Jews in Metropolitan Transformations of New York City

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As a Fulbright grantee I conducted research on the urban Jewish modernization in New York City between 1850–1950. The Jewish population has been creating a definite part of the multi-ethnic society of the city from the late 19th century. Recently, the New York metropolitan area is home to the largest Jewish population in the world outside Israel, the significance of the city in the Jewish diaspora life and culture gives motives for historical analysis. The topic is on of the much liked subjects of the American urban history and the Jewish studies, too. In the scope of the research grant I undertook to analyse main features of the modernization of the Jewish groups coming from different European countries, and bringing different cultural, national and religious traditions with them. Inside of the large subject I tried to pay special attention to the Hungarian Jewish groups of the city. It was a challenge for me to find the traces and primary sources of the Hungarian Jewish immigrants whose history is one of the less elaborated parts of the topic. In this paper I try to summary some details of my reseach.

OFFICERS OF THE KOSSUTH FERENCZ LITERARY SICK AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION OF 1930
Standing right to left: Leo Goldberger, Recording Sec'y. Arman Friedman Serg. at arms, Malvin Green, Vice-Pres. Louisa Haber, Librarian H. Schwatrz Trustee
Seated right to left: Joseph Greenfield, Ex-President, Sam Scuhbert, Financial Sec'y, Alexander Altman, Pres. Alex Farkas, Treasurer; Herman Green Trustee

The Fulbright grant was an exceptional time for me, when I could focus directly on the research topic. At the libraries I have gained a larger perspective on American Jewish history, including the history of New York Jewry. The Archibald S. Alexander Library at Rutgers University has a good collection on Jewish and American Jewish history, as it has the New York Public Library, too. I had also opportunity to find some missing books at near University of Princeton and Columbia University in New York. The visit of these nice places was itself a very interesting and inspiring excursion.

Besides the survey I had conducted in the libraries, I endeavored to find primary sources of the topic. The grant gave me opportunity to enter the most significant Jewish archives in New York City. The Center for Jewish History contains one of the most important collections of Jewish history where I have studied primary documents, statistics, censuses, and newspapers. The center houses some different collections: the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research,[1] a collection of Yiddish-speaking Jewry was founded in 1925 in Vilna by Simon Dubnow, a leading theoretician of Diaspora nationalism and its main sections were delivered in the USA after the World War II; and the Leo Baeck Institute what is collection of German-speaking Jews founded in 1955. The Institute is named in honor of Leo Baeck, the Rabbi who was the last leader of German Jewish Community under the Nazis and represented the modern assimilated Central European Jew. Although these archives gather mainly documents of German and East-European Jews, I managed to find some materials of Hungarian Jewish immigrants. During my research I could enjoy helpfulness of the archivists in a very good atmosphere. In New York Public Library the Dorot Jewish Division has got a rich collection where I have read newspapers and documents of Hungarian Jewish sick and benevolent societies and lodges.

Jewish immigrants in New York

An abundance of books and studies are available on American Jewish history, especially since the 1970s, Jewish history became a legitimate topic in American social sciences. The works of Steven M. Cohen, Deborah Dash Moore, Lucy Dawidowicz, Nathan Glazer, Calvin Goldscheider among others analyse the many sided American pattern of Jewish integration and the transformation of Jewish identity.[2] On process of immigration John Bodnar's, on Jewish immigration Samuel Joseph, David Berger, Thomas Kessner, Robert Perlman and Leo Goldhammer's works can be mentioned.[3] Milton Gordon's classical work on

1 YIVO. In: Gershon David Hundert (ed.): *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe.* New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2008. Vol. II. pp. 2090–2096.

2 Steven M. Cohen: *American Modernity and Jewish Identity.* New York–London: Tavistock Publications, 1983.; Nathan Glazer–Daniel Patrick Moynihan: *Beyond the Melting Pot.* Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1970.; Calvin Goldscheider: *The Transformation of the Jews.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.; Deborah Dash Moore (ed.): *East European Jews in Two World: Studies from the YIVO Annual.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1989.; Deborah Dash Moore: *At Home in America. Second Generation New York Jews.* New York: Columbia Ŭniversity Press, 1983.

