself. He was charged to have been a member of the University Faculty Council during the Commune and to have received his Professorship from its government. He was dismissed and was even denied the right to teach at the University of Budapest.

In an important letter written just in the middle of his humiliating "trial" to Niels Bohr, Hevesy bitterly complained that "politics entered also the University... hardly anybody who is a Jew or a radical, or is suspected to be a radical, could retain his post." "The prevalent moral and material decay will I fear for longtime prevent anykind of successful scientific life in Hungary," Hevesy concluded and left Hungary in early March 1920.⁸¹

Others tried their luck in the German universities of Prague or Brünn (Brno) in newly created Czechoslovakia, where both good technical and regular universities were available and the language of teaching was German. Many had been natives of Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg), or the Slovak parts of former greater Hungary and spoke German as their mother tongue. Standards were high and the students were still closer to home. In an interview given in late 1989 in Columbia University in New York City, former Hungarian engineering student Marcel Stein vividly remembered the heated and dangerous atmosphere of late 1919 and early 1920 in Budapest. Though many continued towards Berlin-Charlottenburg, or Karlsruhe in Germany or, like the distinguished engineer László Forgó, toward Zürich, Switzerland, Marcel Stein remembered many of them to have returned to Hungary later.⁸² Though their actual number is unknown, the returnees were lured back to Hungary chiefly due to their linguistic isolation, their keenly felt separation from their families and friends, and, primarily, the gradually consolidating situation of Hungary in the mid-1920s.

Some of the best scientists, engineers, scholars, artists, musicians and professionals of all sorts, however, continued to leave Hungary in fairly large numbers in 1920 and later.⁸³ For many of them there was real danger involved in staying as they actively promoted the commune of 1919, like the future Hollywood star Béla Lugosi ("Dracula"), who left for the US in 1921, or film-director Mihály Kertész who became the successful and productive Michael Curtiz of *Casablanca*, *Yankee Doodle Dandy*, and *White Christmas*. For those who were actually members of the red government at some level like the philosopher Georg Lukács or the author and future film theorist Béla Balázs and many others there was simply no choice but to leave. Though Hungary became more civilized and less dangerous in the latter part of the 1920s, under the government of Count István Bethlen (Prime Minister between 1921–1931) and some of the heated issues of 1919–1920 subsided by the end of

the decade, the Radical agenda did no longer continue to have a wide appeal and lost momentum between totalitarian régimes of one sort or the other. Even the very best people had to realize how difficult it became, in the completely and suddenly changed international and national, political and social conditions of the immediate post-World War I period, to uphold Western ideas and ideals. The liberal agenda which looked back to almost a century in Hungarian history and which embraced formerly immigrant Jews as well as the ideals of modernization through much of the 19th century, was in many ways closed off. Interwar Hungary became a thoroughly conservative, nationalist, and "Christian" country. Though uncertain whether or not to leave their native Hungary, for many Radicals and Liberals their ambivalence was resolved by necessity alone: there was no choice left to most of them.

The varied and repeated shocks of the 1918–1920 period reverberated for decades and became the fundamental historical experience of several generations. Even the much more settled ambience of the late 20s found little response among émigré intellectuals. When Count Kuno Klebelsberg, Minister of Religion and Education in the government of Count István Bethlen, visited the University of Göttingen, the famous German mathematician Richard Courant, director of the University's mathematics institute, went out of his way to praise the Hungarian mathematicians and scientists he knew in and out of Hungary including Lipót Fejér, George Pólya, Michael Polanyi, John von Neumann, Theodore von Kármán, and future Nobel Laureate Dennis Gabor, who turned out to be all Jewish. In response, Count Klebelsberg suggested that Polanyi had been invited to return to Budapest whereupon one of the German dinner-guests expressed his doubt whether or not he would accept the invitation. The Minister gave a characteristic answer that became a family legend in the Polanyi circle: "Wenn Vaterland ruft, kommt Ungar!" (When Fatherland calls, the Hungarian comes.)⁸⁴ Just at the same time, in a Sunday leading article of a popular Hungarian paper in 1929, the Minister publicly and emphatically invited the émigré Hungarian scientists, economists, medical and technical experts to return home. For most of them it was too late: his appeal was ill received. Leo Szilard and future Nobel Laureate Eugene Wigner saw and even signed Michael Polanyi's copy of the Minister's article in the daily *Pesti Napló* dramatically urging them to return. They chose to stay.⁸⁵

Hungary was about to lose one of her finest generations.

