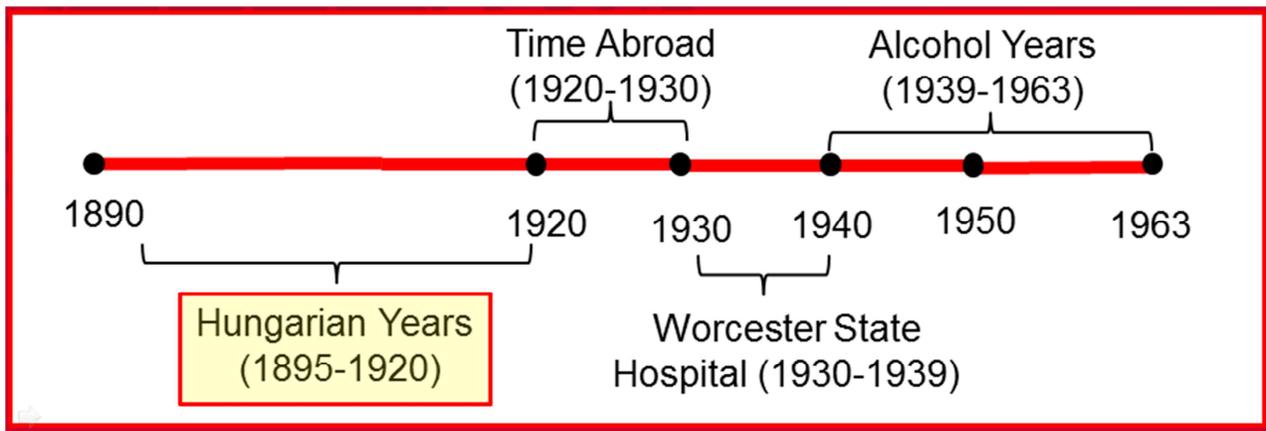


E.M. Jellinek: The Hungarian connection

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This is the second in a series of papers depicting the mostly undocumented life of E.M. Jellinek. This paper establishes the connection between Jellinek Morton, a well-known figure in Hungary in the early part of the 20th Century, and E.M. Jellinek, one of the founders of alcohol studies. Newly found documents in Hungary and at the Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies Library and Archives provide compelling evidence of this connection and shed some light on the mysterious circumstances of his 1920 disappearance from Hungary. The information in these papers was first presented at the 36th Annual Substance Abuse Librarians and Information Specialists (SALIS) Conference on May 1st, 2014, by seven presenters in a panel entitled "Mystery and speculations: Piecing together E.M. Jellinek's redemption."

Hungarian names and other references to a Hungarian connection in Jellinek's life are clearly noticeable for the native speaker¹. The Worcester State Hospital Annual Reports list

five Hungarian names as follows: Ralph Banay, who became a renowned and controversial psychiatrist; his brother, George was the librarian. The physician András Angyal and physicist Béla Lengyel are also listed, and in 1938, another Hungarian, anthropologist Géza Róheim joined the

¹All translations from the original Hungarian for the panel were made by the author, a native of Hungary.

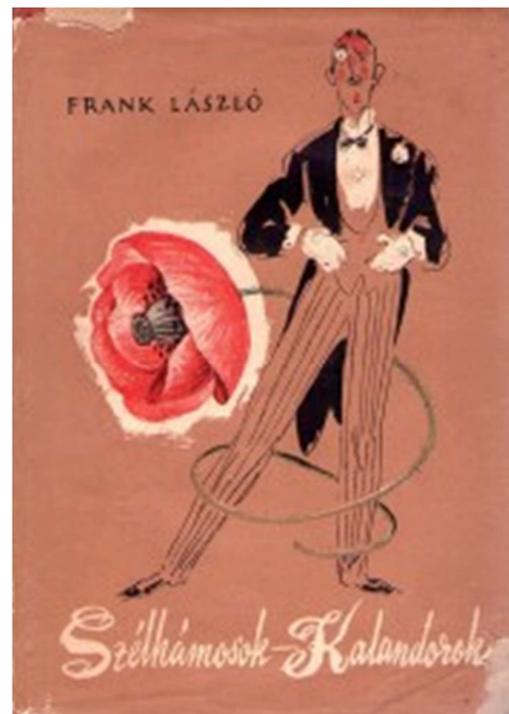
Worcester State Hospital. At the Yale CAS, András Angyal and George Banay were on the faculty of the Summer School of Alcohol Studies. András Angyal was also Associate Editor of the Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol (1950-1960). George Banay and Géza Róheim both published in the journal. Finally, Hedda Bolgar, who later became a famous psychoanalyst, also worked for the Center for a while.

