

# The historical development of the formation of the elite in the south of the Habsburg Empire. Slovenes and the schooling of the intellectual class in the late 1800s and early 1900s\*

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper presents the influence of the power of education and the formation of the intellectual class in the Slovenian provinces in the south of the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire, which played an important role in the formation of the Slovenian nation. The social stratum of middle-class intellectuals, which was at that time rapidly becoming the carrier and the designer of the Slovenian national movement in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was shaped to a great extent through the education system. Slovenian pupils had to gain proficiency in the German language already in primary school in order to be able to continue their schooling at gymnasiums. The absence of a Slovene University before 1919 may also have channelled a lot of practical intellectual energy into primary school education, facilitating the cultural and economic development of the countryside and a general increase in the nation's literacy, so that in 1910, 85.5% of all Slovenes were already literate. The intellectual class was comprised of secondary school students (including those from secondary modern schools and teacher training colleges and other secondary schools) as well as the Slovene students attending university in Vienna and Graz, and later also Prague, and the students of the theological schools in Slovenia. The supporters of the national movement were well aware of the contribution of the Slovene-oriented intelligentsia to the development of the nation. As regards their national orientation, these students mainly viewed the Slovene national movement favourably and many of them were also enthusiastic supporters of Slavic cooperation, while the more radically nationally inclined among them even considered working towards the establishment of a Slovene nation state their main task. The different political orientations also formed

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different student societies. The initially small body of educated Slovenes was in time joined by more and more high school and college graduates after the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which had a big impact on the faster cultural and economic development of the nation as a whole.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Primary School; Secondary School; University; Nation; Slovenia; XIX-XX Centuries.

### *Introduction*

The intellectual classes also played an important role in the ethnic formation of the Slovene nation. So much so, that a saying which was popular in the 1890s even stated «The Slovene nation IS its intelligentsia»<sup>1</sup>. The social stratum of middle-class intellectuals (or the intellectual bourgeoisie; in German: *Bildungsbürgerthum*), which was rapidly becoming the carrier and the designer of the Slovenian national movement in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was shaped to a greater extent by the Slovene schools<sup>2</sup>. The economic middle class, comprised of the entrepreneurs and tradesmen, was less developed. By WWI, however, the Slovenes had become a completely developed cultural nation with national and cultural institutions, its own press and fully formed language<sup>3</sup>. The relatively well-developed primary school system (in 1910, 85.5% of all Slovenes were already literate) enabled further education and a rich and varied society.

Already in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, an article was published on the importance of the genteel upper classes (Slovenian: *gospôda*) for the Slovenian national movement, amongst whom the (relatively few) Slovenian patriotic students were also counted. While comparing the nation to a tree, the author of the article likened the upper classes and the intellectual classes to its beautiful,

of Elite Formation in Eastern and Central Europe (Institut européen, University of Geneva, April 2011). I'm grateful to Eva Žigon for her assistance in English language editing.

<sup>1</sup> J. Puntar, *Slovenski narod, njegova inteligenca in dijaštvo* [The Slovenian nation, its intellectuals and students], «Čas», vol. 2, n. 6, 1908, pp. 280-290, esp. 281.

<sup>2</sup> P. Vodopivec, *Vloga slovenskih intelektualcev pri emancipaciji Slovencev* [The role of Slovenian intellectuals in the emancipation of the Slovenes], in S. Granda, B. Šatej (edd.), *Slovenija 1848-1998: iskanje lastne poti*, Maribor, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 1998, p. 125; Id., *Kulturno-duhovne razmere na Slovenskem v 19. stoletju* [Cultural and Spiritual Conditions in Slovenia in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century], «Bogoslovni vestnik/ Theological Quarterly, Ephemerides theologicae», vol. 67, n. 1, 76, 2007, pp. 9-17. <<http://www.teof.uni-lj.si/uploads/File/BV/BV-07-1-02-VodopivecFrint.pdf>> (accessed: October 17, 2014); Id., *O gospodarskih in socialnih nazorih na Slovenskem v 19. stoletju* [Economic and social opinions in Slovenia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century], Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2006, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> V. Melik, *Slovenci 1848-1918, Razprave in članki* [Slovenes 1848-1918 Studies and articles], Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2002; M. Žvanut, *Slovenski jezik: Identiteta in simbol* [Slovene language: Identity and Symbol.], Ljubljana, Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2007.

lush foliage, and the men of letters to its precious flowers<sup>4</sup>. The press in this period also published encouraging comments, stating «The Slovenian nation is worthy of the intellectuals living within it and for it»<sup>5</sup> and continued later: «The goal of education is not only to raise the individual, but to bring benefits to an entire nation»<sup>6</sup>. Not only the students of the classical gymnasiums (grammar schools, known also as «Latin schools»), but also the students of the secondary modern schools, teacher training colleges, and other secondary schools, as well as the students of the theological schools in the homeland and the Slovene students attending university throughout the monarchy were deemed as belonging to the intellectual classes. Namely, the words «dijak» (pupil, secondary school student or «gymnasiast») and the designation for the somewhat older «študent» (student) were used as synonyms to denote an intellectual engaged in studies – regardless whether this was at the secondary school level or at a university<sup>7</sup>. Despite the big differences in social status between the secondary school professions (for example primary school teachers, clerks) and the professions that required college or university degrees (priests, physicians, lawyers, secondary school teachers, senior clerks)<sup>8</sup>, all were a part of an intellectual class in the Slovene lands that held varying convictions with regard to Slovene nationhood.

Until 1918, the development of schools on Slovenian territory<sup>9</sup> was determined by the state and legal framework of the Habsburg Monarchy – more precisely, the Austrian part of the dual monarchy, and by the peculiarities of the crown lands inhabited by the Slovenes. Of these lands, only the current area of central Slovenia, the then province of *Carniola* (Germ.: *Krain*; Slov.: *Kranjska*) was predominantly Slovenian, while in the other provinces, Slovenes formed only a part of the population, this being: approximately one third in the south of *Styria* (Germ.: *Steiermark*; Slov.: *Štajerska*) and *Carinthia/Kärnten/Koroška*, more than 60% in the Austrian Littoral Region/*Küstenland /Primorska* (the county of *Gorizia and Gradisca/Görz und Gradisca / Goriško in Gradiščansko*

<sup>4</sup> M. Majar, *Slovenska gospôda*, «Kmetijske in rokodelske novice», vol. 16, n. 25, 23 June 1858, pp. 194-197.

<sup>5</sup> *Domorodna naloga slovenskega dijaka v počitnicah*, «Slovenski narod», vol. 19, n. 172, 31 July 1886, pp. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> F.S. *Finžgar v Zagrebu*, «Slovenec», vol. 39, n. 72, 29 March 1911, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> A. Breznik, *O tujkah in izposojenkah*, «Dom in svet», vol. 19, n. 3, 1 March 1906, p. 149; Š. Lapajne, *Važne odločbe, XXI. Ustanove – dijaške*, «Slovenski pravnik», vol. 26, n. 2, 15 February 1910, pp. 41-42.

<sup>8</sup> *Iz Gradca*, «Slovenski narod», vol. 9, n. 120, 25 May 1876, supplement, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> J. Mal, *Zgodovina slovenskega naroda* [The History of the Slovenian Nation], Vol. II, Celje, Mohorjeva družba, 1993<sup>2</sup>; J. Fischer *et al.*, *Novejša slovenska zgodovina* [Slovenian contemporary history], *od programa Zedinjene Slovenije do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije 1848-1992*, Vol. I-II, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2005; V. Schmidt, *Zgodovina šolstva in pedagogike na Slovenskem* [The History of Education and Pedagogy in Slovenia], Vol. III: *1848-1870*, Ljubljana, Državna založba Slovenije, 1966 (Ljubljana, Delavska enotnost, 1988<sup>2</sup>).

