

The Elementary Schools of the Danube Steamship Company in the Pécs Mining District (1868–1938/1944)

Zoltán HUSZÁR

Abstract: This article aims to give an outline of the elementary school system that was adapted and supported by the Royal Danube Steamship Company /DSC; Erste k. k. priv. Donau–Dampfschiffahrts–Gesellschaft (DDSG); Első cs. kir. szab. Dunagőzhajózási Társaság (DGT)/ which got its footing in the Pécs coal basin in 1852, starting out with the description of the existing public school system of County Baranya and Hungary of the period discussed. The author highlights those revolutionary measures that were taken by the company in the field of education, covering reforms, school building activities and the different ways of financial and material support the company provided for its employees, including schoolmasters and school teachers. As a background, he gives a detailed picture of the social and political life that characterized Hungary in the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, mentioning all the important names, acts and events that influenced the educational processes. The special value of the article is the detailed presentation of the everyday life on a mining colony, describing those activities, festive occasions and traditions that formed the lifestyle of the multinational community.

The study is based on the author's own research conducted in Hungarian and Austrian archives and on published literature. His findings are expressed in simple but informative tables which are easy to overview.

The excessive explanations in forms of footnotes and the long list of references offer opportunity for further research for those who are interested.

Keywords: DSC/DDSG, education in Hungary, Pécs, company culture

In 1852, when the First Imperial and Royal Danube Steamship Company /DSC; Erste k. k. priv. Donau–Dampfschiffahrts–Gesellschaft (DDSG); Első cs. kir. szab. Dunagőzhajózási Társaság (DGT)/ got its footing in the Pécs coal basin, the workers / among them the miners / living there sent their children to the village school run by the Catholic Church.

After the appearance of the company more and more families arrived in the region to make a living by earning in the mines. However, the mining colonies were pretty far from the surrounding villages, so the children of newcomers could not attend the existing village schools. As they could not stay without proper education, the DSC decided to open company schools on its colonies. “The development and growth of the mining industry encouraged the company to found schools and to undertake the task of their maintenance to be able to provide the necessary education for the children of the employees.” (DGT /DSC, 1894, p. 46)

Before describing the DSC/schools, I would like to give a short description of the existing public schools system of County Baranya and Hungary of the period discussed.

After the Austro–Hungarian Compromise in 1867, due to the liberal political system, the public school law of József Eötvös – Act XXXVIII of 1868¹ – played a decisive role in improving the conditions of culture and education, the elimination of illiteracy. The Act, which made school visiting obligatory for children between the ages of 6–12 (in some cases until the age of 15) was a progressive one all over Europe.² It enabled the state, the villages and towns, the church, the companies and even private people to establish schools, and the DSC also lived with this opportunity. The number of company-run schools was fairly low in Hungary of the Monarchy and it stayed so in the period between the two world wars. The equipment and the payment of the teachers at these schools

were better than in any other school type of the period. The allowance of the teaching staff consisted of two elements: their payment plus other contributions-in-kind, e. g. lodging, heating fuels, and the possibility to buy food and other products at a special price in the company-run groceries, the so called “victual magazines”. Their medical needs also were fulfilled by company doctors in the surgeries or, in more serious cases, in the company-run hospital. All this was made possible by the strong, prosperous company, the DSC, which put special emphasis on all segments of company life, including its employees.

According to the surveys of the period, only the 48 % of school age children got regular elementary education in Hungary before the public school act was introduced. Thanks to this act and its enforcement, this rate grew significantly: it was 58 % by 1872, 79 % by 1896 and 93 % by 1913. The same development can be detected in the field of alphabetization, as the table below shows (Mészáros, Németh, Pukánszky, 2003, p. 309).

Table 1: About the 7⁺population in Hungary (Mészáros, Németh, Pukánszky, 2003, p. 309)

Year	Literate (%)	Illiterate (%)
1890	62	38
1910	69	31
1920	87	13
1930	91	9
1941	94	6

(In the year of 1890 the number of literate people was 60–70% in county Baranya and 70–80% in Pécs among the 7⁺ population (Vörös, 1979 p. 1401).

The differences between the ungraded village schools and the town public schools lead by class teacher were highly significant. The church-maintained schools created the bigger part of the public school system, which was supervised by the so called royal school inspectors. The standard curriculum, syllabus and schoolbooks all served one

purpose: the foundations of a standard educational system, based on standard intellectual expectations. According to the law a class teacher was not allowed to teach more than eighty pupils. Compared to the today system, this number is very high, but, at least, there was an upper limit (!) which had to be observed by all school controlling bodies, even if it was difficult. The act did not speak about the free nature of public education, but it said, that the children of poor parents “did not have to pay for their tuition”.² Furthermore, the Act of 1868 established the mother tongue of the pupils as the language of education, “when it is one of the languages generally used in the given community”. This regulation was valid until the 1920s.³ The Hungarian language was introduced as an obligatory subject in all public educational institutions in 1879.⁴

It should be emphasized that the first DSC elementary school was founded 12 years prior to the 1868 Act on Public Education, in 1856 in Pécsbányatelep (DGT / DSC, 1894, p. 46). Two other schools were opened in Szabolcs, another mining colony. One of them was founded according to the 1870 contract between the DSC and the Pécs Chapter. Here the teaching started in 1872. The other school had already been in operation when the Company took it over in 1874 (DGT / DSC, 1894, p. 47). The next school that was opened in Vasas in 1893 consisted of two classrooms. At these schools – with the exception of Szabolcs, where, due to the catholic character, the teaching language had been Hungarian since the beginnings – the pupils were educated in German until 1892 (DGT / DSC 1894 p. 46). This was explained by the proportion of nationalities on the mining colonies. But then, accepting the suggestion of the director of the Pécs division, Raymár Wiesner – who might have understood the ambition of the governing policy of accepting Hungarian as an official language (Hanák 1978 pp. 149–160) – the Managing Director, Lajos Erényi Ulmann (Ludwig Ulmann Ritter von Erényi)⁶ ordered the company schools to introduce Hungarian as the main language of education (Babits, 1952, p. 144). The fact, that the Hungarian was the language of education at the company schools was first mentioned in the official company brochures in 1896 (DGT / DSC 1894 p. 36). The DSC school at Vasas was opened to

