

UNIVERSITY OF PÉCS

Doctoral School of Earth Sciences

**The Stereoscopic Structure of the Educational Institution
Network of Hungary in the Horthy Era**

PhD thesis

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1. Introduction

My research focuses on is a marginal science, historical geography. In the background of the thesis, as a teacher of History and Geography I recognize the attitude that would not allow me to approach a problem from the view of geography only, or history, either concerning Hungary or in a wider context, but always with a coherent view that includes both sciences. When I was a university student I used to be interested in education as leading sector, since its long term outcomes, and effects on modernization determine the state and development of a given country or region for decades or even centuries. In this respect the ministerial activity of Klebelsberg Kuno seemed to offer itself for research. On the one hand because the science of history still owes a monograph about the historical geography of Hungary of Trianon, and it has not yet recognized one of the grandest, highest level politicians of the era on the other. Although Klebelsberg's way of thinking followed the modern present-day principles of geography in the 1920s: he intended to explore the causes of the geographical differences of the social-economic processes, then he suggested solutions, and took action to equalize the regional differences. He was convinced that without social support no reform or modernization can be effective. For this reason he can be accounted as a publicist, who with his distinguished colleagues developed a strategy to form the Trianon Hungary to a suitable / more suitable place for living, to modernize and restore the historical Hungary, and introduced it in several volumes. Klebelsberg did not only talk about modernization, but due to his position he could take measures, and he did.

2. Scientific background, objectives

In my thesis I used and synthesized the research material collected in the fields of geography, history and their auxiliary sciences. Thus, it presents a geographical and historical view, the science of space and the science of time, the unity of time and space. The subject of my thesis – in my view – falls in the field of historical geography, a provincial discipline of social-geography.

The first scientific report on the life-work of Klebelsberg Kuno was written by HUSZTI JÓZSEF (1942) at the time. Despite of its limitations it is regarded as a standard work up to this date.

In the 40-50s, in accordance with the politically determined terminology of the "Horthy-fascism", the cultural policy of Klebelsberg was labelled as fascist, reactive, imperialist, nationalist etc, but all in all mostly it remained un-discussed.

From the 60s, the picture became more elaborate, as in case of the whole era, in case of Klebelsberg as well. Then it was further improved by GLATZ FERENC (1969) in his study published in Századok (Centuries) attracting notable sensation.

During the early 70s and 80s there was mostly 'silence', if it was not allowed to write good things, they preferred to write nothing about Klebelsberg. Slightly to the opposite of this, SIMON GYULA (1979) published his volume on the higher elementary schools and SÁRKÖZI ISTVÁN (1980) on the elementary schools.

In the mid-80s there was a caesura in the judgement of the Klebelsberg life-work. The studies published in the second half of the century by ROMSICS IGNÁC (1982) and T. KISS TAMÁS (1987), which were re-published in edited versions after 1990, provided a considerably larger scope to the positive achievements in Klebelsberg's work.

The 90s, as with regards to the whole era, brought sufficient changes with regards to Klebelsberg as well. Beside the fact, that the number of both studies and scientific trash discussing the life-work of Klebelsberg multiplied, the writers clearly highlighted the

positive achievements. The volume of GLATZ FERENC (1990): *Science, Culture, Politics* stands out in the row. Although the author with his introduction and with the inevitable subjectivity of his choices influences the readers, still – as he includes the selected speeches of Klebelsberg in their unedited form – he trusts the readers to assess the culture policy of Klebelsberg for themselves. Apart from this, we must mention the book of LADÁNYI ANDOR (2000) about Klebelsberg's higher education policy, T. KISS TAMÁS (1998) about the culture policy of the 1920s as a whole, MANN MIKLÓS (1997) about the culture politicians of the period between the two world wars, and several studies of NAGY PÉTER TIBOR (1992, 1997) and KARÁDY VIKTOR (1997). Though these authors have a positive approach to the Klebelsberg life-work, they did not lose their sense of reality. Following the professional requirements they unfolded the limitations and contradictions of the life-work as well.

The reader browsing the Klebelsberg literature of the last two centuries may have the impression that there is no part of his work that has not been processed or re-considered. This abundance is mainly due to the outstanding richness of the life-work, its achievements are easy to communicate, and a part of the resources are relatively easily accessible. That is to say, for Klebelsberg it was highly important to communicate his plans and achievements to the public using the publicity of the press. Later his writings were published, edited in volumes under more and more appropriate and expressive titles. The first one under the title: Count Klebelsberg Kuno's Speeches, Articles and Bills 1916-1926. This was followed by Neo-nationalism (1928), The Book of Battles (1929), Come 30s! (1930), In General Recession (1931), and finally The Last Chords (1933), published after his death.

Despite that the Klebelsberg literature that was growing to the size of a library (the Internet Google offers 158 000 pages searching for 'Klebelsberg'), there has not been written a monograph comparable to the one of Huszti József's, that is free from pathos, and processes the resources collected in Hungarian and international archives and manuscript archives. Though the historians were 'through with' the most important contemporaries, Bethlen and Teleki years and decades ago, and while the more scarce Klebelsberg literature indicates that history and pedagogy has regarded the process of the life-work as a completely processed one, geography still has not discovered it. However, there are questions to answer like the effects of the Klebelsberg culture policy on the settlement development, or the role of the cultural investments in solving the country's especially the Great Plain's public health problems, or the role of cultural investments as town-planning factor.

As the historians still owe a Klebelsberg monograph, the geographers owe a historical-geographical monograph of the Horthy era. Despite of this, there are still two outstanding historical-geographical works to be highlighted. The first one is FRISNYÁK SÁNDOR (1990), the second one was written by BELUSZKY PÁL (2005, 2008).

However, the book of Frisnyák Sándor deals the important periods of social- and economic history from the Hungarian conquest to 1945, and one sixth of the book discusses the Horthy era, this extent is only enough to capture, as the writer himself puts in his introduction, '*the dominant elements in the time fractures, the most representative phenomena and processes describing the population, settlement- and economic geography etc.*' (FRISNYÁK S. 1990: 4). Still, despite of its short volume, the book, partly in its text, partly by the charts and tables that work as 'independent information sources', offers a considerable amount of information. The writer, taking advantage of the political changes that occurred in 1990 – shows the map of the Trianon Hungary embedded in the historical Hungary on the front cover -, as HAJDÚ ZOLTÁN highlighted he '*returns to the basic*

problem of the Hungarian geography between the two world wars, and to its specific map representation [...], however in mentality he did not follow his predecessors from between the two world wars, his tone is balanced, and he is far from any extremism even when analysing the most sensitive questions' (BELUSZKY P. 2005: 38).

For a future author of a book on the historical geography of the Trianon Hungary there would be another standard, the work of BELUSZKY PÁL as editor, under the title of '*The Historical Geography of Hungary*'. However, the two-volume work discusses 'only' Hungary during the age of Dualism, but in its construction, logical development, point of views and methodology it is a work to follow. It devotes time and space to the emergence of historical geography, to the introduction of the national schools, and to summarize the development of the historical geography as well as to the detailed description of the education of Hungary in the age of dualism.

History and its auxiliary sciences collected an inestimable volume of research material about the age of Dualism, as well as about the Trianon Hungary. But, as we can read in the introduction of the editor, they paid less attention to the '*geographical aspect of events, to the regional differences or definiteness of the processes*'. In accordance with this, as in the case of the book of BELUSZKY PÁL, a future book on the historical geography of Hungary would not have any different task than to '*draw the socio-geographical picture and map of Hungary with the help of the theoretical grounding, methodology and methodological means of the geography today*' (BELUSZKY P. 2005: 21).

