

**REFORMED CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS IN
THE HUNGARIAN CAPITAL 1850-1952**

theses of doctoral dissertation

ELEONÓRA ERZSÉBET GÉRA

Budapest
2006

I. Choice of theme, preceding researches, sources

In my dissertation the work of associations formed in the capital with nationwide competence, specialised in health-protection (hospital maintenance, training of nurses) and child-protection (upbringing of healthy, unpunished orphan children) with reformed and protestant binding is followed from the formation up to the secularisation, that is from the middle of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century. Due to the extensive and raw nature of the subject I have studied only the most significant associations in detail, mostly on the basis of archived sources (Hungarian Reformed Church Synodical Archives, Dunamelléki Reformed Diocese Ráday Archives, Evangelical National Archives, Budapest City Archives). In the capital there were two protestant hospitals: the Bethesda Hospital in hands of the German Reformed Affiliated Church and later the Filadelfia Deaconess Association; the sanatorium of the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association. The upbringing of orphans was undertaken by the National Protestáns Orphan's Association, the Filadelfia Deaconess Association, the Nagypénteki Reformed Society, the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association, as well as the National Reformed Charity Federation in the country.

Up to now none of the charitable association has been written up in full, modern style historical form. The authors of — now already classical — works summarising the history of the Hungarian Protestantism (I. Révész, M. Bucsay) followed the history of the relation of church and state in the first place, only touching the topic of inner mission connected to important fraction of charitable activity. Partly, because they did not consider the history of the association Christianity, loosely connected to official church, being part of the history of the church. Hence they contented with mentioning the most important associations, listing the more famous foundation members, giving the year of foundation and referring to the their activities. They did not go further than reviewing the circumstances of foundation and the first years or decade, informing on the the further functioning of the associations only incidentally (number of nursed children, name of the head of the association, etc). Partly, because in the second part of the 19th century the memory of prejudice against the representatives of the new trend did not fade fully. Although, the members of the associations prepared summaries for the occasions of anniversaries, if their financial status permitted, the depth and reliability of data of in them varies, containing mostly the texts of speeches at ceremonial commemorations. Even today the volume titled *Brocskó Lajos árvaatya emlékezete* (1941) edited by Kálmán Vikár is often cited. Sándor Zsindely draws a detailed picture of the Bethesda in the volume *A Bethesda Diakonissza Közkórház 75 éve* (1941), though not dealing with the homeopathic past of the hospital. The work of Richárd Bodoky titled *Anyaházi diakónia az egyházban* appeared in the following years, in which the author gave a broad picture of the history and most important questions of women's deacony based on theological interpretation, panning out about Hungarian aspects in the appendix as well (Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association, Filadelfia Deaconess Association). In the first half of the 20th century the work of Gyula Forgács titled *A belmisszió és a cura pastoralis* is the only one having the explicit aim to give an overview and practical information on the Hungarian inner mission associations. Gyula Forgács, pastor of the Scottish Mission, completed the manuscript in 1915, but it could be published in a decade only, because of the war and the following uncertain situation. The author processed the material sent by the members for the part dealing with the history of the Hungarian associations. The variable standard originates from this and from the reprocessing and actualisation a decade later. In absence of a modern one today's researchers of church history often cite Gyula Forgács when discussing inner mission associations, this way passing on uncertain data. In his essay titled *Belmissziói és szociális irányzatok a protestáns egyházakban és vallásos szervezetekben* (1987) László Gábor Dobos

listed the most important associations but detailed the history of youth associations chiefly and did not tell much more about the other formations than Gyula Forgács.

The interest towards the work of charitable associations grew after the change of regime in 1989, because the previous period did not favour research of that sort. The Bethesda Hospital got attention when the church took it in hand, there was a study published about its history by Erzsébet Horváth, Bálint Kovács, Richárd Bodoky, and Mrs András Csanády Ágnes Bodoky. The most extensive work (5 volumes) is by Richárd Bodoky, the former pastor, who follows the road of Bethesda and the deaconesses from the beginnings to the beginning of the 1930s in his family history writing. In the first part of his work of high standard the author used such documents which are already lost today, or the only copy left is in the possession of the family. Recently Ábrahám Kovács wrote about the founding and the first decade of the hospital but his approach too much focusses on Scottish Mission leaving the relation of the hospital and homeopathy out of consideration. For the research of Bethesda Hospital and the Filadelfia Deaconess Association there are plenty of files available in Hungarian Reformed Church Synodical Archives (MREZSLT). The large material of the Biberauer-Bodoky Collection is very substantial, as well.