colony children in 1893 (DGT / DSC, 1894, p. 47). Five years later, in the academic year of 1898-1899 the existing Roman Catholic elementary school was enlarged and turned into company school (Hámoriné-Vókó, 2006, p. 152). The development and the character of public education in the period between the two world wars was determined and controlled by the activities of the outstanding politician of the era, Count Kuno Klebelsberg, whose policy as the Minister of Religion and Education can be taken as an excellent example to follow not only in the field of enactment but in creating the financial means to achieve his goals, as well. Klebelsberg wanted to ensure the “cultural superiority” of the Hungarian nation above the neighboring countries through his cultural policy, providing his people superior knowledge. His theory and ideas were supported both by the government and the Hungarian Parliament (Glatz, 1991, pp. 20–24; Ormos, 1998, p. 115). The Minister argued for the introduction of 8-class elementary school as early as 1926. He took the primary school systems of the nearby countries – Austria, Germany – as examples, concerning not only cultural, but economic elements, as well, emphasizing that the well trained work power is more saleable on the work power market, as it can produce better quality goods. “Only those nations can decide about their own fate whose people have the intelligence to act so.” (Klebelsberg, 1990, p. 266) Hungary at that time, according to Klebelsberg, had serious problems in the field of reading and writing competences of the population. “The brutal fact is, that even more than half a century after the general obligation to receive elementary education was introduced, more than one million of the remaining 8 million population is illiterate.” (Klebelsberg (1926) 1990 p. 264) Although he tried really hard, his efforts were in vain – the introduction of the eight-year elementary education was postponed. From the viewpoint of the paper’s topic it was Act VII of 1926 on “the Introduction and Maintenance of Public Elementary Schools that Serve the Interests of Agricultural population”⁷ that had a decisive role in the foundation and the development of elementary schools in rural areas. According to the 4th paragraph of the Act – “Sharing the school interests and the founding expenses” – the DSC “proportionally with the incomes that create the

basis of company taxation” agreed to take part in the building process of more non-company schools in the Pécs region, stating at the same time that it will not open new company schools. In 1928 the Company transferred a 1000 m² building site to the city of Pécs where the new state elementary school of “Ulmann-colony” was built⁸, proving its well-known “readiness to make further sacrifices in the field of culture”⁹. The active and very effective participation of the company was appreciated by both the city mayor, Andor Nendtvich and the county leader, Béla Fisher as well.

According to a report from 1920 the Company gave substantial financial support – the sum of 27,000 crowns – to the five-grade state school of Pécs-Gyárváros, which, in return, accepted 90 children, whose parents worked for the DSC. (The full budget of the school was 53,700 crowns for the previous academic year.)¹⁰

The company school buildings included a separate p. e. room and a yard. The accommodation of the teachers – depending on their number – was either in the separate section of the school building (as in case of Szabolcs), or in an independent flat provided by the Company.

Table 2: The housing conditions of Company teachers in 1915¹¹

School	Teacher's name	Rooms	Hall	Corridor
Pécsbánya	1. Haffner Vilmos schoolmaster	4	1	-
	2. Werb Károly	3	1	-
	3. Jekl Antal	3	-	1
	4. Varajti Károly	3	-	1
	5. Scheszták	3	1	-
	6. Leordinai Ilka and Leordinai Dominika	3	1	-
Szabolcs	1. Wolf Mihály schoolmaster	4	-	1
	2. Ambruszt Antal	2	1	-
	3. Veják	4	1	-
	4. Lőhr Károly	2	1	-
	5. Székely István	2	1	-
	6. Polácsi János	2	-	1

Somogy	1. Henits Elvira	2	-	-
Vasas	1. Kiesz Ferenc schoolmaster	4	1	-
	2. Payer Tóbiás	3	1	-
	3. Miss Kollár	2	-	-

The purchase of the equipment and teaching tools was controlled by the company directorate. As the part of their allowance, each teacher got free coal or firewood (DGT / DSC, 1894, p. 46).

The company elementary schools – i. e. the schools at Pécsbányatelep, Mecsekszabolcs, Vasas and Somogy – were organized along the same lines. The Szabolcs school was the only exception, where the language of education was Hungarian.

At the beginnings, the first company school – the one at Pécsbánya – accepted only the miners' children, but in 1869 the Minister of Religion and Education issued a decree which made it public. Any child, who lived on the colony, could attend this school, but the running expenses had to be covered by the Company. The city of Pécs contributed to the education with one teacher. The allowance of the company teachers was equal to the payment of those teachers, who were employed by the state, although their pension was provided by a special institution, which was established with state support to take care of the needs of non-stately employed teachers when they reached their seniority (Babics, 1952 p. 143).

The five-, later six grade elementary school had a special program, the so-called "Sunday school", but it was much less frequented than the "ordinary" school. The national and religious belongingness of pupils mirrored the multicolor nature of the colony population. While at the beginnings there were only a few Hungarian speaking pupils at the colony schools, the situation changed in the 1920s.

The assimilation process can be followed very well in a table, which was compounded by András Babics, the renowned researcher of colony life. His findings mirror the national trends of the era.

To get a more telling picture about the pupils' national belongingness we can examine it from another viewpoint, represented by their percentages compared to the whole colony population.

Table 3: The number of nationality pupils in correlation with the whole population of the three company schools in % (Pécsbányatelep, Szabolcs and Vasas; 1875–1945)¹²

Year	Number of pupils	Hungarian	German	Other
1875	614	9,4	51,3	39,3
1880	678	8,8	45,5	45,7
1885	745	10,3	61,6	28,1
1890	829	12,0	55,2	32,8
1895	1039	19,0	59,0	22,0
1900	1049	22,8	61,0	17,2
1905	1054	24,3	70,7	5,0
1910	970	30,9	62,5	6,6
1915	1017	36,6	59,7	3,7
1920	1110	54,0	44,7	1,3
1925	990	67,0	30,0	3,0
1930	1063	89,8	10,0	0,2
1935	1175	93,5	6,4	0,1
1940	1169	96,6	3,3	0,1
1945	1249	98,7	1,3	0,0

It was in 1920 when the number of Hungarian pupils was higher than 50% at the DSC company schools. The pupils, whose mother tongue was not Hungarian, but learnt it as an obligatory subject, also were surveyed in the 1930s. Nearly all German speaking pupils could speak

Hungarian, which showed their willingness to accommodate to the expectations of the era in the field of nationality policy.

Table 4: An Account of pupils whose mother tongue was not Hungarian but could speak it fairly well. Based on the statistics sent to the Royal Actuarial Office¹³

Year	Pécsbányatelep		Szabolcs		Vasas	
	Number of pupils	Mother tongue: German, but speaks Hungarian	Number of pupils	Mother tongue: German, but speaks Hungarian	Number of pupils	Mother tongue: German, but speaks Hungarian
1933/34	424	122	343	4	247	12
1934/35	428	71	367	3	227	3
1935/36	423	63	355	3	226	1
1936/37	426	53	342	-	223	1
1937/38	420	30	363	3	216	1

A full survey or “statistics” were made at each school in the beginning and in the end of the academic year. This included the next columns: the number of pupils showing their class, company/non-company belongingness, nationality, sex, religion and year of birth. They also contained the number of students who dropped out during the year, the cause of their dropping out (moving to another place, death), the number of school leavers (who got certificate), the number of staying pupils and of those who (due to their poor results) were obliged to repeat the given academic year. There was a separate column for those who got “ordinary” education and for those who went to Sunday school only. The marks or grades in the different subjects also were quoted in the statistics. (Not all surveys contained each taught subject, but there were some, which could not be missed: Hungarian Reading, German Reading, Spelling and Arithmetic were the so-called “obligatory” parts of these documents.)

