

Margit Slachta and the early rescue of Jewish families, 1939-42

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Margit Slachta's opposition to anti-Jewish laws passed by the Hungarian government, and the persecutions that followed sparked her to political action between 1939 and 1945 in Central Europe. Her unique character and perspective suggest an intellectual, spiritual, and psychological voice different from her masculine counterparts. Slachta was the first woman to be elected to the Hungarian parliament. She used the political power of this position to open doors to government officials in pursuit of relief for the persecuted. Slachta also founded an order of women religious. As foundress, she appropriated the spiritual power of her office to open doors within the Roman Catholic church for the benefit of Jewish families.[1] Slachta broke barriers in the church and the state on the basis of her beliefs. She argued that natural law, given by God transcended laws made by man. She wrote, "I stand without compromise, on the foundation of Christian values; that is, I profess that love obliges us to accept natural laws for our fellow-men without exception, which God gave and which cannot be taken away." [2] Slachta exhorted both church and government officials to transcend differences, and to apply the laws of a higher power, God's laws, to their actions. And she implored them to ignore the purported racist policies in Nazi propaganda and practices. Slachta held greater appeal among women than men, however, and led her religious community and a network of lay women to subvert repression on these principles. She protested through letters, confronted government authorities, petitioned church officials, and organized hostels and hiding places for Jews in Hungary trying to escape the Nazi persecution.[3] These achievements make it apparent that an examination of Slachta's practice of crossing gender barriers throw light on the role of women and rescue during the Holocaust.

This paper presents a "work in progress" on Slachta and enlists the help of feminist historical analysis of gender and race to detail the impact of Hungarian government policies on men, women and children. Feminist analysis can serve as a heuristic device and theoretical instrument, enabling us to decode meanings and to understand the complex connections among various forms of human actions and responses. During the onslaught of anti-Jewish policies in Hungary, both gender and race served as mediums through which perceived differences were defined. Indeed, one's gender and race determined the status of one's relationship to the power structures within the state.[4] In Hungary, the construction of gender and race relied on the constructed and binary

positions of masculine and feminine and racial differences: "us, who are legitimately Hungarian" and "them, who are Jews and therefore aliens." Throughout the thirties and into the forties, it appeared natural to construct Jews as "others" within the society. Differences, whether they were sexual or racial legitimated social privileges and deprivations.

From the beginning, Slachta dispels our traditional notion of a retiring nun locked behind convent walls by showing herself as one with political savvy and awareness. Margit Slachta was born in Kassa, Hungary in 1884. As a young woman she emigrated to the United States with her parents where they lived for a short period, and then returned to Hungary. She earned a secondary education degree in German and French languages from a Catholic training school in Budapest.[5] There she met Carlotta Koranyi, a Hungarian activist, who instilled in her a concern for the condition of working women and children. She later met Koranyi in Berlin where they learned organizational skills for "collective action" based on "political fronts." After the training, Slachta formed the Union of Catholic Women that promoted the female franchise.[6] In 1920, Slachta was the first woman to be elected to the Hungarian Parliament where most of her speeches focused on the condition of women and children.[7] Widely known throughout Hungary for her political successes, her broadly based sympathies placed her on the left of the political spectrum, particularly during the war.[8] Self-confident and strong, she relied not only on her community, but also on Hungarian women in high places to accomplish her objectives.[9] It appears, however, that Slachta's political activism was inspired by a desire for spiritual growth and to serve the greater glory of God, rather than political power. She joined the Society of the Social Mission, a religious community founded by Edith Farkas in 1908.[10] Apparently Slachta had a different vision than Farkas, and in 1923 with a clear sense of purpose instituted a new community which grew under her leadership to become the Sisters of Social Service in Budapest.[11] Slachta viewed her apostolic community as one designed to meet contemporary problems as well as those of the future through work among the poor. The Social Sisters were well known throughout Hungary for nursing, midwifery, and orphanage services. These professional activities were anchored together with charitable works and collective political action.[12] Slachta's zeal infused her articles, countless letters, and spiritual writings.