Notes

*** This article is based on archival research done in the United States between 1987 and 1991, as well as information that came down to me through my grandmother and her friends who knew most of the people presented and discussed here. Most of it is intended to serve as a chapter of my forthcoming book, *The Exodus of the Mind: Hungarian Intellectual Migration to the US, 1919–1941*. Parts of it were used in a paper presented at the international conference on “Culture and Society in 20th Century Hungary,” in the University of California, Santa Barbara, April 12, 1991. I am grateful to the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, PA and to the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center of the University of California, Santa Barbara for their generous support. I particularly appreciate a grant by The Rockefeller Foundation that provided a unique opportunity to complete this article in its Study and Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy (May 1992).

The quotations were translated from documents originally written in Hungarian unless otherwise indicated. I deliberately tried to make the translations convey the flavor of the originals.

1. For a recent general introduction to the period in English see Tibor Hajdú and Zsuzsa L. Nagy, “Revolution, Counterrevolution, Consolidation”, in: Peter Sugar, Peter Hanák and Tibor Frank, eds, *A History of Hungary* (Bloomington–Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 295–318.
2. György Borsányi wrote compellingly on the first year of the (mainly Communist) Hungarian emigration in his article, “Az emigráció első éve,” *Valóság*, 1977/12, pp. 36–49.
3. For some brief but very succinct comments see Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States. An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 389–390, 394, 426.
4. Hugh Seton-Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
5. Oscar Jászi, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1969), pp. 122–124, quote p. 123.
6. Interview with Marcel Stein at Columbia University, New York City, November 29, 1989.
7. The first major introduction to this vast territory of Hungarian intellectual emigration after World War I is Lee Congdon’s magisterial *Exile and Social Thought. Hungarian Intellectuals in Germany and Austria, 1919–1933* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), an important book. My own research was done parallelly to Dr. Congdon’s and has a different scope and ambition, largely focusing on people who ended up in the United States.
8. On the differences between Radicals and Socialists see Imre Csécsy, ‘Radikalizmus és szocializmus’ (Radicalism and Socialism) in: *Radikalizmus és demokrácia* (Radicalism and Democracy). *Csécsy Imre válogatott írásai* (Szeged, 1988), pp. 47–49.
9. Péter Hanák, *Jászi Oszkár dunai patriotizmusa* (Budapest: Magvető, 1985); see also Hugh Seton-Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 166–167. Cp. the rich literature by Tibor Hajdú, György Litván, Zsuzsa L. Nagy, Attila Pók, and János J. Varga.
10. Anna Lesznai, *Kezdetben volt a kert* (First There Was the Garden) (Budapest, 1966).
11. Oscar Jászi, *op. cit.*, Chapter IX.
12. Oscar Jászi, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
13. Oscar Jászi, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

14. Oscar Jászi, *op. cit.*, pp. 160, 177.
15. Sándor Giesswein to Oscar Jászi, Budapest, November 24, 1919, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5. (Original in Hungarian.) Sándor Giesswein (1856–1923) was co-founder of the Christian Socialist movement in Hungary, and a courageous and outspoken Member of Parliament.
16. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Firenze, December 25, 1919, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5. (Original in Hungarian.)
17. József Madzsar to Oscar Jászi, Budapest, November 6, 1919, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5. (Original in Hungarian.) József Madzsar (1876–1940) was a versatile doctor and social activist, editor and author who moved from a Radical background toward the Communist Party in later life.
18. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Firenze, December 25, 1919, *loc. cit.*
19. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Firenze, December 4, 1919, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5.
20. Károly Kernstok to Oscar Jászi, Budapest, October 27, 1919, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5.
21. Ambró Czakó to Oscar Jászi, Budapest, November 28, 1919, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5. (Emphasis added.)
22. *Ibid.*
23. Béla Somogyi (1868–1920) editor of the Socialist daily *Népszava*, killed by an extremist military commando for his open criticism of the white terror.
24. Ambró Czakó to Oscar Jászi, Budapest, November 28, 1919, *loc. cit.*
25. József Madzsar to Oscar Jászi, Budapest, November 6, 1919, *loc. cit.*
26. Oscar Jászi to Mihály Károlyi, Wien, Austria, September 21, Boston University, Mugar Memorial Library, Special Collections, Károlyi Papers, Box 2, Folder 4/II/3.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Arnold Hauser (1892–1978), internationally recognized sociologist of art, author of critically acclaimed *The Social History of Art*.
29. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Florence, December 4, 1919, *loc. cit.* Biblical reference at the end of the passage from John 13:36.
30. See Note 22.
31. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Florence, December 4, 1919, *loc. cit.*
32. István Friedrich (1883–1958), right-wing politician, very briefly unsuccessful Prime Minister of Hungary after the Fall of the Béla Kun régime in August–November 1919.
33. Miklós Horthy (1868–1957), Admiral and last Commander in Chief of the Austro–Hungarian Navy; aide-de-camp to Austro–Hungarian Emperor–King Francis Joseph I. Regent of Hungary from March 1, 1920 to October 15, 1944.
34. Reference to headquarters of Hungarian Freemasons' Liberal Lodge.
35. Reference to the editorial offices of *Világ*, a liberal paper that apparently did not distance itself enough from the incoming right-wing Horthy-régime.
36. *Világ* (1910–1926) was the daily paper of Oscar Jászi's party and circle, the Radicals; it turned against the Left and particularly the Communists from 1918 onwards.
37. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Firenze, December 25, 1919, *loc. cit.*
38. József Madzsar to Oscar Jászi, Budapest, November 6, 1919, *loc. cit.*
39. Gen. Harry Hill Bandholtz to Albert Halstead of the American Mission, Vienna, Austria, Budapest, January 3, 1920.
40. *Ibid.*

