HSR

Hungarian Studies Review

Vol. XVII, No. 1 (Spring 1990)

In this issue Arthur Grenke surveys the holdings of the National Archives of Canada relating to Hungarian Canadians, Janos Fedak tells the story of Canadian-Hungarian cooperation at an archaeological dig in Hungary, and George Bisztray outlines the origins and first ten years of the University of Toronto's Hungarian studies program. Also, a documentary article relates the stories of three Hungarian newcomers to Canada during the 1920s.

Hungarian Studies Review

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Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (Spring 1990)

CONTENTS

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Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (Spring 1990)

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Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (Spring 1990)

Archival Collections on Hungarian Canadians at the National Archives of Canada

Arthur Grenke

Archival collections on Hungarians in Canada held by the National Archives originate essentially from two sources. One source is the federal government departments and agencies which had on various occasions dealt with members of the Hungarian community in Canada. These are essentially government records, providing information collected by and of interest or use to government officials. Other records on Hungarian Canadians at the National Archives consist of records received by the National Archives from the Hungarian-Canadian community. These consist in large part of papers of private individuals or of records of Hungarian-Canadian community organizations, acquired by the National Archives largely through its National Ethnic Archives program.

Collections of records received by the National Archives are organized by fond, or according to the origin of the collection. That is, as a general rule we organize collections under the name of the individual or agency that created the records. For example, records at the National Archives originating from the Department of Immigration are organized together in Record Group 76. A similar broad categorization also exists in the case of records received by the National Archives, through the work of its National Ethnic Archives program, for records which fall into the Manuscript Group category. For example, records of Hungarian community associations received by the National Archives are organized together under the name of the organization in Manuscript Group 28 of our holdings.

Such categories serve essentially a control function, helping to identify a particular collection in our holdings. Most records held by the National Archives are organized under either the Record Group, or the Manuscript Group category. Essentially this means that they originate from a government source (Record Group), or from a private source (Manuscript Group). Of course, we also have other broader categories of classification. In some

instances, for example, documents received by the National Archives require special storage conditions. This is true for the photographs listed in this article. Most of these had been received from government departments or from private individuals. Because photographs require storage conditions different from paper, the photographs were removed from the collections of which they had formed a part when arriving at the National Archives. Once separated, they were organized according to their own classification system. The National Archives does, however, retain a record of any transfer of documents, thereby enabling the researcher to find the original source of any photograph, and perhaps also why such a photograph had been created.

Government documents held by the National Archives which contain most documentation on Hungarian Canadians were received from federal government departments or agencies which had most contact with Hungarian Canadians. As such, government bodies which had been involved in immigration work are of special importance. Until 1919, immigration was part of the Department of Agriculture (RG 17 of our holdings) and the Interior (RG 15 of our holdings). After 1917, except for the period 1936 to 1949, immigration existed as a separate department. While the actual operational records of the Immigration Branch remained a distinct series and have been preserved as such in RG 76 of the holdings of the National Archives, the records of the larger Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1917–1936, and Citizenship and Immigration, 1949–1966, are preserved in RG 26 of our holdings. After 1966, the Department of Immigration (RG 118 of our holdings) continued this tradition. Records on Hungarian immigration are to be found in the files of all these government departments. In some instances, as for example in case of the Esterhazy material found in RG 76, files had been removed from the Department of Agriculture records and placed with those of the Department of Immigration. Although this is done seldom, it may occur, for example, when files of an earlier period provide useful background information for government immigration work carried out at a later date.

Records preserved by the Immigration Branch may include a variety of documentation: (1) correspondence or memoranda dealing with conditions in Hungary which led Hungarians to emigrate; (2) correspondence, shipping lists and other records created by immigration workers while bringing Hungarians to Canada; (3) financial records providing information on money which may have been expended by the government to recruit Hungarian immigrants; and (4) advertising literature. In short, these files consist of documentation created by federal government agencies in the process of monitoring the movement of Hungarians to Canada and their settlement in this country.

In addition to records of federal government departments directly in-

volved in immigration, records of government departments indirectly involved in immigration work also show repeated references to Hungarians. Thus, records of the Department of External Affairs often mention Hungarian immigration. Also, between the two World Wars much of Canada's immigrant recruitment work on continental Europe was carried out by Canada's two major railways, the CNR and the CPR. References to Hungarian immigration and Hungarian settlement in Canada occur therefore in the records held by the Department of Colonization and Agriculture of the Canadian National Railway (RG 30).

Government agencies collected considerable information on Canadian Hungarians during both World Wars, when the authorities monitored the activities and attitudes of peoples in Canada originating from countries at war with Canada. Laws regulating the activities of Hungarian Canadians may, for example, be found in files of the Department of Justice (RG 13), or in the files of the Privy Council Office (RG 2). Files relating to the censorship of Hungarian-Canadian publications or to regulations serving to monitor the entry into Canada of American Hungarian publications are located in the records of the Chief Press Censor (RG 6 E1). Files describing efforts by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to control the activities of Hungarian Canadians during the war years are to be found in RCMP records in our holdings (RG 18).

Of course, government departments which monitored the activities of Hungarian Canadians during the war years did not collect information on them only during these years. However, the number of files accumulated on Hungarian Canadians by these departments or agencies increased considerably during the years of conflict. Files on Hungarian Canadians were also created by other government departments. Occasional files on Hungarian Canadians may therefore be found, for example, in records of the Department of Labour (RG 27), or in the records of the Governor General's Office (RG 7). Only those government departments or agencies which were directly involved with the Hungarian-Canadian community created files on Hungarian Canadians. Such information was collected for the government or its various agencies and was retained insofar as it suited government needs.

Once the government department or agency had no further need of files it had created on Hungarian Canadians, these were transferred to the National Archives. As the National Archives had no program concentrating on collecting records on Hungarian Canadians or on any other minority group in Canada, this left the National Archives with a limited and, at times, one-sided source base on groups such as the Hungarians. Recognition of this fact, and the realization that such information may provide a rather one-sided picture of an ethnic community in this country, led to the establishment of the National Ethnic Archives program by the National Archives

in 1972. The main thrust of this program is to collect the records of the different ethnic communities themselves. These may include the dormant files of Hungarian-Canadian organizations. They may include the papers of individuals prominent in the Canadian Hungarian community. Of course, the National Archives seeks to collect records on the Hungarian-Canadian community which are of national significance. Once received by the National Archives, these records are arranged. Finding aids are prepared for them. Providing information on the Hungarian-Canadian community from the community's point of view, these records ensure that historians and other researches using the holdings of the National Archives will have readily accessible documentation which would enable them to describe the Hungarian-Canadian experience as accurately and objectively as possible.

Although the National Ethnic Archives has had some success in expanding the source base of historical records on Hungarian Canadians available to scholars, this program is still in its beginning stages. This may be observed when looking at some of the Manuscript Group collections described in the attached. The most important organizational files acquired by the National Archives to date are the records of the Canadian Hungarian Association (MG28 V65). These files are fairly complete and relate to an important and formative period in Hungarian-Canadian life. To give the scholar access to files which would enable him to describe the various dimensions of Hungarian-Canadian organizational life, however, we would also have to have the records of many other Hungarian-Canadian organizations. These include, for example, the records of the Canadian Hungarian Federation or of the Canadian Hungarian Sick-Benefit Federation. For our holdings to truly reflect the Hungarian-Canadian experience, we must have the records of Hungarian organizations from the beginnings of Hungarian organizational life in Canada to the present.

Of dormant files of Canadian Hungarian publishing companies, we hold the records of Canada's longest existing Canadian Hungarian newspaper, the *Kanadai Magyar Ujság*, published between 1924 and 1976 (MG 28 V19). The importance of this collection is further enhanced in that it contains considerable information on Canadian Hungarian communities collected by Gusztav Nemes while publishing the newspaper. We also have the records of the Patria Publishing Company (MG 28 V 121), which published the *Magyar Élet*, a Toronto based Hungarian-Canadian newspaper. To have our collections representative of the Hungarian-Canadian community we require, however, dormant files of other regional publishing companies, as well as the files of publishing companies reflective of at least the most important sub-groupings in the community, be these political or religious in nature.

The same is true of church records held by the National Archives. The records of the Hungarian Reformed Church of Montreal (MG 8 G76) are

important not only because they provide information on the Hungarian religious community in Montreal and Quebec. They also give insight into Hungarian immigrant adjustment to Canadian life. To be truly useful, however, information in this collection would have to be supplemented by information contained in archives of Hungarian religious communities across the country, no matter what their religious affiliation.

The papers we hold on private individuals or on community organizations relate primarily to the Hungarian-Canadian post-World War II immigrant community. Of personal papers, only the Gyula Izsak collection is a laudable exception. Despite this, when one looks at records held by the National Archives on the post-World War II immigrant community, one finds that much work still remains to be done. This is not to say that we do not have important collections on Hungarian-Canadian post-World War II life. The Charles Szathmary de Kovend papers, the Gyorgy Faludy papers, the De Mattyasovszky-Zsolnay papers, or the Janos Miska papers show that we have been able to acquire important collections in this area. Nevertheless, there are still many collections of private papers or records of post-World War II Canadian Hungarian organizations which remain to be acquired. One has only to mention the records of the Széchenyi Society, of which we hold only a paltry segment, or the records of the Canadian Hungarian Engineers' Association. We have no records of this organization.

Despite these shortcomings, our holdings of both private papers and government records make the National Archives the most important source base on Hungarians in Canada. We will be able to serve the Hungarian-Canadian community still better, however, only if the community chooses to participate more fully in our efforts. It can do so by letting community members know of the services we provide. It can do so by entrusting us with the documents in their holdings which are of national significance, and by perhaps also using our help to find a suitable archival repository for community records which are not of national significance. It can help us by making greater use of the collections listed in this article so as to make Canadian Hungarians and Canadians in general more aware of the Hungarian fact in Canada and of its contributions to Canadian life.

Although most collections listed in this article are available in original form only and must be used at the National Archives, some of the collections listed are available on microfilm. Researchers may borrow such microfilms through any library participating in the Interlibrary Loan Arrangement. Researchers wishing to use collections not available on microfilm should first write the National Archives, explaining their research objectives. We may be able to help them formulate their research project as well as inform them of the collections we have on their subject of interest and whether such collections are available for research purposes. Researchers must register at the National Archives during office hours,

from 8:30 to 4:45, Monday to Friday. Once the researcher has received his or her research material and placed it in a locker made available for this purpose, he or she is free to make use of our research facilities seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day, including public holidays.

Examples of documents at the National Archives of Canada relating to Hungarians in Canada

Government Archives Division

1 "Hungarian Immigration, Count Paul d'Esterhazy, New York City, 1892–1903" (Immigration Branch. Record Group 76, vol. 20, file 347, parts 1–2, microfilm reel no. C–4678).
2 "Hungarian Emigration to Canada, 1897–1948" (RG 76, vol. 145, file 34274, parts 1–3).
3 "T.C. Robinette, Toronto, Ontario: M.D. Davis making arrangements with Department for bringing to this country a number of Hungarians and Croatians (pamphlet), 1907–1908" (RG 76, vol. 485, file 750771, microfilm reel C–10419).
4 "Immigration from Hungary – general file, 1949–1966" (RG 76, vol. 822, file 552–1–565, parts 1 and 2).
5 "Processing of applications of persons from Hungary, 1957–1966" (RG 76, vol. 808, file 548–12–565).
6 "Hungarian refugees – professors and students, 1956–1958" (RG 76, vol. 863, file 555–54–565–2, parts 1 and 2).
7 "Hungarian refugees from France, 1956–1957" (RG 76, vol. 864, file 555–54–565–4).
8 "Emergency assistance – Hungarian refugees, 1956–1966" (RG 76, vol. 909, file 580–2–1).
9 "Treatment of enemy aliens and internees, 1940, 1942" (Privy Council Office. RG 2, Series 18, vol. 45, file D–15–2).
10 "Esterhazy, Count Paul d'. Correspondence re Hungarian settlers in North West Territories, 1886–1907" (Governor General's Office. RG 7, G 21, vol. 141, file 264).
11 "Disturbance among Hungarians at Lethbridge, 1888" (Royal Canadian Mounted Police. RG 18, A 1, vol. 23, file 631–88).
12 "Treatment of Austro-Hungarian prisoners and interned civilians, 1919" (External Affairs. RG 25, A 2, vol. 173, file C13/35).
13 "Immigration (Correspondence re immigration from Hungary, etc.), 1923–1924" (RG 25, A 6, vol. 407, file M/207, pt. 3).
14 "Financial and Relief Assistance to Hungarian refugees, 1956–1957" (Citizenship and Immigration. RG 26, vol. 91, file 3–3–8).
15 "Air and Shipping arrangements for Hungarian refugees, 1956–1957" (RG 26, vol. 95, file 3–7–12, parts 1 and 2).
16 "Movement from the United Kingdom of Hungarian refugees, 1956–1957" (RG 26, vol. 112, file 3–24–12–6).
17 "Relations with Canadian and international Red Cross societies in the handling

of Hungarian refugees (includes lists), 1956–1957" (RG 26, vol. 117, file 3–24–34–2).

18 "Hungarian Refugees, 1956–1958" (RG 26, vol. 139, file 3–38–9, 10 and 10–1).

19 "Aliens; Hungarians, 1943–1945" (RG 27, vol. 998, file 2–114–8).

20 "Hungarian immigration 1926–1928—constitution of the Canadian-Hungarian Association—list of Hungarian arrivals, 1927, 1926–1928" (Canadian National Railways. RG 30, vol. 5630, file 5142–1).

21 "Pannonia payments for placements—1930 list of Hungarian immigrants the society aided in finding employment, 1930" (RG 30, vol. 5630, file 5142–3).

22 "Some Hungarian settlements in Western Canada—location and nature of these settlements, 1934" (RG 30, vol. 5899, file 62).

23 "C.N.L.S.A. settlement schemes for continental families—list of Hungarian settlers, 1927" (RG 30, vol. 5892, file W 337).

24 "Communism among Ukrainian, Hungarian and Slavic peoples in Canada, 1942" (Boards, Offices and Commissions. RG 36, series 31, vol. 13, file 8–9–1A).

Manuscript Division

1 Montreal, Quebec: Hungarian Reformed Church of Montreal (Manuscript Group 8, G 76. Originals, n.d., 1924–1971. 71 cm. Microfilm, 1926–1977, reels M–6481 to M–6485)

Loose sheets recording minutes of some meetings of the Hungarian Reformed Church of Montreal, 1927–1966, reports of the church, 1927–1965, correspondence, 1925–1926, 1927–1944, 1947–1948, 1951–1952, 1954–1961, 1964, 1966, church circulars, 1924–1926, 1931–1967, programs, 1926–1944, 1947–1950, 1952–1955, 1957–1962, 1971, sermons and speeches, 1928, 1931–1933, 1935–1937, 1960, 1964, 1966–1967, as well as church membership lists, 1926–1936, 1943–1953, and correspondence, financial reports and other records of sub-organizations and associate organizations of the church, 1934–1965. Also included are microfilm reels of minutes of meetings of the executive of the Hungarian Reformed Church of Montreal, 1926–1971, of the church's financial journals, 1926–1977, of minutes of the Bethlen Kata Women's Association, 1932–1967, and copies of minutes of the Petöfi Choir of Montreal, 1930–1936.

2 Canadian Hungarian News Company, Ltd. (MG 28, V 19. Originals, n.d., 1924, 1927–1976. 9.34 m)

Financial records, 1927–1966, of the publishing company, its general correspondence, 1924, 1937–1976, reports, notes, correspondence and other material relating to Canadian Hungarian social life, 1948–1973, manuscripts submitted to the company for publication, 1949–1976, as well as other records of the newspaper company.

3 Alexander A. Kelen Limited (MG 28, V 52. Originals, n.d., 1928–1970, 1975. 3 m)

Financial records, 1928–1964, and correspondence, 1930–1970, of the Kelen Travel Agency.

4 Canadian Hungarian Association (MG 28, V 65. Originals, n.d., 1906, 1912, 1923, 1925–1931. 1.49 m)

Constitution and By-laws, n.d., 1906, 1912, 1923, 1925, 1926, 1929, minutes,

1927–1931, financial records, 1928–1931, reports, 1927–1929, correspondence, 1923, 1927–1931, and other records of the Canadian Hungarian Association.

5 Hungarian Readers' Service, Inc. (MG 28, V 66. Originals, n.d., [1964]-1980. 1.09 m. Photocopies, n.d., 1958, 1971–1977. 4.5 cm)

Correspondence, n.d., 1971–1980, subscription lists, n.d., articles, [1964], 1971–1974, and other material relating to the publication of The *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*, as well as pamphlets, clippings and other types of documents on Hungary and Hungarians, n.d., 1969, 1971, 1975–1979.

