Inequalities on the Educational Market – Social Selection and Exclusion: A Case Study of Sátoraljaújhely (1898-1915)

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Abstract

The present case study focuses on the reproduction of inequalities in Sátoraljaújhely's educational field between 1898 and 1915. This quantitative study analyzes the mechanisms of selection and exclusion in elementary and secondary schools with a special emphasis on denomination- and professional-group-specific inequalities. In addition, inequalities of schooling performance is taken into account with regard to subsequent enrollment both in elementary and secondary schools (gymnasium, civic school and upper commercial school). In the multi-denominational setting of Sátoraljaújhely - Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, Calvinists and Jews live there at the turn of the century - the group-specific patterns of schooling track gain special importance in view of the professional stratification of the city and the career opportunities provided by schooling credentials.

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Abbreviations

- ÉRT 1689 A sátoraljaújhelyi római katolikus elemi fiuiskola értesítője
- ÉRT 1690 A sátoraljaújhelyi állami elemi iskola értesítője
- ÉRT 1691 A sátoraljaújhelyi Status Quo Ante anyahitközségi elemi iskola értesítője
- ÉRT 1692 A sátoraljaújhelyi aut. orth. hitközségi elemi fiuiskola értesítője
- ÉRT 1695 A sátoraljaújhelyi városi polgári fiuiskola értesítője
- ÉRT 1697 A sátoraljaújhelyi Kegyes Tanítórendi gimnázium értesítője
- ÉRT 1698 A sátoraljaújhelyi városi felső kereskedelmi iskola értesítője
- MSÉ Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv
- MSK Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények

Introduction

In September 1906, *Zemplén*, a periodical in Sátoraljaújhely wrote about "Cultural Improvement" in the headlines at the opening of the local civic school (*polgári iskola*). "Science conquers, it continuously expands, and more and more receives its blessings," and as *Zemplén* put it, "surpassing the education provided by elementary schools, this [the civic school] can contribute to the emergence of an intelligent middle class."¹ This "intelligent" middle class was formed of pupils (in this case a Jewish boy) for whom "there is a big school in *Barátszer*, and nearby, you can find a little school, well, that's the civic school."² This example illustrates the different attitudes towards secondary schools, and the different meanings they can carry in the eyes of contemporaries depending on age, denomination or social status.

The present case study focuses on the characteristics in which this hierarchy is created, in other words, on the making of educational inequalities. The core problem of the present study consists in describing the mechanisms of social selection and exclusion between the primary and secondary level of education in the context of Sátoraljaújhely, a middle-sized North Hungarian town at the beginning of the twentieth century. Altogether, it must be emphasized that the venture undertaken here has a socio-historical nature: the analyses provided in the following belong to the discipline of historical sociology based on the survey method. Thus, as a professional side-effect, the quantitative element will always prevail over the qualitative content throughout the present study (such examples as the beginning of this introduction are rarely present throughout this work...).

With the aid of Bourdieu's field theory, the study describes how the particular mental dispositions of different social groups (i.e. Jews, petty bourgeoisie or lower officials) could alter the general rule of the reproduction of inequalities in Sátoraljaújhely. Although the case study of Sátoraljaújhely should reflect and should be integrated into the larger corpus of

¹ Zemplén, 5.09.1906.

² ÉRT 1692, 1909/1910.

Hungarian historical sociology, and in that way, it should confront the existing state of arts, one has to always bear in mind the scope of the research and the limitations of its relevance. Mechanisms that are relevant in other sub-sectors of the Hungarian educational market may not be relevant in the case of Sátoraljaújhely, and *vice versa*. For example, *magyarization* and the ethnic composition of the educational market cannot be dealt with in the present study, because my protagonists are exclusively Hungarian speakers with only a few exceptions. It follows that my research questions and prospective explanations may only be relevant to the social context of the given North Hungarian city under scrutiny.

Among the goals of the thesis, there is, with the aid of a prosopographical database of the student population, the search for statistical connections between the social composition of primary schools and that of secondary schools. This enables me to specify the aspirations of each social group (which students continued to study after primary school and which educational tracks they chose) and to make connections between educational investment and the social, cultural or economic capital of the given population. Not only the influence of family background can be measured by statistical analysis, but different educational tracks can also be compared to educational excellence and performance in the given school (average grades are analyzed along other types of data). Furthermore, I analyze the mechanisms of social selection together with family background and school performance in a way that inequalities can be caught "in the making" and are not only perceived at the end of the process.

Sátoraljaújhely is an ideal place for a case study of the educational market in dualist Hungary: it is a school city of fifteen-twenty thousand inhabitants at the turn of the century (a gymnasium of eight classes, three civic schools [*polgári iskola*], two technical schools [*tanonciskola*], an upper commercial school [*felsőkereskedelmi iskola*] and five elementary schools), which is multi-ethnic (Hungarian, German, Slovak) and multi-denominational (Roman and Greek Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist and Jewish). School reports and schooling certificates contain several variables for each student (name, denomination, father's profession, residence, age, grades) that makes possible to analyze separately each group of Sátoraljaújhely's multi-ethnic and multi-denominational society. The wide-range of secondary schools allows Sátoraljaújhely's population to choose between a great variety of educational tracks available on the local level. The fact that Sátoraljaújhely had three different Jewish congregations in the dualist period (Orthodox, Status Quo Ante, and a Sephardic-Hasidic community) makes such an analysis more complex and worthwhile.

The present case study is composed of five distinctive parts: a theoretical and methodological framework, a description of Sátoraljaújhely's society at the turn of the century, two chapters on the educational inequalities in elementary schools and in secondary schools, and finally an analysis of the possible schooling tracks and patterns in Sátoraljaújhely. Bourdieu's field theory and his ideas about the reproduction of educational inequalities form the basis of the theoretical approach applied throughout this study. Besides, the first chapter describes the most essential part of a quantitative study: the methods used to create and handle the prosopographical database and its possible methodological problems. The subject of the second chapter, Sátoraljaújhely's society at the turn of the century is necessary to contextualize the local educational market. Denominational composition of the population, professional stratification, level of urbanization, modernization and industrialization are all relevant factors in the interpretation of my empirical results. Under- and over-representation of a given group, the inclusiveness or the progressiveness of the educational system can only be treated in view of the social and economic setting of the city.

The chapters on the educational inequalities in elementary and secondary schools have similar structure. A descriptive analysis of the student body with regard to denomination and social origin is followed by the analyses of the inequalities of schooling performance and dropouts. The last chapter proposes two kinds of analysis concerning the schooling track of pupils in Sátoraljaújhely: a quantitative study of the factors that determine enrollment frequencies in secondary schools (denomination, social origin, elementary school attended and schooling performance), and a short qualitative section on career opportunities and subsequent life stories of a small sample of local families.

Chapter 1 – Theory and Methodology

The present chapter aims at providing a solid basis for the empirical endeavor's of this case study. Bourdieu's field theory and the French sociology of education give the theoretical background on which my quantitative analyses can rely. The second part of the chapter is, I believe, an essential component of every statistical research, since it is needed to provide the reader with insights into the creation of the presented statistics, that will ensure, at the same time, their reliability as well. Nevertheless, none of the components of my chapter about theory and methodology will be exhaustive or fully detailed: it is not the duty of this theoretical framework to give a critical account of Bourdieu's theory, only to demonstrate its possible relevance for my purposes; the scope of my methodological remarks is also limited in order to spare the meticulous details of every phase in the creation and management of the prosopographical database that would be superfluous for the reader.

1.1 Bourdieu's field theory and educational inequalities

The role of schooling became more and more decisive in processes of social reproduction in the nineteenth century. Still, a great part in the making of strategies of reproduction was performed by other means such as fertility strategies (birth rates), marriage strategies, inheritance strategies (customs and laws of inheritance), purely economic strategies and investments, and finally, education and social strategies (the accumulation of symbolic and social capitals and their possible investments).³ To determine the relative value of schooling in the *fin-de-siècle* context it is necessary to analyze all strategies of reproduction, and to find the function of schooling within the larger setting of social structures. The interdependence of the strategies of reproduction is reinforced by the special place of modernization in the increase

³ Pierre Bourdieu "Stratégies de reproduction et modes de domination," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, no. 105 (1994), 4-6. and Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility* (Stanford and California: Stanford University Press, 1996), 272-274.

in the selective importance of schooling certificates and in the declining importance of social prerogatives inherited from feudal times. In other words, modernization can be considered as the continuous liberation of individuals from the external constraints of ligatures and the growth of individual options that may be chosen by free agents.⁴ Structural change can also be characterized by the new social and economic conditions that can play a decisive role in the transformation of the educational system, such as industrialization, urbanization, the growth of the bourgeoisie, professionalization, development of science, advent of democracy, mass society and nationalism.⁵

The dominant theoretical approach of this paper, from which I analyze the educational system, educational institutions and individual actors (pupils, parents, teachers or other individuals), is Pierre Bourdieu's field theory (*théorie des champs*) and his writings about the reproduction of inequalities, and the French sociology of education. Bourdieu and his collaborators have made several studies in which the concept of "field" is applied from various sociological and historical perspectives.⁶ Although the field theory is used as a dynamic concept in Bourdieu's oeuvre, it is worthwhile to give a working definition. To use metaphors, a given field can be described as a force field or a network of relations, which is characterized by constant competition and concurrence between the actors of the field; in general, a fight for the control of the field.

The stake of the "game", another metaphor of Bourdieu's, is the relative exchange value of various capitals within the field and the criteria of the belongingness to the given field; in

⁴ Ralf Dahrendorf, *Life Chances – Approaches to Social and Political Theory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), 21-39.

⁵ Robert Anderson "The Idea of the Secondary School in Nineteenth-century Europe", *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 40, Nos. 1-2, April 2004, 95.

⁶ See for example Pierre Bourdieu "Genèse et structure du champ religieux," *Revue française de sociologie* XII, no. 12-13 (1971), 295-334, "Le champ scientifique," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, no. 2-3 (1976), 88-104, "Le champ littéraire," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, no. 89 (1991), 3-46, and "Le champ économique," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, no. 119 (1997), 48-66, or a selected bibliography on the sociology of education and culture by members of the Centre for European Sociology: Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture (London, Newbury Park and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1990), 237-241.

other words it is a fight for the totality of rules dominating the field. From the historian's perspective, those who participate in the fights of the field belong to the field regardless of whether the actors holding the most important power positions consider them belonging to the field or not (e.g. *cheders* or *zugiskolák* [unofficial schools] in Jewish education, which competed for Jewish children with official Jewish elementary schools).⁷ The actors of the field always accept a common *doxa*, a belief or conviction that the particular goals, the competition and concurrence within the field merit the fight itself. Thus, belongingness to the field can be determined based both on the participation in the competition and on the acceptance of the common *doxa*.

The different fields constitute a system in which the relation of a particular field to the field of power (political or economic) determines its position among the other fields. The field's environment can influence its structural developments; for example, the inferior position of the literary field *vis-à-vis* the political field in nineteenth-century France could determine the structural development of the former.⁸ A trivial but essential remark: the economic and political field of Sátoraljaújhely could permit or prevent the foundation of new schools, such as the ministry of public education and religion could encourage or deter educational investments (e.g. the erection of a school building).

The complex interrelations of the different fields make necessary the analysis of the social, political and economic environment of the educational field, although the development of the educational field may seem autonomous, it can only be examined and understood properly in view of its environment.

In fact, the concept of a mode of reproduction of social structures – both the structure of social space as a whole and the structure of individual sectors of this space, such as the field of power – stands in opposition to the usual view of

Sándor Knopfler complains about cheders and Talmud-Torah schools that took Jewish students from the official Status-Quo-Ante elementary school in Sátoraljaújhely, which reduced the number of students in the official elementary school, and several times in the nineteenth century, threatened even its existence (Knopfler Sándor, A Sátoraljaújhelyi Statusquo Izr. Anyahitközség Népiskolájának Története [S.A.-Ujhely: Hitk. Iskolaszék, 1896]).
Bourdieu 1991, 6-9. See especially the chapter entitled "Le champ littéraire dans le champ du pouvoir: une autonomie menacé."

hereditary transfer as a direct or indirect transfer of forms of power or privileges from one individual or group to another, and particularly from father to son.⁹

The State Nobility can contextualize the ways the field theory could serve my purposes. This points out the problems of the "static" understanding of social mobility: it is inconceivable through the metaphor of the "social ladder", conjuring a unidimensional and linear vision of mobility.¹⁰ If the notions of social mobility and structural shift are contrasted, the necessity of analyzing the whole of the societal structure becomes evident: occupational heredity may result in upward or downward mobility depending on the global conditions of mobility (e.g. the progress of industrialization). A tangible example from our period is the decline in the relative value of the *matura* in a parallel to the growth of the population holding the *matura*, and especially due to the shortage of available bureaucratic positions in the interwar period.

The reproduction of inequalities or social mobility can only be apprehended in a relational or comparative perspective. The inclusiveness, progressiveness and segmentation¹¹ of a given educational field or sector have a specific value in view of the way all agents and all groups use the available reproduction strategies (in this case education strategies). It is also to say that the educational demand is determined by the *relative* value of schooling certificates (in the larger framework, the conversion rate of cultural capital) which is influenced by various factors such as the level of alphabetization of the given city, of the given religious group or of

⁹ Bourdieu 1996, 136.

¹⁰ Even the advocates of the "first" generation of mobility research could contradict the unidimensional and linear vision of social mobility, taking the theory at its most extreme, since, for example, Sorokin defines social mobility by the movement of individuals, values or social objects (in other words: everything created by human beings) from one position to another in the social hierarchy, that is to say, adopting a pluralist perspective (Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Mobility* [New York: The Free Press New York, 1964], 164.).

For the theoretical discussion of inclusiveness (how many people went to school?), progressiveness (how far down the social scale did the schools reach?) and segmentation (segregation, seclusion and separation of different social classes, groups in the educational field) see Müller, Ringer and Simon (eds.), *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1979). Viktor Karady used the notion of denominational segmentation for the segregation and separation of the different denominations in the educational system (Karady, "Vallási szegregáció és más vallású diákok a felekezeti gimnáziumokban, 1867-1945," in Karady, *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek* 1867-1945 [Budapest: Replika Kör, 2000], 171.).

other community, the quality and quantity of economic positions that can be obtained through the given qualification or the position linked to the given qualification in the hierarchy of status and prestige and its power of status-compensation. An example for the former is the educational strategy of the Hungarian gentry, whose main goal is the retention of positions in the state bureaucracy, while the latter could be manifested in the educational over-investment of Hungarian Jewry, which could entitle them to enter the circle of "gentlemanly" (*úri*) society.

The connection between the reproduction of inequalities and the field theory lies in the assessment of different capitals. In the language of capitals, the educational field is a place where the elite (in terms of economic, political or cultural capital) tries to transmit her own elite positions to her offspring using the monopoly of a given capital. Speaking of French elite education (the system of the *grandes écoles*), Pierre Bourdieu came to the conclusion that the reproduction of inequalities is ensured through schooling certificates in a special way, since the educational system (or simply *l'école*) does not honor schooling excellence by itself, only combined with other criteria such as the *habitus* or culture of the ruling class.¹² In that way, the educational system devaluates its own *idols*; it remains an open question whether this statement can be applied or not to the social reality of Sátoraljaújhely in dualist Hungary, taking into account the nature of the available sources. Education strategies include symbolic strategies as well,

[...] aimed at legitimating the social foundation of their domination, that is, the form of capital sustaining both their power and the mode of reproduction that is inseparable from it.¹³

In *fin-de-siècle* Hungary the space in which the "game" takes place (*espace de jeu*) includes power struggles for the preeminence of merit (e.g. schooling credentials) over assets gained from heredity or gifts (as demonstrated in Act I of 1883 on the "qualification" of public officers [*a köztisztviselők minősítéséről*]).

¹² Bourdieu "L'excellence scolaire et les valeurs du système d'enseignement français," Annales 25, no.1 (1970).

¹³ Bourdieu 1996, 265.

A general rule of selection and exclusion can be noticed in the strategies of educational reproduction.¹⁴ According to this rule, the higher level of the educational system and more prestigious the educational institutions, which are examined, the more the economic, social and cultural characteristics of the student population differ from the aggregate characteristics of the total population. The extent of educational inequalities becomes more and more important in higher degrees of educational institutions, which can be measured by different empirical tools, such as inclusiveness, progressiveness, segmentation and age-pyramid. The composition of capitals in different social groups (social, cultural, economic, symbolic) serves as working hypotheses when dealing with the reproduction of inequalities. For example, the special cultural capital of Hungarian Jews and their social aspirations, in comparison to other social groups, may explain the general over-schooling of Hungarian Jewry.¹⁵ Naturally, social aspiration is to be understood as a collective characteristic, in which individuality and individual cases (or aspiration) should be distinguished from aspirations that bear the sign of the collectivity.¹⁶

The last part of this theoretical outline aims at describing the notion of over-schooling and her place in the educational system in terms of the role education plays in the reproduction of social stratification and in the reproduction of dominant and dominated social groups and their interrelations. One can speak of over-schooling when a fraction of the student body, having a particular set of sociological characteristics, takes up the opportunities of the educational system more intensively or more successfully than others.¹⁷ Expressed in the definition are the

¹⁴ For the mechanisms of exclusion and selection, see Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, 141-146.

¹⁵ Needless to say that this is an over-generalization: in the case of such a heterogeneous group as Hungarian Jewry one can hardly write of an "aggregate man". Thus, the challenge of analysis could be found in the heterogeneity and variations within the given social group.

¹⁶ From the perspective of Durkheim, the variables concerning the educational system are social facts (*faits sociaux*) that can only be explained by other social facts, so individuals might be of no concern for this type of analysis (see Durkheim, *Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique*), an assumption that is completely set aside in Chapter 5.5.

¹⁷ Karady "Juifs et lutheriéns dans le système scolaire hongrois," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, no. 69 (1987), 67-85 and "Jewish Over-Schooling in Hungary. Its Sociological Dimensions." In Viktor Karady and Wolfgang Mitter (eds.), *Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mittel-Europa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Köln-

assumption of relational analysis and the separation of different sociological characteristics, i.e. social, economic, cultural capital; that is necessary to make possible any comparison. The assertion of *Jewish* over-schooling is only possible in the case if, according to other sociological characteristics, the compared denominational groups are similar. Thus, the neutralization of denomination-specific professional stratification is a crucial point in asserting denomination-specific over-schooling. In other words, cause-effect relations can only be explored if there are group-specific sociological characteristics besides denomination that can determine and restructure the group's system of investment strategies. These group specific characteristics often correlate with each other, fundamentally changing the (available) reproduction strategies – the level of urbanization, the class structure of the denominational group or the demographic situation can be mentioned as correlating and determining characteristics. In the same token, the method of neutralizing denomination-specific professional stratification might be futile and counterproductive, because it (alone) leaves aside the question *why* a given social group could have been urbanized or modernized more than others, a fact that in the case of Jews can be both connected to a peculiar social status and cultural characteristics.

Last but not least, the precondition of applying the notions of "educational market" and over-schooling is the *openness* of the educational field. Even in the liberal era, there is a considerable denominational segmentation in the educational system (more on the primary and less on the secondary level).¹⁸ Still, compared to the interwar period, the so-called "*numerus clausus* era", there is a high level of liberty in terms of educational institutions and in terms of choosing one's schooling track.¹⁹ Csaba Sasfi identified the two fundamental

Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1990), 209-246.

In the school year 1909/1910, 96.7% of the students in Roman Catholic elementary schools were Roman Catholic, 91.8% of the students in Calvinist elementary schools were Calvinist and 95.1% of the students in Lutheran elementary schools were Lutheran ($MS\dot{E}$ 1910, 337.), while 15.3% of the students in Protestant gymnasiums were Jews and 14.6% of the student body were Roman Catholic, and 15.4% of the students in Roman Catholic gymnasiums were Jews (ibid. 366.).

¹⁹ The latter statement needs more clarification. Although the educational opportunities may be openly distributed in Dualist Hungary, occupational opportunities are *not*: the fact that public employment is *unevenly* accessible to Hungarians and non-Hungarians, to Christians and non-Christians determines the schooling track

questions concerning secondary schools as scenes of socialization: the denominational heterogeneity and homogeneity of the student body (and its possible causes – secularization and structural-existential constraints like the level of urbanization); and the elite nature of the student population (which may refer to the general rule of selection and exclusion).²⁰ In that way, Bourdieu's assertion of the "homologies between the opposition observed in the different fields"²¹ refer, in the case of the educational field, to the interdependence of strategies of reproduction (e.g. academic and fertility strategies) and to the correlation between the elite nature of an institution and the denominational distribution of its student body.

To sum up the lessons of the theoretical framework proposed for this case study, I must emphasize the three central (empirical) goals of the following chapters. One is the description of schooling inequalities in Sátoraljaújhely's educational field (both elementary and secondary level) with regard to the main sociological characteristics that can be derived from the available archival sources. The two most significant independent variables are denomination and professional status – for the simply reason that these have the most important groupspecific sociological characteristics that can have explanatory value in analyzing educational inequalities. The economic, cultural and social capital of a given individual can be valued to a great extent based on his denomination and occupational status in the *fin-de-siècle* period. Naturally, social status must be contextualized, which leads to the second goal of empirical investigations: Sátoraljaújhely's society at the turn of the century. Since I constantly write about "fight", "market" and "competing", the city's social history cannot be omitted from the analysis: industrialization, urbanization, modernization, professional stratification, ethnic and denominational composition are important factors in the interpretation of educational strategies. The third goal of the case study is to explore the existing educational inequalities

of the "excluded" groups.

²⁰ Csaba Sasfi, "Felekezetiség és a középiskolai szocializáció színterei – A magyarországi középiskolai diákság felekezeti viszonyai a 19. században," *Századok* 144, no. 3 (2010), 563-564.

²¹ Bourdieu 1996, 270.

of Sátoraljaújhely between 1898 and 1914. The instruments are enrollment frequencies, average grades (schooling excellence) and the type of school attended (the choice of schooling track). At the end of the project, hopefully, the first two would serve as an explication for the peculiarities of the third one, which could constitute the ultimate goal of my case study.

1.2 Methodological remarks

Schooling registers provide the empirical basis of this case study.²² These registers generally contain the following information: name of the student, date of birth or age, place of birth, father's occupation and name, denomination, student's status (tuition, scholarship), attended class, grades and sometimes the student's residence and former school.

The peculiarity of *fin-de-siècle* registers is that variables normally considered as "hard" might not work as "hard" variables all the time.²³ Family names and forenames are constantly changing from year to year, even when the student remains in the same institution.²⁴ Denomination is also inconsistent: it can be changed throughout the years and it can also be indicated inaccurately (Protestant instead of Lutheran or Calvinist). However, in the case of denomination this is not an important issue, since the proportion of incorrectly registered denomination – or the distorting effect of conversions – is not significant. Social origin or father's occupation is the most delicate information: on the one hand, the occupation recorded in the register can refer to a variety of social, economic and cultural backgrounds, on the

²² The schooling registers I used can be mostly found in the *Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár* [Archive of Borsod-Abaú-Zemplén County], but some of them are kept in the private archive of the successor institution (e.g. the Piarist Gymnasium), and, unfortunately, the location of certain registers cannot be determined (e.g. the Jewish elementary schools).

