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The Rákóczi Insurrection in English War Policy, 1703-1711

JOHN B. HATTENDORF

Marriage and Internal Migration in Moson County: Féltorony as a
Case Study: 1827-1920

BLAIR R. HOLMES

Auteurism in the Modern Hungarian Cinema

GEORGE BISTRAY

Budapest—Washington, 1956

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The Rákóczi Insurrection in English War Policy, 1703-1711

John B. Hattendorf

Hungarian liberties, religious toleration, and Habsburg absolutism were some of the issues which lay at the heart of the Rákóczi-led *Kuruc* revolt in Hungary. In England, most of these matters were little understood and of no apparent concern. Yet, the ministers of Her Majesty's Government in London had the deepest interest in ending the insurrection.¹

English interest centered on two aspects: supporting the Protestants in Hungary and preventing the revolt from being a diversion to the use of imperial troops. The religious aspect of Rákóczi's cause predisposed the Government in London to seek a solution which favored the Calvinists in Hungary. A few months after the outbreak of the rebellion, Queen Anne stressed the point in a personal letter to the Emperor Leopold in which she asked particularly for freedom of religion for the Hungarian Protestants who supported the insurrection. ". . . We consider it just for us to beg this the more freely from your Imperial Majesty," the Queen wrote,

since we ask nothing from you that we ourselves have not already done. Believing it not possible to compel the conscience in matters pertaining to religion, we have granted to our subjects professing the Roman Catholic faith the same peaceful, quiet and free use as is enjoyed by the rest of our subjects. . . .²

Religion was the closest tie which Englishmen shared with the followers of Rákóczi, but they also had a common appreciation for the value of parliamentary power in placing limits on royal authority. Englishmen who were aware of events in Hungary were impressed with the similarity of outlook and values between their own domestic system and Rákóczi's. Focusing on the religious issue and with further appreciation for the parliamentary aspirations of the *Kuruc*, England based her policy toward Hungary on the belief that what was appropriate in English domestic affairs was also a sound basis upon which to construct her

attitude in foreign affairs. Although the Habsburg court in Vienna was a key ally in the War of the Spanish Succession, the English Government could not ignore the persecution of Protestants in Catholic lands merely for the sake of international power politics. Personally, Queen Anne considered herself the leader of Protestant Europe. For that reason, she and many of her ministers felt it necessary to intervene on behalf of Protestants. She explained to the Elector Palatine, earlier in 1703,

We cannot but be moved by their anguish, as is meet, and by compassion, nor are we capable of shunning that which we consider to be our duty (since we profess the same religion as they). . . .³

England naturally sympathized with the Hungarian rebel aims since they called for toleration of the Protestant minority, but the relative importance of the issue was determined for England by the relationship of the Hungarian revolt to Austria's efforts in fighting France. As the revolt progressed after 1703, England saw Vienna send more and more troops to Hungary. The English Government believed that these troop movements created a serious obstacle to carrying out the grand strategy of the war against France. Moreover, Englishmen came to think that this action represented bad faith by Austria since they believed that the revolt could easily be quelled by acquiescing to Hungarian demands, particularly their demand for religious freedom.

The English concept of grand strategy in the War of the Spanish Succession was based on the premise that, in order to defeat the most powerful single country in Europe, France's superior military strength had to be engaged on as many fronts as possible so that she would be compelled to divide and, thus, to weaken her forces. For this reason, England believed that it was essential for the allies to attack France from the United Provinces, Germany, Savoy, and from the sea while at the same time engaging French forces in Spain. In this way, the superior strength of France could be reduced to proportions which were manageable by the smaller allied armies. The key element in English thinking was the stress placed on simultaneous attack on several sides. The cabinet in London believed that this required the utmost effort on the part of each ally. In the light of this viewpoint, the revolt in Hungary was a serious distraction to the Austrian military effort in fighting France.⁴

In 1701, the aristocratic Hungarian patriot, Prince Ferenc II Rákóczi, had escaped from prison in Vienna. After nearly two years of refuge in Poland, he returned to Hungary in June 1703 with his associate Count Miklós Bercsényi and put himself at the head of the *Kuruc*, peasant revolt. Shortly after Rákóczi's return, George Stepney, the English

envoy in Vienna surveyed Vienna's position in the war against France. He saw that Austria had various problems: difficulty with the elector of Bavaria, the lethargy of the Imperial army, and the revolt in Hungary. "We want but one disorder more to be in as miserable a state as possible," he wrote.⁵ In the back of his mind, he had speculated that this one disorder more might be Turkish support for the Hungarians and a renewal of the war in the east which had ended only five years before with the Peace of Karlowitz. The English envoy to Prussia, Lord Raby, sympathized with the Imperial position, "the misfortune of the poor Emperor is but too plain for the rebels are almost at the gates of Vienna, and the elector of Bavaria with the French are ready to enter his hereditary countries on the other side, so that he can hardly find a place in his dominions where he can be safe."⁶

In the United Provinces, the duke of Marlborough served as commander-in-chief of English forces in the Low Countries and ambassador to the Dutch while also a key political figure and a member of the cabinet at home. In his reports Marlborough assured the cabinet that he understood entirely the serious effect of the Hungarian problem on the prosecution of the war, and that he lost no opportunity in pressing the Imperial envoys to urge their court to bring about peace with the Hungarians. He believed, however, that diplomatic pressure would not be effective while Hungarian demands were so unacceptably high.⁷ At an informal discussion in 1704 sponsored by the English and Dutch envoys to Vienna, the *Kuruc* leaders demonstrated that they intended to do more than correct what they believed were immediate political abuses. They sought the restoration of the elective monarchy and the right of the Hungarian nobility to oppose with arms any violation of the kingdom's law and constitution. In addition, they wanted foreign powers to guarantee the settlement with Vienna, while at the same time suggesting that Transylvania be re-established as an independent state with Rákóczi as its prince. The Habsburg court in Vienna found the rebel leaders to be far too obstinate and ambitious to negotiate over these demands or to accept willingly anything else.⁸

In 1704, the English envoy in Vienna was ordered to present Marlborough's campaign against Bavaria as a special favour to the Emperor, which could be appropriately reciprocated by quieting the disturbances in Hungary.⁹ This line of approach was repeatedly used by England, but it met with little success. As Marlborough progressed toward the Danube, Stepney continued to hear reports that if the confederate armies should defeat the Bavarian Elector Max II Emmanuel, Austria would probably order her leading general, Prince Eugen, to Hungary with a

large army to suppress the revolt. Stepney diplomatically told an Imperial courtier that he was

fully persuaded such designs were far from the Emperor's inclinations and true interest, which was to come to a speedy conclusion with his own subjects, and if the Elector of Bavaria should chance to be defeated, then to turn all the forces that can be spared out of the Empire toward prosecuting the war in Italy.¹⁰

The cabinet in London hoped that the further action which it had taken in sending a prestigious general, Lord Galway, with additional forces to Portugal would also be seen as a further assurance of English support for Habsburg interests. They hoped it would deserve the repayment of peace in Hungary. The allied success against Bavaria led London to believe that the Hungarians would be more willing to make peace.¹¹ It was logical to conclude that the defeat of such a very powerful prince would have an effect on less powerful dissenters within the Empire, but the situation proved to be quite different. On the one hand, this success seemed to lead some in Vienna to "a persecuting spirit" encouraging the use of large detachments of the Imperial army in Hungary.¹² On the other hand, the Hungarians now seemed to be even less receptive to the idea of making a peaceful solution. Following the defeat of the Bavarian and French armies by the English, Dutch and Imperial forces at the Battle of Blenheim in August 1704, neither France nor Bavaria was likely to provide any direct military support for the Hungarian revolt. However, Stepney speculated that the Hungarians might now turn to seek support from the Turks.¹³ In late August 1704, Stepney and the Dutch envoy at Vienna, Jacob Jan Hamel Bruyninx, jointly approached Count Dominik Andreas Kaunitz, the imperial vice-chancellor, attempting to learn more about Imperial policy toward the Hungarian revolutionaries and "to improve any fair opportunity" that the Hungarians might have in reaching a peaceful solution.¹⁴ But all seemed to be of no avail. In late November, Secretary of State Robert Harley ordered Stepney, at the Queen's express command, that he "in the most warm and engaging terms press" the Emperor to make peace in Hungary. "All the zeal and affection that Her Majesty hath showed to the interest of the House of Austria," Harley lamented,

all the success which heaven hath blessed Her Majesty's arms with will be to no purpose, for not only the Turk will necessarily be brought into the War on one side, but the French will be strengthened on the other side and Her Majesty her allies will be weakened if not disabled from affording assistance to those who will do nothing towards their

own deliverance, but rather embarrass their own affairs and weaken others.¹⁵

The remote affairs of Hungary could well have been the rock upon which English grand strategy foundered. In English eyes, the spectre of renewed war between the Turks and the Empire was increased by Austrian insistence on putting down the Hungarian revolt by force. The failure of the Imperial court to react to this situation and to put clear priority on the war against France caused an increasingly cynical English attitude toward the Empire's contribution to the war. Richard Hill, the English envoy to Savoy, echoed the common sentiment when he remarked, "we owe little, God knows, to the Emperor, who can neither make peace in Hungary, nor war in Lombardy."¹⁶ For the moment, the war in Italy was to be sustained only by the hope of the 8,000 Prussians for which Marlborough had negotiated.¹⁷

By the summer of 1705, the insurrection in Hungary had reached such serious proportions for English plans that Lord Sunderland was dispatched on a special mission to establish the basis for peace between Austria and the Hungarians.¹⁸ The Government in London was quite willing to use every available argument in support of its view. Doing just that, Harley wrote to Vienna wishing Sunderland and Stepney success in the negotiations with "those Heathen magicians which oppose you" and suggesting that if peace could not be speedily reached in Hungary, it would neither be easy to give aid to Italy "nor will our Parliament here be ready to continue their supplies for carrying on a war to support those, who will not (though they can) help themselves."¹⁹ As the principal parliamentary manager for the Government as well as a secretary of state, Harley's words should have carried weight when reported in Vienna.

While both the Hungarians and the Emperor had accepted English mediation, there seemed to be a great reluctance on the part of the Austrians to accept an English guarantee of Hungarian rights. Without that, there was little hope that the Hungarians would agree to any terms. Even before leaving for the continent, Lord Sunderland was pessimistic about the success of his mission. "I fear I am going upon a very fruitless errand," he wrote.²⁰

After arriving in Austria, Sunderland found that, despite his urgent pleas, there was very little hope of preventing the Imperial army from forcefully putting down the revolt.²¹ By December 1705, the situation had not changed. Both sides in the dispute seemed more intransigent than ever, and there were additional fears that disorders in Bavaria would further hinder the war effort against France. Prince Eugene's

army in Italy was in need of every kind of support.²² Despite these difficulties, there was one ray of hope: the clash of arms in Transylvania during Austria's reoccupation of the area had not brought the Turks into the war. Sir Robert Sutton, English Ambassador at Constantinople, reported to Stepney that the plague, corruption, and confusion in the government of the Ottoman Empire allowed little opportunity for direct entry into the war.²³ Sutton believed that the Turks would go no further than merely encouraging the Hungarians to persevere in their revolt and "favouring them underhand" with arms in Wallachia and Moldavia.²⁴ By late spring 1706, Stepney had been able to make progress in mediating a two-month truce between the Hungarians and the Habsburgs.²⁵ The English and the Dutch had great expectations for the success of the conference convened at Tynall on 25 May 1706. This was the first formal peace talk between the Emperor Joseph and his Hungarian subjects after three years of war. Despite English optimism, the conference foundered on Rákóczi's uncompromising demand for the restoration of complete independence for Transylvania. George Stepney and his Dutch colleague worked hard to obtain a compromise, however the Emperor's claim to sovereignty in Transylvania backed by the success of his army in subduing the province gave little reason for the Habsburg court to concede to Rákóczi's demands. At the expiration of the truce in mid-July, the negotiations broke down and the armistice was not renewed. The Dutch and English mediators were optimistic about reaching a settlement in due course, but the prolonged period required would delay and obstruct the Imperial military campaign in Hungary. Viewing the negotiations as only a delay, the Habsburg court broke them off and resumed military operations.²⁶

The English and Dutch mediators were outraged at the failure of these negotiations. They interpreted Habsburg intransigence as evidence of insincerity, not only in its dealings with the Hungarians, but with the wider aims of the Grand Alliance against France. The continued presence of thousands of Austrian troops in Hungary weakened the allied effort against France. To Englishmen this appeared to be a weakness caused only by the selfish and unwarranted aims of the Habsburg monarch. Given English perceptions of the situation, the government in London could not support Vienna in suppressing protestantism or the rights of the Hungarians. In one respect, English support for Rákóczi only prolonged the agony of his inevitable defeat, yet the suppression of the Rákóczi insurrection was no more in England's interests than its continuation as a drain on Austrian resources.

Shortly after the collapse of the peace talks at Tynall, Stepney was

transferred to The Hague to replace the incapacitated Alexander Stanhope as envoy. Soon after his arrival there, Stepney learned that the Dutch had ordered their envoy in Constantinople to exhort Turkey to carefully adhere to the treaty of Karlowitz, the treaty which had brought an end to the Turkish war in 1699. Stepney held little hope that such a course of action would be effective. "In my poor opinion the most natural method of preserving the peace would be by persuading the Emperor to be reconciled with the Hungarians," he wrote.²⁷ The Hungarians were the key to preserving the peace in east central Europe, and Stepney went so far as to suggest that in order to prevent war, the Emperor should relinquish Transylvania entirely to Rákóczi. Unknown to the English, Rákóczi's envoys were already in Constantinople seeking aid from the Turks, but in Stepney's opinion, Turkey was not a natural ally for the Hungarians. Prince Rákóczi, himself, had told Stepney that he would not have recourse to the Turks unless there was no other alternative in attaining his goals.²⁸ With this advice in mind, the cabinet approved the instructions to the new English Ambassador to Vienna. Sir Philip Meadows was told that his major concern would be to prevent diversion from the war against France, stop the war in Hungary, and avoid Turkish interference. "It can not but give us and our allies much concern," the royal instructions stated, "if we should have any ground to apprehend that there will be less force employed against France the next year than was this. The only way to prevent that is to procure an honourable peace in Hungary."²⁹ English representations in this matter, however, had little effect. By the autumn of 1707, there were reports that additional Imperial troops were to be withdrawn from Italy and sent directly to Hungary.³⁰ Some of the forces mentioned included the Hessian and Saxe-Gothans in English pay serving in Italy.³¹ In February, reports were received in London that the Emperor intended to send some of the Danish troops in Austrian service to Hungary.³² Although these troops were paid by Austria, the English diplomats in both Vienna and Copenhagen were instructed to protest against this action and to ensure that the troops were used against France. However, when it was learned in London that Denmark had agreed to the Emperor's proposal to use Danish troops in Hungary, England acquiesced in order to prevent further stress within the alliance.³³

From 1708, the English Government appeared to take little interest in the Hungarian situation, enduring it as best they could. The envoy in Vienna admitted at one point that he never troubled London with news from Hungary although the court in Vienna seemed "more concerned for the success of that war, than at what may happen on any frontier of

France.”³⁴ In January 1711, the new Government in London under Robert Harley which replaced the Godolphin ministry renewed appeals for a peaceful accommodation in Hungary. Seeking support from the States-General, Lord Townshend was ordered to ask the Dutch to join in England’s plea for an end to a war which risked Turkish interference and which served French interests.³⁵ Despite continued assurances from Constantinople that war was unlikely, London suspected that these were only pretenses for the Turks to put themselves in a good military posture before attacking the Habsburg Empire. The safest course to follow, Secretary St. John believed, was to procure peace in Hungary.³⁶

In 1710, the chances for English grand strategy to succeed had been reduced following the defeat and capture of General James Stanhope at Brihuega in Spain and the continued lack of a vigorous attack on France from Savoy. In London, however, the cabinet continued to believe that a military solution to the war could only be won by carrying through the original concept of war strategy. The plans for the campaign of 1711 stressed the full use of the Imperial army against France and an active campaign by Victor Amadeus II, the duke of Savoy, complementing the other allied armies in the Low Countries and in Spain.

As war weariness and financial pressures stretched allied military resources to the utmost, English ministers believed that the Hungarian situation must be settled quickly in order to win the war. Hungary, in St. John’s words, had become “the great hinge of the war.”³⁷ Without the settlement there, he could see “no prospect of reducing France, and of obtaining an honourable Peace.”³⁸

The military situation in Spain had fallen to such a level that it appeared far too difficult a situation for the allies to retrieve. Secretary of State St. John outlined the dilemma:

Suppose what number of troops you please sent into Catalonia, they will have hardly ground at first to stand upon or provisions with any tolerable convenience, neither can they hope easily or in any reasonable time to be able to extend themselves blocked up by such an army, and in such a corner of the country.³⁹

The situation might be saved, the Government believed, by strong action in the other theatres. As St. John put it, “if we were able to gain a footing in France whilst we lost it in Spain, we might hope to have the opportunity of making a safe and honourable peace.”⁴⁰ English troops in Flanders were substantially increased to offset the preparations of the French.⁴¹ The best opportunity appeared to be an attack in Provence or Dauphiné.⁴² However, the ability of the allies to gather a strong army in

either of those places clearly depended on peace in Hungary and the subsequent transfer of Imperial forces to the French front. 20–30,000 troops had been deployed in Hungary during the insurrection and by the end of 1711, this figure may have been more than 50,000 or nearly half of the entire Austrian army.

