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**IMAGE OF PEDAGOGUES IN THE HUNGARIAN AND
GERMAN PEDAGOGY BOOKS IN THE AGE OF DUALISM
(1867-1914)**

Ph.D. Thesis Booklet

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Introduction

The Thesis is connected partly to the researches of history of pedagogy, which on the one side analyse the ideology of contemporary pedagogy books and the ideas about the teacher's profession and on the other side analyse the expectations towards the teachers and the features of contacts between the teachers and students by applying the method of mentality history.

Since the beginning of the 1970s the appearance of historiography of social science has resulted in the fall of monocacy of traditional historical-systematization research. The micro-history research has started to develop and has given good basis for the studies of status of teachers, their life conditions and history of development of their profession. The researchers of history of pedagogy started to focus on the reconstruction of teachers' everyday life and on disclosing the characteristics of relationships of different educational institutions, as well as the relationships between the families and schools (*Németh és Szabolcs, 2000; Pukánszky, 2001*).

Parallel to this process the researchers' interest had turned toward new research subjects, as a result of which new disciplines of social history emerged within a few decades. One of them is the mentality history, the research of which has come to the focus of interest mainly after the publication of *Norbert Elias's* theoretics of civilization written in 1939. Among the new disciplines the micro-historical researches have been granted with a bigger and bigger role, and have become the foundation for the historical studies of childhood (*Hegedűs, 2004*). By the occurrence of micro-history much more details of the past were stated to be available for disclosing, at least as many details of interrelations as the historians could identify and reconstruct by applying the most up-to-date methods of research (*Gyáni, 2000. p 43*).

It is worth emphasizing that besides the historical research of childhood, the studies on the development of profession of folk-school teachers have become much wider in the recent decades. The research in the teacher's profession has wide range traditions in the international history of education in which the cultural history of Hungarian educators as well as the appearance and development of professional knowledge of folk-school educators are separate research subjects. The studies on professional processes of folk school teachers, which are connected to the studies of the hundred-year-long history of teachers' training is a good example of the thematic enrichment.

Németh's studies (2007) demonstrate that from the end of the 18th century to the turn of 19th and 20th centuries two professional groups of teachers are separated in the different regions of Europe: the educators of lower folk schools and the teachers of upper school education. A very important element of this process is the appearance of different professional knowledge based on the different tasks. The practical pedagogy and the children's knowledge as well as the methodology of training are the main elements of professional knowledge of elementary school teachers. This will be the folk school pedagogy which is developed in the second half of the 19th century, and will serve as a base for the knowledge of practical professionals.

The folk school pedagogy is based on the traditions, and incorporates the experiences of educators' generations as well as the results of everyday experiences. This pedagogical knowledge is for the elementary school teachers' education in the centre of which there is the practical knowledge. The literature of folk school pedagogy started to develop in the second half of the 19th century, and it includes the pedagogical books written with pragmatic goals and used in the teacher training.

The novelty of the study lies in the analyses of pedagogical handbooks and textbooks used in teacher training with the aim of reconstruction of the idealized image of teachers, and it enriches the knowledge in this field of science. Further on based on the German sources it

demonstrates the social status of German folk school educators, the educational policy background of teacher training, and based on original sources the pedagogical books applied in the seminars of folk school educators are also presented. The thesis might assist the understanding of processes of professional development of Hungarian folk school teachers.

Theoretical background of the Thesis

Characteristics of Hungarian and German educators' professionalization processes

In the 19th century the educational policy in the two examined countries was very similar. Continuing the endeavours of the enlightened absolutistic monarchs the educational policy of the age urged the extension of governmental role and its supervisory function in education. This resulted in the modernization of education and the professionalization of teachers' work, and as a consequence of this process the new highly educated influential groups of professional intelligence developed.

In Prussia the decree issued by the Prussian king Friedrich II in 1763 introduced the new type of schools, the folk school which has been integrated into the existing system of secondary grammar schools, 'Bürgerschule', 'Mittelschule' and 'Realschule', and the general compulsory school age was decided to be between 6-13 years age. In Hungary the modern folk school educator's profession started to develop very rapidly, but only after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. The legal regulation of public education was started by the Act of Public Education of 1868 elaborated by *József Eötvös*. This Act brought in the compulsory school attendance between the age of 6-12 years, and the new type of school, which fulfilled the social demands, namely the six-year-long elementary folk school was also created (*Németh and Pukánszky, 2004*).