Apart from these two standards, there were several unavoidable studies written in the past decades. Among these the studies of BELUSZKY PÁL (1973) examining the changes of settlement hierarchy, of HAJDÚ ZOLTÁN (1983) on the gravity-area system of the settlements of central importance, and of KOVÁCS ZOLTÁN (1990) examining the changes of the settlement centre system along the border lines.

Regarding the un-separable nature of space and time, there is only a short historical-geographical chapter merely describing the processes of the given period of time in the university textbook edited by PERCZEL GYÖRGY (2003): '*The Socio-Economic Geography of Hungary*'. There is one further study: Epilogue I., in the book of BELUSZKY PÁLNAK (2001): '*The Historical Geography of the Great Plane*'.

The contemporary authors', BULLA BÉLA – MENDÖL TIBOR (1947), CHOLNOKY JENŐ (1929), PRINZ GYULA (1942), works about the geography of Hungary are important documents of the time, but neither their content or their methodology matches the aims of the current socio-geography and regional-geography, that intend to unfold the reasons of the regional differences of the socio-economic procedures, and describe the consequences of the established social-economic differences.

By describing the historical processes on the level of the everyday life, and on the level of the 'average people', the contemporary literary writers provide invaluable information to the researcher (Illyés Gyula, Móricz Zsigmond, Szabó Dezső etc.) as well as the great authors of sociography (Erdei Ferenc, Féja Géza, Nagy Lajos, Szabó Zoltán etc.).

In conclusion, the monograph on the historical geography of the Trianon Hungary may be missing, but there is an inestimable volume of research material available on the period. Thus, the task of geography is 'merely' to form these achievements to the shape of geography. In other words, to apply its own views and terms to rearrange, analyse the material, and draw conclusions.

The aim of my thesis is to draw a parallel between the political, social and economic changes of the Horthy era and the complete transformation, expansion of the educational institution network and its regional structure, furthermore to examine the effects of the changes in the educational institution network on the development of the settlements.

Through this I intend to draw the attention of geographers to the practical and theoretical achievements of the work of Klebelsberg Kuno, and to contribute to the introduction of the education of the Trianon Hungary from the view of geography.

In my thesis I try to find answers to the following questions:

1. In what respect did the culture-geographical map drawn by Kelbelsberg change during the studied period?
2. What was the role of the cultural investments in the solution of the country's and especially of the Great Plain's educational, public health, and town-planning problems?
3. How did Klebelsberg's culture policy affect the development of settlements?
4. What was the role of the cultural decentralization on the development of the counter-pole towns?
5. How did Szeged become one of the flagships of the Hungarian culture policy between the two world wars?

Beside these, I offer answers to some further questions. These are the followings: How did Klebelsberg as Minister of Religion and Education react to the illiteracy inherited from the age of dualism? How did he make the problem of the high number of illiterates a question for the foreign affairs, economic policy, welfare that influences the safety of the ruling regime? Did the statistically evident higher educational state of the Hungarian society bring about the social-occupational restructuring of the population? What aspects influenced the regional dispersion? What were the effects of the educational investments, as revisory strategy?

3. Research methodology

In my research I examined the determinants of the Hungarian educational institution system between the two world wars. The place or space is Hungary in the Trianon era. The time is the period between the 1920/21 and 1937/38 school years. Though, in order to finalize and complete some ideas, and if the statistical data allows it, I will quote the figures of the 1941 census. I decided to close the research period with the 1937/38 school year because the revisory territory seizures that began in 1938, changed the area of the country year by year up until 0941, so that it grew from 92 963 km² to 172 149 km².

The subject required the use of statistical data. As primary sources, these are from the given volumes of the Hungarian Statistic Almanac edited by the Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal (Hungarian Royal Central Statistic Office from now on MKKSH).

Beside the statistical data analysis I analysed some documents as well. Partly these are laws legislated by the period's culture policy, partly they are Klebelsberg's speeches, articles and bills. As primary sources these were gained from the concerning volumes of the Hungarian Legislative Records and from the volumes of Klebelsberg's collected writings.

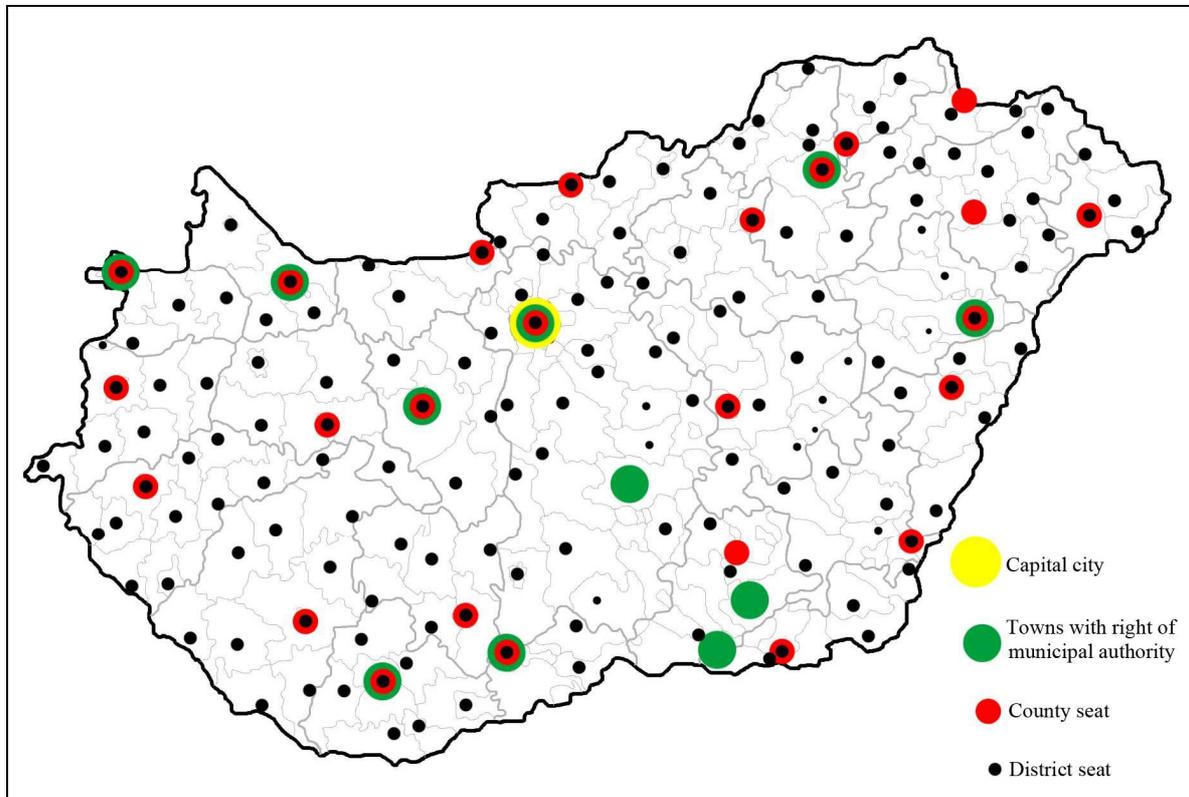
As secondary sources I used books, chapters and articles from the fields of the following sciences: geography (historical, population-, socio-, settlement- and education-geography), history, pedagogy and sociology, these all discuss some respect of the area and settlements, the regional disproportions, education, qualification etc.

Furthermore I regard literature, novels and sociography as secondary sources as well, which introduce the everyday life, and (for most of them rather bitter) life struggles of Hungarian villagers and citizens between the two world wars from the view of a contemporary.