For all the discrepancies in the available biographical sources on Jellinek, one common element prevails: the Hungarian connection. What it actually entails is an obscure past with vague details and hazy facts. In most of the available private communications, such as letters written by Mark Keller, Vera Efron, i.e., his closest coworkers, and Thelma Pierce Anderson, his second wife, several clues indicate that there is more to the story than they wish to circulate. Thelma suggests that a biographical article should begin not earlier than the Worcester years, i.e., in the 1930s. She explains: *"I should be happy to tell you my reasons privately, but I do not want to put them on paper; believe me they are good reasons!"* (Anderson to Keller 1963). The question will probably remain unanswered: Was Jellinek hiding his Hungarian years deliberately?

There was no mention of him being of Hungarian origin in any publication during his scholarship activities in alcohol studies. From the Hungarian perspective, the idea of his potential Hungarian roots was literally rejected, even though his interest in Hungary was later confirmed (Métneky, 1996). An article claims that Jellinek's work "entirely lacks any interest in Hungary or Central-Eastern-Europe or features reflecting related mentality" (Kelemen, 1990). The same author recently revisited his view after a physician of Hungarian origin, Antal Sólyom, from Virginia, pointed out to him that his neighbor for two years in Detroit (1972-1974) was Edna Jellinek. Jellinek's younger sister, who spoke perfect Hungarian, explained that her parents met in Paris, and after living in New York, they relocated to Budapest where she

was born. However, her brother, Morton had been born in Brooklyn (Kelemen and Márk, 2012, Kelemen and Márk, 2013).

Up to that point, the world separated these two identities. There was a Jellinek Morton (pronounced "yelinek", last name comes first in Hungarian), a promising young Hungarian scholar from an affluent family, who became involved in some extralegal currency trading activities and fled the country in 1920. His story was passed on by a popular communist propaganda book entitled *Conmen, vagabonds* (Frank, 1957), where a whole chapter was dedicated to him as one of the four major Hungarian con-artists.



Conmen, vagabonds (Frank, 1957)

Another book, *The good old world: the biggest panamas from the Horthy-era* (Horváth et al., 1959) also depicts him in a chapter entitled Morton Jellinek disappears with the money. Jellinek's other claim to fame in the Hungarian literature was his friendship and close professional relationship to an outstanding anthropologist, Géza Róheim. Biographies on Róheim do not miss mentioning the fact that Jellinek later became known for his swindles (e.g., Verebélyi, 1977).

The better known identity of E. M. Jellinek as the father of alcohol studies includes a long list of achievements, presented in details in biographical articles. Although there were several indicators that these two people were the same, until recently, it was virtually impossible to establish the connection without reasonable doubt. With the advances of modern technology, archives are becoming more and more accessible, which allows research and discoveries on both continents. His handwriting from the early years of the 20th century looks very similar to the one from his personal correspondence in 1947. Word of mouth and facts based on a single source, although unacceptable on their own as research methods, can serve as useful tools to point researchers to the right direction on both continents when seeking for answers in archives.

