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Hear the Ringing of the Bells ...

EPF

On June 4th, 1920, promptly at 10:00 am, every church bell in Hungary began to toll, as for a funeral. (Since the signing of the treaty had been **scheduled** for that time, everyone assumed that it had taken place then. Hence the timing. **Actually, the official signing took place at 4:30 pm, that day.**)

The Hungarian Catholic Bishops' Conference, as well as the Presidential Council of the Reformed Church's Synod have called for the ringing of their church bells at 4:30 pm on June 4th of this year, for the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Trianon. The current Mayor of Budapest has asked all means of transportation to stop at that time for one minute in silent tribute.

On June 4th, 1920, promptly at 10:00 am, every church bell in Hungary began to toll, as for a funeral.

D-O-N-G ...

... for the 3.5 million Hungarians who would now be living outside the country's new borders, 1.5 million of them just on the other side of those new borders

D-O-N-G ...

... for the 71.5% of the land now divided up among Romania (31.4%), Yugoslavia (19.5%), Czechoslovakia (19.2%), and smaller territories to Austria (!!!), Italy and Poland

D-O-N-G...

.. for the 90% of Hungary's natural resources which were given away –

100% of her salt deposits

100% of her gold and silver mines

95% of her water power

88% of her timber

85% of her iron deposits

65% of her navigable waterways

63% of her arable land

**56% of her industrial plants
Fiume, her only outlet to the sea**

D-O-N-G ...

... not to mention the thousand-year cultural heritage, which produced for example the Bólyai egyetem (university) of Kolozsvár, whose roots went back to 1581; the cathedral of Kassa, whose origins go back to the 13th century, and many more; or the natural attractions, such as Apatin, with its unique nature preserve boasting some 280 species of birds, some of them very rare, or Aggtelek with its stalactite caverns, or Békás szoros (gorge).

D-O-N-G ...

... and the bells tolled relentlessly ...

D-O-N-G ...

... for hours ...

... in the 28.5% of the country left to them!

P.S. Here is a snippet from Remig A. Papp's (my Dad's) diary of the time.

"June 4, 1920, Friday. They are signing the peace today. It's a gray, rainy day. As I stepped out of the subway to see about my free (refugee student's) lunch, I met a long, quiet march on Andrassy út. Refugees were marching in a silent demonstration. At ten o'clock, the streetcars stopped for 10 minutes."

Trianon monument in Füzesabony (from Köz-térkép - szoborlap.hu - posted by Kiss Katalin - used by permission)



Minden a másé / Everything belongs to someone else

Mihály László Barna

Written by a young man after the Treaty of Trianon had torn his ancestral land of Transylvania from Hungary and annexed it to Romania. "Everything is someone else's", he laments. Although it was his forebears who had cleared the forest, the family manse and property had become the booty of foreigners; as he writes, not even a flowerpot's amount of soil has remained his. And yet, although he is now a "begging singer", in exile, he blesses the memory of his ancestors whose blood, desires and hunger he has inherited.

**Másé a föld, másé a birtok,
Az erdő, hol ősöm fejszéje írtott,
Másé a nagy kert, az ősi ház;
Örökségünkben jött-ment nép tanyáz.**

**Minden másé: prédája idegennek,
A napjaink csak vánszorogva mennek,
A romlás vége minket ért utol;
Egyéb nincs: pár ékszer s kopott butor.**

**Nagyapó jól élt, unokája böjtöl:
Még annyi sem maradt nekünk a földből,
Amennyit befogad egy virágcserep –
Nemes apák fia jobbágy – cseléd.**

**Vánszorgok számúzótn, meggyötörten,
Csak vérük, vágyuk, éhük örököltem –
Mint koldus nótás mégse szórok átkot:
Övék vagyok, legyen emléük áldott.**



Mihály László Barna (1902-1977), poet, novelist and journalist, was born in Székelyudvarhely, Transylvania. Following World War I he went to Budapest, where he obtained a teaching degree in Hungarian and history. He married Jánossy Margit, a writer. He was a contributor to many literary journals, including "Pásztortűz" and "Erdélyi Helikon". He wrote under the pseudonym "Pasquino".

His poems are marked by Catholic ethics, love of his Székely homeland and homesickness. This poem is taken from his slim volume of poetry entitled „Hazavágyom” (I Long to be Home) published by the Marosszék section of the Székely Egyetemi és Főiskolai Hallgatók Egyesülete in Budapest in 1926.