The pupils – based on their performance – were listed in four categories: excellent, very good, first class and second class. (In the German statistics it was called “Rangstufe”). The average number of missed days also was quoted in the form.¹⁴

The rules of enrolment and the organization of the end-of-the-year exams were the same at each company school. The parents and the supervising institutions were informed through public notices. The supervising authorities and the Directorate of the Mining Company were informed by the schoolmasters.¹⁴

To give a proper idea about the process, there is an example from 1923–24:¹⁵

“Highly Respected School Supervising Authority, Pécs

We respectfully inform you about the results of the enrolment in our school regarding the academic year of 1923–24:

School	Daily pupils	Sunday school pupils
Pécsbányatelep	413	180
Szabolcsbányatelep	319	176
Vasasbányatelep	174	72
All	906	428
Last year's numbers (all)	995	411

Each school had a library. The school at Pécsbánya had the greatest book collection, which consisted of 2502 volumes in 1894, and was frequented by 100 pupils, who, together, read – or, at least, borrowed – 2004 books (DGT / DSC 1894 p. 49). Although the School Supervising Authority controlled how to develop the libraries, what books to buy, the purchase itself was company responsibility. It was not rare, that the company – even the Vienna Directorate! – tried to influence the enlargement policy. For example, each library was given 3 copies of the works of Karinthy Frigyes¹⁶, and 5 copies of the works of Ottokár Prohászka.¹⁷ One of the most important books of the teacher's library was The History of the Hungarian Parliament (1868-1927), written by Count István Bethlen, or the Revision of the Treaties.¹⁸ The Bleeding Borders¹⁹ also served to keep awake the unjust treaty of Trianon and

the urgent necessity of its revision. To show its importance, each school was given two copies.²⁰ The best pupils also got books from the Company as a reward for their achievements. For example, in the end of the 1922-23 academic year 50 pupils were rewarded. Each of them got a copy of the book titled *In the Hungarian Tempest*.²¹ In the end of the 1930-31 school year the *Hungarian Solace* was the gift.²² These books were always chosen by the administrative deputy director of the mining company, who put a special emphasis on the political expectation of the era.

The work of the teachers and the teaching process was regularly supervised by the school inspector, who informed the company administration about his arrival in a letter, in which he usually asked for “a carriage and accommodation” for the time of his staying.²³ The administrative staff always fulfilled this request at the highest level. The schoolmasters were instructed to invite the visiting inspectors for a lunch or dinner in their home. The personal and professional contacts with the national and local authorities always were of primary importance for the Company, so they did everything to make and keep them advantageous. According to an official list, the visiting school inspectors regularly got free coal from the Company. E. g. Dr. János Berze Nagy, according to the document, got free coal two times in 1924, and his name can be found on the 1925, 1926, 1928 lists, as well.²⁴ The fact, that he got free coal does not necessarily mean that the professional quality of his reports was influenced, but the idea of “undue pressure” cannot be totally excluded. The inspector wrote reports about the usually successful results of his visits. The so called comprehensive visits were extended on everything and everyone. The inspector studied the school’s documents, and took part in the different classes. This way he got a true picture about the teachers’ qualities and suitability *and* the pupils’ knowledge. According to the reports, the inspector’s visit always closed with an all-staff meeting, with the inspector as a chairman. Here he usually held a speech about the educational-methodological principles which, according to the expectations of the era, had to define the teachers’ work during the lessons. After that he evaluated the visited classes. During his two-day-stay

he usually had the opportunity to visit every class of the school, and based on what he had seen he made remarks on the teachers' work and the pupils' competences. If he saw necessary, he advised the teachers on new, useful methods to make their teaching more effective and enjoyable. If we can believe these reports, the DSC schools were well-organized institutions with well-trained teachers and answered the contemporary expectations in every aspect in the field of the teaching-educating process.²⁵

Not only the schoolmasters and the teachers, but the company leaders also put special emphasis on national holidays. The worthy commemorations were important for everyone who was connected to the school in any way. The memorial day of March 15, the gift giving events at Christmas, the musical festivities at Whitsun and the requiems which were held everywhere all over Hungary after the Treaty of Trianon. "June 4 of running year will be the anniversary of that mournful day when we signed that fateful peace treaty that split up the thousand year old Hungarian homeland", wrote the minister's secretary, royal school inspector István Hoffman on May 21 1932. "Therefore I instruct the respected addressee to organize a memorial event with a suitable program. I call the teachers to put a special emphasis on the importance of this sad event, to explain its nature to their pupils and to have them sing and retell our national prayers (the Anthem, the Appeal and the Creed) at a worthy part of the memorial ceremony. The addressee should call the pupils attention on the importance of wearing the Trianon badge on a spectacular piece of their clothing. I expect a report on the ceremony until June 15 of running year."²⁶

The school teachers – among them those who were DSC employees – often trusted with duties which were quite far from their teaching profession. In the last year of the first world war, according to the 150.000/917 decree of the responsible minister, they had to take part in the requisition of the crop surplus in- and outside the town. At Pécsbányatelep Vilmos Haffner, Károly Varajti and Antal Jekl were chosen to fulfill this supposedly unpopular task; they were even "relieved of their teaching duties", which, according to Mayor Nendtvich, took approximately 10–14 days."²⁷

During the elections the teachers were drawn in the preparations, e. g. in compiling the voters' lists. At these occasions often the school buildings were changed into voting stations²⁸, but Ferenc Kiesz, Antal Ambruszt, Vince Németh needed the permission of the company leadership to fulfill this task.²⁹

In July 1937 an unprecedented letter arrived at the company schools: the director of the mining company instructed the schoolmasters to collect enrolment fees. Rezső Szabolcs, referring to the fact that "the expenses of company elementary schools have always been covered by the Administration" ordered that "for the academic year of 1937–38 the so called non-company pupils should pay a 2 Pengő enrolment fee a month; without that they should be refused. The parents should state their willingness to accept this on their applications."³⁰

In 1938–39 the total number of pupils was 1,305 at the company elementary schools.³¹ According to the "table of deadlines" compiled by the royal school inspectorate each elementary school had to meet the following deadlines:

September 1–5	subsequent enrolment
October 6	the memorial day of the Arad Martyrs
October 15	report on enrolled pupils
November 15	report on the system of classes registration of non-state employed teachers at the office of retirement
December 6	the Governor's Nameday (Miklós Horthy)
March 15	national holiday
May 15	report on the fulfilled activities
May 30	Day of the Birds and Trees
June 4	Trianon Mourning Day
June 20	sending the schoolbook list to the of the school inspector
July 1–5	enrolment in the elementary school
August 1–15	school budgets
August 20	the re-establishment of trusteeships and the school board

Every month, on the 1st and on the 15th, a report had to be done about pupils who skipped school without due reasons. By the 5th a similar report had to be compiled about the staff members. There were three parents' meetings a year, which, according to the "table of deadlines", had to be held on the last teaching day of December, January and February. The purchase of saplings for the spring forestation, the issue of certificates for buying railway tickets at a reduced price, their lengthening, the abstainers' day in February etc. also were put on the list of specific tasks.³²