Name variations

He is known in alcohol studies as *E.M. Jellinek*. His identity has been concealed by the name variations found not only in publications about him, but also in primary sources in both English and Hungarian. Noteworthy is the reverse use of first name and last name in Hungarian (as *Jellinek Morton*), and the consistent use of the middle name as first name, instead of *Elvin*. We located his birth certificate issued by the State of New York, which has *E. Morton Jellinek* as his name, but the letter *o* looks more like an *a* in the title, thus showing *Marton*: it would be the Hungarian version, less the diacritic on the *á* (*Márton*). He is listed as *E. Morton Jellinek* in the Worcester State Hospital Annual Reports in the 1930s, but as *Elvin Jellinek* in the Current Biography entry in 1947 (Jellinek, 1947). His first name varies as *Elvin*, *Erwin*, and even *Alvin* in the various sources. His middle name shows even more variety: *Morton*, *Marton*, *Márton*, *Martin*, *Merton*, *Morty*, and *Mortimer*.

Of even more interest is his well-known nickname, *Bunky*, which will be discussed later in detail. Less known are his other alter egos, *Petronius* (his satirical persona) and *Habakkuk* (a nickname for his ulcer), used

during the Worcester years. With Jellinek's interests and background in classics and religion in mind, these seem to be heteronyms, i.e, imaginary personas created by a writer to write in different styles. Both names lead us back to his Hungarian era, i.e., to his high school studies and his Jewish heritage. The mysterious *Nikita Hartmann* alter ego played a role in his life in the late 1920s. The name variations go down in the entire Jellinek family. The start date of this lifelong crafting of various personalities has remained unknown. Jellinek's biography seems to present self-imposed multiple personalities as shown by these variations.

To Bunky
in deep admiration
E. M. Jellinek

With two given names, *Elvin* and *Morton*, Jellinek was casually called *Bunky* by his colleagues and friends. According to several sources, he insisted on being called *Bunky*. He often signed his letters as *Bunky* too. He is mentioned as "*Bunky Jellinek*" (Greenberg, 2008). Jellinek's popular nickname has been claimed to originate from his father, meaning 'little radish' in Hungarian (e.g., Page, 1988). The first occurrence of the nickname is unknown, there is no evidence of its use before the Worcester Hospital years. By the time he was introduced to Mark Keller in 1939, he had already been known as *Bunky*.

In his unpublished and unfinished memoir on Jellinek, Keller mentions how difficult it was for him to use this nickname at first.

Bunky means "little radish" – a pet name in Hungarian. Very early in our acquaintance he mentioned that it was his nickname and he invited me to call him so. For many years I was unable to do so – even when I heard colleagues and minor assistants who had known him at Worcester familiarly calling him Bunky, even when I realized he liked to be called Bunky. I did finally manage it, after several years of close association and

collaboration. (Keller to Anderson, 1988, p. 5).

It is very possible that by the time Thelma Pierce, his soon-to-be his first American wife, started to work with Jellinek on October 10, 1932 at the Memorial Foundation for Neuro-Endocrin Research at the Worcester State Hospital, the *Bunky* nickname had already been in use. Thelma consistently refers to her ex-husband as *Bunky* in her letters to Mark Keller between 1963-1988 (e.g., Anderson to Keller, 1963).

Elvin Morton Jellinek's early written communications in the United States, well represented by our collection, are mostly signed simply as *E. M. Jellinek*. Letters and postcards from the 1930s till his death are consistently signed as *Bunky*. He was also addressed or mentioned as *Bunky* by many in official and casual texts. According to the Historical-etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language (Benkó, 1967), there is no root *bunk-* meaning "radish" in Hungarian. The Hungarian word for "radish" is *retek*. The nickname *Bunky* in its written form shows a more closer resemblance to the Hungarian word *bunkó* (pronounced boonko), which is presented as an entry in the oldest and most comprehensive dictionary of the Hungarian language published in six volumes between 1862 and 1874 in Budapest (Czuczor and Fogarasi, 1862). It refers to a node on the end of a branch cut off a tree, of a club (*dorong*) or stick, or a mace. It also refers to the club itself. Another meaning evolved in the Hungarian slang referring to an ill-mannered, rude, or uneducated person. The ending *-y* is rather an English *y* than a Hungarian diminutive (which would be *-i*, see for example, Jellinek daughter's nickname *Dundi*, meaning "chubby"). Finally, the letter *u* in Hungarian is always pronounced as "oo", so it would sound "boonko" in English. A linguistically sophisticated person, such as Jellinek, was probably aware of all these meanings in Hungarian, and he could be called anything but ill-mannered.