Magyar Treasures

*This time we present you a bouquet of four of our Treasures, to provide a sample of our cultural heritage that we lost as a result of the dictated Treaty of Trianon. They are the **Cathedral of Kassa (Kosice today)** in the North, the **coffered church ceiling of Técső** in Subcarpathia, the **University of Kolozsvár** in Transylvania, and the **city of Nándorfehérvár (today's Belgrade)**.*

The Cathedral of Kassa

Kassa, the ancient city in the northern part of the Carpathian Basin (*Felvidék*), was annexed after World War I, with a stroke of a pen in Trianon, to the newly created Czechoslovakia, and renamed Kosice 100 years ago. It was the birthplace and life-long love of the famous writer Márai Sándor who bemoaned the city's alienation all his life.

In the center of Oldtown, on the central stretch of the main street stands a cathedral, dedicated to *St. Elizabeth of Árpádház* (also known as *St. Elizabeth of Hungary*). In the 13th century, there was a Romanesque style church in its place, which burnt down in 1378. The city could not escape becoming the object of dynastic disputes, and was besieged in 1491, leaving the future cathedral under reconstruction severely damaged. Yet, after all calamities, the enlarged version built in the Gothic style, including the triptych of the main altar, was finished in 1520. In 1556, another fire de-

stroyed much of the city, not sparing the majestic structure. In later years it was repaired, as necessary.

The church did not belong always to the Catholics. Due to the intervention of Bocskai István, the Lutheran majority of the city could use it from 1604 on. In 1671, the Catholics repossessed it, then the Lutherans did, in 1682. Ultimately, in 1687 an imperial military group took it from the Lutherans and rededicated it to the Catholics, whose place of worship it has been since.

Restorations following yet another fire that damaged the Cathedral in 1775 resulted in the northern (Zsigmond) tower gaining its final form with the Baroque helmet and sightseeing gallery. Finally, between 1877 and 1896, the whole Cathedral was rebuilt correcting structural failures, designed in the neo-gothic style by Steindl Imre, architect of the Parliament building in Budapest. The unfinished southern (Mátyás) tower obtained its current look in 1904.

In course of the final stages of reconstruction under Steindl Imre, a crypt was built under the northern nave. On October 29th, 1906, the ashes of *Rákóczi Ferenc II* (leader of the 1703-1711 Freedom Fight against the Austrian Habsburgs) were repatriated from Rodosto, Ottoman Empire, where he had died in exile in 1735. His marble coffin is permanently decorated with an abundance of red-white-green ribbons. The coffin of his mother, Zrinyi Ilona and of his son, *Rákóczi József* are also in the crypt, as well as several of his adjutants and fellow exiles. The entrance to the crypt is located on the north side of the church, and the approach is through a tight flight of stairs. The crypt is open

to visitors, even with optional Hungarian guides, as is the tower of the cathedral.

The main entrance to the cathedral is on the west side, between the two towers. The gable and the wall above the entrance are richly decorated with sculptures depicting scenes from the Bible and the lives of saints.

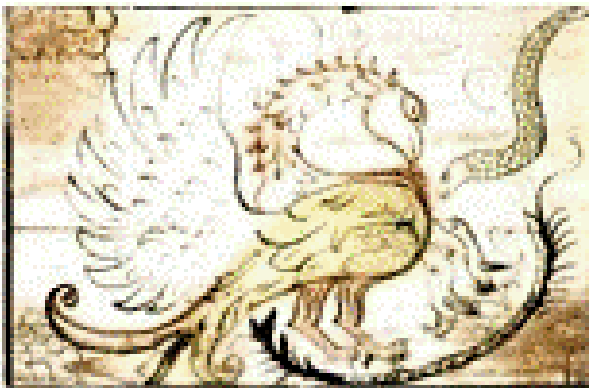
The Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Cathedral of Kassa is one of the most characteristic and beautiful ones of Europe. It is a living history book of the city's past and present, facing a hopeful, long and bright future.

Olga Vállay Szokolay



Cathedral of St. Elizabeth, Kassa; tomb of Rákóczi Ferenc (from Wikipedia).

Técső



Técső center (from magyarország-szép.hu, used by permission); one panel of Técső's coffered church ceiling (photo: Horváth Zoltán György, used by permission)

The history of the Subcarpathian town of Técső goes back to the age of Árpád, who led the Hungarian tribes into the Carpathian Basin in the 9th century. (His dynasty lasted until 1301.) Técső was first mentioned in documents dating from 1329. Rusyns began to settle there only in the 18th century. In 1910, fewer than one fifth of its inhabitants (855 out of a total of 4,482) were Rusyns.

King Károly Róbert (reigned 1308-1342) granted the town special privileges, together with several other cities that had salt mines. Straddling the Tisza River, it was strategically located for the shipping of the salt produced in its mines.