Slachta's political activities increased as World War II unfolded in East Central Europe, and becomes apparent in her spiritual writings and letters. The first anti-Jewish laws were passed in Hungary in 1938, and from that time on, Slachta published articles opposing anti-Jewish measures in *Lelek Szava*, or *The Voice of the Spirit*. [13] Sisters of the Social Service were instructed to become familiar with her sympathies to the Jewish cause in preparation for action.[14] The invasion of Poland in 1939 catalyzed the eastward migration of Jewish families who began to fall under the immediate threat of the Wehrmacht.[15] Their dislocation was aggravated by Hungary's territorial acquisitions which resulted from a favorable relationship with the Third Reich during the late Thirties. Hungarian commissioner, Miklós Kozma was appointed to oversee the operation by the Ministry of the Interior.[16]

Intent on identifying the "other" in wartime, the government made its first arrests in November 1940 among Jews of leftist sympathies.[17] Charges against Jews in the newly acquired regions of Transylvania and Carpathian-Ruthenia included ignoring vital national interests, spying, collaborating with the enemy, and encouraging dissent. Authorities argued that Jewish antipathy for Hungary required immediate and direct action to safeguard against treasonous behavior. Many Hungarians still remembered the Bela Kun uprising as a "Jewish plot" that overthrew the monarchy and installed a Communist government in 1919. Furthermore, the presence of Stalin's Communist Russia looming at the border made Hitler's Germany the more attractive of the two options should war spread into Hungary. Thus, patriotic Hungarians, not wishing to see Stalin's troops in their homeland were pleased with the removal of Jews from their region. If police could not find an infraction of the law, then the police launched trumped-up charges of "treason" against them.[18] In the autumn of 1940, Slachta's sisters drew her into direct contact with the Jewish people of Csíkszereda, who had been deported to Körösmező in Carpathia-Ruthenia. The families had been forced to move twice before. Absolutely destitute, their choices for escape were limited. They either had to flee into the Russian woods only to face the viciously anti-Semitic Ukrainians or to remain in Ruthenia.[19] After hearing about attacks on Jewish families from the Transylvanian Sisters of Social Service, Slachta responded to their appeals.

These accounts are drawn from Slachta's letters and summary of accounts and reflect confused policies orchestrated by both local and national authorities. The following is a case in point. Slachta was contacted by the Mrs. Bernát Berkovits after the Hungarian Border Guard had deported her family to Körösmező. They were among several Jewish families transferred from one town to another, and ordered to pay twenty to one hundred Pengös (Hungarian gold currency) in lieu of "public service" to the city's finance office.[20] Slachta's summary shrewdly noted that the mail had arrived late that day, after 1:00 p.m., when the men were supposed to appear with their payments. Slachta does not mention why Jews and not others had to pay this tax, only that Jews were required to pay. The following day, twenty-four heads-of-households were summoned to pay the stated sums again, which they did. After paying, they were forced to leave without receipts because the local official announced that the proper administrator was not in the office. Again on 7 November, the families received a summons to appear on the following day in front of the "Special Branch" police officer regarding their legal status. Upon arrival, the officers informed them that they and their families would be moved again. The Special Branch gave the families four hours to get ready to move and refused to acknowledge their identity papers and passports. From then on the families could only take as much as they could pack on their backs and began to lead the dogged existence of "stateless people." [21]

The lack of a unified government policy unveils itself by tracing the journey of victims. The families were forced into nearby forests where they were placed under armed guard. Those, who could, escaped. The old, the sick, and the very young were abandoned without shelter in rapidly deteriorating winter weather until 14 November. Following a change in orders, authorities returned to take the deportees back. The survivors were in a weakened condition from starvation and the bitter cold weather. A

fter an overnight rest they were transported back to Körösmező. Just as in Germany after the Night of Broken Glass, Jewish victims were forced to pay transportation costs. Upon return to Körösmező, the families were placed under armed guard and deplorable living conditions. They slept on straw mats and coped without basic washing facilities. Part of the humiliation facing Jewish men and women were the role reversals required by their armed guards. Men were forced to wash toilets while women were addressed disrespectfully. Outspoken protests from the women, irritated the guards and thus husbands were locked up separately from their wives.[22]

