

Doctoral thesis

Calvinism „sects”, rebellion
Scythe-crucians and Dévaványa

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In 1936 detectives cleared up the scythe-crucian's (National Socialist Hungarian Labour Party) conspiracy to overthrow the government. So this party had dissolved, organizers brought to trial, so this projected revolution couldn't be getting to implementation. So we can see a stuck, gammy, social rebellion: a drama, but its staging has arrested. Our question is: why Dévaványa was a base of the scythe-crucian movement? Expositions about spread that movement till now has mentioned just troubles in economy, and demagoguery. Our sources were archives about this parish and action, ethnographical documents and oral history-sources. So we can't answer our question sure enough by right of inquiring of society, but this parish was booty of frustrations unequivocally that time.

First of all: spaces of Dévaványa has changed numbers of times before Horthy-era: administratively and geographically. Border of those counties has been constant for decades, but in this time aborigines hadn't liked this state, and they would have liked to fall into line with Békés county, but they couldn't grease the skids. Nagyatádi's agrarian reform had modified the parish internally and externally: two neighbour parishes received of this area (these parishes have been better in lobby). A peripheral area: Pusztacseveg filled with people (correlating to hungry-for-land people), and inner-Dévaványa grewed. The new downtown: Bogya-district changed mental map of this township too: this district and its people was added to negative connotation. So the agrarian reform caused certain contrasts new district to old districts (while changes in borders were staying unresponded apparently).

Self-concept of Dévaványa belonged to „patrician past” closely, and it connected to frustration too. Traditions of valour and struggle with Turkish groups were living in their imagination; they were keeping count of liberties, and what is more they were ascribing to progenitors' tradition, in spite of liberties' generality hadn't got any propriety, and in the 19. century they had to be to work, and these jobs weren't been courtly. Between the two world wars there were two conflicts connecting to „patrician past”. First: inhabitants' way of life and possibility contrasted patrician progenitors' way of life and possibility (our inhabitants' fantasy) and liberties – an inner conflict; second: these people – as aborigines of Dévaványa, as aborigines of their „property” – kept tally on non-liberties progenitors, so who was a foreign person.

Calvinist tradition was famous at least, than memory of patrician identity – there was a source of frustration too. To be a Presbyterian – it meant: to be aborigine, from Ványa, and not was a located by authority and or a cost-of-living migratory papistic. In contempt of Calvinist self-concept of this parish there was papistic's rate beyond neighbour-parishes'

papistic rates. Representatives of two religions had been disagreed each other, and their struggle seemed to tone down for the Horthy-era, there was turbulence, but it hadn't got free-expression. Great number of mixed-marriages shows: endogamy lived as a wanted-norma, and not practised-norma. But several mutual concessions and the husband's or the wife's convert to other religion later (the pair's homogeny) refers to magnitude of religions, especially in micro-milieu. In local Reformed Church we can see a bid to reformation, organised by pastor elected in 1929 and his „saints”. They wanted to enhance Calvinist identity, especially inner-mission, living piously – Dévaványa worked as a centre of inner mission. But some people didn't agree with them. There were little churches, „sects” in the parish with intensive piously, but generality thought them curious and poor devil. There were not religious conflicts between Jewish people and others, and number of them was been diminished fluently.

Patrician, Calvinist traditions were connected to maverick mentality closely: a frustration again. They turned against authority and primacy – they were proud of them, and it was a historical tradition. Their prominent feast containing rite-elements was 15th March (the day of revolution for independence and liberty). There was fullness in the parish connecting to the feast, there was a one-day border-crossing day, a day of unity and conflicts-killing seemingly, and Dévaványa was in unit. 15th March – it meant: „there was freedom”, but in this area freedom was restricted, so channelling of stress and battling against authority was restricted too. But not only positive connotation was attached to the emblematic figure of war of independence: he rolled as a father leaving up in the collective memory: he had left them high and dry. Nevertheless Dévaványa – as Hungarian-majority counties like – voted for the Independence Party. So István Horthy, a governing-party campaigner – whose values work in the values of the parish – was nominated a father unfit. But to decline him – it means to lose the opportunity (in consideration of his son Miklós Horthy, governor), although there was a joking story. In the years of '30s Böszörmény, the ideale-looking father used their maverick feeling, aspiring to independent and assetivation skillfully, who didn't stick up for them in the end, and didn't play the hero's role.