Proficient in many other languages, including English and Spanish, and a man of

card games as member of high society in Hungary, he might have chosen and worn the *Bunky* nickname as some playful self-deprecation after his 1920 caper to insinuate himself for the rest of his life. An alternative explanation to the origin of the *Bunky* nickname is suggested here originating from gambling, based on a card game called *banca* ("bank") in Spanish, known as *bunco* or *bunko* in English, one of the three variations of *baccarat*.

As reported by Hungarian newspapers (e.g., Pesti Napló, June 19, 1920), Jellinek's favorite card games before he left Hungary were *chemin de fer* (a variation of *baccarat*) and *baccarat*, also known as *bakk* in Hungarian. These were very popular and illegal at the turn of the century, but nonetheless widely played in Hungarian cafes of big hotels frequented by writers, poets, journalists, and other affluent or aspiring members of the high society. *Baccarat* was always played with a group of friends, very rarely with strangers. *Banco* and *punto* are two *baccarat* terms (pronounced as "bunco" in Hungarian). It's still speculative, but more justified etymologically than the "little radish" explanation.

EMJ: The early years

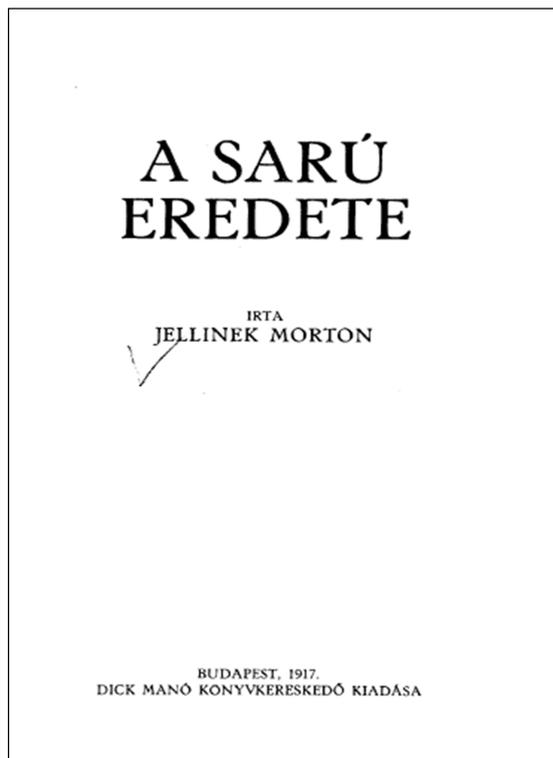
According to a birth certificate dated August 25, 1890 retrieved from the New York City Birth records archive, E. Morton Jellinek was born on August 15, 1890 in New York. His mother was Rosa Jacobson, 24, and his father was Marcell Jellinek of Austro-Hungary, 32.

The family address on the certificate is 1202 Fulton Ave. The New York City Directory from 1891 has Marcell Jellinek living at 12 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn (New York City Directory, 1891, p. 677). Marcell Jellinek married Rose Jacobson (stage name Marcella Lindh) in New York City sometime in 1889. Their marriage certificate is #1727 ID#0000023902 (Dept of Health, 1869-1880). It is not clear when exactly the family left the United States to relocate to Hungary, but 1895 seems to be the most probable year.

Szentgyörgyi, who all made significant contributions to culture and science later.

Hungarian sources collected so far offer several other examples to illustrate Jellinek's broad interests and early scholarly activities such as his membership listing from the Hungarian Folklore Society as a humanities student in 1912 (Magyar Néprajzi..., 1912). He was board member of the Hunnia Press, his father's company (Magyarország..., 1917). He also received a medal, the WWI Gold Merit Cross with Crown on Military Drape in 1916 for driving an ambulance during the war (Hungarian National Archives, K 148 1916-2-9028).