The last summary about the activity of the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association was published in 1918 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its foundation, the last annual appeared in 1938. After that there was no work on the biggest protestant women's association of Budapest, one cannot find more than some short sentences in the literature despite its large material available in the Synodical Archives, together with the fragmented files of Dunamelléki Reformed Diocese Ráday Archives (RL).

Although the authors of the newest church historical studies (Tibor Fabiny, Botond Kertész) touch on the circumstance of the foundation of the National Protestáns Orphan's Association but they rarely talk about later events. The times after the directorship of Lajos Brocskó are not mentioned because of the unexplored nature of the materials. The substantial amount of files of the association are stored in Evangelical National Archives (EOL).

Researchers did not show particular interest towards the Nagypénteki Reformed Society nor in the past, nor in the future: its files dispersed, only a single volume and some files remained which are owned by the Buda Congregation. Its story can be followed until 1918 using annuals and articles in several periodicals. With help of mirroring files the events of the years after the First World War can be sketched from the materials of Ráday Archives and Budapest City Archives. For my work I have found some files in the legacy of an alumnus, Tamás Vizaknai.

There is no summary about the National Reformed Charity Federation, regarded as the predecessor of Szeretetszolgálat, the volume *25év-50intézmény* is more an album with photos. Its files are kept in Synodical Archives.

Due to the nature of the material I decided to write up the establishments, one after the another. This solution offers better transparency enforcing the special stories of the associations. It is also justified by the absence of premises and the parallels. The another possibility of processing by periods was rejected because of the obliterated inner boundaries. I could have chosen the boundaries of political history, that is, the Trianon resolution and the left-wing turn after the Second World War, but the artificial boundaries would not allow to show the specifics.

During my researches I placed emphasis on the quest for the officials of the associations, the active members, donators, supporters showing their social situations. I hope that a study showing the connections between the protestant-bound associations and those not connected to religion, but in similar circle of activity (White Cross, National Child-protection League), will be possible later. The successful assessment of the activity of the associations is helped by the two unusually long introductory chapters which follow the development of hospitality, training of nurses and the unfolding of Hungarian state child-protection. Because of the limited space the events in the church are mentioned only as necessary, there are several published works on this time period.

II. Results of the dissertation

Neopietism and the first charitable associations

At the beginning of the 19th century, with the formation of big towns, the seamy sides of developments appeared. The poor who moved to the big towns got out of the specific protecting net typical to the feudal society (family, relatives, neighbourhood, laird), and could not count on the support of the church. Their situation was aggravated because the modern society, unlike in the previous centuries, deemed poverty as a private status, shameful thing, appearing due moral sinking. The authorities regarded the liquidation of poverty as administrative, law enforcement problem, thus they could not make a good score. This way the response to the social challenges, appearing after the social modernisation processes, came forward almost solely in the form of associations. In accord with the spirit of the age the society first of all looked after the disabled, that is children, the aged, the invalids. The adults with earning capacity were sent to training courses, workshops, to school them to work.

At that time the pastors started to integrate to the nobility, they were preoccupied by the political-ideological disputes, instead of taking care of the fate of the workers. The reformation of the emptied, formal religion was urged by the followers of the pietism of the 19th century, the neopietism. The notion of neopietism is impossible to define precisely due to its variegation, the interpretations differ period by period, county by county, even author by author (Johannes Wallmann). Generally speaking it was the product of the modern urbanism and its attendant phenomena. It developed first in such regions (Anglo-Saxon, German) where the workers, urban poor lived in force. Its aim was to make religious life more individual and intimate. Its members stood for the formation of the individual piety based on personal experience. They avoided dogmatic disputes and urged evangelicals and reformed to co-operate. They regarded the moral education as most important which they have connected with work and beneficial activities. Because of their exaggerated piety and seclusion to a certain degree, the followers of this tendency got several offences.

The Hungarian capital followed a path similar to that of the west European towns, some decades later. The first two charitable associations were founded in 1817 by the second wife of palatine József for the remedy of distress. After her death under the direction of Mária Dorottya, the third wife, the protestants around her actively took part in the working out of the work-plan of the Pester association. In the court of the palatiness several petic tendencies were present, driven by common interests due to their minority situation and enhanced by the later unionistic efforts and the foundation of a common theological academy. In 1841 the

Scottish (Jewish) Mission settled down in Hungary at the request of the archduchess. They opened a Sunday's school, evangelised and helped the poor.