Técső's church was built in the 13th century. With the Reformation, the

population and its church became Calvinist (Presbyterian). A coffered ceiling, typical of Hungarian Protestant churches, was added in 1748 - see the panel in the attached collage. (We will devote more attention to coffered church ceilings in a future issue.) The church was recently renovated with the financial support of the Hungarian government, and was rededicated in November 2019.

So why are we mentioning Técső now? Because this city, rich in Hungarian history, was one of many Hungarian communities **divided by the Treaty of Trianon**. The larger part, on the right bank of the Tisza, is in Ukraine now (called Tiachiv in Ukrainian), while the part on the left bank belongs to Romania (called Teceu Mare in Romanian). The one and **only border crossing** is at Máramarossziget, 191 km – **about 119 miles! – away.**

EPF

The Royal Hungarian Franz Joseph University of Kolozsvár

Years ago, at a lecture by one of my father's friends, Professor Lukács János, I remember him saying that the greatest mistake of the Hungarian people was not being able to populate sufficiently the Carpathian Basin. If we had had a higher birth rate over the centuries, the justifications used at the Treaty of Tri-

anon to carve up the country would not have been valid.

In addition to the personal tragedies for those Hungarians who instantly found themselves in a different country (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia) in June of 1920, with different laws and official languages, there were also spiritual tragedies, among them loss of the *Royal Hungarian Franz Joseph University of Kolozsvár*, Transylvania.

Originally, in 1581 the *Jesuit Academy of Kolozsvár* was established by Báthory István, Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland. In 1603, during the three-month reign of the Unitarian Székely Mózes as Prince of Transylvania, the Jesuits were expelled, and the university closed in 1606. It was reestablished in 1698, but was later transformed into the *Universitas Claudio-politana* in 1753. Due to political intrigues, the Jesuits were again expelled in 1773 when the Pope dissolved their Order. Then, by 1786, this university became a secular combination secondary school and college. A century later a new university was formed out of the remnants of these 2 institutions.

In 1870, there was only one modern university in the Hungarian part of the recently formed Austro-Hungarian Empire (in Budapest), compared to 5 in the other regions. As a result of this, Eötvös József, the Minister of Religion and Education in Hungary proposed the creation of a second university in Kolozsvár. There was a slight delay due to the death of Eötvös József in early 1871 after a brief illness. But his successor, Pauler Tivadar, sought and won the direct approval of Emperor Franz Joseph for the establishment of the new *Royal Hungarian University*, which officially began its operation on November 11th, 1872 with 258 stu-



Royal Francis Joseph University, Kolozsvár (from Wikipedia)

dents and 39 professors in the fields of Legal and Political Studies, Medicine, Philosophy and Sciences.

The early years were a little difficult due to a lack of funding, but this all changed on January 4th, 1881 when

Hungarian Franz Joseph University. By 1885, the student body grew to 500, then passed 1,000 in 1898, eventually reaching 2,500. The university also earned a reputation for its excellence in mathematics and became known as the "Göttingen of the Monarchy", after the very prestigious *Georg August University* of Göttingen in Germany.

On Christmas Eve of 1918, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Romanian forces took control of the city of Kolozsvár. The university continued on through the following semester, but after a little less than 47 years, it closed its doors as a Hungarian language institution by Romanian mandate. In the mid-fall of that year it reopened as a Romanian university. Only those who could speak Romanian well and had been residents of Kolozsvár prior to 1914 could stay. This disqualified many, so a large number of students and faculty left for Budapest to reestablish the university there. Those left behind also followed in 1920 after the Treaty of Trianon officially ceded Transylvania to Romania.



Bolyai János (painting by Márkos Ferenc) (from Wikipedia)

the name was changed by permission of the Emperor to the *Royal*

cated to city of Szeged after numerous requests by the mayor of the city. During WWII, the university was reestablished in Kolozsvár. After the war, it became the *Bolyai University*, which lasted for 14 years. Today, the *Babes-Bolyai University* with over 40,000 students stands in its place. It is named after Romanian bacteriologist, Viktor Babeş, and Hungarian mathematicians, Bolyai Farkas and his son János (a mathematical genius who in the 19th century had developed absolute geometry). By all estimates it is a very good university, but just not the same. Imagine today if the entire faculty and students of Princeton or Yale would have to pack up and start all over again in a city hundreds of miles away.

Charles Bálint Jr.

Nándorfehérvár

Located at the confluence of the Danube and the Száva Rivers, Nándorfehérvár came under Hungarian rule in the 11th and 12th centuries (although for some 20 years in the 15th century it fell under Serbian rule). Back in Hungarian hands, the Turks first besieged it in 1440, but were driven back.

