## 1 4 | The Reasons for the Differences in Student Recruitment in Sárospatak between the Two World Wars

ELISABETH KÉZI

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In our study we would like to compare the student recruitment of the Grammar School of the Reformed College in Sárospatak and of the Teacher Training School in Sárospatak.

We are going to examine the period between the two world wars as we consider it important to analyse the data of this era precisely. Although József Ködöböcz and Erzsébet Fehér have already dealt with the most important tendencies typical of the period schematically, but they did not analyse the period deeply enough. They were probably prevented by the characters of the time when they were doing their researches and the strong determining behaviour of the official politics.

At this point we should explain why we examine the academic years of 1925/26, 1935/36 and 1938/39. The academic year of 1925/26 still reflects the situation when the teacher training school was under state control, although by this time the social rearrangement had already finished, which was the consequence of the First World War and the Trianon Peace Treaty. Thus we can hope that by using this year's data we can present a generally typical situation. In 1929 the teacher training school being under state control was given back to the reformed church as it lost its Academy of Law in 1923. As soon as waiving the Academy of Law the decision was made that the Reformed Church District was going to ask for the teacher training school as a compensation from the state.

The idea was not bad since in villages besides the reformed minister the reformed teacher also played an influential role from religious point of view. Although the teacher training college could not replace the Academy of Law but it increased the influence of the reformed church to the society.

On the other hand asking for this compensation was a legal claim as until 1870 teacher training had been functioning under the church's control, it only got to the state at the time when the ideas of József Eötvös came into force. Earlier teacher training in Sárospatak had formed out within the frames' of the Reformed College.

If we examine the data of the academic years of 1935/36 and 1938/39 we have the opportunity to show the possible changes which had been caused by the change in the maintainer. On the other hand 1938 was the last peaceful year before the outbreak of the Second World War, therefore both years examined are beyond the influential factors of the war so the comparison may show a realistic result that is the changes must have been due to the changes in the maintainer and not the political effects concerning the school.

In our study we confined to the examination of the residence, the denomination and the social status only as our work is based on the data of the Yearbooks in which many comparable data are not available. On the basis of our experiences, however, several principles can be drawn. In our research we used the data of the complete recruitment of the academic years which made it easier to generalize.

The analysis of the process can be done in four logical steps. Firstly, we will compare the data of the grammar school and the teacher training school referring to the 1925/26 academic year, by which we will show the basic differences between the two institutions. Secondly, we will analyse the change taking place in the teacher training school thanks to the Church's control. We can represent this by analysing the data of the training school in the academic years of 1925/26 and 1935/36.

Since there was a change in the profile in the grammar school in 1931 (the education of the English language was introduced into the curriculum, which meant that the traditional humanistic curriculum partly changed to a realistic one) and this affected all the eight classes by the academic year of 1938/39, so we will use the data of this year to show the differences of the two types of institutions again in the third part of our study.

In the fourth part we will compare the data of two academic years of the training school again (1925/26 and 1938/39). We expect from this that it will either conform or confute the results of the second part of our research, so we can consider it as a checking part.

 $\ensuremath{\mathsf{I}}.$  We shall start our evaluation with the analyses of the denominational data.

	Grammer school		Training School	
Denomination	Number of students	%	Number of students	%
Reformed	332	70,8	78	59,5
Romain-Catholic	87	18,6	41	31,3
Greek-Catholik	19	4	10	7,6
Lutheran	9	1,9	2	1,5
Jewish	22	4,7	-	-
Total	469	100	131	100

1. The composition of the Reformed Grammar School in Sárospatak and the State Teacher Training School in the academic year of 1925/26 concerning denominations

Since the Grammar school is traditionally the institution of the Hungarian Reformed Church it is absolutely understandable that the rate of the reformed students is high (70.8).

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As opposed to this the rate of the Reformed students in the training school is only 59%, which shows that the state control resulted a smaller determination in terms of denomination. The difference is even more significant in the rate of the Roman Catholic students (18.6%, 31%). The reason for this is that in Sárospatak there are more Roman Catholic students than Reformed students. According to the data of the census in 1930 the rate of the Roman Catholics was 43.6% and the rate of the Reformed inhabitants was 28.7%. The Reformed College, which had the official name Reformed High School of Sárospatak at that time, was an important denominational institution, but in the town the Roman Catholic inhabitants were in majority.