6 Széchenyi Society, Inc. (MG 28, V 105. Originals, n.d., 1973–1974. 21 cm)

A campaign handbook, correspondence, brochures, financial statements, slides, a sound recording and other records, n.d., 1973–1974, relating to the Hungarian-Canadian Cultural Appeal.

7 Patria Publishing Company Ltd. (MG 28, V 121. Originals, n.d., 1924, 1929, 1936, 1943, 1948, 1949, 1954–1978. 2.35 m)

Financial records, 1956–1977, correspondence, n.d., 1948, 1954, 1961–1978, as well as other records of the publishing company.

8 Miska, Janos P. (MG 31, D 88. Originals, n.d., 1934–1985. 86 cm)

Janos Miska correspondence, as well as clippings and other material relating to his work, 1943–1985. Also included are correspondence of the Canadian-Hungarian Authors' Association and manuscripts of novels and articles by Canadian Hungarian authors, n.d., 1966–1977.

9 Makko, Lajos (MG 31, D 97. Originals, n.d., 3.5 cm)

Manuscripts of poems and short stories by Lajos Makko (Tamas Tuz).

10 Thassy-Plavenszky, Ferenc (MG 31, H 120. Originals, n.d., 1931, 1940, 1953–1981. 62 cm)

Personal journal, correspondence, manuscripts, articles, clippings and other papers documenting the life and activities of Thassy-Plavenszky in Hungary and Canada.

11 Urge, Janos (MG 31, H 124. Originals, 1956–1957. 2.5 cm)

Documents recording Urge's experiences in refugee camps in Austria after his flight from Hungary towards the end of the 1956 revolution, as well as immigration and shipping records relating to his coming to Canada in 1957, n.d., 1956–1957.

12 De Mattyasovszky-Zsolnay, Miklos (MG 31, H 148. Originals, n.d., 1946–1980. 1.18 m)

Minutes, correspondence, reports, clippings and other records relating to the Grand Committee of Hungarian Churches and Societies of Montreal, 1947–1976, and the Quebec Committee for Hungarian Relief, 1957–1975, as well as correspondence, press releases and bulletins of the Canadian Citizenship Council, 1967–1970, and Mattyasovszky-Zsolnay's correspondence with friends and relatives in different parts of the world, 1946–1980.

13 Szekely-Molnar, Imre (MG 31, H 123. Originals, n.d., 1962–1976. 11 cm)

Notes, articles and clippings of newspaper articles, n.d., 1962–1976, by Imre Szekely-Molnar, a Hungarian-Canadian writer and journalist.

14 Havran, Martin J. (MG 31, H 167. Originals, 1986–1987. 0.010 m)

Autobiographical notes, 1986, in which Havran describes his experiences in the Hungarian immigrant community of Windsor and his later career as professor

of history.

15 Izsak, Gyula (MG 30, C 145. Originals, n.d., 1890–1907. 1 cm)

Diary of Gyula Izsak, 1890–1907, which describes his childhood experiences and village life in Bereg, Hungary, his family's emigration to Canada and their first years in Bekevar, Saskatchewan.

16 Faludy, György (MG 30, D 287. Originals, n.d., 1966–1979. 75 cm)

Manuscripts of published and unpublished works by György Faludy, poet, novelist and scholar, as well as notes relating to his artistic and scholarly endeavors.

17 Szathmary de Kovend, Charles (MG 31, G 24. Originals, n.d., 1887, 1902–1984. 16.8 m)

Correspondence, manuscripts, memoirs, photographs and other records relating to the Veterans Association of the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie, n.d., 1887, 1902–1984. Most of the records relate to the post-World War II activities of the organization. Also included are Szathmary family papers, including correspondence, photographs and other family records, n.d., 1883–1984.

Documentary Art and Photography Division

Description of Photographs:

1 "First Hungarian Sick Benefit Society, Lethbridge, Alberta, circa 1930." (PA 139302)

2 "Hungarian immigrants en route to Western Canada at Quebec City, P.Q., 1920's." (C 36152)

3 "Canadian Hungarian News Building, 210 Sherbrooke Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1946." (PA 147705)

4 "Hungarian Immigrants: officers and members of King St. Stephen Roman Catholic Hungarian Sick Benefit Society in front of their office, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1925." (PA 147710)

5 "Hungarian Immigrants: Janos Szabo and his family, Fraser Valley, B.C., 1923." (PA 147711)

6 "Hungarian Immigrants: Permanent members of the Hungarian Cultural Association (Inscribed: Souvenir for the Canadian Hungarian News, Winnipeg, Manitoba), Welland, Ontario, 1931." (PA 147712)

7 "Hungarian settlers in Manitoba: Stefan Kalapos-Nyury with his wife and children in front of their new home, Marchand, Manitoba, 1930." (PA 147730)

8 "Women's Association Spring Tea of the Hungarian Mission of the United Church of Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1952–1953." (PA 147702)

9 "Hungarian refugees are interviewed by officials of the Canadian Embassy Visa Section in a dance hall that was rented for the emergency, n.d." (C 7108)

10 "Hungarian refugees await their turn . . . at the Canadian Embassy Visa Section in Vienna, Austria, 1956." (PA 124953)

11 "Group of refugees from Hungary disembarking from Douglas DC-4 aircraft CF-MCB of Maritime Central Airways, Montreal, Quebec, 1956." (PA 125700)

12 "Hungarian immigrants on board the L'Ascania en route to Canada, April 1957." (PA 126549)

13 "Hungarian immigrants in the Port of St. John, N.B., newly arrived on board the

l'Ascania, 22 April 1957." (PA 126551)

14 "Group of Hungarian refugees studying English, Toronto, Ontario, ca. 1957." (PA 127043)

15 "A group of young Hungarians follow a course in weaving at the Oriental Carpet Weaving School founded by Hungarian refugee Louis Felde, Quebec, Quebec, circa 1959." (PA 147716)

16 "*Egységes Magyarság* (or United Hungarians), ethnic press published by Charles Arany (left) and Nicholas Mezes, Attila Vargha (right), editor, Niagara Falls, Ontario, 14 September 1959." (PA 147719)

17 "Chairman Zoltan Tanto checks a Hungarian Relief Fund report with secretary Rosalie Antlfinger, Montreal, Quebec, n.d." (PA 147721)

18 "Catherine Doby in 'The Count of Luxembourg,' operetta presented by the Hungarian Actors' Association, Toronto, Ontario, 1959." (PA 147722)

19 "Hungarian refugee child in Canada, circa 1957." (PA 147723)

20 "Canadian immigrant from Hungary, Dr. Susan Gartha, intern at St. Joseph's Hospital, with her daughter Cathy, London, Ontario, 15 May 1959." (PA 147726)

21 "Eva von Gencsy, Hungarian born immigrant to Canada, ballet instructor at Banff Summer School of Fine Arts, Banff, Alberta, n.d." (PA 147727)

22 "Folk dancing in national costumes featured at a rally near Barry's Bay, Ontario, in July, 1960, by the Hungarian Scouting Association in exile." (C 45116)

[Editor's note: the National Archives of Canada does not use the Hungarian diacritical marks in the spelling of Hungarian names. The *HSR* does not use these marks in the names of Hungarian Canadians but uses them in Hungarian terms and in the names of Hungarians living in Hungary.]

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Exploring an Ancient City: Canadian-Hungarian Cooperation at Gorsium-Herculia

Janos Fedak

The Roman city of Gorsium-Herculia is located about 70 kilometers southwest of Budapest in Hungary.[1] According to our archaeological evidence, the region was inhabited as early as the Neolithic Age. Neolithic pottery fragments have been found scattered around the site. Similar finds indicate the existence of people in the region from the late Bronze and early Iron Ages.

Although the village of the Celtic Eravisci has not been located yet,[2] Celtic tribes are known to have lived in the area long before the Romans appeared on the scene. During the reign of the emperor Claudius, sometime between A.C. 46–49, a military post was established at Gorsium by the *ala* I Scubulorum. The original defensive earthbanks and palisades were demolished by the Romans themselves around A.D. 106. Some of the remains of the *fossa* (ditch) are still to be seen at the site. Soon a new and permanent town replaced the original military stronghold. The building activity was continuous from about A.D. 107 on, during the reign of Emperor Trajan, when the *legio* X Gemina started the construction of the forum. By this time the Romans had defeated the Dacians and managed to establish a continuous defensive line along the western banks of the Danube. Consequently, the military importance of Gorsium became negligible.

When Trajan decided to divide the province of Pannonia into two administrative regions Gorsium became the religious centre of Pannonia Inferior, while Aquincum remained the administrative, economic and political centre. Gorsium's new sanctuaries were constructed, in all probability, under the supervision of the proconsul Hadrian who later, in A.D. 124 as emperor, re-visited the city. Knowing Hadrian's fascination with architecture, it is conceivable that the arrangement of the central sanctuary (*templum*

provinciae) was planned according to his ideas.[3]

The peaceful development of Gorsium was abruptly halted during the Marcomann wars (A.D. 160–180). By near the end of the war Gorsium, along with numerous other settlements in Pannonia, was destroyed. Both the city centre and the suburbs were almost completely burnt down by the Sarmatians. As the result of the peace settlement, the Sarmatians freed 100,000 captured prisoners. Some of these prisoners had been taken from Gorsium and, upon their return to the city, they must have participated in the rebuilding activity of the following decades. Most of the newly constructed buildings were of cut stone and not mud brick as previously.

It is known that Septimius Severus started out from Pannonia in April A.D. 193 to become the new ruler of the empire. Almost a decade later, on his way back to Rome from the Parthian wars in A.D. 202, Septimius Severus and his family followed the line of Roman fortifications along the Danube in Moesia and Pannonia. He made only one detour from the strictly military trail when he left Intercisa (the modern Dunaújváros) to visit Gorsium. By this time the structures of the *templum provinciae* had been rebuilt with the financial help of the emperor and his older son Caracalla. In A.D. 214 Caracalla once more visited Gorsium on his way to the renewed war against the Parthians.

The new golden age of the first half of the third century ended in A.D. 258. During the revolt of Ingenuus against the emperor Gallienus the situation at Gorsium deteriorated. This is the time when the treasury of the city, 3134 double *denarius*, was hidden under the floor of a building and remained there until 1968. Exploiting the considerably undermined and weakened central authority of the emperor in Rome, the Sarmatian Roxolani overrun and devastated Pannonia, including Gorsium, in A.D. 260.

The full scale rebuilding of the city started only around the end of the third century when in A.D. 295 the emperor Diocletian refounded the city. It is known from the late third century *Itinerarium Antonini* that at this time Gorsium was renamed in honour of Diocletian's co-emperor Maximian, whose secondary, assumed name, was Herculius. The rebuilt city of Herculia became larger and more imposing than the former Gorsium. The sizes of the spacious new public buildings indicate that any of them could have housed a large number of people at a given time. Some sources even suggest that the grand *palatium* in the northwest sector of the city served as the residence of the governor of Valeria.[4] By the time of Constantine the Great, the city had reached its zenith with an estimated population of eight thousand inhabitants.

The importance of Herculia at this time is also indicated by the substantial development of local industry, which relied less and less on imported merchandise. The local pottery makers, glass blowers, iron workers, bone

carvers, and others produced a large amount of good quality material which probably insured the survival of the city beyond the fourth century.

After the military triumph of Constantine the Great at the Milvian bridge in Rome (A.D. 312) the inhabitants of Herculia made arrangements to accommodate Christianity. Two basilicas can be dated to the fourth century; the first one was completed within fifteen years of Constantine's victory.

By the time of the death of the emperor Valentinian in A.D. 375 the last golden age of the city was over. After the decisive defeat of the Roman army at Hadrianopolis in A.D. 378, the years of gradual decline started in Herculia and in the province as a whole. Some of the inhabitants left the shrinking city for safer regions, others moved within the city walls for better protection. In spite of the uncertain political climate, the life of the city can be traced without any difficulty to the mid-fifth century. In the early decades of the fifth century, the roads were repaired once more and a few new buildings were erected within the city walls.[5] This is the time when a baptismal basin was added to the larger basilica (build in the second half of the fourth century), implying the presence of a bishop in Herculia.[6]

From the fifth century on, waves of different ethnic groups – such as the Huns, eastern Goths, Svabians, Langobards, and Avars – appeared in the region travelling on the well-preserved roads. By the last quarter of the fifth century, even some of the dead were buried within the city walls. The graves of Langobards and Avars so far located, indicate that these groups lived only within the fortified walls of the former great city of Gorsium-Herculia.

The significantly reduced population of the settlement witnessed the conquest of Pannonia by the Magyars (Hungarians) in the ninth century. By the late tenth or eleventh century, the stones of Gorsium-Herculia became a quarry to construct the first seat of the Hungarian kings at nearby Székesfehérvár. Yet the greatly reduced population of Gorsium-Herculia continued to exist but only in and near the former city centre. According to Mediaeval documents the name of the place was changed to Föveny. To serve the religious needs of the locals, a small church was constructed above the eastern end of the former Roman *tabernae* (shops) in the second half of the thirteenth century. The final and complete depopulation of Föveny took place during the Ottoman invasion of Hungary in the mid-sixteenth century.

The existence of the once flourishing city was forgotten for centuries. It was rediscovered only in 1866 when Flóris Rómer visited the site and subsequently described it. The first small scale excavations at Gorsium-Herculia took place in 1934–39 and then in 1954. These explorations ascertained the existence of the large ancient settlement in the region. The regular and systematic excavations started in 1958 under the leadership of Dr. Jenő Fitz.[7] As the result of the ongoing research at the site, today

about one third of the ancient city is once more revealed and preserved for posterity.

Our Canadian team joined the Hungarian excavators in 1987.[8] We have completed three seasons of field work within the city walls, east of the *cardo* and south of the *decumanus*, i.e., the main north-south and east-west streets. From a 1958 *sondage*, conducted in this area, originates a series of four, bronze coated, iron bells of different sizes and a sickle. These finds suggest the existence of a sanctuary, perhaps that of Jupiter Dolichenus, in the area.[9] Such a hypothesis seems to be more plausible now than in the past. During our first season of excavation we located a 2.60m long and 0.80m wide stretch of a late Roman wall. The following two years our efforts were concentrated on the excavation of this wall segment. The unearthed length of the wall is now more than 12m and runs in an approximately east-west direction. The inner, i.e., northern face of the wall shows remains of plaster coating which had a painted decoration. Bits and fragments of coloured frescoes were found on the terrazzo floor of the building adjacent to the wall. The northeast part of this wall ends abruptly showing signs of rough dismantling of the masonry at this point. The still well-preserved southwest corner of the wall turns northwest at a 90 degree angle. At a short distance from the corner the wall is completely destroyed down to its foundation course. Less than 2m northwest of the corner, and on line with the outer edge of the wall, a column or pillar base has been located. A second and analogous base came to light, ca. 5.50m, northwest and on line with the first base. Both bases are placed in front of a large room of which the width is slightly more than 7m. The length of the room has not been determined yet since its eastern sections remain unexcavated. The north wall of this room has plaster coating on both faces and its width is somewhat less than that of the wall which is to be found parallel and to the south of it. As often is the case in archaeology, the second wall fragment was located only about 0.15m beneath the present surface.[10] Approximately 0.70m south of this second wall and parallel to it, the outlines of an additional wall were discovered on the last day of our excavation season.

The building has an additional feature that should be noted, namely a furnace along its massive south wall. The continuous stretch of this wall is broken about the half-way point of its present length. Here, besides the narrow outer walls of the furnace enclosure, the neatly lined sides of a heating flue were located. The existence of an extensive heating system is further indicated by the numerous broken heating tiles found amongst the debris inside the building. The arrangement of the heating system must have been similar to those found in other cities of Pannonia, for example at Aquincum.

After the structure was destroyed or abandoned parts of it were used as

a burial ground. Two human skeletons came to light in the area, one of an adult person and the other of a baby. Above the baby's rib cage was found an amphora stopper, presumably it was the favourite toy of the deceased. The rectangular outlines of two more graves are visible in the terrazzo floor; circumstances allowing, these burials will be excavated in 1990. All the graves have an east-west direction and they are presumably the resting places of Avars who lived in the region before the Magyars.[11] The general disposition of the burials agrees with other graves we had excavated during the previous years of field work. These burials were all single pit graves, without any signs of permanent grave markers. The earlier magnificent tomb stones of the Roman period have disappeared forever.

The dimensions and construction technique of the walls of our building are analogous to the largest structures of Gorsium-Herculia (e.g., *area sacra*, *palatium*). Furthermore, the massive walls were painted and as noted above, there was a heating system for the large room(s). We also know that the structure faced the forum to the west and had columns in front of the facade. These facts and the series of bells located here, suggest that the structure was a ceremonial type of public building.