The charts and diagrams of the thesis were produced with the help of Microsoft Office Excel, the so called basic map with the Gimp program, and the content of the maps was filled in with the use of Adobe Systems Incorporated PhotoshopCS4Portable.

4. Summary of the results

Infrastructure has a specific role in the life and development of settlements. While the institutes with higher educational functions (e.g. universities) had an important role in fulfilling the big cities regional and inter-regional functions, the secondary schools developed the micro-regional – inter-settlement connections (KŐSZEGFALVI GY. 1990). This is what Klebelsberg recognized when he drew the culture-geographical map of Hungary based on a simple four-level administrative hierarchy (capital city, towns with right of municipal authority, county seats and district seats). In this map he connected the different school types administratively to the levels of administration, like necessary and satisfactory service for the gravity area of a central position settlement (*1. Diagram*).

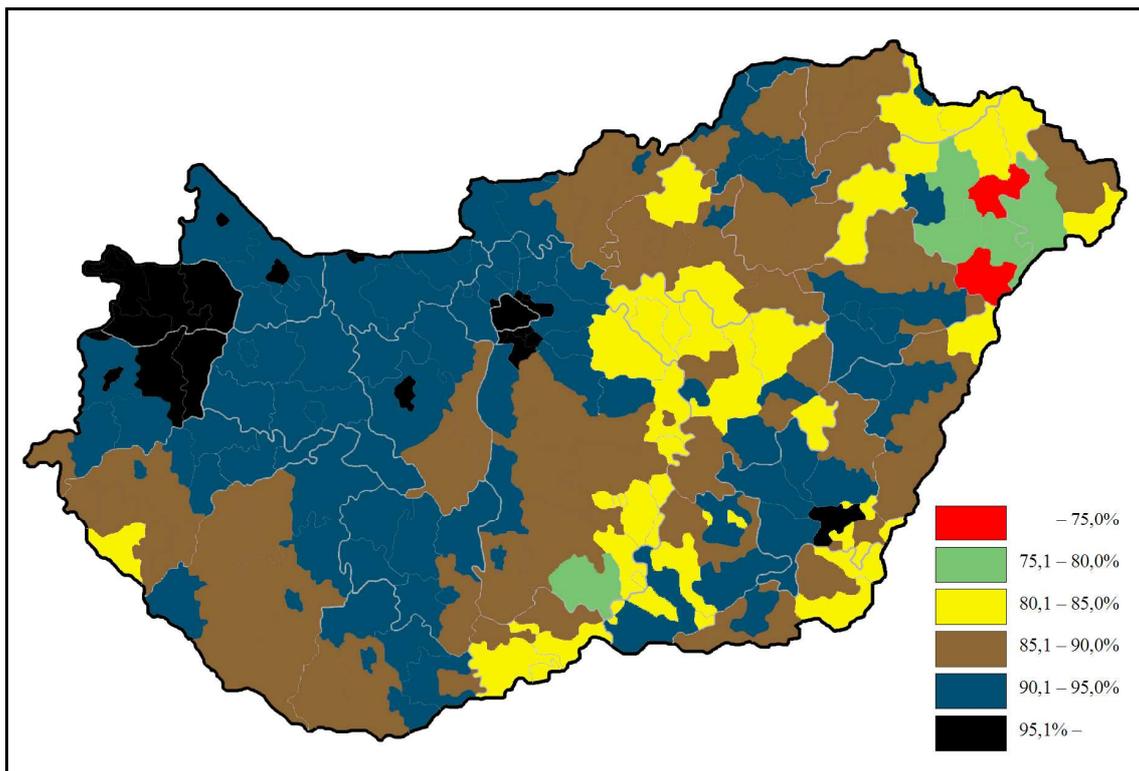


1. Diagram Klebelsberg Kuno's culture-geographic map
(Source: according to Klebelsberg edited by Szabó Attila)

Budapest was on the top of the culture-geographic map of Klebelsberg, as the centre to organize the whole country. The capital was followed by Debrecen, Pécs and Szeged, the cities with universities, as the centres of the so-called high culture. Then the towns with right of municipal authority and county seats, the towns with secondary schools (grammar schools, secondary schools, secondary schools with specialisations in sciences, and secondary schools for girls). And finally there were the seat towns of districts, to which the Minister assigned higher elementary schools (KLEBELSBERG K. 1928a).

4.1. Changes in the regional structure of the elementary education

According to Klebelsberg the reason why there were more than one million illiterates in the Trianon Hungary was that these people had nobody to learn read and write from. The Minister thought that the cause of this was partly the school building concept of the dualism, namely that the state school constructions on the one hand fell behind the desirable rate, and mostly they were built on the areas occupied by nationalities on the other. At the same time the areas occupied by Hungarian citizens, especially the Great Plane, were neglected in this respect (too). Thus the country lost most of the state schools together with its regions separated in Trianon. According to Klebelsberg the second reason was the specific settlement structure of Hungary, the high number of small villages and inhabited outskirts, as these were too small to fill or to maintain their elementary school. With this argument Klebelsberg refuted the opinion stating that a lot of children did not learn to write and read because their parents made them work, so they could not go to school. He believed that 'only' children over 10 were made work, while children learnt to write and read in the lower years of school (KLEBELSBERG K. 1927e). To a certain extent Benisch Arthur argues with this, as he states that most people living in farmsteads were indifferent to culture, they did not merely discourage school constructions, but they were indeed happy not to have schools, because that way they could have their children work on the farms (BENISCH A. 1930d). In the settlements where there were schools, the state of the building and the crowd made successful teaching difficult (2. Diagram).



2. Diagram The literacy skills of the population per district, 1930
(Source: based on MKKSH edited by Szabó Attila)

The number of elementary schools from the 6 158 in 1920 increased to 6 856 by 1931, and to 6 899 by 1938. According to this the index of the number of schools was (1920 = 100) 111.3 in 1931, while in 1938 (1931 = 100) it was only 100.6. In the same two

time intervals the indices of the number of teachers were 109.5 and 104.4. Comparing the index numbers of 1931 and 1938, it reveals that the development of the elementary school system and the preference of the inter-depending teacher training in Klebelsberg's culture policy exceeded the level of political rhetoric. Though his successor, Hóman Bálint continued Klebelsberg's policy in many respect, in these two areas we was unable to reach similar achievements to those of the Count's.

Despite that from the statistical point of view by the 1937/38 school year, compared to the one of 1920/21, there was no progress regarding the number of teachers per school, the number of students per school, or the number of students per teacher, still Klebelsberg deserves recognition. Since without the school-building program that carried his name, in the school year of 1930/31 the number of students per school would have been 157 instead of 141 (in almost half of the schools, and per classroom as well), based on the number of schools in 1920/21. Furthermore a teacher would have had to teach 55 students instead of 50, the same way based on the number of teachers in 1920/21. This, in both cases exceeded the numbers from 1931/32, when the most students, more than one million received elementary education. To put it a bit more elaborately: in the school year of 1920/1921 17.2% percent (191 272 students) of all the school age children did not attend school, while in the school year of 1930/1930 only 7.5% (79 259 students). In the same time interval the percentage of illiterates over 6 decreased from 15.2% (1 092 715) to 9.6 (735 076). In the 1930/31 school year there were 'only' 333 elementary schools where the number of students per teacher was more than 80, and this number was over 100 in 84 schools (in the 1921/22 school year there were 916 schools where the number of students per teacher was over 80, in 270 school the same number was over 100, and in 27 school it was over 150).