– with significantly less in the city of *Trieste/Triest/Trst*, while in the county of *Istria/Istrien/Istra* the Slovenes and Croats made up 58% of the population. Slovenes also lived in the Hungarian part of the monarchy, and after 1866, a small percentage of Slovenes also lived in Italy (Venetian Slovenia). In total, in 1869, approximately 1,500,000 inhabitants populated the entire area described above, a number which by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had risen to approx. 1,800,000 inhabitants. Of these, 76.9% spoke colloquial Slovene (in German: *Umgangssprache*), while the other inhabitants spoke German, Italian (in the west), and some colloquial Hungarian (in the east). The population censuses in 1880-1953 covering a slightly smaller area of the current Republic of Slovenia (20,000 km<sup>2</sup>) show an increase from 1.1 million to 1.5 million inhabitants in this period<sup>10</sup>.

### 1. Literacy – the first step to school education

The third Austrian Primary School Act (passed in 1869) made schools subject to the state and set the foundations for the modern primary school by introducing high school education for teachers at teacher training colleges, monetary remuneration for their work, as well as eight years of compulsory primary school education (the form of which varied from province to province). Attendance in schools had been growing since 1880, and illiteracy among Slovenes was in strong decline. In 1921, only 8.8% of the Slovenes in Yugoslavia were illiterate (while the total illiteracy for the entire country was 51.5%), and in 1931 this number dropped even further to 5.46%. The Society of St. Hermagoras (*Družba sv. Mohorja*) publishing house had played an important role in this achievement with its active role in culture and education since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while starting from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, schools for adults and numerous educational courses also contributed significantly to adult education<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> *Popisni atlas Slovenije* [Census Atlas of Slovenia] 2002, *Prebivalstvo in naselja* [Population and settlements], <[www.stat.si](http://www.stat.si)>; *Statistični letopis* [Statistical Yearbook] Ljubljana, Statistični urad Republike Slovenije and Geografski inštitut Antona Melika ZRC SAZU, 2009: 4.2. Prebivalstvo [Population]. <[http://www.stat.si/publikacije/pub\\_letopis\\_prva.asp](http://www.stat.si/publikacije/pub_letopis_prva.asp)> (accessed: October 17, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> Illiteracy of the population aged 10 and over on the territory of present-day Slovenia: 1880 39%, 1890 25%, 1900 15%. Cfr. V. Melik, *Slovenci in "nova šola"* [Slovenes and the New School System], in V. Schmidt, V. Melik, F. Ostanek (edd.), *Osnovna šola na Slovenskem 1869-1969* [Primary School in Slovenia 1869-1969], Ljubljana, Slovenski šolski muzej, 1970, pp. 31-63, especially pp. 53-54. B. Šuštar, *Školstvo v Slovinsku na prelome 19. a 20. storočja* [Schools in Slovenia at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century], in V. Michalička (ed.), *Dejiny šolstva a pedagogiky na Slovensku*, Bratislava, Ústav informácií a prognóz školstva, 2008, pp. 42-56, especially pp. 43-45.

Country school boards were now faced with the decision on the teaching language of primary schools, although in most parts of Carniola, the teaching language in primary schools was already predominantly Slovenian. In the Slovenian part of Gorizia County the primary schools were also mainly Slovenian, except for in the city of Gorizia/Gorica. Although there were no Slovenian schools in the city of Trieste, they existed in its adjoining Slovenian villages. In Istria, the establishment of Slovenian schools was rather slower – even in the municipalities – owing to the opposition of the Italian majority in the provincial school board. In Carinthia, bilingual primary schools were established in 1879 with the aim of discouraging Slovene nationalism, as in effect, the Slovenian language was used merely as being helpful in the first two grades for the transition to classes in German. In Styria, the situation was a little better, as the Slovenian municipalities had managed to obtain Slovenian schools, where German was only one of the subjects taught. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was an increase in the number of schools, classes, teachers and students in the Slovenian provinces, and a little under half of the students were female. The language issue in the Slovenian provinces had a considerable influence on the development of schools towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as did also the private kindergartens and schools of the Italian (*Lega Nazionale*), German (*Deutscher Schulverein*) and Slovene oriented national schooling organizations (*Družba sv. Cirila in Metoda / Society of Sts Cyril and Methodius*)<sup>12</sup>.

After 1870, teachers with high school educations (graduates of the teacher training colleges) taught in primary schools, which now had more extensive curricula<sup>13</sup>. At these colleges, the lectures were mostly conducted in German and only rarely in Slovenian, Italian and German, Italian, German and Slovenian or Slovenian and Hungarian. Subsequently, although teachers did form a part of the vocational stratum of the intellectuals, due to their modest wages and other factors, they were regarded as only half-educated by the richer elite and the university graduates, such as physicians, lawyers, notaries, judges and priests. Yet the better education they now received and the ensuing self-confidence this gave them, also gave rise to an increased liberal orientation amongst the Slovenian teachers, which, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, became the predominant orientation amongst the profession. A large percentage of teachers was active not only in the field of pedagogics (as textbook authors) and culture (music, cultural societies, publishing, literature), but also participated

<sup>12</sup> J. Sagadin, *Kvalitativna analiza razvoja osnovnega šolstva...* [A Qualitative Analysis of the Development of Primary Education...], in V. Schmidt, V. Melik, F. Ostanek (edd.), *Osnovna šola na Slovenskem 1869-1969* [The Primary School in Slovenia], Ljubljana, Slovenski šolski muzej, 1970, pp. 65-170, especially p. 151.

<sup>13</sup> Melik, *Slovinci in «nova šola»* [Slovenes and the “new school”], cit., pp. 31-63; E. Protner, *Herbartistična pedagogika na Slovenskem* [Herbartianist Pedagogy in Slovenia] 1869-1914, Maribor, Slavistično društvo, 2001; Id., *Pedagogika in izobraževanje učiteljev* [Pedagogy and teacher education] 1919-1941, Nova Gorica, Educa, 2000.

in the development of cooperative societies (savings banks, loan societies) and in other economic activities (fruit growing, apiculture)<sup>14</sup>. Dr. Franc v. Močnik, for example, gained renown among the Slovenian teachers as a prolific writer of mathematics textbooks, and from this reason was one of the most known Austrian pedagogues of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>. A significant number of well-educated and hard-working female teachers were also connected with the beginning of the feminist movement on Slovenian soil<sup>16</sup>. The high school professors (who taught at the high schools and modern secondary schools) were undoubtedly a part of the social elite, owing to their university educations. Among these, we must also mention the Franciscan friars, who taught at gymnasiums and primary schools until 1870, as well as the nuns (e.g. of the Ursuline order), who ran the private girl's schools.

## 2. *Gymnasiums and other secondary schools open the way for intellectuals*

A very small number of students or pupils continued their educations at higher-level schools upon completion of the initial few years of primary school, so that their primary schooling (from 12 to 14 years of age) took place in civic or other schools (secondary, vocational, agricultural). In 1854, there were about 940 Slovenian secondary school students<sup>17</sup> and in 1913, less than 5% of the school children in Styria and Carinthia continued their educations, with only 2% in Carniola, while this percentage was only slightly higher in the Littoral due to the influence of Trieste. Only a part of these 11,384 children,

<sup>14</sup> S. Pavlič, *Sto znamenitih osebnosti v šolstvu na Slovenskem* [One hundred famous Personalities in Education in Slovenia], Ljubljana, Prešernova družba, 2000; B. Šuštar, *Učiteljske organizacije na Slovenskem in njihova idejna usmeritev od srede 19. do sredine 20. stoletja* [Teachers' organisation in Slovenia and their conceptual orientation from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century], «Šolska kronika/School Chronicle», vol. 34, n. 2, 2001, pp. 329-339; Id., *Učiteljstvo* [Teachers], in D. Voglar (ed.), *Enciklopedija Slovenije 14 U-We* [Encyclopedia of Slovenia], Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2002, pp. 13-14.

<sup>15</sup> J. Povšič, *Bibliografija Franca Močnika* [Bibliography of Franc Močnik], Ljubljana, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1966; B. Šuštar, *Pogledi na Močnikove matematične učbenike v prevodih v številne jezike* [Močnik's mathematical textbooks translated into many languages] in M. Magajne (ed.), *Z vrlino in delom* [Virtute et opera]: *dr. Franc Močnik (1814-1892)*, Idrija, Mestni muzej, 2014, pp. 41-51.

<sup>16</sup> M. Milharčič Hladnik, *Šolstvo in učiteljice na Slovenskem* [The Education and Women Teachers in Slovenia], Ljubljana, Znanstveno in publicistično središče, 1995.

