



Protestant Education behind Policy: The History of the *Lutheran Collegium* in Eperjes, Austria-Hungary in the 19th Century

Pál KOUDELA

Kodolányi János University of Applied Sciences, Department of Social Sciences

Abstract. After a long period of struggle, the Protestant education in Austria-Hungary had been given the opportunity to gather pace at the beginning of the 19th century. The major institution in Eperjes (today Prešov, Slovakia), the Lutheran Collegium started to evolve into a multidisciplinary college. Its communities' life increased, its management differentiated and the whole atmosphere became adequate for giving such personalities to public life like Kossuth and Hodža or Záborský and Petőfi. The Collegium was not anymore merely a high-quality standard but a centre of Protestant intellectual life too. The Revolution in 1848/49 broke short its previously constant progress, but the following Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 gave it a fresh impetus. The teachers of the Collegium deserve a special emphasis because of their outstanding role in both scientific life and education in the whole 19th century.

Keywords: Austria-Hungary, Protestant schools, Protestant education, 19th-century education, Collegium of Eperjes

The Antecedents

Eperjes (Prešov), the southern urban and commercial centre of Sáros County, was also an educational and religious centre in the former upper Hungary. Both Lutheran and Greek Catholic denominational and educational life was concentrated there. The Lutheran Collegium was one of the most important schools in Hungarian history; famous politicians and artists were educated there. New political ideas emerged in those communities composed by the later leading personalities and, last but not least, it was a centre of Protestantism in Hungary. The famous old Collegium in Eperjes had developed from a former eight-grade high school at the beginning of the 19th century, but the origins of the school reach back to the 16th century. The first Lutheran Lyceum was established in 1531, inviting scientists to teach from Krakow, Wroclaw and mostly from Wittenberg. The leading Protestant personalities decided to create a legal and theological

Collegium in 1665, and the institution opened two years later, but in a Catholic dominance its early life did not last too long and was prohibited in 1671. During the following century, many attempts went all awry, triumphed by Jesuits, and Lutheran education and ownership began again only in 1775 (Munyay 1835).

The Rise of the Collegium in the Forties

The acceptance of the general school system caused changes in the Lutheran schools' lives for a while in the 1840s. In Eperjes, a new elementary and another school for girls functioned separately from the Collegium, and during the following years the Collegium operated only as a high school again and offered a partial juridical and theological education in the higher classes. The importance of the latter increased when an independent theological course started. The history of these transformations is dating back to the foundation of the Department of Law, which had already been formed in 1815 and a two-year course for legal studies had existed since 1822. These two courses were not part of the grammar school virtually but created a higher educational level by giving a College-like training.

Along with the gradual development of the school, the number of teachers was also increasing: from five in the 1820s to twelve in 1847. Almost all of the professors studied at a foreign – mostly German – university (Wittenberg, Jena, Halle, Greifswald, Dresden, Göttingen), but some of them completed their studies in Paris or Vienna and all could speak several languages (ŠOAP EKP 266). Management was also evolving during that time. The patronage committee made decisions in financial questions and the rector governed education only. The latter status was filled originally by a theology teacher, who held the position until his retirement; but the system had gradually changed into a three-year period at first and to a one-year period after 1842. In the forties, various scientists held the position: Antal Lajos Munyay theology professor, András Vandrák¹ philosophy professor and Frigyes Hazslinszky² biology professor. The latter became one of the most important personalities in the life of the institution and a famous academic of the century.

The dynamic progression of the Collegium in the forties manifested itself in the increasing number and changing composition of students. The total number of students was increasing sharply and had already exceeded four hundred. This number was twice of that at the beginning of the century (ŠOAP EKP 255).

- 1 Antal Lajos Munyay (1787–1849) Lutheran theology teacher. Munyai András Vandrák (1807–1884) teacher at the Lutheran Collegium in Eperjes, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He studied in Jena, Germany, and taught logic, psychology, metaphysics, aesthetics, Latin and Hungarian literature.
- 2 Frigyes Hazslinszky (1818–1896) botanist, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and pioneer of mycology.

Students arrived not only from Eperjes and Sáros, the County around the city (the rate of those was about twelve percent), but many of them came from the eastern part of the country: from Zemplén, Gömör, Szepes, Abaúj, Borsod and Szabolcs counties. At the Collegium, there were also students coming from much greater distance at that time: they were from Liptó, Pest, Túróc, Zólyom, Hont and Bács counties, and even from Torontál, Temes or Arad counties from Transylvania and Partium. Students also arrived from Czech counties, Austria and Galicia too. The denominational composition changed interestingly. While in the first third of the century only Lutheran students were at the Collegium, in the forties, many of them were Calvinists, Orthodox, Jews or even Roman Catholics. In the school year of 1847/48, the 176 students of the grammar school were composed of 92 Lutherans, 26 Calvinists, 6 Catholics, 5 Orthodox and 9 Jews (ŠOAP EKP 246).