Naturally, as our excavation becomes more and more extensive, besides the possible answers, there will be new questions. Already in the easternmost trenches of our working area, new walls and floor surfaces are emerging. Their function, their relation to each other and to the earlier and later structures, will have to be explained. In addition to the size and construction technique of the walls, the various small finds will also help to solve some of the puzzles.[12] Consequently, it is hoped that by accomplishing our immediate goal, i.e., the complete excavation of the strate down to the level of the fourth century late Roman building, new information will emerge concerning the history, social structure and daily life of Gorsium-Herculia.[13]

NOTES

1 For further bibliography see the relevant volumes of Alba Regia from 1958 to 1989. See also the guide book to the excavations by J. Fitz, *Gorsium-Herculia-Tác* (Budapest, 1980).

2 The pre-Roman settlement of the local Eravisci might be located about 800m northwest of the later Roman city on the east bank (of the formerly much more substantial river) Sárviz. This observation was made by Dr. Gyula Fülöp, the associate director of the St. Stephen's Museum in Székesfehérvár, in the summer of 1989.

3 The overall arrangement of the temple district of Gorsium recalls the plan of the large heroon at Pergamon. See E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey* (Istanbul, 1970), pp. 72–76.

4 See J. Fitz, *Gorsium-Herculia* (Székesfehérvár, 1976), p. 100; and J. Fitz, *Gorsium* (Székesfehérvár, 1983), p. 7.

5 One of the factors of the early importance of Gorsium-Herculia was the meeting of a number of important trade and military routes. However, after A.D. 378 the crossing of these roads at the city probably caused more anxiety and harm than benefit to the now exposed population.

6 See Fitz, *Gorsium-Herculia*, p. 104.

7 The excavations are conducted under the auspices of the St. Stephen's Museum in Székesfehérvár.

8 See the brief summaries of our work in English by J. Fedak, "Excavations at Gorsium-Herculia in Hungary," *EMC/CV* 32 (1988): 175–79 and J. Fedak, "The Second Season of Excavations at Gorsium-Herculia in Hungary," *EMC/CV* 33 (1989): 251–53.

9 See J. Fitz, "The Excavations in Gorsium," *Acta Archaeologica Hungariae* 24 (1972): 16, 39–40.

10 I emphasize this fact since the average earth fill in other sections of our excavation area was at least 1.20m deep.

11 See Fedak (supra N. 8), p. 177.

12 Our small finds, besides quantities of roof and heating tiles, include various animal bones, numerous pottery and glass fragments, scraps of metal, a few silver and bronze coins, a late Roman amphora stopper, a fully preserved Avar clay vase and a single bone token. In addition to these finds amongst the pottery, the decorated *terra sigillata* and glazed sheared fragments help us dating the various features.

13 Once that goal is achieved we shall proceed, wherever possible, to uncover the pre-fourth century levels beneath the late Roman ceremonial type of building.

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Hungarian Chair at the University of Toronto: A Decennial Report

George Bisztray

Until recently it was but an unsubstantiated claim that many members of the Hungarian immigration to Canada after World War II prospered in this country. A few case studies in support of this claim have appeared in the local Hungarian press, or in individual publications.[1] Yet, it was only recently, when Oliver Botar's photohistorical exhibition: "Hungarians in Canada" was compiled,[2] that the immense contribution of Hungarian talent to Canada's development was convincingly documented.

No visual representation can demonstrate the evolution of the Hungarian-Canadian mentality during the past decades. Acculturation, the zeal of many first-generation and most second-generation Hungarian-Canadians to "make it," appeared to be counterproductive to cultural retention. N.F. Dreisziger is one of the few who did discuss Hungarian immigrant psyche, stating that, "the enculturation of second-generation Hungarians into the ethnic subculture has become virtually impossible."[3] The fear of losing a whole generation, especially when they entered university, and the justified embarrassment that teaching and research on Hungarian culture may not gain valid representation within the wider Canadian academic framework, troubled some members of the Hungarian-Canadian community.

Initial attempts to introduce university courses on Hungarian language, literature, history and the cultural value of these disciplines began in the 1960s,[4] resulting only in half-measures or temporary solutions (such as courses offered on an annual basis). Without permanent funding, Hungarian courses were at the mercy of university administrators. No university showed a willingness to integrate Hungarian into its curriculum. According to statistics from the early 1970s, Slovak language and literature were taught at seven Canadian universities, Latvian at six, the diverse languages of India at five and Hungarian at none.[5]

It was the Széchenyi Society, a Calgary-based, Hungarian Canadian cul-

tural association, that assumed the task of working for the establishment of a university chair in Hungarian Studies. It was this same Society that had initiated efforts to introduce various Hungarian university courses in the 1960s. While the Society's stated "Purposes and Objectives," at the time of its incorporation in 1965, did not specifically include the establishment of a university chair, this became the Széchenyi Society's actual primary objective after just a few years. With a membership of 1,000 and contributions in the thousands of dollars at the time of its founding, this devoted and efficiently organized society seemed eminently prepared for the ambitious task of making Hungarian Studies a part of Canadian academe. In the early 1970s, the idea of an endowment fund was conceived to secure the continuous operation of such a chair. The choice of location was obvious: the University of Toronto, Canada's most prestigious institution of higher learning, situated in a city with the largest Hungarian community in the country.

Early in 1973, the Society hired a community consulting firm, Adrian D. Berry & Associates (Calgary). In the last week of April, Mr. Berry went to Toronto to meet with representatives of the university and presented them with the Society's "Brief" to open negotiations. The detailed report he sent to the Society following negotiations revolved around the necessary funds ("rather high figures"); the earliest possible date to begin the Chair's activity (the fall of 1975); and the considerable interest in the idea found among students and the community.[6]

The Széchenyi Society pursued further consultations with the university in May, in the course of which the university specified the amount expected to administer the Chair: it was set at $500,000. The National Steering Committee of the planned Hungarian Cultural Studies Appeal was formed in August under the chairmanship of A.D. Berry. A federal conference held in Ottawa on October 14–16 was attended, at the government's invitation, by Leslie Duska, chairman of the Széchenyi Society, A.D. Berry and Toronto lawyer Frank Felkai. On October 15 the conference accepted as a resolution Mr. Duska's proposal that the federal government match the amount of funds raised by any ethnic group to establish a university chair. The Society held public orientation meetings in Toronto on October 13, with the University of Toronto's provost and the Honourable J.W. Pickersgill, Canada's Minister of Immigration in 1956–57, as guests; in Montreal on October 16; and in Winnipeg on October 17. Officers of the local steering committees were nominated, and a number of questions answered.[7]

Actual fundraising began in April 1974, after a full year of preparations. In the meantime, the Society's association with the outside consultants ceased, and Mr. Berry's name disappeared from further communications. The letterhead of the Hungarian-Canadian Cultural Studies Appeal listed Leslie Duska as Chairman, Andrew Farkas as Vice-Chairman, Tibor Fekete

as Treasurer and Martin Kovacs as Campaign Administrator of the National Campaign Committee.

To accompany the launch of the fundraising campaign, a number of fliers were produced to promote the cause. They defined the purpose of the campaign thus: "to make available and maintain in Canada, for the benefit of all Canadians . . . gems of Hungarian culture—literature, language, music, art, history. . . ." (Significantly, "history" appeared first in the Hungarian translation.) Its primary objective was "to establish and provide a permanent endowment for a Chair in Hungarian Cultural Studies at the University of Toronto. . . ."

Relevant documents for the subsequent three years are scarce. It is known, however, that by the end of 1976, $243,561 were raised, and another $58,500 pledged.[8] By 1977 approximately $300,000 were collected. This was the year the campaign chairman took Ottawa at its word. On December 21, 1977, the Minister of State for Multiculturalism approved funds matching those raised by the Széchenyi Society, bringing the endowment to $600,000. Final arrangements with the University of Toronto began early in 1978.

The university had two decisions to make: what was to be the nature of the chair, and who should be the incumbent. With reference to the former: reacting to an intra-university communique about the establishment of the Hungarian Chair, certain members of the Department of History (now mainly retired) issued a series of memoranda and letters protesting the faintest suggestion that the Chair be involved in the teaching of Hungarian history. The first such communication was dated January 13, the last one April 10, 1978.[9]

Without a copy of the aforementioned communique, it is unclear exactly what caused their concern. One may assume that certain donors did indeed hope to establish a chair for Hungarian history at the university. It is also true that official communications left the profile of the chair undecided, entrusting the university with finding the best solution. On the other hand, the overreaction of the Department of History left the Hungarian Chair with an image that haunted it for years: that of a bureaucratically inspired initiative pushed down the faculty's throat, an absurd aberration that could not in any healthy way be integrated into the university curriculum. "Only persons . . . with a nationalistic axe to grind could have conceived the idea of a chair to teach 'the history of the Hungarian Nation'," wrote one professor. By and large, it is clear that certain members of the faculty regarded Canada's changing social reality as a threat to their privilege of defining history in one way only, albeit paternalistic and culturally biased. "In my view the University should discourage the creation of 'ethnic' chairs," wrote the department's chairman to the dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science. After such protest, it is somewhat of a mystery why the Department of History

meekly accepted the creation of a Chair of Ukrainian Studies just two years later.

By early April, the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures volunteered to accommodate the Chair, provided that it would teach Hungarian language and literature. Simultaneously, on March 28, a Trust Agreement and a Letter of Intent were signed between the Széchenyi Society and the Governing Council of the University of Toronto. On March 30, another agreement was signed between the federal government and the Széchenyi Society.[10] The text of the latter will serve as basis for the following list of aims and objectives of the Hungarian Chair.

The first paragraph of the agreement between the government and the Society consisted of several clauses. The first of these obliged the university to establish an endowment fund to finance the Hungarian Chair. The university was to have "full control of the manner in which the Endowment Fund [was] to be invested and the sole right to select academic personnel . . ."; and committed itself to make the Chair operative by January 2, 1979. Activities of the Chair were intended to have an interdisciplinary and comparative character. The university was to provide the incumbent with research and publication facilities. After the first three years an interim report, after the fifth year a full evaluation report of the Chair was expected by the Society from the university. The Endowment Fund had to be audited every year. Széchenyi Society was to forward copies of the progress report, evaluation report and the annual audits to the Minister of Multiculturalism. Without the agreement of the two funding parties, the university could not change the academic profile of the Chair. The federal government matched the funds raised by the Széchenyi Society with an equal amount or $300,000, whichever was less.

Most of the Agreement and Letter of Intent signed by the university and Széchenyi Society coincided with the above. But the date set for the full-scale activation of the Chair differed in this Agreement from that listed in the Society's accord with the government – September 30, 1978. The Society and the university also established an advisory committee "to actively foster the further development of Hungarian Studies in relation to the Program." In the Letter of Intent, the first staff appointment was to be in the form of a visiting professorship, since the university needed more time "for a thorough search for a regular appointee of the chair."

Against the uninformed expectations of certain individual donors, the Széchenyi Society consistently supported the university's restriction that no outside interest was to interfere with the Chair's curriculum or the selection of the incumbent.[11] In late April the advertisement for the open position appeared in the *Globe and Mail* and *Academic Affairs*. Applications were directed to the chairman of the Slavic Department. Interviews with three candidates were conducted in May, and the appointment was filled in early

June.

After the Hungarian Chair's first courses began in the fall, the Széchenyi Society wrapped up its fundraising campaign with a Final Campaign Report, dated October 15, 1978. Figures from this report show that Calgary and Toronto raised the most funds locally: both in excess of $62,000. Among the provinces, Ontario (home to half of all Hungarian Canadians) was far ahead, with $128,159 raised. It was followed by Alberta ($75,459), Quebec ($43,334), British Columbia ($36,566), Manitoba ($9,872), Saskatchewan ($7,298) and the Maritimes ($1,305). Contributions from abroad totalled $20,194.

The amount raised, well in excess of the projected $300,000, was considerable by 1978 standards. It was a clear demonstration of the belief in the need for the university Chair and the Hungarian-Canadian community's ability to foster a reasonable cause. Even the most generous contributors had agreed, though, that the campaign would never have produced any tangible results without the devotion of Leslie Duska who conceived the idea for the endowment and persuaded the federal government to support it.

Early in December 1978, the fundraisers and the university inaugurated the Hungarian Chair with a reception. Its first academic term was finished, and the Chair began to show promising results.

* * * * *

Because of negotiating delays and late hiring, the Chair began its activity in a hazardous manner—by jumping in at the deep end. Its three courses were not listed in the university calendar, and the textbooks did not arrive in time for the September start of classes. In spite of this, seventeen students signed up for the courses: "Elementary Hungarian [Language]," "Hungarian Literature and Culture" and "Advanced Studies in Hungarian [Literature]."

Curriculum development took several years. In 1979–80 "Intermediate Hungarian [Language]" and "Modern Hungarian Novel," in 1981–82 "Hungarian Drama" and "Hungarian Cinema" were introduced. In 1982–83 "Advanced Studies in Hungarian" became a descriptive and historical survey of the language, and, since 1984–85, it has been called "Advanced Language Studies." The previous survey of literature became a new course in 1985–86, called "Survey of Hungarian Literature."

Developing an unprecedented curriculum had its pitfalls. Between 1980–82, both elementary and intermediate language courses were offered each year. After two years it became obvious that there was no demand for such frequency. "Hungarian Literature and Culture" was offered every year

between 1979–83. It was well attended as an evening course (1979–81), but interest in the daytime class was modest, and finally withered away. Another problem with this course, which was offered in English, was the lack of relevant reading materials. Inadequate and non-existent translations made it eventually impossible to convey the reflection of Hungarian culture and history in literature to the students. The course was dropped from the curriculum in 1983.

Another experiment which was successful, but did not develop, was the introduction of non-credit Hungarian language courses at the university's School of Continuing Studies in 1984–85. The interest was obvious, even when the course was repeated in 1987–88, however, Hungarian language courses have not yet become an annual offering at Continuing Studies.

Along with curriculum development, teaching materials also had to be provided or created. In the language classes a combination of North American and Hungarian textbooks, in the novel and drama courses inexpensive Hungarian paperback editions of classics are used—the latter also available at the campus libraries. For the language and literature survey courses, textbooks have been compiled. Students in the cinema course (the only one taught in English) receive a sizable number of information handouts: for example, filmographies and a cinema glossary. In this course, initially 16mm movies were rented from local dealers. Now most of the course is based on subtitled video tapes.

Programs in Hungarian Studies (one major and two minors) were introduced in 1983. The minor programs proved especially successful.

During the first decade, Hungarian courses "reached and affected" approximately 250 students. Official university statistics, however, which add up and divide by two the student registration in one-semester courses with no account for students in continuing studies courses, register a lower number. An estimated 70 per cent of all students were of Hungarian background.

Research materials and university activities were gradually enhanced. Robarts Research Library now has approximately 20,000 volumes pertinent to Hungary. This collection is complemented by the 3,000 volumes in the Reference Library of the Hungarian Chair. This library is actually a private collection whose transportation to Canada was facilitated and financed by the World Federation of Hungarians (Magyarok Világszövetsége) and the National Széchényi Library (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár), both in Budapest. According to an educated estimate, about 80 per cent of this collection is not available elsewhere in Canada. Furthermore, twenty separate journals and periodicals are received by the Chair on a regular basis. The National Széchényi Library has contributed to the augmentation of the university's Hungarian library holdings since 1982 with sizable annual shipments of individually selected volumes. Occasionally, donations of

books were received from the World Federation of Hungarians as well as individuals.

The Chair's archival collection began in 1984 when the Hungarian Independent Mutual Benefit Federation entrusted it with the safekeeping of its records. The Federation also donated twelve feature and fourteen documentary films to the university's Audiovisual Library, laying the foundation for a Hungarian cinema collection. The same Federation presented the Chair with a bust of the poet Endre Ady by Géza Csorba; it stands in the courtyard of Innis College and is one of Canada's few public sculptures of Hungarian relevance.

In all, the Hungarian collections of the University of Toronto have grown into the most comprehensive in Canada, and one of the best in North America. The Hungarian Chair has also attempted to make the university a centre for the dissemination of research on Hungary. To this end, two major forums were developed: the Triennial Hungarian Studies Conference and the *Hungarian Studies Review*.

Since 1974, the American Hungarian Educators' Association has been in operation in the United States. At that time, it had about a dozen Canadian members and held its annual conference at different American universities. Since 1980, AHEA has met at the University of Toronto every third year, at the invitation of the Hungarian Chair. These meetings had a high Canadian attendance, brought together North American colleagues in Hungarian Studies and eventually suggested the need for a Canada-based association. As a result, the Hungarian Studies Association of Canada was conceived in 1984 and formed in 1985, holding its annual conference under the aegis of the Learned Societies. It intends to continue the tradition of triennial conferences in Toronto as a forum for intra-American exchange of research information.

