

University of Pécs
"Education and Society"
Doctoral School of Education

Marianna Ács

Female education at the girls' civil school and boarding school of the Upper
Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church

1916-1948

theses of doctoral dissertation

Supervisors:

Prof. Dr. Katalin Kéri Ambrusné, PhD habil.

Prof. Dr. Péter Hajdu, DSc

Pécs

2016

Subject and structure of the dissertation

The dissertation concerns the history of the girls' civil school¹ operating from 1916 till 1948, maintained by the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church (*Felső-Baranyai Református Egyházmegye*), presenting the denominational and political ideas, education in the school was based upon. From its establishment until the academic year of 1929/30 the school operated in Siklós, then until its nationalisation in 1948, in Pécs.

This research is primarily a school history work, related to the history of the Danubian Church District (*Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület*) of the Hungarian Reformed Church as well as the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church closely linked thereto. Such presentation of the history of the Calvinist girl education institution within the Hungarian history of education is linked to the history of Protestant (and especially Calvinist) education, as well as the history of female education in Hungary.

The author presented the historical context in which the Girls' Civil School of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church operated at the end of the Dual Monarchy period of Austria-Hungary, in the Horthy era and the transition period between 1945 and 1948. In Chapter II we covered the historical events, political and economic changes that could have affected the operation of the school, especially the status of public education (including denominational education) in the certain periods.

In Chapter III we covered the female education institutions operating in the Danubian Church District until 1948, presenting the place and role of the girls' civil school maintained by the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church among the other female education institutions of the Reformed Church. We presented in detail the different school type, comparing their foundation date with the data of other female education institutions, established by different maintainers. We discussed the education policy of the church district, including the issues relevant to female education.

The topic of Chapter IV is the history of the maintainer, the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church, during the operating period of the school. In a different subchapter, we analysed the history of the public schools of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church, from the Dual Monarchy period of Austria-Hungary to the period of nationalisation.

In the part titled "Chapters from the history of the Girls' Civil School of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church" we reviewed the most important events of the operation of the institution, in both Siklós and Pécs. In this chapter we examined the issues relevant to the population, economy and society of Siklós and Pécs in the era. We also drew up the school network of both municipalities. In a subchapter we also reviewed the operation of the boarding school, operating within the same institution as the girls' civil school.

In the chapter "Changes of education environment during the operation of the institution", we thoroughly discussed the fates of the buildings adjacent to the school and the boarding school. We presented the history of the vocational training rooms, equipment and teaching tools supporting the processes of teaching and learning, found in the institution.

In the chapter titled "School inspection overseeing the girls' civil school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church" we discussed the church and government school inspection authority activities over the institution, including the government's measures violating the autonomy of the Calvinist educational institution.

¹ From 1916 to 1930, the institution was called the Siklós Girls' Civil School of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church, from 1930 to 1945 it was the Girl Education Institution of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church, and then from 1946 to 1948 it was called the Reformed (Calvinist) General School.

In the chapter "Economic background of the operation of the girls' civil school" we examined the incomes and expenditures of the institution, as well as the finances of the boarding school. In the same chapter, we also presented the role of the government in financing the school.

In the chapter "Academic staff of the school" we compiled a table, including the most important information relevant to the teachers of the school. Based on the available data, we identified their birthplaces and birth dates, their denominations, training and qualification, as well as their teaching period at the institution and the subjects they had taught. In the "Teacher career paths" subchapter we presented the specific career paths of certain teachers, using the memories of former pupils of the institution. In the subchapter "Role of the teachers of the institution in the associations of Pécs" we tried to emphasise the active social lives the academic staff of the institution lived in Pécs, thus contributing to the good reputation of the educational institution of the minority Calvinists.

Chapter X focuses on the pupils of the institution. We examined the changes in the number of pupils and revealed the related reasons. We analysed the pupils based on their denomination, mother tongue, place of abode and the occupation of their parents (primarily the father). We aimed to draw the relevant consequences with regard to the social structures of the catchment area of the institution (Siklós, Pécs and Baranya County).

Chapters XI and XII are about education. We first focused on the education objectives of the Calvinist school, and the ideal type of women with a Calvinist identity, answering their calling. We presented the characteristics of the ideal type of man according to Calvin, based on Protestant principles, as well as the social roles open to Hungarian Calvinist women in the interbellum period. We examined the speeches of the church leaders of the Danubian Church District and the headteacher of the Girls' Civil School of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church presented at celebration and annual meeting events, in order to identify the education objectives of the Calvinist female school. In the chapter "Education and teaching at the girls' civil school and boarding school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church" we discussed what social roles the school prepared the pupils for, presenting the subsequent fates of the women graduating from the school, with regard to their higher education statistics. In the part "Teaching at the girls' civil school and boarding school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church" we detailed the method of training for the everyday practice of the religion, as well as deepening patriotism. In the last chapter we discussed how the range of history books used in the school became means of education, based on the impact of political ideologies.

Research sources

In the course of research we reviewed many pieces of literature relevant to the topic, and - aiming to achieve completeness - processed the sources kept in the archives related to the girls' civil school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church. We successfully discovered a range of sources previously unknown, the heritage of Irén Bikfalvy, a teacher who worked in the school from the beginning of its operation until the nationalisation period.²

For the research, we used several primary and secondary sources, including the primary sources highlighted here. The reports of the church district school inspectorate administrator stored in the Baranya County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary contributed to summarising the information on the female education institutions of the Danubian Church District of the Reformed Church.

The writings of Pál Ember and János Kodolányi, as well as the contemporary archive records of episcopal visits collected with the title "A bizalom pecsété alatt" (Under the seal of trust, 1817 and

² Dr. Henrik Szijártó, a doctor from the village of Böhönye, the caretaker of the estate of Irén Bikfalvy provided us the sources.

1885)³ enabled a thorough examination of the history of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church.

The school history part of the dissertation was written based on the school reports kept at the National Pedagogy Library and Museum and the National Széchényi Library; "Records of the Girls' Civil school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church" available for research at the Baranya County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary; the collection of association statutes from the city of Pécs stored in the archives; school inspection records; as well as the records of diocese annual meetings, records of the board of the school available for research at the Archives of the Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church (BREL), and the correspondence of László Ravasz and János Victor located in the Ráday Archives.

The writings of John Calvin, Martin Luther and Jenő Sebestyén⁴ contributed to the presentation of the Calvinist female ideal type and human ideal. We analysed the speeches of church leaders and school headteachers found in the records of the Danubian Church District and the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church, as well as the school reports of the Siklós and Pécs girls' civil school of the Reformed Church, in order to present the opinion of Calvinist leaders at that age about the objectives of Calvinist female education.

By way of analysing the range of history books used in the girls' civil school⁵, we presented how the change of approach to history in this era is reflected in the history books used in the school.

Research objectives

The dissertation was made in order to reflect on two main issues: on the one hand, processing the history of the school, and on the other hand, the education provided at the school and the ideological background thereof.

Research questions related to school history concern how teaching in Protestant spirit was put to practice. Our intention was to present how the history of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church lead to the demand of establishing and maintaining the school.

We wanted to examine how the issue of female education was represented in the education policy of the Danubian Church District, and therefore what type of institutional system was established here to provide female education, as well as how the girls' civil school researched in the dissertation fit among these other institutions.

How did the historical events of the era (e.g. the world wars, the Treaty of Trianon, the Serb Occupation, etc.) and the changing education policy of the country affect the history of the school?

We also considered the operational issues of the school: exercising supervision rights, the changing environment of the pupils, the financing of the school operation. We also emphasised issues related to the relationship between the church and the state, as regards the quality of education and the financing of the school operation. We were looking for answers to what measures the government introduced in order to restrict the autonomy⁶ of the church - granted in Act XXVI of 1790/91 as regards education - throughout the era, and how the church leadership reacted thereto.

³ Keresztes – Hamarkay 2004.

⁴Fabiny 1982; Kálvin 1995a,b,c; Sebestyén 1927.

⁵ Istvánffy 1910; Istvánffy – Kováts 1922; Kováts 1928.

⁶ Section 5 of Act XXVI of 1790/91: "Both denominations of Evangelicals shall always be free in the future (...) not only to keep their existing primary and grammar schools, but also to establish new ones everywhere where it is deemed necessary, also higher level schools, but the latter with preliminary royal consent only; and also to hire and let off masters, teachers, headteachers, deputy headteachers, to increase or decrease their numbers, as well as to elect local, higher and top level school inspectors and caretakers from the members of their own denominations; to specify the method, rules and order of teaching and learning" Source: <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=4900>

How did the number of pupils change during the operation of the institution, and what were the relevant reasons? Were there any changes in Siklós and Pécs regarding the denomination, nationality of pupils and the social status of their parents, and what were the relevant reasons?

We were also interested in how the teachers could mediate the Calvinist Christian values of the school outside of their high level teaching activities. How did the academic staff contribute with their association activities to integrating the minority denomination school to the local society?

The other main direction of research questions concerned the objectives of the Calvinist female education at the institution, i.e. establishing a Calvinist identity and the social roles of women. We aimed to describe the Calvinist Christian ideas according to which teaching was carried out in the girls' civil school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church. We studied Protestant principles, the teachings of Calvin, in order to answer the question of which characteristics and behavioural examples have formed the foundation of a Calvinist identity, from the age of the Protestant Reformation.

