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SECONDARY SCHOOL LEGISLATION IN AUSTRIA (1849-1914) AND ITS EFFECTS ON EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH THE SLOVENE LANGUAGE IN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN THE PRIMORSKA REGION

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to show the effects of Austrian secondary school legislation on efforts to promote the use of Slovene in grammar schools (gimnazije) during the period between 1848 and 1914. Developments in Austrian politics, the economic sphere and culture were reflected in the development of education, particularly with regard to the establishment of Slovene, especially in grammar schools. At that time, grammar schools were the most elite secondary schools, preparing students for university. This article is thus a historical analysis of the conditions relating to language teaching in grammar schools as stipulated by the Austrian secondary school legislation. It places a special emphasis on the status of Slovene as both a subject and a language of instruction in the teaching practices at grammar schools in Trieste/Triest/Trst, Gorizia/Görz/Gorica and Koper/Capo d'Istria which came under the Austrian education system. The patriotic efforts at the time to establish Slovene and the struggle for Slovene in the Gorizia grammar school will be discussed, as well as the circumstances of how this school became the first state grammar school to use Slovene as a language of instruction.

Key words: Austrian secondary school legislation, language teaching, grammar schools, Slovene, national efforts, struggle for a Slovene grammar school, Gorizia

L'INFLUSSO DELLA LEGISLAZIONE AUSTRIACA NEL CAMPO DELLE SCUOLE SECONDARIE (1849-1914) SULL'IMPEGNO PER L'AFFERMAZIONE DELLA LINGUA SLOVENA NEI GINNASI DEL LITORALE

SINTESI

Lo scopo dell'articolo è di illustrare in che misura la legislazione austriaca in materia di scuole secondarie ha influito sull'affermazione della lingua slovena nei ginnasi nel periodo 1848-1914. Lo sviluppo politico, economico e culturale in Austria ha avuto ripercussioni anche sullo sviluppo delle scuole e, in particolare, sul ruolo avuto dalla scuola nell'affermazione della lingua slovena a livello scolastico, soprattutto nei ginnasi. A questi spettava, fra le scuole secondarie, un ruolo d'élite nel periodo in questione in quanto formavano gli studenti per lo stadio successivo, quello universitario. Attraverso la legislazione delle scuole secondarie austriache si può analizzare, dal punto di vista storico, l'evolversi dell'insegnamento linguistico nei ginnasi. In primo luogo viene presentata la posizione della lingua slovena come materia scolastica e come lingua nella prassi didattica nei ginnasi di Trieste, Gorizia e Capodistria, quali parte integrante del sistema scolastico austriaco. Viene presentato l'impegno per l'affermazione nazionale della lingua slovena nei ginnasi di allora e la battaglia per la lingua slovena nel ginnasio di Gorizia, nonché le circostanze che hanno contribuito affinché diventasse il primo ginnasio di stato con lingua d'insegnamento slovena.

Parole chiave: legislazione austriaca nel campo delle scuole secondarie, insegnamento linguistico, ginnasi, lingua slovena, impegno nazionale, battaglia per il ginnasio sloveno, Gorizia.

INTRODUCTION

After 1848 and until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, schools in the Primorska region/Küstenland and in other Slovene provinces were a constituent part of the Austrian education system. During this period, all the contradictions in German national policies and all the weaknesses of the relations between the various nations were reflected in schools, and this was particularly apparent in schools in Primorska. Political, economic and cultural development in Austria had a contradictory role in the resolution of national issues. This was evident also in education, as economic development called for the development of education, because schools also played an important role in awareness building. On the other hand, in parallel with this widening of knowledge, Slovene culture and language also spread and contributed towards the establishment of national consciousness. School thus took on a specific role in the formation and development of Slovene national awareness. Of course, the development of education in German had to have its limits. It was not only the effects of the changes in the revolutionary 1848, but also the development of education itself that sooner or later had to lead to a situation where schools began to establish the particular features of Slovene culture, initially through teaching the Slovene language. Slovene children did not know German and Austrian educational policy had to accept the introduction of Slovene at least to assist in the teaching of German in grammar schools and other secondary schools. During this period there were constant pressures for the introduction of Slovene as a language of instruction. Patriotic Slovenes strove for Slovene culture to obtain equal status with German culture and for the establishment of Slovene as the official language and the language of instruction in all schools, as well as in all other institutions. However, Austrian policy did not allow this. German national hegemony was thus reflected in school through the medium of national and homeland education, whilst suppressing any possibility of Slovene national education and the introduction of Slovene as a language of instruction. This resulted in the use of Slovene in schools becoming the main issue that teachers, the Slovene intelligentsia and politicians had to deal with; it also became a part of the general national problems in Primorska. We will show the general course of the establishment of Slovene as a subject and as the language of instruction in grammar schools, first through an analysis of the legislation determining the position of Slovene as a subject and as a language of instruction. We will focus particularly on the position of Slovene in grammar schools in Trieste, Koper and Gorizia, providing a description of individual efforts in the case of Gorizia grammar school.

The establishment of Slovene in grammar schools through Austrian legislation

The first changes in the position of Slovene in grammar schools can be found in 1848 in the *Entwurf der*

Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtwesens in Österreich (An Outline of the Fundamental Principles of Public Education in Austria). This law determined the status of non-German nations and their rights regarding the use of their mother tongue in school. Formally, the law was based on the principle of the equality of all the nations in the Austrian monarchy. It stated that in individual Austrian lands the mother tongue of the pupils and students of non-German nationality must be considered where these pupils are in a majority, as well as the second language of the land (*Entwurf*, 1848). However, the issue of the language of instruction in grammar schools remained unresolved, as the educational authorities were satisfied to have the provision itself, without implementing it. The same year, on 28 August 1848, the Ministry issued a decree in connection with provincial languages in individual Austrian lands. The decree stated that in those parts of a province where the majority of inhabitants did not speak German, the inhabitants' mother tongue should be temporarily introduced as a non-compulsory subject (ARS, 2445). This meant it was possible to introduce Slovene as a non-compulsory subject in secondary schools.