England's expectations were raised by the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Hungarian insurgents and the Habsburg ruler in May 1711. The peace which England had sought for so many years seemed to be at hand. The revolt was over, and English ministers moved quickly to encourage the movement of Imperial troops out of Hungary.⁴³ They watched the results of their efforts carefully for they were designed to be a test of Vienna's intentions and of the viability of English grand strategy in achieving a military victory in the war. The new government which had come to power under Robert Harley in 1710 was committed to ending the war. The new English government pursued the same basic war strategy which had been followed since the war against France had broken out in 1702.⁴⁴ If possible, they wished to achieve a military victory along the lines which the Marlborough-Godolphin government had followed. The new leaders saw the difficulty of achieving success with a purely military strategy and, at the same time, they were exploring other alternatives. They believed that short of a clear cut military defeat on the battlefield, the alliance could still achieve its goals by using allied military preparations as a means of negotiating from a position of strength with France. Failing even allied agreement or cooperation to do that, English leaders believed that they could achieve their own national aims through a separate peace. In any case, the Government in London needed an effective Austrian army attacking France on her borders as part of England's conception of grand strategy for the war. Now that the Rákóczi insurrection had been put down, the English cabinet could see no further excuse for Austrian failure to join fully in the war against France. Secretary of State Henry St. John put the issue clearly when he wrote,

The Malcontents have hitherto been the scapegoats which have borne the blame of all deficiencies we have had to charge the House of Austria with. Hungary has been the gulf wherein the plunder of Bavaria, and of Mantua, the revenues of Milan and Naples, and the contributions of the Italian princes, all gained by the assistance of the Queen and States, have been swallowed up. But these excuses can no longer be pleaded. . . .⁴⁵

The obstacle which the Rákóczi-led insurrection in Hungary had

presented to English grand strategy had been removed, yet the English did not see the desired results after the end of the revolt. The cabinet in London concluded that the Emperor's removal of the troops from Hungary which had formerly been used to suppress the revolt would be "a final test of their good or their bad intentions to that Common Cause where the greatest stake is their own."⁴⁶ Consequently, opinion in London became bitter. After peace had been achieved in Hungary, the Imperial army remained there and it seemed England must pay even greater subsidies to Austria at a time when English finances were precarious. If that would be the case, St. John concluded bitterly, "the misfortune will indeed be general, but the fault will only lie at the Imperial Court."⁴⁷

* * *

The Hungarian revolt most certainly weakened the Grand Alliance by increasing tension between Vienna and London. Englishmen showed little appreciation for the realities of the situation in Hungary or for Habsburg objectives in Hungary. There was a lack of understanding and a clash of basic interests. For the English officials, the Rákóczi Insurrection was an obscure problem in a distant land, yet the diversion of troops to Hungary was the principal reason which prevented Austria from participating in the war against France in the manner and to the degree which England wished. The Habsburg court had other competing interests which distracted it in other areas as well, but the lack of cooperation which England felt in regard to Hungary was the situation which London used to test Vienna's sincerity in the Grand Alliance. The Habsburg court's unwillingness to achieve a speedy peace with the Hungarians, in part, spelled the failure of England's strategy for military victory against France.

England was sympathetic toward the rebel cause in Hungary, although she provided little beyond diplomatic support for Rákóczi. The rebels attracted England by a broad similarity in ideology, but English motives in pressing the issues were based in *real politik*. England was probably correct in thinking that the Grand Alliance needed to employ all of its armed force in order to defeat France in battle. However, England calculated allied victory on a number of factors which included the full and undiverted employment of the Austrian army on the French border. English leaders believed that the revolt in Hungary was the major diversion for Austria. They concluded that peace in Hungary would free the Austrian army to operate in the west without hindrance. This conclusion was unrealistic since it would have involved the abandonment of long standing Habsburg ambitions in Hungary. Furthermore, it meant

that Austria would refrain from military involvement in Hungary and would, in fact, yield that country of Rákóczi's forces. English plans also presumed that the victorious Hungarians would not align themselves with France or with Turkey in any way that would create a threat for Vienna. Perhaps the only situation which would have satisfied English aspirations was the creation of a Hungary which would be uninvolved in international politics, and whose laws, constitution—and Protestants—were somehow protected from the power of an absolute monarch. But such a Hungary could only be conjured up by Englishmen who held a curiously incomplete and unrealistic vision of that country as an isolated and distant nation whose external and internal problems had no influence on the general European situation. The greatest weakness in England's war policy was the dichotomy between her keen appreciation for power politics in constructing a war strategy, and her failure to understand Allied domestic affairs which militated against that strategy's implementation.

NOTES

1. For a general outline of Austrian and Hungarian reaction to English policy, see Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, "The Rákóczi Insurrection and the Disruption of the Grand Alliance," *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*, vol. V, No. 2 (Fall 1978), pp. 17-29, and in particular, Charles W. Ingrao. *In Quest and Crisis: Emperor Joseph I and the Habsburg Monarchy* (West Lafayette, Ind., 1979), pp. 123-160; Ladislas Baron Hengelmüller, *Hungary's Fight for National Existence* (London, 1913).
2. Queen Anne to the Emperor, 25 September 1703 in B. C. Brown, *The Letters of Queen Anne* (London, 1935), pp. 126-127.
3. Queen Anne to the Elector Palatine, 20 February 1703. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
4. For a detailed exposition of England's concept of grand strategy, see my "England in the War of Spanish Succession," Oxford D. Phil. Thesis, (1979).
5. P.R.O., S.P. 80/21, fo. 253: Stepney to Hedges, 22 August 1703.
6. P.R.O., S.P. 90/2, fo. 206: Raby to Hedges, 18 December 1703.
7. Blenheim, Marlborough Letter Book, xiv, p. 254: Marlborough to Harley, 29 June 1704.
8. Ingrao, *Quest and Crisis*, pp. 126-28.
9. P.R.O., S.P. 104/39, fo. 2: Harley to Stepney, 30 May 1704.
10. P.R.O., S.P. 80/23, fo. 327: Stepney to Harley, 18 June 1704. Report of a conversation with Count Kaunitz.
11. P.R.O., S.P. 104/39, fo. 9: Harley to Stepney, 4 July 1704.
12. P.R.O., S.P. 80/23, fo. 423: Stepney to Hill, 22 July 1704.
13. P.R.O., S.P. 80/24, fo. 1: Stepney to Harley, 2 August 1704.
14. P.R.O., S.P. 80/24, fo. 32v: Stepney to Harley, 20 August 1704.
15. P.R.O., S.P. 104/39, fo. 26: Harley to Stepney, 21 November 1704.
16. P.R.O., S.P. 92/27, fo. 7: Hill to Hedges, 4 January 1705.
17. The treaty with Prussia, signed 28 November 1704.
18. P.R.O., S.P. 104/203: Instructions to Sunderland, 28 June 1704. Sunderland

was not yet a secretary of state. He received the seals on December 1706, a year after his return.

19. P.R.O., S.P. 104/39, fos. 73-33: Harley to Stepney, 14 August 1705.
20. West Sussex R.O., Petworth House Archives MSS. 14: Sunderland to Somerset, 21 July 1705.
21. Brit. Lib., Addit. MSS. 28,056, fo. 319: Sunderland to Godolphin, 9 September 1705.
22. Blenheim, Marlborough Letter Book, xvi, p. 358: Marlborough to Harley, 22 December 1705; H. Snyder, ed., *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, (Oxford 1975), p. 514.
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32. P.R.O., S.P. 104/4, fo. 56: Boyle to Pultney, 24 February 1708; fo. 57, 27 February 1708.
33. P.R.O., S.P. 104/4, fo. 58v: Boyle to Pultney, 30 March 1708.
34. P.R.O., S.P. 80/30: Palmes to Boyle, 18 February 1710.
35. P.R.O., S.P. 104/79, fo. 14: St. John to Townshend, 30 January 1711.
36. P.R.O., S.P. 104/40: St. John to Palmes, 30 January 1711.
37. P.R.O., S.P. 104/52, fo. 97: St. John to Raby, 6 March 1711.
38. P.R.O., S.P. 104/40: St. John to Peterborough, 16 February 1711.
39. P.R.O., S.P. 84/241, fos. 8-11: St. John to Raby, 6 March 1711.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Marlborough to Heinsius, 10 February 1711. B. van 't Hoff. *The Correspondence of John Churchill and Antonie Heinsius* (The Hague, 1951), p. 539.
42. P.R.O., S.P. 104/40: St. John to Peterborough, 16 February 1711.
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Marriage and Internal Migration in Moson County: Féltorony as a Case Study: 1827-1920

Blair R. Holmes

While geographers, historians and demographers frequently employ registers of births and deaths and census records in their examinations of society's trends and changes, there has generally been considerably less implementation of the detailed information contained in marriage registers.¹ In the case of the village of Féltorony (present-day Halbturn, Burgenland), the register of marriages encompasses the period from 1827 to 1920 inclusively and contains details which can be used in describing the lives of the inhabitants of this rural village in extreme eastern Austria. With the exception of the years 1865, 1866, 1881, which are missing, the records usually contain the names, ages, occupations and places of birth and residence of the bride and groom; the names and occupations of the parents of the marriage partners; and, in some cases, birthdates of the bride and groom and the names and occupations of the witnesses to the marriage. Prior to 1896 the marriage records, being under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were written in Latin; while the introduction of civil registration in 1896 required the information to be recorded in Hungarian. Examples of the aspects of the daily life of the village's inhabitants which are possible to examine are the percentage of intra-village marriages (which provides an index of the community's isolation); the distance and direction of inter-village marriages; and the role of age, occupation and marital status in determination of spouse selection.²

Located in the Hungarian border province of Moson, part of which was incorporated into the Austrian Burgenland following World War One, Féltorony was selected at random and is assumed to have been representative of the predominantly German villages in western Hungary.³ The population of the village rose from 1150 in 1821 to 2449 in 1920, an increase of 112.9%, which was a much greater rate of increase than was experienced by the surrounding region.⁴ Between the years 1827-1920 there were 1657 marriages. Few women had occupations

listed, but of the men 57% were engaged in agriculture; approximately 19% were artisans; 9% followed commercial pursuits such as merchants, innkeepers or carters; 5% has pastoral occupations; while the remaining 10% was comprised of day-laborers, domestic servants, public officials, school teachers, military personnel or other miscellaneous livelihoods.

Primary among the factors which influenced a person's selection of a mate were the population of the surrounding territory, the distance from neighboring villages and local customs governing marital choice.. If, for example, the nearest village was at a greater distance than the average person could walk or ride within the space of a few hours, it is unlikely that there would have been much long-range courtship and few inter-village marriages.⁵ If the average person did not possess the means to travel great distances, there would have been little social contact outside one's own village or its immediate environs.⁶ The population of one's native village and the nearby area was also significant. If the population was dense, this provided a large number of potential partners and reduced the desire or necessity to search elsewhere. Also, the belief of the

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF MARRIAGES AND THE DISTANCE OF
BIRTHPLACE FROM FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920

<i>Distance (km)</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
2-3	64	18
3-4	113	166
4-5	44	23
5-6	6	3
6-7	24	21
7-8	0	0
8-9	0	0
9-10	44	15
10-11	44	14
11-12	28	31
12-13	27	5
13-14	8	10
14-15	22	22
15-16	31	30
16-17	15	8
17-18	13	9
18-19	5	3
19-20	10	10
Total	498	388

Hungarian peasants that “everyone should choose a fitting mate within the village”⁷ militated against selecting a mate who was not well known to one’s family and friends.

Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate that the relationship between the number of marriages and distance decreased sharply as the distance from Féltorony became greater. It is evident, when the places of birth and residence are compared, that there was a general tendency for movement toward Féltorony and, hence, more spouses were chosen from those who resided within a small radius. Table 3 reveals the tendency for a close proximity of residence to determine spouse selection. More of the brides and grooms were residing outside of Féltorony than were born outside and their residences were closer to the village. A large portion either resided in Féltorony or within a small radius. More than half of the men and two-thirds of the women were village residents, while an additional one-quarter of both genders resided within five kilometers. Very few persons lived at a distance exceeding twenty kilometers.⁸

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF MARRIAGES AND THE DISTANCE OF
RESIDENCE FROM FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920

<i>Distance (km)</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
2-3	50	10
3-4	352	399
4-5	40	14
5-6	3	1
6-7	30	17
7-8	10	0
8-9	26	31
9-10	20	2
10-11	33	7
11-12	17	3
12-13	23	4
13-14	6	2
14-15	16	3
15-16	31	21
16-17	9	1
17-18	3	1
18-19	2	0
19-20	4	1
Total	675	517

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF MARRIAGES AND DISTANCES OF
BIRTH AND RESIDENCE, 1827-1920

<i>Distance</i>	<i>BIRTH</i>						<i>RESIDENCE</i>					
	<i>Men</i>			<i>Women</i>			<i>Men</i>			<i>Women</i>		
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum%</i>
Féltorony	741	51.7	51.7	947	64.5	64.5	905	55.7	55.7	1092	67.3	67.3
0-5km	221	15.4	67.1	207	14.1	78.6	442	27.2	82.9	423	26.1	93.4
5-10km	118	8.2	75.3	53	3.6	82.2	122	7.5	90.4	58	3.6	97.0
10-20km	149	11.1	86.4	128	8.7	90.9	111	6.8	97.2	36	2.2	99.2

These figures, however, do not take into account the important factor of population distribution around the village. Because the probability of Féltorony residents marrying each other was a function both of distance and population, it is necessary to standardize the number of marriages for the surrounding area. This is accomplished by dividing the number of marriages, according to residence within a particular radius, by the corresponding population of the same area. Because the population structures of the neighboring villages are not known, it is assumed that they were similar to Féltorony. The average size of the population of each community and area was determined by calculating the running and weighted averages from years in which censuses were taken.⁹ (Table 4.)

When the standardized number of marriages is multiplied by 1000 ($M = 1000s/\frac{1}{2}p$) and the logarithm of the resulting product is plotted against the distance from Féltorony, as in Figure 1, the relationship approximates a straight line, which indicates a constant rate of change. The correlation coefficient (r) of the distance (D) and the $\log M$ gives further strong and nearly equal evidence of the relationship between the place of residence of a marriage partner and the distance of that residence from Féltorony. For males $r = -0.79$; while for females $r = -0.74$.

The information contained in the marriage registers varied in amount and nature according to the proclivities of the village priest and the demands of the church or state. On occasion, the earliest years of the register excluded the place of birth or residence, while the entries for the years following 1907 periodically omitted the birthplace of those not born in Féltorony or the neighboring villages of Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof.¹⁰ As a result, the calculations for the years following 1907 are somewhat distorted and could be misleading.¹¹

Although the earliest parish register entries sometimes failed to list

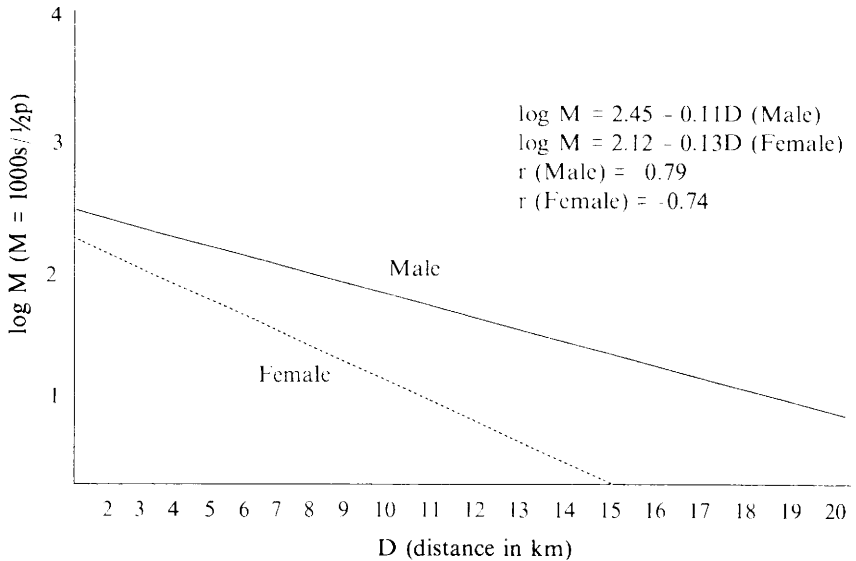
TABLE 4
SPOUSES, ESTIMATED POPULATION, AND
STANDARDIZED NUMBER OF SPOUSES IN
THE VICINITY OF FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920

<i>Distance (km)</i> <i>from Féltorony</i>	<i>Spouse(s)</i>		<i>Average</i> <i>Population (p)</i>	<i>Standardized Spouses</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>		<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
2-3	50	10	1416	0.0706	0.0141
3-4	352	399	473	1.4884	1.6871
4-5	40	14	2454	0.0326	0.0114
5-6	3	1	2048	0.0029	0.0098
6-7	30	17	missing	—	—
7-8	10	0	145	0.1379	0.0000
8-9	26	31	missing	—	—
9-10	20	2	2234	0.0179	0.0018
10-11	33	7	2533	0.0261	0.0055
11-12	17	3	2757	0.0123	0.0022
12-13	23	4	3995	0.0115	0.0010
13-14	6	2	1710	0.0070	0.0023
14-15	16	3	4577	0.0070	0.0013
15-16	31	21	6894	0.0090	0.0061
16-17	9	1	4056	0.0044	0.0005
17-18	3	1	1605	0.0037	0.0012
18-19	2	0	799	0.0050	0.0000
19-20	4	1	3290	0.0024	0.0006
Féltorony	905	1092	1857	0.9747	1.1761

$$\text{Standardized Spouses} = \frac{s}{\frac{1}{2}p}$$

the place of birth or residence, it is evident that slightly more than half (52.3%) of the grooms and two-thirds (65.4%) of brides were born in Féltorony. When the place of residence is considered, a slightly larger percentage of the grooms (55.7%) and brides (67.4%) were living in Féltorony at the time of marriage. The lower percentage of male spouses resident in Féltorony stems, in part, from the fact that it was more common for men than women to leave the community to obtain employment. Men who changed their residence were also less inclined than women to return to the village of their birth for the marriage ceremony. More often, it was the bride's town of birth or a different village to which both had moved where the wedding occurred. When the neighboring villages of Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof are included, the trend for women to change residence less than men becomes more clear. While three-fifths (60.2%) of the men were born in one of the three villages, in excess of three-fourths (76.9%) of the women were native. Of the men

FIGURE 1
RELATIONSHIP OF LOGARITHM OF STANDARDIZED NUMBER OF MARRIAGES TO DISTANCE FROM FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920



who married in Féltorony, three-quarters (77.5%) were resident in one of the villages, while more than nine-tenths (91.9%) of the women were residents. (Table 5.)