41. Alice Madzsar to Oscar Jászi, (Budapest), n.d. (Most probably November 1919), Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5.
42. József Madzsar to Oscar Jászi, (Budapest), November 19 (1919), Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5.
43. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Firenze, December 25, 1919. *loc. cit.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Firenze, December 4, 1919, *loc. cit.*
46. Károly Kernstok to Oscar Jászi, Budapest, October 27, 1919, *loc. cit.* – Emphasis added.
47. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Firenze, December 4, 1919, *loc. cit.*
48. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Firenze, November 24, 1919, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. Endre Ady (1877–1919), generally considered the greatest poet of 20th century Hungary.
52. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Firenze, November 24, 1919, *loc. cit.*
53. Oscar Jászi to Mihály Károlyi, Praha, October 15, 1919, Boston University, Mugar Memorial Library, Special Collections, Károlyi Papers, Box 2, Folder 4/II/3.
54. Equivalent to a German *Privatdozentur*.
55. Alice Madzsar to Oscar Jászi (Budapest), n.d. (end of 1919?). – Several of the doctors mentioned here left Hungary at some point, e.g. Miksa Goldzieher for the US, Károly Engel for Australia, Tibor Péterfi for Czechoslovakia and Germany. Liebermann committed suicide in 1938.
56. József Madzsar to Oscar Jászi (Budapest), September 3, 1919, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5.
57. *Ibid.* – Emphasis added.
58. Eminent professors of the School of Philosophy, of Jewish origin.
59. Alice Madzsar to Oscar Jászi (Budapest), n.d. (end of 1919?).
60. Alice Madzsar to Oscar Jászi (Budapest), n.d. (end of 1919?). – Emphasis added.
61. Károly Kernstok to Oscar Jászi, Budapest, October 27, 1919, *loc. cit.* The same idea emerges in Jászi's *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary*, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
62. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, Firenze, November 27, 1919, *loc. cit.*
63. Lajos Bíró to Oscar Jászi, December 25, 1919, *loc. cit.*
64. Swiss-German for 'foreigner'.
65. Károly Méray-Horváth, Davos-Platz, Switzerland, December 9, 1919, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5.
66. Cp. Női Liceum. Magyar nők tudományos továbbképző tanfolyama, 1912–1913, 1913–1914 ("Értesítő" and "Munkaterv"), (Budapest, 1913). Ilona Duczynska and Zoltán Horváth, "Polányi Károly és a Galilei-Kör" (Károly Polányi and the Galileo Circle), *Századok* 1971/1, pp. 89–104; and Lee Congdon, "Karl Polányi in Hungary, 1900–19," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 11, No. 1 (1976), pp. 167–183; Hans Zeisel, "Karl Polanyi," in: David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 12 (The Macmillan Co & The Free Press), pp. 172–174.
67. Eurhythmics = the representation of musical rhythms in movement.
68. Alice Madzsar to Oscar Jászi (Budapest), n.d. Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5. János Hock (1859–1936), author, orator and Member of Parliament, left Hungary after the declaration of the Republic of Councils.
69. Famous phrase from the speeches of the Elder Cato (234–149 B.C.) who often repeated them in his outbursts against Carthage.