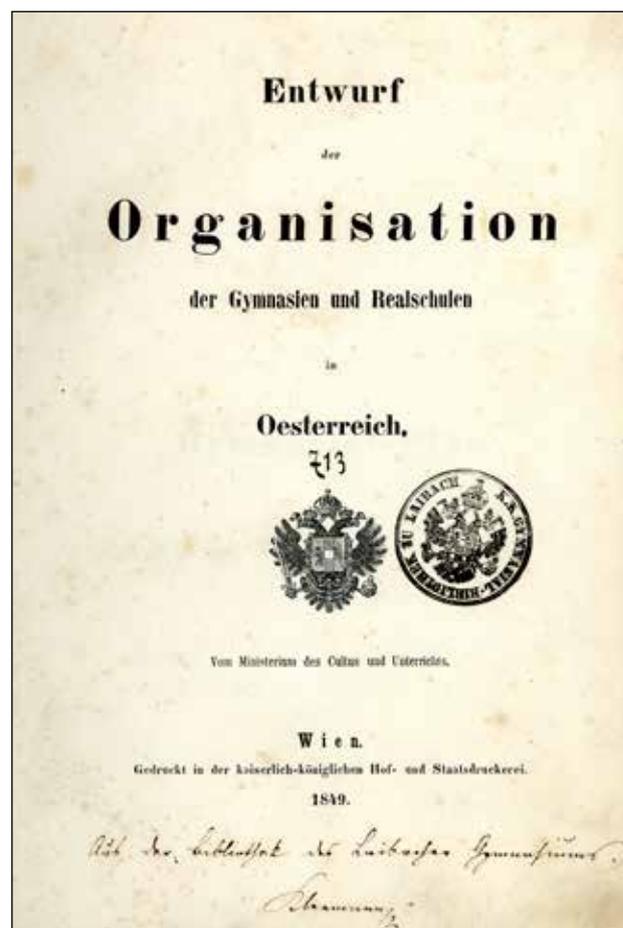


Fig. 1: *Entwurf*, 1849, Slovenian School Museum

The final decision regarding Slovene as a subject and the language of instruction in grammar schools was brought by *Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Österreich* (An Outline of the Organisation of Grammar Schools and Other Secondary Schools in Austria) in 1849. Article 17 stated that “Every provincial language may be the language of instruction in grammar school. The choice of the language of instruction should always consider the requirements of the population registered at the educational institution. Particular care should be taken that in places where there is a mixed population the needs of all those involved are considered. So it is permissible for two languages to be used at the same school in different classes and in different subjects.” (Entwurf, 1849, 19). A number of languages were taught at grammar schools as dictated by “An Outline of the Organisation of Grammar Schools and Other Secondary Schools”. The following languages were compulsory subjects: Latin, Greek, mother tongue – unspecified. (Entwurf, 1849, 19). The outline document included among the non-compulsory subjects “other provincial languages” spoken in Austrian provinces and “other living languages” (French, English) (Entwurf, 1849, 19 and Engelbrecht, 1986, 148). The document determined that provincial and other living languages should be chosen by the parents or carers of the students as soon as the children were enrolled at grammar school. The final decision about the teaching of the chosen language was supposed to be taken by the provincial school councils. On the basis of this, the non-compulsory second provincial language could become a compulsory subject (Entwurf, 1849, 19-21).

The outline document granted a special position to the mother tongue. Two different curricula were envisaged for the teaching of the mother tongue at grammar schools: a curriculum for the German language and a curriculum for a Slavic language. With regard to Ger-

man as the mother tongue, the following number of lessons a week were specified:

1. junior grammar school: four hours a week in the first two years and three hours a week in the third and fourth year (Entwurf, 1849, 119-120);
2. senior grammar school: in year five only two hours a week and in years six, seven and eight three hours a week (Entwurf, 1849, 120-121).

With regard to the mother tongue the following were specified:

1. junior grammar school: four hours a week in the first two years and three hours in the third and fourth year;
2. senior grammar school: two hours a week in year five and three hours in all the other years (Entwurf, 1849, 145-146).

The homework given in individual Slavic languages – Czech, Polish, Ruthenian, Slovene, Illyrian, Serbian and Slovak – was also specified (Entwurf, 1849, 150-152).

Latin and Greek were also included among the compulsory subjects. The following numbers of hours a week were prescribed for Latin:

1. junior grammar school: eight hours in the first year, six hours in the second, five hours in the third and six hours in the fourth year;
2. senior grammar school: six hours in years five and six and five hours in years seven and eight (Entwurf, 1849, 22-26).

And for Greek:

1. junior grammar school: in year one and two Greek was not taught, whilst in year three there were five hours a week and in year four, four hours;
2. senior grammar school: four hours in years five and six, five hours in year seven and six hours in year eight (Entwurf, 1849, 26-27).

In addition to the compulsory subjects, the outline

Table 1: The number of weekly hours of compulsory and non-compulsory language lessons in grammar schools (Entwurf, 1849, 20-21)

SUBJECTS	JUNIOR GR. SCH.				SENIOR GR. SCH.				Total
	YEARS								
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	
Compulsory									
Mother tongue (German or a Slavic language)	4	4	3	3	2	3	3	3	25
Latin	8	6	5	6	6	6	5	5	47
Greek	-	-	5	4	4	4	5	6	28
Non-compulsory									
Other provincial languages									
Other living languages (Fr. and Eng.)									

document also determined the non-compulsory subjects that included other provincial languages and other living languages (French and English), selected in individual provinces by students and their parents and approved by the provincial school councils, who also determined the number of lessons for each language or even specified it as a compulsory subject for specific students (Entwurf, 1849, 20-21). This data is shown in Table 1 below.

The Table 1 shows that the number of hours specified for the mother tongue was the same, regardless of whether it was German or one of the Slavic languages.

We can thus conclude that it was not specified exactly which language was considered to be the mother tongue in grammar school and which languages were the other, non-compulsory provincial languages. We can assume that all the grammar schools in Slovenia, including Primorska, could have introduced Slovene as the language of instruction and a subject, and German as a subject, should the parents so wish. Such a decision would, of course, have had to be adopted by the provincial school council, which did not happen. We can only presume that the assumption was made by the authorities that German was the mother tongue.

New decrees relating to the language of instruction in grammar school

Until 1914 the "Outline of the Organisation of Grammar Schools and Other Secondary Schools" was supplemented by specific decrees. These included the one issued on 9 December 1854 (Engelbrecht, 1986, 150) in which the then Austrian school authorities annulled the provisions of the 1849 outline document referring to the language of instruction in grammar school, mainly with regard to the use of the mother tongue as the language of instruction (Bonitz, 1855, 93). The new definition of the language of instruction no longer mentioned the mother tongue but demanded that students receive instruction in a language of which they had a reasonable command, so that it would be possible to successfully teach them in this language. Where it was impossible to teach exclusively in German, it should be used as the language of instruction mainly in higher grades (Bonitz, 1855, 133).