²³ When I use the distinction between "hard" and "soft" variables it implies that "hard" variables denote characteristics or attributes that cannot be changed easily and do not depend on the subject's attitude (e.g. gender, age) and that "soft" variables denote especially attitudes or characteristics that can be easily changed (e.g. party preference, stereotypes, financial situation). Here, I suggest that the information in the schooling registers, in many cases, resembles the behavior of "soft" variables. Nevertheless, the distinction of hard and soft variables must be distinguished from the distinction between independent and dependent variables that will be applied throughout this case study.

For example the same pupil is called Kohuth, Kohaut and Kohut in three different registers, other typical examples are Lővinger and Löwinger, Pető and Pethö, Petz and Pecz, not to mention the possible spellings of typical Jewish names such as Schwarcz, Schwarczbard or Schveiger.

other hand, father's occupation is the most likely to change throughout the years, which makes difficult to identify it with one given category.²⁵ The accuracy of place of birth and age of the students can be also undermined by various incongruences. Since the register only contains the age of the student and we do not have information about their date of birth – which means that it is an estimated age – a 10-year-old pupil can be, in the extreme case, a year older or younger than an another 10-year-old pupil. The problem of place of birth is created by the different taxonomy used in the registers; in one case we have the exact name of the locality and in another case it is only recorded whether the place of birth is Sátoraljaújhely, Zemplén County or "another county". However, this kind of problem only forces me to use a less detailed but still relevant taxonomy as well (born in Sátoraljaújhely, in Zemplén County or in another county).

Last but not least, I must turn to the question of ethnic background and its possible relevance in the present case study. Although Sátoraljaújhely's population was not entirely Hungarian (1.6% Germans and 4.8% Slovaks in 1900),²⁶ linguistic diversity cannot play a major role in the city's educational field. On the one hand, it is hard to determine the ethnic background of the student population, since ethnicity is not marked on the documents, nor "mother tongue" is recorded in inscription registers of elementary schools. Thus, the only way to identify a student's ethnic background is through "name-analysis" and its combination with the pupil's denomination. In the case of secondary schools, the inscription record comprises

The most obvious reason for changing occupational status is intragenerational mobility: father's occupation in certain cases is likely to be registered over a period of ten years (e.g. from the fourth class of the elementary school until the third class of the upper commercial school; the same family might have more than one child in the database, therefore this period can be even longer) that makes changes in occupational status highly probable. A typical example might be Pál Beke's father (his schooling track: state elementary, first and fourth classes of the Piarist gymnasium and first class of the upper commercial school, 1900-1912), who was registered as a scribe at the court of justice in 1900 (XI. pay grade), then became a justice and clerk at the court of justice between 1903 and 1912 (VIII. and IX. pay grade).

²⁶ Thirring Gusztáv (ed.) 1912, A magyar városok statisztikai évkönyve (Budapest: A magyar városok országos kongresszusának iratai, 1912), 98.

a rubric "mother tongue" and another "spoken languages besides the pupil's mother tongue", but these fields are filled out in a rather sporadic way, and it would be hard to base any argument on that information.²⁷ On the other hand, the ethnic minorities of Sátoraljaújhely were exposed to a high level of assimilation and acculturation,²⁸ which, in the research of educational inequalities, was increased by an age specific acculturation via more intensive schooling. In addition, secondary education is both a place of assimilation and an institution of elite learning,²⁹ meaning that the proportion of non-Hungarians in the official statistics is always less than their actual proportion in the given secondary institution; in other words, the visibility of non-Hungarians is dubious in both national and local school statistics.³⁰

1.2.1 Social origin and father's occupation

Schooling registers refer apparently with some detail to the particular occupation of the pupil's fathers, but each occupational category might in reality refer to a very different set of social, economic and cultural capital. When the social historian defines the taxonomy of socio-professional categories based on the occupations recorded in the schooling register for each individual, he must assign, as a working hypothesis, a set of cultural, economic and

In the aggregate statistics of the civic school in the 1908/09 school year, according to spoken language, we find 105 pupils speaking only Hungarian, 42 pupils speaking both Hungarian and German and 18 speaking both Hungarian and Slovak. Two years later the Yearbook published mother tongue statistics and not spoken languages: 215 pupils declared Hungarian and only one pupil declared German as mother tongue; and nobody declared Slovak as his mother tongue. Such anomaly in language statistics suggests that there is a high level of acculturation on the side of both ethnic minorities and Hungarians and that the *real* distribution regarding ethnic background can hardly be discovered (for the aggregate statistics of the civic school see ÉRT 1695, 1908/09 and 1910/11).

For the question of acculturation in Sátoraljaújhely see Chapter 2. However, let's quote the ethnic composition of the city in the nineteenth century (respectively 1880, 1890 and 1900): Hungarian – 78.5%, 84.8%, 92.1%; German – 9.1%, 6.6%, 1.6%; Slovak – 11.4%, 7%, 4.8% (Thirring 1912, 98).

²⁹ Karady "Társadalmi mobilitás, reprodukció és az iskolázás egyenlőtlenségei," in Karady, *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon, 1867-1945* (Budapest: Replika Kör, 1997), 111-113.

³⁰ For the question of ethnicity in national statistics of the gymnasium and the *Realschulen* see: Karady "Magyar kultúrfölény vagy etnokrata önámítás? Mire jók a dualista kor nemzetiségi statisztikái?" *Educatio* 9, no. 2 (2000), 239-252 and "Magyar kultúrfölény vagy iskoláztatási deficit? Újabb adatok a honi középiskolások dualizmuskori nemzetiségi összetételéről, 1882–1915," *Korall* 2, no. 3-4 (2001), 129–144, and Kovács I. Gábor 2001, ""Törzsökös" és "asszimilált" magyarok, "keresztény allogének" és "zsidók" a dualizmuskori Magyarország középiskoláiban. Forráskritikai észrevételek Karady Viktor cikkéhez," *Korall* 3, no. 9 (2002), 193-232. Although the two authors expressed very different opinions on the question, both would agree, in my view, that published ethnic statistics of the gymnasium and the *Realschulen* are mostly inaccurate and need a very careful analysis.

social capital to each socio-professional category. The attribution of a certain combination of capitals to each occupational category becomes possible, because occupations indicate a *possible* qualification and a *possible* economic situation on the part of the father. For example, being the head of a train station indicates a given level of income and a given level of schooling specified in the law concerning public service.³¹ At the same time, certain categories refer to more heterogeneous groups as regards their economic potential. If the pupil's father is marked as innkeeper or shopkeeper in the schooling register, it may refer to a specific set of cultural values, but the economic situation behind this might be very different. Nevertheless, all shopkeepers and innkeepers will be counted in the same socio-professional group, that of smaller independents.

The problem of intra-generational mobility or changing occupational status (only relevant in the *structured* database) is dealt in a highly pragmatic way: I always counted the "highest" occupational position of the given father. Thus, for example, Ágoston Jurcsó started to work as a scribe at the police station at the end of the nineteenth century, and became the head of the police station in 1912, a remarkable career mobility, which brings considerable financial gains as well. *Sátoraljaújhely*, the "independent" political journal complained that many positions at the municipality did not demand any qualification beyond writing and reading, including the head of the police station; yet, it belonged to the VIII pay grade, and meant a yearly salary of 5440 Kronen.³² Even in this case, with apparent lack of educational credentials on the part of the father, the Jurcsó children are counted among higher officials, as this is the peak of Jurcsó's career. The categorisation of occupations in the database follows a preset list of all the occupations that can be found in the schooling registers; this list is based on contemporary sources such as Act I of 1883 (on the qualification of public officers)

³¹ Act IV of 1893, for the salary of public servants see appendix B.

³² Sátoraljaújhely, 24.02.1911.

or professional almanacs and calendars, and on the methodological notes of some works in Hungarian historiography.³³

1.2.2 Structured and unstructured database

Throughout the thesis when presenting statistical tables I will refer to the structured and unstructured databases as sources. The database contains 8,887 separate cases in overall (the student body of all elementary schools, the civic school, the upper commercial school and the Piarist gymnasium included), which is equal to the number of cases in the *unstructured* database. This means that the same individual can represent four or even more cases in the unstructured database. The "restructure" command in SPSS allows me to rearrange the database so that the data of related cases (groups of cases of the same individual identified by the name of the individual) are represented as a single case in the new data set, in the structured database. In practical terms it means that in the *unstructured* database each schooling register entry counts as a different case, and in the *structured* database each pupil counts only as one case regardless of how many times he appears in different schooling registers (e.g. someone who appears twice in the elementary registers and twice in the gymnasium registers counts as four different cases in the non-restructured database and only as one case in the structured one). The conversion resulted in 4,545 cases in the *structured* database with an average cases in/cases out rate of 1.96, the highest number of counts of the same individual being 8 in the unstructured database (e.g. Hugó Lefkovics who is registered in the first, the fourth, the fifth and the sixth classes of the state elementary school, in the first and fourth classes of the civic school and in the first and third classes of the upper commercial school).

³³ Especially, Récsey Emil (ed.), *Magyar vasúti szaknaptár: közlekedési almanach és sematizmus* (Budapest: Wodianer Ny., 1905-1918), Kovács I. Gábor, "A két világháború közötti egyetemi tanárok rekrutációja és a középrétegek hierarchiája a társadalmi rangcímrendszer szerint a dualizmuskori Magyarországon" and "A prozopográfiai módszerek lehetőségei a társadalmi nagycsoportok történeti kutatásában," in idem, *Elitek és iskolák, felekezetek és etnikumok* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2011), 99-198 and 199-210, and Mazsu János, "Az értelmiségbe irányuló intergenerációs mobilitás Magyarországon az I. világháború előtti félszázadban," in László Varga (ed.), R*endi társadalom - polgári társadalom, Vol. I.* (Salgótarján: Nógrád Megyei Levéltár, 1986), 453-462.

The main reason of creating a *restructured* database is that it enables me to take into account the whole schooling track of the students, and to analyze it in view of the students' main sociological characteristics and schooling performance. It must be added that the creation of the *restructured* database necessitates a meticulous and time-consuming adjustment due to the variety of name spellings in the schooling registers.³⁴ Taking into account the other possible distortions concerning the information recorded in schooling registers, I only adjusted names in case three out of four were consistent from the following set of variables: age, denomination, fathers' occupation, year of attended class.

³⁴ For a few typical examples see footnote 23.

Chapter 2 – The Society of Sátoraljaújhely at the turn of the century

The present chapter does not aim at providing a social history of Sátoraljaújhely in the first decades of the twentieth century; it only gives an account of the city's general level of development (industrialization, modernization, urbanization) and an outline of the population's denominational and occupational composition. Sátoraljaújhely was an oppidum in the eighteenth and nineteenth century and was relegated to the status of "big-village" (*nagyközség*) after the municipal law of 1871, but always remained the administrative center of Zemplén County throughout the dualist period. The city obtained the municipal status of "corporate town" (*rendezett tanácsú város*) in 1902, and, thus, became the only town of this kind in the county; this privileged status provided the task and opportunity of hosting various administrative institutions (*árvaszék*, *vármegyei bíróság*, etc), which contributed to an increase in the proportion of public officers – i.e. educated people – in the city.³⁵

The population of Sátoraljaújhely tripled in the second half of the nineteenth century, from 6.310 inhabitants in 1830 (civil population) to 19.940 inhabitants in 1910 (civil and military population).³⁶ The ethnic composition of the city went through major changes between 1880 and 1910 (Table 1), reducing non-Hungarians to a tiny minority of the population: according to the census of 1910, there lived 273 Germans (1.4%) and 478 Slovaks (2.4%) in the city, the former are predominantly Jews, and the latter are Roman or Greek Catholics.³⁷ The denominational composition of the city is more diverse and went through less profound changes between 1869 and 1910 (Table 2): Roman Catholics constitute two-fifth of

³⁵ Kováts Dániel, *Sátoraljaújhely Helynevei és Történeti Topográfiája* (Sátoraljaújhely: [Önkrományzat], 2008), 100-103, Borovszky Samu (ed.), *Zemplén Vármegye és Sátoraljaújhely R. T. Város* (Budapest: Apollo, 1905), 142-151, and Dongó Gy. Géza, *Sátoralja-Újhely története* (Sátoralja-Újhely: Képviselőtestület, 1907), 291-304.

³⁶ Thirring 1912, 53.

The gender composition of non-Hungarians in Sátoraljaújhely according to the census of 1910 reveals a lot about the sociology of *assimilation* and *magyarization* in the dualist period: out of the 273 Germans there are 116 male and 157 female, and out of 178 Slovaks there are 191 male and 287 female inhabitants (MOL, XXXII-23-h, 720.).

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Hungarian	78.5	84.9	92.1	95.2
German	9.1	6.6	1.6	1.3
Slovak	11.4	7.0	4.8	2.4
Polish				0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ν	11264	13017	16886	19940

Table 1. S.Ujhely's Population by Declared Mother Tongue, 1880-1910

Source: Thirring 1912, 91, MOL XXXII-23-h, 709.

Table 2.	Denominational Composition of S.Ujhely, 1869-1910							
	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910			
Roman Catholic	35.5	34.2	37.7	39.8	39.8			
Greek Catholic	17.7	17.6	16.1	16.2	14.8			
Lutheran	1.5	1.8	2.1	1.8	1.9			
Calvinist	12.5	11.0	13.2	13.7	14.3			
Jew	32.7	35.4	30.9	28.4	28.9			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
Ν	9946	11264	13017	16886	19940			

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Source: Thirring 1912, 73, MOL XXXII-23-h, 709.

the population, Jews a bit less than a third, Greek Catholics 16%, Calvinists 14% and Lutherans 2%. The Jewish presence is remarkable in the case of Sátoraljaújhely, since, already at time of the emancipation, a third of the population is Jewish, and according to the census of 1880, Jews constitute the most numerous group in the city. As an illustration of Jewish influence and their high level of integration in the city, it is enough to mention that Dr. Salamon Reichard, a Jewish lawyer and the leader of the Status Quo Ante congregation, became the mayor of the city in 1910.³⁸ However, Jewish influence is not unanimously accepted as Reichard's mayoralty proves; at his inauguration "most of the Christian deputies were absent," which should not gain acclamation, as Sátoraljaújhely put it,

Ujváry Péter (ed.), Zsidó Lexikon (Budapest: Pallas, 1929), 768. 38

Dr. Salamon Reichard is the elected mayor of Sátoraljaújhely; his qualities and his severity are widely known, there is absolutely no place for any religious impatience at him.³⁹

In any account, Reichard's mayoralty was not an overwhelming success as he resigned from the position a few months later. Resentments are felt at other occasions as well about the political commitment of the local Jewish bourgeoisie; for example, when the same journal writes about a "ritual party dinner", which was financed by the guests, as they wanted to listen Barna Buza's⁴⁰ speech so much.⁴¹

The census of 1869 might reflect the city's economic and social setting of the city before the great challenges of industrialization, modernization and fast urbanization. The local elite consisted of the political elite of Zemplén County, big landowners living in the city; the uppermiddle class was composed of local public officers and the circle of the local court of justice (mainly attorneys and lawyers). In the 1860s, Sátoraljaújhely's dominant social group was already the local commercial and artisanal class, which also entailed the presence of numerous carriers. The available census data concerning the city's population brings about two other conclusions: Sátoraljaújhely was already the city of shoemakers in the 1860s, and most of innkeepers were Jews, a fact that is supported by the history of vine production in the county.⁴²

The level of urbanization and modernization remained limited throughout the period as, for example, out of 1644 buildings in the city, 1573 were one-story houses, and there were only 63 two-story houses and 3 three-story houses in 1910.⁴³ The material of buildings presented an intermediary stage of modernization as the majority of the walls were made of stone (only a minority made of loam), but, with regard to the roof, the use of shingle is still prevalent instead of the more modern tile. In 1908, there is still no trunk line in the city, but the communication

³⁹ Sátoraljaújhely, 07.01.1910.

⁴⁰ Buza Barna (1873-1944), politician and lawyer, parliamentary deputy of Sátoraljaújhely between 1905 and 1910 (Independence and '48 Party).

⁴¹ Sátoraljaújhely, 13.05.1910.

⁴² Csorba, "Sátoraljaújhely társadalma az 1869-es népszámlálás tükrében," Széphalom 11 (2001), 121-125.

⁴³ Thirring 1912, 20.

traffic (postal letters, packages and money transfer) is similar to that of an average corporate town. For example, the total number of postal letters was approximately 2.750 thousand in 1908, which means an average of 137 letters per inhabitant in a year; the same number is 121.3 in Munkács, 193.7 in Kassa and 166.4 in Miskolc. The vivid commercial life of the city is illustrated by the large amount of cashing in at the local post office, which added up to 4,034 thousand Kronen in a year in Sátoraljaújhely, while this is only 3,022 thousand in Munkács and 4,034 thousand in Ungvár.⁴⁴

It is important to note the difference between the level of urbanization and the level of modernization of a given city (the Hungarian terms carry better the difference between the two: *városiasodás* and *városodás*). The population growth in the last decades of the Monarchy suggests fast urbanization, but modernization (in the sense of *városiasodás*) could not maintain the same degree of development: the proportion of modernized roads and pavements, the lateness of electrification and the problems of a proper sewerage system call for a belated modernization.⁴⁵ In 1912 and 1913 when the erection of a new building for the upper commercial school is on the agenda (it would cost around 400,000 Kronen), the journal *Sátoraljaújhely* takes a stand on not erecting the "commercial palace", because the financial burden is not in proportion to the cultural gains, and the modernization of the city is a more urgent task: streets are unpaved, there are no sidewalks, but "there are streets on which it is *absolutely* impossible to travel by car or fiacre"; there is still no proper slaughter house and cold store in the city, and the construction of the market hall has not been started yet.⁴⁶

Literacy rates were rapidly improving in the first decade of the twentieth century, 65.8% of male population and 61.7% of female population were literate in 1900 in Sátoraljaújhely,⁴⁷ while these rates increased to 72.7% and 66% in 1910 (Table 3). This increase was partly due

⁴⁴ Ibid. 376.

⁴⁵ Ibid. various pages.

⁴⁶ Sátoraljaújhely, 07.01.1913.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 116.

	Men			Women				
	Men	Secondary education (in%)	Literate (in%)	Illiterate (in%)	Women (in%)	Secondary education (in%)	Literate (in%)	Illiterate (in%)
Roman Catholic	3618	12.4	71.1	28.9	4255	9.4	67.4	32.6
Greek Cath- olic	1321	5.3	65.9	34.1	1602	2.2	52.3	47.7
Calvinist	1409	15.3	77.7	22.3	1418	7.4	68.3	31.7
Lutheran	197	26.4	81.2	18.8	172	13.4	79.1	20.9
Jew	2784	14.3	75.2	24.7	2940	11.5	69.4	30.6
Other	39	33.3	61.5	38.5	33	12.1	78.8	21.2
Total	9368	12.8	72.7	27.2	10412	8.7	66.0	34.0

Table 3.Literacy and Secondary Education by Denomination in S.Ujhely, 1910

Source: MOL XXXII-23-h, 709.

to the foundation of the state elementary school (1898), which could enroll thousand students per year (both boys and girls included), thus contributing largely to the spread of literacy. The relatively low literacy rates of Sátoraljaújhely are due to the rapid population growth in the second half of the nineteenth century (and the peculiar social composition of immigrant population like female workers in the tobacco factory - mostly girls at the age between 14 and 17),⁴⁸ but the state's "modernizing" effort⁴⁹ could compensate the influx of a predominantly agrarian population. In the case of Sátoraljaújhely's state elementary school, the foundation of the school could be attributed to both "state" intervention (thus to growing state) and local initiatives: population growth necessitated the establishment of a non-denominational school, since the existing schooling infrastructure could not provide primary education for

⁴⁸ According to the *Gazdasági értesítő*, there worked 756 women, 16 men and 42 children in the tobacco factory in 1898. In the same year the factory worked off more than 200 thousand strip leaves and produced 106.854kg of cigar (*Gazdasági értesítő* 1898, 116.), see also Csintalan János, A *Sátoraljaújhelyi Dohánygyár száz évének története* (Sárospatak: Borsodi Ny., 1991), 11.

⁴⁹ That is how Nagy (Nagy *A növekvő állam árnyékában*, [Budapest: Gondolat, 2011]) described growing state influence, including non-Hungarians whose individual life chances are improved by enforcing elementary education, although, in the same time, their collective rights may have been violated (a much debated thesis, see Nagy 2011, 392-401).

all the population – this was well acknowledged by the local elite, that was willing to take on considerable financial commitments.⁵⁰ Compared to other North Hungarian cities, Sátoraljaújhely's literacy rates and the city's spread of literacy can be considered still prominent, in 1900, literacy rates are 63.5% (male) and 52.7% (female) in Munkács, 55.8% and 54.6% in Ungvár, and 74.9% and 62.3% in Kassa.⁵¹ It has to be added that both Munkács and Ungvár had a large Orthodox congregation, and the presence of a more traditional Jewry could distort official statistics concerning overall literacy rates.

Denomination-specific literacy rates attest a denominational hierarchy that will be reflected throughout this case study: Protestants had the best literacy rates (Table 3), then Jews and Roman Catholics are the second in the hierarchy, and Greek Catholics are the most backward group in this regard. One comment must be made concerning literacy rates and secondary school attendance of the Jewish population (like in the case of Munkács and Ungvár): real literacy rates might be higher in the case of Jews, because most of Jewish children are enrolled in an official or unofficial school, and had to gather basic religious education as well (in the unofficial *cheder* or *Talmud-Torah*); the knowledge of reading and writing in Yiddish and Hebrew did not appear in these statistics. Moreover, this type of cultural capital is apparent in statistics indicating secondary and other spoken languages: 44.8% of the Jewish population is *at least* bilingual, while this number is only 24.3% in the case of the non-Jewish population of the city in 1910.⁵² Last but not least, the high enrollment rate of Jewish girls in

⁵⁰ The construction site of the new school is the offering of the Calvinist church (the Calvinist elementary school worked on the same site), the burden of building the new school is partially and the maintenance of the school is totally the duty of the municipality. This situation causes conflicts throughout the period, e.g. the quality and quantity of wood fuel provided by the local government are constantly insufficient – the school complaining about the amount to the *királyi tanfelügyelő*, and the local government answering that the appropriate amount has been already delivered – another source of conflict is the number of teachers provided by the VKM, which proves insufficient as the student population increases year by year (BAZ VI. 503b, 16.).

⁵¹ Thirring 1912, 115-117.

⁵² MOL XXXII-23-h, 720. I write *at least* bilingual, because the census did not take into account the knowledge of Hebrew, so the proportion of bilingual Jews is supposed to be higher, and there may be a large proportion of trilingual in the case of Jews. The Slovak knowledge of Roman Catholics (72.8% of bilingual Roman Catholics spoke Slovak) and Greek Catholics (92.7%) attest a high level of assimilation/*magyarization*, and the Slovak knowledge of bilingual Calvinists (60.6%) attest a high level of acculturation on the part of the Hungarian population (ibid.).

	1900	1910
Agriculture	7.6	9.2
Mining	0.0	0.0
Industry	34.8	37.8
Commerce	11.9	12.8
Transportation	9.5	11.5
Civil service	10.7	10.9
Army	1.2	1.1
Day laborer	9.9	3.8
Servant	5.6	4.7
Other	8.8	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Ν	16886	19940

Table 4.Professional Stratification of S.Ujhely, 1900 and 1910

Source: Thirring 1912, 133 and MSK 48, 550.

secondary educational institutions is exceptional in the context of North-Eastern Hungarian Jewry, and attests the presence of a reformist tendency (i.e. the Status Quo Ante congregation) in the local Jewish community.

