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Watson Kirkconnell: Translator of Hungarian Poetry and a Friend of Hungarian-Canadians

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Friends of Small Nations

One of history's lessons is that, without outside help, small nations and weak minorities often become the victims of international or national political conflicts as the Second World War amply illustrates. Contrary to common belief, the victimization of defenceless groups has not been confined to totalitarian states; often democratic societies are also guilty. Even the history of Canada, one of the world's most peaceful countries, contains examples of unprovoked acts against minorities. One has only to recall the treatment of British Columbia's Japanese residents during World War II.

In the history of mankind the sufferings of small nations and minority groups have been prevented or diminished through help coming from one or more of the great powers. At other times, influential individuals have come to their aid. True, most of the time help was contingent on economic or political concessions. Occasionally, however, aid had no strings attached. That influential statesmen, publicists and academics have been able to do a great deal for small nations and minorities, has been demonstrated many times in history. Two British publicists, R.W. Seton-Watson and H.W. Steed, for example, effectively promoted the cause of Czech independence during the closing years of the First World War. Hungary too, has had such influential sympathizers abroad. One of these was the English newspaper magnate, Lord Rothermere. Another was Professor C.A. Macartney, the Oxford historian and the author of several books on Hungarian history. It is less commonly known in the world, and not even in Canada, that Hungarians, especially Hungarian-Canadians, also had a Canadian friend: Watson Kirkconnell, teacher, scholar, poet and publicist who until his recent death lived in retirement in the quiet university town of Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

Kirkconnell's work in the field of verse translation from the Hun-

garian is generally known by the educated public in Canada and abroad. What is much less known is the fact that his activities in connection with things Hungarian transcended the realm of poetry and literature and had political as well as social significance. His non-literary contribution to the Magyar cause has not been the highly visible variety. Whereas Seton-Watson's and Steed's pro-Czech efforts helped in the creation of Czechoslovakia, no such cataclysmic events resulted from Kirkconnell's work on behalf of Hungarians. But this should not detract from the significance of his work. Since his accomplishments cannot be appreciated without an understanding of the general Canadian context and the development of the Hungarian community in Canada, it is to these themes we must turn.

A Young Nation

The Canada of Kirkconnell's early years was a young, developing nation, characterized above all by a growing spirit of nationalism. Although Canada was bi-national, French and English having co-existed here for many generations, Canadian nationalism was not one that transcended ethnic and cultural differences. In fact, it may be said that two distinct nationalisms existed in Canada at the time, one among English-speaking Canadians, and a different one among French-speaking Canadians. This left no room for Canadians whose background was neither English nor French. One prominent English-Canadian, Principal George M. Grant of Queen's University, remarked at the time that "in order to be Canadian an inhabitant of the country had to be 'British';"[1] while the chief spokesman for French Canada at the time, Henri Bourassa, complained that it was never the intention of the founders of Canadian Confederation to turn this "partly French and partly English country" into a land of refuge for the "scum of all nations."[2] The "British" nationalism of English-speaking Canadians, the "bicultural" national vision of Bourassa and his followers, and the Quebec-centered parochialism of other French-Canadians left little room for the masses of immigrants that were arriving to Canada from central and eastern Europe.

But the immigrants kept coming. Over-population, economic problems, and social pressures forced them to leave their native lands and seek new opportunities in what was the last great frontier of agricultural settlement in the New World: the Canadian prairies. Foresighted statesmen in Ottawa, such as Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior from 1896 to 1905, welcomed east and central European agriculturalists as

the best possible settlers who would in time create prosperous farms out of the prairie wilderness.

The appearance in the Canadian West of large groups of strangely dressed people with stranger names, speaking unintelligible languages and following alien traditions, alarmed many English Canadians, just as their influx alarmed Bourassa. Was Western Canada destined to be dominated by people incapable of adjusting to Canadian traditions and developing loyalty to Canadian institutions and government? Such fears, expressions of nativistic antagonisms towards the immigrants, were rampant in the Canadian West. The First World War, a conflict which raised human emotions to unprecedented heights, served to reinforce these hatreds, especially toward immigrants who came from the lands of the Central Powers. During the war, these newcomers were designated as "enemy aliens". Because Austria-Hungary was one of the principal Central Powers, Hungarian-Canadians fell into this category.

The hatreds caused by the war were still not forgotten when Canada plunged into one of the worst crises of its domestic history, the Great Depression. Starting in 1929, the crash caused unparalleled hardships for most Canadians. During the worst years of the economic crisis one out of every four adults was unemployed. Thousands of worried men wended their way through the country, going from factory to factory, mine to mine, seeking non-existent jobs. Prairie farmers were also badly hurt. The price of farm products hit all time lows. In 1932, wheat sold for only 32 cents a bushel, its lowest price in centuries.[3] The drop in farm income was aggravated by a series of natural disasters. For many years, severe drought plagued the southern portions of Alberta and Saskatchewan, causing not only near-total crop failures, but also and more importantly, soil erosion. The drought, the soil erosion and other natural calamities such as grasshoppers caused nine successive years of almost total crop failures in some areas of the prairies.[4] The chronic and nation-wide unemployment, the collapse of the West's farm economy, resulted in a bitter competition for jobs and all means of income, a struggle in which newcomers often ended up as losers.

The Depression was hardly over when the Second World War began. The emotional strain of the conflict rekindled some of the prejudices built up during the First World War. Hungary again found herself in the camp at war with Canada. Nevertheless, during this war the lot of Hungarian-Canadians was better than it had been during 1914–18. The Second World War was followed by the Cold War. Fortunately, the domestic situation, while not free from economic recessions accompanied by unemployment, brought much greater economic security for

the vast majority of Canadians. The postwar decades also witnessed the gradual decline of nativistic antagonisms against immigrant ethnic groups. At long last, "New Canadians" could enjoy a greater share of the wealth, and a greater degree of security that their new homeland had to offer.

The Magyars in Canada

The first small groups of Hungarians arrived in Canada in the second half of the 1880's, but it was not until the turn of the century that they began to migrate to this country in significant numbers. According to the very unreliable statistics of the 1911 census, there were 11,648 of them in Canada that year.[5] The First World War stopped their influx, but the gates were opened again during the 1920's. Between 1924 and 1930, a veritable flood of Magyars came to Canada, especially to the prairie provinces, driven by a mixture of political and economic considerations. Following the Great War, the peacemakers dismembered historic Hungary. The economic situation of truncated Hungary was very weak. She had some industries but very little in the way of mineral and energy resources; and she had much agricultural land but few markets for produce. But worst off were those Magyars whose homes were transferred to the successor states: Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and an enlarged Romania. Hungary could absorb only a few of these unfortunate Magyars. The United States, the traditional recipient of Hungarian immigrants prior to 1914, virtually closed its gates to East European migration after the war. Canada remained one of the few countries to admit Hungarians.

The victims of the postwar dislocations in central Eastern Europe began arriving in Canada in the mid-1920's. Although many of these newcomers were really political refugees, they were not admitted as such. They came as agricultural labourers, even though some of them had been craftsmen, landowners and members of the professions. Along with these refugees from the successor states came many poor peasants and landless farm workers who left impoverished Hungary mainly for economic reasons.

