

The Life and Professional Wanderings of Advocates and Physicians in Moravia and Silesia at the Turn of the 20th Century

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The writing of the study presented here preceded the appearance at the conference, *Educated Persons above the Bounds of “Provincionality”*.¹ In the lines below, I do not mean to devote attention to the conceptual questions of terminology, i.e. who from a historical perspective we consider to be an educated person or how we define provincionality. The domestic historical community still uses these terms very loosely and the actual definition in the rendition of the conceptions differs, which is certainly detrimental to comparative research. With the interval of a few short years, I have returned to the topic of the social group of the intelligentsia, whose representatives at the turn of the 20th century had the status of educated men in the eyes of the society. They were not, however, intellectuals in the interpretations of Foucault or Bourdieu; this boundary was surpassed by very few of them. In my opinion, it is possible to consider as typical representatives of the social group of the intelligentsia, advocates and physicians; both professions were marked by high society-wide prestige based on the attained doctoral title.

I do not intend to present below socio-demographic data related to the formation of both professions in selected Moravian and Silesian towns, I did that years ago in a monograph and several component studies;² I set the goal in this place to expand the existing state of research by a new historical-anthropological interpretation. I opened my appearance at the conference with the complaint of one of the physi-

1 The conference *Educated Persons above the Bounds of “Provincionality”* was organised on 25–26 April 2013 by the FF-OU; presentation: *Professional Wanderings of the Representatives of the Liberal Arts at the Turn of the 20th Century*.

2 The text of the study comes from the conclusions of research focused on the forming of the intelligentsia on Moravia and Silesia, which was published in the monograph *Andrea Pokludová, Formování inteligence na Moravě a ve Slezsku 1857–1910*, Ed. 1, Opava: 2008, 326 pp.; *Andrea Pokludová, Advokát*. In: Milan Myška — Aleš Zářický (eds.), *Člověk v Ostravě v XIX. století*, Ostrava 2007, pp. 225–233; *Andrea Pokludová, Lékař*. In: Milan Myška — Aleš Zářický (eds.), *Člověk v Ostravě v XIX. století*, Ostrava 2007, 81–95; *Andrea Pokludová, Lékař — příklad Františka Boučka a Nikodéma Krocška*. In: Lukáš Fasora — Jiří Hanuš — Jiří Malíř (eds.), *Člověk na Moravě 19. století*, Brno 2004, pp. 61–79; *Andrea Pokludová, Opavská advokacie v druhé polovině 19. a na počátku 20. století*, *Slezský sborník* 102, 2004, No. 3, pp. 184–194; *Andrea Pokludová, Advokáti v Moravské Ostravě před sto léty*, *Bulletin advokacie* 6, 2004, pp. 71–77.

cians from Prague from the beginning of the 1880s, who lamented on the pages of a professional press the worsening material provision of the doctors of medicine: “Today, we are already on the level that every mindful father must reconsider allowing his son to study medicine, and in that everyone admits that it must be considered seriously whether to marry a daughter to a physician, if she does not have enough property herself.”³ A few years later, an obituary, published on the occasion of the untimely death of 35-year-old general practitioner, who was to have overdosed on morphine because of poverty, brought a more expressive portrayal of the dismal conditions of the physicians of Prague.⁴ Were the physicians around 1900 wavering over the chasm of poverty? From the periodical press of Bohemian lawyers, it seems that material problems did not affect only physicians but also a number of Prague advocates. The leading representatives of the Prague Bar publically proclaimed the opinion that the number of professionals educated in Law surpassed the opportunities of their finding posts in the job market. At the Bar Association, they even seriously discussed the re-establishment of the regulation principle of *numerus clausus* (limitation of student numbers).⁵ Professional journals defended the position that a society-wide saturation of the professions of physician and advocate had occurred and spread the fears of the future posts of graduates in the plentifully expanding fields at the Faculties of Law and Medicine.⁶ Was the situation really so serious or did the professional press merely narrow view of the representatives of the centre? It is one of the key questions to which I try to bring an answer on the background of the professional wanderings and careers of selected advocates and physicians.

Let’s devote ourselves to the tabled issue of attention from the perspective and interpretation of the situation in the regional centres, specifically in Opava, Olomouc, Moravská Ostrava and Těšín. At this point, there is no scope to outline the detailed development of the selected localities, only the substantial fact should be emphasized that they were towns affected to different degrees by dynamic modernization processes.⁷

3 Časopis lékařů českých 19, 1880, No. 38. pp. 639–640, Medical wages.

4 Časopis lékařů českých 39, 1900, No. 3. p. 67, 1900.

5 Právnícké rozhledy. Orgán Spolku českých advokátů v království českém 3. No. 9. p. 162; O zásadách reformy advokacie, No. 11. pp. 121–122; O cílech a prostředcích reformy advokacie.

6 In the course of the second half of the 19th century and particularly at the beginning of the 20th century, the numbers of study positions at non-Hungarian general secondary schools and universities increased progressively. In school year 1856/57 there were 26,620 students registered at general secondary schools, by 1899/1900 their number had increased through the opening of new institutes to 119,970 and by 1909/1910 140,545. At the same time, there were 3,709 university students and 2,235 students of technical schools registered by academic year 1856/57, for 1899/1900, their number had increased to 14,331 and 4,833 and a decade later to 23,063 and 10,110.