The protestant population of Pest-Buda tried first to settle the fortune of the orphans belonging to their denominations who were not admitted to any of the orphanage of the city. Even so, if they have been admitted by other denominations, it led to getting off their previous religion. The Evangelical Orphan-care Association (later National Protestant Orphan's Association) was founded after the initiative of the pastors of Buda and Pest, belonging to the inmost circles of the palatiness, as well as that of the reformed Germans. First, under the influence of the Scottish Mission, the bringing-up of the children went on in a strict pietet spirit, in German. The orphanage did not have an own school, the pupils attended the school of the Scottish Mission. They have considered the religious moral education more important than the intellectual one, the pupils were intended to become servants or apprentices. During the neoabsolutism the protestant German officials, skilled workers and other not Hungarian employees came to the capital in large numbers. The Evangelical Journeymen's Association was founded after the request of the young protestant workers, in the same year as the Árvaápoló Association, with devotional social aims, where the leading role was taken by majority evangelicals. The pastoral care of German speaking reformed was done by the pastor of the Pester German Reformed Affiliated Church, founded in 1863, who served the Scottish Mission.

In case of serious illness the foreigners got in a hopeless situation, even more difficult than for Hungarian employees, if they needed hospital treatment. The number of rooms in the hospital lag far behind in the developing capital, the crowding further worsened the standard of the service. The poor could not raise money for the costs of the private institutions. In the hospitals the invalids were nursed mostly by catholic orders who did not pay attention to the differing religious feelings of the protestants. The founding member of the German Affiliated Church, dr. Tivadar Bakody, undertook the healing of the poor members of the congregation, free of charge. Having seen the big number of needy and surveying their unhealthy housing circumstances, he proposed to set up a small homeopathic hospital. In the realization of his plan he was befriended by Theodor Biberauer who used his relations and that of the pastors of the Scottish Mission to start collecting money, mostly abroad. The other reason could be homeopathy that was popular in the German region but was welcome in Hungary with reluctance, even malignancy. They planned to call in to the new hospital deaconesses from Kaiserswerth who became recognised in protestant countries in short time.

Theodor Fliedner broke with nursing traditions followed for centuries, his deaconesses took part in lengthy theoretical and practical training which concluded with exams. His institutions were dominated by strict cleanness and discipline, they tried to heal both body and soul. The Bethesda opened the doors with 6 beds in 1866. With the reception of the injured of the Prussian-Austrian war they fast won the goodwill of the state authorities, letting a clean road towards future developments. In 1871 the support of baron Tisza Lajos enabled the hospital to get a bigger building at a more favourable site (Hermina street, villa Bartl).

At the Pester theology the liberal tendency predominated in the second part of the 19th century. At the time of the conciliation the need for the inner reform of the church was put forward in this circle as well. The followers of the liberal theology expected breakthrough from the reconciliation of religion and science. Its best-known representatives, Mór Ballagi and Viktor Hornyánszky with their circles of friends, regarded the Orphan-care Association as worthwhile for support, so they decided to join. They disapproved the too pietetic education

from the beginning, the use of the German language. This is why they tried to reduce the influence of the Scottish Mission. In some years the new entrants superseded the devotees of neopietism. Their financial situation, social influence allowed to extend the activities. In 1874 baron Frigyes Kochmeister was elected for the president of the association who tried to win widest possible layers of the society, mostly the middle-class, for support. For this aim he proposed to set up the function of patroness which was filled first by baroness Sándor Teleki. After the failures of the previous years the new president of the association put Lajos Brocskó as leader of the institution who already had pedagogical qualification. The former pupil was sent before admittance to Switzerland. Lajos Brocskó, based on the collected experiences, introduced later (1881), in Hungary uniquely, mixed education. The orphanage became Hungarian for good, primary and Sunday's schools were set up, a lot of attention was paid to emotional and patriotic education. Soon they moved to a new building (Rózsák square) and the number of pupils was raised to around hundred (half reformed, half evangelist). The institution principally admitted children of parents belonging to the middle-class (favouring children of pastors, teachers and instructors). After the primary school the Orphan's Association looked after the most talented pupils during their studies in secondary school. The children with low birth were accommodated in provincial orphanages but because of the bad experiences this practice was stopped after a decade. The National Protestant Orphanage retained its reputation until the secularisation, it was the biggest of the few institutions undertaking elitist education. Its subsistence was secured by foundations around the turn of the century, mostly by evangelicals. At the time of the outbreak of the First World War it possessed a considerable amount of immovable. It could weather the business crisis beginning of the 1930s and the next difficult years by letting the holiday house at the Lake Balaton which was established for the proposal of Zoltán Nikelszky.