During the Great Depression, Canada's gates were once more shut to large-scale immigration; but return to normalcy after the Second World War meant that the country could again admit a great number of immigrants. In this period Hungarians came in two distinct waves. At the end of the 1940's, the so-called "displaced persons" arrived. They were political exiles of the war and of its immediate aftermath. Less

than a decade later they were followed by the "refugees," the participants and victims of the 1956 anti-Communist uprising in Hungary. Their arrival swelled the number of Hungarians in Canada to 126,220 by the time of the 1961 census.

The Struggle for Survival

Until recently, the lot of Canada's Hungarian immigrants had been difficult. The early settlers had endured many hardships and deprivations before getting their homesteads established. Although after many years of hard work in an inhospitable climate many of them had achieved freedom from material want, they suffered continued spiritual, cultural and social deprivation. Except for the fortunate few who had settled in fairly compact Hungarian colonies, the majority continued to live in the isolation of their prairie farmsteads, far removed from centres of ethnic cultural and religious life.

The condition of the Hungarian worker was probably even less enviable. A labourer was buffeted from one lumber camp to another, or from one mine to the next. In times of unemployment he was often entirely without income. Unless he settled in a city, he could hardly maintain any meaningful contacts with Hungarian religious or social organizations.

The Depression exacerbated the situation of both immigrant farmers and workers. The former lost most of their income, the latter sooner or later forfeited their jobs. True, the farmer would not starve, unless he defaulted on his debts; but the labourer was confronted with the grim task of feeding himself and his family without any income. To add to the newcomer's predicament, recent arrivals who went on relief risked deportation. Not until the war years and the postwar period did the economic situation of Hungarian-Canadians improve markedly. The return of normal climate and prosperity to the prairie farms brought relief for the agriculturalist, while the growth of employment in the cities ended the labourer's plight. The rapid growth of Canadian manufacturing also meant that an increasing number of Hungarian-Canadians could settle in urban centres. There, because of greater concentration, they often had their social, cultural and religious needs satisfied as well.

Discrimination

The struggle for the daily loaf of bread was not the only problem

confronting Hungarian-Canadians. The nativistic feelings of English and French Canadians, their suspicions toward certain immigrants, was a fact which no Magyar immigrant to this country could escape. Worse still, these antagonisms were often transmuted into outright discrimination. As has been mentioned, during the First World War immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe were classified as "enemy aliens" and were denied the right to vote in federal elections. In the 1920's Hungarians were placed in the "non-preferred" category by immigration authorities. While some Hungarians were victims of official discrimination, others were plagued by sheer ignorance about ethnic groups. In 1937, for example, an insurance company refused to provide fire-damage coverage to Hungarian farmers. Apparently, the officials of the firm had confused Hungarians with Doukhobors whose incendiary habits were public knowledge.[6]

Discrimination by governments and private companies may have hurt the immigrant's pride and pocketbook, but it probably did not have a very damaging effect on his psyche. For many newcomers, the experience of being mistreated by bureaucrats and employers was not entirely new. Hungarians from the successor states had already been subjected to similar if not worse treatment. Those directly from Hungary were often also acquainted with discrimination. As impoverished peasants or landless labourers they had been at the bottom of their former country's social ladder. What most Hungarian immigrants had not tasted before, and what was a new and discouraging experience for them in Canada, was what might be termed personal discrimination: rejection by co-workers, and neighbours, by people of their own social rank and educational achievement. Such treatment, however infrequent it might have been, was a bitter pill to swallow for most Hungarian-Canadians.

If discrimination was a discouraging experience for the adult immigrant, it was even worse for his children. Born in Canada, these "hyphenated Canadians" grew up assuming that they would be treated as equals. Their disappointment was all the keener when they discovered that, no matter how emphatically they rejected their parents' values and habits, they were not accepted as full-fledged Canadians. The frustrations of a second-generation Hungarian yearning for acceptance into Canadian society are skillfully depicted in John Marlyn's novel *Under the Ribs of Death*. The novel's hero, Sándor Hunyadi, has one aim in life: to become "Alex Hunter," an English-Canadian businessman. His rejections no doubt resemble those that many Hungarian-Canadians had experienced in striving for social and economic betterment.

Sociologists have yet to explain satisfactorily the causes of discrimination toward Hungarians and other Canadian immigrant ethnic groups.[7] Undoubtedly, fears generated by the influx of masses of immigrants with strange mores and customs, the rivalry for material advancement, the passions generated by two world wars, have probably been the most important ones. But there were, it seems, other factors as well. These were the beliefs, widely held in Canada during the first half of this century, that some immigrant groups lacked culture and were incapable of developing loyalty to Canada.

The first of these beliefs, that central and eastern European immigrants were uncultured, was held by Bourassa who maintained that newcomers to the Canadian West were the "scum of all nations." The ability of immigrant-dominated Western Canada to remain loyal to Canadian traditions and ideals was doubted by no less a person than the noted teacher, writer, and humorist, Stephen Leacock. In his essay "Canada and the Immigration Problem," Leacock expressed the fear that a Canadian West "of whose inhabitants vast masses stand in no hereditary relation to the history of Canada. . ." may lack the "restraining influence experienced by the existence of a common history. . ." to keep it in Confederation.[8] The belief that immigrants often espoused radical ideologies was publicly endorsed in Section 98 of the Canadian Criminal Code, which provided for the deportation of newcomers *suspected* of radical affiliations and activities.

Canada's immigrants in general, and Canadian-Hungarians in particular, could do little to dispel the largely erroneous views of native Canadians about them. The masses of underprivileged and often poorly educated peasants that had flocked to the Canadian West from the 1880's to the late 1920's were incapable of generating a cultural life the calibre of which would have impressed the Canadian public. The few intellectuals among New Canadians who managed to come to Canada in spite of the government's "farmers only" admission policy were preoccupied with eking out a meagre living and, when they had time to write, they did so in their own language. Their works remained unknown to most Canadians.

Immigrants also had difficulty disproving their alleged potential disloyalty to Canada. Public declarations of fidelity convinced very few people. Not until the Second World War did Hungarian-Canadians demonstrate their "Canadian" patriotism by enlisting in the Armed Forces in large numbers. But even this failed to convince the more suspicious. Accusations of radicalism were also difficult to refute especially since, during the Depression, a number of bitter and frus-

trated immigrants had become converts to radical ideologies. Their activities were more likely to attract the attention of the English language press than the work and views of the majority of immigrants who were satisfied with the Canadian system of government.

The immigrants' greatest problem was that their self-assessment as a cultured, loyal, and moderate group was not shared by the Canadian public. The newcomer's boasts about the greatness of his own cultural heritage could easily be misinterpreted as mere bragging and his insistence that he loved his adopted land, not taken at face value. Canadians had to be convinced by fellow Canadians whose impartiality could not be questioned. Fortunately for New Canadians in general and Hungarian-Canadians in particular, a few Canadian individuals were willing to undertake this task. Perhaps the most notable among them was Watson Kirkconnell.