Sátoraljaújhely's professional stratification could be described in terms of a belated and state-sponsored industrialization, a sizable agricultural population, a large handcraft industry and an outgrown office holder population at the turn of the century. Agricultural activity is mainly connected to wine production, a traditional industry in the region of Tokaj-Hegyalja; agriculture remains so influential in Sátoraljaújhely that the proportion of agricultural workers could even increase between 1900 and 1910, from 7.6% to 9.15% of the total population (Table 4).⁵³ Agriculture is defenseless against weather conditions and other natural disasters (e.g. the phylloxera plague at the turn of the century), which along with the immigration from the surrounding areas on a small scale resulted in limited capital concentration throughout the dualist period.⁵⁴ Even though Jews were already involved in vine production and commerce

⁵³ Thirring 1912, 133 and MSK 48, 550-551.

⁵⁴ Csíki, Városi Zsidóság Északkelet- és Kelet-Magyarországon (Budapest: Osiris, 1999), 41.

since the end of the eighteenth century, and could acquire wine estates after 1784 until the present days (the turn of the century),⁵⁵ due to conjuncture crises and small capital accumulation Jewish vine business remained on a middle-class (*kispolgári*) level.⁵⁶ It is partly for this reason that Jewish economic integration into the local economy is one-sided and economic growth proves rather slow For example, in 1910, the proportion of Jews in commerce and credit is 88.1% in Zemplén County, which is relatively high compared to their overall proportion in Hungary (51.8%).⁵⁷ Likewise, the proportion of Jewish landholders was also prominent in the county (28.5% compared to the overall 10.8% in Hungary).⁵⁸

The second characteristic of Sátoraljaújhely's economic environment is the belated and state-sponsored industrialization. In 1900, only 34.8% of the population was employed in industry,⁵⁹ which increased to 37.8% in the upcoming ten years.⁶⁰ According to the census of 1900, out of 2.429 industrial earners, there were 1.142 workers and day laborers, 336 apprentices and 715 private artisans.⁶¹ The high proportion of small enterprises and the small number of factories (employing more than 5 workers) attest a low level of capital accumulation, and a lack of large-scale industrialists and entrepreneurs. It is revealing that the large factories of the city are state-sponsored and state-owned institutions: the tobacco factory, founded in 1891, employed 1279 workers in 1911 and was the property of the Hungarian State Treasury (*Magyar Államkincstár*); the wagon shop of the Hungarian railways (*Máv javítóműhely*), founded in 1872, employed 400 workers and, naturally it was the property of the Hungarian railways.⁶²

⁵⁵ Izidor Goldberger complained about natural disasters and about the hostility of Christians towards Jewish vine sellers, although the city's economic life would cease to function without Jewish contribution (Patai, *Magyar Zsidó Amanach* [Budapest: Magyar Zsidó Almanach, 1911], 174-175). It is stated in the periodical, Adalékok Zemplén Vármegye Történetéhez that Jews enjoyed property rights continously after 1784 (*Adalékok*, 1902, VII, 21.).

⁵⁶ Csíki 1999b, 186.

⁵⁷ Kovács, A zsidóság térhódítása Magyarországon (Budapest: 1922), 68.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 71.

⁵⁹ Thirring 1912, 133.

⁶⁰ MSK 48, 550.

⁶¹ MOL XXXII-23-h, 82.

⁶² Thirring 1912, 312.

The other industrial factories in Sátoraljaújhely did not employ more than 50 workers each, and employed altogether only 240 workers (12.5% of factory workers in the city).⁶³

To conclude this section on the social setting of Sátoraljaújhely, the outgrown office holder population needs to be mentioned. According to the census of 1900, 6.5% of Sátoraljaújhely's population belonged to the group of officials, public service (365 earners and 725 dependents),⁶⁴ that constituted a financial burden on the budget of the city. There are several complaints about this burden, and the high salaries of municipal and other officials in local newspapers throughout the 1900s and the 1910s. It is also to note that the financial situation of the city is insecure in the period under scrutiny due to infrastructural investments like the erection of school buildings, electrification, and the building of the sewerage system.⁶⁵ In 1908, the calendar of *Zemplén* enumerated sixteen different municipal and state offices in Sátoraljaújhely, such as different financial, engineering or court offices.⁶⁶ It is not astonishing that the cause of education and financial constraints are sometimes at odds; a fine example being the question of firewood in the case of the state elementary, when the city is not willing to supply the appropriate amount and quality of fuel.⁶⁷ However, it is the goal of the next chapter to find the connections between society, economics, politics and primary education.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ MOL XXXII-23-h, 82.

⁶⁵ Thirring 1912, various pages.

⁶⁶ Dongó (ed.), A "Zemplén" Naptára az 1908-ik évre (Sátoraljaújhely: Zemplén, 1908), 52-55.

⁶⁷ BAZ VI. 503-b, 16. In 1906, the head of the state elementary complained that the quality of the fuel is so low that "it does not warm at all, and it is so smoky that the pupils have to leave the schoolroom" (2853/1906).

Chapter 3 – The Market of Elementary Schools

The market of elementary schools in Sátoraljaújhely will be described from different angles in the present chapter. I begin with the state of affairs in the 1890s, with the description of elementary schools and their setting in 1896 before the foundation of the state elementary school. In the subsequent chapters I describe the denominational and social composition of the pupils in elementary schools, then I present the inequalities of schooling performance with regard to denomination and social origin, and, last but not least, I present the patterns of dropout in the Roman Catholic and in the state elementary school between 1900 and 1910.

In the school year 1896/97 there are altogether ten elementary schools (including both schools for boys and for girls) in Sátoraljaújhely with very different infrastructural facilities and student body (Table 5). The number of students per teacher is a good indicator of the possible schooling quality that the given school can provide: the Greek Catholic elementary school is an undivided institution with one teacher for over ninety pupils in case of the elementary school for boys; in contrast, the Status Quo Jewish elementary school has three divided classes and 54 pupils per teacher.

There are altogether 1,529 pupils enrolled in one of the elementary schools, and 587 pupils (27.7%) at the age of compulsory education not enrolled in elementary schools.⁶⁸ Presuming that every pupil is enrolled in his/her own denominational school, it means that 18.9% of Roman Catholics, 21.5% of Calvinists, 29.3% of Jews and 51.9% of Greek Catholic pupils are unschooled.⁶⁹ This hierarchy is similar to national tendencies with the exception of Jews: in 1897, 15.2% of Roman Catholic pupils at the age of compulsory education, 15.3% of Calvinists, 38% of Greek Catholics and 18.9% of Jews are not enrolled in elementary schools.⁷⁰ Two comments must be made concerning these proportions: the proportion of

⁶⁸ BAZ VI. 503b, 16 (743/1897).

⁶⁹ Calculations based on the numbers of BAZ VI. 503b, 16. 743/1897 and 885/1897.

⁷⁰ MSÉ 1898, 303.

Name of school	Number of teachers	Ι	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Roman Cath. Boys' school	4	94	63	49		51		257
Carolineum Roman Catholic	7	85	8	5		50		220
Girls' school	/	4	8	50		-	-	98
Greek Catholic Boys' school	1	90					90	
Greek Catholic Girls' school	1	65				65		
Calvinist boys' school	2	55 76				131		
Calvinist girls' school	1	70				70		
Status Quo Jewish boys' school	3	59	41	63		-	-	163
Status Quo Jewish girls' school	5	63	57	53	4	2	22	237
Orthodox Jewish boys' school	2	58		4	9	-	-	107
Kaufmann private girls' school	2	45		46				91
Total	28							1529

Table 5.Elementary Schools in 1896/97 in S.Ujhely

Source: BAZ VI 503b, 16 (885/1897).

unschooled Greek Catholics in Sátoraljaújhely must be somewhat less, because some of them are schooled in the Roman Catholic elementary school (like in the period between 1898 and 1915); the proportion of unschooled Jewish pupils must be less if we added those who are enrolled in unofficial schools (e.g. cheders or Talmud-Torah). For example, Sándor Knopfler, the headteacher of the Status Quo Jewish elementary school emphasizes that unofficial schools took pupils from the official Jewish elementary schools, because parents considered harmful the secular education provided in the secular institution.⁷¹ The foundation of the state elementary school will, notably, enhance the most elementary school attendance amongst Greek Catholics and Jews.

When the creation of a state elementary school was put on the agenda in 1896, the school inspector of the county (*királyi tanfelügyelő*) asked local elementary schools to present their annual budget, which, now, can serve to map up the institutional hierarchy from the perspective of financial potential. Out of the five elementary schools for boys, the Status

⁷¹ Knopfler 1896, 39-46.
Quo Jewish elementary school has the largest annual budget, 5552 forints (8 teachers, the highest salary is 750 forints for Sándor Knopfler).⁷² The Orthodox elementary school has a more moderate annual budget (1669 forints), and provides a less competitive salary (500 and 400 forints).⁷³ The Calvinist elementary school had three teachers (600 forints, 400 forints and 520 forints) and an annual budget of 2412 forints.⁷⁴ And, finally, the budget of the two Catholic elementary schools for boys comprised, in the case of the Roman Catholic school, four teachers (650 forints and 500-500 forints), and a total budget of 3300 forints;⁷⁵ and in the case of the Greek Catholic school, 2 teachers (318 forints and 385 forints – a considerable part is paid in goods), and an annual budget of only 700 forints.⁷⁶ It is telling that besides the Greek Catholic elementary school all schools employed at least a manservant (*iskola szolga*) beyond the above-mentioned teaching body.

To complete the picture concerning the hierarchy of elementary schools, one should enumerate the amount of tuition fee in the annual budget of these schools. The amount of tuition fee is 2900 forints for the Status Quo, 800 forints for the Orthodox Jewish, 900 forints for the Roman Catholic, 500 forints for the Calvinist, and nothing for the Greek Catholic elementary school.⁷⁷ This is not only a hierarchy of financial potential and schooling infrastructure, but a hierarchy of the economic status of the "users" (parents) as well, which might have considerable significance in view of the enrollment frequencies in secondary schools (Chapter 5). It must be added that this situation is only relevant until 1907 and 1910, when the *Lex Apponyi* defines the teacher salary scale in both denominational and state elementary schools in 1907,⁷⁸ and when Apponyi makes primary education free in state (from September 1909) and denominational

⁷² BAZ VI. 503b, 16 (642/1897). In addition to the large budget, Felkai writes about a school library with several hundred books, and, besides Hebrew teaching both for boys and girls, German teaching for boys and French teaching for girls in the upper classes (Felkai, *Zsidó iskolázás Magyarországon, 1780-1990* [Budapest: Országos Pedagógiai Könyvtár, 1998], 69-70).

⁷³ BAZ VI. 503b, 16 (11/1897).

⁷⁴ BAZ VI. 503b, 16 (14/1897).

⁷⁵ BAZ VI. 503b, 16 (856/1897).

⁷⁶ BAZ VI. 503b, 16 (72/1897).

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Act XXVII of 1907 (especially the first four sections).

(from September 1910) elementary schools.⁷⁹ The remainder of this chapter aims at describing the market of elementary schools in Sátoraljaújhely after the foundation of the state elementary school with regard to the denominational and social composition of the student body, and inequalities of schooling performance (average grades and dropouts) in elementary schools.

3.1 Denominational and social composition of elementary schools

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the market of elementary schools in Hungary can be divided into two types of elementary schools according to ethnic and denominational composition. The first group consists of denominational schools, which are in the most cases exclusive with regard to ethnicity and denomination; the second group consists of the so-called "state" elementary school and schools under "municipal" (*községi*) supervision that are "open to all" institutions regardless of ethnicity, denomination or social status. In Sátoraljaújhely, during the period between 1898 and 1915, there functioned one state elementary school (founded in 1898), a Roman Catholic and a Greek Catholic elementary school and two Jewish elementary schools (one belonging to the Status Quo Ante *kehilla* and the other to the Orthodox *kehilla*).⁸⁰

The state elementary school is founded with the purpose of providing education for those not having denominational school of their own in Sátoraljaújhely (the Protestants), and for those not enrolled in their own denominational school (Sephardic-Hasidic Jews, and the lower srata of Roman and Greek Catholics).⁸¹ This claim should be specified in the sense that local Calvinists supported the foundation of a state elementary school for long time before 1898, and they even offered the building and the territory of the Calvinist elementary school operating before 1898.⁸²

⁷⁹ Act XLVI of 1908.

⁸⁰ Here, I only enumerated elementary schools for boys.

⁸¹ This is strongly emphasized in the first assembly of the state elementary school (BAZ VIII. 463, 218.).

⁸² Oddly enough, in September 2012, based on the Calvinists' historical rights over the territory, the Calvinist elementary school will be re-opened in the building of the state elementary, originally constructed for the enlarged school in the first decade of the twentieth century.

	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Protestants	Jew	Total	Z
State elementary	33.4	11.2	36.4	19.0	100.0	2066
Roman Catholic elementary	90.3	5.8	2.6	1.4	100.0	1103
Greek Catholic elementary	4.0	95.4	0.6	0.0	100.0	348
Orthodox Jewish elementary	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	290
Status Quo Ante elementary	0.0	0.0	0.1	99.9	100.0	203

Table 6.Denominational Composition of Elementary School Pupils in S.Ujhely,
1898-1915

Source: unstructured database

After a few years, the state elementary school becomes the largest institution ahead of the Roman Catholic elementary school,⁸³ and the former is the only generally "open to all" institution in the city (Table 6). Whereas almost all students in the Greek Catholic elementary are Greek Catholics (or Roman Catholics) – there are only two Protestants out of 386 pupils between 1898 and 1915 –, 96% of the pupils in the Roman Catholic elementary school are Catholics (among them 5.6% Greek Catholics), and the students of the Jewish elementary schools are exclusively Jews with only two exceptions. Contrary to denominational schools, the state elementary school has a mixed student body with 33.4% Roman Catholics, 11.2% Greek Catholics, 36.4% Protestants⁸⁴ and 19% Jews in the period between 1898 and 1915.⁸⁵

⁸³ The number of pupils in elementary schools (only boys) in the year 1907/08 in Sátoraljaújhely: state elementary – 472, denominational elementary schools (5) – 548 (Thirring 1992, 490.).

⁸⁴ As I already mentioned schooling registers of the elementary schools of Sátoraljaújhely do not specify the denomination of Protestants, only that they are Protestants. For this reason, I will only refer to the group of "Protestants" and cannot deal separately with Lutherans and Calvinists.

The denominational distribution, the exclusivity of the denominational schools and the inclusive nature of the state elementary, is not a local phenomenon. National statistics would suggest the same or even higher exclusivity in the case of elementary schools (MSK 31, 181.). This will be very different in the case of secondary education, where denominational institutions are more or less open to denominational outsider pupils.

	State Elementary	R.Cath. Elementary	G.Cath. Elementary
Agriculture	2.5	3.3	2.9
Unskilled workers	26.3	23.8	56.9
Skilled workers	15.5	20.0	11.6
Craftsmen, artisans	24.4	20.6	23.4
Shopkeepers	6.9	2.2	1.7
Lower officials	7.1	9.2	1.2
Employed intellectuals	0.9	0.8	0.0
Middle officials	6.2	5.2	1.4
Higher officials	4.0	3.2	0.3
Educated professionals	1.9	2.5	0.0
Entrepreneurs, indep.	0.3	1.0	0.0
Property owners	3.1	7.4	0.6
Other	0.8	0.9	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ν	2005	1057	346
Missing N	72	53	40

Table 7.Social Origin of Pupils in S.Ujhely's Elementary Schools, 1898-1915

Source: unstructured database

The notion of *denominational segmentation* could be applied to describe the denominational distribution of elementary education in dualist Hungary: although the notion stems from the social history of secondary education,⁸⁶ as it is shown, the same phenomenon can be found even more markedly in the case of primary education.

The social origin of pupils is an indicator of educational inequalities at the very beginning of one's schooling track taking into account the varying educational infrastructure of elementary schools (schoolrooms, library, number teaching body, etc.). It is difficult to make conclusions based solely on the social origin of students (Table 7), since it is already a selected population (dropouts between the first and the fourth class); still, the distribution could be compared to the occupational structure of the city's overall population in 1900 (Table 8). Although some volumes of the "Hungarian Statistical Yearbooks" and Thirring's "Statistical

⁸⁶ Karady 2000a, 171.

	Ν	In %
Agriculture	90	1.52
Skilled and unskilled workers	3337	56.36
Craftsmen, artisans	715	12.08
Self-employed commerce, transport	644	10.88
Officials	316	5.34
Educated professionals	420	7.09
Property owners and tenants	399	6.74
Total	5921	100.0

Table 8.Professional Stratification of S.Ujhely (only earners), 1900

Source: MOL, XXXII-23-h, 84.

Yearbook of Hungarian Cities" published occupational statistics on Sátoraljaújhely and other cities, the comparison looks difficult in view of the fact that the the yearbooks do not use the same nomenclature and it is hardly possible to reproduce that nomenclature based on the occupational information of schooling registers.⁸⁷ To solve this problem, I reproduced the nomenclature of the database with regard to the city's professional stratification based on the unpublished working sheets of the 1900 census.

The first glimpses of schooling inequalities can be perceived based on the underrepresentation of unskilled and skilled workers (in general the lower classes). Their representation in primary education only exceeds their proportion within the city's population in the case of the Greek Catholic elementary school: the smallest and most disadvantageous

For the questions of nomenclature see Klinger and Kepecs, A magyar népszámlálások előkészítése és 87 publikációi, 1869-1990, Vol. 2. (Budapest: KSH, 1991), 42-44 and 147-163. This publication describes the occupational clusters of the censuses between 1869 and 1910. The main obstacle of the comparison is that Hungarian censuses employed a two-layered nomenclature to classify one's occupational situation. The first layer is the "occupational cluster" (foglalkozási főcsoport) and the second one is "employment status" (foglalkozási viszony). The problem is that this type of nomenclature has to be converted into a one-layered nomenclature that is used in the database, and such a conversion necessarily includes a loss of accuracy in the given statistics. Even though schooling registers describe the "precise" occupation of the father, the database cannot be transformed into a two-layered nomenclature for two reasons. First, the expected case number would be so small in certain occupational categories, that it would prevent any meaningful statistical analyses (e.g. in a "good" cross-table any expected case number should not be less than five); secondly there are many imprecise cases, in which the occupational cluster and employment status can not be decided and that would narrow the representativity of my investigations (e.g. in many cases the schooling register only marks "official" (tisztviselő or hivatalnok), which does not tell anything about the occupational cluster of the given father) (cf. Kövér's description of the structure of Hungarian censuses, Kövér and Gyáni, Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól a második világháborúig [Budapest: Osiris, 2003], 70-77.).

institution in Sátoraljaújhely. Unskilled workers are mainly day laborers, factory workers (employed in the local tobacco factory and in the railway erecting shops [MAV szerelőműhely]) and various types of manual workers like haulers; much of the skilled workers are masons or skilled craftsmen in the tobacco factory or in the railway erecting shop. In the Greek Catholic elementary school, the other large occupational group is composed of craftsmen and artisans (23.4%), much of them (N=59) working as shoemakers (*csizmadia*).

The social composition of the state and Roman Catholic elementary schools are more diverse in the period under scrutiny: the majority of the student body still comes from those three occupational groups (unskilled and skilled workers, craftsmen-artisans), but in this case other occupational groups are also represented. Small industry and agriculture are heavily over-represented in both schools, while workers are under-represented compared to their proportion in the city's population.

The *denominational segmentation* of the Hungarian elementary school market implies another type of segmentation: the Greek Catholic elementary school is composed of the offspring of unskilled and skilled workers and craftsmen-artisans (91.8% of the pupils are recruited from these three groups). Greek Catholics form the most disadvantaged group in Sátoraljaújhely in terms of socio-economic background, so the high percentage of workers and artisans among Greek Catholic pupils only conforms to this disadvantageous status. Still, "well-to-do" Greek Catholics prefer to enroll their children in the Roman Catholic or in the state elementary school. Representatives of the middle classes can be rarely found in the Greek Catholic elementary school, it is revealing that the offspring of the Greek Catholic teachers and priests are all enrolled in the Roman Catholic elementary schools. While there are only 15 pupils recruited from the groups of independents and officials between 1898 and 1915, the same professional groups represent 41 pupils in the state elementary and 22 pupils in the Roman Catholic elementary school. For various reasons, only the case of Roman Catholics can serve as a comparison to the *social segmentation* of Greek Catholics, since Roman Catholics can be found in both the state and Roman Catholic elementary schools in large numbers (respectively 691 and 996 pupils).⁸⁸ In this case, the difference is less substantial between the two institutions, but there are alterations that can be meaningful for my purposes: 24.7% of the student body in the state elementary school is composed of officials, while this proportion is only 17.5% in the Roman Catholic elementary school. The proportions of skilled and unskilled workers are similar in the two elementary schools, with a little "advantage" on the part of the state elementary school).⁸⁹ It will be the goal of the last chapter of this case study to analyze the enrollment frequencies of Roman Catholics: since the professional stratification of the populations are very similar, the differences in enrollment frequencies and the variety of schooling tracks might witness the possible influence of the elementary school attended.

3.2 Inequalities of schooling performance: denomination and social origin

Inequalities of schooling performance form an important factor both in the making of educational inequalities in general and in the social reproduction of inequalities. On the one hand, inequalities of schooling performance attest the differences of passively "inherited" cultural capital. And, on the other hand, these might determine the possible schooling track (choice of secondary schools, dropping out) of pupils of elementary schools. In Table 9 average grades and grades in "behavior"⁹⁰ are represented by elementary school attended and denomination between 1898 and 1915. This table reflects inequalities of schooling performance

89 Unstructured database.

⁸⁸ In case of Protestants such comparison would not be meaningful, since Protestants were almost exclusively enrolled in the state elementary in the period under scrutiny, and, unfortunately, the data on the social background of the student population in Jewish elementary schools is not available.

At the time in the Hungarian schools a four-scaled grading system is in use in the elementary schools, grades are given from 1 "excellent" to 4 "fail" (in some cases, e.g. the civic school, certain disciplines are graded in five-scaled system, but the "direction of grading remains the same).

	State elementary		Greek Catholic elementary		Roman Catholic elementary	
	Behav- ior	Av. Grade	Behav- ior	Av. Grade	Behav- ior	Av. Grade
Roman Catholic	1.78	3.24	1.9	3.4	2.6	3.13
Ν	627	634	10	10	917	921
Greek Catholic	1.72	3.46	2.1	3.01	2.48	3.41
Ν	210	211	270	274	58	58
Protestants	1.69	3.22	3	3	2	3.52
Ν	688	691	1	2	25	25
Jews	1.74	3.15			1.87	3.53
Ν	351	355			15	15
Total	1.73	3.24	2.09	3.02	2.57	3.16
N	1876	1891	281	286	1015	1019

Table 9.Average Grades and Grades in "Behavior" in S.Ujhely's Elementary
schools by Denomination, 1898-1916

Source: unstructured database

in elementary schools, but also shows the importance of attending one's own denominational school or the elementary school of another denomination. Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics achieve better grades in their own elementary schools than in the two other, and the same can be established concerning Protestants (although this is less significant because their number is small in the Roman Catholic elementary school). While Jewish pupils achieve the best grades in the state elementary school, they perform worse than Greek Catholics (the average grade of Jews is 3.53 and 3.43 for Greek Catholics) in the Roman Catholic elementary school. A possible explanation is that Jewish pupils were all enrolled in the fifth and sixth class of the elementary school (between 1906 and 1910); this is connected to the foundation of the civic school (1906), when the upper elementary classes of the Jewish Orthodox elementary school ceased to work in order to fill up the classes of the newly established civic school.⁹¹ The denomination-specific institutional ranking of average grades suggest that the more distant the cultural background of the pupil is, the worse the student performs as a denominational

⁹¹ ÉRT 1692, 1937/38, 8.

