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The Kalksburg Jesuit Secondary Grammar School and Its Polish Pupils (1856–1938)

Gimnazjum jezuickie w Kalksburgu i jego polscy uczniowie (1856–1938)

ABSTRACT

Founded in 1856, the Kalksburg Jesuit Secondary Grammar School quickly became the signature school of the Habsburg Monarchy, as it was particularly popular among the aristocracy and lower nobility. This institution, which obtained its 'publicity right' in 1891, placed a great emphasis on physical education, besides education and religious formation. Its huge garden, complete with playgrounds and sports fields, created a suitable opportunity for exercise in any season. Due to its 'convictus' (a boarding school), the secondary school possessed a wide catchment area: before 1918, students from all over the Habsburg Empire – and even from beyond it – arrived in Kalksburg. Curiously, dismantling the monarchy merely brought about a partial reapportionment, obvious in the case of Polish students, whose number dropped considerably. The secondary school remained mindful of cultivating education in the students' mother tongue as well, so those who were ready for it could also learn the Polish language.

KEYWORDS

Jesuit Order,
Kalksburg, boarding
school, secondary
grammar school,
religious education,
Polish people

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

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ABSTRAKT

Założone w 1856 r. gimnazjum jezuickie w Kalksburgu szybko stało się wizytówką edukacyjną monarchii habsburskiej, ponieważ było szczególnie popularne wśród arystokracji i niższej szlachty. Ta instytucja, która uzyskała „prawa publiczne” w 1891 r., oprócz edukacji i formacji religijnej, kładła duży nacisk na wychowanie fizyczne. Ogromny ogród z placami zabaw i boiskami sportowymi stwarzały dogodne warunki do ćwiczeń o każdej porze roku. Dzięki swemu „konwiktowi” (czyli internatowi) gimnazjum posiadało uczniów, którzy pochodzili z różnych odległych stron: przed 1918 r. do Kalksburga przybywali uczniowie z całego imperium Habsburgów, a nawet spoza niego. Co ciekawe, upadek monarchii spowodował jedynie małe zmiany w strukturze społeczności uczniowskiej, z wyjątkiem polskich studentów, których liczba znacznie spadła. Szkoła dbała również o kultywowanie edukacji w języku ojczystym uczniów, aby ci, którzy byli do tego przygotowani, mogli również się uczyć języka polskiego.

Introduction

Following the Jesuit Order's dissolution in 1773, it could not operate for decades in the countries of the Habsburg Empire. The prohibition was lifted in 1820, but at that time, the Order could only settle in Galicia. From the end of that decade, however, they were permitted in other provinces as well. In Innsbruck, for example, they took over the secondary school's management. From the second half of the 18th century, the Societas Jesu established ever-more significant positions. First, they founded a secondary grammar school in the Bohemian town of Mariaschein (Bohosudov). Then, in the advantageous situation created by the Concordat (1855), they launched an ever-increasing number of boarding schools for secondary grammar education, e.g. in Kalksburg, Lower Austria (Collegium Immaculae Virginis) and Feldkirch, Vorarlberg (Stella Matutina) in 1856, and in Kalocsa (Stephaneum), Hungary in 1860 (Pfleger 1997: 123–125, 173–175; Bülow 1901: 51–55).

Due to the empire's compulsory schooling requirements, the Jesuit boarding school in Kalksburg also deserves the attention of Polish educational history research. Based on school history sources and

earlier investigations regarding our study,¹ we would like to present a most comprehensive picture of the boarding school's functioning from its foundation until its dissolution in 1938, highlighting its Polish aspects.²

Foundation and a short history of the institution

The Jesuits resettled in the city of Vienna in 1853, where they had earlier managed a school. The possibility of practicing educational activities had emerged again, promoted by the leading circles of society. In Kalksburg, near Vienna, a formerly Jesuit-owned estate with a villa happened to be on sale at that very time. This corresponded to their purpose: the projected school would operate not far from the capital's city limits and, at the same time, close to nature. Othmar von Rauscher, the Cardinal of Vienna, also embraced the initiative, winning over Emperor Franz Joseph I to the cause. Thanks to the Emperor's financial support, the decision could be made about purchasing the property. Numerous other members of the Habsburg family, among others former Emperor Ferdinand I and his wife, also gave donations. Generous contributions arrived from members of the society's elite as well (Schmid 2006: 13, 16; Bülow 1901: 63–65, 71–74; *Das Kollegium...* 1906: 3–10, 19–21).

Following the signature of the contract, the Order started reconstructing the villa, expanding the size of the estate with further purchases. In the following years, the buildings were repeatedly expanded and refurbished to meet the requirements of the convictus and the Jesuit Fathers. The reconstruction's first phase was finished by 1860. In 1875, the school caught fire, which caused considerable damage. In order to prevent similar cases, steam heating was introduced by 1890, and fire hydrants were placed within the building. In the middle of the 1890s, further grandiose reconstructions took

¹ This research was made possible by a scholarship awarded by the Hungarian Scholarship Committee, Collegium Hungaricum, Vienna. We publish the pictures with the permission of the Archiv der Österreichischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu (Archivum Provinciae Austriae Societatis Iesu, AASI).

² We have already elaborated on the Hungarian aspects of the school's history (see Rébay 2010). The present study is a rewritten and completed version of the above-referenced article.

place; this was the time when the boarding school acquired its final form (Schmid 2006: 17–20; Das Kollegium... 1906: 11–13).