With this, to all intents and purposes, the Austrian school authorities made German the language of instruction in all non-German provinces of the Austrian monarchy. This enforcement of German was justified by the fact that most grammar school students went on to university and therefore grammar school had to prepare them through the language of instruction for academic study and reading academic literature, which was all written in German or Italian. The prevailing opinion was that a grammar school which would teach German or Italian only as a subject would not be a good school, as it would not offer sufficient opportunities for continuing education at the university level (Ciperle, 1979, 24-26). Above all, the Austrian politicians involved in education,

among them Bonitz, emphasised the importance of the choice of the language of instruction in grammar schools, where both the national and didactic as well as the practical aspect should be considered. With regard to the national aspect, all the languages in Austrian provinces had the right to become a language of instruction, but these languages were not viable with regard to the didactic-practical aspect as they were allegedly not sufficiently developed to become the "instrument of grammar school instruction" (Schmidt, 1988, 90). This policy remained in place right until the end of the Austrian monarchy and was advocated by all those who opposed Slovene as the language of instruction in grammar school.

Another significant document is the "Decree on the Language of Instruction in Grammar School", dated 8 August 1859, issued by Emperor Franz Joseph. This stated that all the grammar schools in non-German provinces, including Primorska, no longer needed to adhere to the decree dated 8 December 1854, which imposed German as the language of instruction. The new decree enabled those who were in charge of a specific grammar school to decide about the didactic approach, but they had to ensure that the mission of grammar schools was fulfilled and that students also mastered the German language. This meant that grammar schools could teach in a language other than German or Italian (Deželni vladni list, 1859, 531). Franz Joseph thus wished to retain the mission of grammar schools, but did allow for a change of approach, which theoretically meant a greater chance of introducing Slovene as the language of instruction in Primorska.

In 1868, with the appearance of the new Habsburg monarchy and more liberally oriented policies, new laws were issued, including the Fundamental Law on the General Rights of Citizens, adopted on 21 December 1867 (Schmidt, 1988, 320). With this law, Austria recognised the equality of all provincial languages in schools, offices and public life. The provisions regarding the language of instruction or use of the mother tongue in grammar school, however, remained unchanged until the dissolution of the monarchy.

We can see from the above that after the "Outline of the Organisation of Grammar Schools and other Secondary Schools", Slovene acquired only the position of a grammar school subject. We can thus conclude that Austrian secondary school legislation from 1848 onwards was fairly democratic with regard to the establishment of different languages as the language of instruction and that it consequently even allowed for the possibility of Slovene in this role. However, at the same time the legislation was (probably quite deliberately) drafted in a very incomplete and unbinding manner, particularly because it left the final decisions on this matter to parents and the provincial educational authorities. What happened in practice in Primorska will be shown through the status of Slovene in grammar schools in Trieste, Koper and Gorizia and the endeavours for the establishment of Slovene there.

Language teaching in grammar schools in Primorska and the position of Slovene

After 1848, practice showed that in grammar schools in Primorska and other Slovene provinces the provisions regarding the mother tongue in the outline document were not implemented. The reason for Slovene not being established as the language of instruction should be sought in those Slovenes of the time among whom national awareness was not yet sufficiently developed, and in the old pedagogic view of grammar school as an institution aimed at turning students into Latin speakers (Schmidt, 1988, 318). This, however, was superseded by the outline document as it introduced the mother tongue as the language of instruction instead of Latin, which now became just a subject (Entwurf, 1849). According to Schmidt, some Slovene educationalists were still of the opinion that grammar school, as a school specialising in Latin, could not achieve its goal if lessons were conducted in Slovene, the language of the simple people. This is why Slovene was defined as the Slovene students' second provincial language rather than their mother tongue (Schmidt, 1988, 89). The gradual introduction of the new measures into practice thus showed that German rather than Slovene was the language that benefited from the retrogradation of Latin. Slovene was only an optional subject for Slovenes in grammar schools (Ciperle, 1979).

In 1848, in the Primorska region there were two imperial-royal state grammar schools in Trieste and Gorizia, whilst in Koper there was a communal junior grammar school with state senior years. After the proclamation by the education ministry on 10 May 1848, these schools began to change so that instead of six they lasted eight years (Ciperle, 1979). The former two-year philosophical studies at lyceums were abolished and transferred to grammar schools, which now became eight-year grammar schools (Strakosch-Grassmann, 1905, 201). Externally they constituted an indivisible whole, whilst internally they were divided into junior grammar school (four years) and senior grammar school (years five to eight). Only these grammar schools offered a direct transition to university (Entwurf, 1849). The Gorizia grammar school most completely satisfied the new criteria

(Letno poročilo, 1850). In the school year 1848/49, the first year of philosophical studies was abolished and transferred to the grammar school (ARS, 1016), which achieved full grammar school status in November 1849. In the school year 1851/52 a full grammar school was also founded in Trieste (Letno poročilo, 1852), whilst in 1857 a full grammar school was established in Koper (Ciperle, 1979). In 1864, in addition to the full state grammar school, a full town grammar school was also established in Trieste (Zeitschrift, 1865, 4).

In parallel with the organisational reform in these grammar schools, there also arose the issue of the establishment of the Slovene language. In Gorizia a chair for the Slovene language was established at the lyceum in 1848 and in the summer of 1849, 80 students from various schools took an examination in Slovene language and literature (Slovenija, 1849, 258). With the abolition of the lyceum, endeavours for the introduction of Slovene as a subject and as the language of instruction were transferred to the grammar school.

During the school year 1848/49, Slovene was introduced as a subject at the Gorizia and Trieste grammar schools. In Gorizia, the teaching of Slovene was taken on by Jožef Premru and in Trieste by Ivan Macun (Ciperle, 1979, 27-28). The situation in Koper was different, as Slovene was not yet taught during that particular school year. One of the reasons for this was the opposition of some of the teachers at that school who were against Slovene in grammar school. There were similar problems at the Gorizia grammar school (Schmidt, 1988, 85), where Italian teachers objected to the teaching of Slovene, whilst Slovene teachers tried to get Slovene accepted in spite of this opposition and volunteered to teach it for free (ibid.).