When it is considered that nearly 40% of the men and 23% of the women who were married in Féltorony were not born there or in the adjacent villages of Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof, it becomes apparent that there was a significant amount of residential change in Moson county during the period being studied. This hypothesis is given further credence when a comparison is made between those who spent their lives from birth to marriage in Féltorony and those wed in the community who had either been born there and moved elsewhere or had been born elsewhere and moved into the village. Nearly half of the men and forty per cent of the women who were married in Féltorony were not natives, i.e., persons who were born and resident in the village. (Table 6.) The amount of residential change, however, was less than apparent because of those who were born and resident in a single village other than Féltorony. Approximately one-fifth (18.8%) of the grooms and one bride in nine (11.4%) who were wed in Féltorony were natives and residents of some other village. As a result, a high and similar percentage

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES BORN OR RESIDENT IN
FÉLTORONY, CASIMIR AND WITTMANNSHOF, 1827-1920

<i>Date</i>	<i>BIRTHPLACE</i>					
	<i>Féltorony</i>		<i>Casimir/Wittmannshof</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	58.3	80.2	1.6	5.8	59.9	86.0
1839-1849	53.9	73.8	4.6	9.7	58.5	83.5
1850-1860	43.6	61.3	2.6	5.8	46.2	67.1
1861-1871	52.0	69.5	9.1	7.3	61.1	76.8
1872-1882	50.7	55.7	7.2	14.2	57.9	69.9
1883-1895	47.5	63.7	5.9	7.4	53.4	71.1
1896-1908	51.7	60.1	9.3	13.4	61.0	73.5
1909-1920	66.7	69.4	25.4	25.4	92.1	94.8
Total						
Average	52.3	65.4	7.9	11.5	60.2	76.9

<i>Date</i>	<i>RESIDENCE</i>					
	<i>Féltorony</i>		<i>Casimir/Wittmannshof</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	68.6	77.0	10.1	10.9	78.7	87.9
1839-1849	62.2	73.4	13.4	15.4	75.6	88.8
1850-1860	57.7	73.3	23.7	22.4	81.4	95.7
1861-1871	63.1	79.3	20.1	19.6	83.4	98.9
1872-1882	54.6	66.5	24.8	30.7	79.4	97.2
1883-1895	54.3	70.6	26.0	27.6	80.3	98.2
1896-1908	52.1	59.6	23.6	29.6	75.7	89.2
1909-1920	39.9	48.9	28.5	32.3	68.4	81.2
Total						
Average	55.7	67.4	21.8	24.5	77.5	91.9

of men (68.1%) and women (72.3%) had never changed village of residence prior to marriage.¹²

Approximately one-third (31.4%) of the men married in Féltorony were migrant, i.e., had changed village of residence prior to marriage. Of these 436 persons, only 47 (10.8%) had been born in Féltorony, moved elsewhere and returned to their native village to marry. With only one exception, each returned to Féltorony to marry a native girl. The single exception married a person who had moved from her village of birth and settled near Féltorony. One-third (144) of the migrants had moved to Féltorony, while 245 (56.2%) had been born and changed residence outside of Féltorony. When the number of men who were either born

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES BORN AND
RESIDENT IN FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920

<i>Year</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	54.8	72.2
1839-1849	51.4	61.8
1850-1860	42.4	58.4
1861-1871	50.9	68.6
1872-1882	49.8	55.7
1883-1895	45.2	62.6
1896-1908	47.0	55.2
1909-1920	57.2	60.1
Average	49.3	60.9

and/or resident in the village are totaled, it is somewhat surprising to learn that 37% of the men wed in Féltony were neither born nor resident there. This high figure becomes more credible and is reduced when the figures of those who were born or resident in Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof are added. With the three villages treated as a unit, the percentage of married men who were born and/or resident increases to 74.4%, while those who were born and maintained residence in either Féltony, Albert Casimir or Wittmannshof totaled 56.3% of the grooms.

It was relatively rare for a woman to marry outside of the village in which she resided, as less than one in twenty did so, whereas men were more likely to wed outside their village of residence. Even so, a large majority of both sexes was married in the village of residence. Of the women, three of four (75.4%) were either born or resident in Féltony. Taking in addition Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof, 86.9% of the brides were born and/or resident in at least one of the three villages, while 70.5% of the women were born and resided in the communities. In comparison to the men, a slightly smaller number of women (399), which is 29.8% of all brides whose birthplace and residence are known, were migratory. Of this group, 142 had moved to Féltony, which was only slightly higher (35.6% women; 33.0% men) than the percentage of grooms who had done the same. A larger number of women (66) than men (47) had been born in Féltony, moved elsewhere and returned to marry. In the case of both genders, most of those born in Féltony who left the village settled in Albert Casimir or Wittmannshof. Of the 943 brides born in Féltony, only 18 did not establish residence in one of these villages, while only 11 native-born men did likewise. Only 1.9% of

the women and 14.4% of the men married in Féltorony were born and residing outside the three associated villages. A total of 945 (67.7%) of the men wed in Féltorony never changed residence. Of these non-migrants, slightly more than one-quarter (27.2%) were neither natives nor residents of Féltorony, but 98 of the grooms who had never moved were residents of Albert Casimir or Wittmannshof. A total of 16.8% of the non-migratory men lived outside the three communities. A higher percentage (72.3%) of the women wed in Féltorony had never changed residence, but of the 1040 non-migratory brides, only 25 (2.4%) were not natives of Féltorony, Albert Casimir or Wittmannshof.

It is apparent that the various economic, social and technological changes introduced during the nineteenth century had a minimal effect upon the migratory trends of the population of Féltorony and its environs. One could expect that an increasingly dynamic regional economy and improved transportation systems would result in a marked increase in residential change, but such was not the case. Between 1827 and 1860 the mobility of both males and females tended to increase, but afterward, with one exception, there was a steady decline. When linear regressions are plotted, it emerges that both sexes tended to decrease their residential mobility between 1827 and 1920, although female mobility was always less than that of the men and decreased at a faster rate.¹³ This decrease in migration can be attributed partially to the increase in the village's population and the economic growth of the surrounding area. Greater employment opportunities and a larger choice of mates would logically contribute to the decline in residential change. Women displayed a more consistent pattern of mobility with less pronounced fluctuations than men. The men ranged between 45.6% and 17.6%, a difference of 28%; while the females ranged between 36.5% and 18.6% mobility, a difference of 17.9%. (Table 7.)

Because of the limited possibility that a person would marry someone who was not a resident of his own village or a nearby community, the likelihood of stable, i.e., non-migratory, natives marrying each other was closely related to the amount of inter-village migration. In Féltorony slightly more than half (54.5%) of the marriages were between persons who were non-migratory. However, nearly two-thirds of both sexes (men 67.5%; women 69.8%) had never changed residence. Of the stable women, then, three of four (78.1%) married non-migratory men; while a higher percentage (80.7%) of the stable men married non-migratory women. Nearly one marriage in six (17.2%) was between mutually migratory persons, while 28.3% involved one stable and one migratory spouse. However, short-range migration did not preclude

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGES OF MIGRATORY SPOUSES
1827-1920

<i>Years</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	23.8	23.4
1839-1849	26.5	32.2
1850-1860	45.6	36.5
1861-1871	35.7	29.3
1872-1882	34.1	33.0
1883-1895	35.4	32.1
1896-1908	33.5	29.9
1909-1920	17.6*	18.6*
Average	32.4*	29.8*

* After 1907 the parish register frequently failed to list the birthplaces of the grooms who were not born in Féltorony. Consequently, the mobility of men was likely higher for the 1909-1920 period. When this period is omitted from the calculations, the average percentage of male mobility is 34.0. When the same period is omitted for the brides, the average percentage of female mobility is 31.3.

marriage between village natives. The percentage of marriages between village natives was higher than is indicated due to the practice of one partner (usually the groom) obtaining employment in a neighboring village and returning to wed someone in the village of his birth. Although nearly half (45.5%) of the marriages contained at least one migratory partner, the distance of migration played a major role in determining whether the persons born in Féltorony married each other.

Throughout the century the majority of marriages was composed of persons who had never changed residence. Only in the period from 1850 to 1860 were less than half of the marriages constituted of mutually stable spouses. Otherwise, there was an increase in the percentage of mutually non-migratory partners. For the mutually migratory couples there was a substantial variation of percentage with a slight increase, i.e., increasingly more marriages were composed of migrants as the century progressed. Overall, there was a trend for both marriage partners to be persons who had changed residence or persons who had not. Increasingly fewer marriages were contracted in which only one member had changed residence. There was also an increase in marriages between non-migratory village natives, which decreased the likelihood that a migrant would marry a non-migrant. Throughout the century there was an increasing trend for fewer persons to return to their native village to

marry, while stable natives became less inclined to marry migrants and fewer persons were changing community of residence. The number of mutually migratory and mutually stable couples increased by 20.2% during the century. In the 1827–1838 period, one-third of the marriages had one member who had changed residence, but by 1909–1920 only one-fifth of the marriages had a partner who had moved. (Table 8.)

Residential change was dependent upon several factors. Age was one partial determinant of the frequency and distance of migration. Young men, who had a potentially larger selection of marriage partners than older men and less apparent reason to choose a spouse from outside the village, were less migratory. Until the age of 36, more than two-thirds (69.0%) of the grooms had not changed residence, but half (53.8%) of the older men had moved. Older men were more likely to be seeking a second wife and were under greater economic pressure to marry, so the goal of finding the ideal spouse would have been less important.¹⁴ Few young men were married under 20 years of age and none had changed residence. The majority of men (70.2%) married for the first time between the ages of 21 and 30, with the average age being 27.5 years. As the century progressed, there was a tendency for the mobility of the men in the 21–25 age group to increase while the older men decreased their migration. In the 1827–1838 period 92.3% of the men between 21 and 25 years of age were stable, but by 1883 the percentage had dropped to less than 57% and remained at that level until after 1908. Beginning at the age of 26, there was a trend for mobility to decrease at a faster rate, i.e.,

TABLE 8
PERCENTAGES OF MIGRATORY AND
NON-MIGRATORY SPOUSES, 1827-1920

<i>Years</i>	<i>Mutually Stable Couples</i>	<i>Mutually Migratory Couples</i>	<i>Husband Stable Wife Migratory</i>	<i>Husband Migratory Wife Stable</i>
1827–1838	58.9	7.4	14.7	18.9
1839–1849	52.9	11.0	20.6	15.4
1850–1860	42.7	24.8	12.1	20.4
1861–1871	51.4	16.0	13.3	19.3
1872–1882	54.4	21.2	11.5	12.9
1883–1895	54.3	21.7	10.4	13.6
1896–1908	54.9	17.8	13.1	14.1
1909–1920	72.4	7.3	11.4	8.9
Average	54.5	17.2	13.0	15.3

men between 26 and 30 years of age experienced a slight decrease in mobility, while each successive older age group witnessed a greater decrease in mobility than the former group.

The relationship between age and migration for women differed from that of the men. Whereas most men (84.4%) were married between the ages of 21 and 35, women entered into marriage younger, within a narrower age span, and with less difference in mobility between age groups. The average age for the first marriage of women was 23.6 years. Nearly two-thirds (65.7%) of the women were married between the ages of 21 and 30, which was less than the men (70.2%), but whereas less than 14 per 1000 of the males were married under the age of twenty, 205 per 1000 of the women did so. Thus 86.6% of the women were married before the age of thirty. With the exception of those over 40 years of age, the brides revealed a relatively constant and low level of migration for all ages. As in the case of the men, there was a trend for those in the 21–25 age group to change residence increasingly often, but unlike the men, the older women (those over 30) also increased their mobility throughout the century. The least amount of migration occurred within the 21–25 age bracket (23.8%) for women and the 26–30 year-old men (30.2%). For both sexes those beyond 40 years of age experienced the greatest amount of residential change (51.4% women; 46.0% men). The higher percentage of migration by persons in the upper age levels could partially be explained by their relative economic freedom. Because they would be less likely to have small children and could pass their holdings on to their heirs, older persons would find it easier to change residence. Also, older persons, because of their longevity, would have had more opportunity to change residence. (Table 9).

Remarriage was a relatively frequent phenomenon in the village. Slightly more than one-sixth (17.0%) of the grooms and exactly one bride in eight (12.5%) had previously been married.¹⁵ The average age of widowed men who chose to remarry was slightly more than 38, with the women of a similar status averaging 37 years. Because few women beyond the age of 35 and men beyond the age of 40 remarried (only 6.4% of all brides and 8.4% of all grooms), those who chose to marry later in life or remarried, apparently needed to search a wider area to locate a spouse and thus evidenced a higher degree of mobility. On the other hand, those who remarried were limited in their mobility because of children, property holdings or other obligations and would be inclined to select a mate from among the local populace. Most of the inhabitants of Féltony who had lost a spouse chose not to remarry. Those with adult children or who did not require a marriage partner to manage the

TABLE 9
PERCENTAGES OF NON-MOBILITY ACCORDING TO
AGE GROUP, 1827-1920

Years	Age Groups													
	16-20		21-25		26-30		31-35		36-40		41-50		50+	
	M*	F**	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1827-1838	100	85.7	92.3	100	80.0	75.0	50.0	75.0	66.7	100	—	—	—	—
1839-1849	100	57.1	70.8	83.3	76.9	84.6	33.3	80.0	00.0	100	66.7	—	—	—
1850-1860	100	70.3	75.0	72.7	54.9	34.6	33.3	50.0	11.1	50.0	61.5	—	50.0	33.3
1861 1871	100	76.9	60.4	76.5	75.0	66.7	66.7	73.7	33.3	50.0	42.9	—	—	0.0
1872 1882	—	65.5	71.4	74.2	71.0	55.6	65.4	70.6	47.4	55.6	36.4	30.0	50.0	100
1883-1895	—	64.3	56.8	74.5	65.9	65.9	77.8	50.0	80.0	57.1	66.7	55.6	25.0	66.7
1896 1908	—	66.7	59.4	74.1	67.3	61.9	80.8	66.7	100	50.0	53.8	66.7	100	100
1909-1920	—	75.0	86.1	81.3	83.3	95.3	81.8	66.7	83.3	66.7	66.7	50.0	50.0	—
Totals	100	68.8	67.4	76.2	69.8	67.2	67.6	65.9	52.9	60.5	55.6	45.8	47.4	54.5

* M = Male

** F = Female

home and children or direct the farm or workshop had less reason to wed again. This is demonstrated by the small number of men beyond the age of 50 and women older than 45 who remarried.¹⁶ This also explains why there was only a slight difference in the percentages of migration between single men and widowers. Approximately two of every three men, regardless of marital status (single men 68.2%; widowers 64.1%), did not change residence. These nearly equal percentages are misleading, however. Until 1860 those who had previously been married were slightly less migratory than single men, although both groups revealed the same trend. Between 1861 and 1883 the single men were less apt to change residence. From 1883 to 1908 the situation was reversed, with the widowers becoming increasingly less mobile at a sharp rate. After 1908, however, the movement of previously married men increased rapidly while single men revealed an extreme degree of stability. Considering the period 1827-1920 as a whole, there was a slight tendency for single men to lessen their mobility, while men who had previously been married becoming increasingly migratory.¹⁷

Marital status was a stronger determinant of the mobility of women than it was of men. There were also greater differences between single women and those previously married. On the average, nearly three of every four women (71.1%) who married between 1827 and 1920 had never changed residence, while less than half (49.4%) of the previously

wed had never moved. Throughout the century there was little variation in the percentage of single women who were mobile, although there was a slight trend for residential stability to increase. The range of single female stability was between 66.9% and 82.4%, a difference of 15.5%; whereas the non-movement of widows fluctuated between 77.3% and 23.1%, a range of 44.2%. In spite of such widespread fluctuations, there was only an extremely slight decline in the mobility trend by previously married women.¹⁸ (Table 10.)