3 John Bodnar: *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.; David Berger: *The Legacy of Jewish Imigration: 1881 and its Impact.* New York: Social Science Monographs, Brooklin College Press, 1983.; Leo Goldhammer: „Jewish Emigration from Austria-Hungary

American assimilation provides theoretical background of assimilation in America.[4] In connection with New York City Hutchinson Hapgood analysed how Russian Jewish immigrants recreated their social and cultural life. Walking on the Jewish district he depicted the theaters, movies, and other places of culture and entertainment.[5]

In New York City the beginning of the presence of Jews coinsided with the metropolitan transformation.[6] New York became metropolis after the Civil War, its growth began after the political consolidation of 1860s. By the turn of the century, development of the city outpaced the growth of all its European and American counterparts, it became national leader in industry, in banking and financial sectors. The growing industrial bases of New York were crucial to the social developments and they enabled it to absorb a continual flow of inmigrants and immigrants. The Jewish presence in New York City dates to the 1600s, major immigration of Jews to the city began in the 1880s, with the increase of antisemitic actions in Central and Eastern Europe. The number of Jews in New York soared throughout the beginning of the 20th century and reached a peak of 2 million in the 1950s, when Jews constituted one-quarter of the city's population. However, the laws of 1921 and 1924 first restricted the immigration to 3% and 2% of total polulation were dividing mark on Jewish immigration, too. The serious consequence of these laws especially can be felt from 1930-ties and during the World War II, when possible escape from persecution and annihilation remained closed in front of the Jewish groups of Central- and East-European countries.

The increase of the Jewish population can be examined by the data of censuses, however I was challenged by some questions of methodology. The American censuses involved color and race composition of the population but did not ask religious affiliation. The inquiry as to mother tongue of foreign white stock was first made at the census of 1910 helped to find some relevant data on Jews. However, while English and Celtic as mother tongue covers more than one group of peoples (the English, the Irish, the Scotch, and the Welsh) Yiddish was the mother tongue reported for only a part of the Jews, the others being returned as speaking Polish, Russian, German, Hungarian, etc. In particular, it is probable that large proportion of the persons reported in 1920 as Russian in mother tongue were in reality Jews.[7] According to the mother tongue of the foreign white stock by country of origin in 1920 the foreign Jiddish population, what numbered 2 043 613, arrived from Russia (1 591 116), Austria (276 609), Rumania (54 372), Hungary (32 734), Germany (13 470), Turkey in Asia (2 542) and England (2 445) in the USA.[8] Almost half of this population lived in New York. In 1920 the foreign population registered as Jiddish numbered 946 139 and created 22% of total white population of the city (in Bronx 16 416, 28%; Brooklyn 391 267, 25%; Manhattan 377 945, 21%; Qeens 10 142, 3,2%; Richmond borough 1 369, 1,8%).[9]

The social and cultural integration of the immigrant Jewish groups was determined by the fact that New York became representative of ethnical diversity, national tolerance and modern, liberal, cosmopolitan culture. The city preserved these values after the World War I, too, what can be considered as a benchmark. Since the American Revolution, New York had experienced more or less uninterrupted development, and after the World War I it consolidated itself as the metropolis of a much enhanced international power. The city maintained a liberal commitment and the city's leaders became major voices of American internationalism. By 1930s, political and cultural values of New York turned back the provincial attack of 1920s, and the city became the main representative of the New Deal liberalism.