In addition, until 1859, Slovene as a subject was taught at grammar schools, including those in Primorska, mostly through the medium of German. An exception was the teaching of Slovene as a subject in 1848/49 at the Trieste grammar school, where Macun taught in Slovene (Ciperle, 1979). Luckily, school authorities did not insist for long on this requirement, but in 1859 the above mentioned decree on the language of instruction in grammar schools enabled Slovene classes to take place in Slovene. In line with this decree, Slovene

Table 2: The language of instruction and non-compulsory lessons in living languages at grammar schools in Primorska in the school year 1851/52 (Zeitschrift, 1852, 16-17)

GRAMMAR SCHOOL	LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	NON-COMPULSORY LIVING LANGUAGES
Trieste	German	Italian, Slovene, French
Gorizia	German	Italian, Slovene, French
Koper	Italian	German

Note: Students chose one of the listed non-compulsory living languages.

Table 3: The language of instruction and non-compulsory lessons in living languages at grammar schools in Primorska in the 1857/58 school year (Zeitschrift, 1858, 6-7)

GRAMMAR SCHOOL	LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	NON-COMPULSORY LIVING LANGUAGES
Trieste	German	Italian, Slovene, French
Gorizia	German	Italian, Slovene
Koper	Italian, history taught in German	German

Note: Students chose one of the listed non-compulsory living languages.

became a compulsory subject for Slovene students in grammar schools in Primorska, which can be seen from the importance given to the grades obtained in Slovene, as these influenced the possibility of advancing to the next year and the baccalaureate at the end of grammar school (Deželni vladni list, 1859, 531).

Grammar schools in Primorska had a special status, which is confirmed by the data on the language of instruction and non-compulsory living languages for grammar schools in Trieste, Gorizia and Koper in the school years, for example: 1851/52, 1852/53, 1857/58, 1862/63, 1864/65 and 1870/71.

The data show (see Table 2) that in the 1851/52 school year in grammar schools in Primorska the language of instruction was German, except in Koper, where it was Italian. Slovene was listed among the non-compulsory living languages in the Trieste and Gorizia grammar schools, alongside Italian, French and German in Koper, which meant that Slovene was optional. The decision whether it could also be taught as a compulsory subject was left to the provincial school authorities. With such a definition of the mother tongue, lessons in the grammar schools in Trieste and Gorizia were even for Slovene students conducted in German, and in Koper in Italian. According to the data available, the same applied in the 1852/53 school year to the grammar schools in Trieste, Gorizia and Koper (Zeitschrift, 1853, 6-7).

The data show (see Table 3) that in the 1857/58 school year in the grammar schools in Trieste and Gori-

zia the language of instruction was German, except in Koper, where it was Italian and German (only history was taught in German). Slovene was listed among the non-compulsory living languages only in the Trieste and Gorizia grammar schools. In the Koper grammar school Slovene was not present even as a non-compulsory living language.

The data show (see Table 4) that in the 1862/63 school year in grammar schools in Primorska the language of instruction was also German, except in Trieste, where it was German and Italian (taught in Italian) and in Koper, where it was Italian and German (only in senior grammar school, history was taught in German). Slovene was listed among the non-compulsory living languages in Trieste, Gorizia and first in Koper grammar schools, alongside Italian, French in Trieste and Gorizia, German in Koper.

The data show (see Table 5) that in the school year 1864/65 in all grammar schools in Trieste, Gorizia and Koper the language of instruction was German, except in Trieste (grammar school II) and Koper, where it was Italian. Only at the senior grammar school Trieste II the teaching was done in German, whilst in Koper geography and history were taught in German (See also Atti dell' i.r. ginnasio superiore di Capodistria ..., 1865, 63-66). Slovene was listed among the non-compulsory living languages in three schools (Trieste I, Gorizia and Koper), alongside Italian, French and German in Koper.

In the school year 1870/71 (see Table 6) in grammar schools in Trieste and Gorizia the language of instruc-

Table 4: The language of instruction and non-compulsory lessons in living languages at grammar schools in Primorska in the school year 1862/63 (Zeitschrift, 1863, 16-17)

GRAMMAR SCHOOL	LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	NON-COMPULSORY LIVING LANGUAGES
Trieste	German, Italian language taught in Italian	Italian, Slovene, French
Gorizia	German	Slovene, Italian, French
Koper	Italian, in senior grammar school, history taught in German	German, Slovene

Note: Students chose one of the listed non-compulsory living languages.

Table 5: The language of instruction and non-compulsory lessons in living languages at grammar schools in Primorska in the school year 1864/65 (Zeitschrift, 1865, 4-7)

GRAMMAR SCHOOL	LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	NON-COMPULSORY LIVING LANGUAGES
Trieste I (state) Trieste II (town)	German Italian, German in senior grammar	Italian, Slovene, French German
Gorizia	German	Italian, Slovene
Koper	Italian, in senior grammar school, geog. and hist. taught in German	German, Italian, Slovene

Note: Students chose one of the listed non-compulsory living languages.

tion was German and Italian, except in Koper, where it was only Italian. Slovene was listed among the non-compulsory living languages in the Trieste II grammar school, alongside French, and in Gorizia.

The statistical data above regarding the language of instruction and the non-compulsory living languages at Trieste, Gorizia and Koper grammar schools in 1851/52, 1852/53, 1857/58, 1862/63, 1864/65 and 1870/71 show the different roles played by languages. The language of instruction was German, except in Koper, where it was Italian. In the school years 1857/58, 1862/63 in Koper in senior grammar school history was taught in German and in 1864/65 both history and geography. In the 1870/71 school year in grammar schools in Trieste and Gorizia the language of instruction was German and Italian, except in Koper, where it was only Italian. Between 1851 and 1871 at the Koper grammar school (see Table 7) most students were Italian (739), followed by Slovenes (57), others (19), Germans (10) and Friulians (4), which in line with the legal provisions and the choice by provincial school authorities enabled the standard language of instruction to be Italian. In addition, at the Trieste grammar school (and after 1864 at the Trieste grammar school II) (see table 8) most students during this period were Italians (969), followed by Germans (276), Slovenes (191), others (43) and Friulians (2), but throughout

this time the language of instruction was German, with the exception of 1870/71, when German was joined by Italian. There was a different situation in the Gorizia grammar school (see table 9), where most of the students during the above period were Slovenes (967), followed by Friulians (332), then Italians (320), Germans (134) and others (11). If we compare the ethnicity of students in the grammar schools in Trieste, Gorizia and Koper we can see that at the Gorizia grammar school most students were Slovenes, but the language of instruction during the above mentioned period was German and in 1870/71 also Italian. Therefore it is not surprising that the patriotic teachers at the grammar school in Gorizia strove to make Slovene the language of instruction. In the Trieste grammar schools I and II and in Koper most students were Italian. German as the language of instruction appeared in the school years 1851/52, 1852/53 and 1857/58 at the Trieste grammar school, whilst in the years 1862/63, 1864/65 and 1870/71, Italian was used in addition to German as the language of instruction.