4.2. Changes in the configuration of the higher elementary education

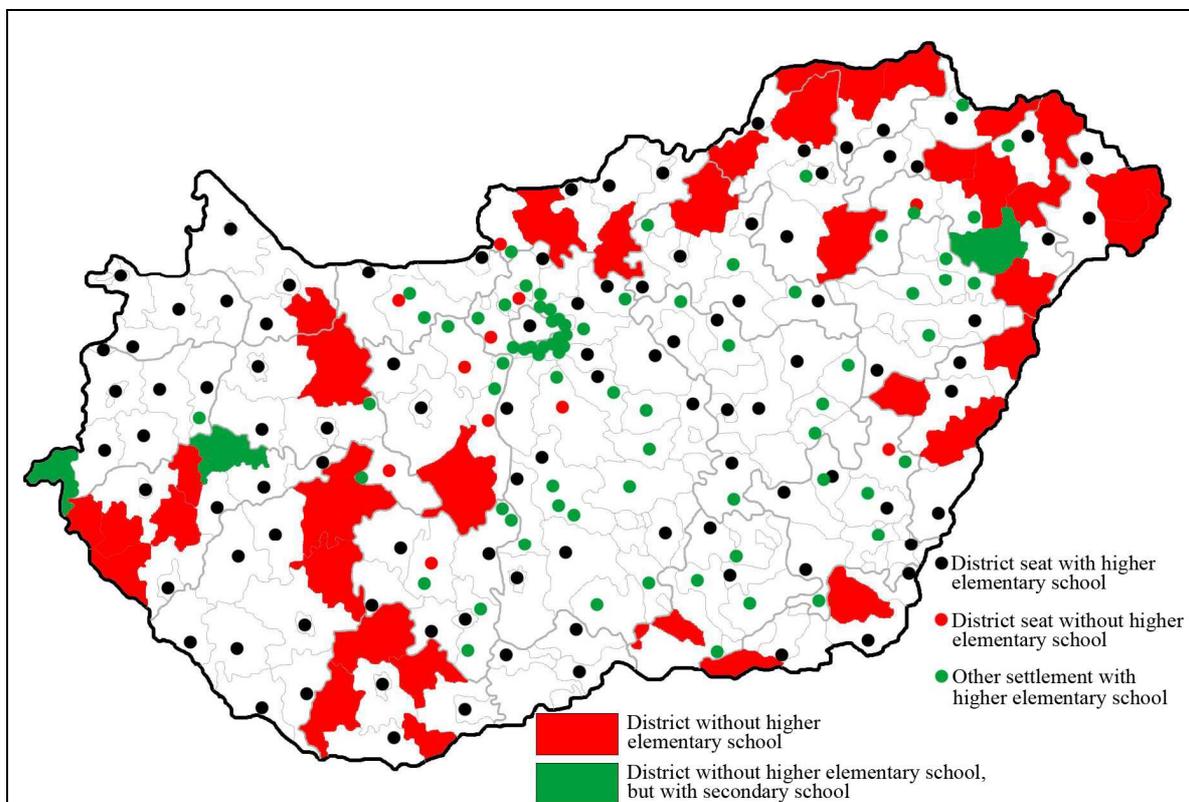
In the school year 1930/31 out of the 150 seats of the 25 districts there were 99 towns with higher elementary schools in the Trianon Hungary (3. *Diagram*).

Out of the 51 district seat towns the population of 16 (Enying, Fehérgyarmat, Kiskundorozsma, Kiszombor, Mezőcsát, Mezőkovácsháza, Nagykálló, Nagyléta, Ózd, Sárbogárd, Sümeg, Szeghalom, Szentlőrinc, Tata, Tiszalök, Zalaszentgrót) exceeded 5 000 people. This is interesting, as according to the XII. law 1927, the minister could have obliged the settlements with population over 5 000 people to establish and maintain a higher elementary school.

There were also 16 districts without higher elementary schools that touched the borders set in Trianon. As a consequence of the Trianon treaty, in case of the settlements situated right on the border (Beregszász, Nagyszőlős, Halmi, Szatmárnémeti, Nagykároly, Nagyvárad, Nagyszalonta, Nagyszentmiklós, Csáktornya, Alsólendva, Muraszombat etc.) their higher elementary schools also got to the other side of the borders, and in most cases it was impossible to replace them inside the country.

There were 14 exceptional settlements, out of these 11 was the seat of a district, which was not at the Trianon border lines, still they did not have a higher elementary school. 9 cases (Adony, Alsódabas, Bia, Enying, Pomáz, Szeghalom, Szob, Tiszalök, Vál) out of the 11 are interesting because they managed to keep their central role in the district despite that there were higher elementary schools in one or two other settlements in the same district. In the Adony district, unlike in Adony with the population of 4 260 (1930), there was a higher elementary school in Ercsi with its population of 7 515 (1930), and also in Érd, population 5 690 (1930). In the Szeghalom district they did not have a higher

elementary school in Szeghalom with 10 293 (1930) inhabitants, but they had one in Vésztő which had almost the same population (10 287 in 1930). However the number of inhabitants was almost the same, in Szeghalom the density of population was 45 people/km², whereas in Vésztő it was almost the double (85 people/km²), and while in Szeghalom 22% of the population lived in the outskirts, in Vésztő it was only 14%. Apart from this, there were settlements with the district seat right that as the biggest, or one of the biggest settlements in their district hardly had a few thousand inhabitants (Bódvaszilas 980, Sásd 1 360, Nova 1 724, Lenti 2 213, Villány 2 239, Szentlőrinc 2 762, Tab 3 681 etc. – 1930). Thus, the districts, that did not have a higher elementary school at all, with a few exceptions, did not have any settlements with higher population, where the inhabitants, industry, trade etc. would have demanded, or could have afforded with its financial state to have a chance to establish a least one higher elementary school. However, there were 76 settlements that did not have district seat rights, still the social economic demand met such a financial potential, that was enough for the establishment of a higher elementary school.



3. *Diagram* The distribution of higher elementary schools, 1930
(Source: based on MKKSH data, edited by Szabó Attila)

In Gyöng and Tata there were not higher elementary schools either, but both settlements had secondary schools, that could balance the role of Hőgyész in case of Gyöng, and the role of Felsőgalla and Tótváros in case of Tata. In Nagykálló, Sümeg and Szentgotthárd there also were secondary schools, however they did not have higher elementary schools. This is an important fact, though the target group of secondary schools and higher elementary schools is not the same.

The idea of Klebelsberg, saying higher elementary schools should be the foundation stone of the district seats' cultural modernization, of course did not exclude, that the county seats and the towns with right of municipal authority could also maintain higher elementary

schools. Especially since the demand for this school type in these towns was perhaps even stronger than in the settlements with less middle-class population in the countryside. For example in Szeged there were 7, in Budapest there were 70 higher elementary schools in the 1930/31 school year.