In his early years as a scholar, Jellinek focused on anthropology and psychiatry, trying to marry the two. His first known book entitled *The origin of the shoe* (A sarú eredete) is dated 1917 and reads more like a long article than a book (Jellinek, 1917a).



The origin of the shoe by Jellinek from 1917. In Hungarian.

The publisher is not his father's Hunnia Press, but a popular book vendor and publisher, Manó Dick, of Jewish origin. Dick

operated his business in the 7th district in Budapest. He also published Freud's *Totem and taboo* as first Hungarian edition (Freud, 1918) and Sándor Ferenczi's *Hysteria and pathoneurosis* (Ferenczi, 1919). According to a comment before the dedication and thanks to Róheim, Jellinek's book is meant to elaborate on his presentation at the Ethnography Society in November, 1916. He thanks Róheim for "valuable references". Contrary to what the title promises, the main topic is not the origin of the shoe, but its various appearances in traditions, folk customs, or even religions and cults from all over the world. Some Jellinekian traits are definitely noticeable in the text, such as finding new connections, approaching globally and from a fresh perspective, quoting in four different languages, and providing evidence of a wealth of knowledge in several fields.

Jellinek also published book reviews in a folklore journal, *Ethnographia* (Jellinek, 1912, Jellinek, 1917b). More importantly, he was a speaker at the 5th International Congress of Psychoanalysis, Sept 28-29, 1918, Budapest, where Freud was the keynote speaker. According to a conference report, the auditorium of the Hungarian National Academy was so crowded that "not even three more people would fit in" and the audience listened to Freud's presentation in "...religious silence". Jellinek presented on the psychological explanation of blood pacts and similar contract ceremonies. In his report, Róheim writes:

The most ancient ontogenetical approach to the world is hatred. The child receives his first positive stimulus from the world via his contact with his mother's breasts and via nutrition, this archaic situation serves as unconscious prototype any time he has to overcome his neophobia in the form of adaptation to an individual new to him. Blood or saliva in blood pacts serves as breast milk, and rope also present there is the symbol or remainder of the umbilical cord. Hopefully this paper will be fully

mature to be published soon. (Róheim, 1918).

It should be noted that one of the guests listed is a *Mrs. Hedwig Jellinek*, the only reference by name we have found to his first, Hungarian wife. Court documents and newspaper articles mentioned her as *Jellinek Mortonné* according to Hungarian naming rules for married woman at that time, i.e., Mrs. Morton Jellinek (Budapest Archives, VII. 18.d. 18460).

A close friend: Géza Róheim

One of Jellinek's closest friend was Géza Róheim, anthropologist-psychoanalyst, the second most read Hungarian scholar (after philosopher Georg Lukács). His life was well researched and documented, and may shed light on Jellinek's life too.

Just as Jellinek's name is related to alcohol studies, Róheim is credited for founding the field of psychoanalytic anthropology. Both coming from prosperous Jewish-Hungarian families, their lives crossed paths several times.

They both studied subjects such as philosophy, psychology, anthropology, linguistics, and literature at the universities of Leipzig and Berlin. They both took classes on ethnology, which discusses social and historical topics from the perspective of science. with Karl Weule in Berlin, whose impact can be traced in their early texts. Róheim was a member of the Hungarian Ethnographical Society since high school, Oct 21, 1909 and also a Folklore Fellow. Róheim was very active in the Hungarian Ethnographical Society. He was board member since 1914, and seems to have involved Jellinek in many activities. Róheim was analyzed by Ferenczi and Vilma Kovács in 1915-16 (which refers to laymen analysis, i.e., the person analyzed received training in analysis and started to work with others, such as Vilma Kovács, a practice reoccurring at Worcester State Hospital). Róheim presented at the 5th International Congress of Psychoanalysis, Sept 28-29, 1918, Budapest, where he met Freud.