7 Pavel Kladiwa — Andrea Pokludová — Renata Kafková, Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914. Díl II., svazek 2. Budování infrastruktury, Section 2, Volume 2, 1st edition, Ostrava 2009; Pavel Kladiwa — Andrea Pokludová — Renata Kafková, Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska 1850–1914. Díl II., svazek I. Muži z radnice, Section 2, Volume 1, 1st edition, Ostrava 2008.

Opava in terms of its legal position was a land capital city like Prague, Olomouc and Těšín were regional administrative centres and Moravská Ostrava an industrial town growing at an American rate in the opinion of the contemporaries. They are hence not town, which would for the purpose of a comparison with Prague show entirely different typological criteria.

If in the given research we plan to surpass the boundaries of an outline of the development of the examined professions, it is inevitably necessary to leave the narrow view focused only on the years of the practice of the profession. According to cultural and social anthropologists, childhood and youth are a period in which the personality of each individual is formed by the process of enculturation. Although we have the most limited source base on the early phases of the life of the representatives of the intelligentsia, the memoirs written with an interval of many years capture the subjective retrospective of the person; correspondence was seldom kept; the registry records and catalogues of the schooling institutions provide only simple data. Literature and sources of a visual nature have been used only marginally so far.

It is evident from the existing state of the research that childhood and youth, i.e. the years of study connected with the preparation for the practice of the future profession, most differed from the present. The motivation of the parents standing before the decision to put their son in studies is difficult to interpret from the plain basic sources. We know that a modern position to education was rooted in the middle class of urban society as one of the ways leading to the improvement of the social status of an individual or at least to the maintenance of the existing status in the next generation. The memoirs of Hans Kudlich can contribute in great detail to knowledge of the models of behaviour of the rural elites.⁸ According to those, his father saw lawyers as influential men which had influence in his decision-making on the future careers of his sons, but a role could also have been played by the fact that with the indivisibility of rural homesteads in inheritance proceedings he planned for his sons who attained education or learned a trade to assure a better standard of living than would await them in the position of second son. Another of the alternatives for the lifelong provision of men was also the priesthood. A part of the monastic priests and high clergy were traditionally recruited from the aristocracy and farmers could follow this time-tested strategy and adopt it as their own. From the analysis of Kudlich's memoirs, yet another factor rises to the surface that could have played an important role, namely the existence of an educated man among the wider relatives. An uncle or godfather who was educated and successful in his professional life was not only an image of a suitable following, but was a man with certain connections, who principally "knew how the world works". He could help the fathers, representatives of the patriarchal family typical for that time, at the time of deciding on the future of their sons, later they could guarantee the young man in some places, etc. Family relations and the function of godparents played a more important role in the 19th century than in contemporary society.⁹

8 Hans Kudlich, *Rückblicke und Erinnerungen*, I. Band. Wien 1873. Available at: <http://archive.org/details/rckblickeunderi01kudlgoog> [accessed on 15 September 2013].

9 Kudlich's uncle was a doctor of laws. The lawyer was the godfather of the important Moravian advocate and politician J. Kozánek.

The crucial decision that a son be enrolled at a general secondary school usually occurred around the boy's eleventh year of age. In 1833, the eleven-year-old Hans Kudlich was enrolled at the general secondary school in Opava. The situation did not change for 50 years and the same aged Richard Fischer, the significant Moravian politician and advocate in his adulthood, commenced his studies at the general secondary school in Olomouc. It could be stated at this point that the situation today is similar. The enrolment procedures for multiple-year general secondary schools take place in the fifth form, but a fundamental difference dominates here. Boys from the rural or small-town milieus accepted at the general secondary school left their families and moved for education in one of a few towns where there was a general secondary school. The residence of the family in a regional centre of education was a significant advantage at that time in terms of the availability of a general secondary school.

The issue of secondary and tertiary education in the monarchy including the intergenerational and spatial mobility of students and their confessional and "national" composition has been treated years ago in a singular way by Gary B. Cohen;¹⁰ more recently Petr Kadlec has devoted himself to the topic in partial studies focused on the regional level.¹¹ The phenomenon of the over-representation of students of the Jewish faith to the students of Christian confessions has been given attention also by other authors such as Victor Karady.¹² Of the Czech works dealing with the advancement of learning in the Czech lands, the inspiring work by Havránek should certainly not be forgotten.¹³ However, in all of the outputs mentioned above, minimal attention has been paid to the everydayness of student life so far, which in my opinion played a significant role in the life of every educated and civically engaged man.

In terms of the models of behaviour, the boys from a tender age knew how to take care of themselves. General secondary schools were not boarding establishments; accommodation was usually in modest lodgings. In the lodgings, as many as five boys

10 Garry B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria: 1848–1918*. West Lafayette 1996.

11 Petr Kadlec, *Dějiny středního školství a vzdělanosti 19. a počátku 20. století v české a zahraniční historiografii* *Historica. Revue pro historii a příbuzné vědy* 2, 2011, No. 2, pp. 199–218; Petr Kadlec, *Střední školství a formování české inteligence na severní Moravě a ve Slezsku ve druhé polovině 19. a na počátku 20. století*, *Slezský sborník* 109, 2011, No. 3–4, pp. 207–234; Petr Kadlec, *Střední školy v Moravské Ostravě před rokem 1914 a jejich židovští studenti*. In: Petr Pálka (ed.), *Židé a Morava XVII. Sedmnáctý svazek ediční řady Židé a Morava. Kniha statí ze stejnojmenné konference konané v Muzeu Kroměřížska dne 10. 11. 2010*, Kroměříž 2011, pp. 158–175.

