

**ELITE SCHOOLING IN VIENNA (1870-1910):  
SOCIAL FACTORS OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE**

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Submitted to  
Central European University  
History Department

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

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Budapest, Hungary

2009

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## ABSTRACT

The issue of the elite schooling in Vienna between 1870 and 1910 constitutes a part of a larger problem of cultural elite in fin-de-siècle Vienna and of educated elites in the Central European societies during the period of modernization. The complex socio-ethnic and religious character was a distinctive feature of the Viennese educated elite, for the capital city drew the different categories of the multicultural, multiethnic, and multi-confessional population of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, who sought for advanced secondary education for their offspring with diverging frequency and motivation.

The present study is based on the prosopographical method and presents a statistical analysis of the socio-denominational, ethnic and regional composition of students in the central Viennese *Gymnasien* during the period in question. The received results allowed detecting various correlations between the academic performances of students in particular subjects mandatory in the Viennese *Gymnasien* and their socio-denominational and regional background, as well as correlations between the academic achievements and students' choice of future career. The interpretation of these correlations contributes to the whole picture of educated elite in Vienna in the last third of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Victor Karády, for his continuous support and comprehensive aid during the research period and writing of this thesis. I am also grateful to Dr. Steven Beller who afforded the databank collected by him on the students of the Viennese *Gymnasien*, which formed the basis of the present study.

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## *Introduction*

One of the most fruitful periods of the modern history is Vienna around 1900, when the city's intelligentsia produced innovations that became identified throughout the European cultural sphere as Vienna schools. The brightest achievements were made in psychology, art history, and music; in the fields of literature, architecture, painting, and politics, the Austrians were also engaged in critical reformulations or subversive transformations of their traditions.<sup>1</sup>

The issues of the intellectual, social and political background of Vienna's cultural heyday have been long attracting the attention of researchers and have not lost their urgency until nowadays. The cultural elite of the fin-de-siècle Vienna were mainly produced from the educated class of the Viennese bourgeoisie; the educational basis of the latter was the institutions of classical education in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, *Gymnasien*. Until 1904, *Gymnasien* that taught both in Latin and Greek were the only route to entry into university and to the world of intellect.<sup>2</sup> Another type of advanced secondary education was represented by *Realschulen*, which provided more practical education, teaching modern languages instead of classical ones. Though *Realschulen* also offered a good education, it was not, however, a goal for those with cultural pretensions. *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* marked a dividing line in Vienna's educated society: those who went to *Realschule* were exceptions in cultural elite.

Some of the Viennese cultural elite went to *Gymnasien* outside Vienna, yet the central *Gymnasien* accounted for most of the major figures of cultural life.<sup>3</sup> The present study, in which the social, regional and religious composition of graduates from the central *Gymnasien* of Vienna between 1870 and 1910 is examined, provides, therefore, a fairly

<sup>1</sup> Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siecle Vienna: politics and culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 26.

<sup>2</sup> Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 49.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 49-50.

representative picture of the socio-denominational and ethnic composition of the Viennese educated elite as a whole during the Dual monarchy.

Socio-economic factors of inequality in the Viennese society affected the access chances to elite schooling; they caused the significant general variations in academic performance of students of various socio-denominational and regional backgrounds as well. The various ethnic, economic and denominational groups sent their offspring with diverging frequency and motivations to *Gymnasien*, depending on the changing conditions of their financial possibilities, vested interests in the pursuit of higher learning, the weight of schooling in their strategies for social mobility or reproduction, intellectual or geographical access opportunities<sup>4</sup>. In the present study, therefore, both quantitative and qualitative schooling differentials are interpreted by the reference to relatively well-known collective characteristics and motivations of various strata.

The issue of the elite secondary schooling in Vienna after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, which promulgated the creation of the Dual monarchy, was discussed in literature, but not as largely as it may seem at the first sight. The most fundamental general studies on the development of secondary and higher education in the Austrian crownlands between 1848 and 1918 are Gary B. Cohen's *Education and middle-class society in imperial Austria* and Helmut Engelbrecht's *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens (The History of the Austrian Education)*.<sup>5</sup> These works contain certain data on the social, ethnic and religious composition of the graduates from the largest Austrian *Gymnasien*, without allocating Viennese situation specifically; but still they are important for the given study in view of general context for the development of the Austrian educational system during the period under question.

<sup>4</sup> Victor Karády, "Social Mobility, Reproduction and Qualitative Schooling Differentials in Ancien Régime Hungary", *CEU History Department Yearbook, 1994-95* (Budapest, 1995), 136.

<sup>5</sup> Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1996); Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens: Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, Bd. 4. (Vienna: Österreichischen Bundesverlag, 1986).

The main trends of the Austrian governmental policy on educational affairs are covered by works of Konrad H. Jarausch, *The Transformation of Higher Learning, 1860-1930*, Robert A. Kann, *Multinational Empire: nationalism and national reform in the Habsburg monarchy, 1848-1918*, and Ernst Bruckmüller's *Patriotic and National Myths: National Consciousness and Elementary School Education in Imperial Austria*.<sup>6</sup> The importance, attached by the Austrian government to the upbringing of social, ethnical and political elites in patriotic direction in *Gymnasien*, explains the elitist character of those especially in the major capital of the monarchy, and the peculiarities of the socio-denominational composition of *Gymnasium* students in Vienna during the period in question.

Though there is, to my knowledge, no comprehensive study devoted to the condition of the Viennese *Gymnasien* during the Dual monarchy specifically, the idea about their general development can be obtained from various essays and statistical data published by each *Gymnasium* in yearbooks since the second half of the nineteenth century. The recent works devoted to the history of the oldest *Gymnasien* in Vienna, namely, Robert Winter's *Das Akademische Gymnasium in Wien (The Akademisches Gymnasium in Vienna)*, Johannes Jung's *Das Schottengymnasium in Wien (The Schottengymnasium in Vienna)*, and Brigitte Stemberger's *300 Jahre Piaristengymnasium (300 Years of the Piaristengymnasim)*<sup>7</sup>, also cover the period under consideration.

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<sup>6</sup> Konrad H. Jarausch (ed.), *The Transformation of Higher Learning, 1860-1930: Expansion, Diversification, Social Opening, and Professionalization in England, Germany, Russia, and the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Robert A. Kann, *Multinational empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1918* (New York: Octagon Books, 1983); Ernst Bruckmüller, "Patriotic and National Myths: National Consciousness and Elementary School Education in Imperial Austria", in Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky (eds.), *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 11-36.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Winter, *Das Akademische Gymnasium in Wien* (Wien: Böhlau, 1996); Johannes Jung, *Das Schottengymnasium in Wien* (Wien: Böhlau, 1997); Brigitte Stemberger, *300 Jahre Piaristengymnasium Bundesgymnasium Wien 8* (Wien: Elternverein, 2001).

The socio-denominational composition of cultural elite in fin-de-siècle Vienna was shared to an almost exclusive degree by the Jews<sup>8</sup>, and the Viennese *Gymnasien*, correspondently, were characterized by high-degree Jewish attendance. Marsha Rozenblit in her *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914*, and Steven Beller in *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938*, regard the phenomenon of Jewish over-representation in the Viennese *Gymnasien*, providing necessary explanations for the main trends detected in the present study. The Beller's study presents a collection of the main results of his statistical research, previously published in separate articles and essays, where, along other issues, he traces the backgrounds of graduates from eleven central *Gymnasien* in Vienna.

Nevertheless, even though scholars touched upon the problem of *Gymnasien* in Vienna during the Dual monarchy in their writings, they mostly concentrated on the general political context, or on particular socio-denominational groups, like Jews. However, the remaining still unexamined issue of academic performance of students of various socio-denominational and regional backgrounds taught in the Viennese *Gymnasium* during the Dual monarchy deserves thorough consideration. The examination of the qualitative schooling differentials of children from the families with different social, religious and regional background can significantly complement the general picture of the educated elite in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.

In his *Social Mobility, Reproduction and Qualitative Schooling Differentials in Ancien Régime Hungary* Victor Karády examines the problem of schooling differentials in the case of Budapest, while there are, to my knowledge, no similar writings considering the case of Vienna, another Austro-Hungarian capital city. Consequently, the investigation of the Viennese *Gymnasien*'s case is required in order to receive the complete picture of the elite schooling in the Dual monarchy. What kind of differences in academic progress of the students belonging to different social, regional and religious groups can be found in the

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<sup>8</sup> Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*, 57-58.

Viennese *Gymnasien*, and how can they be interpreted in the broader context of the Viennese society during the period under consideration?

In the present study, the afore-said problem is treated with the help of statistical analysis based on the prosopographical method, which is commonly used as a valuable technique for studying pre-modern societies. For the given research, it assumed the collecting of the data on individual students, who studied in the central Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910, namely, the information on their social, regional and religious background, as well as the records of their grades obtained in each of the mandatory subjects. The collected data were then processed statistically in order to establish correlations between the academic performance and denominational background of students; the academic performance and social background of students; the academic performance and regional background of students; and the academic performance and choice of career as well. The results of the statistical analysis are compared to those received by Karády in his case of the Hungarian *Gymnasien* during the same period.

Eleven Viennese *Gymnasien*, namely, the *Akademishes*, *Franz-Joseph-*, *Schotten-*, *Sophien-*, *Sperl-*, *Landstrasser-*, *Theresianum's*, *Elizabeths-*, *Mariahilfer-*, *Piaristen-*, and *Wasa-Gymnasien*, were examined in the given research, for these were the *Gymnasien* in Vienna's central districts with relatively mixed social, ethnic and denominational combination of students, producing graduates (*Maturanten*) between 1870 and 1910. In view of the limited availability of sources, the data on students from only four of them, namely, *Akademishes*, *Sophien-*, *Mariahilfer-*, and *Wasa-Gymnasien*, were involved for the statistical analysis of the social factors of academic performance.

The chronological frames of the research are chosen due to the fact that the years between 1870 and 1910 were a very important period for the development of the Austrian educational system, when the advanced education became invested with a multiplicity of

functions, and the most of the *Gymnasien* were founded or started their high-grade functioning in the 1870s, while the beginning of the World War I marks a completely different stage in the history of education, which is not a part of the issue in question here.

The given study is largely based on the handwritten databank kindly afforded by Dr. Steven Beller, which was collected from the students' inscription files of the *Gymnasien* in question. Three other groups of sources engaged in this research are the *Hauptkataloge* (class journals) of the graduate classes, the *Maturitätsprüfungsprotokolle* (examination records), and the *Jahresberichte* (yearly school reports) of the above-listed *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910.

The *Hauptkataloge* offer the following information: the name of a student; date and place of birth; confession; the year of acceptance to a *Gymnasium*; previous schooling experience; the father's or guardian's name, occupation and address; grades in particular subjects and behavior for each of the two semesters of the academic year. The *Maturitätsprüfungsprotokolle*, along the general information about the student, contain the records about the principal for the Austrian educational system graduation examination – *Matura*, which granted the right to enter the university; the date it was taken by a student; for which time it was taken; the grades obtained by a student; and the choice of future career or university faculty for future studies as well. The *Jahresberichte*, issued by each *Gymnasium* annually, include the statistical data on the students' age, place of birth, native language, religion, school fees; lists of *Maturanten*, their results in *Matura*, choice of career; as well as the information on the curriculum of the *Gymnasium*, with detailed description of mandatory and elective courses, tasks for *Matura* exams, lists of mandatory literature, etc.

The present thesis consists of four chapters. In the first chapter, the theoretical framework of the given research is presented with the brief overview of general historical approaches to the problem of cultural and educated elites in fin-de-siècle Vienna, as well as

sociological theories about the social factors affecting the academic performance of schoolchildren.

In the second chapter, the state of the secondary school network in Vienna between 1870 and 1910 is introduced in order to provide a general idea of the social and political circumstances that had shaped the relationship of different strata of the Viennese society to elite education, and influenced the socio-denominational and regional composition of students at different stages of the development of the *Gymnasium* education in Vienna. For the afore-said composition depended considerably on the general structure of the Viennese population, the latter was also examined according to its peculiarities in each of the central districts.

The third chapter is devoted to the consideration of the major characteristics of each of the eleven central *Gymnasien* in Vienna in question between 1870 and 1910, including the circumstances of their foundation; frequency of students and staff in particular years; teachers and students ratios, which allows to percept the physiological atmosphere in a *Gymnasium*; proportion of students according to denomination and native language.

The fourth chapter is based on the findings in the Viennese *Gymnasien*'s databank, which allowed to identify the correlations between the academic achievements of students taught in the Viennese *Gymnasien* since the 1870s till the 1910s and their social, confessional and regional background. The correlations between the students' performance in mandatory subjects and their career options, and the comparison in the performance of students of the same social category in each denominational group are also provided.

The appendix of this thesis contains a useful detailed table, presenting the social, confessional and regional differentials in student recruitments to the central Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910, which was elaborated on the basis of data taken from



the *Hauptkataloge* of the graduate classes and the *Maturitätsprüfungsprotokolle* of the *Gymnasien* in question, and from the databank afforded by Dr. Beller as well.

The main hypothesis of the thesis is as follows: there were clear correlations between the average grades obtained by students taught in the Viennese *Gymnasien* during the Dual monarchy and their social, regional and denominational backgrounds, which pertained to the diversity of interest or the importance various socio-denominational and regional groups granted to each subject, as it was shown by Victor Karády in the case of Hungarian *Gymnasien*. The higher or lower grades obtained by students in particular subjects were caused by such factors as “family capital”, “family culture”, linguistic competences, motivation regarding objective professional prospects and expectations, family prestige, and national and class legitimation.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the dependence of the students’ academic progress on their social, religious and regional accessory strongly contributes to the characteristics of biases, capacities, inspirations and the whole image of the cultural elite in the Viennese society between 1870 and 1910.

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<sup>9</sup> See Victor Karády, “Social Mobility, Reproduction and Qualitative Schooling Differentials in Ancien Régime Hungary”, *CEU History Department Yearbook, 1994-95* (Budapest, 1995), 133-156.

## *Chapter I*

### *Social Characteristics of Educated Elite in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*

The issue of the socio-denominational, ethnic and regional composition of students in Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910, who performed the future educated elite of Vienna, is tightly linked with a widely discussed in historiographical literature problem of the fin-de-siècle Viennese society and its major socio-denominational and ethnic characteristics.

Intensive academic interest in Vienna's socio-cultural developments around 1900 started in the 1960s. The booming interest was greatly aided by the work of cultural scholars such as Carl E. Schorske, who can be called the pioneer of research into phenomenon of the fin-de-siècle Vienna. His magnum opus, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, is still a standard reference work on this period. The next phase in the evolution of in-depth research was triggered by the large-scale exhibitions in the 1980s,<sup>10</sup> after which Vienna of the late nineteenth century became the research topic par excellence. Though the foundations of the twentieth century thought were not created in Vienna alone, scholars consider that European Modernism reached its purest and most concentrated expression in Vienna at the turn of the century<sup>11</sup>, with Freud's psychoanalysis, Arnold Schoenberg's twelve-tone music, Arthur Schnitzler's "soul-scapes" and Gustav Mahler's music being among the brightest achievements.

In the early twenty-first century the interest centered on the glamour of the era 100 years ago still remains alive. The question of "How could there be such a concentration of unsurpassed excellence in art and culture in only two or three decades?" induces researchers to examine the social and cultural medium which had produced this phenomenon. The focus

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<sup>10</sup> Exhibitions *Arte in Vienna* in Venice (1983), *Traum und Wirklichkeit* in Vienna (1985) and *L'Apocalypse joyeuse* in Paris (1986) were devoted to the historical development and the artistic achievements of the epoch.

<sup>11</sup> Isabella Ackerl, *Vienna Modernism, 1890-1910* (Vienna: Federal Press Service, 1999), 5.

of research is increasingly placed on the Viennese phenomenon of multi-culturality and on the coexistence of highly contradictory mindsets,<sup>12</sup> which were indisputably caused by the multi-national and multi-denominational composition of the Viennese elite.

One of the preconditions for membership of the fin-de-siècle elite was being “educated”, which means that educated elite played the major role in the development of Vienna’s modern high culture. The key institutions to obtain a clear picture of socio-ethnic and denominational composition of the Viennese cultural elites around 1900 are, therefore, Vienna’s central *Gymnasien*. According to Beller’s assertion, the *Gymnasien* were “the breeding ground for the cultural and intellectual elite”.<sup>13</sup>

Access chances to the *Gymnasien* which were regarded as a form of the elite schooling also reflected the socio-economic and denominational inequality of the society. The various ethnic, economic and religious groups sent their offspring with diverging frequency and motivations to *Gymnasien*, depending on the changing conditions of their financial possibilities, vested interests in the pursuit of higher learning, the weight of schooling in their strategies for social mobility or reproduction, intellectual or geographical access opportunities, etc.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the limited access to elite schooling reflected the unequal distribution of general social values, like income, power, and prestige, among the members of fin-de-siècle Viennese society.

Though the majority of the *Gymnasien*’s students came undoubtedly from the middle-class families, studies on the elite education in Austria show that throughout the nineteenth century many students came from the families of schoolteachers, clerks, petty government employees, Protestant pastors, small business owners, master craft producers,

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Steven Beller, “Class, culture and the Jews of Vienna, 1900”, in *Jews, antisemitism, and culture in Vienna* by Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz (eds.) (London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 48.

<sup>14</sup> Victor Karady, “Social Mobility, Reproduction and Qualitative Schooling Differentials in Ancien Régime Hungary”, *CEU History Department Yearbook, 1994-95*. (Budapest, 1995), 136.

or peasant farmers.<sup>15</sup> Memoirs and popular fiction that portray the deference to academic and professional titles also frequently celebrate the modest origins of many of the diploma-holders.<sup>16</sup> The educated elites in fin-de-siècle Vienna were characterized, therefore, by greater diversity of social origins than one might expect for a small, privileged segment of the population.

While the primary criteria for measuring the changing recruitment of the educated elites in the West-European states during the nineteenth century have been occupation and class, for imperial Austria, the ethnic and religious diversity of the population was as important as occupation or class for analyzing the origins of the educated elites and measuring the social opportunities offered by advanced education.

The ethnic and religious composition of students in the Viennese *Gymnasien* changed strikingly between 1870 and 1910, as Czechs and Poles, among the larger ethnic groups, and the Jewish and Protestant religious minorities greatly increased their representation while the German-speaking Catholics' fraction of total enrollments gradually declined.<sup>17</sup> The policy of the Austrian government on the expansion of the educational system gave increased access to segments of the population that were more poorly represented before the mid-nineteenth century and also changed the patterns of the student recruitment.

A number of reviews of the enrollment statistics show that the Jewish proportion of students in the Austrian institutes providing advanced education, including Viennese *Gymnasien* as well, at the end of the nineteenth century greatly exceeded the Jewish share of population.<sup>18</sup> The enrollment statistics also show that other formerly disadvantaged elements

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<sup>15</sup> See Gary B. Cohen, *Education and middle-class society in imperial Austria* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1996) and Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens: Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, Bd. 4. (Vienna: Österreichischen Bundesverlag, 1986).

<sup>16</sup> Cohen, *Education and middle-class society*, 127.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 128.

<sup>18</sup> See Gary B. Cohen, "Education, Social Mobility, and the Austrian Jews 1860-1910", in *Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* by ViktoKarády and Wolfgang Mitter (eds.) (Köln:

in Austrian society were also able to gain sufficient access to the educational system to be overrepresented among the students relative to their shares of the total population. Though the Protestants, Lutherans and Calvinists did not attend academic secondary schools at as high a rate as did Jews, in the late nineteenth century, their representation in secondary education exceeded their share of the total population by a clear margin.<sup>19</sup> The empirical data on the students' denomination contributes to the revealing of a trend to the liberation of the elite schooling in Vienna between 1870 and 1910.

The relation between the students' academic progress and peculiarities of their social, ethnic and denominational origin was clarified by a number of sociological theories. The significant general variations in performance of students of different social, ethnic and denominational origin can be interpreted according to the following factors of collective characteristics: cultural and intellectual "capital", family culture, intelligence abilities, motivation, and ambitions as well.

The concept of "cultural capital" was first proposed by Pierre Bourdieu, who defined cultural capital in terms of a familiarity with and an appreciation of legitimate or "high" culture, contributing to the maintenance of boundaries between the members of different social classes.<sup>20</sup> Along the cultural capital, scholarly excellence or meritocracy is also linked, as Victor Karady specifies, to families' endowment with "educational capital", that is, whether the "family culture", "intellectual capital" and linguistic competences were close or identical to those necessary for satisfactory academic achievements.<sup>21</sup> For example, the sons of the intellectuals and professionals displayed better marks, while the regularly poor

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Böhlau Verlag, 1990), 209-246; Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1983); Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>19</sup> Cohen, "Education, Social Mobility, and the Austrian Jews 1860-1910", 147.

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction", in *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change* by Richard Brown (ed.) (London: Tavistock, 1973), 71-112.

<sup>21</sup> Karady, 140.

performances were recorded for sons of the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie.<sup>22</sup> This theory will be applied in the given study to the results of statistical correlation between the father's profession and academic performance of students in the Viennese *Gymnasium*.

According to Robert Sternberg's theory of intellectual abilities, which are of three kinds, namely analytical, creative and practical abilities, there is a strong correlation between students' achievements and their racial, ethnical and socio-economic characteristics.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, in his researches Sternberg emphasizes that students' learning and thinking styles, together with the ability levels, play an important role in student performance.<sup>24</sup> His theory of mental self-government refers to an inventory of different thinking styles that gives an indication of people's preference of thinking patterns,<sup>25</sup> which also contributes to academic performance. Such an approach explains the presence of different levels of academic achievements by the students with different social, ethnic, and religious background.