TABLE 10
PERCENTAGES OF STABILITY
ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS, 1827-1920

<i>Years</i>	<i>MEN</i>		<i>WOMEN</i>	
	<i>Single</i>	<i>Previously Married</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Previously Married</i>
1827-1838	75.3	83.3	76.3	72.7
1839-1849	71.4	77.5	66.9	77.3
1850-1860	59.7	53.5	67.2	50.0
1861-1871	67.5	48.4	74.4	23.1
1872-1882	66.9	61.1	68.4	58.1
1883-1895	63.9	68.8	69.8	50.0
1896-1908	66.2	78.6	69.7	73.3
1909-1920	86.3	36.4	82.4	69.2
Average	68.2	64.1	71.7	49.4

It is logical to assume that a person's occupation would influence his mobility. Those with extensive property holdings, for example, would likely find it much more difficult to change residence than an itinerant day-laborer or artisan. The village's parish records list numerous occupations for men, but relatively few for women. Of the 1657 brides wed in Féltony, only 142 had occupations attributed to them. Ninety of the brides were servants, 38 were day-laborers or cottagers, seven were bondswomen, six were cooks, and one was a midwife. For the male population a large number and variety of occupations were recorded, which this author has categorized in seven groups: commercial, artisan, agriculture, service (including domestic servants, day-laborers and bondsmen), professional, pastoral and miscellaneous.¹⁹

A slightly disproportionate share of the men who did not change residence were engaged in agriculture. While composing 47.6% of the

grooms, the tillers of the soil accounted for 57.3% of those who were non-migratory. Four of every five (80.7%) farmers had not moved prior to marriage, while 65.8% of the artisans, 41.7% of the commercial class and 55.7% of the service category were stable.²⁰ Until 1895 those in agriculture maintained a high and dominant level of stability, but between 1896 and 1908 only slightly more than half did not change residence. Following 1908 the non-mobility of farmers rebounded to near its previous level. Throughout the century the non-mobility of those practicing agriculture declined at a rate nearly equal to that of the entire male population, while the stability of the artisans and those in the service and commercial categories increased after experiencing substantial fluctuations. Between 1827-1838, 68% of the artisans had not changed residence and each subsequent decade (except for 1872-1882) until the end of the nineteenth century witnessed a decline in their mobility. By 1895 only 42.9% of the artisans in the preceding decade had not moved. After 1900, however, there was a sharp increase in the stability of artisans. The most migratory occupational category included the domestic servants, day-laborers, manual laborers, cottagers and the like. From 1827 until 1895, 53% of those in the service occupations were migratory. Like the artisans, they too, after the turn of the century, witnessed a tremendous change and became much more residentially stable. Between 1896 and 1902, 80.6% of the service group were non-migratory. During the years 1827-1920 those in agriculture declined only slightly in their residential stability, whereas the artisan and service groups tended to increase their residential permanence at a much faster rate.²¹ (Table 11.)

TABLE 11
PERCENTAGES OF MALE MIGRATION
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1827-1920

<i>Years</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Artisan</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Commercial</i>
1827-1838	16.7	32.0	—	—
1839-1849	14.5	31.8	45.7	—
1850-1860	22.8	38.5	59.6	—
1861-1871	17.9	50.0	44.8	—
1872-1882	8.2	35.7	52.7	68.8
1883-1895	2.9	57.1	54.9	63.2
1896-1908	42.2	21.7	18.9	50.0
1909-1920	18.5	6.2	21.1	—
Average	19.3	34.2	44.3	58.3

The amount of migration between Féltorony and the surrounding area between 1827 and 1920 clearly indicates that inter-village contact was common and that the possibility of marrying someone from another community was substantial. The alteration of one's residence, however, did not necessarily lessen the likelihood of marrying a person from one's own village. In spite of the frequency of residential change, most of those born in Féltorony married someone from their native village. A total of 852 marriages were conducted of which one or both spouses were stable natives of Féltorony, had moved from the village prior to being wed, or had been born elsewhere but had immigrated to the village. In 66.3% of the cases both partners were natives who had not changed residence. In the neighboring villages of Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof a large majority of those who had moved into or emigrated from one of the two hamlets married someone else who has also migratory. In Albert Casimir slightly more than one marriage in six (17.6%) was between stable natives, while only two per cent of the marriages in Wittmannshof were between natives who had not moved. It is evident that Féltorony, whose population grew rapidly, exercised a strong attraction for persons residing in small or declining communities. In Féltorony only one male native in eight (12.4%) and one female native in approximately six (17.4%) married someone who had moved, even if only to a neighboring village to work. In Albert Casimir 56.2% of the men and 47.7% of the women who were stable natives married someone who had moved.

There was little tendency for those born in Féltorony or any of the surrounding villages who had moved elsewhere to return to their own community of birth to marry. It was exceptionally rare for a non-migratory native of Féltorony to marry someone who was neither born nor residing in the community. Only seven of 645 men (1.1%) and 29 of 684 women (4.2%) did so. In Albert Casimir, the stable, native males found one-fifth of their spouses from among those who had never resided in the community, while only 6.8% of the native women took their husbands from among outsiders.

A person's age also partially determined whether one wed a non-migratory native, someone who had migrated locally, or an outsider. Only one of the native Féltorony men who married prior to the age of 20 had changed residence. Between the ages of 21 and 35 an average of 69.5% of the native men who wed had not migrated. After the age of 35, however, the percentage of non-migratory males native to Féltorony dropped to an average of 55.3%. As age increased, males born in Féltorony became increasingly likely to move from the village prior to marriage. When all age groups are considered, a majority (68.4%) of the

women residing in Féltorony married non-migratory village natives. Stable, native Féltorony women constituted a higher percentage of marriage partners for a wider span of ages. Between 16 and 40 years of age, non-migratory Féltorony women comprised three-quarters (75.2%) of all brides. After 40 years of age the percentage of stability decreased sharply. On the average, 72.1% of the men married in Féltorony wed native, non-migratory women. (Table 12.)

TABLE 12
PERCENTAGES OF STABILITY OF FÉLTORONY NATIVES
ACCORDING TO AGE, 1827-1920

<i>AGES</i>	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>
16-20	92.3	65.8
21-25	67.3	76.1
26-30	69.9	70.9
31-35	73.3	74.0
36-40	54.8	76.7
41-50	56.1	42.1
50+	53.3	50.0
Average	68.0	72.1

The selection of a mate from one's own native village, in spite of the change of residence, was also a function of the distance of migration. A change of residence within only a short distance of one's village would not effectively remove someone from the influence of friends or family, nor would the choice of potential mates, due to continued contact with one's native village, be greatly altered. Also, because parents commonly participated in the choice of mates for their children, the selection would often fall on someone already well known to the family, usually someone who lived nearby. Obviously, those whose distance of migration was small were less likely to find mates outside their home village. Although age or occupational group might have a high percentage of members who changed residence, a greater understanding of such migration is received when related to the distance of migration. In the case of Féltorony, the strong propensity of the village's natives to inter-marry is attested to by the fact that the vast majority of spouses born in the village did not relocate outside of it. For both sexes an overwhelming portion (93.6% men; 93.0% women) of those born in the community did not change residence prior to marriage. The native women of Féltorony who

migrated but returned to the village to marry demonstrated a higher incidence and distance of outward migration than men. Of 688 grooms born in Féltorony, 47 changed residence, but only 11 settled at a distance greater than five kilometers; whereas 66 brides emigrated, 18 moving more than five kilometers. (Table 13.)

TABLE 13
DISTANCE OF OUTWARD MIGRATION
BY FÉLTORONY NATIVES, 1827-1920

<i>DISTANCE</i>	<i>MALES</i>	<i>FEMALES</i>
0-5 km	36 (76.6%)	48 (72.7%)
5-10 km	1 (2.1%)	5 (7.6%)
10-20 km	3 (6.4%)	7 (10.6%)
20-30 km	3 (6.4%)	4 (6.1%)
30+ km	4 (8.5%)	2 (3.0%)
Total	47	66

Migration from the village by Féltorony natives was rare and largely limited to those of younger ages. Of the 39 men whose ages are known, who moved from the village, all except five were between 21 and 35 years of age. Nine of the males settled at a distance of more than five kilometers. Thirty female natives migrated from the village, most being between 16 and 35 years of age. Only five brides established residence further away than five kilometers. (Table 14.)

Marital status had a slight effect upon emigration. While single men constituted 83.0% of the grooms, they were a higher percentage (87.2%) of the Féltorony emigrants. For the women there was a slight opposite trend. Single females comprised 87.5% of the brides and 86.2% of the out-migrants. Women, whether single or previously married, tended to move further than men. Whereas over three-fourths (76.6%) of the out-migrant native men remained within five kilometers, 72.3% of the women remained equally close. Of the single women born in Féltorony, 93.3% remained in the village, while an additional 4.9% did not move more than five kilometers. Only 15 of 836 single, native-born brides moved further than five kilometers, and only two emigrated more than 20 kilometers. Of the previously married women born in Féltorony, 90.8% remained in the village and 6.1% moved five kilometers or less. Three moved a greater distance, but none more than 30 kilometers. 93.4% of the single men born in Féltorony remained in the village until marriage;

TABLE 14
EMIGRATION FROM FÉLTORONY
ACCORDING TO AGE, 1827-1920

<i>MALES</i>						
<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Totals</i>
16-20	0	0	0	0	0	0
21-25	6	1	0	0	0	7
26-30	13	0	1	2	0	16
31-35	6	0	1	1	2	10
36-40	2	0	0	0	0	2
41-50	2	0	0	1	0	3
50+	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	30	1	2	4	2	39

<i>FEMALES</i>						
<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Totals</i>
16-20	5	1	0	0	0	6
21-25	15	0	2	0	0	17
26-30	7	0	0	0	0	7
31-35	3	0	2	0	0	5
36-40	1	0	0	0	0	1
41-50	2	0	0	0	0	2
50+	2	0	0	0	0	2
Total	35	1	4	0	0	40

5.0% settled within five kilometers. Only ten of 617 single, native-born grooms moved further. Of the previously married men born in Féltorony, 94.6% remained in the village and 4.5% moved five kilometers or less. Only one widower, native to Féltorony, moved more than five kilometers. (Table 15.)

Of the native-born Féltorony men who emigrated for whom occupations were listed, more than three-quarters (76.7%) remained within five kilometers of the village. Only six men moved more than 20 kilometers and returned to wed. The largest percentage (41.9%) of the emigrants were day-laborers or domestic servants. There was virtually no emigration of farmers from Féltorony. In fact, 95.9% of those engaged in agriculture, whether owners of land, tenants, or share-croppers, who were born in Féltorony never moved. Of those in agriculture who did move from the village, 81.3% remained within a radius of five kilometers. Artisans born in Féltorony were also highly stable. Only four of 71 left the village and in all cases established residence at least ten

TABLE 15
RESIDENCE AND OUT-MIGRATION OF FÉLTORONY
NATIVES ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS, 1827-1920

<i>FEMALE</i>							
	<i>Féltorony</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
Single	780	41	5	5	3	2	836
Previously Married	89	6	0	2	1	0	98

<i>MALE</i>							
	<i>Féltorony</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
Single	576	31	1	2	3	4	617
Previously Married	105	5	0	1	0	0	111

kilometers distant. Persons engaged in commercial activity displayed a different pattern. Few (14.5%) were born and resident in Féltorony. Instead, a majority (60.9%) resided within five kilometers and were not natives of the village, although choosing to be wed there. Those village natives classified in the service category were slightly more migratory. 10.1% moved from Féltorony, but only one person relocated his residence a distance greater than five kilometers. (Table 16.)

In contrast to those few natives who emigrated from Féltorony, the in-migrants traveled greater distances and constituted a larger per-

TABLE 16
EMIGRATION FROM FÉLTORONY
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1827-1920

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Non-Migrants</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
Agriculture	375	13	1	1	1	0	391
Artisan	67	0	0	2	0	2	71
Commercial	10	2	0	0	1	0	13
Pastoral	6	1	0	0	0	1	8
Professional	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Service	160	17	0	0	0	1	178
Miscellaneous	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Total	625	33	1	3	2	4	668

tage of the marriage partners. Of 832 men residing in Féltorony at the time of marriage, 144 (17.3%) had migrated into the village, as had 142 (13.9%) of the resident brides. The women who immigrated into Féltorony came from within a smaller radius than the men. Nearly one-third (31.0%) of the women and one-fifth (20.1%) of the men who were in-migrants came from within five kilometers; while three-quarters (76.8%) of the women and five of eight (62.5%) men had immigrated 20 kilometers or less. The cumulative figures reveal that 95.1% of the grooms and 97.7% of the brides residing in Féltorony between 1827 and 1920 were either indigenous to the village or had immigrated from within a radius of 30 kilometers; 89.5% of the men and 92.1% of the women were natives or immigrants of less than ten kilometers. (Table 17.)

According to age, men who moved into Féltorony revealed a pattern similar to those who emigrated. No groom under twenty years of age and only six men under 25 had moved into the village. Those who were

TABLE 17
IN-MIGRATION TO FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920

<i>MALES</i>						
<i>Years</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
1827-1838	2	2	7	4	4	19
1839-1849	6	2	3	0	6	17
1850-1860	2	3	8	1	11	25
1861-1871	3	10	7	1	3	24
1872-1882	5	3	1	2	4	15
1883-1895	2	7	2	4	7	22
1896-1908	7	1	5	1	6	20
1909-1920	2	0	0	0	0	2
Total	29	28	33	13	41	144

<i>FEMALES</i>						
<i>Years</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
1827-1838	2	2	3	1	2	10
1839-1849	3	3	7	0	1	14
1850-1860	4	5	10	1	5	25
1861-1871	4	3	10	0	3	20
1872-1882	8	1	8	6	2	25
1883-1895	8	1	4	1	7	21
1896-1908	8	3	5	1	3	20
1909-1920	7	0	0	0	0	7
Total	44	18	47	10	23	142

immigrants, however, continued to change residence over a greater span of ages than did Féltorony's emigrants. The village's emigrants usually moved between 26 and 40 years of age. Immigration, though also declining after age 35, continued at a relatively significant rate beyond 50 years of age. Men over age 40 constituted one-fifth (21.6%) of the male in-migrants, but only 10.3% of the male emigrants. There was also a more equitable distribution of in-migrants among the age categories. Two-thirds of the males who emigrated from Féltorony did so between the ages of 26 and 35, whereas the same age groups accounted for 59.5% of the immigrants; 84.6% of the emigrants were between 21 and 35 years, but immigrants of similar ages totaled 64.9% of the grooms migrating into the village.

Women who moved into Féltorony changed residence at younger ages and over a shorter span of life than men. Eight brides had moved into the village prior to the age of 20, and more than one-third (34.4%) had settled in Féltorony prior to age 25. Most female immigration (80.3%) occurred between 21 and 35 years of age. By the age of 40, 92.6% of the women who were to move into Féltorony had done so. While the majority (75.4%) of the immigrant brides came from within 20 kilometers, there were some differences, depending upon age, in the distance of migration. (Table 18.)

Age, however, apparently had only a slight influence upon the distance of in-migration. When the average distance of each in-migrant is calculated, interesting patterns emerge. For both sexes the members of two consecutive age groups moved less distance than their respective percentages of in-migrants would appear to warrant. Men between the ages of 26 and 35, while 59.4% of the male immigrants, accounted for slightly less (53.1%) of the total cumulative distance of male in-migration. The women between 21 and 30 years of age totaled 57.4% of the female immigrants, but only 46.8% of the total distance moved. The youngest immigrant age group of each gender displayed a surprisingly lengthy distance of in-migration. Among the men, the 21-25 age group members, on the average, immigrated further than any other group prior to age 40; whereas the youngest group of female immigrants (16-20 years) migrated further than all other females. Migrating the least distance for their respective genders were men aged from 26 to 35 and women between 21 and 30 years; while persons over 50, for both groups, moved distances similar to those of the youngest. (Table 19.)

In consideration of their marital status, men who moved into Féltorony differed from the village's emigrants. First, a high proportion (17.7%) of the male immigrants had previously been married. Second,

TABLE 18
IN-MIGRATION TO FÉLTORONY
ACCORDING TO AGE, 1827-1920

MALES

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
16-20	0	0	0	0	0	0
21-25	1	0	3	0	2	6
26-30	12	7	7	3	7	36
31-35	5	9	6	3	7	30
36-40	2	5	2	3	3	15
41-50	3	1	2	1	7	14
over 50	1	2	2	1	4	10
Total	24	24	22	11	30	111

FEMALES

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
16-20	3	0	1	1	3	8
21-25	11	6	11	2	4	34
26-30	15	3	13	0	5	36
31-35	8	3	6	5	6	28
36-40	1	0	5	1	0	7
41-50	1	1	1	0	1	4
over 50	1	1	1	0	2	5
Total	40	14	38	9	21	122

men moving into Féltorony usually traveled greater distances. Over three-fourths (76.6%) of the male emigrants remained within five kilometers, but only one-fifth (19.8%) of immigrants came from within the same radius. Nearly three of five immigrants moved more than ten kilometers, with nearly one-third (31.2%) moving more than 30 kilometers. Generally, single men tended to move shorter distances than widowers, although the difference was minor.

As in the case of the men, previously wed women constituted a significant portion (16.2%) of the immigrants and migrated greater distances than those who moved from Féltorony. Nearly three-quarters (72.7%) of the brides who emigrated from Féltorony remained within five kilometers, while only 31.0% of the immigrants came from within an identical radius. For the female immigrants, marital status had virtually no influence upon the distance of immigration.

The largest (34.6%) group of male immigrants was made up of those in the service category, e.g., servants, day-laborers. Persons engaged in

TABLE 19
AVERAGE DISTANCE OF IN-MIGRATION
TO FÉLTORONY ACCORDING TO AGE, 1827-1920

<i>MALES</i>				
<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>%(p) of Grooms</i>	<i>%(d) of Distance Moved</i>	<i>Difference (p - d)</i>	<i>Avg. Distance</i>
21-25	5.4	6.2	+0.8	17.9 km
26-30	32.4	27.2	-5.2	13.1
31-35	27.0	25.9	-1.1	15.0
36-40	13.5	13.6	+0.1	15.8
41-50	12.6	16.1	+3.5	20.0
Over 50	9.0	11.1	+2.1	19.3
<i>FEMALES</i>				
<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>%(p) of Brides</i>	<i>%(d) of Distance Moved</i>	<i>Difference (p - d)</i>	<i>Avg. Distance</i>
16-20	6.6	8.9	+2.3	17.2 km
21-25	27.9	20.5	-7.4	9.3
26-30	29.5	26.3	-3.2	11.3
31-35	23.0	28.5	+5.5	15.6
36-40	5.7	6.7	+1.0	14.6
41-50	3.3	3.6	+0.3	13.8
over 50	4.1	5.5	+1.4	17.0

agriculture constituted 29.2% and the artisans were one-sixth (16.9%) of those who moved to Féltorony. While these groups supplied 80.7% of the immigrants, significant differences existed among them. The practice of agriculture had little bearing upon the distance of immigration, as nearly equal numbers came from the various distance radii around Féltorony. From the artisan class, however, only two had moved into the village from within ten kilometers. Approximately 90% of the immigrant artisans moved more than 10 kilometers and nearly half (45.5%) had moved more than 30 kilometers. Persons employed in some form of service came from a widely dispersed area, but significant number migrated from within five kilometers, ten to 20 kilometers, and more than 30 kilometers. (Table 20.)

