

# Reviewing the difficulties of Hungarian higher education in the first quarter of the 20th century and the role of university youth after the 'Great War'

A newsreel supported pragmatic survey

#### Abstract

The basic idea of this paper was generated by some motion pictures shot on October events of 1918. This, at that time fundamentally novel media of mass communication can be considered as a visual interpretation of the moral behavior and the role attributed to the contemporary university youth in the series of revolutions after the 'Great War'. Young people, many of them from universities, collected shocking experiences in the war that generated their moral and behavioral transition. At the time of the turn of the century there were development processes initiated in the Hungarian higher education, however, the war caused a break in these processes and, there were also certain structural changes introduced during and immediately after the end of the war which resulted in chaotic circumstances that kept on deepening the stress of students. Both the traditional press together with other printed documents and the contemporary newsreel have provided us with the sources being necessary and enough for making an attempt to answer, in what here follows, the questions: how the drastically changed, consequently chaotic situation within the Hungarian higher education along with the declined activity of student associations influenced the students, as well as how the most highlighted phenomena, such as the impact of war on everyday life and economy, the emergence and spread of violence, the reactions to the increased admission of female and Jewish students at universities affected the entire society and within this the university circumstances immediately after the armistice, and why the violence, radicalization, and "brutalization" of the so-called "war generation" became featuring at demonstrations. Keywords: student demonstration, university youth, higher education, Great War,

newsreel, "brutalization" of the society

#### Introduction

In particular the domestic situation and social processes, having importance even in international concern, had not only brought the university students to the forefront of the first years' evolution of events after the 'Great War', but attributed them a decisive role both in the outbreak and in the character formation process of revolutions in the course of the era. The participation in the war, and then the general social shock following the defeat, did not save either the young people who returned intact or only with minor injuries from battlefields and tried to find the environment they had been forced to leave for a longer or shorter period of time due to the war. Under the drastically changed socio-economic conditions, these endeavors could obviously not be achieved smoothly. For many young people, the experiences of the war resulted in such moral manifestations that differed significantly from previous social norms. In this moral transformation, from the point of view of university youth it was obvious and was apparently considered a substantial reason, that by returning from the fronts, they had got to face the rather chaotic conditions within the remained frames of the post-war Hungarian higher education when they were searching for opportunities to continue or complete their studies interrupted due to joining up to the army. As the student life and the education background system cannot be separated from each other, the present study attempts to explore and discuss some of the difficulties emerged during the given development period of the Hungarian higher education together with the situation and role of university youth, with special attention to the social processes during the first years after the war. In order to overview and analyze most of these circumstances, in addition to the printed press with a long tradition and other archive documents, the use of which is unavoidable even today, we used a lot of motion pictures of historical source value, which were although still in a trying phase, but with good foresight at that time and carefully preserved for the posterity.

At the same time, it should be noted here that the aim of the paper is neither the analysis of "the film", nor the dissection of epoch-making or general socio-economic-cultural significance of the newsreel. With the help of the remained (and in the meantime reworked for viewable)<sup>2</sup> copies of picture strips of contemporary newsreels, we only wanted to emphasize how well a version of a socially important act, event, or process, preserved in the form of a motion picture, could be used for the analysis

and better understanding a historical period under review. That is, in our study, we used the film, or more precisely, certain elements of newsreel serving informational purposes, only as a novel source material for the historian examining the given age.

# Emergence of newsreel as a reporting media

"The revolution is starting off" – Only a few but rather expressive words that had been used as title by Hungarian newsreel series recording such events that were not uncommon in major European cities in the course of 1918.<sup>3</sup> By this time, the newsreel had already gained relevance even in Hungary and was striving to faithfully convey important events to a wider and wider layer of the audience. According to the technical standards of the era these silent films were showing exalted masses of soldiers, policemen, and civilians occupying Budapest's public spaces to demonstrate for peace during the last hours of the frantic and long-lasting war. Beside the printed press the series of motion pictures reflected better the increasing excitement, and then a short insert text informed the audience about the following events, such as: "The university youth breaks through the police and military cordon on the Lánchíd [Chain Bridge]".<sup>4</sup>

The contemporary newsreel cinematographer was well aware that the "protagonist" of the event was the university youth, although in these cases we cannot literally speak of "youth". Seeing the pictures, it was namely obvious that there were several demonstrators in the crowd called "university youth" who had already been far beyond their twenties. This could partly be explained by the fact that in 1918 those former students were in the vanguard of demonstrations for peace who got out to the front after breakingoff their university studies.