Image 1: The boarding school facilities at the turn of the century



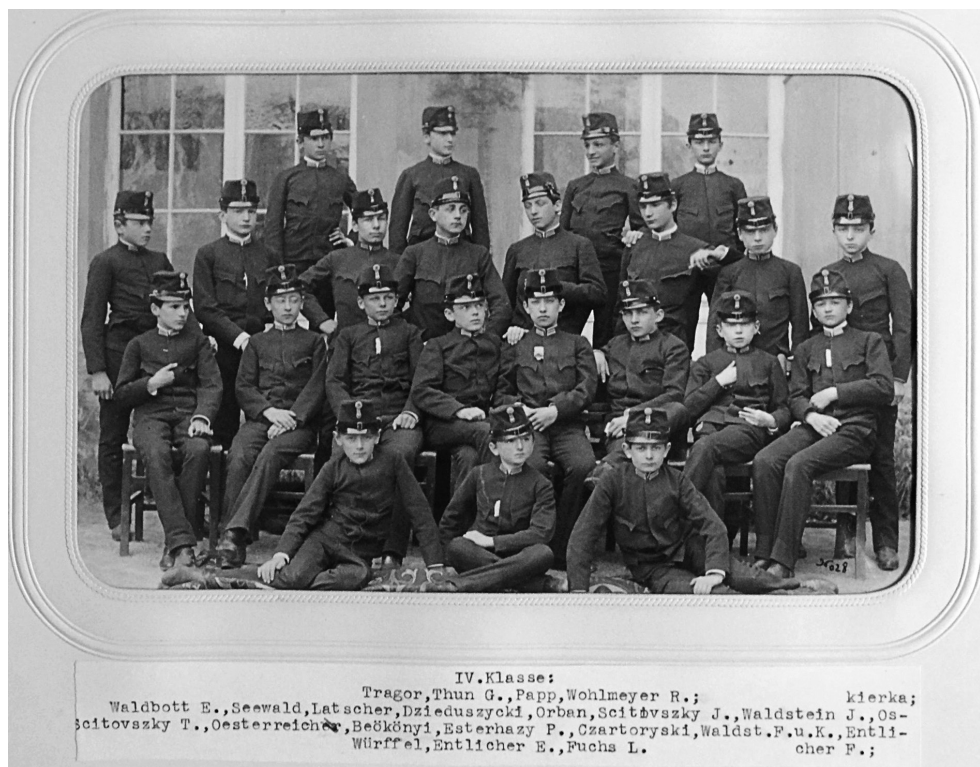
Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

As early as the year of the purchase, which occurred in October 1856, the first two grades of the secondary grammar school were initiated, encompassing 68 students. In the next few years, new grades were gradually inaugurated, until the secondary grammar school stood complete with eight grades. The Order did not apply to make the school public, not wanting to give up their independence, and also not being able (and not even trying) to live up to the state-required conditions yet – like teachers' state degrees. The school was not permitted to hold a matura (i.e. final exam) either: its first senior year students had their final exams in the Theresianum in Vienna in July 1863 (Apponyi 1931: 31, 36–37). In the following decades, up to as late as 1897, they had their exams at this same institution (Schmid

2006: 19). Following its foundation, the secondary grammar school was completed with a preparatory department (one or two grades). This was the place where students with a less than satisfactory command of the German language or those who had gaps in their elementary education would be accepted (Das Kollegium... 1906: 10).

In the 1870s – based on a state decree – the Order had to employ a director who could only be a teacher with a state-approved degree. Since the Jesuit priests did not have such an individual, they appointed a secular priest. Besides P. Dr. Josef Bena (1877–1883), a Jesuit study prefect was responsible for the educational and teaching work. In the 1880s, the question of acquiring public status gradually came to the fore. Because of the rising significance of the *matura*, this would have simplified the students' situation, and besides this, as a result of the decision, the school was hoping for a rise in the numbers of students registering. However, concerned about the school's spirituality, based as it was on the *Ratio Studiorum* (according to which religious formation was at the center and the Christian attitude determined the entire school education), and also afraid of the worldly university studies exercising an unfavorable influence upon the Jesuits, several teachers within the Order – particularly older teachers – were against the change. The impediment to granting public status was the bad relationship between the institution (and the Jesuit Order in general) and the liberal government. Furthermore, the presence of P. Heinrich Abel SJ, a charismatic and at the same time much-attacked figure of the Catholic awakening who was a teacher at the boarding school, also created tension. Finally, his transfer made the agreement possible.

Image 2: 4th grade in 1888/89³



Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

In 1891, under the directorship of P. Josef Lengsteiner SJ, the three lowest grades were granted public status. The other grades were progressively granted this right until 1898; thus, in that year, the whole school finally acquired it. In 1898, they consequently got the opportunity to organize their first matura. As a result of this decision, the number of students grew considerably, as indicated in Figure 1. In order to acquire public status – as mentioned above – the school had to meet state regulations: the teachers had to complete their own graduation exam, they had to be employed in proper

³ In the image: Duke Adam Czartoryski (a Kalksburg student between 1888 and 1893) and Alexander Count Dzieduszycki (a student between 1884 and 1893) (AASI KK 37/2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge, Vol. 2). The sources use the German version of their names, so we also display these versions.

numbers and proportions, and the school had to possess the necessary resources and adapt to the state curriculum (Schmid 2006: 23, 68, 86; 100 Jahre... 1956: 15; Bülow 1901: 66–68; Das Kollegium... 1906: 17–23). In 1893/94 the second convictus was opened, and thus it became suitable to house more than 350 students altogether. With this, it lost a little of its elite quality. The second boarding school had lower fees, and it was more poorly equipped. It existed until the end of the 1919/20 school year, when it was closed due to a fall in the number of applicants and possibly as a result of financial difficulties (Schmid 2006: 20, 25).

Image 3: Group picture from 1893/94. In the middle of the second row, Stanislaus Count Konarski⁴

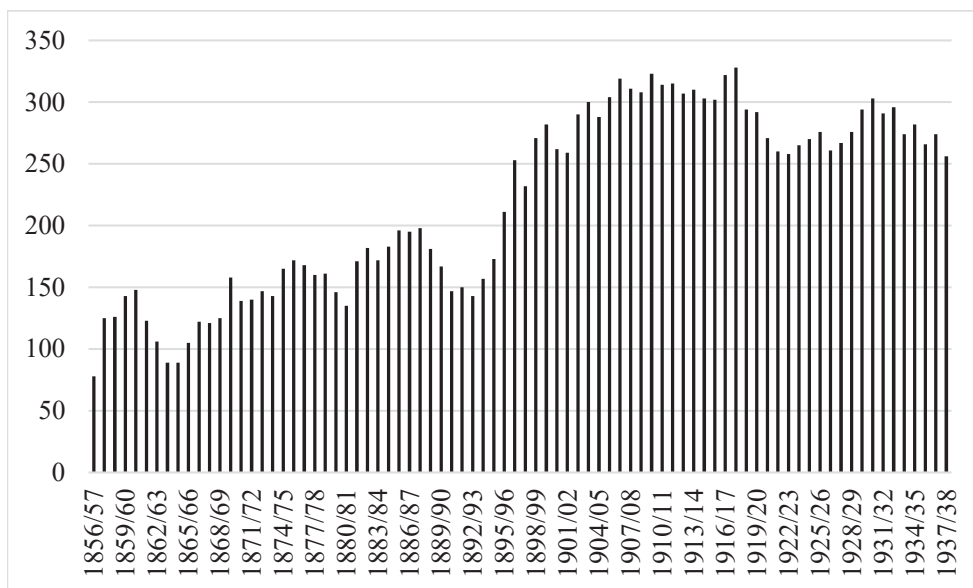


Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

⁴ Stanislaus Count Konarski studied in Kalksburg between 1889 and 1897 (AASI KK 37/2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge, Vol. 2).