Verba volant, scripta manent: while conferences are a primary means of exchanging verbal information, research of permanent value deserves to appear in print. As it happens, a unique English-language periodical had existed in Canada even before the initiation of the Hungarian Chair. *The Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies* was founded in 1974; by 1980 it was publishing its seventh volume.[12] In that year the University of Toronto met its implicit obligation, as stated in paragraph 5 of the Letter of Intent: "It is mutually agreed that, subject to the availability of funds, high priority attention should be given to the possibility of incorporating with the Chair, *The Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*, or a similar scholarly journal." Since 1981, the periodical has been published under the new title *Hungarian Studies Review* with an editorial office attached to the Hungarian Chair.

A comparison of these developments with the goals stated in the founding agreements makes it obvious that the Chair has fulfilled all the expecta-

tions of the original fundraisers. During its first decade of existence, the Hungarian Chair has developed into the most stable teaching and research unit of its kind on the academic map of North America.

* * * * *

While the first five years of the Chair's activity were characterized by the exploration of needs and possibilities, the second five-year period was one of stabilization, of building a tradition. In hindsight one can recognize certain miscalculations in judgment which were earlier obscured by their immediacy.

The date for the commencement of the Chair's activities was, undoubtedly, set in haste and without regard for the realities of the situation. To have the incumbent simultaneously start teaching and begin the many other chores stipulated in the agreements resulted in the stress of an unreasonable workload. In comparison, the incumbents of the subsequently established Ukrainian and Estonian History Chairs had a year to prepare for their duties.

Not all of the Chair's ventures were successful. One eventual failure was the attempt to set up guest lectures in fields outside of the Hungarian Chair's operational sphere—most notably, history and political science. The assumption was that the Hungarian-Canadian community would welcome interesting lectures in these fields. These events were co-sponsored by other university departments and programs. Between 1978 and 1984, eighteen lectures in history, political science, sociology, literature, linguistics and theatre history were fully or partly sponsored by the Hungarian Chair. While some of the lectures were initially well attended by members of the university, the lack of community interest was obvious from the outset. The support of university co-sponsors became merely symbolic—sometimes they were not represented at all—yet they shared the credit for the event but not the expenses or the responsibilities. Consequently, since 1985 no such lectures have been mounted; people who are interested in addressing colleagues and exchanging information, are encouraged to attend the annual conferences of the Hungarian Studies Association of Canada.

Certain members of Canada's Hungarian community were concerned that the university's Slavic Department was the locale for this centre of Hungarian Studies. In fact, the Hungarian Chair is an autonomous unit of the University of Toronto. The Slavic Department controls neither the content of the Hungarian courses nor the organizing and publishing activities of the Chair. The administrators of the department save the Chair from a great deal of paperwork and allow the incumbent the time to deal with more productive matters.

Last but not least, I should mention what used to be called "the problem of the Hungarian Chair." By the early 1980s, Canada's multicultural pol-

icy had developed certain undesirable side-effects. One of these was the preference among federal politicians for dealing with one umbrella organization per "ethnic" group, disregarding the institutional diversity of cultural communities. The result was in-group rivalry and often unsavory attempts to dominate an entire cultural group and terrorize its members.

During its first four years, certain elements of the Hungarian-Canadian community tried to extend their domination over the Hungarian Chair. When this proved unsuccessful, a two-year concentrated slander campaign was directed at the Chair, partly in the Hungarian-language press in Canada and elsewhere, and partly through the community grapevine. Also, efforts to intimidate people supportive of the Chair and its activities started; for instance, federal employees who attended conferences organized by the Chair, or were published in the *Review*, or simply were on friendly terms with the incumbent, were reported to the RCMP under various pretexts. The attacks coincided with the decisive five-year evaluation period of the Chair's activity and were aimed at destabilizing and discrediting the Chair just as it was gradually gaining more respect in the community. This campaign lasted from 1982 to 1984, then suddenly subsided. One reason why it ended might have been the fact that the newly elected federal government revised its policy toward cultural groups discouraging the activities of self-appointed spokespersons. Another probable reason was that the Hungarian Chair, in resisting attempts at outside interference, enjoyed the dedicated support of friendly associations, colleagues and university authorities.

No retrospection can be complete without a reflection on future prospects. For the Hungarian Chair, the prospects are rather bleak. During the first decade, its funds were not augmented by as much as a penny, while its operating expenses increased annually, just like any other service. This is why the University of Toronto is no longer assuming responsibility for any similar Chair that does not have funds totalling at least two million dollars. Moreover, the Hungarian Chair is unable to venture into new fields and enterprises (for which several plans already exist), and it is expected that some of its present activities will soon have to be discontinued. The university has already refused to contribute to the *Hungarian Studies Review*'s editorial expenses after 1988.

The next decade will be decisive. If its operating funds are increased, the activities of the Hungarian Chair will be maintained and, if possible, expanded. If not, there is the possibility that after the retirement of the first incumbent, the Chair will have to continue its operation as a modest language instructorship, nothing more.

NOTES

1 The journalist Imre Székely Molnár wrote several essays on Hungarian Canadians; while Magda Zalán's entire volume, *Stubborn People* (Toronto: Stage

and Arts Publishers, 1985), is a collection of interviews with and reports on successful members of this group.

2 The exhibition was compiled in 1986–88, consists of 100 panels and has been featured in eleven Canadian cities.

3 N.F. Dreisziger, *Struggle and Hope: The Hungarian-Canadian Experience* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1982), p. 223.

4 Cf. N.F. Dreisziger, *The Hungarian Experience in Ontario*, special issue of *Hungarian Studies Review* XII, 2 (Fall 1985), pp. 66–67.

5 Cf. bilingual "green-on-yellow flier": "Hungarian-Canadian Cultural Studies Appeal/A magyar-kanadaiak felhivása egy Magyarság-tudományi Alap életre hivására." This flier and copies of documents mentioned subsequently are preserved in the "Széchenyi File" of the Archives of the Hungarian Chair. Except for relevant remarks, no further reference to this file is provided in the text.

6 Copies of these documents in the "Széchenyi File" are incomplete. The National Archives of Canada has on file additional material related to the campaign. Cf. Arthur Grenke's report elsewhere in this issue, in particular item 6 in the section "Manuscript Division."

7 These events of the period between May-October 1973 are summarized in a report of the Széchenyi Society to its members, dated November 15, 1973.

8 Campaign Report No. 26, dated December 31, 1976.

9 Archives of the Hungarian Chair, "Intra-University File."

10 Cf. "Széchenyi File."

11 According to Dreisziger, such expectations existed all the time among the community, foiling earlier opportunities to establish Hungarian Chairs (*The Hungarian Experience in Ontario*, pp. 66–67). In the documents on file at the Hungarian Chair, they appear first mentioned in the internal report of the Széchenyi Society, dated November 15, 1973: "Leslie Duska asked the audience not to tackle the question who the incumbent will be since this challenged university autonomy [. . .]; however, he assured everybody that the University did not intend to hire someone whose person would embarrass the Hungarian community."

12 About the history of *The Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*, cf. Dreisziger, *The Hungarian Experience in Ontario*, pp. 68–69. R.L. Aczel (University of London), in reviewing the *Hungarian Studies Review* and its predecessor, made the following assessment:

> "[O]ver the . . . years of its existence [the *Hungarian Studies Review*] has produced a highly impressive body of scholarly work unparalleled in range, depth and consistency by any other contemporary venture of its kind in the Anglophone world. . . . The most impressive achievement of the *Review* . . . [has] been its publication of five special issues on themes of considerable importance. . . . To all those with an interest in Hungarian studies in the Anglophone world . . . the [*HSR*] continues to provide a rare and invaluable service."

R.L. Aczel, in *Hungarian Studies* (Indiana University) Vol. 3 (1987), pp. 260–62.

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Immigrant Fortunes and Misfortunes in Canada in the 1920s

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The Canada of the 1920s was a country of immigrants. This generalization is particularly true of the Prairie Provinces which were the recipients of most newcomers to the country. Hungarians were among the people who were arriving at the time in the Canadian West. They began coming in the second half of the 1880s, at first from the United States. More of them came at the turn of the century, this time directly from Hungary. During the First World War, immigration from the lands of the Central Powers ceased; however, after the war it slowly resumed. In the second half of the 1920s, thousands of Hungarians were landing in Canada every year.

Several studies cover the history of this early Hungarian immigration to Canada. Most of these works, however, deal with such topics as the process of emigration from Hungary, or with the history of various Hungarian settlements in the Canadian West. Relatively little information is available to immigration historians as well as members of the general reading public on the immigrant experiences and life-styles of individual newcomers in this period.[2] The purpose of this "documentary" article is to help to fill this gap in our knowledge. The means by which we hope to achieve this aim is to print translated excerpts from a little-known Hungarian-language work that throws a great deal of light on the subject. This work is the book of Sámuel Zágonyi, *Kanada egy európai bevándorló megvilágításában* [Canada Through the Eyes of an European Immigrant] which was published by the author in 1926 simultaneously in Budapest and Bridgeport, Connecticut.

Zágonyi's book contains an appendix-like section which records the Canadian experiences of three Hungarians who came to the Canadian West purportedly soon after World War I. The protagonists of our story are not named, nor does Zágonyi give any place names or dates that might help the reader in identifying anyone mentioned in this part of his book. This

concern for anonymity makes it difficult for us to place the three immigrants' experiences into an exact Canadian context. It also prevents us from checking on the veracity of Zágonyi's claims and his informants' stories. Nevertheless, the accounts of the three newcomers illustrate probably quite vividly the type of difficulties that were encountered by agricultural workers who came to the Canadian West at the time.

Zágonyi's three immigrants offer detailed descriptions of their experiences from the time of their departure from their homeland to their completion of the sixth year of their stay in Canada. According to the author, the three had met in transit and had made friends with each other. They decided to contact each other after a certain time and to get together for the purpose of comparing their Canadian experiences. Evidently Zágonyi learned of their undertaking, contacted them, and had each tell the story they told each other, to the readers of his book.[3] Furthermore, he asked each of them to give an account of his journey across Central Europe and the Atlantic as well. Accordingly, a great deal of attention is devoted in this part of the book to details that are likely to interest most newcomers to the country: contacts with Canadian immigration authorities, travel arrangements, and the first steps in seeking work and shelter in Canada, and so on.

The stories told by Zágonyi's three immigrants illustrate the hardships and pitfalls that awaited newcomers to Canada at the time. Most of these stemmed from inexperience and from a lack of knowledge of Canadian practices and customs and even the country's economy and its climate. Among them the three newcomers encountered, or at least had heard of, just about every misfortune that awaited inexperienced immigrants. These ranged from becoming victims of con artists (often of their own nationality), to ending up working for relatives who considered newcomers a source of cheap labour. These experiences are paraded at length before the reader, obviously in order to impress upon all prospective immigrants to the country the need for caution and circumspection. Zágonyi's unstated, ulterior motive might have been the discouraging of his peasant countrymen from emigrating to Canada.

Much research would be needed for us to assess what kind of impact Zágonyi's book had on subsequent Hungarian immigrants to Canada. It would be probably safe to say that the book was published too late to have had much of an impact, and that it probably did not reach most of its intended audience. By the time it could have gained wide attention, a veritable exodus was taking place from many of Hungary's villages. In the last years of the 1920s, thousands of Magyars were arriving each year in the Canadian West. With the of the Great Depression in 1929–30, the influx was stemmed by Canadian authorities and, from that time on, only a trickle of immigrants was allowed from Hungary. It was made

up mainly of family members joining their immediate relatives in Canada. The Depression also virtually guaranteed that the Hungarian newcomers of the immediate post-war period, who had had such a difficult time to get started in Canada, would continue to face similar difficulties for many more years to come. Zágonyi's book deals with Hungarians; but the types of immigrant fates it pictures are probably characteristic of the fortunes of agricultural newcomers from most parts of Central, Southern, or Eastern Europe.

The translating and editing of this document has been a collaborative effort. Parts of the work were translated by Mrs. Beáta Fedák, Mrs. Monica Tarjan Grossman, and Professor George Bisztray. Some of the grammatical editing was done by Ms Anne McCarthy. The editor supervised this work, produced the final version of the text, and occasionally supplied explanatory remarks (or missing information) in square brackets. In translating and editing this material, efforts were made (perhaps not entirely successfully) to retain the flavour of the original, exemplified often by awkward language and very short paragraphs. However, a few single sentence paragraphs, and even some longer ones, were merged. Funds for this translation project had been received from the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship.

Notes to the Introduction

1 My work on the history of Hungarians in Canada has been supported through the years by research grants from Multiculturalism Canada and from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

2 The most recent history of the Hungarian-Canadian community is N.F. Dreisziger *et al.*, *Struggle and Hope: The Hungarian-Canadian Experience* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), see especially the chapter on the 1920s, "The Years of Growth and Change." See also N.F. Dreisziger, "Aspects of Hungarian Settlement in Canada, 1921–1931," in *Hungarian-Canadian Perspectives, Selected Papers* ed. M.L. Kovacs (Ottawa, 1980), special issue of the *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies* Vol. VII, No. 1 (Spring, 1980), particularly pp. 51ff. Early Hungarian immigration to Canada is covered in M.L. Kovacs's chapter in *Struggle and Hope*, entitled "The Saskatchewan Era," as well as in M.L. Kovacs, "From Industries to Farming," *Hungarian Studies Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (Spring 1981), pp. 45–60. For more information on the lives of Hungarians in Canada in the 1920s see my paper in the above volume of the *HSR*, "Immigrant Lives and Lifestyles in Canada, 1924–1939," pp. 61–83. A published original source on this subject is Ödön Paizs, *Magyarok Kanadában* [Hungarians in Canada] (Budapest, 1928). For unpublished, documentary information on this topic, see the reports that Hungarian Vice-Consul for Winnipeg, István Schefbeck Petényi, sent at the time to the Hungarian Foreign Office in Budapest. These are cited in Dreisziger, *Struggle and Hope,* p. 134, note 62. It might be added that Zágonyi's book gives very little information on him. All we know is that he was a retired army officer.

3 This is what we are led to believe by the author. However, it is not impossible

that the whole story of the three newcomers meeting on their journey and getting together many years later, is a literary device used by Zágonyi to make his informants' contrasting fates in Canada appear much more dramatic to the readers of his book. The fact that the three immigrants are not named is regrettable, but even more unfortunate (from the point of view of immigration historians) is the omission of not telling where in Hungary (or elsewhere in East Central Europe), they came from. Circumstantial evidence suggests that one of them at least, came from that part of the old Kingdom of Hungary which after 1918 became Slovakia, i.e. eastern Czechoslovakia.

Three European Emigrants' Experiences in Canada

From the Old Country to the New Home

Part I.

The Journey

Three European emigrants—let's call them "A," "B," and "C"—got to know each other on an ocean liner bound for Halifax.

The mouth of the St. Lawrence River is frozen from November to the end of April, during this time ocean-going ships dock in Halifax in eastern Canada. After the break-up of the ice, ocean liners go up to Quebec or even Montreal.

The more than eight-days-long voyage brings people close together, they exchange their thoughts and experiences. [Our three passengers] left their homeland because of the unbearable economic conditions after the war.

Each of them is married, each is a gown-up man. They could only manage to come up with the money necessary for their own journey and one of them even had to borrow money. They decided to leave their families behind for the time being. . . . They knew that there would be no easy money in Canada and realized that they were not going to be able to see their families for several years.

"B" received his immigration papers and money for the journey from relatives in Alberta. "A" and "C" obtained the necessary documents through the shipping companies. All they had was hand luggage that could be carried on the train without any difficulty. . . . It was March and springtime in Europe. They have heard of the severe Canadian winters, so they had their warm winter clothes with them. Indeed, they needed them even during the crossing of the Atlantic. . . .

During the journey in Europe, passenger "A" left the train at a small station to have a drink of alpine mineral water. He missed his train and was left without a hat and jacket in the cold night. Since he could not speak German it was very difficult to get information. Fortunately, his passport, train and ocean-liner tickets remained with him [and he rejoined the others a day later without serious difficulties]. "B" accidentally dropped his wallet, containing his passport, from the window of the train. He reported the loss of documents at the next station which were then located a short time later along the train tracks and mailed to the shipping agency.

They all had life insurance for the journey but, as the result of "C" 's reasoning, they realized that it was not a good idea to take these papers with them. "C" reclaimed the insurance papers from his agency and sent them

back to his wife. In case of an accident on the open sea such insurance papers would disappear forever. . . .