Associations founded by the inner mission

The first followers of J. H. Wichern's inner mission, fashionable in the German region from the circles of neopietism, emerged among German reformed in the Hungarian capital. Their activity remained unknown for the Hungarian reformed because of the linguistic boundaries. The inner mission unfolded in a wider range in Budapest in the last two decades of the century after the activity of Aladár Szabó. In short time many associations formed to perform works in several branches of inner mission, he contacted Scottish Mission (he was in cousinhood also with the German Affiliated Church) and he started to hold evangelising services in a hall in Hold street in Hungarian. The female members of the congregation gathered for sewing classes with bible explanation, they have distributed the ready clothes among the poor of the neighbourhood. The unnamed companionship was organised into an association by Mrs Aladár Szilassy. She converted its activities in traditional spirit, serving for the interests of middle-class families (just like the Pester Charitable Women's Association) and supporting the poor. The work for the nation and taking part in public matters got more and more emphasis. With the choice of the name Zsuzsanna Lorántffy they expressed that they were determined to spread the new female ideal evolved due to the economical-social changes of the century. The wives and daughters of the known protestant liberals got majority in the association at the turn of the century. It is not overstatement to say that the new formation became the female sibling association of the National Protestant Orphan's Association, because the management in many cases consisted of married couples (e.g. Mrs Aladár Szilassy president of the women's association, while her husband was the vice-president of OPÁ; Mrs Farkas Szóts treasurer, her husband the treasurer of OPÁ). The aristocratic ladies coupled their personal religion with common weal, in line with traditional Calvinism and liberalism. In the association the cultivation of the "heart" prepared the

protestant woman for guiding the religious education of her children and employees. The breeding and educating role of the woman was not limited to the family, its final goal was social charity. For the interest of common weal, the women of the protestant elite were almost obliged to practice charity and motherly support matching to female soul, outside the family as well. The charitable ladies of the analogous associations emerged from the same reformed-evangelist circles, membership often devised to the next generation. For instance I can mention the activity of Mrs Sándor Hegedűs Jolán Jókay, Mrs Kálmán Tisza and Mrs István Tisza who, as founding members and members of the committee for decades, took part in the work of National Protestant Orphan's Association, the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association and the Nagypénteki Reformed Society, as well as taking responsibilities as patronesses. The women's association became popular in short time among aristocratic ladies, their gatherings became prestigious social events. The petic founders, now already in minority, slowly broke away from the gentle majority, the insuperable clashes of views made the common work impossible. Hence in 1903 with the leadership of Aladár Szabó they have founded Bethánia. Many stepped out of the management of Lorántffy, they were mostly followed by the reformed and evangelists from the lower part of the middle-class, converted under the sermons in the Hold street. The members of the new more petic association — many of them studied theology — put bigger emphasis on evangelisation and on the care for the poor, but due to their strictness they kept themselves aloof to a certain degree. The crisis of the German deaconesses in the Bethesda lead Aladár Szabó to collect the devotees of deaconesse-matters, following different spiritual trends inside the reformed church, and to found the Filadelfia Deaconess Federation (Association from 1906). In 1905 the Hungarian deaconesses under the leadership of Richárd Biberauer took all the work from paperwork to nursing the invalids. The out-of-date hospital was renewed in short time. Although it already belonged to the smaller hospitals that time, it was divided into departments which meant higher quality in medical attendance. The work in the institution was recognised by authorities giving it the rank of public hospital that enabled operations with longer stay, partially recompensing the nursing fees. With the setting up of separate rooms, the Bethesda opened towards the gentle audience, the medical attendance was of high standard because of the continuous development. In 1917 a conflict sprang up between the members of the managements of Bethánia and Filadelfia. Many shared the opinion that Filadelfia can function and develop only under the protecting wings of Bethánia. Furthermore they disapproved of the opening of Biberauer towards the representatives of the official reformed church, so the two formations broke away irrevocably. Many deaconesses, evangelists and reformed mixed, quitted with Irma Pauer. The evangelist church received the Fébé Evangelical Deaconess Association in 1924.

