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**István Gyertyánffy and Sándor Imre's views on women and ideas on
women's education**

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I. Introduction. The rationale for the topic

The object of our qualitative research was the discovery of primary sources in the manuscript archives of the National Széchényi Library; previously unpublished documents, and our interest turned with natural curiosity towards the persons of István Gyertyánffy and Sándor Imre and the cultural environment surrounding them. We are convinced that, in our changing world, greater emphasis should be placed on the importance of cultural memory, which is becoming less prominent and seems to be falling out of practice in certain areas, such as reading. We believe that the relatively novel path of subjective educational history writing proposed by Alice Dombi, which treats it as a source of cultural memory, is an ideal methodological solution. Through written and oral sources, educational memory brings us to the pedagogical experiences through which we can process the mental history of a given period or, in our case, of a given teacher. Since authorial biography greatly helps the researcher to process the work of an author in a more nuanced way, we consider the Imre letters and Gyertyánffy manuscripts as the basis of our analytical study, as text corpus intended for re-reading and analysis.

Industrial development in the last years of the 19th century and the accompanying scientific and technical revolution created the essence of capitalism in the world. The structure of society was also transformed, and people's lifestyles and private lives changed. The new cultural and social worldview that emerged between 1890 and 1914 was fuelled by the mourning of the loss of faith, old traditions, customs, ways of life and, indeed, of a sense of wholeness that politics, religion and education could no longer redeem or heal. The roots of the birth of modern pedagogy and European education can be found in these social, economic, industrial and political changes. For in the changed thinking there were already voices critical of culture and education, but the advance of socialism and the workers' movement had also alarmed the world. The obvious solution to these problems seemed to be a reform pedagogy that sought to renew traditional school practice. Closely linked to the reform movement was the empirical psychology of the child's psyche and developmental characteristics. Increasingly, however, there was also a place for women's emancipation movements.

For centuries, diaries and letters have been the main instruments of scientific and often literary discourse. This form of exchange of ideas is also known from other disciplines, for example, it has a long tradition in 19th century Hungarian literature, where, apart from Ferenc Toldy, János Arany was the most extensive correspondent. The writing habits of the period also varied greatly from person to person. It was, of course, the primary forum for communication, and thus also serves as a primary source for us here. Although Sándor Imre did not have literary

ambitions with his letters, as János Arany did, nor did he want to destroy them, as his friend, the pastor-poet Mihály Tompa did, his manuscripts, with their peculiar style, enrich us with a wealth of information that we cannot learn from his printed works. The writing of Gyertyánffy's diary was motivated not only by boredom but also by the desire to bequeath it to posterity, and therefore it is much richer in biographical data than Sándor Imre's letters, which are mainly of professional interest.

The education of girls began to gain ground in Hungary after long millennia, for example, around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the doors of Hungarian universities were opened, and in 1896 Vilma Hugonnai (1847-1922), the first Hungarian woman doctor, finally received permission to have her almost twenty-year-old diploma from Zurich recognised. The cause of women's education was promoted by reformist educational movements from the West, but it was also helped to take root in Hungary by the important male thinkers of the time and their associated women, especially women teachers, writers and journalists. Thanks to the professional correspondence and network of contacts between the two men, the women's education advocacy community achieved first minor and then major successes in putting feminist aspirations into practice, and several case studies show how their students took their national education plans forward.

II. Research aim and questions

Our primary research hypothesis is that through the example of the contemporary manuscript archive material of the National Széchényi Library we can prove that the pedagogical work of Sándor Imre, a pedagogue and educational policy-maker, who followed in the footsteps of István Széchenyi, can be most objectively interpreted today through the textual analysis of his official and personal letters with his contemporaries. Furthermore, an attempt is made to show how microhistoricism as a methodological approach can be used in the history of education. In our qualitative, deductive research on the history of education, we analyse and explain the concept of women's education of István Gyertyánffy and his successor in the leadership of the Pedagogy, Sándor Imre, after exploring the manuscript material of the National Széchényi Library as our primary source. In preparing our doctoral thesis, we do not ignore the theoretical work on the subject, nor the literature on the topic, but the focus is on the as yet unprocessed and unpublished manuscript material, which touches on the context of the genesis of the texts analysed, which is largely based on biographical elements.