12 Steven Beller, *The social and ethnic foundations of a cultural elite: Jewish over-representation in Vienna's Gymnasien*. In: Victor Karady — Wolfgang Mitter (ed.), *Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert = Education and Social Structure in Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Köln — Wien 1990, pp. 163–174; Garry B. Cohen, *Education, Social Mobility, and the Austrian Jews 1860–1910*. In *ibid.*, pp. 140–155; Victor Karady, *Jewish Over-Schooling in Hungary: Its Sociological Dimension*. In *ibid.*, pp. 209–245; Victor Karady, *The Jews of Europe in the Modern Era: A socio-historical outline*. Budapest 2004.

13 Jan Havránek et al., *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy. III, 1802–1918*, Praha 1997.

could live in one room. From the memoirs, the lodgings seem to be cool, damp and dark rooms. Long-term residence in them was certainly not beneficial for the health of the students. At an early age, boys already had to learn to economize with limited financial means. Hans Kudlich in his memoirs stated that he received the food for the whole week, such as bread, butter, cheese and flour, from home. The food was either brought by one of the farmers, who was going to the Opava Market, or one of his sisters brought it.¹⁴ A similar system of food provision was recorded in the memoirs of Richard Fischer as well. At the end of the week, he always received bread, butter, milk and in the winter pig-slaughter foods from home. Foodstuffs were sent through the stallholders in small wooden suitcases; the parents had one key and the student the other.¹⁵ Sending foodstuffs from their own agricultural production thus reduced the expenses connected with living in town. Fischer's recollections concerning boarding expanded and introduce us to the everydayness of the students. At noon as with many other students he ate in the so-called people's kitchen, where soup cost 3 Kreuzers, meat with a side dish 10 Kreuzers and a whole lunch 12 Kreuzers. In the evening, he went for tea with a cake or to the sausage seller for cheap sausage for 3–4 Kreuzers. According to him, the visit of parents or relatives in the town, who invited them for food in a pub, always meant an improvement of the meals of students. It can generally be stated that the food of the students was not diverse or nutritious. Some of the poor students ate sufficiently only thanks to the philanthropy of the representatives of the intelligentsia, who usually invited them home for lunch a few times a week. Besides the fact that the boys in the family of an established advocate, physician or clergyman ate sufficiently, an important role in the process of socialization was played by the regular visitation of these families in my opinion. Thanks to these visits, the students could become aware of the importance of education, i.e. by graduation from these studies and practicing a profession they could become solidly supported and socially recognized men, who could afford to rent an apartment at a representative address in town, employ a servant and devote part of their incomes to charity. They thus acquired an important and priceless life experience, i.e. knowledge of the striking difference between the lifestyle led by their parents in the countryside or in the milieu of a small-town self-employed person and the lifestyle of the intelligentsia at the top of their professional career, which certainly motivated them strongly in their further studies.

We can consider modesty in clothing as another typical model of behaviour in the families of the students. Kudlich's father with plots of 52 hectares was part of the rural elites of the municipality of Úvalno, and despite that his son stated in his memoirs that clothing was adjusted from worn-out clothes, hence in his opinion: "...Das "Studiren" war damals keine kostspielige Sache. Kleider und Wäsche wurden im Dorf besorg, so daß ich niemals in Gefahr kam, für einen Dandy gehalten zu werden."¹⁶

14 Hans Kudlich, *Rückblicke und Erinnerungen*, I. Band. Wien 1873, p. 72. Available at: <http://archive.org/details/rckblickeunderi01kudlgoog> [accessed on 15 September 2013].

15 Richard Fischer, *Cesta mého života*, I–1, p. 62.

16 Hans Kudlich, *Rückblicke und Erinnerungen*, I. Band. Wien 1873, p. 72. Available at: <http://archive.org/details/rckblickeunderi01kudlgoog> [accessed on 15 September 2013].

Fischer's father homesteaded on a few hectares of land and his son also remembered that they saved on clothing. They were sewn by a tailor in Loštice. In his opinion, the clothes prepared were neither following the latest fashion nor a good fit. From the recollections related to the quality of the clothing, it is evident that in adulthood the complete social rise was inseparably connected with the representation of the individual in society, i.e. in the period in question e.g. on the level of tailored clothing from quality materials.

With increasing age, the students at the general secondary schools began to share in the co-financing of their studies. Awareness of the diligence, talent and moral integrity of the students went beyond the walls of the educational institute and opened doors in the local society. Private tuition or tutoring weaker students was a usual source of incomes for gifted students.¹⁷ According to Fischer, it was realistic through teaching to make 12 to 15 guildens a month on the side. It was not an insignificant sum, because a comparable amount was given to him by his parents.¹⁸ Tutoring or private tuition was not the only source of incomes for students, but it was another significant introduction into society. The impression, which the young men through native intelligence and verbal and nonverbal communication left in it, co-formed their status. The soft web of interpersonal relations began to be weaved, in which the individual learned to manage the social roles, rules and norms characteristic for the middle class or the elite of the local society. If he came from a rural or small-town milieu or from the lower middle class, it was an important phase of the socialization process for him.