By the appearance of folk schools in both countries the demand in well-educated teachers increased continuously as they could contribute to the improvement of level of education and training of the folk schools. The modernization of teacher training in Prussia was started long after the introduction of folk schools, only after the birth of the imperial state. However, the education of folk school teachers was neglected for a very long time. Their social status, qualification, social and professional recognition lagged considerably behind those of teachers participating in the secondary school education. At the beginning of the 19th century in the course of the reformation the Prussian government created teachers' seminars for the pedagogical and professional training of the future teachers, which grew into the first state institutions of teacher training. After finishing the folk school the future educators went to the teacher training at 14 years age, or they could be taught by a teacher or a priest to have higher general knowledge and be prepared for the entrance examination. During this time most of the teacher candidates were teaching. This three-year-long training was a transition between the folk school and the two- or three-year-long educator's seminars which the candidates started after 17 years age. This circulation from the folk school to the educator's seminars and from there back to the folk schools was not abolished until 1926 (*Schadt-Krämer, 1990*). This seminar system was developed all round Prussia since the 1870s.

In Hungary *József Eötvös* regarded the improvement of elementary school teacher training a key issue to the development of education. His teacher's training school was a three-year-long specialized, self-dependent professional training course which tried to realize a high level practical training besides the theoretical pedagogical training. The teacher candidate had to have the knowledge acquired at the secondary grammar school or the four-year-long training of the 'Bürgerschule'. In case if the candidate did not have the certificate of his/her qualification, he/she had to pass an entrance examination. The lowest age of admission was 15 years (*Németh, 1990*). By 1884 all the state teacher training schools were developed to

four-year-long institutions while *Ágoston Trefort* was the Minister of Education. The new conception of primary school teacher training has been elaborated by *István Gyertyánffy*, Principal of Primary School Training Institute of Buda (*Szakál*, 1934).

Characteristics of the 19th century Hungarian and German pedagogical textbooks

Richaudeau, based on the experiences gained on different textbook markets of the world, have stated that the changes in the public education of a country always had and will have dimensions connected to the textbooks. According to his thinking the characteristic features of an educational system can be identified in the textbooks which are based on the reactions to the social requirements of education, and the textbooks are more sensitive to it compared to the other elements of education (*Horváth*, 1996, p 29). This fact strengthens the starting point of the research, namely that the teacher's handbooks of the age of Dualism used as a source for the research reflect to the social expectations, the examination of which contributes to the research of teachers' image.

In the frame of analyses of effect-oriented textbook researches of Prussian textbooks, *Lundgreen*'s basic standpoint was that the textbooks had presented a compulsory literature to the teacher candidates. Some passages of these textbooks were read collectively, or the director of the seminar and the candidates themselves reviewed them for the others. Therefore in the analyses of textbooks one has to start from the fact that some basic information and theoretical models were supported by the reading texts of these textbooks (*Lundgreen*, 1970).

In Hungary till the 19th century there were very few handbooks dealing with education, and even these few ones were mainly translated from German language. Their authors used foreign examples, as in this era there were no educational systems based on scientific considerations in the Hungarian educational science. In the first part of the 19th century the German education was determined mainly by *Niemeyer*'s educational theory, which influenced the rest of Europe and even other countries of the rest of the world. His book titled „Grundsätze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts für Eltern, Hauslehrer und Schulmänner” (Principles of education and training), published in 1796, was the first comprehensive, practice oriented, encyclopaedical handbook, the enlarged and revised version of which has been published several times. Its pedagogical views had considerable effects both on the Hungarian and the German pedagogy. *Niemeyer*'s and his followers influence can be detected in several Hungarian pedagogical works of that period (*Fehér*, 2000).

The first Hungarian pedagogical textbooks were influenced mainly by those German systematization efforts which were based on the Protestant and Catholic theology, and their aim was to harmonize the pedagogical systematization efforts applying the elements of early empirical, Christian and classic German philosophy (*Németh* and *Pukánszky*, 1997). After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise the publication of pedagogical textbooks and education science works increased as a result of educational modernization and new curricular efforts and educational reforms started by *József Eötvös*, Minister of Education. However, the contents of these textbooks are not homogenous. The different intellectual trends occur more and more clearly in the education science books.