We will examine how they were influenced by Western currents at the time of the Reconciliation, and how the typical elements of the reformist pedagogical movement that arrived in Hungary at the turn of the century were reflected in their thinking and teaching practice. We are convinced that their different ideals of women's education and feminism were influenced by them.

The thematic focus of the thesis is on Gyertyánffy's partially explored and Sándor Imre's less well-known concept of women's education, which, according to our research hypothesis, underwent sometimes major, sometimes minor modifications during the authors' almost eight decades of professional activity, as a result of historical events. In addition to their theoretical works, their sense of active social responsibility also plays an important role in their everyday lives, and understandably also in their personal and official correspondence, just as Gyertyánffy's other ego document, his diary entries, reveal much information about the subject under study. In our opinion, the presentation of the concrete biographical cases gives a more pragmatic colour to the so far known thoughts of Sándor Imre and his master on the theory of education, thus materialising the holistic system of thought on national education and its problem-historical nodes that can be read from their theoretical works.

By placing their previously unpublished and unanalysed manuscripts in the context of the history of education in Hungary, a longitudinal, comparative picture of the teachers and their network of relationships, their teacher-student relations, and the functioning of the intellectual elite (journals, societies, associations) surrounding them, is drawn. A further contribution of our work may be to present, in addition to the two well-known male scholars, the careers of the influential but now less well-known feminists and women's educators who were active in the nation around them.

Our plan is to present the various dimensions of women's history in Hungary during the Dualism era, its precursors and consequences, with an international outlook, based on qualitative analysis of the writings found in contemporary manuscripts, studies, books and Hungarian-language press products, focusing on the urban middle and upper classes and the most important steps and results of women's emancipation and the change in women's lifestyles.

III. Research methods

In our research we used a descriptive, primary source-based, historical approach, a document analysis. The public has always been sympathetic to first-person documents, such as correspondence, and historiography has also treated subjective writings as an important source.

Through documentary analysis, the interpretation of the historical, - educational problems formulated earlier also makes the question of university and non-formal education during the First and Second World Wars more reflective. The more recent tendencies are characterised by the fact that, by focusing on the individual experience of history, they find in the personal written material a first-rate source.

This brief contemporary history provides researchers in the historiography of higher education with detailed, useful, and so far unexplored material. In addition to the usual literature, we have worked with a number of primary sources in the tradition of historical research, since pedagogy has never really been a discipline in isolation, since it has been merged from the beginning with other disciplines such as philosophy, physics, or biology and medicine. In our opinion, this is why interdisciplinary historical research can provide many new insights into both the history of education and related disciplines.

In the course of the analysis, we considered it worthwhile to examine the broader context of the selected source, to explore its history and its historical embeddedness. In order to do this, it was useful to consider and interpret the following aspects provided by Judit Hegedűs: to explore the historical determination of the manuscripts, the time of their creation, the place of their origin, depending on the data (year, event, name, place, other data) and statements/judgements, connections (causal) contained in the source.

IV. Research sources; research history, theoretical underpinnings

Hungarian teachers mentioned Gyertyánffy from time to time, mostly on different occasions and anniversaries. Exceptionally, the most prominent celebrations and eulogies took place in 1881, at the height of his career, on the quarter-century anniversary of his teaching. Not only did the cultural authorities and the pedagogical press of the time honour his outstanding merits, the latter reporting in great detail on the celebrations at the Pedagogium, but also other newspapers, including the *Vasárnapi Ujság*, which devoted an editorial to Gyertyánffy in its 12 June 1881 issue. After that, however, interest in his work declined rapidly in the press. With the decline in the number of his personal acquaintances, his name and memory continued to be ignored in the mid-20th century, until, thanks mainly to the teachers and researchers of the teacher training colleges that had become higher education and, not least, to the socialist zeitgeist, he and his popular education were once again the focus of interest in the history of education in the 1960s. These years were also the years of Lajos Magyarfalvy's writings in this direction, which, if not ideologically impartial, at least created an objective picture of him, focusing on his work, which was a niche substitute in the era. In recent years,

some major works and dissertations have been written on István Gyertyánffy's life, most notably Elemér Kelemen's articles and Natasa Fizel's doctoral dissertation, which describe the establishment of teacher training in civil schools, and Gyertyánffy's ideas on the place and method of training civil school teachers. There are also three works on the subject, by Dombi, Droppáné and Kéri, which are presented in the relevant sections of this paper, based on the basis of our paper.