In early December, another "corrected" order was handed down to the division captain who again transported these families to the other side of the Russian border. Who, at this early stage of the persecutions would speak for them? Slachta wrote to the parish priest at Körösmező requesting assistance for the families who had suffered for over a month at the Hungarian-Romanian border. She asserted that she made these requests on the basis of the Christian principles of brotherly love, an obligation to Christ, and her patriotic devotion to Hungary.[23] She urged the priest to go to the camp and ask why the Jewish families had been interned. While there, she suggested that the priest might also investigate their living conditions, and inquire about their return to their homes in Csíkszereda. Then she asked him to find out what could be done to help them. Aware of the ways of the world, Slachta even offered the priest money to pay for the expenses of the families.[24] Slachta's intervention was successful. The removal process stopped on the evening of 9 December when a telegram from the Ministry of Defense ordered the release of the detainees. It was the same day as the dateline on her letter to the parish priest. The report reveals that the captain in charge had received a telegram at 7:00 p.m. that ordered him to immediately release the Jews in his custody and to send them back to Csíkszereda. Unfortunately, by this time six families were missing in the heavily forested border region. They had fallen into either the hands of the Russians or they were frozen to death in a snowstorm. Later, a halfhearted "official" investigation was conducted into the case of the lost families, which concluded that no trace of them could be found. Other accounts indicated that Jews had crossed the border at three places where they were intercepted by a Russian patrol. The Russians gathered them up and loaded them on sleighs and after that, they simply disappeared.[25] Despite the initial success of intervention, further attempts to acquire more information about the missing Jews were futile. Lost and separated families repeatedly begged Slachta for help. Regarding the forced border crossings as an abridgement of human rights, Slachta noted that in the "selection process" (her words) the aged and disabled were among the first to go. She wrote in another report that a 79-year-old man, a seven-year-old boy, and two mentally disabled women were taken earlier on a cart from their homes in Csíkszereda. Authorities had refused a request from Social Sister, Sara Schalkház to cross the border and look for these missing individuals.[26] When Sister Schalkház went to the magistrate regarding this issue referred her to a larger maze of bureaucracy, the Foreign Ministry. In reality, the Ministry of Internal Affairs handled these matters. Obviously the government had become aware of the humanitarian activities of these women and prepared to derail their efforts.

Shortly after the successful Csíkszereda intervention, Margit Slachta received another appeal. Mrs. Beno Schultz arrived at the mother house in Budapest via a horse and sleigh in early January 1941. Schultz believed that Slachta would understand the feelings of a mother who had lost her children. Men, Schultz asserted that men were more interested in political and economic affairs than affairs of the heart and not inclined to listen. Schultz told Slachta, "My home is a house of tears." The return of her family members was complicated by the fact that town officials refused to deal with them because they did not have the proper paperwork. According to the state they had been officially deported and no longer fell under their jurisdiction. "The only thing that I cannot understand is why?" Schultz protested and questioned their motives. "They themselves cannot tell us what our crime is, except that we are Jewish," she said. Slachta told Schultz that she would first record the details of abuses and then write to the canon and papal representative of Szatmár in Transylvania, Károly Pakocs. And then she told the distraught woman to put her trust in God.[27]

Slachta also contacted Miklós Kozma, the commissioner in charge of the internal affairs for the region.[28] Slachta complained to Kozma that local "pashas" were uncooperative and refused to establish the whereabouts of the missing persons. In her opinion, this behavior was a perversion of "state policies." [29] Kozma took over a month to respond to Slachta's queries. He denied any responsibility for the incidents. Asserting that the Border Defense Corps was not his responsibility, Kozma shifted the problem to the Minister of the Interior, who had initially ordered and later rescinded the deportation orders.[30] Since the incident occurred, when Transylvania was under military rule, Kozma suggested that she contact the Minister of Defense for further information.[31] Slachta pencilled in on Kozma's letter, "This is the same old recipe; one body passing the buck to another." [32]

By mid-summer 1941, Slachta had been alerted to the gravity of the situation. Quite independently of any pressure from Nazi Germany, Hungarian authorities complied with German demands for the "resettlement" of non-Hungarian Jews living in Körösmező. Between July and August 1941 approximately 20,000 Jews were rounded up and deported to a military zone known as Kamenets-Poldolsk.³³ Already displaced by prewar German-Hungarian treaties, transports to the Nazi-held sector of the Ukraine were completed by August 10, 1941.[34] On August 13, Slachta wrote to Ilona Horthy, the Regent's wife, that she believed that Christians must raise their voices in opposition to officially-sanctioned mass atrocities occurring in Hungary. Slachta said that Christian Hungarians with human feelings and natural instincts should rebel against these acts that were direct contraventions of the commandments of God and Catholicism, and a defilement of Hungarian integrity.[35]