The characteristics of pedagogical textbooks used in the Prussian teacher's seminars are connected to the Prussian regulations written by *Ferdinand Stiehl* for the preparandists and seminars, and published in 1854 (Preußischen Regulative für das Volksschul-, Präparanden- und Seminarwesen) and to the general regulations elaborated by *Karl Schneider* for the folk schools, preparandists and the teacher's seminars published in 1872 (Allgemeine Bestimmungen betreffend das Volksschul-, Präparanden- und Seminarwesen). The latter one set standards the aim which was to broaden curriculum and goals of learning as well as to assist the institutional development of elementary and secondary schools (*Schadt-Krämer*, 1990).

Lorenz Kellner was one of the most well-known textbook writers of the 19th century Catholic folk school pedagogy, whose several works were published in Hungarian language, too (*Fehér*, 2000). *Kellner* has become known by his book titled *Volksschulkunde* (Folk school knowledge) and his history of pedagogy. The influences of the book can be detected in several Hungarian and German pedagogy works, thus it is referred to by *Mennyey*, *Bárány* and *Lubrich*. After the turn of century *Kehrein* and *Keller's* *Handbuch der Erziehung und des Unterrichts* (Handbook of education and training), which was published first in 1876, and *Schumann's* *Lehrbuch der Pädagogik* (Textbook of pedagogy) were replaced in the teacher's seminars by the *Lehrbuch der Pädagogik* (Textbook of pedagogy) written by *Ostermann* and *Wegener*. After 1901 *Volkmer's* textbook titled *Grundriß der Volksschulpädagogik* (Basics of folk school pedagogy) was used in the Catholic seminars. His pedagogic work differs from *Ostermann* and *Wegener's* work mostly in its form but not its content.

Aims, questions and hypotheses of research

Fourteen Hungarian and German educational handbooks and textbooks were selected from the popular handbooks and textbooks of the age of Dualism (ten Hungarian and four German ones), which according to the author of the thesis represent this type of educational books characteristic to the given age. The books have been chosen from two types of works dealing with this topic. The first type is the group of *handbooks* dealing with the criteria of scientific analyses of issues of education and training, which could help the training of folk school teachers and the self-education of actually working pedagogues. The handbooks often discussed the training and educational – in broader approach pedagogical – methods in several volumes taking into consideration the scientific results of the given era. Such works are *Lubrich's* four-volume pedagogical monograph (1878) and *Felméri's* pedagogical composite book (1890). The other group is composed of *textbooks* written for the folk school teachers and teacher candidates mostly for practical purposes. These textbooks were mainly used in standard schools, Protestant colleges and Catholic or Protestant teacher training institutions. Works of eight Hungarian authors of the chosen sources can be listed in this category: i.e. the works of *Mennyey* (1869), *Kiss* and *Öreg* (1887), *Emericzy* (1882), *Bárány* (1896), *Peres* (1904), *Erdődy* (1905), *Baló* (1905), *Weszely* (1905), as well as four textbooks used in the Prussian teacher's seminars, i.e. the works of *Kellner* (1868), *Kehrein* and *Keller* (1906), *Ostermann* and *Wegener* (1902) and pedagogy of *Volkmer* (1914). The speciality of these pedagogical works is that the authors pay attention to the description of expectations towards the educator, which is described by the authors in a separate chapter or incorporated in each chapter of the textbook.

The aim of research in history of educational ideas and history of mentality based on folk school handbooks and textbooks is the following:

1. The author of the thesis tries to reconstruct the idealized image of folk school teachers based on the analyses of Hungarian and German pedagogical handbooks and textbooks published between 1867 and 1914. The *image of teachers* is understood as a mental construction appearing in the general thinking of the given age. In the sources of the thesis a only a narrower field of this very wide topic, namely the image of teachers in the reviewed pedagogical books can be studied. The ideal image of teachers describes what 'the good teacher' of the given age was like according to the studied authors. The author summarizes those virtues of teachers, which were essential for the successful education and training as well as for the teacher's efficient contacts to the society and the children. The author wants to reveal how the enlargement of tasks of folk school teachers appears in the sources and how the roles of modern teachers have changed.

2. The thesis is connected to the analyses of traditional history of ideas and to the new studies of history of mentality as well as to those studies which study the development of

professionalization of the teacher profession and the separation of pedagogical culture and competence of lower and upper primary teachers' profession. The thesis searches for the answer to the question which the Hungarian characteristics of professionalization of folk school teachers are compared to the Prussian examples.