Watson Kirkconnell

Kirkconnell was born in the town of Port Hope, Ontario, in 1895. His mother, in Kirkconnell's own words, had a "highly diversified ancestry," whereas his father descended from an ethnic group noted for giving so many distinguished sons and daughters to Canada: the Scottish. An industrious student with a gift for languages and mathematics, the young Kirkconnell completed his high school education in Lindsay, Ontario. In 1913 he entered Queen's University in Kingston earning his B.A. and M.A. degrees in Classics. Following three years of war service and a prolonged illness, Kirkconnell entered Oxford University to earn a degree in Economics as preparation for a career in journalism.[9] But a journalist he did not become. In 1922 he accepted a teaching post in Winnipeg's Wesley College. The appointment turned out to be the beginning of a distinguished academic career, which included a stint as Head of Wesley College's Department of Classics (1939 to 1940), as Professor of English and Department Head at McMaster University in Hamilton (1940 to 1948), and, finally, as President of Acadia University (1948 to 1964).

What brought Kirkconnell in touch with several New Canadian groups was his passion for verse translation. He developed this predilection rather late in his youth. His talent for languages and English versification had been evident in primary school. He combined the two talents for the first time during his stay at Queen's University, when he was given a class assignment to translate Latin verse into English prose. In his memoirs, Kirkconnell relates that he accomplished the task in

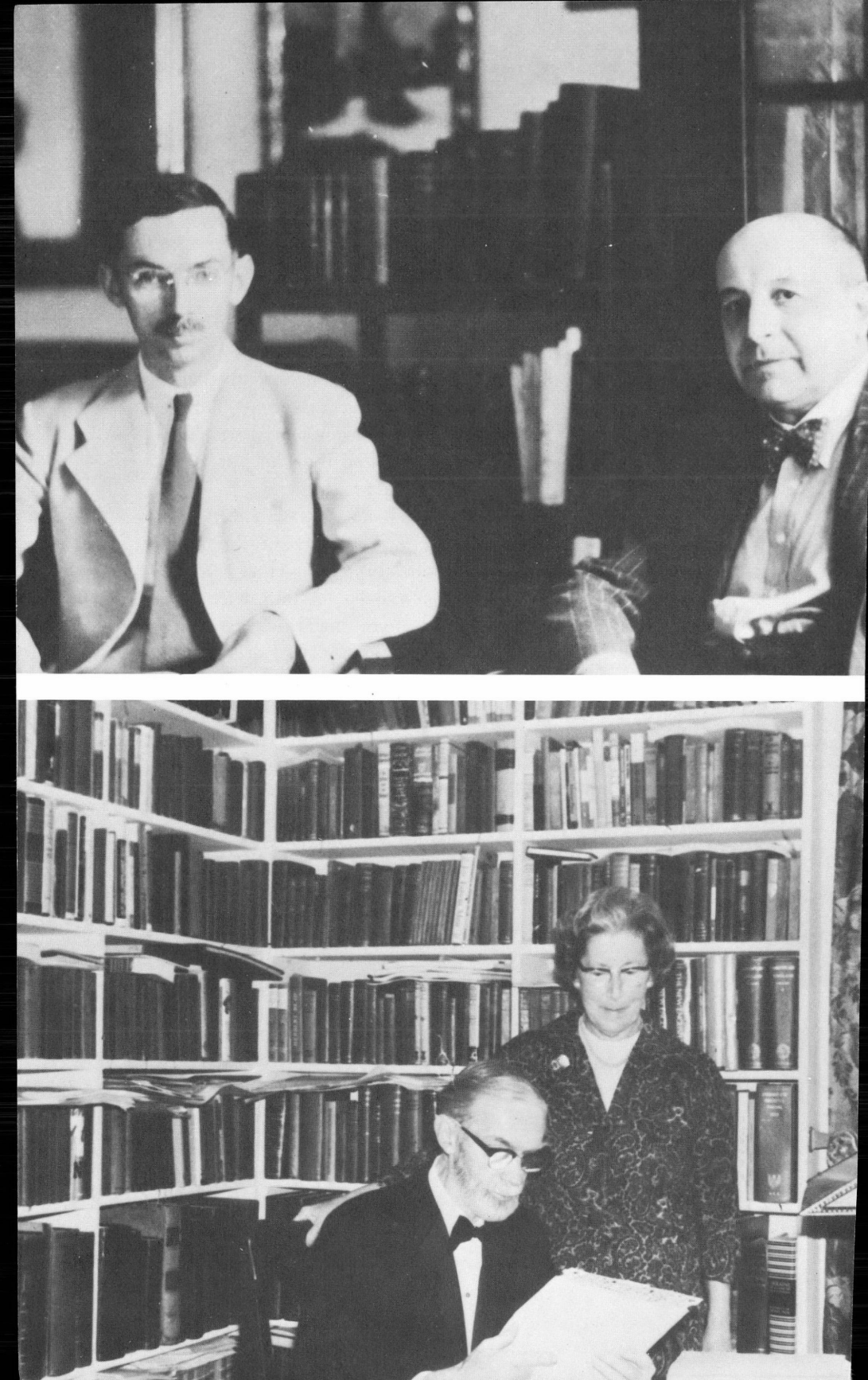
fifteen minutes, and spent the rest of the hour versifying the translation. He found that the "metre flowed" from his pen "almost as freely as prose."[10] But this incident did not inspire a systematic effort at verse translation. It was only during the second half of the 1920's that he became involved in translating European verse into English and developed intimate ties with Canadians of European background. Kirkconnell's first encounter with New Canadians came in 1922, when on his return voyage from England he found himself surrounded by immigrants from many parts of Europe. Scattered throughout this large group, comprising mainly agricultural workers, Kirkconnell found several well-educated refugees from Eastern Europe's civil wars and revolutions.[11] He was apparently impressed and took an interest in them but after arriving in Canada lost contact with them.

In September of the same year, Kirkconnell began his teaching career in Winnipeg. During his first three years in this busy centre of immigrant life, the young university teacher did not develop close contacts with New Canadians. What led to Kirkconnell's life-long friendship with Canada's European immigrants was involvement in verse translation.

Kirkconnell turned to this type of scholarly activity for solace when his wife died after giving birth to twin sons. In the lonely, long months that followed, Kirkconnell made plans for translating samples of Europe's best poetry into English "as a memorial" to his departed wife.[12] This was a monumental plan, beset by many difficulties, not the least of which was the lack of suitable grammar books and dictionaries. Kirkconnell was also saddled with incredulous publishers who at first refused to believe that anyone could master scores of foreign languages, and translate the poetry of numerous European nations. Only after internationally recognized experts of European linguistics ascertained the quality of Kirkconnell's translations was a publisher found. Kirkconnell's first volume of verse translation, *European Elegies*, appeared in 1928.

A Philosophy of Ethnic Relations

At first, verse translating served Kirkconnell only one purpose: it helped to "deaden the pain of great bereavement."[13] But soon the task assumed greater significance. As he expressed it in his memoirs: "it opened doors for me into new worlds of imaginative experience."[14] It also launched Kirkconnell's career as a verse translator. This activity gained him new acquaintances, initially mainly among the academic



and literary elite in several European countries. But in time, it also led to his close and life-long association with New Canadians, and among them, Hungarians.