Most of the discourse on Sándor Imre's work is characterized by excessively biased, superficial and often over-politicized texts due to personal involvement and the spirit of the times (e.g. Ágnes Heksch, 1959; 1969), but there are also several inspiring approaches free of connotations that are worth following.¹ The study by József Martinkó deals in detail with Sándor Imre's concept of morality, which was of course greatly influenced by the approach of his idol Schneller, since both were advocates of the moral development of the individual.² From the aspect of independent authorship and temporality, Béla Pukánszky's study of Sándor Imre's Education Theory, also examines the topic, where the author analyses Sándor Imre's works on education with appropriate objectivity and professional background, focusing on the work the Education Theory. In recent decades, his concept of national education has been the focus of particular attention by Erzsébet Golnhofer, Viktória Tamusné Molnár and Anna Dévényi, as well as Péter Donáth.

The relevant books on women's life and women's education in dualism are Katalin Kéri's; Ladies with Parasols-Women in the Dualism in Hungary and Women's Life, Girls' Education in the Modern Age, Girls' Education and Women's Education in the Modern Hungary.³ Kéri has devoted much attention to the situation of women's education in Hungary between the 16th and 20th centuries, and also considers it important to "explore the micro-history, the memories of the past lived by individuals", in addition to "international, national, regional or local data". The Pécs Women's History Workshop was also organised around Katalin Kéri, which presented episodes in the history of women's education in the 19th and 20th centuries in their volume "Women have a lot to know...". We were very interested in the studies in the volume that undertook an exo-documentary analysis, such as Dóra Czeferner's thesis on the Schwimmer

HEKSCH Ágnes, *Imre Sándor nevelésméleti tevékenysége 1919-ig*, Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1959.; S. HEKSCH Ágnes, *Imre Sándor művelődéspolitikai rendszere*, Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1969.

² MARTINKÓ József: *Imre Sándor erkölcsi nevelésről vallott nézetei napjainkban = Az erkölcs szépsége - A kaposvári Erkölcs-, Művészetfilozófiai és -nevelési Konferencia előadásai—2003., augusztus 27-29.*, szerk. CZIRJÁK József et al., Kaposvár, Kaposvári Egyetem Csokonai Vitéz Mihály Pedagógiai Főiskolai Kar, 2005, 364-378.

³ KÉRI Katalin, *Hölgyek napernyővel: nők a dualizmus kori Magyarországon, 1867-1914*, Pécs, Pro Pannónia, 2008; KÉRI Katalin, *Női élet, leánynevelés az újkorban: válogatott tanulmányok*, Budapest, Gondolat, 2015; KÉRI

Rózsa bequest in New York, or Patrícia Maisch's *The imprints of girls' education in 19th century women's diaries*.

In the context of presenting the background of our study, we must mention the relevant activities of Orsolya Kereszty, who emphasized the influence of nation-building processes in the dualism education of girls, which provides an important perspective for this paper, since in our opinion, like Gyertyánffy, the educator of the people, Sándor Imre's concept of nation-building also includes a system of ideas about women's education, which has been unexplored until now. Also included here is the volume *"Woman and Society" - For the Education of Women (1907-1913)*, which, like Kéri's, also reports on the educational opportunities for women in the dualism period, where the author highlights the significant changes made in the field of ONE education. This is why, in the context of the letter under analysis, we have considered it incomplete to include a short section on the functioning of the association in our subsection.

Béla Pukánszky drew attention to the advent of the reform pedagogy movement in Hungary. The changes in Western societies had reached Hungary by the end of the century, creating a breeding ground for women's rights. More and more women and men stood up for the equality of the two sexes in deed, word and writing. Thus, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, women were no longer only seeking greater freedom in education and employment, but also, after earlier isolated aspirations, were increasingly expressing opinions on private life, such as the freedom to choose a partner or to have children. The creation of women's associations was a consequence of the recognition of the right of association and assembly.