	State elemen- tary		R.Cath. Eleme- netary		G.Cath. El- ementary	
	Behavior	Av. Grade	Behavior	Av. Grade	Behavior	Av. Grade
agriculture	1.74	3.19	2.2	2.93	2	3.5
Ν	46	47	30	30	9	10
unskilled workers	1.85	3.6	2.77	3.41	2.31	3.16
Ν	464	463	223	224	153	153
skilled workers	1.78	3.35	2.62	3.24	2	3.09
Ν	288	287	202	202	30	32
craftsmen, artisans	1.81	3.41	2.66	3.3	1.73	2.79
Ν	457	457	208	209	75	75
shopkeepers	1.78	3.25	2.35	2.75	3	3
Ν	128	130	20	20	4	4
lower officials	1.63	3.11	2.47	3.15	1	1.33
Ν	139	139	91	92	3	3
middle officials	1.42	2.46	2.32	2.75	1.5	2.4
Ν	111	115	53	53	4	5
higher officials	1.35	2.18	2.28	2.58		2
Ν	71	73	32	31		1
other educated	1.38	2.04	2.03	2.48		
Ν	53	54	31	33		
property owner, entrepreneurs	1.55	2.94	2.40	2.99		
Ν	58	58	82	81		
other	1.73	2.53	2.38	3.13		
Ν	15	15	8	8		
Total	1.73	3.24	2.56	3.17	2.09	3.02
Ν	1830	1838	980	983	280	285

Table 10.Average Grades and Grades in "Behavior" by Social Origin in S.Ujhely's
Elementary Schools, 1898-1916

Source: unstructured database

outsider, and *vice versa*. The opposite tendency can be found with regard to behavior: those who achieve better average grades usually have worse behavior than the rest (especially in the Greek and Roman Catholic elementary schools). Although low case numbers might question the significance of this correlation, it is telling that Jews who have the worse grades in the

Roman Catholic elementary school have better behavior than the others (the average grade in "behavior" is 1.87 for Jews and 2.57 for all students in the school); the same observation can be made concerning Roman Catholics in the Greek Catholic elementary school.

Occupation and profession are closely related to the status hierarchy of any society and can largely explain educational inequalities and inequalities of schooling performance,⁹² for example, in the case of Sátoraljaújhely, social origin generally coincides with the hierarchy of average grades (Table 10). Students of occupational categories such as middle and higher officials, other educated professionals achieve the best average grades in all elementary schools under scrutiny, while lower officials, craftsmen-artisans, skilled workers and unskilled workers receive the lowest average grades.

Almost the same hierarchy can be found if we take into account the percentage of those who stayed in elementary school after the fourth class. For example, only one percent of the students of educated professionals and employed intellectuals went to the fifth class of the elementary school, while approximately half of the pupils from the groups of craftsmen and artisans, skilled workers and unskilled workers continued studying in elementary school after the fourth class; the only exception in this enumeration is the group of smaller independents, because the majority of this group (66%) stayed in elementary school after the fourth class.⁹³ Last but not least, it is important note the difference in average grades between smaller independents in the Roman Catholic and in the state elementary school (the average grade is 2.75 in the former and 3.25 in the latter); while smaller independents are all Roman Catholics with one exception in the Roman Catholic elementary school, smaller independents are mainly Jews in the state elementary (116 out of 130 pupils). Although there is no data on

⁹² When I speak of "inequalities of schooling" I always refer to inequalities that can be measured by average grades. The peculiarity of such inequalities is that they do not necessarily mirror the schooling excellence of a given individual but sometimes only "measure" his social origin (Bourdieu 1970), and, furthermore, the inequalities of the schooling system do not always follow the inequalities of the schooling performance of the individual students.

⁹³ Structured database.

to capture which *kehilla* these Jewish pupils belong to, it is possible that some of them do not have enough money to school their children in Jewish schools, and also, they might belong to the Sephardic-Hasidic community that does not have an official school in the city.

3.3 Drop-out rates in the state and Roman Catholic elementary schools

The last part of this chapter examines dropouts between the first class and the fourth class of the elementary school in the state and in the Roman Catholic elementary schools. This is preceded by an account of national trends with regard to dropouts in the elementary functioning in Sátoraljaújhely in the period under scrutiny. Dropouts are a valuable indicator for my purposes because the prosopographical database under examination in the present study "begins" at the fourth class of elementary schools, thus it hides the selection processes before the fourth class of the elementary school.

3.3.1 Dropout rates of elementary schools on the national level

The *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények* (Hungarian Statistical Bulletins) published detailed statistics concerning the number of pupils in elementary schools by each county in Hungary.⁹⁴ This might help us to contextualize the dropout rates of the state and Roman Catholic elementary schools of Sátoraljaújhely; rates that are based on the schooling certificates of the first and fourth classes of the two schools in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁹⁵ The overall dropout rate between the first and fourth classes of the elementary school in Hungary (1904/1905-1907/08) is 51.4% (*students dropped out* : *all students in the first class of elementary schools*).⁹⁶ Yet, this dropout rate could hide significant social and spatial inequalities. Naturally,

⁹⁴ See MSK 31.

⁹⁵ In the case of dropout rates, the presented statistics are based on a sample of the two schools. For lack of sources, the other elementary schools of the city cannot be described. Altogether the sample contains 392 students from the state elementary and 362 students from the Roman Catholic elementary who attended the first class of the given elementary school between 1900 and 1910.

⁹⁶ MSK 31, 186 and 210. Concerning this calculation, one could raise the objection that the two numbers do not refer to the same population and to the same schooling infrastructure. For example, the students of the fourth class of 1907/08 may comprise class repeaters who were enrolled in the first class of the elementary school before 1904/1905, but in the same time, the first class of 1904/1905 may comprise class repeaters as well (who

cities have a more favorable rate than villages, and there are inequalities between backward and developed regions of Hungary.

In Zemplén County, a generally underdeveloped region in North-Eastern Hungary, the overall dropout rate is 56.3% (1904/1905-1907/08, including all denominational and state elementary schools).⁹⁷ In comparison, the dropout rate in the single town with municipal rights [*törvényhatósági jogú város*] of the region, Kassa is, for example, 20.9% (same years).⁹⁸ This means that the dropout rate of Sátoraljaújhely's elementary schools can be considered relatively high in comparison to other towns, a fact that underlines the necessity of enlarging the schooling infrastructure of the city. In the spread of literacy, Zemplén County's primary education is successful given that out of 4,613 pupils only 14 could not read and write at the age of 12, a negligible number in Zemplén County, that is 7.3% in the region "right side of the Tisza" (*Tisza jobb partja*).⁹⁹

Enrollments in primary education can also be grasped based on the proportion of 12-year-old pupils in the various classes of elementary schools. In 1907/1908, one out of 96 pupil turned age 12 in the first class of elementary schools in Zemplén County, while this number is one out of 131 on the national level, one out of 281 in towns with municipal rights. In the same year, one out of 11.6 pupils turned age 12 in the third class of elementary school in Zemplén County, while this number is 14.5 on the national level, and 20.1 in towns with municipal rights.¹⁰⁰ As literacy rates were already suggesting in Chapter 2, the cultural improvement of the populace needs to be on the agenda of ruling political elite in the county.

were already enrolled in the first class in 1903/04), thus not belonging to the same cohort. Concerning schooling infrastructure, the number of elementary schools is less in 1904/1905 than in 1907/08 (MSÉ 1904, 314. and MSÉ 1908, 323.), a fact that can ameliorate the dropout rate compared to previous cohorts. In the following discussions I will refer to cohort based dropout rates assuming that the proportion of class repeaters did not fundamentally change in the period under scrutiny.

⁹⁷ MSK 31, 182 and 206.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ MSK 31, 311-312.

¹⁰⁰ Calculations are based on MSK 31, 206, 210, 311 and 313.

Furthermore, inequalities of dropouts can be seized based on the description of dropout rates in denominational and state elementary schools on the national level. In the same cohort (1904/05-1907/08) of elementary school students the dropout rate is 35.2% in state elementary schools, 45.4% in Roman Catholic elementary schools, 68.3% in Greek Catholic elementary schools and 0.02% in Jewish elementary schools. The cohort after the infamous Lex Apponyi (1908/09-1911/12) achieves similar rates, namely 35.5% in state elementary schools, 44% in Roman Catholic elementary schools, 68.1% in Greek Catholic elementary schools and 0.07% in Jewish elementary schools.¹⁰¹ Three remarks should be made about these statistics: these percentages hide a general improvement in dropouts after the Lex Apponyi, since it resulted in the growth of the overall proportion of state elementary schools;¹⁰² the hierarchy of elementary schools can be easily deduced from these numbers (it always remains an open question whether the quality of a given school is due to the social status of the student body or due to the quality of teaching in the given school); and the fact that there is practically no dropout in Jewish elementary schools confirms the idea of Jewish over-schooling and cultural over-investment in Hungary, and illustrates a different attitude towards the "importance" of education in the general edification of children.

3.3.2 Dropout rates in Sátoraljaújhely's elementary schools

In general the Roman Catholic elementary school has much lower dropout rates than the state elementary: while the overall dropout rate is approximately 50% in the state elementary, this proportion is only 39% in the Roman Catholic elementary school (Table 11). Looking at denomination-specific dropouts, a striking difference can be perceived between the dropouts of Roman and Greek Catholics in the state elementary and in the Roman Catholic elementary

¹⁰¹ *Magyarország Közoktatásügye* (Budapest: Athenaeum), 1905, 106., 1908, 29., 1909, 27. and 1912, 27. I only enumerated elementary schools that existed in Sátoraljaújhely in the period under scrutiny, thus Protestant or Greek Orthodox schools cannot be found in this presentation.

¹⁰² Besides, the number of enrolled pupils also increased in these few years, thus the modernization effect of *Lex Apponyi* cannot be denied (see Nagy 2011).

	State elementary				Roman	Roman Catholic elementary			
	Attended only first class	Attended both first and fourth class	Total	Z	Attended only first class	Attended both first and fourth class	Total	N	
Roman Catholic	57.4	42.6	100.0	162	41.1	58.9	100.0	333	
Greek Catholic	57.6	42.4	100.0	66	4.5	95.5	100.0	22	
Protestants	40.7	59.3	100.0	108	42.9	57.1	100.0	7	
Jew	39.3	60.7	100.0	56	0.0	0.0	100.0	0	
Total	50.3	49.7	100.0	392	39.0	61.0	100.0	362	

Table 11.Dropout Rates in Elementary Schools in S.Ujhely by Denomination, 1900-
1910

Source: structured database

school. In the former these are respectively 57.4% and 57.6%, while in the latter 41.1% and 0.05% (only one Greek Catholic pupil dropped out of 22 Greek Catholics!). The other two denominations of the state elementary produced similar rates to that of Roman Catholics in the Roman Catholic elementary school, 40.7% for Protestants and 39.3% for Jews. To explain the "atypical" dropout rates of Greek Catholics one has to refer to the difference of their social status in the two schools (middle class and upper-middle class Greek Catholics rather choose the Roman Catholic than the state or the Greek Catholic elementary school). Moreover, the original purpose for founding the state elementary school (i.e. to provide primary education for those who cannot attend their own denominational elementary school in the city) may explain the sharp difference between Roman and Greek Catholics and non-Catholics are enrolled in the state elementary because they could not or did not want to attend their own denominational school.

Table 12.Social Origin and Dropouts in Elementary Schools in S.Ujhely, 1900-1910

	State elementary dropped	State elementary not dropped	Total	Z	R.Cath. elementary dropped	R.Cath elementary not dropped	Total	Z
Agriculture*	73.3	26.7	100.0	15	37.5	62.5	100.0	8
Workers	58.1	41.9	100.0	198	49.0	51.0	100.0	151
Artisans	37.8	62.2	100.0	82	32.1	67.9	100.0	81
Commerce*	26.3	73.7	100.0	19	16.7	83.3	100.0	6
Officials	36.5	63.5	100.0	63	28.9	71.1	100.0	83
Property owners, entrepreneurs*	72.7	27.3	100.0	11	31.0	69.0	100.0	29

Source: structured database

To illustrate this argument, dropouts according to social origin need to be described (Table 12).¹⁰³ There is a large gap concerning dropouts between occupational categories that could be described as "lower classes" (agriculture, unskilled workers, skilled workers) and "middle and higher classes" (officials, intellectuals, educated professions, entrepreneurs and property owners). The in-between category (craftsmen, artisans, smaller independents) achieve a similar dropout rate to that of the "upper classes". As expected, the dropout rates of each occupational category are more favorable in the Roman Catholic elementary, but the general pattern is similar in both schools: the categories that I ascribed to the "lower classes" have 59.1% dropouts in the state elementary (altogether), and 48.4% in the Roman Catholic elementary; the "middle classes" have respectively 40.8% and 28.2%; and the third group, the "lower middle classes" have 35.6% and 31% dropouts between the first and the fourth classes of the elementary school. In this scheme, the relatively high dropout rates among the "middle classes" needs further explanation, for which I can only propose a working hypothesis. High dropouts could be explained by the deficiencies of my sample, namely, that this method (i.e.

¹⁰³ Due to low case numbers the significance of certain categories may be limited (e.g. intellectuals, educated professions, entrepreneurs, property owners).

comparing the samples of first and fourth classes of Sátoraljaújhely's elementary schools) cannot take into account the extent of migration, and thus, subsequent enrollment in elementary schools of other municipalities. It is also to note that some categories (agriculture, commerce, property owners in Table 12 have low case numbers). What is more, it may seem evident that spatial mobility is more characteristic among officials (especially *MÁV* officials), intellectuals and the educated professionals than among craftsmen or smaller independents. Another suspect might be the group of unskilled workers, but in that case, we could presume that they did not even enroll all their offspring in the first class of elementary school.

This first empirical chapter provided an account of schooling inequalities on the primary level with regard to enrollments and schooling performance. The next chapter will examine the same *vis-à-vis* the secondary schools in Sátoraljaújhely, the Piarist gymnasium, the civic school, and the upper commercial school. The main goal of the next chapter is to discover whether the patterns of denomination- and professional-group-specific enrollments and schooling inequalities prevail or not in these secondary schools.

Chapter 4 – The Market of Secondary Education

The civic school of Sátoraljaújhely is founded in 1906 and gradually becomes a fullfledged civic school with four classes; in 1911 an upper commercial school is established to complement the economic and commercial training of the civic school. In the last days of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy the upper commercial school provides the opportunity of taking the *matura* after the completion of all seven classes, enabling it to compete in all respects with the local gymnasium. The total number of students in the gymnasium, the civic school and the upper commercial school suggests that the inclusiveness of secondary education broadens to a large extent in the first decades of the twentieth century (Table 13).

The parallel evolution of the student body of the three institutions strongly suggests that there was a real need for the type of education the civic school and the upper commercial school could offer (the student population of secondary institutions almost doubled [1.82] in two decades), and that the gymnasium and the civic school competed for the same student population; another indicator is that the proportion of Jewish students dropped in the Piarist gymnasium after 1906. Taking into account that the tuition fees of the civic school and the upper commercial school were relatively high (100 Kronen and 200 Kronen at the turn of the century – in comparison, the tuition fee of the Piarist gymnasium is only 60 Kronen),¹⁰⁴ it is striking that the civic school could "steal" pupils from the gymnasium as the decrease in the number of gymnasium pupils demonstrated in the upcoming years of the foundation of the civic school (especially that of Jewish pupils).

The present chapter is divided into two distinct but similarly structured parts. One describes the student body of the civic and upper commercial school with regard to denominational distribution and social origin, and it is complemented by the analysis of schooling performance in the first grade of the civic school. The second part describes the

¹⁰⁴ ÉRT 1695, ÉRT 1697, ÉRT 1698.

	Gymnasium	Civic School	Upper Com- mercial School	Total
1899/00	361			361
1900/01	366			366
1901/02	402			402
1902/03	423			423
1903/04	430			430
1904/05	414			414
1905/06	404			404
1906/07	410	110		520
1907/08	388	131		519
1908/09	360	165		525
1909/10	339	201		540
1910/11	326	216		542
1911/12	307	218	50	575
1912/13	317	233	105	655
1913/14	318	238	118	674
1914/15	305	203	101	609
1915/16	335	212	87	634
1916/17	330	235	92	657

Table 13.Student Population of the Piarist Gymnasium, the Civic School and the
Upper Commercial School in S.Ujhely, 1898-1916

Source: yearbooks

same attributes with regard to the Piarist gymnasium (social and denominational composition of the student body, inequalities of schooling performance). When comparing them, one must always keep in mind that the educational purpose of these institutions is very different: the gymnasium prepares for a "scientific" career (not in the sense of academic career, of course), while the civic school and the upper commercial school prepare for "practical" professions.

4.1.1 Denominational composition

The majority of the student body in the civic and upper commercial school belongs to the Jewish denomination (55.6%), almost one quarter is Roman Catholic (23.4%) and less than one fifth is Protestant (15.5%) or Greek Catholic (5.6%) (Table 14).¹⁰⁵ The distribution

Table 14.	Denominational Composition of Pupils by School Classes in the Civic and
	the Upper Commercial School in S.Ujhely, 1905-1915

	Civic School 1st class	Civic School 4th class	Commercial School 1st class	Commercial School 3rd class
Roman Catholic	21.6	23.5	16.0	13.2
Greek Catholic	5.4	5.0	4.0	4.4
Protestants	13.1	16.5	12.0	14.0
Jew	59.9	54.9	68.0	68.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ν	519	497	275	136

Source: structured database

of pupils by denomination and school class shows an over-representation of Jewish pupils in all classes, their representation being higher in the upper commercial school (in accordance with the general rule of selection and exclusion). In the classes of the upper commercial school,

¹⁰⁵ The sample of the civic and commercial upper school contains 975 cases: each student is recorded from the first grade and the fourth class of the civic school, and from the first grade and the third grade of the commercial upper school. It should be emphasized that the 975 cases do not cover 975 different individuals, there are many individuals who figure several times in the sample. When creating aggregate statistics of denomination, father's profession or birth place, the question arises whether I should count each individual as one case or count them as many times as they appear in the schooling registers. Since I want to analyze the denominational or occupational distribution of the student body of the whole school, I will use the unstructured database (having a total of 975 cases) in Table 13 and 14.

over two-thirds of the pupils are Jewish, while in the civic school the proportion of Jews is approximately 57.5%.

The over-representation of Jewish students does not come as a surprise in view of the history of the two institutions. The idea of founding a civic school in Sátoraljaújhely comes already in 1897,¹⁰⁶ and the city's Orthodox Jewish community provides major financial contributions for the project.¹⁰⁷ Accordingly, in the first years, the student body is almost exclusively composed of Jews (although it is officially a school under state supervision), and the school becomes more and more inclusive only in the subsequent years. The curriculum can also explain the over-representation of Jews, because civic and upper commercial schools usually serve as a preparation for commercial or industrial occupations. In the same token, the proportions of commercial employees and artisans are much higher in the civic schools than in the gymnasium or in the *Realschule* on the national level.¹⁰⁸ From the perspective of dropouts the picture of denominational inequalities can be drawn as follows: approximately one quarter of Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic students enrolled in the first class of the civic school could reach the third class of the upper commercial school; the same proportion is 50% in case of Protestant and 53% in case of Jewish students.¹⁰⁹

4.1.2 Social origin and dropouts

The social origin of the student body is another indicator with regard to the choice of schooling track among Sátoraljaújhely's different social groups (Table 15). Compared to the social origin of pupils in elementary schools, the over-representation of smaller independents

¹⁰⁶ Zemplén, 16.06.1897.

¹⁰⁷ The headmaster of the civic school emphasized in the first issue of the school yearbook that the main purpose of the institution is the "cultivation" of its pupils and not the making of intellectuals. The school's teachings are largely influenced by the fact that the major financial contributor is the orthodox congregation of the city (composed of commercials and petty industrials – as the headmaster states): there is German teaching from the first class and there is no instruction on Saturdays (ÉRT 1695, 1906/07).

¹⁰⁸ For the distribution according to social origin and denomination in the civic and commercial school see MSÉ 1911, 364-365 and other volumes.

¹⁰⁹ These rates represent only an internal hierarchy, since the distorting effect of the Great War is not corrected in this database.

	Civic School	Upper Com- mercial School
Agriculture	6.6	7.8
Unskilled workers	7.6	0.3
Skilled workers	7.0	2.3
Craftsmen, artisans	10.9	7.2
Smaller independents: shopkeepers, innkeepers	32.1	37.9
Lower officials	8.5	5.9
Intellectuals in semi-public or public employment	2.8	1.6
Middle officials	6.6	10.1
Higher officials	3.8	6.2
Educated professionals	0.9	2.6
Entrepreneurs, independents	2.4	4.9
Property owners, tenants	8.1	10.8
Other	2.5	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Ν	843	306

Table 15.Social Origin of Civic School and Upper Commercial School Pupils in
S.Ujhely, 1905-1914

Source: unstructured database

might seem evident: while 7.4% of the pupils in the elementary schools are the offspring of innkeepers, shopkeepers and petty commercials, their proportion is 33.7% in the civic and upper commercial school (altogether). The strong presence of this social stratum provides evidence for the special aspirations of the Jewish "merchant class": the majority of Jews belongs to the group of smaller independents indicating their desire to provide both the possibility of social mobility and an improvement in cultural and educational capital. In this sense, attending the civic and upper commercial school is the best way to secure the twofold goal of any secondary education: acquiring "culture" and providing the opportunity for social mobility.

Furthermore, it is important to note the differences in dropout rates by social origin between the lower and higher classes of the civic and upper commercial school. A high level of discontinuity can be found in the case of unskilled and skilled workers: there are 26 students of unskilled workers in the first and fourth classes of the civic school, while there is only one

	Civic	School	Upper Commercial school		
	1st class	4th class	1st class	3rd class	
Agriculture	5.6	3.8	5.9	5.2	
Workers	17.6	17.5	4.0	1.5	
Artisans	11.8	10.3	8.1	3.7	
Commerce	35.7	30.2	39.6	36.6	
Officials	20.8	27.2	29.7	34.3	
Property owners	8.5	10.9	12.8	18.7	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	518	496	273	134	

Table 16.Social Origin by School Classes in the Civic and Upper Commercial
Schools, 1905-1915

Source: unstructured database

in the upper commercial school; there are 80 students of skilled workers in the former, and there are only 7 in the latter. This means that less than 9% of pupils belonging to the category of skilled workers continue their education in the upper commercial school, which is an extremely low proportion compared to the average dropout rate between the two institutions (44.8%); beyond the group of smaller independents (58.8%), only middle officials can reach the average dropout rate between the lower and higher classes of the two institutions (67.4%). Even though the higher strata of the city's population are under-represented¹¹⁰ in the civic and upper commercial school (higher officials, educated professionals and entrepreneurs), their economic and cultural capital is reflected in the fact that there has been practically no dropout in these social strata: the few pupils enrolled in the civic school successfully finish all seven classes of the two institutions.