Kirkconnell was first attracted to the Icelandic community of Manitoba. Two of his Wesley College friends, Skuli Johnson and Olafur Anderson, were Canadian-Icelanders; so were many of Kirkconnell's students. The College library was well stocked with books on Icelandic grammar, poetry and literature. It is not surprising that the first volume in Kirkconnell's projected series of translations from the national poetries of European peoples was the *North American Book of Icelandic Verse* (New York: Carrier and Iles, 1930). "My anthology," wrote Kirkconnell many years later, "proved to be a key to the hearts of the Canadian Icelanders."[15]

Closer links with the world of immigrant ethnics wrought a change in Kirkconnell's approach to popularizing the European cultural achievement. His first work in the field of verse translation, *European Elegies,* had a potential to serve the interests of Canadians of European background, but this had not been Kirkconnell's original purpose. The young scholar's subsequent publications had different motives. In his next general work, *The European Heritage* (London and Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1930), Kirkconnell deliberately set out to combat ignorance, the "mother of intolerance," as he put it in the volume's preface. He wrote further:

> Saxon and Slav, Norseman and Celt, all have gifts that have been proved great in the annals of civilization; but sincere co-operation, whether in the New World or in the Old, becomes humanly possible only as men realize the worth of their fellow men.[16]

The volume, some two hundred pages of appreciative comments about the cultural achievements of European nations, undoubtedly generated a warm respect for European cultures in the hearts of his readers. Such sentiments were bound to benefit Canada's European immigrants.

In addition to writing a survey of European history, Kirkconnell began publicising the works of New Canadian poets.[17] His most substantial publication dealing with this poetry was *Canadian Overtones* (Winnipeg: Columbia Press, 1935), an anthology of verse translated

Illustrations on the opposite page, top: Kirkconnell and Tivadar Edl in Budapest, 1938. Bottom: Watson and Hope Kirkconnell in their Wolfville, Nova Scotia home, ca. 1976.

from the "Canadian poetry" of Icelandic, Swedish, Norwegian, Hungarian, Italian, Greek and Ukrainian poets. The preface identified Kirkconnell's purpose: to "reveal to English-speaking Canadians a transient but intensely significant phase" of Canada's national literature. Then he stunned his readers by stating that, during the past three decades, the published poetry of New Canadians had exceeded in bulk "all Canadian poetry published in French; while in Western Canada . . . this unknown poetry has surpassed that of Anglo-Canadians both in quantity and in quality."[18] Kirkconnell also used the preface to explain his own views on ethnic-native relations. He observed that Canadian attitudes toward immigrants had passed through two "ignorant and discreditable phases." At first many Canadians considered immigrants as "European coolies", who were good only for back-breaking work that no one else wanted to perform. Later, Canadians showed a patronizing interest in the newcomers' folk-costumes and folk-dances, aspects of their culture which were no more than "picturesque incidentals which have about as much vital share in their lives as the kilt and the Highland fling have in that of the average Scotch-Canadian." Kirkconnell hoped that by knowing of New Canadian poetry, the native-born would develop a "third and much truer attitude" towards these people as "beings breathing thoughtful breath."[19]

In the preface to *Canadian Overtones* Kirkconnell revealed, for the first time, his concept of a Canadian multi-ethnic identity. New Canadian poetry would help to develop in future generations of Canadians a "Canadianism nourished by pride in the individual's racial past." A person with an awareness of his ancestry and pride in his forebears' achievements was a better citizen of his country. "As a Canadian, he is not poorer but richer because he realizes his place in a notable stream of human relationship down through the centuries."[20] Kirkconnell had only contempt for the person who denied his ancestry. He who claimed to be "one hundred per cent" Canadian "is commonly one who has deliberately suppressed an alien origin in order to keep the material benefits of a well-advertized loyalty." There was no chance of "noble spiritual issues from such a prostituted patriotism." It was regrettable that this type of behaviour was encouraged by the "ignorant assumption" of many English-Canadians that an alien origin was the "mark of inferiority." "He who thinks thus," Kirkconnell continued, "is a mental hooligan."[21]

Kirkconnell realized that the development of a general Canadian multi-ethnic awareness could only come through a change in public

attitudes to immigrant minority cultures. This change could be achieved only with the help of civic and educational institutions:

> Our national holidays might well be given over to such pageantry (including, perhaps festivals of drama, poetry, and music) as would emphasize the co-operative existence of the distinct racial groups in our population. Our schools might give ample recognition to their history and culture. Our universities might foster their languages and literatures. . .[22]

He also believed that the state had a responsibility in preserving the "full potentialities of our several peoples."[23] In expressing this view, Kirkconnell anticipated by some four decades the concept of government-supported multicultural programmes.

The Hungarians of Winnipeg

By the time Kirkconnell developed these basic ideas about ethnic-native relations and a multicultural Canadian identity, he was in increasingly close contact with the Hungarian community in Canada, particularly with the growing and important Hungarian colony in Winnipeg. During the 1920's Winnipeg, that growing, polyglot prairie metropolis, was the largest centre of Canada's "new immigration". It was here that the masses of freshly arrived immigrants rested before setting out for their homesteads on the edge of Canada's ever expanding frontier of agricultural settlement. But while the newcomers were moving toward the fringes of the prairies, other immigrants were making their way to the city: disappointed farmers, labourers, craftsmen and merchants who had somehow entered Canada despite Ottawa's restrictions on non-agricultural immigrants.

By the time Kirkconnell's professional career had begun, Winnipeg was the busiest urban centre for Canada's Hungarian community. Magyar immigrants had started to settle in the city at the turn of the century. During the next two decades their numbers increased. By the mid-1920's they had a few organizations of their own, including a Presbyterian congregation, a Roman Catholic parish, and a sick-benefit insurance society. Other clubs, serving social and recreational purposes, would spring up a few years later. This community soon became one of the most influential in Canada and produced what may be called Canada's Hungarian elite. Steamship and railway ticket agents, priests and ministers as well as other members of the very small New Canadian middle class frequented the city and settled there as circumstances permitted. Even more important, from the point of view of the Hun-

garian community of Western Canada, was the establishment of a permanent weekly newspaper, the *Kanadai Magyar Újság (Canadian Hungarian News).*[24] Toward the end of the decade, the Royal Hungarian Consulate opened in the city. These events established Winnipeg as the undisputed centre for the intellectual and political life of Canada's Hungarian community.

Translating Hungarian Poetry

The development of cultural and intellectual life within Winnipeg's Hungarian community and Professor Kirkconnell's work in verse translation made contact between the young scholar and the city's Hungarian elite inevitable. Indeed, it was Kirkconnell's prolific activities in this field that attracted the attention of Béla Báchkai Payerle of the *Canadian Hungarian News.* Having read Kirkconnell's translations from Magyar in *European Elegies,* Payerle encouraged Kirkconnell to publish a separate volume of verse translation from Hungarian. Payerle would assist with deciphering the original Magyar text. In 1930 this venture resulted in a manuscript entitled "North American Book of Magyar Verse."[25] Since the Depression brought many publishers to near ruin or bankruptcy, the volume's publication became impossible for the time being. Installments were printed in the *Canadian Hungarian News,* and later in Payerle's English-language magazine, the *Young Magyar-American.* A small anthology of poems was published as "A Magyar Miscellany" in the prestigious, London based, learned journal, the *Slavonic and East European Review.* Little is known about the reactions of Hungarian-Canadians to Kirkconnell's translations, but the response from Hungary was positive. Congratulatory letters came from poets and scholars, and in 1932 one of the Hungarian learned socieites, the Petőfi Társaság, elected Kirkconnell to honorary membership.[26]