Attila Nóbik, in his book *The Pedagogical Press and the Professionalization of Teachers in the Age of Dualism*, explains that despite the various efforts for equality, the proportion of women authors in all journals was very low. The public interest in women's issues today is not negligible, making further discussion of this interdisciplinary topic timely not only at the turn of the century but also today. Mária Palasik, Andrea Pető and Balázs Sipos have published several important articles on gender and women's roles in society.

V. Results of the dissertation

The fifth and most extensive chapter of the dissertation presents the international and Hungarian reform efforts at the turn of the century and the chronological appearance of the image of women in the works and manuscripts of Sándor Imre and István Gyertyánffy (1905-1914). The figure of the domestic woman and the Rousseauian topos of the ideal wife in the

section on girls' education in *The Methodology of the People's School* (1876), the 1905 and later views of the Social Science Society and Sándor Imre on the values of reform pedagogy and the question of women's education, the Hungarian educational history of research in the history of women's education in the 19th-20th centuries, and the history of Hungarian education in the history of women's education in the 19th-20th centuries are presented. Sándor Imre in his 1906 letter to Etelka Gönczy Csiky Kálmán, the connections between women's education and psychology in Sándor Imre's system of thought in the light of the major relevant international and domestic congresses (1913), and the "Unified organization of our education of girls": the question of women's education according to the Hungarian Pedagogical Society (1914). In the subsection V.1. The figure of the domestic woman and the Rousseauian topos of the ideal wife in the section on girls' education in *The Methodology of the Popular School* (1876), we point out that although Friedrich Dittes was known for his reform efforts within the Austrian school system, he also intended girls to play the role of 'careful, domestic, thrifty woman and mother'. And since the German-Austrian pedagogue had already had a great influence on István Gyertyánffy during his studies as a young teacher, this influence continued to influence his later role as a woman. We can also infer this from the fact that his pedagogy was accompanied to the end by the conviction that women should hardly ever leave the role of mother and wife, but if they did, they should do so in the service of their country. V. 2. Reform of pedagogy? The Social Science Society and Sándor Imre's 1905 and later views on the values of reform pedagogy, including women's education, were selected in part to represent educational issues, and analysed along different problem foci. We have presented the dualism-era problems that were a problem in education at the turn of the century and on which reform pedagogy focused (thickness of textbooks, amount of curriculum, family roles, co-education, women's roles, international trends). We will also show that, although Sándor Imre's attitude towards the reformist and child-centred pedagogical tendencies of the period was ambivalent, he was concerned with the Social Science Society's polemic on the reform of secondary education, which was first discussed in the journal *Huszadik század* and later published in a separate volume. The impact of this on him was discussed in a book by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which was published in the journal "The Century of the Century". Károly Szász, a ministerial adviser, in a letter.

A qualitative analysis of his manuscript, his relevant works and the contemporary press provides a complex answer to the question of what pedagogical innovations preceded him in Hungarian education, how the new trend in Hungary, which was based on Rousseau's concept of education (Ellen Key; Cecil Redie, etc.) and which was initiated in the West, appeared in the

years following the turn of the century, and what questions it raised among education and social science experts. The subsection V.3. Research history of Hungarian education in connection with the paradigm shift in the history of women's education at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in Hungary includes the main representatives of the dualist era of women's education (Pukánszky, Kéri, Kereszty) and a look at the specialised press (Nóbik). 4. The first focused appearance of the topic of women's education in connection with the National Women's Educational Association in Sándor Imre's 1906 letter to Etelka Gönczy, where, after a lengthy introduction describing the intellectual and social climate of the second half of the 19th century, we turned to the topic of the title. The declared aim of the chapter was to provide an insight into Hungarian women's education in the early 20th century and to broaden the picture of women's history through the figures of Sándor Imre and Mrs Kálmán Csiky, who in their own work were equally concerned with the education of women to the highest possible level and quality. In the course of our research, it became clear and we consider it a significant achievement that Sándor Imre, in contrast to István Gyertyánffy, in facing the challenges of the future, assigned a considerably more partner-like role to the female gender, just as his great role model István Széchenyi assigned a significant role to the individual in the creation of a unified nation. Sándor Imre - in order to develop a more credible women's education - is informed, researches, writes studies, listens to lectures, in order to promote the unfortunate situation of women's education in Hungary. The concept of national education has been described in many instances, but no research has drawn attention to the fact that, although with cautious openness, he was also concerned with the innovations of reform pedagogy (psychology; child study) and the cause of women's education.