In Hamburg all third-class passengers were housed in the same hotel. They were kept under surveillance for four days for possible health problems. From this point on, their meals and lodging were taken care of by the shipping agency. The first and second-class passengers were allowed to find their own accommodation. They were not kept in one place for four days—unless they desired such an arrangement.

After their arrival all third class passengers were examined by doctors. At this health inspection the doctors checked whether the would-be-passengers did not have any physical shortcomings (such as hernias or missing fingers). Passengers with disabilities were sent back by Canadian immigration officers at the expense of the shipping company. After the health inspection, the passengers could leave the hotel but their luggage had to be left in a common room to which they had access once a day.

Those who were found to be sick were placed under quarantine in a local hospital until they could continue their journey.

All passengers went through one more health inspection on the day of departure. . . . Travel documents were [also] thoroughly examined and the customs officials once again checked the luggage. The passengers had full board during the crossing of the Atlantic. For alcoholic drinks each passenger had to pay separately. . . . Hand luggage was allowed into the cabins. Larger parcels were kept in a room designated for such a purpose; the passengers had access to them during the day.

Each traveler was allowed to take 150 pounds (67 1/2 kg.) of luggage without extra fee. This weight allowance was valid on the ocean liner as well as on the trains in Canada.

The three friends got to know every nook and cranny of their ocean liner during the long voyage. Most of [their fellow passengers] who became sea sick, stayed in their cabins. Some people, in order to avoid the same fate, did not eat for days, yet they became ill. Others, the more they ate, the better they felt themselves. As in most instances, the best is to take the middle of the road and not to overdo things. Those who had the foresight to take some cognac and red wine with them were fortunate as these drinks helped to alleviate their sickness.

Some play[ed] games on the deck and in the common rooms. The card and dice players tend to retreat to the less frequented places or to private cabins.

The importance of [inexperienced passengers] avoiding gambling cannot be stressed enough. Experienced gamblers recognize the "greens" who are easy prey; they organize card games and usually come out on top . . . By the end of the journey many [passengers] wonder how they will borrow cash when they reach post. Most of the experienced gamblers disappear

by this time and, in any case, they make a point of not lending money to anyone. . . .

Upon arrival, the Canadian authorities board the liner and examine the papers and the state of health of the passengers. After that, the disembarkation can start.

Halifax is a harbour town; the city has not of much interest to the passengers since they are to continue their journeys for many more days to different destinations in Canada.

The hand-bags are carried by the passengers. Everyone goes through one more health and luggage inspection on the shore. Those who have larger parcels will have to mail them in person to their final destination in Canada; the shipping is free of charge for up to 150 pounds.

The train tickets are obtained against vouchers issued by the shipping agencies. The officials of these agencies remind the passengers once more that their immigration visas were obtained under certain conditions: they have to settle in the Prairie provinces and undertake agricultural work. Those who are exempt from these conditions have special permits.

The three friends planned to travel together to Winnipeg, where they would part company. The journey from Halifax to Winnipeg takes about four days. The immigrants are put on a train called "Colonist" which is equipped with hanging beds and stoves. The latter can be used for cooking, as people have to fend for themselves as far as meals are concerned. Food for the long journey is usually bought in Halifax since the stations along the route rarely sell foodstuffs and when they do, everything is very expensive. . . .

The scenery passing before the passengers' eyes is unusually untamed for Europeans. The trip from Halifax to Winnipeg does not go through any large cities, except for Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa. Most of the time the landscape alternates between forests, lakes, and marshes. The forests are in a very poor condition, especially in Ontario. Next to the tracks, most of the forest is either burned down or the best quality timber removed; the rest is left behind to rot. The soil from the rocky terrain is washed away in such a way that no new forest and not even grass can grow again. This phenomenon can be observed only near to the tracks, further afield the primeval Canadian forest stretches into the northern wilderness. After entering Manitoba, the landscape gradually becomes more and more even, and about 40 kilometers before Winnipeg, begin the seemingly endless plain of the prairies.

Winnipeg is the capital of Manitoba and has a population of about 230,000 people. It is the intellectual and commercial centre of the Prairies . . . The Canadian Government has an "Immigration Office" here, whose director has the authority to make decisions on his own. This government bureau is next to the office building of the Canadian Pacific Railways.

Here, newly arrived immigrants can stay free of charge until they find employment; however, they have to obtain food on their own.

Winnipeg has a number of foreign diplomatic [*sic*, consular] offices. Hungary, Austria, and Czechoslovakia maintain bureaus here to protect immigrants.

The three friends decided to find three different ways to establish themselves in Canada. "A" was going to apply for a Homestead. Since "B" was sponsored by relatives, he was to work for them for two or three years, then he planned to buy some land. "C" was going to rent a small farm. They agreed to meet in six years and discuss their experiences. As "B" was the only one who had a fixed address, the others agreed to contact him first.

"A" was going to head for a region of Saskatchewan where crown lands were being distributed for cultivation. "B" went to Alberta to stay with his relatives. "C," on the advice of a real estate agent, went to inspect a small farm in Manitoba which was up for rent.

Canadian railways have reduced fares for all westbound immigrants until they reach their destination . . . The discount is 2/3 of the regular passenger fare. Consequently, each immigrant pays little more than a penny for each mile traveled.

The three friends, after spending only a few hours in Winnipeg, parted in the knowledge that in their sixth year they would meet again. They exchanged only their addresses during the six years and decided to meet in the month of December of the sixth year. They met again at the residence of "A" who had settled in Saskatchewan.

The first to give an account of the story of the past six years was the host.

A's Story

As you already know, I live in Saskatchewan. That crown land was obtainable in this district, I found out from the Winnipeg Immigration Commissioner's Office, where I also found out that it can be claimed at the Crown Land Agency in a town 30 miles from here. I managed to extend my discount ticket for that distance and, after a day's travel, I reached my destination.

It being a Sunday, I left my luggage at the train station at what was the end of the line. Among the people that were just coming out of church, I found one settler who had immigrated here long ago from Galicia. With my little knowledge of Slovak I managed to make myself understood to him as much as it was necessary.

There were already new immigrants in the town who had not yet decided what to do. They had all come to homestead, but they were frightening each other away from making a start of it because of the hardships involved.

The [local] farmers, on the other hand, seeing the arrival of ever more immigrants who were willing to hire themselves out, offered very low wages, which for the spring months did not exceed $22.00 a month in addition to board.

My Galician friend spoke favorably about the quality of the surrounding land. The climatic conditions were no worse than in Canada generally. Wheat, rye, barley, oats, flax, and potatoes grow here. The produce was bought by the elevator companies, and the livestock was purchased by the occasional traveling merchant.

The crown lands started about 25 miles from the town and the railway station. North of here there were large regions available which were partly covered by forests and shrubby pasturelands.

Those wanting a homestead felt that the lands were too far from the railroad. As it often is in these cases, everyone had some objection. As a rule, those who saw the lands the least, complained the most. To join those who were deliberating, wasting time with idle chatter, . . . I did not think was practical.

My acquaintance, being an experienced settler, was touched favorably by my determination. He showed good will toward me, invited me to his home to enjoy his hospitality, and offered me much valuable advice throughout the day.

I decided that the next morning I would set out and, according to his directions, would inspect the crown lands available for homesteading. My friend familiarized me in simple steps with the concept of surveying and marking land. He referred me to a Galician friend of his who lived amongst the homestead lands and who was an earlier settler. The next day before dawn I set out on foot for the designated area with the intention that I would return in a few days and only then present myself to the Crown Land Agent.

The roads around the town had been well-trodden; in this district among the cultivated lands it was rare to see virgin soil. As I found out later, these were lands that had been sold through companies. Before long the farmsteads receded in the distance and the road became worse. Still later the individual sled tracks indicated that very rarely did people pass this way.

It must have been around noon when I arrived at a poor farmstead; the owner spoke only English which was alien to me. I bought milk and bread from him; I was able to understand as much from his explanations that he had claimed his homestead 5 years ago. Judging from his dwelling he was still struggling with the hardships of the beginning. He knew the farmer

whom I was looking for, and he showed me the shortest route to get to him. The sun was setting when I found the farmstead that I had been looking for.

The owner greeted me rather indifferently. To my questions I got short but precise answers. When he found out what I was doing there, he became more talkative. He did not say much good about the settlers in the area and he stressed repeatedly that conditions for immigrants 20 years ago, when he came out with his wife, had been much harsher.

The next day we awoke to a cold and windy April morning. At my request, my host agreed to inspect the district with me since he was hoping to find his cattle, which grazed on open pasture, in the same region. We walked through the region all day until we found that best quarter section on which I did settle. We ascertained the number of the section and the location of the quarter . . . I carefully noted the details of this for myself from the iron bar [located] in the section's north-east corner.

Having returned to the city I made certain with the land agent that the area that I had chosen was not already claimed and, for the down payment of ten dollars, . . . it was allocated to me. . . .

On the advice of my acquaintance in the city [before setting out for this newly-purchased land], I bought a spade, an axe, a saw, and a few pounds of nails. For this I paid $3.80. My food supply at the time consisted of a piece of smoked bacon and a few bone-dry *pogácsa*s [small unsweetened round cakes] . . . I did not want to spend money on food [in the city] hoping that I could get the essentials cheaper on a farm in the countryside.

Not paying attention to the horror stories of the other new immigrants, I set out towards my "new domain." On the way there a carriage that was going my way took me a good ways for a small price. One more time I made use of the generosity of my farmer host and spent the night in his house, which lies approximately 3 miles from my land. The next day I walked around and more thoroughly examined my "domain."

The soil of the partly flat, partly rolling land consisted of approximately two spans of medium quality humus, then under the yellow clay a layer of pebbly sand, which I was able to determine despite the frost on the basis of the fox holes and skunk diggings.

More than half of the 160 acres was covered by a 30 to 40-year-old poplar forest; the rest was covered mainly with hard-wood bush, the strongest branches of which were not more than an arm's width. Because of the snowcover, I did not realize that the soil was rocky. In one corner of the land there was a 2–3 acre lake and from its low-lying, frozen waters it could be assumed that it would not dry up in the summer. The area was mostly flat, uninhabited, and unfenced land, from which I concluded that for now I'll be able to rent cheap pastures and meadows on them.

After some consideration I judged my situation in the following way:

If I were to begin house-building now, and if I could log the necessary wood from my own land, I would have to use sod as material for roofing for now, since the carving out of the laths and the shingles would take a long time. So the building of my abode would not cause too much difficulty.

From my 20 dollars of cash I would not have been able to acquire any draught animals, ploughs, or harrows. This appeared to me to be of secondary importance especially because I was aware that in the first year I cannot count on anything other than the small potato yield from the freshly ploughed land.

I was aware of the fact that after I took ownership of the land I must plough at least 10 acres of it in the first year, that I must reside on it continuously for 6 months, and that I must build up a portion of the fencing in order to fulfill my prescribed legal obligations. On top of this, I had to feed myself which seemed a very difficult proposition.

It did not seem likely to get work for a whole month—with good pay—given the small number and poverty of the region's residents. I could not leave my farmstead [to work] a long distance away because then I could not have contemplated the clearing and ploughing of the land at all. Therefore, I had to find a mean between the two.

My neighbour, whose hospitality I had enjoyed on several occasions, had 320 acres of land, 10 draught-horses, 2 cows, pigs and a large poultry-run. According to his own admission, he used to hire outside laborers from time to time . . . I staked my whole plan of action on this.

I decided that I would ask him for lodging for the whole year and in exchange for this I would work a certain number of days each month. If in addition he would be willing to let me have one his teams of horses and ploughs during a less busy work period, I would in exchange cut an appropriate amount of firewood for him during the winter—from his own forest. In that case I felt that it was possible that in May, June, and July during my free days I could clear and plough my land, in July I could also cut hay, and in August and September I intended to make money by harvesting and threshing. I planned to begin house-building when the autumn frost made it impossible to continue work in the fields. During the summer I planned to spend nights on my land in a kind of herdsman's hut, which I could put together quickly from tree branches and sedge.

My host received my plans with understanding and we agreed that for one year of lodging I would work for him 8 days each month. For every day's use of the team of 4 harnessed plough horses I committed myself to cut down and to deliver to his farmstead a wagonload of logs during the winter. With this agreement the most difficult of the problems of the beginning was solved, and its implementation allowed me to plan . . . for the second year. . . .

I used the free days of April and May to clear bush on my own land

and prepare about 15 acres of the cleanest flat land of my homestead for ploughing. We finished tilling my employer's land by June 10th and, with the team of five horses that was available for my use, I was able to plough 15 acres of my own land in 30 days. I planted 2 acres of potatoes; the sowing seed which was needed for planting I got on loan from a farmer who lived at some distance. I built the makeshift herdsman's hut on my farmstead on a hillside; it protected me against cold nights and the adversities of the weather.

Around the end of July, on the clearings of the neighboring areas as well as on my own land, I cut the grass which the sweltering summer heat dried into hay in a few days. I gathered this onto my land, I put it in stacks weighted down with stones, and surrounded them by a picket fence to protect them from stray animals. In the last days of July and the early days of August I worked on public roads outside our district [for which I was paid 2 dollars a day].

Given the favourable crop yield of the area, there was a great demand for workers for harvesting and threshing. They promised a day-wage of 3 dollars for harvesting, and 4 dollars for threshing.

In August and September, . . . I worked only 25 days [for wages] because of unfavourable weather (rain, snow, transitory cold spells). The last 15 days of this I spent on a farm near a small town. When this work was completed I was supposed to get $53.00 from the farmer but, to my biggest surprise, he announced that he could not pay right now, and that he could pay my claim in a few months once the crops are delivered. This was in spite of the fact that at the time of hiring he promised, in front of two witnesses, immediate payment of the earned money.

Following the advice of experienced farmers I complained in person at the police station of the town, where they summoned the farmer immediately. In front of the Justice of the Peace he repeated that he is not willing to pay right now, upon which [the Justice of the Peace], on the basis of the sworn statements of the witnesses, seized the farmer's two horses for purpose of selling them. In the absence of other buyers I bought the two horses as an equivalent to my $53.00 claim . . . On top of this [the farmer was] obliged to pay $17.00 [in way of court costs].

I bought used harnesses for the two horses for $15.00 and so for the interim—with my host's wagon that I borrowed—I set up my first team. I harvested about 60 bushels of potatoes; from this I returned double the amount of the seed-potato I had borrowed and the rest I buried deep underground. I used every available day of the fall and the winter and made significant gains during this time.

During the rainy days of fall I dug a well close to the place where I was planning to build my house. The side of the well I surfaced with natural stone for now. In order that my horses do not wander away I fenced-in

about 5 acres of the area where my house would be. This fence I nailed together from freshly cut round poles fastened onto stakes driven into the ground.

Towards the end of September winter arrived, but the changing levels of snow did not prevent the work in the forest. In six months I built one room of my loghouse. I made its roof from the dried sedge leaves that grow on the lake. I stuffed the attic with hay. To fill the gaps in the walls I used muddied hay. On the inside wall of the room, I nailed large sheets of paper.

A [new] neighbour helped me in the construction work. He had set up a homestead next door after he and I had finished the fall work. I gave him shelter in my newly-built house until he built his own. I helped him with that task.

My horses, along with those of my old neighbour, stayed outside all winter and found some shelter from the often changing wind on the appropriate side of [a large] stack of straw. They were used to this. They came home daily for water and hay so, when necessary, it was possible to keep them at home. They were all hair, skin, and bones. . . .

During the course of the winter I cut 2000 pieces of fencing posts and 20 wagons of firewood from the nearby public forest, for which I acquired lumbering permits for 50 cents each. The hardwood bushes served as source of fencing posts while the dried out, healthier poplar trunks I cut into firewood. The fencing posts were bought by the town's lumberyard for 5 cents a piece, while the firewood I sold in the town for $3.00 a load. It must be made clear that a farmer cannot cut more wood on the homestead property than he needs [for himself], until the property is registered to him. . . .

My [new] neighbour had arrived in Canada in early spring [just like I]. He had worked [on and off] from April to December and had been able to save $150.00. He had brought warm winter clothes with him from home and, except for a pair of shoes and gloves, he did not have to purchase any clothing throughout the winter. [He] had been a chef in the army and he could do everything from baking bread to cooking. Foodstuffs could be acquired cheaply in the small town and from the farms along the way; game could also be trapped if necessary, so, feeding ourselves was inexpensive.

Occasionally, [my new neighbour] was also able to make some money by chopping wood [for others], so that he hardly spent any of the money he had saved during the summer. At the end of March we both had approximately $200.00 at our disposal. [Unfortunately] I sustained a substantial loss because in the great cold my potatoes, not buried deep enough, froze, and were no longer usable as human food.