Meanwhile, the obstacles blocking more ambitious publication schemes were being slowly overcome. In 1932 Lord Rothermere, the English newspaper publisher, visited Winnipeg and contributed $200 to defray the cost of printing Kirkconnell's collection of Magyar poetry. The Hungarian government advanced $500 for 500 copies intended for distribution in Hungary. The Hungarian Consul in Winnipeg, István J. Schefbeck (Petényi) also made a cash contribution. The noted Hungarian writer, Ferenc Herczeg, lent his prestige by writing the introduction. Payerle did the typesetting with his own hands, gratis. In January 1933, *The Magyar Muse* at last became available.[27]

During the next several years, additional translations from Magyar poetry followed. Work was started on the expansion of *The Magyar Muse* into a two-volume manuscript, intended for a new, enlarged edition. A translation of János Arany's epic, *The Death of King Buda,* was published in 1936 with the help of the Cleveland-based Benjamin Franklin Bibliographical Society, an organization dedicated to publishing books on Hungarian subjects. The translation of Arany's epic was followed by a work on Hungarian grammar, *Primer of Hungarian,* published in installments in Payerle's *Young Magyar-American.* Then came still more studies and translations, published from time to time in the *Slavonic and East European Review,* and elsewhere.[28]

In 1936 Kirkconnell helped in the launching of the *Hungarian Quarterly.* The journal was the brain-child of Count István Bethlen, one of Hungary's elder statesmen. Its primary purpose was to offer the British and North American reading public a journal which would convey information on Hungary's cultural life, political problems, and aspirations. Kirkconnell was one of the journal's first contributors. His article, "Hungary's Linguistic Isolation," expressed the hope that the periodical would serve as an "open window," through which the world could "gaze into Hungary's lonely tower of linguistic isolation" and see there "the vital personality of a gifted people."[29]

With the blessing and financial backing of individuals and institutions in Hungary, the *Hungarian Quarterly* prospered for several years. The Second World War saw its demise. Since then, attempts to revive it have failed primarily because of the lack of adequate financial resources. Although more than a generation has passed since the original *Hungarian Quarterly* folded, it has yet to be replaced by another periodical of the same scope and quality, and dedicated to similar ideals.[30]

During and after the Second World War new concerns, additional duties and changed circumstances prevented Kirkconnell from devoting as much time and effort to verse translation from Hungarian as before. His work continued, but more sporadically. In 1947, an anthology, "Little Treasury of Hungarian Verse," appeared, followed more than a decade later by translations of the Premonstratensian canon László Mécs's poetry. Next came an anthology of the "freedom fighter" poetry of "Tibor Tollas" and others. But systematic work in this field could not be undertaken until after Kirkconnell's resignation from the Presidency of Acadia University in 1964. In 1967, he completed one of his old projects, a translation of Arany's *Toldi.* He also started work on still another, more complete anthology of Magyar verse. Next fol-

lowed translations from other, more recent Hungarian poets, such as Dezső Kosztolányi, Lajos Kassák, Milán Füst, József Erdélyi, Lőrinc Szabó, Gyula Illyés, Sándor Weöres, Attila József, Zoltán Zelk, Miklós Radnóti, István Vas and Ferenc Juhász.[31]

Kirkconnell's aides and collaborators in this massive work were Payerle and his wife, and a post-1945 arrival, Maxim Tábory. His scholarly "mentors" in this period were three émigré academics: Dr. George Gömöri of Darwin College, Cambridge; Dr. Ádám Makkai, of the University of Illinois; and Dr. George Buday from England. The new anthology, comprising some 1,200 pages in manuscript, was completed in 1973. Its publication by the University of Toronto Press would have cost $28,000, which made publication commercially unfeasible.[32] A request for a grant from the multicultural programme of the Department of the Secretary of State in Ottawa has been supported by a number of Hungarian cultural organisations, but the quest has not been successful thus far.

Political Writings

During and after the Second World War, Professor Kirkconnell became involved in a very different kind of literary activity. Realizing the importance of the burning issue of the age, he plunged into political controversies and produced a series of books dealing mainly with the menace of totalitarian ideologies, the attitudes of New Canadians to political radicalism, and the Canadian war-effort. This type of writing was probably considered unbecoming to a scholar of classics and literatures. Undoubtedly Kirkconnell earned the disdain of some of his academic colleagues who preferred to weather the storm in the isolation of the "ivory towers" of the universities. In a way, however, Kirkconnell's wartime writings were not a major departure from his pre-war work; his polemical tracts helped New Canadians, just as his verse translations had during the 1930's. Both activities helped to gain respect for Canada's European immigrants.

One of the factors which prompted Kirkconnell to embark on political writing was his desire to confront and combat the growing influence of international Communism in Canada. He became aware of this danger during his residence in Winnipeg, a city reputedly the centre of radical leftist activities in inter-war Canada. Some of this reputation was well deserved; the city had its share of radical activists, but at no time was it ripe for a Bolshevik revolution *à la* 1917 — not even in 1919, during the notorious general strike. Radical influence in Winnipeg

seems to have been inversely related to the economic prosperity of the city's populace. Radicalism waxed during the post-war slump, and waned during the prosperous mid- and late 1920's, only to re-emerge with a vengeance during the Depression. Indeed, during a public lecture at the University of Manitoba during the early 1930's Kirkconnell encountered a "solid platoon of Communist hecklers" in his audience. They obviously disagreed with what he had to say on "How Russia is Governed."[33]

Kirkconnell's war of words against Canada's Communists did not start in earnest until the outbreak of the Second World War. From the fall of 1939 until the spring of 1941, he condemned the Communist Party's attitude toward the Canadian war effort. This was the period of Nazi-Soviet collaboration, initiated by the Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Pact of August 1939. During this time, the Communist Party of Canada refused to support Canada's war effort, evidently on orders from Moscow, and, indeed, engaged in anti-war propaganda. Kirkconnell assailed the Communists in three of his wartime books: *Canada, Europe and Hitler* (1939), *Twilight of Liberty* (1941) and *Seven Pillars of Freedom* (1944). He also warned about the Communists' real aim: "Whatever the outcome" of the war in Europe, he predicted in 1941, the Communists will work "for the break-up of the present order in North America. . . ."[34]

It is difficult to judge the Canadian public's reactions to these statements. Some of Kirkconnell's contemporaries who had not already been convinced of the Communist menace probably remained incredulous and did not believe him until 1945 when Igor Gouzenko revealed the existence of an extensive Soviet espionage network in North America. The Communists' reactions to Kirkconnell's wartime writings were emphatic and vociferous. Canada's Moscow-controlled press, comprising nearly a dozen newspapers published in almost as many languages, denounced him as an agent of Nazi Propaganda Chief Goebbels, and ridiculed him in numerous tasteless cartoons.[35]