The Collegium paid attention to employing qualified and progressive scientists, but they were also interested in creating a familiar atmosphere. Inside the walls, a liberal and democratic spirit prevailed, which attracted protestant families to send there their children. Despite their dominance, other families also sent there their children, especially those who had a similarly modern world view; thus, many illustrious future writers, scientists and politicians grew up there. Inter alia, Lajos Kossuth, Artúr Görgey, Arisztid Dessewffy, Michal Hodža,³ the later representative of the Slovak national movement, Ferenc Pulszky, Dániel Irányi politicians, Jonáš Záborský, Jozef Srnka and Jan Hvezda poets studied in the institution. On the lists of the students, we can find the names of Gyula Sárossy, Frigyes Kerényi, Kálmán Lisznyai, Imre and Sándor Vachot, prominent representatives of romanticism and also Lajos Haán later historian and member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, or even János Hunfalvy, the founder of the Hungarian scientific geography and Ágost Greguss aesthete (Kónya 1993).

Despite all the successes, the institution faced serious financial difficulties. Its main supporters were the Hungarian Lutheran Church's Diocese of Tisza and the two Lutheran Confessions of Eperjes: the German and the Slovak. The amounts allocated to their budget proved insufficient and the existence of the institution depended on gifts, fundraisings and funds created earlier. Patrons came mostly from the ranks of the nobility of Sáros and Zemplén counties. They donated thousands of gold or even lands and estates to the Collegium. Considering all of this, the professors' financial situation did not improve during the mid-century. It was very typical that many of the professors preferred the holy office, founding a company or getting afloat an enterprise to the Collegium. Their salary was composed of different

3 Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) politician, Governor-President, Financial Minister and leader of the Revolution, one of the most important personalities in Hungarian history. Artúr Görgey (1818–1916) was a general, Secretary of War and Marshall of the Armies during the Revolution. Arisztid Dessewffy (1802–1849) Major General, leading personality and martyr of the Revolution. Michal Hodža (1811–1870) Lutheran Priest, Slovak National revivalist, poet and linguist.

parts: free accommodation in the flats belonging to the school or in the Collegium itself, a garden area (cabbage patch) and a maximum of 200 gold per annum. They could expect an additional cash allowance from the Diocese and claim a part of the tuition fee. They received name-day gifts from the students and a couple of cubic yards of wood from the city. The rector had a special bonus too (ŠOAP EKP 266).

Many other buildings belonged to the Collegium over the School House. The Alma Mater offered accommodation and daily meal for a part of the students. Famous collections of the Collegium were formed in the forties: the natural and the numismatic collections. The Szirmay⁴ Library (Szinnyei 1909) had a great importance; it was founded by the superintendent, who gave 15,000 books and established a payment fund for the library of the school.

The Importance of Societies

The fraternities of the nationalities played an important role in the life of the Collegium. They were organized along the lines of the German Student Societies. Students got closer to policy making and progressive political trends with the help of the younger professors. These organizations were centres of literature, poetry and language development, but they were also centres of national reform aspirations. Just like in other cities (Pozsony/Bratislava, Sopron, Késmárk/Kežmarok), the scope of them went beyond the walls of the Collegium and took an important place in the cultural and social life of the city. Fraternities officiating in Hungarian protestant schools had a greater role in developing national and political reformation movements, which is clearly visible, paradoxically, in the prohibition of them by Metternich in 1837.

The main emphasis in the Collegium of Eperjes was on humanities, especially on Latin and on ancient classical authors just like everywhere in the era. In addition, Hungarian language, geography, arithmetic or natural science were reputed as second-class subjects. Philological societies were formed though to postulate Hungarian as a school language but without success. Science – in a similar way – fought against the dominance of humanities because the unbalanced education was inconsonant with practical life in their opinion. In 1846, the Lutheran Church adopted Hungarian as the language of teaching, based on the Zay-Ugróczi curriculum (A magyarhoni, 1842). The role of science has increased also in education since then. Although most professors were advocates of modernization, there were negative elements of life. Unfortunately, not only Metternich but also the Lutheran Diocese of Tisza prohibited any kind of Slovak Society and prescribed Hungarian as the universal teaching language, ‘anywhere where possible,’ at their Rozsnyó

4 Antal Szirmay (1747–1812) nobleman, donator, High Committee of Zemplén County and historian.

(Rožňava) Session on 17th August 1841 (Gömöry 1933). In his Paragraph (1844. II. 9.), the Kaiser ordered that Hungarian language was needed to be the teaching language of public education in Hungary. It was a great step in the Hungarian National Movement but against any other nationalities' interests.

The Slovakian literary and debating society ceased and the Slovak language was taught only in theology classes and in the Teacher-Training College. More theologians were laid off because of their activities in the field of Slovakian culture. Mihály Greguss and András Vandrák were committed to liberty, equality, the idea of fraternity, the freedom of conscience, religious equality and the freedom of scientific research, as it was expressed in the 20th law article of 1848.