We decided that in the spring we would purchase the most necessary farm animals and farm equipment jointly and use them together as long as

we did not have the ability to make ourselves independent. My neighbour bought two horses with worn-out harnesses for $80.00, and I paid $25.00 for a cow. I thanked my [other neighbour and] former host for his support, asking that we may remain good friends in the future also. . . . Then, starting in early April, I began a partnership with my new neighbour. . . .

Around this time one of the town agents was advertising a public auction for the middle of April, where the equipment of a liquidated farmstead was to be auctioned off. [At the auction] permanent residents of the area—with a suitable guarantee—could put down half of the purchase price in cash, and the rest they could pay within one year with 8% interest. [In this manner] we were able to buy a wagon, a plough, a clod-cutter, a harrow, a grass cutter, and a few smaller hand tools, in still usable condition, for $160.00. Half of this we paid in cash, while for the rest my old acquaintance from town undertook the guarantee for us, for which we left a few tree trunks in his yard as a gift.

Aided by an early thaw we diligently continued the task of bush clearing begun in the winter. We set fire to the branches of the tree trunks and the bigger shrubs that were cut down in winter . . . The heat loosened the shallow roots [and made it easier to remove them.] Removing the stones from the ground after the thaw was tough work for which we had to buy an iron rod with a pointed tip from town for $4.00.

We harnessed together the four horses and in the beginning of May the tough work of breaking up the soil began. The virgin soil, full of roots, put up strong resistance against the break-iron and it had to be hammered into shape and sharpened with a file anew every day. We were not able to raise the daily achievement above one-half acre. The hay we had, my frozen potatoes—still suitable for hog-feed—made it possible for us to obtain oats [through barter], and so it was possible to supply the hard-working horses with adequate food. I fed my co-worker's horses while he fed me, except for milk and milk by-products which I contributed. What needed to be bought beyond this, my partner purchased on his own.

We decided on the following plan for the current (second) agricultural year:

The 15 acres that were broken up in the first year I would sow with wheat in the second half of May, and the freshly-broken ground of this year, I would sow with oats by the middle of June the latest. This was not consistent with the usual agricultural practices [but it was imposed on us by our poverty and the shortness of time.] We obtained sowing seeds from the government land agent, which normally one is expected to pay back from the harvest. . . . For a few dollars we also rented, for purposes of growing hay, a neighbouring unoccupied section. . . . We considered in the plan that during the busier part of the year we would both get jobs and try to make money this way also, supplementing our income from the

land.

We pursued our plan with unflagging diligence and, by the end of May . . . we had prepared our lands. One of us worked with the plough, the other pursued the hard work of lifting rocks and clearing bushes. We paid little attention to our own welfare. Indeed, we ate a hot meal only once a day and which my co-worker made in the evening while I fed the animals.

Around the middle of May the 15 acres that had been ploughed the previous year I tilled thoroughly with a 3-pronged clod-cutter, and after harrowing, I sowed it with wheat by hand, since my [old] neighbour needed to use his sowing machine himself . . . While the soil that had been ploughed last year crumbled under the affects of the weather and the clod-cutter did easy work in it, this year's fresh ploughing was very difficult to prepare for sowing. After the first run-through with the clod-cutter, the roots newly upturned by the plough completely covered the surface of the land and it became necessary to pull these away with the harrow. . . . The fresh ploughing still had to be clod-cut twice, in different directions, and then, once harrowed, it was possible to sow the seed with the now-freed-up, borrowed sowing-machine.

With the most diligent work, by mid-June we had been able to sow approximately 20 acres of freshly ploughed land with oats on the two farms, . . .

Despite the rain every 3–4 days, cool weather lasting into the second half of June adversely affected the germination and development of the crops, while the heat of July bone-dried the freshly cultivated, dust-like loess, . . . While last summer's torrid heat had wiped out the roots of the harmful plants turned up in the old ploughing, the oats planted in this year's ploughing were full of the most diverse kinds of wild plants, [with stifling effects on the crop]. . . .

In the meantime we used our free time for ploughing new areas, but work was hindered by the [lush vegetation] . . . as well as the abnormal heat of the summer. Despite our greatest efforts we were not able to break up more than 10 acres, which we divided up equally between the two farms.

In the second half of July, [partly] with a grass-cutter and partly with a scythe, we cut the grass that grew on our rented property, and we split the hay collected from this. During the last few days of this month we hired ourselves out for two weeks of road-building work. One of us got $5.00 with the four-horse cart, the other got $3.00, . . .

As a result of the onset of a dry-spell, the harvest of the whole region was a sad sight. The light soil, dry as a bone, was not able to offer any moisture to the plants, and the 50-degree heat that set in in mid-August dried the crops into white straw. The undeveloped wheat grain shrivelled up, while the oats didn't develop even far enough for it to seem worth threshing. This was a great blow for the whole area, but it affected us

especially severely, . . . My own secret plan of paying back some of my loans from home, was dashed.

As a result of this, my co-worker took on construction work at the railway that was being built, and I took on the work of bringing in the harvest. My old host's harvesting machine didn't have a lot to do, so it was able to do the harvesting of our crops also. The harvesting of the 35 acres only took 3 days, for which I promised to work for him for 6 days.

The oats could only be used for fodder. The wheat sheaves I stacked up near my house, counting on the fact that I would thresh them out with horses when the busier time of work had passed. The expected income from the wheat harvest was not enough to pay for threshing.

With the help of one of the small town's employment agents, a large farm hired me—along with our 4 horses—for harvesting and threshing for a daily $5.00. The rest of my animals I left in the safe-keeping of my neighbour, who went home weekly. The distance of one hundred miles (160 kilometers) to my place of work took me 2 days and two nights to cover with my team of four horses.

This year didn't want to bring any significant achievements. A 3-week snowy and rainy period during the second half of September and the first week of October stood in the way of successful work for both of us. The sheaves placed criss-cross were not allowed to dry out because of the wet weather; the threshing could not be started for now. Later, [it seemed that] . . . the constant cover of snow would delay the threshing until spring.

After the first week of seemingly permanent rainfall, with hardly three days wages in my pocket, I returned home and began the ploughing of the harvested area; but because of the unfavorable weather conditions I remained at the beginning of this task. The light soil was soaked through so much that a person or an animal could sink into it. On rainy days I plastered up the walls of my house with clay; while later I fenced in that part of my domain which I wanted to sow next year. I still used round timber-trees for this which I obtained during the clearing of the areas that were ploughed and which I had put aside for this purpose.

My partner also came home because of the cessation of the railroad work as a result of the rains; and . . . in rain and in snow, he kept on ploughing his fields. He caught such a cold that his rheumatic pains didn't allow him to leave the house for weeks, . . .

During the dry, cold days [of winter] I started the threshing of my wheat, which finally amounted to 8 bushels per acre, altogether therefore 120 bushels. I kept almost 30 bushels for my own use and the rest I transported to town in a farm-wagon that I borrowed from my [other] neighbour. Because of the bad roads, I was able to transport only 45 bushels at one time. Each journey took two days. . . . My wheat was judged no. 3 grade, [and] I received 95 cents a bushel, . . . As everyone in the area was supplied

with hay—I was not able to sell any of my hay supply.

My yearly taxes were calculated to be $18.00. When this was assessed it was taken into consideration how much of my land I had turned productive so far, as well as that the closest school and telephone wire were a great distance from my farm.

Considering the unfavorable harvest the paying back of seeds was permitted [to take place] in the following year. We paid our debts from the purchase of the farm equipment, of which $40.00 was my share. Despite all my efforts, I was not able to send any money home to help my family.

In the given conditions nothing else remained but to make some money by chopping wood and transporting fence posts. After procuring the necessary permits, I started on this. With steady work I was able to save almost $150.00 by springtime. In town, the price of firewood became lower because of the slump in the economy. [Fortunately] the lumber yard was able to get a large order to cover the post needs of areas poor in wood so, throughout the winter, I got 6 cents a piece for fence posts.

This time I cut so much construction wood that I could build a stable for my horses and cow. For roofing material I used thatch made of the wheat; in fact, I put some of this away for the time that I intended to expand my house.

For the third year my partner and I agreed that while we would continue our [mutually] advantageous arrangement of a joint household, after the completion of our stock of horses and farm equipment, we would prepare for separate farming operations so that we could develop our homesteads at a faster pace. [Accordingly], we divided the old equipment . . . by drawing lots: I got the wagon and the grass cutter.

The town's farm equipment sales agency, after inspecting my farm, seemed willing to sell me farm machinery for one quarter of the price down and final installment due at harvest time. In this way I bought a riding plough equipped with an attachable break-iron and plough-iron, a clod-cutter, and a harrow that was made of three pieces, altogether for $130.00, one quarter of which I paid in cash. [Furthermore], I bought two horses for $60.00, and a pair of cheap, factory-made harnesses for $40.00. With the thus completed equipment, I began the spring work of the third year.

At first I concentrated my efforts on cultivating last year's stubble-field and ploughings. My riding plough with the plough-iron proved to be excellent; with it—with a plough-iron–I was able to plough more than [three and a half acres] a day. . . . I fed my horses with unthreshed oats, . . . they also got hay twice every day.

The ploughed land had only to be harrowed and then it stood ready for sowing, while last year's ploughing I prepared for sowing with the already outlined method and I finished it by the end of May. I sowed 30 *hold*s

with wheat [42 acres], the seeds for which I got from the government land agent.

The winter clearing on my land produced almost 10 acres, 5 acres of which I was able to plough and sow with oats by mid-June. [By this time] my 35 acres of sowed land had been fenced in completely, so stray animals could do no harm to the nicely growing crops. In the meantime my cow presented me with a calf, which I sold in town for $10.00 when it was 6 weeks old. [Next] I bought a sow [for $20.00]. . . .

Before and after hay cutting, for a few weeks I–along with my four horses—worked on the building of the railway bed [some 10 miles from my farm], for which they paid $5.00 [for an 11 hour work-day]. [Later] I worked with the horses on road construction—for the same amount—until the approach of the harvest called me home. This time the harvest looked promising and a labour shortage . . . was expected in the area.

I and my partner agreed with our kind old neighbour that, after the harvesting of his own crops, he would let us use his mechanical harvester and for every day we used the machine, we would give him a day of labour in exchange. [We also rented a threshing-machine from someone; it cost us 12 cents per bushel of wheat, and 8 cents per bushel of oat threshed . . .].

Despite a few cold nights, the favorable September weather allowed the harvest to be completed and threshing to be started unusually early. My yields were 15 bushels of wheat and 30 bushels of oats per acre. With a team of two horses. . . , I also helped other people with threshing, for which I got $5.00 a day. From my earnings and from a part of the harvest, I was able to repay many of my obligations. . . .

This time my wheat was judged no. 2 grade, the price of which—discounting transportation costs—was $1.06 a bushel, and for the oats they offered 35 cents.

In the absence of a granary, during threshing I piled my produce in my living-room. In the fall of that year, a grain elevator started operations on the new railway line, at the same time as the [new] railway station, and I was able to deliver my produce there with the help of a grain wagon that I purchased for $35.00. [The station building was soon followed by a] grocery store, . . . a barbershop combined with a billiard hall, the post-office, and the school . . . With this the foundations were laid again for a "town," the kind of which there are many in Canada in areas where the railway system is more developed.

[This fall] I sent $50.00 home for my family. . . .

By the spring the second room of my house was finished; as well, a separate horse stable and pig shed . . . [It was only now that I] boarded the floor of the first room in my house and acquired the most basic furnishings. Still in October my sow had a litter of eight young pigs; and in the spring my cow gave me a calf again. During the winter, because of all the building

activity, [I made less money from the sale of wood . . .] [For this third year I paid taxes in the amount of $36.00 . . .]

The fourth and fifth year left a lot to be desired. In the former, the last July frost ruined the whole of my crops; in the latter, an ice storm caused significant damage, a portion of which was reimbursed through insurance.

My joy was great when after 5 years I was able to see my family. My wife found it difficult to get used to the barrenness [of the prairies]. . . , but with doubled diligence we started the task of fixing up our very poor home, and the work did not leave much time for meditation.

[Since my arrival here] the inspector of homesteads had visited me twice. First he came in the fourth year when he ascertained that I was fulfilling my obligations. The neighbours had to swear that every year I spent at least 6 months on my farm. He measured the cultivated lands and he expressed his satisfaction with what he saw. He provided me with good advice concerning methods of growing and of animal husbandry. He advised me that in my fifth year I should apply for my Canadian citizenship, and [arrange for] my farm to be placed into my possession by the land registry also. . . . In my sixth year [of my stay] I received my citizenship and even today I hold in my hand the notice of the registration of my property.

A great blow struck my former housemate and neighbour this year. His house caught fire because of a chimney fire and within a very short time it burned to the ground. I gave shelter to his family, which had also arrived in the meantime, until he built up his poor hovel. His house and his furnishings were not insured, so it is very difficult for him to recover [from his misfortune].

As you can see, I have already fenced in half of my farm; true, for the time being only with round poles because wire fencing is expensive, but there will come a time for that as well.

I have ploughed altogether 50 acres up to this point and cleared another ten. I plan to leave about 20 acres of my property as forest and another 20 acres as pasture. I am leaving 20 acres of cropland fallow this year to allow to rest. On the rest, after three years of wheat production, in the fourth and fifth year I will plant barley and oats. I have not yet experimented with flax; I will try that later. I keep 4 horses, 2 cows, one brood sow, and a poultry yard; my wife and the children work the half-acre-large vegetable garden.

We have not experimented yet with sheep breeding; likewise the ambitions directed at fruit-growing remain for later, but for this, according to the experiences of the neighbours, neither the soil nor the weather is favourable.

If only life here were not so joyless; if only our dear homeland were not so unreachably distant!

B's Story

After "A," "B" told his story of the past years.

Soon after my arrival, I noticed that my relatives valued me not so much as a kinsman but as an employee. The agreement which we struck reinforced this impression. The contract, which became effective on my day of arrival and remained in effect for a year, set my annual wage at $300, from which $170 was to be deducted for the railway and boat tickets. The money was to be paid on the last day of the year. Should I quit during the first six months of the year, I was to repay the price of the boat ticket. If I left in the second half of the year, I would not be eligible for any wages.

We put these conditions in writing. Later I found out that my annual wage was set at least $50 lower than what was customary in the area at that time.

My relative had immigrated to Canada twenty years before and was farming one section, about 640 acres, when I arrived. Of this land, about 400 acres were cultivated, the rest was used as woodlot and pasture for the time being. The farm lay about six miles from the nearest town and railway line. The first block-house which had been the initial home of the proprietor was still standing – it was used as a repair shop and tool-shack. I was often reminded how much more difficult the lot of old immigrants had been than that of the newcomers.

The new farm dwelling was a two-storey house of six rooms, with double plank walls and a hot-air furnace in the basement. For fuel, wood was used. Among the farm buildings there was the stable for horses and cattle which were separated by a wood plank partition. The loft was used to store hay. In the back of the stable, in what served as a machine room, a diesel engine was installed. It was used for grinding and for drawing water. The granary, pigsty and poultry-house all stood apart. Farm machinery was scattered about in the open, as was usual in Canada, exposed to the elements. There was everything here, from plough to thresher. It was only later that I learned from the neighbours how deeply in debt the farm was. They gave the following explanation.

My relative and his hard-working family toiled with extreme dedication for eighteen years, until they possessed 1 1/2 sections of a well-equipped farm. The economic boom of the war years had helped them greatly. An auspicious moment brought the opportunity to sell the farm to two buyers, which my relative did. One buyer bought the half section, without the farm buildings but with part of the equipment, for $30 per acre, in cash. The whole section with all the buildings and the rest of the equipment was sold for $55, of which only one-third was paid in cash on the signing of the agreement. The rest was to be paid in the following four years in

equal installments. The sale price of the farm was over $46,000, of which $23,000 was paid.

It was at this time that my relative decided to move to the United States with his family and buy a farm there, which he did, purchasing a farm for $30,000. He paid half of the price at the time of purchase and was expected to pay the rest in two annual installments which he planned to cover from the sale of his Canadian farm. The Canadian purchaser had taken out a $10,000 mortgage against the whole section in order to repay the debt that he had incurred to cover the first payment.

The new owner's plans were dashed by the sudden onslaught of the [postwar? – ed.] recession. He fled the farm after selling most of the livestock at a loss. Thus, my relative was unable to meet his financial obligations and lost his U.S. farm along with the $15,000 he had invested in it. Moving back to Canada and other expenses depleted his ready funds to the extent that he returned to his own farm without a penny in his pocket. While he managed to re-mortgage the farm with the help of guarantors, he had to take out still another loan in order to supplement the livestock. The value of the farm at that time barely surpassed the amount of debt burdening it. This was the situation when I arrived.