The war years brought changes to school life: the number of students gradually decreased due to wartime attenuations. By 1917/18, the number of students in the two highest grades had dropped considerably, and even some of the 5th grade students were drafted. Despite the growing financial difficulties, the school remained functional, and it made contributions to the war effort to the extent of its ability (Jahresbericht 1915: 121; Jahresbericht 1918: 61–64, 70; Schmid 2006: 25).

Figure 1: The number of graded public students (1856/57–1937/38).



Source: Schmid 2006: 95; Jahresbericht 1894–1938.

Following the Habsburg Monarchy’s dissolution in 1918, the secondary grammar school continued operating, with a varying number of students after a minor reduction (see Figure 1). The first few years were marked by financial difficulties (for heating, lighting, catering). From the end of the 1920s, however, the trustees could already afford renovations. The years of prosperity were ended by the Anschluss. The school year of 1937/38 ended in the usual way. However, during the summer, the school was deprived of its public status, which resulted in its closure. Parents had to re-register their children into state schools. The police occupied the boarding school, and only

a few priests were permitted to reside at the location. The Jesuits were granted permission to restart their school in 1947.

The secondary grammar school is still active today, although not managed by trustees of the Jesuit Order but by the Vereinigung von Ordensschulen Österreichs (Association of Religious Schools in Austria), continuing to adhere to the spirituality of St. Ignatius (Schmid 2006: 26–29, 73; 100 Jahre... 1956: 36–37; Kollegium Kalksburg n.d.). In 1993, the Polish school of Vienna, having grown out of its building, transferred to the Kalksburg boarding school wing. As a part of this arrangement, children at a compulsory schooling age (7–15 years) studying in Austrian schools gained the opportunity to participate in compulsory Polish language education, which enabled them to continue their education in their home country.⁵

The school's pedagogical work

Religious-ethical education

In the Kalksburg boarding school, religious ethics-based education remained pivotal. In order for Catholic spirituality to faultlessly prevail, the school did not accept into its ranks any students other than Catholic ones. A Catholic worldview dominated their education and teaching, with the institution intending to grant its students a solid Catholic ideological basis. It aimed to raise them to be convinced Catholics who would continue to live according to the teaching of this Church as adults and also contribute to the Church's goals (Jahresbericht 1897: 86–87; 100 Jahre... 1956: 14–15). Church leaders' visits (and not only on the occasion of celebrating the sacrament of Confirmation) helped maintain the permanent and intense relationship with the Catholic Church as an institution. It is striking how frequently the papal nuncio graced the boarding school with his visits, no doubt as a result of the Order's vocation (i.e. serving the Pope).⁶

⁵ The school offered them the following subjects: Polish language, history, geography, mathematics, Polish culture and literature, theater, music and fine art (Schmid 2006: 128).

⁶ See e.g. Jahresbericht 1894: 68; Jahresbericht 1895: 67; Jahresbericht 1905: 171; Jahresbericht 1925: 17.

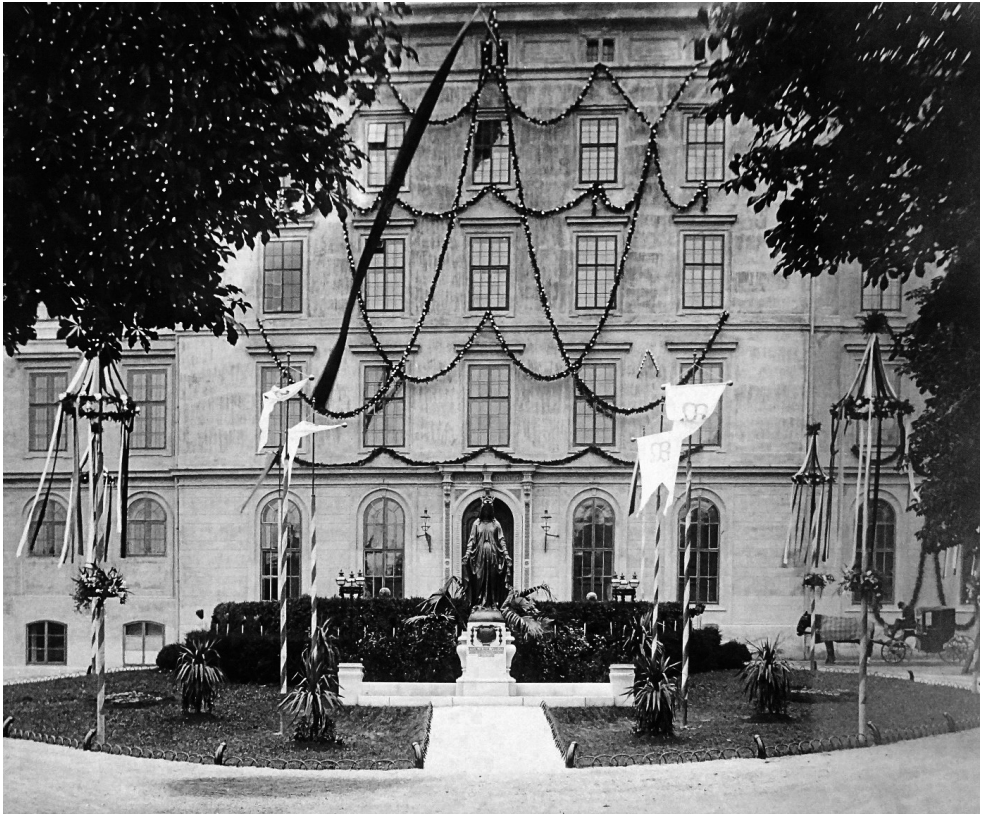
The school, the convictus and the rectory all had their own individual chapels; altogether four chapels served the adoration and immersion and provided a spot for Holy Masses. The *Schutzengelkapelle* (Guardian Angel Chapel) no longer stands. After the great measles epidemic of 1899, which ran its course without victims, the house superior of that time, P. Christian Kiehl SJ, had it built as a thanksgiving. The so-called *Kollegskapelle* (boarding school chapel), which was the fathers' house chapel, was rebuilt several times. It gained its present form in 1896. The so-called convictus chapel (*Konviktskapelle*) was also rebuilt and relocated several times, since it had to have the capacity of housing the whole student community as the place of all-school masses, which are held there up to this day. Above the main altar, we can see a picture of the Immaculate Virgin, the boarding school's patron. The Marian Congregation had their own separate chapel: the *Kongregationspkapelle* (Congregation Chapel). Here, we can see a picture of the *Mater ter admirabilis*, or threefold miraculous Virgin Mary (see Image 5), and we can also find the so-called *Napoleonaltar* (Napoleonic altar), Napoleon I's altar that he got while he was in exile, and in front of which Napoleon III received his first communion (100 Jahre... 1956: 20–25).