The concept of "religious intellectualism" applied in varying degrees to Jewish and Protestant students can not go unmentioned in the given research. Scholars conventionally connect the Jewish academic over-performance with the tradition of Jewish upbringing, which is based on oral and written exercises providing discussions and interpretations of scriptural tenets and commentary on Talmud, the Jewish religious law. This kind of religious learning, a high level of which was customarily required from male youth, was quite close, as Karády marks, to the basic literary hermeneutic pursued in advanced classical secondary education.<sup>26</sup> It is quite fair to expect, therefore, that the Jewish students were

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 140-41.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Sternberg, *Intelligence applied: understanding and increasing your intellectual skills* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), 23; Robert Sternberg, "What does it mean to be smart?", *Educational Leadership*, 1997, vol. 54 (6), 24.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Sternberg, "Ability tests, measurement, and markets", *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1992, vol. 84(2), 134; Robert Sternberg "Allowing for thinking styles", *Educational Leadership*, 1994, vol. 52(3), 36-40.

<sup>25</sup> See Robert Sternberg, *Thinking Styles* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>26</sup> Karády, 148.

well-prepared for the studying in *Gymnasium* and, probably, performed better than the Catholic students.

The role of verbal expression in family pedagogy also contributed to the schooling in subjects, which supposed the habit of verbal liberty and the usage of open discussion. While in Christian families the enforcement of patriarchal authority was the rule of verbal expression, the Jewish family life from early childhood onwards was strongly marked by the liberty granted to children to formulate ideas, emotions and sentiments as well as by intensity of verbal exchange between adults and the youth. On the contrary, for the Christian families of any social rank, the suppression of children's verbal excessiveness was quite characteristic,<sup>27</sup> for patriarchal custom dictated reverence and briefness for the younger in the presence of the older. These family traditions could significantly influence the skills of verbal expression and, thereupon, the performance of students in oral subjects.

The motivation of students was also a significant factor that strongly affected their academic performance. The “alien” groups in the Viennese society, like the Jews, Protestants and immigrants, sought to improve their positions, sharing the same cultural, psychological, and economical requisites for success in secondary and higher education.<sup>28</sup>

However, the scholarly literature heretofore has not provided any adequate examination of the cultural and psychological factors that may have contributed to the differential performances of non-Catholic Christian and immigrant groups. This study will detect whether the academic achievements of these minorities in the Viennese *Gymnasien* differed significantly to form a meaningful regularity, which can require further examination and explanation.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 148.

<sup>28</sup> Cohen, “Education, Social Mobility, and the Austrian Jews 1860-1910”, 148.

One more factor that influenced the students' performance was determined by their ambitions, which reflected the kind of future occupation and social prestige students expected the advanced education to provide them.

Suzanne Keller interprets the differences in the frequencies of educational and occupational aspirations in various social classes applying the concept of "relative distance", which presupposes that class-determined variations in aspirations are determined not by the individual class members ambitiousness, but by the class-salience for the given goal.<sup>29</sup> Sociologists conventionally recognize that in each case more of the middle class endorsed the value of advanced education. Elite schooling was a middle class means of conserving or maintaining their social positions. Were most of them to refuse from advanced education they would face the unpopular prospect of downward mobility.<sup>30</sup> For this reason, the Gymnasium's education was regarded as one of the major ways of elite reproduction in fin-de-siècle Vienna, and the students from upper and middle classes were expected to perform well for the maintaining of their class prestige.

However, not only those from the Viennese upper and middle classes sought for advanced education which brought considerable privileges and prestige during the period of the Dual monarchy. Cohen maintains the view that those who aspired to receive this type of education expected special respect, regardless of their own social origins or the circumstances of their actual employment.<sup>31</sup> He demonstrates the popular beliefs about the value of *Gymnasium* education by quoting an Austrian school director, reporting to the Silesian Provincial School Board in 1880: "the public holds the view, and indeed with a certain amount of truth, that all paths for the future stand open to the *Gymnasium*

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<sup>29</sup> Suzanne Keller and Marisa Zavalloni, "Ambition and Social Class: A Respecification", *Social Forces*, vol. 43, No. 1 (Oct., 1964), 60.

<sup>30</sup> See Seymour Martin and Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959).

<sup>31</sup> Cohen, *Education and middle-class society*, 127.



graduate”.<sup>32</sup> This explains the considerable number of sons from lower class families among the students of the Viennese *Gymnasien* in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

Thus, the regarded sociological theories provide the theoretical framework for the explanation of the various kinds of correlations between the academic performance and socio-denominational and regional background of students taught in the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910. The “biological” or “anthropological” qualities, as well as the theory of “hereditary genius” are not applied in the present study for they are conventionally discarded by sociologists as unverifiable.

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<sup>32</sup> Cit. in Cohen, *Education and middle-class society*, 127.

## Chapter II

### *Gymnasium Education and Population of Vienna during the Dual Monarchy*

The socio-denominational, ethnic and regional composition of students taught in the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910 was strongly influenced by the Austrian governmental policy on educational affairs; it also depended on the changes in general composition of the Viennese population during the periods in question. The general idea about the character of *Gymnasien* education in the Habsburg monarchy provides the context for the better understanding of the social factors which affected the academic performance of students taught in the *Gymnasien* of Vienna during the Dual monarchy.

#### *2.1. The system of Gymnasium education in the Habsburgs monarchy*

Until the March revolution of 1848, the Austrian system of advanced education remained outdated as compared to those in neighboring Central European states. After the reforms of the second half of the eighteenth century undertaken by the Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II, which were concerned mostly with the introduction of the mandatory primary education for all children from ages from six to twelve, and the partial rationalization of the academic secondary and higher education, no efforts were exerted by the Habsburg rulers to modernize educational system. Though the economic, social, and political situation in the monarchy called for reforms to meet the needs of the changing society, the number and organization of advanced educational institutions showed little or no growth. For instance, the number of *Gymnasien* in the Habsburgs' non-Hungarian crownlands changed from 79 to 80 only between 1817 and 1847.<sup>33</sup> The highest density of *Gymnasien* per territory had the provinces of the most advanced economic development,

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<sup>33</sup> Cohen, *Education and middle-class society*, 12.

like Lower Austria, Silesia, Bohemia, and Moravia, and the most important administrative centers, with Vienna being the major one.

Habsburg's imperial state followed the utilitarian principles of the eighteenth-century cameralist thinkers regarding the educational system. The *Gymnasien* as well as universities were regarded to fulfill the practical purposes of training state servants, clergy, physicians, and some notaries and lawyers, but in nowise to provide advanced education to the public more generally or to assist the pursuit of broad learning for its own sake.<sup>34</sup> The widely attributed to the Emperor Francis I phrase stated: "I need no learned men; I need only good officials".<sup>35</sup>

Only able youth was expected to be admitted to the *Gymnasien* and universities and certain steps were taken to prevent any excessive influx of students, for taking in significant number from the poorer strata, in the view of the central government, could cause the loss of labor from agriculture and destabilizing social change.<sup>36</sup> The burghers' and peasants' sons were prevented from the admission to *Gymnasien* unless they possessed extraordinary abilities and the financial wherewithal, and fees were introduced in secondary schools, which were previously free when run by religious orders, to discourage the poorest youth from attending.<sup>37</sup> The state policy was aimed at the complicating of enrollment to *Gymnasien* for students from the lower class who, probably, sought for advanced education only in expectation for social and economic advancement.

The great changes in the Austrian educational system were brought about with the March revolution of 1848 and the fall of the old government. The new Ministry of Public Instruction began to prepare a comprehensive reform of secondary and higher education under the direction of Franz Seraphin Exner (1802-53), who's *Proposal of the Best Features*

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>36</sup> Engelbrecht, 149-50.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 162-63.

of *Public Education in Austria* summed up the views of the liberal educational reformers of 1848.<sup>38</sup> In 1849 under Count Leo Thun-Hohenstein (1811-88), the Ministry of Religion and Instruction implemented nearly all the basic reforms of secondary and higher education that were proposed in this document regarding the *Gymnasien* education.

In designing the new program of studies in *Gymnasium*, Count Thun followed the recommendations of Exner and Herman Bonitz, the professor of the chair of classical philology at the Vienna University. The famous *Proposal for the organization of Gymnasien and Realschulen* drafted by Exner and Bonitz and approved by the emperor in 1849 provided the basic framework for academic secondary education in the Dual monarchy until its dissolution in 1918.

According to the *Proposal*, the former six-year *Gymnasium* and two-year universities' old introductory philosophic courses were united into an eight-year *Gymnasium* course of studies, which was divided into a four-year *Untergymnasium* and a four-year *Obergymnasium*.<sup>39</sup> The students of the *Untergymnasium*, who normally presented the age group between ten and fourteen year-olds, were offered a relatively complete yet simpler general education for those who did not desire to continue their studies. The *Untergymnasium*'s curriculum also offered the appropriate basis for those wishing to finish the *Obergymnasium* and later to attend the university.

In *Obergymnasium*, many topics which had been already introduced in the *Untergymnasium*'s course were to be taken up again with greater sophistication. Generally, the new *Gymnasium*'s curriculum was characterized by the increased attention to mathematics and the natural sciences with the reduced hours devoted to Latin grammar and literature, which now accounted for only one-quarter of all the hours, compared with more than half in the old six-year curriculum.

<sup>38</sup> Cohen, *Education and Middle-Cass Society*, 25.

<sup>39</sup> See *Entwurf der Organization der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Österreich* (Vienna: Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, 1849), 14-45.

Formally, every boy who reached the age of ten and had completed the four-year elementary school with adequate grades could enter a *Gymnasium* without any admissions examinations. But many students in Vienna, as well as everywhere in the monarchy, quitted the *Gymnasium* after several years in the lower forms to pursue careers in commerce or the crafts.<sup>40</sup> The further attrition of the total number of *Gymnasium* graduates eligible to go on to the universities were caused by the complicity of classical languages, the newly added subjects, and the general examination of intellectual maturity, the so called *Maturitätsprüfung* or *Reifeprüfung*, which was introduced in 1849 as an equivalent to the *Abitur* required for admission to the Prussian universities after 1834.

The main mission of the *Maturitätsprüfung*, which soon came to be known popularly as the *Matura* – a term still used in the former lands of the Habsburgs monarchy, was to verify each student's fulfillment of the goals of *Gymnasium* education and grant admission to the universities.<sup>41</sup> It was a general examination testing the level of intellectual ability achieved by the student, who had reached eighteen years of age and completed the eight-year curriculum of the *Gymnasium*. The *Maturitätsprüfung*, which caused wide public debates regarding their nature and organizational forms,<sup>42</sup> were exercised in several subjects and took oral and written forms.

The yearly reports of each Viennese *Gymnasium* contained the necessary information about the topics of the *Maturitätsprüfung* in each subject, as well as the statistical data on the achieved results. Those students who failed for the first time might take the *Matura* again after six or twelve months for the second time, and even for the third time in exceptional cases.<sup>43</sup> The *Maturitätsprüfung* administered by an accredited

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<sup>40</sup> Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 31.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 28.

<sup>42</sup> See about it Kamillo Huemer, *Die Maturitätsprüfung in ihrem Verhältnis zu Gymnasium, Universität und Publikum* (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1905); Anton Malfertheiner, *Vergleichende Statistik des Unterrichtserfolge der österreichischen Gymnasien* (Wien: Verlag von A. Pichler's Witwe & Sohn, 1897), 39-69.

<sup>43</sup> Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class society*, 28.

*Gymnasium* granted the student admission to any university on the territory of the monarchy and soon became a qualification for many civil service positions.

The regulations of the 1849 introduced the changes in the *Gymnasien*'s faculty as well. The former "class teachers" who taught a range of subjects before 1848 were replaced by expert teachers for each subject. The new arrangements prescribed that the *Gymnasien* teachers had to have studied in a university and to have passed examinations there for certification in their specialties. The new state requirements that all teachers be properly educated and certified, together with financial pressures on Catholic and other religious orders, resulted in inability of the latter to meet expenses for their schools and in increasing difficulty to provide teachers. These circumstances caused a general decline in the role of clergy in advanced secondary education.

After 1867 every secondary educational institution run by a religious congregation had to fulfill all the state requirements as regards to curriculum, state inspection and regulation if it claimed for public accreditation and the right to manage *Maturitätsprüfungen*. The result was that many religious corporations, being unable to meet the necessary requirements and financial costs, passed their schools under the control of either the central state authorities, or the provincial government, or the local community administration. It can be traced from the change in the official names of the schools: they received the attachments of either a *Staatsgymnasium*, or a *Landesgymnasium*, or a *Communalgymnasium* accordingly.

Cohen shows that there were 62 per cent of the ecclesiastic teachers from the Catholic orders in Austrian *Gymnasien* in 1861, but only 36 per cent of them in 1871,<sup>44</sup> which means that their number was almost twice reduced in ten years. According to his data, thirty-six Austrian *Gymnasien* were still operated by the religious orders in 1870, but

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 37.

in 1873 already more than a half of these were secularized.<sup>45</sup> The same trend was characteristic for the Viennese *Gymnasien*, which will be closely demonstrated in the second chapter of this study.

The late 1860s and the 1870s were the period of the great economic boom in Central Europe, which significantly aided the growth and development of the Austrian educational system by increasing popular demand and the need for educated employees, and provided additional financial resources for education as well.<sup>46</sup> The social and economic benefits of academic secondary education grew in Vienna, as well throughout the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire, with the expanding public and private bureaucracies increasingly requiring the *Matura* or at least some kind of the secondary education for intermediate and lower-level positions.<sup>47</sup> The popular belief in the social value of secondary education was reinforced with the ratification of the bill, granting to the graduates of the *Obergymnasien* the privilege of one-year, volunteer service as an officer candidate to be followed by a period in the reserved, instead of the general Austrian military obligation of three years' service.<sup>48</sup> The growth of the students of *Gymnasien* in the Austrian part of the Dual monarchy during the aforesaid period is demonstrated in the following table 2/1.

The number of the students attending the Austrian *Gymnasium* between 1873 and 1882 shows the characteristic trend of the constant increase. Vienna was an indisputable leader as regards to the highest concentration of the *Gymnasien*' students and the growth of their frequency. As it follows from table 2/2, the population of the Lower Austria, especially of Vienna, sent their offspring to the *Gymnasium* in more cases than the population of any other Austrian crownland.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 38.

<sup>47</sup> Karl Megner, "Beamte: Wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte des k. k. Beamtentums" in *Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, vol. 21 (Vienna: Öster Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 23-35.

<sup>48</sup> Engelbrecht, 13-16.

**Table 2/1. Frequency of Students in Austrian Gymnasien  
at the End of the Second Semester**

Land / Year	Number of students									
	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882
Lower Austria	4154	4366	4651	5039	5536	6026	6451	6724	6701	6695
Vienna	2860	2981	3228	3524	3915	4312	4627	4821	4733	4616
outside Vienna	1294	1385	1423	1515	1621	1714	1824	1903	1968	2079
Upper Austria	695	729	743	732	836	904	1012	1086	1131	1169
Salzburg	204	197	213	197	183	211	346	354	356	404
Styria	1145	1151	1152	1204	1286	1354	1471	1584	1669	1771
Carinthia	401	386	381	412	463	513	500	511	531	547
Carniola	583	577	576	627	657	690	769	812	877	931
The Austrian Littoral	740	738	806	815	870	983	1087	1128	1220	1272
Tirol-Voralberg	1384	1430	1494	1529	1573	1598	1859	1962	2005	2114
Galicia	6982	6565	6748	7125	7666	8355	8974	9504	10005	10302
Bukovina	832	856	893	889	931	1004	1065	1152	1214	1188
Dalmatia	623	644	660	611	622	623	614	609	590	578
Total	31353	31629	33634	35464	38110	41456	44633	47658	49512	50291

Source: Berthold Windt, *Stand und Frequenz der österreichischen Gymnasien im Decennium 1873-1882* (Vienna: Druch von Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1883), 8-12.

**Table 2/2. Relation between the Population and Frequency of Students of the  
Austrian Gymnasien**

Land / Year	One student for the number of inhabitants	
	1873	1882
Vienna	212	157
Lower Austria (including Vienna)	496	348
Upper Austria	1.064	650
Salzburg	750	405
Styria	1.011	685
Carinthia	842	638
Carniola	801	517
The Austrian Littoral	818	509
Tirol-Voralberg	642	432
Silesia	499	425
Bohemia	627	345
Moravia	492	368
Bukovina	640	481
Galicia	823	578
Dalmatia	733	824
Average	731,3	514,6

Sources: Berthold Windt, *Stand und Frequenz der österreichischen Gymnasien im Decennium 1873-1882* (Vienna: Druch von Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1883), 8-12; Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1873. Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1876. Teil I, 2; Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1881. Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1884. Teil I, 2.

Table 2/2 also demonstrates the general trend in the Austrian part of the Dual monarchy of the reducing number of inhabitants for one *Gymnasium*'s student, which means



that more and more families in the Austrian crownlands, except Dalmatia, sent their sons to the *Gymnasien* between 1873 and 1882.

Popular pressure for greater access to academic secondary education even motivated an experiment in a number of Austrian localities in the 1860s and the 1870s of combining the initial forms of the *Gymnasium* and *Realschule* in a *Real-Gymnasium*.<sup>49</sup> It had a single four-year curriculum after which students could proceed to the upper forms of either *Gymnasium* or *Realschule*. For instance, the two known *Gymnasien* in Vienna, the *Mariahilfergymnasium* and the *Sperlgymnasium*, were initially founded as *Real-Gymnasien*. The form of *Real-Gymnasium* offering the public broader access to secondary education, however, did not get wide circulation, and disappeared soon after the 1870s.<sup>50</sup> Afterwards, the Ministry of Religion and Instruction suspended the attempts to develop an alternative to the classical *Gymnasium* which would have equal rights to prepare students to the entrance to university.

As it follows from table 2/1, the steady growth of the enrollments in the Viennese *Gymnasien* stopped in 1880, and since then, the declining tendency of the student numbers is observed. This was the result of the restricting policy on educational issues of the new government under Count Edward Taaffe during the 1880s. Ministerial officials shared the common assumptions of the *Gymnasium* professors and school inspectors that too many youth were entering *Gymnasien* without adequate preparation and real commitment to advanced learning. Many of the students who had been admitted to *Gymnasien* were not staying beyond the third or fourth year; only a small minority of them stood the full eight years of the complicated curriculum, passed the *Maturitätsprüfung*, and went to a university.<sup>51</sup> Tables 2/3 and 2/4 demonstrate the consistent loss of the students during the

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<sup>49</sup> Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, 41.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 41.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 42-44.

first year of the *Obergymnasium* and the increasing number of students of the last year who failed to pass the Matura.

**Table 2/3. Number of Students in the Fifth Classes of the Viennese *Gymnasien***

Academic year	Students of the 5 <sup>th</sup> classes		
	enrolled	graduated	
		in numbers	%
1869-70	327	271	83,2
1874-75	321	247	76,9
1879-80	563	415	73,7
1884-85	586	455	77,6
1889-90	576	464	80,5
1894-95	571	460	80,5

Source: Anton Malfertheiner, *Vergleichende Statistik des Unterrichtserfolge der österreichischen Gymnasien* (Wien: Verlag von A. Pichler's Witwe & Sohn, 1897), 39.

**Table 2/4. Number of Graduates and *Maturanten* in the Viennese *Gymnasien***

Academic year	Students		Difference	
	graduated from the eight classes	passed the Matura	in numbers	%
1869-70	187	177	10	5,3
1874-75	192	181	11	5,7
1879-80	237	210	27	11,4
1884-85	353	307	46	13,0
1889-90	338	248	90	29,6
1894-95	338	272	66	19,5

Source: Anton Malfertheiner, *Vergleichende Statistik*, 40.

To cut off the stream of students regarding advanced secondary education as the means to improve their social position and achieve a better career, the Ministry of the Religion and Instruction initiated a number of control measures.

The first attempts to restrict the wide public access to *Gymnasium* education in order to maintain its fundamentally elitist character were undertaken as early as in 1870 with the introduction of admission examinations on reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic skills, and religion. During the 1880s, the conservative government sought to divert away from the academic secondary education, first of all, sons of craft producers and peasant farmers who aspired to careers in educated and semi-educated professions. Conservatives believed that the *Gymnasium* education should serve a limited constituency, while the youth from handicraft, small manufacturing, and farming background, was to pursue vocational

training and remain in economic sectors of manufacturing and agriculture.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, the clientele of the Viennese *Gymnasien* in the 1880s was predominantly from the families which belonged to the upper class or intellectual professions, with few students being the sons of craftsmen and farmers.

After the early 1890s, the Austrian *Gymnasien* experienced again a powerful wave of increasing student numbers, which resulted in a two-thirds increase in enrollments between 1895 and 1910.<sup>53</sup> The central authorities could no longer suppress the growing public appetite for elite education, especially in the circumstances when more than ten cabinets succeeded each other between the fall of Count Badeni in 1897 and the outbreak of the World War I in summer 1914, with none of them being at power long enough to achieve any legislative control over the educational affairs.<sup>54</sup> The increase in enrollments of the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1895 and 1910, which will be demonstrated with the statistical data in the second chapter of the present study, entailed also considerable changes in the social, ethnic and religious composition of the students.