I shared a room on the second floor with the eldest son of the family. The meals were sufficient and good. Instead of water, we drank tea without rum. Generally, alcohol was not part of the board. The water from the well was unsuitable for drinking because of the minerals it contained. . . .

The livestock consisted of 18 draught horses, 5 unbroken colts, 6 cows, 4 sows and poultry. I was told at the beginning that there would be no restrictions on working hours for farmhands hired for the whole year.

It was early April, the fields were still covered with snow, and it was very cold. The animals spent the night in the stable. They were let out after morning watering, the cows after milking. With my roommate, I fed and watered the animals every morning, then milked the cows, which is an activity the men do in Canada. The four milk cows gave about 25–30 litres of milk every day, which I had to skim with a separator. . . .

Next, we cleaned the stable. The dunghill must have been quite old, I thought, since the land here is not treated with manure. Twice a week we spread fresh husks on the stalls—we had to bring in the husks from the haystack left on the threshing site.

The rest of the day was spent in clearing that part of the farmland which had been used as pasture and was designated for ploughing that year. At sunset we took care of the returning animals. Because of the coming ploughing season, the horses got oats as well as hay to eat. The cows were fed barley meal; the pigs, cooked potatoes and skim milk. Milking and making sour cream were the closing activities of the day.

A warm southern wind quickly melted the snow in a couple of days.

Around April 20 we began working in the fields. The rains that followed the previous year's harvest made the completion of fall ploughing impossible. For ploughing we used two double-share ploughs, both drawn by six horses. In the meantime, the farmer started to harrow the land that had been tilled in the fall. . . .

We worked for 11–12 hours, with the horses being fed three times a day. Changes in the weather did not affect our schedule. While we ploughed non-stop, the never abating wind kept changing from rain to snow, to slush, to sunny weather. Spring and fall last only a few days in Canada, so each waking minute had to be fully exploited.

We ploughed about 6 acres daily with the double shares, while the master harrowed some [21 acres] behind us. We did the sowing in the second half of May. We sowed wheat in two-thirds of the cultivated land, and barley, oats and flax in the rest, . . . We finished the sowing by June 10. Of the wheat grains, we sowed 1 1/2 bushels per acre. During this period, we replaced the weaker horses with an unbroken, more or less wild horse in each team. In this manner, we managed to tame three of these animals for the harness.

Potato was planted only in the vegetable garden where women and children of the family worked exclusively.

After sowing the horses got a few days of rest while we dug up and collected rocks in the fields that were being prepared for cultivation. Making this land arable was done by ploughs equipped with a breaking iron and a seat. They were drawn by five horses. With the horses rotated every 4 to 5 hours, about an acre of land was broken every day. Meanwhile the master ploughed the land that was to be left fallow that year. We did not use the clod-crusher on the newly broken earth until the following spring and sowed wheat in it after harrowing. In the second half of July we did the breaking of virgin ground only with one team, while the other two were used to mow and gather in hay. Dry weather was favourable for this activity but not for sowing which promised a meager crop.

The farm had two reapers and one thresher of medium capacity. As reaping time approached, we prepared the machines. Repairs were made by the farmer himself, since he had the most experience in such work. One of the main objectives in the designing of Canadian agricultural machinery is to make sure that even farmers could replace broken parts. . . .

We started harvest during the first days of September. Three people were assigned to the two reapers. . . . Since female members of the family were preoccupied with household work, two day labourers were hired for two months during reaping and threshing, each earning $45 a month. The daily work capacity for a reaper is about 15 acres of wheat.

Except for three days of rain, which caused an eight-day disruption in work, the weather was not bad. We finished reaping around September 25.

The dry though cold and windy autumn allowed us to start the threshing right away. The 20-horsepower steam boiler was heated with hay and was operated by the farmer with his son's assistance. In addition, a water-cart, six twosome box-carts to carry sheaves and three twosome box-carts to carry the threshed-out grain were required. Two people fed the machine. Altogether 15 people and 10 twosome carts were needed for the job. To cover this, another four seasonal workers were hired at $4 a day, while neighbouring farmers provided the rest of the workforce and the carts. In return, the master agreed to thresh their crop after his.

Threshing yielded 14 bushels of wheat, 20 bushels of barley, 30 bushels of oats and 60 bushels of flax-seed per acre. The machine threshed out some 1,000 bushels of wheat a day. Interrupted for six days by one rainy day, we finished threshing in two weeks. One of the machine's elevators blew out the crushed hay, while the other one poured the not exactly clean grain into the box-carts that took part of the harvest to the railway station and the rest to the farm's granary.

Having finished this work, the farmer and his son went to the neighbours to do their threshing . . . The two seasonal workers and I started ploughing the stubble with three double-share ploughs, each equipped with a seat and drawn by six horses. After short periods of frost and snow, the deep winter frost which came in mid-October prevented us from finishing the job.

My winter schedule was varied enough to keep me busy from early morning until late in the evening. I took over milking and skimming from the younger children who had been doing this work during the summer. This meant that, along with taking care of the animals, I had no free time either before breakfast or after dinner. For the rest of the day, I either hauled crops to the railway station or carried the manure, accumulated over the past years, from around the stable to the unploughed fields—this was the first time the farmer decided to have this done. When the snow didn't prevent me, I cut and carried firewood from the forest to the farm. In the summer it was cut up with a disk saw and stored for the following winter.

We celebrated only the first day of Christmas. New Year's Day is not a holiday in Canada. After Christmas I told the owners I intended to look for another occupation when my contract expired. During the year I had to request an advance of $20 to buy some clothes and had other minor expenses. Thus I had a $110 credit by the end of March. . . .

The second phase of my Canadian experience began on April 1.

I decided to try a variety of employment for a year, to gain experience. I wanted to bring my family over the following year and settle down somewhere. I informed my wife of my plans. She and the kids were living with her parents in the meantime.

A few days later I paid $10 to travel by train to a small town in the

south. After idling there for 4–5 days, I was hired through a labour agency for one month of ploughing, for which I was to receive $25 plus board. Because of the mild spring, we could start work in mid-April. A few days later, however, severe winter weather returned, with drifting snow, and we had to abandon the ploughing for two weeks. . . .

My employer was an eccentric bachelor who did the cooking himself. He roasted a lamb or pork leg and served it to us cold daily for as long as it lasted. The tea can was never empty, and this was our only warm "meal" three times a day, served with sugar but nothing else. Judging from the kitchen equipment, this seemed to be the year-round diet on the farm. By the middle of the month, I wanted to leave my cook-employer, but in that case I would have lost part of my wages. So, I waited till the end of the month before I quit and asked the boss to pay my wages on time. In spite of this, I got my $25 only after a long hassle and several days' delay.

It was already late May, so I went to work for the railway, changing ties, which is usually paid by the piece. I had to travel three hours to get to the work site, but only paid the employee's fare of 90 cents for the ticket. The length of railway lines in Canada is enormous and requires its own technology for the maintenance of both groundwork and rails. . . .

Along with other foreign workers, at first I could do only simple jobs which did not require much explanation. I was paid 30 cents per hour and thus earned $2.40 for an eight-hour workday which did not include the time spent getting to work. Room and board was costing me $1.00. Two weeks later they started me on changing ties which I had learned in the interim. After a few days I began earning $3 a day, but then a long period of rain interrupted the work. [In the end] my employment on the railway ended when the contractor hired a native-born person to replace me.

Early in June I found employment doing road repairs, earning $1.50 a day after board. I had to remove dirt with a hoe-like tool from road sections which were to be repaired. To do this work, I had to buy a pair of rubber boots for $6. We finished this repair work in three weeks and I had to look for a new job.

Early in July I hired myself out for two months of farm work, earning $35 a month after board. I spent most of the time cutting hay. My master cultivated three sections and paid my wage fairly when my time was up. I was happy to continue working for him, doing reaping for $3 and threshing for $4 a day.

The weather was quite good in September and I worked about 20 days, receiving my share of $70 for it. My master was satisfied with me and promised to pay $25 for October and $10 for the winter months. At the railway station, however, workers in transit were talking about a distant place [southern Alberta – ed.] where one could earn good money harvesting sugar-beets. I decided to go there, paying about $25 for my ticket.

Sugar-beet is grown on irrigated lands, according to standard practices. It is planted by machine in such a way that hoeing can be done between the rows by a horse-drawn beet-hoe. Thinning had to be done manually with a hoe. In harvesting, the horse-drawn beet-plough extracted the whole row. Cleaning the beet and loading it onto vehicles had to be done manually. Harvesting sugar-beet is paid either by the acre or by the day. When paid by quantity, usually workers of different nationalities form teams. From my experience, however, the work they undertake is profitable only if they draw up an agreement in writing and sign it in the presence of witnesses for all parties. In some towns, employment agents promise more than what farmers are willing to pay once the workers have arrived. Besides, on occasion, there are vast differences between the wages promised and those paid, always at the expense of the worker.

Six of us formed a work team. The agent in town promised us a long contract at 40 cents an hour each. We accepted these conditions and travelled to the site at our own expense. There, the farmer didn't want to hear about payment by the hour, but offered us $16 for harvesting and loading an acre of sugar-beet. He said that 16 rows of sugar-beet constituted an acre. Since the crop was not too thick, with hard work the six of us managed to clean and load the 16 rows of sugar-beet in half a day. In order to buy ourselves food, we asked the farmer for payment. He surprised us by stating that he had promised not $16 but $10 an acre, and that an acre consisted of 24 rows, not 16. He was willing to document this latter statement. Room and board cost $1.30 in this area, which means that we all spent more than we earned.

This and similar experiences made me decide to leave this region and find work elsewhere. On the way we met another team being sent to the same farmer by the same agent, with the same promise of 40 cents per hour. These workers didn't believe our warning of what to expect and continued on their way to the promising job opportunity.

Since most of the sugar-beet fields had been planted that spring for the first time, the whole area was unprepared to accommodate and feed large groups of seasonal workers. Smart entrepreneurs exploited these underdeveloped conditions to the utmost, asking more for a bed than city hotels did. Many beet workers spent very cold and snowy October nights in haystacks. . . .

The six of us decided to stay together and try our luck in the coal mines. When we arrived there, once again we experienced the general dislike, even hostility, that non-agricultural workers showed toward new immigrants.

We hired ourselves out to a coal mine as unskilled workers. The mine operated only three days a week. After a few weeks we still hadn't earned more than what we needed just to survive. Since conditions did not seem to improve, we quit. Then we went on to British Columbia to lumber.

After a long search we got jobs earning $2.50 a day, less $1.00 for board. We were satisfied with our situation, but then the enterprise was sold in a short three weeks and the new owners hired workers of other nationality.

In mid-December I returned to Winnipeg, hoping it would be easier to find employment there. I was bitterly disappointed. The boarding-houses were full of unemployed people, their number estimated at more than eight hundred. Most of them had no money left at all. Agents from travel companies were promising agricultural jobs in mid-April. Many people were on the streets all day, in –35 or –45 degrees Celsius, trying in vain to find work and shelter. Most of them probably regretted ever having come to this land!

And just where did these people go without a penny to their name? Immigration authorities were obliged to provide shelter for new immigrants only, until they got their first job—an opportunity which everybody who arrived from overseas had already exploited. There was no work in the city. It was also useless to walk the farmlands in search of work. After a month or two, many people quit the logging camps, it was hopeless. But the winter was very long and cold. Those who used to be particular in the old country about what kind of work they chose to do and for what wages, now moved from one boarding-house to another in rags and hungry, trying to survive for a week on credit which they promised to repay from their summer wages.

In the industrial areas of the eastern provinces, the situation was the same. "Man-smugglers" had open season on these desperate people, promising to help them get to the United States as long as they had relatives there who could fulfill certain demands. Next came the repeated, nerve-racking attempts to cross the border, arrests and deportations, moral and financial collapse. This is how the final chapter in a once promising emigration often ends. If anything follows, it is desperate toiling for many years to recover the costs of travel.

I spent four months idling in a boarding-house, paying $1.00 a day for humble, shared lodging. The unusual, haphazard way in which I lived made me tired and apathetic. Since leaving my relatives after my first year in Canada, I had spent most of my wages on travel and necessities. All the cash I had to my name was $180, which included my first year's wage. This would have been sufficient to cover the travel expenses for my wife and three-year-old son. Being homeless myself, however, meant that I could not expose them to similar insecurity.

After much brooding I decided to hire myself out to a farm in a good area for an entire year. I wanted to get acquainted with the conditions there, so that I could possibly buy a farm myself and settle down. I knew English well enough by that time to express myself on a basic level. With a heavy heart, once again I paid $25 for a train ticket.

When I arrived, after a few days of job-hunting I was hired by a farmer who had lost his wife just weeks before and was left with two infant orphans. The farmer gladly consented to bringing my family over and was willing to provide free board for us, as well as pay $350 to me and $200 to my wife annually if she accepted responsibility for the children and the household. I undertook written obligation to this effect. Thanks to the personal commitment of my employer, we soon received the immigration permit for my family. The farmer covered half of their travel costs with an advance payment. He also telegraphed the local agency for the shipping company in my homeland, so that they put my family on a boat without delay. They arrived at the end of March.

The farm, which was the size of one section, was a model farm which had been under cultivation for a long time. The owner usually hired a farmhand for a whole year and seasonal workers for the busier periods. He busied himself mostly with buying and selling animals, and the management of the farm gradually became my responsibility. Instead of the planned one year I spent two in the same job, incurring hardly any expenses during this time. In the second year my boss permitted me to buy a cow and a sow, and later, four sheep. I had $600 saved by the end of the second year.

During this period, I had enough opportunity to study the area and its economic conditions. One year the whole crop was ruined by frost and had to be reaped for fodder. This made me think twice about my own ambitions. While this farming region was really part of Canada's best agricultural land, there was no security against natural disasters. On top of that, memories from the old country preoccupied us so much that we could not commit ourselves to buying a farm and settling in this foreign land.

After much thinking, we signed a five-year contract with the master who guaranteed us a total wage of $600 a year and allowed us to keep a specified number of cattle, pigs and sheep for our own use on a rented pasture. After two years, we had $1,500 saved and hoped to save another $1,500 in the remaining period. The value of the animals will cover our travel expenses back to our homeland. The [Hungarian] plain is calling us, and so do the sad sighs of our elderly parents, the smell of the blooming acacia trees, all are throbbing in our restless hearts. We'll go home. $3,000 is not a large amount, but it is enough to start a new life in the old country.

Of the years I spent here, the second was the most hectic. In that year travelling expenses and unemployment consumed most of my earlier funds. In our last employment we worked very hard for our wages, but we had security. Our lodging and meals were good, and the harsh weather didn't bother us.

Once back in our homeland, we'll forget the dreariness of these [Canadian] years.

C's Story

First of all, I have to tell you a secret, said "C" as he began his story, a secret which I hid from you at the time of our emigration. Except for my widowed mother, nobody else, not even my wife, knew it. Besides the declared $45 I had another $300 in cash. My maternal uncle had been living in America for many years, and he sent various sums of money to my mother which she carefully saved. My uncle always described his situation faithfully in his letters, thus my mother was well informed about the difficulties [new immigrants have] at the start. Before my departure, she made me promise not to mention this amount even to my wife. She sewed the sum inside the lining of my overcoat and impressed upon me that I use this money only in case of emergency or to start an enterprise by which I could secure my future.

[After arrival] in Winnipeg, I walked into a real estate agency where I found a compatriot among the employees. After a few days acquaintance, he informed me about local conditions. He recommended I take a half section lease whose owner had died a short time earlier. The heirs lived abroad and commissioned my agent friend to lease out the farm. It came with a family house, farm buildings and functioning as well as broken-down equipment. Because it was in the north, one could suspect that climatic conditions were severe, but the rental terms looked advantageous.

The agent was willing to show me the site; he paid his train ticket and I paid mine. The farm was situated about ten miles from the railway, in a wooded area rich in lakes. Of the 320 acres, 60 were stubble and 20 newly broken soil. Most of the undulating unbroken land was covered with a poplar forest. The farmhouse and stable were built of round timber. Both the livestock and the primitive farming equipment, which were tended by a neighbour as a favour, gave the impression of a run-down, poor farm. Only the favourable terms made me seriously consider the matter of leasing.

The farm was offered for a three-year lease on condition that half the annual profits were to be paid to the owners as rental fee—half of the crop in kind, half of the other incomes in cash. Also the first year's seed-grain was supposed to be repaid in kind. Fifteen new acres had to be put under cultivation each year, and the livestock, farm buildings and equipment were to be returned in good condition. A $200 bank deposit was expected as security. The agent represented the owners for the term of the lease. Taxes were a shared liability.