The practice of religion permeated the school's everyday life: they began their day with a prayer and also closed it with a prayer. The students were obliged to participate in Holy Mass daily. They were encouraged to make regular confessions and receive the Eucharist as frequently as possible. Every autumn, not long after the beginning of their school year, they took part in a several-day-long retreat. During this time, they had no study classes; instead, they attended lectures by invited Jesuit priests with experience in conducting retreats, and they also had the opportunity for silent meditations (100 Jahre... 1956: 25–27; Jahresbericht 1896: 77; Jahresbericht 1924: 17; Jahresbericht 1931: 13). The school organized First Communion for preparatory department students and students of the 1st grade, as well as Confirmation for older students, on their premises.

An important element of religious education was the Marian devotion. In front of the main building, visitors were welcomed by a statue of the Immaculate Virgin (see Image 4). The boarding school's main holiday was December 8th, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. P. Franz X. Widmann SJ introduced the feast day

of *Mater ter admirabilis* in 1881. Initially, they held this feast day on January 1st, then January 6th (100 Jahre... 1956: 23, 25). On an annual basis, the members of the congregation organized pilgrimages to the Marian shrine at Enzersdorf. Eighth-grade students, on the other hand, gave thanks in Mariazell, generally following their final exam (Schmid 2006: 24).

Image 4: The statue of Mary in front of the main building (1906)



Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

The Congregation of Mary, the secondary school's devotional society, was founded on December 8th, 1857 upon the recommendation of the school's rector, P. Ludwig Boetmann SJ, with ten pupils participating. Its aim was to deepen spiritual life and do apostolic work following the Blessed Virgin Mary's example, as well as nurturing and spreading devotion to her. It was viewed as an elite society,

with not just anybody being entitled to become a member. One had to stand out in the field of practicing their religion and in their morals; at the same time, their scholastic results were also considered. This became the Big Congregation of Mary since, two years later, the Little Congregation of Mary was created for grades 1 to 4. In 1895, a third congregation was formed in the boarding school for the students of the second convictus. The Congregations of Mary operated as societies, managed by a member-chosen officer corps. Among the prefects presiding over the Big Congregation of Mary, we can find Polish pupils. Based on an account from 1907, this honorable task was assigned to Wladimir Count Grocholski (who took office on December 8th, 1874), Ludwig Dembiński (June 21st, 1880), Heinrich Dembiński (June 20th, 1883), and Eduard Knight Byszewski (June 25th, 1902).

Image 5: Congregation Chapel with the picture of *Mater admirabilis* (year unknown)



Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

As alumni, the congregants had the opportunity to renew their vows in December each year, either in person or in a letter, and thus

they could remain in spiritual-intellectual-emotional contact with the school. (The magazine *Kalksburger Korrespondenz*, founded in 1886 for senior congregants, later became an alumni publication.) Thus, the boarding school's educational influence could prevail permanently, and the inherently strong bond as a result of the time spent in a boarding system could remain intensive – upon request. The boarding school itself endeavored to “not lose” its pupils. Specifically, the *Kalksburger Korrespondenz* published regular accounts of the main events in the lives of its alumni, commemorating the deceased and sharing their contact addresses from time to time. That way, they sought to influence the then-enrolled students, educating them to know the importance of community, setting examples for them (100 Jahre... 1956: 26–27; Aus der fünfzigjährigen Geschichte... 1907: 1–31).

For alumni, numerous other occasions presented themselves to keep in touch. Along with parents and other interested parties, the school welcomed them at different gala events. The main holiday, that is, the Feast Day of the Immaculate Conception, not only consisted of religious programs; the school frequently performed plays or – as was usual in Jesuit schools – organized a festivity, particularly in the early decades. The school always duly celebrated the greater Church holidays – so much so that the students even spent Christmas and Easter at the institution in the school's first decades. The Corpus Christi processions were memorable occasions: the pupils marched in gala attire, holding flags, to the rhythm provided by the school's brass band, called the *Banda* (see Image 6). Among the feast days, we want to highlight the presiding rector's name day, which was initially honored with an academy, and later exclusively with stage plays. Among the holidays, St. Alois Gonzaga's feast day (“Aloisus-fest”) on 21st June deserves a special mention. This was the day of Confirmation, and in the afternoon (until 1914), an equestrian show was held (100 Jahre... 1956: 30–31).

Image 6: The *Banda* in 1879/80 (led by P. Burgstaller SJ; upper row, right end: Stanislaus Count Siemieński⁷)



Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

The school's moral education was based on the Catholic Church's principles. A unique trait of the school was that it focused on educating the whole personality, endeavoring to take care of everyone individually. This was made possible by the initially relatively small number of students. The school brought its students up to be disciplined, industrious, dutiful and adopters of a lifestyle that included sacrifices as well as a consideration for the community's needs. They wanted to graduate independently thinking, mature, even ambitious personalities who would stand their ground both in their private and public life (100 Jahre... 1956: 15). The school also educated the pupils to be socially sensitive people, ready to aid the destitute. For example, as was a habit in that era in secondary schools, at Christmas, they held special gifting days for the children of the village (Jahresbericht 1896: 77).

⁷ Stanislaus Count Siemieński attended the school between 1880 and 1884 (AASI KK 37/2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge, Vol. 2).