4.3. Changes in the configuration of the secondary education

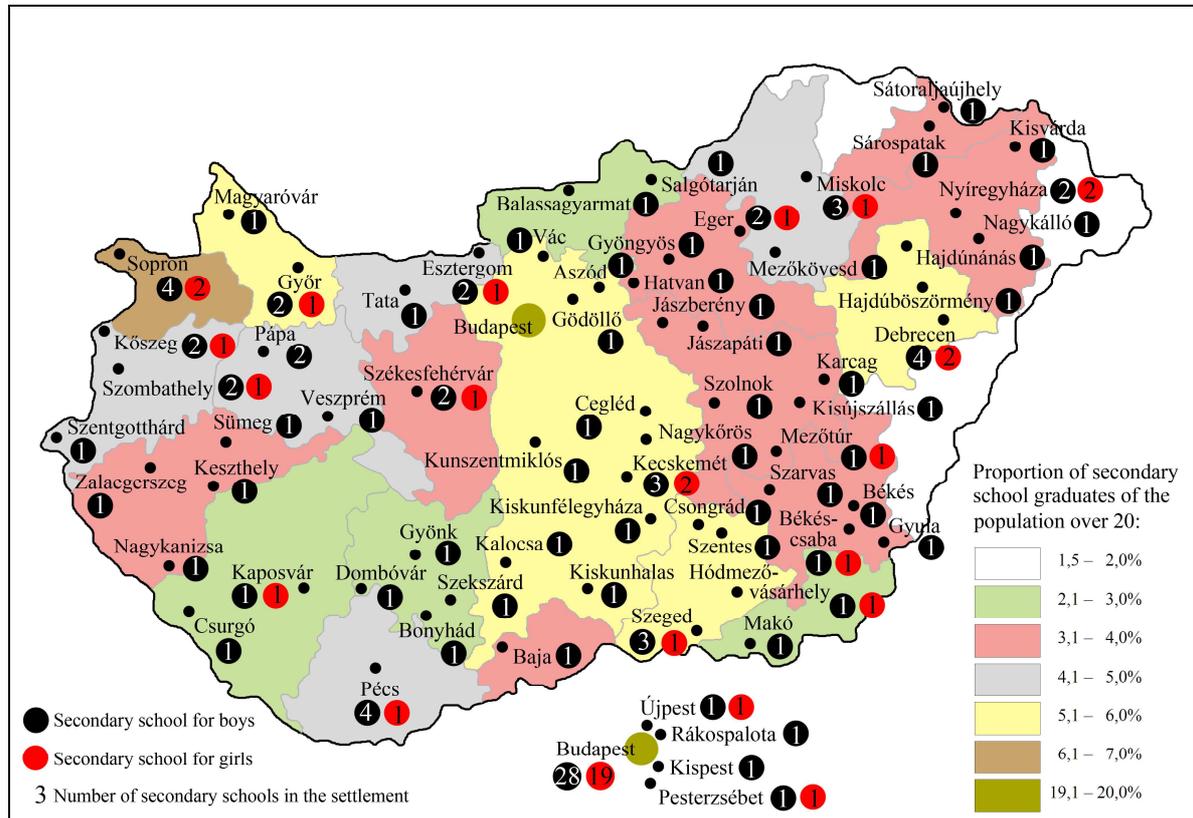
According to Klebelsberg's understanding and his culture-geographical concept the secondary school was mainly the school types of the towns with right of municipal authority and of the county seats. In 1930 every town with right of municipal authority met this requirement, as well as all the county seats with the exception of Berettyóújfalu (Bihar county), Mátészalka (Szatmár, Ugocsa and Bereg county) and Szikszó (Abaúj-Torna county). But the historical seats of these three counties, as well as their most developed parts and school-towns (Belényes, Beregszász, Kassa, Munkács, Nagybánya, Nagykároly, Nagyvárad, Nagyszalonta, Szatmárnémeti) were all outside Hungary's Trianon borders. Thus, these counties did not have secondary schools not only in the newly appointed seat towns following the Trianon decision, but in any other towns either.

On the other hand, for example in Budapest, the applicants who qualified, could choose among 47 secondary schools. Debrecen and Sopron followed on the list with their 6-6 high schools. The position of these two towns is interesting as the population of Debrecen (117 275 – 1930) was three times more than the population of Sopron (50 441 – 1930). Tough out of the inhabitants of Debrecen one and a half times more lived in farms (50 441 – 1930), than the whole population of Sopron. In order to provide a more elaborate picture: in Sopron 11% (1 903) of the wage-earners worked in agriculture, while in Debrecen it was 20% (10 951). In Sopron the percentage of the literate population was 98% (in 1930) above the age of 12, while in Debrecen it was 92% (in 1930). These data are important as they support the evidence about the studied period: that the supply of (educational) institutes of a settlement was determined by nothing else but the needs and potentials of its inhabitants. In this aspect, it is not surprising at all that Sopron had as many high schools as Debrecen with its population being the triple. Not to mention that Sopron was at least as old school town as Debrecen, since the Evangelic secondary school of Sopron was founded (1557) about the same time as the Reformed college in Debrecen (1549). Furthermore, the statement that concerning the foundation of schools it was far more determined by the needs and potentials of the population, and not by its size, is supported by the facts that while Sopron was the second by the number of high schools while it was the second smallest town with right of municipal authority.

In summary 68% of the secondary schools were in the capital, and in the towns with right of municipal authority, and in the county seats, and 21% were in the district seats. Most of the remaining 11% of the schools were on the Great Plain (Békéscsaba, Cegléd, Hajdúböszörmény, Hajdúnánás, Karcag, Kiskunhalas, Kisújszállás, Mezőtúr, Nagykőrös), and some smaller percentage in the outskirts of Budapest (Kispest, Pesterzsébet, Rákospalota, Újpest) (*4. Diagram*).

While the gravity-area of the secondary schools reached over the county borders, the strength of this gravity was determined by the school's distance from the county border, and it also depended on the lack of the secondary schools in the given county. The hypothesis, that the gravity-area of a denominational school automatically overlaps the area of the church district, in my opinion cannot be proved. In this respect, the school system was ecumenical in Hungary.

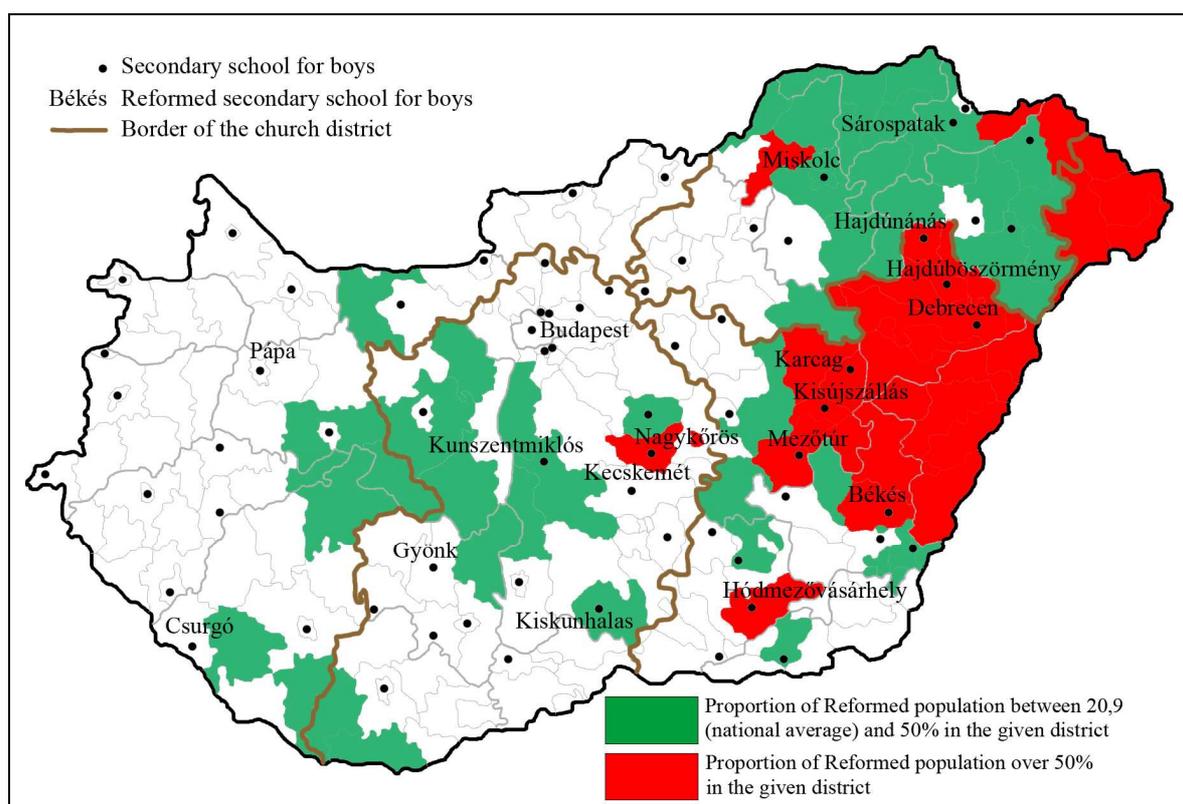
To the question that why was the number of students per thousand inhabitants three times higher in Szentgotthárd than in Debrecen, the obvious answer is that Szentgotthárd's population was 36 times smaller than that of Debrecen. Thus, in the settlements with secondary schools and small population (Aszód, Bonyhád, Curgó, Kőszeg, Sümeg, Tata etc.) the number of students per thousand inhabitants was inevitably higher than in the settlements with larger population, even if these had more significant educational history and bigger registration area than the newly developing ones.