<sup>17</sup> 1854: secondary school students (Slovenes) Carniola/Krain/Kranjska (440), Styria/Steiermark/Štajerska (283), Carinthia/Karnten/Koroška (63), county of Gorizia/Goriška (about 150) – 940 Slovenes. Cfr. *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie* / zusammengestellt von der Direction der administrativen Statistik, Neue Folge, II. Band, Wien, K. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1859, pp. 32-33.

who attended 'other' schools in 1913, went on to continue their schooling in gymnasiums, with hopes of attending a college or university upon graduation<sup>18</sup>.

The supporters of the national movement were well aware of the contribution of the Slovene-oriented intelligentsia to the development of the nation. Subsequently, at the beginning of the 1870s and throughout the 1880s, they encouraged the peasant farmers to send their talented sons to secondary schools, and provided them with information on the better employment prospects education brought and on the scholarships and other forms of support available<sup>19</sup>. In the 1880s, the Catholic camp also wrote that there was a lack of educated people among the Slovenes, stating: «Parents, let your sons go to school». With this injunction they hoped not only to gain more priests, but also more Slovenian clerks, teachers, doctors, notaries, lawyers, pharmacists, merchants, engineers, artisans and manufacturers, and saw the struggle for the education of more farmer's sons as nothing short of their national duty. In their opinion, it was crucial to the existence of the nation that their fellow countrymen be schooled on Slovenian soil for the intellectual professions («such as only educated people are capable of performing»), so that they would work in their native language in the schools, offices and in public life. All of the clergy were already nationally oriented<sup>20</sup>.

Parents, who provided most of the funding for their children's education, were keenly interested in their offspring's success during their studies<sup>21</sup> and secondary school pupils from rural areas in particular would find their funding discontinued if they failed to make the grade. Slovenian pupils had to master all their lessons in German – the language in which primary school was taught – in order to be able to continue their schooling<sup>22</sup>. In 1898, an article wrote «Truly, our Slovenian boys must be exceptionally talented in order to claw their way to secondary school under the existing conditions». One of the speakers at a mass meeting of the national movement (*taborsko gibanje*) in 1869 stated that «it should not be hidden from our fellow countrymen, that 1½ million Slovenes haven't so much as graduated from a gymnasium, nor even a modern secondary school, despite the existence of about 2,000 Slovenian pupils – a wrong such

<sup>18</sup> Sagadin, *Kvalitativna analiza razvoja osnovnega šolstva...* [A Qualitative Analysis of the Development of Primary Education...], cit., p. 150; *Statistik der Unterrichtsanstalten in Österreich für das Jahr 1912/13*, Wien, K. K. Statistischen Zentralkommission, 1917.

<sup>19</sup> *Narastaj naše inteligencije iz kmetstva*, «Slovenski narod», vol. 6, n. 98, 30 April 1873, p. 1; *Slovenski starši, pošiljajte svoje sinove študirat!*, «Slovenski narod», vol. 15, n. 190, 21 August 1882, p. 1 and n. 191, 22 August 1882, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Dr. Jurtela, *Starši, dajte svoje sinove v šolo*, «Slovenski gospodar», vol. 18, n. 37, 11 August 1884, pp. 289-290; *Nakane nemčurjev in nemškutarjev pogubne Slovencem*, «Slovenski gospodar», vol. 15, n. 32, 8 August 1881, p. 249.

<sup>21</sup> J. Lego, *Karakteristika naroda slovenskega*, «Slovan», vol. 3, n. 15, 1 August 1886, pp. 235-236; n. 16, 15 August 1886, pp. 252-253.

<sup>22</sup> S. Jeklinov, *S Koroškega*, «Slovenski narod», vol. 31, n. 76, 5 April 1898, pp. 3-4.

as not even the Turks could have dealt us»<sup>23</sup>. The Slovene delegates to the Viennese Parliament also warned that the gymnasiums in Carniola, where more than 90% of the population was Slovene, cultivated the second native language of the province (i.e. German) more than Slovenian, despite the fact that German was not the mother tongue of the vast majority of their pupils.

The Slovene demands for a university were often met by the retort: «What do you want with a university if you don't even have secondary schools?»<sup>24</sup>. An interesting fact though is that, the less numerous Italians and even the Croats in the Austrian half of the monarchy had their own secondary schools. Still, although the teaching language in most gymnasiums and modern secondary schools (Germ.: *Realschule*; Slov.: *realka*) until 1918 was German, lessons in the lower grades and in certain subjects were also taught in Slovenian. The Slovene-German civic modern secondary school in the important mining city of Idrija (1901), as well as the Slovene diocesan private gymnasium in Ljubljana (1905) and the state gymnasium in Gorizia (1913)<sup>25</sup> in particular paved the way towards the Slovenization of the secondary schools, which was finally achieved in the new Yugoslavian state in 1918. The national awareness of the Slovenian intellectuals was forging a path, despite German being the official teaching language in secondary schools in most of the subjects, and sometimes also in spite of the presence of German-oriented or German nationalistic professors<sup>26</sup>.

Further schooling was provided by gymnasiums, as well as modern secondary schools, which Slovene pupils attended in different places. Analysis of the Austrian statistics (as published in the *Österreichische Statistik/Austrian Statistics*)<sup>27</sup> on pupils whose mother tongue was Slovenian attending the *gymnasiums* on the territory of present-day Slovenia (Ljubljana, Celje, Maribor, Ptuj, Kočevje, Kranj, Novo Mesto, Koper/Capodistria) and outside of its present borders (Trieste/Trst, Gorizia/Gorica, Klagenfurt/Celovec, Villach/Beljak, show the differing influences the various gymnasiums had on the education of Slovenes. In 1881, the number of Slovene pupils varied from school to school, yet showed an overall increase over the following years (1881: Ljubljana 81.8%, Celje 49.81%, Maribor 48.24%, Ptuj 62.61%, Kočevje 19.51%, Kranj 100%, Novo Mesto 90.91%, Koper 1.28%, Trieste more than 20%, Gorizia 41.19%, Villach 15.72% and Klagenfurt 13.89%). Slovene pupils also

<sup>23</sup> R.A., *Božidar Raič*, «Slovan», vol. 2, n. 22, 15 November 1886, p. 341.

<sup>24</sup> *Govor župana Hribarja*, «Slovenski narod», vol. 34, n. 214, 18 September 1901, pp. 2-3 (supplement). The Mayor of Ljubljana Ivan Hribar relates a comment made by dr. Josef Kaizl, 1898/99 the Austrian Minister of Finances.

<sup>25</sup> J. Ciperle, *Pota do moderne gimnazije na Slovenskem* [The ways to the modern grammar school in Slovenia], in F.M. Dolinar (ed.), *Sto let Zavoda sv. Stanislava*, Ljubljana, Družina, pp. 353-364.

<sup>26</sup> Ormož, «Kmetški prijatelj/Der Bauernfreund», vol. 1, n. 6, 1. October 1882, pp. 5-6.

<sup>27</sup> E. Hriberšek Balkovec, *Austrijska statistika in gimnazije na Slovenskem 1881-1913* [Österreichische Statistik/Austrian Statistics and Slovene Grammar Schools from 1881 to 1913, Vol. I, II], «Šolska kronika/School Chronicle», vol. 27, 1994, pp. 15-22; vol. 28, 1995, pp. 78-83.



attended two other gymnasiums in Carinthia (Völkermarkt and St. Paul's), yet already in 1880, these two schools lacked the enthusiastic and Slovene-oriented intellectuals educated in national awareness that were the driving force of the Slovene national movement in the other schools<sup>28</sup>. Owing to Germanization (lessons taught in German), the academic results of the students attending the gymnasium in Gorizia whose mother tongue was not German were very poor<sup>29</sup>. The number of gymnasiums continued to increase in this overall area until the dissolution of the monarchy, by which time there were three gymnasiums in Ljubljana and two in Celje<sup>30</sup>. Some Slovenes also attended gymnasiums elsewhere in Austria, Croatia and the Hungarian part of the monarchy<sup>31</sup>.