Intellectual education

Initially, the secondary grammar school combined the Jesuit curriculum (the renewed *Ratio Studiorum*) with the state curriculum, with classical languages and their literature as core subjects. So, religious education was blended primarily with the humanities (Schmid 2006: 68). We do not have any sources containing the curricula during the first decades; all we know is that they gradually converged with the state curricula so that the school could prepare the students for the matura as well as possible, impeding their possible transfer to another school (100 Jahre... 1956: 36). In 1893/94, they taught German, Latin and Greek language and literature, religion, geography, history, mathematics and natural sciences in the Kalksburg secondary grammar school. In their history education, they focused on the history of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (Jahresbericht 1894: 57, 62–63).

Image 7: 7th grade in 1909/10 during a natural science lesson led by P. Kerber SJ (first row, right end: Egon Knight Brzozowski⁸)



Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

⁸ Egon Knight Brzozowski was a Kalksburg pupil between 1904 and 1911. Before 1918, three members of his family studied there (AASI KK 37/2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge, Vol. 2).

As a public school, they were obligated to follow the state curriculum; they could only digress from it with permission. The teachers' experiences suggested that four classes per week for teaching both Greek language and literature were not enough, so with ministerial consent, from the 1904/05 school year, they taught five classes of these subjects in the 4th and 7th grades (see Chart 1). Upon introducing the ministerial curriculum in 1909, this practice was canceled in a systematic phase-out. In 1909, the school requested an exemption from teaching drawing and physical education – after all, due to the live-in system, physical exercise was a determining element of the students' daily schedule. From 1910/11, they decided to teach drawing three times a week in the 1st grade, and then in the following years, in a progressive system, it became a compulsory subject in the 1st to 4th years (for 3, 3, 2 and 2 hours/week, respectively). In the higher grades, this subject was taught as an optional one from 1914/15 (Jahresbericht 1905: 134; Jahresbericht 1910: 56; Jahresbericht 1911: 66; Jahresbericht 1912: 49; Jahresbericht 1913: 74; Jahresbericht 1914: 25–26; Jahresbericht 1915: 93). From 1909, the classroom activities were completed by “lantern slide” picture lectures, and from 1914, the institution even hosted a cinema (Schmid 2006: 24). In the first six months of 1914, 58 (!) movie shows were shown, the majority of which featured natural history subjects. They held a show every week (Jahresbericht 1914: 40).

Chart 1: Weekly timetable in 1909/10 (numbers of hours per week)

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Religious education	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
German	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	26
Latin	8	7	6	6	6	6	5	5	49
Greek	-	-	5	5	5	5	4	5	29
History	-	2	2	2	3	4	3	4 (1st semester) 3 (2nd)	20 (19)
Geography	2	2	2	2	1	–	–	–	9
Mathematics	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	23
Natural history (Biology)	2	2	–	–	3	2 (3)	–	–	9 (10)

Physics and chemistry	–	–	2	3	–	–	4	3 (1st) 4 (2nd)	12 (13)
Philosophical propedeutics	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	4
Total	21	22	25	26	26	25 (26)	26	26	197 (199)

Source: Jahresbericht 1910: 56.

As we mentioned above, the school was initially exempt from teaching physical education as part of the timetable. Gym classes were made compulsory in the second semester of the 1919/20 school year, and following this, it became a subject for every grade (Jahresbericht 1920: 4; Jahresbericht 1921: 4). According to a ministerial edict issued in 1925, the English language became a so-called relative compulsory subject⁹ in the four highest grades, and French and stenography were taught as optional subjects as well (Jahresbericht 1926: 3; Jahresbericht 1928: 4).

The secondary school law in 1927 changed, on the one hand, the beginning of language teaching (with the first Latin class transferred to the 2nd grade, and the first Greek class into the 4th grade); on the other hand, the law made several skill-based subjects compulsory. Besides these changes, it permitted teaching stenography and various languages as optional subjects. In this system, the secondary grammar school provided for teaching the Croatian, Czech, French, Hungarian, Italian, Polish and Slovenian languages. The curriculum in 1935 introduced the “*Realgymnasium*” study department. According to this, from 1936, from the 3rd grade, the students could learn either Greek or a modern foreign language. The students who opted for *Realgymnasium* education could get acquainted with another modern foreign language from the 5th grade (Schmid 2006: 27, 69; Jahresbericht 1929: 5).

Declamations (recitals and rhetorical speeches) completed the students’ class activities, the practice of which was based on the *Ratio Studiorum*. On these occasions, they had the opportunity to show

⁹ The parents had a certain number of study subjects from which to pick the so-called “relative compulsory” subject; however, their child had to study it as a compulsory subject following their choice. In the case of optional subjects, there was no such provision (Spáčilová 2002: 88).

off their talents and knowledge in front of each other, their teachers, and a broader audience: they recited poems, held rhetorical speeches on a given subject, and so on. They called their study circle as well as their solemn – sometimes even public sessions – the “Academy.” The best students were concentrated in this “Academy”; they wrote compositions and poems or translated them (Apponyi 1931: 28).

In the Kalksburg secondary grammar school, an active student theater life flourished. They held performances several times a year: traditionally on the rector’s name day, during the spring carnival, as well as at the end of the year, i.e. on St. Aloisius’s feast day (Apponyi 1931: 33–34).

The declamations, the public academies, and the stage plays all had an educational effect on the school youth. They taught the students how to act in front of an audience, they provided them with an effective, courageous deportment and determination, and versed them in articulate, clear, understandable speech. They also gave the students an opportunity to apply their acquired competences (language command, literary-historic education, rhetorical and poetic crafts and skills) as well as the chance to expand this knowledge as their interest dictated (Schmid 2006: 76).

Physical education

The large park surrounding the boarding school presented numerous opportunities for sports. Physical education was greatly emphasized for pedagogical reasons, as a complement to intellectual work, as well as for achieving good physical strength and developing physical skills. In good weather, the students took walks, pursued ball games, and in May, they went on a big excursion. When it was warm, they went swimming. The students also had the opportunity to fence and, until World War 1, to practice horsemanship. The more adroit pupils could show off their horseriding skills during the already-mentioned *Aloisiusfest*. Students could also match their strength in competitions: from 1906, the school put together tennis competitions and, from 1913, they organized fencing contests. They held their first football match in 1913, but they had played football since 1905 or even before. A typical Kalksburg game was the so-called *Pugnaspiel*

(*pugna* game)¹⁰: the players had to hit one another with a leather ball, while everybody could defend themselves by retreating behind their shields. Between the two World Wars, handball and basketball also became popular. During the winters, the pupils could skate, ride the sleigh, and play ice hockey; less frequently, they went skiing – after World War 1, they went cross-country skiing. From 1897, the boarding school had its separate gymnasium. At the end of the year, they held a sports and gymnastics gala (100 Jahre... 1956: 47–49, Das Kollegium... 1906: 43–48).