## ***2.2. Population of the Central Districts of Vienna***

The students' composition in the *Gymnasien* of Vienna according to the social, ethnic and denominational characteristics was closely connected with the composition of the population of the Viennese districts, for parents in most cases sent their children to the *Gymnasium* situated in the same district they lived in. Moreover, the very history of Viennese *Gymnasien* is tightly linked with the development of the districts, for the latter received legal recognition as such only after 1857, when the city walls enclosing the *Innere Stadt*, the future first district, and physically limiting the city of Vienna to it, were demolished by order of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Since then, the former *Vorstädte*, i. e.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 99-102.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 108.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 110.

the suburbs outside the city walls but within the second ring of fortifications, got their development as the inner districts of Vienna with their own subdivisions of the city administration exercising power over the matters of planning, building, and meeting the educational demands of the district population.

The population of each inner district of Vienna had its own features considering the social distinctions, occupations, ethnic and confessional composition; the compliance of common customs and sharing specific beliefs influenced the demands for advanced education and the intensity the population of particular districts sent their offspring to *Gymnasien*.

The first district, *Innere Stadt*, remained the historic heart of the city and the centre of government – “the imperial capital and residence city”,<sup>55</sup> – with Austrian parliament and ministries housed in splendid palaces. From the early 1860s, the nouveaux riches as well as longer-established financiers, factory owners and great businessmen began to build magnificent private dwellings to flaunt their wealth along the new *Ringstrasse*, designed on the place of the former city walls.<sup>56</sup> The first district became the place of residing for high civil servants, and the place where prosperous and well-to-do people sought to dwell in; this fact influenced the students’ composition of the *Gymnasien* in the first district, two of which, the *Akademische* and the *Schottengymnasium*, were of old foundation, and the third, the *Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium*, was set up in 1872 as the growth of the district population demanded for the establishing of additional educational institution of this kind.

The second district of Vienna was formed in 1850 in the result of unification of the older *Leopoldstadt* on the left bank of the Danube Canal and the parts of other Viennese suburbs on the Danube Island. *Leopoldstadt* was the traditional home of the Jews since the times of the Emperor Ferdinand II (1578-1637), when it was opened for the poor majority of

<sup>55</sup> Michael Göbl, Eva Saibel, *Die Wiener Bezirke* (Wien: Perlen-Reihe, 2003), 23.

<sup>56</sup> Hilde Spiel, *Vienna's golden autumn, 1866-1938* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 36.

them, while the Jewish court financiers gained the special permission to reside within the city gates.<sup>57</sup> In the late eighteenth century wealthy and assimilated Jews were granted different privileges. Since the 1880s, *Leopoldstadt* was flooded by the Jewish immigrants from the distant Carpathian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina, driven out by pogroms and the policy of the rulers.

In due course, the most successful and prosperous Jews, looking for material and spiritual advancement, preferred to move to the ninth district, *Alsergrund*, to be near the university and the company of academics, or to the nobly precincts of the *Innere Stadt*, where the well-to-do merchants occupied special quarters; the poorer Jews, however, had always lived in the second district, holding on to their orthodox rites and disdaining any form of assimilation.<sup>58</sup> Their ranks were swelled by thousands of immigrants from Polish and Russian Shtetls, fleeing from the Poles' growing hostility and the pogroms conducted periodically from the Russian soldiery.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, the general demand for education remained high in the second district, and the two *Obergymnasien* of *Leopoldstadt*, established in the late 1870s, the *Sophiengymnasium* and the *Sperlgymnasium*, continued their development, being distinguished by the prevalence of the Jewish students.

The third district, *Landstrasse*, was the favorite residence place of the Viennese bourgeoisie and nobility, whose dwellings including the famous Belvedere and the great town houses of Prince Metternich, the counts of Razumovsky and Salm, were considered formerly to be on the outskirts, and now appeared close to the centre of Vienna. In the second half of the nineteenth century many foreign embassies and legations were established in the third district<sup>60</sup>; it had also become a manufacturing and small business

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<sup>57</sup> Spiel, 37.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 50.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 36.

area with slopworks, cloth mills, and mirror and piano factories.<sup>61</sup> The whole number of famous Austrian musicians and writers were born, resided and created their masterpieces in the *Landstrasse*. The *Lanstrassergymnasium* housed in the premises of the Razumovsky palace was characterized, therefore, by the mixed background of its students.

The lower aristocracy of Vienna settled mainly in the fourth district, *Wieden*,<sup>62</sup> the oldest one of the Viennese *Vorstädte*, which was united in 1851 with two smaller suburbs. The only secondary educational institution of *Gymnasium* type here during the period under question was the *Theresianische Akademie*, or *Theresianum*, which was set up by the Empress Maria Theresa exclusively for the offspring of the aristocratic families from all over the Habsburg monarchy, and kept its aristocratic character in the second half of the nineteenth century, attracting especially the Hungarian nobility.

While the upper and affluent middle classes took up residence along and around the Ring, the medium merchants, professional classes and civil servants occupied the fifth to the eighth districts,<sup>63</sup> *Margareten*, *Mariahilfer*, *Neubau*, and *Josefstadt* accordingly, which were organized as early as in 1850, but the definitive indexing was assigned them in 1861. The *Gymnasien* students in these districts came predominantly from the petty bourgeois and lower civil servant families.

The ninth district, *Alsergrund*, was incorporated in 1862, with seven suburbs, and became more and more the home of academics, especially medical scientists and practicing physicians.<sup>64</sup> It was strongly populated with the prosperous assimilated Jews, who sent their children mostly to the *Maximilian-Gymnasium*, where a big number of the outstanding representatives of the liberal bourgeois culture of fin-de-siècle Vienna received advanced secondary education.

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<sup>61</sup> Göbl, Saibel, 36.

<sup>62</sup> Spiel, 36.

<sup>63</sup> Spiel, 36.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

The general social composition of students in the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910 is demonstrated in table 2/5, which was constructed on the basis of data on individual students taught in nine central Viennese *Gymnasien* during the period in question.

**Table 2/5. Students of Central Viennese Gymnasien between 1870 and 1910  
by Social Category**

Social category	Students	
	number	%
Lower class	56	2,8
Independent craftsmen, petty bourgeois	368	18,5
Petty traders without qualification	103	5,2
Lower civil servants	206	10,3
Higher civil servants	204	10,2
Teachers and clerics	155	7,8
Artists	35	1,8
Private employees	239	12,0
Free professionals	260	13,1
Entrepreneurial bourgeoisie	192	9,6
Landlords and property owners	173	8,7
Total	1991	100

The over-representation of sons of petty bourgeoisie in the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910 is obvious; the second position in numerosity was shared by sons of free professionals and private employees; sons of civil servants were in the third position; the forth was occupied by sons of landlords and property owners; sons of teachers, clerics and petty traders were less numerous; the students from lower class were under-represented; and the number of sons from the families of artistic professions was insignificant.

So the policy of the Austrian government on educational affairs changed repeatedly its emphases and even directions between 1870 and 1910, encouraging or restricting wide public access to elite secondary education provided in classical *Gymnasien*, which resulted in the social composition of the *Gymnasien* students in Vienna. Another important factor influencing the social, ethnic and denominational composition was the allocation of

particular *Gymnasien*. Depending on the district the latter were situated in, they acquired some kind of “aristocratic”, “bourgeois”, or “lower class” tints, and either Catholic or Jewish character.



### Chapter III

#### *Aspects of the Elite Schooling Market in Vienna*

The usual educational base of the Viennese educated elite between 1870 and 1910 were the *Gymnasien* in the inner districts of Vienna, while only few from the cultural elite attended the *Gymnasien* outside the city.<sup>65</sup> During the period under question there were eleven *Gymnasien* in the inner districts of Vienna with public accreditation and the right to administer the *Maturitätsprüfung*. Nine of them, namely, the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, the *Theresianische Akademie*, the *Schotten-*, *Franz-Joseph-*, *Sophien-*, *Landstrasse-*, *Elizabeth-*, *Piaristen-* and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*, represented the classical type of *Gymnasium*. The other two, the *Sperl-* and *Mariahilferfergymnasien*, were *Realgymnasien*, which meant that they offered a peculiar curriculum for the lower school, providing students the choice to continue their studies after the forth class either in a *Gymnasium* or in a *Realschule*. The curriculum for the upper school in the *Realgymnasium*, however, was the same as for classical *Gymnasium* and lead to the *Maturitätsprüfung*.

In this chapter the basic information on the individual development of each of eleven central *Gymnasien* in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century is presented. The information was taken primarily from *Jahresberichte*, that is, the reports published yearly by each *Gymnasium*, which included an obligatory article written by a *Gymnasium*'s professor and devoted either to some urgent issues of the Austrian educational system, or to the historical review of the honorary achievements and rewards of a particular *Gymnasium*. The second part of the *Jahresberichte* contained the statistical data on the students of the *Gymnasium*, on the base of which and on the base of data from *Statistical Yearbooks of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, the tables were constructed for this study to

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<sup>65</sup> Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*, 49.

demonstrate the students and teachers ratio, and the ethnic and denominational composition of the students for each *Gymnasium*.

The ethnic difference was identified according to the native language of the students; in the corresponding tables, there is the division into German-, Slavic-, and Hungarian-speaking groups, with Slavic-speaking group including the Polish, Czech, Slovak, Russian, Ruthenian, Serbian, and Bulgarian languages, and the group for “Other” including French, Turkish, Greek, Italian, and English. In the tables devoted to the denominational composition, the group for “Catholic” combines references to the Roman Catholic, Old Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Armenian Catholic confessions; Jews are identified separately; and the group for “Other” refers to the Greek Orthodox, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican confessions, and those without any religion. The general tables summarize the findings for all *Gymnasien* in the inner districts of Vienna between 1870 and 1910.

### 3.1 *The k. k. Akademisches Gymnasium in the First District*

The k. k. *Akademisches Gymnasium*<sup>66</sup> is considered to be the oldest secondary school in Vienna. It was founded in 1553 by the Jesuit Order as a public educational institution. Its foundation was a part of the greater program of reforms, the so called *Nova Reformatio*, aimed at the elimination of the harmful effects of the religious schism and of the influence of Protestantism on clergy and university professors.<sup>67</sup> Since the late sixteenth century and until the general Austrian educational reforms of 1849, the *Gymnasium* integrated six classes, the first four of which formed the lower school and the second two – the upper school. With the Exner-Bonitz *Gymnasien* reform of 1849, the eight-class system was introduced leading to the *Maturitätsprüfung* as graduation exams. The official purpose proclaimed by the *Gymnasium* was the broad general education on the basis of languages,

<sup>66</sup> The prefix *k. k.* stands for “*kaiserliche und königliche*”, i. e. “imperial and royal”, which meant that the *Gymnasium* was a state one.

<sup>67</sup> About the history of the *Akademische Gymnasium* see Robert Winter, *Das Akademische Gymnasium in Wien* (Wien: Böhlau, 1996).

history, mathematics and natural sciences, with the so called “free subjects”, such as Drawing, Singing, Sports, French and English. Soon Philosophical Propaedeutics was added as a mandatory subject.

The first *Maturitätsprüfung* were held as early as at the end of 1851; forty per cent of the graduates passed their exams with honour.<sup>68</sup> The *Akademisches Gymnasium* as any other *Gymnasium* in the Dual monarchy was reserved exclusively for boys. Though the first girls graduated from it as external students as early as in 1886 and 1887, the general admittance of girls was allowed only since 1949. Since 1850 the school possessed the status of a state *Gymnasium*; after it started to enroll the parallel classes in 1854, a new larger building in neo-Gothic style was erected for the *Gymnasium* in *Beethovenplatz* in the core of Vienna.

From table 3/1 it follows that the *Akademisches Gymnasium* enrolled a large number of students yearly, even the largest one if compared to other *Gymnasien*; yet the conditions of teaching were quite good, with nineteen students on the average sharing the supervision of one teacher.

**Table 3/1. Ratio of Teachers and Students in the *Akademisches Gymnasium*  
(at the End of the Semester II)**

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia- -stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1869/70	4	21	25	660	48	708	28,3
1874/75	3	29	32	550	40	590	18,4
1879/80	3	30	33	570	37	607	18,4
1882/83	1	29	30	430	24	454	15,1
1897/98	2	26	28	426	11	437	15,6
1899/1900	3	22	25	397	5	402	16,1
1904/05	4	21	25	436	7	443	17,7

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1869* (Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1871), 366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1874*, Teil V (Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1877), 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1879*, Teil V (Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1882), 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1882*, Bd. IX, Heft 1

<sup>68</sup> *Vierhundertjahre Akademisches Gymnasium: 1553-1953: Festschrift* (Vienna, 1953), 14, 67-9.

(Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1885), 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1897*, Bd. IX, Heft 1 (Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1900), 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1899*, Bd. IX, Heft 1 (Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902), 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1904*, Bd. IX, Heft 1 (Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1907), 30-31.

Table 3/2 demonstrates that the majority of students were German-speaking, yet the presence of other ethnic groups can also be observed.

**Table 3/2. Students of the Akademisches Gymnasium by Native Language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1869/70	679	95,9	17	2,4	7	1,0	5	0,7	708	100
1874/75	548	92,9	15	2,5	12	2,0	15	2,5	590	100
1879/80	557	91,8	22	3,6	17	2,8	11	1,8	607	100
1882/83	436	96,0	7	1,5	5	1,1	6	1,3	454	100
1897/98	415	95,0	14	3,2	7	1,6	1	0,2	437	100
1899/1900	383	95,3	11	2,7	5	1,2	3	0,7	402	100
1904/05	432	97,5	4	0,9	5	1,1	2	0,5	443	100
1909/1910	483	95,6	13	2,6	4	0,8	5	1,0	505	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1909*, Bd. IX, Heft 1 (Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1912), 30-31.

As it follows from table 3/3, the Catholic and Jewish students were presented in the *Akademisches Gymnasium* almost in equal proportions.

**Table 3/3. Students of the Akademisches Gymnasium by Denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1869/70	391	55,2	274	38,7	43	6,1	708	100
1874/75	303	51,4	242	41,0	45	7,6	590	100
1879/80	295	48,6	261	43,0	51	8,4	607	100
1882/83	222	48,9	188	41,4	44	9,7	454	100
1897/98	237	54,2	161	36,8	39	8,9	437	100
1899/1900	220	54,7	142	35,3	40	10,0	402	100
1904/05	200	45,1	180	40,6	63	14,2	443	100
1909/1910	231	45,7	200	39,6	74	14,6	505	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the *Akademisches Gymnasium* was gradually becoming a fundamental educational institution for the Viennese liberal bourgeois and cultural elite. Since latter was predominantly the Jewish phenomenon in fin-de-siècle Vienna,<sup>69</sup> the Gymnasium was heavily attended by the offspring of the Jewish grand bourgeoisie. The prominent authors and dramatists Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Richard Beer-Hofmann, Peter Altenberg, the famous jurist Hans Kelsen, philosopher and classical liberal Ludwig von Mises, as well as the nuclear physicist Erwin Schrödinger and the founder of Czechoslovakia Thomas Masaryk, all attended the *Akademisches Gymnasium* during the period under question.

### 3.2. *The k, k, Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium in the First District*

After the demolition of the city ramparts, the population of the first district started to grow very rapidly, and the *Akademisches Gymnasium* could not accept all the sons of bourgeoisie for whom education became a necessary means of advancement in social position and career. According to the imperial decree from February 1872, therefore, it was ordered to establish a new *Gymnasium* in *Dominikanerplatz* to fulfill the educational needs of the population of the first district. For it was problematic to provide subsidies for erecting a new building, the new *Gymnasium*, which was granted the name after the emperor Franz Joseph in April 1879, was initially allocated in the premises of the municipal *Lehrerpädagogium*, in Hegelstraße Nr. 12 / Schnellinggasse Nr. 11. When the *Lehrerpädagogium* demanded for their premises back, the *Gymnasium* was relocated to Hegelgasse Nr. 3.

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<sup>69</sup> See about it Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1983).

In October 1872 the lessons were started for two classes, with 54 students in the first class and 16 in the second class.<sup>70</sup> The famous Latinist Karl Schmidt was appointed a director of the *Gymnasium*. The curriculum was organized according to the state instructions for *Gymnasium* classes, with the central role of the classical languages;<sup>71</sup> students were admitted according to their academic performance.

The discipline was especially severe in the *Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium*: the visits to the theatres or concerts were to be approved by the school administration, even in the cases when students were accompanied by their parents; the reading of newspapers and magazines was warned from. Nothing was to distract a student from the main educational goal – the harmonious shaping of a well-balanced personality following the sample of the ancients and supported by the idealism of the German classic poetry, with due patriotic feeling to the emperor.<sup>72</sup> The feeling of loyalty to the House of Habsburgs was also maintained by necessary festivities devoted to the birthdays and name-days of the emperor and the empress, as well as to the day of their accession, which were celebrated in the *Gymnasium* with messes and pathetical speeches. The first *Maturitätsprüfung* in the *Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium* took place in 1879,<sup>73</sup> when seventeen candidates were subjected to the written exams in German, Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, and oral exams in other subjects.

The *k. k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium* was distinguished by the stable organization of school matters. It shortly acquired the nickname of a “family house in Hegelgasse”,<sup>74</sup> for during the late nineteenth century it arranged eight classes comprising approximately 270-300 students only, with around twenty teachers being employed, which is shown in table 3/4.

<sup>70</sup> Ernst Nowotny, “Vom Kaiser-Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium zum Bundesgymnasium Stubenbastei”, in *Festschrift 100 Jahre Gymnasium Stubenbastei, 1872-1972* (Wien: A. Luigard, 1972), 8.

<sup>71</sup> See *Die neue Organisation der Österreichischen Gymnasien* (Wien: Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, 1853).

<sup>72</sup> Nowotny, 8.

<sup>73</sup> See *Fünfter Jahresbericht über das k.k. Franz-Josephs Gymnasium in Wien* (Wien: Selbstverlag des Gymnasiums, 1879), 62-63.

<sup>74</sup> Nowotny, 10.

**Table 3/4. Ratio of Teachers and Students in the *Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium*  
(at the End of the Semester II)**

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia-stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1872/73	1	7	8	57	6	63	7,9
1874/75	1	12	13	174	11	185	14,2
1879/80	1	27	28	303	16	319	11,4
1882/83	1	19	20	276	7	283	14,1
1897/98	2	18	20	266	10	276	13,8
1899/1900	3	17	20	288	3	291	14,6
1904/05	3	19	22	298	4	302	13,7

Sources: *Vierter Jahresbericht über das k. k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium in Wien* (Wien: Selbstverlag des Gymnasiums, 1876), 48; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31.

The *Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium* played an important role in the general cultural development of Vienna for it was one of the main educational institutions which brought up the future elite of Austria. The examination of the school catalogues proves that its students came from the so called “best circles” of the Viennese society, the well-to-do German-speaking families both of Catholic and Jewish origin in equal numbers, which is demonstrated in tables 3/5 and 3/6.

**Table 3/5. Students of the *Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium* by Native Language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1874/75*	178	96,2	3	1,6	4	2,2	-	-	185	100
1879/80*	285	94,7	4	1,3	10	3,3	4	1,3	303	100
1882/83	276	97,5	3	1,1	1	0,4	3	1,1	283	100
1897/98	269	97,5	1	0,4	1	0,4	5	1,8	276	100
1899/1900	283	97,3	-	-	2	0,7	6	2,1	291	100
1904/05	294	97,4	2	0,7	-	-	6	2,0	302	100
1909/1910	350	97,8	3	0,8	-	-	5	1,4	358	100

Sources: *Vierter Jahresbericht über das k. k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium*, 1876:48; *Sechster Jahresbericht über das k. k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium in Wien* (Wien: Selbstverlag des Gymnasiums, 1880), 54; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

\* Regular students only.

**Table 3/6. Students of the *Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium* by Denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1874/75*	83	44,9	87	47,0	15	8,1	185	100
1879/80*	138	45,5	121	39,9	44	14,5	303	100
1882/83	129	45,6	110	38,7	44	15,5	283	100
1897/98	130	47,1	121	43,8	25	9,1	276	100
1899/1900	141	48,5	124	42,6	26	8,9	291	100
1904/05	151	50,0	120	39,7	31	10,3	302	100
1909/1910	166	46,4	149	41,6	43	12,0	358	100

Sources: *Vierter Jahresbericht über das k. k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium*, 1876:48; *Sechster Jahresbericht über das k. k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium*, 1880:54; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

As Ernst Nowotny asserts in his dedicatory article for the anniversary of the *Gymnasium*, *Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium* in the first decades of its functioning provided the atmosphere of liberty and tolerance and like no other institution served as a catalyst of the Jewish assimilation process.<sup>75</sup> Many of its Jewish students from the first and second generations of graduates achieved great success in sciences and art.

One of the brightest examples is provided by the case of Karl Kraus, the famous Austrian satirist and critic. His father was a Bohemian businessman and paper manufacturer who moved to Vienna in 1877 from Jicin. Being himself far from any scientific or artistic activity, Jakob Kraus, however, felt a great respect and reverence to it, and wanted his son to get the best education. Thus Karl Kraus was sent in 1884 to the *Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium*,<sup>76</sup> to which he always expressed his gratitude for the education received.

Since the academic year of 1908/09, within the general trend of the *Gymnasium* reforms, the *Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium* was transformed into *Realgymnasium*<sup>77</sup> despite the protest of its professors, and since then had a different curriculum and students'

<sup>75</sup> Nowotny, 9.

<sup>76</sup> About Karl Kraus see Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus, apocalyptic satirist: culture and catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986).

<sup>77</sup> The *Realgymnasien* introduced in 1908 should not be mixed with the *Realgymnasien* of the late 1860s and the 1870s. The later form of *Realgymnasium*, unlike the earlier one, differed significantly from the classical *Gymnasium* as regards the structure, curriculum and educational goal.



composition. Nowadays it is still a known *Gymnasium* in the first district of Vienna, bearing the name of *Stubenbastei*.