This protest proved futile in light of the close ties between German and Hungary. German officials reported that, "they could not cope with all these Jews," in the war zone because they constituted "a menace to their lines of communication." [36] Two weeks later, heavily armed SS units from Mobile Killing Squad D, members of a Ukrainian militia unit, and possibly a Hungarian sapper platoon marched 14,000 of these prisoners more than ten miles to their place of execution. There, in a pit at Kamenets-Poldolsk they

were ordered to undress, and fired on by machine guns. Many were buried alive.[37] After this first-five-figure mass killing by the SS, the Hungarian government woke up to the seriousness of the Nazi plan, and drew off several thousand Jews to be used for slave laborer. The Hungarian response probably saved their lives if they could survive through the war.[38] In early September, Slachta and a small group of church and state officials received first hand accounts of the fiasco via the M IPI, the Hungarian Jewish Welfare Bureau (funded by the American Jewish Defense Council).[39] Hearing about this situation and wishing to see for herself, Slachta joined the papal nunciature, Imre Szabo, the Bishops Hamvas and Pakocs, Gyorgy Aponyi, and Elizabeth Szarpary on a fact finding mission to the site. As they approached the site, all but the papal nunciature were refused further passage.[40] The Kamenets-Poldolsk massacre of "alien" Jews in August 1941 was a watershed for Slachta. In succeeding days her language became more strident, and she would no longer shield her objections from the church and state.[41]

In June 1942, Slachta received word from a sister house in Kolozsvár that new deportations were shaping up. Sister Judit Veress reported that she had witnessed similar scenes the year before, and her heart ached when she read about these things that shame Christianity. The Sisters raised the issue of deportation orders with the local cleric, Imre Sándor. He claimed that he could do nothing without knowing the details surrounding the situation, and deferred to the bishop. Slachta then contacted a supporter of the Sisters and close friend of the police commissioner, Archdeacon Ferenc Biró.[42] She believed that Biró could use his ecclesiastical authority as a priest to delay the transfer by talking to the police chief.[43] Appealing to Biró's Christian principles, Slachta asked him to whom the Jews should turn for "merciful compassion" if not to the priests of the church and its loyal sons such as the police chief?[44] Once again the action was reversed. Unfortunately, Margit Slachta discovered that she could influence Archdeacon Biró's mind but not his heart. Biró believed that the Jews should be moved for the good of the country because he did not trust them. He added that he was not the only one who thought in this way, and admonished Slachta to not "involve me again because I do not accept this kind of church work." [45] In the face of strong warnings against pro-Jewish publications, Slachta continued to write and to teach adult classes on Christian social justice and to publish the Voice of the Spirit. In 1943 the government suppressed the newspaper, but Slachta took it underground.[46] Slachta and the Society also used movies to deliver their message. In over fifty towns the Society presented a film and lecture series exposing the evils of war and racism with as many as three to four thousand people in attendance. Countering Nazi propaganda, the Society taught the Christian principle of universal love, and explained that although "nation and race" were the thoughts of God these principles sowed the seeds of division.[47] Between 1942 and 1943, Margit Slachta engaged in efforts to stave off the Slovakian deportations. In 1943 she met Pius XII and appealed for his intercession in Slovakia. Shortly thereafter, the second planned mass deportation halted until late in the war. In March 1944, the Nazis marched into Budapest and implemented their pernicious anti-Jewish policies. Slachta focused all of her efforts on saving the Jews sheltered in the Budapest ghettos. The Society changed from their grey habits to secular clothing to move among the persecuted more easily. They hid as many as 1,000 persons during this time. They cooked and served food to over 2,000 people a day; and found and distributed medicine for the sick.[48]

Some people say that Slachta saved over 2,000 lives, others have credited her with the rescue of converted Jews numbering as many as 10,000. Either way, fittingly, after the war, Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority honored Slachta as a Righteous Gentile.[49] Finally, it is difficult to determine which theme, gender or race should take primacy over the other. Rather I believe that it is important to explore the relationships between the two and in this way uncover the hidden histories of the impact of the Shoah and war on men, women, and children.