70. József Madzsar to Oscar Jászi, Budapest, December 28, 1919, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5.
71. Jenő (?) to Oscar Jászi (Budapest), n.d. Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Oscar Jászi Papers, Box 5.
72. Gyuri (?) to Michael Polányi and family, Wildbad, Germany, June 12, 1921, University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, Special Collections, Michael Polányi Papers, Box 1, Folder 14. – The perception of Jewish intellectual ubiquity was not quite a delusion or self-deception. The professional élite in Hungary had very frequently intermarried with Jewish families and the Gentile author Lajos Zilahy provided an unusual and unexpected explanation, in his unpublished autobiography: “Christian intellectuals met with rigid, almost hostile reactions from their families and relatives. This is the explanation of the fact that some seventy percent of them – beginning with Jokai, the greatest novelist in the last century up to the youngest generation in literature, the composers Bela Bartok and Zoltan Kodaly, prominent actors and painters – married Jewish girls, not for money, but for the warmer understanding of the Jewish soul for their professions.” Lajos Zilahy, *Autobiography*, Boston University, Mugar Memorial Library, Lajos Zilahy Papers, Box 9, Bolder 5. (English original.) – Mixed marriages in fact have remained a basic pattern in Hungarian middle-class and upper-middle class society and have added to its creativity and intellectual intensity.
73. Mihály Freund to Michael Polányi (Budapest), May 4, 1920; Imre Bródy to Michael Polányi, Göttingen, March 24, 1922; both in the University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, Special Collections, Michael Polányi Papers, Box 17.
74. Károly Polányi to Michael Polányi, Küb/Semmering, n.d. University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, Special Collections, Michael Polányi Papers.
75. Karl Polányi to Michael Polányi, Vienna, April 24, 1920, University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, Special Collections, Michael Polányi Papers, Box 17, Folder 2. (Original in German.)
76. “William Lanouette on His Leo Szilárd Biography.” Gábor Palló in Conversation with William Lanouette, *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, XXIX, No. 111 (Autumn 1988), pp. 164–165. A missing link: Szilard received a certificate from Professor Lipót Fejér dated December 14, 1919, testifying that he won a second prize in a student competition in 1916, and he presented this document to a notary public in Berlin–Charlottenburg on January 3, 1920. This is how we know, almost exactly, when he left Hungary. Cp. *Beglaubigte Abschrift*, signed by the Notary Public Pakscher, Charlottenburg, January 3, 1920, University of California, San Diego, Mandeville Special Collection, MSS 32, Box 1, Folder 12.
77. Leo Szilard, *Curriculum Vitae (Including List of Publications)*, August 1956, updated June 23, 1959, University of California, San Diego, Mandeville Special Collections, MSS 32, Box 1, Folder 2.
78. For the 1919 incident in Hungary see Theodore von Kármán with Lee Edson, *The Wind and Beyond: Theodore von Kármán*, Chapter 11: “Revolution in Hungary” (Boston-Toronto: Little, Brown & Co, 1967), pp. 90–95.
79. Theodore von Kármán to Michael Polányi, Aachen, March 17, 1920, University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, Special Collections, Michael Polányi Papers, Box 17.
80. The history of the “trial” of De Hevesy in late October 1919 is resourcefully reconstructed by Gábor Palló, “Egy boszorkányper története. Miért távozott el Hevesy György Magyarországról?” (The History of a Kangaroo Court: Why Georg de Hevesy Left Hungary?) *Valóság* XXVIII (1985), No. 7, pp. 77–89.
81. George Hevesy to Niels Bohr, Budapest, October 25, 1919, Bohr Scientific Correspondence, Archive for History of Quantum Physics, Office of the History of Science and Technology, University of California, Berkeley, English original.

82. Marcel Stein in conversation with the present author, November 29, 1989, Columbia University, New York City. In 1990–91 I was granted several very valuable interviews by Andrew A. Recsei, a distinguished chemist now living in Santa Barbara, CA, another former Hungarian student who also studied in Brünn in exactly the same period of time.
83. For the earliest and consequently incomplete list of important people who left Hungary in or right after 1919–1920 see Oscar Jászi, *op. cit.* pp. 173–174.
84. Mrs. Gábor (Nusi) Szegő to Mrs. Michael Polanyi, Königsberg, Prussia, May 15, 1929.
85. Count Kuno Klebelsberg, “Szabad-e Dévénynél betörnöm új időknek új dalaival?” (May I break in with the new songs of new times at Dévény – a reference to Endre Ady’s famous poem from his *Új versek*, 1906), *Pesti Napló*, Budapest, May 5, 1929.