4. Diagram Settlements with secondary schools, 1930/31
(Source: based on MKKSH data, edited by Szabó Attila)

It is easy to spot the connection between the over representation of the Reformed population in some counties and districts, and the location of the schools operated by them. With the example of the Calvinists: 20,9% of the population of Hungary belonged to the Reformed church (1930). Although there were districts in each of the three statistic region where their proportion was higher than the national average, on the Great Plain and in the north of Hungary there were towns (Hódmezővásárhely, Karcag, Mezőtúr etc.) and districts (Békés, Bodrogek, Sajószentpéter etc.) and counties (Bihar, Hajdú, Szatmár, Ugocsa and Bereg) where the Reformed were dominant part of the population. While in Transdanubia they lived in more or less connected regions that sometimes that covered even 7 counties, but basically these were isolated spots, whereas on the Great Plain there were county areas where the proportion of the Reformed was more than 60% (Hajdú, Szatmár, Ugocsa, and Bereg counties), or more than 75% of the population (Bihar county, but in the Sárrét district it was 90%). Accordingly, the most significant Reformed secondary schools were in these counties: Békés, Debrecen, Hajdúböszörmény, Kisújszállás, Mezőtúr, Miskolc, Sárospatak (5. Diagram).

Hódmezővásárhely was an interesting spot in the catholic sea of Csongrád county, here 59% of the population was Reformed (1930). Thus, they operated the local grammar school. With somewhat smaller percentages, but the situation was the same in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county and in Kecskemét. 20% of the population was Reformed (1930), but this was significant enough to operate one of the 5 secondary schools of the town. In Transdanubia Csurgó, Gyöng and Pápa were the centres of the Reformed education, though the ratio of the Reformed population was not higher than the national average in any of these districts, but each district of these three settlements touched a Reformed zone that covered several districts. Out of the Reformed church districts the fewest Calvinists lived in the Transdanubian church district, still, or perhaps for this reason, two of the above mentioned Transdanubian secondary schools were in this area.

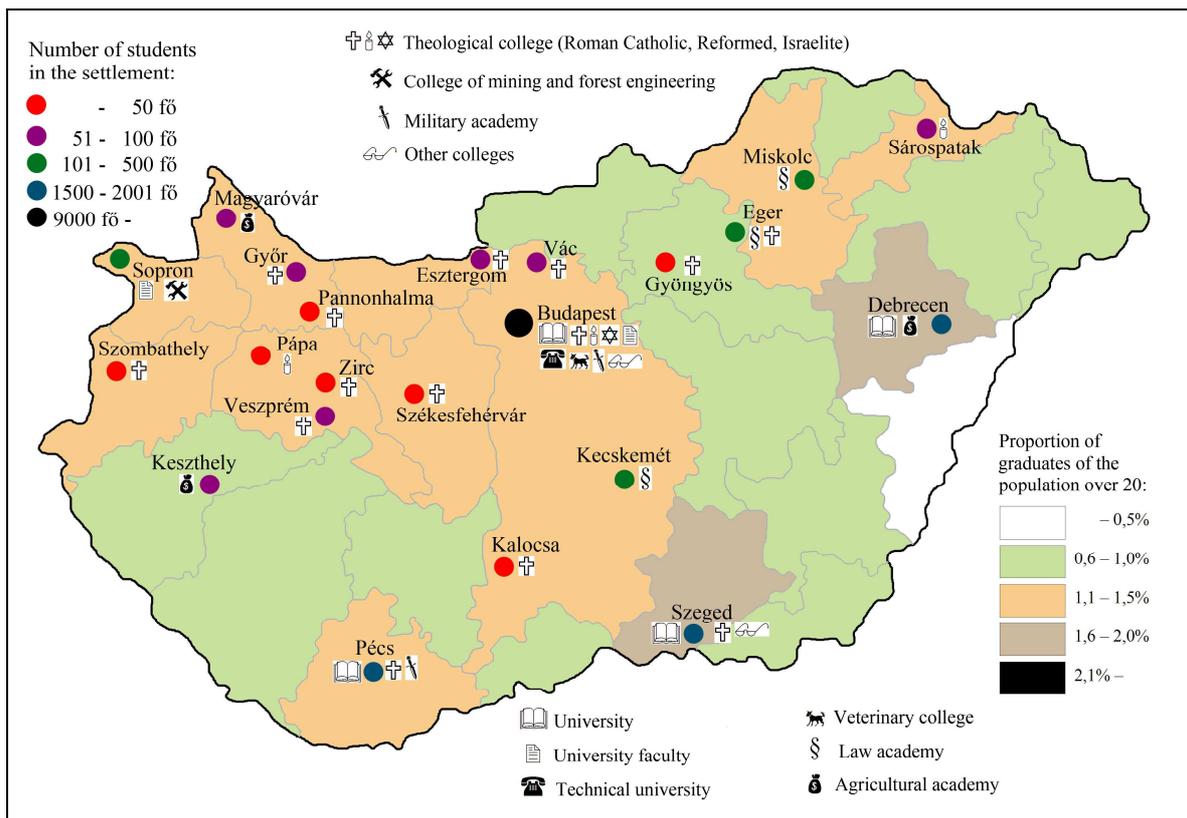


5. Diagram Settlements with secondary schools for boys, and among them the schools operated by the Reformed church, 1930/31
 (Source: based on HRC SO data, edited by Szabó Attila)

In Bihar county, though it was a Reformed centre, and in Szatmár, Ugocsa and Bereg counties there were not secondary schools, because the grammar schools of Nagyvárad, Nagyszombat and Szatmárnémeti (only to mention the ones near the border) were located outside the country's borders due to the Trianon treaty. At the same time the population that remained within the Trianon borders in these counties, with its vast majority of agricultural population, in far higher proportion than the national average, neither wanted nor could afford to establish a secondary school.