For this reason, at that time the Hungarian "university youth" meant a much more heterogeneous mass in terms of age, and, from the point of view of political participation, this layer constituted not only an active but also a more aggressive mass as compared to the previous generations. This was true, even in spite that it had not been unique already in the years before the World War, that the university students expressed their political opinion in the form of street demonstrations at that time. However, the events in fall of 1918 had been generated by fundamentally different motivations and circumstances, primarily the demand for peace,

which were made particularly interesting by the fact that "the same" social class, i.e. the "university youth" demonstrated which had been enthusing about the war a few years earlier (see Fig.1).



Fig. 1: Demonstration by university students in favor of the war, 1914 (shot by Gyula Jelfy)<sup>6</sup>

## **Student demonstrations**

The youth demonstrations at the end of the war, in contrast to the previous ones, were frequently repeated and some scenes of such events were also recorded by the contemporary film reports. One of the motivating reasons for this frequency was the severity of territorial provisions of the soon aborning peace treaty, in connection of which, at that time, the "young people" could not have been sure in yet, but their foreshadow could already have been seen and felt. In light of this, it is not surprising that one of the demonstrations recorded in such a motion picture took place in front of the Danube Palace [Duna Palota], being the residence of the American Entente Committee stationed in Budapest. It is remarkable that also other similar movements took place in the frequented, elite interior public spaces of the Hungarian capital, i.e. on the Pest side.

The selection of the site for demonstrations was not accidental. The literature of modern social history has revealed that social groups in large numbers that occupy inner public spaces of a large city and temporarily expropriate them for demonstration purposes ultimately sought to suspend and controvert the power of the state and dominant social groups over these spaces (even if not necessarily wanting to do so with this intention). In this sense, these collective actions can also be interpreted as the symbolic possession and expropriation of the social space. So these we may consider not only as of attracting attention, but these are also serious phenomena at the same time. This supports the question of what motivations, in addition to the demand for just peace, were behind the fact that the "university youth" expressed their opinion so often by "symbolic space reservations" on the streets of Budapest. This is also important because, although the film news images are extremely eloquent and illustrative in terms of whirling events of those times, they do not really reflect the mental changes brought about by the 'Great War' in the life of the so-called "war generation". Their behavior recorded by contemporary newsreel reports reflected also the severe conditions of the entire Hungarian higher education caused as a clear aftermath of the 'Great War'.

# Break in the development of the Hungarian higher education

No doubt, the bloodshed of the first World War between 1914 and 1918 had caused radical changes in every sphere of life. Neither the case of the contemporary Hungarian higher education and the university youth was an exception that had suffered serious losses and changes in consequence of the 'Great War'. The situation had entailed the fact that the domestic higher education already had had to face also serious difficulties even before 1914. Whereas the currently known mass education had not been usual at that time, probably it might seem strange seeing with current eyes that there were only two "complete" universities of sciences in the country, at Budapest and Kolozsvár (now Cluj-Napoca in Romania), which struggled with severe lack of spaces due to the increasing number of students, especially in the capital.