We also examined what the church leaders (bishops, deans, school headmasters, etc.) active in the era had thought about the objectives of female education and the role of the Calvinist Christian woman in society. We sought answers to whether there had been any changes in the roles the school prepared the pupils for during the operation from 1916 to 1948.

We examined the practice of religious and patriotic education at the institution, focusing on extracurricular activities. In addition to this, we also researched how history books became the mediators of political ideologies and means of education.

Hypotheses of the researcher

By establishing the Calvinist girls' civil school, the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church (leading the minority Calvinist communities) intended to create a basis for preserving culture, identity and religion for the Calvinists living in Baranya County. At the early stages of research, we presumed that the Calvinists in Baranya had chosen an appropriate type of school for their social base.

We presumed that the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church with its assets and numbers in decline, could not have maintained the school (that fought for minority goals) without a government intervention.

We thought that the government also contributed financially to maintaining the church educational institutions, and did not restrict their autonomy in the interbellum period, in a political environment with a dominantly Christian/Nationalist ideology.

When research commenced, we presumed that the emancipation efforts of women had a negative impact on leaders of the Reformed Church, which led to them reassuring their conservative views on the social roles of women. It was our hypothesis that the home mission movement aiming to renew Calvinist church life (expecting increasingly intensive practice of faith and a strict return to the original Protestant principles from everyone who joined the movement) had not created an opportunity for middle-class Calvinist women to break out from the traditional triangular role of wife-mother-housewife, in order to start working, and create the type of modern Calvinist Christian woman working for her family, the Calvinist congregation and her own sustainment.

At the early stages of research we presumed that history school books were the most useful means of affecting the patriotic education of pupils and mediating behavioural patterns. We presumed that history school books reflected the ideology of their author, and also the political ideology of the era when their author lived and wrote the book.

Research methods

In the course of research, we primarily applied education history methods⁷ to find answers to our questions. We collected the literature available concerning the field, as well as the primary sources. Based on the comparison of these two - by way of qualitative analysis⁸, applying source criticism - we carried out the critical processing of the secondary sources.

The dissertation discussed the history of the school and the diocese with a diachronic approach. In addition to a chronological order of the topics, we also enforced synchronous criteria in the paper, highlighting the most important issues relevant to the operation of the school, such as the learning environment, the financing of the institution, and the practice of religious and patriotic education therein.

Regarding teacher career paths and in the course of authentically presenting the history of the school, we applied the method of oral history.⁹ In May 2012 we interviewed the following former pupils: Ottóné Merkel, Katalin Danyiné Kiss, Piroska Szakácsné Kozári and Ilona Komlósi Ernőné Kiss. The recollections presented during the interviews add fine details and increase the authenticity of the history of the school.

We analysed the statistical data of the school (e.g. changes of the number of pupils, their denomination and nationality, the parents' social status and place of abode) with the application of quantitative methods. These examinations enabled the representation of the consequences of historical events, as well as church policy and education policy decisions that affected the operation of the school.

In the chapter "Ideal of Calvinist female education in the Danubian Church District, based on the speeches of church leaders and the headteacher of the Girls' Civil School of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church presented at celebration and annual meeting events" we applied an interdisciplinary research method: we used discourse analysis to examine primary sources.¹⁰ We mainly followed the guideline works of Ágnes Vámos¹¹ who combined the general procedures of this research methodology with the particulars of metaphor research.

In the chapter titled "Change of approach to history through the female figures included in the history school books of Gyula Istvánffy and György Kováts for class IV of girls' civil schools" we applied the method of school book analysis¹², supplemented by iconographic analysis¹³.

The processing of the vast primary and secondary resources through multiple methodological approaches resulted in a special school history work, which presents (through the ideal of Calvinist female education) how these objectives were fulfilled in Baranya County, throughout the interbellum period.

The contents of the paper are supplemented by 2 maps, 15 tables and 61 figures.

Research results

The most important result of the doctoral dissertation is that it has processed the history of the girls' civil school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church, which has its history originated in the age of Protestant Reformation.

⁷ Kéri 2001; Pukánszky 2008.

⁸ Szabolcs 2001.

⁹ Gyáni 2000; 2003; Szabolcs 2001; Károly 2007.

¹⁰ Discourse analysis is based on a new philosophical approach of the late 20th century, post-modernist epistemology, which re-interpreted the relationship of language and reality. Nowadays we do not consider language as medium which enables understanding reality and the elements thereof, but think that our world consists of the meanings carried by language (Carver 2004; Baska 2008).

¹¹ Vámos 2001, 2003.

¹² Unger 1979; Katona 2006ab; Albert 2006, 2007; Szabó 2010.

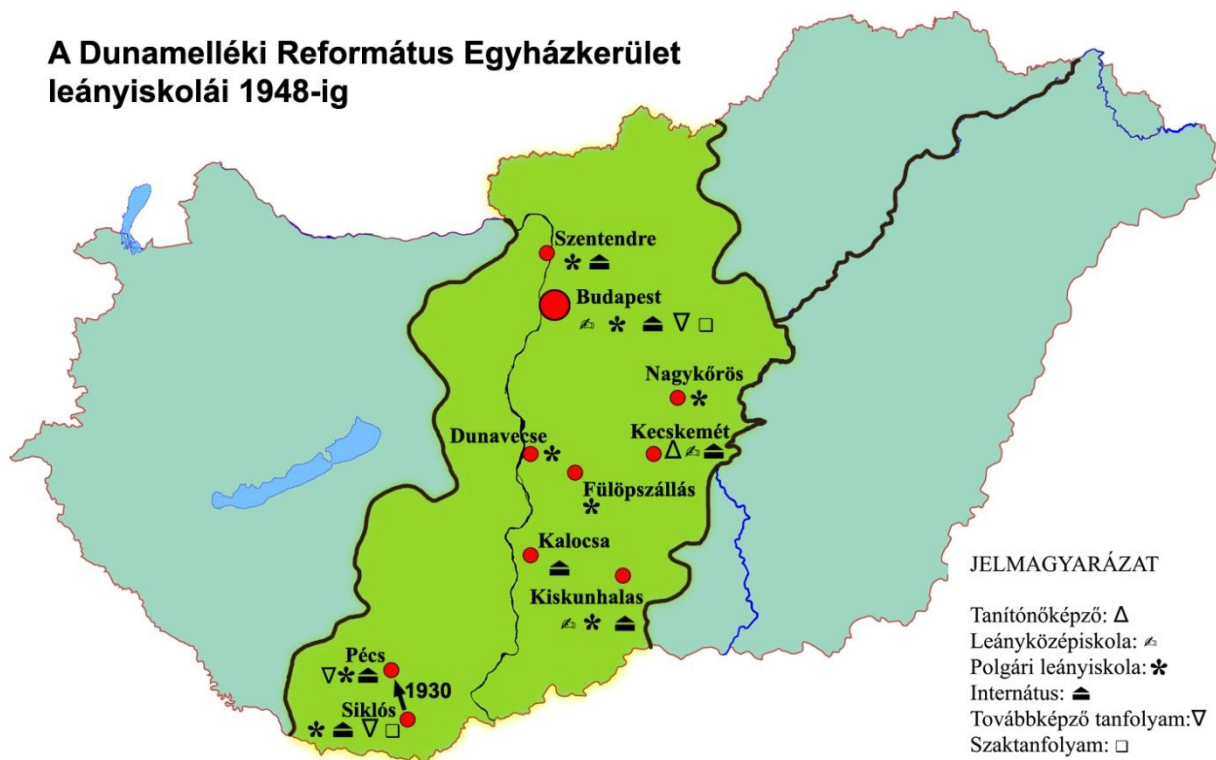
¹³ Fischerné 2009.

The school history work was created with a focus on Calvinist women's education. Calvinist denomination female education within the history of girl education, and female education within the history of the Reformed Church of Hungary are both scarcely researched. This dissertation aims to compensate for these deficiencies.

The girls' civil school and boarding school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church, uniting minority Calvinist communities, become a school centre preserving culture, identity and religion for the Calvinists living in Siklós and then in Pécs. During the 32 years of its operation, as a Calvinist "island" it represented and mediated the spirit and education values of Calvinists in Siklós and Pécs, among the majority Catholic population of Baranya County.

The diocese established the girls' civil school in its then centre, Siklós, on the eastern edge of the mostly Calvinist Ormánság region, in order to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Protestant Reformation in 1916. There were many reasons why the diocese established an upper level public school instead of a single school merely providing elementary level schooling. One of the reasons is related to local history: The private girls' school in Siklós educating several different denominations, which has operated for a decade, was closed. The Catholic denomination founded a new girls' civil school and the Calvinist community feared that the previously denominationally neutral education would not be provided anymore to Calvinist pupils by the school maintained by the Catholics. This local demand concurred with the new direction of the education policy of the Danubian Church District, supported by the bishop Elek Petri, which supported the increased importance of female education.

In the chapter titled "Female education institutions maintained by the Reformed Church, operating in the Danubian Church District until 1948" we collected the female education institutions offering a higher level of education than elementary school, operated in the Dunamellék region, maintained by the Reformed Church, from the second half of the 19th century to 1948.