Table 6: The language of instruction and non-compulsory lessons in living languages at grammar schools in Primorska in the school year 1870/71 (Zeitschrift, 1871, 6-7)

GRAMMAR SCHOOL	LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION	NON-COMPULSORY LIVING LANGUAGES
Trieste I (state) Trieste II (town)	Italian, German German, Italian	French Slovene, French
Gorizia	German, Italian	Slovene
Koper	Italian	-

Note: Students chose one of the listed non-compulsory living languages.

Table 7: Number of students at Koper grammar school in the school years 1851/52, 1852/53, 1857/58, 1862/63, 1864/65 and 1870/71 by nationality (Zeitschrift, 1852, 16-17, Zeitschrift, 1853, 6-7, Zeitschrift, 1858, 6-7, Zeitschrift, 1863, 16-17, Zeitschrift, 1865, 4-7, Zeitschrift, 1871, 6-7).

SCHOOL YEARS	NATIONALITY AT KOPER GRAMMAR SCHOOL				
	Italians	Friulians	Slovenes	Germans	Other
1851/52	86	-	-	-	-
1852/53	113	-	14	1	3
1857/58	105	-	13	5	-
1862/63	168	-	10	4	10
1864/65	156	4	6	-	6
1870/71	111	-	14	-	-
Total	739	4	57	10	19

Table 8: Number of students at Trieste grammar schools in the school years 1851/52, 1852/53, 1857/58, 1862/63, 1864/65 and 1870/71 by nationality (Zeitschrift, 1852, 16-17, Zeitschrift, 1853, 6-7, Zeitschrift, 1858, 6-7, Zeitschrift, 1863, 16-17, Zeitschrift, 1865, 4-7, Zeitschrift, 1871, 6-7).

SCHOOL YEARS	NATIONALITY AT TRIESTE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS				
	Italians	Friulians	Slovenes	Germans	Other
1851/52	69	-	32	31	2
1852/53	61	2	18	22	3
1857/58	106	-	44	34	3
1862/63	160	-	34	57	3
1864/65 Trieste I	80	-	35	61	-
Trieste II	226	-	7	6	10
1870/71 Trieste I	67	-	17	63	14
Trieste II	200	-	4	2	8
Total	969	2	191	276	43

Table 9: Number of students at Gorizia grammar school in the school years 1851/52, 1852/53, 1857/58, 1862/63, 1864/65 and 1870/71 by nationality (Zeitschrift, 1852, 16-17, Zeitschrift, 1853, 6-7, Zeitschrift, 1858, 6-7, Zeitschrift, 1863, 16-17, Zeitschrift, 1865, 4-7, Zeitschrift, 1871, 6-7).

SCHOOL YEARS	NATIONALITY AT GORIZIA GRAMMAR SCHOOL				
	Italians	Friulians	Slovenes	Germans	Other
1851/52	102	-	129	11	-
1852/53	18	75	131	8	1
1857/58	14	82	138	14	-
1862/63	51	79	204	39	9
1864/65	52	96	212	40	1
1870/71	83	-	153	22	-
Total	320	332	967	134	11

The position of the non-compulsory living languages at the Trieste, Gorizia and Koper grammar schools is similar because grammar school students were able to learn Italian, French and Slovene. Slovene as a subject was taught differently at individual grammar schools. In the school years 1851/52, 1852/53, 1857/58 and 1870/71 Slovene was a subject at grammar schools in Trieste and Gorizia, and in the school years 1862/63 and 1864/65 also in Koper.

An overview of the statistical data concerning the language of instruction and the non-compulsory living languages at the grammar schools in Trieste, Koper and Gorizia from 1851 until 1871 shows that Slovene appeared at these schools only as a subject and not as the language of instruction. We can assume that when Slovene became at least a subject at grammar schools in Trieste, Gorizia and Koper this led to a better quality of education in these schools since the opportunity for Slovenes to use Slovene was much greater and thus they were able to learn about, develop and preserve the Slovene language and develop Slovene national awareness. We can thus conclude that Slovene teachers at these grammar schools were able to include Slovene only as a subject and not as the language of instruction.

Endeavours to introduce Slovene as the language of instruction in grammar schools

In the second half of the 19th century, some Slovene grammar school teachers and other teachers began striving to establish Slovene as the language of instruction. They insisted particularly on Slovene being introduced at least in the first two years of grammar school (Helfert, 1862, 139). This was a big challenge for Slovene teachers as their opponents tried to prove to them that Slovene could not be the language of instruction because it did not have a rich literature and therefore its educational value was insufficiently high. This is why the Ministry of Education specified Slovene only for practical purposes and less for academic work. According to Schmidt, the ministry adopted a decision that "Slovene cannot fulfil the tasks set out in the Outline for the teaching of the mother tongue, but German can and it should" (Schmidt, 1988, 89).

Patriotic teachers of Slovene attributed great importance to its position as the language of instruction in grammar schools in Primorska mainly with regard to the students' cultural and national development. They knew that this was the way that would enable them to strengthen students' knowledge of Slovene whilst also offering them knowledge about their homeland, culture, history, art and economy, i.e. all the characteristics of the Slovene nation, including customs, singing and dancing. This would in turn increase their sense of attachment to the Slovene homeland and language. Through school books and national education teachers were able to shape their students' awareness of the importance of the Slovene language as their mother tongue.