In 1891, the Slovenian intelligentsia in Styria warned about the poor schooling conditions, as half a million Styrian Slovenes had only two half-Slovene gymnasium classes, and the economic school and teacher training college in Maribor intended for Slovenes, were completely German teaching institutions<sup>32</sup>. Yet the introduction of Slovene parallel classes in the gymnasiums in the 1880s and 90s did not go by without problems and in 1895 even the Austrian government crashed due to the «Celje Grammar School issue»<sup>33</sup>. According to the calculations of J. Kmet (1957), in the period from 1850 to 1900, the final exam (*matura*, Germ: *Abitur*, *Maturität*) introduced at the conclusion of 8 years of gymnasium by the school reform in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was passed by a little over 4,500 pupils in *the gymnasiums on Slovene territory*. In the first 30 years following the introduction of this examination (1850-1880), there were 2,162 graduates, and in the next 20 years, the number had increased somewhat (2,351). By the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1901-1910) the number of Slovene graduates had increased even further (2,404), and included seven female pupils. This trend of growth continued in the decade during WWI and after it, with 3,534 male and 84 female graduates from 1911 to 1920. In the twenty-year period from 1900 to 1920, 6,022 pupils – both male and female – graduated from secondary school (5,031 male and 91 female)<sup>34</sup>. The

<sup>28</sup> *Iz Koroškega*, «Slovenec», vol. 8, n. 119, 26 October 1880, pp. 3-4.

<sup>29</sup> *Ljudski shod akad. fer. društva Adrija v Gorici*, «Soča», vol. 33, n. 64, 12 August 1903, pp. 1-4.

<sup>30</sup> Hriberšek Balkovec, *Avstrijska statistika* [Austrian Statistics], cit., pp. 15-22, 78-83.

<sup>31</sup> Id., *Avstrijska statistika* [Austrian Statistics], cit., pp. 78-83.

<sup>32</sup> *Südsteierische Post in Slovenski narod*, «Slovenski narod», vol. 24, n. 260, 11 November 1891, pp. 1-2.

<sup>33</sup> J. Cvirn, *Celjsko gimnazijsko vprašanje* [Celje Grammar School Question] 1893-1895, «Kronika, časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino/Review for Slovenian Local History», vol. 45, n. 1-2, 1997, pp. 102-111; B. Goropevšek, *Celjsko gimnazijsko vprašanje 1895-1914* [Die Celjer Gymnasialfrage 1895-1914], «Kronika», vol. 45, n. 1-2, pp. 112-125. <<http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-YQAP9MWQ>> (accessed: September 15, 2014).

<sup>34</sup> J. Kmet, *Nekaj podatkov o razvoju naših gimnazij* [Some Data on the Development of Our Grammar School], «Prikazi in študije», vol. 3, n. 9, Ljubljana, Zavod LRS za statistiko, 1957, p. 24; M. Ribarič (ed.), *Od mature do mature: zgodovinski razvoj mature na Slovenskem 1849/50-1994/95* [From the matura to the matura. The historic development of the matura in Slovene

first female *matura* graduates on Slovenian territory were recorded after 1900. Gymnasium educations became more accessible to girls after 1919, with the Slovenization of secondary schools in the new state<sup>35</sup>.

### 3. Which Austrian gymnasiums did Slovene students attend in the decades before WWI?

The gymnasiums in Carniola (Ljubljana, Kranj, Novo Mesto) were attended mainly by Slovene pupils (80% of the total number of pupils). Slovenes also attended Slovenian gymnasiums in Styria (Maribor, Celje and Ptuj) and in the Littoral (half the students at the gymnasium in Gorizia and about one third at the state gymnasium in Trieste were Slovenian) and in Carinthia, where, at the Klagenfurt gymnasium, approx. 15% of the pupils were Slovene. At the other gymnasiums, there were significantly less Slovenian pupils. The most attended gymnasiums operated in the regional city centres with from 20-30,000 inhabitants (Maribor, Gorizia, Klagenfurt) and in the two largest cities: Ljubljana (46,000) and the Austrian port of Trieste (229,000). The population of the latter outnumbered the population of the combined cities in the entire Slovene lands. Some gymnasiums operated in cities with more than 12,000 inhabitants (Koper/Capodistria, with somewhat more than that in Villach) or cities with approx. 7,000 inhabitants (Celje, while the slightly smaller town of Idrija had only a modern secondary school) or 4,600 inhabitants (Ptuj) which also had a gymnasium and which was followed closely by the even smaller gymnasium cities with populations of approx. 2,500 (Kranj, Kočevje, Novo Mesto). Slovenes also attended modern secondary schools in seven of the larger cities which already had gymnasiums. The mining city of Idrija received its secondary school (modern) in 1901, where Slovenian also became the teaching language (beside the German). At that time, there were on average more than 800 Slovene students attending gymnasium schools in Ljubljana, and 200 or more in each of the other cities (Novo Mesto, Kranj, Maribor, Celje, Gorizia), with a few dozen also in both Ptuj and Klagenfurt and some in Villach<sup>36</sup>. On the other hands not only in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century some Croatian grammar schools

areas from 1849/50-1994/95)], Ljubljana, Slovenski šolski muzej, 1998; M. Ribarič, *Od mature do mature. Zgodovinski razvoj mature na Slovenskem od 1849/50-1994/95* [From the matura to the matura. The historic development of the matura in Slovene areas from 1849/50 to 1994/95], «Šolska kronika/School Chronicle», vol. 38, n. 2, 2005, pp. 233-253.

<sup>35</sup> Ribarič (ed.), *Od mature do mature* / [From the matura to the matura], cit.

<sup>36</sup> Hriberšek Balkovec, *Avstrijska statistika* [Austrian Statistics], cit.; *Spezialortsrepertorium der österreichischen Länder: Spezialortsrepertorium von Steiermark bearbeitet auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910, Wien 1917 / ...von Kärnten, 1918 / ... für das Österreichisch-Illyrische Küstenland, Wien, K. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1918 /...von Krain, Wien, Deutschösterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1919.*

in the neighbourhood (with Croatian as the languages of instruction, e. g. Karlovac, Varaždin and even Zagreb) was popular for Slovene students from the south parts of Carniola/Kranjska and Styria/Štajerska<sup>37</sup>.

In the decade from 1850-1860, it is estimated that only 0.36% of the population in the Slovene lands had a high school graduate level of education. Over the next decade, the number of new graduates more than doubled, increasing the total to approx. 0.1%. This percentage however does not consider the mortality rate and the number of modern school and teacher training college graduates. It is difficult to estimate the number of Slovenian intellectuals with at least *matura* diplomas in that period. Estimates place it at approx. 0.3% of the Slovenian population in 1900, taking into consideration the graduates of the last 40 years<sup>38</sup>.

According to some evaluations, the percentage of educated people with at least a *matura* diploma in 1910 was about 0.4%. If we add to this the (Slovenian) female graduates from modern colleges and the approx. 2,500 Slovenian teachers, the total number of Slovenian educated persons with at least secondary school educations increases somewhat. However, the real Slovenian intellectual elite with college educations formed a far smaller percentage; maybe half as small as the above, if we also consider the number of students graduating every six years, which brings us to approx. 0.3% of the population.

#### 4. *Intellectuals, educated people and the national movement*

Not all the students whose mother tongue was Slovene returned home upon finishing high school or even after graduating from college, as some found employment in Vienna or elsewhere in the monarchy. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Slovene professors often worked at Croatian gymnasiums<sup>39</sup>, and some saw career opportunities in the other Slavic lands (Russia and Bulgaria)<sup>40</sup>, made possible by the spirit of pan-Slavic cooperation. In the school

<sup>37</sup> A. Lisac, *Slovinci zagrebški dijaki* [Slovenes students in Zagreb] *v letih 1850/51-1917/18: prispevek k študijam o emigraciji slovenskih dijakov na Hrvaško (III)*, «Zbornik za istoriju šolstva i prosvete», vol. 9, 1975, pp. 94-109.

<sup>38</sup> The calculation takes into account all of the graduates in the last 40-years (1860-1900): 4,116 – 0.325%.