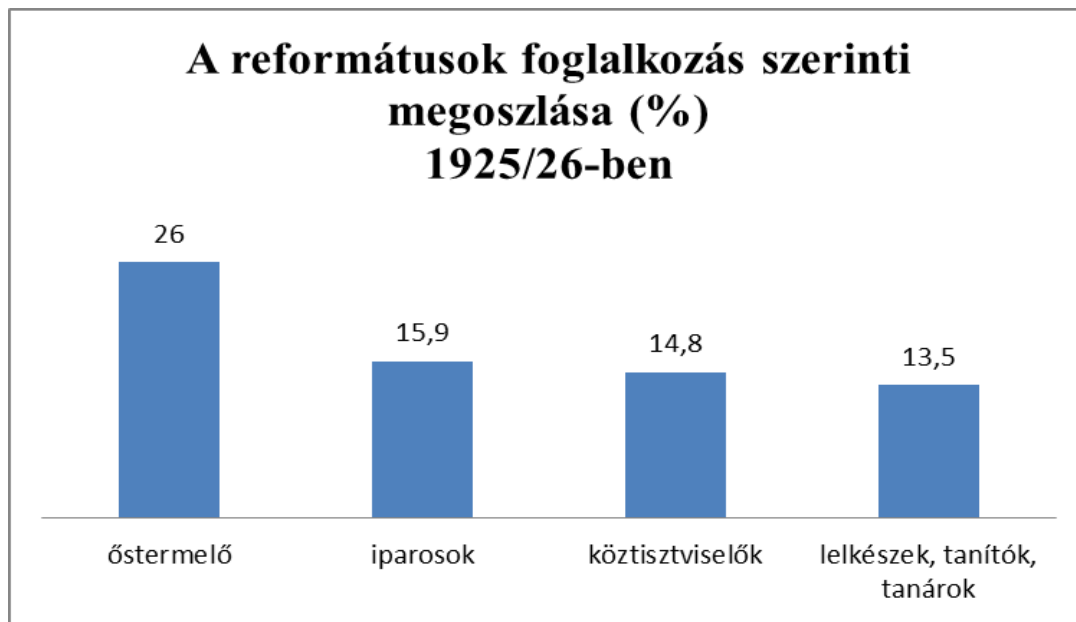


Girls' schools of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church till 1948 / LEGEND / Elementary school teacher training, Girls' secondary school, Girls' civil school, Boarding school, Qualifying training course, Vocational training course

We argued that the church district, the dioceses and the parishes treated the issue of female education badly: they operated a very low number of institutions offering higher levels of education than elementary schools, with a delay (compared to other maintainers). We showed that there is a connection between neglecting female education and the approach of Calvinist church leaders to the role of women in society. In our opinion, the conservative view that intended to see women in the social roles of mother-wife-housewife (contrary to the modernising social demands) was represented in the types, dates of establishment and low number of female education institutions operated by the church.

At the early stages of research, we presumed that the Calvinists in Baranya had chosen an appropriate type of school for their social base, considering their choice of a girls' civil school. The social base of the Reformed Church of Hungary, as well as the Reformed Church in Baranya County, mostly consisted of farmers living off agricultural production, owners of smallholdings and medium-sized farms. (*Figure 1*)

Figure 1: Share of occupations of the Calvinists in Hungary in 1925/1926



Peasant farmers; craftsmen; public servants; ministers, elementary and higher level teachers

Editor: Ács 2016. Source: Hörcsik 1983:306.

Girls' civil schools were mostly established for the children of the new middle-class of urban areas, craftsmen and small traders, as well as low-level public servants in 1868¹⁴. This is explained by the fact that this school provided a higher level of knowledge and practical skills in a relatively short period, enabling the pupils to occupy jobs of a low social standing. In the early 1920s, only 3% of the civil schools were maintained by the Reformed Church, showing that the Reformed Church of Hungary did not support the establishment of girls' civil schools, because this school type was not compatible with the traditional educational functions of the church. According to the report of the Convent "the willingness of church members to contribute to this type of school is low"¹⁵ "The civil school and the civil teachers were the foster children of the church in the past"¹⁶ The author listed the female education institutions of the Danubian Church District in the interbellum period, and found that the girls' civil school had been the most popular school type in the district among the school types

¹⁴ After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, József Eötvös, the minister of religion and education of the Andrassy cabinet, initiated a new public education law, Act 38 of 1868 which also regulated girls' civil schools. Admission to the civil school required the completion of 4 years of elementary school, and either the presentation of the certificate of the completion thereof or an admission examination. The civil school consisted of 4 years. The purpose of this school type was to provide extended knowledge compared to what was acquired at the elementary school, and also to transfer practical skills that rendered girls suitable for carrying out the duties of the housewife, instead of a scientific career. When civil schools were established, this school type belonged to the range of public education institutions. Then the ministerial decree of 1916 transferred it to the system of secondary school (medium level) education, and Act 12 of 1927 qualified them as independent medium level schools. The most important purpose of this school type was unchanged: it remained an institution conveying general knowledge with practical skills, in a religious, moral and nationalistic spirit. However, its tasks were extended. Not only educated, Hungarian housewife citizens were educated in these institutions, but the act also required to schools to prepare the pupils for vocational schools. Some extraordinary subjects (such as shorthand typing, underwear sewing) among the subjects typical for this school type showed clearly that - in addition to educating housewives - pupils of the institution were also trained for certain kinds of wage-earning occupations. After completing the civil school, graduates could go on to become pursue careers in commerce, industry and public servant jobs requiring low level training.

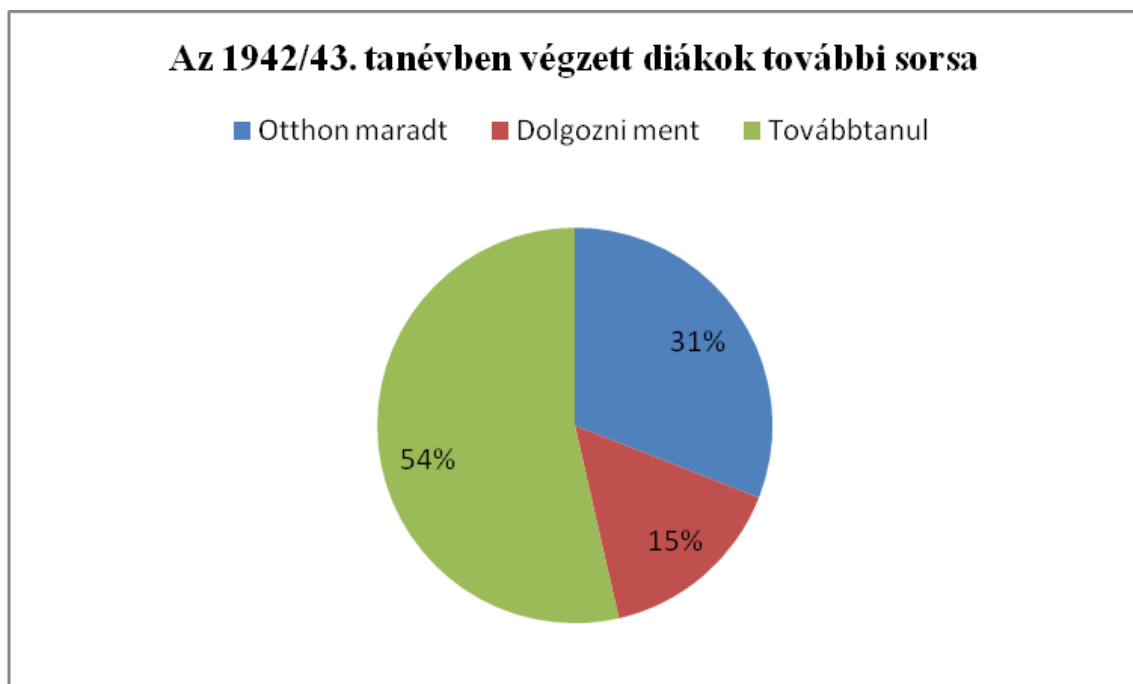
¹⁵ ZSL 2.a.Kkir.115.d. Quoted in: Hörcsik 1983:305.

¹⁶ *ibid.*

established by the Reformed Church. We argue that due to the ongoing modernisation process, the peasants who formed a large share of the social base of the Reformed Church in Hungary started to acquire wealth and rise in their social standing, and this is especially true in the catchment area and period of the subject institution, in the majority Calvinist Upper-Baranya region. This is how for some time the girls' civil school could become a popular school type for the daughters of peasant citizens in Siklós.