The Slovene political leadership joined these demands in a memorandum sent to the state minister Schermerling. They collected around 20,000 signatures for the improvement in the position of Slovene in education. The memorandum included demands for a change in Slovene secondary schools following the principle of the equality of Slovene and German, and in some parts of Primorska Slovene and Italian (Novice, 1. 5. 1861, 145-146). The memorandum was also supported by politician Toman, who wrote the following in the newspaper *Novice*: "It is well known that we have negotiated in the assembly for national education in our grammar schools and other secondary schools, that we have asked the minister again and again what he intended to do for the principle of equality of all nations in classrooms. His reply is also known. Unfamiliar with the virtues and graces and the educational values of our language, and supported by those that are not favourably inclined towards us, he shamed our language and literature" (Toman, 1865, 313).

In 1862, politician Toman once more submitted a programme to the minister, specifying a demand that Slovene should be introduced as the language of instruction in grammar schools. They also demanded that Slovene youngsters should learn how to read and write both Slovene and German in all secondary schools, not just grammar schools. Toman demanded that half the subjects in grammar school should be taught in Slovene (religion, natural sciences, Latin, Slovene, the history of Austria and the Slovene nation, and geography) in year one. Only in year two should students learn in German (history and geography, natural sciences, maths, propaedeutics, Greek and German) (Toman, 1865, 313).

In addition to these demands, politician Toman also mentioned in the memorandum the issue of Slovene teachers. He thought that the statistics showed there were enough qualified Slovene men "who can teach in our national language in the widest sense, but regrettably they are nearly all at foreign institutions. Why that is we do not know, but it is the truth that in times past our teachers were sent to our grammar schools and they took better care than the foreign teachers of our students being educated to the benefit of their homeland" (Toman, 1865, 313).

These demands show that Slovenes were quite skilful at searching for a solution that would lead to a better position of Slovene in grammar schools, even in Primorska. They were aware of the German national hegemony, but still persisted in demanding at least a few concessions aimed at the improvement of the status of Slovene. The development of national awareness was shown through this and similar memoranda directed at the minister of education. The ministry was clearly well aware of the demands of Slovenes as the reaction to Toman's memorandum was that "more foreign teachers, without knowledge of Slovene" were being sent to grammar schools "and hindering the progress of Slovene tuition in all Slovene grammar schools" (Toman, 1865, 314). This and other responses by the Austrian school authorities show that

they deliberately wanted to quash national demands. In spite of that, this kind of reaction by the authorities only provoked further struggles by Slovene teachers and educationalists, as well as students, including in Primorska. After the rejection of his memorandum, Toman in *Novice* called upon all Slovenes, including those in Primorska: "Let us not rest, let us work in order to strengthen our national tree before another enemy storm comes. Let us look after our national schools if we ever want Slovene to appear in our offices, Slovene to be spoken in our society and public life. Without the introduction of our dear mother tongue into public life and offices, we will remain slaves to foreigners and just political parties in our homeland. So let us ensure that we get national schools!" (Toman, 1865, 314).

There were many efforts of this kind, but until 1865 (the demise of Schmerling) they were mostly rejected. The new prime minister Belcredi was even more German oriented in his policies. This was evident through Bach's implementation of his instructions when he demanded that "all secondary schools remain German..." (Schmidt, 1988, 364-365). And he insisted on the implementation of his demands. Patriotic Slovenes in Primorska and other regions were aware that education would be difficult and that Slovene would get stuck at the lower level if it did not begin to be used in grammar schools. But on the other hand there was also a growing awareness of the fact that through the introduction of Slovene as the language of instruction in grammar school the possibility of university education in Slovenia should also be provided for as otherwise the educational opportunities of Slovene students would be reduced if they did not have a full command of German.

The attitude to Slovene in grammar schools was thus ambivalent and everyone whose idea of the nation's development did not foresee the possibility of higher education in Slovene emphasised, in their embarrassment, the importance of the knowledge of German for further studying. With such a prevailing attitude the demand for

using German was often strengthened among the German oriented population. At first glance it looked as if Germanisation was actually benefiting the development of the Slovene intelligentsia. Because of this, Slovenes were forced to accept many compromises with regard to decisions about the introduction of Slovene in grammar schools taken by provincial school councils. Such challenges and decrees by the Austrian school authorities aroused in Primorska and other Slovene lands an even greater resistance to Germanisation and encouraged a more rapid spread of Slovene national consciousness. This was particularly clear in the case of the endeavours directed at the Slovene grammar school in Gorizia.

The struggle for a Slovene grammar school in Gorizia

As early as 1848 Gorizia experienced national enthusiasm at the appearance of a "Slavonic Society" (Murovec in Humar, 1957) and there were even ideas about a Slovene grammar school which were not realised that year (Ipavec, 1914, 2). Patriotic Slovenes knew that only with the establishment of a Slovene grammar school would Slovene culture (ultimately independent from German culture), Slovene language and patriotism would be able to develop, resulting in greater Slovene national consciousness. And so they persisted.

In 1848, Slovene teachers in Gorizia fought for the introduction of Slovene and Italian, two provincial languages, as the language of instruction, whilst German was seen as a mediatory language (Marušič, 1997, 14). Even though Slovene was not the language of instruction, it was in fact used in lessons, particularly in lower grades. Teachers fluent in the provincial languages conveyed their knowledge also in their mother tongue so that their students were better able to understand them. This is shown by the facts in Table 10 that in the school years 1849-1863, 1863-1871 and 1874-1913 Slovenes were in a majority at the Gorizia grammar school, with 11.878 students. In addition, there were 8.283 Italians,

Table 10: Number of students at Gorizia grammar school in the school years 1849-1863 and 1874-1913 by nationality (Marušič, 1997, 16-17 and Bukovc, 1991, str. 140-141 and Zeitschrift für..., 1863 - 1871)

SCHOOL YEARS	NATIONALITY				
	Italians	Friulians	Slovenes	Germans	Other
1849 - 1863	626	922	2.114	295	1
1863 - 1871	572	426	1.567	289	6
1871 - 1874 *	-	-	-	-	-
1874 - 1913	7.085	60	8.197	1.754	463
Total	8.283	1.408	11.878	2.338	470

Note: * no data for individual nationality

1.408 Friulians and 2.338 Germans and 470 Other, giving a total of 24.377.

Because of the majority of Slovene pupils, teachers were forced to teach in their mother tongue, i.e. a provincial language. The school authorities objected to this, claiming that it hindered progress when the same subject matter was repeated in two or even three languages. Thus in 1853/54, the school authorities banned the teaching of Slovene and Italian in the first two years and the three freed hours were allocated to German (Ipavec, 1914, 3). The two provincial languages were thus taught only from year three as subjects.