Also another important factor has to be taken into consideration: as a consequence of the emancipation emerging at the turn of the 20th century, the gates of universities, although slowly and to a limited scope, became

opened for female students as well. All these circumstances and other social and educational policy conditions, respectively, necessitated the institutional expansion of the Hungarian higher education. As a result of long, decades lasting public debates, a decision was reached and codified on foundation of two new universities of sciences at Pozsony (now Bratislava in Slovakia) and Debrecen in 1912. The opening ceremony of the first academic year at both new universities took place in the fall of 1914, that is directly following the outbreak of the 'Great War' which obviously immediately left its mark on the outset. This circumstance spectacularly shows that the commencing bloodshed hit the Hungarian higher education in the midst of its transformation process which obviously not only blocked but significantly influenced and modified it.<sup>10</sup>

# Impact of events on university youth and higher education

The first direct impact being generally perceptible immediately after the outbreak of the war, affected the university youth. Already in the academic year of 1914/15 the headcount of enrolled students decreased significantly, by about one third. At that time the university youth, as already referred to before, over-enthused by the nationalism, received still enthusiastically the war and there were frequently demonstrations of sympathy organized with a great number of young people among the participants. It was, however, another question that the enthusiasm for such events and the journey to the front were not really sincere demonstrations of feeling in many cases, but rather the results of consumption of certain quantity of alcohols or the "bandwagon effect", 11 respectively. At the same time, it was meaningful that the students manifested their point of view not only by participation on such events: in the academic year of 1914/15 about ten thousand students had enrolled for the first semester, but in the course of the war's first year approximately one third of all students (more than three thousand young people) studying at institutions of higher education in Hungary, voluntarily joined up the army, as shown in the table below 12:

Institution	First semester of a. y. 1914/15	First semester of a. y. 1915/16	Decrease	
			Number	Proportion %
BudapestUniversity of Sciences	5 409	3 882	1 527	28,23
DebrecenUniversity of Sciences	354	290	64	18,08
KolozsvárUniversity of Sciences	1 213	703	510	42,04
PozsonyUniversity of Sciences	150	147	3	2,00
University of Technologies	1 804	993	811	44,96
Academies of Law	953	643	310	32,53
Total	9 873	6 658	3225	32,56

This circumstance had several serious consequences that determined the operation conditions of the Hungarian higher education for a long time. One of these difficulties was the interruption in training tasks of instructors combined with that of students' studies which had to be remedied in some manner later. During the final years of the war, the institutions of higher education tried to remedy the problems of students returning from the fronts by the "principle of utmost leniency", or tried to facilitate their reintegration, respectively. This meant mainly "condensed" semesters and exemption from those, however these measures, of course, caused dissatisfaction among the students pursuing regular studies and generated a chaotic situation from administrative point of view, too. Likewise, with the agreement of leaders at institutions of higher education a kind of "hero-cult" had developed at universities primarily among and around the students who had marched away to war and killed on fronts. The main purpose of this cult was to maintain the warlike atmosphere and morale among the young people pursuing studies at the higher education and to set positive examples to the "patriotic education" of later generations in the whole Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (see Fig.2).<sup>13</sup>



Fig. 2: The young cadets of Császári és Királyi Katonai Műszaki Főiskola (Imperial and RoyalMilitaryTechnicalCollege) in 1914<sup>14</sup>

Another aftermath of this chaotic situation was that the proportion of Jewish students increased dramatically between 1914 and 1918, which fact was coupled also with the process that the institutions had filled up by females their frame of student spaces at different faculties. This double occurrence was especially typical in the case of the Budapest Medical Faculty where the proportion of Jewish students exceeded 55 per cent already. This process culminated in the academic year of 1917/18 when a proportion, close to 40 per cent of the total number of students pursuing studies at Hungarian universities was of Jewish origin. <sup>15</sup> The proportion of female students showed a similarly spectacular increase: in 1914, the proportion of female students was 11 per cent at the University of Budapest, while this figure rose up to 27,4 per cent two years later. This is especially striking at the Faculty of Law where the proportion of female students was only 2,6 per cent in the year of the war's outbreak, but increased up to 11,1 per cent in 1916; this "enlargement" by female students was also spectacular in the case of the Faculty of Humanities: in 1914 the proportion of female students was near to one third, while it constituted already the half of all two years later. However, both processes, that is the proportional increase of Jewish and female students at universities (see Fig.3), had produced a strong reaction already during wartime years.