The purpose of the civil school contributed to implementing the wife-mother-housewife role to the greatest possible extent, and it did not encourage girls to continue their studies, which was compatible with the ruling conservative Calvinist Christian approach of the church leadership to the role of women in society. The statistical data from 1942/43¹⁷ representing the graduate career path of pupils completing the school shows that even in 1942/43 31% of the graduates chose the traditional female role after completing the school, 15% found an occupation on the job market and 54% of the girls continued their studies. (*Figure 2*)

Figure 2: Graduate career path of pupils graduating in the 1942/43 academic year



Stayed at home; Went on to work; Continued education

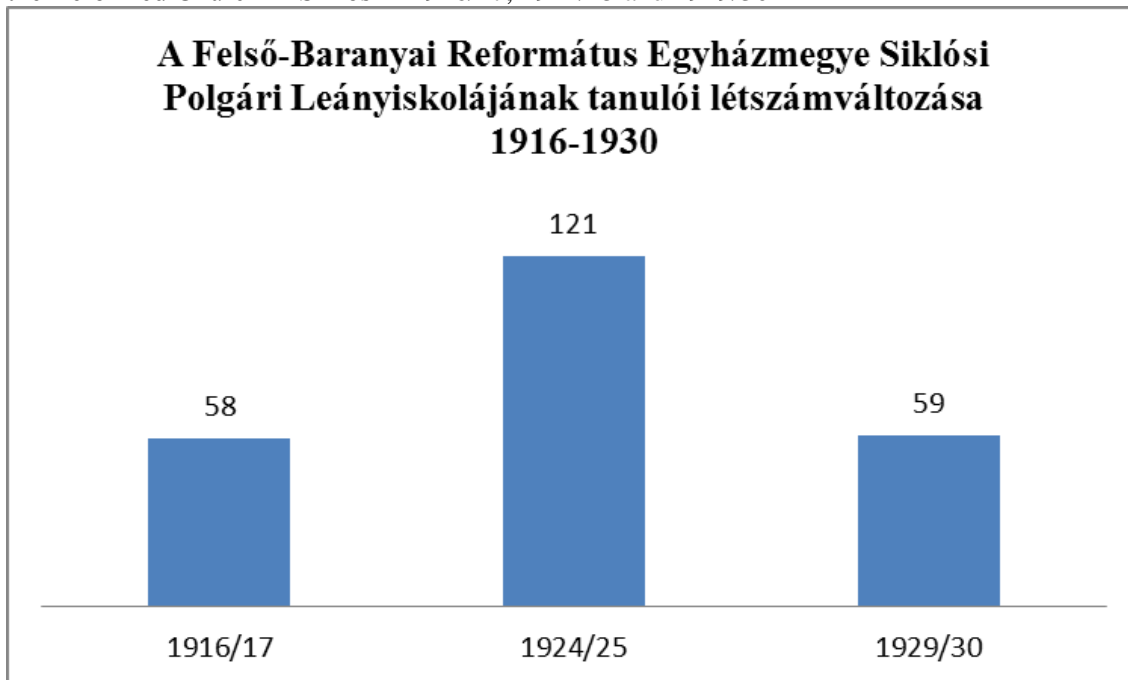
Editor: Ács 2015. Source: Felsőbaranyai Református Egyházmegye Pécsi Polgári Leányiskolájának és Továbbképző Tanfolyamának Értesítője az 1943/44. tanévről (Report of the Girls' Civil School and the Continued Education Course of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church in Pécs from the academic year of 1943/44) Pécs, 1944. p. 23.

The catchment area of the girls' civil school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church changed from 1916/17 to 1947/48. The institution was established in Siklós as the education and culture centre of the Calvinist population of Upper Baranya County and Lower Baranya County, however after the Treaty of Trianon it lost a significant part of its catchment area, all the Calvinists living in Lower Baranya, Bácska (Bačka) and Szlavónia (Slavonia). The situation was even more severe when the financial crisis occurred in the late 1920s. The latter hit the social base of the Siklós institution very hard, especially the agricultural day labourer, small trader and small craftsmen

¹⁷ Unfortunately only the data of this year are available.

populations who could not afford to send their daughters to civil school for education, due to their worsening financial conditions. (Figure 3 and Figure 5)

Figure 3: Change of the number of pupils at the Girls' Civil School of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church in Siklós in 1916/17, 1924/25 and 1929/30

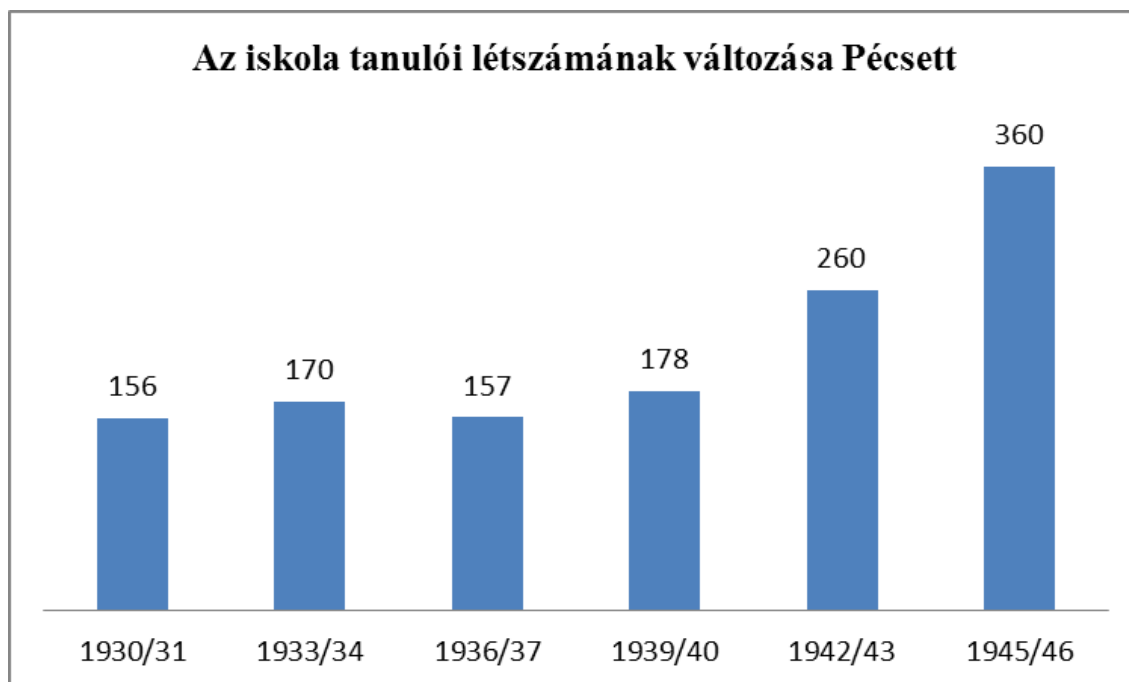


Editor: Ács 2015. Source: Reports of headteachers included in the records of the annual meetings of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church (1916-1930)

The maintenance of the school was very troublesome from the very first period of operation. By the late 1920s it was clear that the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church, with the assets and numbers of Calvinists in the county in decline, could not maintain the school (that fought for minority goals) without a government intervention. During this period neither the government, nor Siklós provided any financial support to the institution, and the church district as well as the diocese were both convinced that the institution can only be sustained if it moved to Pécs.

In Pécs, the civil school operated in an industrial, commercial and cultural centre that was amidst economic development, and the population of the town also continuously increased in this period, due to immigration. Some of the immigrants were Calvinists, and they were happy to send their children to a girls' civil school operated by the Reformed Church. In Pécs, a high number of locals and members of other denominations were also enrolled at the institution. In our opinion, the institution could most successfully serve the low-level public servant, small trader and small craftsmen population in Pécs, and this was the original purpose of establishing the civil school. (Figure 7) Since the Girl Education Institution of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church had its own boarding school, it could also attract the daughters of peasant families living in the adjacent Ormánság and Dráva-mellék regions. This is also confirmed by the fact that the number of pupils increased gradually. The highest number of pupils in the history of school (including private pupils) was achieved in 1943/44, with the number of 442. (Figure 4)

Figure 4: The number of public and private pupils at the Girl Education Institution of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church from 1930/31 to 1945/46



Editor: Ács 2014. Source: OSZK: 1924/25- 46/47. Ért. 1527/a number: A felsőbaranyai református egyházmegye leánynevelő intézetének évkönyve (Yearbook of the girl education institution of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church), and document no. 53/1947. MNL BaML VIII. 297.

In the paper we detailed the history of the girls' civil school and boarding school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church, in the context of the history of the society and education of the country, the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church and the municipalities where the school operated, Siklós and Pécs. Consequences of the First World War, the Serb occupation, the tragedy of Trianon, the Great Depression, the increasingly fascist society, the Second World War and its losses, and also the measures taken during the transitional period had a defining impact on the teaching and education at the institution. However, despite the turmoil of the First World War and the revolutions, the Serb occupation, the consequences of Trianon (not only in a territorial sense: the majority Calvinist Lower Baranya, Bácska and Szlavónia were lost from the school catchment area, as well as from the markets required for economic prosperity), the unpredictable financing and strict school inspectorate policies of the government, the worsening economic crisis, the fascist tendencies and the Second World War, the diocese could always find the proper means to maintain the school. This always required remarkable personalities who could utilise their human character, political relationships, financial resources, work and the power of their faith to take actions for the benefit of the school. Firstly, Endre Fejes, the attorney-at-law from Siklós should be mentioned, who initiated the establishment of the school, as well as minister and headteacher Lajos Rúzsás, who could find a way for the school to overcome its debts during the Serb occupation period. Also, Sámuel Mándy (Kántorjánosy), the landowner from Szentlőrinc, member of the Upper House of the Parliament, secular caretaker of the diocese, who save the school from closure several times with his political connections, and also administered a significant government loan during the economic crisis, which enabled the school to move to Pécs and educate girls under better circumstances. Among the leaders of the diocese, Pál Nyáry should be highlighted: as a committed follower of the home mission movement¹⁸ he could grow a strong diocese from an originally small and weak Calvinist congregation,

¹⁸Movement in the late 19th century, with the aim of converting the formally Christian society. It launched in Budapest, under the leadership of Aladár Szabó. This movement fought for establishing Sunday schools, the

and as the head of the diocese and the maintainer of the school, he enabled the girls' civil school to set off to a new development path. After moving to Pécs, the school had the opportunity to carry on and proceed with development. His effort was continued by the female headteacher, Margit Mojsisovich who lead the school for 23 years, and earned acclaim and popularity in Pécs, the town with a majority Catholic population. Among the diocese school inspectors, Sándor Imre should be highlighted. With his professional experience and humane, helpful school inspection conduct he could ensure the constantly high professional standards of the school, both in the fields of Calvinist teaching and education. The mostly Calvinist congregations, followers of the religious communities, ministers, Calvinist teachers and educators, parents and pupils shall not be forgotten either, because despite of their financial hardships, their cash, book and food donations and hard work all contributed to sustaining the institution.