<sup>39</sup> I. Gantar Godina, *Slovenski izobraženci na Hrvaškem od 1850 do 1860*, [Slovene intellectuals in Croatia from 1850 to 1860], «Dve domovini / Two homelands», vol. 14, n. 20, 2004, pp. 77-94; Id., *Slovenski izobraženci iz Prage na Hrvaško* [Slovene intellectuals from Prague to Croatia], «Dve domovini / Two homelands», vol. 15, n. 22, 2005, pp. 197-218.

<sup>40</sup> I.V. Čurkina, *Davorin Hostnik*, «Zgodovinski časopis/Historical Review», vol. 22, n. 3-4, 1968, pp. 261-309; B. Šuštar, *Reakcii v slovenskati pedagogičeska presa predi 1-ta svetovna vojna za B"lgarskoto obrazovanie i obrazovatelnata dejnost na Anton Bezenšek v B"lgarija*, [Reactions in the Slovenian educational press before World War I to Bulgarian education and the educational

year of 1911/12, a statistical analysis encompassing the gymnasiums and other secondary schools in Slovenia and Istria – i.e. all the territories populated by Slovenes – shows there were 354 classes and 11,845 students in public schools, in addition to the 345 private classes recorded. This gives a total of 4,174 Slovenian pupils: most of them in Styria and Carniola and from the Slovenian Littoral, and a (smaller) remainder from the other regions. Of these only one fifth attended the modern secondary schools as compared to the *gymnasiums*. In the school year of 1912/13 about 8,500 young Slovenes were on their way to becoming members of the (semi-)intellectual class and about 4,367 of these would go on to study at institutions of higher education or universities<sup>41</sup>.

The statistics for the graduates after WWI (1920) are similar, with approx. 0.5% of the students completing their *matura* exams that year, with this percentage rising to 0.7% in 1930. In 1940, the number of secondary school graduates over the last 40 years was 14,988, constituting approx. 1% of the population<sup>42</sup>, and the percentage of people with *matura* certificates increased even more in the decade after WWII.

It may well be that the absence of a Slovene University prior to 1918 directed a lot of practical intellectual energy towards the increasingly popular primary schools, facilitating the cultural and economic development of the countryside and an increase in general literacy. Yet further schooling still remained an important means of social ascension, which was achieved only rarely by the most talented, as several records (memoirs) on the poor conditions endured by such individuals during their studies testify. It was often expected of the young and gifted men leaving the villages of their birth that they would attend more demanding schools in larger settlements or cities with the aim of joining the priesthood. In the eyes of the rural populace, this was also the only purpose of the «Latin schools», which initially had 6 and later 8 grades and prepared pupils for college. The possibilities for schooling were limited and contingent on the costs, and subsequently, many Slovene pupils were forced to return home after a trial year at university where the only other option open to them was to study to be priests. Yet Slovene priests did not engage in pastoral activities only, but through the direct contact they had with the Slovenian people, they

work of Anton Bezenšek in Bulgaria], in M. Karagjozova, M. Tomitova (edd.), *B"lgarskoto obrazovanie – nacionalni orientiri i evropejski izmerenija / Meždunarodna naučna konferencija*, (Gabrovo, Nacionalen muzej na obrazovaniето, 2008, pp. 13-25.

<sup>41</sup> F. Vajda, *Statistika srednjih šol na Slovenskem in v Istri* [Statistics of secondary schools in Slovenia and Istria], «Popotnik», vol. 34, n. 8, 1913, pp. 233-240, 10, 1913, pp. 283-286; Id., *Statistika srednjih šol na Slovenskem in v Istri v letu 1913/14* [Statistics of secondary schools in Slovenia and Istria in the year 1913/14], «Popotnik», vol. 37, n. 3, in May 1916, pp. 103-109; n. 4, in July 1916, pp. 145-153; n. 5, in October 1916, pp. 204-209.

<sup>42</sup> *Statistični pregled šolstva in prosvete v Dravski banovini za šolsko leto* [Statistical overview of the education and enlightenment in the Drava Province for the school year] 1936/37, 1939/40, Ljubljana, Banovinska zaloga šolskih knjig in učil, 1940, 1941. <<http://www.sistory.si/prirocniki.html>> (accessed: September 15, 2014).

also contributed towards the acceleration of the national, cultural and economic development of the Slovene nation and even influenced the politics of their times.

The elite of the intellectuals was also comprised of physicians, pharmacists, professors, teachers, junior and senior administrative clerks, the judiciary and lawyers. The prominent persons in Slovenian culture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were mostly of these professions. The poet *Valentin Vodnik* (1758-1819) was a priest and a teacher, the poet *France Prešeren* (1800-1849) was a lawyer, and *Janez Bleiweis* (1808-1881), the politician and editor of Slovenia's leading newspaper, was a veterinarian. Naturally though, the cultural, economic and political elite also included numerous individuals with only secondary school diplomas or even without. The writer *Fran Levstik* (1831-1887), for example, didn't even have a high school certificate, and neither did the politician and Mayor of Ljubljana *Ivan Hribar* (1851-1941). And the prominent writer and playwright *Ivan Cankar* (1876-1918) had also only graduated from modern secondary school having been forced to discontinue his studies in Vienna. His contemporary, general *Rudolf Maister* (1874-1934), was a professional soldier who'd finished military school, but also a Slovenian poet of some interest. A second Slovene writer and one of staff of military forces (*Fran Maselj – Podlimbarski* 1852-1917) was also indicative of the intellectual status of military officers. An overview of the vocational composition of the committees governing the school sections of the national defence society of Sts. Cyril and Methodius (*Družba sv. Cirila in Metoda*) in 1900, which was widespread at the time in schools throughout the Slovenian lands, shows which professions were regarded as comprising the Slovenian intellectual elite. The chairs of the committees of this society in support of Slovene schooling were mainly teachers, landowners, priests, tradesmen, clerks, students, lawyers, notaries, railway employees, physicians, professors and holders of doctorates<sup>43</sup>.

Next to a university or college degree, a diploma from a 'technical school, merchant school, craft (technical) school'<sup>44</sup>, 'a lady's secondary school or lyceum', a 'gymnasium' or a 'modern school' was the best guarantee of finding a good job, and what's more, one that brought social prestige in the local environment at the least. A peculiarity among the schools in Ljubljana from 1834 to 1918, however, was the highly respected *Mahr's Merchant School* (Handels-Lehranstalt in Laibach, founded by J.F. Mahr), where German was the teaching language, and which, during its first 50 years of operation, was attended by 3,344 pupils from the entire region between the Adriatic, Alps

<sup>43</sup> A. Vovko, *Družba Sv. Cirila in Metoda: 1885-1918* [Society of Sts Cyril and Methodius] doktorsko delo / Doctoral dissertation, Ljubljana, Univerza Ljubljana, Oddelek za zgodovino, 1992, pp. 202-204.

<sup>44</sup> S. Serše, *Strokovno šolstvo v osrednji Sloveniji do leta 1941: s posebnim ozirom na obrtno šolstvo na področju Kranjske* [Professional education in central Slovenia], Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, 1995.

and the Danube<sup>45</sup>. Even attending a *civic school* (Germ.: *Bürgerschule*; Slov.: *meščanska šola*), such as were more numerous after 1919 as a form of more demanding school for children aged from 10 to 14, or the higher grades of primary school available in the cities and larger settlements, ensured a solid education<sup>46</sup> in many respectable fields of work and influential professions; especially after 1945 in Yugoslavia, when different criteria for inclusion into the political and social elite began to apply. The Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia itself was run by an extremely competent locksmith (Josip Broz Tito 1892-1980), and besides the intellectuals, many of the leading politicians were also former white and even blue-collar workers, while the leading ideologist of the political system (E. Kardelj 1910-1979) was a former teacher – demonstrating that in the first two decades after WWII, an education in itself did not guarantee instant access to the elite circles. The second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Slovenian republic of Yugoslavia stripped education of the aura of elitism achievable by dint of a university diploma alone even further, by making university studies freely available to the masses.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, student support societies made studying easier for many a pupil and student from poor families, along with boarding schools and numerous *scholarship foundations*, which made it possible for determined individuals to complete high school and even go on to colleges and universities or technical colleges (mainly in Vienna, Graz, Prague, and also in Innsbruck)<sup>47</sup>. Many of the recipients of these scholarships decided to reciprocate by donating a part of their earnings to these students' and pupils' organizations, which encouraged the proliferation of Slovenian intellectuals. In 1918, there were 221 scholarship organizations in Carniola, which awarded more than 535 scholarships annually. The scholarships were mostly from 90 to 250 *kronen* (crowns) per annum, and only a few university scholarships were higher<sup>48</sup>. Fifteen per cent of the students from Carniola studying at the University of Vienna received scholarships. The most renowned and successful of the scholarship foundations for Carniolan Students in Vienna was the Vienna-based Luka Knafelj foundation, which provided scholarships awarded by the university to a total of 510 students<sup>49</sup>. Yet not everyone was so lucky. Many a student had to walk the path from

<sup>45</sup> *Die Handels-Lehranstalt in Laibach*, Festschrift, Laibach, Kleinmayr & Bamberg, 1884.