Fig. 3: Lecture at the Faculty of Medicine at University of Pécs – with some female students in the audience. The photo was taken in the year (1928) of amendment of the "numerus clausus" act restricting the proportion of female and Jewish students at universities 16

Let's mention as an example only the journal of the Debrecen University, the 'Az Egyetem' [The University], in the columns of which a heated debate had been running in the course of 1916 and 1917 on the "penetration" of women into the space of higher education and the world of science. In order to illustrate the degrading way of thinking about women, it is worth recalling one of the anti-emancipation debate articles, published in this journal, the author of which expressed and supported his thoughts as follows: "The fact that some learned professions have already been opened up to women does not really involve the need to let them, without consideration, be involved into other scientific careers, too, but rather that the benefits, have been given voluntarily so far preferably

should not expand through the lifespan of a few generations [!], at least. If half of my black coffee happens to spill on the table, I wouldn't pour out the other half in my anger, but I'd be glad instead because there was something left over that I could sip peacefully." Then he expressed his staggering view on women with following words: "The woman is just not fit for the legal profession simply because she is periodically looking at the world from another point of view regarding her sexuality and, occasionally, she does not bear responsibility for her actions, or unpredictable, at least, for a longer period. [...] Normally, the woman is not prone even to the abstract thinking. To talk about talented women is the most premature thing; but geniuses can, no doubt, also be among them, as the talent can just as easily be distributed between the two genders as the insanity." Finally, he closed his chauvinistic argument in such a manner that seems to be rather shocking from our modern perspective: "If they [women] are in possession of enough intellectual power to cope with challenges of different paths of life, so any objection is a futile attempt. But we, the men, for the sheer sake of courtesy, should not open doors for them, nor grant them with rights that must had usually been obtained by blood at other places and in another time. [...] From this, I do not want to infer that women should no longer be employed at all, especially under abnormal economic conditions, being like those of today. All I can say is that they have already had too much of opportunity to, in the literal sense, inundate scientific careers. I might as well say, without reason. [...] The bricks of the legal system, philosophy, physics, and every other discipline have been joined for a house by the sweat of men. Of course, there was no space provided for a female saloon and dressing-room in the building. It is desirable that such should not be provided even henceforth."<sup>17</sup>

The decrease in number of male students had brought about another consequence, as well, namely the profound change in social life of the university youth. In the academic year right before the war, there were 43 youth associations operating in universities and colleges of the capital. Most of them were functioning as charitable alliances, however, because of the war and recruiting for the army, their sources had diminished and, as a consequence, many organizations were unable to keep on their activities stipulated by their fundamental rules, therefore the form of social life practiced by such youth organizations had considerably declined at universities. This process can be well illustrated by the example of the left-wing Galilei Circle, that was established in 1908: in

1914 not only its growth but also its activity was stopped and the association could not even "find itself" later on. And what is more, its ephemeral existence was almost precisely the same that was a peculiar character for the organizational life of the whole university youth, namely, in the course of the academic year of 1917/18 the organizational work was revitalized right by ex-service men, however, with rather more radical content (in the case of the Galilei Circle it was of leftist). <sup>19</sup>

#### Shift towards radicalism

The 'Great War' had also several economic and social effects. As one of these the continuous inflation has to be highlighted, that has significantly worsened the financial conditions not only at institutions of higher education but also of students (note that these worsening social circumstances contributed also to the recession in the association activity as a considerable proportion of students had become passive or left the organizations because they were not able to regularly pay the membership fees).