Footnotes

1. For an explanation of the view that women hold to different moral standards than men and speak with a different voice see Carol Gilligan, *In A Different Voice, Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

2. Tamás Majsai, translator, *The Deportation of Jews from Csíkszereda and Margit Slachta's Intervention on their Behalf* @ *Studies on the Holocaust in Hungary*, ed. Randolph L. Brahm, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 119.

3. "Sister Margaret Slachta Dies; Champion of Rights," *Buffalo Evening News*, January 7, 1974, Sisters of Social Service Archives, Buffalo, NY, hereinafter cited as SSSA.

4. Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053-1075.

5. Sister Natalie Palagyi, *Sister of Social Service Interview*, with author, January 5, 1994.

6. G. Rocca, *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, vol. 8, col. 1435 & 1554, translator, J.P. Donnelley.

7. "Some Early History," *Sisters of Social Service Newsletter*, Spring-Summer 1991, No. 11, SSSA. 8. Pal-Foti Friedlander Interview, Holocaust survivor from Budapest, with author, September 13, 1994, London.

9. "Some Early History," *Sisters of Social Service Newsletter*, Spring-Summer 1991, No. 11, SSSA.

10. Lynn Jarrell, OSB, JCD, "The Development of Legal Structures for Women Religious Between 1500 and 1900: A Study of Selected Institutes for Religious Life for Women." *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 10, nos.1&2 (1992): 25-37.

11. The clerical president of the Society of Social Sisters was Bishop Count Janos Mikes (1923-1948). It was, however, under the leadership of Slachta that the Society was able to establish itself in five countries to provide qualified social workers to women and

children. Maria Schmidt, "Action of Margit Slachta to Rescue Slovakian Jews." Danubian Historical Studies, 1, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 58; G. Rocca, col. 1434 - 1435.

12. Margit Slachta, From the Hermitage of the Desert to the Center of Life. (Budapest, c. 1940) SSSA.

13. Majsai, "Deportation" 14.

14. Natalie Palagyi, Sister of Social Service, The Dove, (Los Angeles: Sisters of Social Service, 1946), 8. Typescript mimeograph copy. Published in the spring of 1946, it is part of their annals recounting their experiences of war, SSSA.

15. Between 1933 and 1938, Hungary received over 3,000 Jews from Germany. Martin Gilbert, The Macmillan Atlas of the Holocaust, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1982), 23; This was part of the eastward expulsion of Jews from Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and the Sudetenland which uprooted age-old communities and disrupted the communities which received the refugees, Gilbert, 43.

16. Randolph L. Braham, The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary, vols. I & II, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994) 214-215.

17. "During the summer of 1941 and 1942, trials and mass arrests took place. The targeted population included anyone who had leftist sympathies. Bela Vago. "The Destruction of the Jews of Transylvania." Hungarian-Jewish Studies, ed. Randolph Braham, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 185.

18. Majsai, 115; For an excellent analysis of Hungarian police actions in the new territories see Mária Schmidt, "Provincial Police Reports: New Insights into Hungarian Jewish History, 1941-1944," Yad Vashem Studies, XIX, ed. Aharon Weiss, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988), 233-268.

19. This was part of the eastward expulsion of Jews from Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Ruthenia, Transylvania, and the Sudetenland which uprooted age-old communities and disrupted the communities which received the refugees. Gilbert, Atlas of the Holocaust, 1982.

20. The Second Anti-Jewish Law implemented in 1939 was not consistent but useful when it suited the needs of the authorities. The introduction of forced labor service authorities. The introduction of forced labor service for Jewish males in 1939 removed tens of thousands of men of the economically active age groups from the labor market and alleviated any potential pressure of unemployment by discrimination and anti-Jewish legislation. Yehuda Don. "Anti-Semitic Legislation in Hungary and their Implementation in Budapest - An Economic Analysis." ed. Randolph L. Braham. The Tragedy of Hungarian Jewry. Essays, Documents, Depositions. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), .