In the chapter "Changes of education environment during the operation of the institution", we presented the financial and spiritual efforts, the leadership of the school took year by year in order to operate the buildings and facilities of the boarding school and the school in compliance with legislative requirements.

During the examination of the economic background of the girls' civil school we learnt about the incomes the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church used to maintain the girls' civil school and boarding school of the diocese. We were right in presuming that the contribution of the diocese to maintaining the school was quite small. The institution was maintained using the tuition fees paid by the parents and the government grant (supplementing payments). Major expenditures of the institution, such as constructions, the purchases of school equipment, were mostly covered using church district, Convent and government funding. It is also noteworthy what efforts the academic staff and the pupils of the institution took to contribute to the operation of the school. The revenues of ceremonies and handicraft exhibitions, the donation campaigns of student associations, the agricultural use of the school garden, pig farming (for a brief period) and the operation of an own stationery shop earned extra income for the school. The school leadership used these incomes to improve the quality of education. Such sources were used to buy the piano and to contribute to the school's education stock and library. The foodstuff produced in the garden, as well as the pork both contributed to improving the quality of catering. With these efforts the taught the pupils that small effort can mount up, and in life everyone has to keep several irons in the fire. We concluded that the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church with its assets and numbers in decline, could not maintain the school (that fought for minority goals) without a government intervention. The amount of government grants had a defining impact on the operation of the institution. Sometimes when the government failed to send the grant for supplementing payments (mainly spent on the wages of the academic staff), the very existence of the school was in jeopardy.

During the tenure of cultural minister Kunó Klebelsberg, when in compliance with the Christian-nationalistic ideology the government required religious, moral and nationalist education in order to ensure the cultural supremacy of the country and survival after the tragedy of the Treaty of Trianon, the state did not support the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church in maintaining its elementary schools or the girls' civil school. In the academic year of 1922/23 the government grant paid to supplement the wages of four teachers of the girls' civil school was halved, which practically meant that the school had to be closed. Sámuel Mándy lobbied at the ministry to restore the original grant, and teaching could continue at the school in September 1923. The reason for the government austerity was presumably the severe economic hardship of the country. However the government failed to apply the principle of equality between denominations. State funding clearly preferred Catholics, although it had already had a much more solid financial background (and six times the size

operation of prayer groups, Bible clubs, the launch of silent days, conferences and evangelisation. As a consequence, several associations were founded, such as Vasárnapi Iskolai Szövetség (Sunday School Association, 1907), Magyar Evangéliumi Keresztyén Diákszövetség (Hungarian Evangelical Christian Student Association, MEKDSZ, 1907), Keresztyén Ifjúsági Egyesület (Christian Youth Association, KIE, 1883), Bethlen Gábor Kör (1901), Magyar Református Diákok Soli Deo Gloria (Hungarian Calvinist Students Soli Deo Gloria, SDG, 1921).

of lands). Unpredictability in financing from the diocese (congregations failed to send their maintenance contributions, payments faltered) and the state as well hindered the economic maintenance of the institution. In 1928/29 and 1929/30 the government raised the rate of the supplementary government grant to 70%, which significantly reduced the financial burdens on the diocese, but during the economic crisis it was again reduced to 57% and then 49% from 1932/33, and thus rate was sustained during the tenure of minister Bálint Hóman. The situation of the institution was less severe when the government grant reduced due to the economic crisis, since the school receive less supplementary grant, but received more “construction aid” than what was taken away.

Based on the review of state financing and government school inspection, it is safe to say that in the era, during the 1930s the role of the state increased in education, threatening the acquired autonomy of the school maintained by the church. At the early stages of research, we thought that the government also contributed financially to maintaining the church educational institutions, and did not restrict their autonomy in the interbellum period, in a political environment with a dominantly Christian-nationalist ideology. Based on the above, on the one hand, the state supported the operation of the school, on the other hand it hindered the process. There were many disputes between the government and the leadership of the Reformed Church of Hungary concerning school inspection. Apparently the leadership of the church was committed to preserving its rights granted in law, but then it had to give in to the education controlling role of the state (mainly because of its financial and political vulnerability). The restriction of church autonomy was ultimately completed after nationalisation. This trauma is further highlighted in the chapter on the learning environment. The decades-long fight for the buildings, gymnasium and equipment of the school was rendered meaningless because of nationalisation. It must have been an extremely difficult experience, which is most authentically presented in the interviews with the surviving former pupils. Unfortunately, other than then the document handover documents, no written sources are available to clarify this part of history.

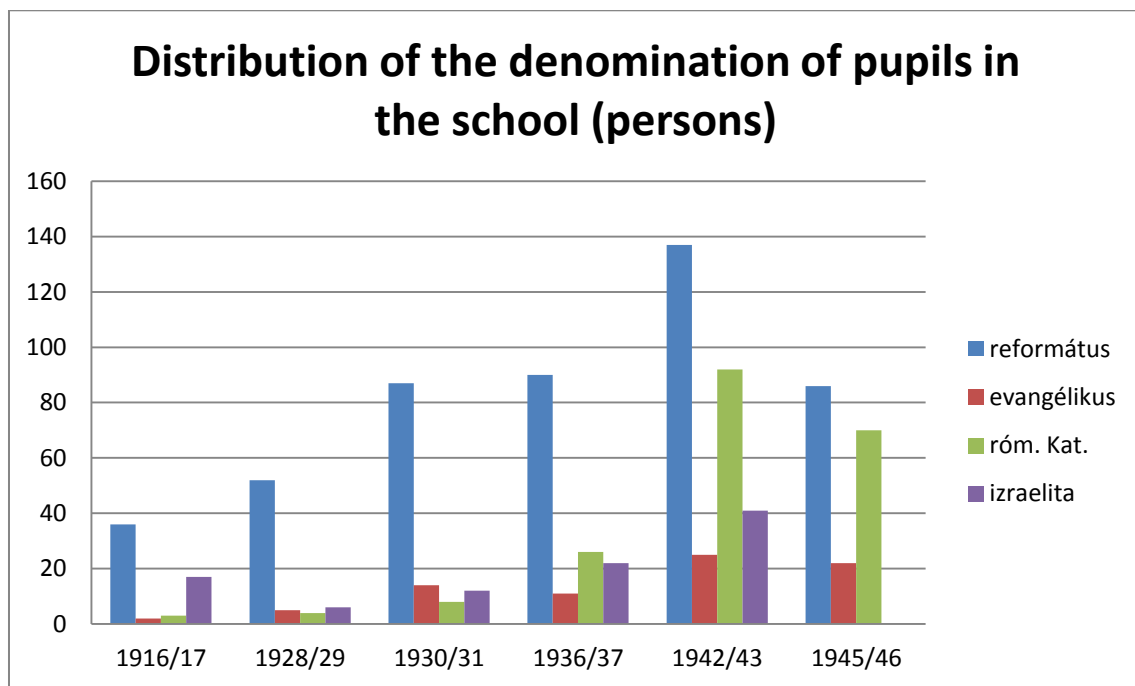
In the chapter on the academic staff of the school we compiled a table, including the most important information relevant to the teachers of the school. The sources enable us to draw up specific teacher career paths. We concluded that the academic staff of the school remained mostly unchanged during the operation of the school. Irén Bikfalvy, Margit Mojsisovich, Zoltánné Finta, Dr. Mária Balla Toókné, Lenke Szabó, Ilona Borbély had already taught in the school when it was based in Siklós and then moved to Pécs together with the institution. This is where Sándor Dizseri, Margit Országh, Jolán Vánca and Mrs. Kellnérné joined the academic staff. They are the ones who defined the school's image. Most of them were born in parts of Hungary ceded to neighbouring countries in the Treaty of Trianon, they followed the Calvinist denomination and had secondary school or civil school teacher degrees. Margit Mojsisovich and the majority of the academic staff represented the idea of the modern Christian woman working for the Calvinist community and her own self-sustainment to the pupils and the parents. The headteacher had already been active in the home mission movement aiming to renew Calvinist church life. She established vast social relations with active female society of the church. When she moved to Siklós, and later to Pécs, she took part in urban social life and encouraged fellow members of the academic staff to follow her example. She was the representative of several associations, thus improving the reputation of the institution as well. Her ideas and life authentically embody the ideal type of the emancipated Calvinist Christian woman.

Several consequences could be drawn from researching the denomination, mother tongue, place of abode and the breadwinner of the family relevant to the pupils of the school.