In the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association, after the secession of Bethánia, with the support of the official church the interest of the middle-class continued to be in the front. This aim was served before the First World War by the home of the protestant female officials (later girl dormitory), the subsidising of the "gentle" Transylvanian refugees and the hospital created for especially this class operating in sanatorial system. The prison mission, the support for people in crisis and the patronage works were done by Emma Dessewffy with some of her helpers. The majority was uninterested towards such type of activities, the new branch could not fit in the association. Their servant protection program, started up followed the liberal traditions rather than that of the inner mission, depended on their financial capabilities. It is important to note, however, that they were the only ones in the capital who dealt with the mediation and visitation of protestant domestic servants.

At the end of the 19th century the accommodation of the hang-out minors caused more and more problems. They have been treated as criminals by the authorities even if they have not

committed crime. In 1892 the pedagogue Áron Kiss with some of his fellow reformed founded the Nagypénteki Reformed Society for saving the poor children exposed to debauchery. The members came from a circle with social sensibility from other inner mission associations whose small income restricted financial capabilities. It seemed that if they do not break up, their activity will be limited to donations in kind and giving spiritual consolation, similarly to other charitable associations. After some years of failure they saw that the change of the financial position is possible only if they ask a prestigious member of the society to contribute. Their choice was Mrs Sándor Hegedűs, the cousin of Mór Jókai, who organised a female board out of the ladies of the political-natal aristocracy. Thanks to the enthusiastic work of the ladies the membership of the association multiplied in short time. The association soon gathered many members with philanthropic-masonic sentiment. Although the dominance of the protestants remained, altruists of other religions were also present (baron Mór Hirsch, countess Dénes Almásy). In the name of the association with the word "reformed" they intended to express their patriotic emotions to Hungarians. The piety founders, for the good of the society, transferred the leadership to the new entrants and took a back-seat or stepped out. In 1899 they took part at the International Congress for Child Welfare in Budapest as organisers where one of the most important subjects was the methodology of the screening of the children endangered due to the disability and poverty of their parents. Its realization was regarded as a task for the association. Everyone agreed that one must not mix convicted children with endangered ones, the approved schools are not suitable for their education. Instead of strict institutions one should favour special protecting and educating establishments (love-homes) with religious-moral education and steady employment. The building of an own institution gathered momentum with the rise of the Széll administration to power (minister of commerce Sándor Hegedűs) that was committed to child-protection. The institution founded with state support opened its doors in 1900. Endangered school age children were admitted to the home. The admission ranking was established based on indigence and not on religion, but most of the pupils were reformed. The pupils were trained to become gardener, apprentice and domestic servant. Due to the aging of the membership, the lack of interested young people and due to the antipathy against freemasonry after the First World War the circle of supporters came down to a smaller group of metropolitan intellectuals. The strict savings measures, the minimisation of the personnel of the orphanage influenced the level of education. The Filadelfia and the Lorántffy set up their more familial orphanages in the country but this did not result in the decline of the standard.

The change in the relation between the inner mission and the church

The ideas of inner mission in Hungary were often established by associations critical towards the church, more or less independent of the official church. The spiritual leaders approached them hostile and accused them with stripping the unity of the congregation and the preparation of appearance of sects. In the years after the turn of the century the building fever of the inner mission abated because of the outcropping clash of opinions. The existence and necessity of inner mission was acknowledged when the General Convent of reformed church put it to the list of the compulsory subjects of theological academies in 1910. The shaping up of the schedule was preceded by large debates, finally the proposal of the main curator István Tisza (Dunántúli Diocese) was accepted, neglecting the proposals of the committee of education. I suppose that István Tisza, based on his experiences in Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association, found inner mission suitable to ease the built-up social tensions, this is why he urged its teaching so much. Although the resolution existed due to the political authority of Tisza, the theologians circumvented the training of inner mission referring to several excuses. In the Dunamelléki Diocese, after lengthy preparations, during the episcopate of László

Ravasz (1922) a mission committee was set up for the registration and for the summary of the activities of the inner mission. In accordance with the program of the bishop, the committee linked the social associations of inner mission and the official church, shepherding the formers to directions parallel to the goals of universal church. Soon the precedent was followed by General Convent which obliged the dioceses and congregations to set up mission committees. At the beginning of the 1930s the mission ordinance and later law meant a qualitative change. It filed the tasks of the mission to the activities of the church.