3. Another aim of the research is to compare the Hungarian image of teachers to that of German teachers through the available handbooks used in the German teacher's seminars. The analyses of German books are carried out according to the same criteria as the Hungarian ones, with special respect to the occurring parallelisms and differences. As in the studied period the research of circumstances in the German folk schools is made difficult by the fact that there were several small German states having different administration and governing during the studied time period, reliable conclusions can be made only by separate introduction of the different German states. From among these states the studies deal mainly with Prussia as its society and educational system were the most similar to ours from among the Western-European countries. Furthermore at that time Prussia was the biggest German state and acted as an example for the other German states and indirectly for Hungary, too. This research could be followed by another complete comparative study.

The chosen pedagogical handbooks suggest three directions of analyses corresponding to the issues and aims of research:

1. *Analyses of components of teacher's image*: What level of pedagogical standards was thought to be satisfactory for the efficient educators or teachers' activity according to the authors of the mentioned handbooks? Is it possible to reconstruct an ideal image of teachers based on the analyses? How do the educational methodology and rewarding described in these handbooks reflect to the image of teachers? Is it possible to observe any change in the professional knowledge of folk school teachers in the analysed pedagogical books within the studied period of time?

2. *Comparative analyses of teacher's handbooks and textbooks*: Is it possible to detect any differences between the roles of their authors represented in the hierarchy of pedagogues and the expectances towards the pedagogues described in their books?

3. *Comparative analyses of Hungarian and German pedagogy books*: Is it possible to detect the changes in the construction of knowledge of folk school teacher's profession in the 20th century books as a result of the new pedagogical and psychological efforts? What analogies can be observed between the Hungarian and German image of teachers?

The elements of the above mentioned idealized image of teachers are analysed on the basis of three main aspects: 1. anthropological features of humans and connections between the education and the teacher's tasks, 2. the expectations towards the folk school teachers, and 3. the tasks of folk school teachers in rewarding and disciplining the pupils.

Based on the three directions of analyses and questions of research the following *hypotheses* are drawn up in the Thesis:

1. The pedagogical handbooks, as they demonstrate a part of expectations of the social norms towards the folk school teachers (settlement, church and state), are presumably suitable for the reconstruction of the idealistic image of teachers characteristic to the given age based on the analyses of these texts.

2. The pedagogical handbooks written for the teachers and teacher candidates presumably reflect to a part of social demands towards the educators. It is probable that the authors of these handbooks described a complete system of expectations of their ideal pedagogy in personal characteristics, professional knowledge and way of life of the teachers considering pragmatic aspects.

3. It is supposed that in the historically changing ages and based on the new child centred pedagogical psychological aspirations new elements of image of teachers have occurred, which may generate the changes of knowledge construction of folk school teachers

and their self-image, and it can be detected in the components of teacher's image in the studied pedagogical books.

4. In the dual school system two professional groups developed, which were different in their function, contents and manner of speech (*Németh, 2008*), therefore it is supposed that the authors of the studied pedagogical books allow making differentiation based on the functions occupied in the hierarchy of pedagogical profession (university experts, teachers in the teacher training institutions). It is also supposed that the authors of these books describe the expectations towards the folk school teachers starting from other roles, which can be connected to the contents of texts of these books.

5. It is supposed that in the Hungarian pedagogical books published after the turn of century, the traditional German pedagogy is changed into a broader-minded pedagogical view of the world mainly as a result of the new pedagogical and psychological trends.

6. Presumably the analysed German pedagogical books can be compared to those ones which were written on the basis of the Christian pedagogy and which describe the ideal Christian educator.

Methods and strategy of research of the Thesis

For the justification of hypotheses the following research methods have been applied:

1. The analyses of pedagogical books were carried out by the classical methods of source analyses, namely the text analytics and philological analytics. The author studies the expected characteristics of teachers formulated 'on abstract theoretical plane' of the given age. By analytical presentation of pedagogical books the author would like to explore the details which would be important for the understanding of the teacher – student and the teacher – society relationships of the age, and for the recognition of constantly enlarging professional knowledge of folk school teachers.

2. Besides the primary sources several secondary sources, e.g. bibliographies, source-books as well as Hungarian and German language essays were also studied by the method of document analyses. The details of professional activities, life and pedagogical views of writers of the books are collected mainly from biographical encyclopaedias and from archival sources e.g. from the archives of the *Magyar Tanítóképző (Hungarian Teacher Training Institute)*.