4.4. Changes in the configuration of the higher education

Concerning the supply of higher educational institutes both in numbers and diversity Budapest was far the first one, followed by the 3 university towns in the country (Debrecen, Pécs, Szeged), and the rest of the other towns far behind them. In the period under study, taking the 1930/31 school year as an example out of the 11 towns with right of municipal authority with the exception of Baja and Hódmezővásárhely, 9 had a higher educational institute (Budapest, Debrecen, Győr, Kecskemét, Miskolc, Pécs, Sopron, Szeged, Székesfehérvár). The fact that Baja and Hódmezővásárhely were in lack of colleges was not surprising due to the poor institutional supply of the Great Hungarian Plain. However, it must be noted, that most of the towns with right of municipal authority had only one – quite small even for the Hungarian standards – theological college (Győr, Székesfehérvár), or an economic college (Sopron), or a law school (Kecskemét, Miskolc). “Real” higher educational institute in the modern meaning of the word were to be found only in the university towns. Apart from the 11 towns with right of municipal authority, only 45 settlements (1930) had town status in the contemporary Hungary. 9 out of these (Eger, Esztergom, Gyöngyös, Kalocsa, Magyaróvár, Pápa, Szombathely, Vác, Veszprém) had an academy or a college – except for Eger. Eger had a theological college, and an academy of law. In Esztergom, Gyöngyös, Kalocsa, Pápa, Szombathely, Vác and Veszprém there were theological colleges and in Magyaróvár an academy of economy (6. Diagram).



6. Diagram The configuration of the Hungarian higher education, 1930/31
(Source: based on MKKSH data, edited by Szabó Attila)

Out of the 3 361 (1930) community settlements Keszthely had an academy of agriculture, Sárospatak and Zirc had theological colleges. There was a theological college in Pannonhalma as well. It is important to note that the towns that did not have the right of

municipal authority, but had a higher educational institute (except Pannonhalma and Zirc), had the same educational scale from the elementary school through higher elementary school, secondary school to college, as the towns with right of municipal authority. Furthermore, Keszthely and Sárospatak as community settlements could offer wider education than Baja and Hódmezővásárhely, both towns with right of municipal authority. The conclusion is that the borderline was not between the towns with right of municipal authority and county towns and villages, but between the settlements with and without higher educational institutes. Thus the towns with right of municipal authority did not excel among the rest of the settlements concerning their supply of educational institutes (6. *Diagram*).

Regarding the supply of educational institutes, the position of Northern-Transdanubia was outstanding. However, this relative abundance of the institutes did not mean versatility, since with the exception of Magyaróvár, Keszthely and Sopron, all the institutes were theological colleges in the region. Though among those, beside the catholic one there was a reformed (Pápa) and an evangelic one (Sopron) as well (6. *Diagram*).

The market lines of Gyöngyös, Eger, Miskolc and Sárospatak also show clearly on the map. Not only the market lines, as technical term, but the dominance of the theological colleges and the church as exclusive maintainer of colleges also reminds to the Middle Ages. In Gyöngyös and Eger there were roman catholic colleges, in Sárospatak a reformed theological college. Out of the two law academies, one in Eger was operated by the roman catholic, the one in Miskolc by the evangelic church (6. *Diagram*).

The rare supply of educational institutes in the south of Transdanubia and in the Great Plain is also obvious. The reason for this was that due to the Turkish occupation, the school establishing wave, launched by Reformation and Counter-Reformation did not reach this area, and for this, the region fell behind by several centuries. Even in Kalocsa, the arch see, the seminar was established only after the liberation of Buda, nearly half a century later, in 1733. In this respect, those contemporaries who insisted on maintaining the universities of Debrecen, Szeged and Pécs deserve credit, since the southern part of Transdanubia and the Great Plain had a lot to make up for (6. *Diagram*).

In the 1930/31 school year out of the 39 higher educational institutes 17 was operated by the state, 16 by the catholic church, 4 were reformed, 1 was evangelic, and 1 was Jewish. Although most of the institutes were maintained by different denominations, still, 89% of the students studied at state colleges and universities. Since apart from the teacher training college in Budapest, and the law academies in Eger, Kecskemét and Miskolc, the denominations operated only their own theological colleges.

In the school year of 1930/31, the 16 932 students studied in 22 settlements, in one of the 39 higher educational institutes. Concerning the number of students, beside the university towns, though far behind them but still with outstanding figures, we must list Miskolc (367 students), Kecskemét (330 students); and among the towns without right of municipal authority: Eger (305 students) and Sopron (238 students). In the studied period of time by the number of students the role of Budapest decreased (1925/26 - 65%, 1930/31 - 58%, 1937/38 - 54%), while the role of the country towns, especially the university towns increased (1925/26 - 21%, 1930/31 - 31%, 1937/38 - 31%). Consequently, 88% of the 16 932 students of year 1930/31 studied in an institute of one of the 4 university towns.

Studying the proportion of graduates, we can see, that having a higher educational institute does not guarantee that the number of graduates is also high in the given settlement (and this also depends on the type of college, as for example in Kecskemét). In Győr, and in Miskolc, though they were without significant higher educational institutes, but being industrialized towns, the proportion of graduates was higher than in Szeged and Debrecen,

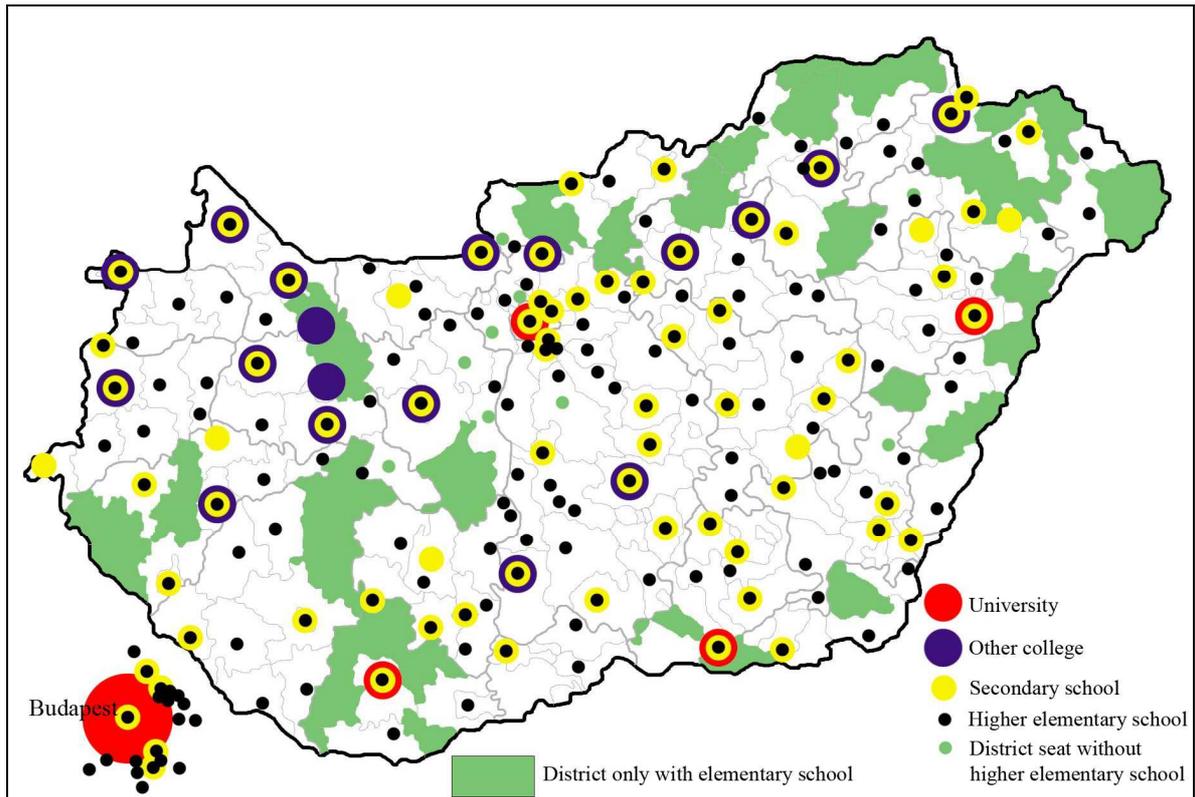
despite their universities, as these were less industrialized, and considerable part of the population lived in farmsteads. In 1930, when 74% of the population in Győr, and 67% in Miskolc lived off the industry, trade, banking and transportation, while only 56% of the population in Debrecen, and 43% in Szeged made their livings in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Based on the above data, as in the case of the counties, we can state that the proportion of the graduates in a given settlement was influenced by the proportion of its population living in the outskirts, the presence and type of a higher educational institute, the economic structure of the settlement, and the versatility and development of its infrastructure altogether.