<sup>46</sup> *Krajevni leksikon dravske banovine* [Local Lexicon of the Drava Province], Ljubljana, Uprava Krajevnega leksikona dravske banovine, 1937 (Kulturni pregled /Cultural overview), pp. 14-16.

<sup>47</sup> P. Ribnikar, *Študentske in dijaške ustanove na Kranjskem* [The Institutions that Granted Scholarships for High School and University Students in Carniola/Studenten- und Schülerstiftungen], «Arhivi», vol. 22, n. 1-2, 1999, p. 13.

<sup>48</sup> Id., *Študentske in dijaške ustanove* [The Institutions that Granted Scholarships], pp. 9-16: calculation taken from Appendix.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-16; A. Cindrič, *Študenti s Kranjske na dunajski univerzi 1848-1918* [Carniola Students at Vienna University from 1848-1918], Ljubljana, Univerza, 2009, p. 396; Luka Knafelj / *Lucas Knaffel* +1671.

being an enthusiastic *abiturient* (e.g. pupil of final year of gymnasium) upon graduating from secondary school to the sad reality of being a poor student in Vienna, as many life stories from that period testify<sup>50</sup>.

Already during their secondary school years and even more so during their studies at university, Slovene students would form their *own ideological convictions and opinions regarding Slovene nationhood*. The students who had gone abroad and «drunk deep of the liberal spirits in foreign lands» drew closer to the liberal (and sometimes even social democrat) ideals, leaving behind the more conservative Catholic opinions entrenched at home<sup>51</sup>. Among the Slovene intellectuals, a lukewarm attitude towards religion was already an established fact in the 1880s. When deciding upon a profession, the pupils also experienced great financial and ideological distress – a fact made known to us from memoirs or the eulogies written for some of the less fortunate among them<sup>52</sup>. Although the majority of students around the year 1900 joined liberal student societies, which supported the national movement without religious underpinnings<sup>53</sup>, there were also Catholic-oriented student societies (*Danica* in Vienna, *Zarja* in Graz). This ideological and political separation of spirits engendered the emergence of a growing circle of Slovene lay Catholic intellectuals, while the clergy was influential also in the fields of culture, economics and politics<sup>54</sup>.

As regards national orientation, the students mainly viewed the Slovene national movement favourably and many of them were also enthusiastic supporters of Slavic cooperation, while the more radically nationally inclined among them (after 1896) even considered working towards the establishment of a Slovene nation state their main task. The different orientations also led to the formation of different student societies, as it was clear already in 1908 that «the pupils of Slovenia will never be of a like mind, nor strategy»<sup>55</sup>. Upon encountering German culture and faced with the backwardness and narrow-mindedness of the conditions back home, some students even went over to the German side and were labelled traitors to their own nation. The song *Proklete grablje* (The Damn Rake) which made fun of a high school graduate who put on airs by speaking in a foreign language (i.e. German) and disdainfully shunning his mother tongue (Slovenian) was popular for a whole century, the song being a metaphor for such renegades<sup>56</sup>. Yet there are also recorded cases of other

<sup>50</sup> K-c, +*Jakob Zajec*, «Soča», vol. 38, n. 17, 1 March 1898, pp. 2-3.

<sup>51</sup> *Naš čolnič otmimo! (Dopis iz celjskega okraja)*, «Slovenski gospodar», vol. 32, n. 2, 13 January 1898, pp. 1-2; *Svobodomiselno avstrijsko dijaštvo in protiverska gonja*, «Domoljub», vol. 21, n. 22, 28 May 1908, pp. 338-339; *Dijaško življenje na vseučiliščih*, «Slovenec», vol. 12, n. 227, 10 October 1884, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> A. Novačan, +*Peter Plohl* ..., «Narodni dnevnik», vol. 2, n. 119, 30 May 1910, pp. 1-2.

<sup>53</sup> J.D., *Mladi liberalci*, «Domoljub», vol. 22, n. 14, 8 April 1909, p. 258.

<sup>54</sup> Puntar, *Slovenski narod, njegova inteligenca in dijaštvo* [The Slovenian nation, its intellectuals and students], cit., pp. 280-290.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>56</sup> D. Globočnik, *Prvi stereotipi v slovenski karikaturi* [The first stereotypes in Slovenian

changes of heart and the transitions of students and members of the educated elite from liberal and pro-German standpoints to the Slovenian side.

In contrast to the social standing that successful students enjoyed as the nation's future intellectuals or even priests, failed students, on the other hand, weren't much appreciated at all. Subsequently, the belief that the main purpose of schooling was to produce suitably educated intellectuals, preferably «gentlemen» (Slov.: *gospod*) clergymen, persisted for a long time among the peasant farmers of Slovenia<sup>57</sup>, as «a failed student is worth naught, being neither farmer nor a gentleman» (1903)<sup>58</sup>. The epithet of «dissolute student» was also bandied about as an insult by members of parliament in heated political debates<sup>59</sup>.

### 5. Slovene students and Austrian universities

The demands for a Slovenian university in Ljubljana arose in 1848 and continued emphatically, but regretfully without success until the end of the monarchy. In 1898, the establishment of a university fund brought a revival of the efforts for a Slovenian university. Before 1918, the Slovenes had studied mainly in Vienna (two thirds), in Graz (one third), and after the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, also in Prague, and to a lesser extent in Krakow. In their native land, Slovene students could only attend diocesan theology schools (Ljubljana, Gorizia, Klagenfurt and Maribor), and only certain select priests were sent by the bishops to study at universities in Rome or elsewhere in the monarchy (Innsbruck, Vienna, Graz)<sup>60</sup>. In Vienna, the Slovene students of theology stayed at the Augustineum Institute<sup>61</sup> for the education of the monarchy's clerical intellectual and spiritual elite<sup>62</sup>. Whether priests – with their four years of studies upon graduation from high school – ranked among the educated,

caricature], «Lives Journal», vol. 1, n. 2, 2010, pp. 68-79, <<http://www.livesjournal.eu/library/lives2/damgl2/stereotipi2g.htm>> (accessed: September 20, 2014).

<sup>57</sup> Šola in ljudstvo, «Slovenski narod», vol. 4, n. 4, 12 January 1901, pp. 1-2.

<sup>58</sup> *Ljudski shod akad. fer. društva Adrija v Gorici*, cit.

<sup>59</sup> Žlindra v drž. zboru, «Slovenski narod», vol. 34, n. 96, 27 April 1901, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> M. Benedik, *Teološki študij na Slovenskem do 1919* [Theological Studies in Slovenia until 1919], in B. Kolar (ed.) *90 let Teološke fakultete v Ljubljani*, Ljubljana, Teološka fakulteta, 2009, pp. 36-57, 50-51.

<sup>61</sup> F.M. Dolinar, *Frintaneum (Avguštinej) in Cerkev na Slovenskem* [The Frintaneum (Augustineum) and the Church in Slovenia], «Bogoslovni vestnik/ Theological Quarterly, Ephemerides theologicae», vol. 67, n. 1, 2007, pp. 19-22. Frintaneum/Frintaneum: Institutum sublimioris educationis presbyterorum ad sanctum Augustinum 1818-1919.