The Collegium – because of its high standards – was placed second in the rank of Lutheran schools in Hungary before 1848, leaving behind the lyceums of Késmárk (Kežmarok) and that of Sopron. Only the famous Lyceum of Pozsony (Bratislava), which was established in 1606, could take precedence over it (Hörk 1896: 149). The management was at pains to develop the Collegium into a full university during the forties, but this effort was not successful due to the political events that took place.⁵

The earliest literary and debating society, the Ústav československý (Czechoslovakian Institute) was founded in the 1820s. The second one was founded soon afterwards: it was called Slovenský spolok (Slovakian Society) and in 1832 the students at the Theology Faculty established the Spoločnosť homiletickú slovenskú (Slovakian Homiletic Society) and the Knižovnu československú (Czechoslovakian Library) (ŠOAP EKP 371). They read out Slovak preaching and sang Slovak songs at the meetings, and had direct connections to the Slovakian Student Societies of Pozsony, Késmárk and Lőcse (Levoča). After the prohibition, the homiletic society was renewed in the forties, but its effect was reduced; thus, it dissolved soon thereafter (Kónya 1996). The Hungarian Society was founded in 1828. Mihály Gregus philosophy professor undertook a large part of establishing the Society and its Library. The organization set targets to officiate in Hungarian, to develop language skills and to study literature (ŠOAP EKP 722). After Greguss, the president of the Society was always a professor of the Hungarian Language. The Society was not even ceased after its prohibition in 1837, but it transformed into a course. The former president of the Society became its private tutor, and the legal operation was restarted in 1839.

In the following years, the Society was growing larger. Its members read out their own works and translations at the meetings, from which the best were noted in the Merit-book (ŠOAP EKP 720). Some poems or shorter epic pieces were published by the Hungarian literature papers. According to Géza Bodolay,

5 The idea of developing a University came up in the 1760s already, but it had no chance because of the Catholic dominance in political life. An even earlier attempt failed at the time of Ferenc Rákóczi II., which was decided at Rózsahegy (Ružomberok) in 1707.

these poems can be characterized by the little bit strange Biedermeier style of the era, with the exception of folksong-like scripts. Their importance – compared with the previous period – is their relation to the subject of love, or this relation itself was expressed in them emotionally (Bodolay 1963). Their yearbook called *Jácint* was published in 1838. Many later poets, scientists and public figures were members of the Society; their leaders were in connection with the outstanding personalities of the reform movement and the anti-Habsburg, liberal opposition.

The *Deutsche Verein* (German Society) was the fourth organization, established in 1842 (ŠOAP EKP 129). Despite that German language continued to hold its strong position and the many German students who studied in the school, the Society did not enjoy greater support than others and its activity was limited to cultivating German language and literature. The rather small and closed company did not prepossess the life of the city or the Collegium. It is noteworthy that there was a remarkable willingness for co-operation between the Societies that were lacking any nationalism or hate. At the same time, the students' activities in different societies strengthen this viewpoint of the contemporary observers.

The later influential leader and professor of the Collegium, Frigyes Hazslinszky, moved to Eperjes around this time. He came from Vienna in 1846 and became independent of his previous employers partly by the help of his friend Rector Günther and his family. For example, they gave an expensive Plössl microscope to Frigyes as a gift to support his research. Thus, he became one of the first to use such an instrument in Hungary; even the Botanical Department at the greatest university did not have one. He wrote several textbooks on mineralogy, chemistry and geology at that time.

The Surrounding City: Eperjes

Eperjes could not be considered a great city in this period: its population was only 9,550 in 1850 and had increased to 11,596 by 1868, but it had decreased to 10,872 by 1880. There is a clear stagnation considering the population in 1890: 11,203 and in 1900: 14,447. The process broadly represents the whole area: the increase in smaller cities slowed down in the 19th century, the population composition is rather medieval-like than modern. Changes occurred anyway: immediately after the legalization of urbanization for Jews, their number boosted radically in towns. They were only 82 in Eperjes in 1850, but this number had exceeded 2,673 by 1910. As a consequence, former wealthy German families began to be replaced by Jewish merchants and lawyers. During the Dualism, the latter owned almost all of the shops and two-thirds of the houses on the Main Street; only two consumer co-operatives and five shops remained in the hands of the old families. Craftsmen, mostly tailors, shoemakers and doctors, lawyers and other officials on the upper

floors continued to live in these houses. Sons of the old merchant families went on to become clerks: they became doctors, solicitors, judges and engineers, but the demand for these jobs did not increase at the same rate as their growing number; thus, most of them emigrated to other regions, especially to Pest.⁶ Shops could be found only on the central street in this oval, Czech-pattern built city. Most of the wealthier citizens and clerks, teachers, priests lived in the newly built quarter called Tabor. The row of school buildings and dormitories surrounded with gardens was built in a semicircle along with the city promenade. The row started at the Kassai Street with the Greek Catholic Academy of Theology, the Greek Catholic Secondary School and the Teacher-Training College; and a little bit further there were the Primary School and the Royal Catholic High School. The public Teacher-Training Institution stood at the inner side of Stefánia Boulevard followed by the State Elementary School, a kindergarten and then the Roman Catholic Upper High School for Girls, the Middle School, another kindergarten and finally the Israelite Primary School and High School for Girls. The Lutheran Collegium was on the Main Street. Along with the four big institutions, there were also the Lutheran School for Girls, the Trade School and a Roman Catholic Primary School.