The tasks of company schools were multiplied by the fact that they were expected to compile regular reports – often in two languages – not only for the school inspector's office, but also for the administration of the mining company. The war years meant extra weight on the teachers' shoulders. On the one hand, they had to put extra emphasis on patriotic education, on the other hand, many of them were summoned for army service whose substitution had to be solved locally. On August 5 1940, according to the minutes of the company schoolmasters' meeting, each participating school master – Antal Ambrus/Ambruszt (Pécsbánya), Antal Jéki/Jekl (Szabolcs), Győző Glatt (Vasas) – had to resolve the substitution of two teachers, summoned for army service. The alternate teaching hours seemed to be the only solution, which was approved by the representatives of the mining company, Dr. Jenő Sík and Jenő Borsy.³³

The schoolmasters had another meeting on August 26. Their aim was to call the attention of the mining administration on the threatening problems of the forthcoming academic year. Two other teachers got drafted from Pécsbánya, 3 more from Szabolcs, one teacher was on prolonged sick leave, and the situation was similar in Vasas. Altogether 10 – the number of a whole teaching staff – was missing due to war reasons or illness. The trustee who represented the company ordered the employment of 3 substituting teachers, and suggested alternate teaching hours at each school.³⁴

Act XX of 1940 on "school age and the eight-grade public elementary school"³⁵ regulated school age in the following way. At public elementary schools it started at the age of six and lasted for nine years. Although

it was a really progressive idea, it could not be realized because of the limited war budget, despite the fact the 7–8th classes had been organized in the most settlements (Mészáros, Német, Pukánszky, 2003, p. 329). The schoolmasters' reports toward the inspector's office were prepared in this spirit, emphasizing, that due to the lack of satisfactory teaching staff the 7th classes could not be started in 1940–41. "We do have neither enough teachers nor classrooms, what is more, because of the high number of drafts into soldiers the teaching at our elementary schools can be continued in alternate teaching hours only, with the employment of substituting teachers."³⁶

For the academic year of 1941–42 the situation improved a bit. According to the enrolment statistics, the three company schools together had 1,256 pupils and – despite the fact, that the 7th grade was introduced everywhere – the number of missing teachers was only one at each.³⁷ Against the existing odds the company schools fulfilled their obligation to introduce the 7th class.

The for DSC elementary schools employed a school doctor, who, in the school year of 1939–40, examined 1,240 children – 1,069 elementary school pupils and 171 day borders – altogether at the four institutions. 169 (14,9 %) of the 1,069 elementary school pupils were found sick, if we do not count the 705 cases (65 %) of caries. Despite the time of distress, no undernourished children were found, and "only" ten pupils were diagnosed with tuberculosis. The results of the comprehensive medical examination were treated as the great success of the newly introduced school doctor system.³⁸

Table 5: Summary of the enrolment results of company elementary schools in 1941–42³⁹

School	Classes								
Pécsbányatelep		I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	All
	enrolled	71	90	98	70	63	72	43	507
	may enroll	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
	all	96	90	98	70	63	72	43	532
	n. teachers	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	11
	real n. o. t.								10
	missing t.								1
Pécsszabolcs	enrolled	56	78	91	67	80	37	32	441
	may enroll	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
	all	81	78	91	67	80	37	32	466
	n. teachers	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	10
	real n. o. t.	2	2	1	2	1	1	-	9
	missing t.								1
Vasas	enrolled	37	43	42	32	39	31	27	251
	may enroll	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
	all	44	43	42	32	39	31	27	258
	n. teachers	1	1	1	1		1		5
	real n. o. t.	1	1	1	1				4
	missing t.								1

(Notes: n. teachers – necessary teachers; real n. o t.: real number of teachers; missing t.: missing teachers)

The German language teaching in the mining region also deserves some examination. Loránt Tilkovszky's study offers a thorough review about it (Tilkovszky, 1988, pp. 112–146). The conditions of German language teaching at the colony schools between the two world wars were influenced by two factors: the number of ethnic children and the actual politics. In 1938 the administration of the mining company sent a letter to the inspector's office stating that "accommodating to several parents' wish, to help the pupils' general literacy and to make further studies easier for those, who want to continue at a secondary school, starting with the academic year 1938–39 we decided to introduce the free teaching of German writing, reading and grammar as an extra-curricular subject for volunteers".⁴⁰ The company administration sent a circular letter to each school, stating the exact time of the German courses. The two hours / week demanded to assign "own teachers"; "the necessary books and exercise books" were "leased" to everyone who joined.⁴¹ The schoolmasters, as the most pupils could hardly speak German, did not understand the reasons of mass enrolment. For example, at Pécsbánya, 202 of the 269 pupils wanted to join the course. Most of them – because of their poor language knowledge – were refused (Tilkovszky, 1988, p. 123). A lot of people saw this great enthusiasm towards German as the sign of identification with the new political situation; anyway, it brought the earlier dismissed language back to company schools. The number of pupils whose parents said their mother tongue was German was surprisingly high. In most cases they were taught by teachers who were of German origin but by the passing of the time they assimilated, emotionally became Hungarians, and even changed their names into Hungarian. In the 1920s the leadership of the mining company wanted to show how loyal they were to the government, so they did not choose to teach minority subjects, although it was an option offered by the Ministry of Religion and Education. Neither school types (A, B and C) chose German as the teaching language; each of them continued to teach their pupils in Hungarian.

There are two letters from 1929 which speak about "eliminating" German from the curricula of elementary schools of the mining region. The schoolmaster of the Pécsbánya school, Károly Werb informed the mining administration about the agreement of the three company

schoolmasters, Antal Jekl (Mecsekszabolcs) and Győző Glatt (Vasas), in which he asked to accept their suggestion in connection with the school rules to “eliminate German reading and writing from the curriculum, 1: because, when it was on the agenda, nobody asked for the schools’ opinion in connection with the language of education; 2: as a result, teaching of the German language was not obligatory at the company (elementary) schools”.⁴¹ Their proposal was approved two days later by administrative deputy director Endre Bálványi. “Starting from the following year we stop teaching German writing and German as it is not obligatory regulation for public elementary schools”.⁴² The 2863/1941 decree of the Minister of Religion and Education which arrived at the schools on December 13 1941 can be taken as the sign of the German orientation of the Hungarian world war politics. In case of DSC it was given a special emphasis by the changing of the ownership conditions in 1938 – it became the part of “Reichswerke Herman Göring AG” (Meyer, 1999) – which increased the German national socialist influence at the company elementary schools, as well (Rozs, 1992, p. 410). The circular letter, which was titled “About the opening of special German classes”, instructed the schoolmasters to ensure rooms for the classes even at the price of contractions “in a way which will serve the exclusive interests of German classes, neither alternate Hungarian-German teaching, nor any other activities should take places in these rooms.” In these classes “which can be visited by the children of all ethnic German parents the teaching of Hungarian language should happen according to the law.”⁴²

The year opening ceremony of the German classes – to which the leaders of county Baranya and the city of Pécs also were invited – took place on January 24 1941. Although the county leader expressed his thankfulness towards the mining administration, he did not take part in it. He clearly did not want to increase the significance of the national socialist coloring of the event. He neither sent anyone to represent him, giving a not too convincing reason for his staying away: “As I have just recently returned from my short holiday and took back my office only today, to my greatest sorrow, I cannot take part in the ceremony.”⁴³ Concerning the presence of the city leaders we do not have any information.