The Americanization process of Jewish groups was less transformative in New York than it was the process of national and social integration in Europe. In the European nationstates the liberal elite recquired national integration of Jews, encourged their linguistic and cultural assimilation, modernization of religious traditions, and the urban Jewish middle-classes were representative of modernity and national identity together, left the Jiddish and traditional customs. As contrasted the European acculturation, New York maintained ethnic diversity and national tolerance that presented possibilities for the immigrants to preserve their traditional religious and ethnic identity. New York preserved the religious and ethnic diversity of Jewish groups, too. After 1890, German Jews were rapidly outnumbered by East European Jews, who were Yiddish-speaking, generally poorer and less assimilated. Although the second generation modified its religious and ethnic heritage, the permanent flow of new immigrants was source of traditional Judaism. However the various generations met different challenges. The first generation of American Jews created largely segregated communities and because of their limited economic skills and resources they clustered together in immigrant residental enclaves. The second generation could take advantage of an increasing adaptation to the larger social and political life, steadily it became part

in 1848-49." *YIVO Annual 9* (1954); Samuel Joseph: *Jewish Immigration to the United States, from 1881 to 1910.* New York: Columbia University, 1914.; Thomas Kessner: *The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City 1880-1915.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. Robert Perlmann: *Bridging Three Worlds: Hungarian-Jewish Americans, 1848-1914.* Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1991.

4 Milton M.Gordon: *Assimilation in American Life.* New York: Oxford University, 1964.

5 Geffrey S. Gurock: *When Harlem was Jewish: 1870-1930.* New York, 1979.; Hutchinson Hapgood: *The Spirit of the* Ghetto. Cambridge, MA, 1967.

6 Thomas Bender: *The Unfinished City: New York and the Metropolitan Idea.* New York: New York Press, 2002.

7 *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920.* Volume II: Population 1920. General Report and Analytical Tables. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922. p. 967., 974.

8 Ibid. p. 977.

9 Ibid. p.1009., 1011.

Hungarian Jews in New York City: societies and lodges

of the bourgeois middle-class. They modified their religious and ethnic heritage, established community centers, philanthropic and social welfare services, several fraternal organizations. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Americanized synagogues had new functions, not only did they maintain worship services, but also sponsored adult education classes, junior congregations, Hebrew schools and hosted major family celebrations.

Different challenges and patterns of social integration were reflected in spatial division of Jewish population. New York was marked by patterns of geographical segregation by class and ethnicity. There were multiclass ethnic settlements such as the Lower East Side of New York sorrounding East Broadway, where the Jewish elite lived a middle-class life in a sea of impoverished immigrant Jews. By the 1920s, however, the residental patterns of Jews showed signs of convergence. Williamsburg in Brooklyn or the Lower East Side remained district of the new immigrants and poorer groups of East European Jews, while majority of Jewish upper middle-class lived in the Grand Concourse in the Bronx, in the Upper West Side and around Park and Fifth Avenues.

Although the above mentioned censuses registered the Jews among white population from the beginning, in social and cultural sense they were considered as colored until the middle of the 20th century. It was a long process while Jews had become integrated in the white society. Their social and cultural reception happened partly through their cultural achievement. While in Europe the educated Jewish middle-class played very important role in the high culture, in the USA their contribution in development of popular culture was significant, as it was reflected in jazz culture of New York or in history of Hollywood.[10]

In New York, ethnicity rather then class or ideology shaped the political identity of voting groups, the ethnic political identity and competition was a positive measure of democratic politics. The American democracy gave possibilities for the Jews to define themselves as an ethnic and religious group. Like the Irish, the Jewish community played an important role in New York City's politics; Jewish voters traditionally often supported politically liberal policies.[11]