The greater the distance of the hometown from the regional centre of education, the more limited the personal contact of the student with his parents and siblings was. An important function in the communication with the family was played by correspondence. The sons informed their parents on the course of their studies. Hans Kudlich e.g. reported to his father in detail also on other affairs associated with his studies, such as the purchase and sale of textbooks. The correspondence also resolved common things like the purchase of new clothes or the sending of laundry from home.¹⁹ The fathers mainly informed their sons with the events in the family and asking them to take it to heart that they not forsake their study obligations. The students were reminded of their moral commitments to their parents and philanthropists also by the secondary-school teachers and the clergy. A successful study capped

17 At the time of the absence of girl's secondary-school education, some of the students ensured the education of daughters in modern-thinking households. In the family of F. Mošner, Olomouc professor of obstetrics, the future Moravian advocate and politician Jan Kozánek taught the daughter Marie the Czech language, at the time he was a 17-year-old student of the *Prima classis gramaticae studiosi* in Olomouc. Later, he married her. Zdeněk Fišer, *Mladá léta Jana Kozánka*. In: *Sborník Státního okresního archivu Přerov 1996*, unpaginated. <http://www.rosmus.cz/archiv/sborniky/sbornik-statniho-okresniho-archivu-prerov-1996.pdf>

18 Richard Fischer, *Cesta mého života*. I, p. 115.

19 *Freudenthaler Ländchen : Geschichts- und Sittenbilder aus alter und neuer Zeit zur Vertiefung der Heimatliebe und für Heimatkunst* 13. Jahrgang, Freudenthal 1933, Zwei Hans Kudlich Briefe, pp. 20–21.

with a school-leaving examination was expected from the students from many sides. However, as G. B. Cohen discovered, this aim was achieved on average by only one quarter of the students accepted; according to his conclusions, nearly one half of the students stopped studying in the course of the first year.²⁰ Passing the school-leaving examination was an important rite of passage in the life of a young man and the school-leaving examination certificate from a classical general secondary school above all opened the path to university education.

From Kadlec's latest research, it arises that the majority of the graduates from general secondary schools decided to continue in university studies.²¹ In the case of law or medical studies, the students from the Czech lands usually chose between study in Vienna or Prague. A good number of the lawyers and physicians of that period remembered, more often in the case of a social origin from the rural milieu, that their family rather expected them to study divinity, because a priest in this provincial milieu had significant respect of status and authority. Sometimes, it was therefore necessary to convince the father, namely for the aid of educated relatives or other authorities, that the selection another field was right.

From the memoirs, it seems that the provision of the financial side of university studies was not an irresolvable problem, but it was again connected with all of the members of the family tightening their belts. Hans Kudlich mentioned in his memoirs that just like him many of the students from the provinces came from the families of farmers,²² which he perceived as the lowest class of society. At the same time, he stated that the dominant system made studies easier for them financially: "From entry at general secondary school to passing the *viva voce* examinations, I did not pay even a Kreuzer for teaching or a college".²³ Saving money was an imperative for many students. To save money in the course of their studies, students of the Faculties of Law spent part of their studies in self-study in the household of their parents.²⁴ They had attendance at lectures confirmed by colleagues; in the case of future physicians, this form of absence was not possible considering the practical exercises. Student life differed only minimally from the secondary-school student years in the last years of general secondary school. They lived in lodgings, with either several students in a room or alone. Part of the expenses associated with studies was covered from means from the parents. Poor students were supported by stipends from foundations and school societies. Students usually made money on the side for their studies,

20 Garry B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria: 1848–1918*. West Lafayette 1996, p. 173.

21 Petr Kadlec, *Vývoj středního školství a formování inteligence na severní Moravě a ve Slezsku ve druhé polovině 19. a na počátku 20. století: Graduační práce, Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity v Ostravě*, 2012, p. 305.

22 Hans Kudlich, *Rückblicke und Erinnerungen*, I. Band. Wien 1873, p. 138. Available at: <http://archive.org/details/rckblickeunderi01kudlgoog> [accessed on 15 September 2013].

23 Hans Kudlich, *Rückblicke und Erinnerungen*, I. Band. Wien 1873, p. 143. Available at: <http://archive.org/details/rckblickeunderi01kudlgoog> [accessed on 15 September 2013].

24 Richard Fischer, *Cesta mého života. I-2*, p. 12; Rostislav Bartocha, *Dr. Jan Ošťádal, kulturní a národohospodářský budovatel moravský: 1864–1937*, p. 14.

namely by tutoring, holding positions as stenographers at state offices or scribes in the law offices of established advocates. It also happened often that students ended up without financial means and then pawned things like watches in pawn shops, but it was also possible to pawn your student index, which had to be paid back during the examination term.