It is remarkable that the Training School completely lacked Jewish students. This can be explained by two reasons. Partly because the Christian education was trying to prevent that those elements, which do not accept the official ideology could not influence the students and on the other hand the Jewish were probably not attracted by the teaching profession as it offered only a modest income. They considered much more advantageous the legal or medical career which made it possible to have profitable private practices in case they did not get a job at state offices, hospitals or were not employed by the state at all.

To sum up it can be seen from the chart that the rate of the Protestant and the Jewish students is higher in the grammar school whereas in the training school the rate of the Catholic students is higher than at the grammar school. This was influenced by the fact as well that the Roman Catholic Church maintained schools at 54.2% in the whole country therefore they needed well-educated teachers. For this reason the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran and the Reformed students could choose the training college with the certain hope that they would be employed whereas the lack of Jewish schools did not make it possible (only 3.61% of the Church schools belonged to the Jewish denomination).

We can compare the recruitment of the two school types on the basis of residence.	We can	compare the	recruitment of	of the two	school types	on the basis	of residence.
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	Grammar School		Teacher Tra- ining School	
Residence	Number of students	%	Number of students	
Sárospatak	144	30,7	12	9,2
Zemplén-county	117	24,9	51	38,9
Neigghbour- ing-counties	141	30	30	22,9
Distant-counties	32	6,8	27	20,6
Budapest	4	1	2	1,5
Abroad	31	6,6	9	6,9
Total	469	100	131	100

2. The composition of the students of the Reformed Grammar School in Sárospatak and the State Teacher Training School in the academic year of 1925/26 concerning inhabitancy

The data of the two institutions show a significant difference. 30.7% of the students of the grammar school are local whereas only 8.3% of the students of the training school belong to the same category. Although it is known that students enrolling to the grammar school were from all over the country but despite of this fact more than 85% of the students came from Sárospatak, Zemplén county or from any of the neighbouring counties. 20.6% of the students of the training school came from the distant counties whereas the rate of the students at the grammar school coming from a distant place was only 6.8%. Students from Budapest

do not represent a considerable proportion in either category. The rate of the foreign students at both school types are almost the same, although these foreign students are actually Hungarians coming from the regions over the Trianon borders, who showed a preference for the schools in Sárospatak. The heads of the schools in Sárospatak considered it their patriotic duty to teach the Hungarian children beyond the frontier.

The reason why there are fewer students at the grammar school coming from distant counties is probably that, that at the time of the Second World War children had to start grammar school at the age of ten and most parents did not want to send their ten-year-old children to a far-away school. On the other hand in 1925 the Reformed Grammar School in Sárospatak could not provide a considerably better instruction than any other grammar schools in the country. However, students started studies at the teacher training school at the age of 14–15 and it was less hazardous for parents to send their children to a far-away school at that age. This situation was also affected by the fact that students had the possibility to continue their studies at more grammar schools in the country than at training schools. (In the academic year of 1931/32 there were 100 grammar schools and only 55 training schools in the country.) (Data of the Hungarian Statistical Pocket Book (1933) p. 132.)

With the help of our data we have the possibility to compare the social status of the students. We can do this by examining the occupations of the parents as we have quantifiable data about it. We brought together the data of the yearbooks as we could get easily analysable data groups only by this way.

	Grammer school		Teacher Tra- ining School	
Occupations of the parents	Number of students	%	Number of students	%
Craftsnan, Retailer	64	13,6	21	16
Non commis- sioned offi- cer, clerk	16	3,4	25	19
Civil servant, priest, teacher	110	23,5	51	39
Clerk at a higher position	52	11	-	-
Private officer	12	2,6	2	1,5
Freelance intellec- tual white collar worker, artist	24	5,1	1	0,7
Capitalist entrepeneur	2	0,4	-	-
Landowner	4	0,8	1	0,7
Peasant landowner	163	34,8	22	16,8
Entrepeneur	22	4,7	5	3,8
Unknown	-	-	3	2,3
Total	469	100	131	100

3. The composition of the Reformed Grammar School in Sárospatak and the State Teacher Training School in the academic year of 1925/26 on the basis of social status

II.

The most spectacular difference between the two school types can be seen in the social status of the students. Neither the children from the elite social classes got to the training school, nor the children of the freelance intellectual white collar workers are represented in the student recruitment of the training school. One of the reasons for this is that most of those belonging to this category were Jewish which meant an obstacle to become a teacher. The proportion of the students from the peasant landowners' category in the training college is only half of their proportion in the grammar school, even though it is a collective category where both smallholders with only a few acres and also those with as many as 40 acres belong. According to our data the teacher training college provided the chance of rising to a higher social class for the children of the craftsmen, retailers, non-commissioned officers and teachers. Unfortunately, the Yearbooks do not separate the data of the priests and the teachers. We have done that in our previous researches. Such researches prove the teachers' high capability for re-production.