In addition to other circumstances impeding the operation of institutions (such as extraordinary interruptions in teaching due to coal shortages and the seizure of some educational institutions for the purpose of military hospitals), it is worth mentioning the most important sociopsychological consequence, namely the moral change of youth, which, as a result of the increasing violence, especially at the end of and after the war, penetrated also into universities. The 'Great War' had become a lifelong defining experience for the members of the young generation (the so-called "war generation"), since their adulthood and socialization ended exactly in this period. During these years, violence had become a part of everyday life for them and something had definitely changed forever. This phenomenon was referred to by the related modern scientific literature as the "brutalization" of the society. 20

An illustrative example of this was given by Sándor Rejtő, Rector of the University of Technology, who, in one of his reports, described the moral change of the young generation as follows: "At the beginning of the academic year I had the regrettable experience that a not small part of our students behaved high-handed with office helpers and, what is more, with university clerks; when I called them to account for such attitude, they immediately admitted the impropriety of their behavior and explained that because of the more year service at the battle-field, as well

as being in captivity for years had made their temperament listless and their nerves unbridled to such an extent that they could hardly accept the embarrassing order."<sup>21</sup>

For this time (in the years immediately after the war) the violence that penetrated into the universities, as well, had already assumed a strong anti-Semitic character. It is well represented by the diary note of Jenő Gaál, professor at the University of Technologies, who lived in Budapest during the days following the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic; he described the university circumstances as follows: "There is an extensive antipathy being experienced towards the Jews. [...] Terrible material and moral ruins everywhere. Young people are beating the Jewish students in the university canteen and at the University of Technologies. [...] The larger-scale persecution of Jews lasted for several days. I was an eyewitness to these events at several points of the capital, but especially in front of universities." 23

This is reflected also by the petition of the Zionist Organization of Hungary submitted to the Prime Minister István Friedrich, on 22nd August 1919, according to which "a group of university youth of other religions is going to prevent the Jewish students from visiting lectures and continuing their studies at universities of sciences and at the University of Technologies, and to annihilate their course record books and registry sheets" and "the behavior manifested by Christian youth against Jewish ones has been accomplished with the knowledge and approval [!] of professorial bodies at the universities of sciences and the University of Technologies." These short citations show already even clearly all warend-time moral circumstances that were being characteristic also to universities.

It is, however, not accidental, because the mechanism of effects as concomitant and result of the outlook on life caused by the defeat, the experiences of a shrunk country and the congestion in intellectual professions had made radical changes in the young generation's political thinking and ideology. Under such circumstances it was not a coincidence at all, that a significant part of this generation had drifted to the right-wing radical direction because they had been expecting, beyond saving the country, an improvement also in their personal life from such an excessively nationalistic, Christian, anti-communist and anti-liberal ideology and policy. István Antal, the spokesman of the Gömbös-Cabinet and the Propaganda Minister later on, who started his public service as a right-wing student leader at the end of the war, described their sentiment

on life in his memoirs as follows: the youth "returning home from fronts got into a very serious, at that time, even into a hopeless, social situation in many respects. The lost war, the truncated country, thousands and thousands of our racial brothers and sisters, most of them being also intellectuals, coming in flocks from detached parts of the country, the stagnant and almost completely ceased economic life in the homeland, the inflation and fall in the value of money, as well as the ensuing unemployment and other social problems had wrapped up in dark uncertainty about the future prospects of this youth. [...] Goals like to find an employment or to make a livelihood, to establish a family had been in a remote obscurity, almost far out of reach for them, as most of them were not able even to complete their studies despite of the fact that the age of some had stepped over thirty and returned home as army officers from fronts into the civilian life with battlefield medals on their breast."

#### New student associations

The radicalization along with the spread of nationalism and anti-Semitism had created a new type of youth organization that had been without traditions in the Hungarian higher education, the so-called Fraternal Associations. The common front experiences, the sentiment of abandonment, the awareness of togetherness, the common world concept which included rejection of liberalism (along with the limitation of women's role at universities), the anti-communism, anti-Semitism, nationalism, irredentism, the search for scapegoats, as well as the thought of "changing of the guard" had almost legitimized the necessity of creating new organizational frameworks for the young generation, especially for intellectual with military service in their background. Among these organizations of new type, the Turul Association proved to be the best organized and gained the greatest influence (see Fig.4).<sup>26</sup>