Cash was vitally necessary for concluding studies. The fees connected with the passing of the *viva voce* examinations reached high sums. For illustration of how high the fees were, I present the relevant passage from the *viva voce* regulations for all of the faculties of medicine in the monarchy from 1872: “For each *viva voce*, the candidate will pay a tax and for the first 55 guldens, for the second 60 guldens and for the third 65 guldens. The graduation tax for the doctorate from any medicine entails at all so-called Cisleithian universities 60 gulden. For a student to be allowed to sit medical examinations, he first had to have passed three public previous examinations from botany, zoology and mineralogy at any Cisleithian university. For each of these examinations, the tax consisted of 7 guldens. In total, the next doctorate of medicine cost 261 guldens.” The final sum is high and similar amounts were related also to the study of law or philosophy. The payments did not end with the successful passing of the *viva voce*, it was still necessary to pay the tax for graduation.²⁵ The young man in the bloom of his mental and physical powers was like during the course of his studies at general secondary school under pressure from his family and relatives. It was expected that he would successfully complete his studies and it was not a topic that was not discussed and was quietly hoped for, but it was often the main contents of the correspondence maintained with the sons. If the studies were extended, the entreaty in the letters became more emphatic, as is evident from the correspondence of Johann Kudlich with his son: “While reading this letter, think, dear son, about how your mother, sisters and I have helped you and have tried and toiled for 14 years already to take care of you well. So, do not fear any troubles, even if your *viva voce* examinations cost you a great deal of effort.” The father was supported morally even by the elder brother, who had already disappointed the hope put in him and not finished school, but he advised his brother: “When for some time you refuse newspapers and *Die Grenzboten*, you will move forward. It is a mental Turnerism.”²⁶

We know the least about the contents of the study, i.e. what knowledge and skills the student acquired during his studies, whether the examining professors emphasized the mentoring of learned facts or positively evaluated independent consideration and innovative approaches to the established problems and questions. From

25 Andrea Pokludová, Každodennost studentů na přelomu 19. a 20. století, In: Jiří Malý — Martin Rája (eds.), JUDR. Václav Kounic a jeho doba, Brno, 2009, pp. 337–343; Richard Fischer, *Cesta mého života*. I. Loštice–Olomouc. 1,2. Olomouc 1934; Fischer, *Cesta mého života*. II. Praha, Olomouc 1934; Fischer, *Cesta mého života*. III. Olomouc. Od r. 1896–1918. First Part. Olomouc 1936; Rostislav Bartoča, Dr. Jan Ošťádal, kulturní a národohospodářský budovatel moravský: 1864–1937. Olomouc 1937.

26 Pavel Kladiwa — Andrea Pokludová, Hans Kudlich (1823–1914). *Cesta života a mýtu* [Hans Kudlich (1823–1914), Ostrava 2012, p. 39. Translator’s Note: Turnerism refers to an exercise club from the 19th century. Some of these clubs still exist.

the plain information, it seems that the reservedness of the representatives of the academic community to the students winds like a red thread through the modern history of university education. At the end of the 19th century just like at the end of the Biedermaier or Vormärz Period, students were treated like elementary school pupils. Pluralistic discussions between the students and lecturers did not take place; the professor was an authority not allowing the exchange of opinions.²⁷ Fischer found the situation at the Czech university in Prague to be fossilized and described the relations between the professors and students as: “The professors — except for Drs. Rezek, Masaryk and Stupecký — were old men, they had no relations with youth or a friendly attitude, they considered academic citizens as pupils, who are only to attend lectures and sit examinations.”²⁸ Yet, they were always able to find among the professors people who managed to speak to the students not only in terms of the profession but also as people and treated the students as younger colleagues.²⁹

Professional preparation was indelibly connected with study in libraries, which were normally accessible for the students for free. The opinions and positions of the students were formed besides by study of the required literature also the free-time reading of contemporary authors. Kudlich in his memoirs stated that among the students in Vienna at the end of the Biedermaier Period they read besides Goethe and Schiller authors like Adolf Ludwig Follen (a Late Romantic), Max von Schenkendorf (author of the texts of the patriotic songs *Freiheit, die ich meine* and *Wenn alle untreue werden*), Johann Ludwig Uhland (Romantic poet), Anastasius Grün (celebrated warrior for freedom in the Biedermaier Period, representative of German political lyric poetry and model of the production of the Young Germany literary movement). According to him, many colleagues admired and planned follow the ideals of the journalist Carl Ludwig Börne, an adherent to the idea of spreading democracy as a prerequisite for freedom. Others on the other hand were closer to the socially attuned opinions of Georg Herwegh or in the political poems capturing the positions of Ferdinand Freiligrath.³⁰ Every generation has its favourite authors whom they admire and identify with their ideals. R. Fischer e.g. in his memoirs mentions one work, namely the allegory of the *Písň otroka* [Songs of a Slave] by Svatopluk Čech. Before we proceed to a more detailed description of the free-time activities of the students, it is proper to remember a relatively well-known fact that many of the students were literarily active during their studies. They attempted poetry, fiction or wrote journals. Many were successful in the field of journalism. For some, journalism and literary production remained a lifelong free-time activity. Several times, the already mentioned Hans Kudlich or Richard Fischer were not exceptions.³¹ Of the advocates of

27 Garry B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class*, pp. 18–19.

28 Richard Fischer, *Cesta mého života*. II, Praha–Olomouc 1934, p. 40.

29 Kladiwa's interpretation of the relation of Hans Kudlich to Prof. Holger. Pavel Kladiwa — Andrea Pokludová, *Hans Kudlich (1823–1914). Cesta života a mýtu*, Ostrava 2012, p. 37.