3. Based on the Hungarian and German technical literature a comparative analysis is carried out to study the development of the Hungarian and German folk school and secondary school teachers.

4. The comparative analyses of Hungarian and German pedagogical books are carried out in the research.

For the justification of the hypotheses the following *research strategies* were applied:

1. The qualitative analyses were carried out with the deductive research strategy. The information is collected from the primary sources i.e. the pedagogical handbooks.

2. The studies of the nearly four-decade-long period of pedagogy (from the Austro-Hungarian Compromise to the end of World War I) were carried out by the traditional methods. The basic research effort was to apply descriptive, explanatory and exploratory research strategies.

3. In each case only one edition of the textbooks was analysed, namely the one which was published within the studied time period (1868-1914).

Results

Based on the analyses of pedagogical history conclusions can be drawn on the authors' views on education, their standpoint on rewarding, punishment and corporal punishment as well as

on the expected characteristics of elementary school teachers. Based on all this it is possible to detect the new elements characteristic to the professionalization processes of folk school teachers and to make a comparison between the Hungarian and German pedagogical handbooks.

1. It was proved that *the pedagogical handbooks were suitable for the reconstruction of image of the ideal teacher characteristic to the given age as the texts of these books demonstrated a part of the social expectations (inhabitants of settlements, members of the parish and representatives of educational policy) towards the teachers.*

The pedagogical handbooks and textbooks of the age of dualism demonstrated the required virtues of teachers on the basis of which the ideal teacher showed as an exemplar to the teacher candidates, could be reconstructed. The appearance of the new image of the ideal teacher proved the new consciousness and efforts to give a new profile to the teacher's profession which occurred as a demanding and responsible work, and referred to the fact that the teachers needed certain facilities and individual capabilities to realize these expectations.

It can be detected that the authors of the analysed pedagogical handbooks characterize the folk school teachers as 'perfect humans' in their normative pedagogical ideal who have all the virtues needed to the teacher's profession. There is an unperformable system of expectations towards the folk school teachers concerning both their behaviour, sense of profession and way of life. However in the Hungarian pedagogical handbooks published at the beginning of the 20th century the list of expectations was more rational, simpler and more pragmatic possibly as a result of the new scientific pedagogical and psychological knowledge. These books keep off the theoretical contemplations and try to give practical advice to the education and training considering the situation weaknesses of teacher's profession of the age. However, *Erdődy's* pedagogical textbook is an exception as his teacher's image is idealized similarly to his 19th century forerunners.

According to the author of the Thesis three typical types of ideal teachers can be separated on the narrative level. The expressions used to describe the ideal teacher's image can be shown on the basis of motives found in the books. The 'paternal teacher' is such a generalized image, some elements of which can be detected nearly in all pedagogical books. In the books, which are based on the Christian conception of the human ideal, the teacher is the 'divine educator' (*Mennyey, Lubrich, Bárány, Kellner, Kehrein and Keller, Ostermann and Wegener, Volkmer*), while in the handbooks based on the modern pedagogical and psychological knowledge the teacher is the 'expert of pedagogy and children's psychology' (*Felméri, Baló, Peres, Weszely*). In *Erdődy's* pedagogical textbook the picture of the 'perfect human' characteristic to the 19th century books lives on; and this ideal is the only aim of education. However, on the other side he demonstrates the aspects of recognition of children in details, which assist the efficiency of education as it can be followed in the analysed 20th century books.

2. It could also be proved that *the pedagogy books written for the teacher candidates and teachers reflect a part of the social demands towards the folk school teacher. The authors of textbooks, considering the pragmatic aspects, have described a complex system of requirements in their normative ideal-pedagogy on the level of personal character, professional knowledge and way of life of folk school teachers.*

Referring to the analysed chapters of pedagogy books it can be followed clearly how the folk school teacher's virtues considered to be important evolved, how the tasks of teachers expanded and how the authors of the pedagogical books saw the modern teacher of their age. The authors described their education definition starting from the ideal human, and described the unrealizable system of expectations towards the folk school teachers and their virtues in details.