Fig. 4: One of the groups of Turul Association in 1922<sup>27</sup>

The activity of the Turul Association, which had become a nationwide "network" within relatively short time, was characterized by violent behavior and tone already in the early period. For example, in Debrecen, in July 1921, the University Council discussed the complaint of two students in the faculty of arts, according to which a law student, named László Tamássy, "on behalf of the Turul Association prevented them from attending the lectures and demanded that they should abstain from visiting the lectures until the Turul Association have had screened them." István Rugonfalvi Kiss, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at that time, noted in connection with the case in point: "I find the reference to the Turul Association so serious as well as so dangerous to our university autonomy that, in my humble opinion, the University Council must, by all means, deal with the question from that point of view, whether the Turul Association [...] acted in accordance with their fundamental rules when encroached on the affairs of the university in spite of acts and decrees in force." In order to investigate the matter, the University Council set up a three-member committee with the participation of Béla Szentpéteri Kun, Dean of the Faculty of Law, István Rugonfalvi Kiss, that of the Faculty of Humanities and Professor József Erdős, which interrogated Tamássy the law student. In his confession he told: "It is absolutely true that on 7 or 8 June 1920 I appeared [...] in the room of the Faculty of Humanities next to the Rector's office, together with more students, and in their presence I put on the question whether there were Jews among them. Whereupon a female student reported that she was Jewish. I then called upon her to keep off attending the lectures until she received her certificate for that from the Turul Association." Tamássy admitted that, even in other times, he had called upon the arts students not to attend the lectures until they had justified themselves. This was the first time when the Turulists in Debrecen had sent down the Jewish students; at the same time it was characteristic to the other procedures of fraternal associations that the members operated in faculties other than their own in order that lest they were recognized. Same and more serious cases have essentially accompanied the 1920s and the 1930s as well (see Fig.5).



Fig. 5: Student riot at the University of Debrecen in 1933<sup>30</sup>

From the point of view of the new right-wing system that was formed and consolidated in the course of 1919/20, these fraternal organizations at universities were indispensable: they rendered a serious service in "making order" after the fall of the Soviet Republic, provided assistance in "clearing off" not only the students, lecturers and other employees with

communist attitude from institutions of higher education but also the personnel of similar feeling from other public authorities, administrative institutions and ministries. Between the two World Wars a "counter-revolutionary cult" was built on the remembrance of these events which also often became a recurring element of the newsreels. Later on, they played a significant role in shaping the political thinking and ideological image of intellectuals' younger generation, besides, they took a stand on actual political issues as well, which was also often reported in the contemporary newsreels. Consequently, the so-called "war generation" and the following youth demanded attention from the society, which the contemporary media gave them.<sup>32</sup>

# Summary

Based upon our non-exhaustive overview and fact-finding survey of reasons of profound changes during and after World War I, we may conclude that neither the Hungarian higher education nor the contemporary young generation, mentally and socially, had not been well prepared for the protracted war which, in turn, resulted in a number of negative consequences not only immediately after the 'Great War' but also in the course of the following decades. For the purpose of our pragmatic survey, besides using the traditional printed press and other archive materials, the contemporary newsreel, which was right at its pioneer phase at that time, provided us with well applicable additional sources. The silent film parts have proved that university youth was acting as "protagonist" in demonstrations against the war during and for revolutions after the war. It is obvious that, after their return, the student soldiers had been under stress caused by experiences collected at battlefields and by the chaotic circumstances in the higher education that had further acerbated their oversensitive inscape. One of its reasons was generated by those changes that had been introduced at and by the universities, among others the admission of females and Jews in increased proportion. Under such circumstances neither the previously many youth organizations could help them, as for the end of the war most of them, in lack of appropriate economic background had lost their original mission and ceased their operation, while the newly organized Fraternal Associations proved to be rather political societies than real fraternal and charity associations for those in need.