After taking Constantinople in 1453, the Turks returned in 1456, and under Mohammed II, pushed into Europe with an immense army, with the aim of destroying Christianity and the West. On their march up the Balkans, Nándorfehérvár was their obvious next target. It controlled the southern end of the Danube in Hungary and with it, the entrance into the Carpathian Basin. Unless the Turks could be stopped at this point, nothing would prevent them from overflowing into the rest of Europe and wiping out Christianity there.

In the fall of 1922, the faculty relo-

Hungary had not yet recovered from



*Nándorfehérvár fortifications; confluence of the Danube and Száva Rivers
(both from magyarország-szép.hu, used by permission)*

the Mongolian invasion of 1241-42, which had literally decimated the population and laid the country waste. Politically, everyone was pulling in a different direction, and there was no hope that the country could detain the Turks alone. Pope Callistus III had called for a crusade to stop the Moslem onslaught, and the Franciscan friar John Capistrano had preached it for several months. In Hungary itself, 40,000 men pledged themselves to join. But they were scattered throughout the country, and the Turks advanced at such a fast pace, that they arrived a whole month before they were expected. Desperate appeals by Hunyadi János (the military genius of the time) and John Capistrano to potentates, prelates and barons of Europe brought only promises.

On June 29th, 1456, the Pope issued a "bull", a papal document calling for the ringing of church bells and prayers (the Angelus) at noon, in every church, in every country, to plead for victory over the Turks. It became known as "the Turk bell".

Some sources place the number of well-armed Turkish troops at 150,000, with many cannons and a fleet of ships. They were opposed by the ragtag Hungarian "army",

estimated to have numbered around 18,000, consisting of peasants, priests, students, monks and tradesmen, armed with bows and arrows, scythes, pitchforks and slingshots. It was a real David-and-Goliath scenario.

The attack began on July 15th, 1456. The Hungarians released into the current boats loaded with sand, which crashed into the Turkish ships and caused much confusion among the enemy. At the same time, some 40 well-armed boats attacked the Turkish fleet from the rear, incapacitating the fleet, and opening up the river crossings.

Capistrano joined Hunyadi in defending the city, which the Turks bombarded for a week; at the end of which Hunyadi wrote: "Nándorfehérvár no longer deserves the name of stronghold. It lies open on all sides."

The decisive battle occurred on July 22nd. The Turks broke through the walls into the city. Desperate hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The city seemed to be lost, when the Hungarians resorted a measure which had once before saved the city: large quantities of brushwood, saturated with powder, pitch, sulphur and other flammables were set on fire and hurled down upon the onrush-

ing Turks. This was the turning point of the battle.

The Turks fled, leaving many dead and fatally wounded behind. Inside of three weeks, Mohammed had lost 40,000 of his best soldiers. He marched off in the middle of the night, for fear of being pursued. **Hungary – and western Europe! – had been saved, without the rest of Europe contributing anything to their own safety!** Seventy years would pass before the Turks would renew their deadly onslaught on Hungary and western civilization.

Hunyadi died of the pestilence which broke out, caused by the thousands of unburied corpses. He died on August 11th. Capistrano held out until October, and died on the 23rd. (It was **exactly 500 years to the day** later that another freedom fight, that of 1956, broke out!)

Bells have been rung at noon ever since, in churches around the world.

And the historic city of Nándorfehérvár, bastion of freedom, was also cut off Hungary by the dictated Treaty of Trianon. It has been called Belgrade since then.

The Day Hungary Was "Crucified"

The following is an eyewitness story, but it is based on the mistaken assumption by all concerned that the Treaty of Trianon was signed at 10 am on June 4th, 1920. While the signing *had been scheduled for 10 am*, it did not actually take place until 4:30 in the afternoon.

(These excerpts from the recollections of Viktor Padányi, a noted Hungarian historian, have been taken from *The Spirit of Hungary*, by Stephen Sisa, Rákóczi Foundation, 1983, pp. 227-228)

"One or two minutes after ten o'clock ... the church bells began to toll, first in Budapest, and then, as the news spread with electrifying speed, in every town and village throughout the stricken nation. For two hours, until noon, the bells would continue to toll as the Magyars buried their past – and their future..."

"Within minutes Budapest was dressed in black. Within minutes black flags of mourning waved sadly from every flagpole, the black bunting reserved for funerals hung from the windows. The streets darkened as thousands of people turned out in black - men, women and children moving slowly along, their faces streaming with tears, sometimes sobbing out loud... At one corner of the Octagon plaza, a maimed soldier tore off his jacket and, pointing to the stump of his arm which had been severed at the elbow, he cried out: "For this?"

"...At the time these events took place, I was a boy of fourteen, in my fourth year of secondary school. At ten o'clock that day, my class in botany was about to begin, and the tall spare figure of Demjén Kovách, our teacher, appeared at the door, promptly as usual. He walked to the podium, signed the class log, but instead of calling on us to answer our homework assignments, as he usually did, he leaned his whole body forward, his head down, for one very long minute... and then the bells began to toll. Demjén Kovách then straightened, went over to the cabinet which held the maps, removed the map that still bore the legend 'Political Map of the Countries of the Magyar Holy Crown', and hung it up all this - without a single word.