Industry and trade were losing ground during this period and the former competition of guilds was replaced by the feud among denominations. Mostly, the Greek Catholic Church developed in the era of Dualism. Their bishopric, college, two of their high schools and one primary school were in Eperjes and they also opened two boarding schools there around this time. Earlier, lively trade moved to Kassa (today Košice). Twenty merchants of the twenty-four on the Main Street were German in the 16th century: they were the elite in the city. Only a couple of craftsmen lived there besides them who reached the Northern Sea and Constantinople with their goods. They transacted the giant wine trade of Tokaj to Poland. In the 19th century, Eperjes maintained its importance only as an educational centre. Small signs of differentiated development were the opening of a vinegar factory in 1848 and a liquor factory in 1852. The railway between Eperjes and Kassa was opened to traffic on the 1st of October in 1869, which would reach even Tarnov in 1879. It was connected to Bártfa (today Bardejov) with a regional railway in 1893. But all of these were not enough to restore the earlier busy trade. The number of guilds was decreasing too: the previously famous weaving industry seemed to be vanishing at the beginning of the century. The latter was revitalized by the 8th law article in 1872 which dismissed the guild system. A new weaving factory was established in that year: Solomon Bloch's First Damask Weaving Factory. Only a few years had passed and they used 42 looms and 50 weavers were employed in the factory (Tóth 1912: 495). Only gold- and silversmiths, clock-makers, coach-makers, joiners and shoemakers remained untouched and took on their old crafts. The first mill was founded in 1859 with 140 workers: they exported flour to Austria and Germany.

6 Eastern part of later Budapest.

The Eperjes Folk Bank Stove Factory was opened with 80 employees in 1855 and won a prize later at the Millennium Exhibition. There was also a cheese factory, a creamery, a pig farm and six nation-wide fairs were organized annually, but despite all of this the city could not be called a dynamically developing settlement. More and more county noblemen were moving to Eperjes; thus, their importance was growing along with the increasing participation of Jewish capitalists (Dziák 1915).

The elite was composed of employees at the county tribunal, the district court, the financial management board and other state and municipal offices in Eperjes in the 19th century. At the same time, more than eighty teachers and schoolmistresses lived within the city walls, which was a considerable number compared to the population but understandable because of the many schools. More and more Slovak peasants and craftsmen moved to the town from the villages around during the 18th and 19th centuries. As a result of these changes, the denominational composition has changed in the population: the onetime strong Lutheran stratum lost its earlier significance and the dominance of the Catholic population became overwhelming and irreversible.

Table 1. *Denominational composition of Eperjes in 1782, 1851 and 1910*

	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Lutheran	Jewish
1782	4,484	0	1,314 ⁷	0
1851	5,604	793	1,158	82
1910	10,160	1,744	1,304	2,673

Source: censuses of 1782, 1851, 1910

Different social clubs operated in Eperjes at that time like the Széchenyi Circle, the Rákóczi Catholic Circle, the National Farmers' Union of Sáros County, and also several newspapers, magazines were published like the *Papers of Eperjes*, the *Sáros*, *The Eperjes* and the *Nasa Zastava*. In the years preceding the revolution, the youth were under the influence of poets Mihály Tompa, Sándor Petőfi and Sándor Vachott. Patriotic and Hungarian literary meetings were held by them led by three teachers: Antal Munyai from the Theology Department, András Csupka from the Department of Law and András Vandrák literature professor. The later director, Frigyes Hazslinszky, just arrived at the institution at that time.

The Revolution and Its Consequences

The revolutionary events at the end of the 1840s and the subsequent developments had had an impact and dominated the fate of the institution. The Hungarian Revolution broke out on 15 March in 1848 and most of the students and teachers

⁷ Lutherans and Calvinists together.

in the Collegium accepted the movements and the democratic changes with enthusiasm. The institution was already a kind of centre for democratic forces in the town and it was not a coincidence that several personalities of the revolution, such as Lajos Kossuth, Arisztid Dessewffy, Dániel Irányi, Ferenc Pulszky and Artúr Görgey, were former students of the Collegium. After the outbreak of the armed conflict, the normal educational process of the school could not be maintained. At the end of May, teaching was ceased and many of the teachers and students themselves took part in the fighting events during the following months. The National Guard was formed with 46 persons in the spring already led by József Benczúr, and even Hazslinszky and Vandrák put on the uniform (Hörk 1896: 51). They only took part in the battle of Kassa in December. Before the Army of the Kaiser occupied Eperjes, some stayed with the Hungarian Army, but the rest had to adjust to the new situation. The building of the Collegium was damaged in the following months and in addition the Russian Army intervened, occupied it and transformed it into barracks, hospital and warehouse in the summer. The teachers did not receive salary; thus, after a while, they had to ask to suspend scholarships in advance. It is true that there was not really teaching at that time and stipends could be distributed to teachers. Frigyes Hazslinszky took part in the Battle of Kassa as a militiaman on 10-11 December; one of his colleagues fell next to him. This personal experience horrified him and made him run home and engross in science and teaching. But, nevertheless, he can be found among those Protestants who would later fight against the patents (Vasárnapi Újság, 797–798).