Image 8: Equestrian training in 1888/89 (fourth from the left: Ladislaus Count Puslowski)¹¹



Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

¹⁰ The word “*pugna*” means clash or conflict in Spanish; perhaps this is where the game originates from. We found no trace of such a game in other Jesuit schools.

¹¹ Ladislaus Count Puslowski was a pupil of this school between 1882 and 1890 (AASI KK 37/2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge, Vol. 2).

The boarding school consciously took it upon themselves to bring up the empire's elite. During the monarchy's tenure, they considered it their task to ingrain and strengthen loyalty to the dynasty in their students. The Habsburg family themselves were also interested in the institution: its members frequently visited the school. For instance, Archduke Albrecht even attended classes in 1887. On the occasion of his death, the school held a memorial service (*Jahresbericht* 1895: 67). Archduke Karl Ludwig also frequented the institution several times, thanks to his former teacher, Dr. Joseph Fick – who also taught the emperor himself – working at the school (*Jahresbericht* 1895/96: 78–79; *Das Kollegium...* 1906: 10).

During the existence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, similarly to other schools, the boarding school celebrated the Emperor's and his wife's name days. They also commemorated the anniversaries of ascensions to the throne. They had a strong bond with Emperor Franz Joseph, who could be considered the boarding school's founder, and their loyalty to his successor was also unbroken: in 1917/18, the students prayed daily for the "emperor's beloved family" (100 Jahre... 1956: 32; *Jahresbericht* 1909: 3–7; [Königsjubiläum] 1907: 24; *Jahresbericht* 1917: 3–5; *Jahresbericht* 1918: 71).

In this period, the institution strengthened in the students the sense of belonging to the Habsburg Monarchy – to its Emperor and the Empire. The school youth's composition was rather heterogeneous in terms of their nationality and mother country, and even their citizenship (see Image 9). The Jesuit priests themselves also belonged to different ethnicities. The fact that they spoke different languages and were members of different ethnic groups was a completely natural phenomenon. Through this, the school educated the students to see the potential for understanding between nations and cultures and to embrace diversity. It also portrayed the Habsburg Empire as a place where different nations and ethnicities lived together peacefully, receiving the rights due to them (100 Jahre... 1956: 14; *Zur Erinnerung...* 1883: 24). During the Habsburg festivities held in 1882, they consciously provided a platform for this diversity; for example, recitals were done in Polish and Czech as well (*Zur Erinnerung...* 1883: 3).

Image 9: Class photo with Josef Count Starzeński from 1884/85



Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

The school's pedagogical program is summarized in the last strophe of their anthem from the Imperial era (the *Kalksburger Festhymne*):

*“Den Samen, den in unser Herz
hier treue Hände legen,
laß mächtig sprießen himmelwärts
durch Deinen Muttersegen!
Daß wir als Christen frank und frei,
als Männer felsenfest und treu,
die jungen wie die alten,
zu Thron und Kirche¹² halten.”*
(Kalksburger Festhymne 1908: 13)¹³

¹² Today, “to the country and the Church” (Schmid 2006: 9).

¹³ The text can be translated approximately as follows: “Please grant that through your motherly blessing, a mighty plant sprouts toward heaven from the seeds that were planted into our hearts here by faithful hands! And also

This linguistic and ethnic diversity remained even after the dissolution of the monarchy. As we can see, the school offered a whole range of languages as optional subjects for the youngsters with their different origins. Proof that the school's loyalty to the Habsburgs had not completely vanished – at least, not initially – can be concluded from the words of a *legitimist* alumnus, bishop Count János Mikes: “*Es freut mich, aus der Korrespondenz zu sehen, daß der Hauch von Revolution und Republik mein liebes Kalksburg nicht verpestet hat*” [“I am glad to see from the correspondence that the breath of revolution and republic has not infected my beloved Kalksburg”] (Zum Geleite 1923: 1).

Life in the convictus

In order to make the educational principles prevail, the boarding school initially only allowed live-in students. Later, they accepted day students from the neighborhood in very low numbers (Schmid 2006: 76). The uniforms, which were similar to the Austrian officer uniform, also strengthened the sense of community belonging (Jahresbericht 1936: 27–33). Because the students could not even go back home for Christmas and Easter in the school's first decades, the boarding school became their home. Parents who lived in the nearby capital could meet their children during the so-called Vienna excursion days. This system was canceled in 1901 (Schmid 2006: 23; Das Kollegium... 1906: 41).

The live-in lifestyle offered the students activities complementing their school education, giving them a chance not only to do physical education but also, for example, to complete their language learning. Among the Jesuit priests, there were some who did not understand German: for example, communication was only possible in French with P. Bardes, and he liked talking with the boys (100 Jahre... 1956: 56). The convictus also offered organized language education, including, among others, Czech, French, Hungarian, Italian and Polish courses. The performance of the students attending these courses was evaluated (Das Kollegium... 1906: 35; Jahresbericht

[grant] that as Christians, we hold to the throne and the Church, sincerely and freely, solidly as a rock and faithfully, as men, young and old alike!”

1938: 6, etc.). They also had the chance to learn singing and music. The boarding school possessed its own musical director, who coordinated the work of (often secular) singing and music teachers. The students engaging in music could play an instrument in the orchestra and/or the brass instrument band, the *Banda*, from the 4th grade. The latter was founded by P. Schwärzler SJ in 1868 (100 Jahre... 1956: 43–45).

The oldest students, that is, those who attended the 7th and 8th grades, were invited to become Knights of the *Rauchtempel*.¹⁴ The Knights were the hosts of the building, which operated similarly to a club: it was available for them to use, and they could furnish and decorate it according to their own ideas. This was the place where they spent their free time: they had tea and afternoon snacks there, they could play billiards, and so on. In 1883, the Knights founded a fraternity for the building's embellishment (*Verschönerungsverein*), which was managed by a chosen officer corps. Next to the *Rauchtempel* building, initially one, then two tennis courts, as well as a bowling field, were also available (Schmid 2006: 20; Das Kollegium... 1906: 40–42).