In most of 19th century Hungarian and German pedagogical works the authors increase the humans over the other created beings. The idea of human perfection characteristic to the Humanism is recalled in these books when the authors consider the human beings as the highest level creatures which are different from any other creature of the world both physically and mentally. In most of the 19th century pedagogical books the authors identify themselves with the approach initiated in the age of Humanism and redefined in the age of Enlightenment, namely that the human beings are born to the world with seeds of abilities which should be developed in the course of education. It was emphasized that the human beings can reach their aims only within the society by the help of education. However, in the pedagogy of *Felméri*, *Peres*, *Baló* and *Weszely* it is available to identify the new essential motif of folk school teacher's knowledge i.e. the realistic recognition of humans based on the new anthropological features. Instead of lofty ideas the more pragmatic aims are emphasized in the chapters describing the education.

The pedagogy books published in the second half of the 19th century describe dual objectives. The child should be educated into a human being as well as into a citizen and has to be prepared for the integration into the narrower and wider communities. In the books written on the basis of Christian pedagogy the authors' final objective was to strive toward higher ideals and to awake the susceptibility to the transcendent existence. From among the pedagogical books published in the 20th century *Felméri* as well as *Baló*, *Peres* and *Weszely* emphasize the importance of education through the nation and for the nation connected to the change of anthropological features of humans. The new theory requires the knowledge of scientific bases of children's physical and mental characteristics from the folk school teacher.

The change of attitude in the thinking about humans and children is well-outlined in the idealized picture of folk school teacher of the pedagogical books, which focus to the children instead of philosophical ideals and describe the new demands toward the teachers. However, the ideal teacher's image characteristic to the pedagogical handbooks and textbooks can not be mixed with the everyday life of folk schools of the age. The pedagogical books show some criticism concerning the contemporary practice namely when they deal with the low salaries of teachers, or the humble and modest behaviour demanded from the teachers, or when they describe the insufficiencies of teacher training.

The studied authors presumed close connection between the school discipline and the teacher's personality. One of the most deeply elaborated traditional fields of folk school teacher profession is the methodology of rewarding and punishment on which the authors offer practical advice. The application possibilities of both pedagogical methods are very rich. According to the authors the aim of rewarding and punishment of children is to help the moral development of the child, and consider them necessary only as a last resort.

The authors point out that both the educational methods can be applied only by observing certain rules. The teacher has to take into consideration the child's individual features, and has to be moderate, fair and consistent, has to apply rigor coupled with wisdom as well as has to have a detailed knowledge of pedagogical methods. The task of the teacher is to show a positive example to the children and to adjudge the children's motivations properly.

It was detected that in the pedagogical handbooks and textbooks of the 19th century the corporal punishment was allowed only if any other form of punishment had not helped. These pedagogical methods remained important parts of pedagogical work during the 19th century. In the first half of the 20th century it can be detected very clearly in the pedagogical books published in Hungary that the application of corporal punishment had been prohibited in the schools. Thus *Peres*, *Baló* and *Weszely* disapprove the beating of children by the teachers emphasizing that the beating of children in the every day practice is harsh and cruel, and it has negative consequences on the child. However, the pedagogical handbook of *Erdődy* published in the first half of the 20th century is an exception, because it expresses explicitly that the

corporal punishment can not be banned from the schools, but it should be applied rarely, and the teacher should avoid being fierce. This thinking might be explained by the fact that the fourth edition of this handbook cannot be taken a product of the 20th century in whole, as it is closely connected to the contents of pedagogical books of the 19th century. The authors of the German pedagogical books, similarly to the Hungarian ones of the 19th century, allow the corporal punishment rarely and only in reasonable cases. It could also be observed that there was a similarity between the handbooks of *Emericzy* as well as *Ostermann* and *Wegener*, namely that the authors of both handbooks distinguish between the two genders concerning the beating. While it is taken an acceptable method in case of boys, it is not allowed in case of girls.

3. Based on the analysed books it was proved that *in the historically changing period of time the new elements of teachers' image occurred as a result of influences of new child centred pedagogy and psychology which resulted in the exchange of knowledge construction of folk school teacher profession, and this can be followed in the components of teacher's image in the studied pedagogy books.*

The influence of the new child centred pedagogy can be detected the most definitively in *Felméri* and *Baló's* book, but it pervades all the other studied pedagogical books of the 20th century as well. While *Felméri* (1890) as a predecessor of inductive pedagogy (*Köte*, 1997) described the new elements of teachers' professional knowledge and the new relationship of teachers and students outrunning the pedagogical thinking of his own age, *Baló* (1905) outlined the new elements of teachers' professional knowledge as a representative of the child study movement. The professional demands toward the good teacher harmonize with the new and up-to-date challenges of folk school education.