After the war of independence, on the 24th of October in 1849, the Kaiser created the K. K. Kaschauer prov. Distrikt-Schulbehörde,⁸ which worked under the control of the Military Ministerial Commissioner until the formation of a new Council of Department in Kassa. Haynau disestablished the Hungarian Protestant Churches' Constitutions and removed the Church leaders from their offices on 10 February 1850. He appointed administrators instead of superintendents and abolished the institution of secular guardianship (Vandrák 1867). Besides, the Entwurf der Organisation der Österreichische Gymnasien und Realschulen⁹ related to Leo Thun was extended to Hungary and to Protestant schools by Regulation nr. 473 on 20 December 1850. They had to work according to the regulation; otherwise, they would lose their right to issue state-approved certificates. A specialization system was introduced into schools: eight teachers had to teach in eight classes under the governance of an elected or appointed director but directly under government jurisdiction. Legal and theological courses were to be shaped into independent academies. German, Hungarian and Slovak language teaching was prescribed in the fields of mathematics and natural sciences by the regulation. Teachers were aware that this was a development, but they felt that a foreign

8 School Board of Kassa District.

9 Plan of the Organization of Austrian High Schools and Middle Schools.

imperial will was forcing them to lose their national character and autonomy. On the other hand, they had no appropriate financial coverage for such an implementation of improvements. German became the language of teaching, and admission of Catholic students into Protestant schools was limited until 1855.

The famous Collegium of Eperjes, where Petőfi and Kossuth studied, had just tied itself up into knots at that time. The Austrian Government was watching the Collegium with hostile eyes from the outset; thus, Vienna did not provide any support for them and even took further administrative steps to undermine their situation in the following years. Vandrák and Hazslinszky got more offers afterwards; the former one was called to Sopron and the latter one to Pozsony (Bratislava) to teach; however, they insisted all along on staying with the school. The abolishing of the Kossuth Notes caused another problem just like burning the securities of the Pester National Bank, causing the bank to lose almost all of its possessions. Furthermore, the Collegium lost many of its sponsors after the fall of the revolution. Finally, they get financial support for two professorships and another class for the theology faculty from the Lutheran Church of Tisza Diocese. The death of András Csupka, the leading professor of law, further aggravated the situation in 1851 as long as after some struggle they had to cease the education of legal studies in the following year. In the 1851/52 school year, only 260 students studied in the Collegium, which was the half of the number reported before the revolution; half of the newly admitted students came from Eperjes or Sáros County (ŠOAP EKP 249). Despite all the changes, 40 Catholic, 15 Calvinist and 12 Jewish pupils attended the school along with the 73 Lutheran students. In the same year, nine teachers of the twelve avowed themselves German; their political views and nationality was recorded. Frigyes Hazslinszky, András Vandrák and József Herfurth considered themselves Hungarian henceforward, even in the register.

The Recovery in the 1850s and 1860s

After a great deal of difficulty, in 1855, the government finally recognized the institution to be public; tuition fees were raised, interests were called from debtors; thus, the teachers' salary could be raised. The latter was between 400 and 600 forints, close to the salaries of the teachers in public schools (ŠOAP EKP 266). The greatest support – beside the Diocese – came from the Gustavus Adolphus Union. Hazslinszky who also worked as a treasurer in the institution, started to sort out the relationship between debtors and the Collegium. He travelled across the whole Zemplén County in 1858 and went to Gölnicbánya (Gelnica) in 1860. His trips were also used to collect money in form of donations. This activity of him resulted in surprise sometimes; he reported – and asked the Collegium what to do – on the 1st of April 1858 that he received two barrels of

wine instead of 75 forints, but no one offered more than 32 for the wine when he wanted to sell it. The school had made provision that teachers had to receive the wine for 40 forints, which was to be deducted from their salaries. Hazslinszky was in a difficult situation also when Ferenc Pulszky raised the rate of the Collegium's capital and he had to get it across, or when he had to manage the mortgages and bonds that belonged to the heirs of Károly Pulszky. In such cases, he corresponded for some length of time with the superintendent as to whether they were covered by the decision or not (Frigyes Hazslinszky's Letter). Once he quarrelled even with the government when he did not get the thousand-forint debt of Ferenc Pulszky after the revolution leader's property was confiscated. This case was successful finally, only the tax was deducted from it, generating another discussion. Despite ground floor rooms were rented, many teachers left their career because of the great difficulties. Even most of the primary school salaries were higher than theirs at that time.

The difficult financial and legal situation continued in the 1850s. The Collegium applied for public assistance in 1856, but their application was rejected. Hazslinszky visited the Nature Explorers' Grand Assembly in Vienna in the same year. A hundred forints were granted him from the almost empty safe, hoping his journey would be successful in collecting donations. Five years later, Professor Karl Lintner was sent to Germany to raise money. These fundraising tours were fruitful partly because former student Kossuth used his influence. Kossuth was the leader of the War of Independence and the later Minister of Finance; he had lived in London since 1851. He built up effectively a great social network abroad to help the Hungarian resistance against the Austrian suppression, especially among Protestants (Hörk 1894). In the last year of Kossuth's stay in London, before he left to Turin, the composition of students was still strongly mixed; certainly, the majority – 61 students – was Lutheran, but 31 Jewish, 24 Catholic and 18 Calvinist pupils also studied in the Collegium. Only one third came from the county around Eperjes (ŠOAP EKP 249). The thirteen teachers' salary did not increase; only the deans of the Law and Theology Departments had a tolerably high income of a thousand gold annually. The Faculty of Law was renewed and worked in its new form until 1876.