Géza Róheim (1891-1953)

Róheim's rising career was broken after he was fired from his job at the National Museum based on charges that he actively participated in the Hungarian Soviet Union in 1919. He was unable to get hired into an academic position in Hungary after that, but he completed several successful field trips to carry out anthropological research in Australia, Africa, and Central America. He gave talks in the United States and was in New York from March 6 through April 4, 1931. In 1938, after the Anschluss, upon his friends' advice and with their help, he emigrated to the US. He worked at Worcester State Hospital, gave professional development lectures to the doctors and treated schizophrenic patients. His connection to Jellinek can be illustrated with a quote from a letter to Vilma Kovács from this time. Since Róheim is afraid of his mother, he writes the following:

I can see Morton coming on the road. We are going over to have lunch, goulash. [...] I got a letter from my mother... Don't

mention Morton to her, for the obvious reasons (Róheim, 1992, 128).

The relationship between Jellinek and Róheim would deserve an article of its own. They seem to have a lot in common in addition to their family and educational background, the exceptional talent for languages, and their interests in anthropology, psychoanalysis, and research methods. They both acquired vast knowledge from many areas and felt committed to not only book science, but fieldwork and statistics. They both developed effective methods to find relationship in large material, and often times they were the first to find connections. They were both full of brilliant ideas, but had to struggle with the consequences of a broken career path for various reasons.

Jellinek's Caper

As presented in the SALIS newsletter's collage (Ward & Bejarano, 2013), Jellinek's name showed up in the title of articles of many Hungarian newspapers starting from June 18, 1920, for example, *The mysterious disappearance of Morton Jellinek, secretary to the Prime Minister. Where did Morton Jellinek's diamonds go? Police questioning Jellinek's agents. Chasing the currency speculators' half billion. Arrest warrant against Morton Jellinek. Was Jellinek mentally ill?*



Hungarian newspaper headlines from the 1920

To put these headlines into context, it should be noted that there was an enormous amount of newspapers to fill with sensational news daily in Hungary in the early 1920s, such as *Budapesti Hírlap*, *Az Est*, *Friss Újság*, *Kis Újság*, *Magyarország*, *Magyar Újság*, *Neues Politisches Volksblatt*, *Neues Pester Journal*, *Népszava*, *8 Órai Újság*, *Pester Lloyd*, *Pesti Hírlap*, *Pesti Napló*, *Új Lap*, *Az Újság*, *Világ*. By 1925, there were altogether 934 newspapers published in Hungary: 618 in Budapest, 316 local (Buzinkay, 1993).

The articles retrieved from the microfilm collection at the National Széchényi Library tell us the following story. On June 18, 1920, Hungarian newspapers appeared with sensational headlines such as *Currency fraud for half a billion* (Népszava, June 18, 1920). These articles revealed a complicated Ponzi scheme starting earlier that year, which was made possible by the political and financial turmoil. After the dismantled Austro-Hungarian Monarchy introduced stamping old bank notes of crowns in the successor countries to be used as currency of the new state, with the deadline scheduled at different times in each. According to the articles, a mysterious currency broker acquired dollars for 140 crowns, which cost 230 crowns in the market, promising a quick turnover with large profit. If needed, he even provided a written warranty issued by Gusztáv Létay, director of the Hungarian Unio Bank. Part of the trick was reported as purchasing jewelry for crown to be smuggled out of the country and sold there for good currency. Then the foreign currency was brought to Budapest by diplomatic couriers of the allied countries, whose luggage was never checked at customs.