The Hungarian language newspapers of the Communist Party of Canada participated fully in the campaign of vituperations against Kirkconnell. The war of words between the outspoken professor and the Hungarian Communists had started in 1943 when Kirkconnell refuted the public claim by Steve Szőke, editor of the *Kanadai Magyar Munkás (Canadian Hungarian Worker)* that his paper was not a Communist Party organ. Against this assertion Kirkconnell cited a 1931 resolution of the Communist Party of Canada which established the *Munkás* as one of the party's mouth-pieces.[36] After this exchange,

which took place in the pages of the popular weekly *Saturday Night*, the editors of Canada's Hungarian-language Communist press refrained from further public debate with Kirkconnell and contented themselves with name-calling. In 1944 they called Kirkconnell a "mad dog," and asserted that his *Seven Pillars of Freedom* contained all the "crafty intrigue, perversion and falsehood of this notorious professor."[37]

Whereas Kirkconnell's anti-Communist writings were designed mainly to warn the Canadian public against the dangers of a Moscow-controlled Left, some of his other pronouncements during these years served to help Canada's immigrant minorities. Many Canadians still regarded central and eastern European immigrants with suspicion. Such suspicions were particularly widespread during periods of crisis. In the troubled 1930's, for example, radical tendencies intensified among most Canadian groups, especially the country's immigrants. This is not surprising, because these people tended to suffer the most. It was the most recent arrivals who were least equipped to cope with economic difficulties and psychological stress. Indeed, it is a wonder that not more immigrants became radicalized. But the few who did were noisy; and they confirmed many native Canadians' suspicions and increased their fear of all immigrants.

The outbreak of the Second World War heightened these suspicions. Many native Canadians would not believe that immigrants from enemy countries could be depended upon to support the Canadian war-effort. Hungarians were included among those suspected of latent disloyalty, even though their home country was late and reluctant in joining the Axis war-effort, and Hungarian-Canadians repeatedly declared their loyalty to Canada.[38] But the general public did not believe such declarations. Fortunately for Canada's Magyar residents, Professor Kirkconnell undertook the task of convincing his fellow countrymen that Hungarians, like Canada's other central European immigrants, were neither dangerous radicals nor potentially disloyal subjects.

Kirkconnell devoted more than a third of his book, *Canada, Europe and Hitler*, to this subject. He conceded that Canadians of continental European descent, unlike their English-speaking compatriots, had no particular affection for Britain. But Kirkconnell maintained that this fact did not mean that these immigrants were disloyal to Canada. In fact, their allegiance, like that of French-Canadians, was first and foremost to Canada. A thorough examination of the public and press statements of Canada's ethnic groups of European background led Kirkconnell to conclude that:

> While some of the groups have been seriously exposed to the propaganda of Communism and Fascism, and a minority among them have even succumbed to such external pressure, the majority, by reason of these very attempts at penetration, are all the better aware of the challenge to democracy and liberty involved in the rise of Hitler.[39]

New Canadians in general, and Hungarian-Canadians in particular, were fortunate during the war to have had a spokesman like Kirkconnell.

Popularizing New Canadian Literatures

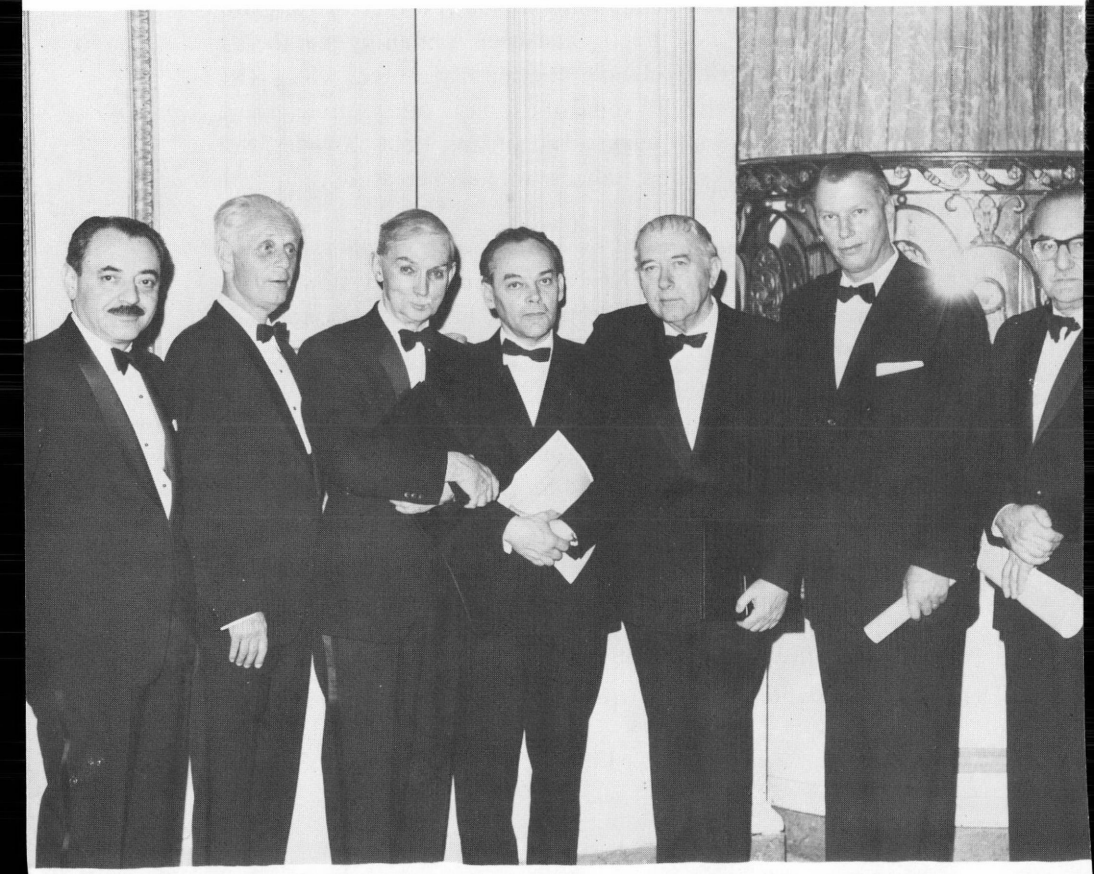
Still another way in which Professor Kirkconnell assisted Canadians of European background was to encourage and popularize the works of immigrant poets and writers. He himself discovered the richness of the virtually unknown non-English and non-French Canadian literature almost by accident. Canadian texts of literary history and criticism never even mentioned works written in other than English or French. The country's immigrants were presumed to have no literary tradition of their own. But Kirkconnell found that a section of Wesley College's library was filled with books and journals written in Icelandic, produced by authors in both Iceland and Canada. Further investigation revealed that much Icelandic poetry had been written by members of Manitoba's compact little Icelandic community. Later, when Kirkconnell acquainted himself with some of the city's other ethnic groups, he realized that Winnipeg's Magyars, Ukrainians, Poles, Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, Greeks, and Italians were also creating their "considerable literatures."[40]

The discovery of a new, wealthy branch of Canadian literature prompted Kirkconnell to study New Canadian letters systematically. He began to amass his own collection of literature produced by Canada's European immigrants, to seek out their poets and writers, and to start accumulating biographical and bibliographical information on them. In 1935 he published an anthology of New Canadian poetry, to be followed by a series of studies on New Canadian *belles lettres,* published mainly in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*. In his memoirs, Professor Kirkconnell evaluated the literature of New Canadians as follows:

> Taken together, these minor literatures present an unrivalled picture of human predicament, of lives uprooted from a country and planted afresh with difficulty in Canadian soil.[41]

The volume of this literature was so extensive that, by the time he retired


GEORGE WASHINGTON AWARD
DR. WATSON KIRKCONNELL



from teaching in 1968, Kirkconnell had accumulated some 2,000 volumes of New Canadian books. The priceless collection has been recently deposited in Acadia University's library.[42]

Only a small proportion of this collection consists of works written by Hungarian-Canadian authors. The earlier volumes include the poets Gyula Izsák, Sarolta Petényi, and Rózsa Páll Kovács, as well as the journalist Gusztáv Nemes and the historian Pál Sántha. The post-1956 collection of Hungarian works is more voluminous. It is filled by the poetical works of Ferenc Fáy, András Tamás, Márton Kerecsendi Kis, and others, the anthologies published by the Canadian Hungarian Authors' Association (Kanadai Magyar Irók Köre) under the editorship of János Miska, as well as other works published by Hungarian authors in Canada often with the help of such organizations as the Calgary-based Széchenyi Society and the Helicon Society of Toronto.[43]

Expressions of Gratitude

During his long and distinguished career Professor Kirkconnell had been honoured by universities, learned societies, governments and civic and ethnic organizations. He had been awarded honorary degrees by over a dozen Canadian and European universities. Decorations and other honours were bestowed on him by the Order of the Icelandic Falcon, the Order of Polonia Restituta, the Royal Society of Canada, the Polish Academy of Literature, the French Historical Institute, the Humanities Research Council of Canada and other learned societies and civic associations.

Hungarians have also paid tribute to him. Kirkconnell's verse translations of Magyar poetry earned him homage from many poets and scholars in Hungary.[44] Following his invitation to join Hungary's Petőfi Society in 1932, another literary academy, the Kisfaludy Society, also voted him membership. This Society also bestowed on Kirkconnell its

Illustrations on the opposite page, top: Kirkconnell receiving the American Hungarian (Studies) Foundation's George Washington Award at the Plaza Hotel, New York City, April, 1967. Watson Kirkconnell and Zoltán Gombos. Bottom: Kirkconnell and other celebrities at the same function: from left to right: Paul A. Radnay, Hans Selye, Watson Kirkconnell, György Kepes, Marcel Bauer, Donald S. Harrington, Alexander Nekam. Photography by Bela Cseh, New York.

"Medal of Honour" for eminent work in Hungarian literature outside of Hungary. In 1938 he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Debrecen during that institution's quatercentenary celebrations.[45]

With the coming of the war and the installation in Hungary of a regime hostile to Kirkconnell's political ideals, paying further homage to his person was no longer possible there. Hungarians elsewhere continued to show their appreciation. Soon after the 1956 Revolution, Winnipeg's Hungarian Literary Society made him an honorary member. Soon thereafter, Toronto's Helicon Society presented him with a medal at one of its gala affairs. After the ceremonies Professor Kirkconnell demonstrated that his gifts were not confined to the realm of scholarship and writing: he also had a talent for dancing the *csárdás*.[46] Still later came the Gold Medal of Freedom, awarded to Kirkconnell by the Hungarian Freedom Fighter Association. And in 1967, at a banquet in New York City's Plaza Hotel, he was presented with the George Washington medallion of the American Hungarian Foundation.[47]

These honours have been undoubtedly only a partial expression of the North American Hungarian community's gratitude. Further statements and deeds of appreciation came from private individuals, acquaintances, and scholars; mostly from men of a generation which, like Kirkconnell himself, had known another Hungary and had learned to appreciate poetry and literature. It remains to be seen whether a new generation of Hungarian-Canadians will cherish Kirkconnell's work as much as the old did. Hopefully, it will. After all, thanks to his work, the descendants of immigrants will have a chance to read the poetry of their ancestral land long after they have forgotten the language of their forefathers.

An Appreciation

During his long career, Professor Kirkconnell displayed a boundless capacity for work, and a limitless interest in Canadian public affairs. His accomplishments in the field of Hungarian poetry and literature and his involvement with Hungarians in Canada and elsewhere constituted only one aspect of a career filled with constant activity and a great variety of achievements. For Hungarian-Canadians the results of this small aspect of his work were very significant. In the realm of poetry, Kirkconnell functioned as an interpreter of the Hungarian nation's soul, not only to Canadians, but to the whole Anglo-Saxon world. His verse translations and other scholarly writings brought the literary genius of

Magyar poets and writers to the reading public of Canada and other English-speaking countries. This has substantially helped to enhance the Magyars' reputation in this country and elsewhere.

The improvement of the reputation of Hungarians was particularly important in Canada where, until recent times, the general public regarded immigrants from central and eastern Europe with a great deal of reserve and even disdain. Given the natural proclivity of the native-born in any country to receive newcomers with suspicion, the Canadian public's lack of confidence in and respect for immigrant groups is understandable. These attitudes were just another difficulty newcomers had to endure. For the sake of a healthier atmosphere in Canada's political, civic and social life, these attitudes had to be eliminated sooner or later.

The overcoming of nativistic antagonisms towards immigrants was a difficult process. Each newcomer individually and each ethnic group collectively had to prove to the native-born that, far from constituting a threat, immigrants were an asset to Canada's economic, political and cultural life. In this struggle for acceptance some newcomers were helped by the fact that they could learn English or French faster because their own mother tongues were similar. Other groups may have had a reputation established in agriculture, or craftsmanship, or business, or arts and culture, even before their members began migrating to Canada in large numbers. Hungarians were not so fortunate. Magyar is a Ural-Altaic language, hence Hungarian newcomers tended to learn English or French more slowly than immigrants speaking Germanic or Romance languages. Canadians knew nothing or next to nothing about Hungary's culture, and could learn little about it from poorly educated peasants who rarely learned more than a few words of English. Educated Hungarians were, on the whole, not admitted to Canada until after 1945, and those who managed to land here despite regulations had little time to preach the excellence of their people's cultural heritage. Until the post-World War II period, moreover, Canada's Hungarians lived in isolation, or at best, in scattered, small communities, which were unable to generate a cultural life which would gain the appreciation of the public at large. Unable to prove their value and their cultural equality to the native-born population, Canadians of Hungarian background survived the first half of the twentieth century as victims of nativistic prejudice, and subsisted as second-class citizens in a land of freedom and plenty. For most of them it was a difficult and degrading experience. As a result of a combination of factors, gradually their lot improved. No doubt, one of these factors was the work of Watson Kirkconnell.