In such circumstances, they still managed to reopen the law faculty with two classes. The management would have liked to renovate the building for the 200 year-jubilee of foundation by 1867. Kálmán Rochlitz, a former student who lived in Melbourne, made an offer – as a sign of gratitude – to open a bazaar in Australia of objects from Hungary, whose income could be used for the instruction. Teachers liked the idea and sent two thousand different things worth about ten thousand forints and 1,880 forints in cash for the expenses. However, the following year, the company went bankrupt whereon Rochlitz suggested sending the objects to London to sell them. This, in turn, was not considered worthy for the fame of the school

neither by the management nor by the special committee – led by Hazslinszky – created to solve the situation. Meanwhile, it turned out that, on top of it all, neither the traditionally great patronage of the Pulszky family nor its members, Mrs. Ferenc Pulszky and her son Ágost Pulszky (founder of the Society for Social Sciences), had any chance to give any financial support. Therefore, they decided to organize lotteries and made sixty thousand lottery tickets that were not sold out, when the draw was postponed to the autumn of 1867. Despite all difficulties, they proceeded to construction in 1866; the new building's inauguration ceremony was held on 10 September 1867. The construction cost 34,408 forints; 6,996 forints had to be added from the till. Despite these, Hazslinszky succeeded in increasing the 27,284-forint capital to 68,747 forints in the period between 1859 and 1863. The process did not stop and the Collegium's capital increased to 91,001 forints in 1865 and to 96,652 in 1870, while it was boosted to the amount of 260,000 for 1867. He was honoured for the obtained results and his honorarium was raised from 50 to 150 forints. The constructions continued in 1873 and another investment began to be implemented in 1884 but this time with a public support. Unfortunately, on 6 May 1887, a great fire burnt down two-thirds of the city and caused a million-forint damage; however, generous contributions helped to finish renovations in the same year (Dívald 1887).

Theology education changed to a four-grade system in 1884. The teachers' salary reached again the level of those teaching in public schools: 1,000 gold annually (ŠOAP EKP: A professzorok // The Professors). Although Hazslinszky was the treasurer only until 1874, he could collect 3,670 forints for the Collegium in Budapest even in 1878. Instead of the previously rejected state aid, Tamás Vécsey,¹⁰ former student and then parliamentarian, could manage to obtain a loan of 20,000 forints in 1873. Disbursement, too, took place on unfavourable terms; thus, the Collegium tried to pay it back as soon as possible (Mayer 1896). Frigyes Hazslinszky got 600 forints annually for serving as a treasurer and received free accommodation: a flat in the building of the Collegium and 1/15th of the school's cabbage patch. He had the same salary in the 60s with an extra 150 gold of supervisory bonus and 200 gold extra pay as a rector. But he never betrayed the Collegium despite a more prestigious job – the director of the Botanical Department at the University of Pázmány Péter in Pest – was offered to him at that time.

After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise

The situation of the Collegium was mended after The Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867. Legal training also developed into a four-year system based on a ministerial decision and the Training-School Institute for Boys with its technical

10 Tamás Vécsey (1839–1912) jurist, professor, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Rector of the University of Budapest and noted scientist of civil law (Glatz 2003).

elementary school moved from Nyíregyháza to Eperjes in 1872. Only 31 of the 155 newly admitted students came from Sáros County around Eperjes in 1870. Most of them stemmed from counties neighbouring Sáros. Along with the 64 Lutheran students, 41 Calvinist, 24 Jewish, 20 Roman Catholic, 5 Greek Catholic and one Orthodox pupil studied there at that time (ŠOAP EKP 249). The total number of students was 375 in the following year (213 Lutherans of them) and already 23 teachers worked in the school (ŠOAP EKP 12). The Collegium continued to evolve during the Dualism: they had 40 teachers in 1892 and the rector's authority was not limited only to the common affairs of the schools. Academies were headed by deans and high schools by directors. The institution of directors worked as a collective management body and three boards managed the life of the institution: a Labour, a Finance and an Audit Committee (A Tiszai Á. H 1892/93). After obtaining the state aid, the financial problems were solved rapidly; earlier funds were completed by ten more, exceeding the former amount by tens of thousands of gold.