### 3.3. *The k. k. Schottengymnasium of Benedictines in the First District*

The *Öffentliches Schottengymnasium der Benediktiner in Wien*, or briefly *Schottengymnasium*, was founded by the imperial decree of 1807 in the first district of Vienna as a Catholic private school with public accreditation.<sup>78</sup> Until nowadays it is still run by the Benedictine congregation “Our Dear Lady to the Scots”, and until 2004 it was reserved exclusively for boys, though singular girls started to be accepted early enough as external students. Since the very foundation of the *Gymnasium*, its graduates maintained close connections with each other and formed an association which was officially registered in 1947.

The *Schottengymnasium* was allocated near the monastery of the Scots in *Freyungstraße*, and became a successor of the *Annaeum*, one of the oldest *Gymnasien* in Vienna, founded in 1775 at the monastery of St. Anna. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the school premises were considerably expanded and connected with the very building of the monastery of the Scots.

The *Gymnasium* was attended mostly by sons of noble and bourgeois families; the sons of aristocracy studied there as external students. After 1849, the *Gymnasium* was restructured according to the eight-class system, with each subject being taught by a particular teacher. A special exam to occupy the post of a *Schottengymnasium* teacher was introduced as early as in 1819; the first *Maturitätsprüfung* were held for graduates in 1850. As it follows from table 3/7, ecclesiastical teachers were prevailing in the faculty of the *Gymnasium*.

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<sup>78</sup> About the detailed history of the *Schottengymnasium* see *Schulordnung des k.k. Obergymnasiums zu den Schotten in Wien* (Wien: Reißer, 1897); and Johannes Jung, *Das Schottengymnasium in Wien* (Wien: Böhlau, 1997).

**Table 3/7. Ratio of Teachers and Students in the *Schottengymnasium***  
(at the End of the Semester II)

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia-stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1869/70	18	5	23	348	41	389	16,9
1874/75	18	5	23	369	61	430	18,7
1879/80	16	5	21	388	61	449	21,4
1882/83	12	6	18	349	59	408	22,7
1897/98	14	5	19	338	39	377	19,8
1899/1900	14	5	19	334	33	367	19,3
1904/05	13	4	17	324	28	352	20,7

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31.

Along the overwhelming majority of the German-speaking students, the very few natives from the inner territories of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as well as from overseas attended the *Schottengymnasium* in the second half of the nineteenth century, as it is evident from the table 3/8.

**Table 3/8. Students of the *Schottengymnasium* by Native Language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1869/70	377	96,9	7	1,8	3	0,8	2	0,5	389	100
1874/75	417	97,0	7	1,6	3	0,7	3	0,7	430	100
1879/80	436	97,1	3	0,7	-	-	10	2,2	449	100
1882/83	405	99,3	2	0,5	-	-	1	0,2	408	100
1897/98	365	96,8	6	1,8	3	0,9	3	0,9	377	100
1899/1900	358	97,5	5	1,4	3	0,8	1	0,3	367	100
1904/05	344	97,7	4	1,1	3	0,9	1	0,3	352	100
1909/1910	391	96,5	3	0,7	6	1,5	5	1,2	405	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

Though the *Schottengymnasium* was a private Catholic school, almost since the very its foundation it began to enroll the students of other denominations. The first Protestants

were accepted as early as in 1810; the first Jewish students appeared there in 1817. Following the table 3/9, it can be concluded that normally the Jews amounted around to 40 students, or 10 per cent of student enrollments.

**Table 3/9. Students of the *Schottengymnasium* by Denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1869/70	349	89,2	23	5,9	17	4,4	389	100
1874/75	351	81,6	59	13,7	20	4,7	430	100
1879/80	384	85,5	41	9,1	24	5,3	449	100
1882/83	359	88,0	24	5,9	25	6,1	408	100
1897/98	339	89,9	19	5,0	19	5,0	377	100
1899/1900	332	90,5	15	4,1	20	5,4	367	100
1904/05	312	88,6	27	7,7	13	3,7	352	100
1909/1910	348	85,9	36	8,9	21	5,1	405	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

Among the famous students and graduates of the *Schottengymnasium* in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries were the first minister president of Hungary Lajos Batthyány, Austrian ministers Eduard Herbst, Hugo von Glanz-Eicha, count Alfred III of Windisch-Grätz, the founder of the Social Democratic party of Austria Victor Adler, the ruling count of Liechtenstein Franz Josef II, the last Austrian emperor Charles I of Habsburg-Este, and many others.

### 3.4. The *k. k. Sophien-Gymnasium* in the Second District

The foundation of the *k. k. Sophien-Gymnasium* in the second district of Vienna, *Leopoldstadt*, resulted also from the educational reforms in Austria in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the early 1870s, the three already available in *Leopoldstadt* municipal secondary schools, a municipal *Real-* and *Obergymnasium*, and an *Ober-* and *Unterrealschule* appeared to be insufficient to meet the needs of the inhabitants of the

district, for population of the latter reached about 100 000.<sup>79</sup> The foundation of a *Staats-Untergymnasium* in the second district was, therefore, approved by imperial decree from January 1877.

The professor from the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, Dr. Johann Hauler, became the first director. Due to his hard work, the building in *Taborstraße* Nr. 24 was adopted for the school premises, and the new *Gymnasium* started its academic year in September 1877, with 231 students in four classes. 144 first-year students were divided into two parallels.<sup>80</sup> In the following academic year of 1878/79, already 314 students were admitted to the *Gymnasium*, and the second class was divided into parallels, as well as the third class in 1879/1880, and the fourth class in 1880/81.

The rapid growth of number of those interested in being accepted to the *Gymnasium* and in continuation of their studies revealed the necessity of the expansion and addition of upper school, which happened as early as in 1879, according to the imperial order. The additional fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth classes were introduced in 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1882 correspondently.<sup>81</sup> Thus the *Gymnasium* was transformed into the full *Obergymnasium*; it arranged its first *Maturitätsprüfung* in 1883, which twenty seven students out of thirty-one passed successfully, and five of them with honour. Fourteen of *Maturanten*, i.e. the graduates passing the *Matura*, came from Vienna and from the region of *Hietzing*, which was integrated to Vienna in 1890, and the rest thirteen from the other lands of the Dual monarchy,<sup>82</sup> which means that both the native-born to Vienna and those from the migrant families achieved almost equal academic success.

<sup>79</sup> Gustav Waniek, "Das k. k. Sophien-Gymnasium in Wien", *Jahresbericht des k. k. Sophien-Gymnasiums für das Schuljahr 1900/1901* (Wien: Selbstverlag des k. k. Sophien-Gymnasiums im II. Bezirke, 1901), 3.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>82</sup> Official webpage of the GRG II Zirkusgasse.  
<http://www.ahs-zirkusgasse.at/PROFIL/frames/profil.html>.

A quite high frequency, annually around 470 students on the average, with twenty students per teacher approximately, was characteristic for the *Sophien-Gymnasium*, as one can see from table 3/10.

**Table 3/10. Ratio of Teachers and Students in the *Sophien-Gymnasium*  
(at the End of the Semester II)**

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia- -stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1879/80	2	14	16	414	9	423	26,4
1882/83	1	27	28	560	6	566	20,2
1897/98	1	27	28	444	2	446	15,9
1899/1900	1	23	24	445	2	447	18,6
1904/1905	2	25	27	470	-	470	17,4

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31.

Though the several revisions by the commissions of the Ministry of Religion and Instruction proved the lack of the space and sanitary insufficiency of the old premises for such a large *Gymnasium*, the latter continued to occupy the same building, despite the wide public debates in press and numerous efforts of the *Gymnasium*'s directors to gain new premises.<sup>83</sup> Only in 1894, the Ministry of Religion and Instruction approved the purchase of additional buildings in *Circusgasse* Nr. 46 and 48, which were erected in Renaissance style after the project of Gustav Sachs. The *Gymnasium* was relocated there in 1899, having acquired twelve classrooms, each for between 42 and 56 students approximately, modern gym and cabinet of Physics at its disposal. The location of the *Gymnasium* in *Leopoldstadt*, which was heavily populated by Jews, resulted in that fact that it was almost "Jewish" *Gymnasium*, with the number of Jewish students two and a half times exceeding the number of Catholics (see table 3/11).

<sup>83</sup> Waniek, 4-9.

**Table 3/11. Students of the *Sophien-Gymnasium* by Denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1879/80	91	21,5	324	76,6	8	1,9	423	100
1882/83	155	27,4	403	71,2	8	1,4	566	100
1897/98	119	26,7	322	72,2	5	1,1	446	100
1899/1900	124	27,7	312	69,8	11	2,5	447	100
1904/05	144	30,6	315	67,0	11	2,3	470	100
1909/1910	184	36,9	298	59,7	17	3,4	499	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

For *Leopoldstadt* was also place of usual settlement for the migrants from Galicia and Bukovina, the frequency of Slavic students in the *Sophien-Gymnasium* was higher than in other *Gymnasien* (see table 3/12). According to the data from the *Hauptprotokolle der Maturitätsprüfungen* of the *Sophien-Gymnasium* for the years between 1883 and 1910, the non-German students came from Sokolow, Krakau and Lemberg in Galicia; Trebitsch and Nikolsburg in Moravia; Falgendorf and Kolin in Bohemia; Szekul and Frauenkirchen in Hungary; Czernowitz in Bukowina; Warsaw in “Russian Poland”; and Bakau in Romania.

**Table 3/12. Students of the *Sophien-Gymnasium* by Native Language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1879/80	387	91,5	18	4,2	10	2,4	8	1,9	423	100
1882/83	523	92,4	24	4,2	10	1,8	9	1,6	566	100
1897/98	403	90,4	29	6,5	9	2,0	5	1,1	446	100
1899/1900	410	91,7	26	5,8	5	1,1	6	1,3	447	100
1904/05	442	94,0	13	2,8	8	1,7	7	1,5	470	100
1909/1910	456	91,4	28	5,6	13	2,6	2	0,4	499	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

The successor of the *Sophien-Gymnasium*, the *Zirkusgasse-Gymnasium*, still occupies the building in *Zirkusgasse* Nr. 46-48; the class journals for the classes from the

first to the eighth as well as the protocols of the *Maturitätsprüfung* since the very foundation of the *Sophien-Gymnasium* are also kept there.

### 3.5. *The Sperlgymnasium in the Second District*

The *Sperlgymnasium* in the second district was founded not by the central state authorities, but by the municipality of Vienna as the *Communalreal- und Obergymnasium* of the *Leopoldstadt*. With the *Mariahilfergymnasium* in the sixth district, it presented one of the two *Realgymnasium* in the inner districts of Vienna between 1870 and 1910, where the eight-class system and *Maturitätsprüfungen* for graduates were introduced since 1872, which meant that along the classical *k. k. Gymnasien* it provided the educational basis for liberal bourgeois and cultural elites of Vienna.

In the place of the school building in *Kleine Sperlgasse* 2, which is still occupied by the *Sperlgymnasium* nowadays, there was one of the best known pleasure bars of Vienna during the *Biedermeier* period, called *Sperl*, where Johann Strauss and Josef Lanner inspired her fans with lively waltz compositions. After the abandonment of the pleasure bar, the *Communalreal- und Obergymnasium* of the *Leopoldstadt* was accommodated there in 1878, having received a new and for that time generously equipped building, and kept the name of *Sperl*. Still today, a plaque in the staircase of the building reminds of Dr. Alois Pokorny, the famous botanist and the first director of the school.

Due to the large population of *Leopoldstadt*, the frequency of the *Sperlgymnasium* was high, around 470 students per year, with approximately seventeen students sharing the supervision of one teacher, as it can be seen from the table 3/13.

As it follows from the tables 3/14 and 3/15, the overrepresentation of Jewish students – almost three times exceeding the Catholics, as well as the number of non-German native speakers, were even higher in the *Sperlgymnasium* than in the *Sophien-Gymnasium* located in the same district.

**Table 3/13. Ratio of teachers and students in the *Sperlgymnasium***  
(at the end of the II Semester).

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia-stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1871/72	1	30	31	423	18	441	14,2
1874/75	1	27	28	469	6	475	17,0
1879/80	1	26	27	516	10	526	19,5
1882/83	2	26	28	447	2	449	16,0

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1871* (Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1873), 180-181; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 34-35; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 100-101; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 38-39.

**Table 3/14. Students of the *Sperlgymnasium* by Denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1871/72	119	27,0	314	71,2	8	1,8	441	100
1874/75	108	22,7	357	75,2	10	2,1	475	100
1879/80	125	23,8	398	75,7	3	0,6	526	100
1882/83	120	26,7	325	72,4	4	0,9	449	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1873: 180-181; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 34-35; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 100-101; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 38-39.

**Table 3/15. Students of the *Sperlgymnasium* by Native Language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1871/72	424	96,1	9	2,0	6	1,4	2	0,5	441	100
1874/75	444	93,5	11	2,3	15	3,2	5	1,1	475	100
1879/80	457	86,9	29	5,5	23	4,4	17	3,2	526	100
1882/83	408	90,9	16	3,6	19	4,2	6	1,3	449	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1873: 180-181; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 34-35; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 100-101; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 38-39.

The most famous Jewish students of the *Sperlgymnasium* were, indisputably, the world-known psychiatrist Sigmund Freud, who attended it between 1865 and 1873 and passed the *Matura* with honors<sup>84</sup>; and his younger colleague, psychologist Alfred Adler.

<sup>84</sup> Moshe Gresser, *Dual Allegiance: Freud As a Modern Jew* (New York: SUNY Press, 1994), 23-40.



### 3.6. *The k. k. Landstrasser-Gymnasium in the Third District*

The *k. k. Landerstrasser-Gymnasium* was founded in January, 1869 by the imperial decree as a *Real-Untergymnasium* with “a possibility of transformation into *Obergymnasium*”.<sup>85</sup> The fulfillment of this possibility was sought by the first director of the *Gymnasium*, August Gernerth, who was a professor of Mathematics from the *Akademisches Gymnasium*. The building, where the *Gymnasium* was allocated, belonged to a quiet green-town in *Landstrasse*, with the palace and English park of the Russian ambassador, count Andrey Rasumovsky.

The first academic year of the *Landstrasser-Gymnasium* began in October 1869 for four classes embracing 95 students. The first *Maturitätsprüfung* were carried out in 1874, with nine candidates having undergone the examinations.<sup>86</sup> Due to the rapid growth of the students’ number, which can be observed from table 3/16, and the extension of the *Gymnasium*, a new building was erected for it in 1877 as a pendant to the Razumovsky palace.

The mixed population of the third district left mark on the ethnic composition of the students enrolled to the *Landstrasser-Gymnasium*. Table 3/17 demonstrates the presentation of Slavic-speaking students as well as a small number of those from Hungary and other European countries. The *Gymnasium* was also characterized by a significant presence of Jewish students, as well as of Protestants, who compound the most part of the group for “Other” in table 3/18.

Among the famous students of the *Landstrasser-Gymnasium* was the Austrian novelist, essayist and poet Heimito von Dorerer, who graduated from it in 1914.

<sup>85</sup> Friedrich Kant, “Ein Blick zurück”, in *100 Jahre Landstraßer Gymnasium: Festschrift mit Jahresbericht 1968/69* (Wien: Ferdinand Sailer OHG, 1969), 14.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 15.

**Table 3/16. Ratio of Teachers and Students in the *Landstrasser-Gymnasium* (at the End of the Semester II)**

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia-stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1877/78	3	20	23	399	3	402	17,5
1879/80	4	25	29	474	6	480	16,6
1882/83	4	27	31	486	5	491	15,8
1897/98	4	23	27	469	3	472	17,5
1899/1900	4	24	28	505	8	513	18,3
1904/05	3	26	29	537	-	537	18,5

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1877*. Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1880. Teil V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31.

**Table 3/17. Students of the *Landstrasser-Gymnasium* by Native Language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1877/78	367	91,3	25	6,2	8	2,0	2	0,5	402	100
1879/80	456	95,0	19	3,4	3	0,6	2	0,4	480	100
1882/83	459	93,5	23	4,7	8	1,6	1	0,2	491	100
1897/98	445	94,3	24	5,1	2	0,4	1	0,2	472	100
1899/1900	486	94,7	20	3,9	3	0,6	4	0,8	513	100
1904/05	515	95,9	16	3,0	4	0,7	2	0,4	537	100
1909/1910	568	95,8	15	2,5	6	1,0	4	0,7	593	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1880: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

**Table 3/18. Students of the *Landstrasser-Gymnasium* by Denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1877/78	302	75,1	78	19,4	22	5,5	402	100
1879/80	348	72,5	98	20,4	34	7,1	480	100
1882/83	357	72,7	95	19,3	39	7,9	491	100
1897/98	357	75,6	79	16,7	36	7,6	472	100
1899/1900	389	75,8	85	16,6	39	7,6	513	100
1904/05	413	76,9	83	15,5	41	7,6	537	100
1909/1910	470	79,3	82	13,8	41	6,9	593	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1880: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

### 3.7. The k. k. Theresianische Akademie in the Fourth District

The *Gymnasium of Theresianum*, or *Theresianische Akademie*, was founded as early as in 1746 as a private school with public accreditation. The empress Maria Theresa deliberately bought the baroque palace in the forth district of Vienna, *Wieden*, for the *Gymnasium*, in which it has been allocated till nowadays. The *Gymnasium of Theresianum* was designed as an extremely elitist educational institution for the sons of aristocratic families. After 1849, however, the emperor Franz Joseph cancelled its privilege of a “school for noble youth” and allowed the admission of sons of bourgeoisie as external students.<sup>87</sup> The first bourgeois and, accordingly, external student of the *Gymnasium of Theresianum* was Karl Lueger, the forthcoming major of Vienna and the founder of the Christian Social Party, known for his anti-Semitism and racism.

The *Gymnasium of Theresianum*, teaching normally between 350 and 380 students a year (see table 3/19), always had a special political and pedagogical importance. Its students came from all the regions of the Dual monarchy and spoke different languages, which is proved by their ethnic proportion shown in table 2/20. The curriculum of the *Gymnasium* was characterized by the dominance of the foreign languages: along the obligatory Hungarian classes, one could study there French, Italian, English, Bohemian, Polish, Slovak, Serbian- Croatian, and Romanian.

From table 3/20, it can be seen that the *Gymnasium of Theresianum* was a favorite *Gymnasium* in Vienna among the Hungarians. The sons of the Hungarian aristocracy were even taught according to a special curriculum and had a specific organization of the *Maturitätsprüfung* in that *Gymnasium*.

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<sup>87</sup> About the history of the *Gymnasium of Theresianische Akademie* see Johann Schwarz, “Geschichte der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie von ihrer Gründung bis zum Curatorium Sr. Excellenz Anton Ritter von Schmerling, 1746 bis 1865,” in *Jahresbericht über das Gymnasium an der k.k. Theresianischen Akademie für das Jahr 1890* (Wien: Selbstverlag des Gymnasiums, 1890), 3-25.

**Table 3/19. Ratio of Teachers and Students in the *Gymnasium* of  
*Theresianische Akademie* (at the end of the Semester II)**

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia -stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1869/70	4	29	33	295	5	300	9,1
1874/75	6	26	32	316	12	328	10,3
1879/80	2	23	25	350	28	378	15,1
1882/83	6	18	24	317	36	353	14,7
1897/98	5	20	25	370	23	393	15,7
1899/1900	6	16	22	361	15	376	17,1
1904/05	6	14	20	368	15	383	19,1

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31.

**Table 3/20. Students of the *Gymnasium* of *Theresianische Akademie*  
by Native Language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1869/70	176	58,7	61	20,3	45	15,0	18	6,0	300	100
1874/75	201	61,3	48	14,6	56	17,1	23	7,0	328	100
1879/80	264	69,8	28	7,4	73	19,3	13	3,4	378	100
1882/83	235	66,6	32	9,1	73	20,7	13	3,7	353	100
1897/98	296	75,3	44	11,2	42	10,7	11	2,8	393	100
1899/1900	284	75,5	40	10,6	43	11,4	9	2,4	376	100
1904/05	276	72,1	42	11,0	53	13,8	12	3,1	383	100
1909/1910	282	74,6	35	9,3	48	12,7	13	3,4	378	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

Though the *Gymnasium* was designed as a very Catholic one, it taught a significant share of Protestants, while the presentation of Jewish students was minimal there (see table 3/21).

**Table 3/21. Students of the *Gymnasium of Theresianische Akademie*  
by Denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1869/70	270	90,0	3	1,0	27	9,0	300	100
1874/75	279	85,1	13	4,0	36	11,0	328	100
1879/80	328	86,8	8	2,1	42	11,1	378	100
1882/83	311	88,1	3	0,8	39	11,0	353	100
1897/98	334	85,0	7	1,8	52	13,2	393	100
1899/1900	314	83,5	10	2,7	52	13,8	376	100
1904/05	315	82,2	6	1,6	62	16,2	383	100
1909/1910	306	81,0	2	0,5	70	18,5	378	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

In spite of the imperial permission for bourgeoisie to be taught in the *Gymnasium* of *Theresianum*, the overwhelming majority of its students remained of aristocratic origin during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

### **3.8. The *k. k. Elizabeth-Gymnasium* in the Fifth District**

The *k. k. Elizabeth-Gymnasium*, which today's name is *Rainer-Bundes- und Realgymnasium*, started its history in the year of 1878, when by imperial decree it was ordered to establish a state *Gymnasium* in the area of the fourth district. The management was assigned to the former director of the *Gymnasium* in Wiener-Neustadt, Dr. Wilhelm Biehl.<sup>88</sup> At first, it was allocated in the building of the Piarist church of St. Thekla, in *Wiedener Hauptstraße* Nr. 82, and occupied the former premise of the municipal school for boys.