At the end of the examined period, in 1941–42 the number of teachers was 25 at the company schools. They taught 1,259 pupils in 26 classes. The 23 % of the pupils took part in the language courses organized by the schools.

Table 6: Teachers at the DSC company schools in the academic year of 1941–42⁴⁴

School	Teacher's name	C/Nc	Class	Pupils' number	Notes	German learners	
						B**	A**
PÉCSBÁNYATELEP	Kőszegi István	C	I. a	48		62	52
	Németh Margit	C	I. b	53			
	Bérces Károly	C	II. a	42			
	Radóné Ambrus E.	C	II. b	41			
	Csermák Margit	C	III. a	47			
	Vécs Ottó	C	III. b	50			
	Rónaszéki Nándor	Nc.	IV.	71			
	V. Sümegi Antal	Nc.	V.	62			
	Németh Vince	C	VI. a	34			
	Sass Ernő	C	VI. b	40			
	Ambrus Antal	C	VII.	47	school-master (sm.)		
	Tasch Pál	C			sm., lang. course leader		
	All	12		535		114 (21 %)	
SZABOLCS	Hartai Katalin	C	I.	68	lang. course; S***	50	39
	Kerényi József	C	II.	75	army service		
	Jéki Antal	C	III. a	44	schoolmaster		
	Szabolcs József	Nc.	III. b	48	episcopate school		
	Kiss Ferenc	C	IV.	67			
	Varajti Károly	C	V. a	41			
	Schmidt András	C	V. b	40	army service, lang. c.		
	Hermann István	C	VI.	38			
	Schein Károly	C	VII.	32			
	All	9		453		89 (20 %)	
VASAS	Horváth Róza	C	I.	50	lang. course leader	55	28
	Löhr Károly	C	II.	42	school-master		
	Weyse Keresztély	C	III-IV.	78			
	all teachers		V.	42			
	Kabar Ferenc	C	VI	59			
	All	4		271		83 (30 %)	
3 DSC schools	All	25	26	1259		286 (23 %)	

*Company/Non-company; **Beginner/Advanced Level; ***Substituting teacher

Another very important document was compiled in 1942, which compared the payment of company teachers to the allowances they would have got if they had been employed by the state.

The next tables show the incomes of company teachers (without their electricity and heating bonus) in comparison with the incomes of state-employed teachers of the same payment categories.⁴⁵

Table 7 (Shows the real payment of elementary school teachers employed by the DSC)

Teacher's name	DSC payment category	Monthly salary (DSC)	Difference leveling	Flat or flat allowance	Tax return	30 %	Total allowance	Difference between tables 8–9
Ambrus Antal	B 2 – 5	350,-	52,-	The total allowance of teachers included a flat or a flat allowance just like at the state schools.	21,99	127,14	550,93	106,43
Jéki Antal	B 2 – 5	350,-	52,-		21,14	126,95	550,09	105,59
Lőhr Károly	B 2 – 3	280,-	32,-		11,26	96,98	420,24	35,24
Varajti Károly	C 2 – 13	266,-	35,-		13,29	94,29	408,58	3,08
	C 2 – 14	281,-	35,-			98,79	428,08	22,58
Németh Vince	C 2 – 11	236,-	31,-		13,28	84,09	364,37	83,13
	C 2 – 12	251,-	31,-			88,59	383,87	63,63
Sass Ernő	C 2 – 11	236,-	31,-		15,97	84,90	367,87	17,13
	C 2 – 12	251,-	31,-			89,40	387,37	2,37
Hermann István	C 2 – 12	251,-	32,-		12,94	88,79	384,73	0,27
	C 2 – 13	266,-	32,-			93,29	414,23	19,23
Schein Károly	C 2 – 10	224,-	30,-		9,67	79,11	342,78	82,28
	C 2 – 11	236,-	30,-			82,71	358,38	97,88
Kőszegi István	C 2 – 10	224,-	30,-		8,31	78,70	341,01	89,49
	C 2 – 11	236,-	30,-			82,30	356,61	73,89
Weyse Sámuel	C 2 – 10	224,-	30,-		8,20	78,66	340,86	39,64
	C 2 – 11	236,-	30,-			82,26	356,46	24,04
Hartai Katalin	C 2 – 7	188,-	23,-		3,-	64,20	278,20	52,20
	C 2 – 8	200,-	23,-			67,80	293,80	67,80
Kiss Ferenc	C 2 – 8	200,-	26,-		7,29	69,99	303,28	92,72
	C 2 – 9	212,-	26,-			73,59	318,88	77,12
Tasch Pál	B 2 – 3	180,-	-		5,39	85,62	371,01	84,99

Table 8 (Shows the allowances the DSC teachers would have got if they had been employed by the state)

Teacher's name	State payment category	Monthly salary	Allowance after family members					Flat or money	Total allowance
			spouse	children					
				1	2	3	4		
Ambrus Antal	VII.2.	404,50	40,-	-	-	-	-	The total allowance of teachers included a flat or a flat allowance just like at the DSC schools.	444,50
Jéki Antal	VII.2.	404,50	40,-	-	-	-	-		444,50
Lóhr Károly	VIII.2.	305,-	40,-	40,-	-	-	-		385,-
Varajti Károly	VII.3.	365,50	40,-	-	-	-	-		405,50
Németh Vince	VIII.1.	327,50	40,-	40,-	40,-	-	-		447,50
Sass Ernő	VIII.2.	305,-	40,-	40,-	-	-	-		385,-
Hermann István	VIII.2.	305,-	40,-	40,-	-	-	-		385,-
Schein Károly	IX.1.	260,50	-	-	-	-	-		260,50
Kőszegi István	IX.1.	260,50	40,-	40,-	40,-	50,-	-		430,50
Weyse Sámuel	IX.1.	260,50	40,-	40,-	40,-	-	-		380,50
Hartai Katalin	IX.3	226,-	-	-	-	-	-		226,-
Kiss Ferenc	IX.3	226,-	40,-	40,-	40,-	50,-	-		396
Tasch Pál	IX.3	226,-	40,-	40,-	40,-	50,-	60,-	456,-	

The two tables (8 and 9) show that the DSC employees enjoyed definitely better financial conditions than their state employed colleagues.

To get a more precise picture it is worth placing the DSC schools on the contemporary educational palette. To do so, we should have a look at the research of János Laki which examined the situation of public elementary schools in Baranya between the two world wars (Laki, 1983, pp. 213–254). Examining the data of 1922 and 1943 school surveys, I would like to highlight the most important parameters through the detailed description of the individual DSC elementary schools.

In 1922 there were 334 public elementary schools. 4 of them were described as “in excellent shape”, 105 of them were found “in good shape”, while 115 building were labeled “sufficient”. In the case of the remaining 110 schools the survey makers found different shortcomings: 26 were described as “wet and tumble down”, while 4 were put in “life threatening” category (Laki, 1983, p. 214).