30 Hans Kudlich, *Rückblicke und Erinnerungen*, I. Band. Wien 1873, p. 144. Available at: <http://archive.org/details/rckblickeunderi01kudlgoog> [Accessed on 15 September 2013]

31 Richard Fischer contributed to Olomouc's *Pozor* (magazine), *Selské listy* (newspaper), *Národní listy* (newspaper). He published ca 40 works reflecting the political and econom-

Olomouc, e.g. Julius Ambros³² or Ferdinand Tomek³³ published several works. The publication of professional treatises was more typical for physicians, who published the latest knowledge from their own practice.³⁴

In the memoirs of the personalities, the years of university study are connected with the traditional free-time student life, i.e. pub table companions, amateur theatre, attendance dance entertainment. Some of the students during their studies participated in the organization of various cultural events such as theatrical performance of amateurs or the collection and presentation of folk culture. It seems from the memoirs that the most common entertainment was collective singing; an inseparable component of the collective reinforcement of ethnic communality. University students were already more ethnically shaped than the students of general secondary schools and proclaimed their identity not only by membership in Czech or German student singing societies but also membership in sport associations. Students identifying with Czech society cultivated sport within the Sokol Movement. German students identified with the ideals of the Turner movement. The ethnic identification of the students became more distinctive with the nationalization of the associations and many of the future representatives of the Bar already during their studies held radical and xenophobic attitudes to the "other". Anti-Semitism malignantly spread, both among the German and Czech university students. The platform for forming the political opinions and conceptions of the students were the associations; students associated not only according to the slogans *Deutsche zu Deutschen! Svůj k svému!* [Each to his own!], but the feeling of communality descended to an even lower level, i.e. the regions from which they came such as the Viennese student association *Oppavia* or the association of the Moravian students from the region Haná [Haná]. In the pub U Helmů in Vodičkova, students from the associations *Moravská Beseda* and *Radhošť* met. Students from Moravia in the 1880s and 90s had opinions in the aims of Moravian patriotism. Doctor Fischer e.g. in his memoirs remembered that they spoke Moravian and got along well with their Czech colleagues in their studies in Prague; only no one was allowed to reproach them that Moravia was as against Bohemia backward and that they do not work nationally and politically much there. The mentioned argumentation from Czech colleagues could cause a battle of words. In terms of physical assault among students, they took place more often between Czech and German students of general secondary schools.

There certainly have been diligent students who have spent all of their time on study and focus their attention only on events connected with the selected field, but as it seems from the memoirs, there have been and will be students who besides study

ic development in Olomouc and the immediate surroundings. Hans Kudlich regularly contributed to German Liberal papers, e.g. *Neue Freie Presse*, Silesia etc.

32 Julius Ambros, *Z malých kořenů. Vzpomínky a úvahy z vývoje čes. nár. života v Olomouci*, Olomouc 1912; Julius Ambros, *Svatojánská noc*, Olomouc 1912; Julius Ambros, *Burdova žena: Lidová báseň*, Olomouc 1907. 80 pp.

33 Ferdinand Tomek ed., *Slovenské písně z Uherskobrodská*. Olomouc 1927, 105 pp.

34 František Berka, *Soudní a úrazové lékařství: příručka pro studenty a praktiky*, Brno 1929, 243 pp.

devote themselves to numerous free-time activities, which expand their cultural horizons, form political attitudes and opinions and last but not least contribute even on the physical side. The process of socialization takes place in interaction with others. The years of university studies just like those of secondary school were connected with the formation of lifelong friendships, based on shared experiences and enjoyments. At the same time, the circle of numerous acquaintances formed, to whom it was possible to turn in professional or private matters. Quite a few students whose father considered their approach to study as a lost case and slowly reconciled himself to the idea that his son would not fulfil the hopes placed in him came despite the numerous activities to a proper and successful completion of his studies. As R. Fischer aptly wrote, “They doubted me from many sides whether with my public activities I would ever finish my studies and when. I proved their mistrust false with the announcement of my graduation”.³⁵

Perhaps also by R. Fischer, one of the concepts accurate for the period of graduation as a ritual connected with the assumption of an exclusive social status has been preserved. Although he wrote these words with the interval of several decades, the weight of the act and the awareness of the value and prestige of the achieved education is clear from them: “Graduation! How beautiful, desirable a word for a university student, who wants or has to achieve a doctoral degree! An honourable title, but valuable for one’s whole life, proving diligent study and higher effort.” The description of the celebratory moment in family circle end with the words: “I left the next day from Prague for Loštice as a young doctor of laws”.³⁶

The completion of university study and graduation finished one chapter of life and the young man stood before a serious life decision, how to best make use of the studies. We should not idealize the given period that graduates with excellent results gained ground more successfully than weaker students, because connections and clientelism were not unknown phenomena in society. They turned in person and in correspondence to friends, relatives and acquaintances with the appeal to intercede with influential people in the case of a potential position.³⁷ In the case of both professional groups discusses, the preparation for professional practice did not end actually with the completion of studies, because it was necessary to pass postgraduate certification in the case of physicians or a seven-year legal practice for those graduates of faculties of law, who decided for the Bar. In both of the mentioned cases, it was further years spent with low incomes and moving for those posts, since the demand for those posts significantly exceeded demand in university towns. From the perspective of the future advocates, it was a money-maker as against the poorly paid or unpaid positions in the law offices of renowned advocates in statutory towns, i.e. in our case in Opava and Olomouc. For instance, Dr. Kozánek practiced for free at the Opava advocate Dr.