Another way to illustrate the correlation between social origin and schooling success is the comparison of professional and denominational distribution by highest class attended in the civic and upper commercial school (Table 14 and Table 16). With regard to denomination,

¹¹⁰ "Under-represented" compared to their representation in secondary education in national statistics (e.g.: MSÉ 1911, 364-365).

the only group over-represented in the classes of the upper commercial school compared to the classes of the civic school is Jewish pupils. The proportion of all other groups decreased in the classes of the upper commercial school compared to their representation in the civic school. The proportions of Table 16 illustrate the variance of dropouts by social origin: for example the offspring of unskilled and skilled workers barely pursue their education in the upper commercial school, while the "middle classes" (middle officials, higher officials, educated professionals and entrepreneurs, property owners) increase their proportion in the classes of the upper commercial school. It is important to emphasize that denominationspecific dropouts overlap occupational-specific dropouts: just like Jews, smaller independents are omnipresent in the classes of the upper commercial school; and 97.2% (N=280) of smaller independents being Jews.

The correlation between denomination and social origin might strengthen the hypothesis about smaller independents having particular schooling aspirations (Table 17). Taking into account the strong merchant-commercial Jewish stratum in Sátoraljaújhely's socio-economic setting, the preeminence of Jewish students of the same stratum is not unprecedented: all the more, the fact that the upper commercial school is under municipal supervision (and financed by the town to a large extent) and more than 65% of its students are Jews, proves that the Jewish middle-class and the Jewish petty bourgeoisie of the city is well integrated into the city's (political) elite and effectively imposes its "will".¹¹¹ With regard to the other denominations: Protestants are over-represented in the occupational groups of agriculture, skilled workers, officials, and intellectuals; and Roman Catholics in the categories of unskilled and skilled workers, lower and higher officials, and the educated professionals.¹¹² These proportions can be explained by the social structure of Sátoraljaújhely

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¹¹¹ The alarms of the upcoming bankruptcy of the municipality proves that the advocates of the upper commercial school has to fight the battle for the maintenance of the institution (*Felsőmagyarországi Hírlap, 16.08.1911, A város lapja* (1913) vol. 3., *Sátoraljaújhely*, 17.12.1912 and 7.1.1913).

	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Protes- tant	Jew	Total
Agriculture	3.3	15.7	13.8	4.8	6.4
Unskilled workers	9.8	9.8	16.6	2.1	6.5
Skilled workers	18.6	11.8	6.9	1.0	6.5
Craftsmen, artisans	12.1	15.7	8.3	8.4	9.6
Shopkeepers, innkeepers	2.8	2.0	0.7	53.2	30.7
Lower officials	16.7	11.8	11.0	2.9	7.8
Middle officials	10.2	3.9	11.7	6.7	8.1
Higher officials	8.8	3.9	11.7	1.5	4.9
Other educated	3.3	13.7	3.4	4.4	4.5
Entrepreneurs, independents	2.8	0.0	0.7	3.8	2.9
Property owners, tenants	7.9	5.9	11.7	9.9	9.5
Other	3.7	5.9	3.4	1.5	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ν	215	51	145	526	937

Table 17.Social Origin by Denomination in the Civic and Upper Commercial
School, 1905-1915

Source: structured database

and the professional stratification of each denomination rather than by a distinctive attitude towards the civic and upper commercial school. Nonetheless, the professional-group-specific enrollments will become more meaningful when compared to the professional stratification of the Piarist Gymnasium.

4.1.3 Inequalities of schooling performance in the civic school

The inequalities of performance in the civic school reveal that Jews and Protestants are ahead of Roman Catholic and Greek Catholics in disciplines that require "cultural assets" rather than skills (Table 18). In Hungarian literature, German language, geography, mathematics and geometry Jews and Protestants perform better than Catholics. At the same time, it must be emphasized that there are greater gaps in denomination-specific average grades than in average grades by social origin (Table 19): while there is no clear tendency in average grades

	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Protes- tants	Jew	Total	
Behavior	1.50	1.52	1.47	1.30	1.38	
Diligence	2.83	3.02	2.70	2.62	2.70	
Religion	2.99	2.87	2.80	2.24	2.52	
Hungarian	3.31	3.41	3.31	3.05	3.16	
German	3.20	3.39	3.12	2.12	2.57	
Geography	3.36	3.30	3.19	3.21	3.24	
Mathematics	3.44	3.46	3.32	3.19	3.28	
Geometry	3.22	3.22	2.93	2.99	3.05	
Natural drawing	3.17	3.20	3.08	3.13	3.13	
Freehand drawing	2.41	2.80	2.43	3.19	2.87	
Geometric drawing	2.67	2.93	2.54	3.31	3.02	
Penmanship	2.85	3.04	2.68	2.75	2.78	
Gymnastics	2.61	2.78	2.66	2.64	2.65	
Music	2.96	2.96	2.65	2.83	2.84	
Writing outlook	2.90	2.96	2.56	2.57	2.67	

Table 18.Average Grades in the First Class of the Civic School in S.Ujhely
by Denomination, 1908-1916

Source: structured database

by social origin, denomination is a determining factor in most of the disciplines (including those requiring skills). For example, workers have the best average grades in mathematics and geography, and the worst in German; small artisans are the worst in geometry and geography, and the third in German. Table 20 (average grades by highest class attended) suggests that schooling performance does not play a crucial role in determining subsequent enrollment in the civic school (unlike in the gymnasium, see Chapter 4.2.2 and 4.2.3): there is no hierarchy amongst those who attended only the first class and those who attended the higher classes of the two institutions. For example, those who only attended the first class of the civic school have better grades in German (2.58) than those who attended the fourth class of the civic school (2.7) or the first class of the upper commercial school (2.6).

	Agriculture	Workers	Artisans	Commerce	Officials	Property Owners	Total
Behavior	1.29	1.46	1.40	1.28	1.41	1.59	1.38
Diligence	2.83	2.72	2.77	2.63	2.67	2.83	2.70
Religion	2.17	2.91	2.57	2.18	2.74	2.72	2.52
Hungarian	3.19	3.22	3.23	3.09	3.16	3.23	3.16
German	3.00	3.08	2.57	2.17	2.71	2.45	2.57
Geography	3.31	3.11	3.45	3.21	3.20	3.34	3.24
Mathematics	3.46	3.19	3.33	3.22	3.29	3.47	3.28
Geometry	3.04	3.07	3.14	3.03	2.99	3.06	3.05
Natural drawing	3.15	3.07	3.17	3.10	3.16	3.31	3.13
Freehand drawing	2.88	2.49	2.92	3.17	2.63	3.03	2.86
Geometric drawing	2.98	2.69	3.06	3.30	2.80	3.23	3.02
Penmanship	2.75	2.84	2.75	2.75	2.77	2.84	2.78
Gymnastics	2.73	2.58	2.67	2.68	2.62	2.59	2.64
Music	2.79	2.79	2.99	2.85	2.80	2.80	2.84
Writing outlook	2.65	2.78	2.67	2.60	2.64	2.76	2.66

Table 19.Average Grades in the First Class of the Civic School in S.Ujhely by Social
Origin, 1908-1916

Source: Structured database

Compared to the Piarist gymnasium, selection and exclusion in the civic school are determined less by schooling performance than by social origin or denominational status (the tuition fee is extremely high in both in institutions). It is also revealing that the proportion of failings is lower than in the case of the Piarist gymnasium: out of 424 students, 8 failed in Hungarian literature, 6 in German language, 6 in geography, 49 in mathematics, 29 in geometry, and 35 in drawing of nature (*természetrajz*). It means that the higher dropout rates of the lower classes (agriculture, workers, craftsmen-artisans) described in Table 16 are not due to their schooling performance (in any account, that is already a selected student population) but the financial situation of their family. 200 Kronen in the budget of an unskilled worker or

	Attended the first class of civic school	Attended the fourth class of civic school	Attended the first class of commer- cial school	Attended the third class of commer- cial school	Total
Behavior	1.41	1.36	1.42	1.17	1.38
Diligence	2.76	2.65	2.84	2.27	2.70
Religion	2.49	2.70	2.51	2.13	2.52
Hungarian	3.12	3.23	3.40	2.88	3.16
German	2.58	2.70	2.60	1.90	2.57
Geography	3.13	3.38	3.58	3.29	3.24
Mathematics	3.35	3.19	3.27	2.94	3.28
Geometry	3.06	3.11	3.00	2.77	3.05
Natural drawing	3.11	3.08	3.51	3.00	3.13
Freehand drawing	2.83	2.78	3.21	3.04	2.87
Geometric drawing	2.97	2.97	3.40	3.12	3.02
Penmanship	2.74	2.86	2.91	2.62	2.78
Gymnastics	2.58	2.73	2.89	2.60	2.65
Music	2.78	2.94	3.04	2.71	2.84
Writing outlook	2.65	2.79	2.89	2.04	2.67

Table 20.Average Grades in the First Class of the Civic School in S.Ujhely by Highest Class Attended in the Civic and Upper Commercial School, 1908-1916

Source: Structured database

an artisan might be too much money to spare because of schooling, a reason why the lower classes disappear in the upper commercial school.

The largest gap in denomination-specific average grades appears in the case of German language: the average grade is 2.12 for Jews, 3.12 for Protestants, 3.2 for Roman Catholics and 3.39 for Greek Catholics. Jews usually perform better in German than non-Jews,¹¹³ and those cultural characteristics that could explain this phenomenon are especially relevant in the case of the civic school. I already described Jewish bilingualism in Sátoraljaújhely (Chapter 2), namely, that, according to the census of 1910, 44.8% of the city's Jewish population is *at*

¹¹³ E.g. "Beiskolázás és tanulmányi kitűnőség – Felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek a jászberényi gimnázium diákságában, 1911-1944," in *Iskolarendszer és felekezeti egyenlőtlenségek Magyarországon*, 137.

least bilingual (German or Slovak besides Hungarian).¹¹⁴ The Jewish audience of the civic school is mainly composed of Orthodox Jews (as the main advocate of the civic school) that are exposed to learn foreign languages at an early age (Yiddish and Hebrew), therefore have a considerable advantage in language education. Last but not least, it is due to the efforts of the Orthodox congregation that German is included in the curriculum of the first class of the civic school (normally it is not), another sign that they attach particular importance to the learning of German.

The social setting of pupils in the civic and upper commercial school has been described in the first part of the present chapter, that is to be followed by the analysis of the social setting of pupils in the Piarist gymnasium. The statistical analysis of the student body of the Piarist gymnasium might prove that there are different schooling patterns in different sub-section of secondary education, even if the public of the these institutions is recruited from the same population of elementary school pupils.

4.2 The Piarist Gymnasium¹¹⁵

4.2.1 Denomination and social origin

The denominational distribution of the student body of the Piarist gymnasium between 1898 and 1916 shows a Catholic majority (the proportion of Roman Catholic and Greek

¹¹⁴ MOL XXXII-23-h, 720.

¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, due to the absence of a few years of the Piarist gymnasium's schooling registers, "father's profession" cannot is not included in the database in case of those who did not attend elementary schools in Sátoraljaújhely, and in case of the students of the Jewish elementary schools. The only available source concerning social origin is the yearbooks of the gymnasium, which contain aggregate statistics for each year. Nevertheless, grades and denomination are available for everyone, as well as attended class in the gymnasium, so the schooling track of elementary school students can be still analyzed. The sample of the Piarist Gymnasium contains the first, the fourth and the eighth classes of the gymnasium between 1898 and 1919. Since the main goal of the database is to follow the educational path of the pupils of the elementary schools, the recording of the fourth and eighth classes starts in 1901 and in 1904, and continues after the last classes of the elementary schools until the dissolution of the Monarchy. It is important to note that the First World War may have distorted the schooling patterns, and that the dropping out rate may be higher during the war than it would be under normal circumstances.

	1st class	4th class	8th class
Roman Catholic	46.2	46.6	42.8
Greek Catholic	9.3	8.1	8.0
Calvinist	14.3	14.4	13.8
Lutheran	3.0	3.3	2.9
Jew	27.0	27.6	31.6
Other	0.2		0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ν	1306	812	376

Table 21.Denominational Distribution of Pupils in the Piarist Gymnasium in the
First (1898-1916), the Fourth (1901-1916) and Eighth School Class (1904-1917)

Source: unstructured database

Catholic students (altogether 54.5%)¹¹⁶ but this proportion is still relatively low compared to national statistics, and to the fact that the school is under the supervision of a monastic order.¹¹⁷ In the same token, Protestants and Jews are somewhat over-represented (17.4% and 27.9%), which is remarkable given the fact that there is a Protestant gymnasium in Sárospatak. In general, the Piarist gymnasium can be considered as an "open to all" institution in terms of denominational distribution (Table 21).

The denominational distributions of the first, the fourth and the eighth classes of the gymnasium shows that Jews are over-represented in the higher classes at the expense of Roman Catholics. While the proportion of non-Jews decreases a few percentages with regard to the first and the eighth classes, the proportion of the Jews increases from 27% to 31.6%. Table

The proportion of Roman Catholics in the Piarist gymnasium in the *structured* database is 55.2%, the difference between the *unstructured* and the *structured* database (0.7%) might seem insignificant, but in interpreting national (or local) statistics, I believe, this anomaly and its origins should be taken into account: class repetition or re-enrollment affects significantly the representation of a given social group. If a group of students (A) completes the eight year gymnasium in nine years, and another group (B) completes it in eight years (or less), group A will be over-represented in aggregate statistics compared to its *real* proportion, while group B will be under-represented. In this imaginary case, if each group is composed of 100 students, in the aggregate statistics of a given year, instead of 50% for each, 53% of the students will be recruited from group A and 47 from group B. Naturally, this argumentation is only relevant for statistics about the "student population at the end of the school year," and not relevant for the statistics about the *matura* or the choice of schooling track or profession at the end of the year.

¹¹⁷ Though under monastic supervision, Piarist Gymnasiums were one of the most open Roman Catholic institutions of the time. In 1899/1900, the percentage of Roman and Greek Catholics in Piarist Gymnasiums is 70% and the percentage of Jews is 18.8% (MSÉ 1900, 353). Still, the proportion of non-Catholics in Satoraljaújhely can be regarded as relatively high.

14 shows a similar tendency in the civic and upper commercial school with the exception that the latter is a state-sponsored institution under considerable Jewish influence, while the gymnasium is a Roman Catholic institution, traditionally more exclusive as national statistics would suggest. To emphasize the difference between Roman Catholic and Jewish schooling patterns, it should be mentioned that out of 4 Roman Catholic students in the first class of the Piarist gymnasium only one could take the *matura*, while this number is 2.87 in the case of Jews. Thus, educational inequalities originate, on the one hand, from denomination- and professional-group-specific enrollment frequencies (e.g. Jews or smaller independents have a significantly higher enrollment frequency in the civic school), and, on the other hand, from denomination-specific dropout rates.

	Not attende gymr	ed the Piarist nasium	Attended the Piarist gymna- sium		
Agriculture	53	2.9	11	1.8	
Unskilled workers	561	30.5	42	6.8	
Skilled workers	274	14.9	62	10.0	
Craftsmen, artisans	429	23.3	113	18.3	
Shopkeepers, innkeepers	145	7.9	45	7.3	
Lower officials	117	6.4	59	9.5	
Intellectuals	18	1.0	14	2.3	
Middle officials	88	4.8	110	17.8	
Higher officials	41	2.2	71	11.5	
Educated professionals	27	1.5	38	6.1	
Entrepreneurs, independ.	9	0.5	11	1.8	
Property owners, tenants	68	3.7	38	6.1	
Other	9	0.5	5	0.8	
Total	1839	100.0	619	100.0	

Table 22.Social Origin and Enrollment in the Piarist Gymnasium, 1898-1916

Source: structured database

Note: only students who attended one of S.Ujhely's elemenetary schools.

The professional stratification of the student body presents a different picture compared to the civic and upper commercial school (Table 22).¹¹⁸ The difference between the proportions of those who attended the gymnasium and those who did not is a clean-cut expression of educational inequalities: approximately every fifteenth pupil would go to the gymnasium among children of unskilled workers, while this number is more than one among the offspring of intellectuals, higher officials, educated professionals and entrepreneurs. Although there is a high level of inequality between the different social classes, there is also a considerable extent of social mobility, or at least, the possibility of social mobility via secondary education. None of the occupational groups could completely appropriate the Piarist Gymnasium: in contrast to the distribution in the civic and upper commercial school, where smaller independents make up almost one third of the student body, none of the occupational groups can attain a similar proportion in the gymnasium. In the meantime, officials and educated professionals can still dominate the student body of the gymnasium (altogether 48.6%), which coincides with national statistics – these strata make up generally the most numerous groups of gymnasia pupils; for example in the 1900/1901 school year their overall proportion is approximately 40% including all Hungarian gymnasia.¹¹⁹ The reason for this difference between the two institutions might be found in the function inequalities of schooling excellence might perform in the mechanisms of social selection and exclusion, the topic of the last section in the present chapter.

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4.2.2 Inequalities of schooling excellence in the Piarist gymnasium

Inequalities of schooling excellence form an important factor in the mechanisms of selection and exclusion. Inequalities of average grades in elementary schools might determine

¹¹⁸ Table 18 contains only those who attended elementary school in Sátoraljaújhely (619 students out of 1555 registered students in the gymnasium); Jewish students are under-represented, since the schooling registers of the two Jewish elementary schools are not accessible, the database of the two Jewish elementary schools is based on the yearbooks of the two institutions.

¹¹⁹ MSÉ 1900, 356.

the possible schooling track of the student body to a large extent (at the moment I leave aside the problem whether inequalities within the school are created in the pre-school socialization period or schools substantially contribute to the creation of the inequalities; naturally, I believe, both factors have to be taken into account), thus, the analysis of average grades in the gymnasium could be a fruitful endeavor for my purposes. Bourdieu's seminal article could help to better understand the stake of grades and disciplines in the subject under scrutiny:

[...] social differences are at the basis of the differences between disciplines, which are arranged in a commonly recognized hierarchical order, from the most respectable disciplines, such as French, classics and mathematics, which are socially the most important and carry the most prestige [...] to secondary disciplines such as history, geography and modern languages [...], natural sciences and marginal disciplines such as art, music or gymnastics.¹²⁰

Viktor Karady has done the pioneer research in this problem area in case studies on the student body if the gymnasium in Jászberény and of the graduates of the teacher training college in Szeged.¹²¹ To sum up the conclusions of the former study (besides the patterns of recruitment and dropping out), two important empirical results must be mentioned: (1) Jewish students have better average grades than Roman Catholics in almost all disciplines throughout the period between 1911 and 1944, the only exceptions are marginal disciplines like gymnastics and penmanship; (2) the difference of average grades between Roman Catholics and Jews increases in line with the hierarchy of disciplines; the *more* "noble" a discipline is, the more the gap widens.¹²²

The canonical disciplines of Hungarian *fin-de-siècle* gymnasia are presumably similar to those of the French educational system, namely Hungarian literature, Latin (Greek) language, mathematics, and German language in the higher classes.¹²³ These disciplines demand intellectual investments that are unevenly distributed among different social classes both in

¹²⁰ Bourdieu, Boltanski and de Saint-Martini, "Les Stratégie de reconversion," Information sur les sciences sociales 12, no. 5 (1973), 344.

¹²¹ Karady 1997b and Karady-Valter, *Egy országos vonzáskörzetű szegedi főiskola, a polgári iskolai tanárképző diplomásai, 1928-1950* (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, 1990).

¹²² Karady 1997b, 136-143.

¹²³ Karady calls them the "principle disciplines of gymnasium education" (Karady 1997b, 141.).

terms of social position and cultural assets. Bourdieu presupposes an increasing degree of selection as one goes up the hierarchy of disciplines, which may be seized in empirical terms by the proportion of failing and average grades of the given disciplines. Moreover, marginal disciplines requiring skills rather than "inherited cultural capital" do not play a role in selection or exclusion in gymnasia.

In the Hungarian case, this hierarchy coincides with the peculiar role of Latin in Hungarian cultural traditions: Latin means more than a "dead language", since this is the "cultural language", the language of nobility and of Christianity, which is a distinctive cultural good of the "gentlemanly" society.¹²⁴ In the Hungarian multi-cultural and multi-denominational society this makes part of the process of acculturation and can be considered as an assimilationist force. Non-Hungarians and non-Christians (in our case only the Jews) may want to have a warrant (i.e. the knowledge of Latin and Hungarian literature) to assert their Hungarianness in every possible way – in this scheme, other ways to assert one's Hungarianness might be conversion and name-changes.

4.2.3 Average grades in the Piarist gymnasium by denomination

In the first class of the Piarist gymnasium, the pattern is slightly different from that of the above-mentioned case studies (Table 23).¹²⁵ Protestants have the best grades in each subject,¹²⁶ the second group is either the Roman or the Greek Catholics, and with four exceptions, the last group in the hierarchy is the Jewish pupils. Nevertheless, the four disciplines Jews perform better are the "noble" ones that play a crucial role in dropouts: Hungarian, Latin, mathematics

¹²⁴ Ibid. 141-143.

¹²⁵ I only recorded the grades of the first and the fourth classes in the case of the Piarist gymnasium, and did not record the grades of the eighth class, because with regards to the mechanisms of social selection and exclusion in the gymnasium, the eighth class cannot have too much significance. In the tables describing average grades according to denomination all the students are included, but in the case of average grades according to social origin, I left out those who did not attend elementary schools in Sátoraljaújhely, since the missing schooling registers of the gymnasium could have significantly harmed the validity of the results.

¹²⁶ This pattern is similar to average grades of Jews in Budapest gymnasia, where Jews have the best grades in Roman Catholic gymnasia (Karady 2000a, 186, Table 3.).

	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Protes- tants	Jew	Total
Behavior	1.32	1.29	1.22	1.37	1.31
Hungarian	2.57	2.61	2.44	2.44	2.51
History	1.82	1.74	1.71	2.06	1.85
Penmanship	2.32	2.41	2.26	2.55	2.38
Mathematics	2.59	2.65	2.51	2.63	2.59
Natural sciences	2.29	2.33	2.25	2.42	2.32
Geography	2.49	2.64	2.42	2.61	2.52
Latin	2.82	2.91	2.73	2.77	2.80
Religion	1.94	2.10	1.91	1.93	1.95
Drawing	2.53	2.55	2.49	2.67	2.56

Table 23.Average Grades by Denomination in the First Class of the Piarist Gymna-
sium, 1898-1916

Source: structured database

Table 24.Average Grades by Denomination in the Fourth Class of the Piarist Gymnasium, 1901-1916

	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Protes- tants	Jew	Total
Behavior	1.30	1.24	1.29	1.33	1.30
Religion	1.76	1.75	1.77	1.59	1.72
Latin	2.81	2.82	2.88	2.69	2.79
German	2.74	2.83	2.81	2.55	2.71
History	2.34	2.37	2.32	2.24	2.31
Natural sciences	2.50	2.44	2.47	2.53	2.50
Mathematics	2.71	2.75	2.69	2.56	2.67
Drawing	2.51	2.41	2.53	2.55	2.52
Gymnastics	1.54	1.61	1.62	1.84	1.64
Hungarian	2.50	2.60	2.52	2.36	2.47

Source: structured database

and geography are the most difficult subject, the average grades being respectively 2.51, 2.8, 2.59 and 2.52. In the same token, Greek Catholics perform the worst in these disciplines, whose importance also lied in the fact that most failings were given in these four (respectively 204, 103, 118 and 99 students have failed these subjects between 1898 and 1916). Looking at the

denominational composition of failings, in accordance with the hierarchy of average grades, Greek Catholics perform the worst, 20.2% of Greek Catholics failed in Latin in the first class of the gymnasium; the same proportion is 18.3% for Jews, 17.3% for Roman Catholics, and 15% for Protestants.¹²⁷ The denomination-specific ranking is similar in the case of Hungarian and geography as well.