Although organizational activity started to revive in the era, it cannot be compared to that in the forties. It did not have such social and political importance, and the organizations founded then were influenced by nationalism rather than by patriotism. We can find such names as Pavol Országh Hviezdoslav¹¹ (Sziklay 1965) among the members of the Slovak Society (Slovenská Spoločnosť) operating in the sixties. The Hungarian Society was renewed, but the Hungarian, German and Slovak Homiletic Societies remained small with few members. Many of the literary and debating societies, professional development associations came to life and operated in the Academy of Law and in the Teacher-Training College. The atmosphere of Hungarian dominance had a negative impact on the life of the school: all pan-Slavic activities were strictly punished. For example, Gustav Marsall and eight of his companions were excluded from the Academy of Law and the Teacher-Training College because of the foundation and participation in a Slavic secret association in 1882 (Az Eperjesi ker. ev. 1881/82).

When Frigyes Hazslinszky arrived to Eperjes, he had already had a herbarium of 376 species he could present at the meeting of the Hungarian Doctors' and Nature Explorers' Association. Each item was collected from around the city. The Association was established following a German model by Ferenc Bene¹² and Pál Bugát¹³ in 1841. The Association operated for almost a whole century (1841–1933), but its organization differed from the German model. It had a constantly working central committee and lectures were divided into professional groups. Its

11 Pavol Országh Hviezdoslav (1849–1921) is still one of the most popular Slovak poets, the pioneer of modern Slovak poetry.

12 Ferenc Bene (1775–1858): doctor, he introduced the smallpox vaccination in Hungary.

13 Pál Bugát (1793–1865): ophthalmologist, founder of the Natural History Society and Chief Medical Officer of Hungary during the Revolution. After the fall of the Revolution, he lost both his occupation and any chance for one; thus, he started to study linguistics, especially Finnish and Turk languages (Szinnyei 1891).

original medical and scientific character was retained later, but the professional groups were supplemented with archaeological and sociological groups already in the 1840s. The Society's foundation was a turning point in the history of the institutionalization of Hungarian science – many of the prominent scientists were members of it. The organization held its annual meetings in different towns: a total of forty over the course of its existence. During its first decade, the meetings were annual, but after the Revolution they could organize it less frequently. The given city's lords or prelates were asked to be the chairmen and scientists held the positions of vice-presidents and secretaries. The most important activity was a consequence of its nature. Each meeting was held in a different city, providing an opportunity to explore the specific questions of an area more profoundly and to draw the national attention. Many publications were published about the meetings: events, texts of lectures and the organizing city's or the larger landscape's scientific description and also many scientific books.

The Most Important Professor: Hazslinszky a Little Closer

Hazslinszky turned his attention to mycology at that time. Initial failures dissuaded him for a while; thus, he started to arrange his collections of juveniles first (Hazslinszky 1855). Afterwards, he began to realize his dreams of youth: systematizing the whole Hungarian flora. He moved on slowly with a persistent and painstaking work but finally reached a success. He was a pioneer in the microscopic research of Hungarian cryptogam flora. In 1864, encouraged by his students, he wrote the *Flora of Northern Hungary*, followed by the *Botanical Handbook of Vascular Plants in Hungary* in 1872. The previous work was the first real Hungarian handbook for plant identification. *The Algae of Hungary and of the Neighbouring Countries* was published in 1867, another one in 1870 and one more on lichen in 1884. He published a book about mosses in 1885 with the title *Moss Flora of the Hungarian Empire*, but his interest had been predominantly focused on mycology since 1864. A series of synthetic books had been published since 1875: seven bigger issues and many smaller ones altogether. He discovered more than a hundred new species (although this was not an outstanding achievement in that period) and he was always striving for perfection, mostly in his descriptions. He wrote once to Lajos Jurányi:¹⁴ 'because detailed knowledge of a species causes more joy than discovering a hundred new ones in the spirit of the botanic explorers of our time'.¹⁵ He conducted breeding

14 Lajos Jurányi (1837–1897): botanist, pioneer scientist and member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and of the Royal Botanical Society in Edinburgh. (Szinysei 1897)

15 In identifying the species, he considered both the morphological features and the evolutionary viewpoint.

experiments and initiated them across the country, systematizing his results. The number of his works was over a hundred during his half-century career. He gave his mineralogical, animal and other collections to the Collegium; his fossils came into the possession of the Geological Institute, while the Botanical Collection of about 11,200 species went to the National Museum.

He helped other scientists, students or amateurs but released any financial benefits; he lived secluded, merely for scientific success and he even sought to invigorate economic life. His series of works on soil science published in the *Economic Papers* in 1866 is a fine example of this.

He managed to gain adherents for cement production and grindstone mining already in 1860. He characterized his own professional activity modestly: 'I can barely say anything about my works because of my rare time for science; so many profane duties for what my subsidiary office obliges me.' In addition, he performed the job of a teacher in the Collegium and filled the position of rector ten times and the position of high school director twice. He taught history, German language, Latin, drawing, economy and Hebrew language. He was a committed teacher: he taught Hebrew at the faculties of Theology and Economy as well as at the Academy of Law, and drawing at the Teacher-Training College only because the Collegium did not have money for an adequate teaching staff, and he found this the only way to protect the institution from closure. And, finally, he also managed the Szirmay Library. He did all of this for a modest financial reward since he remained the secondary school teacher till the last, just as he was invited in 1846. At the beginning, he received a 120-gold salary and the same amount for managing the library. Contrary to the custom, he used the polite form of advocating already in the fifth grade, but he used informal methods even in the eighth grade whenever a student was unready. This resulted that those pupils remained out of favour as long as they had not learned the lesson. However, if somebody was interested in any part of the curriculum, Hazslinszky treated him willingly even outside the classroom. He went out regularly with his students or showed them the plants he got from abroad to identify. Although he was not a good speaker, everybody loved his lectures because not the amount of knowledge was important, but the understanding. He often embellished his lectures with stories and sought to educate students to autonomy and independent thinking.