During the turn of century the up-to-date and practically utilizable knowledge of folk school teachers was enriched with new elements. A new task of the modern folk school teacher is to be acquainted with the scientifically based knowledge about the child as an individual, or more exactly the psychological knowledge which distinguishes the folk school teacher from the children's primary or natural educator, their mother. It was expected from the teacher to acquaint the children based on psychological methods, to consider the individual differences in the selection of the applied method, to be acquainted with home conditions of the child and to cooperate with the parents. The cooperation with the parents was realizable on parent-teacher meetings, on the occasions of school celebrations and excursions. Close connection was supposed between the school discipline and the personality of the teacher even at this time.

4. The studied sources did not prove the hypothesis that *the authors of pedagogical books make possible a differentiation among the teachers based on their functions in the hierarchy of their profession (university experts, secondary grammar school teachers, teachers of nursery teacher colleges or teachers of primary school colleges). The authors of these books draw up the expectations toward the folk school teachers starting from another role, which can be related to the contents of these pedagogical books.*

The authors of the pedagogical books wrote their works based on their own experiences in teaching in university, secondary school, nursery teachers' college and primary teachers' college. It can be stated that there was a close connection between the authors role fulfilled in the different levels of education and the described picture of teachers in the studied books. It can be observed that the authors, who wrote handbooks as grammar school or university teachers, elaborated their books according to the scientific criteria e.g. *Ágost Lubrich* and *Lajos Felméri* who elaborated their pedagogical systems on scientific bases. This was proved by the extent, language and structure of their books as well. They offered well-utilizable foundation both for the folk school teachers and for the secondary grammar school teachers.

According to these authors the knowledge of disciplines connected to the given profession is considered an essential part of successful teaching, and it is emphasized that the employment of teachers who are not educated in pedagogy and are not prepared for the teaching of children is a bad practice of that age. However, it can also be concluded that the teacher image of the abovementioned two books fits into the analysed series of textbooks. It can be observed in the 1st and 2nd volume of *Felméri* and *Lubrich's* handbook that the authors use mainly the expressions 'educator', 'professional educator' or 'official educator' instead of the word 'teacher'. Based on this linguistic feature and the content analyses of these books it can be concluded that in these two books the authors describe not the teacher image of higher level schools, but the basic principles which could concern both the folk school teachers and the teachers of higher level schools, and can be utilized by all who deal with education of children or are interested in this topic.

According to the conclusion of the author of the thesis the teacher's image of handbooks and textbooks was not determined by the role of authors of these books in the pedagogical hierarchy, but rather by the pedagogical, psychological and philosophical trends represented by them. It can be detected that characteristic components of *Lubrich's* image of teachers shows the most similarities with those books which have been written on the basis of Christian pedagogy i.e. with books of *Mennyey*, *Lubrich* and *Bárány* and the German authors. At the same time the teacher's image of *Felméri* incorporates the scientific knowledge, e.g. the psychology, and the use of methods based on scientific understanding of children. But according to the author of the thesis this is not coming from the genre of the book and from the fact that *Felméri* wrote the book as a university teacher, but it might be the consequence of the new psychological trend which influenced him.

5. The studied sources prove the hypothesis that *in the Hungarian pedagogical books published after the turn of century the traditional German-centred pedagogical thinking has been changed into a more liberal and broader oriented pedagogical view after the spreading of the new pedagogical and psychological trends.*

The analysed books of the age of dualism were mainly influenced by German pedagogy, but in the books published at the beginning of the 20th century the influence of English and French authors can also be detected. Certainly the authors of pedagogical books did not have to carry out their own research of sources before writing their works, but they could write their books on the basis of German language pedagogy books available for several decades. It is also supposed that their own teacher's experiences were incorporated into their books. This can be concluded when the authors detail the difficulties of everyday practice. The authors of the 19th century pedagogical books refer mainly to German works as their sources, thus they mostly refer to the books of *Ohler*, *Kellner* (author of one of the analysed German sources), *Niemeyer* and *Diesterweg*. The reading of these books proved that there are many similarities among the books published in the second half of the 19th century. There are several similar texts concerning the understanding of anthropological features of humans and in determination of notion of education which refer to the fact that these works might have had common roots. According to their own descriptions the authors of the 20th century books took into consideration not only the German, but the English and French professional literature, as well. Consequently the exchange in the notion of the child and the alteration of teachers' image can be followed. In the 19th century pedagogical books the romantic understanding of children's image can be detected (*Németh*; 2008; *Pukánszky*, 2005), which is changed into the notion of child based on the elements of Darwinism, evolutionism and positivism in the pedagogical books of the 20th century, and is connected to the new, pragmatist approach of teacher's tasks.