The well known Slovene linguist Šolar, also a teacher, was the first and only one in the 1860s who strove for Slovene at the Gorizia grammar school. He had a fair attitude to every nation, fought for better education and wanted to introduce the recognition of national rights and adherence to them at the school where he taught (Novice, 2. 10. 1867, 327-328). However, later most Slovene teachers at the Gorizia grammar school, such as Marušič, Jesenko, Pleteršnik, Pajk, Kragelj, Ivančič and others, strove for at least language teaching to be supported by the students' mother tongue and that in the first two years teachers fluent in both provincial languages (Slovene and Italian) should be teaching (ibid.). It was obvious that the language of the majority of the population in the Gorizia area was established in school in spite of it not being the language of instruction. According to Ipavec, Slovene was used in school festivities and students' public appearances, whilst the first time Slovene was used in public speaking and singing was at a festivity held on the occasion of the birth of the Empress Sophia (9 March 1854). From then onwards, Slovene singing became common in churches and schools, where it was introduced by Anton Hribar. Later, however, because of a change in the leadership at the grammar school in 1889 Slovene and Italian singing was ended (Ipavec, 1914, 3-4).

After 1876, Slovene was used at the Gorizia grammar school in the announcements for the enrolment of students and at the start of the school year, and could also be found in the school yearbook, which published Slovene contributions. These papers in Slovene include: Šantel, A. (1874, 42-57) *Poskus razkladbe nekaterih pomenljivih prikazni spanja in sanj* (An Attempt at an Explanation of Some Meaningful Dreams); Vodušek, M. (1876, 10-48) *O določevanju časa, poldnevnika, (meridijana) in zemljepisne širjave po solčnih opazovanjih* (About the Determination of Time, Meridians and Latitude by Observing the Sun); Vodušek, M. (1877, 24-47) *Popravki in dostavki k lanskemu spisu* (Amendments to Last Years Article); Rutar, S. (1878, 19-38) *Začetek svetovni oblasti akvilejskih patrijarhov in pokneženje goriških grofov* (The Beginning of the World Authority of Patriarchs of Aquileia and the Raising of the Counts of Gorizia to the Rank of Prince); Ozvald, K. (1913, 11-15) *Malce navodila za poučevanje po moji Psihologiji*

(A few Instructions for Teaching Using My Psychology). This shows that Slovene was gradually becoming established in grammar school, whilst German, according to Ipavec, had more of a role of the state language that also served as a mediatory language between the two nationalities in the Gorizia region (Ipavec, 1914, 4). But this relationship lasted only until national conflicts in Austria became even more pronounced. In the 1860s and 1870s this led to changed views and conflicts between the wider public and individual members of the teaching staff at the Gorizia grammar school. National conflicts brought about increased demands for the reorganisation of the school. These demands were expressed in publications, at gatherings, in petitions to the assembly and the education ministry, in municipalities, in both provincial and state assemblies, in the provincial school council and among teachers (ibid., 5). We cannot describe all the steps in the fight for a Slovene grammar school, but let us mention the vehement appearance by Dr Tonkli at the session of the provincial assembly in 1868, when he demanded that Slovene should be used as the language of instruction in secondary schools, as well as the appearance by Dr Lavrič at the gathering in Brda, as well as that by Ivan Nabergoj at a gathering in Šempas, both expressing the same demands. In 1882 nearly all Slovene municipalities in the Gorizia region sent a petition to the state assembly about the introduction of Slovene as the language of instruction to all secondary schools in Gorizia (ibid., 6), but to no avail. However, the patriotic Slovenes did not let up. Once more in 1887 Tonkli submitted a petition to the state assembly that all-Slovene classes should be established at the Gorizia grammar school, but this met with no success (Ipavec, 1914, 6).

There is insufficient space here to mention all the petitions, resolutions and intercessions in favour of a Slovene grammar school in Gorizia, which were all unsuccessful but serve as a proof of the endeavours of the Gorizia people. There are a number of reasons for the lack of success. The school authorities always responded to such demands with the reply that Slovenes did not have enough Slovene textbooks or teaching resources, but according to Ipavec the main reason was that the Italian compatriots did not invest quite so much effort in the establishment of their grammar school as did the Slovenes (ibid.). Only the younger generations of Italians realised that such passivity would lead nowhere and they became more decisive in their demands for an Italian grammar school, although not from the state, like the Slovenes, but from autonomous local authorities. They demanded that the Gorizia municipality, with the help of Friuli municipalities, should establish and maintain an Italian school in Gorizia. This served as an incentive for the Slovenes to start a parallel campaign for a Slovene grammar school (ibid.). Dr Anton Gregorčič, the chairman of the society "School Home", called a consultation on this issue in Gorizia on 10 April 1910. It was suggested that the private grammar school

would be housed in the society's building, whilst the teaching staff would include both still active and retired Slovene teachers. One of the teachers who stated they would teach for free was Ipavec. They established a supervisory board, decided on founding a grammar school that would focus on the humanities rather than more scientific subjects, adopted a statute and curriculum, appointed the teaching staff and submitted everything to the educational ministry for approval (ibid.).

This act forced the Austrian authorities to make a decision whether to establish one Slovene and one Italian private grammar school while maintaining the German one, or something different. The Austrian state rejected the possibility of a private Slovene grammar school with the excuse that insufficient resources had been presented for its maintenance, but that it would in 1910 establish all-Slovene and all-Italian parallel classes within the scope of the existing state grammar school (which had already been proposed by many Slovenes). The number of students that could be enrolled would be limited and the language of instruction would be German (Ipavec, 1914, 8). And so the fight for Slovene to become the language of instruction continued. The then councillor Fon again pleaded with the ministry to solve the issue of grammar schools in Gorizia. The ministry's final decision was that it would establish one Slovene and one Italian parallel

class at the royal imperial state grammar school, with German as the language of instruction, with the proviso that no more than 50 students could be enrolled (ibid.). According to Ipavec, this laid the foundations for a Slovene grammar school. However, Fon had to intervene yet again due to the insufficient number of applicants, saying that the enrolment was only provisional and that this parallel class would in one way or another serve as a base from which a Slovene grammar school would appear. Thus it became clear upon the introduction of Slovene and Italian parallel classes that such a large tri-lingual institution as the state grammar school in Gorizia had now become would not remain under single leadership. On the basis of this, on 12 August 1913 the educational ministry issued a decree that Slovene parallel classes be separated from the state grammar school, with German as the language of instruction, and develop into an independent state grammar school (Ipavec, 1914, 9). This meant that for most of the Slovene population of the Gorizia region, a desire that had so long remained unfulfilled now became reality. They had the first Slovene state grammar school in Slovenia. Janko Bezjak became the school's first headmaster (Prvo izvestje... 1914, 10).