At the turn of the century, with the emergence of reform pedagogy, in addition to the renewal of the school environment, the question of women's education, which would no longer prepare them exclusively for the role of housewife, was becoming increasingly important, and ideas were being put forward that: "it demands full equality of men and women in all spheres of social and public life, which, of course, also demands full equality of duties for women in all spheres in which they are active: there must be no difference in the acquisition of knowledge between male and female children. " In analysing Sándor Imre's letter to Kálmán Csiky, it became clear to us that it is worthwhile to review Sándor Imre's thoughts on women's education, because his letters and writings contain valuable moments of educational history. In the summer of 1906, Károly Pap forwarded to Sándor Imre a request from Kálmán Csiky to fill the post of headmaster of the Upper Girls' School. He was caught unawares by the request, reluctant to make a quick decision, but considering a change because of the reputation of the 'institution of

great importance'. Her response is considered a significant moment in the history of women's education because it is well known that during this period, the issue of women's studies at university was also a new wave in the nursing profession. The speech by Károly Kmety, a lawyer and professor at the University of Budapest, who said that allowing women to study at university was not liberalism, but outright vandalism, caused a great stir. In the subsection on the connection between women's education and psychology in the thought of Sándor Imre in the light of the major relevant international and domestic congresses (1913), we pointed out that by the 1910s, lifestyle reform movements had spread worldwide and that there were numerous conferences on the education of women. On 10 June 1912, at the suggestion of László Nagy, Sándor Imre was elected a member of the preparatory committee for the first congress of child educators and gave a lecture on the evaluation of pupils at the congress. The experiences of the Pécs congress also had an impact on Sándor Imre, who, a few years after his letter to Kálmán Csiky, moved from Kolozsvár to Budapest and took up the cause of women's education again. In 1913, in a paper entitled *Women's Education and Psychology*, he reported on the ambivalent and incomplete results of the conference of the German Bund für Schulreform, held in Breslau from 4-6 October 1913. Sándor Imre's reflections on the congress provide a much more nuanced picture than the earlier ones. A key element is that he did not believe in co-education because he did not believe it was possible for teachers to manage the physical and psychological differences between boys and girls in a community in a way that would be reassuring. She continues to value the role of the teacher outside the family, as she has emphasised in subsequent work. She also raised the need for a complex empirical study of girls' education, which was a very innovative idea for her time. In our view, although the World War brought the world of work closer to women, the predominance of men during this period meant that the image of women in our country returned to the level of 1848, where they were mainly expected to resign, to care, to be charitable, to be a backcountry.

The sixth part deals with the ambivalent vocation of women in public thought during the years of World War I (1915-1918), the journalistic activities of women's educator Flóra Kozma Perczelné and Erzsébet Neményi based on István Gyertyánffy's *Letters from the field of feminism and the question of women's education* (1917). We will present aspects of reform pedagogy in István Gyertyánffy, *Theano education in relation to the relationship between the two teachers and the Gyertyánffy Diary*, the work of Ilona Berta and the image of women in the Epilogue in section VI.4. Just as many public figures at the turn of the century spoke out and warned against voices calling for change in reform pedagogy, so too in the case of women's education, some did not rule out feminist aspirations, but asked for time to prepare. Among