Although the process of the immigration from Hungary to the United States is more or less elaborated,[12] the Hungarian Jewish immigraton has been dealt with by only one historian, Robert Perlmann.[13] Among the Hungarian emigrants the number of Jews increased from 1870-ties, however there was no mass exodus of Jews from Hungary as contrasted with Russia or Rumania. According to Perlman's estimation between 10 and 15% of the Jewish population of Hungary, about 100 000 people emigrated from 1880 to 1910, and about 98% of them went to the United States.[14] While the modest emigration started after the revolution of 1848 has taken Jewish upper-middle class groups in the United States, between 1885 and 1924 the Jews came most heavenly from the rural, north-eastern part of Hungary (53,3%), while Budapest (12,5%) and other large tows were under-represented among the emigrants, who were essentially a working-class and lower-middle class group.[15] By the turn of the century, the main port of entry, New York had the largest Hungarian-Jewish community. According to estimations in 1900 70% of the 31 516 Hungarian-born immigrant were Jewish, 20% were Catholic and 10% Protestant, by 1910 the number of Jews raised to 53 000.[16] The Hungarian Jews organized their colony in mixed ethnic borough of Manhattan's Lower East Side, but the population had begun to shift to other part of the city, leapfrogging up the east side of the island, to Yorkville and Upper Manhattan in several years.

The Hungarian Jewish groups established their community centers, philanthropic and social welfare services, and several fraternal organizations in New York City.[17] According to my researches, among societies I could separate three different types according to their functions. Main part of them belonged to sick and benevolent and literary societies,[18] some of them represented Jews of one

10 Michael Rogin: *Black Face, White Noise. Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot.* Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: Universiy of California Press, 1996.; Ted Merwin: *In their Own Image. New York Jews in Jazz Age Popular Culture.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2006.

11 Ronald Bayor *Neighbors in Conflict: The Irish, Germans, Jews and Italians for New York City, 1922–1941.* Baltimore–London: The Hopkins University Press, 1978.

12 Puskás Julianna: *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban 1880–1940.* Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982.; Várdy Béla: *Magyarok az Újvilágban. Az észak-amerikai magyarság rendhagyó története.* Budapest: A Magyar Nyelv és Kultúra Nemzetközi Társasága, 2000.

13 Robert Perlmann: *Bridging Three Worlds: Hungarian-Jewish Americans, 1848-1914.* Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1991.

14 Ibid. pp.120–121.

15 Ibid. pp. 114–117., Table 2–3., p. 245.

16 Ira Rosenwaike: *Population History of New York City.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972. p. 123.

17 Robert Perlmann: *Bridging Three Worlds: Hungarian-Jewish Americans*. pp. 250–252.

18 Kossuth Ferenc Literary Sick and Benevolent Association, First Hungarian Literary Society, Jókai Mór Betegsegélyező Egylet, Hebrew Hungarian Aid Society of Coney Island, Hadassa Bronx Hungarian Branch, Rising Star Sick and Benevolent Society, Berta Weis Society, Rothschild Society, Young Petőfi Ladies Society, American Jewish Refugee Aid Society, Bronx County Hungarian Democratic Club, Central Hungarian Society, Association of Hungarian Jews of America, The United Hungarian Jews of America, Ladies Auxiliary of United Hungarian Jews of America

definite geographical region,[19] and the third type of the societies was created by masonic lodges.[20] As common feature of the associations the recources reflect double and triple identity of these groups. Striving for preservation of ethnic heritage they determined themselves as Hungarian and Jews together, however sometimes only the lists of members and other informations on religious and cultural habits told on their Jewishness. In most cases the Hungarian identity was dominantly decleared and clearly reflected by the name of the societies. They have often used attribute „Hungarian", they have chosen name of politicians (Kossuth Ferenc), famous national writers or poets (Jókai, Pet fi, Kiss József) or geographical regions (Pannonia, Transylvania, Szatmar, Ugocsa, Maramaros). The language of resources is mainly Hungarian, and it starts to change from Hungarian to English by 1950-ties in connection with appearence of a new generation.

From 1923 the Jewish societies have their own weekly newspaper that was founded and edited by Charles Brown. The newspaper organized and maintained connections among different societies, which could buy their own column to inform their members and another societies about their programs and activities. In addition yearbooks and summaries made on the anniversaries of some societies gave opportunity to gain access in their operation.