Most of the persons married in Féltorony apparently spent their lives within a small geographical area. Two-thirds (66.8%) of the men and three-fourths (78.0%) of the women were born and resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers, while a radius of ten kilometers included

TABLE 20
MALE MIGRATION INTO FÉLTORONY
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1827-1920

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
Agriculture	8	11	8	3	8	38
Artisan	1	1	7	3	10	22
Commercial	1	1	1	2	1	6
Pastoral	1	2	0	0	2	5
Professional	3	0	1	1	2	7
Service	12	7	14	2	10	45
Miscellaneous	0	2	0	0	5	7
Total	26	24	31	11	38	130

74.1% of the men and 81.2% of the women. In addition, seven of eight grooms (87.8%) and 97.4% of the brides were born or resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers. (Table 21.)

There was a slight correlation between age at marriage and the area of birth and residence for both men and women. Surprisingly, grooms under the age of 20 years were born and resident within a narrower radius than were brides of identical ages. For the increasingly older age groups there was a gradual broadening of the radius of existence, so that only slightly more than half of the men between 36 and 50 years of age and women over 40 years were confined to Féltorony or a five-kilometer radius. For each gender there was little difference in the radius of birth and residence for those between the ages of 21 and 35 (in the case of men) and 16 and 40 (in the case of women). Between 21 and 35 years of age, 70.0% of the grooms; and, between the ages of 16 and 40, 78.7% were born in Féltorony or within five kilometers. For men over 35, however, only 56.8% resided within an identical area, and only 57.9% of the women who were over 40 years spent their lives within five kilometers. The age groups with the smallest percentages to spend their lives in Féltorony or within five kilometers were men between 36 and 40 (53.7%) and women between 41 and 50 (51.9%). High percentages of brides and grooms were either born or resident in Féltorony or nearby, which is a result to be expected when the amount of immigration into the village is considered. Of the women, 97.2% were either born or resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers; while 88.6% of the men did the same. Except for the grooms under 20 years of age, there was relatively little difference among male age groups. The same situation applied to the women, except that all of the women between 36 and 50 years of age

TABLE 21
AREA OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES

<i>Years</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	67.7	82.5	73.3	86.0
1839-1849	67.7	77.8	74.5	83.4
1850-1860	56.9	71.4	62.2	75.8
1861-1871	67.1	77.7	78.1	80.6
1872-1882	64.2	74.1	72.3	77.0
1883-1895	63.0	75.6	72.2	76.6
1896-1908	65.7	75.4	71.4	78.6
1909-1920	87.7	92.5	93.5	98.8
Average	66.8	78.0	74.1	81.2

AREA OF BIRTH OR RESIDENCE
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES

<i>Years</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	83.7	98.1	88.5	98.1
1839-1849	84.7	98.1	88.1	98.1
1850-1860	88.7	97.7	91.4	97.7
1861-1871	90.2	99.4	95.5	99.4
1872-1882	86.7	97.7	92.5	99.6
1883-1895	87.3	99.1	93.3	99.1
1896-1908	86.3	94.0	88.0	95.2
1909-1920	96.4	95.4	99.3	100
Average	87.8	97.4	92.3	98.4

were born or resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers. Only 34 (2.8%) of the brides, whose ages are known, were either born or resident at a distance greater than five kilometers. (Table 22.)

The marital status of those who wed in Féltorony also influenced their residential mobility and the area in which they were born and resident. For both sexes those who had never been married came from within a smaller radius than those who were re-marrying. Higher percentages of women than men, however, spent their lives closer to the village. The marital status of men made less difference upon their area of existence than was the case with females. Approximately two-thirds (68.4%) of the single men and three of five widowers (61.1%) were either born or resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers, a difference of 7.3%;

TABLE 22
AREA OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE
ACCORDING TO AGE
PERCENTAGE OF SPOUSES

<i>Ages</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
16-20	100.0	74.4	100.0	79.7
21-25	69.8	82.4	77.0	84.5
26-30	70.5	74.9	76.8	78.8
31-35	66.9	77.0	75.3	78.2
36-40	53.7	75.7	64.2	78.4
41-50	58.4	51.9	70.1	59.3
over 50	61.1	54.5	61.1	63.6
Average	68.2	78.0	75.6	81.1

AREA OF BIRTH OR RESIDENCE
ACCORDING TO AGE
PERCENTAGE OF SPOUSES

<i>Ages</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
16-20	100.0	94.3	100.0	98.0
21-25	87.8	98.3	91.8	98.8
26-30	90.2	97.4	93.2	98.3
31-35	89.2	96.6	92.8	97.7
36-40	83.6	100.0	91.0	100.0
41-50	84.4	100.0	93.5	100.0
over 50	88.9	90.9	88.9	90.9
Average	88.6	92.6	92.6	98.4

while four of five single brides (79.3%) but only two-thirds (68.3%) of the widows, a difference of 11.0%, spent their lives within the same area. When a radius of ten kilometers from Féltorony is considered, there is an expected increase in the number who were born and resident within the enlarged area, but the increase is rather small, which indicates that most persons who wed in the village were residents of Féltorony and nearby communities, while the remainder were born and resident within a widely dispersed area. The smallest percentage of any group which had neither been born nor resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers was comprised of males who were widowers. Even so, five of six widowers were born or resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers, while it was the same for nine of every ten single men (89.1%). For the women,

marital status made virtually no difference and only one bride in forty had neither been born nor resident in the village or nearby. (Table 23.)

TABLE 23
AREA OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE
ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES

<i>Status</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Single	68.4	79.3	75.5	82.5
Previously Married	61.1	68.3	68.8	71.9

AREA OF BIRTH OR RESIDENCE
ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES

<i>Status</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Single	89.1	97.5	93.0	98.6
Previously Married	83.3	97.6	89.6	98.2

Among the men wed in Féltorony who engaged in agriculture, nearly two-thirds (63.5%) were native-born residents and three-fourths (78.7%) had always lived in the village or within five kilometers. The artisans, day-laborers and servants, and the commercial element, however, displayed different characteristics. Less than half (45.6%) of the artisans who married in Féltorony were natives and only 57.1% had been born or resident within five kilometers, with only three of five (59.9%) coming from within a radius of ten kilometers. Still fewer of those engaged in commerce or business (14.5%) were natives of Féltorony, while less than half (49.3%) had always lived in the village or within five kilometers. Of the laborers and servants, slightly less than half (45.8%) were natives, but nearly two-thirds (64.8%) had always lived within five kilometers of Féltorony. When the average distances are calculated for those who moved and settled in Féltorony, it becomes expectedly evident that the servants, laborers and agrarians were drawn predominantly from the nearby population, while the commercial and business elements and the

artisans, who had fewer restraints and could travel more easily, migrated to Féltorony from greater distances. (Table 24.)

TABLE 24
AREA OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE OF GROOMS
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1827-1920

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>0-10 km</i>
Agriculture	78.7	86.0
Artisan	57.1	59.9
Commercial	49.3	52.2
Service	64.8	70.2
Professional	12.5	25.0
Pastoral	38.7	45.2
Miscellaneous	37.5	37.5

AREA OF BIRTH OR RESIDENCE OF GROOMS
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1827-1920

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>0-10 km</i>
Agriculture	90.5	94.2
Artisan	81.6	83.0
Commercial	89.9	91.3
Service	94.8	97.4
Professional	37.5	75.0
Pastoral	83.9	87.1
Miscellaneous	79.2	83.3

There was a significant amount of migration within western Hungary during the period from 1827 to 1920. Except for those who permanently emigrated, however, there was little long-distance internal migration, regardless of age, sex, marital status or occupation. Also, the mobility and marriage patterns of the inhabitants of Féltorony were scarcely influenced by the general improvement of transportation during the nineteenth century. For most rural inhabitants of Moson life continued to be contained within a small area and social contact was narrowly circumscribed. The local populace was not likely to travel far from home or marry someone who had formerly been unknown to friends and family, or was of a dissimilar background. Clearly, the traditional patterns of spouse selection were largely unaffected and continued well into the modern age.

NOTES

1. Notable exceptions are the geographers Peter Perry and R. F. Peel whose studies of internal migration, rural isolation and marriage-distance relationships on New Zealand and England stimulated some of the ideas contained in this paper.

2. Microfilm copies of the parish registers employed in this study are contained in the Genealogical Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A. The following rolls of film were used:

- No. 0700861. Births, Marriages, Deaths, 1827-1864; Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0700862. Births, Marriages, Deaths, 1865-1895; Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0700273. Marriages, 1895-1920; Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0623508. 1828 Census of Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0719825. Census of Moson County, Hungary, 1848.
- No. 0623058. Census of Moson County, Hungary, 1828.
- No. 0700271. Births, 1895-1904; Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0700272. Births, 1905-1920; Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0700274. Deaths, 1895-1920; Féltorony, Hungary.

3. In 1934 the portion of the Austrian Burgenland east of the Neusiedler See was estimated to have a population which was 84.46% German. The village of Halbturn's (Féltorony) population was 96.9% German, while the immediately surrounding area was 94.4% German. Cf. Lendl, Hubert. "Das gesellschaftliche Gefüge des Landvolks im deutsch-madjarischen Grenzraum östlich des Neusiedler Sees." *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung*, Jahrgang 2 (1938), pp. 800-835.

4. Féltorony's population throughout the century was the following:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>
1821	1150
1833	1218
1842	1282
1851	1262
1863	1961
1869	2093
1880	2473
1890	2263
1900	2429
1910	2460
1920	2449

Féltorony's population increased 112.9% between 1821 and 1920, while the villages within a 5 km. radius, whose population change is known, increased an average of 62.1%; villages from 5 to 10 km. increased an average of 59.1%; and villages from 10 to 20 km. increased an average of 55.3%.

5. Peter Laslett's observation that "before the coming of the bicycle and paved highway, there was a fixed distance from the labourer's cottage beyond which a full day's work was out of the question—it took too long to get there and back," applies also to the courtship process. *The World We Have Lost*, 2nd ed. London: Methuen, 1971, p. 80.

6. The 1828 census of Féltorony, which had a population of approximately 1190, contained 331 horses. In 1852 the parish registers began to list the occupation of carter, which was the occupation of 1.8% of the grooms between 1852 and 1920.

7. Fel, Edit and Tamas Hofer, *Proper Peasants: Traditional Life in a Hungarian Village*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969, pp. 138-143.

8. Because nearly every person who was wed in Féltorony was resident within 20 km., this distance will serve as the outer limit of the study.

9. The years of the censuses and the sources of information are as follows:

1821 Csaplovics, Johann v. *Topographisch-statistisches Archiv des Königreiches Ungarn*. 2 Bde. Wien, 1821.

1833 Thiele, J. C. v. *Das Königreich Ungarn*. Kaschau, 1833.

1836 Hungary. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal. *A népmozgalom főbb adatai községenként 1828-1900*. Vol. I. Budapest, 1972.

1842 *Universalis Schematisus Eccl.* Budae, 1842.

1851 Fényes, Elek. *Magyarország geographiai szótára*. 4 Bde. Pest, 1851.

1863 *Ortslexikon des Königreiches Ungarn*. 1863.

1869 *Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen*.

1870 same source as 1836.

1880 *Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen*.

1890 Ibid.

1900 Ibid.

1910 Ibid.

1920 Ibid.

10. Wittmannshof (population in 1934 - 265) and Albert Casimir (population in 1851 was 338) were so small that they had no church. As a result, all of the births, deaths and marriages involving residents of these villages were recorded in Féltorony and are included in this study.

11. For the years following 1907 slightly more than one-fourth of the places of birth for males are unrecorded. The male and female places of residence and the female places of birth are nearly all recorded, but reveal a tendency to list few villages other than Féltorony, Wittmannshof and Albert Casimir. As a result, the figures for the post-1907 period are questionable.

12. For the purposes of this study the terms mobile and migratory are applied to persons who change their village of residence prior to marriage. Those at the time of their marriage who were residing in the village of their birth are designated as non-migratory or stable. Persons born in Féltorony who married elsewhere are not included in this study. Because of the possibility of an unusually large migration out of the village, it is conceivable that the trends described will not be totally accurate. However, the fact that the population of Féltorony increased at a much faster rate than other villages within a 20-kilometer radius indicates that Féltorony did not experience a significant loss of its native population. This conclusion is further corroborated by a perusal of the family groups which this author has compiled from the village's parish registers. When a projected study of the villages near Féltorony is completed, it will be more nearly possible to determine accurately the number of migrants in the region and the distances and directions of their moves.

The reason for the apparent discrepancies in some of the figures quoted in this study results from the fact that the places of birth and/or residence of some spouses was not recorded, hence rendering their inclusion in certain analyses impossible.

Of the men who were non-migratory natives of villages other than Féltorony, 37.3% were born and resident in Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof. Of the non-migratory women outside of Féltorony, 84.1% were natives of Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof.

13. The linear regression calculated for men from 1827 to 1920 is: $y = 33.7 - 0.48x$; and for women is: $y = 32.3 - 0.65x$. When the data from 1907 to 1920 is omitted, the mobility trends for both sexes change from negative to positive, i.e., mobility, on the average, increased from 1827 to 1906, with the men revealing a faster rate of increase. For the shorter period (1827-1906) the linear equations are: men: $y = 28.5 + 1.26x$; women: $y = 28.7 + 0.56x$.

14. Indications from data not included in this study are that of a large majority of those who remarried did so within one to three months of the death of their previous spouse. The immediate need for a spouse might have contributed to a higher percentage of mobility. Only those in the upper age levels who remarried did so after an extended period of time.

15. These figures appear to disagree with those given in note 16. The difference results from the fact that in some cases the ages of those who remarried are unknown.

16. MARITAL STATUS ACCORDING TO AGE

Ages	Men		Women	
	Single	Previously Married	Single	Previously Married
16-20	20 (1.5%)	1 (0.08%)	282* (21.4%)	1 (0.08%)
21-25	425 (31.9%)	6 (0.5%)	604 (45.9%)	8 (0.5%)
26-30	469 (35.2%)	39 (2.9%)	222 (16.9%)	21 (1.6%)
31-35	160 (12.0%)	30 (2.3%)	62 (4.7%)	33 (2.5%)
36-40	39 (2.9%)	37 (2.8%)	8 (0.6%)	31 (2.4%)
41-50	24 (1.8%)	61 (4.6%)	4 (0.3%)	29 (2.2%)
50+	4 (0.4%)	17 (1.3%)	2 (0.2%)	10 (0.8%)
Total	1141 (85.7%)	191 (14.3%)	1184 (89.9%)	133 (10.1%)

* Three brides were married before the age of 16.

17. For single men the linear regression trend was $y = 64.8\% + 0.93x$; for widowers the trend was $y = 77.6\% - 3.15x$.

18. For single women the linear regression was $y = 68.8\% + 0.70x$; for widows the trend was $y = 59.4\% - 0.06x$.

19. Because those classified in the professional, pastoral and miscellaneous groups comprised less than four per cent of all grooms and only 10.3% of those who changed residence, an analysis of the frequency and distance of their migration would be unjustified.

20. Percentages of Grooms according to Occupation and Stability

Occupation	% of Occupations	% of Stable Grooms
Agriculture	47.6	57.3
Artisan	12.3	12.0
Service	29.0	24.1
Commercial	5.8	3.6
Pastoral	2.5	1.2
Professional	0.7	0.4
Miscellaneous	2.1	1.3

21. The regression trends for the major occupations were as follows:

Agriculture $y = 86.4 - 0.97x$
 Artisan $y = 55.7 + 2.26x$
 Service $y = 31.6 + 5.18x$

A possible, partial explanation for the increasing stability of the artisan and service categories is that the increased population of the village rendered a change of residence for employment or economic improvement less necessary, whereas the population growth would have been disadvantageous to those needing land to cultivate.

Auteurism in the Modern Hungarian Cinema¹

George Bisztray

After half a decade spent mostly in Rome, Miklós Jancsó, now a director of international reputation, returned to Hungary in the mid-seventies and became more accessible to cultural journalists who were eager to interview him about his artistic outlook and future plans. And Jancsó was eager to answer their questions. True enough, these recent interviews were at least ten years behind the main current of European cinema, since the auteurist director Jancsó was talking about issues which had been discussed already in the fifties and sixties, especially in André Bazin's periodical *Cahiers du Cinéma*. But again, Jancsó himself willingly admitted that his style was no longer in accord with his time. And it is also true that what he said in these belated interviews was the first extensive conceptualization of auteurist aesthetics by a Hungarian director. A review of his more significant statements will hopefully demonstrate that a distinct and valid definition of these aesthetics unfolds from these interviews.²

As most fashionable jargon terms, "auteurism," too, has a hollow ring.³ From the theoretical debates of the past, it appears that we should first look for the essence of auteurism in the role which the movie director plays in the creative process. Jancsó's comments on his own artistic method grew out of this basic view of auteurism and he defines the concept accordingly.