II.

In the second part of our study we are going to compare the data of the students of the teacher training school. We have chosen for the comparison the academic years of 1925/26 and 1935/36. We suppose that in ten years' time statistically noticeable changes happened and that we can observe the consequences of the change in the maintainer.

We shall start our examination with the analyses of the denominational data again.

	1925/26		1935/36	
Denomination	Number of students	%	Number of students	%
Reformed	78	59,5	117	74
Roman Catholic	41	31,3	24	15,2
Greek Catholic	10	7,6	13	8,2
Lutheran	2	1,5	2	1,3
Other protestant	-	-	2	1,3
Jewish	-	-	-	-
Total	131	100	158	100

4. The composition of the students at the Teacher Training College of Sárospatak on the basis of denominations

Our data reflect the changes very well. In 1929 the teacher training school was given back to the Reformed Church and its reorganization began. As a result of that the teachers who were not Reformed were posted to other institutions of the country, if they asked. At the same time they were striving to admit primarily Reformed or other Protestant students (Lutheran, Unitarian). It can be explained by this that the proportion of the Reformed students rose from 59% to 74% while the rate of the Roman Catholics decreased from 31% to 15.2%. Thus the Reformed Church achieved the denominational reorganisation of the teacher training school between 1929 and 1936. It is worth examining the effects of the denominational reorganization on the composition concerning the inhabitancy.

	1925/26		1935/36	
Residence	Number of student	%	Number of student	%
Sárospatak	12	9,2	25	15,8
Zemplén County	51	38,9	40	25,3
Neighbouring counties	30	22,9	51	32,3
Distant counties	27	20,6	42	26,6
Budapest	2	1,52	-	-
Abroad	9	6,9	-	
Total	131	100	158	100

5. The composition of the students of the Teacher Training School in Sárospatak concerning inhabitancy

	1925/26		1935/36	
Occupations of the parents	Number of students	%	Number of students	%
Day-labourer, maid	-	-	10	6,3
Craftsman, retailer	21	16	25	15,8
Non –com- missioned officer; clerk	25	19	38	24
Civil servant, priest, teacher	51	39	38	24
Clerk at a higher position	-	-	-	-
Private officer	2	1,5	-	-
Artist, freelance intellectual white collar worker	1	0,7	3	-1,9
Capitalist entrepreneur	-	-	-	-
Landowner	1	0,7	-	-
Peasant landowner	22	16,8	39	24,7
Entrepeneur	5	3,8	1	0,6
Unknown	3	2,3	4	2,5
Total	131	100	158	100

6. The composition of the students of the Teacher Training School in Sárospatak concerning social status

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Based on our data we can conclude that the proportion of the students from Sárospatak and Zemplén County decreased in ten years. The reason for this can be seen in the composition of denomination. The fact, that the proportion of the students coming from the neighbouring counties significantly increased and a moderate increase can also be observed in the proportion of the students coming from distant counties can also be explained by this. They probably supported admitting the reformed students from these counties. Finally we shall examine the social status.

The most noticeable change is that in the academic year of 1925/26 the children of the penniless maids and day-labourers did not get into the training school whereas in 1935/36 their proportion was 6.3%. As we have already mentioned the data do not only register the social changes of the ten years but they also bear witness to the process that the state controlled teacher training school become an institution of the Reformed Church. The Reformed Church was striving consciously to help the education of the talented students who were in bad social status. This is reflected by the data as well.

The children of clerks at a higher position and capitalist entrepreneurs did not choose the institution in 1935/36 either so the children of those belonging to the political and intellectual elite preferably went to grammar school. This proved to be a general tendency in the whole country as these social classes favoured the grammar school in order that their children could later continue their studies at the university. The training school did not provide the opportunity for that. In 1935/36 the rate of the peasant landowners' children is 8% higher. This social class showed a considerably ambitious attitude between the two world wars and considered the education of their children important (chart 4, 34.8%). Probably the attitude of the peasant landowners living in great numbers in the neighbouring counties towards the institution changed which may have been due to the Church's conscious directing activity.

Since the Church saw the deepening tension of the rural society in the 1930s therefor it was trying to find the way to ease the tension.