In Gorizia they could now expect that with Slovene education in the grammar school, based on religious and moral teachings whilst at the same time offering



Fig. 2: The photograph shows the students in grade four at the grammar school in Gorizia in 1902 (Slovenian School Museum, exhibition collection)

Slovene patriotic education, there would finally be an end to national conflicts, young people would become good, patriotic Slovenes and citizens able to acquire all their knowledge within the learning process and with Slovene textbooks fully in their mother tongue.

The Slovene grammar school in Gorizia also received support from other sources: Gullich-Bolle (resources from penal fines), Josip Jeram and Count Werdenberg; the Simon Gregorčič society for poor students at the Slovene grammar school, founded by Ipavec and aimed particularly at children from rural areas for whom it supplied textbooks, winter clothing and footwear (Prvo izvestje..., 1914, 35); savings banks, mayoralties, contributions collected in classes and from teachers, the school's board of trustees, the bowling club, as well as

the profits of a student concert (ibid.). This meant that the Slovene grammar school finally had a secure income that facilitated its existence.

This struggle for a Slovene grammar school in Gorizia shows the persistence and ambition of the Slovenes in the area. Support for Slovene schools came from many sides and in different ways, but mostly depended on the resourcefulness and patriotism of the Gorizia region population itself, which insisted on its national identity and fought any assimilation pressures in various domains of public life. Their success was certain precisely because of the fact that they managed to unite for this common goal of the first Slovene state grammar school in Gorizia, where from 1913 onwards the language of instruction was Slovene.

AVSTRIJSKA SREDNJEŠOLSKA ZAKONODAJA (1849-1914) IN NJEN VPLIV NA PRIZADEVANJA ZA SLOVENSKI JEZIK V GIMNAZIJAH NA PRIMORSKEM

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POVZETEK

Prav gotovo so zanimive ugotovitve analize avstrijske srednješolske zakonodaje v letih 1848-1914, ki opredeljuje položaj jezikov v gimnaziji. Ugotavljamo, da je tovrstna zakonodaja vplivala s svojo demokratično oz. nedorečeno opredelitvijo, kateri jezik je materinščina na različni položaj jezikov na gimnazijah. Po letu 1848 je prišlo do nazadovanja latinščine, na pomenu pa je pridobila kot učni jezik nemščina in ne slovenščina. Slovenščino kot učni predmet je omogočal uvesti na gimnazije Osnutek organizacije gimnazij in realk leta 1849, ki je določal izbiro drugega deželne jezika. Težje pa je bilo s slovenščino kot učnim jezikom, ki bi jo »Osnutek...« tudi lahko dopuščal glede na to, da ni določil, kateri jezik razume kot materinščino. Osnutek je celo dopuščal, da se na gimnaziji lahko poučujeta dva učna jezika, ki ju je mogoče uporabiti v raznih šolskih oddelkih in pri raznih učnih predmetih. Pri tem je poudaril pomen poučevanja v materinščini, pri čemer ne opredeljuje kateri jezik je to. S tem je avstrijska oblast v zakonih razvila osnovo za enakopravnost deželnih jezikov. Žal pa je v praksi ostalo vprašanje učnega jezika v večini nerešeno. Tako je postalo odvisno od staršev in lokalne politike načelno vprašanje, kateri bo učni jezik v gimnaziji. To se je pokazalo tudi na Primorskem.

Iz statističnih poročil ugotavljamo, da se je slovenščina začela v omenjenem obdobju najprej vključevati v gimnazije kot neobvezni učni predmet, kjer smo ugotovili, da v gimnazijah na Primorskem ni bila materinščina slovenščina, temveč nemščina in delno tudi italijanščina. To se je pokazalo na obeh gimnazijah v Trstu in Gorici, razen v Kopru, kjer je bila italijanščina in delno nemščina (na višji gimnaziji pri zgodovini in geografiji). Slovenski jezik je bil na vseh omenjenih gimnazijah le kot neobvezni učni predmet. Leta 1859 pa je slovenski jezik postal obvezni učni predmet za slovenske dijake v gimnazijah na Primorskem. Vse do šolskega leta 1857/58 se je slovenščina še vedno poučevala v glavnem v nemščini. Ni čudno, da je omenjeni položaj izzval zahteve in prizadevanja zavednih slovenskih profesorjev in drugih šolnikov po uvedbi slovenščine najprej kot učnega predmeta v slovenščini in nazadnje še kot učnega jezika v gimnazije. Zavedali so se, da je to potrebno zaradi šolanja samega, saj slovenski dijaki niso dobro znali nemško. Poleg tega pa je slovenski jezik kot učni nujen za obstoj slovenskega jezika, kulture in razvoja nacionalne zavesti. Bistvo boja za slovensko gimnazijo na Primorskem je zahtevalo, da naj bi slovenščina postala učni jezik na gimnaziji. Prav to pa se je najprej zgodilo leta 1913 v Gorici. Za to imajo zasluge zavedni slovenski profesorji in predstavniki šolske oblasti, ki so se borili že leta 1868 z raznimi govori na taborih, z raznimi peticijami deželnemu zboru (leta 1868, 1882 idr) in poskusom zasebne slovenske gimnazije leta 1910 v zgradbi društva Šolski dom. Avstrijska šolska oblast je dovolila leta 1910 slovenske in italijanske paralelke na državni gimnaziji v Gorici. Z nadaljnimi prizadevanji pa je avstrijska oblast le dovolila leta 1913 ustanovitev prve samostojne državne gimnazije v Gorici s slovenskim učnim jezikom.

Ključne besede: avstrijska srednješolska zakonodaja, jezikovni pouk, gimnazije, slovenščina, nacionalna prizadevanja, boj za slovensko gimnazijo, Gorica

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