The ceremony of the opening of the *Gymnasium* took place in September 1879, with 127 first-year students being enrolled. For the number of students was too large, an

<sup>88</sup> Franz Strauch, *Geschichte des 25-jährigen Bestandes des k. k. Elizabeths-Gymnasiums* (Wien: Druck von Rudolf Brezezowsky und Söhne, 1904), 5.

additional parallel for the first-year course of studies was organized. In the following years, the second, third, forth, fifth, sixth, and seventh classes were divided into parallel classes as well. Afterwards the further division into parallels was to be refused from because of the space shortage.<sup>89</sup> In 1886, the student of the eighth class became the first graduates of the *Elizabeth-Gymnasium*, which was granted its name in 1895 by the imperial decree.

The growth of students' number, shown in table 3/22, was so rapid in the 1880s that the emperor approved the project of a new building for the *Gymnasium* in *Rainergasse* 33, in the fifth district, where *Gymnasium* started its academic year of 1894/95, with 534 students in thirteen classes.<sup>90</sup> Thus the *Elizabeth-Gymnasium*, which was originally situated in the fourth district, became the state *Gymnasium* of the fifth district of Vienna, *Margareten*.

**Table 3/22. Ratio of Teachers and Students in the *Elizabeth-Gymnasium*  
(at the end of the Semester II)**

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia- stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1882/83	1	14	15	222	4	226	15,0
1897/98	1	21	22	367	1	368	16,7
1899/1900	2	19	21	343	4	347	16,5
1904/05	3	24	27	382	-	382	14,1

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31.

Table 3/23 demonstrates the presence of non-German ethnic groups in the *Elizabeth-Gymnasium* between 1880 and 1910; as to the denominational composition, both Jews and Protestant compounded around one eighth from the whole number of students enrolled in the *Gymnasium*, which follows from table 3/24.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 5-6.

<sup>90</sup> Official webpage of the *Rainergymnasium*  
[http://www.rainergymnasium-wien.at/index.php?article\\_id=132](http://www.rainergymnasium-wien.at/index.php?article_id=132).

**Table 3/23. Students of the *Elizabeth-Gymnasium* by Native Language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1882/83	204	90,2	8	3,5	11	4,9	3	1,3	226	100
1897/98	341	92,7	20	5,4	4	1,1	3	0,8	368	100
1899/1900	329	94,8	15	4,3	2	0,6	1	0,3	347	100
1904/05	370	96,9	12	3,1	-	-	-	-	382	100
1909/1910	428	94,9	16	3,5	2	0,4	5	1,1	451	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

**Table 3/24. Students of the *Elizabeth-Gymnasium* by Denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1882/83	186	82,3	29	12,8	11	4,9	226	100
1897/98	295	80,2	36	9,8	37	10,1	368	100
1899/1900	274	79,0	33	9,5	40	11,5	347	100
1904/05	288	75,4	58	15,2	36	9,4	382	100
1909/1910	335	74,3	57	12,6	59	13,1	451	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

The name of the empress Elizabeth, granted to the *Gymnasium*, was appreciated by its faculty and students as a great honour, and the considerable efforts were undertaken to meet the high rank: multiple donations were used to improve the school equipment and the collections of geographical, historical, physical, natural-historical, and other teaching materials, as well as for the decoration of the walls in the corridors and staircases with framed pictures and glass doors.<sup>91</sup> With the introducing of Sports as an obligatory subject, the large and well-equipped gym was arranged. Taking into account the good organization and provision, and relatively low number of students per teacher (see table 2/22), the *Elizabeth-Gymnasium* was considered a high-level educational institution in Vienna in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

<sup>91</sup> Strauch, 8-9.

### 3.9. The k. k. Mariahilfergymnasium in the Sixth district

The *Mariahilfergymnasium*, founded as a communal *Unter-Real-Gymnasium* in *Mariahilf*, the sixth district of Vienna, started its first academic year in October 1864, with 109 students arranged in parallel classes. Between 1867 and 1869 it was developed to the full *Ober-Realgymnasium*; in 1893/94 it was transformed into a classical state *Gymnasium*.<sup>92</sup> Originally, the school premises as well as the flats of the director and school personnel were allocated in *Schmalzhofgasse* Nr. 18; with the expansion of the *Gymnasium*, however, the municipality decided to assign it the premises of the former Esterházy Gallery in the Kaunitz palace. In the following years the northern buildings of the Esterházy real-estate were reequipped for the needs of the *Gymnasium*.

Table 3/25 demonstrates a relatively high number of teachers employed in the *Mariahilfergymnasium*, with a moderate number of students, if compared to other *Gymnasiums*; that provided a good ratio of teachers and students, with approximately fourteen students per teacher.

**Table 3/25. Ratio of Teachers and Students in the *Mariahilfergymnasium*  
(at the end of the Semester II)**

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia-stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1871/72	1	25	26	324	4	328	12,6
1874/75	1	26	27	359	3	362	13,4
1879/80	2	32	34	448	3	451	13,3
1882/83	2	35	37	419	2	421	11,4
1897/98	1	30	31	446	2	448	14,5
1899/1900	2	27	29	446	2	448	15,4
1904-1905	2	26	28	433	4	437	15,6

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1873:180-181; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 34-35; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 100-101; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 38-39; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31.

<sup>92</sup> M. Binn, "Geschichte des Mariahilfer Gymnasiums mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte seines Hauses, des alten Palastes der Kaunitz und Esterházy", in *Jahres-Bericht des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums im VI. Bezirke Wiens über das Schuljahr 1913/1914* (Wien: Verlag des k. k. Staats- Gymnasiums, 1914), 8-9.



As to the ethnic composition of the students in the *Mariahilfergymnasium* between 1870 and 1910, the German-speaking students were prevailing there, with a slight presence of other ethnic groups (see table 3/26). The *Gymnasium* was characterized by a strong presence of Jews, who amounted around one third of the whole number of students, and even around a half in particular years (see table 3/27).

**Table 3/26. The students of the *Mariahilfergymnasium* by native language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1871/72	319	97,3	7	2,1	2	0,6	-	-	328	100
1874/75	353	97,5	7	1,9	1	0,3	1	0,3	362	100
1879/80	431	95,6	15	3,3	2	0,4	3	0,7	451	100
1882/83	408	96,9	7	1,7	4	1,0	2	0,5	421	100
1897/98	436	97,3	6	1,3	2	0,4	4	0,9	448	100
1899/1900	437	97,5	8	1,8	3	0,7	-	-	448	100
1904-1905	425	97,3	4	0,9	5	1,1	3	0,7	437	100
1909/1910	401	97,1	9	2,2	2	0,5	1	0,2	413	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1873:180-181; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 34-55; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 100-101; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 38-39; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

**Table 3/27. The students of the *Mariahilfergymnasium* by denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1871/72	274	83,5	44	13,4	10	3,0	328	100
1874/75	279	77,1	62	17,1	21	5,8	362	100
1879/80	304	67,4	106	23,5	41	9,1	451	100
1882/83	270	64,1	106	25,2	45	10,7	421	100
1897/98	268	59,8	140	31,3	40	8,9	448	100
1899/1900	284	63,4	124	27,7	40	8,9	448	100
1904-1905	271	62,0	134	30,7	32	7,3	437	100
1909/1910	230	55,7	151	36,3	32	7,7	413	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1873:180-181; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 34-35; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 100-101; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 38-39; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

One of the peculiarities of the *Mariahilfergymnasium* was its close relations with the Schiller's circle *Die Glocke*, for the first director of the *Gymnasium*, Dr. med. Benedikt

Kopezky, was the head of the circle, and a number of the *Gymnasium*'s teacher were the members of *Die Glocke* as well. As a result, almost every year starting since 1865, a student from the *Mariahilfergymnasium* was granted by an honorable gift, books by Schiller, and a small sum of money from the circle.<sup>93</sup> This fact testifies about the participation of the *Mariahilfergymnasium*'s students in the cultural life of fin-de-siècle Vienna.

### 3.10. *The k. k. Piaristen-Gymnasium in the Eighth District*

The *Piaristen-Gymnasium* was founded by the decree of the emperor Leopold I as early as in 1697, and started its functioning in November 1701.<sup>94</sup> Initially it was managed by the Piarist order whose noble aim was the protection and spiritual upbringing of boys from poor families. Still nowadays one can read the motto of the *Gymnasium* over the baroque entrance portal of the school, *Pietati et litteris* ("for piety and science"), edged with two angels.

The Piarists run the school until 1870. During the so called Austrian "liberal era" from 1866 to 1879, the general school requirements were considerably raised for the scientific and technical boom brought about the demand for qualified specialists and scientists. The curriculum of the *Gymnasium* was expanded, which required enrolling the bigger number of teachers who had passed the special exam to prove their professional qualification. The Piarist ecclesiastic teachers, however, did not pass such an exam in most of cases; moreover, on the account of all these innovations, the running of the *Gymnasium* required more and more investments, while the Piarists collected very small fees from their students. For these reasons, the Piarist order passed the control over the *Gymnasium* to the state in 1870, and the school received the name of the "*k. k. Staatsgymnasium* in the eighth

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<sup>93</sup> Binn, 8.

<sup>94</sup> About the more detailed history of the *Piaristen-Gymnasium* see Brigitte Stemberger, *300 Jahre Piaristengymnasium Bundesgymnasium Wien 8* (Wien: Elternverein, 2001).

district”.<sup>95</sup> Afterwards less and less ecclesiastic teachers from the Order held on teaching in the *Gymnasium* until no one of them was employed there, which can be seen from table 3/28.

**Table 3/28. Ratio of Teachers and Students in the *Piaristen-Gymnasium*  
(at the end of the Semester II)**

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia- -stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1869/70	16	6	22	669	60	729	33,1
1874/75	6	13	19	281	3	284	14,9
1879/80	7	20	27	625	17	642	23,8
1882/83	5	24	29	451	11	462	15,9
1897/98	1	26	27	467	6	473	17,5
1899/1900	2	21	23	504	5	509	22,1
1904/05	1	23	24	510	2	512	21,3

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31.

Due to the social composition of the population in the eighth district of Vienna, *Josephstadt*, and that fact that the *Gymnasium* continued to support the children from poor families, quite a large number of students in the *Piaristen-Gymnasium* came from low classes. The students from well-to-do families, however, were also enrolled to the *Gymnasium*; they were, as a rule, the pupils of a closed boarding school for sons of the Austro-Hungarian nobility and bourgeoisie, organized in the building of the *Piarist Collegium*. Among these pupils of the boarding school attending the *Piaristen-Gymnasium*, was the son of W. A. Mozart, Karl, who was sent there by his father.

The boarding school was an essential source of income for the Piarists, and they undertook considerable efforts for its organization and equipment; since 1860 there was even a swimming-pool, which was imparted to the disposal of the students of the

<sup>95</sup> Stemberger, 10.

*Gymnasium* after the shutdown of the boarding school.<sup>96</sup> As the number of the pupils of the latter decreased dramatically in the second half of the nineteenth century, the state rented the empty premises, like the gym, to satisfy the needs of the growing *Piaristen-Gymnasium*.

**Table 3/29. Students of the *Piaristen-Gymnasium* by Native Language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1869/70	662	90,8	36	4,9	18	2,5	13	1,8	729	100
1874/75	262	92,3	8	2,8	8	2,8	6	2,1	284	100
1879/80	573	89,3	44	6,9	17	2,6	8	1,2	642	100
1882/83	430	93,1	16	3,5	11	2,4	5	1,1	462	100
1897/98	443	93,7	19	4,0	5	1,1	6	1,3	473	100
1899/1900	485	95,3	19	3,7	1	0,2	4	0,8	509	100
1904/05	494	96,5	12	2,3	4	0,8	2	0,4	512	100
1909/1910	498	95,4	19	3,6	2	0,4	3	0,6	522	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

During the Dual monarchy, the students of the *Piaristen-Gymnasium* came from all the crownlands; their native languages were German, Polish, Czech, and Hungarian, which can be seen from table 3/29.

**Table 3/30. Students of the *Piaristen-Gymnasium* by Denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1869/70	687	94,2	30	4,1	12	1,6	729	100
1874/75	257	90,5	17	6,0	10	3,5	284	100
1879/80	576	89,7	41	6,4	25	3,9	642	100
1882/83	381	82,5	58	12,6	23	5,0	462	100
1897/98	353	74,6	83	17,5	37	7,8	473	100
1899/1900	371	72,9	93	18,3	45	8,8	509	100
1904/05	383	74,8	91	17,8	38	7,4	512	100
1909/1910	368	70,5	120	23,0	34	6,5	522	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1871:366-67; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1877: V, 24-25; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

<sup>96</sup> Official webpage of the BG VIII Piaristengymnasium.  
<http://www.bg8.at/>

Since 1850, the *Piaristen-Gymnasium*, previously exclusively Catholic, was attended also by Protestant and Jewish students. In particular academic years, around one fourth of students were Jews; sometimes also one third of students were Protestants (see table 3/30). For each denomination there were special Religion classes.

### 3.11. *The k. k. Maximilian-Gymnasium in the Ninth District*

The *Maximilian-Gymnasium* was founded in 1871 in the ninth district of Vienna, *Alsergrund*, which along the second district, *Leopoldstadt*, was most heavily inhabited by Jewish population. Moreover, *Alsegrund* was a district around the university where those of intellectual professions resided, and where the prosperous middle-class Jewish families sought to move from *Leopoldstadt*, looking for upward social mobility. The Jews of *Alsegrund* sent their offspring to the *Maximilian-Gymnasium*, using the *Gymnasium* education as a chance for them to enter afterwards a university and join the more prestigious world of the professional middle class as lawyers, doctors, writers, and managers.<sup>97</sup> The *Maximilian-Gymnasium* itself, therefore, became an integral part of the liberal bourgeois culture.

**Table 3/31. Ratio of Teachers and Students in the *Maximilian-Gymnasium*  
(at the end of the Semester II)**

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Number of students for one teacher
	ecclesia-stic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1877/78	2	23	25	372	25	397	15,9
1879/80	1	27	28	397	32	429	15,3
1882/83	1	27	28	393	29	422	15,1
1897/98	3	21	24	484	7	491	20,5
1899/1900	2	23	25	465	5	470	18,8
1904/05	2	27	29	407	2	409	14,1

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1877*, Teil V (Wien: Druck der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1880), 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31.

<sup>97</sup> Rozenblit, 108-114.

Between 1870 and 1910, around 400 students were annually taught in the *Maximilian-Gymnasium* (see table 3/31); the majority of them were native German-speakers, with small minority of those whose native language was Slavic or Hungarian (see table 3/32).

**Table 3/32. The students of the *Maximilian-Gymnasium* by native language**

Academic year	Native language									
	German		Slavic		Hungarian		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1877/78	346	87,2	26	6,5	11	2,8	14	3,5	397	100
1879/80	380	88,6	30	7,0	12	2,8	7	1,6	429	100
1882/83	385	91,2	17	4,0	10	2,4	10	2,4	422	100
1897/98	467	95,1	9	1,8	6	1,2	9	1,8	491	100
1899/1900	449	95,5	11	2,3	6	1,3	4	0,9	470	100
1904/05	390	95,4	11	2,7	7	1,7	1	0,2	409	100
1909/1910	418	96,5	7	1,6	5	1,2	3	0,7	433	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1880: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

From table 3/33, it can be observed that the number of Jewish students gradually became equal to the number of Catholics, and then exceeded it more than twice by the year of 1910.

**Table 3/33. The students of the *Maximilian-Gymnasium* by denomination**

Academic year	Denomination							
	Catholic		Jews		Other		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1877/78	213	53,7	149	37,5	35	8,8	397	100
1879/80	225	52,4	175	40,8	29	6,8	429	100
1882/83	197	46,7	198	46,9	27	6,4	422	100
1897/98	152	31,0	316	64,4	23	4,7	491	100
1899/1900	140	29,8	306	65,1	24	5,1	470	100
1904/05	135	33,0	258	63,1	16	3,9	409	100
1909/1910	128	29,6	280	64,7	25	5,8	433	100

Sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1880: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1882: V, 84-85; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1885: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1900: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1902: IX, 1, 32-33; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1907: IX, 1, 30-31; *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1912: IX, 1, 30-31.

The most prominent students and graduates of the *Maximilian-Gymnasium* were the physician Karl Landsteiner; and the novelist and biographer Stefan Zweig, who described

his experience in this *Gymnasium* in his famous autobiography *The World of Yesterday*. One can add the conductor Erich Kleiber; social democratic politician Julius Tandler; biochemist Erwin Chargaff; writer and poet Peter Hammerschlag; and many other outstanding representatives of cultural elite in fin-de-siècle Vienna. After the World War I, the *Maximilian-Gymnasium* was renamed as the *Wasagymnasium*, which name it has kept until nowadays and is still situated in the same building in the very centre of Vienna.

### 3.12. General Tables for the Viennese Central Gymnasien between 1870 and 1910

On the basis of the tables constructed for each of the eleven Viennese *Gymnasien* this study is concentrated on, the general tables 3/34, 3/35, and 3/36 were made up, which summarize the changes in frequency, teachers/students ratio, and ethnic and denominational composition of students, and illustrate, therefore, the whole picture of *Gymnasium* education in Vienna between 1870 and 1910.

**Table 3/34. Ratio of Teachers and Students in Central Viennese Gymnasien  
in 1870-1910**

Academic year	Teachers			Students			Average number of students for one teacher
	eccles- -iastic	secular	total	regular	private tuition	total	
1869/70 ( 4 Gymnasien)	42	61	103	1972	154	2126	20,6
1874/75 ( 7 Gymnasien)	36	138	174	2518	136	2654	15,3
1879/80 (10 Gymnasien)	39	229	268	4485	219	4704	17,6
1882/83 ( 11 Gymnasien)	36	252	288	4350	185	4535	15,7
1897/98 ( 10 Gymnasien)	34	217	251	4077	104	4181	16,7
1899/1900 (10 Gymnasien)	39	197	236	4088	82	4170	17,7
1904/05 ( 10 Gymnasien)	39	209	248	4165	62	4227	17,0

From table 3/34, it can be observed that, along the general growth in number of teachers and students, the ratio of the latter remained around seventeen students per teacher, which must have provided a satisfactory supervision in the Viennese *Gymnasien* during the period under question, and testifies about the good level of educational conditions there. An explicit trend of the reducing number of students with private tuition can be, probably,

explained by the modernization of educational system, with relapsing popularity of home education.

From table 3/35, it follows that the overwhelming majority of the *Gymnasium* students in Vienna between 1870 and 1910 were native German-speakers, while the Slavic and Hungarian native-speakers shared less than 10 per cent of the whole number of *Gymnasium* students, approximately in equal proportions.

**Table 3/35. Students of Central Viennese *Gymnasien* in 1870-1910  
by Native Language**

Academic year	Native language					
	German, %	Slavic, %	Hungarian, %	Other, %	Total	
					number	%
1869/70 ( 4 Gymnasien)	89	6	3	2	2126	100
1874/75 ( 7 Gymnasien)	90	4	4	2	2654	100
1879/80 ( 10 Gymnasien)	90	4	4	2	4688	100
1882/83 ( 11 Gymnasien)	92	4	3	1	4535	100
1897/98 ( 10 Gymnasien)	93	4	2	1	4181	100
1899/1900 ( 10 Gymnasien)	93	4	2	1	4170	100
1904/05 (10 Gymnasien)	94	3	2	1	4227	100
1909/10 (10 Gymnasien)	94	3	2	1	4557	100

**Table 3/36. Students of Central Viennese *Gymnasien* in 1870-1910  
by Denomination**

Academic year	Denomination				
	Catholic, %	Jews, %	Other, %	Total	
				number	%
1869/70 (4 Gymnasien)	80	15	5	2126	100
1874/75 ( 7 Gymnasien)	63	31	6	2654	100
1879/80 ( 10 Gymnasien)	60	34	6	4688	100
1882/83 ( 11 Gymnasien)	59	34	7	4535	100
1897/98 (10 Gymnasien)	62	31	7	4181	100
1899/1900 (10 Gymnasien)	62	30	8	4170	100
1904/05 ( 10 Gymnasien)	62	30	8	4227	100
1909/10 (10 Gymnasien)	61	30	9	4557	100

The denominational composition of the *Gymnasium* students was subjected to significant changes in Vienna during the second half of the nineteenth century, as it



becomes evident from table 3/36. The Jews, who until the 1870s compounded around 15 per cent of the whole number of *Gymnasium* students, afterwards committed a considerable leap and constituted about one third of the whole number. The number of Protestant students also demonstrates a slow but steady growth between 1870 and 1910.

So, on the assumption that *Gymnasien* students of the inner districts represented the base of the educated elite in Vienna as a whole, it can be concluded that ethnic composition of the Viennese educated elite between 1870 and 1910 was characterized by the following proportions: 90 per cent of German origin, 4 per cent of Slavic, 3 per cent of Hungarian, and around 1 per cent of those who came from outside of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; and denominational composition as follows: 63 per cent of Catholics, 30 per cent of Jews, and around 7 per cent of Protestants and other minor confessions represented in the *Gymnasien* of Vienna.

## *Chapter IV*

### *Social Factors of Academic Performances and Career Option*

In this chapter, the correlations between the academic performance in mandatory subjects of the graduates of the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910, and their social, regional, and denominational background, and choice of career as well, are presented.