## III.

In the third part of our study we are going to compare the data of the grammar school and the teacher training school concerning the academic year of 1938/39. We suppose that the difference will be even bigger between the two institutions as the grammar school introduced the teaching of the English language into the curriculum by which it partly became an elite training institution.

	Gramma	ar school	Teacher Tra	ining school
Denomination	No of Students	%	No of Students	%
Reformed	404	74,5	119	73
Roman-Catholic	62	11,4	28	17,2
Greek-Catholic	5	0,9	13	8
Lutheran	29	5,3	2	1,2
Other-protestant	5	0,9	Othodox1	0,6
Jewish	37	6,8	-	-
Total	542	100	163	100

7. The composition of the Reformed Grammar School in Sárospatak and the Teacher Training School in the academic year of 1938/39 concerning denominations

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We can conclude that there is no difference in the proportion of the Reformed between the two school types functioning within the frames of the Reformed College (grammar school, teacher training school). Both Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics can be found in a higher proportion in the teacher training school's student recruitment, the reason for this is firstly the institutional tradition and on the other hand the fact that the students of the teacher training school who were in bad social status could not do anything else but choose the closer institution irrespective of their denomination.

The Catholic grammar school students could choose the Piarist Grammar School in Sátoraljaújhely in case they did not want to go to a Reformed grammar school but for the students of the teacher training school there were no other such type of school near Sárospatak.

We will examine the connections relating to inhabitancy as well on the basis of the data of the 1938/39 academic year.

	Grammar school		Teacher trai- ning School	
Residence	Number of students	%	Number of students	%
Sárospatak	86	15,9	28	17,2
Zemplén County	109	20,1	52	31,9
Neighbouring counties	171	31,5	50	30,7
Distant counties	118	21,8	33	20,2
Budapest	51	9,4	-	-
Abroad	7	1,3	-	-
Total	542	100	163	100

8. The composition of the Reformed Grammar school in Sárospatak and the State Teacher Training School in the academic year of 1938/39 concerning inhabitancy

The most significant difference is still in the proportion of the students coming from Zemplén County. Their proportion among the students of the grammar school is only 20.1% whereas their proportion among the students of the training school is 71.9%. This can also be explained by the fact that students from Zemplén County who were not Reformed studied at this institution as there were no other such training school in the county. The fact that at the grammar school the proportion of the students from Budapest is 9.4% whereas at the training school there were no students from Budapest at all can also be in connection with that there was a teacher training school in Budapest, too but grammar school where the English language was part of the curriculum was only in Sárospatak in the whole country at that time.

Now we can continue our evaluation with the examination of the social status.

	Grammar School		Teacher Tra- ining School	
Occupations of the parents	Number of Students	%	Number of Students	%
Day-labourer, maid	10	1,8	1	0,6
Craftsman, retailer	50	9,2	29	17,8
Non-com- missioned officer, clerk	87	16	30	18,4
Civil servant, priest, teacher	138	25,5	45	27,6
Clerk at a higher position	-	-	-	-
Private officer	38	7	2	1,2
Artist, freelance intellectual white collar worker	62	11,4	2	1,2
Capitalist entrepreneur	21	3,9	-	-
Landowner	14	2,6	-	-
Peasant landowner	117	21,6	53	32,5
Entrepreneur	2	0,4	-	-
Unknown	3	0,6	1	0,6
Total	542	100	163	100

9. The composition of the students of the Grammar School and the Teacher Training School in the academic year of 1938/39 concerning social status

The children of maids and day-labourers can be found at both school types whereas in 1925 there were not any such students in the recruitment (chart 3). This definitely refers to a democratization process and the success of the movement aiming to help and save the gifted. The proportion of the children of craftsmen and retailers among the students of the training school is only double compared to the grammar school students; this difference in the rate was quintuple in the 1925/26 academic year. In the grammar school recruitment the rate of artists' and freelance intellectuals' children grew, among the students of the training school the rate of this social class stagnated. The proportion of the peasant landowners refer to an interesting situation. The children of this social class appear at a double proportion among the students of the grammar school in 1925/26 than among the students of the training school. Whereas by 1938 the children of this social class appear among the students of the training school in a higher proportion. We can see a steady increase of the children of the peasant landowners in the training school's student recruitment (16.8 - 24.7 - 32.5%). At the same time the proportion of this social class among the grammar school students is reducing, however (34.8 - 21.6%).

It can be observed that this social class sees the chance of rising more and more in the training school. This fact refers to that the situation of this social class was getting worse as they did not choose the grammar school studies which involved higher risks.