these was Gyertyánffy, who asked for patience from women in exercising their political role. She draws attention to the fact that the issue of women's education fits in with the idea of national education, which was central to the times, and that it is important to transform the Hungarian system of women's education in order to make the ideas of feminism as smooth as possible. In Gyertyánffy's case, the ideas of women's education and feminism must be separated. For he too strongly emphasised the importance of women's education, while shunning feminism and branding women's free choice of career as unnecessary self-aggrandisement. We consider it unfortunate that the women thinkers she valued and who were indeed of great value to her held almost identical views to her, with minor differences (e.g. on the issue of voting rights), in keeping with the context of the times, thus creating a bubble of one-sided social opinion around her, as is the case with social media today, with the long-term consequence of a fragmented public sphere. This was aided and abetted by women writers, both in the National Education for Women and in girls' educational institutions such as the Elizabeth School for Women, run by Ilona Berta. During this period, Sándor Imre had a much more modern approach to women's education than Gyertyánffy. This difference became tangible when she wrote a review of her master's work, and she did not interpret women's political ambitions as a female fad. In Gyertyánffy's mid-19th century writings and manuscripts, we still find a very traditional image, and the socially supported and thus entrenched idea of the role of women persists much longer in her work. Gyertyánffy feels that the age of learning dead languages, of dancing, of decorous bowing, is over, and in her works she has sketched an ideal of a woman (the old-world "székely" woman), inspired by antiquity (Theano) but much more practical, who is educated, tidy, thrifty, and able to support her wife and children by manual labour even in the hardships of war, even without her husband. As this type of woman; no university education is required to create a true Theano, the ideal place for the education of girls is the civil girls' school and its practically equipped boarding school.

In the seventh chapter, we included the issue of Hungarian women's education in the social life and pedagogical press of the decade after the First World War (1924-1929), and the problems of women's education based on the study of Sándor Imre and his ideas on the theory of education, and finally we focused on the activity and influence of Sándor Imre on women's education. In Hungary, the Hungarian Soviet Republic provided a special space for the emancipation of women, but the liberation did not last long, as the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the loss of the World War I. and the tragedy of the territories annexed by the Trianon decision were followed by political and social conservatism, which did not allow the real development of the women's issue for many years. A few years later, on 10 November 1924,

Sándor Imre gave a lecture on the subject of the problems of women's education at a meeting of the Feminist Association on the same subject. This fact alone is remarkable, that, leaving behind his earlier open but extremely cautious attitude, he did not close himself off from this public, but engaged in a constructive dialogue with them, and an extended version of his lecture, entitled *The Organisation of Women's Education*, was published in the journal *Kisdédnevelés*. The educator took a modern approach to the now all but obsolete view that it was sufficient to prepare women for motherhood by giving them some literacy. Although Sándor Imre always insisted on the perspective that coeducation was not possible because of gender and developmental characteristics, he considered it essential that every girl should find a school that suited her profile, and he also used the statistics of the 1920 census to justify the need to renew girls' schools. In the subsection VII.2. Representation of Sándor Imre's activities and impact on women's education in various egodocuments, we note that between the two world wars, there were already professionally productive, co-educational workshops at the universities around Sándor Imre, as is evidenced by his students' recollections. There is a clear contrast with Gyertyánffy, who did not think it was right for women to study at university. It is also clear that many of Sándor Imre's female students chose intellectual careers, and many of them became renowned child psychologists, educational historians, girls' school leaders and economists, thus demonstrating Sándor Imre's influence in the field of women's education.

VI. Research responses

It was a 2018 determination to create a modern narrative of the Imre Sándor phenomenon, free of ideologies. The micro-historical approach, as a specific method, became evident almost immediately when we discovered the primary documents related to Sándor Imre in the Correspondents' Archive of the National Széchényi Library. By re-reading his texts, an unexpected universe, a previously unexplored possibility, opened up to us. Thus, our dissertation ends up analysing printed texts, unpublished sources and texts of relevant reviews.

We first established the lack of impartiality of the approach that characterised the reception of Sándor Imre at the time and afterwards, and we made it our research goal to rehabilitate the teacher. In the course of our research, we explored the facets of Sándor Imre's concept of national education, and we were presented with a multifaceted interdisciplinary topic, which made us realise that a complex description of all the views and reflections of this multifaceted expert on this subject is an impossible undertaking. His concept of national education was extended to all the inhabitants of Hungary at any given time, from infancy to old

age, from the lower social strata to the aristocracy. However, Sándor Imre's letter to Kálmán Csiky caught our attention, which reveals how the author turned to the question of women's education at the turn of the century. Our earlier study and thesis, based on this specific case, is a response to the significant paradigm shift that has occurred, primarily as a result of the change in the historical context of the subject under examination. In other words, where and how did Sándor Imre's interest in women's education develop from the turn of the century to the theory of his most mature work, *The Education of Women* (1929), and what were the ideas that informed its social and educational history. Since it was in the middle of this period that the reform pedagogy arrived in our country, which at the turn of the century was so symbiotic with the changes in the education of children, and thus in the education of girls and the image of women, that it would have been pointless to discuss these phenomena without a description of the movement.