'A good teacher does what he can do according to his talent; otherwise, he is not a teacher!' – he said in his own words (Mayer 1897). He emphasized the development of thinking as a teacher and as a man; this made him a main attraction of the Collegium beside András Vandrák. He died of heart attack on 16th November 1896; he worked even in the last hours of his life. He never looked for entertainment; his only hobby was his backyard. He formed his opinion slowly but remained consistent; scientific debates inspired him but always covered the front quarrels. Loving nature and being close to it meant harmony and the signs

of divine thought for him. Sometimes he was accused of not being pious, but he himself wrote for the survival of Theology in 1874: 'In hard times, against a great enemy, our predecessors established this institution and took charge of its wealth, and would we consider ourselves unable or incapable of taking care of this heritage in much better circumstances, protected by sacred, inviolable law granting the freedom of religions? Verily, the real reason of such nonsense does not lie in the financial but rather in the spiritual poverty of ourselves, the lack of benignity, the guilty un pitying towards the sacred cause of Protestantism.' (Mágócsy-Dietz 1899)

Although he did not participate directly in the social or the political life of the city and that of the county, his patriotism and dedication for science were manifested in his letter to Lajos Jurányi in 1873 as follows: 'the country is poor, very poor because people do not understand that only the superiority of our scientific literacy will be able to captivate the multicoloured nationalities.' This was one of his greatest enemies: indifference... 'the insuperable stolidity, which is surrounding the scientist with stifling atmosphere and which is not recognized enough by the leaders of our society and which does not care about healing.' (König 1897: 413)

He made a similarly dedicated attempt at creating a Hungarian nomenclature, to evolve it in the field of botany, where Latin and German were usual at that time. He had significantly less success in this area; maybe he had no talent for Hungarian because his family returning from emigration spoke mostly German or maybe because he was far from the centre of neology. As a teacher, he did not teach in the Prussian way, according to rigorous principles: he used demonstrative methods ahead of his time but was one of the lasts who taught without textbooks. Derivations of examples and correlations were on the blackboard and waited to be worked up at home. Every school note needed to be elaborated independently: that was the way how he helped to increase comprehension instead of conning.

Despite his puritan lifestyle and as a consequence of his nature to avoid self-interest, in 1873, he had to sell his unique paleontological collection of necessity, which he had accumulated for twenty-four years. 'Because in my destitution I cannot cope with buying scientific books, because I have debts to redeem.' (Frigyes Hazslinszky's Letter) He offered the collection to the National Museum and received 1,500 forints, even though the more than 1,500 pieces cost him much more money and energy. Many fossils that Hazslinszky discovered himself were from the Eocene and Miocene ages and four of them were named after him. Later, he had to hand over one of his botanical collections to the Collegium for a modest life-annuity. Only the eighties brought him some improvement in his financial circumstances: his salary was raised to 1,353 gold and 96 deniers (ŠOAP EKP: 173).

His name was well-known abroad because he published in German, English¹⁶ and French journals. He kept up a vast correspondence with European, American and Australian colleagues, who presented him with plants and sometimes with a

16 He learned English only at the age of 55 to be able to read articles in original.

microscope. He became member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1863 (Országos Középiskolai 1896: 180). He was also member of the Natural History Society (1886), the Hungarian Geographic Society (Természettudományi Közlöny 1886: 102) and the Société Mycologique de France in Paris (1889), but many other societies also elected him honorary member. Fourteen species were named after him.¹⁷ Despite his family had noble origins, which was confirmed by the Kaiser in 1890 (Oklevél 1904: 305), and that he was a great scientist of his era – who spoke German, Latin, Slovak, Greek, Hebrew, French and English (ŠOAP EKP: 150) –, he never held himself any of them.

The Sad Termination of the Collegium

The Collegium was largely closed in 1919, after Hungary lost its territories in the First World War, including Eperjes. The Czechoslovakian Government diminished theology and transformed the High School and the Teacher-Training College into Slovakian-language education institutions; the latter one was transferred to public service. Hungarian language was not allowed to be taught in any school, not even as a foreign language. The Lutheran Middle School was also closed down. The only church-run survivor, the already Slovakian-language High School was socialized in 1926 (Gömöry 1933). The Academy of Law moved to Miskolc immediately in 1919, where it was socialized in 1948 and closed down in the following year; but the professors and teachers of the Theology Faculty and the Teacher-Training College were waiting for years before moving to Miskolc or Budapest and became teachers in other institutions (Boleratzky 2009).

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17 For example, *Xenospheria sphyriddii* Hazslinszky (Bulletin de la Société 1913: 133).

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