Having considered the situation, I decided to lease the farm and went ahead with the formalities. At the same time, I commissioned the agent to get an immigration permit for my mother and wife. I asked my uncle in the U.S. to lend me the price of steamship tickets to bring my relatives over. He was willing to do this and sent me the money.

In the beginning I concentrated all my efforts on improving the livestock and fixing up the farm machinery for the spring work. The dwelling was neglected but not in too bad shape. For the time being all I needed to feed myself was bread—the cows and poultry provided the rest. It was cold and there was still deep snow in April, so I could not start working the land. I hired myself out to a sawmill nearby, earning $2.50 a day until the snow melted and I could begin ploughing early in May. For this, I used an old iron plough with a seat and six old horses. I did not think it was a suitable team for such uneven terrain and clay soil, so I bought two more horses for $60. For lack of a clod-crusher the harrow had to be used; without a sowing machine, the work had to be done by hand. Under such conditions, I was barely able to plant barley and oats in the already arable fields by the middle of June, in spite of help from my mother and wife who, in the meantime, had arrived.

In the first year, a late August frost destroyed our crops so severely that they had to be cut for fodder. In the second year the 90 acres of oats spent the winter under snow which arrived early. Only after the spring thaw could I thresh the little that the rodents had left. The third year yielded mediocre-good crops which I harvested without satisfaction.

Because of the farm's northern location, our harvest was always meager, even under optimum conditions, and did not compensate for the difficult work of clearing the forests and cultivating the poor soil and rugged terrain. The wooded area gave little opportunity for stock-raising. Besides, animal products could not be successfully marketed in a region of sparse population. Work opportunities materialized in this part of the country only in the busiest seasons. I could hardly wait for the end of the three-year term of my lease and get back my $200 deposit. Three years of our hard work barely yielded $800 in savings—most of it I earned by lumbering and doing day jobs for fishermen. The savings went to pay the loan which I had taken to bring my family over.

In the spring of the fourth year, my uncle—who had since been widowed—got fed up with mining in the United States and moved up to join us. We bought a one-section, completely equipped farm on the railway line for $50 an acre . . . (paid with half of the sale price of the crop at 7% interest.) The whole farm was under cultivation, and we managed to make about 100 acres irrigable by regulating a small river that crossed the property. This area proved to be suitable for the growing of fodder, and we have had two years of success with alfalfa. We experimented with bee-keeping as well, and it looked quite promising. We rented a neighbouring pasture to breed sheep, trying to produce ewe-cheese and curd.

Last year the harvest was mediocre. This year most of it was ruined by some sort of locust and blight. No matter how good the farm is, agriculture in Canada is always a risky business.

We have been speculating a lot about whether it was worth tying ourselves down to the Canadian soil with our labour, let alone investment. The farm is relatively good. It is close to the railway and has all the advantages of fully cultivated soil. But we must realize that we will be unable to sell it for cash once it is paid off, after 25 or 30 years of hard work. We will be yearning in vain to return to our homeland: after 25–30 years who will know us there? Our siblings and relatives will be dead, and we'll be strangers to the younger generation.

And what do we have in this country beside toiling? A sparsely populated, endless, strange land all around us. Seven months of awful cold and snowdrifts in the winter, followed by unbearable summer heat full of inhuman work with dubious results. School makes strangers of our own children. For whom do we live, and why?

The Joint Opinion of the Three Emigrants

Following the stories, a lively debate developed among the three friends which gave rise to a whole series of questions and answers. Eventually they agreed that the agriculturalist who immigrated to Canada should not consider settling down permanently or buying any land until he familiarized himself with local conditions, which would take at least three or four years. The only way to do this is for the immigrant to work as a farmhand for a year after his arrival; and it is advisable that he work for a non-Hungarian, English-speaking, old-time settler with a good reputation.

The rights and duties of both parties should be put down in a contract—two copies—signed by four witnesses. One copy should be kept by the employer, the other by the worker. To avoid language problems, the services of an interpreter should be requested from the local sheriff. The interpreter's name should also be recorded in the contract.

In Canada, farmers use every minute of the workday during the summer, from early morning till late evening. Everybody has to be prepared for this. The winter season is slower, but when working outside one always has to be wary of frostbite. It is advisable to learn from the old settlers different ways of protecting the hands, feet and ears against the cold.

Each immigrant should make learning English his primary goal. Younger immigrants can achieve this in 1–1 1/2 years if they live among [native English speakers]. It is especially true if they use their spare time for language learning. With a good working knowledge of English, the immigrant can get along much easier than the one who, lacking this skill, depends solely on his relatives [who can take advantage of the situation].

If permanent settlement is the immigrant's ultimate objective, his own personal experiences in the first year and reliable information about past

circumstances usually give him an adequate picture of the area's economic conditions. If these conditions are sufficiently tolerable, the immigrant enters into contract with one or more farmers for the second, third and four year. If the conditions are unfavourable, he ought to move on and relocate at least a couple of hundred miles away. There is no limit on distances in Canada.

He can repay his passage money out of his first year's salary. The following year he can bring his wife over, if conditions will allow. The couple's hard work in the third and fourth year may yield enough income so that they can begin to farm on their own without taking an unreasonably burdensome debt. Even so, the beginning is very hard, and 15–20 years will pass, full of hardship and inhuman toil, before the settlers can call their sufficiently equipped homestead their own property.

This is not to say that such a goal must be, or can be, attained by everyone. Nor is it denied that fortunate cases do and can exist—cases in which bigger or faster results are achieved. As elsewhere, this is simply a matter of luck.

Even in the most optimal case one should ask, however, whether the result was worth the sacrifice. You have to leave the familiar culture of the old country. The distant foreign land you travel to will remain foreign to you forever. Still, decades of hard labour will tie you inescapably to the strange soil. Since you cannot sell your property, you are condemned to stay for a lifetime. You exchange your usual way of life and your children's, your ancestral language and customs, for a cycle of never-ending work. . . .

Most unfortunate is the situation of those immigrants in Canada who have been duped into investing some money in advance of their arrival in an unknown place, among unfamiliar conditions. By doing so they deprive themselves of the freedom of movement [and expose themselves to exploitation]. One can never warn immigrants enough against the dangers of such practice.

Those immigrants who possess considerable capital and come to Canada to increase it, must keep in mind that in this country everybody is an entrepreneur and businessman who possesses not only the language but also the knowledge of local conditions–indispensable for capitalizing on business opportunities.

It is easy to become an entrepreneur, but goals must be carefully tailored to the possibilities . . .

[Editor's note: The book concludes by giving advice to tourists who might wish to visit Canada.]

"For amateur hunters and naturalists, the rich wildlife of central Canada and the as yet unexplored regions of the North provide excellent grounds for activity. For such enterprise only money, a well-functioning supply system based on careful planning, good health, and steadfastness are required."

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Book Reviews

Náray, Antal. *Náray Antal visszaemlékezése, 1945* [The Recollections of Antal Náray, 1945]. Edited and introduced by Sándor Szakáy. Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1988. 152 pages.

This little book deserves more attention than it has received to date outside of Hungary. It contains the recently surfaced wartime recollections of one of Hungary's influential soldiers and as such constitutes a useful addition to the sources available for the study of that country's military and political evolution during Second World War.

Náray's recollections fall between the category of diaries (i.e. original sources) and memoirs that historians often classify as secondary works. They were written in the spring and early summer of 1945, when its author's recollection of events was fresh and had not been clouded by the polemics that began to surround many historical events soon after the war's end. Furthermore, the bulk of Náray's discussion concentrates on events that he had intimate knowledge of. Thus, his writing is a first-hand commentary on historical developments and not a compilation of rumours that circulated widely in Hungarian governing circles during the war.

Náray was important figure in wartime Hungary. He was one of the few soldiers who came to fill important posts in the country's administration, posts not necessarily reserved for military officers. He was born in 1893 and served as a junior officer in World War I. After the war, he taught at various military schools, while he also continued his education at the university level. His training and interests extended from military subjects to technology, as well as the arts, particularly music and literature. He was fluent in German, French, Italian, and Croatian. By the mid-1930s he had become a general staff officer, filling positions of important administrative responsibilities in the expanding Hungarian armed forces. In one of his 1940 assignments he and his work came to the attention of the country's

civilian authorities, in particular Prime Minister Pál Teleki, to whom Náray developed a deep-seeded devotion. Late in that year Náray was appointed Secretary of Hungary's Supreme Defence Council. In this capacity he attended the most important meetings of Hungary's leaders during the fateful year of 1941 which brought the country's involvement in the war. Two years later Náray was transferred to a still more important position when he was put at the head of the country's radio and information services (as President of the Hungarian Radio and the Hungarian Telegraphic Bureau). In this position he used his authority to counter the spread of right-radical and Nazi influence in Hungary. After the German occupation of Hungary in March of 1944, as a result of German pressure, Náray was retired to the military archives in Budapest, and after the Arrow-Cross takeover of October, he was imprisoned by the Nazis. He was taken to Germany at the end of the war where he was liberated from captivity by the Americans. His reminiscences were written during the weeks following his release.

Perhaps the most important part of Náray's book is his comments on Hungary's entry into the war against Yugoslavia in April of 1941. On the 1st of that month the Supreme Defence Council met, and Náray had the task of keeping proceedings of the meeting. Thirteen men were present. Regent Horthy, Chief-of-the-General-Staff Henrik Werth, Náray (as secretary), Prime Minister Pál Teleki and nine members of his cabinet. According to Náray, six of those present spoke against accepting Hitler's suggestion of unconditional and unlimited Hungarian participation in the planned war against Yugoslavia, while four argued in favour of it. The most strident pro-German position was taken by Werth, while historian Bálint Hóman, the Minister of Cults and Education, saw Hungary's future in terms of taking the side either of Germany or Russia, a situation in which, according to Hóman, siding with Hitler was the lesser of two evils.

The Council decided, but before Náray had a chance to prepare the meeting's minutes, decisive events took place. News came of Teleki's death and of the agreement between the Hungarian and German regimes to ignore some of the conditions that the Defence Council wished to impose on any collaboration in the invasion of Yugoslavia. In fact, the Council would not be summoned again while Náray remained its secretary. For the rest of 1941, important decisions would be taken usually after discussions by the cabinet and a smaller group composed of the Regent, the Chief-of-Staff, the Prime Minister, and his Minister of Defence. Parliament was ignored, and the constitutional process gradually abandoned.

Náray's testimony does not warrant a wholesale revamping the story of Hungary's involvement in the German campaign against Yugoslavia, but it prompts us to revise it in certain respects. It suggests that the positions of the pro- and anti-German (or, pro- and anti-war) factions of the Hungarian leadership were not as far apart as has been suggested by many

commentators. Neither advocated a complete denial of the German request: transportation of German troops across Hungary and help in the occupation of Yugoslavia. What the more moderate elements insisted on was placing limitations on the nature, size, and timing Hungarian participation. Teleki, for example, insisted that Hungarian troops not enter Yugoslavia before that country disintegrated, and that they should not, under any circumstances, cross the pre-1918 southern border of Hungary. Náray's version of events, however, reinforces the impression created by historians of wartime Hungary that the meeting did reach a consensus to proceed with caution. Subsequently, however, this stance was abandoned in discussions between the German and Hungarian leadership, the latter being represented by the General staff and Minister of Defence Bartha. For this change, Náray, like so many commentator before him, blames Horthy. Náray also adds that, after the Council's meeting, Bárdossy revised the minutes in a way as to make his speech appear more pro-German than it had been according to Náray's notes taken during the proceedings. Obviously, he was anxious to be on the side of the winners.

Late in 1941 Náray was relieved of his secretaryship. His next appointment was as head of Hungary's information services. His account of his experiences in this post offers glimpses of Miklós Horthy as a statesman (with whom Náray had a few interviews), and of István Horthy as a close acquaintance. He also relates how the Germans extended their control over the Hungarian broadcasting industry after their occupation of Hungary in March of 1944.

The appearance of Náray's memoirs is an important event for historians dealing with the story of wartime Hungary. Even more significant is the fact that, ever since the late-1980s, such works can be published in Hungary. It is also fortunate that Hungary has the people with expertise to evaluate and to edit such works properly. This volume in particular has been succinctly introduced and meticulously annotated by Szakály.

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Milan S. Durica, *Jozef Tiso, slovensky knaz a státnik, 1887–1939* [Jozef Tiso: Slovak Priest and Statesman, 1887–1939] Abano Terme: Piovan Editore, 1989. 318 pages.

This is a new work of the author on his favorite subject: Slovak politics and the struggle of the Slovaks for autonomy in the first Czechoslovak republic (1918–1938). This monograph is a study of Tiso by a fervent supporter of the idea of an independent Slovak state. We should keep this

fact in mind when we read Durica's account of a Slovak clergyman and politician from his early childhood to his becoming the Slovak Populist Party's deputy in the Prague Parliament, and later, the leader of the Slovak Republic (1939–1945).

Born in a small town in Upper Hungary, today's Slovakia, Tiso went from Slovak elementary school to Hungarian-language high school, to the Roman Catholic seminary in Nitra. He was selected by bishop Vilmos Batthyány for advanced studies in the imperial capital of Vienna. Here Tiso earned a doctorate in theology. During his years in Vienna (1906–1911) Tiso already demonstrated his Slovak nationalist convictions. After World War I, as a parish priest, Tiso displayed a keen interest in political life in the newly-established Czechoslovak Republic as a member of the Slovak Populist Party, founded by another Slovak priest, Andrej Hlinka. Tiso himself was incarcerated by the Prague government for his political activities.

Later he demonstrated considerable caution in his public life as a Slovak deputy in the Prague parliament. In the late 1920s became one of the Slovak members of the Czechoslovak cabinet. This participation of the Hlinka party in the government of the Republic diminished the popularity of the autonomist party among Slovak masses. The majority of Slovaks were against cooperation with supporters of what they saw as the "fictitious" idea of a single Czechoslovak nation.

Slovak presence in the Prague government was perturbed by the so-called "Tuka Affair." Professor Vojtech Tuka was a leading member of the Slovak Populist Party. In January 1928, he published an article in the official paper of the party. In it he explained that in October of 1918 a gathering of Slovaks in the city of Martin accepted a resolution according to which the Slovaks agreed to live in a common state with the Czechs for a period of ten years, after which they could decide their own political future. In view of this fact, according to Tuka, a legal void, a *vacuum juris*, would exist between Slovaks and Czechs after October of 1928.

Tuka was put on trial by the Czechoslovak government for his views and was sentenced to a fifteen year prison term. As a result of this court case, the Slovak ministers of the Prague government resigned, while the Slovak Populist Party continued its opposition to the central government and its demand for Slovak autonomy.

The Tuka Affair was a blow to Tiso who, out of fear, emphasized his faithfulness to the Czechoslovak republic until its demise. In 1938 he made contacts in Budapest and secretly discussed a possible compromise between Slovaks and Hungarians there. After the Munnich settlement, a meeting of the Slovak Populist Party declared the autonomy of Slovakia, still within the framework of the diminished and re-structured Czecho-Slovakia.

The Munnich Agreement of 29 September, 1938, specified that a revi-

sion of Czechoslovakia's borders with Poland and Hungary would have to be agreed upon within three months after direct negotiations among the governments concerned. On October 19, a Slovak delegation led by Tiso was received by German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop. Here Tiso proposed the creation of an independent Slovak state and cooperation between it and the German *Reich*. In these and other negotiations, Ribbentrop used the Slovaks against the Hungarians and prepared for the pnetration of German influence into Slovakia.

In the post-Munnich discussions regarding the future of the Slovak Hungarian border, the government in Prague asked for arbitration by Germany and Italy in the matter, while the Hungarian government requested a plebiscite under international supervision in the territory inhabited by Hungarians adjacent the Hungarian border. The Prague government remained silent on this proposal of a plebiscite, while Tiso informed Ribbentrop that he could agree to it, but only if Jews were to be barred from voting. In the end, the dispute was settled through the arbitration of the German and Italian foreign ministers, rendered in Vienna, on November 2, 1938.

After the Vienna Award, according to Durica, the only choice for Slovaks was the attainment of complete autonomy within Czechoslovakia. Many young Slovak radicals, on the other hand, strove for the complete independence of Slovakia, and sought German economic and political help in this struggle. Slovak independence was declared in mid-March of 1939, after Hitler had occupied Moravia and Bohemia and placed them under German "protection."

Durica's present study on Tiso before his becoming the first (and only) president of an independent Slovakia, is a substantial work, based on research in numerous archival collections. It is a valuable contribution to a sensitive chapter of Slovak history, which presumably will be followed by a biography of Tiso the statesman and his struggle for the realization of his ideas and plans in the Slovak state.

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