The extent of Kirkconnell's success in modifying Canadian attitudes to European immigrant groups cannot be assessed with any degree of certainty. But it is true that these minorities received better treatment during the Second World War than they did during the First. This was no doubt partly the result of Kirkconnell's work. His memoirs reveal that during the war many "Anglo-Canadians" favored the closing down of the entire ethnic press.[48] That this did not happen was probably the result of Kirkconnell's emphatic statements, made especially at the outset of the war, that all European immigrant groups were loyal to Canada. Rather than branding Germans, Italians and Hungarians "enemy aliens", and restricting their freedoms, the Canadian government established the Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship. The Committee, working under the jurisdiction of the Department of War Services, aimed at fostering good relations with all European immigrant ethnic groups. Though not an "insider" in Canadian decision-making during the war, Kirkconnell probably exerted considerable influence with policy-makers in Ottawa. That senior officials respected his views is indicated by the fact that he was consulted in the planning of what later became the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State. In fact, when the bureau was established, he was offered its directorship. It is characteristic of Kirkconnell's love for the unhindered exchange of views that he declined the honour. As an academic he would retain greater freedom to speak out on national issues.[49]

After the war, Ottawa's more enlightened attitudes toward ethnic groups gained expression in the policy adopted regarding the ready admission of central and eastern European immigrants. Indeed, during the late 1940's and the early 1950's thousands of so-called Displaced Persons came to Canada to escape war-torn Europe's harsh conditions. Many of these were Hungarians. Their arrival greatly augmented the numerical strength of Canada's Magyar community. The fact that many of the newcomers were educated professionals helped to enhance the standard of the cultural life of Hungarian clubs and associations throughout Canada. It is not surprising that the 1950's saw the genesis of what will probably be remembered as the Golden Age of the Canadian-Magyar ethnic group: the post-1956 decades.

By this time Kirkconnell had retired from active public life. Troubled by advanced age, poor health, and deteriorating eyesight, he no longer had the strength to participate in public controversies. Despite these handicaps, however, he continued his verse translations and scholarly writing, and to assist his Magyar friends in every way possible. Indica-

tive of his helpful attitude and unwavering faith in Canada's Hungarian-Canadian community was his response to the planned launching of an English-language journal dealing with Hungary and Hungarians on a scholarly level: the *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*. Whereas many Hungarian academics refrained from associating themselves with a venture the success of which could not be guaranteed in advance, Professor Kirkconnell shelved every doubt and much more urgent projects, and promptly produced an article for the *Review*. A year later, when asked to become the journal's honorary editor, he consented without hesitation or delay.

The achievements of many men are not appreciated during their lifetime. To some extent, this is true of Professor Kirkconnell's work. True, he has been showered with honours and distinctions; but most of these expressions of thanks and appreciation were extended in recognition of his literary and scholarly activities. But the significance of Kirkconnell's work exceeds the realm of literature and poetry. This is especially true as far as Hungarian-Canadians are concerned. He has served us not only as the translator of the Magyar nation's soul to the English-speaking world; he has been one of the most dedicated and most effective benefactors of the Hungarian-Canadian community as well.

NOTES

Professor Bennett Kovrig has commented on the first draft of this essay; Professor Thomas Spira has meticulously edited the final draft; Drs. F. G. Harcsár, Joseph Kohári and Messrs. Maxim Tábori, Béla Báchkai Peyerle and István Willerding have provided encouragement. To each of them I wish to express my thanks and appreciation.

1. Quoted by R. C. Brown and R. Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 28.
2. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 74.
3. H. B. Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos, Canada in the Thirties* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972), p. 28.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
5. Under the heading "Hungarian" the 1911 census included not only all former residents of the multinational Kingdom of Hungary, but Lithuanians and Moravians as well.
6. *Ibid.*, 1 June 1937. On learning of its mistake, the company apologized and lifted its restrictions.
7. For a general work on the subject of prejudices in Canada see David R. Hughes and Evelyn Kallen, *The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1974).

8. S. Leacock, "Canada and the Immigration Problem," *National and English Review*, April 1911, pp. 316-37. Partially reprinted in Howard Palmer (ed.) *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1975), pp. 46-51.
9. Watson Kirkconnell, *A Slice of Canada: Memoirs* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), Chapters I and II.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
13. Watson Kirkconnell, *European Elegies* (Ottawa: Graphic Publishers, 1928), p. 9.
14. Kirkconnell, *A Slice of Canada*, p. 59.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
16. Watson Kirkconnell, *The European Heritage: A Synopsis of European Cultural Achievement* (London and Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1930), p. v.
17. Kirkconnell's addresses relating to New Canadian themes which he delivered before learned societies were his lecture "A Skald in Canada," delivered before a meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, and "The European-Canadians in Their Press," read before a meeting of the Canadian Historical Association. There was also his article "Canada's Leading Poet, Stephan G. Stephansson, 1853-1927," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, Vol. II (January, 1936).
18. Kirkconnell, *Canadian Overtones*, p. 3.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
23. *Ibid.*
24. The *Kanadai Magyar Újság* was founded in Kipling, Saskatchewan in the early 1920's. Later it moved to Winnipeg. Watson Kirkconnell, "A Canadian Meets the Magyars," *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies* I (Spring and Fall 1974): 1. Previous Hungarian newspapers in Canada, the *Canadai Magyar Farmer* [Canadian Magyar Farmer] and the *Kanadai Magyarság* [Canadian Hungarian] proved ephemeral. The *Kanadai Magyar Újság*, which for many years appeared as a semi-weekly, was published for over half a century before it had to fold because of decreasing revenues and increasing labour and postal costs.
25. Kirkconnell, "A Canadian," p. 2. *A Slice of Canada*, p. 62.
26. Kirkconnell, *A Slice of Canada*, p. 62.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 62f.
29. Quoted in Kirkconnell in "A Canadian," p. 5. Later contributions by Kirkconnell to the journal were included in two articles: "The Poetry of Ady" (Autumn 1937) and "Quintessence of Hungary" (Autumn 1938).
30. The *Hungarian Quarterly* was revived in the United States during the early 1960's, but it did not succeed in attaining the respect of North America's academic community. Another journal, the *Hungarian Historical Review* (1969-), lacks an adequate institutional affiliation and publishes studies relating predominantly to Hungarian protohistory. On this subject see Steven Béla Vardy, *Hungarian Studies at American and Canadian Universities* (Ottawa: Hungarian Readers' Service, 1975), reprinted from the *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*, 2 (Autumn 1975).
31. Kirkconnell, "A Canadian," p. 11.
32. *Ibid.*

33. Kirkconnell, *A Slice of Canada,* pp. 315f.
34. Quoted *ibid.,* p. 316.
35. *Ibid.,* pp. 316-318.
36. Kirkconnell, "A Canadian," p. 8. *Saturday Night,* 9 January 1943.
37. Quoted in *A Slice of Canada,* p. 318.
38. Hungary's involvement in the Second World War has been the subject of a great number of studies. For a detailed, classic treatment see C.A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth: A History of Modern Hungary, 1929-1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961), 2 vols. For a briefer account see my *Hungary's Way to World War II* (Toronto: Helicon Society, 1968).
39. Watson Kirkconnell, *Canada, Europe and Hitler* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 117.
40. Kirkconnell, *A Slice of Canada,* p. 75.
41. *Ibid.,* p. 75f.
42. Letter, Mrs. Hope Kirkconnell to the author, June, 1977.
43. Kirkconnell, "A Canadian," p. 10.
44. For a partial list of these persons see *ibid.,* p. 3.
45. For a full text of Kirkconnell's "diploma" see "A Canadian," pp. 6f.
46. Dr. Ferenc Harcsár, then President of the Helicon Society, to the author.
47. Kirkconnell, "A Canadian," p. 9.
48. Kirkconnell, *A Slice of Canada,* p. 119.
49. Kirkconnell, "A Canadian," p. 8.