While we narrowed the topic, we chose a broader spectrum to get a more complex picture, so we compared Sándor Imre's thoughts with those of István Gyertyánffy. The choice of Gyertyánffy was both intuitive and a search for a leading educator and practitioner with a very similar place in the history of education. Our decision was facilitated by the joint correspondence between the Catholic master and his Reformed "disciple." It was inspiring that, since we are talking about two separate generations, the active creative years of the two teachers, from the mid-1860s to 1945, spanned almost 80 years, thus nicely revealing how the contemporary image of women was modified in the press and in the thoughts and reflections of the two men, from the ideal of Gyertyánffy, reminiscent of Rousseau's image of Sofia, to the modern image of women by Sándor Imre. What is also new in our paper is that no researcher has so far dealt with Sándor Imre's principles of women's education, and few, if any, have been published on Gyertyánffy, only three motivating studies, mainly concerning Theano pedagogy, which are also referred to in our paper.

Another peculiarity of our work is that, since we are convinced that we cannot ignore the contributions of women thinkers when discussing the situation of women's education, we will proceed along the micro-history and present a number of little-known women writers, women educators, journalists, and some of Sándor Imre's university students, who were in professional contact with at least one of the two authors, who interacted with each other, and whose letters and recollections show a high level of appreciation. Kutatási előfeltevéseink mind a tartalmat, mind a módszertant tekintve így módon beigazolódtak. A két pedagógus munkásságának és kézírataik anyagának mentén tártuk fel a dualizmus kori magyarországi nőtörténet különböző dimenzióit, annak előzményeit és következményeit, alapvetően a városi közép- és felső

rétegekre, illetve a nőemancipáció, a női életmódváltás fontosabb lépéseire és eredményeire koncentrálva. És azt az eredményt kaptuk, hogy ahogy a történelem, úgy a két pedagógus kérdéshez fűződő aspektusa is folyamatos mozgásban volt, és idomult (Gyertyánffy Istvánnál a legtöbb esetben) vagy ellenállt a kor társadalmi elvárásainak (Imre Sándornál több alkalommal), miközben gondolatrendszerüket befolyásolták a kor nő gondolkodói is, ahogy ők is hatottak szakmájuk női képviselőire, tanítványaikra. Ahogy feltételeztük, mikrotörténeti eszközök segítségével még tárgyilagosabb képet kaphattunk Gyertyánffy István és Imre Sándor szerzői személyéről, kialakult nőképéről és (nő)nevelői tevékenységéről, és talán szerénytelenség nélkül állíthatjuk, hogy ezáltal is tettünk egy kis lépést afelé, hogy róluk és munkásságukról végre kollektívvé váljon egy objektivitásra törekvő, előítéletektől mentes általános diskurzus.

VII. Further research opportunities

This study has further research potential. It is also possible to extend the time frame of the study, the persons and associations included in the analysis, the focus on the history of the problem and the choice of sources. One direction could be the exploration of the manuscripts of István Gyertyánffy and Sándor Imre kept in other places (e.g. Ráday Archives, relevant county libraries and archives, such as the Archives of the University of Szeged), which could provide a more nuanced picture of the narrative of women's education we are researching, but also of other types of interests of the two teachers (e.g. experimental psychology or politics). Since the literature on them leaves something to be desired, almost any study that aims to present a segment of their work could enrich the history of education in Hungary.

In the course of our work, we have often covered women's lives that were not closely related to the topic of this thesis, but we plan to explore the careers and work of other women writers, journalists and women educators in the future, also using microhistorical tools. On the other hand, the history of women's image and women's education in Hungary offers untapped opportunities for researchers, both in the press of the 19th and 20th centuries and in manuscript and archival sources. For example, the 1945 census data of the Budapest City Archives can provide a lot of additional information (e.g. number of rooms, size, furnishings) for a lifelike reconstruction of the contemporary situation and living conditions of women, as well as other relevant primary sources; letters, diaries, memoirs, illustrations, photographs, yearbooks can enrich the collection of sources of Hungarian women's history.

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