21. Summary report, December 1940, Majsai, 135.
22. Summary report, December 1940, Majsai, 137.
23. Majsai, ADeportation,@ 122- 123.
24. Margit Slachta to parish priest at Körösmező, December 9, 1940, Majsai, 122-123.
25. Majsai, "Deportation," 141-143.
26. Social Sister Sara Schalkház in Tésco to Social Sister Petrá, at the Sister house in Budapest, December 20, 1940, Majsai, "Deportation," 126-127.
27. Margit Slachta to Mrs Beno Schultz, January 10, 1942, "Deportation," Majsai, 129-132.
28. Miklòs Kozma was one of the leading figures in the counter-revolutionary movement from the end of 1918. He was one of the leaders of the National Defense League. From 1935-1937, he was Minister of the Interior, and from 1939 to 1941, he was Commissio ner of Kárpátátalja. Majsai, "Deportation," 132.
29. Margit Slachta to Miklòs Kozma, January 10, 1941, Majsai, "Deportation,"133-134. 30. Count Keresztes-Fischer, Minister of the Interior was shocked to discover the purpose of Nazi resettlement aims and halted the last seven trains on route to the border. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1994, 213.
31. Miklòs Kozma to Margit Slachta, February 18, 1941, Majsai, "Deportation," 143-145.
32. Majsai, "Deportation," 145.
33. Majsai, 155; Braham has recently claimed that the involvement of Hungarian troops in the massacres is not fully established. He based his analysis on SS reports that some Hungarian troops actually intervened in the massacre. Braham, 1994, p. 212. For a discussion of the Kamenets-Poldolsk Massacre as prelude to the Hungarian Holocaust see Randolph L. Braham, "The Kamenets-Poldolsk Massacre and Délvidék Massacres: Prelude to the Holocaust," *Yad Vashem Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance*, Vol. IX, ed. Livia Rothkirchen, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1973), 133-156.
34. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1994, 217.
35. Slachta to Horthy, August 13, 1941, Mària Schmidt, "Margit Slachta's Activities in Support of Slovakian Jewry, 1942-1943," *Remembering for the Future: Jews and Christians During and After the Holocaust*. vol. I, (New York: Pergamon Press, 1989) 207.< P> 36. Braham, "Kamenets-Podolsk Massacre," 1973, 139-140.

37. Randolph Braham reports that the number of victims executed at Kamenets-Podolsk cannot be established with any degree of accuracy. The German commander, Jaeckeln placed the figure at 23,600, of which 14,000 to 16,000 were Hungarian and the remainder were locals, Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1994, 213; Gilbert, *The Atlas of the Holocaust*, 69.

38. For details on the massacre of the "alien Jews" from Transylvania who became of the Final Solution, see Braham, 1994, 211-213; Gilbert, 1982, 68-69; Lucy Dawidowicz. *The War Against the Jews*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1986), 381; Braham, "Kamenets -Poldolsk Massacre," 1973, 141. 39. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1994, 217; 1199, n.8.

40. Margit Slachta, Sister of Social Service, Speech to the Hungarian Parliament, April 1947, translated by Dr. Bela Piascek, Marquette University, SSSA.

41. Palagyi, *The Voice of the Dove*, 9, SSSA.

42. Sister Judit Veress to Margit Slachta, Kolozsvár, June 22, 1942. Imre.Sandor sent Sister Judit to Count Gusztav Majlath, Bishop of Gyulafehervar who was sympathetic to the plight of the Jewish families, Majsai, "Deportation," 151-152.

43. Margit Slachta to Archdeacon Ferenc Biró, June 22, 1942, Majsai, "Deportation," 153-154.

44. Margit Slachta to Archdeacon Ferenc Biró, June 22, 1942, Majsai, "Deportation," 153-154.

45. Letter from Archdeacon Ferenc Biró to Margit Slachta, dated July 17, 1941, but cited as July 17, 1942. Majsai, "Deportation," 163.

46. Titles of her articles include: "The Brother", "The Soul's Voice", "A World View Credo", all of which emphasized fundamental Christian values, Majsai, 117. Natalie Palagyi, *The Dove*, 1946; Margit Slachta, "Speech to the Hungarian Parliament," Budapest, 1947, SSSA.

47. Palagyi, *The Voice of the Dove*, 8, SSSA.

48. Margit Slachta, *A Speech to the Hungarian Parliament*, @ Budapest, 1947, SSSA.

49. Uri Asaf, "Christian Support for Jews during the Holocaust in Hungary," *Studies in the Holocaust in Hungary*, ed. Randolph L. Braham, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990) 71, 97, 99; Rocca, *Dizionario*, 1435; Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1199, n.8; Majsai, "Deportation," 118. 16