In: the fourth part of our study we shall compare the data of 1925/26 and 1938/39 academic years concerning the teacher training school. We expect from this that it will conform or confute our statements made at the comparison of the academic years of 1925/26 and 1935/36. Like in the first three parts of our study we shall start our evaluation with the comparison of the denominational data.

	1925/26		1938/39	
Denomination	Number of students	%	Number of students	%
Reformed	78	59,5	119	73
Roman Catholic	41	31,3	28	17,2
Greek Catholic	10	7,6	13	8
Lutheran	2	1,5	2	1,2
Other protestant	-	-	Orthodox1	0,6
Jewish	-	-	-	-
Total	131	100	163	100

10. The composition of the students of the Teacher Training School in Sárospatak concerning denomination

We can claim that the process started in 1929 is unbroken. The proportion of the Reformed students corresponds to the proportion of the Reformed students of the grammar school. The rate of the Roman Catholics is also in accordance with their rate at the grammar school. In terms of denomination the institution became similar to the recruiting proportion of the grammar school.

The composition according to inhabitancy also helps to demonstrate important connections.

	1925/26		1938/39	
Residence	Number of students	%	Number of students	%
Sárospatak	12	9,2	28	17,2
Zemplén County	51	38,9	52	31,9
Neighbouring counties	30	22,9	50	30,7
Distant counties	27	20,6	33	20,2
Budapest	2	1,52	-	-
Abroad	9	6,9	-	
Total	131	100	163	100

11. The composition of the students of the Teacher Training School in Sárospatak concerning inhabitancy

We can establish the fact that the proportion of the students from Sárospatak grew. It is likely to be the consequence of that the proportion of those who were in bad social status grew in the recruitment, which meant that those students who were from this social class could pay for boarding in only with difficulties. For those, however, who did not belong to the inhabitants of Sárospatak compulsory boarding accommodation was provided for disciplinary and educational reasons. To avoid this even those claimed themselves residents of Sárospatak who did not live in the town but in the surrounding small farms or villages. The increase in the number of the students coming from the neighbouring counties can be explained by denominational reasons as the Reformed population in Abaúj and Szabolcs counties was considerable.

Finally we shall draw a comparison on the basis of social status.

	1925/26		1938/39	
Occupations of the parents	Number of students	%	Number of students	%
Day-labourer, maid	-	-	1	0,6
Craftsman, retailer	21	16	29	17,8
Non-com- missioned officer, clerk	25	19	30	18,4
Civil servant, priest, teacher	51	39	45	27,6
Clerk at a higher position	-	-	-	-
Private officer	2	1,5	2	1,2
Artist, freelance intellectual white collar worker	1	0,7	2	1,2
Capitalist entrepreneur	-	-	-	-
Landowner	1	0,7	-	-
Peasant landowner	22	16,8	53	32,5
Entrepreneur	5	3,8	-	-
Unknown	3	2,3	1	0,6
Total	131	100	163	100

12. The composition of the students of the Teacher Training School in Sárospatak concerning their social status

We can see a considerable change in two categories. The proportion of the civil servants' and teachers' children decreased more than 10% in the recruitment. We can only explore the reason for this precisely if we separate the children of the teachers and of the civil servants on the basis of the Registers.

However, it can be seen from the present data as well that the proportion of the peasant landowners' children doubled in the recruitment. This is a general tendency since it can already be seen in the 1975/36 academic year, too. It suggests undoubtedly the decline of the

peasant landowners' status as the teacher training school was the other school type besides the grammar school which provided the opportunity to rise out of the peasant status but it was cheaper since it offered a five-year-long education as opposed to the grammar school which took eight years. This way parents took a smaller risk if they chose the training school.

## **SUMMARY**

In our study we undertook two tasks. Partly we would like to show the differences in the student recruitment of the eight-year grammar school and the teacher training school between the two world wars on the other hand we wanted to demonstrate the change caused by the fact that the maintainer of the teacher training school of Sárospatak changed in 1929.

On the basis of our data we can claim that students from the social elite and Jewish students did not enrol the teacher training school. At the same time, however, the presence of these social groups can be found in the recruitment of the grammar school.

These data reflect precisely the rearrangement due to the change of the maintainer. After 1929 there was a quick reformation in the recruitment of the training school. The change of the maintainer primarily resulted a denominational rearrangement which entailed a change in the recruitment concerning inhabitancy. The change in the social status can be explained rather by the general social shift in proportion taken place at the school's environment.

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