As Jancsó spells it out, the director may be a link in a production chain, materializing a script to which he is indifferent by manipulating actors and actresses whom he does not care for but must nevertheless feature because of the contracts binding the producer. This is the American model of filmmaking, a perfect prototype of the division of labour and of alienation. Leadership is with the producer and the distributor; their criteria have nothing to do with art but with production expenses, contracts, and expected returns on the investment. If anything marks a movie and attracts people to the theatre is least likely the director's name; most likely the name of stars featured. The director has nothing to do with the thousands of feet of film shot, since he is hardly allowed to edit his own movie, unless as a very exceptional privilege. The identifying characteristic of these films is not the style but the story.

On the other hand, there is another example which Jancsó, relying on his Roman experience, calls the Italian model. This is a biased term but the way Jancsó describes it clearly indicates the contrast with Hollywood. "Film as an art form does not permit the director to degrade his fellow-artists to second-rate figures," states Jancsó, asserting also that he can make movies only with artist-friends.⁴ Writers help the director develop a script which most adequately expresses his artistic vision. Similarly, stage and costume designers work closely together with the director. Unlike in the division of labour, a co-operation of artists unfolds before our eyes to characterize this form of filmmaking whose result is not a rootless product but, rather, a collective piece of art, comparable to the performance of a theatre or musical ensemble.

The term "auteurism" suggests a creative action analogous with "authorship." Indeed, it is the co-operation or even full identity of writer and director which forms the basis of this filmmaking practice. On the one hand, in the auteur movies it is the director claiming the one-person responsibility for the ultimate realization of a collective vision, and for giving shape to figures which appear, as Jancsó states, in an abstract, formless way in literature. On the other hand, as the Hungarian film critic István Nemeskürty emphasizes, the dialogues of the film are inalienable properties of the writer.⁵

On this point, we are confronted with an interesting phenomenon. Whereas virtually all great Western auteurist directors have themselves written the scripts for their movies, Jancsó is unique with his obsession of working with the same scriptwriter in a row of movies. Beginning with "My Way Home" (Így jöttem, 1964), this writer-associate has become Gyula Hernádi. Based on his scripts, Jancsó shot thirteen movies, including three produced in Italy, two of these with the literary cooperation of the Italian Giovanna Gagliardo. No other auteurist director is known for such "duplication of one function in two persons" (as Domokos called the Jancsó-Hernádi phenomenon in his interview). As Jancsó describes this process, an idea is slowly shaped to a script, then to a visual image, in a dialogue between two akin artistic minds.

In the last analysis, however, a genetic criterion (that is, authorship) alone is not sufficient to define the artistic method of auteurism. The question arises: How is it possible to tell an auteurist movie from a non-auteurist one? Jancsó describes his movies as "special films" in which the actors "express ideas and standpoints in songs, dances, and mimics." Nemeskürty emphasizes that an auteurist film is a personal statement. The result is a certain mood, an individual visual style which permeates the movies of auteurists. This mood may result from a stylized reality or

even from a venture into the surrealist, but never from an attempt to create the illusion of a reified world. It is mostly from the basis of György Lukács's aesthetic principles, and especially his view of naturalism, that Jancsó consistently attacks what he calls the mini-psychology and mini-realism (that is, the small-scale and meticulous psychological and realistic tendencies) of the nineteen-seventies. *Cinema vérité*, documentary techniques, the illusion that reality is as faithfully projected on the screen as possible are, in Jancsó's eye, manipulative ways of making people accept conditions as they are. "Realism" in its most plausible meaning appears as an enemy of socialist art, because it does not let one see beyond the surface of social phenomena, and therefore it negates both human freedom and the possibility of change, excludes alternatives, and does not open any vistas of a better future. Showing a ritual act, on the other hand, breaks the superficial illusion that things are as they are and they cannot be changed.

Creative sincerity, not to a reified world but to human essence, to artistic consciousness, is a basic principle for Jancsó. One charge this credo can easily call upon is didacticism. Incidentally, Jancsó is willing to face this charge, although with some reservations. He claims that his didacticism is never direct and obvious. He quotes the examples of András Kovács, his Hungarian fellow-director, in whose movies (as Jancsó puts it) two people tend to discuss politics at length; and Jean-Luc Godard, who makes one or another of his characters read Marx. Jancsó believes that he would be unable to cultivate this kind of didacticism (making a movie of Sacco and Vanzetti would not suit him); but that nevertheless his films are political and manifest the French concept of *cinéma engagé*. He calls his style, located between the seemingly apolitical and the blatantly, militantly political cinema, a "middle way." Yet in 1976, he also believed that he had ventured too far into the field of cinematic surrealism with "Agnus Dei" (*Égi bárány*, 1970), "Red Psalm" (*Még kér a nép*, 1971), "Elektreia" (*Szerelmem, Elektra*, 1974), and the films he shot in Italy. He saw a mixture of reality and an extreme rejection of reality in these movies of his own; admitted that it would be hard for him to invent anything novel after the notorious red helicopter in "Elektreia"; and implicitly expressed his intention to switch back to middle-of-the-road engagement before his surrealist style becomes manneristic and boring.⁶

It might be due to his didactic intention that Jancsó never considered his movies compatible with psychology. He believes that the psychological style means a certain way of maneuvering persons and things so that unbelievable phenomena should appear believable. Jancsó's fascination

with the improbable is not intended to make the improbable look possible. Actually, he states that his spectators are expected to be aware of a distance between themselves and what they experience. As he says: "While I am directing, I create a distance between reality and its reflection in the film. . . . It is precisely this distance which enchants the public."⁷ As it appears from this statement, the intellectual understanding of the distance between artistic illusion and experienced reality is a central guiding principle of Jancsó's art.

One may ask: by what technique does Jancsó express his principles in his movies? As an artist rooted in a fairly unique culture, Jancsó is more than aware of the cleavage between the universal semantic code of the film and the cultural limitations imposed on it. He wants to express universal truths and situations in visual images, but constantly finds himself bound by the specific cultural connotations of these images. Referring to a frequently recurring motive of his films, we may ask: Since international moviegoers have been conditioned to react negatively to only one kind of uniform: the black or brown Nazi outfit, how can the director evoke similar dislike by showing much less familiar uniforms? Jancsó actually uses an auditory motive as an example in one of his interviews and asks: How many moviegoers around the world share the cultural connotations which some of the religious and ultra-nationalist Hungarian songs and melodies heard in his movies raise in his own generation of Hungarians?⁸ To expand this argument, we may refer to the International, the Horst Wessel *Lied*, Rule Britannia, or God Bless America—these four songs alone trigger strong connotations, no matter whether positive or negative, in hundreds of millions of spectators. As such examples prove, even the most internationally appreciated artists of unique cultures feel the tension of an open and a closed cultural system quite acutely.

Jancsó is notorious for his long tracking shots. Some of his critics counted not more than a dozen or two shots in films like "Red Psalm" and "Elektreia." Jancsó admits his aversion to the montage which, according to such classics of film theory as Eisenstein and Béla Balázs, is the essence of the cinema. Not without affectation, Jancsó claims that his movies are "small-scale," "low-budget" films, which is especially hard to believe now when rumours are spreading about the disastrous draining of the Hungarian national film budget by the two most recent Jancsó-Hernádi movies: "Hungarian Rhapsody" and "Allegro Barbaro," parts of the planned trilogy "Vitam et Sanguinem" which may never be finished.

Repetition of basic themes as well as visual motifs is another charac-

teristic of Jancsó's art. "I hate all forms of oppression,"⁹ he said in one of his interviews. Indeed, his whole intricate visual semiotic system is based on the leitmotifs of freedom and oppression. At the same time, Jancsó also stated that there was a range of variations in the meaning of identical visual stereotypes. For instance, "men in uniform" do not always symbolize one and the same idea. Graham Petrie pointed out how nudity in Jancsó's films initially expressed humiliation and vulnerability but later tended to become a symbol of power and defiance.¹⁰ Also, with reference to Antonioni and Wajda, Jancsó says that repeated motifs quite often may express the same idea with greater sophistication. In other words, the same visual motifs may express qualitatively different ideas, or may express the same idea in a qualitatively different form.

Improvisation is a method which has a great impact on the artistic effect of the final, edited film. As it is widely known, Jancsó lets his actors formulate their own text. Nor does he go to the shooting of the film with preconceived plans concerning camera angles, duration of the shots, and other directing techniques. As a result, one can compare Jancsó's and Hernádi's scripts with the finished film in the same way as one compares the first drafts and the published texts in the study of literary creation.

This tendency to improvise, alongside with the obsessive utilization of the same philosophical ideas and visual leitmotifs, characterizes virtually all auteurs of the modern cinema. This brings us to the question of Jancsó's admitted and latent affinities with different contemporary auteurist directors. He admires mostly Antonioni, also Pasolini, Glauber Rocha, and Wajda, but dislikes Ingmar Bergman. No matter what his personal views are, his works are organic parts of the international auteurist production of the past two decades. Improvisations, repetitions, universal existential themes, shooting series of films with a limited group of actors, are methods generally shared by auteurist directors. Notwithstanding Jancsó's dislike of Bergman, both meddled with the theatre, and both expressed the wish that they could make film comedies (Bergman repeatedly tried—the results were pathetic).

Improvisation, repetition, the use of irony are not simply technical matters. They make it possible to perceive an underlying relationship between auteurism and an existential outlook of life. The sincerity of a subjectively rationalized truth, the penetration of layers of superficial "realities" covering the existential essence, infatuation with role-playing and improvisation, repetition and motifs, and a Kierkegaardian use of the irony, are all shared characteristics of existential thought, art, and

auteurism. Even the cult of the director, the idea of one-person responsibility, is familiar from the German aesthetic concept *Gesamtkunstwerk* which appeared in Schlegel's, Nietzsche's, and Wagner's philosophy of art; at least the latter two were clearly identifiable figureheads of an existentialist aesthetics. The same holds true for scriptwriters: Hernádi, Mándy, Mészöly, and other Hungarian writers who collaborated with, or provided literary material for, more or less auteurist directors, have themselves at least a few recognizable existentialist trends.

Because of the sincerity and, as any perceptive critic would assert, the general high quality of auteur movies, the more painful it is for an artist to realize that he is not being understood by the public. Jancsó has complained repeatedly about his lack of contact with the larger masses. He spoke bitterly about the conservative, unsophisticated taste of Hollywood-fed moviegoers—a characterization which is now pertinent of the Hungarian public as well. Film criticism was not exempt of his attack either: he believed that too many of his movies were misinterpreted by press reviewers. He found escape in this attitude: "I always read as much as I can about my movies, but accept neither favourable nor unfavourable criticism. I read criticism as if it were a story, a fiction."¹¹

Yet there is something fundamentally wrong about Jancsó's complaints against the Hungarian public. In the nineteen-seventies, a new national awareness dawned on Hungary, accompanied by the widely shared desire for an objective reinterpretation of Hungarian history. Jancsó's masochistic view of the past derives from the two post-war decades when the first lines of the Hungarian Republican Anthem read: "Oppression, slavery: This was the order for a thousand years"; and when Hungary was assumed to be the first "Fascist" country and Hitler's "last ally." Hungarians of the nineteen-seventies find such views unjust and repulsive. Jancsó may insist that his films are allegorical and show Universal Oppression and Universal Liberation—however, they also show just too many Hungarian uniforms, just too many very Hungarian-looking peasants massacred. This aspect may be irrelevant for moviegoers abroad, but in the Hungarian context it raises the question: Who should draw the ultimate consequence? The auteurist Jancsó, who is undoubtedly a great artist, or fifteen million Hungarians? The same question also holds true of Gyula Hernádi and his scripts as well as "historical" dramas.

While Jancsó is the internationally best known and most celebrated Hungarian auteurist director, some of his younger colleagues, who had less opportunity to express their ideas in interviews, were equally consistent and congenial in pursuing this creative principle. István Gaál and

István Szabó, both in their forties (while Jancsó just turned sixty), are held in even greater esteem by certain connoisseurs of the cinema than Jancsó.

Of the six movies Gaál has shot since his debut with "Current" (Sodrásban, 1963), three are prototypical one-person auteur productions, whereas the script of the other three was written in consultation with other writers. However, Gaál emphasizes as much as Jancsó does that the authorship of the script does not make a director's film an auteurist work. "An auteurist movie can be the product of the fortunate cooperation between an author and a director. But if the director does not have an original artistic vision, you cannot call his film auteurist even if he wrote the script. Until now, films . . . resembled of prose; nowadays, they tend to resemble of poetry," Gaál explained in an interview with the reporter of a Hungarian magazine.¹²

As Jancsó and the great Western auteurs like Antonioni and Bergman, Fassbinder, Truffaut, and others, so Gaál, too, has developed his own symbols which, elusively enough, look unusually "realistic" and devoid of symbolic references. His country landscapes are hardly stylized, his shots of action free of ritual symbolism. Yet, the reoccurring symbols (the falcons in at least two movies, morning awakening as a starting shot of the film) and the existential preoccupation (with *Angst*, loneliness, and the metaphysical aspects of human relations) are recognizable auteurist traces. It seems that of all Hungarian auteurist directors, Gaál is closest to Antonioni whom, by the way, all equally admired. Also, Gaál has taken the one-person responsibility for his films one step farther than Jancsó: he always edits his own movies.

More urban and more middle-class than Jancsó and Gaál is István Szabó, the youngest of the three (born in 1939). Among this group, he has manifested the greatest interest in the human psyché, deriving existentialist themes and situations from individual experience past and present. Like in Bergman's "Persona," Alma Vogler's loss of speech is partially explained by her obsession with the picture of a Buddhist monk burning himself alive in protest against the war in Vietnam, so does the equally famous photo of Hitler talking to teenage "soldiers" occur in at least two of Szabó's movies, occupying a peculiar and identical denotation in both. Bergman's and Godard's "variations to a theme," that is, reviewing the same events in different ways in the mental cinema of the mind, appears most notably in Szabó's second (and as some critics claim, best) film, "Father" (Apa, 1966). Memory, a crucial leitmotive of "Father," becomes exclusive in "25, Fireman's Street" (Tűzoltó utca 25, 1973). A quasi-Freudian technique, the distorted perspective, achieved

chiefly by wide-angle lenses and also by extreme positioning of the camera, never appears in Jancsó and Gaál, but the more often in Szabó's films.

It is perhaps because of his psychological preoccupation that Szabó approaches the concept of auteurism by attempting a psychological definition. "If the cinema is to become an art equivalent with other arts, those who make films shall visually record their own world outlook and their own concrete experiences, but the truly significant directors are those who develop their own artistic world."¹³ As it appears from this statement, Szabó regards auteurism as a projection of the mind—an outlook not entirely remote from expressionism.

At the end of the interview in which the above quotation appeared, Szabó voiced his hope that such artistic subjectivism would serve as basis of the future method of filmmaking. Although auteurism has left its permanent mark on Hungarian (and world) cinema, the method as it was typically practiced in the nineteen-sixties is now passé everywhere. What we experience instead is "mini-realism," to use Jancsó's critical term.¹⁴ Also, this trend of the seventies could not be farther from Szabó's wish to make the film a projection of mental states or processes.

One may, naturally, find superficial similarities between auteurism and the documentary style of the Hungarian film during the 1970s. Several of the younger directors also write their scripts or co-operate with the same writers; and they let actors and actresses improvise their roles. Should we accept the fashionable cliché that the director's "personal style" is a central criterion of the auteurist cinema, we could call almost the entire new Hungarian film production auteurist. Yet it is impossible to ignore that the cinema of Péter Bacsó, István Dárday, Imre Gyöngyössi, Zsolt Kézdi Kovács, and Rezső Szörényi, also represent styles, techniques, and world outlooks different from those of auteurism. The ideology underlying *cinéma vérité* (namely, social criticism disguised as detachment but evident in the selective perception of the director) is definitely dominating the Hungarian cinema of the nineteen-seventies. This ideology entirely differs from the auteurist philosophy that filmmaking is visualized consciousness.

In addition, a recognizable, although not homogeneous aesthetic principle and stylistic sign system identify the auteurist directors and distinguish them from the documentarists of the 1970s. The existentialist allegories and absurd, seemingly incongruent symbols which characterize the proto-auteurist style of the sixties, are absent from the production of the newer generation of filmmakers. Utilizing aesthetic terms borrowed from Charles S. Peirce, we can call improvisation in auteurist

movie acting symbolic (the actor becomes a "persona" for a certain situation and verbalizes the role); in documentary moviemaking, indexical (there is no role: actor and character are identical).

In short, Jancsó was right when he called the technique of the new generation entirely different from his own. From the perspective of four years, however, he was wrong when he thought that moviegoers appreciated the new style more than his. Recent Hungarian statistics indicate that 312,728 people watched "Hungarian Rhapsody," and 298,634 "Allegro Barbaro," as of November 1, 1980. No feature film representing the documentary technique came close to these numbers.

On the other hand, the two Jancsó films together did not attract as many visitors as did "Kojak in Budapest," the Hungarian box office success of 1980, within just a few months (652,357).¹⁵ Jancsó's scepticism of the changing taste of Hungarian moviegoers was warranted.

NOTES

1. This paper is a considerably enlarged and revised version of one presented at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Hungarian Educators' Association in Silver Spring, 1979. The author is indebted to István Karcsai Kulcsár (Hungarian Film Institute and Archive, Budapest) for supporting his research with advice and relevant books; and to Lia Somogyi and Vera Surányi (Hungarofilm, Budapest) for printed information and the opportunity to view eighteen Hungarian films pertinent to the subject.