6. It was proved that *it is possible to draw a parallel between the analysed German pedagogical books which were written in the spirit of Christian pedagogy showing the ideal of the Christian educator.*

The analysed German pedagogical books used for the teaching of preparandists are theoretically established books in which the practical aspects are detailed, and methodical advice is also given, and they are influenced mainly by the Christian pedagogy. The most similarities with the Hungarian pedagogical handbooks can be detected based on the Christian pedagogy concerning the function of human beings, notion and aim of pedagogy as well as the tools of education and the expectations toward the teachers.

A characteristic feature of these books is that the authors express the dialectic unity of transcendence and immanence referring to the importance of higher intellectual functions. This means that the humans are placed over any other creature as they are able to think about themselves, about their existence and destiny. According to them the primary objective of education is the transcendent world pointing out that the destiny of human beings is not only to exist in our world. Then they turn back to the empirical world and secondly they think that the children have to be prepared for the social realities taking into account the everyday needs of the society. The teacher's image considers the teacher as the 'divine educator', who is taken the father of the educated children and the community, and his task is to prepare the Lord's children' for their tasks in this world and the after-life with the help of Christian education. In this process expectations toward the teachers are put to the moral values.

In both countries the idealized teacher is expected to be a social and ethical exemplar based on his/hers wide-range in-school and out-of-school activities as well. The folk school teacher was expected to be the intellectual leader of the settlement, and had obligations toward the families of children who were members of the school community. The teacher had to take part in the life of the community and participate actively in the cultural programs of the settlement. All this have contributed to the fact that the teacher became a respected person and the community accepted him as an educational and training professional.

Possibilities of further research in the subject

The thesis may serve as a base for the further researches of the subject. Valuable results may come from the widening of time period of research and the comparative analysis of teacher's image in the Hungarian and German folk-school pedagogical books published after 1914.

The authors of the studied 20th century pedagogical books compared to the ones published in the second half of the 19th century put the emphasis on description of exact teachers' tasks instead of detailed description of their features. However, it could not be detected exactly if the theorists of pedagogy specified the expectations based on pragmatic aspects or striving for result orientation, or they characterized the ideal pedagogue with unachievable features similarly to the earlier pedagogical books. It is supposed that besides the analysed sources, other books published in the first half of the 20th century also kept in mind the efficiency, thus they did not give a list of personal features, but collected the exact tasks of teachers and moved away from the picture of the perfect human characteristic to the humanism. The more detailed studies of this would need further research in the 20th century teacher's handbooks and textbooks.

As the teacher's handbooks are a genre pervaded by different ideologies, and considering their function they are normative, therefore they are not suitable for the reconstruction of idealized image of the teacher of a given age. They are utilizable only for the determination of types of ideals characteristic to the books. To get more detailed picture of the teacher's image of the age the genre of used sources should be widened, and other publications of the given age should be analysed e.g. the advice books written for the parents,

periodicals published for the teachers, reports of superintendents, ceremonial speeches or reminiscences. However, to the studies of these materials newer methods of research of history of pedagogy should be applied.

It would be worth continuing the comparative analyses of Hungarian and German picture of teachers, which would need the studies of further primary German sources.

The fact that the personality of teachers had a determining significance in Prussia is proved by the publications of teachers' associations, which contain presentations of teachers on different meetings. This can be demonstrated by the presentation of *Salomon, M.* (1906) titled 'The importance of personality of teachers' presented on the 78th Braunschweig Teacher's Days.

However, further research is needed to identify how the pedagogical handbooks influenced the preparandists. This information might be collected mainly from the records of seminar teachers, reports of school-inspectors and autobiographical sources. The efficiency analyses could contribute to the reconstruction of the 'experiential image of teachers'. It would offer an insight into the characteristics of everyday work of folk school teachers.

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