According to the *Proposal of the Best Features of Public Education in Austria* which established the general framework for *Gymnasium* education in the Dual monarchy, the nine mandatory subjects to be taught in *Obergymnasium* were Religion, Latin, Greek, native Language (German in case of the Viennese *Gymnasien*), Geography and History, Mathematics, Natural History, Physics, and Philosophical Propaedeutics.<sup>98</sup> All these subjects appear in the tables which demonstrate the afore-mentioned correlations, with the only exception that the grades for Physics and Natural History are combined within one category, as the latter subjects were often united into one in the Viennese *Gymnasien*, especially before the turn of the century.

The records of the graduates' grades in particular subjects were taken for this study from the eighth classes' *Hauptkataloge* and *Maturitätsprüfungsprotokolle* of the *Sophiengymnasium* in the second district of Vienna, *Mariahilfergymnasium* in the sixth district, and *Maximilian-Gymnasium* in the ninth district; the grades of the *Akademisches Gymnasium*'s graduates were taken from the data collected by Steven Beller. The results for the former three *Gymnasien* significantly differ from those for the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, starting with the fact that the grades received by the students of the latter were systematically considerably lower than the grades of students in the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*-

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<sup>98</sup> *Entwurf der Organization der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Österreich* (Vienna: Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, 1849), 19-20.

and *Maximilian-Gymnasien* (see table 4/1). This could be due to the fact that the *Akademisches Gymnasium* was the most authoritative exemplary *Gymnasium* in Vienna, located in the first district, and the academic requirements were the most rigorous and severest there. For that reason, it was expedient to construct separate tables for the combined case of the *Sophien-*, *Mariahilfer-* and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*, and for the case of the *Akademisches Gymnasium*.

**Table 4/1. Average grades obtained in Mandatory subjects by the students of the *Sophien-*, *Mariahilfer-* and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*; and of the *Akademisches Gymnasium* in Vienna between 1870 and 1907**

<i>Gymnasien</i>	Subject								Average level of performance
	Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propaedeutics	
<i>Sophien-, Mariahilfer- and Maximilian-Gymnasien</i>	4,85	3,63	3,75	3,94	4,25	3,96	3,81	4,11	4,04
<i>Akademisches Gymnasium</i>	3,96	2,82	2,77	2,83	3,09	2,99	2,93	2,99	3,05

In the *Sophien-*, *Mariahilfer-* and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*, the highest grades were obtained by students in Religion, Geography and History, Philosophical Propaedeutics, followed by those in Physics and Natural Sciences, German, Mathematics, and Greek and Latin as the most difficult subjects. Almost the same succession was characteristic for the students of the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, with the only difference that the grades obtained in Mathematics were a bit higher than those obtained in German. These findings allow drawing up a scale of complexity of the subjects taught in the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910, with Religion being the easiest subject and Latin the most complicated one.

For calculation of the average grades in particular subjects taught in the *Gymnasien* under question, the customary statistical method of drawing samples from a run of records

covering a period of years was applied, that is, the records of each fifth year between 1870 and 1910 were considered, or, if the records for the years selected were not available, they were substituted by those of the years nearest to the each fifth. As a result, the sample for three *Gymnasien* integrated around six hundred cases, and the sample for the *Akademisches Gymnasium* – around three hundred, which is representative enough for to carry out the main trends in the particular Viennese *Gymnasien*.

In the grading system of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, six types of grades were distinguished between 1866 and 1907, and four types since the year of 1908. The year of 1910 was excluded, therefore, from the samples to avoid a possible distortion of the average grades. As the grades were expressed in words, not in numbers, during the period under consideration for the reason of “moral advantage of words before the bare gradation of numbers”,<sup>99</sup> a conditionally accepted gradation was applied in this study, with “six” taken for the highest grade and “one” for the lowest one.

In view of the limited scope of the present research, no comprehensive or exhaustive explanations of the detected regularities are provided here, but just the clues to their interpretation, identified mostly in connection with the comparison to the similar study of Victor Karády for the case of the Hungarian *Gymnasien*.

#### ***4.1. Correlation between Academic Performance and Denominational Background of Students***

Tables 4/2 and 4/3 Table 3/2 demonstrate the average grades obtained in particular subjects by the students of different religious background in the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*, and in the *Akademisches Gymnasium* correspondently, between 1870 and 1907.

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 187.

**Table 4/2. Average Grades Obtained in Mandatory Subjects by Students of  
Different Denominations in the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien* in  
Vienna between 1870 and 1907\***

Denomination	Subject								Average grades for the whole category
	Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propaeutics	
Catholic (1)	<b>5,00</b> (248)	<b>3,58</b> (250)	<b>3,62</b> (249)	<b>3,88</b> (197)	<b>4,21</b> (248)	<b>3,88</b> (182)	<b>3,79</b> (248)	<b>4,03</b> (249)	<b>4,00</b>
Jewish (2)	<b>4,70</b> (335)	<b>3,69</b> (336)	<b>3,85</b> (336)	<b>3,98</b> (320)	<b>4,26</b> (334)	<b>3,98</b> (314)	<b>3,85</b> (336)	<b>4,17</b> (333)	<b>4,06</b>
3 = 2 - 1	<b>-0,30</b>	<b>0,11</b>	<b>0,23</b>	<b>0,10</b>	<b>0,05</b>	<b>0,06</b>	<b>0,06</b>	<b>0,14</b>	<b>0,06</b>
non-Catholic Christian	<b>5,42</b> (26)	<b>3,50</b> (30)	<b>3,73</b> (30)	<b>3,95</b> (20)	<b>4,37</b> (30)	<b>4,20</b> (20)	<b>3,63</b> (30)	<b>4,07</b> (30)	<b>4,11</b>
Average level of performance	<b>4,85</b>	<b>3,63</b>	<b>3,75</b>	<b>3,94</b>	<b>4,25</b>	<b>3,96</b>	<b>3,81</b>	<b>4,11</b>	<b>4,04</b>
Total number of cases	609	616	615	537	612	516	614	612	

\*Number of the cases considered is indicated in parentheses

It can be observed that generally the best performing denominational group of students in the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien* were non-Catholic Christian student, majority of which category for table 4/2 constituted Lutherans. Their over-performance, however, should not be generalized because of the small number included in the sample, and can be referred to the fact of “under-selection”, i.e. that only gifted children among the non-Christian Catholics were sent to *Gymnasien*. The samples of the Jews and Catholics are more representative, and demonstrate the systematically better performance of Jewish students in almost all subjects, except Religion.

The Jews were also in the lead as regards academic progress in the case of the *Akademisches Gymnasium*; they were followed by the Catholics with slight discrepancy in performance; and non-Catholic, with bigger backlog (see table 4/3).

**Table 4/3. Average Grades Obtained in Mandatory Subjects by Students of  
Different Denominations in the *Akademisches Gymnasium*  
in Vienna between 1870 and 1907\***

Denomination	Subject								Average grades for the whole category
	Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propaeutics	
Catholic (1)	<b>4,18</b> (125)	<b>2,82</b> (125)	<b>2,75</b> (124)	<b>2,80</b> (125)	<b>3,14</b> (125)	<b>3,02</b> (125)	<b>2,76</b> (125)	<b>2,98</b> (125)	<b>3,06</b>
Jewish (2)	<b>3,79</b> (160)	<b>2,82</b> (160)	<b>2,81</b> (160)	<b>2,90</b> (160)	<b>3,09</b> (160)	<b>2,97</b> (159)	<b>3,16</b> (160)	<b>3,03</b> (160)	<b>3,07</b>
3 = 2 - 1	<b>-0,39</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0,06</b>	<b>0,10</b>	<b>-0,05</b>	<b>-0,05</b>	<b>0,40</b>	<b>0,05</b>	<b>0,01</b>
non-Catholic Christian (4)	<b>3,86</b> (21)	<b>2,81</b> (26)	<b>2,65</b> (26)	<b>2,58</b> (26)	<b>2,85</b> (26)	<b>3,04</b> (26)	<b>2,93</b> (27)	<b>2,77</b> (26)	<b>2,94</b>
Average level of performance	<b>3,96</b>	<b>2,82</b>	<b>2,77</b>	<b>2,83</b>	<b>3,09</b>	<b>2,99</b>	<b>2,93</b>	<b>2,99</b>	<b>3,05</b>
Number of cases	306	311	310	311	311	310	312	311	310

\*Number of the cases considered is indicated in parentheses

Compared to the case of Hungary, and Budapest in particular, described by Karády, these findings are somewhat different, though the major trend of Jewish over-performance was the same in Vienna. In case of the *Gymnasien* in Budapest, there were massive differences between the Jews, performing better, and the non-Jews; while the gap between the achievements of the other Christians and Catholics was less significant.<sup>100</sup> In Vienna, the difference in the academic performance of the Jews and Catholics was less significant, especially in the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, while the number of non-Catholic Christians taught in the Viennese *Gymnasien* was too small to base any general conclusions on their achievements.

Regarding the performance of various denominational categories in particular subjects, it was similar in four *Gymnasien* in Religion, with the Jews performing worst of all denominations. In Latin and Greek, the Jews performed best of all, in the combined case of

<sup>100</sup> Karády, 142-43.

three *Gymnasien*; in the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, there was approximately equal lower performance of all groups. In German and Philosophical Propaedeutics, the Jews performed better than Catholics in both cases. In History and Geography, and in Physics and Natural History, the discrepancies in the academic progress of Catholic and Jewish students were very small, with the Jews performing even worse than Catholic in the case of the *Akademisches Gymnasium*.

In Mathematics, with almost equal performance of both major denominational groups in the case of three *Gymnasien*, the biggest over-performance of the Jews (0,40!) is evident in the *Akademisches Gymnasium*. This finding is different from the case of the Hungarian *Gymnasien*, where the preeminence of the Jews in Mathematics was the slightest one compared to that in other subjects.<sup>101</sup>

The general qualitative over-representation of the Jews and non-Catholic Christians in the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910 can be explained by the same reasons as their global quantitative over-representation in the Austro-Hungarian elite schooling, discussed in literature. According to Marsha Rozenblit, the main motive of Jewish high-degree attendance of *Gymnasien* and, correspondently, high academic progress, was the fact that elite education provided the Jews with continued access to high-status careers, and also contributed to their acculturation and assimilation in European culture, and allowed them to take place in respected social circles of the intelligentsia.<sup>102</sup> Friedrich Gottas asserts that Protestants in the Habsburgs monarchy shared some of the same general political and social experience as the Jews, being disadvantaged marginal or alien groups, although many of the Lutheran and Calvinist minorities were economically much better situated than most of the

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<sup>101</sup> Karády, 145.

<sup>102</sup> Rozenblit, 99-100.

Jewish population in the nineteenth century.<sup>103</sup> Cohen marks that for the offspring of urban middle-class Protestants after 1860, academic education helped protect the established social and economic positions,<sup>104</sup> while the high academic achievements could, probably, contribute to their upward social mobility.

Professor Karády points also to other social factors, such as “religious intellectualism” applicable to the Jews and Protestants alike, the self-assertion in one of the rare fields of “free competition”, “assimilationist compensation”, and “cultural capital”.<sup>105</sup> Anyway, the more detailed and full explanation of the over-performance of the Jews and non-Catholics in the Viennese *Gymnasium* during the Dual monarchy requires a special examination, which can not be undertaken within the present study.

#### ***4.2. Correlation between Academic Performance and Social Background of Students***

The correlation between the academic performance and social background of students in Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910 can be traced from tables 4/4 and 4/5. The social background of students was identified according to the father’s professions; the latter were conditionally integrated into eleven categories based on similarity of occupations and sufficient number of cases to make representative samples.

Thus, the category of “lower class” combines such professions as porter, stuccoer, valet, factory worker, gardener, carpenter, mechanic, time-worker, peasant, etc.; the category of “independent craftsmen, petty bourgeois” – engraver, jeweller, confectioner, baker, butcher, milkman, bookbinder, watch-maker, barber, tailor, shoemaker, etc; the category of “petty traders” – various kinds of retail dealers and small business

<sup>103</sup> Friedrich Gottas, “Geschichte des Protestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie,” in A. Wandruszka, P. Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848-1918*, Bd. IV (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 591-93.

<sup>104</sup> Gary B. Cohen, “Education, Social Mobility, and the Austrian Jews 1860-1910”, in Viktor Karády, Wolfgang Mitter (eds.), *Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1990), 153.

<sup>105</sup> Karády, 143.



representatives; the category of “lower civil servants” - lower officials, railway inspectors, post and bank controllers, as well as lower military men; the category of “higher civil servants” – court and local councilors and advisers, ambassadors, ministerial and higher military officials; the category of “Teachers, clerics” – professors, directors and teachers of all kinds of educational institutions, school inspectors, Catholic priests, Protestants pastors, and Jewish rabbis; the category of “artists” – writers, painters, musicians, opera singers, composers, architects, and sculptors; the category of “private employees” – managers, administrators, agents, accountants, economists, and bank officers in non-state organizations, enterprises and firms; the category of “free professionals” – lawyers, notaries, engineers, doctors, druggists, journalists, editors, publishers, etc.; the category of “entrepreneurial bourgeoisie” – manufacturers and industrialists, factory directors and owners, big businessmen, bankers, presidents and secretary generals of private organizations; and, at last, the category of “landlords and property owners” – land and real-estate owners, presumably living at the expense of the incomes from their private property.

As it follows from tables 4/4 and 4/5, the overwhelming majority of students taught in the *Sophien-*, *Mariahilfer-* and *Maximilian-Gymnasien* came from the families of independent craftsmen and petty bourgeois; that must have resulted from the particularities of the districts they were located in, which were the normal places of workshops and settlements of petty bourgeoisie. In the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, the proportions of social categories were more or less equal, except those of lower class and artists, which, in view of very small number cannot be taken into consideration.

**Table 4/4. Average Grades Obtained in Mandatory Subjects by Students of  
Different Social Background in the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*  
in Vienna between 1870 and 1907\***

Father's profession	Subject								Average grades for the whole category
	Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propaeutics	
Lower class	<b>5,43</b> (14)	<b>3,21</b> (14)	<b>3,29</b> (14)	<b>3,58</b> (12)	<b>4,43</b> (14)	<b>4,33</b> (12)	<b>3,86</b> (14)	<b>4,00</b> (14)	<b>4,02</b>
Independent craftsmen, petty bourgeois	<b>4,66</b> (140)	<b>3,72</b> (141)	<b>3,94</b> (141)	<b>4,06</b> (125)	<b>4,28</b> (141)	<b>3,93</b> (123)	<b>3,88</b> (141)	<b>4,09</b> (140)	<b>4,07</b>
Petty traders (without qualification)	<b>5,00</b> (17)	<b>3,63</b> (16)	<b>3,56</b> (16)	<b>4,07</b> (14)	<b>3,94</b> (16)	<b>3,63</b> (8)	<b>3,50</b> (16)	<b>3,75</b> (16)	<b>3,93</b>
Lower civil servants	<b>5,18</b> (58)	<b>3,47</b> (58)	<b>3,63</b> (57)	<b>3,74</b> (42)	<b>4,16</b> (58)	<b>3,63</b> (40)	<b>3,67</b> (58)	<b>3,93</b> (58)	<b>3,93</b>
Higher civil servants	<b>5,10</b> (30)	<b>3,70</b> (30)	<b>3,63</b> (30)	<b>3,62</b> (26)	<b>4,23</b> (30)	<b>3,96</b> (24)	<b>4,07</b> (30)	<b>4,23</b> (30)	<b>4,07</b>
Teachers, clerics	<b>4,88</b> (42)	<b>3,64</b> (42)	<b>3,79</b> (42)	<b>3,94</b> (35)	<b>4,12</b> (42)	<b>4,09</b> (35)	<b>3,90</b> (42)	<b>4,34</b> (41)	<b>4,09</b>
Artists	<b>5,17</b> (6)	<b>3,50</b> (6)	<b>3,83</b> (6)	<b>4,67</b> (3)	<b>4,83</b> (6)	<b>2,67</b> (3)	<b>3,17</b> (6)	<b>4,50</b> (6)	<b>4,04</b>
Private employees	<b>4,94</b> (81)	<b>3,75</b> (81)	<b>3,73</b> (81)	<b>4,10</b> (72)	<b>4,33</b> (81)	<b>4,03</b> (70)	<b>3,78</b> (81)	<b>4,19</b> (81)	<b>4,11</b>
Free professionals	<b>4,81</b> (47)	<b>3,73</b> (48)	<b>3,85</b> (48)	<b>4,17</b> (46)	<b>4,38</b> (48)	<b>3,89</b> (45)	<b>4,00</b> (48)	<b>4,17</b> (48)	<b>4,13</b>
Entrepreneurial bourgeoisie	<b>4,86</b> (58)	<b>3,61</b> (59)	<b>3,90</b> (59)	<b>3,90</b> (42)	<b>4,03</b> (59)	<b>3,92</b> (38)	<b>3,98</b> (59)	<b>4,10</b> (58)	<b>4,04</b>
Landlords and property owners	<b>4,84</b> (37)	<b>3,74</b> (38)	<b>3,87</b> (38)	<b>3,88</b> (32)	<b>4,53</b> (38)	<b>4,07</b> (30)	<b>3,95</b> (38)	<b>4,24</b> (38)	<b>4,14</b>
Average level of performance	<b>4,88</b>	<b>3,67</b>	<b>3,80</b>	<b>3,96</b>	<b>4,26</b>	<b>3,93</b>	<b>3,86</b>	<b>4,13</b>	<b>4,06</b>
Total number of cases	530	533	532	449	533	428	533	530	

\*Number of the cases considered is indicated in parentheses

The identified regularities of academic performance of the students of various social backgrounds are in somewhat different for the two cases under consideration. In the case of the of the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*, the better performing students came from the families of land and property owners, free professionals, private employees, and teachers and clerics; the sons of higher civil servants and, independent craftsmen and petty bourgeois, entrepreneurial bourgeoisie and lower class performed somewhere in

between; and the poorest grades were obtained by sons of petty traders and lower civil servants.

**Table 4/5. Average Grades Obtained in Mandatory Subjects by Students of Different Social Background in the *Akademisches Gymnasium* in Vienna between 1870 and 1907\***

Father's profession	Subject								Average grades for the whole category
	Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propædæutics	
Lower class	<b>4,00</b> (5)	<b>2,20</b> (5)	<b>2,40</b> (5)	<b>2,40</b> (5)	<b>3,40</b> (5)	<b>2,60</b> (5)	<b>2,00</b> (5)	<b>2,60</b> (5)	<b>2,70</b>
Independent craftsmen, petty bourgeois	<b>3,76</b> (58)	<b>2,68</b> (59)	<b>2,64</b> (59)	<b>2,69</b> (59)	<b>2,95</b> (59)	<b>2,76</b> (59)	<b>2,71</b> (59)	<b>2,93</b> (59)	<b>2,89</b>
Petty traders (without qualification)	<b>4,42</b> (12)	<b>2,50</b> (12)	<b>2,58</b> (12)	<b>3,17</b> (12)	<b>2,92</b> (12)	<b>2,58</b> (12)	<b>2,25</b> (12)	<b>2,67</b> (12)	<b>2,89</b>
Lower civil servants	<b>4,05</b> (19)	<b>2,95</b> (19)	<b>2,89</b> (19)	<b>2,63</b> (19)	<b>2,67</b> (19)	<b>3,21</b> (19)	<b>3,00</b> (19)	<b>2,95</b> (19)	<b>3,04</b>
Higher civil servants	<b>4,33</b> (30)	<b>3,07</b> (30)	<b>2,93</b> (29)	<b>3,03</b> (30)	<b>3,47</b> (30)	<b>3,37</b> (30)	<b>3,10</b> (30)	<b>3,17</b> (30)	<b>3,31</b>
Teachers, clerics	<b>4,20</b> (25)	<b>3,12</b> (25)	<b>2,96</b> (25)	<b>2,92</b> (25)	<b>3,12</b> (25)	<b>3,12</b> (25)	<b>3,04</b> (25)	<b>3,12</b> (25)	<b>3,20</b>
Artists	<b>3,56</b> (9)	<b>2,20</b> (10)	<b>2,30</b> (10)	<b>2,50</b> (10)	<b>2,70</b> (10)	<b>2,80</b> (10)	<b>2,40</b> (10)	<b>2,50</b> (10)	<b>2,62</b>
Private employees	<b>3,81</b> (26)	<b>2,73</b> (26)	<b>2,54</b> (26)	<b>2,88</b> (26)	<b>3,04</b> (26)	<b>2,64</b> (25)	<b>2,92</b> (26)	<b>2,85</b> (26)	<b>2,93</b>
Free professionals	<b>3,88</b> (52)	<b>3,04</b> (53)	<b>2,94</b> (53)	<b>2,83</b> (53)	<b>3,23</b> (53)	<b>3,08</b> (53)	<b>3,06</b> (53)	<b>3,11</b> (53)	<b>3,15</b>
Entrepreneurial bourgeoisie	<b>3,91</b> (43)	<b>2,73</b> (45)	<b>2,78</b> (45)	<b>2,84</b> (45)	<b>3,11</b> (45)	<b>3,27</b> (45)	<b>3,11</b> (46)	<b>2,98</b> (45)	<b>3,09</b>
Landlords and property owners	<b>4,00</b> (24)	<b>2,79</b> (24)	<b>2,83</b> (24)	<b>3,04</b> (24)	<b>3,25</b> (24)	<b>2,96</b> (24)	<b>3,25</b> (24)	<b>3,17</b> (24)	<b>3,16</b>
Average level of performance	<b>3,96</b>	<b>2,82</b>	<b>2,77</b>	<b>2,84</b>	<b>3,10</b>	<b>3,00</b>	<b>2,93</b>	<b>2,99</b>	<b>3,05</b>
Total number of cases	303	308	307	308	308	307	309	308	

\*Number of the cases considered is indicated in parentheses

In the case of the *Akademische Gymnasium*, the highest grades were obtained by sons of higher civil servants; they were followed by those obtained by sons of teachers and clerics, land and property owners and free professionals; the level of academic performance of sons of entrepreneurial bourgeoisie and lower civil servants was medium; the lowest achievements were performed by sons of private employees and petty bourgeoisie.