2. Jancsó's views on auteurism are most explicitly stated in his interviews with Marianne Gách ("27 kérdés Jancsó Miklóshoz," *Film, Színház, Muzsika*, August 14, 1976, pp. 6-7); with Mátyás Domokos ("A pályatárs szemével," *Kortárs*, 10, 1978, pp. 1647-1654); and in Italian with Giovanni Buttafava, printed in this latter's monograph *Miklós Jancsó* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1975, pp. 2-14). Since these three interviews are quite condensed and frequently referred to in this paper, page references will be provided only for quotations but not for paraphrased theses.

3. Perhaps the most noted controversy in international film criticism – a controversy which revealed the shallowness of the fashionably broad use of the term – took place between the American film critics Andrew Sarris and Pauline Kael. In his essays "Notes on the Auteur Theory in 1962" and "Notes on the Auteur Theory in 1970" (pp. 38-61 in *The Primal Screen*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1973), Sarris simply reduced auteurism to a director's individual style and, no longer surprisingly, found its gems precisely in the film production of Hollywood. In her essay "Circles and Squares" (*I Lost It in the Movies*, Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1965, pp. 292-319, esp. 303-4), Pauline Kael refuted Sarris's utterly amorphous "definition" and used several factors to define auteurism. I have utilized Kael's interpretation in this paper.

4. Interview with Domokos, p. 1651.

5. Mátyás Domokos, "A pályatárs szemével. Válaszol: Nemeskürty István." *Kortárs*, 1, 1978, pp. 138-42; ref. to p. 139.

6. Jancsó in interview with Gách; Nemeskürty in loc. cit., p. 141.

7. Interview with Gách.

8. Jancsó's characterization of these songs as "fascist" is most inappropriate and irresponsible (in Buttafava, p. 3).
9. Interview with Gách.
10. G. Petrie, *History Must Answer to Man* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1979), pp. 77-79.
11. Buttafava, p. 5.
12. *Tükör*, 44, 1965.
13. In an interview from 1965, quoted by István Karcsei Kulcsár, *Szabó István* (Budapest: Magyar Filmtudományi Intézet és Filmarchivum/ Népművelési Propaganda Iroda, n.d.), p. 21; originally published in *Filmkultúra*, 1, 1965.
14. Interview with Domokos, p. 1652.
15. *Filmvilág*, 1, 1981, p. 7.

Document: Budapest—Washington, 1956

Andor C. Klay
editor

Editor's Note:

The purpose of this article is to provide some insight into American official actions during a crisis abroad by placing on public record two reports which previously could not be published because of their security classification. One, dated October 25, 1956 was sent to the Department of State by the Legation in Budapest at the start of the Hungarian uprising, and the other, dated November 4, 1956 on the day of its collapse under the onslaught of Russian armed forces. They have been exempted by the Department at the request of the author who was chief of the Hungarian section in the Division of Intelligence and Research on the USSR and Eastern Europe at the time of the events reported. The documents reflect a crisis situation in which an American diplomatic mission abroad and its governing agency at home were in direct and continuous communication about unexpected developments which posed a possible physical threat to the officials and other Americans present at the foreign capital, and created major policy challenges and security problems for the home office.

Twenty-five years ago, through the most violent defiance of Communist authority to erupt in Eastern Europe, the Hungarian people secured within one week the formation of a government headed by a man of their choice. The Communist party of nearly a million members in a population of ten million disappeared overnight; its principal leaders fled to Moscow. The new leader declared that the previous

regime "brought the socialist reorganization of agriculture to a dead end, destroyed the worker-peasant alliance, undermined the power of the People's Democracy, trampled upon the rule of law, debased the people's living standards, established a rift between the masses of the party and the government; in other words, the country was swept toward catastrophe."¹ A lifelong Communist himself, Imre Nagy pledged domestic policies of a socialist nature within a democratic framework, pursuance of a neutral foreign policy, a free press, and a multi-party system based on free and secret elections. He demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops which were attacking throughout the city as the teletype conversations between the American Legation and the Department of State went underway. The country became the scene of a Hungarian civil war and a simultaneous Hungarian-Russian war in overlapping theatres of operations.

[A few weeks before the date of the first document, Minister Christian M. Rayndal had completed his tour of duty at the head of the Legation and returned to Washington for reassignment. A successor, Edward T. Wailles, arrived shortly before the date of the second document; in the interim, Counselor N. Spencer Barnes acted as chargé d'affaires.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Control: 14766

Rec'd: Oct. 25, 1956

FROM: Budapest
TO : Secretary of State
NO. : Unnumbered, Oct. 25

Following is running overseas Teletype conversation between American Legation and Department starting at 6:30 a.m., October 25, 1956.

Quote

Legation: This is clear. Communications open temporarily. Am typing on floor. A big battle has just taken place in front of Legation seems to have gone towards Parliament seems all Americans still OK and safe. Street fighting again flaring up with tanks fighting it out at present. Stand by please, chief coming down into Telex room.

Department: Roger, will do.

Legation: Here he is. Do you have any questions at present? Here some news. Parliament Square 10:45 crowded with people afternoon October 24 continued street fighting many Soviet tanks and troops. Legation skeleton staff returned to homes without incident. Two officers and two Marines remained in Legation. Intermittent shots heard through night.

Quieter towards morning October 25. Crowds moving in streets, center town especially [Buda-]Pest Danube river bank area full of Soviet tanks and troops. US staff with no difficulty. About 10 heavy movement of tanks reported on Stalin Street. 10:30 large crowd marched north past Legation proceeded farther towards Parliament. Heavy gun fire from Parliament area. Some Legation reports that of some Soviet tanks going over to the crowd flying Hungarian flags from tanks with crowds. Budapest radio broadcasts statement that isolated groups firing in town. Advised people stay off streets. Large crowd dispersed before Parliament now mainly dispersed by Soviet tanks firing over crowds heads. Some tanks in control of crowd withdrew from Parliament area. Heavy firing continues hearing distance of Legation apparently tank guns. Any questions?

Department: Chief Warrant Officer is contacting Budapest officer here for questions. Do you people believe this fighting is going to spread further?

Legation: Have no way of knowing but seems very possible that it will spread. We all are in Telex room huddling on floor to avoid gunfire. Believe non-Hungary-stationed Soviet troops pulled into Budapest overnight. Prefix on truck numbers is Soviet 'F'. Have report that no airplane service to or from Budapest. Train service probably interrupted and no information on conditions Vienna Budapest highway except some reports of disturbances in Győr. Also heard reports of disturbances Debrecen and Szeged and Miskolc. Any questions?

Department: Have none at present.

Legation: Strength of Soviet troops which arrived in Budapest initially at 0400 hours local time 24 October estimated to be one mechanized infantry division. Hungarian troops held in background. Soviet doing bulk of fighting. Some Hungarian troops known to have joined the crowd. Situation in front of Legation building now quiet, fighting seems to have left this immediate area.

American apartment house on Szechenyi sprayed with Russian machine gun fire due to presence of insurgents firing from roof. All Americans and domestic help safe in basement, however windows broken from shell fire and front of building sprayed with machine gun fire from Russian troops dug in, in and around the building.

Some members in crowd before Legation have been shouting for United States assistance.

Army and Legation officers have personally observed several instances of Soviet tanks going over to crowds just prior to firing. These were seen flying Hungarian flags.

Still on floor, reason for bad typing.

All this information given by Legation officers.

Legation wife observed at 10:45 local time 76 Soviet trucks fully loaded with troops field kitchens towing howitzers proceeding from east in the direction of Parliament. All trucks bearing numbers beginning with Cyrillic letter 'F'. Agriculture attache has observed trucks bearing this letter by chance in Rumania.

Situation around Legation quiet. Any questions?

Department: None.

Legation: Is anyone from military there?

Department: Military will be informed.

Legation: Have set the printer back on table. State Department are you still there? This is American Legation Budapest.

Department: Yes, still with you.

Legation: Appears to be rather quiet around the Legation area again. Still there, State Department?

Department: Yes, will stay with you until you advise.

Legation: Just so long we don't get cut off is what I'm worried about. Budapest radio has just announced Gerő has been relieved of the party and has been replaced by Kádár who is to speak over radio shortly. Things seem a little quieter at moment and one city bus on normal run just passed by. In meantime John MacCormac of New York Times reported today to us on the basis of eye witness as follows.

What began Tuesday as demonstration in Budapest turned late the same night into revolution. Yesterday it became something like a small war after Russian troops had been called in to 'restore order'. At noon today the square before Hungarian Parliament was strewn with dead and dying Hungarian men and women shot down by Russian tanks. But the revolution did not seem to be over. New crowds of youthful demonstrators continued to form in Szabadság Square near the American Legation and only a few blocks from the Parliament. They carried Hungarian flags and shouted, 'Down with Gerő!' An hour later Gerő was relieved as boss of Hungarian Communist party and was succeeded by János Kádár. The massacre in front of Parliament occurred after some hundreds of demonstrators had come to it in trucks, armored cars and even riding on top of Russian tanks. They shouted to this correspondent, 'The Russians are with us! They say they don't want to shoot down Hungarian workers.' The Russian tank crews seemed to corroborate this statement when they smiled and waved. But this love feast became first a disappointment and then a tragedy. Some ten minutes later another Russian tank roared up and opened fire on the crowd. This correspondent saw some dozens of prone bodies and saw a number of

wounded men and women being carried away by rescuers who had to run the gauntlet of Russian fire. The tanks fired not only their machine guns but their big guns. Armored cars roared past but directed their fire mostly in the air apparently with the intention of terrorizing the fleeing crowd. The situation at 1:00 was completely confused. Some Hungarian soldiers seemed to have thrown in their lot with the insurgents. Others like the Russians were obeying orders to quell the insurrection. Today's insurgents were unarmed. All they had to oppose the mechanized might of the Russians and the Hungarian secret police was the Hungarian flag and their own bodies. When a truck full of Hungarian soldiers appeared in Szabadság Square and warned the demonstrating crowd that 'we are armed', one of the demonstrators held up the Hungarian flag he carried and replied, 'all we are armed with is this flag'. Hold on, will have more later. Please hang on. While we will have the circuit can inform you that large crowd still in front of Legation shouting for help, etc. Have you any questions?

Department: None right now. Hope you can hold circuit.

Legation: Hope so too. Appears we have friends in telegraph office. Very unusual.

Department: If you speaking of us, sure you have. Any more running comments?

Legation: Seems that crowd has left from in front of Legation and things again seem rather quiet. However, numerous times we thought this whole mess was over but it starts up very suddenly without any warning as you can well imagine. Earlier this morning I had the printer on floor typing from prone position with many more typing errors than appearing on this later transmission. Was rather afraid of bullets coming in the window since this Telex room is facing the crowd and would have more protection on floor. Fortunately no shells or the like came in this direction. I have man in back of me who was in Bogota in 1948 so situation we are facing is familiar. Have been informed that my own apartment all shot up, windows broken and a fire broken out in empty apartment adjacent to mine. Have not had opportunity to go see extent of damage but sure that some of my things are damaged from the numerous rifle and machine gun fire which occurred in that area when the Russians discovered some of the crowd on the roof of the American apartment. Am having bits to eat at my side and do not want to leave this machine while we still have contact. Any questions?

Department: No questions. Want to hold you on, don't jeopardize connection.

Legation: Believe Legation has reported situation in immediate vicinity

as fully as possible. Barnes in snack bar, will be here momentarily. Here now.

Department: What is your estimate of Imre Nagy's position now? Is there anything we can do to facilitate your task? We all appreciate magnificent job you all are doing. Sure you will be glad to know Wailes has applied for visas and should be departing within week or ten days.

Legation: Thanks. Good to hear that news. Here is answer to question one. This is a battle situation and we have no idea what is going to happen. Our impression yesterday was that in view of he being blamed for calling in Soviet troops, he lost a great deal of popularity. Where he stands today and how the people would view a further retreat from Kádár to Nagy we do not, repeat not, know. We presume Nagy is to all intents and purposes premier. Should the blame for the calling in of Soviet troops now be placed on Gerő and he made a scapegoat for all that is going on now, and if he made further concessions, he might have a chance. But we do not know enough to say anything very certainly.

As you undoubtedly know, Foreign Minister Horváth, and Sik, requested visa for attending General Assembly UN. Foreign Minister inquired today about them, after being incommunicado yesterday. Unless you see objection, we will issue them this afternoon or tomorrow, assuming contact with Foreign Office. What can you tell us about Secretary's statement last night?

Department: No objection to issuance of visas to Horváth and Sik. Cases of other officials will be subject of later communication.

Legation: We assume you will report to press and close relatives soonest that all Americans on Legation staff are in no imminent danger. Couriers OK, please inform Frankfurt. So far as we know there have been no American casualties, but our information is very meagre. We have been asked by the following American citizens to inform relatives that they are safe (LIST). Another group of seven Americans arrived by train this morning and we now are attempting to remove them from station to hotel and will give names later if possible.

Crowd has put up a ladder on Russian monument in front of Legation and is attempting to knock down red star. Otherwise rather quiet in front of Legation at present. In response to crowd which continued to grow before the Legation, demanding assistance, and as what apparently was the only way to prevent this crowd from growing into unmanageable proportions, we have just made the following statement and asked them to move away peacefully, they appeared satisfied. 'We understand the situation and it has been reported to our Government as fully as we were able. You will understand that we ourselves can take no decision,

this is a matter for our Government and the United Nations. We have been in Hungary for many years and we think we understand the situation.'

Department: Answer to previous question. Statement expected probably today. Secretary has asked us to pass on word to you that he is pleased and gratified by Legation's performance under these trying circumstances.

Legation: In speech just delivered on radio, Imre Nagy has promised inter alia that as soon as arms laid down, Soviet troops now, repeat now, fighting will be withdrawn to former position in Hungary and that negotiations will be started to have all Soviet troops withdrawn. Deadline of 18:00 yesterday for laying down arms canceled. Americans referred to earlier who were to be taken from station to hotel turned out to be Canadians, deposited safely. All except duty officers and those who cannot get to apartment are rapidly pulling out as it is getting dark. We will have only one further brief coded message unless something very dramatic takes place.

Thousands of Hungarians gathering in front of Legation again, shouting for Russians to leave. They are still gathering.

In notifying families please don't forget newlywed wife of Jerry Bolick, Marine Guard.

Mass demonstration carrying Hungarian flags and black flags running over two thousand have sung Hungarian anthem and appealed for help in front of Legation. In efforts to disperse crowd we have repeated in essence message given earlier. Some of crowd has dispersed but others are attempting to enter Legation, nothing really violent. Crowd presently singing, demonstrating. Time here 16:30 local time. We have just remade statement to crowd quoted earlier. If you have suggestions as to what we can say in future, we would like to have it.

Crowd slowly dispersing, 16:40 local time. We would like to have suggestions for statement, however, for future use.

Department: No suggestions for future statements except you may wish to reiterate our sympathy and assure crowds you are keeping your Government as fully informed as possible. Reluctant to keep this circuit tied up much longer, and unless you want to send further message we had better terminate.

Legation: Following this last message we have nothing more, many thanks for support. Following tactical estimate 17:03 local time. Budapest proper very unclear, outline seems as follows. Soviet, State security forces and other government units have set up downtown defense based on east end Margit Bridge and covering Defense Ministry and security

headquarters and north end Parliament Square. South of Parliament, but unknown to what degree east, anti-government crowds freely moving. Gellért area and bridge appears under the control of anti-government forces but tanks on Chain Bridge unknown as to allegiance. Soviet setting up heavy guns back in Városliget Park. If this outline is correct, heavy trouble may break out. Please note that as far as Legation concerned we desire to break contact and will route through Vienna if possible, or if very important, attempt to contact Secretary of State office direct.

Department: OK, we will sign off, thanks for everything, all you guys doing wonderful job, take care.

Moscow issued a momentous declaration on October 30. As carried by the official news agency TASS, the main points were:

The Hungarians "are justified in raising the question of eliminating serious mistakes"; the USSR "deeply regrets" that events in Hungary led to bloodshed, and "has agreed to the withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Budapest"; it "is prepared to start negotiations with the Hungarian government and other signatories of the Warsaw Pact about the question of stationing Soviet troops in Hungary"; and "it is ready to withdraw all Soviet economic, cultural, technical and military advisers from Hungary."

Order was being rapidly restored in the heavily damaged streets of the capital as well as in the provinces. A free press was already functioning, and free political parties, newly formed or resuscitated, took over the arena formerly occupied by a Soviet-imposed single party.

On November 1, Nagy summoned the Soviet ambassador and told him that he had received authoritative information of the entry of new Soviet army units into Hungary; he demanded their immediate withdrawal. At the same time he informed the ambassador of his decision to proclaim Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and to appeal to the United Nations to safeguard the country's neutrality. On the next day, additional Soviet troops were reported entering. On November 3, Budapest was encircled and provincial areas saturated with troops and tanks, and at dawn on November 4, a general assault was begun.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Control: 2536
Rec'd: Nov. 4, 1956

FROM: Budapest
TO : Secretary of State
NO. : Unnumbered, Nov. 4

Following represents exchange of comments with the American Legation in Budapest by direct Telex connection commencing 11:45 pm November 3 and terminating 5:15 am November 4.

Legation: The Minister is out at present. Have someone looking for him but in meantime, in case this circuit goes out, would like to inform you that it appears at 5:00 am local time Russian artillery and mortar has begun falling on outskirts of Budapest. Earlier note from Minister follows. Interesting to note firing in suburbs began exactly 05:00 local time. Guns are heavy caliber and to date firing appears to be going out from city rather than in. Garbled local broadcasts are reporting either Nagy or Tildy have advised people to take to cellars as the city is being occupied. That's all for now, but we would like to hold the circuit for a while yet. Please get this to watch officer immediately. Now Minister here.