From the beginning, pupils of different denominations studied at the institution. In Siklós (especially from the 1920s) the girls' civil school was much more considered the school of Calvinist Baranya County, than when it moved to Pécs. (*Figure 5*) To a certain extent, this is related to the place of abode of the pupils. During the years in Pécs, local pupils were the majority (between 50-60%), in Siklós the majority came from the Calvinist regions of Baranya County. In the urban area of Pécs where more than 80% of the population was Catholic and only 4% was Calvinist, this had a significant impact of the denominations of the school's pupils. In Pécs the number of Calvinist pupils was below the half of the total number, and in 1943/44 52% of all pupils were Calvinists. In Pécs the number of Lutheran pupils was around 10%, slightly higher than in Siklós, probably because most of the

Lutherans lived in Pécs. Compared to the years in Siklós, the rate of Catholics in the school during the Pécs period increased sixfold: from 5% it increased to 31% in 1943/44. This is due to the significant increase of the number of pupils in the school: by 1945/46 the number of pupils was sixfold compared to the first years in Siklós. During the first ten years of operation, there was a significant number of Israelite pupils. In the last year in Siklós, their number reduced greatly: from 29% to 5%. In our opinion this could be explained by the unfavourable learning circumstances and the economic crisis, since it mostly affected the social base of the Israelite pupils, the traders. (Figure 6) In Pécs, their rate increased to 13% already in the first academic year. At the end of the 1930s (due to the recently introduced Anti-Jewish Laws) the number of Israelite pupils decreased again, but their share still reached 8% in 1943/44, the last academic year before the occupation. Because of the deportations, in 1945/46 no Israelite pupils remained in the school.

Figure 5: Distribution of the denomination of pupils in the school



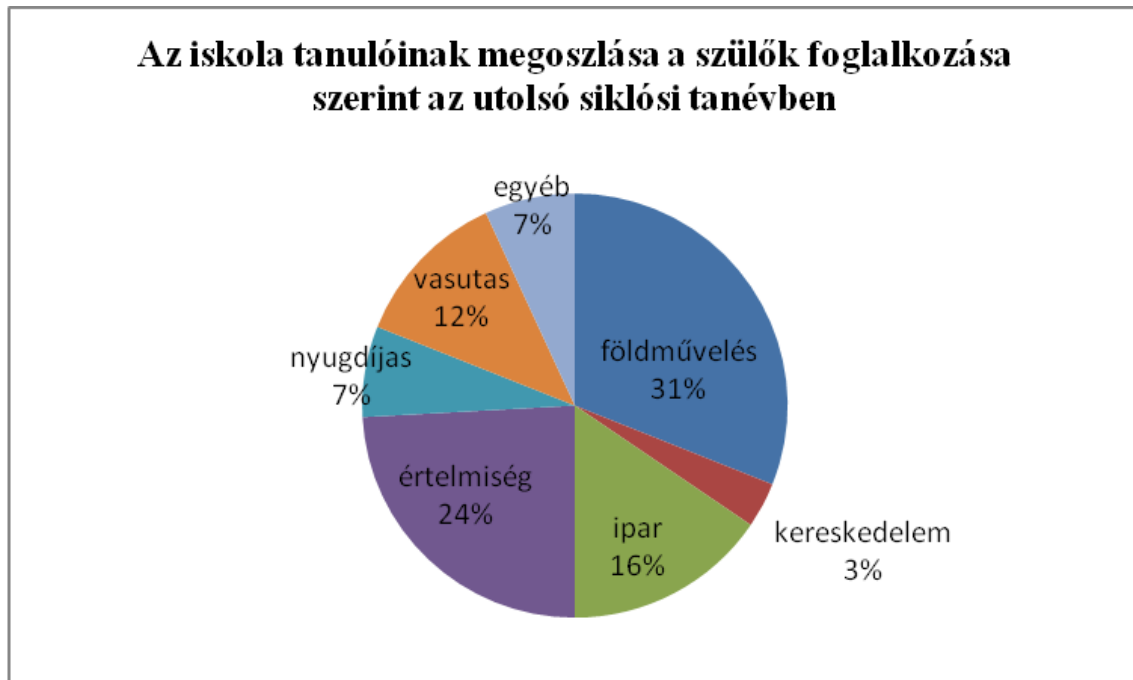
Calvinist; Lutheran; Roman Catholic; Israelite

Editor: Ács, 2016. Source: BREL II/A.11: A Felsőbaranyai Református Egyházmegye Siklósi Polgári Leányiskolájának értesítője 1916/17 (Report of the Girls' Civil School of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church in Siklós from the academic year of 1916/17); OSZK: 1924/25-46/47. Ért. 1527/a number: "A felsőbaranyai református egyházmegye leánynevelő intézetének évkönyve" (Yearbook of the girl education institution of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church).

Based on the examination of the mother tongues of the pupils we found that Hungarian-speakers were the majority. Only 5% of the pupils spoke German as their mother tongue. The rate of Croats, Slovaks and Serbs remained below 1%.

Considering the social base of the school, we found that a significant number of smallholders and owners of medium-sized farms sent their daughters to the school. Until the economic crisis, the rate of children with craftsman parents was also high. (Figure 6)

Figure 6: Distribution of pupils of the Calvinist school based on the occupation of their father, in 1929/30



(Clockwise, from 31%) Agriculture; Commerce; Industry; Intelligentsia; Pensioner; Railway employee; Other

Editor: Ács 2015. Source: A Felsőbaranyai Református Egyházmegye Siklói Polgári Leányiskolájának értesítője 1929/30 (Report of the Girls' Civil School of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church in Siklós from the academic year of 1929/30). Siklós, 1930:18.

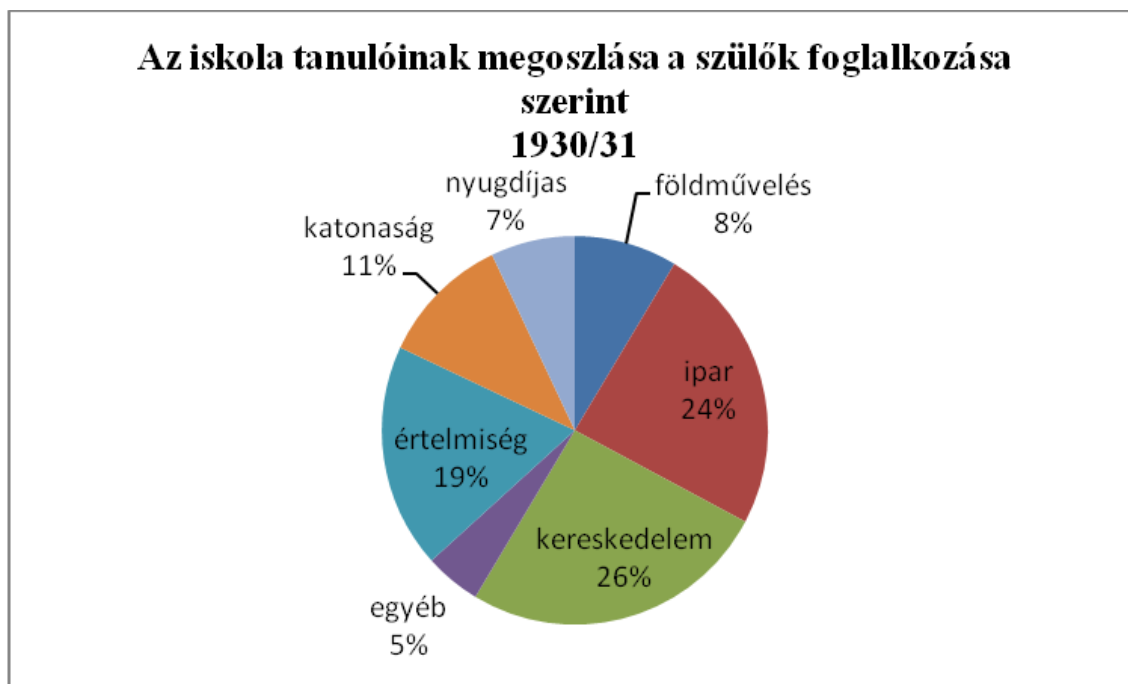
In Siklós, daughters of members of the Calvinist intelligentsia had a major share among pupils, but in Pécs from the 1930s this rate constantly dropped. However, this did not mean that the Calvinist ministers and teachers sent their daughters to secondary schools with a (matriculation) secondary school leaving examination at the end. The statistical data indicate that approximately the same number (20-25) of Calvinist ministers and teachers send their daughter to the school all along, only the total number of pupils increased significantly. So the truth is that nothing like the Calvinist intelligentsia turning away from the school in order to complete a secondary school leaving examination, only their share decreased compared to the growing group of the daughters of traders and craftsmen. There was a certain demand to send their children to secondary schools with a secondary school leaving examination at the end, and from time to time they discussed the possibility of establishing a girls' secondary school maintained by the Reformed Church. However, due to their harsh financial circumstances (with decreasing numbers in the congregation due to the families' preference for one child, and therefore decreasing income) they could not afford schooling for their children. Children of the ministers remained faithful to the institution even after it moved to Pécs, which was supported by the diocese through tuition fee discounts.