<sup>62</sup> As established by T. Simšič: «Their common characteristics were orthodoxy, wide erudition, deep spirituality, the spirit of serving the Church and conservatism». T. Simšič, *Med različnostjo in enotnostjo: tržaško-koprski gojenci Frintaneuma* [Between Diversity and Unity: Frintaneum Students from the Diocese of Trieste-Koper (Capodistria)], «Bogoslovni vestnik/ Theological Quarterly, Ephemerides theologicae», vol. 67, n. 1, 2007, pp. 39-50.



was a subject of debate only in the odd political polemics on who merited being counted among the «flower of the Slovenian intelligentsia»<sup>63</sup>. Despite its proximity, the University of Zagreb (founded in 1874) was less interesting to Slovene students because it was in the other, Hungarian half of the monarchy, which was governed by a different legal system.

Until the end of the 1880s, less than 400 Slovene students annually studied at the Austrian universities and other Austrian colleges. In the decade from 1889-1899, this number increased every year with from 400 to 500 in 1895, and 500 to 600 a year after. In 1910, the number had risen to 824 students, with 926 just before WWI – most of them theologians and lawyers. Initially, there were approx. 100 lawyers every year, but already at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the profession made for the largest group of students<sup>64</sup>. Before WWI, one third of the students were lawyers and quarter were theologians, whereby both groups had already accounted for the largest number of students before. The number of Slovene students of medicine, attending the faculties of art and the technical colleges differed considerably. The number of medical students was less than 20 until 1884, reached 50-60 at the turn of the century, and dropped again later. Before WWI there were 80-90 students of medicine. The number of students at faculties of the arts was above 100 in 1902 and above 200 two years later, and a couple of years later again less than 100<sup>65</sup>.

The number of Slovene students of *technical colleges* wasn't high: from 70 in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, after which the number decreased due to the economic crisis, grew a little bit again, and only topped 100 in 1910. The Slovenian technical intelligentsia was represented by individuals, mainly from Carniola, where technical students had been receiving scholarships since 1892, as well as from the Littoral and Styria. The Society of Slovene Engineers had 81 members in 1902. Most of these were construction engineers, agronomists and foresters, with only a few from other fields such as chemistry, mining and electronics<sup>66</sup>.

Considerably more research has been done on the studies of the Slovene intelligentsia in Graz and Vienna, and almost as much on the students in Prague. Between 1848 and 1918, 1,890 students from Carniola, the central Slovene province, matriculated at the *University of Vienna*. The most popular field of

<sup>63</sup> Nekapelan, Z *Gorenjskega*, «Slovenec», vol. 19, n. 56, 12 March 1891, p. 3. (Newspaper controversy referred to: «cvet razumništva/the flower of the intellectuals»; «ewiger Student/perpetual student»; «sprideni student/dissolute student»).

<sup>64</sup> V. Melik, P. Vodopivec, *Slovenski izobraženci in avstrijske visoke šole 1848-1918* [Slovene Intellectuals and Austrian Colleges 1848-1918], «Zgodovinski časopis/Historical Review», vol. 40, n. 3, 1986, pp. 269-282.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 272-274; S. Serše, *Tehnična inteligenca na Kranjskem pred 1918* [Students of Engineering in Carniola before 1918], «Šolska kronika/School Chronicle», vol. 28, n. 3, 1994, pp. 23-31, especially p. 24; Id., *Slušatelji visokih tehniških šol – štipendisti deželnega zbora in odbora* [Students of Technical High Schools – Provincial Diet and Committee Scholarship Holders], «Arhivi», vol. 16, n. 1-2, 1993, pp. 99-102.

study was the Law (1,204 students). The Faculty of Arts (448 students) and the Faculty of Medicine (202) were a lot less attended, and the least students went to The Faculty of Theology (36), as they could study this at home. Most of the students (more than 80%) had graduated from *gymnasiums* in Carniola, with less than 10% having graduated elsewhere. A little less than half the students (47.5%) came from cities and market towns – among them almost 30% from Ljubljana and its surroundings, while a good half of the students were from smaller towns and villages. The mother tongue of most students from Carniola was Slovenian and German (73.1% and 14.3% respectively), although many did not enter the former in their application form<sup>67</sup>. The social status of students can be deduced from the information on their father's professions, who were mostly clerks, civil servants or carried out independent professions (38.7%), employed in agriculture (25.3%), with some of them also in trade and traffic (15.4%) and in crafts and industrial activities (13.6%). Female students from Carniola matriculated at the Faculty of Arts (25) and of Medicine (6). Of all the students who matriculated (1,890), a good 22% finished their studies with a Doctorate, almost half of these within 6-8 years of their matriculation. Among those with doctorates, a half of them were lawyers (51%), almost one quarter (24.6%) students of medicine and a fifth from a faculty of arts, with only a twentieth (4.1%) from a faculty of theology. Analysis of the social backgrounds of students shows that the emphasis placed on the role of educated people from the countryside is disproportionate to the actual data. Most students from Carniola were of middle-class origin (60.5%) and only a few of these were middle-class by dint of their families' assets (1.8%). The families of some were middle class by education (17.2%). Most of them came from the lower middle class (41.5%), a further fifth of the students (21.9%) belonged to the families of agricultural proprietors, and around 5% came from the aristocracy (5.8%). Only (4.6%) came from working class families<sup>68</sup>.

Between 1884 and 1914, a total of 3,322 Slovene students attended the geographically closest *University of Graz*. Most of these were from lower Styria (1,343), a few less from Carniola (798) and Trieste (783), and the least amount from the province of Gorizia (398). The students from larger cities and villages mostly opted for Graz, especially from the villages in Styria. Half of the students from lower Styria (1,343) were from Maribor, Celje and Ptuj, so that the students whose mother tongue was German were in the majority (56.51%). A third of the 798 students from Carniola were from Ljubljana and its surroundings. A good half of the students from the province of Gorizia/Gorica came from the provincial capital. Of the students from Carniola, 52% were Slovenian, as were a quarter of the students from Gorizia. The majority of the latter were Italian, and the same also applies to the students from Trieste.

<sup>67</sup> Cindrič, *Študenti s Kranjske* [Carniolan Students], cit., pp. 395-397.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 367-370, table p. 104.

Very few of the students from Trieste were Slovene. Several more students also came from locations near the Vienna-Graz-Trieste railway line, and the cities with preparatory schools also had a special influence<sup>69</sup>. Most students had fathers that worked in the civil service (30 to 35%). The fathers of the Slovene students were also mostly from the upper and middle class, from the liberal professions, and the public services sector (teachers). Most Slovenian students studied the law, a lot less studied medicine and the arts, and even less studied pharmacology and theology<sup>70</sup>.

Interest for studying at the *University of Prague* (in 1882 it was divided into a German and a Czech university) was on the increase among the Slovene students until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Students from the Slovene provinces went there at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (12 in 1901) also due to their enthusiasm for the pan-Slavic idea and because of T. G. Masaryk. Their number grew to approx. 160 in 1907, after which it evened out at from 140 to 200<sup>71</sup>. By 1911, around 130 Slovenes had returned from Prague upon completing their studies, which were made possible in many cases through aid from the support organization for Slovene university students. The largest number of Slovene students in Prague was recorded between 1918 and 1921, finishing off the studies that they had begun in Graz or Vienna. The number was significantly lower after this time<sup>72</sup>. Among the students awarded doctorates from the Czech university in Prague there were approx. 85 Slovenes between 1901 and 1916, most of whom were lawyers. The majority of these PhD holders from our territory were born in Carniola (38) and Styria (24), and less in the Littoral (12) and Carinthia (5). Students from the Slovene lands also studied at the German university in Prague<sup>73</sup>. Some Slovenes finished their studies at these Austrian universities with the highest distinction, obtaining a doctor's degree *sub auspiciis imperatoris*, which was solemnly awarded to them together with a reward (a diamond ring) in the presence of the Emperor's representatives<sup>74</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> H. Heppner, *Študenti iz slovenskih dežel na graški univerzi 1884-1914* [Students from Slovene Lands at the University of Graz], «Zgodovinski časopis/Historical Review», vol. 46, n. 3, 1992, pp. 343-355; n. 4, 1992, pp. 469-478; vol. 47, n. 1, 1993, pp. 89-93; especially p. 353.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 475.