The average grades of the fourth class of the Piarist gymnasium draw a different picture

Attended in the Gymnasium							
	attended the first class of the Piarist Gymnasium	attended the fourth class	attended the eighth class	Total			
Behavior	1.41	1.23	1.16	1.31			
Hungarian	2.79	2.37	1.91	2.51			
Gymnasitics	1.91	1.83	1.74	1.85			
Penmanship	2.55	2.33	2.03	2.38			
Mathematics	2.81	2.47	2.15	2.59			
Natural sciences	2.46	2.26	1.94	2.32			
Geography	2.73	2.41	2.09	2.52			
Latin	3.08	2.66	2.20	2.80			
Religion	2.14	1.84	1.54	1.95			
Drawing	2.74	2.51	2.12	2.56			

Average Grades in the First Class of the Gymnasium by Highest Classes Table 25

Source: structured database

from the one that has been framed with regard to the first class (Table 24). Jewish students have better grades than all other denominations in the "noble" disciplines (Latin, German, history, mathematics, Hungarian literature), and the gap between Jews and non-Jews coincides with the "noble character" of the disciplines. In disciplines requiring skills rather than culture Greek Catholics achieve the best grades (behavior, drawing, gymnastics), besides, they have

Structured database. 127

the lowest grades in other disciplines. The second group in the hierarchy of excellence is that of Protestants, and in some cases Roman Catholics. As referred in another section of this study, the schooling excellence of students might coincide with the social status of their parents: the "lower classes" perform significantly worse in school (let it be gymnasium or civic school) than the "middle classes". But this picture must be supplemented by the idea that a given culturalreligious group may have better educational assets than other groups that can overwrite the prior-determination of the social status. The latter could be demonstrated if there exist denomination specific patterns within the same social groups such as unskilled and skilled workers or officials, a question that will be addressed in the last part of the present case study.

	Behavior	Hungarian	Gymnastics	Penmanship	Mathematics	N. sciences	Geography	Latin	Religion	Drawing
Agriculture*	1.18	2.73	2.00	2.57	2.82	2.55	2.64	2.82	2.36	2.91
Unskilled workers	1.27	2.72	1.80	2.23	2.84	2.43	2.61	3.20	2.22	2.53
Skilled workers	1.33	2.61	1.83	2.42	2.49	2.52	2.67	2.75	2.08	2.61
Craftsmen, artisans	1.27	2.61	1.95	2.28	2.69	2.41	2.61	2.95	1.92	2.62
Shopkeepers, innkeepers	1.29	2.71	1.99	2.57	2.88	2.54	2.77	3.02	2.13	2.76
Lower officials	1.32	2.53	1.84	2.29	2.59	2.21	2.41	2.79	2.05	2.57
Middle officials	1.35	2.53	1.74	2.44	2.57	2.36	2.47	2.84	2.00	2.62
Higher officials	1.40	2.43	1.63	2.09	2.33	2.17	2.36	2.65	1.86	2.33
Other educated	1.22	2.34	1.70	2.35	2.32	2.16	2.38	2.56	1.91	2.32
Property owners, entre- preneurs	1.29	2.66	1.70	2.39	2.78	2.36	2.76	2.95	2.30	2.72
Total	1.31	2.56	1.80	2.34	2.60	2.35	2.55	2.85	2.03	2.57

Table 26.	Average Grades by Social Origin in the First Class of the Piarist Gymna-
	sium, 1898-1916

Source: structured database

Note: only students who attended elementary school in S.Ujhely, asterisk means that the case number is lower than 20.
To what extent grades are an important factor in the mechanisms of selection and exclusion can be demonstrated through the analysis of average grades by highest class attended in the Piarist gymnasium (Table 25). In every discipline (even in non-principle disciplines like behavior and gymnastics – a fact that makes more significant the "Jewish pattern"), those who dropped out after the first class have the lowest average grades, and those who reached the eighth class have the highest grades. An empirical result that may seem trivial, but proves the importance of inequalities of schooling excellence in the school, a significant contribution to the under- and over-representation of certain groups in the higher classes of the gymnasium.

The ranking of average grades by social origin (only relevant in case of those who attended elementary school in Sátoraljaújhely) does not present enormous differences between different social clusters (Table 26). The offspring of unskilled workers and craftsmen, artisans have the lowest grades in the sacred disciplines like Latin or Hungarian literature, but the gap between them and the best group (educated professionals) is less than the one between those who dropped out after the first class and those who reached the eighth class of the gymnasium; an observation that could suggest that schooling performance plays a more important role in one's schooling track than social origin *in itself* in the gymnasium.

Chapter 5 – Patterns of Schooling Track in Sátoraljaújhely

The notions of inclusiveness, progressiveness and segmentation play a crucial role in framing the social history of modern educational systems.¹²⁸ The increasing systematization of schools (the process of systematization encompasses three phases: a) system emergence, b) constitution of the system, c) system complementation)¹²⁹ and growing state intervention resulted in changing the (expected) role of education in the mechanisms of social reproduction. When school is confronted by a demand for social mobility and compulsory schooling is actively enforced by the state, the vertical differentiation of the educational system becomes a central issue for both contemporaries and historians. In dualist Hungary growing state intervention consists of promoting state coercion to increase school attendance and literacy rates, abating church influence in educational matters, and extending state influence over the new actors of the educational system (e.g. civic schools, upper-commercial schools and other administrative institutions).¹³⁰ This resulted, on the longue durée, in the growth of enrollment frequencies on all educational levels regardless of the existing denominationaland professional-group-specific inequalities of the given educational system. The present case study does not aim at describing the long-run evolution of enrollment frequencies in Sátoraljaújhely, it can only serve as a snapshot of enrollment frequencies and their inequalities with regard to the denominational composition and professional stratification of the city in the last decades of the Monarchy. However, the foundation of new secondary schools in the city, might attest, even on the short term, changes in the inclusiveness and progressiveness of the local educational field.

¹²⁸ See Müller, Ringer and Simon 1989.

¹²⁹ Müller "The Process of Systematization: the Case of German Secondary Education," in *The Rise of the Modern Educational System*, 17-18.

¹³⁰ These are the main topics of Péter Tibor Nagy's monograph on growing state influence in the educational system in pre-socialist Hungary (Nagy 2011).

State intervention in modern educational systems (including Hungary as well) may not only imply the creation of new school forces, but also the reorganization and reclassification of existing institutions. The Piarist gymnasium of Sátoraljaújhely could serve as an example of re-classification in the late nineteenth century: the gymnasium was de-classified into a lower gymnasium (*alsó gimnázium*) during the Bach regime, then re-classified as a full-gymnasium (*főgimnazium*) with the right to grant the *matura* in 1892.¹³¹

The other example is the institutional status of civic schools in late nineteenth century Hungary. Eötvös' law of elementary education¹³² makes civic schools part of primary education, and the law of secondary education¹³³ separates them from other secondary educational institutions. Still, the curriculum of civic schools was very similar to that of the gymnasium or *Realschule* (almost same disciplines expect Latin language and the Greek compensation),¹³⁴ which necessitated the legal clarification of their relation. Already in 1876, a ministerial decree permitted civic school students to enroll in gymnasium or *Realschule* with the condition that they pass a Latin and/or French exam. A ministerial decree in 1889 permitted the change in the inverse direction as well, and another decree in 1890 declared that the first four classes of the civic school and the three classes of the upper-elementary school (*felsőbb népiskola*) are equivalent to the lower classes of the gymnasium and the *Realschule*.¹³⁵ The reclassification of a new institution or its legal equivalence with other secondary institutions might create

¹³¹ Csaba Jenő, "A piaristák Zemplénben" (ÉRT 1698, 1939/40, 4-39.).

¹³² Law XXXVIII. of 1868.

¹³³ Law XXX. of 1883.

¹³⁴ The civic school of Sátoraljaújhely introduced even German teaching on a compulsory basis from the first class (ÉRT 1695, 1906/07). On any account the formal equality of the civic school and the gymnasium is not a question of curriculum rather a question of prestige, because, at the turn of the century, the main disciplines were taught in similar hours in both institutions (e.g. Hungarian literature, mathematics, geography, history), the only difference being the absence of Latin language and Greek compensation in the civic school (Mészáros, *Középszintű iskoláink kronológiája és topográfiája, 996-1948* [Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988], 103 and Simon, *A polgári iskola és a polgári iskolai tanárképzés története Magyarországon* [Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1979], 25.). 135 For the ministerial decrees, see Pálinkás, *Egyetemes pályamutató* (Nagybánya: Kovács Gyula könyvkereskedő, 1907), 56-60.

educational opportunities that could affect the use of education as a reproduction strategy, and change the patterns of educational mobility in the given city.

The final chapter of the present case study is composed of six larger sections: a general introduction on enrollment frequencies in Sátoraljaújhely's elementary schools, three sections on schooling performance and enrollment frequencies in secondary schools (with regard to denomination, social origin and elementary school attended), a section on Jewish patterns in Sátoraljaújhely, and a set of typical examples describing possible schooling strategies and career opportunities in the vicinity of Sátoraljaújhely.

5.1 Enrollment frequencies: the Piarist gymnasium, the civic school and the uppercommercial school

The denominational segmentation in Sátoraljaújhely's educational field might be described by the enrollment frequencies between the fourth class of the elementary school and the different classes of the Piarist gymnasium, the civic school, and the upper-commercial school (Table 27 and 28).¹³⁶ In general, the dropout rate is the highest at the entrance of secondary schools, namely, between the fourth class of elementary school and the first class of gymnasium or civic school. This rate is 0.32 in case of the gymnasium and 0.15 in case of the civic school,¹³⁷ which, of course, hides considerable inequalities amongst denominations. In case of gymnasium enrollments, even though this is a Roman Catholic gymnasium and there

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Table 23 does not contain all students of the secondary educational institutions under scrutiny; thus, the scope of my statements (in those cases) is restricted to the student population of elementary schools of the city. Naturally, these calculations might be distorted by permanent migration or by "educational" migration, that is to say, students who attended secondary institutions in other cities. For example, the Protestant gymnasium in Sárospatak, or other secondary institutions in Kassa and Homonna could be taken into consideration to correct the numbers. Home education makes another source of distortion, which could be corrected based on the place of birth of the given students – a possibility that is ruled out because of the missing schooling registers of the Piarist gymnasium.

¹³⁷ In the latter, this relatively low rate may be connected to the fact that the civic school was founded in 1906, and the database contains elementary students for all the period between 1898 and 1914. The dropout rate for the student population who attended elementary schools after the foundation of the civic school (1906) are 0.18 for Roman Catholics, 0.08 for Greek Catholics, 0.15 for Protestants, 0.28 for Jews and 0.18 for the total population (see Table 23).

Piarist gymnasium	4th class : 1st class	8th class : 4th class	
Roman Catholic	0.57	0.4	
Greek Catholic	0.55	0.37	
Protestants	0.59	0.37	
Jew	0.62	0.44	
Total	0.59	0.4	
Civic and Upper- Commercial Schools	4th class : 1st class	1st class commer- cial school : 4th class civic school	3rd class commer- cial school : 1st class commercial school
Roman Catholic	0.65	0.32	0.38
Greek Catholic	0.81	0.31	0.55
Protestants	0.72	0.33	0.51
Jew	0.68	0.56	0.67
Total	0.68	0.45	0.6

Table 27.Dropouts Rates in Secondary Schools in S.Ujhely by Denomination (all
students), 1898-1916

Source: unstructured database

is a Calvinist gymnasium in Sárospatak, Protestant pupils from Sátoraljaújhely's elementary schools have better enrollment frequencies than Roman Catholic students (the rate is 0.29 for Protestants and 0.28 for Roman Catholics). Greek Catholics and Jews have significantly less chance to attend the gymnasium (0.18 and 0.20), which in case of Greek Catholics can be explained in view of the lower social status they occupy in the social structure of Sátoraljaújhely, and this number should be closer to their "real" enrollment in the gymnasium than in the case of Protestants and Jews, since Greek Catholics are less likely to enroll in the Calvinist gymnasium of Sárospatak.

The *relatively*¹³⁸ low enrollment rate of Jews in the first class of the Piarist gymnasium might be explained by various factors. The socio-cultural setting of Sátoraljaújhely's Jewry, the distorting effect of Sárospatak, Homonna, Kassa or even Ungvár, and the draining effect of the newly founded civic school: before 1906 (the foundation year of the civic school) the

^{138 &}quot;Relatively" compared to the Jewish over-schooling on the national level, the differences between Neolog, Status Quo Ante and Orthodox Jewry are addressed in different parts of this case study.

Piarist Gymnasium	1st class : elemen- tary students	4th class : 1st class	8th class : 4th class	
Roman Catholic	0.27	0.50	0.34	
Greek Catholic	0.18	0.44	0.23	
Protestants	0.29	0.54	0.29	
Jew	0.20	0.46	0.54	
Total	0.24	0.50	0.35	
Civic and Up- per Commercial Schools	1st class civic sch. : elementary stu- dents	4th class : 1st class	4th class civic sch. : 1st class commer- cial sch.	
Roman Catholic	0.13	0.68	0.21	
Greek Catholic	Greek Catholic 0.07		0.13	
Protestants	0.11	0.75	0.22	
Jew	0.19	0.67	0.48	
Total	0.13	0.68	0.31	
Civic and Up- per Commercial Schools	3rd class commer- cial sch. : 1st class commercial sch.	1st class of civic sch. : elemen- tary students (after 1905)		
Roman Catholic	0.38	0.18		
Greek Catholic	1.00	0.08		
Protestants	0.60	0.15		
Jew	0.60	0.28		
Total	0.55	0.18		

Table 28.Dropout Rates in Secondary Schools in S.Ujhely by Denomination, 1898-1916

Source: structured database

Note: including only those who attended elementary school in Sátoraljaújhely.

enrollment rate of Jewish elementary students is 0.24 (elementary school students N=361) and after 1906 it decreased to only 0.15 (elementary school students N=345).¹³⁹ Taking into consideration the fact that the number of students in the Piarist gymnasium dropped in proportion to the growth of the civic school, it is clear that the Piarist gymnasium and the civic school competed for the same students in the educational market of Sátoraljaújhely. The social setting of Jews in the city might explain, likewise, that they rather choose the type of education provided in the civic school than that of the gymnasium. Jewish enrollment frequencies in the

¹³⁹ Structured database.

civic school illustrate the importance of spatial heterogeneity in Hungarian Jewry: Orthodox Jews tending towards more practical education that the civic school provides.¹⁴⁰ While more than every fourth Jewish student is enrolled in the civic school (0.28), this rate is only 0.08 in case of Greek Catholics, 0.15 in case of Protestants and 0.18 in case of Roman Catholics (see Chapter 5.5. for more on Jewish enrollment patterns).

Entering a secondary education is always more difficult than going to the higher classes of the same institution. All the more, there are only slight differences between the denomination-specific dropouts rates of the Piarist gymnasium and of the civic school with regard to the higher classes of these institutions. In the gymnasium, the probability to enroll in the fourth class (if one has been already enrolled in the first class) is around 0.50 for each denomination (the lowest, 0.44 for Greek Catholics and 0.54 for Protestants), and around 0.68 in case of the civic school (the gap is larger between the lowest – Greek Catholics, 0.62 – and the highest – Protestants, 0.75 – in this case, although the difference [0.13] is proportionally less than the one tenth difference in the case of the gymnasium).

Including all the students in the Piarist gymnasium the rates are even more equal, the highest being 0.62 in case of Jews and the lowest, 0.55 in case of Greek Catholics. To a lesser extent, the hierarchy of excellence, registered with regard to average grades repeats itself, Jews performing the best and Greek Catholics the worst. However, two differences need to be emphasized when local and non-local students are compared: the dropout rates of nonlocals are better than that of locals (the reason for this might be socio-economic differences, but, surely, for a non-local family attending the gymnasium is already a selection of more motivated, ambitious pupils, and a bigger investment, thus non-local students are more pressed to perform well);¹⁴¹ and the difference is enormous in case of Jewish students between locals

¹⁴⁰ One must keep in mind that Jewish over-representation is higher in civic schools than in gymnasia on the national level as well (see Karady, "Felekezetsajátos középiskolázási esélyek és a zsidó túliskolázás mérlege (1900-1941)," in *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek*, 223-256).

¹⁴¹ It must be taken into account that those who had home education and were not enrolled in any of the elementary schools in Sátoraljaújhely are counted in the group of non-locals.

and non-locals, which might be connected, once again, to the peculiarities of Sátoraljaújhely's Jewry (e.g. the more appealing civic school is more expensive than the gymnasium).

The respective statistics of the civic school draw a different picture. Including all students, Greek Catholics have the best dropout rates (0.81) and Jews (0.68) only attain the average of the school. In the interpretation of these numbers one must not forget that the number of Greek Catholic students (N=43) is far less than the number of Jewish students (N=537). The social composition of Jewish students might seem more homogenous in the civic school (53.4% of Jewish students are smaller independents), but the category of smaller independents contains a socially and economically diversified group, students with very different cultural and economic background. The low number of Greek Catholics enrolled in the civic school suggests that the prospects of the school are not appealing for Greek Catholics, hence, those who are enrolled in the first class have a good reason to continue it. Furthermore, the socio-economic status of Greek Catholics in elementary schools (28.3% of Greek Catholic students are the offspring of unskilled and skilled workers, while 41.8% of the students come from the "middle classes"), which also explain their "persistence" in the higher classes of the civic school.

5.2 Enrollment frequencies and average grades in elementary schools

The prosopographical database makes possible both the analysis of enrollment frequencies in secondary schools by elementary schools attended and the analysis of average grades in elementary schools by enrollments in secondary schools (Table 29 and 30). When interpreting these statistics one must not forget that the enrollment rate of a given elementary school does not solely depend on the educational quality of the school¹⁴² but on a set of cultural,

¹⁴² Bourdieu, "Avenir de classe et causalité du probable," *Revue Française de Sociologie* XV, no. 1 (1974), 3-42 and Bourdieu, Boltanski and de Saint-Martini 1973.

	Not attended secondary schools	Attended the civic and com- mercial school	Attended the gymnasium	Attended both	Total	Z
More than one elementary	70.4	15.7	11.3	2.6	100.0	115
State elementary	68.6	8.3	20.4	2.8	100.0	1292
Roman Catholic	59.1	9.0	26.6	5.3	100.0	721
Greek Catholic	86.7	1.4	10.9	0.9	100.0	211
Orthodox elementary	70.0	24.3	3.8	1.9	100.0	263
Status Quo elementary	49.2	6.7	38.9	5.2	100.0	193

Table 29.Enrollment Frequencies in Secondary Schools by Elementary Schools At-
tended, 1898-1916

Source: structured database

Table 30.Average Grades in Elementary Schools and Enrollment in Secondary
Schools, 1898-1916

		Not attended secondary schools	Attended the civic or the commercial school	Attended gymnasium	Attended both	Total
	State	3.48	3.03	2.08	2.80	3.13
Roman Catholic	3.41	3.39	2.33	2.93	3.10	
Ave Gra	Greek Catholic	3.18	2.90	2.57	3.50	3.09
7	Status Quo	2.39	2.09	1.59	1.50	2.01
0 H	State	1.79	1.63	1.37	1.36	1.68
rage avio	Roman Catholic	2.69	2.43	2.08	2.49	2.49
Avei Seha	Greek Catholic	2.23	1.70	2.12	3.00	2.21
ТШ	Status Quo	1.62	1.36	1.22	1.25	1.42

Source: structured database

economic and social factors in which the quality of teaching is only partially determinant (e.g. the success is as much as about the quality of the teaching as about the quality of the student).

The overall picture suggests that the Status Quo Jewish elementary school has the highest enrollment rates in case of the gymnasium, and the Orthodox Jewish elementary school in

case of the civic and upper commercial school.¹⁴³ *A priori*, the Status Quo congregation is more modern and liberal than the Orthodox one; there is a higher level of social and educational mobility and a higher level of acculturation in the former – e.g. the sermon is delivered mainly in Hungarian in the Status Quo congregations on the national level.¹⁴⁴ In that sense, the Jewish community of Sátoraljaújhely cannot be regarded as homogenous and possessing the same set of cultural and social capital in each of its sub-groups.

To continue with the ranking of elementary schools, the Roman Catholic elementary achieves the second best overall enrollment frequencies: 31.7% of its pupils are enrolled in the gymnasium and 14% in the civic and upper commercial school. The state elementary presents approximately the same overall rate as the Orthodox elementary by enrolling 22.4% of its pupils in the gymnasium and 10.4% in the civic school. The "worst" is the Greek Catholic elementary school; only 11.7% of its students are enrolled in the gymnasium and 2,8% in the civic school.

On the one hand, this hierarchy corresponds to the amount of tuition fee in Sátoraljaújhely's elementary schools, which reinforces the connection between the pupils' social origin and subsequent schooling track. The most expensive are the Jewish elementary schools: the tuition in the Status Quo and Orthodox elementary schools ranges from 24 Kronen to 48 Kronen according to the attended classes in 1898; the tuition fee is unanimously 32 Kronen in the Roman Catholic and 4 Kronen in the state elementary school.¹⁴⁵ By paying this tuition fee the parents already attest a higher economic position; however this does not

¹⁴³ Unfortunately the database does not contain all of the pupils enrolled the Jewish elementary schools, because the location of the schooling registers of the Status Quo and the Orthodox Jewish elementary schools is unknown and both institutions published school yearbooks (értesítő) for only a few years (Status Quo: 1897-1900 and 1903-1905, see ÉRT 1691; Orthodox: 1898-1908 and 1909-10, see ÉRT 1692), so the analysis can only stand on these yearbooks, and the schooling registers of the Status Quo elementary school are available for a few years in the archive of Sátoraljaújhely. Nevertheless, the sample is large enough to draw conclusions and analyze the patterns of the Status Quo and Orthodox elementary schools.

¹⁴⁴ Karady, "A magyar zsidóság regionális és társadalmi rétegződése," Régió 5, no. 2 (1994), 45-70.

¹⁴⁵ ÉRT 1691, ÉRT 1689, ÉRT 1692 and ÉRT 1690 in each case in 1898/99. The yearbook of the state elementary emphasized that tuition waiver is possible in possession of a "report of destitution". In the 1898-99 school year 125 pupils, 18.3% of the student body had a full tuition waiver.

mean that the students of the state elementary are all the offspring of *poor* people, but it can explain the overall higher enrollment frequencies in the Roman Catholic and the Status Quo elementary schools.