³⁵ Richard Fischer, *Cesta mého života*. II, Praha–Olomouc 1934, p. 22.

³⁶ Richard Fischer, *Cesta mého života*. II, Praha–Olomouc, 1934, pp. 22–23.

³⁷ Zdeněk Fišer, *Zpravodajství Jana Kozánka z Opavy z let 1845–1849*, Přerov 1999. Edition of Documents. *Sborník Státního okresního archivu 1999 — supplementum 1*; Zdeněk Fišer, *Mladá léta Jana Kozánka* (see Note 17), In: *Sborník Státního okresního archivu Přerov 1996*, unpaginated. Kozánek, dopisy A. V. Šemberovi.

Dietrich, and because he was entirely without incomes, he had to accept at the same time the post of tutor in a mercantile family for the purpose of assuring his mere existence.³⁸ The incomes in the first years of practice did not correspond to the status of an educated man's incomes.

At the end of the 19th century, one more no less important factor influenced not only the beginnings of a professional career but also its course, namely the rampant nationalism in a multiethnic society indelibly connected with the creation of a negative image of the "other". In the Bar, it is possible to capture a trend that the graduates of legal studies coming from the Czech milieu and identifying with Czech society preferred advocate work with Czech colleagues. From the hospital milieu, preserved documents from the proceedings of the open competitions for posts directly prove what weight was given to the ethnicity of a candidate on the scales at the commission of the open competitions. They also prove interest on the part of attested physicians in the positions of senior consultant and positions of secondary physicians in hospitals outside of the centre. When the Municipal Government of Moravská Ostrava announced an open competition for the post of senior consultant in the municipal hospital in 1897, 15 physicians applied for the post of senior consultant, although the position was not the best paid.³⁹ The open competition was won by Dr. F. Neugebauer; born in Temesvár, then Hungary (now Timișoara in Romania) natively belonging in Bruntál, a graduate of the university in Vienna, who worked as a secondary physician in Graz. He later joined his entire professional career with the Moravská Ostrava hospital. Similar features mark the professional career of the important surgeon and senior consultant in the Silesian Hospital in Těšín, Dr. H. Hinterstoisser, native of the Salzburg district and also a graduate of the Faculty of Medicine in Vienna.⁴⁰ Both physicians in practicing their profession from the aspect of communication spoke German, which became a subject of frequent criticism in the local Czech or Polish press. In the case of the open competition proceedings for a secondary physician in the Moravská Ostrava Hospital, it was requested on the part of the founding entity, i.e. the town, not only a knowledge of German but direct identification of the applicant with German society. In the personnel files of the successful candidates, written sentences are preserved such as *Bekannt sich zum Deutschtum*.⁴¹ A similar situation dominated in Olomouc, as is clear from a work published in 1923, which describes the period relations with the words: "In the general public hospital, none of the Czech physicians was allowed to be senior consultant, even if he had better qualifications".⁴²

38 Zdeněk Fišer, *Mladá léta Jana Kozánka*. In: *Sborník Státního okresního archivu Přerov 1996*, unpaginated. Kozánek, dopisy A. V. Šemberovi.

39 Archiv města Ostravy, Fond: Městská nemocnice, „Kniha požiteků“ městské nemocnice z let 1898–1910. [Archive of the City of Ostrava. Collection: Municipal Hospital, "Book of Benefits" — municipal hospital from 1898–1910]

40 Irena French, *Szpital Śląski za czasów Hermanna Hinterstoissera*. In: *Kalendraz cieszyński, Cieszyn 2012*, pp. 51–67.

41 Archiv města Ostravy, Střední registratura, personální spisy zaměstnanců města [Archive of the City of Ostrava, Central Registry, personnel records of the employees of the city].

42 Bohumír Josef Knechtl, *Třicet let našeho zápasu v Olomouci, Olomouc 1923*.

Hence, sensitive personal data testifying on the nationality and ethnic origin of an advocate or physician were not a private issue at that time like the religious confession, philosophy or political attitudes adhered to, but on the contrary publically discussed not only at the tables of pub societies but also on the pages of the local press.⁴³ Quite a few physicians or advocates encountered in the course of their careers what in today's legislation would be called an unauthorized intervention into their privacy.