Further findings concluded from our survey and partially disclosed in this paper create a clear ground for the supposition that the 'Great War' affected the Hungarian higher education not only in the initial phase of its transition, but the entire development process was, in many respects, also unstable because of the protracted burning of the world. Partially those imprudent decisions that did not consider long-term consequences, the moral deep flight, and the severe existential conditions resulting from the economic recession had created essentially critical conditions at Hungarian universities, which culminated in the radicalization of the young intellectual generation. All these facts had been supplemented by the defeat in World War I, and the combined atmosphere of all of these was echoed and reflected in the wordless sequences of images recorded by the contemporary filmmakers, and these are the factors that had left their long effecting traces on everyday life, not just at "university youth" but also in the whole Hungarian society.

#### Notes

- In 1908, in one of the earliest editions of the journal Mozgófénykép Híradó (Moving Pictures Newsreel) there was a notice: 'recordings that are of historical relevance must be carefully preserved for posterity because nothing can guarantee historical authenticity better than the movies.' Löwensohn, 'History of the Film Archive'. For an overview about the history of Hungarian newsreel see Barkóczi, *Ezerszemű filmhíradó*, 15–21.
- Film restoration has a great past in the history in the Film Archive of the National Film Institute. Sporadic restoration and the transfer of films on flammable nitrate stock to safety film materials has been continuous ever since the foundation of the Film Archive. For more details visit https://filmarchiv.hu/en/film-restoration (visited on 4 June 2020.)
- See for instance 'Revolution Berlin 1918'. in Online:https://www.britishpathe.com/video/revolution-inberlin/query/demonstration, War Demonstration 1914-1918. Online: https://www.britishpathe.com/video/war-demonstration/query/demonstration (visited on 26 April 2020.). Similar scenes had been recorded by the cameras also in the Netherlands, which was though neutral during the 'Great War', but the protracted military conflict had left deep social traces there as well. See Dutch Demonstrations 1918. Online: https://www.britishpathe.com/video/demonstration-possiblydutch/query/demonstration (visited on 26 April 2020.).
- <sup>4</sup> 'Kezdődik a forradalom1 [The revolution is starting off]. Az Est film insert No. 6/1. October 1918. Online: https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=5411 (visited on 26 April 2020.)

Szabó, 'A véderőtüntetések résztvevői', 43–60. – About the political activity of Hungarian university youth before the 'Great War' see Kornai, 'Magyar ifjúsági mozgalmak', 7–11.; Szögi, 'Az egyetemi és akadémiai ifjúság', 59–77.

Disclosed by Jalsovszky & Tomsics, 'Politika', 217.

Az egyetemi ifjúság tüntetése az amerikai bizottság előtt. [Demonstration of university students in front of the seat of the American Delegation.] Az Est film insert No. 13/1, January 1919. Online: https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=5467 (visited on 26 April 2020.)

Az egyetemi ifjúság zászlaja. [Flag of university youth.] Pesti Napló insert No. 1/3.November, 1918. Online: https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=5355, Az egyetemi ifjúság gyűlése a Vigadóban. [Assembly of the university youth at the Vigadó.] Az Est film insert No. 12/2. January 1919. Online: https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=5461, Az ifjúság tüntetése a Petőfi szobor előtt. [Youth demonstration in front of the Petőfi Statue.]. Az Est film insert No. 19/2. March 1919., Online: https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=5504 (visited on 26 April 2020.)

Gyáni, 'A modern város', 164.