Department: Watch officer is here.

Legation: Unconfirmed reports state convoy across border. Have you any information?

Department: Did US dependents get out to Vienna today on second try? Hope you are aware of our immediate protest to Russian ambassador here on word that they had been turned back.

Legation: We do not know if they are out. But someone has reported that the Voice of America has reported that they were out. We are checking now to see if any last dope on that. Tildy's secretary has just phoned to say Russians attacking in all Hungary. He requested us to report that the Hungarian Government is asking the United States for aid. Broadcast at 05:45 reported Nagy stated Russians advancing on city and presently engaged with Hungarian army. We think there is enough in these reports that we have started priority material destruction . . .

Department: Here Washington, is this Legation Budapest?

Legation: Yes, we were cut off.

Department: Do you have any further word on American dependents that tried to enter Austria yesterday?

Legation: The answer is no, but we are trying to find out.

Department: Suggest you present your credentials. You may act on this immediately if feasible, and if desirable in your view.

Legation: Things have been quiet for about ten minutes, do not yet know what this means. Streets patrolled and Parliament Square filled with Hungarian troops. As for presenting credentials, doubt that at the moment could find the gentleman on whom I should call even if I could navigate streets. Will therefore wait temporarily to see what present lull means. Minister of State has just rung our doorbell, will sign off for a minute to see what he has on his mind.

Department: OK, we stand by here. Think you would like to know we are getting in touch with Lodge who is asking for a Council meeting immediately. No other news for moment, except good luck we still stand by. We will pass on to you immediately any news that comes in from New York.

Legation: That would be highly appreciated here.

Department: We also have call in to Vienna and will give you any news we can develop on convoy.

Legation: That also would be highly appreciated as some of the husbands are quite worried about safety of wives and children. The sooner you can supply information the better in order that they will know one way or other.

Department: Please assure all concerned that we are highly sympathetic and doing all possible.

Legation: Have examined credentials of Minister of State and find he is one of those appointed yesterday, will give you his name in a few minutes. He tells me Nagy has gone to Soviet Embassy and has not returned, he is thus one of two cabinet members now acting, he has a message he wishes to have transmitted to President. We are now translating it, he says it is most urgent. Translation proceeding as rapidly as possible. Meanwhile he says Soviet tanks at second bridge, in fact report is that they have two main bridges each about half mile from Legation, and we also hear that Defense Ministry completely surrounded.

Translation coming along. Note was delivered by Bibó, Minister of State, member of Peasant Party, now Petőfi Party. Tildy is the other Minister of State on the job. Here is the message.

Hungary in its present exceptionally difficult situation turns with particular confidence to President whose love of peace, wisdom and bravery so often firmly shown till now. Although people of Hungary are determined to resist with desperation the attack upon them, there is no doubt that in this unequal struggle they will be defeated if help not received. In this moment the most necessary kind of help is political, not military. It is clear that the new phase of the intentions of USSR are related to the

British intervention in Egypt. The subjugation of Hungary, however, would not only mean renewal of oppression in this country but it would also stop the liberation trends which have started so hopefully in the other East European countries. It would also bankrupt the ten year old American liberation policy which was pursued with so much firmness and wisdom. It would create a crisis of confidence for all the Eastern European peoples in the USA and on the other hand in view of the adverse effects of the Egyptian intervention it would bring to the fore isolationist currents which as shown by experience to date would be the most certain road to the inception of a world war. This is the historical moment to which both President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles referred in earlier speeches when they said that only by risking a world war can a sure way be found to avert the outbreak of one. Without attempting in any way to give advice, we cannot forego bringing to the attention of the President the possibility that taking into account the most difficult consequences he can on the one hand bring the Western powers to end the Egyptian intervention by acting as intermediary in an armistice, and on the other hand he can call on the USSR to quickly withdraw its troops from Hungary. We know that the moral significance of the simultaneous execution of the two measures is as great as the practical difficulty in carrying them out.'

That is all that has been translated up to now.

Department: Believe Lodge will speak very shortly at the General Assembly, and meeting of the Security Council will probably be held early today, Sunday.

Legation: A few jets overhead but no immediate street fighting. Still no news from convoy, and Soviet Embassy says they do not know what is going on here in town.

Rest of message from Minister of State says in brief fate of the world now depends on President. Just made phone contact with convoy, I will tell you in a minute which side of border they are on. Wait. Sorry, it was not convoy. Lots of action here but nothing new to give you for the moment. May have something in a moment. Just having coffee at present, sure is good. We hope soon we will have information on dependents, all husbands standing by for any news, when you get it please relay soonest.

Department: We will certainly forward to you immediately anything we can develop. In meantime can you give us the rest of the text of the message to President?

Legation: Here is rest except for an eight line sentence which we cannot make out.

'We are not in position to further pursue these suggestions, but we

strongly emphasize that in this moment the fate of Eastern Europe and the entire world depends on the action of the President. The next few critical days will determine whether we enter on a path of peace and liberation, or whether we shall increase the appetite of aggressors and proceed to an inevitable world catastrophe.'

Department: The Security Council is meeting within a few minutes.

Legation: Delighted, and hope to get to you today for Lodge as accurate information on Soviet buildup as possible. We have actually seen numbers of tanks bearing markings, stop, Cardinal is now at the door and we are now taking him in, I'll speak to him and be right back.

Department: OK, standing by.

Legation: Minister has gone downstairs, will return shortly.

Continuing, Cardinal accompanied by his secretary, can we also take him in?

Department: Will have answer in a moment.

Legation: Waiting.

Department: Here is reply. Let the secretary in.

Legation: Henceforth will admit only Americans unless instructions from you.

Department: Can you get statement from Cardinal Mindszenty?

Legation: Am now asking him. In the meantime so far as we know there are only about eight Americans other than Legation here in city. They are journalists and we will take them in if they come.

Department: Who are they, please?

Legation: One moment, we'll see if we can get the list.

Department: Is Garst party still there?²

Legation: They left their hotel last Thursday and we have checked but we assume they are safely out of Hungary.

Department: Any progress on Mindszenty statement?

Legation: Please hold on. Minister has just gone down to ground floor to see what has developed along those lines, should be back shortly.

Department: Have you names of journalists?

Legation: There is a list in the Legation someplace, someone has gone up to third floor to see if it is still around. Anything else we can do?

Department: What is situation outside of Legation now?

Legation: Am here alone now, have blinds down and some safes against the window, cannot see a thing from here but it appears to me rather quiet, this room rather sealed off for over a week, we put the safes by window to stop any bullets from entering this room and reduce possibility of damage the Telex equipment and personnel working in this section of Legation. Here is translation of Cardinal's statement.

'Under the pretense of serious negotiations the assembled Soviet troops at dawn occupied the Hungarian capital and the entire country. I protest against this aggression and ask for forceful and speedy defense of my country by the United States and other powers.'

Did you get that OK?

Department: Yes, OK.

Legation: Several American newspapermen in group, believed to be all that are here have phoned from Duna Hotel they have tentatively decided not to take refuge in Legation unless permitted to bring a few German and other non-Hungarian assistants with them. What about it? Just heard that Russians have taken over Parliament building, about two blocks from Legation.

Department: Do you have any contact with British and other Western diplomatic missions?

Legation: No, not at moment, however am now trying to get British. In meantime here are the names of American correspondents. (LIST.)

Department: That's fine. We are still trying to reach Vienna regarding convoy. Stand by, something coming up. OK, we are still awaiting a reply and feel quite sure husbands are very anxious to hear of their whereabouts as soon as possible.

Legation: Have contacted British Legation and they know nothing more than we, they are sitting tight as we.

Legation: Regret, cannot authorize further refuge for other than American nationals. If you are still able to communicate you may recommend exceptions, otherwise, must leave to your judgment.

Legation: I think we must stick to Americans for the reason that food in the city is getting short and we must keep those at Legation at minimum from standpoint of our supplies which are sufficient for us, as well as possibly water shortage.

Just heard from Cardinal that some time ago he saw white flag raised on Parliament building. Unable to confirm.

We at Legation are grateful for this machine being installed when it was and is of great help and assistance to the cause, it is a fine bit of equipment and we shall protect it. We have managed to keep almost twenty-four hour coverage on this equipment by putting beds near the machine and bells would awaken operator to receipt of any and all urgent night-action telegrams, priorities, et cetera. By the way, what is the correct time there?

Department: It is now 2:45 November 4.

Legation: It is 8:45 am here, have just reset my watch to conform to yours.

Department: We are now in touch with Vienna on a weak circuit somewhat garbled version follows. Convoy was waiting at border last night. Vienna has an officer waiting at the Austrian side and attempting to get word to them. No report from the officer so far this morning. We are trying to get a clarification of the garbles.

Legation: OK, we will pass this to interested parties.

Department: Vienna is trying to reach Vienna officer by radio and phone.

Legation: Fine, hope you have success and then we will probably get more information on latest developments on Austrian border. When you get the information you will I am sure pass it along to us.

Department: You may be interested to know that Lodge broke news on Soviet occupation Budapest at General Assembly meeting tonight.

Legation: When Russians surrounded Parliament building, no firing took place as far as we know.

When next budget is presented we hope plenty of money put in for Telex expenses as this is certainly a great help at the moment.

Assume in due course you will let out Missions in neighboring countries know what is going on as we do not have time to communicate with them.

Department: We have United Press report from Vienna that Nagy Government captured and that Budapest radio now on air in Russian language. Associated Press reports from Vienna that Russians are bombarding and strafing city. It says Budapest radio went off the air moments ago. Hungarian news agency reports to Vienna that new Soviet controlled government has been formed outside city of Budapest headed by six Hungarian Communists. Any confirmation?

Legation: We have no confirmation. We can hear no bombing or strafing at this moment, if it is going on it must be well in suburbs.

Department: We have Vienna on line, anything you wish to ask?

Legation: We have reached American journalist group and told them if they wanted to come in here they may, and bring with them the German and other non-Hungarian assistants who definitely work for American press if there are not more than five. I said we could not take in Hungarian associates, which they seem to appreciate.

Department: Security Council in session, Lodge speaking, he says Soviet has ring of tanks around city. While this going on, Soviet press says Nagy has turned out to be enemy of people. Also, Budapest radio heard playing national anthem, voice saying 'You are Hungarians, here you live and here you must die'.

Legation: British military attache called and stated that he had heard

officially that Soviets had given the Hungarian government an ultimatum at 8:00 to the effect that if the government did not capitulate within four hours, Budapest would be bombarded. He states he was told that the government would technically capitulate under those terms but that the insurgents would not. Do you have any information on this?

Legation: No, we do not.

Department: We have word from Vienna through Defense Department that convoy was again turned back at Austrian border by Soviets, convoy is staying overnight at Red Cross Hospital at Magyaróvár but will try again to cross the border this morning.

Legation: Thanks, we knew that but were hoping for something later. New subject. Béla Kovács, Smallholder Party leader, with two associates, now at front door. Seeking asylum. We will have to turn them away, unless you instruct to contrary.

Department: Lodge concluded statement before Security Council by asking for adoption of resolution he introduced last night. Cuban now speaking.

Department: You are authorized to grant shelter tentatively to Kovács and his associates. We wish to consider disposition later.

Legation: Action being taken now to permit them to enter. Just made contact with head of International Red Cross to inquire what supplies have been coming in, as it was our opinion that road blocs had cut off transportation. In fact we have seen many Red Cross vehicles stopped from entering city. Red Cross said they have enough medical supplies for about ten days under present circumstances. We imagine a good bombing would use them up very rapidly. Food is probably a more critical problem as we gather that with city ringed by Soviets there is not more than two or three days supply. This does not apply to Legation.

Department: Cuban reviewed events in Hungary which he described as 'world shame' and laid it at feet of USSR. Britain's Dixon now speaking, he condemned 'brutal slaughter' of women and children and male civilians by Soviet troops in Hungary. Australian now speaking.

Legation: Just had a good flight of jets overhead. They kept right on going, did not stop.

Kovács has apparently left but may come back and we will let him into vestibule with his associates with firm understanding that this is tentative and no asylum granted.³ If they do come back and we have bombing at noon as threatened in ultimatum, we will take them in for a few minutes as the vestibule is largely glass. We plan to send staff to basement just before twelve and if it gets really hot we will all go there for a few minutes but will tell you beforehand in case you can keep machine

running. It is now ten o'clock here so there is still two hours to go. If you have nothing urgent, I will now give you list of Americans here. (LIST.)

Department: Australian in UN said delegates who went to negotiate with Soviets for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary have not returned and have apparently been taken prisoner. Said 'no need to multiply recitation of tragic events, we have before us American resolution and we can do nothing less than adopt it.'

Legation: We understand that as late as 10:00 the Hungarians were negotiating with the Soviets, and have also heard this morning that Hungarian delegation has not returned, so it looks like Australian is correct although we have no positive proof.

Legation: We have telephoned Soviet ambassador, got him out of bed and told him we expected action on convoy as promised previously. Ambassador said he would send another telegram on the matter.

Some sort of press conference has been called at Parliament and we will let you know results when available. We do not know who called conference, believe all local radios now being jammed.

Department: We are on the phone to New York and will have something for you in a moment on Security Council meeting.

Legation: We now have Foreign Office on phone and will send their view of things in few minutes.

Department: Peruvian said yesterday we had hopes that Hungarian-Soviet negotiations might produce favorable results. Soviets had tried to force conditions which Hungary forced to reject. As result, Soviets understood to restore regime of 1948. A regime of force, he added, with all objections it produces, collides with moral forces of the world which will ultimately defeat it. The Soviet government has not only committed a 'great crime' but also a mistake in trying to restore 'Stalin tyranny'. It is impossible for any state to fight successfully against moral forces of the world which in the end prevail for all time. Soviets, he concluded, are guilty of slaughtering youth, women and children, and one of the beautiful cities of Europe, 'the pride of our culture, is now being wrecked in vengeance'. Further in UN, Chinese proposed change in US resolution. Proposed first point be changed to read: 'To call upon the government of USSR to desist forthwith from making war on government and people of Hungary and from any form of intervention in internal affairs of Hungary'. Belgium accepted the Chinese amendment.

We are on the line to New York again and will give you the gist as soon as we get it. We have all been with you in spirit on this thing and sure admire the way you have all held up.

Legation: Thank you very much. We are now translating what we

received from Foreign Office and local employee is taking down the substance of long talk with Minister of State.

Military attache reports two explosions a few minutes ago, more on the order of dynamite than bombing, target might have been Margit Bridge and Chain Bridge.

Department: Further on Security Council meeting, Soviets are speaking, will give you summary of remarks shortly. Have spoken to Bohlen in Moscow, asking him to take up the matter with the Foreign Office here.

Department: New York has just come in again on phone and may have summary of Soviet remarks.

Vienna: This is Vienna telex operator, we were cut off again, one moment, we will try to get them on the other line.

(No further contact established with American Legation Budapest.)

* * *

[One final message came through Radio Budapest, the last words to be heard from the head of the revolutionary government:

“This is Imre Nagy, president of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People’s Republic, speaking. Today at dawn Soviet forces launched an attack against the capital with the obvious purpose of overthrowing the legal Hungarian government. Our troops are fighting. The government is at its post. I hereby report this to the people of our country and of the entire world.”]

NOTES

1. Imre Nagy, “On Communism: In Defense of the New Course” [New York, 1957].

2. A group of Iowa farmers led by agronomist Garst had toured Soviet agricultural areas in connection with a type of hybrid corn developed by them, in which Russian specialists had expressed an interest. The farmers planned to return home through Hungary and Austria; the outbreak of the uprising found them in Budapest.

3. “. . . the right is that of the State voluntarily to offer asylum, not that of the refugee to insist upon it.” [Chandler v. US, Court of Appeals 1st Ct, 171 F.2d 921935.] In American practice, each request must be dealt with on an individual basis, taking into account humanitarian principles, applicable laws, and other factors. In cases of such requests occurring within foreign jurisdiction, the ability of the US Government to give assistance will vary with location and circumstance of the request. It is the policy of the US not to grant asylum at its units or installations within the territorial jurisdiction of a foreign state. However, immediate temporary refuge for humanitarian reasons may be granted [except to board aircraft because of their vulnerability to hijacking] in extreme or exceptional circumstances wherein the life or safety of a person is put in danger, such as pursuit by a mob. Protection shall be

terminated when the period of active danger is ended, except that authority to do so shall be obtained from the Department of State.

PHILIP UREN
1923-1979

Our journal lost still another of its editorial staff when Professor Philip Uren died suddenly in December of 1979. In the field of Hungarian studies he is best remembered for his work on Hungarian agriculture (including a book co-authored with Louis A. Fischer), and the establishment of an exchange of academics between Canada and Hungary, which he negotiated while he headed Carleton University's Institute of Soviet and Eastern European Studies. Two other positions which he filled during his years at Carleton were the chairmanship of the Department of Geography and the directorship of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs.

Professor Uren was a man of wide-ranging scholarly interests and a devoted promoter of international cooperation through a keener understanding of conflicting political aspirations in the world. His publications on subjects ranging from East-West trade to South African affairs and his exchange arrangements with East European, Asian, African and Caribbean universities stand as testimonials to his life-work and ambition.

ERRATA

A few errors appeared in Maxim Táborny's review of the work *Kövület* (Petrification) by the late Ferenc Fáy (*CARHS*, Vol. VI, No. 2). The editors apologize for these mistakes.

page 119, line 28: for *does seem* read *does not seem*

page 120, line 5: for *Kutasi* read *Kutasi Kovács*

page 121, line 16: for *sterile* read *fertile*