The following table shows the changes the public elementary schools went through in county Baranya between 1922 and 1943 (Laki, 1983, p. 219).

Table 9

	Number of schools	Number of teachers	Number of enrolled pupils	Number of pupils / teacher	Number of classrooms	Number of pupils / classroom
1922	375	616 (468 males, 148 females)	26,775	c. 43,5	626	c. 43
1943	405	886 (565 males, 331 males)	38,837	c. 43,8	853	c. 45,5

If we look at the table, we can get to the conclusion that the number of schools grew with 7,4 %, the number of teachers with 43,8 %, the number of enrolled pupils with 45 % and the number of classrooms with 36,3 %. But this development did not improve the pupil – teacher and the pupil – classroom rates, as in these relations some relapse can be detected. Of course, there are significant differences behind the average numbers – there were schools where one teacher taught as many as 50 or even 80 children in ungraded groups, in one classroom (Laki, 1983, p. 218). The significant growth in the number of enrolled pupils (45 %) and in the number of teachers (43,8 %) can be evaluated as a large improvement. The end of the examined period also marked the beginnings of the emasculation of the teaching profession, as the number of woman teachers doubled during these 20 years.

Another survey, which was conducted by the Ministry of Religion and Education to prepare VII Act of 1926, concerning the public elementary schools, despite the problems and shortcomings found, classified county Baranya “satisfactory”, so they did not plan any development in the region in this field (Laki, 1983, p. 218). The DSC schools were found “in especially good condition” not only from the viewpoint of infrastructure, but also professionally.

Now let’s examine the conditions of the individual DSC schools in the period between 1922 and 1943.

Mecsekszabolcs

1922

Roman Catholic school:

- 3 classrooms (196 m²), extension is necessary
- 3 teachers (2 males, 1 female)
- 6 classes
- 131 registered pupils (128 Hungarians, 1 German, 2 Serbians)
- language of teaching: Hungarian

DSC-school:

- 6 classrooms (354 m²)
- 8 teachers (7 males, 1 female)
- 6 classes
- 380 registered pupils (316 Hungarians, 64 Germans)
- Language of teaching: Hungarian

1943

Roman Catholic school:

- 4 classrooms (235 m²)
- 5 teachers (2 males, 3 females)
- 8 classes
- 196 registered pupils (195 Hungarians, 1 German)
- language of teaching is not specified in the document, but according to other resources it was Hungarian

DSC-school:

- 9 classrooms (509 m²)
- 11 teachers (7 males, 4 females)
- 7 classes (5th class is missing)
- 386 registered pupils (383 Hungarians, 3 Germans)
- language of teaching is not specified in the document, but according to other resources it was Hungarian

Mining colony, company school:

- 2 classrooms (110 m²)
- 2 teachers (1 male, 1 female)
- 6 classes (7th – 8th classes are missing)
- 55 registered pupils (55 Germans)
- language of teaching: German

Manorial Roman Catholic School:

- 1 classroom (62 m²)
- 1 teacher (male)
- 1 (5th) class
- 55 registered pupils (55 Hungarians)
- language of teaching: Hungarian

Pécsbányatelep **1922**

DSC-school:

- 9 classrooms
- 9 teachers (8 males, 1 female)
- 470 registered pupils (172 Hungarians, 286 Germans, 10 others)
- Language of teaching is not specified in the document, but according to other resources it was Hungarian

1943

DSC-school:

- 12 classrooms (766 m²)
- 13 teachers (8 males, 5 females)

- 8 classes
- 510 registered pupils (496 Hungarians, 14 Germans)
- Language of teaching: Hungarian

DSC-school:

- 2 classrooms (70 m²)
- 2 teachers (males)
- 6 classes
- 53 registered pupils (8 Hungarians, 45 Germans)
- Language of teaching: German

Somogy *1922*

A) Roman Catholic school:

- 1 classroom (65 m²) in good shape
- 1 teacher (male)
- 6 classes
- 69 registered pupils (69 Hungarians)
- language of teaching: Hungarian

B) Mining colony, manorial Roman Catholic school:

- 3 classrooms in good shape
- 3 teachers (1 male, 2 females)
- 6 classes
- 143 registered pupils (135 Hungarians, 8 Germans)
- language of teaching: Hungarian

1943

A) Roman Catholic school:

- 2 classrooms (118 m²)
- 2 teachers (1 male, 1 female)
- 8 classes
- 96 registered pupils (96 Hungarians)
- language of teaching is not specified in the document, but according to other resources it was Hungarian

B) Mining colony, manorial Roman Catholic school:

- 4 classrooms (218 m²)
- 4 teachers (2 males, 2 females)
- 222 registered pupils (219 Hungarians, 3 Germans)
- language of teaching: Hungarian

Vasas

1922

A) Roman Catholic school:

- 1 classroom (51,3 m²) threatens with collapsing
- 1 teacher (male)
- 6 classes
- 52 registered pupils (52 Hungarians)
- language of teaching: Hungarian

1943

A) Roman Catholic school:

- 1 classroom (63 m²) in good shape
- 1 teacher (on army service; substitution)
- 8 classes
- 110 registered pupils (110 Hungarians)
- language of teaching is not specified in the document, but according to other resources it was Hungarian

B) DSC-school (mining colony):

- 5 classrooms (294 m²)
- 2 teachers (both on army service, substitution)
- 8 classes
- 270 registered pupils (268 Hungarians, 2 Germans)
- language of teaching is not specified in the document, but according to other resources it was Hungarian

C) DSC-school (mining colony):

- 1 classroom (142 m²)
- 1 teacher (male)

- 5 classes (6th – 7th – 8th classes are missing)
- 19 registered pupils (19 Germans)
- Language of teaching: German

Another document, dated on March 11 1944⁴⁶ gives comprehensive information about the classrooms of DSC-schools (number and size), but, compared to the 1943 report, there are no significant differences in it.

Conclusion

As a conclusion we can state, that in the examined period the DSC fulfilled its school maintaining duties in all respects at the highest possible level. Its teachers taught thousands of children, even if their parents were not employed by the mines.

The economic reality of the end of the 19th century, the organization of the new generations of human resources and the commitment to bring up well-trained workers were mirrored in the activities of the Company.

The fast economic development of the Monarchy demanded up-to-date vocational training. Act XVII of 1884, the so-called “Industry Act”, based on the elementary school education of the era, created the conditions of obligatory apprentice training⁴⁷, even if it is a fact that the state did not found apprentice schools on the mining colonies, and the mining schools did not belong under the supervision of the state institutions (Krisztián – Németh, 2006, p. 23).