The mastermind behind the operation was said to be Dr. Morton Jellinek, the ministerial secretary of the prime minister's office, who allegedly worked with several female agents. At the beginning of June 1920, he was reported to have collected a large amount of money to exchange, but he disappeared instead. According to the newspaper articles, Jellinek and Létay took a train to Szeged (in southern Hungary, located close to the Yugoslavian and Romanian

border) to meet a courier on the Simpson Express. Lacking proper documents, they were not allowed to cross the Tisza Bridge to make the appointment. However, Jellinek still wanted to go, without Létay. The trip was risky as the Serbs shot at every boat. The story goes that wearing only a sports coat, Jellinek got in a small boat. He left his leather briefcase, containing documents, but not any valuables, with Létay. That was the last time anyone saw Jellinek in Hungary.

A few days later, his wife reported him missing at the Budapest Police. The family lawyer, Mihály Vándor, went looking for him in Vienna. Meanwhile, the creditors and investors demanded their profit, and rumors of his escape were spread all over the capital. Eventually, on June 18, 1920, the newspapers picked up the story. The victims, among them banks, barons, several millionaires, government officers, artists, and owners of companies, were unwilling to press charges, even though they claimed to have suffered significant losses. This can be interpreted as an admission of co-conspiracy, i.e., that they were all aware of the illegal ways of profit-making, but still opted for the quick money.

On June 29, 1920 an arrest warrant was issued in Hungary and was sent to major newspapers in four languages. Jellinek was accused of fraud, embezzlement, and smuggling. The warrant is reported to have a photo of him too, which hasn't been recovered.

The judge of the Budapest criminal court issues an arrest warrant for fraud, embezzlement, and smuggling unstamped Hungarian currency outside the country against Jellinek Morton, born in New York, 30 year old, religion reformed, former secretary of the prime minister's office, citizen of Budapest, who caused a damage of several million crowns to several individual and groups by setting up fraudulent transactions with foreign currency and who collected large amounts of money recently to do more transactions and then he fled. The above mentioned is of medium height, slim, with bluish grey eyes,

*with dark and slim face, dark brown or rather black hair, clean shaven, speaks Hungarian, German, English, French and Italian quickly and nervously, and he was wearing a dark grey suit a similar color overcoat, soft hat, and black shoes with laces. We want that under your auspices search for Jellinek Morton in case of locating him please secure any values on him, arrest him, and inform us about this. [sic! *poor phrasing] (Az Est, June 29, 1920).*



An overstamped banknote
(Courtesy of Andrea Hajnal Kicsák)

The historical context to understand how the scheme was possible is as follows. The Austro-Hungarian Empire just collapsed in the fall of 1918, as a result of being defeated in World War I. An attempt to set up a Communist Hungarian Soviet Republic was crushed in the spring of 1919. Instead, the Kingdom of Hungary was restored, spearheaded by the last commanding admiral of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, Regent Miklós Horthy. The Treaty of Trianon was signed on June 4, 1920, to regulate new borders, which became major economic barriers. Hungary lost 72% of its territory and the majority of its natural resources. The successor states continued to use the Austro-Hungarian crown (krone, korona), limiting the validity to its own territories by overstamping the banknotes. For example, Austria stamped the word DEUTSCHÖSTERREICH, on the notes circulating in Austria. The new currency was undergoing inflation at a fast rate due to the consequences of the War and Trianon, and people were concerned about their assets losing its value day by day. As such, they were

willing to take serious risks in the hope of a quick profit. Stamping notes created an influx of unstamped notes in certain regions, and the lax procedures the movements of crowns between the successor states allowed significant profits (for more on cross-border currency flows see Gerber & Spencer, 1994).

Jellinek: Myths and legends

The first legends about Jellinek were created around the time of his escape from Hungary by word of mouth and the daily newspapers. The articles written at this time provide a mixture of accurate and inaccurate information in addition to editorializing the story. A few examples of articles from that period (translation by author):

Jellinek Morton is the son of Marcell Jellinek and Marcella Lindh, who was born in the United States and was brought up in England and the Netherlands and arrived in Budapest five years ago. The 35 year old, elegantly dressed, short, and hearing impaired ministerial secretary speaks seven languages perfectly (Budapesti Hírlap, June 18, 1920).