Considering school grades we found that the number of children with Calvinist minister or teacher parents was high among "excellent" students. The other denomination with many "excellent" students was the Israelite. Presumably, in their case, the rate of "excellent" students was higher because of the higher wages of the parents and the urban citizen lifestyle. Many of the dropouts were taken care of by

their widowed or pensioner mothers, and it was due to their financial possibilities and not their school grades that they could not finish school.¹⁹

In Pécs the social bases of the pupils were much more compatible with the civil school institution type. The number of children with landowner parents reduced, the majority had small trader, craftsmen and low-level public servant backgrounds. (Figure 7)

Figure 7: Distribution of the pupils of the Girl Education Institution of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church based on the occupation of their fathers in the academic year of 1930/31 (the first year in Pécs)



(Clockwise, from 8%) Agriculture; Industry; Commerce; Other; Intelligentsia; Military; Pensioner

Editor: Ács 2015. Source: A Felsőbaranyai Református Egyházmegye Leánynevelő Intézetének értesítője az 1930/31-es iskolaévről (Report of the Girl Education Institution of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church from the academic year of 1930/31). Pécs, 1931: 22.

In accordance with old Calvinist education traditions, teaching was provided jointly in the school and the boarding school²⁰, it was based on Calvinist religious principles and it was known for religious

¹⁹The school logbooks enable the discovery of such correlations. The logbooks of the girls' civil school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church were discovered in the autumn of 2015, after the first version of the paper had already been submitted. Therefore their thorough analysis remains a future research objective. The logbooks are currently kept at the Archives of the Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church.

²⁰The maintainer aimed to create a school based on the "boarding school" institution type. In the sense that they intended to establish a pupils' community (in order to effectively implement the Calvinist teaching ideals) in which the pupils "find free accommodation and board, with an organisation and association that lives under the appropriate supervision, almost like in a convent". (Lajos Csiky). The organisation structure of the girls' civil school operating in Siklós and Pécs is only related with the organisation of traditional Calvinist boarding schools in this sense. The historical Calvinist boarding school was a three-level education institution (elementary, secondary and academic level), while the civil school only represented the lower tier of secondary (medium) level education. As an education institution where pupils also lived, it followed the traditions of Calvinist boarding schools. Within the boarding school, for example, the praeceptor system also operated as a "maternity" system: elder pupils took care of the younger ones, assisted them through their everyday activities and in

tolerance. From the very beginning, the objective of the school maintained by the Calvinist denomination was to raise adults who have a Calvinist identity, who recognise their life calling, live their lives according to Calvinist religious principles and serve the communities where they belong. The permanent task of the Calvinist school is to mediate the norm our reformer ancestors in the 16th century defined for the members of the Calvinist denomination, considering the social and historical circumstances in which the school has worked, with regard to the sex of the pupils of the institutions, the social standing of their parents, their place of abode and the relations relevant to the location of the school. The Calvinist religious principles became part of the everyday life of Calvinists, and resulted in a behavioural and life conduct example typical for them.

We concluded that (due to the underlying religious principles of Calvinist identity) the behavioural pattern expected from the Calvinist woman and the main features of her character have mostly remained unchanged since the age of Protestant Reformation: the moral and conscience of the Calvinist woman is defined by the way she reacts to the laws of God. The knowledge gained from the daily study of the Scripture is the measure of her actions. To the woman with a Calvinist identity, gracious life means that she has to seek her calling, i.e. her life goal. The Calvinist woman is the colleague of God. Her life is "before God, joining God, living for God", a self-sacrificing and creating life. Relation to work and the life goal are defining elements of the identity of the Calvinist man, one of the most important elements of the teachings of Calvin, which is based on the doctrine of predestination. According to this, the Calvinist man always faces the "dilemma of being chosen or disowned". Salvation of the Calvinist man depends on divine grace and the belief in Christ. The good Christian is always known for the good deeds done. His/her actions are the consequences of realising his faith in Christ the Saviour, by the grace of God, and of becoming the follower of Christ, and therefore his/her life becomes identical with the "tree bearing fine fruit". This lifestyle also leads to a growth of wealth and the accumulation of material assets. The Calvinist man is not driven by selfish grabbing and greed, but the well-being of his family, as well as establishing the future of his children. His primary goals include (even through making financial sacrifices) serving the common good and his fellow neighbours through the everyday practice of charity, helping those in need and philanthropy. The dissertation present the methods applied in education that contributed to religious life in the girls' civil school. In addition to divinity classes and the singing of psalms, girls were educated to become adults with Calvinist identity through the everyday study of the Bible, the practice of common morning and evening prayers, regular visits to vespers and services, as well as the organisation of silent days and girl conferences. Following the structure and operation of associations, several self-development groups, girl groups and scout teams operated at the school, which proved to be the best methods of teaching altruism. Self-development groups organised drama performances, variety events, girl groups collected donations to support those in need, missionaries and soldiers (in times of war). The Calvinist school shows several concrete examples of work education: from the practice of everyday chores, assistance at the school kitchen, to garden works and handicraft activities. The environment of the school, as well as the interior of the class rooms, "even the stones reflect the spirit of the psalms and the Bible (...)" according to László Ravasz.²¹

We presented how the emancipation efforts of women affected the social roles of Calvinist women in Hungary during the interbellum period. The impact of the home mission on this process should be highlighted. Although the home mission or awakening movement meant stricture rules of religious life to those who joined this church renewal movement, it still provided women the opportunity to play an active role in the life of their communities, outside of their homes. In the first stage of the awakening

learning as well (Mészáros – Németh – Pukánszky 2005:276-277; Református kollégiumok. Source: <http://church.lutheran.hu/reformatio/paroik.htm>).

²¹László Ravasz: "[...] the Calvinist school is imagined in a way that even the stones reflect the spirit of the psalms and the Bible.[...] the Calvinist school shall represent an ideology and this ideology shall be represented in the curriculum, the method and the school books as well." (In:Értesítő- Lónyai, 1921/22. 4. Quoted in: Rébay, 2011: 310.)

movement, the women playing an active role came from the middle and top classes of society: they were mothers with numerous children, living in families, who experienced conversion as adults and who did charity work in associations founded because of the home mission, after their children grew up. The second generation of the home mission was already socialised in a religious environment (members of girl associations, attended Bible classes, studies in Sunday school, etc.). More and more women of lower social classes took church jobs and also completed the relevant vocational qualification, such as the first female minister: Olga Novák. The reason for their advancement was due to their aptitude and not the church connections of their husband or family. Many teachers of the girls' civil school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church lived as independent breadwinners. The teachers, as well as the leaders of the diocese were actively committed to the home mission. Based on the analysis of the career of the headteacher of the school, Margit Mojsisovich, we found that she belong to the second generation of the home mission. The home mission had a significant impact on the life of the school, clearly represented by the self-development groups, charity student associations operating within the school, and the different forms of community religious practice, such as silent days and girl conferences.

The religious principles of the Protestant Reformation era, as education objectives, appeared in the speeches of church leaders and headteachers at celebration events, and on the pages of records of church district and diocese annual meetings, as well as school reports. We concluded that based on the metaphors used for the meanings of "the relationship of the Mother Church and the school; the relationships between the Calvinist school, the Calvinist teacher, Calvinist education, the modern Calvinist Christian woman, as well as the parent and the school", the most important education objective of the Calvinist school was conservative: they wanted to teach female pupils to serve God, the country and the family. However, the reviewed texts also suggested that the contemporary ideal type of the Calvinist Christian woman become more dynamic and "modern" during the interwar period (compared to the earlier periods). Although slightly belatedly, the church leadership realised the actual social requirements of the modern age, according to which female children also had to be assisted in their preparation for new social roles, in addition to education in the Calvinist spirit. So in the course of education, the institution offered modern languages, shorthand typing, commercial trade, as well as the bookkeeping and accounting subjects, assisting the graduates in finding appropriate jobs.

Conservative Christian neo-nationalism and the revisionist approach dominated the entire era, which also had an impact on the practice of education: it permeated the curriculum, the school books and extracurricular activities as well.

After the analysis of the history school books used in the girls' civil school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church we concluded that women were very scarcely mentioned in these history books, in unimportant roles, but the related texts and images did reflect the changing approach of history education, which was typical in the Dual Monarchy period, as well as the first decade of the Horthy era. The author's bias was apparent in the contemporary chapters of the history school books used in the Horthy era, both in style and the handling of historical facts. The different objectives of the authors of the Dual Monarchy period and the Horthy era, as regards developing the historical approach of women could be grasped: while in Austria-Hungary the knowledge of historical facts was emphasised, in the interbellum period the primary goal was to raise patriotic, moral, obedient, but irredentist girls in the girls' civil schools.

Processing the history of the girls' civil school of the Upper Baranya Diocese of the Reformed Church with this specific approach has been a contribution to the school history of the Hungarian Calvinist denomination, the history of the Reformed Church in Baranya County, the school history of the Horthy era and Calvinist female education as well. It also supplements our local history knowledge related to Pécs, Siklós and Baranya County also.

Literature used in the theses of doctoral dissertation

Primary sources

BREL II/A.11: A Felsőbaranyai Református Egyházmegye Siklósi Polgári Leányiskolájának értesítője 1916/17.; A Felsőbaranyai Református Egyházmegye polgári leányiskolájának anyakönyvei 1916-1948.

OSZK: 1924/25-46/47. Ért. 1527/a number: "A felsőbaranyai református egyházmegye leánynevelő intézetének évkönyve".

Istvánffy Gyula (1910): Történelem a polgári leányiskolák IV. osztálya számára II. rész. Budapest, Franklin - Társulat Magyar Irodalmi Intézet és Könyvnyomda. 126 p.