Shortly we should mention that the Royal Mining School was opened at Pécsbányatelep in the autumn of 1896 (Krisztián, 1996, pp. 139–160). Thanks to the great DSC developments, the production of the mines significantly grew in the end of the 19th century, which demanded more skilled workers and satisfactory professional control. Although there were mining schools in the other regions of the country – e. g. at Selmecebánya, Felsőbánya – after a time they could not satisfy the growing demand for skilled workers. The earlier practice, when a miner could become a collier or supervisor without special training could not

be continued, either (Krisztián, 1987, p. 27; Krisztián, 1996, pp. 141–142). Since the mining school leavers strengthened the warrant officers' and supervisors' staff of the oar-mines and the metallurgic companies, as well, and as the service regulation of the DSC instructed so, and as the workers' training was the responsibility of the employing body, the Company also supported the introduction of miner training, and, in order to set up a mining school, kept a constant contact with the city leadership (Krisztián 1996 p. 142). As a result, the DSC school system supported the traditional tendencies, where the trade was a family inheritance: the children took over their fathers' job, creating subsequent generations of miners inside the family *and* the colony. The Company itself created perfect frames from it – being a miner meant a lifespan from the cradle until the grave.

All this depended on the mining strategies practiced by the Danube Steamship Company, which in the examined period stood its ground among its competitors both in the field of economics and politics.

Notes:

- ¹ Act XXXVIII of 1868 on Public Education (www.1000ev.hu)
- ² E.g. a similar act was introduced in England in 1870, in Italy in 1871. See Mészáros–Németh–Pukánszky, 2003, pp. 307–308
- ³ At the DSC schools nobody had to pay for the tuition which was ensured by the Act XLVI Act 1908 „*on the Free Nature of Public Elementary Education*” introduced during the ministerial period of Albert Apponyi. At the DSC schools a so called enrollment fee (1 Forint) was introduced in the 1920s for the children whose parents did not belong to the company. (www.1000ev.hu)
- ⁴ Mészáros–Németh–Pukánszky 2003 p. 309. Based on the 110.478/1923 VKM directive of the Ministry of Religion and Education schools with minority pupils were classified as follows. *Type “A”*, concerning the education of minorities could be regarded as an ideal solution, as all subjects were taught in the language of the given minority, while Hungarian language was taught as an obligatory subject. *Type “B”* was a so called mixed school where the languages

of teaching were the minority language *and* Hungarian. At *Type “C”* Hungarian was the language of teaching, while the minority language (or mother tongue) was an obligatory subject. All other classes went in Hungarian. The only exception was the *Religion* as a subject, which was taught in the mother tongue in all types. See Szita 1986 p. 613

- ⁶ Act XVIII of 1879 “*On the Introduction of Hungarian Language as an Obligatory Subject at the Institutions of Public Education*”. (www.1000ev.hu)
- ⁷ Ludwig Ulmann Ritter von Erény Managing Director of DSC (1891–1903) In: Grössing–Funk–Sauer–Binder 1979 p. 172
- ⁸ Act VII of 1926 on “*the Introduction and Maintenance of Public Elementary Schools that Serve the Interests of Agricultural Population*” (www.1000ev.hu) See also Klebelsberg (1925) 1990 pp. 255–258
- ⁹ The National Archive of Hungary; OL Z 1481 package 63, batch 77; the Major’s, Andor Nendtvich’s No. 17310/1928 “thank you” letter to the Directorate of the Mining Company.
- ¹⁰ The National Archive of Hungary; OL Z 1481 package 63, batch 77; No. 322/1928 letter of Béla Fisher to the Directorate of the Mining Company.
- ¹¹ See footnotes 23–24
- ¹² The National Archive of Hungary; OL Z 1481 package 63, batch 78; A detailed report on the expenses of the five-grade elementary school in Pécs-Gyárváros.
- ¹³ OL Z 1481 package 62, batch 7; Anzahl der Wohnräume der Herrn Lehrer, 8. Február 1915
- ¹⁴ Author’s grouping; based on Babics 1952 p. 145
- ¹⁵ OL (Hungarian National Archive) Z 1481 package 60, batch 70. Account dated on July 7 1938
- ¹⁶ The quoted resources, used by the author in his research can be found in the Hungarian National Archive (OL), registered as OL Z 1481, packages 58, 60, 61. The findings cover the official statistical data of the next academic years: 1893–94, 1903–04, 1904–05, 1908–1909, 1909–1910, 1914–15, 1915–16, 1927–28 (Pécsbánya). 1883–84, 1884–85, 1885–86, 1886–87, 1887–88, 1889–90, 1890–91, 1891–92,

1892–93, 1903–04, 1904–05, 1927–28 (Szabolcs). 1903–04, 1904–05, 1927–28 (Vasas).

- ¹⁷ Based on archive resources: OL Z 1481, package 59, batch 70: Notification of the dates of end-of-the-year exams May 12 1919. OL Z 1481 package 59, batch 70: Notification of the enrollment in the Vasas School for the academic year of 1919–20, August 8 1919 (Written in German).
- ¹⁸ OL Z 1481 package 59, batch 70
- ¹⁹ OL Z 1481 package 60, batch 70. On December 30 1927 Endre Bálványi deputy director informed the schoolmasters about the purchase of Karinthy's works.
- ²⁰ OL Z 1481 package 60, batch 70. On October 23 1928 Endre Bálványi deputy director informed the schoolmasters about the purchase of Prohászka's works. "*The books should be listed in the inventory.*"
- ²¹ OL Z 1481 package 60, batch 70. April 30 1928
- ²² OL Z 1481 package 60, batch 70. September 10 1932
- ²³ OL Z 1481 package 60, batch 70. June 22 1932
- ²⁴ OL Z 1481 package 60, batch 70. March 13 1923
- ²⁵ OL Z 1481 package 60, batch 70. May 6 1931
- ²⁶ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70. Letter of Dr. János Berze Nagy (royal school inspector) to the Mining Directorate. Registry number: 817/1932.
- ²⁷ OL Z 1481 package 61 batch 38. See also Huszár 1995 p. 262.
- ²⁸ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70. The documents of inspector's visits: No. 505/1933 report written by János Berze Nagy about his visit to the Pécsbánya elementary school dated on March 4 1930. The correspondence of Endre Bálványi and János Berze Nagy dated on June 8 and June 11 1931. The correspondence of Endre Bálványi and János Berze Nagy dated on May 13 and 15 1930 in connection with the inspector's visit at the Vasas elementary school. The schoolmaster's, Antal Jekl's report dated on May 23 1930. Also see: individual schools.
- ²⁹ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70, registry number 1137–1932; the school inspector's letter to the Directorate of the Coal Mining Company in connection with the Trianon mourning ceremony.