In an editorial entitled “The Craze of Speculation” the Pesti Hírlap describes him: “This young man is from a respected family, wealthy himself, he lived an exorbitant gambling life” (Pesti Hírlap, June 18, 1920). More details, true and false mixed, can be found in another early newspaper article:

As for the person of Morton Jellinek, we can report Dr. Morton Jellinek is the son of Marcell Jellinek, the brother of the well-known director of the Budapest train company and of Marcella Lindt, the famous singer, who was born in America, raised in England and the Netherlands, and arrived in Budapest five years ago, now is 35 years old, very well dressed, short, and hearing impaired. He speaks several languages perfectly, English, French, Hungarian, German, Dutch, and Danish. Due to his language proficiency, he was a member of

the press department of the prime minister’s office, and later he was the secretary of Dr. Henrik Gonda, ministerial advisor, press secretary of Dr. Sándor Wekerle, and he gained the rank of ministerial secretary. (Pesti Napló, June 18, 1920).

His interest in gambling was the focus of many articles:

Jellinek played two card games—bakk (baccarat) and chemin de fer. Especially with the second one, his style raised some eyebrows even among experts. There was no amount high enough that he wouldn’t “knock” without blinking, which means whenever it was his turn, he always called. He would play throughout the entire night and knocked very frequently, calling 30-40,000 crowns. One night the difference was half a million. Jellinek usually lost when he was gambling, and we can state that the lost amounts were negligible compared to the millions he conned from others. (Pesti Napló, June 19, 1920).

The existence of the first wife can be traced back to not only court documents, but to various news items, such as:

Investigating officials haven’t yet started their work because no official victim showed up yet, no charges have been pressed, but the police are running inquiries and started investigation within their own capacity. Police proceedings are based on the report made by Morton Jellinek’s wife at the police headquarters in which she informed them that her husband disappeared, and she related them the mysterious circumstances of her husband’s disappearance. (Az Est, June 19, 1920).

The Jellinek story with its budding myths, however, quickly disappeared from the newspapers and was replaced by other and more sensational stories of the time, such as

the international labor boycott of Hungary beginning on June 20.

Summary

Little has been known about Jellinek's Hungarian period so far. The newspaper articles above would never be sufficient to verify the events, especially given the fact that prominent players in the scandal were affiliated with some newspapers. That is where librarians, archivists, and digitization efforts will come into play. We collected most of the currently available materials from the Budapest Archives, and with their ongoing digitization supported by European Union funding, hopefully more material will resurface in addition to the folder related to the Jellinek trial, which does not contain the actual trial documents. Its docket number, B.7069/1920, is well cited, but it only leads to another accession number, which loops back to the original docket number for unknown reasons. Some tampering with the ledger is evident. However, documents from the related procedures and trials, including the Hungarian Royal Attorney's reports and notes, provide plenty of details about the Jellinek case too. Indictments, witness testimonies, and other legal documents are available about other partners in crime, written by lawyers or the Royal Attorney, including a list of the transactions.

It should be noted that many pages of the Royal Attorney's report sound similar or even identical with Frank's text, *Conmen, vagabonds*. References are made to the circumstances of the transactions as well as to the events of the day Jellinek disappeared. The legal documents prove clearly that his alleged partners still accepted money from investors after he left the country. It is also speculated that all partners were in the fraud together, and eventually helped Jellinek escape, then split the profit. There is some reference to jewelry transactions too. Noteworthy is the full documentation how Marcell, his father, was involved, while the name and address of Mrs. Jellinek is also listed living with Marcell Jellinek in the Nyúl Street apartment. However, the Jellinek docket has not shown up yet.

Jellinek disappeared from Hungary for good in June 1920. Perhaps it remains a mystery forever whether he was the mastermind behind the currency transactions, or simply took the blame for others. His story pops up in obscure Transylvanian newspapers and in the *New York Times* as late as 1925 (*New York Times*, 1925), containing false information about his location. Private correspondence and even librarians have been perpetuating myths without enough details. Our work aims to put an end to this by collecting, digitizing, and providing access to all related materials.

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