First Hungarian Literary Society

One of the first associations, the First Hungarian Literary Society was established in 1889 by some Hungarian-Jewish men: Jozsef Cukor, Lajos Rosenbluth, Sandor Englander, Max Stark, Jozsef Lefkovits, Fulop Mahrer, Sandor Mandel, Miksa Roth, Adam Marher, Henrik Engel, B. Ungar, Armin Fried, S. Goldman, and Miksa Salamon.[21] The social background of the organizers is unknown, however they were most likely not lawyers, doctors, bankers, or brokers. They could be „little men", who needed assistance and fellowship and looked for frameworks for preservation the culture they brought with them. The Charter of the society was obtained by Morris Cukor, a young lawyer, son of the founder who became later prominent and served as a city commissioner. The activity of the Society started in Lower Manhattan, in Stanton Street, by 1900 they moved to Second Street, than they rent rooms in Tomkins Square between 8th and 9th Street. Around 1910 the Society moved to East 79th Street, in Yorkville in connection with that the majority of Hungarian-Jewish groups moved gradually from Lower East Side to upper parts of Manhattan. In 1925 the Society managed to buy its own house at East 79th Street, and acquired its own cemetery in 1933, than purchased another one in Fairview in New Jewsey in 1954. Between 1889 and 1939 the Literary Society had 268 active members.[22] Meanwhile, two other Hungarian-Jewish societies, the Rakoczy Society and the Yorkville Sick and Benefit Society became part of the association. The official language and the by-laws of the society were Hungarian for several decades, it changed to English only by the end of 1930-ties.

The Literary Society strove to become center of Hungarian culture and literature in America. The members established the first Hungarian library in the USA, what gathered books of general culture, Hungarian history and literature, works of Jokai, Mikszath, Petofi and Jozsef Kiss. They read the Hungarian authors, bought their books and produced their plays. In 1912 under presidency of dr. Arthur Kozma, the society published at ist own expense the English translation of Sandor Petofi's poems, by William N. Loew's translation. The association contributed to formation of Jokai's and Kossuth's cult. In 1893 the Society elected Mor Jokai a permanent honorary member. Form 1892 it has celebrated year by year on March 15th the memory of 1848–49 revolution and War of Independence. The Onkepzo was in the forefront of Hungarian societies when New York paid tribute to the memory of Louis Kossuth at his death in 1894. Fourty-one Hungarian organizations participated in the silent march to the City Hall and in the evening memorial services at Cooper Union. In 1896 the Society celebrated the millennium of Hungarian conquest, placed flowers at Petofi's statue in Budapest and on the grave of Louis Kossuth. In 1899 it also celebrated the 50th anniversary of Kossuth's setting foot on the shores of America.

During the World War I, the members of the Society had demonstrated their loyalty to the United States, they purchased generously Libery Bonds and many of them took part in military service, as it happened similar during the World War II. The Society supported the liberal traditions of the Hungarian policy after the collapse of the Monarchy, too. During White Terror, hearing about persecution and killing of Jewish people, the organization sent protesting cablegrams to both the Hungarian government and Governor Nicholas Horthy and contributed to a Relief Committee set up to help the victims of the terror. In 1922 the Society invited Dezso Balthazar, Bishop of the Calvinist Church to delivere a lecture, and also supported Mihaly Karolyi when he arrived for a lecture tour in America in 1925. This tradition was carried on after the revolution

19 According to the counties and geographical regions these societies represented mainly orthodox Jews: Szatmar and Vicinity Society, American Ugocsai Young Men's Aid Society, Federation of Maramaros Jews of America

20 Pannonia Lodge, Joseph Kiss Lodge, Independent Jókai Lodge, First Hungarian Independent Lodge, Manhattan Lodge, Joseph Schwartzkopf Odd Fellow Lodge, Theodor Herzl Lodge, Transylvania Lodge