- ³⁰ OL Z 1359 package 12 batch 25, registry number 33025/1917; document dated on December 31 1917, assignment of Károly Varajti, school teacher, to fulfill his task in the field of crop requisition. Document dated on January 2 1917: Teachers' assignment to fulfill the task of crop requisition; No. 16/1918 document dated on March 9 1918: A new assignment of teachers to take part in the requisition of crop and flour.
- ³¹ OL Z 1359 package 13 batch 26; No. 16597/1921
- ³² OL Z 1359 package 13 batch 26; May 8 (192)2. The permission was signed by Endre Bálványi deputy director.
- ³³ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70; No. 10681/é letter of Rezső Szabolcs to „all schoolmasters” from July 15 1937.
- ³⁴ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70, the schools' report on the pupils' number and classes of 1938–39.
- ³⁵ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70. A Table of Deadlines for Public Elementary Schools.
- ³⁶ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70. The minutes of the company schoolmasters' meeting held on August 5 1940.
- ³⁷ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70. The minutes of the company schoolmasters' meeting of August 26 1940.
- ³⁸ Act XX of 1940 on “*school age and the eight-grade public elementary school*” (www.ezerev.hu)
- ³⁹ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70. 16667/r. y. report on the obstacles of introducing the 7th grade.
- ⁴⁰ OL Z 1481 package 61 batch 71. Summary of the enrolment in company elementary schools in 1941-42.
- ⁴¹ OL Z 1481 package 61 batch 71.
- ⁴² OL Z 1481 package 61 batch 71
- ⁴³ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70; No 16042/2 letter (dated on August 9 1938) of the mining company's director, Rezső Szabolcs to Dr. János Berze Nagy. (Do not forget that after 1938 the DSC became the part of „Reichswerke Herman Göring”. See Meyer 1999)
- ⁴⁴ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70; No. 19004/r. y. circular letter dated on October 17 1938
- ⁴⁵ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70; No. 177 1928-29. 22 April 1929

- ⁴⁶ OL Z 1481 package 60 batch 70. Endre Bálványi's letter to the schoolmasters of company elementary schools. April 24 1929

Bibliography:

- BABICS, A. *A pécsvidéki kőszénbányászat története.* [*The History of Coal Mining in the Pécs Region.*] Budapest: Közoktatásügyi Kiadóvállalat, 1952.
- DGT, Az I. cs. kir. szab. Dunagőzhajózási Társulat Pécs melletti kőszénbányái. *A Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók XXVII. Vándorgyűlése tagjainak felajánlja a Társulat.* A Társulat saját kiadása, [*The Coal Mines of the Danube Steamship Company in the Pécs Region. Published by the Company with Dedication to the 27th Meeting of Hungarian Doctors and Nature Researchers.*] Pécs: A Társulat saját kiadása, 1894.
- DGT, Az I. cs. kir. szab. Dunagőzhajózási Társulat Pécs melletti kőszénbányái. *Az 1896. évi Millenniumi Budapesti Országos Kiállítás alkalmából a bányászat barátainak felajánlja a Társulat.* [*The Coal Mines of the Danube Steamship Company in the Pécs Region. Published by the Company with Dedication to the National Millenarian Exhibition in Budapest.*] Pécs: A Társulat saját kiadása, 1896.
- GLATZ, F. Konzervatív reform – kultúrpolitika. In *Tudomány, kultúra, politika – Gróf Klebelsberg Kunó válogatott beszédei és írásai (1917–1932).* [*Conservative Reform – Culture Politics. Conservative Reform Ideas of Count Klebelsberg 1917 – 1932.*] Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1990. Pp. 5–26.
- GRÖSSING, H. (Hrsg.) *Rot–Weis–Rot auf blauen Wellen. 150 Jahre DDSG Eigentümer.* [*Red – White – Red in Blue Waves. 150 Years of DSC.*] Wien: Erste Donau–Dampfschiffahrts–Gesellschaft, 1979.
- HÁMORI, I., VÓKÓ, J. *Pécs–Somogy története.* [*The History of Somogy*] Pécs: Pro Pannónia Kiadói Alapítvány, 2006.
- HANÁK, P. A dualizmus válságának kezdetei a 19. század végén. A századvég nacionalizmusa. In *Magyarország Története 1890–1918.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978. Pp. 149–183
- HUSZÁR, Z. Jótékonykodás és befolyásolás. In ÓDOR, I. (ed.) *A DGT és Pécs kapcsolatának szociálpolitikai vonatkozásai az 1920–1930-as években.* Pécs, 1994–1995. Pp. 253–266.
- KLEBELSBERG, K. Falusi népiskoláink kiépítése. In GLATZ, F. (ed.) *Tudomány, kultúra, politika – Gróf Klebelsberg Kunó válogatott beszédei és írásai (1917–1932).* Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1990. Pp. 255–258.
- KLEBELSBERG, K. A nyolcosztályos népiskola. In GLATZ, F. (ed.) *Tudomány, kultúra, politika – Gróf Klebelsberg Kunó válogatott beszédei és írásai (1917–1932).* Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1990. Pp. 264–267.

- KRISZTIÁN, B. Szénbányásképzés Pécsen. [*Coal Miner Training in Pécs.*] In *Historia*, 1987, Vol. 5, pp. 27–28.
- KRISZTIÁN, B. A Pécsi Magyar Szénbányász Iskola megalapítása és működése. In VONYÓ, J. (ed.) *Tanulmányok Pécs Történetéből* 2–3. Pécs: Története Alapítvány, 1996. Pp. 139–160.
- LAKI, J. A népiskolák fejlődése, illetve stagnálása a két világháború közötti Baranyában. In SZITA, L. (ed.) *Baranyai Helytörténetírás 1982. A Baranya Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve*. Pécs, 1983. Pp. 213–254.
- Magyar Országos Levéltár (OL) *Bányászati Fondok*. Budapest: Magyar Országos, 1985.
- MEYER, A. *Hitlers Holding. Die Reichswerke „Hermann Göring”*. [*Hitler's Holding. „Die Reichswerke 'Herman Göring'”*] Wien, München: Europa Verlag, 1999.
- ORMOS, M. *Magyarország a két világháború korában 1914–1945*. [*Hungary in the Era of the Two World Wars*] Debrecen: Csokonai Kiadó, 1998.
- PUKÁNSZKY, B., MÉSZÁROS, I., NÉMETH, A. *Neveléstörténet. Bevezetés a pedagógia és az iskoláztatás történetébe*. [*History of Education. An Introduction into the History of Education and Schooling*] Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2003.
- ROZS, A. A népinémet mozgalom erősödése az Anschlusst követően a Dunagőzhajózási Társaság pécsvidéki bányatelepein. In SZITA, L. (ed.) *Baranyai Történetírás. A Baranya Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve*. Pécs, 1992. Pp. 395–410.
- SZITA, L. A nemzetiségi nyelvtanítás a Délkelet–Dunántúlon a két világháború közötti időszak oktatásügyi statisztikájának tükrében. In SZITA, L. (ed.) *Baranyai Helytörténetírás 1985–1986*. Pécs, 1986. Pp. 603–646.
- TILKOVSKY, L. Német nemzetiségi kérdés a mecseki bányavidéken (1919–1945) In HUSZÁR, Z. (ed.) *Bányászat a Mecsekben. Mecseki Bányászati Múzeum Múzeumi Füzetek* 2. Pécs, 1988. Pp. 112–145.
- VÖRÖS, K. Művelődés. In KOVÁCS, E. (ed.) *Magyarország Története 1848–1890*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979. Pp. 1395–1475.

Internet resource:

www.1000ev.hu (download date: February 12. 2014).

Kontakt na autora příspěvku:

Dr. habil. Zoltán Huszár, PhD

Associate Professor

Institute of Cultural Studies

Department of Social and Cultural History

Faculty of Adult Education and Human Resources Development

University of Pécs

Vasvári Pál utca 4

H-7622 Pécs

e-mail: huszar.zoltan@feek.pte.hu