"Then he stood before it, a little to the side so as not to cover it from our view, and as he gazed at it his ever-stern expression softened to an ineffable tenderness such as we had never seen before. In deadly silence we, too, looked at that map and at that figure that stood before it, that graying Cistercian priest, as his head sank ever lower unto his chest. And as the tolling of the church bells drifted in from outside in the deepening stillness, he said, more to himself than to any of us, in Latin: *'Consummatum est.'* ('It is done.')

"There were fifty-four of us in that class, fifty-four fourteen-year-old Magyar boys. After these last words of Christ on Golgotha, we all bowed our heads onto our desks and began to cry.

**"Outside the bells continued to toll. The day of Hungary's 'crucifixion' was June 4, 1920.
"A Friday..."**



The dismemberment of historic Hungary.
From: The Spirit of Hungary, by Stephen Sisa, published by the Rákóczi Foundation, 1983, p.228. Used by permission).

Signing The Peace of Trianon

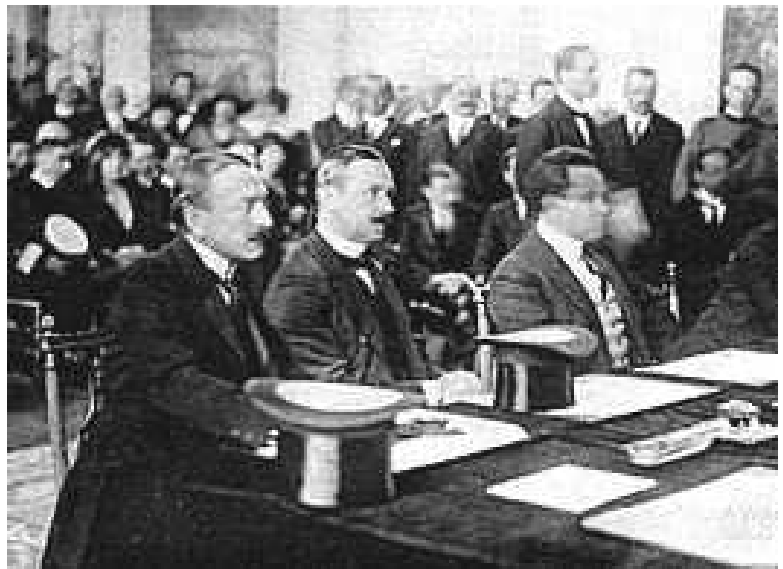
The first part is taken from the June 1991 issue of Magyar Cserkész. The second part comes from Bernád Ágoston's reminiscences of the event, as published in Wikipedia.

After the end of World War I, the (Hungarian) peace treaty was signed at the Trianon Palace on the outskirts of Paris.

Count Apponyi Albert, head of the Hungarian peace delegation, the best orator of his time, delivered his speech in defense of the justice of Hungary's cause in French, English and Italian. It was not his fault that it was unsuccessful.

Attending him were the two chief delegates, Count Bethlen István, the most outstanding politician of his time who later became Prime Minister, and the geographer (Count) Teleki Pál. Both were fully aware that we could fight against the peace terms only with geographic and ethnographic arguments.

Contrary to every accepted diplomatic practice, the members of the Hungarian peace delegation were treated like prisoners, which was not only degrading but also meant a tremendous disadvantage, since they could contact neither French politicians nor the press. Arguments may influence even a very biased person, but they would not even deign to speak with us. As a result, the peace delegation could only produce memoranda – they even took along a printing press for this purpose – but the documents were not even read by the French foreign office!



Although everyone in Hungary considered the peace terms to be horribly unjust, they knew that they could not refuse to sign, because that could lead to much worse consequences. The Hungarian government chose a unique way to show the world that it only yielded to raw force. The document was signed in Trianon on June 4th, 1920 by two totally insignificant persons entirely without power and holding no office who, neither before or after, played any role in Hungarian history. They were Drasche-Lázár Alfréd and Bernád Ágoston, who endorsed his signature with his signet ring. In his memoirs, Bernád relates that he had taken the penholder he used for the signing – they still wrote with a steel pen at the time – from his hotel, and threw it away afterwards so that no relic of this calamitous event would remain.

The two Hungarian signatories

On the 10th anniversary of the signing, in 1930, Bernád Ágoston recalled the event thus: "They received us in dead silence, and we took our places amidst general attention. President Millerand announced that the Hungarian delegates would now sign the peace accord. The master of ceremonies stepped to me first, and asked me to sign the peace. He courteously offered me a seat.