Ferenc Kiss theology teacher waded in to make the mission ecclesiastical in this atmosphere. He worked up the principles of the centrally guided love-work of the church and proposed the reform of the traditional way of collecting donations. The good atmosphere and goodwill created by spiritual leaders did not prove sufficient because of the big number of adversaries. Kiss and his followers circumvented the excessive influence of ORLE and the setbacks by putting up a new association, planned transient only. The National Reformed Charity Federation (ORSZ) was incumbent on the joining of smaller or bigger ecclesiastical-social associations, the realization of central governance and control, the modernisation and extension of collecting mechanism and the transmission of the well functioning institutions to the church, "measured up" to the challenge. Ferenc Kiss, besides the existing institutions, insisted to develop the played-down parts of reformed love-work, calling them into the supplying system. Thus, he gave helping hand to establish homes for the old aged, orphanages in villages, opening the door to the Hungarian village to prove its capacity. He initiated a sporadic mission work typical to inner mission. The another important initiative aimed at one of the most neglected area of social care in Hungary, the care for those needing special attendance. In the institutions they tried to teach the pupils some useful crafts, taking in account the physical-intellectual capabilities and to give them personal spiritual care. The ORSZ got soon good results, many associations joined its own founded institutions, although most of the newcomers joined due to their bad financial status and not by firm belief. The applicant associations choose the form of joining with the fewest conditions. The extensive associations, functioning successfully for decades, did not show any inclination to co-operation, they regarded Kiss as too theoretical and too idealist.

Despite of the intent of the leaders of the church, the leaders of the ecclesiastical-social associations with long past, though they did not hold aloof of collaboration, were unwilling to give up the independence and to entrust the associations to the church. The associative love-institutions often featured such professional ideas, methods and atmosphere that were not approved by the church partially or fully. Most of them took the ecclesiastical intentions as criticism. Only the management of Filadelfia Deaconess Association, where the control was in the hands of pastors, did not stand in the way of the initiative and in 1938 it was merged into the organisation of the Dunamelléki Diocese but did not lose its judiciary status. The members of the Nagypénteki Reformed Society choose independence and steady uncertainty of existence. The Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association had profane dominance, the older prestigious members stood to preserve their own power, even against the interests of the church. They handled deaconesse matters according to their personal interests, following their own conceptions. They begun to increase the number of deaconesses without proper background and without pastoral-tutorial personnel that lead to a crisis in 1930s. The archaic approach of the members, mostly the diacoisse-committee, kept the pastors from fulfilling their professions that lead to open debates. László Ravasz tried to reconcile the conflicts and to influence the association to respect the competence of pastors, in vain, getting the independent associations to make only some concessions.

These matters were put on the agenda again after the Second World War because of the economical crisis and the growing leftist political pressure. The church and the social institutions could foresee only one possibility to preserve their charitable associations, by becoming ecclesiastical trusts. The transformation could not proceed without conflicts in this time period as well. The defenders of the independence of the associations disputed to the bitter end. A good example is the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association, where the oldest board members, though in the last years of the World War the procuration was in the hands of bishop László Ravasz, after a long discussion, agreed to become a trust in a hopeless financial situation. After that the association was kept alive for some time by the hopeful old members.

With some years difference the secularisation put a period to the history of the associations, their activities were taken up partly by the charitable service of the church.

III. The publications of the author in the subject:

Eleonóra Géra: Országos Protestáns Árvagyület. Protestáns Szemle. LXIV. (XI. új) 2002/3. sz. 121-148. o.

Eleonóra Géra: Országos Református Szeretetszövetség. Protestáns Szemle. LXVI. (XIII. új) 2004/2. sz. 93-112. o.

Eleonóra Géra: A Bethesda Kórház története. A Filadelfia diakonisszák karitatív tevékenysége. Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Egyesület. Nagypénteki Református Társaság. Országos Protestáns Árvagyület és Árvaház. (chapters) In: Reformátusok Budapesten. Tanulmányok a fővárosi reformátusság történetéből. Ed.: László Kósa. Budapest, 2006. Argumentum Kiadó-ELTE Művelődéstörténeti Tanszék.