Considering the extreme margins of the academic achievements in particular subjects for both cases, it is evident that in Religion, the better performing categories were the students from the families of civil servants and petty traders, while sons of independent craftsmen were performing the worst; in Latin and Greek, sons of teachers and clerics, free professionals and higher civil servants were better performing, with sons of lower class performing the worst.

In German, sons of free professionals achieved higher results than other categories in the case of combined *Gymnasien*; and in the case of *Akademisches Gymnasium*, the better performing categories were sons of higher civil servants and land and property owners; while the worst performing category in both cases were students from lower class. In History and Geography, as well as in Philosophical Propaedeutics, the poorest grades were obtained by sons of petty traders, and high results demonstrated by sons of higher civil servants, land and property owners, and free professional, on both cases.

In Mathematic, the results were similar again in both cases, with sons of higher civil servants and free professionals performing best of all categories, and sons of petty bourgeoisie performing the worst. In Physics and Natural History, in the *Akademisches Gymnasium* the better performing were again sons of higher civil servants, while in the combined case, quite surprisingly, - students from lower class; the poorest performers in the combined case were sons of petty traders and lower civil servants, and sons of private employees and lower class in the case of the *Akademisches Gymnasium*.

In general terms, the findings in the Viennese *Gymnasien* under consideration during the Dual monarchy coincide with those in the Hungarian *Gymnasien* during the same period, discovered by Karády, and can be explained by the same arguments. A particularly evident in the Viennese case systematically high performance of sons of higher civil servants, however, is to be specified. As to sons of artists taught in the *Sophien*-,

*Mariahilfer-* and *Maximilian-Gymnasien* whose achievements were exceptionally high in number of humanitarian subjects, their quantity is, again, too small to treat them statistically.

According to Karády's explanation, sons of intellectuals, especially teachers, and professionals displayed better achievements in practically each subject, first of all, due to their families' endowment with "educational capital", which means that their "family culture" and linguistic competences were close to those necessary for good academic performance.<sup>106</sup> Secondly, for the reasons of "family prestige", these categories were put under more pressure to comply with school requirements. Thirdly, more intellectual assistance by educated parents was available to them; and, fourthly, descendants of intellectuals and professionals were more motivated than others by their objective professional prospects, since their own "class reproduction" was based on the proper academic performance, which would allow access to university.<sup>107</sup> A similar effect of the intellectual and educational "capital" can be referred to the above-average performance of sons of higher civil servants in the Viennese *Gymnasien*, probably, even with the greater emphasis on their professional expectations and "class reproduction".

Rather high academic performance of sons of land and property owners, which category included the titled aristocracy, could be also caused by the factor of "family prestige" and class prestige pertaining to nobility, maintained by the representatives of this group.

Sons of the petty traders, individual craftsmen and lower classes normally performed below-average both in Vienna and in Budapest. Their under-performance resulted, according to Karády's assumption, from the lack of support by their families, who

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<sup>106</sup> Karády, 140.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

were mostly poor, or deprived of “educational capital”.<sup>108</sup> Though they were intellectually over-selected because only most talented of them were sent to a *Gymnasium*,<sup>109</sup> and they were motivated for seeking for upward mobility owing to elite education, these factors could not counterbalance the absence of academic assistance provided in educated families.

Karády makes one curious observation regarding sons of lower classes and petty bourgeoisie in the Hungarian *Gymnasien*: their achievements were higher, and even occasionally above the average, in exact sciences, like Mathematics, where the common educational capital was minimal and that of “talent” maximal.<sup>110</sup> This argument can also provide an explanation in the case of over-performance in Physics and Natural History of the students from lower class in the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien* in Vienna.

As to the occasionally controversial character of the academic performance of the similar categories in the case of combined *Gymnasien* in Vienna, and in the case of *Akademisches Gymnasium*, it must have been caused by specific biases of particular professions constituting the category, as well as by the level of complexity of teaching programs in particular *Gymnasien*, and, probably, by indirect social factors, like personal relations of teachers and students of particular social background in a given *Gymnasium*.

#### ***4.3. Correlation between Academic Performance and Regional Background of Students***

Tables 4/6 and 4/7 demonstrate the correlation between the academic performance and regional background of students taught in the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*, and in the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, correspondently. For these tables, students were divided into three groups according to the place they were born in: whether in Vienna itself; or outside Vienna, in Lower or Upper Austria; or outside Austria. The latter

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid, 142.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

category integrates mostly the crownlands and territories of the Dual monarchy, like Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Hungary, as well as the territories outside the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in small number of cases.

**Table 4/6. Average Grades Obtained in Mandatory Subjects by Students of Different Regional Background Taught in the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien* in Vienna between 1870 and 1907\***

Place of birth	Subject								Average grades for the whole category
	Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propaeutics	
Vienna	<b>4,84</b> (371)	<b>3,62</b> (375)	<b>3,74</b> (375)	<b>4,00</b> (311)	<b>4,24</b> (373)	<b>3,99</b> (299)	<b>3,84</b> (374)	<b>4,14</b> (375)	<b>4,05</b>
Austria	<b>4,88</b> (48)	<b>3,67</b> (48)	<b>3,79</b> (47)	<b>3,86</b> (42)	<b>4,04</b> (48)	<b>3,69</b> (35)	<b>3,79</b> (48)	<b>3,94</b> (47)	<b>3,96</b>
Outside Austria	<b>4,86</b> (188)	<b>3,68</b> (191)	<b>3,79</b> (191)	<b>3,84</b> (178)	<b>4,32</b> (189)	<b>3,95</b> (176)	<b>3,78</b> (190)	<b>4,10</b> (188)	<b>4,04</b>
Average level of performance	<b>4,85</b>	<b>3,64</b>	<b>3,76</b>	<b>3,94</b>	<b>4,25</b>	<b>3,96</b>	<b>3,82</b>	<b>4,11</b>	<b>4,04</b>
Total number of cases	607	614	613	531	610	510	612	610	

\*Number of the cases considered is indicated in parentheses

As it can be seen from tables 4/6 and 4/7, the most representative samples are provided for the categories of students who came from Vienna and from outside of Austria, and there were no significant discrepancies in their performance, except the case of the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, where those native-born to Vienna performed apparently worse than immigrants, which is quite surprising because the major discrepancies in performance based on the students' places of birth should be referred to the level of the primary education received by students in the places they were born in. As it was found out from the *Gymnasien's Hauptkataloge*, containing the records about the education received by a student before his admission to the *Gymnasium*, most born-outside-Vienna students received their primary education somewhere outside it, too

**Table 4/7. Average Grades Obtained in Mandatory Subjects by Students of  
Different Regional Background Taught in the *Akademisches Gymnasium*  
in Vienna between 1870 and 1907\***

Place of birth	Subject								Average grades for the whole category
	Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propaeutics	
Vienna	<b>3,89</b> (195)	<b>2,73</b> (198)	<b>2,72</b> (198)	<b>2,79</b> (198)	<b>3,12</b> (198)	<b>2,97</b> (197)	<b>2,91</b> (199)	<b>2,97</b> (198)	<b>3,01</b>
Austria	<b>4,05</b> (21)	<b>2,76</b> (21)	<b>2,67</b> (21)	<b>2,81</b> (21)	<b>3,00</b> (21)	<b>3,10</b> (21)	<b>2,67</b> (21)	<b>3,14</b> (21)	<b>3,03</b>
Outside Austria	<b>4,09</b> (88)	<b>3,04</b> (90)	<b>2,93</b> (89)	<b>2,96</b> (90)	<b>3,07</b> (90)	<b>3,03</b> (90)	<b>3,04</b> (90)	<b>3,02</b> (90)	<b>3,15</b>
Average level of performance	<b>3,96</b>	<b>2,82</b>	<b>2,77</b>	<b>2,79</b>	<b>3,09</b>	<b>2,99</b>	<b>2,93</b>	<b>3,04</b>	<b>3,05</b>
Total number of cases	302	309	308	309	309	308	310	309	

\*Number of the cases considered is indicated in parentheses

For it is quite doubtful that primary schools in the capital of Austro-Hungary provided less qualified education than those in its minor cities and towns, the fact of the over-performance of immigrant students, explicit in the case of the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, can be explained by strong motivation of sons of immigrant families who arrived in Vienna in search of improvement of their career, living conditions and social position.

For instance, as it was stated above, the parents of the Jewish students, who came to Vienna from the neighboring cities and Austrian crownlands, sent their offspring to *Gymnasien*, wanting them to realize the dream to assimilate in Vienna and become full Viennese citizens, sharing the same freedoms, language and cultural profits, and liberal way of thinking.<sup>111</sup> Ethnic immigrants, mostly Czechs, Poles, and Hungarians, who were commonly regarded as aliens in the Viennese society, had obvious social and economic

<sup>111</sup> Nowotny, 9.



reasons to seek for using academic education for improving or securing their social and economical positions. Cohen, for example, explains the strong push of the Czechs into the Viennese advanced education by the role of a popular culture and ideology of social emancipation developed by this group along with poor social and economical circumstances.<sup>112</sup> It can be concluded, therefore, that that was mainly the factor of strong motivation that caused the over-performance of sons of immigrant families in the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910.

#### *4.4. Correlation between Academic Performance and Choice of Career*

In tables 4/8 and 4/9, the average grades in mandatory subjects are shown in correlation with the choice of specific career made by the students of the *Sophien-*, *Mariahilfer-* and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*, and by the students of the *Akademisches Gymnasium* between 1870 and 1910. The indication of the career choice was obligatory for each graduate taking the Matura, which normally was stated as one of the university's faculties, that is, Law, Medicine, Philosophy, or Theology; or it could be the name of a technical or agricultural high school or college; or the famous Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna; military service as well; or just occupation, like "businessman" or "civil servant". According to these indications, various careers desired by the graduates of the *Gymnasien* under consideration were united into ten categories, namely, "agriculture", "arts", "engineering", "law", "medicine", "military service", "philosophy", "theology", "trade", and "other" for those careers not covered by any of the categories identified.

Obviously, the examined variables – the grades in particular subjects and the choice of career – effected each other in the way that on the base of the good grades obtained in concrete subjects, a student tended to chose a particular career, or was recommended to choose it by his teachers and parents; and vice versa, a strong desire of a student to follow a

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<sup>112</sup> Cohen, "Education, Social Mobility, and the Austrian Jews 1860-1910", 153-154.

specific career could motivate him to achieve better results in subjects connected with the chosen career. It is logical to expect, therefore, that those students who chose theological faculty, for instance, had better performance in Religion, and, perhaps, in Latin and German; those who chose law performed well in the humanities; the would-be engineers displayed high grades in Mathematics; those who were going to pursue medical career achieved good results in Natural Science; the students preparing to enter the philosophical faculty of university should have better performed in Philosophical Propaedeutics; etc.

It can be observed from tables 4/8 and 4/9 that the majority of students in the Viennese *Gymnasien* under consideration indicated university's faculties either of law, or medicine, or philosophy, in connection with their option of future career. Fewer students chose engineering or trade; the number of records about other kinds of career chosen by the *Maturanten* in four *Gymnasien* is too small to draw any conclusions about the general correlation between academic performance and career option.

Quite surprisingly, the succession of the better performing categories of students was absolutely identical both in the case of the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*, and in the case of the *Akademische Gymnasium*: those students who chose philosophical faculty as their future line of occupation demonstrated considerably higher results than others; they were followed by those who chose engineering, law, medicine, and trade with significant discrepancies in the performance between the categories.

**Table 4/8. Choice of Career and Average Grades Obtained in Mandatory  
Subjects by Students of the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien* in  
Vienna between 1870 and 1907\***

Choice of career	Subject								Average grades for the whole category
	Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propaedeutics	
Agriculture	<b>3,75</b> (4)	<b>2,75</b> (4)	<b>2,75</b> (4)	<b>2,67</b> (3)	<b>3,00</b> (4)	<b>3,00</b> (3)	<b>3,50</b> (4)	<b>3,25</b> (4)	<b>3,08</b>
Arts	<b>4,43</b> (7)	<b>3,43</b> (7)	<b>3,43</b> (7)	<b>4,20</b> (5)	<b>3,71</b> (7)	<b>4,00</b> (5)	<b>3,43</b> (7)	<b>3,86</b> (7)	<b>3,81</b>
Engineering	<b>4,81</b> (16)	<b>3,56</b> (16)	<b>3,81</b> (16)	<b>4,11</b> (9)	<b>4,31</b> (16)	<b>4,89</b> (9)	<b>4,19</b> (16)	<b>4,44</b> (16)	<b>4,27</b>
Law	<b>4,91</b> (130)	<b>3,73</b> (130)	<b>3,89</b> (129)	<b>3,92</b> (83)	<b>4,57</b> (130)	<b>4,06</b> (83)	<b>4,00</b> (130)	<b>4,21</b> (130)	<b>4,16</b>
Medicine	<b>4,67</b> (58)	<b>3,47</b> (58)	<b>3,62</b> (58)	<b>3,60</b> (52)	<b>4,19</b> (58)	<b>3,83</b> (52)	<b>3,86</b> (58)	<b>4,05</b> (58)	<b>3,91</b>
Military service	<b>5,11</b> (9)	<b>4,11</b> (9)	<b>4,33</b> (9)	<b>3,71</b> (7)	<b>4,56</b> (9)	<b>3,86</b> (7)	<b>3,67</b> (9)	<b>4,11</b> (9)	<b>4,18</b>
Philosophy	<b>5,02</b> (41)	<b>3,75</b> (41)	<b>4,00</b> (41)	<b>4,25</b> (28)	<b>4,37</b> (41)	<b>4,71</b> (28)	<b>4,12</b> (41)	<b>4,34</b> (41)	<b>4,32</b>
Theology	<b>5,75</b> (4)	<b>3,00</b> (4)	<b>3,25</b> (4)	<b>3,00</b> (1)	<b>4,25</b> (4)	<b>3,00</b> (1)	<b>3,00</b> (4)	<b>4,25</b> (4)	<b>3,69</b>
Trade	<b>4,67</b> (15)	<b>3,53</b> (15)	<b>3,53</b> (15)	<b>4,14</b> (14)	<b>4,33</b> (15)	<b>3,64</b> (14)	<b>3,47</b> (15)	<b>3,87</b> (15)	<b>3,90</b>
Other	<b>4,18</b> (11)	<b>3,18</b> (11)	<b>3,18</b> (11)	<b>3,43</b> (7)	<b>3,64</b> (11)	<b>3,86</b> (7)	<b>3,55</b> (11)	<b>3,45</b> (11)	<b>3,56</b>
Average level of performance	<b>4,82</b>	<b>3,62</b>	<b>3,78</b>	<b>3,87</b>	<b>4,36</b>	<b>4,06</b>	<b>3,91</b>	<b>4,14</b>	<b>4,07</b>
Total number of cases	295	295	294	209	295	209	295	295	

\*Number of the cases considered is indicated in parentheses

Concerning the initial logical expectation, the students who chose philosophy as their future career did perform better or best of all in Philosophical Propaedeutics in the cases of all the *Gymnasien*; those who chose engineering performed quite satisfactory in Mathematics and Physics; the would-be lawyers achieved better results in History and Geography; the would-be doctors performed quite well in Physics and Natural Science; the would-be priests displayed high achievements in Religion, with systematically under-performance in other subjects. The average grades of students belonging to the categories of

“trade”, “art”, and “other” were mediocre in all the subjects; probably, they were not much interested in any of the mandatory subjects taught in the Viennese *Gymnasien*. The equally higher grades in Religion for all the categories should not be taken into consideration for it was less complicated subject than others, and the Religion teachers were normally more indulgent and tended to give good grades.

**Table 4/9. Choice of Career and Average Grades Obtained in Mandatory Subjects by Students of the *Akademisches Gymnasium* in Vienna between 1870 and 1907\***

Choice of career	Subject								Average grades for the whole category
	Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propaeutics	
Agriculture	<b>3,60</b> (5)	<b>2,83</b> (6)	<b>2,67</b> (6)	<b>2,67</b> (6)	<b>3,67</b> (6)	<b>3,50</b> (6)	<b>3,17</b> (6)	<b>2,83</b> (6)	<b>3,12</b>
Arts	<b>3,20</b> (5)	<b>2,60</b> (5)	<b>2,00</b> (5)	<b>2,40</b> (5)	<b>2,40</b> (5)	<b>2,60</b> (5)	<b>2,20</b> (5)	<b>3,00</b> (5)	<b>2,55</b>
Engineering	<b>3,56</b> (18)	<b>2,72</b> (18)	<b>2,56</b> (18)	<b>2,94</b> (18)	<b>3,22</b> (18)	<b>3,28</b> (18)	<b>3,44</b> (18)	<b>3,44</b> (18)	<b>3,15</b>
Law	<b>3,98</b> (48)	<b>2,73</b> (48)	<b>2,81</b> (48)	<b>3,08</b> (48)	<b>3,35</b> (48)	<b>2,94</b> (48)	<b>2,83</b> (48)	<b>3,13</b> (48)	<b>3,11</b>
Medicine	<b>3,65</b> (23)	<b>2,61</b> (23)	<b>2,52</b> (23)	<b>2,83</b> (23)	<b>2,91</b> (23)	<b>2,86</b> (22)	<b>2,91</b> (23)	<b>3,00</b> (23)	<b>2,91</b>
Military service	<b>4,25</b> (4)	<b>2,50</b> (4)	<b>2,50</b> (4)	<b>2,50</b> (4)	<b>3,00</b> (4)	<b>2,50</b> (4)	<b>2,50</b> (4)	<b>3,00</b> (4)	<b>2,84</b>
Philosophy	<b>3,79</b> (14)	<b>3,43</b> (14)	<b>3,50</b> (14)	<b>3,14</b> (14)	<b>3,36</b> (14)	<b>3,79</b> (14)	<b>3,29</b> (14)	<b>3,79</b> (14)	<b>3,51</b>
Theology	<b>4,00</b> (2)	<b>2,00</b> (2)	<b>2,50</b> (2)	<b>2,00</b> (2)	<b>3,00</b> (2)	<b>2,50</b> (2)	<b>2,00</b> (2)	<b>2,50</b> (2)	<b>2,56</b>
Trade	<b>3,67</b> (6)	<b>2,17</b> (6)	<b>2,00</b> (6)	<b>2,33</b> (6)	<b>3,00</b> (6)	<b>1,83</b> (6)	<b>2,17</b> (6)	<b>3,17</b> (6)	<b>2,54</b>
Other	<b>3,50</b> (4)	<b>2,75</b>	<b>2,25</b> (4)	<b>2,25</b> (4)	<b>2,75</b> (4)	<b>2,00</b> (4)	<b>2,25</b> (4)	<b>3,25</b> (4)	<b>2,63</b>
Average level of performance	<b>3,96</b>	<b>2,82</b>	<b>2,77</b>	<b>2,83</b>	<b>3,09</b>	<b>2,99</b>	<b>2,93</b>	<b>2,99</b>	<b>3,05</b>
Total number of cases	129	129	130	130	130	129	130	130	

\*Number of the cases considered is indicated in parentheses

The enlisted connections, however, are not very precise or accurate; various deviations should be referred to other factors effected the choice of career, like social

environment, religious background, and economical circumstances, which were not considered in the present study in view of its limited scope.

#### *4.5. Correlation between Academic Performance and Socio-Denominational Background of Students*

Tables 4/10 and 4/11 demonstrate the average grades of students of various social background within particular denominations in the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910, which allow to compare the academic progress of sons of different social strata within the same denomination, on the one hand, and the academic performance of sons of the same social strata but of different denomination, on the other hand. The social background of students was, again, identified according to the professions of their fathers, which were united this time into four groups to draw up more representative samples. The received results differ, therefore, from those when the students' academic performance was compared according to social and denominational constants separately.

Again, in view of limited number of cases available, more or less reliable conclusion can be introduced only regarding the categories of Catholic and Jewish denominations.

As it follows from tables 4/10 and 4/11, the best general academic performance was that of sons of Jewish grand bourgeoisie in all four *Gymnasien*. The systematically worse performing students were sons of Catholic civil servants and grand bourgeoisie in the case of the *Sophien-*, *Mariahilfer-* and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*; and sons of Catholic petty bourgeoisie and lower class in the case of the *Akademische Gymnasium*.