<sup>71</sup> P., *Jugoslovani v Pragi*, «Slovenski narod», vol. 51, n. 109, 16 May 1918, p. 1.

<sup>72</sup> P. Ribnikar, *Podporno društvo za slovenske visokošolce v Pragi* [Benevolent Society for Slovene University Students in Prague], «Zgodovinski časopis/Historical Review», vol. 50, n. 1, 1996, pp. 171-193.

<sup>73</sup> I. Gantar Godina, *Slovenski doktorji v Pragi 1882-1916* [Doctors' degrees of Slovene Students at the Czech University in Prague from 1882 until 1916], «Zgodovinski časopis / Historical Review», vol. 44, n. 3, 1990, pp. 451-455.

<sup>74</sup> –š–, *Sub auspiciis imperatoris*, «Učiteljski tovariš», vol. 52, n. 21, 24 May 1912, p. 4; A. Benedetič, *Promocija sub auspiciis imperatoris* [The graduation/Promotio sub auspiciis imperatoris], «Zgodovina za vse/History for Everyone», vol. 11, n. 2, 2004, pp. 123-128.

6. *Slovenes after 1919: Ljubljana as the third city in Yugoslavia to have a university*

With the transition of the Slovenes into the framework of the new state at the end of 1918, changes also occurred in the state's cultural framework. The cultural differences as compared to the other regions in the state were extensive. Among the Slovenes in the Yugoslav state, illiteracy was low in 1921 (only 8.8%, compared to 51.5% in the entire country). This number fell even more in 1931 (5.46%). The transition of the Slovenes after the end of WWI and upon the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy into this new socio-economic and political arena encompassed not only the change in state, but also a change in the political position Slovenia now occupied within the new country. Previously, the Slovenes had been a part of the undeveloped south of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and now they had become the relatively better developed northern part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1929, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), and also gained their own national statehood.

Even if the belief that in doing so the Slovenes would once and for all cut off all ties with the German culture did not come to fruition, the new Slavic orientation showed also in the appointment of the professors at the new University of Ljubljana. Next to the Slovenes who had already established their rename at the Austrian and other Universities, a number of Russian lecturers was also welcomed as fugitives from the Bolshevik regime in Russia and contributed to the European flair of the young Slovenian university. These taught at technical colleges, the Faculty of Arts, and the Faculties of Law and Medicine<sup>75</sup>. Within a little over a decade after WWI, the number of pupils in the secondary schools and teacher training colleges in Slovenia had increased noticeably, as had the number of students. The founding of the University of Ljubljana in 1919 greatly increased the possibilities for university studies. In the first ten years, 947 students had already completed their studies at the University of Ljubljana, almost one third of these at the Faculty of Law, many at the Faculty of Medicine and the others at the Faculties of Arts, of Theology and of Technology<sup>76</sup>.

In the winter semester of 1928/29, 1,315 students matriculated in Ljubljana to study technology (485), the law (313), the arts (326), medicine (94) and theology (97). In two years, the number of students in Ljubljana had grown

<sup>75</sup> A. Brglez, M. Seljak, *Ruski profesorji na Univerzi v Ljubljani* [Russian professors at the University of Ljubljana], «Delovni zvezki ICK – Nacionalni razred», n. 2, Ljubljana, Inštitut za civilizacijo in kulturo - ICK, 2007, <<http://www.ick.si/PDF/Ruski%20profesorji%20na%20UL.pdf>> (accessed: October 25, 2014).

<sup>76</sup> L. Sušnik, *Akademski poklici* [Academic Professions], Ljubljana, Slovensko katoliško akademsko starešinstvo, 1932, p. 70; *Zgodovina slovenske univerze v Ljubljani do leta 1929* [A history of the Slovenian University of Ljubljana until the year 1929], Ljubljana, Rektorat Univerze kralja Aleksandra prvega, 1929, pp. 492-495.

even more (1,632 in the year 1930/31). Slovene students also studied in Zagreb (167 in 1930/31) and in Belgrade, especially the subjects that they couldn't study at home. Approx. 200 Slovene students studied abroad, mainly in Austria (113) and Czechoslovakia (61). In 1931, there were 2,032 students aged from 20-24, which formed 1.5% of the total Slovenian population in this age group<sup>77</sup>. In 1939/40, the Yugoslav part of Slovenia had 14,949 secondary school pupils (both boys and girls), attending 8 gymnasiums (13,010), 6 teacher training colleges (643) and 9 technical schools (1,296), and almost 2,000 university students (1,583 male, 363 female). The students from Ljubljana were mostly locals. In 1938/39, 1,729 students (i.e. all the Slovene students) had registered Slovenian as their mother tongue. Most of these were born in the Yugoslav part of Slovenia. The majority of these students studied the law (678), technology (498) and the arts (428), while some also studied medicine and theology. At that time, a number of Slovenes still also studied in Belgrade (162) and Zagreb (436), making the total number of Slovene students in all the Yugoslavian universities 2,332. Of these, more than 250 Slovenes were from the Littoral region, which had been under Italy since 1920<sup>78</sup>.

The number of educated people in Slovenia kept growing after WWII. In 1953, 11.5% of the people aged 10 or more had a lower secondary school or vocational school education at the least, 11.5% had a lower secondary school or vocational education, and 3.7% had finished various secondary schools – among them 1.3% with a *matura* final exam. Approx. 10,000 inhabitants of Slovenia (0.84%) had university or college educations, and by 1961, this number had already grown to over 20,000 (1.6%), of which three quarters had university educations. Most of these graduated after WWII<sup>79</sup>. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the percentage of educated people with high school and university degrees kept growing, reaching almost 10% by 1971 (9.36%) of the population aged over 10 years<sup>80</sup>.

Going to school was not only a means of ascending the social ladder for talented children from the countryside and from less wealthy middle-class

<sup>77</sup> L. Sušnik, *Akademski poklici* [Academic Professions], cit., p. 69; *Statistični letopis* [Statistical Yearbook], cit. in notes 10, 1953, p. 25.

<sup>78</sup> *Statistički godišnjak 1940 Kraljevina Jugoslavija, Opšta državna statistika = Annuaire statistique Royaume de Yougoslavie, Statistique générale d'état*, Knjiga X – Livre X, Beograd, Državna štamparija – Imprimerie nationale, 1941, pp. 354-357, <<http://www.sistory.si/statisticni-letopisi.html>> (accessed: October 14, 2014); Sušnik, *Akademski poklici* [Academic Professions], cit., pp. 67-73; *Zgodovina slovenske univerze* [A history of the Slovenian University], cit., pp. 492-495.

<sup>79</sup> *Statistični letopis* [Statistical Yearbook] cit., 1955, p. 15; 1964, pp. 49-51; R. Modic (ed.), *Petdeset let slovenske univerze v Ljubljani* [The 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Slovenian University of Ljubljana], Ljubljana, Univerza, 1969, pp. 164-167, 188-189.

<sup>80</sup> *Statistični letopis* [Statistical Yearbook], cit., 1971, p. 56; 1975, p. 57; 1985, p. 74; M. Jurca, *Osnovne, srednje in visoke šole 1956-1966 v Sloveniji* [Primary, secondary and higher education in Slovenia], «Prikazi in študije», Ljubljana, Zavod SR Slovenije za statistiko, vol. 13, n. 12, 1967, pp. 28-30.

families, but also served to preserve a suitable social status for the following generations in the families of intellectuals. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the initially scarce number of educated people was joined after the close of century by more and more high school and college graduates, who had a significant impact on the faster cultural and economic development of the Slovene nation.



Fig. 1. *Secondary school students or «gymnasiasts» graduated from the Gymnasium in Maribor, 1875* (Slovenian School museum, Ljubljana, photo collection, 1420).



Fig. 2. *Women students graduated from the Teacher Training College in Ljubljana, 1883* (Slovenian School museum, Ljubljana, photo collection, 1420).



Fig. 3. *Students from Slovenia at the University of Vienna. Members of Catholic-oriented student society «Danica», 1900* («Ilustrirani Slovenec», vol. 2, n. 1, January 3, 1926, p. 4; Slovenian School museum, Ljubljana, Library).