Istvánffy Gyula – Kováts György (1922): Történelem a polgári leányiskolák IV. osztálya számára II. rész. Budapest, Franklin - Társulat Magyar Irodalmi Intézet és Könyvnyomda. 139 p.

Kálvin János [John Calvin] (1995a): A keresztyén vallás rendszere. III. könyv. 2. fejezet, 6. rész. Budapest, Magyar Református Egyház. p. 524.

Kálvin János (1995b): A keresztyén vallás rendszere. I. könyv, 10. fejezet, 1. rész. Budapest, Magyar Református Egyház. p. 88.

Kálvin János (1995c) : A keresztyén vallás rendszere. II. könyv, 3. fejezet, 5. rész. Budapest, Magyar Református Egyház. p. 275.

Vitéz Kováts György (1928): Történelem a polgári leányiskolák IV. osztálya számára II. rész. Budapest, Lampel R. (Wodianer F. és Fiai) Könyvkiadó-vállalata. 140 p.

Secondary sources

Albert B. Gábor (2007): Élményszerűség – kormegelevenítés – jelenközpontúság. In: Scientia Pannonica. p. 12.18.

Albert B. Gábor (2006): Súlypontok és hangsúlyeltolódások. Középiskolai történelemtanulmányok a Horthy-korszakban. Pécs, Pannon Egyetem, 2006. p. 137.

Baska Gabriella (2008): Metaforák egy 19. századi városi néptanítóról. Neveléstörténet, 1-2. szám. Forrás: www.kodolanyi.hu/nevelestortenet Downloaded: 15/03/2013

Carver, Terell (2004): Diskurzuselemzés és „nyelvi fordulat”. Politikatudományi Szemle, 4. szám. p.143-148.

Fabiny Tibor (1982) (szerk.): Luther Márton végrendelete. Budapest, Corvina Kiadó. 63 p.

Fischerné Dárdai Ágnes (2009): Ikonológiai és ikonográfiai szempontok a tankönyvi képek megítéléséhez. In: Kokovai Szabina - Pohánka Éva (szerk.): Ünnepi tanulmányok Móró Mária Anna tiszteletére. Pécsi Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Könyvtár, Pécs. p. 95-107.

Gyáni Gábor (2003): Történetírói nézőpont és narratív igazság. Magyar Tudomány. 2003/1. sz. 16–25.

Gyáni Gábor (2000): Emlékezés és oral history. In: Emlékezés, emlékezet és a történelem elbeszélése. Napvilág, Budapest.

Hörcsik Richárd (1983): Református iskola és nevelés. In: Bartha Tibor – Makkai László (szerk.): Tanulmányok a Magyarországi Református Egyház történetéből 1867-1978. (Studia et Acta Ecclesiastica V.) Budapest, 299-311.

Károly Anna (2007): Az oral history mint kutatási módszer.

Source: <http://rmpsz.ro/uploaded/tiny/files/magiszter/2007/nyar/07.pdf>. Downloaded: 22 April 2012

Katona András (2006a): A századelő történelemtanítása (1902-1920). In: Tanári Kincsestár – Történelem. Képek és arcképek a magyarországi történelemtanítás múltjából. I. 1.4.1-28.

Katona András (2006b): A Horthy-korszak történelemtanítása (1920-1944). In: Tanári Kincsestár – Történelem. Képek és arcképek a magyarországi történelemtanítás múltjából. I. 1.5.1-34.

Keresztes – Hamarkay, 2004: (szerk.): "A bizalom pecsége alatt". I-II. kötet. Budapest, Exodus.

Kéri Katalin (2001): Bevezetés a neveléstörténeti kutatások módszertanába. Budapest, Műszaki Könyvkiadó. 120 p.

Mészáros István – Németh András – Pukánszky Béla (2005): Neveléstörténet. Bevezetés a pedagógia és az iskoláztatás történetébe. Budapest, Osiris, 2005.

Pukánszky Béla (szerk.) (2008): A neveléstörténet-írás új útjai. Gondolat Kiadó, Budapest.

Rébay Magdolna (2011): Református közoktatás a fővárosban a kezdetektől 1952-ig. Csokonai Könyvkiadó, Debrecen. 399 p.

Dr. Sebestyén Jenő (1927): A református nő lelkivilága I–III. kötet. Budapest, Sylvester Kiadás.

Szabó Károly (2010): Trianon-kép változása a középiskolai történelem tankönyveinkben a húszas évektől napjainkig. In: Elektronikus Könyv és Nevelés. XII. évfolyam, 2. szám.

Szabolcs Éva (2001): Kvalitatív kutatási metodológia a pedagógiában. Műszaki Könyvkiadó, Budapest.

Unger Mátyás (1979): A történelmi tudat alakulása a középiskolai történelemkönyveinkben a századfordulótól a felszabadulásig. 2.kiadás. Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1979. 340 p.

Vámos Ágnes (2003): Metafora a pedagógiában. Budapest, Gondolat Kiadói Kör.

Vámos Ágnes (2001): A metafora felhasználása a pedagógiai fogalmak tartalmának vizsgálatában. Magyar Pedagógia, 101, 1. szám. p. 85-108.

Source: http://www.magyarpedagogia.hu/document/Vamos_MP1011.pdf. Downloaded: 12 October 2012

Publications of the author in connection with the dissertation:

1. Ács Marianna: A nőnevelés intézményeinek kiépülése és fenntartása a Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerületben 1948-ig. In: ACTA SZEKSZARDIENSIIUM: SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS XVII:(1) pp. 1743. (2015)
2. Ács Marianna: A protestánsok megjelenése Pécsen. In: Végh Andor (szerk.) A kisebbségek geopolitikája: VIII. Magyar Politikai Földrajzi Konferencia. Date and place of conference: Pécs, Hungary, 15/11/2012 – 16/11/2012. Pécs: PTE TTK Földrajzi Intézet (University of Pécs, Faculty of Sciences, Institute of Geography), 2014. pp. 175181. (ISBN:9789636425968)
3. Ács Marianna: A kálvinista szellemű leánynevelés gyakorlata a Felsőbaranyai Református Egyházmegye polgári leányiskolájában (1916-1948). In: Buda András (szerk.): Oktatás és nevelés – gyakorlat és tudomány. 2014. XIV. Országos Neveléstudományi Konferencia. p. 298. Date and place of conference: Debrecen, 6-7-8 November 2014. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Pedagógiai Tudományos Bizottsága (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Pedagogy Scientific Committee), 2014.
4. Ács Marianna: Református előjárók a nőnevelésről a két világháború közötti korban. In: Andl Helga, Molnár Kovács Zsófia (szerk.) Iskola a társadalmi térben és időben IV. 2013. Date and place of conference: Pécs, Hungary, 16/04/2013 – 17/04/2013. Pécs: PTE Oktatás és Társadalom Neveléstudományi Doktori Iskola (University of Pécs, "Education and Society" Doctoral School of Education), pp. 6474.
5. Ács Marianna: Non est currentis: The calvinist Magda Szabó's relationship to power during her literary and teacher's career In: Anon (eds.) Education and Power: Historical Perspectives: International Standing Conference for the History of Education. Date and place of conference: Riga, Latvia, 21/08/2013- 24/08/2013. Riga: University of Latvia, 2013. p. 18. (ISCHE; 35.) (ISBN:978-9934517082).
6. Ács Marianna: "Non est currentis..."A kálvinista szellemű leánynevelés emlékezete Szabó Magda műveiben. In: VALÓSÁG: TÁRSADALOMTUDOMÁNYI KÖZLÖNY LVI.:(6.) pp. 5171. (2013)
7. Ács Marianna: A tanulás környezete a Siklósi Polgári Leányiskolában a dualizmus végén. In: Bárdos Jenő, Kis-Tóth Lajos, Racsko Réka (szerk.): VÁLTOZÓ ÉLETFORMÁK – RÉGI ÉS ÚJTANULÁSI KÖRNYEZETEK. XIII. Országos Neveléstudományi Konferencia, p. 151. Date and place of conference: Eger, 6–7–8–9 November 2013. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Pedagógiai Tudományos Bizottság ((Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Pedagogy Scientific Committee), 2013.
8. Ács Marianna: Református közoktatás Budapesten: Az ismertett könyv: Rébay Magdolna: Református közoktatás a fővárosban a kezdetektől 1952ig: kitekintéssel az illetékes egyházmegyék és a Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület közoktatási politikájára. Debrecen: Csokonai Könyvkiadó, 2011. 399 p ISBN 9789632602771. In: KÖNYV ÉS NEVELÉS XV.:(1.) pp. 9293. (2013)
9. Ács Marianna: A történelmi nőalakok interpretációjának változásai.: Női portrék Istvánffy Gyula és Kovács György polgári leányiskolai történelemtankönyveiben. In: Benedek András, Tóth Péter, Vedovatti Anildo (szerk.) A munka és nevelés világa a tudományban : XII. Országos Neveléstudományi Konferencia. 385 p. Date and place of conference: Budapest, Hungary, 08/11/2012. – 10/11/2012. Miskolc: Közoktatási Vezetők Képzéséért Oktatási és Nevelésfejlesztési Alapítvány (Foundation for the Training of Public Education Leaders and Teaching Development), 2012. p. 203. (ISBN:9789638911087)