The pupils

Before 1918, the school's catchment area extended to all the lands belonging to the Habsburg Empire, with some students even arriving from beyond these boundaries. Besides Hungarian, Czech and southern Slavic students, we can also find Polish ones attending the school. Their proportion increased mainly during the war years, going beyond 8% (see Chart 2). As for the birthplace of the Polish students, we can only conclude this indirectly – for example, an insignificant number of students had Russian as a mother tongue. Those who arrived with Polish as a mother tongue were no doubt chiefly Russian in origin. Among other reasons, the mostly Orthodox Russians did not apply to the school due to their religious affiliation, since the boarding school only accepted students who were members of the Catholic Church. Likewise, the Galicians must have been primarily

¹⁴ The moniker might refer to the cigar room, with the rooms in the "*Rauchtempel*" constructed in a similar way. Members also got permission to smoke there.

Polish, and among the students who originated from Silesia's Austrian territories, there must have been Polish nationals as well. Thus, in our opinion, the Polish students typically hailed from these territories.

Chart 2: Polish students in the Kalksburg boarding school (1897/98–1918/19)

School year	Graded public students	Birthplace				Students with a Polish mother tongue	
		Austrian Silesia	Galicia	Russia	Poland	Persons	%
1893/94	83	0	1	2	–	4	4,8
1894/95	118	1	2	1	–	6	5,1
1895/96	153	1	4	1	–	6	3,9
1896/97	208	6	5	1	–	7	3,4
1897/98	232	3	6	0	–	8	3,4
1898/99	271	2	8	0	–	11	4,1
1899/00	282	1	9	1	–	12	4,3
1900/01	262	1	8	2	–	11	4,2
1901/02	259	1	7	3	–	10	3,9
1902/03	290	2	8	2	–	8	2,8
1903/04	300	3	4	2	–	5	1,7
1904/05	288	1	6	1	–	7	2,4
1905/06	304	0	7	1	–	6	2
1906/07	319	1	10	2	–	9	2,8
1907/08	311	1	14	1	–	15	4,8
1908/09	308	1	11	1	–	12	3,9
1909/10	323	2	11	4	–	15	4,6
1910/11	314	2	10	10	–	16	5,1
1911/12	315	3	11	11	–	18	5,7
1912/13	307	2	9	5	–	13	4,2
1913/14	310	0	7	6	–	12	3,9
1914/15	303	1	21	2	–	24	7,9
1915/16	302	2	21	3	–	24	7,9
1916/17	322	3	23	2	–	27	8,4

School year	Graded public students	Birthplace				Students with a Polish mother tongue	
		Austrian Silesia	Galicia	Russia	Poland	Persons	%
1917/18	328	2	24	0	3	27	8,2
1918/19	294	5	10	0	0	8	2,7

Source: Jahresbericht 1894–1919.

After World War 1, following a period of economic prosperity in the second half of the 1920s, the number of students with a Polish mother tongue compared to Hungarian dropped dramatically – presumably as a result of the great world recession (see Chart 3). Due to their low number, the Polish students were likely to end up in the “other” category in several school years, so we do not possess any data on them. Accordingly, in later years, these students no longer had the opportunity for a Polish-language education. The proportion of pupils from Poland was generally higher than that of students with a Polish mother tongue. This group probably also included the children of German-speaking families born in the eastern part of Poland.

Chart 3: Polish students in the Kalksburg boarding school (1919/20–1937/38)

School year	Graded public students	Mother country: Poland		With a Polish mother tongue		Polish citizens	Studying Polish language
		Persons	%	Persons	%		
1919/20	292	9	3	6	2,1	n. d.	n. d.
1920/21	271	7	2,6	3	1,1	n. d.	n. d.
1921/22	260	6	2,3	3	1,2	n. d.	n. d.
1922/23	258	5	1,9	3	1,2	n. d.	n. d.
1923/24	265	7	2,6	4	1,5	n. d.	n. d.
1924/25	270	n. d.	n. d.	4	1,5	n. d.	n. d.
1925/26	276	n. d.	n. d.	5	1,8	n. d.	n. d.
1926/27	261	n. d.	n. d.	5	1,9	n. d.	n. d.
1927/28	267	8	3,0	5	1,9	3	n. d.
1928/29	276	9	3,3	6	2,2	4	3
1929/30	294	8	2,7	7	2,4	5	5

School year	Graded public students	Mother country: Poland		With a Polish mother tongue		Polish citizens	Studying Polish language
		Persons	%	Persons	%		
1930/31	303	7	2,3	5	1,7	3	2
1931/32	291	5	1,7	2	0,7	1	1
1932/33	296	n. d.	n. d.	1	0,4	n. d.	1
1933/34	274	n. d.	n. d.	1	0,4	n. d.	0
1934/35	282	n. d.	n. d.	1	0,4	n. d.	0
1935/36	266	1	0,4	1	0,4	n. d.	0
1936/37.	274	n. d.	n. d.	1	0,4	n. d.	0
1937/38.	256	n. d.	n. d.	0	0	n. d.	0