21 Göndör Ferenc: Ötven esztendő az amerikai magyar élet szolgálatában. January, New York, N. Y., 1939.; Kalman Schildkraut: Sixty Years of Progress, 1889–1949. New York, N. Y., 1949.; Zoltan Neumarkt: Summary History of Our 75 Years, 1889–1964. New York, N.Y., 1964. *YIVO Archives*, RG 906. Addendum Box I.;

22 Göndör Ferenc: Ötven esztendő az amerikai magyar élet szolgálatában. Ibid. Unfortunately I have no exact data on further development of the membership.

of 1956, too. The Onkepzo welcomed the newly arrived refugees with hospitality, gave them possible financial help, assisted to obtain jobs, and helped them to become a member of the organization without any payment.

The First Hungarian Literary Society was a charitable organization, its great aims and purpose had been extending of help and support to those in need and worthwhile organizations. The women played a strong role in charity work, they organized Ladies' Auxiliary in 1901 under the leadership of Augusta Schwatz. They held regular cultural evenings, produced amateur theatricals and Christmas parties to provide clothes and gave other gift to the children of less fortunate parents, regardless of race, religion, or membership in the organization. From 1895 the Society organized the traditional New Year's Eve Peasant Balls year by year. There were numerous occasions where sick members were provided the expense of nursing, medical, and hospital care. In 1920 a charity evening was arranged, proceeds of which were donated to Hungarian-Jewish poet, Jozsef Kiss who was being persecuted in Hungary because of his Jewish origins. The Society contributed regularly to such causes as the March of Dimes to help children crippled by polio, The Denver Tubercolisis Hospital, the United Jewish Appeal, the Federation of Jewish Philantropic Society, the Red Cross, and beside of these substantial donations considerable sums were sent to needy Hungarian children. This philantropic work has got stronger during and after the World War II. As the greatest charitable events, in 1947 the Society arranged the „Caravan of Stars" for benefit of all displaced persons seeking refuge and a new home in the State of Israel. The huge affair was held at the Manhattan Opera House, where $6000 was raised and turned over to Jewish National Fund. Also the members took part in the „Food for Israel" campaign in 1948. In 1956, during the Hungarian Revolution the Society sent $300 to the American Red Cross for the aid of refugees, and distributed $3000 among Hungarian-Jewish refugees.

Kossuth Ferenc
Hungarian Literary Sick and Benevolent Society

The documents of another significant association provide opportunity to depict its work until 1930. The Kossuth Ferenc Hungarian Literary Sick and Benevolent Society was established in 1904 by some Hungarian-Jewish men and women who felt homesick in their new home.[23] The founders wrote a letter Ferenc Kossuth asking his permission to carry his name. Kossuth accepted to be the honorable patron of the society. The members maintained connections with him later on, in 1908 they sent a calbegram to congratulate on his Leopold-order, and sent him a delegation before his death in 1913. The society started its activity in Lower Manhattan, later, in 1920 moved to 86th Street in Yorkville. The increase of the society was very intensive, the membership exceeded five hundreds persons by 1912, and reached a peak with 633 members in 1924.[24] However the restriction of the immigration ceased this process, that was reflected in stagnation of the society from 1920-ties. The association created three sections: literary, sick and benevolent, and sport. The members established a library and reading room at their own expense, after their request for gaining donation directed to Ferenc Kossuth, Albert Apponyi, and Sandor Wekerle had been unsuccessful. In the scope of charity work th association helped and supported the poor, the orphans, the widows, and paid special attention on new immigrants. The women played central role in philantropy, their activity got stronger during the World War I. They held parties and balls, the income was distributed among the needy. In 1927 the society started to establish a house for old people called Kossuth-home.

Although, according to by-laws the society could not participate in politics, it took part in all Hungarian national event, involving celebration March 15th year by year. In 1914 it participated in sponsoring of Mihaly Karolyi on his tour in America. During the World War I the members had expressed their loyalty to the United States, they purchased Libery Bonds and many of them took part in military service. After the war and under the Horthy-regime the association supported the liberal national traditions, in 1927 joined the Anti-Horthy Leaque founded by liberal and left-wing groups of the Hungarian immigrants.