In terms of the character features, predominantly the representatives of the advocate status seem to be ambitious, vital, dynamic, energetic men with high demands on themselves. Particularly after passing the Bar Examination, i.e. at the time of opening their own law office, they had to be capable of evaluating their possibilities to assert themselves in the competitive milieu and excellently manage the stress situation arising from that. However, there also came times of exhaustion and temporary resignation, as is e.g. evident from the letter of Dr. Kozánek to Professor Šember, in which he aptly described his activity at the state office in these words: "With only boring work and a lack of mental entertainment, a person weakens in body and spirit".⁴⁴

A typical model of behaviour of the representatives of both mentioned professions was civic engagement. Physicians in comparison with advocates stand somewhat in the background of public activity; they preferred membership in associations focused on the resolution of social questions, enlightenment and cultivating a healthy lifestyle and utilized particularly passive voting law in communal elections.⁴⁵ Advocates seem to be much more agile; their association domain became political associations, they became their leading personalities. In ethnically mixed regions, they publically proclaimed the ideas of nationalism, in speech and in writing they spread intolerant positions and xenophobia to the others. In many of them, it is hard to recognize the thin line between advocate and politician; communal politics for them was a stepping stone to the land diets or the parliament in Vienna.⁴⁶

Through the association network and the world of politics, they maintained active contacts not only with the provincial capitals but clearly also with Vienna. They maintained other contacts with colleagues through estate professional organizations

⁴³ Ostravský deník, 14 October 1909, Skandální poměry v moravskoostravské nemocnici.

⁴⁴ Zdeněk Fišer, *Mladá léta Jana Kozánka* (see Note 17). In: *Sborník Státního okresního archivu Přerov 1996*, unpaginated. Kozánek, dopisy A. V. Šemberovi.

⁴⁵ Role intelligence v kultivačním procesu městské společnosti na přelomu 19. a 20. století (Moravská Ostrava a Opava) [The Role of the Intelligentsia in the Cultivation Process of the Urban Population at the Turn of the 19th Century (Moravská Ostrava and Opava)]. In: Jana Macháčová — Jiří Matějček — Blanka Soukupová (eds.), *Vývoj obecné kultury, kultura a dekulturnace společnosti českých zemí 1800–2000*. Konference *Vývoj obecné kultury, kultura a dekulturnace společnosti českých zemí 1800–2000*: Praha, 15. a 16. září 2004. Opava–Praha 2005, pp. 71–87, *Studie k sociálním dějinám*, Volume 11, No.1.

⁴⁶ The engagement of Opava advocates in the communal and land politics in the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. In: Stanislav Balík (ed.), *Z minulosti advokacie*. *Sborník příspěvků z 1. konference o dějinách advokacie konané dne 11.11.2004 v Praze*, Praha 2005, pp. 108–119.

and the professional press. For instance, physicians, who wanted to continue to develop their specialization, attended congresses, completed internships at leading workplaces in the monarchy and abroad. They travelled to see exhibitions thematically focused on advancement in medicine and social medical practice. It depended on the personal ambitions of the individual whether they planned to learn in the field throughout life or suffice with the knowledge acquired in the course of studies.

Last but not least, an important role was played in the life of these men by contacts created by a shared culture and lifestyle, i.e. visits to cafés, theatre performances, museum and gallery expositions, as well as seeing global exhibitions, participation in national celebrations and annual summer stays in spas. Personal contacts played an important role; if, however, it was not possible to cultivate them because of distance, they were maintained at least through correspondence and through occasional social visits.⁴⁷ The representatives of both professions were not only consumers of culture but actively participated in the cultural affairs of the locality. Besides the numerous amateur activities, they stood in the background of the foundation of cultural institutions (theatres, museums, galleries, libraries). The private collection activities, more typical for advocates, supported the local art market. Many remembered the advancement of the cultural affairs in the region in their wills.⁴⁸

The practice of the profession of a physician or advocate in Moravská Ostrava, Opava, Olomouc or Těšín at the turn of the 20th century was not marked by provincionalism in the sense of backwardness or parochialism but on the contrary modernness. Through the practice of a profession, civic engagement and free-time activities, they managed active contacts with both the centres of affairs and localities “found” on the so-called periphery. If we return to the original complaint the demand for physicians and advocates had still not been entirely saturated in these localities affected by modernization processes around 1900. In terms of the financial appraisal connected with the practice of a profession, we know that some of the representatives of the Bar advanced among the local elites from the perspective of the taxes paid from income. Complaints about low incomes were more frequent with physicians, e.g. — “one of Moravská Ostrava Hospital’s physicians in 1903 asked the municipal council for a pay rise and as reasons mentioned: the increased salary of secondary physicians in Vienna, Prague, Graz and Trieste, low opportunities for further education in the provincial town should be balanced by higher pay, he found the service here to be much harder and responsible than in land towns, living expenses in Moravská Ostrava are much higher than in some land towns.”⁴⁹ It was rejected. Physicians and advo-

47 From an obituary published on the occasion of the death of Ostrava advocate Dr. Antonín Táborský, it arises that he was visited in Moravská Ostrava by figures like Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, Prof. František Drtina, the author Jaroslav Kvapil, the composer Jan Kubelík and others. *Polední deník* [Noon Daily newspaper] 18 December 1936.

48 Fischer Richard: *Olomoucký památník 1848–1918*, Olomouc 1938. According to Fischer’s records, e.g. advocate in Olomouc Julius Ambros willed the Art Gallery in Olomouc 355,599 Kreuzers, Dr. František Svozil in his will remembered Czech societies with 40,000 Kreuzers.

49 Archiv města Ostravy, Střední registratura, personální spisy zaměstnanců města.

cates practiced their profession to a relatively advanced age, if their health allowed, because the practice of both professions and civil engagement was connected with a significant mental exertion and many advocates and physicians died prematurely. A change in the political relations in the locality or region could also contribute to an early departure into retirement.