- Of course, Hungarian higher education at that time did not consist only of entire universities of sciences. We also include the Budapest University of Technology, the academies of economics, law and theology, and the colleges of mining and forestry. Ladányi, *A magyarországi felsőoktatás*.
- Romsics, 'Az első világháború', 13–14.
- <sup>12</sup> Viczián, *Diákélet*, 28–30, 43–50.
- <sup>13</sup> 'Hőseink', 21.
- Fortepan Pic.no. 75946. Fortepan / Péchy László, online:https://beta.fortepan.hu/hu/photos/?id=75946 (downloaded on 4 June 2020.)
- <sup>15</sup> Bihari, *Lövészárkok*, 150–164.
- Fortepan Pic.no. 130210. Fortepan / POTE, online:https://beta.fortepan.hu/hu/photos/?id=130210 (downloaded on 4 June 2020.)
  About the numerus clausus see Karády & Nagy (eds.), *The numerus clausus*.
- <sup>17</sup> Gáspár, 'Nők az egyetemen', 5–9.
- <sup>18</sup> See note 12.
- More recently on the Galileo Circle see Csunderlik, *Radikálisok*.
- Following 1918 all over Europe, including also Hungary, one of the most striking and extreme peaks of this was the political and the so-called paramilitary violence (it is no coincidence, for example, that mostly young people, aged between 20 and 24, were those who played the leading roles in red terror during the Council Republic and partly in the white terror during the so-called 'counterrevolution' in 1919/20, as well). About the "brutalization" of postwar societies and the paramilitary violence, see in detail Gerwarth & Horne, "Vectors of Violence", 489–512.; Bodó, *The White Terror*, 249–258.
- Rejtő, A M. Kir. József-Műegyetem, 11–13.
- It should be noted that anti-Semitism, in the form of the "Cross-Movement", appeared in the capital's university already at the turn of the century. More detailed see in Szabó, *Az újkonzervativizmus*, 184–213, 265–270.

<sup>23</sup> Gaál, *Élmények*, 553–555.

- Petition of the Hungarian Zionist Organization to Prime Minister Friedrich (August 22, 1919). In *Iratok*, 123–125. Similar phenomena occurred at universities in many other European countries which have recently been subject of several studies. See Fritz et al, *Alma Mater*.
- Gergely (ed.), Antal István, 369–370. This situation characterized Hungarian higher education institutions not only in the autumn of 1918, but also during 1919 and 1920. László Németh, a "third-way" folk writer of high-influence and first-year French-Hungarian student of humanities at that time, recalled so the mood prevailing at the University of Budapest in February 1920: 'From Pest, as far as I can remember, the first news on opening the university came at the end of February. [...] I think there have never been so many students rushed up to the cashier's office at the university. Uncles with mustaches who were held back by battlefields; and no-mustache people like me with their fresh baccalaureate.' Németh, Homályból, 1:188.
- Therefore, it is not surprising that the contemporary Interwar newsreel often reported on Turul's various events. See for example 'Egészségügyi kiállítás a Turul Szövetség rendezésében az Iparcsarnokban.' [Health exhibition organized by the Turul Association in the Industrial Hall.] Magyar Világhíradó [Hungarian World News], film November insert No. 609/3.Online:https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=1636, 'A Turul Szövetség XVIII. országos követtábora.' [The 18th National Envoy Camp of the Turul Association.] Világhíradó, No. November 1937. Magyar insert 718/1. Online:https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=2562 (downloaded on 4 June 2020.) - For more information on Turul, see Kerepeszki, 'The racial defense', 136-
- Fortepan Pic.no. 31756. Fortepan / Fodor István, online:https://beta.fortepan.hu/hu/photos/?id=31756 (downloaded on 4 June 2020.)
- <sup>28</sup> Kerepeszki, *A Turul Szövetség*, 64–66.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid. 157–191.
- Diákzavargások, 1933 őszén a központi épület előtt. (Student riots in the fall of 1933 in front of the central building.) Debreceni Egyetem Elektronikus Archívum (University of Debrecen Electronic Archive, DEA), online:https://dea.lib.unideb.hu/dea/handle/2437/81538 (downloaded on 4 June 2020.)
- For example 'A Műegyetemi és Egyetemi Csendőrtiszti Zászlóalj emléknapja.' [The Memorial Day of Gendarmerie Battalion of University of Technology and University of Sciences.] Magyar Világhíradó, film insert No. 683/1. March, 1937. Online: https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=2242(downloaded on 4 June 2020.)
- For example 'Október 6-án a magyar egyetemi ifjúság a Felvidék visszacsatolását követelte.' [On October 6, the Hungarian university youth demanded the reannexation of Felvidék.] Magyar Világhíradó, film insert No. 764/4. October, 1938. Online:https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=3009 (downloaded on 4 June 2020.)
- <sup>33</sup> Pusztai, *Menekülés*, 239.

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