Professional and personal experiences

At Rutgers University being affiliated in the Department of Sociology my host professor, Jozsef Borocz gave me orientations in life of the university. I would like to express my appreciation for his hospitality that helped my adjustment in many ways. Beside of my host department I have made connections with colleagues of the Bildner Center for Jewish Studies and the Hungarian Institute. I could get acquainted with some excellent scholars work on the same field. During the interesting discussions with them I could feel that history of Hungarian Jews was not very well-known among American scholars, and mainly because of the difficulties of the language it has not become an integral part of the Jewish studies. The founder of the Bildner Center, Yael Zerubavel and recent director, Nancy Sinkoff gave me some advices on possibilities for research in New York. Paul Hanebrink, the director of the Hungarian

23 The founders: Dezso Deutsch, Herman Markovits, Nathan Schwartz, Sandor Altman, Samuel Blau, Lajos Spillinger, Sandor Farkas, Hermann Green, Vilmos Fischer, Mrs. Lipot Wiesler, Mrs. Hermann Markovits, Berta Kleinberger. Silver Jubilee 1904–1930. 25th Anniversary Kossuth Ferenc Literary Sick and Benevolent Association. *YIVO Archives*, RG 906. Box I.

24 The membership numbered 1904: 12, 1908: 121, 1910: 258, 1912: 528, 1914: 604, 1917: 634, 1918: 618 1920: 626. 1924: 633, 1927: 555, 1929: 509 persons. Ibid. p. 21.

Institute deals with Hungarian history of late 19th and early 20th century. I found in him a very good expert of the topic what I work on at home. Among my professional experiences I need to mention Christopher Browning's lecture on his latest book. Attending the conference on „Testimonies, Personal Narratives, and Alternative Tellings" (Bildner Center, March 27-28, 2011) I could notice changing emphasises on Holocaust research in the USA. Also the conference on „The Auschwitz Reports and the Holocaust in Hungary" organized by Randolph Braham fortified that the analysis focus on victims and survivals as contrasted with the perpetrators. (The City University of New York, April 6-7, 2011). Through these events I could gain access to the latest elaborations on modern Jewish history.

For the invitation of cultural-historian, Mary Gluck, I had opportunity to spend several days at Brown University in Providence. At the Department of Comparative Literature I delivered a lecture on the Jewish revival after the collapse of communism in Hungary. This trip gave me some new experiences: the audience was very interested in the topic, and with cordial guide of my host professor I could see another part of the USA, including the historical Boston.

New Brunswick was one of the centers of the Hungarian immigrants from the beginning of 20th century. The immigrants worked at Johnson&Johnson in large number, a Hungarian community developed here and increased mainly after the revolution of 1956. The Center for Hungarian Heritage directed by August J. Molnar plays important role in preservation of Hungarian culture and language. The institute has a nice collection on Hungarian materials. I could find there some interesting newspapers, e.g. Az Ember (The Man), a prominent intellectual newspaper of the Hungarian Jews in New York edited by Ferenc Gondor from 1926.

In my personal life the grant gave me deep impressions on multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society that created behavior of tolerance despite of the social and ethnical segregation. It can be felt especially in New York, the cosmopolitan atmosphere and lively culture of the city has made great impact on me. I always met helpfulness on both professional and personal level. I have enjoyed the exhibitions and other cultural programs some of which were organized by the Association of One to World.

The Fulbright Scholar Program has been a wonderful opportunity, it has enriched my scientific background. Since I have returned to Hungary, I shared my experiences with my colleagues, and fellow Fulbrighters at my university. Working on the resources I have collected, I have built some results of my research and the new literature in my MA- and PhD courses.

Last but not least, I would like to thank for the generous support of the Hungarian Bureau of Fulbright Commission, whose staff members helped me during the preparations and throughout the whole period.