"I thanked him, and courteously declined the ceremonial pen. Standing, almost not even looking, I signed it in a perfunctory manner with a rusty, soft wood pen I had found on the hotel's table



which I had brought with me, then stamped it with my family signet ring. Then I left the pen on the table. Next, my fellow authorized representative, Drasche-Lázár Alfréd signed it. (Praznovszky Iván, later ambassador to Paris, Secretary-General of the Hungarian peace delegation, had offered me, back in the hotel, a rather ornate pen which they had sent from Budapest for this purpose. Interestingly they guard this pen in the War History Museum, with which we supposedly had signed the peace treaty, but I informed the head of the museum that I did not use that one!)

"I wanted to document, with my whole deportment that I, on my part, do not attribute further importance to the signature forced upon us, that personally, and primarily as regards my nation, I do not consider it a ceremonial act but a humiliating act that had been forced on us, and thus would not be binding."

(from Wikipedia)

Excerpts from Count Albert Apponyi's Memoirs of the So-Called Trianon "Peace Negotiations"

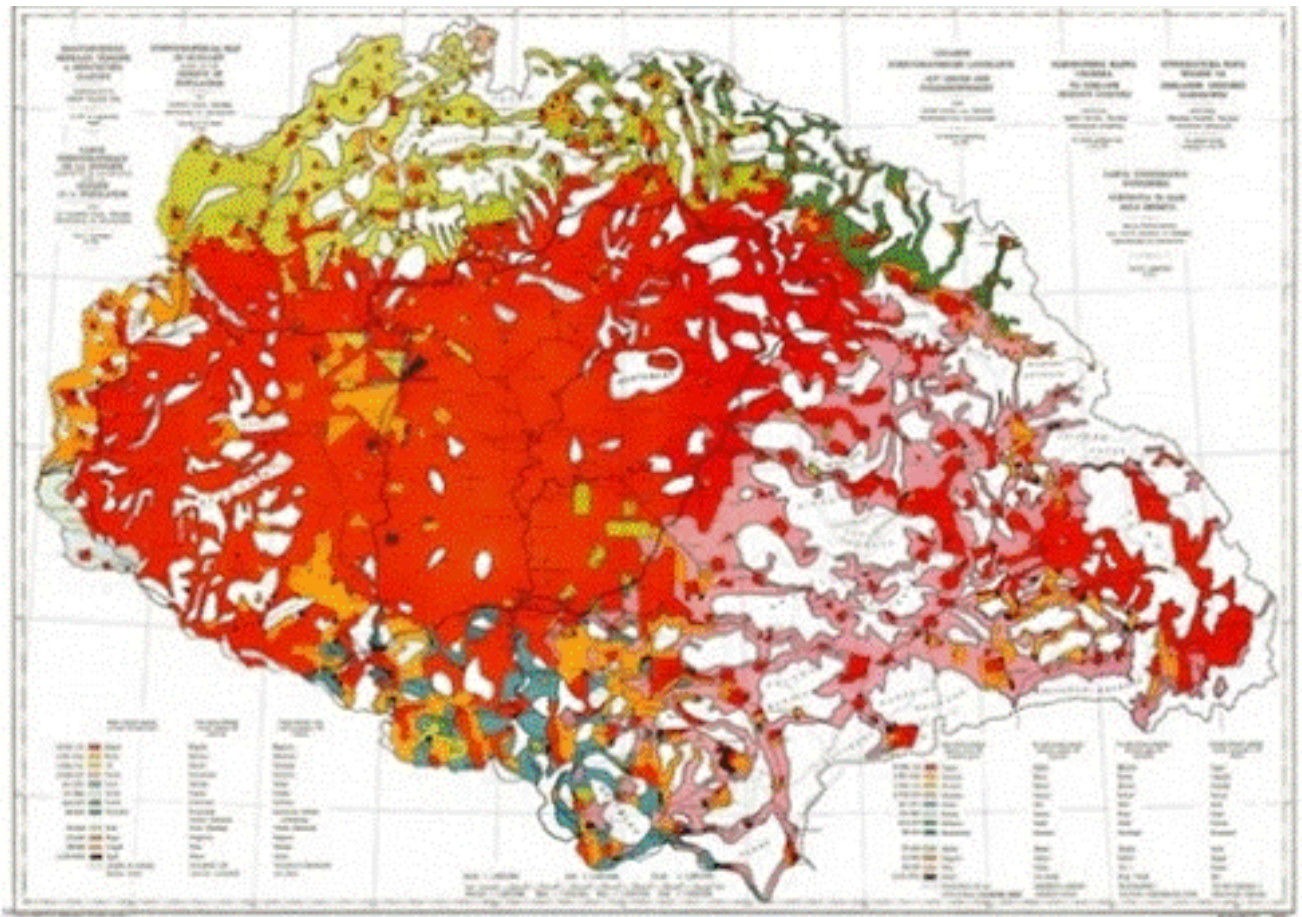
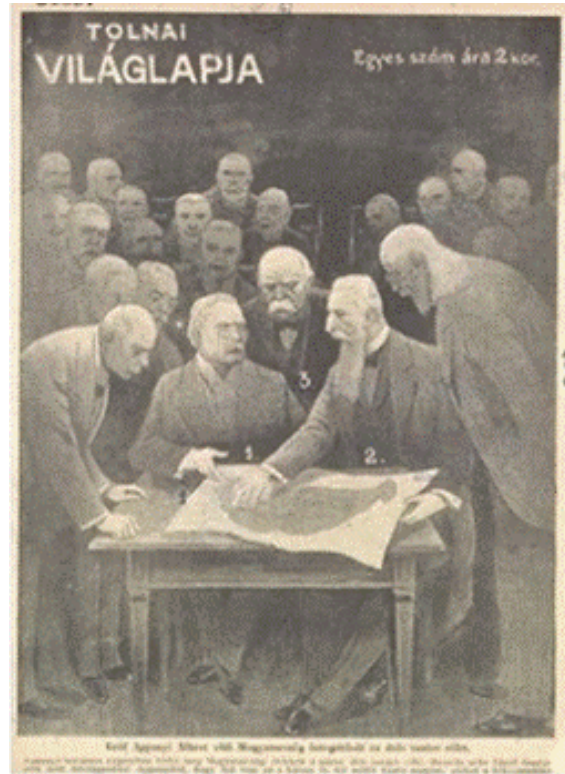
Count Albert Apponyi, born in 1846, became a member of the Hungarian Parliament in 1872, a leader of the "united opposition", and served as Speaker of the House of Representatives and Minister of Education. After the end of World War I, he was chosen to head the Hungarian delegation to the Paris "Peace Conference" in January of 1920. Upon its arrival, the delegation was immediately placed under house arrest, and only on account of his age (74) was Count Apponyi allowed to take brief walks, with a police escort.