n. d. = no data

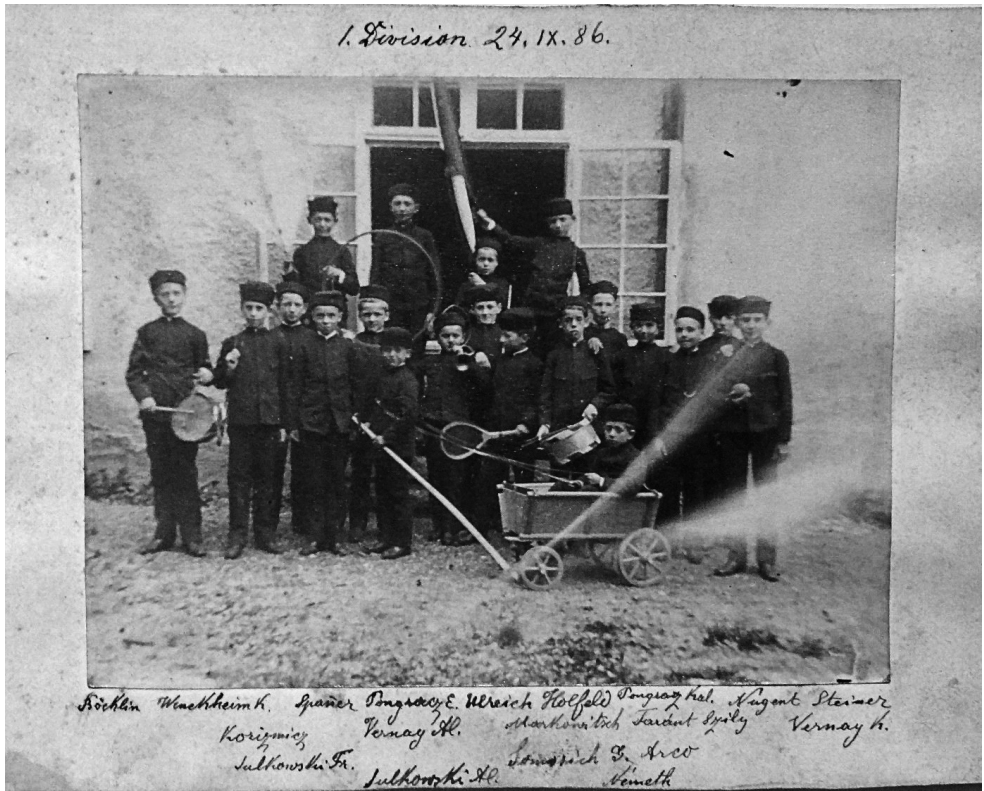
Source: Jahresbericht 1920–1938.

But who exactly were the school's Polish pupils? The boarding school was considered to be a popular institution by the Austrian, Czech, Hungarian and Croatian aristocracies, so it is no surprise that numerous Polish aristocratic families had their children educated there. For example, from the Sułkowski family, Alexander and Franz studied in Kalksburg between 1885 and 1888 (see Image 10), and Roman attended the school in 1907/08.¹⁵ In a roll call from 1901 that lists alumni – besides Count Starzeński, whose name is mentioned elsewhere – members of several other families of Polish barons, counts, and dukes can be identified.¹⁶

¹⁵ (AASI KK 37/2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge, Vol. 2).

¹⁶ Stephan Count Bobrowski, Leo Count Czarneczki, Adam Duke Czartoryski, Alexander and Constantin Count Dzieduszycki, Stanislaus Duke Jablonowski, Georg Count Kalinowski, Stanislaus Count Konarski, Felician and Kasimir Count Korytowski, Josef and Leopold Count Koziebrodzki, Bornislaus Count Lasocki, Casimir, Franz and Miecislaus Count Ledóchowski, Zdislav Count Łoś, Georg and Zdislav Duke Lubomirski, Georg Count Wandlin Mniszech, Eduard Count Mycielski, Alexander Count Ostrowski, Adam Count Plater-Broel, Theophil Count Plater-Syberg, Adam Count Potuliczki, Wenceslaus Duke Radziwiłł, Roman Count Romer v. Chysów, Stanislaus Count Siemieński-Lewiczki, Alexander Count Skrzyński, Stanislaus Count Stadniczki, Alexander and

Image 10: Members of Division 1 on September 24th, 1886, including two members of Duke Sulkowski's family



Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

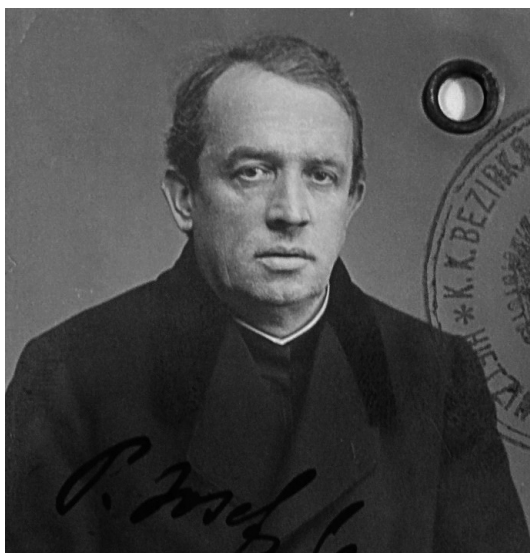
The teachers

The school's teachers were primarily – initially almost without exception – Jesuits. Our sources concerning teachers are dated from 1893/94. We can say that from the turn of the century – until the state appropriation – due to a decline in the Order's numbers, the teaching faculty generally had two to four non-Jesuit members per year: the mother tongue of most prefects as well as teachers from the Order was German, but various other nationalities of the Habsburg Empire

Jakob Baron von Szymonowicz, August Count Wodziczki, Adam, Ladislaus and Thomas Count Zamoysky (Adressen alter Kalksburger 1901: 19–50).

were also present, e.g. Polish (100 Jahre... 1956: 14–15). These padres taught the Polish language to those who were ready for it. The whole list of names cannot be reconstructed; in Schmid's compilation (2006: 88–90), the following names appear: P. Josef Starzeński SJ (1894–95, 1914–15), P. Felix Hotynski SJ (1897–98) and P. Konstantin Otwinowski SJ (1883–84, 1899–1901). P. Starzeński (see Images 9 and 11) himself also studied there between 1881 and 1886, similarly to another ten members of the Count's family during the Empire's existence.¹⁷

Image 11: P. Josef Starzeński in 1917



Source: AASI KK Photosammlung

Summary

The Kalksburg Jesuit boarding school aimed at developing their students' entire personality. Besides the pervasive religious ethics-based education, they considered a high-level intellectual education as markedly important. Due to the institution's favorable

¹⁷ Adam, Albert, Anton, Heinrich, Julius, Kasimir, Leopold, Leonhard, Paul and Vitold Count Starzeński (AASI KK 37/2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge Bd. 2).

geographical settings and the live-in lifestyle, the school had additional opportunities to offer both in the field of sport and music. The popularity of this pedagogical program is apparent from the students' social ranking on the one hand and from their birthplaces on the other. Numerous students arrived from different parts of the Habsburg Empire, and from 1918, even from beyond Austria. The number of students speaking Polish as a mother tongue was significant during the Empire's existence. Following the formation of the autonomous, independent Poland, relatively few students opted for Kalksburg secondary grammar school. As for the reasons why this was the case, that must be the subject of future research.

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