The parish was overwhelmed by economic conflicts. In 1935 Dévaványa had got a lot of moreover-100-acres landowner, and six moreover-1000-acres landowner, but most of inhabitants have got 1-5 acres land. But this looks a more congenial state, than previous state: agrarian reform enhanced a lot. More than 75% of people earned their living by cultivation. This parish had got tradition in animal keeping, but their wings was clipped, so cultivation was became more important. Majority of inhibitors couldn't dream about enrichment, so their

urge to richness was personalized in Jewish. Landowners held on to their lands – it looked the only one opportunity for their living.

Demographic data refers to conflicts too. The parish was suffered a lot by the first world war (see: dead list, outage of births). Marriages tailed off were due to world changed after the war, which ended in divorcing – and that really was a great problem, and mixture marriage was typical of converting from the end of 20's. Suicide rate was risen from the end of '20s too – the high suicide rate and other symptoms (f.e. violent tentations) were referred to behavior suicidal model of Dévaványa. Birth rate and mortality rate was higher, tendencies of demography assimilated to Hungarian – and modern social – tendencies. There was a pregnant migration: it's a certain solution, but it's a sign about not-looking-after the inhabitants.

Reading clubs and cultural associations had got popularity: a lot of associations worked there, with a lot of culture programmes. But we can see conflicts about them: occupation-property separation without separation in characters. The peasant community being pride to tradition preferred „humour from the towns”, cabarets, and not folksy plays. By this time developed a new conflict: Cultural Committee conducted by Reformed pastor wanted plays of high standard, plays of peasant world, plays educating morally and religiously. The results of this „culture fight” were: folksy culture was won, but it wasn't a choice of folk, and this victory curtailed them of a „safety valve”. And there was another problem: a lot of people absent themselves from programmes – it could mean: you're not belong to community.

Dévaványa had a lot of conflicts, problems: parish could be described with „stable instability” by that time. Certain problems came about economic and demographical rates, but we can see other conflicts, and these two conflicts toned down (but there is not the final solution, and world economic crisis worsened the status). The parish guarded its tradition intensively: glorious past, inhibitors' privileges, but it had to face past lost. So to imagine past being different – it means to enhance identity, but face to frustrations continually.

Moreover by this time we could see some new sources of conflicts (f. e. changes of spaces), and these could enlarge instability. Although there were attempts at reformation (under the new Reformed pastor's leadership), these were not efficient. Inner-mission intentions could ensure mental support and new life goals and grow the religious community's togetherness, but majority of inhibitors couldn't take their hand in, so another conflict arose; and – connecting to growing Reformed identity – another, more sophisticated forms of religious conflicts arose. As results of reformation of culture of community could be becoming new conflicts, and taking someone else from Ványaians, which could have helped in processing or

in liberation. From that matter possibilities of acting out-mechanisms were dropped (f.e. Papism-Reformed conflict became „sophisticated”; rites of 15th of March changed.)

We can find certain elements of competitive, reactive and proactive mass-action forms in Horthy-regime: we can see local and religious – light – scrum; accenting patrician-Calvinist-maverick tradition and liberates dimmed, and challenge for evicting intruders’ possessions and positions; and joining in conspiracy of National Socialist Hungarian Labour Party to overthrow the government, so the attendance of scythe-crucians’ movement. Dévaványa gave its people a sure common identity, but has got a lot of conflicts and we could see manifestations of hopelessness. So conflicts and this dichotomy could take part in people waiting for progressing of their fortune to holding on scythe-crucian movement.