5. Conclusions

- In my research I found that the educational infrastructure of Hungary did expand in the Horthy era, but it was still far behind the concept of Klebelsberg, thus there still remained some white spots on the culture-geographic map he drew.
- In the research I listed examples to prove that apart from the traditions the public educational institutional supply of a settlement was outlined by the demand and possibilities of its inhabitants, and not by its legal position, thus in return, from the changes of the public educational institution supply of a settlement we can make conclusions regarding its social economic development. Consequently from the fact that part of the examined settlements did not gain new school types I conclude that the social demands and possibilities remained at the same level as they were decades earlier. This means that the people living there did not, and could not require any different school type than the existing elementary and higher elementary school.
- My examinations also proved that the settlements that were supplied with institutes from elementary school to university got an opportunity to reinforce their leading role in their region. Furthermore the new institutes – and this supports the tetrahedron model of Tóth József – contributed to the solution of the educational, public health, city planning etc. problems of the area.
- The research proved that Klebelsberg was right to expect the modernization of the counter-pole cities from the university investments, as during the examined period of time Debrecen, Pécs and Szeged developed to become real European cities, and they started their journey that by today led to the fact that in these cities knowledge-production, higher education and research are clearly the leading sectors.
- In my research through twelve complementary factors I outlined the reasons why Szeged became (one of) the flagship(s) of the Hungarian culture politics, and through this, the modernization of the Great Plain between the two world wars.

6. Further directions of research, ways to utilize the results

My thesis studied the culture-geographic map drawn by Klebelsberg. My further questions and proposals are connected this problem, regarding the effect of the Klebelsberg culture policy and the development of the educational infrastructure on the development of settlements; regarding the special problems of the Great Plain (public health, settlement planning), and the development of the counterpole towns. Some of the main questions were answered by the analysis of sub-questions, through studying the illiteracy shortcomings and development of the contemporary counties and districts, the establishment and development of the different educational levels, and finally the effect of all these components on the social-employment restructuring.



7. *Diagram* The school network of Hungary, 1930/10
 (Source: based on MKKSH data, edited by Szabó Attila)

Based on the achievements of the age of dualism, the educational infrastructure of Hungary did expand in the Horthy era, but it was still far behind the concept of Klebelsberg, thus there still remained some white spots on his culture-geographic map (7. *Diagram*). This presented a problem since while the elementary schools system was being developed with high speed, a higher elementary and secondary school system, that could have provided more sufficient knowledge than reading, writing and counting, that would have been suitable to channel European national education and a sense of nationality, and that could have thought and trained hundreds of thousands of students, still was not being developed. The reason for this was, that such a vertically homogenous educational structure was not in demand either socially or economically in the contemporary Hungary. However, there were obvious achievements in the development of the elementary school system, as it was regarded a priority, and also in the inherently connecting elimination of illiteracy. At the same time due to the limited capacity of the economy, to the internal reproduction of the workforces employed in industry and services, and to the limited mobility of the uneducated classes, or the ones with low education (with merely reading and writing skills) the social-employment re-stratification slowed down remarkably during the whole period compared to the pace of dualism. Thus however the society was becoming more educated it did not result in the social-employment re-stratification. As there was no significant vertical mobility in the social hierarchy, the Hungarian society in sociological terms was a closed society between the two world wars. Except for a few fortunate individual fates, on the level of the whole society there was no typical intergenerational or intragenerational mobility (ANDORKA R. 1997). Though the population of the country became more educated in general, the chances for upward mobility did not increase, since even though more and more people learned to read and write, and more and more got higher elementary school

degrees, this did not change the social-employment structure of Hungary. There were no more available open positions than that the Hungarian economy required on its given developmental level. While the individuals on their own side increased their chances for mobility by becoming more educated, as they could not become independent of the country's social-employment structure, the result was only that they became part of a future intergenerational mobility. Reading and writing skills on their own proved to be useless in providing any chance for social mobility in the 1920s already, they were only sufficient enough to obtain a minimally necessary work culture.

The settlements that were supplied with an institute from elementary school to university, got an opportunity to reinforce their leading role in their region. In the world of isolated farms even a single elementary school had central importance, and it generated further investments in the infrastructure (e.g. grocery store, pub), not to mention the clinics and research laboratories belonging to the universities, that tried to find solutions for the problems of the given area. The settlements already having a regional role in the historical Hungary, that did have a social segment, which due to the strong interdependence between its education, employment and economic potential, demanded higher and higher educational levels, were able to develop, thus they provided more and more proportion of their inhabitants with the – theoretical – opportunity to gain higher education.

Klebensberg believed that the university investments would modernize the counterpole towns, that these towns would become real cities, not only in respect of their area and populations, but their infrastructure as well, and so the settlement structure of Hungary would become more balanced, and the differences between the different regions would decrease.

If we accept Klebensberg's statement saying that – *'beside industry and trade'* – the cultural investments and the inherently connecting education are what differentiate a big city from *'a mass of people'*, then Debrecen, Pécs and Szeged grew to be real European cities during the period under study.

Klebensberg's works that still exists today in Szeged – the university, the clinics, the research institutes, the colleges, elementary schools, libraries, the swimming pool, the sport hall and the open-air theatre –, all contributed to Szeged's becoming an *'innovation bridge head, the Hungarian Göttinga and Hungarian Salzburg'*. The world bowed to the achievements in 1937, when Szentgyörgyi Albert, who was a professor of the university of Szeged was awarded the medical Nobel Prize.

To find an answer to the question if the urbanization resulted in the inhabitants' higher living standards, or supposedly a better quality of life would be subject for another research. As well as to draw the map of the schools' schooling area, or the gravity-area systems of the different school types. But it is obvious without any life standard research, that the university towns could not compensate, only moderate the distortions of the national settlement system. Regarding Szeged, that was studied separately, in general and in Klebensberg's interpretation, even today we can state the same he said concerning Budapest and Hungary: the cultural and economic lights of Szeged are not strong enough to enlighten the whole area of the Great Hungarian Plain... In addition, though the number of higher educational institutes increased during the period, nationally it did not enhance the exact sciences, but the theological ones. The distorted job structure of the graduates did not change in this period of time, and the much preferred Christian middle class could not meet the political expectations either regarding the obtainment of the *'practical education'*, and it did not adapt despite of the state's help (law of numerus clausus, state scholarships etc.).

In summary further directions of the present study could be on the one hand to examine if the development of the counterpole towns resulted in increasing the life

standards, and the quality of life of their inhabitants. And to draw the map of the schooling area, and gravity area of the schools, on the other.

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