Admitted to the Peace Conference only on the last day, he presented Hungary's position in English and French – to no avail, because the members of the Conference had already "intended Hungary to be a scapegoat and sacrifice", according to French diplomat Henri Pozzi.

"...The 5th of January (1920) arrived; the Hungarian peace delegation was rather numerous, as it was expected that a written reply would have to be worked out to the so-called 'peace offer', which would require, in addition to the main delegates, a group of experts as well as corresponding technical personnel.

"Our party was transported to Paris by a special train, the decent composition of which was a difficult task for the ransacked Hungarian national railways (*the Romanian occupying forces had taken away most of Hungary's rolling stock. Ed.*), which had not even begun the work of reconstruction. But it was accomplished, and our train looked as if normal conditions existed; all travelers were comfortably provided for, and even a Pullman car was found, which could serve as a conference room even during the trip...

"Following a 48-hour railway trip, we arrived in Paris in the early hours of January 7th. It had been planned so our separate train would find a deserted railroad station. A small military commission met us – we called them our prison guard... Accommodations had been provided for us in Neuilly, in a suburb of Paris in the middle of the Bois de Boulogne, at the Chateau de



Count Albert Apponyi (painting by Fülöp László, early 1930s); Count Apponyi displaying the map to the conference participants; he ethnographic (so-called "red") map.

Madrid, a hotel used to shelter less serious guests during the beautiful part of the year...

"I received an invitation to come to the Quai d'Orsay to accept the peace terms before noon on one of the following days. Of course we arrived punctually at the designated time, and were led into a spacious waiting room, from which a door opened directly onto the hall where the High Commission was already assembled and the proceedings were to take place...

"Once we all sat down, (*French Prime Minister Georges*) Clemenceau addressed some words to me, which were nothing more than the announcement that 'the peace terms suggested for Hungary' (*'le traité de paix proposé à la Hongrie'*) would be handed over. The handing over followed immediately by a higher official. I noted with inner bitterness the euphemism used by Clemenceau, when he spoke of a 'suggested peace offer', while we knew only too well that it was a dictated treaty...

"He said, 'You have requested to make an oral presentation about the position of Hungary to the High Commission. The High Commission has unanimously decided to accede to your request. Of course there can be no discussion...'

"My reply was, 'I thank you, Mr. President, for the High Commission's accommodation, but I must remark that there is a misunderstanding here, because what I had wanted was not so much an oral presentation as rather an oral discussion... I ask that at least two days be granted to us so we may learn the provisions of the peace treaty... The other members of the Council agreed with a nod to see us on the third day at the same time...'