The insufficient infrastructure of the Greek Catholic elementary school adds to the "inherited" cultural disadvantage of Greek Catholic pupils: the school is undivided and one teacher (often unqualified) has to teach over 90 students, the success of education is more than questionable. In contrast, the Status Quo elementary school can maintain divided school classes, has a library and can even pay subject teachers, that, altogether, guarantees considerable success. It is not by chance that such schools complained about free primary education, since the tuition fee in the Status Quo elementary school is higher than the amount of state subvention allocated by the government (15 Kronen in contrast to 24-48 Kronen).¹⁴⁶

Inequalities of schooling performance in elementary might influence the future enrollment of a given pupil in the form of schooling excellence; Table 30 describes the extent of this influence. Average grades are very similar in the Roman Catholic (3.1), in the Greek Catholic (3.09) and in the state elementary school (3.13), while grades are significantly higher in the Status Quo elementary school (2.01). A grade difference is very impressive and it is hard to decide whether the grading policies of the school or the performance of the pupils create the gap. However, we can suppose that there is a significant difference between the quality of the pupils (or between the social origin of students) because of the higher enrollment frequencies in the Status Quo elementary school. The best average grades of pupils enrolled in secondary schools can be found in the Status Quo elementary school (1.59 and 2.09). The largest difference between the average grade of the student body and the pupils enrolled in secondary schools can be seen in the case of the state elementary school.

¹⁴⁶ Act XLVI of 1908.

The hierarchy of average grades by enrollment in secondary schools suggests that schooling performance plays the most important role in determining one's schooling track, however, it is not the only component in the making of educational inequalities. Compared to Table 10 (average grades in elementary schools by social origin), one must note that average grades, on their part, are determined by social origin. Thus, the vicious circle of the reproduction of inequalities goes around social origin and "inherited" cultural capital once again.

5.3 Average grades in elementary schools and enrollment in secondary schools by denomination

Denomination-specific enrollment frequencies might undermine the assumption of a Jewish *over-schooling* in the case of Sátoraljaújhely (Table 31): both Roman Catholics and Protestants have better overall enrollment frequencies than the Jewish students of local elementary schools. However, the results of this table must be taken with precautions: due to some of the missing schooling registers in the case of the Orthodox and Status Quo elementary schools, the data must be distorted (especially, since the Jewish population of the state elementary has been completely recorded). A closer look at the enrollment frequencies

Table 31.	Enrollment Frequencies in Secondary Schools by Denomination in
	S.Ujhely, 1898-1916

tended Attended Attended Attended Total secondary comm. sch. nasium	
Roman Catholic 64.5 8.7 22.8 4.1 100.0	
Greek Catholic 77.0 4.8 16.3 1.8 100.0	
Protestants 63.1 7.9 25.5 3.6 100.0	
Jew 64.3 15.7 16.9 3.1 100.0	
N 1820 270 576 94 2760	

Source: structured database

by denomination and elementary school attended might bridge this empirical lacuna (Table 32). The pattern is the clearest in the case of Greek Catholics: Greek Catholics enrolled in the Greek Catholic elementary performed the worse, while those attending the Roman Catholic elementary school have the best enrollment frequency in the educational market of Sátoraljaújhely. Elite members of the Greek Catholic community enroll their children in the Roman Catholic elementary school, like Rudolf Legaza, the son of a lawyer, Leó Chanáth Vreszt, the son of an attorney at the court of justice, or Lajos Ladomérszki, the son of the headmaster of the state elementary school. Other educated Greek Catholics also enrolle their children in the Roman Catholic elementary school like ministers, primary school teachers, and higher officials.

Almost all the Protestants are enrolled in the state elementary school, their "own" elementary school; it must be added that Protestants have the best enrollment frequencies in overall in the city. Roman Catholics and Jews remain a more complicated case, since they attend more than one local elementary school in the period under scrutiny. Roman Catholics have better enrollment frequencies in their own school (the difference is significant: 71.5% of Roman Catholic students of the state elementary school are not enrolled in secondary schools, while the same proportion is 59.9% in the case of Roman Catholic pupils in the Roman Catholic elementary school), which cannot be explained by a difference in the professional stratification of the two schools: for example, the proportion of officials among Roman Catholics is 24.7% in the state elementary and 17.5% in the Roman Catholic elementary school,¹⁴⁷ so the explanation must sought elsewhere. In any account, tuition fees might suggest that the Roman Catholic elementary school attract parents who are willing to invest considerably more in the education of their offspring.

¹⁴⁷ Structured database.

	Not attended secondary schools	Attended the civic and com. sch.	Attended the gymnasium	Attended both	Total	Z
	Ι	Roman Cath	nolic			
More than one elementary	67.2	17.2	12.5	3.1	100.0	64
State elementary	71.5	6.5	19.8	2.2	100.0	414
Roman Catholic	59.9	9.2	25.5	5.4	100.0	643
Greek Catholic*	42.9	14.3	42.9	0.0	100.0	7
		Greek Cath	olic			
More than one elementary	70.4	14.8	14.8	0.0	100.0	27
State elementary	77.9	5.3	14.5	2.3	100.0	131
Roman Catholic	44.4	11.1	40.7	3.7	100.0	54
Greek Catholic	87.2	1.1	10.6	1.1	100.0	180
		Protestan	ts			
More than one elementary*	78.6	7.1	7.1	7.1	100.0	14
State elementary	63.3	8.1	25.2	3.4	100.0	504
Roman Catholic*	50.0	0.0	41.7	8.3	100.0	12
Greek Catholic*	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	100.0	2
Status Quo elementary*	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	2
		Jew				
More than one elementary*	80.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	10
State elementary	68.9	13.4	14.7	2.9	100.0	238
Roman Catholic*	80.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	100.0	5
Orthodox elementary	70.0	24.3	3.8	1.9	100.0	263
Status Quo elementary	49.5	6.8	38.4	5.3	100.0	190

Table 32.Enrollment Frequencies in Secondary Schools by Denomination and
Elementary School Attended in S.Ujhely, 1898-1915

Source: structured database

Note: Asterisk means that case numbers are lower than 20.

The Jewish pattern¹⁴⁸ seems unambiguous in view of the professional stratification

¹⁴⁸ It should be emphasized that the overall number of Jewish students attending local elementary schools between 1898 and 1916 must be higher, because part of the student body of the Orthodox and Status Quo elementary could not be recorded. Still, enrollment frequencies (proportions) should not be distorted by this hiatus.

of the Orthodox and Status Quo kehillot: Orthodox Jews are rarely enrolled in the Piarist gymnasium, while their enrollment frequency is the highest in the case of the civic and upper commercial school (24.3%); Status Quo Jews choose rather the Piarist gymnasium, are rarely enrolled in the civic and commercial school, and have a better overall enrollment frequency. The patterns of the state elementary school reveal an in-between tendency compared to the two Jewish elementary schools: in view of the social status of the Jews in the former school, only those enrolled their children in state elementary who could not afford their own denominational elementary school (22% of Jewish students enrolled in the state elementary are workers, 33.3% are craftsmen and artisans and 30.4% are smaller independents). As an illustration of the occupational-specific enrollment rates, 12.8% of Jewish workers enroll their children in secondary schools; the same proportion is 18.6% in the case of craftsmen-artisans, 40% in the case of smaller independents, and 60% in case of Jewish officials and educated professionals.¹⁴⁹ However, it is the subject of the next chapter to describe occupational-specific enrollment frequencies, and, thus, neutralized denomination-specific enrollment frequencies as well, that may add another dimension to the mechanisms of social selection and exclusion in the local educational field.

5.4 Average grades in elementary schools and enrollment in secondary schools by social origin

Professional stratification plays a crucial role in the enrollment frequencies of secondary schools (Table 33). These enrollment frequencies vary between 70% (entrepreneurs) and 12.6% (unskilled workers) that proves a larger gap than in the case of denomination-specific enrollment frequencies (Table 32). In terms of the reproduction of inequalities, the "middle classes" (officials and the educated strata) successfully transferred their privileged status in form

¹⁴⁹ Structured database.

of educational credentials. These social strata could provide some kind of secondary education to *at least* two-thirds of their offspring (which might be higher if we added students enrolled in other schools than the Piarist gymnasium, the civic school, and the upper commercial school in Sátoraljaújhely). Although the inclusiveness (24% of all students are enrolled in the Piarist gymnasium) and the progressiveness (4.2% of all students reached the eighth class of the Piarist

	Not attended secondary schools	Attended the civic and com. sch.	Attended gymnasium	Attended both	Total	Z
Agriculture	71.9	10.9	14.1	3.1	100.0	64
Unskilled workers	87.4	5.6	6.8	0.2	100.0	603
Skilled workers	68.2	13.4	15.5	3.0	100.0	336
Craftsmen, artisans	71.6	7.6	18.8	2.0	100.0	542
Shopkeepers, innkeepers	42.6	33.7	16.8	6.8	100.0	190
Lower officials	50.6	15.9	27.8	5.7	100.0	176
Employed intellectuals	37.5	18.8	40.6	3.1	100.0	32
Middle officials	33.3	11.1	43.9	11.6	100.0	198
Higher officials	30.4	6.2	55.4	8.0	100.0	112
Educated professions	38.5	3.1	52.3	6.2	100.0	65
Entrepreneurs, ind.	30.0	15.0	35.0	20.0	100.0	20
Property owners, tenants	55.7	8.5	31.1	4.7	100.0	106
Other	57.1	7.1	35.7	0.0	100.0	14

Table 33.	Enrollment Frequencies in Secondary Schools by Social Origin in S.ujhely,
	1898-1916

Source: structured database

gymnasium) remain limited, schooling serves as a channel of mobility for the "lower classes". 12.6% percent of unskilled workers enroll their children in secondary schools, which, in each case, entails social mobility. For skilled workers and craftsmen-artisans, the same proportion is around one third of the pupils, which, also, represented a considerable social mobility. The educational strategy of smaller independents attests that they do not envision education for its own sake, the high percentage of those who are enrolled in the civic and upper commercial school (40.5%) attests that they want to provide betterment for their offspring in their own craft, that is to say, as shopkeepers and innkeepers or private officials.

Neutralized denomination-specific enrollment frequencies confirm the idea that denominational background is an influential factor in itself in the making of educational strategies (Table 34). Besides the professional stratification of each denomination in Sátoraljaújhely (a key factor in determining enrollment frequencies) there are considerable differences in neutralized denomination-specific statistics as well. Greek Catholics have the worse enrollment frequencies in each professional sub-group except artisans (which includes a large portion of Greek Catholic shoemakers, their traditional occupation in Sátoraljaújhely). In the "lower" classes (agriculture, workers, and artisans), Protestants and Roman Catholics have the best enrollment frequencies in general, but these are similarly low with regard to all denominations.

Denominational differences are more significant in the categories of smaller independents, officials and educated professionals, and property owners: Jews and Protestants have much better enrollment frequencies in each category. Although three-quarters of smaller independents are Jews, the difference between Roman Catholics and Jews can be considered significant: Roman Catholic smaller independents enroll their children mainly in the Piarist gymnasium (33.3%), while Jewish smaller independents attend mostly the civic and upper commercial school (47.6%). For Jewish merchants, innkeepers and shopkeepers civil service do not make part of reproduction strategies (the main goal being to take on the family business), while in the case of Roman Catholics this might represent a desired channel of mobility. The same dichotomy can be found in case of officials and educated professionals: Protestants have the best enrollment frequencies in that social stratum with the benefit of gymnasium

	Not at- tended secondary schools	Attended the civic and com. sch.	Attended gymna- sium	Attended both	Total	Z		
		Agr	iculture					
Roman Catholic	66.7	9.5	19.0	4.8	100.0	21		
Greek Catholic*	81.2	6.2	12.5	0.0	100.0	16		
Protestants	81.0	14.3	4.8	0.0	100.0	21		
Jew*	33.3	16.7	33.3	16.7	100.0	6		
Total	71.9	10.9	14.1	3.1	100.0	64		
		W	orkers					
Roman Catholic	77.2	9.9	11.3	1.6	100.0	434		
Greek Catholic	85.9	3.4	9.8	0.9	100.0	234		
Protestants	79.9	10.8	8.3	1.0	100.0	204		
Jew	84.8	9.1	6.1	0.0	100.0	66		
Total	80.5	8.4	9.9	1.2	100.0	938		
		Aı	rtisans					
Roman Catholic	69.7	6.7%	21.0	2.5	100.0	238		
Greek Catholic	67.6	7.0%	23.9	1.4	100.0	71		
Protestants	75.8	5.8%	16.7	1.7	100.0	120		
Jew	73.0	11.7%	13.5	1.8	100.0	111		
Total	71.5	7.6%	18.9	2.0	100.0	540		
		Co	mmerce					
Roman Catholic	55.6	11.1	29.6	3.7	100.0	27		
Greek Catholic*	66.7	0.0	33.3	0.0	100.0	3		
Protestants*	30.8	15.4	46.2	7.7	100.0	13		
Jew	40.8	40.1	11.6	7.5	100.0	147		
Total	42.6	33.7	16.8	6.8	100.0	190		
	Officials and educated professionals							
Roman Catholic	44.4	10.5	37.2	7.9	100.0	304		
Greek Catholic	47.7	9.1	34.1	9.1	100.0	44		
Protestants	29.5	2.9	58.3	9.4	100.0	139		
Jew	30.2	26.0	37.5	6.2	100.0	96		
Total	38.8	11.1	42.0	8.1	100.0	583		

Table 34.Enrollment Frequencies in Secondary Schools by Social Origin and De-
nomination, 1898-1916

Source: structured database

Note: only those who attended elementary school in S.Ujhely. Asterisk means that case numbers are lower than 20.

	Not at- tended secondary schools	Attended the civic and com. sch.	Attended gymna- sium	Attended both	Total	Z
		Pro	opertied			
Roman Catholic	53.2	2.5	35.4	8.9	100.0	79
Greek Catholic*	81.8	9.1	9.1	0.0	100.0	11
Protestants	48.4	12.9	35.5	3.2	100.0	31
Jew*	25.0	37.5	31.2	6.2	100.0	16
Total	51.1	9.5	32.8	6.6	100.0	137

Source: structured database

Note: only those who attended elementary school in S.Ujhely. Asterisk means that case numbers are lower than 20.

education (67.7% – without the students of the students of the Sárospatak gymnasium); Jews have equally good enrollment frequencies, split between the civic and upper commercial school (32.2%), and the Piarist gymnasium (43.7%); Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics have less good enrollment frequencies with a considerable portion enrolled in the civic and upper commercial school, and over one-third of the pupils enrolled in the Piarist gymnasium.

The last "purely" quantitative sections of the present case study have described the denomination- and professional-group-specific enrollment patterns in Sátoraljaújhely that proved an over-representation and over-schooling on the part of Protestants and on the part of a portion of the Jewish community in the city. The next section deals with Jewish schooling patterns in Sátoraljaújhely, an endeavor that is made highly relevant in view of the presence of three different Jewish *kehillot* in the city, a Status Quo mother congregation, an Orthodox congregation, and a Sephardic-Hasidic congregation.

5.5. Jewish enrollment patterns

Viktor Karady provided the empirical evidence of Jewish over-schooling in secondary education (gymnasium, *Realschule*, teacher training college, upper-commercial school, civic

school) on many occasions.¹⁵⁰ According to his calculations, the denomination-specific proportions of secondary students compared to the corresponding age cohort of each denomination show considerable inequalities: e.g. 32.7% of Jewish boys (at the age between 11 and 18), 8.3% of Lutheran boys, 6.1% of Calvinist boys, 6.1% of Roman Catholic boys and 2% of Greek Catholic boys are enrolled in secondary educational institutions in 1910.¹⁵¹ Jews are over-represented in every institution except teacher training colleges, though, to a lesser extent in gymnasia and Realschulen. For the present purposes, I only enumerate some of the possible methods and approaches to demonstrate and explain Jewish over-schooling: (i) the "population type" method, (ii) the explanation factor of demography, and (iii) the effect of regional-cultural inequalities.¹⁵² The "population type" method is used to neutralize the distorting effect of professional stratification in the analysis of denominational inequalities. This method consists in calculating the enrollment frequency of each occupational category, and then, based on the professional stratification of each denomination, calculating the expected enrollment frequency of the given denomination. If the *expected* enrollment frequency is less than the *observed* enrollment frequency, the given denominational group is over-represented in that part of the educational field. On the national level, expected enrollment frequencies, henceforward, confirm Jewish over-schooling in secondary education, to a greater extent in civic schools, commercial schools and *Realschulen*, and to a lesser extent in gymnasia.¹⁵³

Marriage and fertility strategies play a central role in the strategies of reproduction, especially in the determination of schooling investments on the part of individual families. The schooling chances of an infant depend greatly on the size of the family for obvious economic (and social) reasons. If there are fewer children, the family might invest more (financially,

¹⁵⁰ See Karady 1990, 1997a, 1997b, "Felekezetsajátos középiskolázási esélyek és a zsidó túliskolázás mérlege (1900-1941)n" in *Zsidóság és társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek*, 223-256 and "Jewish Over-Schooling Revisited: the Case of Hungarian Secondary Education in the Old Regime, 1900-1941," in *Jewish Studies at the Central European University*, 1999-2000 (Budapest: CEU, 2002).

¹⁵¹ Karady 2000c, 225-228 (Table 1).

¹⁵² Karady 2000c, 228-256.

¹⁵³ Karady 2000c, 245 (Table 4).

culturally and emotionally as well) in a given child, and vice versa. Moreover, the relative value of an only child is greater, thus, motivates for more investment. The last factor to be enumerated is that of regional-cultural inequalities and differences within Hungarian Jewry itself.¹⁵⁴ In short, the social, cultural and religious functions of schooling are different in the case of Neolog and Orthodox Jewry; let it be the aspirations for acculturation, assimilation and any kind of social mobility, or the relation to embourgeoisement, modernization and religious traditionalism. The remainder of this section aims at the description of these factors in case of Sátoraljaújhely's Jewish community: a deficient objective in view of the multi-denominational character of the city, but a convenient start in the comparison of denominational inequalities.

Unfortunately, there are no published statistics on Jewish marriage and fertility rates in Sátoraljaújhely in the volumes of the *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv* [Hungarian Statistical Yearbook] or in the *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények* [Hungarian Statistical Reports].¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the social setting of the city's Jewish community might be mapped based on other sources. The Jewish community of Sátoraljaújhely is composed of a Status Quo Ante mother congregation, an Orthodox congregation, and a Sephardic-Hasidic congregation. The first evidence of Jewish presence in the city dates back to Rákóczi's war of independence (1703-1711) – archival records proving the presence of Jewish officers in Rákóczi's army.¹⁵⁶ The foundation of the *chevra kadisha* (1771) reveals the presence of a Jewish community in the late eighteenth century, but the fast population growth comes in the second half of the nineteenth century. The tradition of *Hasidism* cherishes in the first half of the nineteenth

¹⁵⁴ The idea of regional-cultural inequalities and differences may be applied to other denominations as well, for example, it is enough to mention that the Lutherans of the Old regime were composed of three different ethno-cultural groups: Germans (Saxons), Slovaks and Hungarians. Moreover, Hungarian Catholicism cannot be treated as a homogenous group either.

¹⁵⁵ The legal difference between *rendezett tanacsú városok* and *törvényhatósági jogú városok* makes that in the case of the latter extensive (published) statistical sources are available, while in the case of the former (and Sátoraljaújhely is a *rendezett tanacsú város*) statistical sources are limited.

¹⁵⁶ Ujvári 1929, 768-769. According to Gyula Zeke, the information on Jewish congregations published in the *Zsidó Lexikon* is based on detailed questionnaires filled out by the congregations themselves (Zeke, "A Magyarországi zsidóság hitközségeinek kiépülése," in Lendvai Ferenc, Sohár Anikó, and Horváth Pál (eds.), *Hét Évtized a Hazai Zsidóság Életében*, Vol. 1. (Budapest: MTA Filozófiai Intézet, 1990), 126-144.

century; the grave of the famous rabbi, Mózes Teitelbaum (rabbi of Sátoraljaújhely between 1808 and 1840) is still a place of pilgrimage in the twenty-first century. The first split within the Jewish community comes in 1877, when the Sephardic-Hasidic congregation is founded,¹⁵⁷ and the second one in 1886 when rabbi Eleázár Löw establishes an Orthodox congregation; at the same time, the mother congregation declares her attachment to Status Quo Ante ideals.¹⁵⁸

Although the publication of the *Zsidó Lexikon* dates a decade later than the period under scrutiny in the present case study, the data on the professional stratification of the two congregations can still be applied to my purposes. The Status Quo Ante congregation comprised around 2000 members in 1929 (430 families), including 2 large merchants, 9 smallholders, 6 teachers, 97 merchants, 78 free professions, 63 officials, 7 workers, 4 large industrialists, 57 propertied, 16 without employment and 15 'other'. The Orthodox congregation comprised around 1250 members in the same year (420 families), including 9 large merchants, 1 smallholder, 3 teachers, 150 merchants, 1 lawyer, 15 workers, 12 officials, 12 propertied, 100 artisans and 100 'other'.¹⁵⁹ The professional stratification of the two congregations might explain the Orthodox aspiration towards civic school and more "practical" education, while the high proportion of free professions and officials (educated people) explains the good enrollment rates in the Piarist gymnasium on the part of Jewish pupils of the Status Quo Ante congregation (Table 29). Besides, average family numbers are similar in the Status Quo congregations (6.0) and in the Orthodox congregations (6.4) in 1910 in North Hungary.¹⁶⁰

In connection to the social setting of Sátoraljaújhely's Jewry, one must emphasize that all the three congregations were relatively traditional, Orthodox *kehillot*. A leader of the Orthodox congregation stated that the fears of Orthodox Jews did not come true after the split:

¹⁵⁷ Patai 1911, 268.

¹⁵⁸ Knopfler 1896, 58. It happened several times in Eastern Hungary that Orthodox and Status Quo congregations changed their affiliation (Komoróczy, *A zsidók története Magyarországon, Vol. II., 1849-től a jelenkorig* [Pozsony: Kalligram, 2012], 147.).

¹⁵⁹ Ujvári 1929, 769.

¹⁶⁰ Frojimovics, Szétszakadt történelem – Zsidó vallási irányzatok Magyarországon 1868-1950 (Budapest: Balassi, 2008), 268.

there are no reforms in the Status Quo mother congregation, and it entirely keeps the "cult".¹⁶¹ The two controversial issues are the language of religious instruction and the usage of hearse. The former is more important for my purposes: the same article argues that there is no sense in using Hebrew in religious instruction, because the mother tongue of most Jewish children is Hungarian.¹⁶² What is more, the Orthodox congregation seems even more liberal concerning the question of *magyarization*. In 1898, the Status Quo mother congregation did not have a Hungarian-speaking rabbi, while the Orthodox congregation already used Hungarian in worship.¹⁶³ For example, a prominent member of the Orthodox community, Vilmos Alexander was praised as the advocate of *magyarization* when he published Sándor Knopfler's (the teacher of the elementary school) "Hungarian prayers" in 1906.¹⁶⁴

Out of 193 pupils in the Status Quo elementary school 75 attended the Piarist Gymnasium and only 13 the civic and upper commercial school. The same numbers are 10 and 64 out of 256 registered pupils in the Orthodox elementary school. The schooling track of the Status Quo elementary pupils confirms the hypothesis of a more modern and liberal group with a high level of acculturation, since the curriculum of the gymnasium suggests the acquirement of (and the will to acquire) a classical humanist education, which serves as the entrance into the "úri" (gentlemanly) society of the time. On the other hand, the more "orthodox" schooling track reflects the wish to pursue a more practical education, leaving aside the common elements of classical culture (Latin, Greek) and preparing for the betterment of one's own craftsmanship. It is also important to note that the most important supporter (financially and symbolically) of the civic school is the Jewish Orthodox congregation, which is mainly composed of "commercials and craftsmen."¹⁶⁵ The organization of the school reflected this in various respects: there is no teaching on Saturdays, there is German language

¹⁶¹ Felsőmagyarországi Hírlap, 3.12.1898.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid. 19.11.1898.