Within the Catholic confessional group generally, in the combined case of three *Gymnasien*, the best grades were obtained by sons of petty bourgeoisie and lower class, and the worst grades by sons of civil servants; the situation in the *Akademisches Gymnasium* was quite opposite: there, the best grades were obtained by sons of civil servants and the worst ones by sons of petty bourgeoisie and lower class. Within the Jewish denomination, in

**Table 4/10. Average Grades Obtained in Mandatory Subjects by Students of Different Socio-Denominational Background in the *Sophien-, Mariahilfer- and Maximilian-Gymnasien* in Vienna between 1870 and 1907\***

Denomination	Father's profession	Subject								Average grades for the whole category
		Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propaeutics	
Catholic	Lower class, independent craftsmen, petty bourgeois, petty traders	<b>5,24</b> (37)	<b>3,61</b> (36)	<b>3,64</b> (36)	<b>4,15</b> (26)	<b>4,39</b> (36)	<b>4,35</b> (20)	<b>3,89</b> (36)	<b>4,00</b> (37)	<b>4,16</b>
	Civil servants	<b>5,08</b> (71)	<b>3,49</b> (71)	<b>3,56</b> (70)	<b>3,70</b> (54)	<b>4,14</b> (71)	<b>3,66</b> (50)	<b>3,72</b> (71)	<b>3,97</b> (71)	<b>3,92</b>
	Teachers, clerics, artists, private employees, free professionals	<b>4,96</b> (71)	<b>3,72</b> (71)	<b>3,77</b> (71)	<b>4,08</b> (60)	<b>4,25</b> (71)	<b>3,91</b> (57)	<b>3,83</b> (71)	<b>4,13</b> (70)	<b>4,08</b>
	Grand bourgeoisie and aristocracy	<b>5,00</b> (31)	<b>3,61</b> (31)	<b>3,77</b> (31)	<b>3,61</b> (18)	<b>4,10</b> (31)	<b>3,63</b> (16)	<b>3,90</b> (31)	<b>4,00</b> (31)	<b>3,95</b>
Jewish	Lower class, independent craftsmen, petty bourgeois, petty traders	<b>4,61</b> (126)	<b>3,68</b> (126)	<b>3,90</b> (126)	<b>3,98</b> (122)	<b>4,21</b> (126)	<b>3,87</b> (120)	<b>3,84</b> (126)	<b>4,08</b> (124)	<b>4,02</b>
	Civil servants	<b>5,29</b> (14)	<b>3,64</b> (14)	<b>3,79</b> (14)	<b>3,64</b> (14)	<b>4,21</b> (14)	<b>4,07</b> (14)	<b>4,14</b> (14)	<b>4,21</b> (14)	<b>4,12</b>
	Teachers, clerics, artists, private employees, free professionals	<b>4,83</b> (94)	<b>3,73</b> (94)	<b>3,81</b> (94)	<b>4,12</b> (90)	<b>4,36</b> (94)	<b>3,97</b> (90)	<b>3,86</b> (94)	<b>4,30</b> (94)	<b>4,12</b>
	Grand bourgeoisie and aristocracy	<b>4,72</b> (57)	<b>3,77</b> (57)	<b>4,02</b> (57)	<b>4,00</b> (51)	<b>4,35</b> (57)	<b>4,13</b> (47)	<b>4,04</b> (57)	<b>4,33</b> (56)	<b>4,17</b>
non-Catholic Christian	Lower class, independent craftsmen, petty bourgeois, petty traders	<b>4,80</b> (5)	<b>3,50</b> (6)	<b>3,83</b> (6)	<b>4,67</b> (3)	<b>4,50</b> (6)	<b>4,33</b> (3)	<b>3,67</b> (6)	<b>4,00</b> (6)	<b>4,16</b>
	Civil servants	<b>5,50</b> (2)	<b>4,00</b> (2)	<b>4,50</b> (2)	-	<b>5,00</b> (2)	-	<b>3,50</b> (2)	<b>4,00</b> (2)	<b>4,41</b>
	Teachers, clerics, artists, private employees, free professionals	<b>5,22</b> (9)	<b>3,60</b> (10)	<b>3,70</b> (10)	<b>3,83</b> (6)	<b>4,30</b> (10)	<b>4,67</b> (6)	<b>3,80</b> (10)	<b>4,30</b> (10)	<b>4,18</b>
	Grand bourgeoisie and aristocracy	5,75 (4)	3,00 (6)	3,33 (6)	3,80 (5)	3,83 (6)	3,80 (5)	3,33 (6)	3,83 (6)	<b>3,83</b>
Average level of performance		<b>4,88</b>	<b>3,66</b>	<b>3,80</b>	<b>3,96</b>	<b>4,26</b>	<b>3,93</b>	<b>3,85</b>	<b>4,13</b>	<b>4,06</b>
Total number of cases		521	524	523	449	524	428	524	521	

\*Number of the cases considered is indicated in parentheses

**Table 4/11. Average Grades Obtained in Mandatory Subjects by Students of Different Socio-Denominational Background in the *Akademisches Gymnasium* in Vienna between 1870 and 1907\***

Denomination	Father's profession	Subject								Average grades for the whole group
		Religion	Latin	Greek	German	Geography and History	Physics and Natural Science	Mathematics	Philosophical Propaeutics	
Catholic	Lower class, independent craftsmen, petty bourgeois, petty traders	<b>4,28</b> (18)	<b>2,50</b> (18)	<b>2,50</b> (18)	<b>2,72</b> (18)	<b>3,11</b> (18)	<b>2,61</b> (18)	<b>2,39</b> (18)	<b>2,94</b> (18)	<b>2,88</b>
	Civil servants	<b>4,28</b> (43)	<b>3,00</b> (43)	<b>2,90</b> (42)	<b>2,86</b> (43)	<b>3,16</b> (43)	<b>3,21</b> (43)	<b>2,95</b> (43)	<b>3,09</b> (43)	<b>3,18</b>
	Teachers, clerics, artists, private employees, free professionals	<b>4,11</b> (45)	<b>2,87</b> (45)	<b>2,78</b> (45)	<b>2,76</b> (45)	<b>3,07</b> (45)	<b>3,00</b> (45)	<b>2,69</b> (45)	<b>2,91</b> (45)	<b>3,02</b>
	Grand bourgeoisie	<b>4,05</b> (19)	<b>2,63</b> (19)	<b>2,58</b> (19)	<b>2,84</b> (19)	<b>3,32</b> (19)	<b>3,00</b> (19)	<b>2,84</b> (19)	<b>2,95</b> (19)	<b>3,03</b>
Jewish	Lower class, independent craftsmen, petty bourgeois, petty traders	<b>3,81</b> (53)	<b>2,68</b> (53)	<b>2,66</b> (53)	<b>2,77</b> (53)	<b>2,96</b> (53)	<b>2,79</b> (53)	<b>2,70</b> (53)	<b>2,91</b> (53)	<b>2,91</b>
	Civil servants	<b>3,60</b> (5)	<b>3,40</b> (5)	<b>3,20</b> (5)	<b>3,00</b> (5)	<b>3,20</b> (5)	<b>4,00</b> (5)	<b>4,00</b> (5)	<b>3,20</b> (5)	<b>3,45</b>
	Teachers, clerics, artists, private employees, free professionals	<b>3,65</b> (55)	<b>2,89</b> (55)	<b>2,78</b> (55)	<b>2,93</b> (55)	<b>3,16</b> (55)	<b>2,85</b> (54)	<b>3,05</b> (55)	<b>3,05</b> (55)	<b>3,05</b>
	Grand bourgeoisie	<b>3,98</b> (44)	<b>2,84</b> (44)	<b>2,98</b> (44)	<b>3,05</b> (44)	<b>3,18</b> (44)	<b>3,27</b> (44)	<b>3,43</b> (44)	<b>3,14</b> (44)	<b>3,23</b>
non-Catholic Christian	Lower class, independent craftsmen, petty bourgeois, petty traders	<b>3,00</b> (4)	<b>2,40</b> (5)	<b>2,60</b> (5)	<b>2,60</b> (5)	<b>2,60</b> (5)	<b>2,40</b> (5)	<b>2,20</b> (5)	<b>2,20</b> (5)	<b>2,50</b>
	Civil servants	<b>5,00</b> (1)	<b>2,00</b> (1)	<b>2,00</b> (1)	<b>3,00</b> (1)	<b>3,00</b> (1)	<b>4,00</b> (1)	<b>3,00</b> (1)	<b>2,00</b> (1)	<b>3,00</b>
	Teachers, clerics, artists, private employees, free professionals	<b>4,33</b> (12)	<b>3,14</b> (14)	<b>2,93</b> (14)	<b>2,71</b> (14)	<b>3,07</b> (14)	<b>3,29</b> (14)	<b>3,50</b> (14)	<b>3,07</b> (14)	<b>3,26</b>
	Grand bourgeoisie	<b>3,00</b> (4)	<b>2,50</b> (6)	<b>2,17</b> (6)	<b>2,17</b> (6)	<b>2,50</b> (6)	<b>2,83</b> (6)	<b>2,29</b> (7)	<b>2,67</b> (6)	<b>2,52</b>
Average level of performance		<b>3,96</b>	<b>2,82</b>	<b>2,77</b>	<b>2,84</b>	<b>3,10</b>	<b>3,00</b>	<b>2,93</b>	<b>2,99</b>	<b>3,05</b>
Total number of cases		<b>303</b>	<b>308</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>308</b>	<b>308</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>308</b>	

\*Number of the cases considered is indicated in parentheses

all four *Gymnasien*, sons of grand bourgeoisie performed best of all, with sons of lower classes being the worst. The high results achieved by sons of Jewish civil servants taught in the *Akademisches Gymnasium* cannot be considered because of the very small number of cases.

Within the social strata of lower class and petty bourgeoisie, Catholic and non-Christian students obtained better grades than the Jews, in the case of the *Sophien*-, *Mariahilfer*- and *Maximilian-Gymnasien*; in the case of the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, Jewish students from petty bourgeoisie and lower class performed better than those of Catholic background. There was too insignificant number of Jews and non-Catholic Christians from the families of civil servants for drawing any justified comparison of their academic achievements with those of Catholic civil servants' offspring. Within the group integrating teachers, clerics, artists, private employees, and free professionals, in both cases, the non-Catholic Christians were the best, with the Jews and Catholics performing almost equally. For the category of grand bourgeoisie, again, the results for all *Gymnasien* were similar, with the better performing Jews and the lagging back Catholics and non-Catholic Christians.

The study of Prof. Karády proves some clues to the interpretation of the part of the received results. Occasional poorer performance of sons of the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie, particularly among Christian students, for instance, could be caused by their under-motivation, since the reproduction of their class position depended less on academic achievements than on the already available economic assets of the family, and their "social capital" in Bourdieu's sense. Moreover, wealthy capitalists were more able than others to send all their children to a *Gymnasium*, notwithstanding their possible lack of intellectual gifts, which caused a certain "intellectual under-selection" among students from wealthy



class.<sup>113</sup> However, marks Prof. Karády, the sons of Jewish capitalist were exception in their class, as they combined the pursuit of the maximization of economic success with heavy cultural investments.<sup>114</sup> This is explicitly demonstrated in both cases considering the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910, when the sons of Jewish grand bourgeoisie performed better than non-Jews belonging to the same class.

To summarize all the findings, it can be concluded that the general rank-order of excellence was the same in the Viennese *Gymnasien* as in Budapest, with some particular differences. In the *Gymnasien* of Budapest, Jewish preeminence was systematic, without any exception; the non-Catholic Christians occupied the second position in most cases. Especially high level of excellence was achieved by sons of Jewish intellectuals and professionals, followed at some distance by sons of the Jewish propertied bourgeoisie. The Jewish students belonging to the petty bourgeoisie also regularly displayed an above-average level of excellence as compared with the Christians of the same professional brackets.<sup>115</sup>

In the case of the Viennese *Gymnasien*, the presence of non-Catholic Christians was not numerous enough to be justifiably compared with Catholic and Jewish students statistically. Regarding the latter, the following observations can be stated: first, the Jewish students of all social categories achieved better results than the Catholics students in most cases, but not so systematically as in Budapest; secondly, the sons of higher civil servants of all denominations, though in most cases they were of Catholic background, performed regularly better than all the other from the same professional category. As to the regional categories, there were no significant discrepancies; sons of immigrant families, however, occasionally performed better than those native-born to Vienna and in Austria. The

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<sup>113</sup> Karády, 141.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, 145.

correlation between the academic performance and choice of career showed that students who regularly obtained better grades, in most cases chose philosophical faculty of university as their future line of studies.

## *Conclusion*

Elite schooling for Vienna between 1870 and 1910 meant advanced secondary education in a *Gymnasium*, located primarily in one of the central districts. The major peculiarities of this type of education were the emphasis on the classical languages, Latin and Greek, which knowledge was a distinctive feature of elite during that period, not shared by common people; and administering of the graduation examination – *Maturitätsprüfung*, without which one could not enter the university or pursue any more or less prestigious career. Having the Matura meant that one became an official member of educated elite, possessing special cultural goods.

The *Gymnasien* education concerned very limited number of people: one out of approximately 180 citizens of Vienna went to a *Gymnasium* during the period between 1870 and 1910; and it should be considered that the *Gymnasium* students/population ratio was the highest in Vienna, as compared to that in other Austrian cities and crownlands. The elitist status of *Gymnasien* was maintained mostly by complexity of curriculum, while the financial aspect did not directly affected it because the fees collected from the *Gymnasien* students were very moderate, and the exemptions from the fees were frequent; poorer families, however, who counted on the earnings of their children, could not allow to send their offspring to a *Gymnasium*, except the cases of extraordinary gifted children. Another factor of selection was gender, for *Gymnasium* education leading to *Maturitätsprüfung* and admission to the university was designed primarily for boys; though girls were allowed to be taught in publicly supported *Gymnasien* as special external students since 1872, their mass access to *Gymnasien* education fell to the period after the World War II.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, there were only four *Gymnasien* in Vienna, and even they were either run by the Catholic orders, or reserved for the offspring of upper social classes. After the great educational reforms of 1849 in the Habsburgs monarchy,

however, the expansion of secondary and higher education led to the foundation of new *Gymnasien* in Vienna. Between 1870 and 1910 there were already eleven high-grade *Gymnasien* in the central districts, formally open to the wide public access. The state and local authorities took care of their condition and bought or build special spacious dwellings for their needs, and provided funds for their equipment. The ratio of teachers and students, with between fifteen and twenty students being supervised by one teacher, also testified about the good quality of education provided in the Viennese *Gymnasien* during the period in question.

*Gymnasium* education was broadly exploited by the liberal bourgeois circles to support or advance their position in the Viennese society. Sons of the petty bourgeoisie and free professionals constituted the majority of the consumers of *Gymnasium* education in Vienna in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, with still small proportion of students from lower class.

The social composition of *Gymnasien* students was affected by the governmental policy on educational affaires. After the opening of wide public access to advanced secondary education in 1849, the Austrian government started to exercise restrictive measures since the 1880s, sharing the belief that only truly gifted children having the intension to enter the university were to be admitted to *Gymnasien*, while the sons of farmers and craftsmen were not to be withdrawn from their economical sectors and had to pursue other types of education. The socio-denominational and ethnic composition of students in the particular Viennese *Gymnasien* also considerably depended on the character of population in the concrete districts. *Gymnasien* located in the districts with higher proportion either of Jews, or immigrants, or petty bourgeoisie, taught the higher proportion of their offspring, correspondently.

If till the mid-nineteenth century *Gymnasien* students in Vienna were almost exclusively German-speaking Catholics, the second half of that century is characterized by increasing frequency of students of different confessional backgrounds, mostly Jewish and Protestant, whose native languages were Czech, Polish, Slovak, and Hungarian. Especially impressive growth was that of Jewish students, who by the end of the nineteenth century counted to one third or a half of the whole number of students in most *Gymnasien* of Vienna, and constituted an overwhelming majority in two of them. The phenomenon of Jewish over-representation in the Viennese *Gymnasien* was caused by the fact that the Jews widely used *Gymnasium* education for the access to high-status careers and as a mean for acculturation and assimilation in the Viennese culture, which allowed them to take place in the most respected rungs of society. The same desire to improve their social, and, accordingly, economical position forced the immigrant families coming to Vienna from various lands of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to seek for the advanced education.

A multiplicity of various social factors affected the academic performance of students of different socio-denominational and regional background, including distinguishing motivation, intellectual capital, social prestige, family culture, professional prospects and expectations of various social and denominational strata. The availability of sources, like class journals (*Hauptkataloge*) and protocols of *Maturitätsprüfung* (*Maturitätsprüfungprotokolle*), which contain the data on individual students and their grades obtained in particular subjects, allowed to detect quite steady correlations between the academic achievements of students in eight mandatory subjects and their social, religious and regional background, as well as correlation between the academic performance and choice of future career.

Generally, the tendencies in relations of social factors and academic progress of students were similar to those discovered by Victor Karády in case of Budapest, the second

capital of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The better grades in all the subjects were obtained by sons of intellectuals and professionals, and in the Viennese case specifically – by sons of higher civil servants, due to the factors of family cultural and educational “capital”, and family prestige, which meant that the children from the above-said families highly appreciated the value of education and were provided with the assistance of educated parents; they were inspired with the necessity to maintain their family and class prestige and care for their class reproduction as well.

The students from the lower class, performing systematically worse, on the contrary, were deprived from such family educational traditions, and even their motivation to achieve better social position could not counterbalance the lack of the assistance from educated parents. The offspring of entrepreneurial bourgeoisie, except that of Jewish background, also performed regularly worse, for their class reproduction depended less on academic achievements than on the already available financial capitals, and for the reason of their under-selection among the *Gymnasien* students, that is, that wealthy bourgeois could allow to sent all their children, not only gifted ones, to a *Gymnasium*.

As to the discrepancies in academic progress of various denominations, the over-performance of Jewish students is explicit in the Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910, though it was not as exclusive as in case of Budapest. This over-performance was caused by high motivation of the Jews to compensate their discriminative position as aliens in the Viennese society, as well as by special “religious intellectualism”, that is, strong cultural and educational traditions of upbringing in Jewish families.

Due to the very small number of non-Catholic Christian students in the central Viennese *Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910, one can hardly judge on correlations between their background and academic performance in the Viennese case. As to the regional differences, a quite stable, though not very significant, over-performance of students from

immigrant families is explicit in Vienna, which, again, must have been stipulated by high motivation to assimilate in the Viennese society.

The relation between academic performance and the career option should be treated very cautiously in view of fewness of the cases considered, which does not allow generalizing of the received results. It can be concluded, however, that the choice of career and the grades in particular subjects were mutually depending, and the general academic progress was higher with the students who indicated the philosophical faculty of university as their future line of studies.

Thus, the examination of the quantitative and qualitative schooling differentials of students of various social, religious and regional background taught in the central Viennese *Gymnasien* during the Dual monarchy complements the general picture of the educated elite in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, illustrating the potentials and prospects of the latter in connection with different socio-denominational and regional component groups. The received results can be used as a basis for the following research of the educated elite in Vienna either in respect of extension and involving the data on other *Gymnasien*, or of deeper explanation of the relations between social factors and academic performance.

## *Appendix*

**Table 1. Quantitative Schooling Differentials by Denomination Social Class and Regional Background among Viennese Gymnasien Students between 1870 and 1910\***

Category			Group according to the place of birth			
Denomination	Father's profession		Vienna	Austria	Other	Total of groups
Catholic	Lower class and petty bourgeoisie	Number of cases	138	29	17	184
		% within the category	75,0	15,8	9,2	100,0
		% within the group	10,6	14,9	3,6	9,3
		% of Total	7,0	1,5	,9	9,3
	Civil servants	Number of cases	219	63	69	351
		% within the category	62,4	17,9	19,7	100,0
		% within the group	16,7	32,5	14,6	17,8
		% of Total	11,1	3,2	3,5	17,8
	Intellectuals and professionals	Number of cases	266	45	56	367
		% within the category	72,5	12,3	15,3	100,0
		% within the group	20,3	23,2	11,9	18,6
		% of Total	13,5	2,3	2,8	18,6
	Grand bourgeoisie and aristocracy	Number of cases	95	32	37	164
		% within the category	57,9	19,5	22,6	100,0
		% within the group	7,3	16,5	7,9	8,3
		% of Total	4,8	1,6	1,9	8,3
Jewish	Lower class and petty bourgeoisie	Number of cases	193	9	111	313
		% within the category	61,7	2,9	35,5	100,0
		% within the group	14,8	4,6	23,6	15,9
		% of Total	9,8	0,5	5,6	15,9
	Civil servants	Number of cases	20	2	10	32
		% within the category	62,5	6,3	31,3	100,0
		% within the group	1,5	1,0	2,1	1,6
		% of Total	1,0	0,1	0,5	1,6



(Continuation of table 1)

Category			Group according to the place of birth			
Denomination	Father's profession		Vienna	Austria	Other	Total of groups
Jewish	Intellectuals and professionals	Number of cases	187	5	72	264
		% within the category	70,8	1,9	27,3	100,0
		% within the group	14,3	2,6	15,3	13,4
		% of Total	9,5	0,3	3,6	13,4
	Grand bourgeoisie and aristocracy	Number of cases	115	1	56	172
		% within the category	66,9	0,6	32,6	100,0
		% within the group	8,8	0,5	11,9	8,7
		% of Total	5,8	0,1	2,8	8,7
Non-Catholic Christian	Lower class and petty bourgeoisie	Number of cases	16	3	8	27
		% within the category	59,3	11,1	29,6	100,0
		% within the group	1,2	1,5	1,7	1,4
		% of Total	0,8	0,2	0,4	1,4
	Civil servants	Number of cases	16	0	8	24
		% within the category	66,7	0,0	33,3	100,0
		% within the group	1,2	0,0	1,7	1,2
		% of Total	0,8	0,0	0,4	1,2
	Intellectuals and professionals	Number of cases	31	2	19	52
		% within the category	59,6	3,8	36,5	100,0
		% within the group	2,4	1,0	4,0	2,6
		% of Total	1,6	0,1	1,0	2,6
	Grand bourgeoisie and aristocracy	Number of cases	12	3	8	23
		% within the category	52,2	13,0	34,8	100,0
		% within the group	0,9	1,5	1,7	1,2
		% of Total	0,6	0,2	0,4	1,2
Total		Number of cases	1308	194	471	1973
		% within the category	66,3	9,8	23,9	100,0

\* The data are based on the records from the *Hauptkataloge* of graduate classes and *Maturitätsprüfungsprotokolle* of the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, the *Schotten-*, *Franz-Joseph-*, *Sophien-*, *Landstrasse-*, *Piaristen-*, *Maximilian-*, *Sperl-* and *Mariahilferfer-Gymnasien* between 1870 and 1910.

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