"I naturally gave the most careful attention to the preparation of my explanation in which I had to demonstrate the total monstrosity of the peace proposals planned for us. I strove to build up the many things I had to say in as brief a form as possible, as clearly as possible; but I did not write an outline, either in French or in English (the two languages in which, I presumed, I would have to speak); I could not compose myself either to write or dictate.

"Only the framework of the talk was prepared, the text would have to come during my presentation, based on the inspiration of the moment, fed by the magnetic contact with the audience, should it be possible to win one.

"I also determined the keynote which should permeate the lecture; no sentimentality, no complaining, no appeal to the generosity of the victorious powers, no kind of emotional expression at all; instead, a dry presentation of the facts, as clearly as possible; their own pathos would have to work...

"As I stepped into the hall at the appointed hour, I once again felt very strongly the uniqueness of the situation. I was to speak to an audience among whom there was not the smallest fraction of sympathizing elements, an audience of enemies in the technical sense of the word, mostly hostile with a small sprinkling of indifferent participants...

"The arrangement of the hall robbed me of the possibility of looking into the face of that part of the audience among whom I presumed a less hostile bias, the British, the Italians and the Japanese; I stood face to face with only Clemenceau and his staff, and this portion of the audience could not, or would not, disguise their unfriendly attitude at the beginning of my presentation. I had before me some serious, malevolent faces, other mocking smiling ones, I could not doubt with what sort of prejudice my words would be received...

"I began without any introduction, with the declaration that the peace terms were totally unacceptable for us and that I would prove this on the major provisions. I noted immediately that this dry tone, avoiding all sentimentality, surprised at least that part of my listeners whose im-

pression I could observe, and worked favorably on their disposition...

"A large portion of my exposition was devoted to establishing how totally mistaken the territorial provisions of the Trianon Treaty were from the ethnographic point of view; that the provisions in this regard were a punch in the face of the nationality principle, which served as its pretense...

"Clemenceau gave (*British Prime Minister David*) Lloyd George the floor, and he called on me to go into greater detail about the distribution of the nationalities which I had mentioned in the course of my talk, specifically, of the Magyars in the territories detached from Hungary... Fortunately, I was prepared for such questions; I had Paul Teleki's excellent ethnographic map of Hungary with me, and with this, went to Lloyd George's seat, where all the main representatives hurried, and listened to my explanation with their heads together over the map...

"I heard that, at the end of this session, some rather sharp statements were made by the British, who were brought into the unpleasant situation of being participants in such constructional mistakes. (*Italian Prime Minister Orlando*) Nitti even made a serious attempt to bring about a change of the most absurd provisions; but he too had to give way to the argument that the whole house of cards of the peace treaties would collapse if any change were to be allowed...

"At the end of my French-English exposition, after which, out of courtesy, I addressed a few words to the Italian delegation in their own language, Clemenceau turned to me: 'You will have noted with what tense attention the entire High Commission followed your exposition; you will certainly not expect us to take a stand immediately with regard to your information... we look forward to the written reply of the Hungarian delegation and request that you tell us when a counterstatement may be expected.' I asked for four weeks..."

(The Delegation returned to Budapest with the terms of the "peace treaty". Ed.)

"We went to work immediately. The situation was discussed in detail with the political notables of all parties, and with the collaboration of the best experts in all branches of public life, several volumes of a detailed exposition of the injustices and shortcomings of the projected contract that had been shared with us were worked out. We started on our second trip to Paris on February 21st and handed over our voluminous Memorandum to the High Commission immediately upon our arrival..."

(But all their work was in vain. Without even reading the Memorandum, the Triple Entente rejected it on May 6th. – The Hungarian Parliament ratified the treaty on November 15th, 1920, as described by Count Apponyi below.):

"The day of the tragic session of the National Assembly arrived, at which the treaty of Trianon had to be ratified. No one who took part in this ceremony at the Parliament will ever forget it; the businesslike dryness of the proceeding heightened the shocking effect of the event. A minority protested the ratification and left the hall; the remaining majority remained silent, when the President asked the question whether the Assembly agreed to the ratification. The President noted that no objection had been raised, and the ratification would have to be regarded as settled. Driven by an overpowering instinct, the entire Assembly rose and intoned the Hungarian national anthem; the voices in the gallery blended with those of the representatives. No eye remained dry..."

This is a translation from the German version of Count Apponyi's speech, as found in *Ungarns Geschichte und Kultur in Dokumenten*, Wiesbaden, 1955.

Translated by EPF

(Parliament publicized the treaty only on July 26th, 1921, when it was passed as Statute #XXXIII.)