¹⁶⁴ Patai 1911, 276.

¹⁶⁵ ÉRT 1695, 1906/1907.

instruction from the first class and bookkeeping is taught in the fourth class. Ödön Kertész, the first headmaster of the school emphasizes that the civic school does not want to produce specialists (*szakember*), but the school should incorporate an "edification for life", which must be fulfilled in four years, since most students do not continue their education after the civic school – a prognostication that did not prove right in view of the database and in view of the foundation of the upper commercial school.

The educational programme of the upper commercial school incorporates a commitment to practical education, as Áron Debreczeni, the headmaster of the institution (1911-1930) put it, the main purpose of the institution is to

[...] provide well trained young students educated in economics and commerce for local enterprises, and, on the other hand, *distract young people from public service* and direct them towards occupations where honest work offers financial recognition as well.¹⁶⁶

This attitude is in parallel to the difference in the professional stratification of the two Jewish congregations: officials and the free professionals form a tiny minority in the Orthodox community, while the same social strata are highly influential in the Status Quo Ante community.

To conclude this section I should refer to the idea of Jewish over-schooling in the context of Sátoraljaújhely's educational field. Roughly speaking, the Jewish "lower" classes are under-represented in secondary education (compared to the non-Jewish "lower" classes), and they rarely use education as a channel of mobility. In contrast, the Jewish "middle" class is over-represented in secondary education (compared to the non-Jewish "middle" class), which is mainly due to their presence in the civic and upper commercial school, a place of more practical education. However, Jewish workers and artisans mainly attend the state elementary school, which means that they cannot or do not want to enroll their offspring in their *own* denominational school. In the case of the Sephardic-Hasidic congregation this

¹⁶⁶ ÉRT 1697, 1911/12, 3 (emphasis added, EM).

might have happened, because they do not have a denominational elementary school on their own. Although the *Magyar Zsidó Almanach* refers to the existence of a Sephardi "folk school" (*népiskola*) in 1911,¹⁶⁷ it is probably an unofficial school (*zugiskola*), because it is not mentioned in any of the official sources.¹⁶⁸ Besides, Sephardi Jews must have enrolled some of their offspring in the Orthodox elementary school, because Dávid Weinberger, the notary of the Sephardi congregation is a member of the association of the Orthodox elementary school.¹⁶⁹ Csíki describes the Sephardi¹⁷⁰ community of Sátoraljaújhely as the most mobile and unstable group in North Hungarian Jewry, however, as he put it,

[...] the Israelites who lost their economic position and migrated into the town [into Sátoraljaújhely], but could not integrate into the lower levels of the economic structure emerged from them [from the Sephardi Jewry].¹⁷¹

To simplify realities, the three Jewish communities of Sátoraljaújhely can be described as follows: Status Quo Jews aimed at using education in their reproduction strategies, both the Piarist gymnasium and civic and upper commercial school; Orthodox Jews used less the available educational opportunities, and were more mobile in terms of occupational mobility (i.e. to remain within the borders of commerce); Sephardi Jews could not (and did not want to) integrate into the social and economic structure of the city, and did not use (secular) education as a channel of mobility (and there was a *Yeshiva* in the city),¹⁷² thus they were under-represented in the educational field of Sátoraljaújhely.

¹⁶⁷ Patai 1911, 268.

¹⁶⁸ It is not mentioned in local newspapers, in schooling reports nor in Thirring's "Statistical Yearbook of Hungarian Cities" (Thirring 1912), the schooling registers of the civic school recorded the former schools of the pupils, including the Status Quo and the Orthodox elementary schools, none of the registers recorded the existence of a Sephardic elementary school.

¹⁶⁹ Czagány, *Zemplénvármegyei helységnévtár és kalauz* (Sátoraljaújhely: Alexander, 1904), 121. and ÉRT 1692, 1904/05.

¹⁷⁰ They only called themselves Sephardi, in reality, they were Hasidic Jews (Komoróczy 2012, 153.).

¹⁷¹ Csíki 1999b, 42.

¹⁷² Moskovits, Jewish Education in Hungary, 1848-1948 (New York: Bloch, 1964), 143.

5.6 Intergenerational mobility and career opportunities

It might seem awkward to write the educational history of Sátoraljaújhely without referring to any of the real *actors*, namely the students of the institutions under scrutiny. Being a quantitative case study, I only referred to collectivities in the previous chapters, and the *actors* of this research are only represented as numbers in different statistical tables. Still, to better understand the motivations and individual aspirations of the mass of students condensed in the statistical tables it could be helpful to describe a few typical life stories, a few family patterns and the ways these families incorporated education in their strategies of reproduction. Although a large-scale historical study might have difficulties in interpreting the attributed meaning of individual actions, the analysis of a few case studies can contribute to the understanding of how our actors positioned themselves in the midst of *fin-de-siècle* economic and social environment.¹⁷³

The Jurcsó family (Roman Catholic, captain of the police station)

Intragenerational mobility is not an unusual phenomenon in the public sphere, especially if someone acquired appropriate educational entitlements in his youth. Ágoston Jurcsó died in 1935 as the pensioned captain of Sátoraljaújhely's police station.¹⁷⁴ The Roman Catholic police officer climbed the social ladder to finally join the upper-middle class and reside in the most prestigious street of the city (Deák utca): between 1900 and 1908 he worked as a scribe at the police station (*tollnok* and later *írnok*), then became a police commissioner in 1908 (*rendőrbiztos*), a vice-captain in 1911 (*alkapitány*) and the captain of the police

¹⁷³ These case studies are mostly based on the *Biographical Database* of Csaba Csorba (Csorba 2012) and on the information of schooling registers. Csorba uses source abbreviations as follows: Gyászjelentések [Necrologies - BAZ archive], Tel. névsor [Phone directory - Lajos Prókátor (ed.), *Telefon-névsor Sátoraljaújhely és környékéről* (Sárospatak: A sárospataki ref. főiskolai nyomda saját kiadása, 1921.)], Ogy. vál. névj. [List of parliamentary electors - BAZ archive], Igaz. Biz. A [Justificatory testimonies after the Second World War - BAZ archive], Tisztv. nyilv. [Directory of Officials - BAZ archive], Népszám. 1869 [Personal sheets of the 1869 census - BAZ archive], Zemplén Naptára [Dongó Gy. Géza (ed.), A "Zemplén" Naptára az ...-ik évre (The calendar of "Zemplén" in ...] (Sátoraljaújhely: Zemplén).],

¹⁷⁴ Csorba 2012 (Gyászjelentések).

station in 1912 (rendőrkapitány). This remarkable intragenerational mobility could have been continued in the form of intergenerational mobility in view of the schooling performance of Jurcsó's offspring. The oldest son, László (born in 1894) started his educational track in the state elementary in 1900, and later was transferred to the Roman Catholic elementary school in 1904. He was enrolled in the first class of the Piarist gymnasium in 1905, repeated the fourth class of the civic school (1910 and 1911), and was also enrolled in the first class of the upper-commercial school (1912). The second son, Pál (born in 1897) attended the Roman Catholic elementary school between 1903 and 1906, was enrolled in the first class of the Piarist gymnasium in 1907, then finished the civic school between 1908 and 1912, had to repeat the first class of the upper commercial school (1913 and 1914), but finally completed all the classes and took the *matura* in 1916. The third son, Andor (born in 1901) was less successful: after the Roman Catholic elementary (1910) he repeated the first class of the Piarist gymnasium (1911 and 1912), continued his education in the civic school (fourth class in 1915) and was enrolled in the first class of the upper commercial school (1916). From the schooling track of Jurcso's three children two things are obvious: the father wanted to transfer cultural capital onto his offspring, and in spite of obvious failures (all of his children failed one or more disciplines in the Piarist gymnasium) he continued this investment.

The Alexander family (Jewish, ironmonger)

Manó Alexander kept a hardware shop on the *Fő utca* (Main street); he was a member of the municipal board (*törvényhatósági bizottág*) being one of the largest taxpayer in the city.¹⁷⁵ His sons, Dezső, Ernő, Ödön and Sándor attended the Orthodox elementary school, and all of them were enrolled in the civic school between 1909 and 1916. The first son, Sándor (born in 1899) finished all the classes of the civic school and the upper commercial school between 1909 and 1915, and inherited the ironmongery.¹⁷⁶ The second son, Ernő (born in 1900), did

¹⁷⁵ Csorba 2012 (Zemplén Naptára 1899.(reklám), 1907. 48., 1913. 44.; Tel. névsor 1921).

¹⁷⁶ Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. névj. 1931).

not continue his studies in the upper commercial school (at least not in Sátoraljaújhely), and became the successor of his father, also an ironmonger.¹⁷⁷ Dezső attended the first class of the upper commercial school in 1915, and later became a private official (1931), and a bookkeeper (1939) in Sátoraljaújhely.¹⁷⁸ The last son, Ödön (born in 1903) attended the civic school in the civic school between 1913 and 1916, and finished his secondary education after the Great War. He took a law degree in Szeged (1933), worked as a barrister in embryo until the Second World War, when he became involved in the activity of the *Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, and wherefore he had to do labor service (*munkaszolgálat*) until 1944, when he got deported. After the war he became a public prosecutor (*népügyész*).¹⁷⁹ The story of the Alexander family proves a deliberate reproduction strategy: the first two sons took over the family business (and their education aimed at this goal), while the two youngest sons had to gain educational credentials to get by on their own. Ödön's case proves that the civic school could become an equal replacement of gymnasium education, and could lead to a law degree, even if, for the Orthodox father, the Piarist gymnasium might have seemed unacceptable.

The Alusik family (Roman Catholic, MÁV engine driver)

György Alusik (born in 1864) worked as an engine driver; he was a pensioner in 1931, living with his two sons (János and Mihály) in Thököly Street 33. The Alusik family is an example of *fixity*: all of Alusik's children attended the Roman Catholic elementary school, some of them attended the fifth and sixth classes of the elementary school (a sign that they did not want to attend secondary schools). András (born in 1896), the youngest son was enrolled in the first class of the Piarist gymnasium, but later dropped out; János (born in 1894), the second youngest was enrolled in the fourth class of the civic school in 1910, but there was no sign of other education in his case. I described the Alusiks as an example of fixity, because

¹⁷⁷ Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. névj. 1931).

¹⁷⁸ Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. névj. 1931., 1939).

¹⁷⁹ Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. Névj. 1931.; Igaz. Biz. A.).

both sons who can be found in the register of the parliamentary elections worked for the MÁV: János as a switchman and Mihály as an engine fitter (*géplakatos*).¹⁸⁰

The Resetár family (Greek Catholic, county servant [vármegyei hajdú])

János Resetár (born in 1867, Garany) was a servant-sergeant at the county office throughout our period,¹⁸¹ who had three sons, János, Pál and András. All were enrolled in the state elementary school except for one school year in case of Pál, who attended the fifth class of the Roman Catholic elementary school in 1906/07. The Resetár boys were not destined to attend secondary schools as all of them were enrolled in the upper classes of the state elementary school (fifth and sixth); a reasonable decision in view of the tuition fee of the Piarist gymnasium and the civic school. Still, the youngest sons (Pál and János) were later enrolled in the civic school, the former in the fourth class, and the latter in the first and fourth class of the school. Only János' subsequent career can be described: he became an assistant officer and later an officer in the central office of Zemplén County just like his father.¹⁸²

The Rosenberg family (Orthodox Jew, grocer)

Chaim Rosenberg (born in 1874, Beregbénye) learnt the trade of groceries from his father, and set up his own grocery in Sátoraljaújhely in 1899.¹⁸³ He became a member of the council of the Orthodox community and had four children: Bernát, Miksa, József, and Irén. His family is an example of professional and social fixity, because all his (male) children attended the Orthodox elementary school, then took apprenticeship in their father's grocery and became grocers themselves. Miksa (born in 1903) took over his father's shop under Andrássy Street 57,¹⁸⁴ while Bernát (born in 1900) started his own business,¹⁸⁵ and József (born in 1906) took over Sámuel Kohn's shop in 1932, which he restructured and made profitable.¹⁸⁶ The fact

¹⁸⁰ Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. névj. 1931).

¹⁸¹ Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. névj. 1931).

¹⁸² Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. névj. 1931; Tisztv. nyilv. 2. dob.).

¹⁸³ Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. névj. 1931; Csíkvári: Zemplén. 1940. V. Személyi adattár 180.).

¹⁸⁴ Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. névj. 1931.).

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Csorba 2012 (Csíkvári: Zemplén. 1940. V. Személyi adattár 180.).

that both Miksa and József had voting rights in the parliamentary election (1931) proves that they conducted a successful business.

The Staut family (Roman Catholic, financial leading counselor)

János Staut (born in 1871, Sátoraljaújhely) had noble origins through his father (a German lieutenant),¹⁸⁷ went up the bureaucratic levels to become a leading counselor at the financial directorate in Sátoraljaújhely; he actively participated in the social and political life of the city as a member of the directorate of the credit union in the city, a deputy of the Roman Catholic church, and also as a member of the Roman Catholic council.¹⁸⁸ All his children got secondary or higher education: his two daughters became elementary school teachers (Rózsa and Éva), József (Roman Catholic elementary school, Piarist gymnasium) became a lawyer, and Ödön (Piarist gymnasium) became a financial counselor like his father. In Staut's case this is clearly social and cultural capital that helped to transmit his social and economic position, because both boys got proper education and remained in their father's professional circle, Ödön as a financial counselor, and József working as lawyer for the financial directorate and the Roman Catholic church.¹⁸⁹

The Stark family (Status Quo Jew, carpenter, furniture merchant)

Mátyás Stark (born in 1866, Sátoraljaújhely) was a caterer, and an elector in 1931.¹⁹⁰ His father, Lőrinc was a well-educated Jewish grocer, who was an elector in 1878, based on his revenues.¹⁹¹ All of his sons were enrolled in the Status Quo Ante elementary school, then in the civic school and in the upper-commercial school. Two of them were also enrolled in the first class of the Piarist gymnasium, but Ernő (born in 1898) and László (born in 1896) could not pass all their exams, and entered, instead, the civic school. While Andor and Ernő only

¹⁸⁷ Csorba 2012 (Bona: Tábornokok és törzstisztek. Bp. 1987. 296-297.).

¹⁸⁸ Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. névj. 1931.; Zemplén Naptára 1913. 58.; Csíkvári: Zemplén. 1940. V. Személyi adattár 197.).

¹⁸⁹ Csorba 2012 (Zemplén Naptára 1940. 68.; Csíkvári: Zemplén. 1940. V. Személyi adattár 197.; Ogy. vál. névj. 1931, 1939.).

¹⁹⁰ Csorba 2012 (Ogy. vál. névj. 1931.).

¹⁹¹ Csorba 2012 (Népszám. 1869. 79. dob. IX. cs. 3.; Ogy. vál. névj. 1878.).

reached the first class of the upper commercial school, László could even take the matura at the end of his studies. According to the register of parliamentary elections, only Ernő stayed in the city, and became a bank clerk until 1931, that could be considered as social mobility.¹⁹²

The Engelberth family (Roman Catholic, gilder [aranyozó])

György Engelberth had three sons and a daughter. Rezső (born in 1888) attended the Roman Catholic elementary and the Piarist gymnasium (fourth class in 1901), and went to the teacher training college in Sárospatak. He taught in Kassa and Aszód for 17 years, and then became smallholder in Bélatanya. In the 1930s, he worked as the secretary and later as the director of the association of smallholders in Zemplén County, and worked also as a secretary of another regional association. The Red Army dragged him away, and after getting home he died in flu in February 5 1945.¹⁹³ Károly (born in 1898) was enrolled in the Roman Catholic elementary school and successfully took the *matura* in the Piarist gymnasium in 1917, and later became a financial surveyor at the local office of the OTI (National Institution of Social Security).¹⁹⁴ There is less information on the third son: Jenő (born in 1890) attended the state elementary school in 1899, and was enrolled in the fifth and sixth classes of the Roman Catholic elementary school in 1901 and 1902 – presumably he was not enrolled in secondary school after the age of compulsory education.

The Lupis family (Greek Catholic, shoemaker)

Sátoraljaújhely has been called the "city of shoemakers," therefore such an enumeration of families would be incomplete without a shoemaker family. The difficulty lies in the fact that they can hardly be found in the available sources. András Lupis, a Greek Catholic shoemaker had three sons (András, Gyula and Péter), and all of them were enrolled in the fourth, fifth and sixth class of the Greek Catholic elementary school. They were presumably not enrolled in any

¹⁹² Csorba 2012, Ogy. vál. névj. 1931.

¹⁹³ Csorba 2012, Csíkvári: Zemplén. 1940. V. Személyi adattár 224.; Vál. névj. 1940.; Igaz. biz. E 25.; Komporday: Jeles újhelyiek. Sújhely, 2006. 18.; Gulyás VII. Bp., 1990. 402.

¹⁹⁴ Csorba 2012, Gyászjelentések

of the city's secondary schools, and probably remained in their fathers' profession: for example Gyula became a shoemaker himself (still living together with his mother in 1931).¹⁹⁵ In the case of the Lupis family, schooling consisted in learning how to write and read, a cultural improvement without doubt, that coincided with a limited social mobility, because Gyula could be found on the list of electors in 1931.

The Löwinger family (Status Quo Jew, innkeeper)

Besides shoemakers, Sátoraljaújhely has a great number of innkeepers, wine producers and wine merchants, so much that alcoholism and the dangers of alcoholism are constantly on the agenda of school yearbooks and local journals. *Sátoraljaújhely* even calls it the "city of innkeepers" (*kocsmaváros*), because there are 80 unlimited and 25 limited innkeeper licenses (*italmérési jog*) in the city in 1911 instead of the average 40 for a town of twenty thousand inhabitants.¹⁹⁶ Herman Löwinger (born in 1876, Sátoraljaújhely) was one of the hundred innkeepers in the city, who became a restaurateur in 1939, and had two sons: Miklós (born in 1901) and József (born in 1899).¹⁹⁷ Both were enrolled in the Status Quo Ante Jewish elementary school, then in the civic school and in the upper commercial school. In addition to the similar schooling track, they pursued the same career, as both were bank clerks in 1931.¹⁹⁸ The Löwinger family is a good illustration how economic capital, in a *planned* reproduction strategy, is transferred into schooling credentials that can later serve as an entrance to the "gentlemanly" society of the time.

I would not draw hasty conclusions based on this small number of case studies, however, a few remarks should be made concerning these life stories. There is a considerable extent of social fixity in case of those who lived and worked in Sátoraljaújhely for long time after the

¹⁹⁵ Csorba 2012, Ogy. vál. névj. 1931.; Ipartest. kimutatás (1945. jún. 26.)

¹⁹⁶ Sátoraljaújhely, 05.05.1911.

¹⁹⁷ Csorba 2012, Ogy. vál. névj. 1931., Vál. névj. 1939.

¹⁹⁸ Csorba 2012, Ogy. vál. névj. 1931.

period under scrutiny here. Sons took over the family business or remained in the profession of their fathers in many cases. However, the only way to get out of the family business is education: an existential constraint (like in the case of the Alexander family) or the willingness to provide cultural and social betterment (like in the case of the Engelberth family) might contribute to educational mobility. Finally, it is apparent that the civic school could gain equal status and replace gymnasium education in reproduction strategies, so much, that the civic school sometimes led to higher education.

Conclusion

The main goal of this case study has been the quantitative analysis of the educational market in Sátoraljaújhely, a middle-sized North Hungarian town. The reproduction of educational inequalities has been analyzed from both the perspective of denominational specific and socio-professional characteristics. The main findings of such an empirical work, and of historical sociology in general, might seem too detached from everyday realities; my protagonists have only been presented in the form of abstract numbers, proportions and tables. Still, historical sociology might be fruitful for the analysis of historical processes, let it be political, economic, intellectual or social history. This study could, I believe, offer revealing insights about the mechanisms of social selection and exclusion in the educational field of Sátoraljaújhely, and about educational and social reproduction mechanisms in *fin-de-siècle* Hungary.

Bourdieu's field theory could provide the necessary theoretical (and sometimes methodological) assets to deal with the problems of educational reproduction and educational inequalities that are created *within* and *by* the educational system itself. This helped me to reflect on the possible components of schooling success and the different uses of the educational system. As the very last part of this case study demonstrated, the choice of schooling track is often part of a deliberate reproduction strategy that is closely connected to the social, cultural and economic situation of the parents. In addition, the dynamic approach of the field theory permitted, throughout this study, to analyze the interconnections between the social, economic and cultural environments, and the agents of the educational field.

Although the present study does not focus on the social and economic history of Sátoraljaújhely at the turn of the century, a glimpse at the processes of urbanization, modernization, and industrialization has been necessary to understand the evolution of the city's educational market in the period under scrutiny. Thus, the strong presence of secondary schools (the Piarist gymnasium, the civic school for boys, two civic schools for girls, and the upper commercial school) might be in parallel to the ongoing embourgeoisement, and to the presence of a strong merchant and bourgeois middle class (officials and educated professionals). The denominational composition of Sátoraljaújhely has made this study both a challenge to the author and a useful contribution to the social history of Hungary. Not only various groups of Christians are present in Sátoraljaújhely's society, but, uniquely, three Jewish congregations can be found in the city at the turn of the century. In case of the latter, the social composition of the Orthodox and the Status Quo congregations might implement different schooling patterns as well.

The main empirical chapters described the market of elementary and secondary schools in the city, and the schooling patterns of pupils in different elementary schools and pupils of different social, cultural and economic background. On the primary level, the *denominational* and *social segmentation* of local elementary schools has been described, an essential component in the mechanisms of selection and exclusion. The choice of elementary school fundamentally determines the educational possibilities of the given students (e.g. the difference between the Jewish Status Quo elementary school and the Greek Catholic elementary school), the first instance of the reproduction of schooling inequalities vis-à-vis social and economic inequalities. I also analyzed the role of average grades in the selection process and their denomination- and professional-group-specific variance.

The market of secondary schools in Sátoraljaújhely achieved a considerable growth in the first decades of the twentieth century (the number of secondary school pupils has grown from 361 in 1900 to 657 in 1916), that caused, to a certain extent, the democratization of secondary education in the city; including the Jewish Orthodoxy, the advocates of the civic school and the upper commercial school, and other strata of the lower middle- and the lower classes in the city. The quantitative analysis of secondary school pupils demonstrated considerable

schooling inequalities with regard to social origin and denominational status, in this case, the most backward group being that of Greek Catholics in terms of both representation and schooling performance.

The last chapter of the present study described the different schooling patterns with regard to social origin and denominational status between the primary and secondary schools. The Jewish pattern proves unambiguous: Orthodox Jews are enrolled in the civic and upper commercial schools, a place of "practical" education, while Status Quo Jews chose rather the promises of gymnasia education, and a career in civil or public service. The third Jewish group, the Sephardic-Hasidic community rarely used secular education amongst her strategies of reproduction. With regard to schooling performance there have been significant patterns as well: strong correlation between schooling performance and subsequent enrollment in the gymnasium; and in contrast, enrollments in the civic school are determined by social origin/ status (including denominational differences), and less by schooling performance. Finally, the very last section of this case study provided examples of family strategies of reproduction that could support the quantitative analysis of schooling strategies.
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